

NEW DIRECTIONS IN ANCIENT PANTOMIME

New Directions in Ancient Pantomime

Edited by
EDITH HALL AND ROSIE WYLES

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dares Salaam Hong Kong Karachi

Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi

New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece

Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore

South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press
in the UK and in certain other countries

Published in the United States
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

© Oxford University Press 2008

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted
Database right Oxford University Press (maker)

First published 2008

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press,
or as expressly permitted by law, or under terms agreed with the appropriate
reprographics rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction
outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department,
Oxford University Press, at the address above

You must not circulate this book in any other binding or cover
and you must impose the same condition on any acquirer

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

New directions in ancient pantomime / edited by Edith Hall and Rosie Wyles.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-19-923253-6

1. Pantomime—Greece—History—To 500. 2. Pantomime—Rome—History—To 500.
3. Theater—Greece—History—To 500. 4. Theater—Rome—History—To 500.

I. Hall, Edith, 1959— II. Wyles, Rosie.

PA3203.N49 2008

792.30938—dc22 2008024310

Typeset by SPI Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India

Printed in Great Britain

on acid-free paper by

CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham, Wiltshire

ISBN 978-0-19-923253-6

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

Acknowledgements

This volume began life as a one-day conference held in July 2005 at the Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama in Oxford, the first part of its new research project on the reception of the ancient theatrical canon within the thousand-year tradition of theatre performance in Greek and Roman antiquity. Together with the Directors and all the staff at the Archive we are deeply grateful to the AHRC for its support of this initiative.

Several of our contributors have gone quite beyond the call of duty in inspiring us or helping us to put the volume together. Alessandra Zanobi's support and wide-ranging research has been indispensable throughout the project from its inception, and Ruth Webb has provided important information. In addition, we owe thanks for help of intellectual and other kinds to our careful and encouraging anonymous Readers at Oxford University Press; to Hilary O'Shea, Jenny Wagstaffe, and Kathleen Fearn, who were a pleasure to work with; to our good-humoured copy editor Tom Chandler; to our incomparable indexer Brenda Hall; and to Ewen Bowie, Peter Brown, Sara Cascione, Glen Bowersock, Pat Easterling, Stuart Hall, David Kimbell, Fiona Macintosh, Pantelis Michelakis, Olumpio Musso, Frederick Naerebout, Jonathan Powell, Richard Poynder, Peter Rhodes, Charlotte Roueché, Christopher Rowe, Scott Scullion, Allen Stanton, Oliver Taplin, David Taylor, David Wiles, Davide Zannoni, and Martha Zarmakoupi.

This book is dedicated to our parents, Brenda and Stuart Hall and Anne and Peter Wyles, with affection and gratitude.

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	ix
<i>Contributors</i>	xi
<i>A Note on References to Source Texts</i>	xv
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xvi
Introduction: Pantomime, a Lost Chord of Ancient Culture <i>Edith Hall</i>	1
I. THE PANTOMIME DANCER AND HIS WORLD	
1. Inside the Mask: Pantomime from the Performers' Perspective <i>Ruth Webb</i>	43
2. The Symbolism of Costume in Ancient Pantomime <i>Rosie Wyles</i>	61
3. Pantomime Performance and Figured Scenes on Roman Sarcophagi <i>Janet Huskinson</i>	87
4. Pantomime Actresses in Latin Inscriptions <i>John H. Starks, Jr.</i>	110
5. 'Mime' and 'Pantomime': Some Problematic Texts <i>T. P. Wiseman</i>	146
II. PANTOMIME LIBRETTI	
6. The Pantomime Dancer and his Libretto <i>John Jory</i>	157
7. Roman Pantomime Libretti and their Greek Themes: The Role of Augustus in the Romanization of the Greek Classics <i>Yvette Hunt</i>	169

8. Virgil on the Popular Stage <i>Costas Panayotakis</i>	185
9. <i>Et mea sunt populo saltata poemata saepe</i> (<i>Tristia</i> 2.519): Ovid and the Pantomime <i>Jennifer Ingleheart</i>	198
10. Seneca and Pantomime (translated from the German by Edith Hall) <i>Bernhard Zimmermann</i>	218
11. The Influence of Pantomime on Seneca's Tragedies <i>Alessandra Zanobi</i>	227
12. Is the 'Barcelona <i>Alcestis</i> ' a Latin Pantomime Libretto? <i>Edith Hall</i>	258
III. THE IDEA OF THE PANTOMIME DANCER	
13. Was Pantomime 'good to think with' in the Ancient World? <i>Ismene Lada-Richards</i>	285
14. Lucian's <i>On Dancing</i> and the Models for a Discourse on Pantomime <i>Karin Schlapbach</i>	314
15. The Metamorphosis of Pantomime: Apuleius' <i>Judgement of Paris</i> (<i>Met.</i> 10.30–34) <i>Regine May</i>	338
16. Ancient Pantomime and the Rise of Ballet <i>Edith Hall</i>	363
Appendix: Selected Source Texts	378
<i>Bibliography</i>	420
<i>Index</i>	449

List of Illustrations

0.1 Appliqué medallion from Orange. Late second or early third century AD. St.-Germain-en-Laye, Musée des Antiquités Nationales 31673. Photograph © Loïc Hamon by kind permission of the Museum.	3
0.2 Wall painting, Pompeii 6.7.23 (House of Apollo or of A. Herennuleius Communis). Taken from Ernst R. Fiechter, <i>Die Baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters</i> (Munich, 1914), fig.106 (following G. von Cube (1906), plate VI).	13
0.3 Pantomime audience in the theatre of Marcellus. Engraving by Maurice Marodon in Jean Bertheroy, <i>Le Mime Bathylle</i> (Paris, 1894). By kind permission of the APGRD, Oxford.	15
0.4 Engraving in François Henri Stanislas de l'Aulnaye, <i>De la Saltation théâtrale, ou recherches sur l'Origine, le Progrès, & les effets de la pantomime chez les anciens</i> (Paris, 1790). By kind permission of the APGRD, Oxford.	21
2.1 Late antique ivory plaque (late fifth century AD) depicting a pantomime dancer, found in Trier. Photograph by Ingrid Geske reproduced courtesy of the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 2497.	63
2.2 Chiara Fiaschi as Alcestis with black cloak. Still from Sara Cascione's performance of <i>Alcestis</i> (2003). Photograph by kind permission of Sara Cascione.	75
3.1 Sarcophagus showing myth of Aphrodite and Ares. Grottaferrata, Museo dell'Abbazia. Photograph by permission of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom. Singer, Neg.DAI-Rom 72.3290.	96
3.2 Strigillated sarcophagus, Munich Glyptotek inv. no. 533. Photograph by permission of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptotek, Munich.	99
3.3 Biographical sarcophagus, Naples, Museo Nazionale inv. no. 6603. Photograph by permission of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom. Singer, Neg.DAI-Rom 70.1506.	107
4.1 <i>CIL</i> 12.1916, Vienna.	119
4.2 <i>CIL</i> 6.10127, Rome.	128
4.3 <i>CIL</i> 4.5233. House of the Centenary, Pompeii 9.8.6.	131
4.4 <i>CIL</i> 4.2463b. West wall of the large theatre, Pompeii.	133

4.5	<i>CIL</i> 4.3015, Tab. 48.22. Entrance to Amphitheatre, Pompeii.	133
4.6	<i>CIL</i> 4.5395. Tomb outside Porta Nucerina, Pompeii.	133
4.7	<i>CIL</i> 4.2413d. East side of Vico di Tesmo, Pompeii.	134
4.8	<i>CIL</i> 4.2161, Tab. 35.23. Caupona 7.12.35. Vico d'Eumachia, Pompeii.	135
4.9	<i>CIL</i> 4.1646, Tab.31.36. Vico dei Soprastanti, Pompeii.	135
4.10	Epitaph found near the Baths of Caracalla, Rome, second–third century AD. Museo Nazionale delle Terme, inv.121.598. Photograph by John H. Starks, Jr. (personal photo).	138
12.1	Drawing of the painting of Admetus and Alcestis (seated left) in the Basilica, Herculaneum (Naples Archaeological Museum). Taken from Charles Mills Gayley, <i>The Classic Myths in English Literature and in Art</i> (Boston, 1893).	262
12.2	Chiara Fiaschi as Admetus. Still from Sara Cascione's production of <i>Alcestis</i> (2003). Photograph by kind permission of Sara Cascione.	268
12.3	Chiara Fiaschi as Alcestis. Still from Sara Cascione's production of <i>Alcestis</i> (2003). Photograph by kind permission of Sara Cascione.	273
16.1	Engraving by E. Kirkall, the frontispiece to Weaver, <i>The Fable of Orpheus and Eurydice</i> (London, 1718).	370
16.2	Engraving from François Henri Stanislas de l'Aulnay, <i>De la Saltation théâtrale, our recherches sur l'Origine, le Progrès, & les effets de la pantomime chez les anciens</i> (Paris, 1790), by kind permission of the APGRD, Oxford.	374
16.3	Plate from Francisco Ficoroni, <i>Dissertatio de Larvis Scaenicis, et figuris comicis antiquorum romanorum. Ex Italica in Latinam linguam versa</i> . Rome 1750: Antonio de Rubeis.	374
16.4	Engraving by Maurice Marodon in Jean Bertheroy, <i>Le Mime Bathylle</i> (Paris, 1894). By kind permission of the APGRD, Oxford.	376

Contributors

EDITH HALL held posts at the universities of Cambridge, Reading, Oxford and Durham before being appointed Research Professor in the departments of Classics and Drama at Royal Holloway, University of London, in 2006. She is also co-founder and co-director of the Archive of Performances of Greek & Roman Drama at Oxford. Her books include *Inventing the Barbarian* (1989), an edition with translation and commentary of Aeschylus' *Persians* (1996), *Greek Tragedy and the British Theatre 1660–1914* (2005, with Fiona Macintosh), *The Theatrical Cast of Athens* (2006), and *The Return of Ulysses: A Cultural History of Homer's Odyssey* (2007). She is also co-editor of several volumes including *Greek & Roman Actors* (2002, with Pat Easterling). She is currently writing a book called *Classics and Class*.

YVETTE HUNT is a graduate student at the University of Queensland, Australia, writing her doctoral thesis on the imperial policies towards pantomime, especially within the city of Rome. Her studies into this topic include the examination of various possible influences on imperial policy including the history of pantomime, its popularity, the nature of imperial benefaction on the people of Rome, and imperial precedent in other areas. A casual lecturer and tutor at UQ, Yvette has taught in the areas of social and political Roman history, Macedonian and Hellenistic political history and reception studies, as well as classical myth and religion, especially magic. She has also worked as a research assistant in the area of ancient musicology. Among Yvette's other research interests is the connection between xenophobia and the perception of poisoners in the ancient world.

JANET HUSKINSON is Reader in Classical Studies at the Open University. She joined the department in 1993 after teaching in Cambridge for many years. Her research interests are in Roman private art from the late second to the fourth century AD and its social and cultural context. Her publications have examined art from Roman Britain (as in 'Culture and social relations in the Roman province', in P. Salway (ed.), *The Roman Period: Short Oxford History of the British Isles*), floor-mosaics from Antioch (for instance, 'Theatre, performance and theatricality in some mosaic pavements from Antioch', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 46 (2002–3), 131–65) and sarcophagi from the city of Rome (including *Roman Children's Sarcophagi: Their Decoration and its Social Significance* (1996)). She has also edited several volumes including *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power*

in the Roman Empire (2000) and *Culture and Society in Late Roman Antioch* (2003, with Bella Sandwell). She is writing a book on Roman strigillated sarcophagi and their social background.

JENNIFER INGLEHEART held teaching posts at Marlboro College, Vermont, The University of Wales, Swansea, and Wadham College, Oxford, before her appointment as Lecturer in Classics at Durham University in 2004. She is currently revising her Oxford doctoral thesis (a commentary on Ovid, *Tristia* 2) for publication, and has published a number of papers on Latin poetry and its reception.

JOHN JORY was born in Cornwall and educated at Humphry Davy Grammar School, Penzance and University College London. He has worked in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Western Australia since 1959 and as Professor since 1979. He was Executive Dean of the Faculty of Arts from 1990 to 2000. He produced a computer compiled index to Volume VI of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* in 1975 and has published numerous articles on the Roman theatre. He is currently writing a book on imperial pantomime.

ISMENE LADA-RICHARDS is Reader in Greek Literature and Culture at King's College, London. She is the author of *Initiating Dionysus: Ritual and Theatre in Aristophanes' Frogs* (1999), *Silent Eloquence: Lucian and Pantomime Dancing* (2007) and numerous articles on performative aspects of Greek and Roman Drama, including pantomime.

REGINE MAY held positions as lecturer in both Latin and Greek in Manchester (2001–3) and Durham (2003–4), and enjoyed two years as a fixed-term Fellow in Classical Languages and Literature at Merton College, Oxford (2004–6), before joining the Classics Department at Leeds in September 2006. She has published a book on Apuleius' use of Roman comedy, tragedy, and mime with OUP, entitled: *Apuleius and Drama: The Ass on Stage* (2006), and a lemmatized concordance on Cornelius Nepos in two volumes for Olms in Germany: *Cornelii Nepotis Vitarum Concordantia. Hildesheim* (2006). In addition to that, she has written several articles on dramatic intertextuality in and textual transmission of Apuleius, women in the ancient novels and Greek comedy, and short articles on ancient medicine.

COSTAS PANAYOTAKIS is Senior Lecturer in Classics at the University of Glasgow. He researches on the Roman novel and on Roman drama. He is the author of *Theatrum Arbitri: Theatrical Elements in the Satyricon of Petronius* (1995) and of annotated book-length translations into Modern Greek of one play of Plautus and two of Terence. His recent publications include 'Non-verbal behaviour on the Roman comic stage', in D. Cairns (ed.), *Body*

Language in the Greek and Roman Worlds (2005) and 'Women in the Greco-Roman Mime of the Roman Republic and the Early Empire', *Ordia Prima. Revista di Estudios Clásicos* 5 (2006). His book *Decimus Laberius: The Fragments* is forthcoming in the series Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries. He is now collating manuscripts to establish a new critical text (with introduction, translation, and commentary) of the *sententiae* attributed to the mimographer Publilius.

KARIN SCHLAPBACH holds a doctorate in Classics from the University of Zurich, where she was an assistant researcher and taught for five years. She received research grants from the Swiss National Research Foundation and was a fellow of the Society for the Humanities at Cornell University and a visiting research fellow at UC Berkeley and at King's College, London, before moving on to Canada, where she teaches Latin literature at the University of Ottawa. Her publications include *Augustin, Contra Academicos vel De Academicis. Buch 1. Einleitung und Kommentar* (2003). She is currently writing a book on the debates on theatrical spectacles in the Roman empire.

JOHN H. STARKS, JR. is Assistant Professor of Classics at Binghamton University, State University of New York, with interests in classical theatre history and performance, epigraphy and historiography, and ethnicity in the Mediterranean world. His article in this collection stems from research in his dissertation, 'Actresses in the Roman World' (2004), which he is currently developing for publication. He has directed numerous comedies of Aristophanes and Plautus, including publication of *Latin Laughs: A Production of Plautus' Poenulus* (1997), a performance delivered in oral Latin. He has published on Punic ethnicity in Virgil and Plautus and is continuing his ethnic research on black identity in Vandal Africa and modern Egyptian adaptations of Aristophanes and the Theban plays of Sophocles.

RUTH WEBB is Honorary Research Fellow in the School of History, Classics, and Archaeology, Birkbeck College, London. She has published numerous articles on rhetoric and on the late antique theatre and dance. She is also the author of *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity* (Harvard University Press, 2008).

TIMOTHY PETER WISEMAN is Emeritus Professor of Classics at the University of Exeter; he was Lecturer and then Reader at the University of Leicester before going to Exeter in 1977. His Oxford D.Phil. thesis was published as *New Men in the Roman Senate 139 BC-AD 14* (1971); his other books include *Catullan Questions* (1969), *Cinna the Poet and Other Roman Essays* (1974), *Clio's Cosmetics* (1979), *Catullus and his World* (1985), *Roman Studies Literary and Historical* (1987), *Historiography and Imagination* (1994), *Remus:*

A Roman Myth (1995), *Roman Drama and Roman History* (1998), and *The Myths of Rome* (2004), which won the American Philological Association's Goodwin Award of Merit for 2005; *Unwritten Rome* and *Remembering the Roman People* are scheduled for publication in 2008. He is a Fellow of the British Academy, and an honorary D.Litt. of the University of Durham.

ROSIE WYLES completed her doctoral thesis 'The Stage Life of Costume in Euripides' *Telephus*, *Heracles* and *Andromeda*: an aspect of performance reception within Graeco-Roman antiquity' at Royal Holloway, University of London in 2007. She currently holds appointments at the Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama, Oxford, and St Anne's College, Oxford. Her interests include theatre costume, and the reception of classical drama especially in Ireland; her publications include a study of an early translation of Aristophanes: 'Publication as intervention: Aristophanes in 1659', in Edith Hall and Amanda Wrigley (eds.), *Aristophanes in Performance, 421 BC to AD 2007: Peace, Birds, and Frogs* (2007).

ALESSANDRA ZANOBI is completing her Ph.D. at the University of Durham with a thesis on the influence of pantomime in Seneca's Tragedies. She is Graduate Associate of the Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama (University of Oxford). She took her first degree in Classics (History of Greek and Roman Theatre) at the University of Florence with a dissertation on Seneca's *Medea*. Parallel to her academic studies, she has trained in ballet (with Massimo Andaloro, former dancer of the *ensemble* of the Teatro del Maggio Musicale Fiorentino), dance theatre (with Mark Alan Wilson, Julie Ann Stanzak, and Stephan Brinkmann, dancers of the Pina Bausch's Wuppertal Dance Theatre), and Butoh (with Mitsuru Sasaki).

BERNHARD ZIMMERMANN, after completing his studies in Konstanz and London, held appointments as assistant lecturer at Konstanz, Professor of Classical Philology at Zurich (1990–2), Düsseldorf (1992–7) and has held the Chair at Freiburg in Breisgau since 1997. His main areas of research include ancient drama and fiction, historiography, lyric and choral lyric poetry, and the modern reception of Greek and Roman literature. His books relating to other areas are: *Untersuchungen zur Form und dramatischen Technik der Aristophanischen Komödien* (3 vols. 1985–7), *Dithyrambos. Geschichte einer Gattung* (1992), *Europa und die griechische Tragödie* (2000), *Die griechischen Tragödie* (3rd edn., 2005), and *Die griechische Komödie* (2nd edn., 2006). He is editor of the series *Drama und Paradeigmata* and the *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*.

A Note on References to Source Texts

Certain source texts are cited frequently throughout this volume, and are assembled in the Appendix, in both the original language and in English translation. The abbreviation T (= 'Text') plus a numeral (e.g. T1, T2) is used in the text and in footnotes to identify the source text in the Appendix.

Abbreviations

- AE *L'Année épigraphique* (Paris, 1888–)
- AL A. Riese (ed.), *Anthologia Latina, pars prior: Carmina in Codicibus Scripta* (2 vols., Leipzig; 2nd edn., 1894–1906).
D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.), *Carmina in codicibus scripta. fasc. 1. Libri Salmasiani aliorumque carmina* (Stuttgart, 1982).
- AP A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip* (Cambridge, 1968).
- Buecheler F. Buecheler and A. Riese (eds.), *Anthologia Latina sive Poesis Latinae Supplementum, Pars Posterior: CARMINA EPIGRAPHICA*, Fasc. I. Leipzig (1895).
- CCSL *Corpus Christianorum, series Graeca* (Turnhout, 1977–).
- CGL G. Löwe and G. Goertz (eds.), *Corpus Glossarium Latinorum* (Leipzig, 1888–1923).
- CIG A. Boeckh, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Berlin, 1828–77).
- CIL T. Mommsen et al. (eds.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1872–1953).
- CLE F. Bücheler and E. Lommatzsch (eds.), *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (Leipzig, 1895–1926)
- DEAR E. de Ruggiero (ed.), *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane* (Rome, 1839–1926).
- FD *Fouilles de Delphes* (Paris, 1902–).
- GVI W. Peek, *Griechische Vers Inschriften. Grab-Epigramme* (Berlin, 1955; repr. Chicago, 1988).
- IG F. H. de Gaertringen et al. (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin, 1924–).
- IGUR L. Moretti (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae* (Rome, 1968–90).
- ILLRP *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Republicae*, ed. A. Degrassi, vol. I² (1965), 2 (1963).

- ILS* H. Dessau (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin, 1892–1916).
IK *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* (Bonn, 1972–).
IP F. Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen (ed.), *Inschriften von Priene* (Berlin, 1906).
KA R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*, vol. 1 (1983), 2 (Berlin, 1991).
 Kühn C. G. Kühn (ed.), *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, in 20 vols (Leipzig, 1821–33).
L codex Lugdunensis (voss.lat.fol.73), saec. IXⁱ.
LGNP P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews (eds.), *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford, vol. 1 (1987); vol. 3A (1997)).
LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich and Munich, 1981–99)
LSJ Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn., revised and augmented by H. Stuart Jones (1925–40); with a revised supplement ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford, 1996).
M codex Montepessulanus (212) saec. IXⁱ–Xⁱ.
OLD P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1982).
Pcorn W. L. Westermann and C. J. Kraemer (eds.), *Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University* (New York, 1926).
PG Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus, series Graeca*. Paris, rev. T. Hopfner (1928–36).
PIR² E. Groag, A. Stein, and others, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi I, II, III* (Berolini, 1933–1987).
PL Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus, series Latina* (Paris, 1844–1904).
POxy. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London, 1898–).
RE A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll (eds.), *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1894–).
TLL *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Berlin and Munich, 1900–).

Introduction: Pantomime, A Lost Chord of Ancient Culture

Edith Hall

THE IMPORTANCE OF ANCIENT PANTOMIME

The location is the sophisticated city of Priene, in south-west Asia Minor. The date is around 80 BC, just after the first Mithradatic war. For the entertainment of the whole city, a local worthy named Zosimus has hired the pantomime dancer Ploutogenes, whose skill is reputed to mesmerize spectators. Ploutogenes has come from abroad to dance for three consecutive days before members of the public, as they sit in the theatre, dining on sacrificial meat provided by their benefactor.¹

A lifetime later, and across the sea hundreds of miles to the west, a tombstone is carved for a prominent citizen of Pompeii, a former *duovir* (magistrate). It advertises his generous enhancement of the games held in honour of Apollo, when he had funded the performance 'of all the pantomimes and Pylades'.²

¹ This is known from an inscription found in Priene (T3 = Stephanis (1988), no. 2075 = *IP* 113.66), to which attention was first drawn in a pioneering article by Robert (1930), 114–15. On the likely dinner setting, see Jones (1991), 195–6.

² T4 = *CIL* 10.1074d. The magistrate's name was A. Clodius Flaccus, and the event celebrated by the monument was probably held in AD 20. On the famous Augustan Pylades see below, p. 10, although the name was one of those most favoured by pantomime dancers across the centuries: see Seneca, *NQ* 7.32.3.

A third star dancer—perhaps the most distinguished in all antiquity—is honoured two centuries later in mainland Greece, when the citizens of Delphi erect a statue depicting Tiberios Iulios Apolaustos ('The Enjoyable One'), and beneath it place an inscription recording some of the highlights in his glittering career. He has travelled all over Greece and the Hellenized East, winning victory in festival competitions in any city worthy of the name: Pergamum, Olympia, Magnesia on the Maeander, Athens, Tralles, Laodicea, Nicomedia, Caesarea, Miletus, Thebes, Plataea, Chaeronea, Messene, Ephesus, Thyateira, Corinth, Smyrna, Cyzicus, Patras, Sardis, and Nysa. Rewarded at each of these with a portfolio of honours—cash prizes, honorary citizenship or membership of the council, a coveted priesthood, a statue, an honorific inscription—this artist is felt to be one of the best travelled and most illustrious individuals of the day.³

Although the Pergamene doctor Galen saw the proliferation of statues of dancers as a sign that the world had forgotten about the value of hard work (*On Precognition* 14.599–605), Apolaustos' professional tours look more demanding even than those undertaken by the modern stars of opera, ballet, or rock music. But itinerant pantomime celebrities were certainly not a feature exclusive to the Greek East and Italy. They performed in Numidia (Algeria, see below). Several decades after Apolaustos, a theatregoer in Arausio (Orange) in southern France, the location of an impressive Roman theatre adorned with a statue of Augustus, wore a terracotta medallion declaring that he was a fan of the dancer Parthenopaeus. This dancer must have travelled the theatres of Gaul competing, with the help of his assistant, to the sound of the portable water organ that is clearly depicted between them (Fig. 0.1).⁴

³ T25 = *FD* III.1, 551 = Stephanis (1988), no. 236.1. For an excellent discussion of Apolaustos' career, see Slater (1995).

⁴ The medallion is small, approximately 10 cm by 11.3 cm, and seems to have been used as a contorniate. Manufactured and found at Orange, it is now in the museum at Saint-Germain (cat. no. 31673). On either side stand two figures, costumed for the theatre; one wears a long tunic without sleeves, handles what looks like a double thyrsus and holds aloft a theatrical mask; the other figure is smaller, and holds a roll and a leaf of palm. In conjunction with the inscription *NICA PARTHENOPAEI*, the palm leaf is to be understood as an emblem of victory, perhaps signifying the hope of the medallion's wearer that the Parthenopaeus will win a contest in his chosen art form. The Orange medallion is discussed further, below p. 28.



Figure 0.1 Appliqué medallion from Orange.

Ploutogenes, Pylades, Apolaustos, and Parthenopaeus are just four of the men who made livings from the fascinating art form investigated in this volume. Pantomime was central to Greek and Roman culture and represents a crucial phase in the history of theatre. A glamorous and alluring entertainment, its central attraction was a solo, masked male dancer—called a *pantomimos*, or often just a ‘dancer’ (*orchēstēs* in Greek, *saltator* in Latin)—who performed famous stories from mythology. The dancer took all the important roles in each story, changing his mask for each one; this was how he derived his name as the one who mimed all (*panta*) the roles, or ‘everything in the story’. As several chapters in this book illustrate, the formal conditions under which he performed could vary enormously. He could dance in venues from vast open-air amphitheatres to private dining rooms. He was sometimes joined by an assistant actor, or groups of dancers of either sex. He could dance to the accompaniment of a large orchestra and choir, or a single musical instrument and a narrator or solo singer. The tone of the performances, it seems, could vary from danced drama on high-minded tragic themes, or on quaint Arcadian adventures involving Pan and satyrs, to risqué semi-pornographic masque. Ancient polemicists

and even medical writers certainly suggest that pantomime dancers could arouse strong sexual responses; Galen prided himself on the case of Justus' wife, from whose pulse he had been able to diagnose not illness but her infatuation with a pantomime dancer named Pylades (*On Precognition* 14.630.15; see also Juvenal, *Sat.* 6.66 = T12). But at the heart of all pantomime performance was the notion that a story could be told through a dancer's silent, rhythmical movements, poses and gestures. The author of a late Latin poem expressed succinctly what was special about this type of performer:

He fights, he plays, he loves, he revels, he turns round, he stands still, he illuminates the truth, and imbues everything with grace. He has as many tongues as limbs, so wonderful is the art by which he can make his joints speak although his mouth is silent.⁵

Since the stories that were told in pantomimes were often drawn from the tragic repertoire, and pantomime shared other features with the venerable conventions of tragic theatre, its practitioners sometimes used of themselves the label 'actor of tragic rhythmical movement'. The term is found, for example, on the Delphi inscription attached to the statue of the peerless Apolaustos.⁶

It is only from a few lacunose inscriptions, saved by chance and luck to be read hundreds of years after they were carved, that we know of this evocative label. One of the several reasons why pantomime has been neglected by scholars and cultural historians, at least relative to the amount of ink that has been expended on Athenian dramatic performances or Roman gladiatorial displays, is the dispersed and fragmentary state of the evidence.⁷ It was with the

⁵ T38 = *Latin Anthology* 100.7–10, ed. Shackleton Bailey (1982), 88–9, from the Codex Salmasianus (Paris 10318).

⁶ T25: see above, p. 2 n. 3.

⁷ Little more than a decade ago Slater (1994b) correctly observed that that there was still no comprehensive study to rival Wüst (1949), an encyclopaedia article: Rotolo (1957) is opinionated yet lacunose. The situation has not altered substantially, with the exception of Lada-Richards' fine monograph (2007) on pantomime in relation to Lucian's *On Dancing*, a much needed advance on the excellent, but outdated, studies of Lucian's evidence by Kokolakis (1959) and (1961). There is, however, a body of seminal work published in relatively recent articles or as specialist sections within more wide-ranging publications, many of which appear in the footnotes to this volume. Particularly important contributions have been made by Jory, whose many studies (see the bibliography) address both textual and archaeological

intention of assembling a better picture of the pantomime dancer, his world, his art, and his cultural impact, that this collection of essays began life at a conference organized by the editors of the volume at the Archive of Performances of Greek & Roman Drama (APGRD) in the Classics Centre at Oxford University in July 2005. The conference was the first step in the APGRD's second AHRC-funded research initiative, devoted to the reception of classical drama within Mediterranean antiquity. It is also related to another new direction in the Archive's activities, the exploration of the reception of classical dramatic texts in the context of musical theatre (companion volumes devoted to post-Renaissance dance and opera are expected to emerge from conferences held at the Archive in July 2006 and July 2007 respectively). Earlier drafts of several of the essays included here were delivered by speakers invited to the 2005 conference (Webb, Jory, Hunt, Lada-Richards, May); these have been supplemented by several specially commissioned chapters, most of which were inspired by the discussions which took place on the day. The exception is Zimmermann's seminal 'Seneca and pantomime', first published in German in 1990 (see further below, pp. 218–26).

There are four fundamental reasons why this intriguing medium of performance has recently begun to be recognized as an area that needs investigation. The first is that it represents a lost aesthetic of profound and widespread influence, similar to the missing link in Roman literary history that Fantham (1989) influentially argued was constituted by the allied medium of mime. Almost all the late Republican and Imperial Roman writers attest to the cultural significance of the Augustan Romanization through pantomime of Greek culture (on which see Hunt's chapter). They are also witness to the huge popularity of pantomime. The rhetoric surrounding it, whether

evidence. See also the pathbreaking articles on women and dance in Webb (1997) and (2002); Roueché's work (1993) on the theatres of Asia Minor, especially Ephesus; Csapo and Slater (1994), 369–89; Easterling's explorations of canon formation and late antique cultural responses to tragedy in Easterling (1997*b*) and Easterling and Miles (1999); there are also significant collections of evidence by Franklin (1987) and within Theodoridis (1940), Stephanis (1988), and Leppin (1992). Popular introductions to pantomime that have appeared within the last decade and a half include Beacham (1992), 140–53 and sections in Dumont and Garelli (1998). J. R. Green's latest annotated bibliography of ancient theatre research for *Lustrum* (2007) concludes with a section on mime and pantomime.

in the mouths of its advocates or denigrators, is always one of spellbinding *pleasure*: the highly trained, muscular dancer spoke eloquently to his audiences 'through the enchanting (*thelxiphrona*) trembling of his palm' (*Greek Anthology* 9.505, 17). This dance idiom, with its elaborate gestures and detailed imitation of the passions, conditioned and reflected other types of cultural practice and discourse, from rhetorical declamation to epic poetry, from the visual and decorative arts to philosophy, love poetry, and prose fiction (see the chapters by Huskinson, Wiseman, Lada-Richards, Schlapbach, and May).

The second important reason for investigating pantomime was that it played, quantitatively speaking, a more important role in educating the majority of inhabitants of the Roman empire in mythology than, for example, recitations of poetry. Libanius makes this explicit: pantomime is 'a form of instruction for the masses (*didachēn tina tois plēthesi*) about the deeds of the ancients', and its broad social appeal is expressed in his images of the humble goldsmith educated in myths, and the slave who sings songs from the pantomimes as he runs errands in the market-place (*Or.* 64.112 = T27, 93). Much previous work on pantomime has tended to focus on the infatuation of Roman upper classes with the medium under the Julio-Claudian and Flavian emperors, but pantomime transcended all class boundaries: Seneca wrote in a letter that the clamour and applause of the common people did honour to the pantomime dancers (*Ep.* 29.12). It is not just that the medium seems to have penetrated every corner of ancient life, at least if we are to believe Dio Chrysostom when he says that pantomime dancers performed in the streets, and even offered lessons there, taking no notice of the vendors and street fights around them (*Or.* 20.9). It is not even just that pantomime enjoyed an astonishingly long *floruit*, since the successive attempts by Christian emperors to ban dancing across the empire proved ineffective in some cities; Byzantine versions of pantomime can be identified as late as the middle of the seventh century AD.⁸ It is even more important that it was performed over such a wide geographical area.

⁸ See Puchner (1997) and (2002); Lada-Richards (2007), 22–5.

The textual evidence seems decidedly meagre in comparison with the scale of activity implied by the sheer number of theatres that were in use across the vast regions covered by the Roman empire. We know of 175 theatres in Italy and Sicily, and considerably more than that have been found in the provinces, from Lisbon (Olisipo) in the west and Catterick in the north to Comana in Cappadocia. No fewer than fifty-three theatres are attested for one of the six North African provinces—Africa Proconsularis—alone.⁹ Entertainers travelled immense distances to perform for audiences of quite different ethnicities: witness, for example, the documents relating to the transportation of dancers by donkey in Roman Egypt,¹⁰ and the Greek-language epigraphic evidence for a dancer (*orchēstēs*) in imperial Arelatae (Arles, *IG* 14.2474).¹¹

A sense of how the ancients must have seen the language of the dancers' gestures as transcending linguistic barriers can be gleaned from Quintilian's encomium of gesture in the context of the rhetor's powers of communication (11.3.85–7 = T9):

As for the hands, without which delivery would be crippled and made feeble, it is almost impossible to say how many movements they possess, for these almost match the entire stock of words: the hands, I might almost say, speak for themselves. Do we not use them to demand and promise, summon and dismiss, threaten and beg, show horror and fear, inquire and deny, and also to indicate joy, sadness, doubt, confession, remorse, or again, size, quantity, number, and time? Do they not excite, restrain, approve, admire, display shame? [87] Do they not serve instead of adverbs and pronouns when we need to point out places or persons? Amid all the linguistic diversity of the peoples and nations of the world, this, it seems to me, is the common language of the human race (*ut in tanta per omnis gentes nationesque linguae diversitate hic mihi omnium hominum communis sermo videatur*).

The *communis sermo* of gesture must have made the pantomime dancer powerfully appealing to the multilingual audiences in some of the many far-flung theatres and amphitheatres in which his industry flourished. It is scarcely surprising that a medium in which music and movement superseded the spoken word became so ubiquitously loved. Lucian makes a point of including an anecdote in his

⁹ Sear (2006), 103.

¹⁰ See Sijpesteijn (1976).

¹¹ Slater (1995), 291.

On Dancing 64 in which a barbarian monarch from the Black Sea is instructed at Nero's court in the mechanics of pantomime even though, being only half-Hellenized, he cannot understand the libretto (T20). Pantomime was relatively serious theatre on a massive, popular scale, and thus a crucial vehicle for the dissemination of the pagan cultural *koinē* across the Mediterranean world.

The third reason for a fresh look at pantomime is that, unlike its more ribald sibling genre of mime, it was one of the principal ways (along with sung recitals by star *tragoedi*¹²) in which the prestigious tradition of classical tragedy was kept alive in the Roman empire. Recent scholarship has emphasized the importance of viewing ancient theatre history as a continuous process of creative responses and shifting tastes in the treatment of an emerging canon, rather than a consistent process of decline after the glorious fifth-century achievements of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.¹³ Pantomime, from an evolutionary perspective, is a descendant of Greek tragic theatre, with which it shared much of its subject-matter, tone, aesthetic appeal and emotive function. It is therefore one of the chief cultural arenas in which we can see at work the processes through which the ancient repertoire emerged and evolved into a canon.

Finally, it was ancient pantomime's destiny to play a seminal role in the emergence of classical ballet, and subsequently, in the twentieth century, of avant-garde *Tanztheater*. It is well known that the founding fathers of opera in the Florentine Camerata looked to ancient myth, and above all what they believed to have been the all-sung form taken by ancient theatrical tragic performances, as the model for their new medium. But considerably less exposure has been given to the genealogy traced by the inventors of ballet in Enlightenment Italy, Spain, France, and England, to the dancers described in the ancient texts on pantomime. The ancient dances, brought to such a high level of artistry and skill by the ancient star performers named Pylades or Bathyllus, Hylas or Paris, fundamentally informed, many centuries later, the nature of modern dance theatre. The final chapter in this volume therefore briefly outlines

¹² On which see Hall (2002a).

¹³ See Easterling (1993) and (1997b); Csapo (2004); Hall (2007a) and (2007b).

some of the uses to which some late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dance theorists put their knowledge of ancient pantomime.¹⁴

Pantomime was almost from its inception a factor in the politics of Roman culture (see further Hunt and Ingleheart below, pp. 169–84 and 201–6). Young aristocratic males of the equestrian class seem to have been particularly intimate with pantomime dancers, and to have found a way of expressing dissent and dissatisfaction with the emperor's authority through such decadent associations.¹⁵ In AD 15 Tiberius attempted to control the amount of money spent on public shows as well as the violent conflicts between the fans of rival pantomime dancers (Tacitus, *Annals* 1.77.4). By the fourth century AD, the partisan groups that supported particular theatrical performers had developed a loud political voice, and were able, by chanting slogans in the theatre, to exert considerable demagogic and political influence. As part of mainstream Roman political history, this aspect of the cultural role of pantomime has been relatively well investigated by some brilliant scholars.¹⁶ Such work makes the neglect that has attached to the actual form taken by the entertainment itself, across the centuries and across the empire, all the more surprising. But with the publication of Ismene Lada-Richards' study of Lucian's *On Dancing* (2007), and new books discussing pantomime to be published imminently by both Ruth Webb and Marie Garelli, pantomime's future is looking brighter in the third millennium than perhaps at any time since the Second Sophistic.¹⁷

THE DANCER AND HIS WORLD

Pantomime was a relatively late arrival in the world of ancient entertainment, emerging in the first century BC. Writers in antiquity and Byzantine lexicographers elaborated a version of its origins

¹⁴ The relationship between the ancient evidence and rise of European ballet and subsequently dance theatre will be examined in much more detail in Macintosh (forthcoming) and is the topic of Lada-Richards' next research project.

¹⁵ Slater (1994a); Edwards (1997); Lada-Richards (2007), 57–61.

¹⁶ Jory (1984), Slater (1994a), Browning (1952), and Cameron (1976), above all 193–229, 16–17.

¹⁷ Garelli (2007); Webb (forthcoming).

which claimed that it had been introduced to Rome, or even invented there, in around 20 BC. The men responsible for bringing it into being, according to this narrative, were two great dancers from the East, Bathyllus and Pylades, who came from Alexandria and Cilicia respectively.¹⁸ Bathyllus was a freedman and on close terms with Maecenas, who some said was quite infatuated with the dancer (Tacitus, *Annals* 1.54.2); the Augustan rhetor Cestus regarded him as the nonpareil in the genre (Seneca, *Contr.* 3, *Praef.* 16). Pylades performed at Augustus' dinner parties and was apparently confident enough in his patron's favour to offer him political advice (see Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 54.17.5; Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.7.19 = T32). But while Augustus' interest in the medium was of undeniable importance to its success and development, this Roman-centred view of pantomime's origins needs considerable modification.

Athenaeus (1.20e = T26) described Pylades' dancing style as exalted (*ogkōdēs*), and emotive (*pathētikē*)—two terms which had long since been associated with the tragedy of Aeschylus and Euripides respectively.¹⁹ But he added that it was 'many-masked' or 'containing many roles' (*poluprosōpos*), and it was in the star dancer's ability to change masks and role several times that the new medium distinguished itself from its antecedents. The combination of the masks, role transformation, mimetic bravura, emotional impact and fundamentally solo nature of the pantomime dance certainly marks it off from some earlier glamorous danced entertainments, such as those performed by the Phaeacian youths in the *Odyssey*. There is no mention of masks, mimesis, or transformation of any individual dancer's identity when a group of them dances to introduce Demodocus' song about the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite (a narrative that many hundreds of years later Lucian says (*On Dancing* 63 = T19) was a popular theme of pantomime). No more promising as ancestor of pantomime is the moment when the two best Phaeacian dancers, Laodamas and Halius, perform an acrobatic *pas de*

¹⁸ Athen. *Deipn.* 1.20d; Zosimus, *Historia Nova* 6.1; Suda s.v. 'Alexandria', 'pantomimos', and 'Bathyllos'. See also Leppin (1992), 284–5, 217–18, Bonaria (1959), 231–2, 237–9 and now Goldberg (2005), 119–20.

¹⁹ On the terminological connections with the ancient discussion of tragedy, see Jory (2004), 154–5.

deux involving a ball, a performance that inspires wonder in Odysseus (8.262–5 and 8.370–80).²⁰

A more obviously mimetic and narrative function is served by a danced representation of the marriage of Dionysus and Ariadne, performed in the fourth century BC at the end of the dinner party described in Xenophon's *Symposium* (9.2–7 = T1). The dancers used gestures and movements to convey the erotic encounter, thereby mightily inflaming their spectators, but they did speak and were apparently unmasked. It is more difficult to exclude from the category pantomime, understood as non-speaking danced mimetic exposition of mythical narrative, the dancing of the role of Gallus executed by Aristagoras, which was memorialized in an Alexandrian epigram by Dioscorides in the mid-third century BC.²¹ This case is strengthened by the subsequent popularity of the Gallus theme in Roman imperial entertainment (see e.g. Suetonius, *Augustus* 68).²²

By the 80s BC, the term *pantomimos* actually appears in the epigraphic record relating to Ploutogenes with which this chapter began (T3);²³ Louis Robert, who first drew attention to the importance of this inscription, subsequently also restored the term in a Delphi inscription dated between 84 and 60 BC.²⁴ The picture is made more complex by the absence of the term from other surviving examples of Greek epigraphy or literature, which prefer to speak simply of a 'dancer', or use a variety of different circumlocutions such as 'dancer of myths' (*orchēstēs muthōn*, of a Roman citizen named Furius Celsus, who danced at the beginning of the first century AD at Gortyn in Crete).²⁵ But in transliterated form *pantomimus* is the standard term in Latin epigraphy.²⁶

²⁰ On the influence of this passage on later debates on dancing, see Hall (forthcoming *a*). On attempts to identify early Greek ancestors of pantomime dancing, see above all Kokolakis (1959).

²¹ Dioscorides in *AP* 11.195 = T2, discussed in Weinreich (1948), 11–15 with n. 11.

²² See Wiseman (1985), 198–205, who discusses the possibility that Catullus' poem about Gallus, his *Attis* (no. 63), was danced as a pantomime at the Megalesia (i.e. *Megalenses Ludi*), the Roman festival of Cybele; see also Newman (1990), 357–66 and Hunt, below, pp. 181–3.

²³ Stephanis (1988), no. 2075; Robert (1930), 114–17.

²⁴ Robert (1938), 11–13.

²⁵ Stephanis (1988), no. 1389; see Robert (1969), 241; on the Greek terminology see also the recent study of Vesterinen (2005).

²⁶ The contents of this paragraph owe much to Jory (2002), 238–40.

The Latin-speaking world speedily became addicted to pantomime, partly because since Etruscan times Italians had enjoyed firmly entrenched mimetic dancing traditions of their own (see Livy 7.2.3–13), including impersonations of satyrs in processions at the games (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.70–3), balletic interludes during them, in which women were prominent (*embolima*), fancy-dress role-playing as gods at dinner parties (Velleius Paterculus 2.82.3), and probably mythological burlesque mimes with erotic overtones.²⁷ The Latin language used a wide variety of terms for the pantomime and other dancers (see Starks below, pp. 110–45), but the transliterated Latin term *pantomimus* first occurs in an inscription from Naples of about 2 BC,²⁸ and in the first century AD the nearby city of Pompeii comes to prominence as a centre of pantomime activity.

It is from Pompeii, which although a thriving and sophisticated urban environment was not a particularly large one (its population was perhaps ten thousand at the time of the eruption²⁹), that there have survived most of the few visual images which, it has been claimed, actually illustrate pantomime performances. One, from the 'House of Apollo', was identified as such by Bieber. A dancer is painted, within the recessed niches and central door of a stage, in the process of performing the successive roles of Minerva, Apollo, and Marsyas (see Fig. 0.2).³⁰ The house and its murals are now in a deplorable state of dilapidation, and Bieber was working from drawings made in the nineteenth century, when the details of the painting remained much clearer.³¹ Although Zanker regards it as a mystery why the house should have a bedroom with large depictions of stage

²⁷ See esp. Wiseman (1985), 47 and Wiseman (2000).

²⁸ T4. See Jory (2002), 240 n. 8, and above p. 1 n. 2.

²⁹ Wallace-Hadrill (1994), 98.

³⁰ Bieber (1961), 232–3 with fig. 776 (reproduced here). Bieber incorrectly ascribed the painting to the Casa dei Gladiatori rather than the House of Apollo. According to Zanker (1998), 230 n.68, the only detailed 19th-cent. description of the House of Apollo is in an unpublished manuscript by T. Warscher in the library of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome.

³¹ Zanker (1998), 156–60. See also the description of the painting in Schefold (1952), 135 and especially the detailed commentary, with separate photographs of each of the figures, in Caso (1989), 120–30. The image reproduced here seems first to have been published in Von Cube (1906), plate VI, from where it was taken and republished as fig. 106 in the collection of plates at the back of Fiechter (1914).



Figure 0.2 Wall painting, Pompeii 6.7.23 (House of Apollo or of A. Herennuleius Communis).

sets,³² such a choice of internal decor may not be surprising in a community as stage-struck as Pompeii.

The second house whose wall paintings have been associated with pantomime is the 'House of the Four Styles', in which one theatrical picture in particular contains two suggestive scenes. The left side depicts a *pulpitum* (stage), in front of which a boy seems to be holding a static pose, with his left leg held aloft. He is wearing a sleeveless knee-length tunic and is crowned with bunches of fruit and vine leaves, and it has been suggested that he is some kind of personification of Autumn in a pantomime.³³ More ambitiously, it has long been speculated that the scenes of dancing in the 'Villa of the Mysteries' represent performances akin to pantomime taking place in the course of rituals related to a Dionysiac mystery cult; but Frédéric Bastet has interpreted them, instead, as scenes from a theatrical pantomime entertainment in which episodes from the career of the god Dionysus were danced sequentially.³⁴

Pompeii also provides direct epigraphic evidence for the activities of pantomime troupes, and indeed of their rival fan clubs.³⁵ This cosmopolitan and eastern-looking town was already prosperous enough by the second century BC to enjoy its own large theatre. By the mid-70s BC two duovirs built the small theatre (which was later, in the imperial period, to acquire its astonishingly beautiful stone

³² Zanker (1998), 160. ³³ Elia (1965).

³⁴ Bastet (1974); see also Moorman (1983) and Gallistl (1995).

³⁵ See Franklin (1987) and Starks, below, pp. 130–7.

floor; in his second *Homily on the Spectacles of the Theatre*, Jacob of Sarugh implies that this was the type of floor preferred by discriminating pantomime dancers (folio 4 recto a; see below, p. 413)). This meant that Pompeii had two stone theatres when Rome had not yet acquired even one, which may suggest the availability at Pompeii of a wide range of diverse performances differing in scale, type, and number of personnel.³⁶ The Pompeii amphitheatre followed soon afterwards,³⁷ and at the beginning of Augustan period the wealthy brothers Marcus Holconius Rufus and Marcus Holconius Celer completely restored the large theatre, dedicating it to Augustus.³⁸ They added lavish marble ornamentation, in imitation of the magnificent Theatre of Marcellus in Rome, with which Augustus had honoured the memory of his deceased nephew and in which it is very likely that the famous Augustan pantomime dancers performed (see Fig. 0.3).³⁹ The Holconii brothers' renovations at Pompeii also increased the capacity of its theatre to five thousand spectators, creating additional seating for the lowest-ranking members of the audience, including slaves and the poor, even if it was constructed to keep them apart from the rest.⁴⁰

The very variety and size of venues at Pompeii raises the question of the type of performance space in which we should expect to place the ancient pantomime dancer, and the answer seems to be that he danced wherever people paid him to do so. Besides amphitheatres, there was a large variety of theatre types across the Roman empire, ranging from small roofed *odea* and cultic or private theatres to vast public performance spaces. These all featured a *cavea* (auditorium) that was semicircular, or somewhat exceeded a semicircle, but in other respects they displayed considerable regional differences in terms of stage construction and design, facilities, equipment, seating

³⁶ Zanker (1998), 65–8, calls the small theatre an *odeum*. On the implications of different types of performance space, the question of whether they were covered permanently by roofs or temporarily by awnings, the size of the accompanying instrumental music, and the type of instruments required, see the fascinating discussion in Piché and Vendries (2001), 65–74.

³⁷ There was also a theatre at Herculaneum, the architect of which was a member of a prominent Pompeian family, the Numisii. See Castrén (1975), 197.

³⁸ Castrén (1975), 40, 101, 209.

³⁹ On the early years of the theatre of Marcellus see Sear (2006), 62.

⁴⁰ Zanker (1998), 44–6, 107–9, 113. See also Additional Note below, p. 40.



Figure 0.3 Pantomime audience in the theatre of Marcellus. Engraving by Maurice Marodon, in Jean Bertheroy, *Le Mime Bathylle* (Paris, 1894).

arrangements, and shape of orchestra.⁴¹ Frank Sear's magisterial recent catalogue of the architectural remains of Roman theatres suggests that much work remains to be done on the actual possibilities presented to different types of ancient performer by the physical

⁴¹ See Sear (2006), 25–36.

venues in which they worked.⁴² One of the advantages of the pantomime idiom was therefore its flexibility in terms of the possible venues and the number of personnel required: the minimum was probably the dancer plus one other person, singing a song and playing an instrument, a combination that could easily be accommodated in the dining space of a private person. Indeed, Zarmakoupi has identified just such a space in the Villa Oplontis at Torre Annunziata, between Pompeii and Herculaneum, which is believed to have belonged to Nero's second wife Poppaea and was undergoing elaborate renovations at the time of the eruption.⁴³

In the second century, despite the increasing archaeological evidence from many other eastern sites such as Aphrodisias and Ephesus, studies of ancient pantomime tend to shift their focus from Italy to the magnificent city of Antioch on the Orontes, founded by Seleucus I and later seen as the great symbolic gateway between the cultures of the West and of the East. From the moment when Julius Caesar confirmed the freedom of the city in 47 BC, the tradition was established that the Roman emperors extended special favour towards it. Indeed, scholars have argued that the Romans saw Antioch, to an extent, as an eastern equivalent of Rome. The cosmopolitan citizens of Antioch enjoyed live performances so much that they had two separate theatres,⁴⁴ one on Mount Silpius first mentioned in the time of Caesar, and a similar building at Daphne associated with the name of Vespasian. The Mount Silpius theatre was repeatedly enlarged to accommodate an expanding population, under both Tiberius and Trajan, lending an impression of an ever increasing demand for theatrical entertainments.⁴⁵

Antioch's exceptionally fine mosaics, given to an astonished world when they were excavated in the 1930s, present a colourful impression of the lively visual and performance culture enjoyed by its inhabitants.⁴⁶ But the real reason for the prime place taken by Antioch in pantomime studies is that it is the focus of much of the

⁴² See esp. the comments in Sear (2006), vii–viii.

⁴³ Zarmakoupi (2007), especially chs. 4–5. See also Sear (2006), 46–7.

⁴⁴ Petit (1955), 123.

⁴⁵ Malalas 222.20–2 and 276.3–9; see Downey (1961), 444.

⁴⁶ For further details and reproductions see Becker and Kondoleon (2005), Bingöl (1997) and Cimok (2000).

extended literary evidence. It may have been in Antioch that Lucian composed his oration *On Dancing*—a reply to an attack on the dancers that had been composed by his brilliant contemporary and rival sophist Aelius Aristides. Glen Bowersock has recently suggested that Aristides' assault on pantomime was prompted by the (eventually successful) moves to incorporate pantomime into the official competitive events (*thymelikoi agōnes*) held at religious festivals. Aristides may himself, in turn, have been reacting against the praise bestowed upon the dancer Paris by the sophist Hadrian of Tyre.⁴⁷ The dispute may have coincided with the time when Lucius Verus, the co-emperor of Marcus Aurelius and an ardent fan of theatre arts, was enjoying himself at Antioch while stationed in the East, officially in order to supervise the ongoing military campaign against the Parthians.⁴⁸ Two centuries later it was certainly against the stage shows of Antioch that John Chrysostom's main assault on the theatre is directed in his *Contra ludos et theatra*.⁴⁹ And Libanius' 64th oration, *Reply to Aristides on Behalf of the Dancers*, was written in Antioch.⁵⁰

Libanius is often regarded as the last great pagan orator and thinker, as well as a good and pleasant man: it is difficult to dislike someone so devoted to the slave woman with whom he lived, and who suffered such anxiety about the legal status of the son she

⁴⁷ Professor Bowersock delivered this paper at a symposium on Aelius Aristides held at Columbia University, New York, on 13 April 2007 (the organizer was William Harris). The paper will in due course be published as part of the conference proceedings. I owe him my gratitude for corresponding with me on this matter and thank Ewen Bowie for putting us in touch. The article on Aristides' lost oration by Mesk (1908) is still worthy of notice. For the chronological details of the process whereby the barrier to the inclusion of pantomime in the sacred festivals of the East was broken down, certainly by AD 180, see Slater (1995), 289–90. On the incessant professional quarrels between the rhetors of the Second Sophistic see above all Bowersock (1969), 89–100.

⁴⁸ The fundamental exposition of the issues surrounding the date and place of the composition of Lucian's treatise remains Robertson (1913). See also Swain (1996), 314–15.

⁴⁹ PG 56.263–70. For John Chrysostom's evidence for pantomime, the best discussion is still Theodoridis (1940), to be supplemented by La Piana (1936), Vandenberghe (1955) and Bergian (2004).

⁵⁰ The text is available, with English translation and detailed commentary, in the edition of Molloy (1996).

bore him.⁵¹ His letters and orations convey his love of the old city where he resided, with its entrepreneurial culture and addiction to entertainment: it was, after all, the sort of place that had a beautiful mosaic depicting a smiling female personification of *Gēthosunē*—Pleasure, or Delight—in its public bath complex.⁵² Libanius was clear that although Antioch was a good place for serious pursuits, it was also a proper place to have a good time,⁵³ and describes its theatre, happily resounding ‘with contests of pipes, lyre and voice and the manifold delights of the stage’ (11.218).

It was at Athens that Libanius received his higher education in the Classics, before returning to an appointment as the head of the best school in Antioch and the city’s official sophist, whose duties included writing on its behalf to the Roman emperor. As the last great Atticist pagan scholar, he watched with dismay the encroachments of Christianity into the old classical curriculum, and did not approve of them. Since, like Lucian in *On Dancing*, Libanius is in his oration in defence of the dancers responding to Aristides’ attack on them, he was plugging into a controversy that was already two centuries old, and was almost certainly recycling information and images. It has been proposed, therefore, that his treatise may not be reliable as a source of factual and empirical data. But the emperor Julian’s *Misopogon*, a satirical oration on Antioch published in 363, confirms Libanius’ impression that there was a very large number of actors living there: it was the sort of metropolitan centre which, says Julian, had more mimes than ordinary citizens.⁵⁴ Life there for professional performers must have been attractive, at least after Commodus’ decree in relation to the city, which (according to Malalas 285.12–16) included amongst its provisions one that provided for the public support of mimes and pantomime dancers. The role of the theatre in Antiochene political life also shows that it was an institution of local significance.⁵⁵

⁵¹ *Oration* 1.64; see Norman (2000), xiii.

⁵² Becker and Kondoleon (2005), 194 with fig. 4.

⁵³ See Petit (1955), 123–44 (the chapter ‘Les jeux et les spectacles’).

⁵⁴ *Misopogon* 342 B = F. L. Müller (1998), 130–1. On the rhetorical strategies used by Julian in the oration, see Gleason (1986).

⁵⁵ Petit (1955), 136, 225–7.

Other cities challenged Antioch's claim to supremacy in the field of pantomime, however, since one third-century source specifies Caesarea in Palestine as the city most closely associated with the production of brilliant pantomime dancers.⁵⁶ Pantomime dancers were certainly available for hire in Roman Egypt.⁵⁷ Pantomime is associated explicitly in the sources with Carthage and Uzalis in North Africa, and it is difficult not to agree with scholars who have connected the beautiful sculptures of the Judgment of Paris on the *pulpitum* of the theatre at Sabratha (dating to between AD 175 and 200) with the popularity of that theme amongst performers of pantomime (see below).⁵⁸ And it is important not to neglect the western provinces of the empire, where pantomime was enjoyed just as much as in the old Hellenized cities in what is now Turkey and Syria: English readers can even plausibly wonder whether pantomime dancers were induced to perform in the Roman theatre at Canterbury,⁵⁹ or the theatre at Verulamium (St Albans, Hertfordshire), which was built in about AD 140. The auditorium was extended in the later second century and again in about AD 300, and thereafter could seat 2000 residents of Roman Britain.⁶⁰

A colourful anecdote preserved by Dio Cassius recounts how a mediocre freedman dancer named Theocritus failed to impress the connoisseurs of pantomime at Rome, but delighted the allegedly more boorish Gauls for whom he performed at Lugdunum (Lyons) in eastern France (*Roman History* 17.21.2). Pantomime was certainly performed in south-western France at Narbo (Narbonne) and Arelate (Arles), with its stunning 12,000-seat theatre completed under Augustus, and dazzling orchestra, paved in pink and green with a white marble border.⁶¹ It was at Trier (Augusta Treverorum), a city with a spectacular amphitheatre, that Salvianus was educated, before moving to work as a priest in Massalia (Marseilles) in the mid-fifth

⁵⁶ See e.g. *Expositio totius mundi gentium* 32.9, in Rougé (1966 edn.), 166.

⁵⁷ Marjaana Vesterinen is currently working on dancers in Roman Egypt.

⁵⁸ Ward (1970), 43, 45; see also Caputo (1959), 21–2, figs. 79–82, and below, p. 345.

⁵⁹ On which see Frere and Simpson (1970).

⁶⁰ For details of all the theatres in Roman Britain see Sear (2006), 196–8.

⁶¹ Jürgens (1972), 203–4. On the Arelate theatre see also Garton (1982), 583 and Sear (2006), 81.

century AD, and he is a harsh critic of pantomime; correspondingly, it was at Trier that there was originally discovered the most famous ancient depiction of a pantomime dancer, holding his masks—an ivory plaque now in Berlin (see below, Fig. 2.1, p. 63).

What was it like to be one of the men who entranced huge audiences in such theatres? How did it feel to be Vincentius, ‘the glory of the pantomimes’, when he ‘danced the well-known stories’ and ‘held the theatre until the evening stars rose’ at Timgad, the Numidian colony for veterans built by Trajan?⁶² No doubt he enjoyed his wealth and celebrity. He will surely have relished his ability to mesmerize his spectators as well as move them to tears.⁶³ No doubt he gained immense satisfaction from conversing with all kinds of audiences not through verbal language but through ‘gesture, nod, leg, knee, hand and spin’ (Sidonius Apollinaris, *Poem* 23.269–70). But since we have lost documents such as the treatise on pantomime that the Augustan star Pylades is said to have written (Athenaeus 1.20e = T26), we have no subjective records of the dancers’ thoughts and experiences, as we do in the case of the sophists competing in the same era, or, for that matter in the case of important eighteenth-century choreographers and dancers such as John Weaver and Jean Georges Noverre. It is almost impossible to acquire access to the pantomime’s training and what he himself thought about the purpose and practice of his art. In the first chapter of this volume Ruth Webb, a dancer herself as well as a Classics scholar who has published seminal studies of the ancient dancing profession, draws a fascinating picture from such recalcitrant sources as there are, supplemented by comparative study of dance in other global traditions including Kathakali, and the suggestive use of more recent writers on the theory and practice of dance.

⁶² See the memorial poem for Vincentius, in limping iambs, first published by Bayet (1955), and translated into English in Csapo and Slater (1994), 383. On the Timgad theatre itself, see Sear (2006), 274.

⁶³ See Aug. *Conf.* 3.2.4 = T30, where Augustine remembers how he used to enjoy watching the miseries of others feigned in dance; the more he was reduced to tears by this kind of performance, the more pleased he was (*quando mihi in aerumna aliena et falsa et saltatoria ea magis placebat actio histrionis meque alliciebat vehementius quam mihi lacrimae excutiebantur*). See also Minucius Felix 37.12.



Figure 0.4 Engraving in François Henri Stanislas de l'Aulnay, *De la Saltation théâtrale, ou recherches sur l'Origine, le Progrès, & les effets de la pantomime chez les anciens* (Paris, 1790).

Pantomime masks, which were distinguished from tragic masks by their closed mouths and greater visual beauty, were depicted on monuments of the imperial era,⁶⁴ and have inspired artists and engravers since the eighteenth-century revival of interest in ancient pantomime (see Fig. 0.4). But the clothing and props used by the dancer have been less thoroughly investigated, even though the social language of costume was a fine science in imperial Rome.⁶⁵ Perhaps

⁶⁴ See especially Jory (2001) and (2002).

⁶⁵ See e.g. Quintilian's advice to the trainee orator on how to use his toga to express emotion (11.3.144–49): a degree of dishevelment, and allowing the toga to slip off slightly from the shoulders, add to the vehemence and persuasiveness of a case.

this scholarly neglect is a remote hangover from the Christian prejudice against the pantomime dancer's erotic presence and exotic garb, a prejudice neatly encapsulated by Tertullian's declaration that of all the gods, it is Liber and Venus who preside over the goings-on in theatres: 'That immodesty of gesture and bodily movement so peculiar and proper to the stage is dedicated to them, the one god dissolute in her sex, the other in his dress' (Tertullian, *de Spectaculis* 10.8 = *PL* 1.643).

An invaluable comment in Fronto is the inspiration behind Rosie Wyles' assessment of the costume worn by the pantomime dancer, and the remarkable uses to which a single garment—the mantle—could be put (*On Orations* 5 = T14). Fronto is struck that one and the same item of costume could also play the role of a *prop*—its fluid fabric allowed it to be moulded to represent a swan, the tresses of Venus, or the scourge of a Fury. Much of the pleasure in pantomime seems to have been generated by the transformation of the dancer into different roles within the individual story: if he was dancing a pantomime version of the story told in Euripides' *Bacchae*, for example, he would successively assume the mask and persona of Dionysus, Tiresias, Cadmus, a messenger, and the delirious Agave (*Greek Anthology* 16.289 = T36). Just one ancient image from the first century AD, on a stucco relief decorating a side aisle of the underground basilica at the port of Rome, may depict a pantomime realization of this myth; the central figure, Agave, is brandishing Pentheus' head, which is certainly represented in his image by a theatrical mask.⁶⁶ It is difficult to reconstruct exactly how the changes of mask and costumes were managed (see also Hall below, Ch. 12, pp. 269–70), but the language of costume clearly worked differently in pantomime from the way that it functioned in conventionally staged tragedy.⁶⁷

Pantomime trained its spectators in a sophisticated cognitive mode which was more concentrated on vision than on meanings inferred aurally, and those spectators were to a significant degree coterminous with the public who commissioned and viewed funerary sculpture in the high Roman empire. In Chapter 3, Huskinson,

⁶⁶ See the photograph reproduced in Pêche and Vendries (2001), 49.

⁶⁷ See Wyles (2007).

building on her previous work on the Antioch mosaics,⁶⁸ considers pantomime and sarcophagus imagery in terms of their subjects, their presentation, and their viewers. There is a considerable overlap between the mythological topics that were enjoyed in the theatre and chosen for sarcophagus decoration, especially those (such as the myth of Alcestis) with obvious moral, conjugal, familial, and thanatological resonances. But the impact of the experience of pantomime on this kind of art may be more deeply embedded in perceptions of the relationship between the myth's inner temporal logic and the particular episodes that are represented, sequentially or in tandem, upon sarcophagi.

Female figures—Muses as well as devoted wives and mothers—figure prominently on sarcophagi, just as they were represented in the stories told by the pantomime dancers. They are also to be found at times in the choirs that accompanied it (Libanius *Or.* 64.87), amongst the patrons of the medium (notably the elderly Umidia Quadratilla mentioned by Pliny (*Ep.* 7.241 ff.), who does not altogether approve of a matron indulging in such a hobby), and the hundreds of thousands of spectators who enjoyed it. Starks (Ch. 4) addresses the evidence that, even before the Byzantine period, there were also female pantomime dancers on the Roman scene. Despite the terminological confusion created by the variety of words used to describe dancers in the ancient sources, certain unarguable instances of references to female pantomime performers may not be explained away. That there were female dancers termed *saltatrices* or *saltatriciulae* of both great quality and great quantity working in imperial Rome is undeniable, but it is not possible to be certain whether their primary expertise was in pantomime, or in another type of dance, or in acrobatics or gymnastics. Starks argues, however, that a crucial piece of epigraphic evidence has been overlooked. It celebrates a teenage girl named Hellas, who had worked as a pantomime dancer in the Julio-Claudian or slightly later period, and was memorialized as such by her proud father Sotericus. The inscription was found in Narbonne in Gaul.

The presence of women amongst the casts of pantomime, along with the existence of itinerant troupes, reminds us that this

⁶⁸ Huskinson (2003).

medium did not involve male star dancers alone. Indeed, defining what was distinctive about pantomime becomes ever more difficult as the familiar sources are compared, and new ones discovered. Pantomime's constant partner in the ancient sources is mime, and certain general distinctions can be drawn between the two. Mime was more often set in the here-and-now of its audience, whereas pantomime was usually set in the mythical past; mime performers were generally unmasked; the generic ancestor of mime was comedy, and that of pantomime was tragedy (although here an outstanding exception is the so-called Charition mime, which burlesques a tragedy, Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*); mime seems to have accommodated a greater degree of lewdness than its more elevated sibling; mime actors usually spoke where pantomime dancers were silent. Other genres which get routinely confused with pantomime, probably because by the time of the Roman empire performances could combine elements of types of dance and mime that had originally been distinct, include especially the mysterious warlike initiation dance called the 'pyrrhic' (*pyrrhikhē*).⁶⁹ Wiseman in Chapter 5 provides the strongest statement within this volume of the impossibility of imposing rigid definitions on ancient performances that included elements that look distinctly pantomimic. This argument emerges from the analysis of five passages, most of which have not previously played a role in discussions of pantomime, from authors writing in very different genres—an orator and statesman (Cicero), a learned scholiast on Lucan, an astrological poet (Manilius), a teller of moral fables (Phaedrus), and a Jewish philosopher (Philo). These passages can potentially undermine comforting assumptions about the evolution and form of pantomime, but however disconcerting and disorientating all these possibilities may be, Wiseman stresses that if we want to visualize what happened on the stages of Roman theatres, we need all the help we can get.

⁶⁹ On mime see recently Hunter (2002) and Panayotakis, below, pp. 185–9. On the Charition mime, Hall (forthcoming *b*), and on the relationship between pantomime and the pyrrhic dance, Ceccarelli (1998), ch. 9 and May below, p. 351 n. 36.

LIBRETTI

As with any live performance before the age of audio-visual recoding technologies or even 'still' photography, we can never hope to experience the true impact of the art of the pantomime. When it comes to its aural effect, the problem is exacerbated by the way that ancient sources privilege the visual spell cast by the pantomime dancer on his audience. Yet the medium did rely on the other senses to create what seems to have been what is now called a multi-medial impact: one source even stresses how the performances appealed to the noses of those present, through the deliciously fragrant burnt spices that were wafted through the performance space (see below, Ch. 12, p. 274). The aural impression made by the medium was also considerable. Cassiodorus speaks of the applause that meets the pantomime dancer because 'well-trained and harmonious choruses, accompanied by diverse instruments, assist him in his art'.⁷⁰

Opponents of pantomime, on the other hand, are deeply suspicious about those harmonious choruses. Indeed, the earliest trace of polemic against pagan music, expressed in the work of the late second-century rhetorician and Christian convert Tatian, targets a performance that looks exactly like pantomime: 'I do not wish to gape at many singers, nor do I care to look benignly upon a man who is nodding and motioning in an unnatural way'.⁷¹ Similar viewpoints are to be found in the works of the third-century African Christians Tertullian and Arnobius, and become commonplace in the major figures of the fourth century, John Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine: these Church Fathers objected not only to the relationship borne by pantomime's masks and numerous gods to the pagan cult of idols and to what they believed to be the sexual immorality of the entire acting profession, but also to the use of musical instruments, which were regularly excluded from ecclesiastical singing.⁷² Clement of Alexandria associated musical instruments that featured

⁷⁰ T39 = *Variarum* 4.51.9 in Mommsen (1894, ed.), 139: *assistunt consoni chori diversis organis eruditi*.

⁷¹ *Discourse to the Greeks* 22 = PG 6. 837, as trans. in McKinnon (1987), 2.

⁷² McKinnon (1987), 3–4.

in pantomime, as well as other types of entertainment, specifically with the debauchery at pagan parties, conceived as a kind of theatre:

The irregular movements of *auloi*, psalteries, choruses, dances, Egyptian clappers and other such playthings become altogether indecent and uncouth, especially when joined by beating cymbals and tympana and accompanied by the noisy instruments of deception. Such a symposium, it seems to me, becomes nothing but a theatre of darkness.⁷³

Other instruments found in discussions of pantomime include the panpipes and the lyre (Lucian, *On Dancing* 63, 68, 72, 83).

Crucial to the pantomime experience was the rhythmic clacking produced by the *scabellum*. This created an effect less like that of modern tap-dancing than of a loud and insistent metronome. The *scabellum* was a percussion instrument, usually attached to the bottom of the sandal of one of the musicians, the official time-keeper in some ways equivalent to a modern orchestral conductor. Sometimes it consisted of an additional sole of metal or hard wood, attached by a hinge at the heel,⁷⁴ and the *scabellarius* could clap it against either stone floors or a plank provided specially.⁷⁵ At Rome, several inscriptions reveal that the *scabellarii* were sufficiently proud of their professional specialisation to form a guild (*collegium*).⁷⁶ The *scabellum* was particularly disliked by the Christian opponents of pantomime, who seem to have followed the pagan Aristides (see Libanius, *Or.* 64.55) in arguing that its mesmeric rhythms could reduce listeners to effeminacy, or work them up into uncontrollable frenzy, as alleged by the austere African convert Arnobius in the early fourth century AD. He asks whether God could really have meant human souls to sing and play the pipe, and sing impure songs, 'raising the loud din with

⁷³ *Paedagogus* 2. iv = PG 8. 440–1, trans. McKinnon (1987), 34.

⁷⁴ There is a photograph of a replica *scabellum* designed by the ancient music specialist Annie Bélis, and constructed by Jean-Claude Condi, in Pêché and Vendries (2001), 46. For another representation of a *scabellum* see Daremberg, Saglio, and Pottier (1899), s.v. *pantomimus*, 317, fig. 5504. For an instrumentalist dressed as a Bacchic dancer playing one (as well as a double *aulos*), on a sarcophagus of the 2nd cent. AD in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, see the image reproduced in Pêché and Vendries (2001), 46.

⁷⁵ See Lucian, *On Dancing* 2, 63, 68; Libanius 64.97; Bélis (1988).

⁷⁶ See Pêché and Vendries (2001), 98–100.

the clacking of the *scabella*, rousing another crowd of souls to be led in their wantonness to abandon themselves to bizarre motions, to dance and sing, and, moreover, to the accompaniment of this clacking, to raise their haunches and hips, floating along with a tremulous motion of the loins' (*Adversus Nationes* 2.42 = *PL* 5.881–2).

Pantomime could indeed be terrifically noisy. There was an ancient tradition that the individual responsible for the revolution by which pantomime had acquired a whole orchestra to accompany it, with numerous *tibicines* (pipe-players), was the original Pylades (Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.7.18 = T32).⁷⁷ Novatian, a third-century Roman schismatic theologian, suggests that pantomime produced the effect of an anarchic competition between the dancer, the narrator(s) and the instrumentalists in monopolizing the attention of the spectators (*de Spectaculis* 4.5 = *PL* 4.783). In large-scale performances of pantomime, the need for a large number of decibels in order to fill out big open-air structures was met by the use of the *hydraulis* (water organ), which was also used in amphitheatre spectacles such as gladiatorial displays (Petronius, *Sat.* 36). An invention of Hellenistic times, usually attributed to Archimedes, the water organ understandably made a huge impact on audiences when they were first introduced to it.⁷⁸ The new instrument may have been introduced at Rome not long before Lucretius' late Republican poem *De rerum natura* (see 5.334). The poem entitled *Aetna* that is sometimes attributed to Virgil gives a vivid description of the sound made by the *hydraulis* (292–4), when it functions 'by the pressure of the water and of the air, which is forcibly agitated, and like a trumpet (*bucina*) it emits long, booming notes'. This poet goes on to describe in more detail exactly how it works (295–7):

In great theatres, a dome-shaped instrument (*cortina*, i.e. the cistern) creates the music by means of water. Melodious with its variety of notes, it sings regulated by the performer's art, as a stream of air is propelled by water pressed up from below, as though with an oar.

⁷⁷ See further Piché and Vendries (2001), 51.

⁷⁸ For a brilliant study of the *hydraulis* from its invention until late antiquity, see Perrot (1971), 43–166; for the attribution to Archimedes see e.g. Tertullian, *de Anima* 14. 4 = *PL* 2.669.

The hydraulis could be found wherever imperial culture travelled and for several centuries, for example in fourth-century Oxyrhynchus.⁷⁹

A fascinating third-century inscription found on Rhodes suggests that the organ also played an important role in the pagan cult of the theatre god Dionysus. The inscription reports that a young priest of Dionysus maintained a choir and a player of the hydraulic organ, whose obligations included performing at all the festivals of the god.⁸⁰ The instrument's sophisticated technology allowed it to produce a variety of tonalities that must have seemed to suit this protean divinity,⁸¹ and to be particularly appropriate to the constant transformations undergone by the performer in the fluid dance medium of pantomime. Indeed Tertullian (*de Anima* 14.4 = *PL* 2.669) rhetorically presents the organ as an example of unified diversity—so many pipes and parts and sounds, and yet they constitute a single entry—in language very similar to that often found in relation to the pantomime dancer, 'the single body endowed with many souls' (Lucian, *On Dancing* 66). It is entirely appropriate that it is over a hydraulis that on the Orange medallion the dancer Parthenopaeus (see above, p. 3, Fig. 0.1) brandishes his mask. His portable organ must have been relatively small, with a tessitura of only about an octave, but it would still have been capable of generating a variety of sounds and an impressive volume.⁸²

All the clacking and variegated trumpeting and booming effects were, however, in principle (if one imagines not always in practice) subsidiary to the words that were sung by the choir and/or intoned by the narrator (on whom see further below, p. 343). It is the loss of these words that poses one of the greatest problems to the scholar of ancient pantomime. We know that they were an integral part of the performance; Lucian's Lycinus defines the show as 'the demonstration (*deixein*) of the things that were being sung' (*ta aidomena*, *On Dancing* 62), by means of the dancer's movements. Although virtuosic singing was not a requirement, since the songs that accompanied pantomime did not pose the same technical

⁷⁹ A payment of corn is made to a water-organist named Gorgonios in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 1 (1898), no. 93, p. 155.

⁸⁰ See Reinach (1904) and Perrot (1971), 55–6.

⁸¹ Tertullian terms this its *commercium modorum* (*De Anima* 14.4 = *PL* 2.669).

⁸² Perrot (1971), 93.

challenges as were faced, for example, by star *tragoedi*, the choirs must have included competent vocalists. Moreover, several popular pantomime themes, such as those involving the famous vocalists Orpheus or Philomela, are likely to have offered opportunities for solo singing by individual members of the choir.⁸³ Evidence may be adduced from Petronius, who describes a high-pitched aria being sung solo by a slave-boy attending a symposium at the precise moment when it is likened to a pantomime (*Sat.* 31); Pliny implies that the singing in pantomime sounded effeminate (*Panegy.* 54). But of the *aidomena*, the actual songs that accompanied pantomime, we may have no certain examples at all, beyond the uninformative three Greek words, ‘the great Agamemnon’, with which a pantomime danced by the Augustan star Hylas apparently concluded (*Macr. Sat.* 2.7.13–14 = T32; see below, pp. 162–3).

We can be sure, however, that these libretti existed. When it comes to the material text composed by the pantomime librettists and from which the dancers and musicians worked, they were probably designated, in Latin at least, by the term the Latin fathers deploy for theatrical texts used by actors—*histrionum litterae*, or *histrionicae litterae* (Tertullian, *Apologeticus* 15.2, *ad Nationes* 1.10.4).⁸⁴ Crinagoras refers to a text performed by Bathyllus in the era of Augustus as the ‘story’, or ‘plot’ (*muthos*, *AP* 9.542 = T37), just as Martial on one occasion refers to the *fabula* (*de Spect.* 2.7.17 = T32); Lucian specifies ‘the things sung’ (*ta aidomena*, *On Dancing* 2, 62) and ‘the songs’ (*ta aismata*, *ibid.* 74). In Latin, the libretto as enjoyed in performance is often called the *canticum*; Martial refers to Hylas dancing a *canticum*, with *saltare* as a transitive verb that takes *canticum* as its object (*de Spect.* 2.7.13; see also Suetonius, *Nero* 39).

The poets Statius and Lucan are both said to have written pantomimes,⁸⁵ and the evidence—both the use of the time-keeping *scabellum* and the fact that all the authors who we know wrote libretti were poets—suggests that they were always in verse rather than prose. It is therefore the goal of Section II of this volume to reconsider

⁸³ Lucian, *On Dancing* 51; Claudian, *Against Eutropius* 2.405; see further Hall (2002a), 29–30.

⁸⁴ See Jürgens (1972), 168 n. 5.

⁸⁵ For Statius’ *Agave* libretto see Juvenal, *Sat.* 7.82–7; for Lucan see the anonymous *Life of Lucan* sometimes attributed to Vacca (p. 78, 16 in Reifferscheid (1860)).

the whole topic of the relationship of pantomime art to poetic texts. In Chapter 6, John Jory underlines the importance of the enunciated narrative to the performance. He considers a wide range of evidence about the libretti of pantomime, from disparaging comments on the quality of the words composed specifically for the pantomime dancer, to the alleged small fragments embedded in authors including Petronius. He considers the possible reasons for the apparent wholesale loss of the words which accompanied pantomime, and discusses what sort of poetry would have been most suitable; in adapting a tragic text, for example, monologue would have proved much more practicable than stichomythia.

Yvette Hunt's Chapter 7 concentrates more specifically on the themes chosen for the earlier pantomimes performed in Rome at the time of Augustus' public endorsement of the medium. She suggests that the literary sources can be usefully supplemented by thinking about two aspects of Augustus' relationship with pantomime that have hitherto received little attention. The first is the particular myths and symbols that Augustan propaganda utilized in Public Relations activities and architectural decoration (Apollo, Mars and Venus, the Danaids and the Niobids); the second is the incorporation of pantomime in festivals held in his honour, such as the Augustalia and the Sebasta Games held in Naples.

Another line of approach to libretti is to explore specific examples of surviving literary works that we know underlay or were directly used in pantomime—Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovidian poetry. In Chapter 8, Costas Panayotakis looks at the sources which assert that three sequences from the *Aeneid* were performed in pantomime—those dealing with Dido, Turnus, and the katabasis to the Underworld (tales dealing with love, death, violence, and vivid spectacle): Macrobius, for example, says that the love story of Dido and Aeneas is kept alive by the incessant gestures and songs of the actors (*Sat.* 5.17.5 = T33). The strong visual appeal of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* has long invited comparison with the pleasures of pantomime, most influentially in a publication by Galinsky.⁸⁶ In her study of

⁸⁶ Galinsky (1975), 68: 'We do not wish to press the similarities between the *Metamorphoses* and pantomime too closely, but the emphasis on the single scenes... the narrator's bravura performance, his sophistication, the constant shifts and

Ovid's references from exile to his poetry being 'danced in the crowded theatres' (*Trist.* 5.7.25 = T7), Jennifer Ingleheart (Ch. 9) argues in detail that the obvious text for pantomime realization is the *Metamorphoses*, rather than the *Heroides* (as has occasionally been claimed⁸⁷); through close attention to the detail in Ovid's poetry, she explores how the subject-matter of that epic, with its compact vignettes of action, emotive rhetoric, exotic settings, and underlying emphasis on bodily transformation, must have been suggestive to pantomime dancers.

A fourth strategy in developing our understanding of pantomime libretti is to think about other surviving texts that may have lent themselves to masked, mimetic dancing. Since Greek tragedy is known to have been fertile material for this medium, it is natural to take a closer look at the surviving examples of tragedy from Rome, the corpus of plays attributed to Seneca, especially since the type of performance for which they were intended, and to which they were subject (which are different things altogether) are both such disputed questions. It may be just coincidence that the same Latin Church Fathers who so frequently fulminated against pantomime also attest to the remarkable staying power of the reputation of Senecan tragedies—especially *Hercules Furens*, *Troades*, *Oedipus*, *Phaedra*, and *Thyestes*—into Christian times.⁸⁸ But it is *prima facie* probable that the pantomime dancers would have been attracted by the availability of relatively simple, rhetorically and emotionally effective Latin poetic versions of tragic myths. Moreover, a graffito at Pompeii which quotes some words spoken in Cassandra's mad scene in the Senecan *Agamemnon* has been associated with the new sung and danced forms of theatrical realization of tragedy, by star soloists, that had become so popular by the first century AD.⁸⁹

changes, and the graphic, visual appeal of many scenes all have their counterpart in the pantomime. And the pantomimic qualities of an episode like that of Narcissus are very striking.'

⁸⁷ By e.g. Cunningham (1949); Sargent (1996). Fränkel (1945), 45, thought that the *Heroides* were especially suited to being sung and danced. Of course, there is no reason why arguing that excerpts from any one Ovidian work were danced should exclude the possibility that the same sort of performance was given to another.

⁸⁸ Jürgens (1972), 237–45, 56–65.

⁸⁹ *CIL* 4.6698. See Dihle (1983), Hall (2005a), 64. Lebek (1985) rejects Gigante's suggestion that Seneca's *Agamemnon* had actually been put on, as a staged tragedy, in

Although the idea that Seneca's tragedies might have been partially danced had been suggested as early as the 1920s,⁹⁰ it was a path-breaking article by Bernhard Zimmermann, first published in 1990, which analysed passages from the plays with this hypothesis in mind. We are delighted that he has given us permission to reproduce it in translation for the benefit of a wider, English-speaking audience. Zimmermann argues (Ch. 10) that Seneca's tragedies contain several types of passage that point precisely to the character of a *fabula saltata* ('danced story'), and that this suggests that even if Seneca did not write them specifically for pantomime performance, he may have been influenced by the new aesthetics and conventions of the popular medium in the composition of these scenes. He may have been visualizing, as he wrote, a theatrical performance with dance and music rather than a recitation.

In her development of the study of the affinity between parts of Senecan tragedy and what we know about the texts danced in pantomime, in Chapter 11 Alessandra Zanobi (as it happens a trained dancer herself) looks at three features in the dramas that have often been criticized: their loose dramatic structure, running commentaries on another participant's actions, and lengthy narrative set-pieces. In close readings of key texts from several plays, including *Troades*, *Agamemnon* and *Hercules Furens*, she shows how apparently intractable problems related to the possibility of staging the plays disappear entirely if pantomimic performances formed part of the entertainment; moreover, the very verse construction, rhythm and style display features that would offer great potential for choreographic realization by a dancer.

Finally, this section of the book asks whether it is really true that no pantomime libretto has survived. One possibility recently suggested by Ruth Webb is a fragmentary Greek hexameter poem found on papyrus, an anonymous bucolic text which involves a musical

Pompeii (Gigante (1979), 150 n. 270); Lebek cites Wallace-Hadrill (1983), 181, who regards the direct influence of Seneca's tragedy on Pompeian murals, even if it existed, as undetectable. But Lebek is open to the suggestion of Dihle (1983) that soloists of some kind might have performed excerpts from Senecan tragedy.

⁹⁰ See L. Hermann (1924), 220–32 with the bibliography in 220 n. 6.

contest between the satyrs and Pan.⁹¹ Most of the poetry which we discuss in this volume in connection with pantomime is broadly speaking tragic in tone, but this text contains material of a slightly lighter, bucolic kind of myth. This is reminiscent of Plutarch's distinction between the material favoured by the two great Augustan pantomime dancers: Bathyllus is said to have preferred a simpler type of myth representing the dance of an Echo, a Pan, a satyr, or an Eros, while Pylades danced the plots of classical tragedy (*Sympotic Questions* 7.8.3 = *Mor.* 711e–f = T11). My own chapter in this section (Ch. 12) explores the possibility that one pantomime libretto based on a canonical tragedy does in fact survive.

The candidate is a Latin hexameter poem (T40), preserved only in a Barcelona papyrus, on the theme of Alcestis' death, familiar to the ancient world above all from Euripides' *Alcestis*. The metre of the poem is shared by the *Aeneid*, which is known to have been performed by pantomime dancers, and the theme, the death of Alcestis, is known from other sources to have attracted practitioners of the medium. Moreover, the structure, which entails five separate sections devoted to five characters in the myth, culminating in the protracted death of the heroine, offers exactly the successive changes of role and emotive vignettes that would facilitate a pantomime performance. The chapter suggests some stylistic criteria that could be used to assess the suitability of verse for danced realization, and offers a brief account of a modern Italian experiment in recreating the art of the pantomime through a danced realization of this very text.

THE IDEA OF PANTOMIME

By the first century AD, at any rate, a large area of the ancient world had developed a vivid notion of what it meant by a pantomime dancer, and the shared mental image, with all its associations,

⁹¹ A Vienna papyrus, most easily accessible in English translation as no. 123 in Page (1941), 502–7. Webb hopes to develop this argument further in a forthcoming study. It is significant that there was an ancient tradition that Virgil's *Eclogues* were performed (see below, Panayotakis, pp. 191–5).

began to affect cultural discourses and practices in manifold ways. Some of these are discussed tangentially in Sections I and II, especially in Huskinson's investigation of Roman sarcophagi. But it is the aim of the third section of the volume to look more closely at some of the effects of the new medium's presence in the intellectual sphere, both in antiquity and more recently. At the peak of pantomime's popularity in the late second and third centuries AD, it competed for prominence in festival contests, and for the attention of wealthy patrons, with several other prominent forms of display in addition to actual staged drama (which became increasingly rare). The rival forms of performance included singing epic to the lyre (*kitharōidia*), singing tragic arias (*tragōidia*), and above all the performance of showcase rhetoric. In setting itself up as a rival attraction, pantomime inevitably attracted a good deal of criticism from professional singers, sophists, and declaimers, all of whom found it easy to accuse it, as a relative latecomer into the cultural repertoire of acts on offer, of being trivial, decadent, sleazy, or low-class.

In Chapter 13 Ismene Lada-Richards emphasizes the ambivalence of perceptions of pantomime, in particular the way sources imply that it was seen to bridge and problematize the boundaries between high art and lowbrow entertainment, athletic masculinity and effeminate drag artistry, populist 'dumbing down' of cultural masterpieces and a refined visual language requiring advanced cognitive skills and training in rhetoric and fine art. Moreover, it was precisely in this slippery refusal to be categorized that pantomime began to be found so 'good to think with' not only by sophistic declaimers but philosophers, poets, artists, and writers of every rank who have left behind letters, biographies, and historiographical texts in which pantomime features prominently.

The elusive pantomime dancer can often be discovered lurking in the margins of texts devoted to other cultural topics, especially in the rhetoricians. In the third chapter of the eleventh book of his great *Institutio Oratoria*, for example, Quintilian introduces a lengthy discussion of delivery, which offers insights into the skills, techniques, and indeed bodily language shared by the orator and the pantomime dancer. The dancer is seen at times as a parallel type of performer, whose art bore important similarities to that of the orators, but more often as a negatively presented counter-example

that enables the trainee orator (to whom Quintilian is directing his advice) to distinguish what he is doing from dancing style or technique (e.g. T9–10; see especially below, Ch. 12, pp. 281–2).

Rhetoric is certainly an important point of comparison in the single most significant ancient source on pantomime, Lucian's treatise *On Dancing*; indeed, in her recent book-length study Lada-Richards has proposed that it is one of the most significant sources in theatre history defined more widely, a boldly imaginative document that can be hailed as the first ever attempt in western theatrical history to map the somatic and mental qualities required of a stage-performer.⁹² *On Dancing* is of course a polemical text, and is at times no more to be credited as a reflection of mainstream opinion than the opposite cases as they appear in the Church Fathers' defamations of pantomime. This is one reason why studies of the text have been surprisingly thin on the ground until recently.⁹³ In Chapter 14, Karin Schlapbach's discussion offers a close reading of some of the philosophical strategies that Lucian adopts, and imagery that he inherits from earlier discussions of dance (for example, the figure of Proteus, the morphing sea-god). Through these examples she is able to counter the widely held assumption that the prominence and prestige of rhetoric during the Second Sophistic mean that Lucian adopts it as a model and a standard, constructing a hierarchical opposition between rhetoric and dance, and implying that they represent high and low culture respectively. Schlapbach proposes an alternative model whereby the relationship was one of fundamental affinity, and must be placed in the context of a broader set of cultural discourses, especially the discussion of the visual arts.

The idea of the pantomime dancer was particularly important to some writers of prose fiction, including Longus, whose *Daphnis and Chloe* features a dance clearly conceived along the lines of pantomime,⁹⁴ and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, often known as *The Golden Ass*. One of the few extensive ancient descriptions of a dance on a mythological theme is the *Judgment of Paris* ballet in book 10 of this Latin novel. Yet Apuleius' account diverges in several important

⁹² Lada-Richards (2007), 47.

⁹³ Besides Lada-Richards (2007), the recent studies include Vesterinen (2001).

⁹⁴ Ewen Bowie hopes to publish a study of this aspect of *Daphnis and Chloe*.

respects from the features of pantomime that elsewhere usually seem to be what distinguishes it from other dance genres: his entertainment involves several soloists, no specified narrator (either solo or choral), and no mention at all of masks. Regine May (the third trained dancer in our volume) argues in Chapter 15 that this pantomime is consciously scripted not as a realistic depiction of a pantomime performance, but as a metaphor or synecdoche for Lucius' progress in the novel and as a commentary on the transformations and illusions which the novel, like pantomime, was able to effect. Here the very idea of pantomime proves useful not only to the definition and exploration of the experiences of the hero of a particular novel, but also to the theoretical understanding of the medium of fiction as a whole.

The choice of the Judgement of Paris theme by Apuleius is itself intriguing. This was an outstandingly popular theme not only in the theatre or amphitheatre, but in rhetorical exercises and the visual arts of the imperial period. There is, for example, a superb sculptural depiction of the five roles of the three goddesses preening themselves, and of Paris and Hermes—all with closed mouths—in the pulpitum of the theatre at Sabratha, where Apuleius himself had been put on trial.⁹⁵ Becker and Kondoleon point to the beautiful mosaic illustrating the theme from the Atrium House at Antioch, and suggest that it might well have been among 'the entertaining vignettes enacted in the banquet rooms of Roman Antioch'.⁹⁶ Pantomime performance of the Judgment of Paris in a much bigger, public arena is implied by its depiction on a Roman mosaic from Kos as part of a larger composition, including wild beast hunts, which seemingly depicts amphitheatre spectacles.⁹⁷ There is an equally suggestive and unusual combination of elements on a late second- or early third-century mosaic from an unidentified building on the island of Kos, of which

⁹⁵ There is a spectacular colour photograph by Robert Polidoro of these relief sculptures, which occupies a double spread in Di Vita, Di Vita-Evrard, and Bacchielli (1999), 178–9. Thanks to Peter Rhodes for help on this.

⁹⁶ Becker and Kondoleon (2005), 29, 23–5, with excellent photographs of the mosaic, which is now in the Louvre [Ma 3443].

⁹⁷ Becker and Kondoleon (2005), 73 n. 27; see also Kondoleon (1991), 109–10 and figs. 5–8.

one panel depicts the Judgment of Paris. It is bordered by others with Muses and Apollo, along with friezes portraying acrobats, stunt riders and hunters.⁹⁸

CONCLUSION: NEW DIRECTIONS

One aim of this volume is to stimulate and aid further research into ancient pantomime and its cultural significance by providing a series of exemplary studies representing some of the contemporary scholarly initiatives that relate to this fascinating dance medium. Yet in some ways pantomime has always had a sense of newness about it. It was a relatively late arrival on the ancient Graeco-Roman entertainment scene, and therefore had to appropriate an old Muse rather than be given a new one. Polymnia or Polyhymnia, formerly the Muse in charge of hymns and sometimes rhetoric or geometry, acquired a whole new portfolio as the new Muse of Pantomime. Her new department is expressed in the masks that by late antiquity she is sometimes depicted holding, and in a late Latin poem on the Muses (which happens to be preserved in the same codex as the poem on the movements of the dancer cited near the opening of this book, above, p. 4). This poem symbolically expressed the importance of this late-developing form of musical theatre, with the manifold different shapes that the pantomime dancer could create so easily with his body: *Flectitur in faciles variosque Polymnia motus*.⁹⁹ The identification of the ancient name with this sophisticated dance medium is perhaps best expressed in Nonnus' revisionist Dionysiac epic, when he describes the Muses' performance at the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia: 'Polymnia, nursing-mother of the dance, waved her arms, and sketched in the air an image of a soundless voice, speaking with hands and moving eyes in a graphic picture of silence full of meaning' (*Dionysiaca* 5.88 = T31).

⁹⁸ Kondoleon (1991), 109, fig. 5.9. There is also an unusual juxtaposition of Ganymede with non-mythical figures in a central medallion; he is surrounded by eight other medallions portraying amphitheatre beasts (*ibid.*, fig. 5.10).

⁹⁹ Shackleton-Bailey (1982 edn.), no. 76, *De Musis*, pp. 78–9.

There is a great deal in terms of investigation into pantomime that is not covered in this volume adequately, or at all. Future research might well focus on its relationship to ritual and mystery cults, on the technical and expressive possibilities offered to the dancer by different types of performance spaces, on its relationship with evolving aesthetics in all visual media, and on ethnographic comparisons with other, non-European mimetic dance traditions.¹⁰⁰ The papyrus remains of miscellaneous ancient poetry on mythical themes have perhaps been too quickly identified as rhetorical exercises or random bucolics with no identifiable function, and would merit reconsideration in the light of what we know about performance culture. The same applies to the structuring and visualization of scenes in imperial Latin poetry, for example that of Statius, and in the later Greek poetry by Quintus of Smyrna and Nonnus, in terms of the possible impact of aesthetic principles developed by experience of pantomime performances. There is certainly much that remains to be said about why ancient pantomime still matters today, and a good start in answering this question would be made by examining the history of the printing and publishing of ancient sources and their post-Renaissance chronology in relation to the emergence of ballet.

One area which undoubtedly deserves more attention is the evidence of the Church Fathers (which is often inaccessible and not available in modern translations), and in particular of those who wrote not in Greek or Latin but in Syriac. Scholarship has always been impeded by the neglect of one important Christian assault on pantomime dancing by Jacob of Sarugh (T41), dating from as late as the end of the fifth century, which without doubt shows that pantomimes on pagan mythological themes were still enthralling Syriac-speaking Byzantine audiences well into the Christian era.¹⁰¹ Jacob, who was born in 451, became Christian bishop of Batnae (on the modern border between Turkey and Syria). He attacked the

¹⁰⁰ There are similarities between the mimetic use of the hands in pantomime and in, for example, Kathakali, the classical dance-drama of Kerala in Southern India: see Webb's chapter below. It is suggestive—but can perhaps never be more—that a statuette of Indian provenance, portraying a goddess and dating from the Neronian period, was found at Pompeii: see further Levi D'Acona (1950) and especially Leucci (2005), who argues that the statuette represents a dancer.

¹⁰¹ Schnusenberg (1988), 34–5.

spectacles that his congregation could watch at the theatre in five homilies written in metrical Syriac (a local dialect of Aramaic). A translation of the lacunose text preserved in the sole manuscript (which is in the British Library) was published by Cyril Moss more than seven decades ago in *Le Muséon*.¹⁰² We are delighted that Peeters, the publishing house which owns this journal, has given us permission to reproduce Moss' translation in the appendix to this volume. Moss was very good at Syriac, but did not know much about ancient dancing, and also favoured an archaizing English idiom, and so, with the publishers' permission, the translation has been slightly rephrased and updated. In our updating of the English text we have been indispensably and generously assisted by Dr David Taylor of the Theology Department at Oxford University, who spent hours patiently answering our ignorant queries and looking up Syriac words for body parts, garments, and theatrical props in lexicons that we could not have consulted without him. We thank him heartily. But responsibility for any errors in what is published here of course rests entirely with us.

Jacob's homilies are particularly interesting because of what they say about the actual practices of the dancers, including costumes that built up the appearance of female breasts and the burning of perfume at performances. *Homily 5* proves that certain myths commonly associated with Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, such as the story of Apollo and Daphne, were still familiar currency through danced realization. The sheer vitriol which Jacob expends on pantomime is indicative not only of the reality of the threat to the advance of Christianity which the popularity of the medium was perceived to pose, but of the strength of the responses to the performances on emotional and sensual levels. Jacob addresses part of his polemic to fellow Christians who claim that they know the difference between truth and fiction and can be done no harm by the elegant amusement they enjoy at the theatre. For them, the pagan dance was a pleasant part of what they had inherited from the old pagan culture, and one which could be accommodated without difficulty within a way of life governed by their new metaphysics and morality. They might even have agreed with the late pagan poet who visualized the muse of pantomime as

¹⁰² Moss (1935); the journal's sub-title is *Revue d'études orientales*.

the benevolent nursing mother of the dance. But an altogether different image was now fighting for dominance, which in Jacob takes the form of describing the dancer as nothing less pernicious than 'the pipe of Satan'. The demise of this spellbinding art form a century or two after Jacob's homilies was to be ensured by this diabolical picture.^{103,104}

¹⁰³ Special thanks to Peter Brown for his meticulous comments on an earlier draft of this introduction, which also profited from the comments of Jennifer Ingleheart, Alessandra Zanobi, and Rosie Wyles.

¹⁰⁴ Since this volume went to press, two matters were brought to my attention that may be of interest to enquirers into pantomime. The first is the fragmentary inscription in honour of the prominent family of the Lucretii Valentes at Pompeii, which appears to record the gratitude of a guild of merchants who retailed items to use in the amphitheatre, including rattles and cushions. See *L'Année épigraphique* (1994), pp. 122–3, no. 398. Thanks to Mary Beard for this reference. The second matter is an investigation on which Boris Rankov of Royal Holloway, University of London, is engaged. He has drawn attention to the similarities between the varieties of pantomime mask identified by Jory (1996) and the known examples of female types of sports helmet found on military sites throughout the Roman empire. Both are characterised by naturalistic features, particular types of elaborate hair-style, and closed mouths. The connections between the two will be explored by Professor Rankov in a forthcoming study.

I

The Pantomime Dancer and his World

Inside the Mask: Pantomime from the Performers' Perspective

Ruth Webb

In truth, the project of this chapter, to see the pantomime from the point of view of the performer, is an impossible one. The written information about pantomime reflects almost exclusively the outsider's point of view, that of critics and observers who are never neutral and who often use the figure of the dancer or the idea of the dance to speak about other things. The pantomime dancer is spoken about and used as a potent symbol in various cultural conflicts but, for us, he retains his masks and remains almost entirely silent. For any account of pantomime we are therefore forced to rely primarily on the testimony of members of the elite to whom the dancer was socially and culturally 'Other', firmly placed on the far side of the divide separating performer and audience. This conceptual divide was made concrete in social terms by the performer's lack of social status in both the Greek and the Roman worlds.¹ There was no performance researcher or anthropologist at hand to record their performances or to interview them about their performance practice, about their training, about their attitude to their art.

In the absence of any surviving writings by dancers, or records of their words, inscriptions might seem to be the closest we can get to an expression of the performers' perspective, but even these speak about the dancer, recording his or her triumphs and qualities or

¹ On the social status of performers see Hugoniot, Hurlet, and Milanezi (2004); on the West in particular see Leppin (1992).

lamenting his death and are thus just as rhetorical in their own way as the writings of the elite.² The inscriptions do, however, give an indication of the concerns of those close to the dancers: victories (after the inclusion of pantomime in the agonistic programme from the late second century) and, significantly, the defence of the moral qualities of the performer.³ Above all, the emphasis on the *technē* of the dancer that we find in inscriptions is a particularly precious reminder of what the dance involved. Our elite witnesses, whether they are violently opposed to the theatre like the Church Fathers, gently mocking like Juvenal or seemingly more objective like the medical writer, Galen, share in common an almost total disregard for the pantomime's technical skills. Frequently the pantomime is depicted as an anti-male; a soft, effeminate, corrupted and corrupting being (as discussed by Ismene Lada-Richards in Chapter 13 of this volume).⁴ Most interestingly, the pantomimes' ability to embody both female and male characters is frequently interpreted as a reflection of sexual deviancy, of a personal desire to be like a woman. In this, our elite informants use a strategy that is still often used when discussing traditional artists today, that is, to deny any skill or knowledge to them and to claim that their art is instinctive, emerging from a pre-reflective level of experience.⁵ Even Galen, who describes the physical abilities of the dancers as a medical curiosity and who may therefore be credited with a more 'scientific' approach than many, remarks that dancers, like other manual labourers, do not really understand (*agnoousi*) what they are doing.⁶ Such ancient prejudices have enjoyed a long afterlife in twentieth-century scholarship on the pantomime, one of the most striking examples being

² See e.g. the famous and much discussed inscriptions recording the triumphs of Tiberius Ioulios Apolaustos (T25 = Stephanis no. 236), most recently discussed by Slater (1995) and (1996b). *IK* 31.83 (= Stephanis no. 2225a) is written in the voice of the Bacchic dancer (rather than a pantomime dancer), Saturninus. The treatise supposedly written by the Augustan dancer, Pylades, has not survived. On Pylades see Jory (1981).

³ See e.g. Bayet (1967 [1955]).

⁴ See also Lada-Richards (2003a).

⁵ Bharucha (2000), 107 speaks of 'the "primitivization" of Third World actors, whose "instinct" and "spontaneity" have been valorized for so long (and particularly by interculturalists) at the expense of acknowledging their consciousness.'

⁶ Galen, *De Sanitate tuenda* 2.11 in Kühn, vol. 6, p. 155.

Alan Cameron's contrast of the 'honest toil and genuine skill' of the late antique charioteer with the 'suggestiveness if not downright obscenity' of mime actors and pantomime dancers. The stark contrast contained in his claim that 'a charioteer won or lost by his skill; with pantomimes it was a contest of popularity' reflects perfectly both the systematic denial of the pantomime's art in ancient sources and the moral implications of this denial.⁷

Most of this chapter is dedicated to finding this art, to finding what it was that the pantomime did know, and to identifying the skills involved in the dance. I also try to address the far more difficult question of the interiority of the dancer, his relationship to his art and to the characters he embodied, which is necessarily far more speculative. But, just as the epigraphic evidence reminds us that alternative views of the dancer existed, even if the inscriptions are by no means transparent representations of these views, any attempt to get 'behind the mask' is valuable in itself as a reminder that the dancers themselves were living, breathing, embodied beings with their own perspective. I will appeal to the ancient testimony about the dance itself and about training for the dance (scant as this particular evidence is) and, to supplement this, add some testimony about similar mimetic dance forms today. Although it would be misleading to suggest that pantomime was identical to any single one of these modern forms, there are clear parallels with aspects of Indian dance, particularly North Indian Kathak dance, Balinese dance, and our own Ballet. We can also compare the little we know about the training of pantomimes to what has been observed of South Indian Kathakali and Japanese Noh. As a performance art, pantomime used the human body as its medium and to that extent it is universal in that we have direct experience of the medium itself (even if our attitudes to and understanding of the body are very different). An awareness of different dance forms in different cultures can at least help us form an idea of the range of possibilities offered by mimetic dance and of their limitations. A key part of this project is to restore the corporeal dimension to an art form that is known to us almost entirely through words. The comment of Pierre Bourdieu, that 'the work of art always contains something

⁷ Cameron (1973), 247 and (1976), 236.

ineffable... something which communicates, so to speak, from body to body, i.e. on the hither side of words or concepts, and which pleases (or displeases) without concepts' is particularly appropriate to performance art.⁸ At the same time it emphasizes the difficulties involved in reducing any performance art to a verbal account and of glimpsing the experience of that art through the words that are left to us.

THE PANTOMIME AS DANCE FORM

Unusually for an ancient performance art, pantomime has a date of birth, 22 or 23 BC in the reign of Augustus; however, it is unlikely that Pylades and Bathyllus created an art form *ex nihilo*.⁹ There is evidence for earlier mimetic dance forms in the Greek East, beginning with the famous Dionysus and Ariadne duet in Xenophon's *Symposium*, 9.2–7 (= T1), continuing with a rich and mostly lost Hellenistic performance tradition whose continuation we may see in the third-century epigram of Dioscorides referring to a danced depiction of Gallus (T2) and a mention of a *pantomimos* in a Greek inscription of the 80s BC.¹⁰ In addition, some local forms of mimetic dance seem to have been in existence in Greek-speaking areas at least into the second century AD.¹¹ I assume therefore that the contribution of Pylades and Bathyllus was to create a standardized form of pantomime that was suitable for large stages and spectacular productions rather as Joaquín Cortés has adapted Flamenco for vast venues like the Albert Hall in London and Radio City in Manhattan. In this form, it was re-exported to the East particularly through the medium of imperial festivals, though local variants seem to have survived in the East at least into the second century.¹²

The core of the art was the silent embodiment of characters involved in traditional mythical stories with one performer playing

⁸ Bourdieu (1977), 2.

⁹ See Jory (1981).

¹⁰ The epigram is *Anth. Pal.* 11. 195, on which see Jory (1981), 147. The inscription is *IP* 113 = T3, on which see Robert (1930).

¹¹ See Jones (1990).

¹² See Slater (1995) on festivals and (1990) on varieties of dance in Asia Minor.

a whole range of roles within a single performance. It has been suggested that changes of costume were involved, but I see no clear evidence of this.¹³ On the contrary, it is central to my understanding of pantomime that the impersonation was almost purely bodily, through posture and gesture, associated rhythm and music. At most, the dancer may have changed masks at a change of character as indicated by the Lucianic reference to different masks for different acts (*merē*) and as illustrated in the Trier ivory relief of a dancer holding several different masks (see Fig. 2.1) and in the variety of pantomime masks represented in monumental relief sculpture.¹⁴ The basic costume of long flowing dress with a cloak (*pallium*) (discussed by Rosie Wyles in the next chapter) would have been extremely versatile. It could be used to depict female as well as male characters (as shown by the general characterization of the pantomime's dress as effeminate). Furthermore, the Latin sophist, Fronto (using the comparison with the dancer to illustrate a fault in oratory), suggests how the *pallium*, when worn by dancers, could be used to represent the tail of a swan (as in the story of Leda's seduction by Zeus) or the long hair of the goddess Venus (in a Judgement of Paris or a representation of Venus/Aphrodite and Mars/Ares) or a Fury's whip (e.g. in the representation of the matricide Orestes pursued by Furies).¹⁵

The important point is that, in terms of external equipment and accoutrements, the pantomime was minimalist. The effect was created almost entirely by the dancer's skills and, crucially, his interaction with the audience's knowledge of the stories and characters he represented. To achieve his effect, the dancer needed to prompt the spectators to contribute imaginatively to the creation of the scenario as a whole, imagining settings and even other characters.¹⁶ Anyone who has seen Kathak, for example, will have seen how a single dancer, male or female, can represent a whole range of emotions

¹³ Kokolakis (1959), 34; Theocharidis (1940), 32.

¹⁴ See Jory (2001) and (2002). See also Wooten (1999).

¹⁵ T xiv = Fronto, *Ad M. Antoninum de Oratationibus* in Van Den Hout (1988), 154 l.16–20. Text and English translation in Haines (1920), 104. See Jory (1996), 11.

¹⁶ Libanius, *Or.* 64. 116 = T28 describes how a single dancer can summon up whole pastoral scenes complete with trees, livestock and shepherds (see also Huskinson, Ch. 3 in this volume). It has been suggested that a supporting actor or dancer appeared alongside the principal dancer, but this has been questioned by Jory (1998). See further below, pp. 267–8.

and characters simply through a change of posture and gesture that can be instantly recognizable, even to a non-expert spectator. In Kathak, as in pantomime, male performers are frequently required to play female roles and vice versa, and to switch from one to the other within a single dance, which they do by a change of posture, gait, and gesture, drawing on the widespread association of the female with sinuous, bending shapes and movements and of the male with the upright.¹⁷ It is possible to imagine the pantomimes doing much the same, as suggested by Lucian's comment that the dancer's body needs to be both firm and supple.¹⁸

Such changes could, if necessary, be performed even without changing the mask. Some of the performances we hear of involved the dancer representing conversations between characters (as in the representation of the affair between Ares and Aphrodite mentioned by Lucian, *On Dancing* 63) and sudden transformations are frequently cited as typical of the dance.¹⁹ It is hard to see how such quick changes could be performed (if indeed they were) if they involved a pause to change mask each time. So it is conceivable that, in some circumstances, the same mask could be used for a succession of different characters. Rotolo's suggestion, inspired by a comment in Augustine about the expressiveness of the dancer's eyes, that pantomime need not always have involved the mask, is therefore worth serious consideration.²⁰ The mask was clearly central to pantomime in its canonical staged form, but in other venues such as dinner parties and at different periods and places, it may not always have been used. The important point is that, if pantomime was above all a bodily art of imitation, the mask was not essential to the representation of character.

The presence or absence of the mask could, of course, make a great difference to the audience's relation to the performer. John Emigh has explored the effects of masks, which include introducing an element of the extraordinary, intensifying the uncanny effect of the

¹⁷ See Bourdieu (1977), 94.

¹⁸ Lucian, *On Dancing* 77. Further discussion in Webb (2008).

¹⁹ Libanius, *Or.* 64, 66; Jerome, *Letter to Marcella* 43.2.4.

²⁰ Rotolo (1957), 5. Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 2.4.5 'cum oculis quasi fabulantur'. In the fictional account of Maron's dance in Nonnos' *Dionysiaka* 19.201 particular expressiveness is also attributed to the eyes.

performer by presenting a duality of performer and mask, to add to all the other dualities already contained within the dancer's body.²¹ There was also an important social distinction between masked and unmasked performers in the ancient world, the mask providing a degree of protection from the degrading publicity of the stage. But, from the performer's perspective, the presence or absence of the mask may well have made very little difference, particularly if we think of the comments of the Balinese dancer interviewed by Emigh who reports that he uses his face to express emotions even while wearing the mask. Paraphrasing his teacher's words Emigh explains: 'If the face of the actor behind the mask did not register the character of the figure dancing, the body would move wrongly and the mask would be denied its life.'²² There are a great many significant differences between Topeng and pantomime, but remarks like these can open up the world of the dancer which is otherwise completely closed to us.

If pantomime was indeed as minimalist as I suggest, the major part of the representation was created by the dancer's physical movements. The sources suggest that the representation of character and action was partly symbolic and made use a set of specialised gestures that would have been immediately intelligible to the initiated, though not necessarily to the uninitiated, as Saint Augustine pointed out.²³ This would have been combined with more obvious gestures, like the 'deictic' pointing mentioned by Plutarch (*Sympotic Questions* 9.15 = *Mor.* 747e 5) and suggested by Edith Hall in her contribution to this volume, as well as the 'literal' performance of actions as suggested by the Latin epigram describing an anonymous dancer's performance (T38): 'When the sweet chorus pours forth its pleasant songs he shows in movement what the singer sends echoing through theatre: he fights, he plays, he is in love, he is in a frenzy, he spins around, he is still.'²⁴ But in dance, which is to everyday actions what

²¹ Emigh (1996), 28.

²² *Ibid.* 116.

²³ Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 2.25, 38 CCSL 32. 60: 'si quis theatrum talium nugarum imperitus intraverit, nisi ei dicatur ab altero quid illi motus significant, frustra totus intentus est.' 'If someone goes into the theatre without prior knowledge of such trivialities, unless someone else explains what those movements mean, his efforts to understand are in vain.'

²⁴ *Anth. Lat.* no. 100 = T38. See also below, pp. 271–2 and 278.

poetic language is to everyday language, no representation of movement can be entirely literal or realistic. The performance of all these actions would have been shaped by the aesthetic of the dance and would have been performed in time with the music (perhaps reflecting the metrical rhythm of the chorus' song), the pulse (or perhaps the metrical rhythm) of which was emphasized by the metal shoe used to keep the beat, the *scabellum*. The need to represent action and movement in stylized form, without props, has important implications for the physical work of the dancer. For, as Eugenio Barba and Nicola Savarese point out, such poses or actions are not identical to their referents but work through what they term 'equivalence': in miming the act of pulling a bow or raising a sword the actor or dancer uses similar physical force to a person performing the real action, with the vital difference that the dancer has to indicate both object and the action with his or her own body, creating both the effort and resistance.²⁵

In addition to this physical work of representation, the dance had its own aesthetic, a rhythm made up of contrasts of speed and energy, alternating rapid movement with momentary static poses. The language of the anonymous Latin epigram quoted above itself enacts the flow between representations of actions and emotional states (fighting, playing, being in love) and pure dance (spinning, coming to a stop). In addition, the structure of the last line quoted above appears to evoke the increasing pitch of intensity in the movements, moving from distinct actions and emotions to the state of frenzy ('bacchatur'—an ambiguous verb which may indicate the mimetic representation of a maenad, or of the psychophysical state of frenzy) and spinning until the final dramatic stop occurs at the end of the line ('pugnat, ludit, amat, bacchatur, vertitur, adstat'). The aesthetic implied by this and other accounts is one in which the intensity of movement and rhythm gradually rises in pitch until a dramatic climax is reached, a pattern that may well have been repeated over and over again within each performance.²⁶ We can compare this with

²⁵ See 'Equivalence' in Barba and Savarese (1991).

²⁶ The non-mimetic form of Kathak dance also features this gradual rise in intensity, leading into a dramatic stop. A series of small climaxes has also been identified as a feature of Middle Eastern music and dance by Ibsen al-Faruqi (1978).

virtuoso flamenco improvisations in which the musicians and the dancer produce rhythms of increasing speed and complexity before coming to a dramatic stop. If we add in the story-telling aspect of pantomime, it becomes still easier to understand the powerful impact that the dancers were said to have had on their audiences and the pitch of excitement to which the spectators were aroused.

That the pantomimes' 'stops' could also have a representational as well as a rhythmic function is suggested by Plutarch, who refers to static poses (*schēmata*) in his discussion of the dance in *Sympotic Questions* and implies that they echoed the iconography of the visual arts: 'Schēmata are the poses and compositions (*diatheseis*) into which the movements (*kinēseis*) lead and with which they conclude, when the dancers pause, composing their bodies into the pose of Apollo or Pan or a Bacchant, as if in a picture (*graphikōs*).'²⁷ So, in fact, the division between symbolic gestures and the literal acting out of events is far from clear, everything is stylized to a degree and the elements of pure dance—leaps, turns, dramatic stops—are also an integral part of the dramatic representation. The dancer embodied not just a character in a story but also the rhythm and pace of the music through his controlled energy. This synaesthetic combination of sight and sound, action, melody, and rhythm helps to explain the excitement of the audiences and constitutes a major difference between pantomime and classical ballet in which the relationship between music and movement is less immediate.

Pantomime dancing was therefore technically and physically demanding, despite the overwhelming depiction of the dancers as effete, limp, and feckless creatures. It was an art of precision, in posture, gesture, and rhythm, requiring total control of the body and extremes of balance and flexibility. The pantomimes were known for their athleticism. Lucian (*On Dancing* 71) mentions twists and turns, leaps and backward bends. Libanius (*Or.* 64.118) likewise talks of their dramatic spins leading into fixed poses and, from Galen, we have an account of the dancers' range of energetic (*suntōnoi*) movements: 'in which they perform great leaps and whirl around turning

²⁷ Plutarch, *Sympotic Questions* 9.15.1 = *Mor.* 747c: σχήματα δὲ <τὰς> σχέσεις καὶ διαθέσεις, εἰς ἃς φερόμεναι τελευτῶσιν αἱ κινήσεις, ὅταν Απόλλωνος ἢ Πανὸς ἢ τινος Βάκχης σχῆμα διαθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος γραφικῶς τοῖς εἶδεσιν ἐπιμένωσι.

with great speed, squat down and rise up again and sweep their legs forward (*prossurouisi*... *ta skelē*) and to the side (*diasurouisi*) and part them widely and, to put it simply, move extremely quickly, making their bodies thin, sinewy, hard, and tense (*suntonon*).²⁸ It would not have been surprising, therefore, if the gift of new dancers for the factions of late fifth-century Constantinople to replace the elderly incumbents was gratefully received by the people.²⁹

It is also clear that audiences were keen observers of the dancers' technique, quick to evaluate each performance and to pick up on faults. The Elder Seneca mentions a dancer named Nomius whose hand movements failed to keep up with the speed of his feet (*Contr.* 3. Pr.10) while Libanius (*Or.* 64.57) describes how the audiences leave the theatre discussing the placing (*thesis*) of the feet, the flow (*phora*) of the hands and the appropriateness of the head movements (*neumatōn euarmostia*).³⁰ The vital importance of head, hands, and feet is confirmed by an unusual source: a curse tablet which names as its target a dancer of the Blue Faction named Hyperechios. The person who ordered the curse was determined to ensure that Hyperchios did not win the contest that was to take place the next day is very precise about the parts of the body to be 'bound' by the demonic forces he was summoning: the neck, hands, feet, sinews, and ankles.³¹ As Louis Robert pointed out, the choice of targets is very specific to the art of the pantomime and this document, in which we see a trace of the physicality of the dance as understood by someone with an intense interest in it (whether a rival dancer, or a supporter of the rival), again points towards a body of technical knowledge shared by dancers and their audiences.

Indeed, it is likely that some members of the audience would have undergone a similar training to the dancers they watched and judged. For, as William Slater has pointed out, the dancers' training was

²⁸ Galen, *De sanitate tuenda* 2.11 in Kühn, vol. 6, p.155, ll.4–8.

²⁹ Malalas, *Chronicle* 386 (15. 12).

³⁰ See further on technique and audience response Rotolo (1957), 3–6.

³¹ Two further terms are illegible. *Καταδήσατε αὐτοῦ τῶν τραχήλων, τὰς χίρας, τοὺς πόδας, δῆσατε συνδήσατε τὰς εἰ... τὰ νεύρα, τὰ πε—, τὰ σφυρά.* The curse was first published by Audollent (1904), no. 15 and is discussed by Robert (1938), 99–102. It is translated by Gager (1992), 52–3. Robert (1981), 37 n. 13, compares the parts of the charioteer's body that are singled out in a comparable curse: shoulders, wrists, elbows.

similar in some respects to the physical training that young men of the elite received in the gymnasium of the earlier empire.³² While the gymnasia were still open in the cities, it is possible that many members of the audience had direct experience of some of the techniques used by dancers and may even have trained side by side with them. This has important implications for audience response, since viewers who are practitioners of a dance form have been shown to watch performances of that dance in a very different way from those who are not.³³ But, whatever the similarities, it appears that there were fundamental differences of degree between the normal gymnastic training of elite males and that of the professional dancer and that these differences could be encoded in the dancer's body. Galen makes clear, for example, that the professional dancer's body, like that of the professional gymnast, was to be considered distinct from that of ordinary men, *hoi polloi*.³⁴ His legs could assume extreme positions that ordinary men could not hope to imitate, even if they tried to force them with their hands.

How distinct the professional pantomime's body may have been in reality is suggested by Libanius' account of the training of fourth-century dancers (written during the period when the gymnasia were closing). He describes how the physical trainer (*paidotribēs, gymnastēs*) forcibly bent and stretched the limbs of the young students (104). Libanius speaks of the boys' bodies being forced (the verb is *katanankazein*) into extreme postures, with the back arched so that the feet touch the head, or even being brought past the face to the elbows; in this position, he claims, the body can be sent running like a hoop. He describes the trainers physically separating the limbs and manipulating the joints so that the feet and hands can touch any part of the body and the whole body becomes, in Libanius' words, like wax.³⁵ When we consider that professional dancers could begin their training at a very young age, it is clear how distinct the dancer's body

³² Slater (1993), 208–12. See also van Nijf (1999) and (2001) on the importance of athletics to the Greek elite of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and Roueché (1993), 135–6.

³³ B. Calvo-Merino et al. (2005). I am grateful to Patrick Haggard, one of the co-authors, for this reference and for discussion of this question.

³⁴ Galen, *De motu musculorum* 2.7 in Kühn, vol. 4, p. 451, l.13.

³⁵ The wax-like malleability of the young body and mind was a commonplace in ancient discussions of education: see, for example, Plutarch, *The Education of Children* 5 = *Moralia* 3e with further discussion in Morgan (1998), 259–60.

could be at the end of the process. Many dancers were born into the profession, others were slaves who were trained by their owners and in both cases the process could start very early: Paridion ('little Paris'), probably a slave, who died in Side at the age of 5, is described on his tombstone as an *orchēstēs* (dancer), which suggests that he was already able to perform to some extent.³⁶

Once this basic physical flexibility has been achieved, Libanius' student is ready for the next stage where the teacher (*didaskalos*) trains the student in the specific positions (*schēmata*) of the dance. Libanius is far less informative about this stage, saying merely that the student learns by *mimēsis*, imitating the movements of his teacher, and that the student must reflect on and memorize all that he learns. Despite its brevity, however, Libanius' account of this second stage is highly suggestive not just for the dancer's training but for his relation to his art and to the characters he portrays, questions to which I will now turn.

Libanius' comments, and the evidence for the early age at which training could begin, indicate a discipline where constant drilling sears the range of movements into the student's bodily memory. The details imply a technique of utter physical control and of isolation (in dance terminology: where one limb can be moved without the rest of the body being affected). The process of training that Libanius describes would have produced performers whose movements were so thoroughly ingrained in their bodies that they no longer needed to think consciously about each movement. As Philip Zarrilli has pointed out in his discussion of the training methods of South Indian Kathakali dance, such mechanical physical training can lead eventually to the complete absorption of the basic physical skills: "The forms that are gradually encoded into the student's body through such drill are simply there as part of his performative, permanent body-consciousness, ready-at-hand to be used "unthinkingly".³⁷ A charitable interpretation

³⁶ *IK* 44.200 (= Stephanis, no. 2006). Another young dancer, the twelve-year old Septentrio, gave two days of successful public performances at Antinopolis (Antibes) before his early death: *CIL* 12.188, see Robert (1936), 242 n. 6. The training in some traditional dance forms like the Japanese Nihon Buyo can start as early as 3 years old.

³⁷ Zarrilli (1987), 133. Anyone who has studied ballet as a child will know what this entails and how hard it can be to 'unlearn' the bodily habits inculcated by early training.

of Galen's claim that dancers have no understanding of the movements they make is that he is merely reflecting this non-verbal 'body memory' and the practical nature of the training.³⁸ A further implication is that the presence or absence of the mask might have made little difference to the performer, for when movements are so thoroughly ingrained, the dancers' body consciousness is such that they do not need to see their limbs to know exactly where to place them. Whether with the restricted view of the mask or without, the dancer's experience can be the same.³⁹

Zarrilli's first-hand account of Kathakali training also explains how an apparently mechanical formation can lead to the mastery of expression and character. In the modern Western tradition of acting, a conception of the character seems more naturally to pre-exist and give rise to the appropriate movements. Zarrilli describes a very different development in which the mastery of physical technique is the prerequisite for the depiction of emotion and character when, at a more advanced level of training, the student learns to 'fill out' the external form.⁴⁰ By constant repetition, the student masters the outward technique, first in small fragments of dance (perhaps equivalent to the *schēmata* mentioned by Libanius), then in larger sections, before filling out that technique with a coherent depiction of character and emotion (a cumulative process of practical training that is in fact comparable to the rhetorical training undergone by the elite in Greek and Roman antiquity).

³⁸ Galen, *De sanitate tuenda* 2.11 in Kühn, vol. 6, p.155, ll.4–8.

³⁹ An actor who participated in Peter Hall's production of Euripides' *Bacchae* (2002) reports a feeling of disconnection induced by his mask: 'Being in a mask is an intensely lonely experience. It just feels as if you're a pair of eyes on legs, because you can't see your limbs. . . . As an actor you're trained to be physically aware, but if you can't see your body, it's very difficult to know what you're doing', Croall (2002), ch. 4, p. 29, under entry for Monday, 25 March. I would suggest that a thoroughly trained dancer would not have this difficulty.

⁴⁰ Zarrilli (1987), 142. See also Schechner (1988), 273 on Kathakali training: 'What was rote movement, even painful body realignment, becomes second nature—a full language capable of conveying detailed and subtle meanings and feelings. The maturing performer now begins to internally experience his role with a force every bit as powerful as what an American Stanislavski-trained actor might experience.' On the body of technique whose mastery precedes expression of emotion and character and is an integral part of that expression see 'Pre-expressivity' in Barba and Savarese (1991), 186–204.

Zarrilli explains how, in Kathakali and Noh, it is only once the bodily techniques have become second nature that the work of expressing the character and emotion is added, animating the gestures from within.⁴¹ Such a concept of animation for the pantomime performer is perhaps expressed by an anonymous Greek epitaph from Rome which praises the way in which the deceased performer 'felt with' (*sumpaschō*) the characters he portrayed, or rather the masks he animated.⁴² We cannot hope to know how close the pantomime's artistic training and his entry into the character was to the processes described by Zarrilli, but his account of Kathakali training shows the potential primacy of gesture and emphasizes the intimate links between feeling, character and movement suggesting that, rather than being an external reflection of a prior emotion, the physical work of the pantomime brought with it the appropriate emotions. This phenomenon has also been discussed by Richard Schechner who has emphasized the way in which the external imitation of the appearance of emotion can create a physiological effect that is comparable to that of the actual emotion.⁴³

Zarrilli's discussion of Kathakali training and practice underlines the multiple levels of consciousness and attention that are in operation in performance. The ingrained movement vocabulary is used in a way that may feel and look unthinking but is actually using part of the brain (although it is often referred to as 'body memory') just as there is no need to think consciously about grammatical structure when making a point in one's native language, or about the individual gestures involved in driving a car. In the case of the pantomime, this ingrained technique encompasses the movement vocabulary and also the types of skills mentioned earlier: the quality of the movement, the timing with the music, the coordination of hands, feet and head. All of this is part of the basic technique used 'unthinkingly',

⁴¹ Zarrilli (1987), 142 describes the process in Kathakali as follows: 'Becoming the character in kathakali means that the life-force within the actor becomes the energy filling out the external physical forms (bodily, gesturally, facially) which collectively constitute the character.'

⁴² *CIG* 1. 6305 *IG* XIV 2124 = Weinreich (1948), 73 no. 7, l. 3: *συνπάσχωιν κείνοισ [οἷς] περ κενεῖτο προσώποις...* [He used to] feel with the characters/masks he animated.

⁴³ Schechner (1988), 261–73.

allowing the performer's conscious attention to turn to the character and story that belong to these movements.

One unusual elite account of the dance from the performer's perspective is to be found in the comparison of the dance to the movements of the heavens made by the Neoplatonic philosopher, Plotinus. His account appears to contain some valuable insights into the nature of the dance and the dancer's experience of his art. The fact that he introduces it in order to illustrate a complex philosophical argument about the movements of the heavens and their effect on men only increases the likelihood that he is reflecting common assumptions about the dance and has deliberately chosen an example close to his readers' experience to help them understand an abstract idea. Plotinus' analysis of the physical harmony of the dance is telling: each limb relates to the other in a precise way in each movement or pose, in a play of constant motion. The account of the dancer himself which follows is particularly intriguing for Plotinus describes how, while the dancer's limbs follow the imperatives of the dance (a shared body of technique that exists beyond the individual performer or performance), his purpose or intention (*proairesis*) 'is focused on something else'.⁴⁴ What this something is, Plotinus does not specify, but he may be referring to the story and the character that the movements of the dancer's limbs are portraying according to their own physical logic.

It may be accidental, but Plotinus seems to me to be extraordinarily perceptive in his account of the dancer's experience, though it might be more accurate to say that the dancer's conscious attention is

⁴⁴ Plotinus, *Enneads* 4.4.33: *Καὶ ἡ μὲν προαίρεσις τοῦ ὀρχουμένου πρὸς ἄλλο βλέπει, τὰ δὲ πάσχει τῇ ὀρχήσει ἐπομένως καὶ ὑπουργεῖ τῇ ὀρχήσει καὶ συναποτελεῖ τὴν πάσαν, ὥστε τὸν ἔμπειρον ὀρχήσεως εἰπεῖν ἄν, ὡς τῷ τοιοῦτῳ σχηματισμῷ αἴρεται μὲν ὑψοῦ τοδὶ μέλος τοῦ σώματος, συγκάμπτεται δὲ τοδί, τοδί δὲ ἀποκρύπτεται, ταπεινὸν δὲ ἄλλο γίνεται, οὐκ ἄλλως τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ προελομένου τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὅλου σώματος ὀρχήσει θέσιν ταύτην ἀναγκαίαν ἴσχυοντος τοῦδε τοῦ μέρους τοῦ τὴν ὀρχησιν διαπεραίνοντος.*

'The dancer's intention looks elsewhere: but his limbs are affected in accordance with the dance and serve the dance, and help to make it perfect and complete; and the connoisseur of ballet can say that to fit a particular figure one limb is raised, another bent, one is hidden, another lowered (or less important?); the dancer does not choose to make these movements for no reason, but each part of him as he performs the dance has its necessary position in the dancing of the whole body.' Translation adapted from Armstrong (1984).

focused on other things, in the plural. Richard Schechner has emphasized the multiple levels of awareness of the performer—‘the actor’s three halves’—as he or she is simultaneously the character, an actor aware of acting the character and of calling upon his or her technical skills to do so, and thirdly an observer, standing outside this experience, controlling the whole and evaluating it.⁴⁵ We might add that in a danced form of acting like pantomime, the technical aspect is even more demanding. As we have seen, the dancer had to be simultaneously aware of rhythm, posture, gesture, and tempo in addition to the story and character or characters he was playing. And in the competitive context of the ancient theatre, of which the curse on the dancer Hyperechios discussed above makes us acutely aware, the performer would also have been constantly evaluating his own performance relative to that of his rival and the crucial audience response.⁴⁶

Much of this is speculation of course, but even if it is wrong in every detail, I hope to have pointed towards the complexity and the demanding nature of the skills needed to be a pantomime and also the psychological complexity of performance. Performance can induce a unique state of multiple awareness, a combination of intense concentration on every single instant of the performance and a sense of standing outside the performance, observing one’s own actions without consciously controlling them. This state, which has affinities with trance, as Richard Schechner has pointed out, is fragile and its presence is not predictable. It is possible that some performances were a mere going through of moves (as used to occur when the Artists of Dionysos competed among themselves, according to Plutarch)⁴⁷ and that the elusive feeling, the *sumpatheia*, was not always present, like *duende* in flamenco or *tarab* in Arabic art music. It is not surprising that supernatural forces were felt to be at work in the pantomimes’ performances or that dancers themselves were so often identified with the demonic.⁴⁸ The curse against Hyperechios gives

⁴⁵ Schechner (1988), 274–5.

⁴⁶ The curse on Hyperechios also asks for his supporters to be unable to shout for him.

⁴⁷ Plutarch, *How to profit by one’s enemies* 3 = *Mor.* 87 f., cited in Le Guen (2001), no. 4 and discussed by Slater (2004), 157–8.

⁴⁸ See Webb (2005) and (2008).

us a rare glimpse into performers' beliefs when it calls for any other *daimones* that may be active on his behalf during the performance to be neutralized.⁴⁹

In the face of this combination of music and dance, combined with the intensity of competition and performance, it is not surprising that audiences went wild. The most memorable and exciting occasions are those when the performer comes close to the edge, pushing their art to the limit and where the energy and excitement created by this tension is shared between performer and audience and intensified by this two-way communication. Lucian's anecdote about the dancer who lost control while playing Ajax and attacked the supporting actor playing Odysseus and a musician is a limit case that is extremely revealing. Whether it happened or not is ultimately unimportant. The anecdote illustrates the fine balance between becoming a character and retaining control of the art and the conceptual possibility among audiences that this balance could be lost at any moment. What I find most significant in Lucian's account is the close interconnection between dance and musical technique and the appropriate level of *mimēsis*. He refers to it as 'an unseemly (*aschēmōn*) piece of acting' brought on by 'an excess of *mimēsis*' (*di' hyperbolēn mimēseōs*).⁵⁰ The norm this dancer transgressed was clearly a stylized representation of action that was carefully shaped by the art itself, and Lucian's choice of the negative adjective *aschēmōn* points precisely to this lack (*a-*) of appropriate shape (*schēma*). It is surely significant that this dancer is said to have attacked one of the musicians who were beating the rhythm with the 'iron shoe' (i.e. the *scabellum*). In breaking out of the technical and aesthetic constraints of danced *mimēsis*, the dancer also disrupted the measured beat that marked and controlled the rhythm of his movements. The two aspects of pantomime—dance technique and the representation of character and action—are ultimately inseparable. What the Ajax story also reveals is the constant creative tension between the

⁴⁹ Charlotte Roueché has also reminded me of the inscription with the names of the Muses in the theatre at Aphrodisias, which would only have been visible to the performers. See Roueché (1993), 32–5. The curse implies that such supernatural beings were felt to have an active influence over the performance.

⁵⁰ Lucian, *On Dancing*, 83 = T24: οὐκ οἶδα δὲ ἦτινι τύχη εἰς ἀσχήμονα ὑπόκρισιν δι' ὑπερβολὴν μιμήσεως ἔξοκείλαντα.

conventions of the art, without which there would be no art, and the expressive power of the dancer in the moment of performance. This tension could be the source of the passion and excitement that was so much part of pantomime.

We are perhaps nowhere nearer the experience of being a pantomime dancer. But I hope to have indicated at least the body of performance skills and the specialized knowledge that dancing entailed, contrary to the elite portrayal of the dancers. The dance, even at the most basic level, required extraordinary physical abilities, ingrained bodily knowledge of a range of movements, cultural knowledge of story, character, and emotion, and detailed knowledge of the genre itself. Any single performance set in motion all these abilities, enlivened by the performer's presence and intensified by his two-way communication with the audience. There are many questions we can never answer, like the extent to which the heroes and gods portrayed on stage were felt to be made present through the performance. However, attention to this body of danced knowledge can help explain some of the fears of the pantomime that we see so clearly in our sources. It emphasizes the physical strength and distinctiveness of the dancer and the powerful, inseparable union of movement and emotion in the dancer's art that communicates directly from body to body and leaves the audience vulnerable to the same emotions if they are drawn to copy the dancer's movements. Considering the corporeality of dance and acknowledging the skill of performers—as great as any charioteer—puts our verbal accounts in a different perspective.

The Symbolism of Costume in Ancient Pantomime

Rosie Wyles

INTRODUCTION

The costume of a pantomime dancer was a powerful thing. According to the critics of pantomime, this costume could effeminize the dancer, and emphasize his erotic appeal, while simultaneously also bewitching—and potentially corrupting—the spectators. These criticisms are recorded, in slightly different forms, in the works of Lucian, Libanius, and Choricus, who all attempt to build up arguments in defence of pantomime dancers against their critics.¹ This one issue (the corruptive nature of the costume), brought into the limelight as a result of sustained attack by pantomime's moral critics, has long dominated scholarly discussion of pantomime costume. While this approach has of course proved illuminating when it comes to the ancient perceptions of pantomime and its performers, and therefore their place in ancient social and cultural history, it has done little to further aesthetic understanding of the art form itself and the contribution made to it by what the dancer wore and the accessories to which he had access.²

¹ Lucian, *On Dancing* 2 and 63 = T19, Libanius, *Or.* 64 50–7, Choricus, *Apol. Mim.* 10.4.

² While there were of course also women involved in pantomime dancing across the centuries (see Starks, Ch. 4, this volume), my argument is focused on evidence for the star male dancer throughout.

This chapter re-evaluates the evidence for the costumes of pantomime from the perspective of theatrical semiotics, thus attempting to unlock the costume's potential to further our understanding of both the performance and the aesthetics of the art form. I begin by setting out the evidence for what the costume looked like, and through this attempt to 'reconstruct' the costume as a material object. This reconstructed object forms the basis for the rest of the discussion, which is dedicated to considering this 'object' (the costume) as a symbol to be 'read'.³ The significance of the costume is considered from the perspective of, and in relation to, the characters it is used to construct, the audience who 'read' the costume, the dancer who wears it, and finally the art form that it visually represents. What emerges is that although ancient pantomime shared several of its conventions and much of its subject-matter with staged classical tragedy, it developed and deployed an intrinsically different system of semiotics and more specifically a 'language of costume' suited to the mute dancer and other unique characteristics of this performance art; furthermore, the fundamental difference in this language produced the possibility of a much closer association between the performer and his costume. The costume becomes a symbol of the dancer himself and ultimately offers the material representation of the aesthetics of the art form.

THE MATERIAL OBJECT: RECONSTRUCTING WHAT THE COSTUME LOOKED LIKE

The first challenge is to try to deconstruct the comments made about costume and, for now, to dissociate the judgements that are made of them from the opinions these reveal, in order to be able to establish what the costume was as a material object. The consideration of the meanings and associations of the costume and its elements will be the

³ For the importance of getting beyond the notion of merely reconstructing an historical object and considering the symbolic importance of costume/dress in studies of ancient dress, see Vout (1996).



Figure 2.1 Late antique ivory plaque (late fifth century AD) depicting a pantomime dancer, found in Trier.

focus of discussion in the later sections. The evidence for costume is scattered through our written sources found in apologetic treatises, law codes, legal speeches, and theological writings. There is nowhere an extensive description of pantomime costume for its own sake, as there is, for example, of the pantomime's body; instead, the references are mostly limited to passing comments which satisfy the demands of the surrounding text rather than our demands to know more about costume! Nevertheless, the comments found in the textual evidence are sufficient to make it possible to piece together a reasonable reconstruction of what was worn by the pantomime dancer, and this picture can be corroborated and supplemented by the visual evidence for pantomime performers. This is primarily constituted by the six 'pantomime' medallions, the ivory plaque from Trier (see Fig. 2.1) and the two Pompeian wall paintings.⁴

⁴ The medallions were collected and discussed by Jory (1996); on the wall-paintings see above, Introduction, pp. 12–13.

The central garment of the pantomime performer was a long robe. It is specifically the length of the pantomime's robe which is criticized by Clement, writing in the last two decades of the second century AD in Alexandria. He introduces the pantomime's long costume as a rhetorically persuasive and powerful example in a passage where he is concerned to admonish the use of trailing robes in general:⁵

But to drag one's clothes, letting them down to the soles of his feet, is a piece of consummate foppery, impeding activity in walking, the garment sweeping the surface dirt of the ground like a broom; since even those emasculated creatures the dancers, who transfer their dumb shameless profligacy to the stage, do not despise the dress which flows away to such indignity; whose curious vestments, and appendages of fringes, and elaborate motions of figures, show the trailing of sordid effeminacy. (*The Instructor* 2.11)⁶

The second reference to the length of the pantomime's robe is also made in the context of a discussion about effeminacy. This time it is in defence of the pantomime's effeminacy that Libanius in the fourth century AD addresses the subject of the costume's length, and offers a specific detail to illustrate it. He argues that the length of the costume, since it reached down to the ankles, could not make the pantomime effeminate (*Or.* 64.52).⁷ The textual evidence for the length of the pantomime's robe, offered in these two passages, is nicely corroborated by the surviving iconographic evidence for the pantomime's costume. Five of the six 'pantomime' medallions ranging in date from the second to the fifth century AD, illustrated and

⁵ A long robe could readily be associated with effeminacy in the Roman world; for the length of a tunic as a potential index of masculinity, see further M. Harlow (2004), esp. 54. The pantomime's long robe is a particularly rhetorically persuasive example of the effeminacy of long robes, since the pantomime dancer had a strong general reputation for effeminacy; the long robe of the pantomime dancer therefore provides a better example for Clement's argument than the trailing robe, the *surma*, of the tragic actor.

⁶ Translation Wilson (1867).

⁷ Molloy (1996), ad loc., questions whether this passage is referring to the pantomime's costume or his off-stage clothing. I assume that it refers to his costume; it seems clear that Aristides' attack had deliberately blurred the distinction between the on-stage character and off-stage performer, since it would be in keeping for him to have criticized the stage costume of the pantomime as though it were the clothing he wore off-stage. So while it remains unclear whether Libanius is nominally defending costume or off-stage clothing, it is I think ultimately the stage costume which is under discussion.

discussed by Jory, all show the pantomime's robe clearly reaching down to the ankles.⁸

The medallions also offer further support for other details of the robe which are suggested in these passages. So, for example, the Contorniate medallion now in the Museum of Parenzo (Jory's fig. 2), shows fringing along the edge of the robe, which supports the reference made by Clement of Alexandria to the costume's 'appendages of fringes' (see above). Second, a number of the medallions show what Jory calls a 'quilted' border along the edge of the robe, which could actually represent the gold embroidery work which Libanius implies could be incorporated into the pantomime's robe (*Or.* 64.52). These passages, then, with the support of the iconographic evidence, suggest that the pantomime's costume was an ankle-length robe possibly decorated with fringes or golden embroidery.

Lucian, in his treatise on pantomime, offers another crucial detail about the robe of the dancer: it is made of silk (*On Dancing* 63 = T19) and so it is soft (*ibid.* 2). This too can be supported by the iconographic evidence, which often suggests a flowing diaphanous fabric such as silk in the way the robe is depicted; see, for example, the medallion from Orange (Fig. 0.1) and the Trier ivory (Fig. 2.1; note especially the navel visible through the fabric). Apuleius, in a passage where he lists the costumes typical of each performance genre, suggests that expected colour of the pantomime costume was saffron, though we have no other evidence to confirm this.⁹ Finally, the iconographic evidence (especially the Trier ivory but also the medallions) suggests that the pantomime's robe was long-sleeved.

Apart from this robe, the costume also included a scarf or mantle—*pallium*—which is illustrated in the medallions, the Trier ivory (where it can be seen particularly clearly coming down over the shoulders of the dancer) and the Pompeian wall paintings. It is striking that in the painting from the House of Apollo (Fig. 0.2 above, p. 13) the *pallium* is the only garment being worn by the central figure. The integral place this scarf held in performance, and therefore in the costume of the pantomime dancer, is confirmed in the important reference to it which appears in the second-century orator Fronto (*On Orations* 5 = T14):

⁸ Jory (1996), 6–12 with figs. 1–6.

⁹ *Apol.* 13.5.

As actors, when they dance in a scarf, with one and the same scarf represent a swan's tail, the tresses of Venus, a Fury's scourge, so these writers make up one and the same thought in a thousand ways.¹⁰

Fronto refers to the pantomime dancing with a scarf as though it is the 'norm' and as though he can expect his reader to be familiar with the phenomenon to which he refers. This suggests that the scarf, and the way it was used, were essential and acknowledged constituents of the pantomime's costume.

Indeed, the scarf and robe are the essential garments of the pantomime's costume. The rather late evidence of Bishop Jacob of Sarugh however introduces the possibility that the pantomime dancer may also have sometimes worn padding to create the appearance of female breasts, although this is nowhere else attested and somewhat problematic.¹¹ Props could sometimes be used as a part of the costume depending on which character was being danced; one example of evidence for this is the anecdote about the pantomime Pylades wielding the bow of Heracles against the audience (Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.7.16–17 = T32), which reveals the use of a significant prop being used as part of the costume in that performance. Again, the iconographic evidence supports the textual evidence in this, since the Trier ivory (Fig. 2.1) show very clearly a pantomime in a costume which includes a sword hanging in its belt.

It is also worth noticing that in the ivory the dancer is wearing a hat. The possibility of using hats as a part of the pantomime's costume finds further support in the terracotta mask of the third century AD found in the Athenian agora, which is crowned with a rounded hat.¹² The hat shown on the mask is of a different sort from the one shown

¹⁰ Csapo and Slater (1994), no. 38, p. 383. Text van den Hout (1988). Trans. Haines (1920), with some modification. For commentary, see Van Den Hout (1999), ad loc. 154.16, p. 364.

¹¹ *Homily* 2, folio 4 = T41. If the dancer *did* have this sort of padding bound to his chest then he would be limited to playing female characters, since it seems highly unlikely that the dancer could switch between female and male character successfully if he had to make this sort of major costume adjustment in between acts (I think costume changes were kept to a minimum—see further below). The nature of the source makes it possible that for the sake of the rhetoric of his argument Jacob of Sarugh attributed this kind of theatrical behaviour to pantomime dancers even though it was not strictly part of their performance art. Certainly Lucian's disgust (*On Dancing* 27) at the use of such padding by the tragic actor suggests that it was *not* a part of the pantomime's costume.

¹² Athens, Agora Museum T1818. Jory (1996), fig. 15.

in the ivory, and this may further suggest the possibility of characterisation through the use of hats, which carried distinct sartorial associations and different semantic and symbolic values.

Lucian tells us that the mask of the pantomime dancer was beautiful and had a closed mouth (*On Dancing* 29 and 63). The iconographic evidence confirms this, showing that the masks certainly were beautiful and rather naturalistic.¹³ Another passage in Lucian suggests that the pantomime dancer wore a different mask for every act (*On Dancing* 66). They were an essential part of the costume and, as I will argue below, key to enabling the necessary shift in 'reading' the costume after a character change. Under this mask (and perhaps flowing out from it?) the pantomime dancer is said to have had long flowing, dressed hair (Libanius, *Or.* 64.50–1). The Trier ivory demonstrates a pantomime whose hair is dressed with ribbons, and the medallions also show pantomimes with long flowing hair.

Finally, although the evidence for the footwear of these performers is not extensive, on his feet the pantomime seems most likely to have worn sandals. Indeed, there is a clear reference in Jacob of Sarugh to the way that the pantomime dancer's 'circling of the sandal on white marble'.¹⁴ There is a further indication that this sandal may have had a metal strip (known in Latin as the *scabellum*) attached so that the dancer made a noise, presumably like a tap dancer. Jacob of Sarugh suggests this in an earlier passage, where he contrasts what Moses does *not* do with what the dancer *does*, and in this context he says '(Moses) does not bind the sandal on his foot, and the plate of metal, that he might strike upon it... he does not dance upon the stone'. Libanius also implies it in his response to Aristides' accusation that 'they are breaking the stage with their dancing', since he defends the dancer by saying that they need the strip of iron projecting from the sandal in order to make enough noise for their dancing (*Or.* 64.96–7).¹⁵ However, it is suggested in other sources that it is a separate

¹³ For discussion and illustrations of pantomime masks, see Jory (1996), 18–19 and (2001), *passim*.

¹⁴ See below, Appendix, p. 413. The word used for the shoe is the absolutely standard Syriac term for sandal, the same word as the word that is used for example of Jesus undoing the sandals of John the Baptist. Thanks to David Taylor for help on this point.

¹⁵ All quotations from Libanius' work use the translation of Molloy (1996). On the percussive footwear associated with the medium of pantomime, see also above, Introduction, p. 26.

person in the performance who keeps time with such footwear (see, for example, Lucian, *On Dancing* 83). So while it may not be assumed that the dancer always necessarily wore the metal plate in his footwear, he can at least be said to have probably worn sandals as part of his costume.

Therefore our reconstruction of the material object of the pantomime's costume follows as: a long ankle-length robe with long sleeves (made of silk, possibly with fringes and/or gold embroidery and possibly saffron-coloured), a scarf, props (including, for example, weapons and hats), a mask, and (metal-plated?) sandals.

PROTEAN TRANSFORMATIONS—COSTUME AND CHARACTER CHANGE

One of the most appealing and impressive aspects of the pantomime's performance was his ability to change character. Both Lucian and Libanius draw attention to this in their works. Lucian describes the change in character as the 'most surprising' (*paradoxotaton*) part of the experience of the pantomime performance (*On Dancing* 67 = T22):

Indeed the most surprising part of it is that within the selfsame day, at one moment we are shown Athamas in a frenzy, at another Ino in terror; presently the same person is Atreus, and after a little Thyestes; then Aegisthus, or Aerope; yet they all are but a single man.¹⁶

Libanius compares the pantomime dancer with Proteus of Egypt on account of this ability to transform into different shapes/characters (*Or.* 64.117 = T20, my emphasis):

the speed of their body repeatedly undergoing a change to whatever you like. Each one of them is almost *Proteus* the Egyptian. You would say through the wand of Athena, which transforms the *shape* of *Odysseus*, they take on every guise; old men, young men, the humble, the mighty, the dejected, the elated, servants, masters. With respect to their feet, one might even question whether they possess the advantage over Perseus.

¹⁶ All quotations from Lucian's work use the translation of Harmon (1962).

Yet both these passages, while they offer excellent evidence concerning audience perceptions of and responses to the process of the pantomime's ability to change character, fail to offer an explicit description of the mechanics of this character change. How is the transformation of character, which is so swift and so seamless, actually managed in physical and practical terms by the dancer in performance?¹⁷

It is clear from a reference in Lucian that a performer might make use of five separate masks to differentiate between characters: he tells us of a barbarian's response to 'noticing that the dancer had five masks ready—the drama had that many parts' (*On Dancing* 66).¹⁸ The Greek word translated as 'part' here is *meros* and it is *not* clear whether it refers to separate acts of the drama or the different characters included in the performance as a whole.¹⁹ A clear division between acts and synchronic change in character may not therefore be inferred from this passage. Indeed, the comments made by Libanius (*Or.* 64.113–14) about one character being put in mind 'through' another character tell against discrete character portrayals separated in the minds of the audience through a prolonged act-division. This has implications for how a change in character is to be imagined, since if it may not be assumed that a character change took place in an act division, then claims that the pantomime could have used 'appropriate masks and often elaborate costumes—which he changed in the course of the performance and used to help express his character' become difficult to credit.²⁰ Where and when is this change of elaborate costume taking place? Moreover, as a separate issue of *a priori* importance, where is the evidence for 'elaborate' character-specific costume in pantomime?

We need to begin with the evidence that we have for the use of masks and for the role that the mask has in character change. Jory has

¹⁷ The speed and seamless nature of the transformation is suggested in both of these passages, in Horace, *Epist.* 2.2.125, and in Libanius 64.113–14, where he suggests that the spectator of pantomime must remain alert for exactly this reason.

¹⁸ Translation Harmon (1962) with some modification—he translates 'parts' as 'acts'.

¹⁹ When Libanius (64.74) refers to an actor 'playing the role of Plangon', he does not use a separate word for role but instead phrases it as the actor 'being' Plangon.

²⁰ Beacham (1999), 143.

discussed the iconographic evidence for masks, and established the possibility of categorizing the evidence into certain 'types' of mask, suggesting the correlation between character type and mask and confirming the use of the mask to differentiate between characters in the pantomime performance.²¹ The passage of Lucian, through its reference to the masks lying ready and in the view of the audience, suggests that the change of mask would be effected by the pantomime, during the performance, while he was still on stage and possibly even in view of the audience.²² There is no suggestion, nor any basis for suggesting, that the pantomime left the stage in order to transform into a new character by engaging in 'elaborate' changes of costume, or that performance conventions of pantomime necessitated leaving the stage in order to change the mask. The suggestion that the pantomime would not leave the stage in order to change character also gains support from the evident delight attained from the recognition that the same performer is explicitly playing all these different characters;²³ unlike tragedy, pantomime did not seek to conceal this fact by the visually comprehensive transformation of the actor from one character into a new one backstage, but rather exploited the visual signals which could remain to tell the audience that this was the same performer (essentially by retaining the same silk robe—see further below).

What we have, then, is evidence for a change of mask, which could be swiftly transacted without the performer leaving the stage. That this change of mask was not supplemented by a full change in costume has implications for the construction of character through costume. For the performer there must have been much less of a sense of a character crystallized in visual material in the form of a *skeuē* (costume) that might be put on. It is not just that the audience

²¹ Jory (2001).

²² This is supported by iconographic evidence: the floor mosaic from Arroniz showing the Muse Polyhymnia and a pantomime mask lying ready on a podium beside her provides a probable reflection of this practice; identified and illustrated by Jory (2001), 7 with plate 13. The possibility of this taking place in view of the audience suggests itself from Lucian, *On Dancing* 19, where he is comparing Proteus with a dancer, and claims that dancers in his time 'certainly may be seen changing swiftly at the cue'. This is not a hidden process.

²³ Lucian, *On Dancing* 66–7. The triple-faced mask held by the pantomime in the Trier ivory provides an excellent visual expression of this idea.

are not shown a full transformation of character in the costume; it is also that the *performer* cannot experience this sense of sartorially coherent character transformation. The potential impact of this on the performer is demonstrated in the story in Lucian (*On Dancing* 80), where a dancer is said to have become confused in the sequence that he was dancing; instead of showing Cronus eating his children, he presented the misfortunes of Thyestes because the similarity of the two stories had led him astray. Now, if a dancer had a strong sense of character through costume, and could therefore link a certain sequence of movement in his head with the visual material of a character-specific costume, then it is my suggestion that a slip such as the one made by the dancer in this anecdote could not easily happen.

However, such an error *could* happen, and it suggests that there was not a highly developed sense of visual material differentiation between characters (which is striking given the numbers of characters that we are dealing with amongst the wide repertoire of themes enacted in pantomime). Even the categorization of masks does not suggest more than the differentiation between character type, and there is nothing to suggest that such a particular mask was made specific only to one character. A character-unique mask could not help the pantomime in visual association between character appearance and movement in any case, since he would not of course be able to see the mask; from the audience's perspective, however, it makes sense in relation to other evidence if we imagine that there is not necessarily an immediate understanding of who the character is from the costume alone. The passage of Libanius, for example (*Or.* 64.113–14), where he claims that pantomime demands the alertness of the spectator to recognize what is happening through the gesture, implies the limitations of the information that the costume and mask might offer the spectator. If it was immediately obvious who the character was, then it would not be difficult to guess which story relating to them was being danced.

In this respect the phraseology of the passage of Libanius (*Or.* 64.113–14), quoted at the top of this section, is particularly revealing. First, the pantomime dancer is said to be like Proteus in the way that he changes appearance. Now the point about Proteus is that he transforms himself by changing *shape*. He does not, like a tragic

actor, transform himself by going off and getting dressed up in a different set of *skeuē*. The same emphasis on shape is found in Lucian, *On Dancing* 19, when he says that Proteus must have been a dancer.²⁴ The emphasis on this element in the process of character transformation implied by this comparison is reinforced even more strikingly in Libanius' next example.

After the comparison with Proteus, Libanius suggests that the pantomime is transformed like Odysseus under the wand of Athena. Yet the disguise of Odysseus had been an archetype for the process of a tragic actor dressing up in costume to become a character. This model is here appropriated and refigured to fit the situation in pantomime—Libanius introduces it into a context where he has been addressing transformation through shape, and implicitly assimilates Odysseus to Proteus through his reference to the change to the *shape* of Odysseus. In tragedy, however, it had been Odysseus' rags that had been central to the way his visual transformation was discussed (e.g. Euripides, *Hec.* 239–41), and had fundamentally informed the way that certain characters—for example, Telephus—were theatrically realized.²⁵ This passage of Libanius, then, reveals the refiguring in perceptions of the process of character transformation that had to take place in response to the unique way in which pantomime managed the construction of a character in visual, material terms. The symbol of a character is not primarily found in the components of the visual material as it might be in tragedy, but rather in the figuration of that material that is in the *shape* it forms (see more below).

The change of mask, together with the strict character-association of shape and sequence of movement, seems therefore to have been integral to the construction and identification of characters in pantomime.²⁶ This was supported by minimal changes to the physical material of the costume; these could take the form of the addition

²⁴ Proteus is said to have been able to change into fire as well as a series of animals, then fluid water and finally a tree (Homer, *Od.* 4.17–18, 454–9; see also Lucian, *On Dancing* 19).

²⁵ Wyles (2007), 117–19 and 132.

²⁶ The strict code of gestures assigned to the representation of each character is implied in the Lucian passage about the dancer slipping from the story of Cronos to Thyestes (*On Dancing* 80).

of a prop and/or the kinetic manipulation of the costume. The costume was not changed, but the audience's perceptions of it were. The use of props is well attested by Macrobius' story of the occasion when Pylades, dancing the part of Heracles, went mad and shot arrows into the audience, before repeating this behaviour in a performance of the same pantomime at a banquet of Augustus.²⁷ This suggests that props could be used in pantomime both in public and private settings. Apart from answering interesting questions about the extent of the miming in the performance, this story is also important for what it tells us about elements of costume and character construction. Heracles is presumably in part identified through the bow with which the pantomime dances.

The idea that, for some characters at least, a 'signature' prop could act as a visual aid to the audience, helping them recognize the character and therefore the sequence of movement/part of the story being enacted, is also supported by Libanius' reference to 'Diomedes and his trumpet' in his catalogue of what is shown on the stage (*Or.* 64.68). If we did not have other evidence to suggest the use of props then this might seem to be a reference to a characteristic gesture, but in light of the evidence I think reference to the trumpet reveals a crystallized image of the character's appearance in visual, material terms, in which this prop played an integral part.²⁸

Interesting in this respect is a passage in Philo's *Embassy to Gaius* (79), where he describes the emperor assuming costume as in the theatre:

Then, as in a theatre, he assumed different costumes at different times, sometimes the lion skin and club, both overlaid with gold, to adorn himself as Heracles, sometimes caps on his head when he made himself up as the Dioscuri, or again as Dionysus with ivy, thyrus and fawn's skin.²⁹

Here there is no suggestion of changing for each character into the complete *skeuē*, such as a full tragic costume. Instead, there is the

²⁷ Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.7.16–17 = T32.

²⁸ Other evidence for the use of props includes the use of a sword implied in Lucilius' derision of a pantomime (*AP* 11. 254 = T35). In the iconographic evidence, there is a sword depicted in the belt of the Trier ivory pantomime, and the Pompeian wall painting from the house of Apollo shows characters defined in costume through their props.

²⁹ Philo, *Embassy to Gaius* 79, trans. Colson (1962).

type of minimal costume change which I am suggesting could have been exploited in the pantomime; the assumption of a cap, for example, to suggest the Dioscuri corresponds well with the evidence, discussed above, for the use of hats for the purpose of characterization in pantomime. Indeed, Bellemore has made a convincing case for this text's implicit general engagement with Gaius' interest in dressing up for and performing pantomime.³⁰ This passage then supports the notion that costume change in pantomime might be effected by the minimal addition of significant props/pieces of costume.³¹

The second way in which perceptions of the costume could be transformed with each realization of character without the garments being physically replaced is through kinetic manipulation. This technique for 'reframing' a costume and asking the audience to view it in a new way had been exploited in tragedy and is an important element of the developed syntax of the 'language' of costume within that performance genre.³² In tragedy this change could result from either kinetic or verbal manipulation of costume. However, the situation in pantomime and its exploitation of this technique is rather different. The first crucial difference is that the shift in perspective of the material object that the audience is asked to undertake in pantomime is *not* a shift in the view of a certain character and what his/her costume symbolizes about them. Instead, it is a shift in the audience's perspective on the costume itself so that it is felt to belong to a new character. The change in mask and addition of props may act as a lens, throwing the robe into a new perspective and allowing the audience to view it as belonging to a new character, but nevertheless the shift that is required in perception is major. The limited extent to

³⁰ Bellemore (1994) argues that Philo deliberately misrepresents Gaius' dressing up for pantomime as an attempt to attain recognition of divine status. On this specific passage's relationship to pantomime see further Wiseman in this volume.

³¹ In Sara Cascione's performance of a 'pantomime' to the papyrus text of the late Latin hexameter poem known as the 'Barcelona *Alcestis*', she found that just such an approach to character change worked to best effect. The costume of the performer was kept neutral and each new character was represented through the change of mask and taking up of different additional props. The transformation from one character to the next took place on stage, where the masks and props lay ready, and the process took less than a minute. This information communicated by Sara Cascione in personal correspondence with Edith Hall. On this performance see further Hall in this volume, pp. 266–73.

³² See Wyles (2007), ch. 2, esp. 84–9.



Figure 2.2 Chiara Fiaschi as Alcestis with black cloak. Still from Sara Cascione's performance of *Alcestis* (2003).

which the costume may ever belong to any one character in a single performance, which might demand that the same clothing is understood to belong to five different characters in swift succession, has implications for the perceived relationship between the costume and the performer (see further below).

Yet the power of kinetic manipulation to have an impact on the way in which material information is perceived should not be underestimated. The type of impact that the manipulation of the scarf might have made in a pantomime performance, and the effect that this could have had on the perception of the whole costume, was beautifully illustrated in Sara Cascione's production of the 'Barcelona *Alcestis*' text, which may have been a pantomime libretto (see Fig. 2.2). In this still from the performance the scarf is fully drawn out and corresponds with the textual reference in the libretto to the black robe which Alcestis will wear as she is borne away by the Ferryman (l. 82, see Hall, this volume p. 278.).³³ The manipulated scarf's potential to

³³ On Cascione's production see further Hall, this volume p. 266 n. 22.

reconfigure the costume, even when in material terms it remained exactly the same, is attested irrefutably in a passage from Fronto (*On Orations* 5 = T14):

ut histriones, quom palliolatim saltant, caudam cycni, capillum Veneris, Furiae flagellum eodem pallio demonstrant, ita isti unam eandamque sententiam multimodis faciunt.

As actors, when they dance in a scarf, with one and the same scarf represent a swan's tail, the tresses of Venus, a Fury's scourge, so these writers make up one and the same thought in a thousand ways.³⁴

While the comparison that is made here by Fronto between the pantomime dancer and speechmaker is in itself unexceptional, this passage offers invaluable evidence about the pantomime's costume.³⁵ The manipulation of the material object of the costume and specifically the scarf into different shapes allows for the entire costume to be reconfigured and read in a new way by the audience. Once the scarf becomes the tresses of Venus then the robe is read in relation to its reconfiguration and the mask change, and can *seem* different even if materially it is the same; and so with each of the examples given by Fronto. The same tactic was exploited by Sarah Jones in her performance entitled *Women can't wait* (June 2000), where she impersonated a series of eight different women from different parts of the world. She did not change her costume between monologues, but simply used a scarf in a different way for each (so for example as a sash or as a headscarf or to represent a doll), and so allowed the audience to reconfigure their view of her clothing.³⁶ Her performance communicated through words rather than dance, yet the principle behind how the scarf was being used as part of the costuming strategy is the same. The spectators of this sort of performance would be required

³⁴ Csapo and Slater (1994), no. 38, p. 383. Text Van Den Hout (1988). Trans. Haines (1920), with some modification. For commentary, see Van Den Hout (1999), ad loc. 154.16, p. 364.

³⁵ Fronto compares the orator to the pantomime and in doing so employs what had become a standard trope in critical discourse on oratory; see further Schlapbach in this volume. In this sense the use of the comparison here is not very surprising, but it is extremely exciting for what it incidentally may tell us about the use of this element of costume in pantomime performance.

³⁶ Sofer discusses this performance, describing the scarf as a 'transformational puppet', see Sofer (2003), 23. See also: http://www.acfnewsources.org/art/women_cant_wait.html (accessed 30th July 2007).

to be open to major shifts of perspective in a much greater succession than, for example, the experience of tragedy (where such shifts relate to the same character and are generally effected at a slower pace, with a gradual build-up and through the mediation of spoken language). It is little wonder that Libanius claimed that pantomime sharpened the wits (*Or.* 64.114).

‘READING’ THE VISUAL MATERIAL—COSTUME AND THE AUDIENCE

In this section we will explore further the difference in experience for the audience ‘reading’ costume in a performance of pantomime as opposed to a fully realized stage production of tragedy. I have already touched on the demand on the spectator to constantly shift the way in which he perceives the material object of the robe in the course of the performance, which intensifies and exaggerates the demands made on the spectator in tragedy. An audience member who was a seasoned viewer of tragedy and was well versed in the language of tragic costume, while he might have some of the essential skills required for viewing and understanding the use of costume in pantomime, would nevertheless have a rather different experience.

One of the most striking differences in the ‘language’ would be in the type of mimetic symbol that the costume offered. The semiotics of costume in tragedy are relatively straightforward: pieces of the costume look like the pieces of clothing which they are supposed to represent; or, to put it another way, the costume is a sign which is iconic in both appearance and material; a scarf represents a scarf. In pantomime we know that the situation was different. The piece of cloth that was a scarf might be used to visually represent, according to Fronto (*On Orations* 5 = T14; see above), a swan’s tail, Venus’ hair or a Fury’s whip. The scarf, then, in these instances becomes an iconic sign in appearance (it bears resemblance to the thing it represents in *shape*), but is at the same time a symbolic sign in material terms (since the fabric symbolises feathers, for example). This suggests that a radically different system of *mimēsis* is operating alongside the one

that had been 'inherited' from the language of costume in the tragic theatre. The language had been broadened out to include a symbolic use of material alongside a directly iconic use; presumably, as in Sarah Jones' performance, the scarf might sometimes simply represent a scarf. The language of costume in pantomime, then, demanded that the audience member, or interpreter, should be open to reading the visual material in two different ways simultaneously; some elements were to be treated as iconic while other elements were to be treated as symbolic—sometimes the spectator might be reading a prop-sword as a sword while at other times he might be asked to read a kinetically manipulated scarf as a whip. In this respect pantomime shows a significant departure from tragic performance practice and an independent development as a performance art. This development in the use of costume can be understood to have arisen from the emphasis on shape, which we have already seen to have been central to the means by which the pantomime communicated and constructed character.

These differences between the languages suggest that the experience of viewing and 'reading' pantomime was fundamentally different from the experience of a fully staged tragedy. Nevertheless, the two sets of visual information, that presented by the pantomime and the tragic actor, are described in the same terms: they are both understood to require reading in the same way as an artwork might. The comparison between the pantomime and an artwork is invited by Lucian when he claims that the pantomime copies the rhythm (*eurhythmia*) in painting and sculpture 'so that neither Pheidias nor Apelles seems at all superior to it' (*On Dancing* 35). The connection is made even more explicit by Libanius (*Or.* 64.116 = T28), who argues that dancers are like statues of gods, allowing the spectator to see portrayals of them on stage 'not representing them in stone, but rendering them in himself'. Thus the pantomime is compared with an artwork constructed from the artistic medium of his body. This implies that the audience should expect to read and decode the visual information of the pantomime in the same way that they would a work of visual art.

This implication finds further confirmation through the physical setting of the performance and the potential décor of the performance space; a law in the Codex Theodosianus (15.7.12) restricts the hanging

of paintings of pantomime actors in 'low' (*humilis*) costume in public porticoes, but allows that they may be hung in front of the stage at the theatre. There is a possibility, then, that the spectator of pantomime is sitting and gazing at, or is at least conscious of, a painting of a pantomime performer at the same time as he is decoding the visual information provided by the performer in performance. The juxtaposition of the pantomime artist depicted and constructed in art, while he is performing and constructing characters and painting his own pictures in the imagination of the audience, invites a comparison of the two art forms and an assimilation of the process of decoding both.³⁷

This notion of the comparison of the actor with a work of visual art has been well established in the case of tragedy and the significance of references to artworks within tragic texts has been the subject of stimulating discussion in recent scholarship.³⁸ It is therefore perhaps surprising to discover that despite the crucial difference identified between the 'languages' of costume in tragedy and pantomime that there should be a continuity in this respect, and that the audience should be asked to approach the pantomime in the same way as they had been asked to approach the tragic actor. Both represent a constructed image, a piece of visual art on stage to be read. While there is a difference in the language used to construct and decode the image in each performance genre, ultimately it is the same process of reading that the audience is engaged in, and the exploitation of the art analogy in discourses relating to both genres draws attention to this communality.

'DRESSING UP' FOR PANTOMIME—COSTUME AND ACTOR

While there is a difference in the 'language' that the spectator is asked to engage with in order to decode the costume of the pantomime, the process of 'reading' the visual information could be understood in

³⁷ Libanius (*Or.* 64.40) claims that dancers were capable of conjuring up entire landscapes in the minds of the audience.

³⁸ See e.g. Zeitlin (1994), and Hall (2006), ch. 4, 99–141.

the same terms as the process of reading a tragic costume. But how was the experience of costume in pantomime different from the perspective of the performer? I have already hinted at some of the ways in which I think that it may have been different, but in this section we will explore them further. The first point to return to is that an explicit part of the spectacle is in the artistry entailed in the same performer playing different parts. The implication of this is that the performer is allowed a much greater stage presence in pantomime than a tragic actor could hope to achieve. If the definition of a performance is of an actor impersonating a character before an audience, then in pantomime an additional element has to be taken into account, and that is that the transformation of the actor into a character is as much a part of the performance as the actual impersonation of a character. In order to fully appreciate pantomime the audience must be aware of the actor, who has a continuous stage presence—what is the actor when transforming from one character to another, if not the stage persona of himself as a performer?³⁹ This special situation of the pantomime performance is reflected in the pantomime's relationship to his costume, which is significantly different from the tragic actor's relationship with his.

Lucian provides us with revealing comments in his comparison between the appearance of a tragic actor and a pantomime dancer (*On Dancing* 27). One of the most striking aspects of Lucian's description of the tragic actor is the distance that is set up between the body and costume. Lucian achieves this sense of distance by putting emphasis on the padding used by these performers and the problem of the potential disproportion between the body of the performer and the height of the tragic figure. He lays further emphasis on this distance by referring to the actor as being 'inside all this'. The tragic costume then is portrayed as an outer shell inside which the tragic actor is encased—there is nothing to suggest that the actor is 'one' with his costume or that the costume could be understood to be an extension of the actor's body. This description suggests, through the implicit contrast with pantomime, that the

³⁹ Lucian, *On Dancing* 19 is important again here. He suggests that dancers in his time 'certainly may be seen changing swiftly at the cue', which reveals a consciousness of the performer during the performance.

dancer's body enjoyed a much closer relationship with the costume that clothed it.

The closeness between the pantomime's body and costume is demonstrated in the way in which the scarf was mimetically manipulated. The scarf could be used to symbolically represent something different through imitating its shape; it could become a whip if it was kinetically manipulated so that it appeared similar in form. This type of *mimēsis* is exactly what the pantomime himself was engaged in with his body—he seemed to become the character by the shapes into which he manipulated his body. The analogous use of the scarf invites the spectator to see a continuation between the body and costume and to treat the two as the same medium of the art form—the 'clay' to be formed into imitative shapes. It seems likely that when our sources refer to the dancer's use of *schēmata* (postures) to communicate, the scarf might be understood to be potentially included as part of this figuration.⁴⁰ The body clothed in its robe and the scarf extending from it is treated then as a continuous medium, and it is in this sense that the performer can be said to be 'one' with his costume.⁴¹

This sense of unity between the performer's body and costume is reinforced by the ultimate anonymity of the costume, the scarf and the robe; unlike his character-specific props and mask, they do not permanently belong to any one character. This arises from one of the crucial differences that we have already identified between the language of costume of pantomime and that of tragedy, that the shift in perception in pantomime involves reconceiving the costume as belonging to an entirely different character up to five times in one performance. The robe and scarf then have little chance of becoming specifically associated with one character; these, rather, are the performer's costume. Again the point of transformation from one character to the

⁴⁰ For communication through *schēmata*, see Lucian, *On Dancing* 36. For illustrations of the type of figurations which might be accomplished with a scarf (though outside the context of pantomime), see for example the figures in the beautiful wall paintings in the Salon of Mysteries (Villa of Mysteries) at Pompeii, illustrated in Coarelli (ed.) (2002), 348–9.

⁴¹ This impression is reinforced by Clement of Alexandria's reference to the pantomime's 'curious vestments, and appendages of fringes, and elaborate motions of figures, [which] show the trailing of sordid effeminacy' (*The Instructor* 2.11). This suggests a flowing continuity of medium, especially if the 'appendages of fringes' can be taken to refer to the scarf (which I think they might), characterized as presenting a unified effeminacy.

next is crucial, because at that moment before it is reconfigured the costume must be understood to be the clothing of the stage performer. The continuity of the same scarf and robe throughout the performance, and the perception of them as an extension of the medium of the body, invite the audience to associate these elements of costume primarily with the performer, rather than any one character.

This interpretation of the perceived status and association of the costume in relation to the performer coheres with another strongly stated and persistent attitude towards pantomime costume; that the costume has a corruptive force and could effeminise either the dancer or the spectator. We have already seen the way in which Clement of Alexandria exploits this attitude and makes use of the pantomime's costume as a rhetorically persuasive example in his argument against the wearing of long robes. Libanius (*Or.* 64.50–7) attempts to counter a similar accusation, apparently made by Aristides. The accusation that pantomime costume is responsible for making the dancer effeminate is testimony to the perceived power of clothing in the ancient world.⁴² But more importantly for this discussion it illuminates the attitude taken to the costume in relation to the performer.

What is so striking about the accusation is that it imputes a uniform and single effect to a costume which is used to represent all sorts of characters; it is always assumed to effeminize despite sometimes being used in performance to represent some of the archetypal tragic heroes; we might think for example of Pylades dancing Heracles in his madness (Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.7.16–7 = T32) or the unfortunate pantomime dancing Ajax (Lucian, *On Dancing* 83 = T24)—there is no reason to assume that either is wearing anything other than the long robe that pantomimes are said to wear in our textual sources and are illustrated wearing in the iconographic evidence (see above). Yet since the robe could not be appropriated or uniquely associated with any one character outside the time of their 'conjured presence' in performance, the effect that it is claimed to have had is judged by the movement and ability of the pantomime rather than the lifestyle or characteristics of any single

⁴² The specifically corruptive power of clothing is very clearly demonstrated in Tertullian's claim that above all else in the show the over-nice attire of women and men is likely to trip up the spectator (*On Spectacles* 23).

character he impersonates.⁴³ The costume, without mask and additional props, begins and ends with the performer and any effects must be judged in relation to him.

It is telling that Libanius (*Or.* 64.53) should choose to defend the accusation with the counter-example that the costume of Heracles cannot alter lifestyle. By choosing this example, Libanius actually draws attention to the longevity of this debate over the role of costume in the ontological transformation of the actor; it had been through play with Heracles' costume that Aristophanes engaged with exactly these issues in his *Frogs* well over 700 years earlier. But there is a crucial distinction to be made: the costume of Heracles relates to a character and associated characteristics, whereas debate over the pantomime's costume relates to a set of characteristics associated with the performance genre rather than any specific character. Libanius' defence, then, unconsciously offers an insight into the distinctive relationship that the pantomime has with his costume. The costume has in effect one 'meaning' and relates ultimately to the performer rather than the character; this monovalency is perhaps reflected in the material make-up of the costume in silk of one colour, in contrast, for example, to the patchwork silk of the mime's tunic.⁴⁴

The robe and scarf of the costume, then, have an especially close relationship with the performer. This is demonstrated through and facilitated by the anonymity of this element of the costume. No one character, or characteristic associated with that character, can lay claim to the costume. Significantly, while the stage actor may enter the role of Plangon with mask and dress (and the implication is by *putting on* mask and dress), the pantomime does not physically step into this outer shell of a character.⁴⁵ Rather the scarf and robe are understood to be an extension of the medium of the actor's body; like him they are soft and therefore malleable so that they (like him) may transform in shape or in the way in which they are perceived.⁴⁶ In this respect the costume comes to symbolize not any

⁴³ On the concept of the conjured presence in performance, see Hall (2006), 18.

⁴⁴ For the mime's patchwork silk tunic, see *Codex Theodosianus* 15.7.11 and Apuleius, *Apology* 13.5.

⁴⁵ Libanius, *Or.* 64 74; see also Lucian, *On Dancing* 19.

⁴⁶ For softness: of the costume, Lucian, *On Dancing* 2; of the body of the dancer, Tertullian, *On Spectacles* 10, which must refer to a pantomime dancer.

one character but the performer himself and, as I will argue below, the performance art of pantomime.

THE MATERIAL SYMBOL—COSTUME AND THE ART FORM OF PANTOMIME

The attention that is given to costume by critics of pantomime attests to the central place of this element in the performance and the impact that it was capable of having on the formulation of opinions of the art form. As one of the most striking aspects of the performance, and something worth commenting on, it must have made a major contribution to the perceived overall aesthetics of pantomime. Lucian's attempt to judge pantomime against tragedy by comparing the superficial appearance of each (*On Dancing* 27), while it is clearly a carefully manipulated rhetorical ploy to set up the competition within parameters where pantomime may win an easy victory, is in part successful because this is the most natural way in which to formulate a comparative understanding of two things. The superficial appearance of pantomime is crucial to the construction and perception of its aesthetics. In this section we will explore the part that costume has to play in this.

Libanius (*Or.* 64.57), in his consideration of the pleasure of pantomime, suggests that it is in part in 'the elegance of the whole show'. The costume of the pantomime could contribute to this elegance and more specifically to the *beauty* that was understood to be an essential quality of the pantomime.⁴⁷ The beauty of the costume is implied in the accusation reportedly made by Demetrius the Cynic that people were merely duped by the accessories of pantomime—the silk costume, the beautiful mask, and so on.⁴⁸ The seductive costume and the beautiful mask crystallized together in the mind of the spectator and, known by reputation even to those who had not

⁴⁷ For the beauty of the pantomime, see Lucian, *On Dancing* 6, 25, and 70; Libanius 64.103.

⁴⁸ Lucian, *On Dancing* 63.

witnessed a performance, contributed in an iconic way to the appreciation of the aesthetics of this art form.

This beauty is configured through appeal to constructed notions of femininity, and so the beauty of the clothing is understood to hold an element of seductiveness as well. The femininity is not only suggested in the design of the robe, e.g. its length (see above), but also through its fabric. The costume is made of silk and is soft, both of which aspects align the costume with the feminine and the erotic.⁴⁹ This fits into the wider conception of the art form as associated with the feminine—an association which carries over from the tragic art into pantomime.⁵⁰

Finally, the costume represents the *transcendental* quality of pantomime as an art form. This quality is hinted at by Lucian in his claim that pantomime brings harmony to the souls of the spectators and engages both the body and soul of the dancer (*On Dancing* 6 and 69). The potential overlap that might occur in the aesthetics of a pantomime performance and the aesthetics of ritual in religion, another potentially transcendental experience, is demonstrated by the use of incense in pantomimes (see further Hall below, this volume, p. 274).⁵¹ This overlap is also expressed in pantomime costume, which in choosing the extraordinary and lavish fabric of silk exploits the same semiotic strategy as priestly garments in order to find a means of expressing the transcendental nature of the experience. Libanius (*Or.* 64.52), through the implicit comparison of the pantomime's costume to the clothing worn by priests, draws attention to this shared quality. Finally, Jacob of Sarugh in his metaphorical suggestion that the dancer puts on the 'ephod of demons', unconsciously makes the same assimilation between the dancer's costume and the priestly

⁴⁹ Lucian, *On Dancing* 2 (for softness) and 63 (for silk). For the alignment of silk with the feminine, see the discussion of Harlow (2005), esp. 148; the erotic association of silk is exploited by Latin love elegists (see e.g. the reference to Coan silk in Propertius 1.2.2 with Baker (1990), ad loc.) and is also brought out particularly well in the disapproval of John Chrysostom, *I Tim. Hom.* 8; for alignment of soft with feminine, see Lada-Richards (2003a).

⁵⁰ The seductive element to this feminine beauty left pantomime and its costume vulnerable to depiction in a negative light, as e.g. in the *Codex Theodosianus* 2.17.11, where the costume is described as *humilis*—a term which in this context must mean morally low rather than cheap (silk was an expensive commodity).

⁵¹ Jacob of Sarugh objects to the use of incense in pantomime (see below, Appendix, p. 415).

vestment of the Jewish tradition. This implies that the transcendental quality of the pantomime symbolised in its costume was powerful enough to suggest itself even to those who would not have wished to acknowledge it openly.

CONCLUSION

The costume of pantomime, as part of a silent performance art, had the potential to 'speak louder' (perhaps in compensation for the lack of spoken dialogue as a means of communication), but what does it have to say and how does it say it? What has emerged is how different the language of costume in pantomime is from its deployment in the performance of a staged tragedy. While the visual information provided by the performer in costume might be approached in both media as broadly the same commodity (i.e. as a piece of art), the way in which that information would be interpreted, and its significance understood, would be fundamentally different. In the first place, the use of costume in pantomime demanded that the spectator should be capable of shifting perspective on the material costume serially in quick succession, in order to reconfigure it as belonging to a new character; secondly, the spectator was asked to be able to 'read' both an iconic and symbolic use of signs simultaneously within the same costume. This language was in these respects different from and even more challenging than the tragic language of costume. This use of costume and the management of swift character change also had implications for the pantomime's relationship with the costume—he is perceived as so closely associated with the costume that it could be understood to be an extension of the medium of his body and symbolic of its potential for transformation. Finally, the costume, as a central part of the visual appearance of the art form, also made a significant contribution to its aesthetics. The costume in its beauty, feminine seductiveness, and transcendental quality symbolized and represented the central characteristics of the art form itself.

Pantomime Performance and Figured Scenes on Roman Sarcophagi

Janet Huskinson

INTRODUCTION

Around the same time as pantomime was gaining massive popularity across the Roman empire in the second and third centuries AD, marble sarcophagi became the funerary monument of choice for an increasingly wide sector of Roman society, whose cultural values and interests were represented in its figured decoration.¹ How the two—pantomime dance and funerary iconography—related to each other is an obvious question to ask. But almost as obvious are the difficulties that stand in the way of an easy answer. Pantomime imagery has proved notoriously hard to identify in Roman art as a whole, and looking for it in the decoration of sarcophagi might seem positively perverse. After all, the dance aroused moral suspicion on a number of scores and as a genre seems to have been ‘more comfortably accommodated in the gaps and interstices rather than the vital center

¹ I am very grateful to the editors for their encouragement and suggestions, and to Carol Gillespie of the Open University for help with the illustrations. Any errors and infelicities remain my own. I am taking ‘pantomime’ here to refer to a dance performed by a single performer who enacted a sequence of roles wearing different closed-mouth masks (for which working definition see e.g. Jory (2001), 2). For Roman sarcophagi generally, see Koch and Sichtermann (1982).

of the social fabric'; funerary art, on the other hand, was part of the very construction of that social fabric, upholding socially approved virtues through a conventional repertory of images.² What is more, pantomime and sarcophagus decoration differed greatly as expressive art forms. One was a fluid, ephemeral movement with the immediacy of 'real-time' narrative, while the other was a static image made permanent in stone; one could command big, public audiences, the other was usually seen by a limited number of viewers. Pantomime is known to us largely from the evidence of radically divergent discourses in antiquity (pro and con), whilst sarcophagus decoration speaks for itself in a generally more unified voice.³

Yet as well as these differences, there are also substantial similarities between pantomime and sarcophagus art which suggest that some comparison of the two would be worthwhile. Both interpreted well-known subject-matter to their viewers, inspiring reflection on the human condition through a visual display. This could involve a two-way flow of influences between pantomime and the figurative arts, as Lada-Richards has already shown.⁴ But sarcophagi offer a further connection to be considered since they shared with pantomime a fundamental engagement with the human body which was manifest in various ways. Both aimed to bring characters to life by appealing to spectators' minds and senses, and both explored the tension between external physical appearance and inner content. For the sarcophagi this depended on an obvious contrast: for while the corpse decayed within, the mask-like facade of external decoration recreated in enduring form experiences of human life and the ideals and identities of living society. The dance was by all accounts a physical tour de force as the pantomime moved through a sequence of characters, bringing out their inner qualities through changes of external attributes such as mask and costumes, and through his body language. Some of the poses may have imitated famous statues, so adding sculptural associations to the physical portrayal of characters

² Lada-Richards (2003a), 25.

³ Lada-Richards (2005), esp. 26–33 and 40–8. With a few exceptions (e.g. Amedick (1991), nos. 97, 214, 240, 283, which show 'everyday' professions), the iconography of Roman sarcophagi tends to use a symbolic language.

⁴ Lada-Richards (2004a), esp. 25–35; also (2003a), 57 n. 118.

in a form of intertextuality that was also used on sarcophagus reliefs.⁵ Thus boundaries could be blurred between the two different forms of art, just as their own representations blurred existential boundaries between the dancer and his subjects or between the living and the dead. This centrality of the human body offers 'important clues as to how any particular society envisages such basic aspects of human experience as the body, gender, sexual desire, injury, and suffering, in addition to the great physical rites of passage such as mating, birth, and death'. These words were written about 'the somatic quality of theatre', but could equally well apply to the visual imagery of sarcophagi.⁶

The society that forms the focus of this paper is the city of Rome and its environs where the sarcophagi in question were made and used, mainly from the second century onwards.⁷ They are a major source of private art in the city, especially in the third century and fourth century AD, and their decoration provides many important clues about its contemporary social values. But there are other reasons why Rome is an eminently suitable locus for this enquiry. Acting had been an integral part of its elite funerary traditions in the republic, as the dead were impersonated by actors carrying or wearing masks, and miming their characteristics; and reflections of this (in the central portrait busts, for instance) were still to be found in sarcophagi.⁸ As for pantomime in particular, Rome had played a seminal role in its development as a new type of theatrical performance in the early Augustan period and in the subsequent introduction into theatrical iconography of its distinctive pantomime mask.⁹ Romans at all levels of society, it seems, raved about pantomime and its performers, and their attachment to it drew it into all kinds of

⁵ See e.g. Lucian *On Dancing*, 35. Lada-Richards (2004a). For well-known mythological statue types on sarcophagi: e.g. Koch and Sichtermann (1982), 147–8 (Three Graces); 167 (Narcissus); 213 (Cupid and Psyche). See also Stewart (2003), 99–108.

⁶ Hall (2004), 63.

⁷ 'Made' covers the fact that sarcophagi would have been imported to the area semi-prepared, and decoration completed and lids added locally: e.g. Koch and Sichtermann (1982), 21.

⁸ Flower (1996), 99–100, 105, 114–15, 318; Sumi (2002), 559–85.

⁹ For Rome and pantomime, see e.g. Csapo and Slater (1994), 379, 23A; the chapters below by Hunt (Ch. 7), Panayotakis (Ch. 8), and Ingleheart (Ch. 9), and also Jory (2001), 16–18 for impact on iconography.

power games and ideological discourses—that is to say, into crucial social and cultural issues which also surface in the decoration of Roman sarcophagi.¹⁰

The discussion that follows will consider pantomime and sarcophagus imagery in terms of their subjects, their presentation and their actors, with a concluding section that looks at their viewers. But first it is necessary to show why simply looking for individual pantomime motifs on Roman sarcophagi does not prove a very useful route to take.

PANTOMIME MOTIFS ON SARCOPHAGI

Across Roman art as a whole, visual evidence for pantomime is problematic because there seems to be so very little of it in comparison with the huge popularity of the dance as revealed by written sources.¹¹ One factor in this is our own difficulty in identifying clear signifiers of pantomime in visual images, such as the dancer's costume or closed-mouth mask. A second reason seems to belong to antiquity: as Dunbabin suggests, 'ancient artists have deliberately omitted the distinguishing features that might enable us to identify them' as a pantomime performance.¹² This may have been in an attempt to close the distance that exists between a performance and its viewers, but it leaves us largely without the signals to distinguish representations of the performance of a myth from those of the myth *per se*.¹³

As a result, modern researchers have little in the way of conclusive material with which to work when they try to find images of performance in Roman figurative art, such as sculpture, mosaics, or wall-paintings. Instead they are left to focus on more circumstantial topics, such as subject-matter, interest in sexually provocative images, images

¹⁰ Lada-Richards (2003a), 40; also 34–40 for literary evidence.

¹¹ For surveys see e.g. Jory (1996) and (2001); Dunbabin (2004), 161–3; Lada-Richards (2004a) and (2007).

¹² Dunbabin (2004), 162.

¹³ See Huskinson (2003), 137–41 for discussion of this general problem in terms of some floor-mosaics at Antioch.

of the audience, and gestures and costume.¹⁴ Sometimes too their discussions of 'pantomime' imagery seem to relate more easily to recitations or to staged tableaux with a larger number of actors.¹⁵ All in all, depictions of pantomime as danced by a single, non-speaking performer, using a sequence of closed-mouth masks, are particularly hard to identify.¹⁶

This is likely to be even more the case when investigating the decoration of sarcophagi, since its funerary purpose and conventional tendencies make it far less likely than domestic floor-mosaics or wall-paintings to include references to the dance. There are a few images—of mythological events such as Orpheus playing to the animals and dancing at Cupid festivities or in Bacchic processions—which could be related to 'real-life' performances or re-enactments; but these apart, the general problems of identifying pantomime imagery remain, leaving the distinctive closed-mouth mask as the main signifier to trace.¹⁷ Even this occurs on only two surviving sarcophagi from Rome, according to Jory's survey.¹⁸

Yet few though they are, these examples are instructive because of the specific contexts in which the closed-mouth masks appear. On the earlier sarcophagus (dated to the early Antonine period), the rest of the imagery is resolutely Bacchic.¹⁹ The chest is decorated with scenes of the early life of the god, while the lid shows eight closed-mouth masks representing various Bacchic characters—the god himself, Ariadne, Pan, maenad, satyr, and Silenus—amidst various cult objects. It has been suggested that these masks could relate to a pantomime performed in the context of some Bacchic cult event,

¹⁴ See e.g. Huskinson (2003), 157; Muth (1998), 310–12; Lancha (1997), 343; Lada-Richards (2004a); Malineau (2003).

¹⁵ See e.g. Lancha (1997), 307–8.

¹⁶ But see above, Introduction, pp. 12–13 on possible representations of pantomime in wall-painting.

¹⁷ Orpheus: e.g. Ewald (1999), 189, F9; Varro, *De re rustica* 3.13.3. Cupids: Turcan (1966), 588–9; Amedick (1991), 15, pl. 53. Bacchic (which also includes wild animals shown in the 'Indian Triumph' that recall circus displays): Turcan (1966), 460–3; Geyer (1977), 42–93.

¹⁸ Jory (2001), 1–20.

¹⁹ Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 124736. From Via Casilina. See Turcan (1966), 136–9, 403–4; Matz (1969), 357–9, no. 206; Giuliano (1985), 270–3, no. vi, 6 (L. Musso, with further bibliography); Jory (2001), 2.

and this would fit well with the scenes on the chest, with their strong religious and funerary overtones.²⁰

The second instance, on a fragment of the late third century, juxtaposes the pantomime mask with the Muses, contextualizing it in the rich iconography of learning and high culture that was so popular in funerary self representation of the time. It is depicted along with three open-mouth theatrical masks below an inscription panel that was flanked by individual figures of the Muses.²¹ Although the Muses appeared frequently on Roman sarcophagi, they are not associated there with pantomime. Polyhymnia was linked with pantomime in some literary passages (see above, p. 37), but she is never shown on sarcophagi holding pantomime's distinctive mask as Melpomene and Thalia do for tragedy and comedy respectively.²² (In fact the figures traditionally identified with Polyhymnia on Muse sarcophagi are particularly static; she is usually resting pensively with her elbow on a pillar or rock, while the scroll she is sometimes shown carrying suggests some link with oratory.²³) So on this fragment it is impossible to confirm whether any special point was intended by juxtaposing the pantomime mask with the Muses. It was probably meant as a reference to the theatre in general, rather than to pantomime in particular. After all, theatrical masks are often found on sarcophagi filling this space below the central feature (portrait or inscription); like other small images used there, they allude to popular interests or ideals, in this case tapping into theatre as a token of culture and enjoyment.²⁴

Wider theatrical allusions are also evident in what is probably the most concerted discussion of pantomime imagery on sarcophagi to date, in Turcan's survey of the sources of sarcophagus imagery, and

²⁰ Matz (1969), 358–9; cf. Geyer (1977), 77–9. On Arcadian and Bacchic figures as themes in pantomime, see also above, Introduction, pp. 13 and 32–3.

²¹ Fragment in Vatican Museums inv. no. 31504. Only figures of Thalia and Erato (? with a plectrum) survive. Jory (2001), 11–12, pl. 16.

²² Panella (1967), 17, 40–2 compares literary and visual sources, noting this discrepancy on sarcophagi; Jory (2001), 18. For Polyhymnia associated with pantomime on a third-century Roman mosaic at Elis, see Hall (2002a), 5 n. 5.

²³ Wegner (1966), 109–10; Panella (1967), 18–19. Given the traditional tension between oratory and pantomime, this is interesting: here, perhaps, is a depicted figure who straddles the fine line between the two.

²⁴ Turcan (1966), 321.

its reading.²⁵ In trying to explain the choice of some mythological scenes he turns to contemporary theatre, and finds that many myths on sarcophagi also appear amongst those listed by ancient sources for pantomime performance.²⁶ Yet much of what he goes on to discuss is more to do with theatrical performance in general—these topics include ‘dramatic’ presentation and costume, the division of narrative into episodes, and backdrops resembling a *frons scaenae*—all of which occur frequently on sarcophagi.²⁷

Even Turcan’s iconographical survey therefore adds little specifically to do with pantomime, besides the question of common subject-matter. The conclusion so far has to be that in terms of explicit references to pantomime, extremely few are offered for us to recognise in the imagery of sarcophagi; they are also hard to evaluate. Certainly they seem very limited in number or prominence when compared with scenes of other popular performances that took place in the arena or circus, although none of these is extensively represented.²⁸

SUBJECT-MATTER

So far as it can be reconstructed, the repertory of pantomime subjects was largely composed of mythological stories, many of which were also known from versions in literature.²⁹ Lucian’s defence of pantomime stressed how a dancer should know the whole of mythology as well as ancient history and the works of Homer, Hesiod, and the ‘best poets’.³⁰ Some of the themes would have had some cultic value (as on the Dionysiac sarcophagus mentioned above), but many others had an obvious appeal to an audience through their familiar tales of heroism, passion, and erotic adventures. Stories of great mythological lovers seem to have been particularly popular. On Roman sarcophagi, too, myth was a major source of topics, particularly in

²⁵ Turcan (1978), 1721–8.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 1721–2.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 1723–4.

²⁸ See Koch and Sichtermann (1982), 122–4; Stroszeck (1998), 37–67.

²⁹ For subjects of pantomime see especially Molloy (1996), 276–87; also see Hall (2002a), 29 n. 97.

³⁰ Lucian, *On Dancing* 61.

the second century, and its manner of presentation drew on compositions and iconographies that were originally Greek. It served a broad range of functions, for the use of myth in private art meant that 'discourses which could not be formulated otherwise were expressed and societal values were transposed into a heightened world of ideals and dreams'.³¹ Thus on sarcophagi mythological subjects often brought with them a cultural inheritance from Greece, reinvigorated by contemporary *paideia*; but they also served to reaffirm traditionally Roman values about life and love and the social qualities such as *pietas* and *concordia* which underpinned them. (The story of Admetus and Alcestis is a classic example of this.³²) Myth could also evoke a parallel, imagined universe of enjoyment; it provided an acceptable iconography for representing eroticism and physical desire.³³ But it also offered a way of depicting darker emotions such as loss and grief (through the myth of Meleager, for instance), and destructive experiences (exemplified by the stories of Phaedra and Medea) which lay beyond the means of normative imagery to represent.³⁴

Yet despite these important common themes there was some discrepancy between the myths danced in pantomime and those depicted on sarcophagi. Turcan noted that while almost all of the latter also featured as performances, not all the recorded pantomime topics appear on sarcophagi (and of those that did some made only a brief appearance, usually towards the end of the second century).³⁵ This is not surprising since pantomime by all accounts had a catholic approach to its choice of myth, while visual arts were far more selective, like literature and rhetoric choosing subjects which could find particular resonance with educated viewers.³⁶ The overlap of subjects occurred in the use of myths which could be read as *exempla* or analogues for great themes of life, love and death.³⁷ Lucian's

³¹ Muth (1998), 350 (trans. J. Trimble). Zanker and Ewald (2004), 36–42. For myth on sarcophagi generally, see e.g. Koortbojian (1995) and Zanker and Ewald (2004).

³² See e.g. Koch and Sichtermann (1982), 136–8. For Alcestis as a theme of pantomime, see Hall, this volume, Ch. 12.

³³ Zanker and Ewald (2004), 117–77.

³⁴ Huskinson (2002), 19–24; Zanker and Ewald (2004), 60–115.

³⁵ Turcan (1978), 1726–7.

³⁶ A similar discrepancy (presumably with similar causes) was noted by Lucian, *On Dancing* 31, between the subjects of pantomime and tragedy.

³⁷ Turcan (1978), 1730.

defence of pantomime rather implies that all its subject-matter could induce such reflection, but on sarcophagi the range of myths that could fit this purpose was always going to be smaller, given other considerations of ideology and iconographical traditions. As Koortbojian showed with examples from the myths of Adonis and Endymion, the familiarity of the visual compositions and plots encouraged viewers to draw sophisticated analogies with their own experiences.³⁸

Many of the great themes of Greek myth that were performed in pantomime and carved on sarcophagi had also been the subject of tragedies. Literature (not only drama but also poetry and *ekphrasis*) and the literary awareness of spectators must always have been important factors in the representation of myth in dance and sculpture as well as in the relationship between these two media. But examples are hard to pin down, certainly in individual cases. There is a close parallel, for instance, between the series of scenes in a pantomime performance of the love of Aphrodite and Ares described by Lucian—Helios telling tales, Hephaestus' entrapment of the lovers, gods looking on, Aphrodite's shame and Ares begging for mercy—and those that unfold on a sarcophagus in Grottaferrata (Fig. 3.1). Left to right, the sarcophagus depicts the marriage of Hephaestus and Aphrodite, Helios and various gods witnessing Hephaestus in the act of catching the lovers who leap apart in response.³⁹ Yet both must have looked back to the Homeric account in *Odyssey*, 8.266–320. The long space of this front panel allowed all these episodes to be shown, and in consequence the myth here appears to support conventional morality by depicting the shameful fate of adulterers who cheat on a lawful spouse. But quite a different emphasis emerges on other sarcophagi where the myth is heavily abbreviated to fit much smaller panels; these versions omit Hephaestus and the other gods (and thus the whole context of adultery) leaving Aphrodite and Ares to remain, as role models of blissful love that are even used to commemorate married couples.⁴⁰

³⁸ Koortbojian (1995), esp. 9, 11–12.

³⁹ Lucian, *On Dancing* 63 = T19. Grottaferrata, Museo dell'Abbazia: Sichtermann (1992), no. 6, pl. 4, 1.

⁴⁰ Koch and Sichtermann (1982), 142–3; Zanker and Ewald (2004), 197–8.



Figure 3.1 Sarcophagus showing myth of Aphrodite and Ares. Grottaferata, Museo dell' Abbazia.

This ability to let a single, essential idea override inconvenient aspects of the story-line is also seen in the treatment of other myths on sarcophagi, and particularly those that show great love affairs. A famous example in the Vatican Museums shows a man and woman portrayed as Achilles in the act of killing Penthesileia, where the overall message must have been the power of their love in the face of death, ignoring the mythological details.⁴¹ This approach seems like a short-cut, easier version of the more sophisticated and complex readings that Koortbojian has shown to be possible for other presentations of myth on sarcophagi; as such, it might perhaps have something in common with the kind of understanding that pantomime could arouse in a fast-moving sequence of 'significant' episodes from myth. Here perhaps is an insight into the kind of mythological knowledge that Libanius sees as an educational benefit of pantomime—that it taught a repertoire of simplified stories of the past to the likes of goldsmiths who would not otherwise have had access to more exclusive forms of cultural instruction.⁴²

It is this power to affect their audiences and give them insights into human experience that links the subjects chosen for the pantomime and for the sarcophagi, so it is not surprising that myth was their main common source.⁴³ Although topics from poetry and history were also apparently presented in dance, not enough detail survives

⁴¹ Koch and Sichtermann (1982), 139 nn.19 and 20.

⁴² Libanius *Or.* 64.112 = T27; see also above, Introduction, p. 6.

⁴³ Lucian, *On Dancing* 4.

to discuss them usefully as parallels with sarcophagi.⁴⁴ One possible exception is the theme of the rustic idyll: Libanius describes how dancers evoke peaceful effects in their spectators through evoking rural idyll with animals and shepherds, and this has clear resonances with the bucolic imagery which decorated so many Roman sarcophagi in the third and fourth centuries after myth began to wane.⁴⁵

PERFORMANCE AND PRESENTATION

In aiming to move their respective audiences, pantomime performance and sarcophagus sculpture shared a fundamental purpose; and despite their radical differences as art forms, they also used some similar means of achieving it, through compelling visualizations of a story that was often very well known. In pantomime this was done by the single masked dancer who interpreted a sequence of episodes through evocative movements and costuming, and to the accompaniment of a sung narrative and a rhythmic beat. Sarcophagi were also concerned to present the essentials of the tale, epitomized and 'fixed in an image that would sustain the extended engagement of the beholder'.⁴⁶ Each required a persuasive presentation by their actors and narration of separate episodes melded into a meaningful whole.

References to ancient pantomimes suggest that they moved fast and furiously from one subject to the next: there are descriptions of dancers who linked a series of subjects simply by gestures, or who could present highlights of a narrative in an unaccustomed order. Spectators would have used their own imagination and knowledge to add it all together, helped by the accompanying song.⁴⁷ Viewers of sarcophagi must have responded in the same way, although the

⁴⁴ See e.g. Ovid, *Tristia* 2.519–20; Suetonius, *Nero* 54; Lucian, *On Dancing* 36–7; Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.17.5. Hall (2002a), 27.

⁴⁵ Libanius, *Or.* 64.116; Koch and Sichtermann (1982), 116–20. See also above, Introduction, pp. 32–3.

⁴⁶ Koortbojian (1995), 120. See also *ibid.* 117–20 for discussion of the relationship between performances of myth and various forms of visual image, including sarcophagi.

⁴⁷ Hall (2002a), 13.

images they saw were static and usually stable in their traditional iconographies. Like many other forms of Roman commemorative art, the decoration of sarcophagi presented some challenges as to the best way to depict visual narratives to their viewers. While the dance had an inexorable linear chronological progression from start to finish, the long front panels of sarcophagi meant that viewers could see a number of scenes more or less at once and needed some visual guidance to link them together into a meaningful whole.⁴⁸ This was done in a variety of ways.

Perhaps the most obvious arrangement was to juxtapose episodes from the same subject in some kind of linear frieze. On 'biographical' sarcophagi this results in a 'cradle to the grave' progression, while mythological examples show a chronological sequence of events building up to the climax of the story.⁴⁹ But from the later second century onwards there is a shift away from this approach towards arranging episodes according to their relative significance, with the most important event placed in the centre in order to give the viewer's attention an immediate focus. Thus children's sarcophagi put the deathbed at the centre flanked by scenes of the boy's life-time activities, and adult biographies displayed not a chronological progress of a career, but episodes—and finally a reduction to a single episode—of significant virtue.⁵⁰ A similar process was found on mythological sarcophagi which came increasingly to concentrate on great, 'heroic moments'.⁵¹ Since all these non-chronological arrangements emphasised the value of such highlights, it was left to viewers to interpret them and relate them to the original story.

The reduction of narrative compositions to maximise their symbolic content can be seen on sarcophagi of various designs. On friezes it often produced a central focal group or a sequence of individual, epitomized scenes, while columnar and strigillated sarcophagi

⁴⁸ Brilliant (1984), 164; Holliday (1993), 5–6. A similar range of viewing possibilities must have existed in tombs displaying several sarcophagi each decorated with different subject-matter (e.g. Dresken-Weiland (2003), figs. 3, 18, and 19): how could viewers link them all together?

⁴⁹ Kampen (1981), 47–50 (biographical), and 57 n. 59 (mythological examples).

⁵⁰ See Kampen (1981), 53–8.

⁵¹ Kampen (1981); Brilliant (1984), 163; Koortbojian (1995); Muth (1998), 164–70 (for Achilles on Scyros). Cf. Huskinson (2003), 143–4 for a suggested reading of a 'theatrical' mosaic at Antioch, in comparable narrative terms.



Figure 3.2 Strigillated sarcophagus, Munich Glyptotek inv. no. 533.

divided the front into smaller panels which needed only a few, immediately recognizable figures.⁵² Sometimes the most significant episode was highlighted in a central niche, as on the strigillated sarcophagus shown in Figure 3.2.⁵³ This typical arrangement, with subsidiary scenes in the two corner panels, creates a tripartite framework which, for Turcan, recalled the architecture of the theatre back-drop.⁵⁴ Perhaps more immediately akin to the theatre was the use of formulaic poses and distinctive attributes to identify the protagonists in these economically depicted scenes, and to convey a sense of their actions in a way that made them easily and speedily recognised.

Strigillated sarcophagi were hugely popular in Rome from the mid-second to the late fourth centuries AD, and their alternation of fluted panels and figured scenes (as in Fig. 3.2) has analogies with another aspect of pantomime performance—its pacing. This was by all accounts a vital part of the dance, with dramatic contrasts between stillness and movement: Plutarch described how the dancers’

⁵² See e.g. Koch and Sichtermann (1982), 192, fig. 230 (Bacchus and Ariadne); 148–9, fig. 166–8 (Labours of Hercules).

⁵³ Munich, Glyptotek inv. no. 533. Ewald (1999), 186–7, Fl.

⁵⁴ Turcan (1978), 1724. For the sarcophagus type: Koch and Sichtermann (1982), 74, fig. 2, types 8–12.

movements led into static poses, 'when they arrange their bodies into an Apollo, Pan or Bacchant, as in a picture'.⁵⁵ Backed as it was by the sound of the rhythmic beat, this alternation between lively movement and 'frozen moments' must have been mesmerizing for the spectators. In the words of Webb, such performances could induce a state of multi-level awareness in the audience, of being 'in the moment' and 'out of the moment' as the dance moved on.⁵⁶ This element in the dance performance has clear resonances with the treatment of time and space on these sarcophagi, showing again how useful pantomime can be 'to think with' about their decoration.

The realization of myth in the form of serial solo dances had introduced a new aesthetic into Roman cultural life and sensory experience, and the popularity of the new medium made it inevitable that this new aesthetic would affect other forms of visual representation, however difficult it is precisely to define and document this process. Yet the broad analogy is clear in the way that, as in the dance, flowing movement of the fluting is alternated sharply with static poses, while the inherent symmetry of the arrangement gives a regular rhythm to the whole design. Viewers are drawn 'in' and 'out of the moment', as they engage and disengage with the depicted figures, and the whole design displays harmony and symmetry (which for Lucian's Lycinus also typified the pantomime). The sarcophagus shown in Figure 3.2 is a good illustration. The contrast between moving and static elements is not confined to fluting and figures, but is developed across the whole panel: drapery folds echo the curving flutes, while the statue-like plinths and the heavy architectural details provide fixed points for the eye to rest upon. The balance of contrasting imagery in designs like these creates a rhythm akin to the syncopated pacing of the pantomime dance.⁵⁷

Along with this evocative timing, another vital part of the pantomime's repertory was use of significant gestures which drew viewers into the content of the performance. Many literary sources tell how dancers could convey mood, character, and even situations simply

⁵⁵ Plutarch, *Symptotic Questions* 9.15.1 = *Mor.* 747c; Lada-Richards (2004a).

⁵⁶ See above, Ch. 1, pp. 57–9.

⁵⁷ Cf. Lucian, *On Dancing* 35: dance copies 'above all else' the *eurhythmia* of painting and sculpture.

through their movements.⁵⁸ As Lada-Richards has analysed in some detail, this reliance on non-verbal means was also shared with the visual arts and can be related to contemporary rhetorical concepts of clarity (*saphēneia*), visualization (*enargeia*), and narrative description (*ekphrasis*) which underpinned their presentation.⁵⁹ So, like pantomime, sarcophagus imagery made great use of significant gestures which their respective audiences would recognize and understand. Clear, codified gestures become increasingly important during the third century as part of the collection of visual devices that go toward the construction of the 'significant moment' (along with the abbreviation of figured scenes, set episodes, and the centralization of the most potent event, as already described). Some of these gestures would have had their basis in general conventions relating to particular social contexts; examples are the handshake shown in Figure 3.2 and attitudes of mourning (sunken heads of the bereaved, and the flailing arms, bared breasts and loosened hair of the *praeficae*, the principal female mourners).⁶⁰ Others played an important part in constructing identity and were often transferred from one significant context to another. Thus oratorical gestures with the fingers mark out men (and women too) as educated authority figures.⁶¹ The raised, open-handed gesture made by victorious generals and successful hunters on third-century sarcophagi came from imperial iconography and gained importance in private art as performance became increasingly emphasized in self-representation.⁶² This gesture would have been widely understood, indicating not just a single act of triumph or courage, but a person for whom *virtus* was a permanent and self-evident characteristic.

⁵⁸ See Lada-Richards (2004a), 31 for examples.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, and Lada-Richards (2003a), 53–5.

⁶⁰ Handshake: Davies (1985), 638–9; mourning: Corbeill (2004), 77–88; e.g. Koch and Sichtermann (1982), pls. 110–12 and 115.

⁶¹ See e.g. extending first two fingers with others turned inward, cf. Kranz (1984) nos. 27 and 55 and Amedick (1991), nos. 169 and 186 with Quintilian 11.3.98. First finger extended and others turned inward: cf. Kranz (1984), nos. 38 and 46, with Quintilian 11.3.94.

⁶² Brilliant (1963), 185–8; also Koch and Sichtermann (1982), pls. 77/78, 87, 92. For importance of performance in third-century self-representation: Borg and Witschel (2001).

ACTOR

It is in discussing the actor that some of the most substantial things can be said about the relationship between pantomime and the sarcophagi. Qualities needed by the dancer were set out by Lucian's Lycinus in a long and comprehensive list: he should manifest physical grace, intellectual enthusiasm, cultural depth and humanity, and in short, be 'perfect in every point'.⁶³ The idealization of these desiderata recalls the qualities displayed by so many figures who regularly fill the panels of Roman sarcophagi. In their physical delineations, model activities and cultural associations these are paradigms of perfection, or at least indicators of the human potential for it. So much for the ideal. The real-life pantomime dancer was 'perceived as a distinctive and recognizable type of person: competitive, attractive, effeminate, temperamental'; these are qualities that on sarcophagi could only be represented by mythological figures with ambivalent personal histories.⁶⁴

But on another level the figure of the actor—in both art forms—is bound up with substantial questions of mimesis and identity and 'the tension between imitating and becoming'.⁶⁵ In the pantomime, as in other forms of theatre, the performer's identity was open to question—not just because he represented multiple characters and multiple moods in a single dance, but because of the act of representation itself. This gap between the real person and the represented was perceived as a potential moral trap for the dancer himself and for the spectator, whose proper and stable sense of self could be undermined by engaging with this pretence.

These attitudes are all well documented in contemporary literature, including a significant debate (found particularly in the late republic and early empire) about the fine line of difference between

⁶³ Lucian, *On Dancing* 81.

⁶⁴ Duncan (2006), 194. Cf. Csapo and Slater (1994), 383, no. 36: epitaphs of pantomimes often stress their moral rectitude, presumably as a reaction 'against their generally dubious reputation'.

⁶⁵ Webb (2005), 8.

the pantomime and the orator.⁶⁶ The critical difference was seen to lie in the status of their different activities: the dance was morally questionable, while the orator's performance was socially endorsed. Yet the essential similarity of their activities kept them close together: the pantomime may have been a 'scare-figure' for the orator, but was also indispensable to him as a foil.⁶⁷ Such a *prima facie* distinction between pantomime and oratory can also be detected in the iconography of sarcophagi—not surprisingly given its tendency to represent and reinforce contemporary social ideals. Scenes of declamation, for instance, feature specifically in 'biographical' treatments of the social education of the elite boy, while the stereotypical image of the citizen man is a *togatus* holding a scroll and sometimes gesticulating like an orator.⁶⁸ In contrast, theatrical performances of any type, as we have seen, are only very occasionally depicted. This type of distinction, based as it was on ideas of social acceptability and model behaviour, might suggest that pantomime dance and sarcophagi imagery were destined to be separated by an unbridgeable gulf.

Yet moving away from the context of contemporary social activities, there are similarities between the two that derive from 'the tension between imitating and becoming'.⁶⁹ These concern some fundamental aspects of human identity and their representation in different art forms. In her recent study, *Performance and Identity in the Classical World*, Duncan has argued that from the first century AD there was a substantial epistemic shift in thinking about the gap between performance and reality: whereas this had been the cause of much moral anxiety earlier on, 'the distinction between actor and character, mimesis and identity' then grew blurred.⁷⁰ As a consequence, aspects of human life became theatricalized, which turned everyone into actors entitled and empowered to push at all kinds

⁶⁶ See e.g. Duncan (2006), 182–5; below, the chapters by Lada-Richards (Ch. 13) and Schlapbach (Ch. 14).

⁶⁷ Duncan (2006), 184.

⁶⁸ See e.g. Koch and Sichtermann (1982), fig. 114 (boy) and figs. 105 and 106 (*togatus*). Also Huskinson (2002), 25 for women with scrolls.

⁶⁹ Webb (2005), 8.

⁷⁰ Duncan (2006), 216, 188–217.

of existential boundaries. Public spectacles such as gladiatorial games and staged executions offer some extravagant examples of this, but the concept also underlies roles in private life where personal identity could be represented as something more fluid and flexible than before. These qualities were of course fundamental to the representation of identity in pantomime, with the single dancer moving through a sequence of identifiable characters. But they are also found in commemorative imagery on sarcophagi, linking it with the substance of pantomime in a way worth exploring a little further.

To a certain extent it could be said that the playing out of roles was present in all types of Roman funerary memorials, where the tendency to represent the dead by stock figures of 'citizens', or as gods or heroes, also recalled the theme of 'life as a stage'.⁷¹ But sarcophagi were especially suited to this, since their long front panels had room to depict a number of scenes or activities. Furthermore, the way in which many sarcophagi were produced with stereotypical figures and heads blocked out for the later carving of personal features facilitated the creation of identities other than those expected. As in the pantomime dance, these sometimes crossed age and gender, as when, for instance, a boy's portrait was added to the body of a Muse, or a woman's head to the body of a male philosopher or hunter.⁷² Whereas cross-gendering in pantomime was seen as morally questionable and threatening, its occurrence on sarcophagi was more likely to reinforce some ideal than to transgress it.⁷³ In the examples cited, the woman took on the 'male' characteristics of learning or courage, while the young boy was shown, as it were, 'acquiring' the artistry of a Muse by being depicted with her body. These cases suggest that the gender of the agent is less important than the act itself, with all the social symbolism it implied.⁷⁴

⁷¹ See e.g. Stewart (2003), 92–6.

⁷² See e.g. Ewald (1999), 156–7, C10 (woman philosopher) and 207–8, H2 (boy Muse); Amedick (1991), no. 167; and Huskinson (2002), 26–8 (woman hunter).

⁷³ See e.g. Lada-Richards (2003a), 24–25; 42–5.

⁷⁴ But much harder to appreciate in terms of ideology—rather than sheer practicality—are the few reliefs where figures originally intended to be female were recut to represent men: e.g. Amedick (1991), nos. 285 and 286; Kranz (1984), no. 182. I am very grateful to Stine Birke Toft for references.

Here, therefore, is an important difference between the dance and the sarcophagus image. Whereas the facility to slip between identities made theatrical performance morally and socially threatening, on sarcophagi it made a positive contribution to the iconography of self-representation.⁷⁵ Multiple roles and identities were frequently depicted, and fit with the increasing emphasis on performance as a means of conveying an individual's social qualities.⁷⁶ Some of the most graphic examples of this kind of role play occur when the humans are represented as mythological characters, by adding their portrait features to the body of a god, or depicting them in the heroic nude.⁷⁷ This means of associating humans with the divine occurred on Roman funerary monuments in the late first and early second centuries AD (these were often associated with freedmen); on sarcophagi it was most popular in the early third century. There it usually involved myths that tackled themes of heroic love and courage, such as Admetus and Alcestis, Meleager and Atalanta, or Achilles and Penthesilea, rather than stories with more socially transgressive implications, such as Medea or the Niobids.⁷⁸ The use of this mythological context, with its scope for nudity and themes of passion, could supply an eroticism to the portrayal of upstanding citizens that other, 'civic' iconography denied.⁷⁹ On the other hand, one of the most popular subjects that was tackled in this way was far more socially conventional: this is the depiction of women as Muses, sometimes as the tenth Muse standing alongside the nine or even replacing one of them in a figure which combined human portrait features with a mythological body and attributes.⁸⁰

A similar flexibility of identities is suggested by another set of images on sarcophagi which show the dead in human life enacting various social roles. While the mythological scenes had raised

⁷⁵ Lada-Richards (2003a), 25–6; 66–70; Webb (2005).

⁷⁶ Borg and Witschel (2001) for performance of significant acts becoming more important in third-century self-representation than static forms, such as honorific statues.

⁷⁷ See e.g. Zanker and Ewald (2004), 197–202; Hallett (2005), 199–204.

⁷⁸ Thanks to Zahra Newby for this information: E.g. Zanker and Ewald (2004), figs 31, 33, 36, 118, 182 and 184.

⁷⁹ Muth (1998), 307.

⁸⁰ Ewald (1999), 49–50.

questions about the existential status of mortals who were identified with gods, or linked them with heroic passions, images based on contemporary society aimed to present different facets of their social persona. This is clearly so on 'biographical' sarcophagi which showed a man engaged in a number of different activities that signified not only key moments in an elite career but also cardinal Roman social values such as *pietas*, *concordia*, *virtus*, and *clementia*.⁸¹ Some third-century sarcophagi reduced this imagery still further by showing a single figure repeated several times over but in different costumes which symbolise different social roles.⁸² A famous example is a sarcophagus in Naples (Fig. 3.3), dated around AD 250, which shows the dead man dressed in different types of toga and a Greek-style *himation* as he is depicted (from left to right) in public office, as a man of culture, as a citizen and finally as a married man.⁸³ As in pantomime, costume and gesture are important in constructing these different identities.⁸⁴ This is reinforced by a final set of examples from strigillated sarcophagi, illustrated well by the example discussed earlier (Fig. 3.2). In this popular five-panel arrangement, where two sections of fluting separate the figured scenes, it was quite common to find the man and woman shown together at the centre repeated again in the corners, but in a different way. Here, for instance, the man and woman shaking hands like a married couple in the centre are depicted separately at the corners, he like a philosopher and she posing like a Muse.⁸⁵ These different modes of portrayal appear to identify them in aspects of their life which are distinctive yet complementary. The use of statue bases for the corner figures is also fairly common, implying some different plane of existence for those who are shown in this statuesque way.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Brilliant (1963), 157–61; Kampen (1981), 51–3.

⁸² Zanker and Ewald (2004), 186–7; Hallett (2005), 215; cf. also 208–22.

⁸³ Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. No. 6603. Ewald (1999), 200–1, G9; Hallett (2005), 213–14.

⁸⁴ See e.g. Brilliant (1963), *passim*; Hallett (2005), 212–15. See also Wyles, Ch. 2 this volume.

⁸⁵ Also Ewald (1999), 186–8, F1 and F3; 194–6, F28, F30, and F31.

⁸⁶ Cf. Stewart (2003), 108: 'Good Romans became statues, as it were, when they died'; also 99–108 and esp. 103–8 re. the *dextrarum iunctio* in such contexts.



Figure 3.3 Biographical sarcophagus, Naples, Museo Nazionale inv. no. 6603.

On sarcophagi, therefore, multiple identities (including cross-gendered ones) were positive features and an effective means of evoking the multi-faceted life of the model citizen. Their acceptability as a visual device is in obvious contrast with the negative evaluation often articulated in moralising discourses of the dancer's many roles. Yet could it be that familiarity with pantomime performances was a factor in the preparation of viewers of sarcophagi in the perception, understanding, and appreciation of the series of figures that confronted them?⁸⁷

VIEWERS

The person of the viewer, who has been a constant presence in this discussion, provides a useful place in which to draw together some conclusions. The pantomime spectator was a figure of prime concern in the ancient debates on the moral impact of the dance,

⁸⁷ Lada-Richards (2003a), 45–46. Cf. Lada-Richards (2003a), 47, on *virtus* as the quality of manliness: on sarcophagi it was traditionally represented by a female figure: e.g. Brilliant (1963), 186–7, fig. 4.65.

while for sarcophagi the viewer has recently become important to scholars pursuing ideas about identity, the gaze, and cognitive and emotional responses to viewing.⁸⁸ In practice, though, the experiences of Roman viewers are likely to have been somewhat different to those discussed by either set of commentators. Pantomime audiences probably went away well entertained, with their morals unimpaired, while visitors to the tomb may not have bothered with much iconographical analysis (especially if they could scarcely see the sarcophagus decoration in a small, dark burial chamber⁸⁹). Importantly for this discussion, there was probably a large overlap between these two groups of viewers given the wide mainstream appeal of both pantomime and sarcophagi especially in the third century.

If the viewers of each art form were likely to be largely the same, so too were the methods used to make the visual aspects of each medium appeal to them through recognizable costume, gestures, and narrative highlights. Some of these were time-honoured mechanisms, but others may be related more directly to contemporary cultural trends which affected both pantomime and the iconography of sarcophagi. These include the tendency to epitomize certain narratives (written or visual), an increasing emphasis on performance to signify identity, and with this a collapsing of the distinction between 'imitating and becoming'. This, then, is the huge area shared by pantomime and sarcophagus imagery, a common cultural hinterland. The visual language that the two media used shared common formal, aesthetic vocabulary and syntax because the communities that enjoyed them were to an important degree co-extensive.

Where the two media differ, however, is in what was actually said in that shared language, for they do diverge in some major areas of subject-matter. Despite some mythological subjects that touched on the darker side of life, sarcophagus art was bound to offer positive images to the viewer, such as scenes of a blissful imaginary world, idealized role models, or even ordinary prosperity and happiness in vignettes and portraits from 'everyday life'. This divergence may be explained by the very particular function of the funerary decoration,

⁸⁸ See e.g. Koortbojian (1995); Zanker and Ewald (2004).

⁸⁹ For discussion of visibility and the viewing of sarcophagi, see Dresken-Weiland (2003), 188–9.

which had to present its own 'mask' equivalent in front of the human body. For in terms of discourses around the pantomime, this iconography expresses an attitude to the function of art that was consonant with that of the orator, or of advocates such as Lucian's Lycinus. It gave viewers the chance to identify themselves as they were and what they could become, just as the dancer might aim to present all spectators with a mirror of themselves and the chance to learn something from its reflection which would make them people better in the future.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Lucian, *On Dancing* 81.

Pantomime Actresses in Latin Inscriptions

John H. Starks, Jr.

BYZANTIUM'S FEMALE DANCERS

The dramatic dance that imperial Romans most often called 'pantomime' was an extremely popular theatrical genre, provoking intense awareness and imitation of artists' trademark gestures, and fierce partisan loyalties and occasional riots among fans.¹ As John Jory has recently commented, if a friend invited you to go to a theatrical event in imperial times, you would know you were going to see a pantomime.² The two most important literary resources for our understanding of pantomime, Lucian's *On Dancing* and Libanius' *Defence of Dancers against Aristides* (*Oration* 64), are the rare classical works that focus on professional acting practices of any genre. Both are wry, rather sophistic responses to the popular pantomime fad in their agreement that pantomime, as they knew it, successfully presented narratives (usually myths) through silent, interpretive dance performed to the accompaniment of a chorus that sang the libretto, and that the solo, principal dancer was typically a masked, male virtuoso, capable of changing characters freely, especially between genders and temperaments. Only Libanius directly mentions women's contributions to the profession, as members of the mixed-gender choruses (*Or.* 64.87).³

¹ See Jory (1984) and Slater (1994a) on the pantomime riots.

² Jory (2002), 238.

³ Although both Libanius and Lucian refer to the lead dancers only in masculine terminology, it is worth brief notice that when Lucian describes the most important

By far the most descriptive testimony to a woman performing pantomime is Aristainetos' fictionalized letter (*Ep.* 1.26) from a presumably Byzantine spectator to the pantomime actress Panarete. The heart of this letter reads:

Who was not dazzled when you danced; who could watch you and not fall in love? The gods have Polyhymnia and Aphrodite. You play them onstage for us, and rightly so, adorned by the goddesses themselves. Shall I call you 'orator', or name you 'painter of realism'? You write down actions, you express all sorts of words, you are absolutely the body image of all nature, using your hands for different formations and varied expressions (*cheiri polyschēmōi kai poikilois ēthesi kechrēmenē*) instead of colours and speech; and like some Egyptian Proteus you appear to change from one character to another to the accompaniment of the artful song of the [pantomime] chorus. The people have risen straight up in amazement, and they offer responsive sounds in unison and move their hands and wave their clothing; then, after sitting down, they fully describe to each other each individual movement of your versatile silence (*hekaston kinēmata polutropou sigēs*), and every spectator in pleasure tries to be a gesticulator/pantomime (*cheironomos*). But meanwhile by devotedly imitating only the famous Karamallos, you have the imitation of all things down perfectly.⁴

This woman is most certainly being described as a principal pantomime dancer, considering that Aristainetos lists all the most recognizable features of pantomime performance: she dances the roles of Aphrodite and Polyhymnia, the patron muse of pantomime,⁵

feature of pantomime performance, the solo-dancer in multiple male and female roles, he designates that dancer as a single 'person' (*anthrōpos*) not a single 'man' (*anēr*, *On Dancing* 67 = T22). But, of course, it is more likely that Lucian applies the broader gender terminology to accentuate the actor's onstage, cross-gender role-playing rather than to suggest the possibility that the person behind the mask might be either male or female.

⁴ References to Constantinople as the 'New Rome,' the term 'Pharian' Proteus, and the pantomime Karamallos date this work to the late fifth or early sixth century AD. Karamallos was a particularly popular name c. AD 490–520 for principal pantomimes of the Green faction (Malalas, *Chron.* 15.386; Malalas fr. 43 (*Excerpta de Insidiis*), ed. C. de Boor (1905), 170). Dancers named Karamallos also appear on a contorniate medallion of Valentinian III (AD 425–455, see Jory (1996), 7, fig. 2) and in a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.* 23.261, c. AD 463); see Cameron (1973), 175–7.

⁵ See esp. Jory (1996), 12–13, and above, Introduction, p. 37.

to the accompaniment of a vocal ensemble; with her artful gesticulation and body movement she rivals orators in silent expression of words, painters in visual realism, and Proteus in onstage shape-shifting; she models her style after Karamallos, a male pantomime star of the fifth to sixth century. Only explicit reference to the mask would complete the description, and the trademark closed mouth of that mask may be artistically implied in Panarete's 'versatile silence' and elaborate gesticulation.⁶

The poet Leontius praises the dancer Helladia in three epigrams (AP 16.284, 286, 287), which are directed ostensibly toward her static image, either in a statue or a painting. Her status as a pantomime dancer is practically confirmed in 16.287, where he recognizes her ability to mingle 'feminine grace with masculine strength' as she dances the role of Hector to the accompaniment of an original song presented by a separate vocalist. In 16.286, Leontius most boldly announces:

The feminine nature is superior in dancing; make way, young men! The Muse and Helladia have made this law: the former, because she first established the rhythms of movement, the latter, because she reached the pinnacle of her art form.⁷

So, at least in sixth-century Constantinople, men and women appear to have performed pantomime dances, though Leontius' plea for consideration of Helladia's talents indicates that male pantomimes still predominated at that late date in numbers, and probably in popularity.⁸

⁶ On the iconography of pantomime masks, see Jory (1996) and (2002).

⁷ An ivory comb from Antinoe in Egypt hails the victory of 'Helladia and the Blues' and portrays an enigmatic grouping of three individuals, the central of whom is almost certainly the pantomime actress herself. She wears a bandolier extending from her right shoulder to her left hip, an ornate floor-length gown, and what appears to be the hallmark pantomime mask with closed mouth. She holds some 'lanceolate' object in her upraised right hand—a gesture imitated by the character to her left, and highlighted by the character to her right, who may be handing her the object: see Rutschowskaya (2000), 235, 241–2 with fig. 1; Cameron (1973), 74; Dain (1933), 187. For comparanda of the actress' gesture and attire appearing on other pantomimes, see the Albizzati Terracotta from Tunisia and the sepulchral altar of Theocritus Pylades from Lodi: Jory (1996), 16–18, figs. 17, 19.

⁸ Other certain or very likely female pantomimes of this period: Macedonia, in Vandal Africa (Luxorius 24 in Rosenblum (1961), 126–7 = AL 310 Riese, 305 Shackleton Bailey); Macedonia, from the Blue Faction in Antioch (Procop. *Secret History*. 12.28–30); Rhodokleia, in Constantinople (Leontius, AP 16.283).

ELUSIVE PANTOMIMAE

But was this strictly a Byzantine development, or were female pantomimes performing earlier?⁹ Scholarly doubts about the presence of female pantomimes on Roman stages in earlier periods are understandable, since literary evidence for their existence is meagre, especially for any who wear the specific title *pantomima*. Seneca sarcastically declares that *pantomimae* could have dowries of a million sesterces and still not be equivalent to the daughters of impoverished nobility (*Helv.* 12.6).¹⁰ Elsewhere Seneca smirks at noble husbands and wives vying with each other on their private stages to see which could best strike the effeminate pantomime poses they had learned by watching and imitating dancers descended from the legendary greats, Pylades and Bathyllus (*NQ* 7.32.3).¹¹ Seneca's two observations appear to be related declarations against senatorial-class family members intermarrying with performers and/or degrading their status in order to perform onstage, practices apparently frequent enough in the early principate to warrant sanctions in Augustus' marriage laws,¹² and the senate decrees recorded on the *Tabula Larinas*.¹³ Seneca's hyperbole notwithstanding, the pantomime craze

⁹ Webb (2002), 286–7 briefly declares it 'unclear' whether these Byzantine dancers represent a new phenomenon or a 'long but hidden' tradition of female pantomimes. She cites Ammianus 14.6.19–20, which includes reference to three thousand dancing girls (*saltatrices*), intricate footwork, choral accompaniment, and *fabulae teatrales* as at least partial confirmation that the Byzantine scholars were not just imagining female pantomimes. Rotolo (1957) cites all the Byzantine literary sources and believes there was a longstanding tradition of women's performance in pantomime, but he can offer only a few ambiguous inscriptions to *saltatrices* as pre-Byzantine testimony. Weinreich (1948) also supports the performance of female pantomimes earlier in Roman tradition, but again with little real attention to evidence. He cites the standard literary passages from Seneca and offers reasonably good commentary on Sophe Theorobathylliana (see below, pp. 125–7), but otherwise he concentrates on the Byzantine literary sources as the available evidence on the subject. Csapo and Slater (1994), 372–3, do acknowledge the existence and popularity of female pantomimes, especially in Byzantium, and note that they may not have worn the pantomime mask.

¹⁰ Slater (1994a), 121 n. argues that this passage's sarcastic tone presents an obstacle to using it to confirm that women performed as star pantomime dancers, or that they could earn substantial salaries in the profession.

¹¹ Csapo and Slater (1994), 381, no. 5.31.

¹² Crawford (1996), 64.

¹³ Lebek (1990) and (1991); Levick (1983), 99; Csapo and Slater (1994), 282, no. 4.113.

had affected all classes to some degree, and the earning potential of pantomimes (whether male or female) may have attracted the interest of some destitute families or those unfazed by traditional Roman attitudes to performance. With Seneca writing at a period of high popularity for pantomime in Rome, he might well use the title *pantomima* satirically to reproach Romans for their misplaced values, but the title makes little sense as social commentary unless there is some degree of truth to the underlying premise. He referred to successful *pantomimae* as real performers and as potentially attractive mates that threatened traditional Roman social stratification.

In a related observation documenting Seneca's time, Cassius Dio 62.19.2–4 (59 AD) alludes to a cast of upper-class citizens compelled to perform by the histrionic emperor Nero: one principal dancer was a capable 80-year-old noblewoman, Aelia Catella; those too old or sick to perform solo acts, sang in a chorus; many tried to cover their shame by wearing their masks, though Nero disallowed this. This picture of masked dancers supported by a chorus sounds like a description of pantomime, and as an act in Nero's Juvenalia it appears to have served as a spectacularly degrading twist on the youthful energy of pantomime, while also suggesting that nobility were familiar with the art form.

The title *pantomimos*, it is well known, first appears for a performer named Ploutogenes, hired to dance for a festival in Asia about 80–75 BC.¹⁴ Pylades and Bathyllus were credited with revolutionizing the dance through different stylistic approaches that fostered its popularity in the last quarter of the first century BC.¹⁵ *Pantomimus* first appears in Latin during this period about in the late first century BC on an inscription at Pompeii recording entertainments offered during a certain duumvir's first term in office; Pylades himself was the marquee attraction.¹⁶ The elder Seneca is our earliest Latin literary source to use the title *pantomimus* in his declaration, 'If I were a pantomime, I would be Bathyllus' (*Con.* 3, pr. 16). Thus even our earliest extant sources for Latin use of *pantomimus* notably support the fundamental (if not absolutely founding) roles of Pylades and Bathyllus in Roman pantomime.

¹⁴ T3 = IPriene 113.65. See Robert (1930), 114–17 = Robert (1969–1990), vol. I, 662–5; Csapo and Slater (1994), 5.22a; this volume, 'Introduction', pp. 1 and 3.

¹⁵ Ath. 1.20d = T26; Jerome *Abr.* 1995 (22 BC); Csapo and Slater (1994), 378–9, no. 5.23a; see Jory (1981), and this volume, above pp. 9–10 and below, pp. 157–8.

¹⁶ T4 = *CIL* 10.1074, Csapo and Slater (1994), 380–1, no. 5.28.

Such clarity of terminology is deceptively rare. One of the greatest obstacles to identification of pantomime actresses or other performers in ancient sources is the variety of titles used to identify them in different languages, sources, time periods, and geographical regions. Despite the Greek roots of the term *pantomimos*, that most explicit title for the dance and dancer, as Lucian explains in about AD 165 (*On Dancing* 67 = T22), was the preferred designation only among 'Italians' (probably implying both Greeks of southern Italy and Romans); most Greeks of the imperial period, on the other hand, and particularly the two Greek-speaking Syrians Lucian and Libanius, described pantomimes simply as *orchēstai*. Romans frequently used the generic *histrion* as a specific title for a pantomime dancer. *Orchēstris*, *saltatrix*, *saltatricula*, *mima*, *pantomima*, *scaenica*, *emboliaris*, and other titles designate female performers, but identifying pantomime actresses among these is challenging. As an instructive example of the complexities of Greek and Roman theatrical terminology for women, note that the Greek title *mimas* for the much better documented female mime actress does not appear in inscriptions or literary texts prior to the late second or early third century AD.¹⁷ Greek authors employ periphrasis to describe female mimes as *mimoi gunaikēs* (e.g. Plut. *Sull.* 36.1) and *pornai kai . . . gelōtopoioi . . . gunaikēs* (Cass. Dio 45.28), and Plutarch even identifies the relatively famous *mima* Cytheris, Antony's mistress, by indicating that she 'came from the same *palaistra* as the *mimos* Sergius' (*Ant.* 9.9). When female performers of a well-known genre cannot always be easily identified, we must expect that women's presence in other genres requires even more analysis and dissection of terminology.

After the younger Seneca's acknowledgement of *pantomimae*, this Latin feminine title appears in no sources, documentary or literary, until the late classical period. The sixth-century Vandal poet Luxorius describes a *pantomima*, Macedonia, who danced the roles of Andromache and Helen (Luxorius 24).¹⁸ Some late ancient Latin writers, obviously aware of the Greek preference for the term *orchēstēs* over the western *pantomimus/os*, consider *pantomima* a synonym

¹⁷ Note, *meimas* or *mimas* at SEG 31.1981.1283, Peek GVI, nos. 672 and 675 (*IG* 14.2342), Ael. fr. 126d Domingo-Forasté, and Latin transliteration, *CIL* 10.7046.

¹⁸ Rosenblum (1961), 126–127, *AL* 310 Riese, 305 Shackleton Bailey. Though Macedonia is reasonably well described as a pantomime, it should be noted that the title *pantomima* only appears in the header for the poem, not within the text itself; most likely a later editor of the *Anthologia*, rather than Luxorius, added the title.

for *orchēstris*, even in contexts where the female dancers are definitely not pantomimes. The scholiast to Juvenal 11.162, for example, identifies the *puellae Gaditanae* and other dancers of Syrian/Phoenician origin as *pantomimae*.¹⁹ Cassiodorus translates *pantomima* for *orchēstris* at Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 12.187–188.²⁰ This is with reference to an event dated 130 BC, in a Hellenistic Syrian context too early to describe the form that imperial Romans called pantomime; in any case, the context leaves no clues to suggest that Josephus was describing her as a pantomime dancer, *per se*. The most we could say is that the geographical locus of this reference in an area later known for world-class pantomimes, as emphasized by the Syrians Lucian and Libanius and an anonymous geographical treatise of the third century,²¹ could suggest that this dancer referenced by Josephus performed in a proto-pantomimic dance idiom; it is, however, unclear that this geographical contextualization would have occurred to Cassiodorus. Late lexicographical glosses also explicitly reference *pantomimae*.²² It is, however, impossible to determine if these definitions are drawn from earlier sources or represent commentary reflecting contemporary perceptions by late Latin scholars.

By their application of the Latin term *pantomima* to dancers (*orchēstriai*) apparently unassociated with pantomime, Cassiodorus and Juvenal's scholiast indicate that the Latin and Greek terms had become synonymous among scholars of late antiquity. But since we know pantomime was still widely performed in the fifth-century Italy

¹⁹ Juvenal scholion: see Wessner (1931), 191.

²⁰ *cum intrasset pantomima ad convivium pulcherrima* ('When a very beautiful pantomime actress had entered the dinner party'); *si rex ei minime concederet pantomimam* ('If the king would at least give him the pantomime actress', *TLL* 10.241, s.v. *pantomima*). Josephus' extended narrative addresses the passionate desire Joseph the Tobiad felt for a beautiful Greek dancer, and Joseph's agonized realization that, as a Jewish leader, he could never have a relationship with a foreigner, let alone a female entertainer from the lowest class; see Webb (1997), 129–30 for discussion of Josephus' original in its context.

²¹ See *Expositio totius mundi gentium* 32.9, in Rougé (1966), 166, which specifies several cities of greater Syria that specialized in the production of certain entertainers: Tyre and Berytus in Phoenicia produced mimes, Caesarea in Palestine produced pantomimes, Heliopolis in the mountains of central Lebanon produced principal *aulos*-players.

²² CGL 5.508.45, *orchistria: obscen<a> pantomima* (female dancer: lewd pantomime actress); CGL 5.380.42, *pantomima: omnium artium lusor* (pantomime actress: player in all artistic skills).

of Cassiodorus (*Var.* 1.32.2; see also T39), his use of *pantomima* to describe dancers, instead of a more direct Latin translation, such as *saltatrix* or *saltatricula*, suggests that female pantomimes performed frequently enough in late classical times that Latin commentators had come, like Lucian in Greek, to consider 'pantomime' and 'dance' synonymous. These scholars thought *pantomima* was the best Latin term for describing a female dancer and probably took no consideration for the history of pantomime as a specific art, because they were familiar with the onstage performances of *pantomimae* and assumed that the dancers in these earlier texts were also female pantomimes.

If, however, we apply this inverse reasoning to find female pantomimes in Latin citations of *saltatrices* or *saltatriculae*, the results are not as clear, since usually little context survives that can allow us to distinguish gesticulative pantomime presentation from other dance forms. There are three *saltatrices* known from imperial-era epitaphs: Julia Nemesis, age 9 (*CIL* 6.10143), Terentia, age 22 (*CIL* 6.10144), and Thyas, age 14 (*CIL* 8.12925). But their monuments alone tell us nothing more precisely than that they were professional dancers.²³ Likewise, when Ammianus hyperbolically refers to the 3000 *saltatrices* left in Rome during the famine of AD 383, he could mean pantomimes, Pyrrhic dancers, or any number of other types.²⁴

An engaging subject of this speculation is the popular 'dancer' Dionysia, active in the 60s BC, who was apparently well paid (*Cic. Rosc. com.* 23) and renowned enough in Rome to elicit satirical allusions to her artistry in court (*Gell.* 1.5.3, citing an anecdotal courtroom exchange between Hortensius and L. Torquatus).²⁵

²³ Wüst (1949), 851–2 and Rotolo (1957) include all three women in their assessment of professional pantomimes. But Weinreich (1948) does not include them, and Webb (2002), 285 n. 9. expresses due caution about the association.

²⁴ 14.6.19–20. Webb (2002), 287 suggests pantomime or similar; Csapo and Slater (1994), 388–9, no. 5.57 suggest Pyrrhic dance. The *fabulae teatrales*, sweeping foot movements, 'choruses', and dance masters mentioned in this passage could apply to either form. The sheer number of dancers, though exaggerated, would however be more likely to apply to Pyrrhic than pantomime dance (unless, that is, some pantomime dances were ensemble pieces—see below, May, Ch. 15, pp. 351–2).

²⁵ *sed cum L. Torquatus... non iam histrionem eum (referring to Hortensius) esse diceret, sed gesticulariam Dionysiamque eum notissimae saltatriculae nomine appelleret, tum voce molli atque demissa Hortensius 'Dionysia,' inquit, 'Dionysia malo equidem esse quam quod tu, Torquate, amousos, anaphroditos, aprosdionysos'* ('but

Gellius' quotation implies that Torquatus, alluding to Hortensius' Asiatic predilection for gesticulation, stopped calling him *histrion* (an actor of any genre) and specifically dubbed him a *gesticularia* and a 'Dionysia'. Gellius, always fond of archaisms and neologisms, clarifies that Dionysia was a *saltatricula*. The key here would be in Hortensius' irony in hurling Greek character assaults back at Torquatus, an uninspired, ungraceful, inexpressive speaker, whereas Dionysia is hailed as artistically talented, graceful, and beautiful, and 'to the point' (i.e. from Dionysus).²⁶ The final epithet is certainly intended as an ironic recasting of Torquatus' insulting use of Dionysia's name. But it is more significant that Hortensius would rather be an expressive female gesticulator than Torquatus, who by implication cannot make his point even in words, much less with the artistic flair of an actress's expressive gestures. Many have assumed that Dionysia was a mime actress, and this is possible.²⁷ But Gellius' emphasis on dance and Torquatus' and Hortensius' contemporary concentration on her gestures may indicate that she was more precisely a practitioner of a silent, gesticulative dance style that would eventually be moulded by artists, such as Pylades and Bathyllus, into the style later known as pantomime. In any case, hunting for *pantomimae* among *saltatrices* yields no absolute results, but some interesting possibilities that accentuate how little we know about women in Roman theatre history.

HELLAS: A YOUNG PANTOMIM(A)

One certain female pantomime of earlier imperial Rome has been overlooked, at least insofar as her gender is concerned:

when L. Torquatus . . . no longer called Hortensius an "actor", but a "female imitator" and "Dionysia"—the name of a very well-known dancing girl—then Hortensius replied in a soft, gentle tone, "Torquatus, I would rather be Dionysia, yes, Dionysia, than you, uncultivated by the Muses, ungraced by Aphrodite, and unfocused in the congenial ways of Dionysos").

²⁶ See the entry in LSJ under *aprosdionysos*.

²⁷ OLD, s.v. *gesticularia*, equates the term with *mima*. Grysar (1854), 250, Wüst (1932), 1749, and Garton (1972), no. 73 consider her a *mima*. Spruit (1969), no. 62 and Leppin (1992), 231 more conservatively call her a 'dancer'.

HELLAS
 PANTOMIM.
 HIC QUIESCIT
 ANN·XIIII
 5 SOTERICVS FIL·
 PIISS. fecit et
 Sub asc. dedic

Figure 4.1 *CIL* 12.1916,
 Vienna (Gaul).

Hellas | pantomim(a) | hic quiescit, | ann(is) xiiii. | Sotericus fil(iae) | pii[ss
 (imus) fecit et] | s[ub asc(ia) dedic(avit)] (*CIL* 12.1916, *ILS* 5210a, Csapo
 and Slater (1994), 380, no. 5.27; see Fig. 4.1. Provenance: Vienna, Gallia
 Narbonensis; dated post-Julio-Claudian)²⁸

Hellas, the pantomime actress, rests here, age 14. Sotericus most reverently
 set this up for his daughter and dedicated it under the adze.

Hellas is a Greek feminine noun; in every example recorded in Solin's
 compendium of Greek personal names at Rome that includes an
 additional identifier for gender, it is a woman's name, yielding a total
 of more than thirty women named Hellas, but no men.²⁹ Given the

²⁸ Burnand (1961), 293 links Hellas to the *scaenici Asiaticiani* of Valerius Asiaticus
 (*CIL* 12.1929, *ILS* 5205) and thus tries to date Hellas to the Julio-Claudian period.
 Leppin (1992), 247–8 correctly disagrees with this date on the grounds that Hellas
 need not be affiliated with this performance troupe, that the *sub ascia* formula does
 not appear during that period (cf. the formula in *CIL* 12.1918, 1920–1921, also from
 Vienna), and that the ligature for the *-it* of *quiescit* as a single letter, and the
 abbreviation and use of *piissimus*, support a later date.

²⁹ Solin (2003), 624. To my knowledge, no modern scholars have acknowledged
 Hellas' gender as a major piece of theatre history evidence. Spruit (1969), no. 87 and
 Leppin (1992), 247 directly label Hellas a male pantomime. *CIL* and Dessau (*ILS*)

prevalence of the name Hellas and this stonemason's penchant for abbreviating whenever possible, he deemed the letters ending the two gender identifiers, *pantomim* and *fil*, unnecessary and replaced them with *interpunctiones*, presuming that anyone reading the stone would naturally know that Hellas was a girl.

Hellas' age is the next most important detail from her gravestone. She was a pantomime by the age of 14. Hellas is in good company as a young performer. Among others, we know of an *orchēstēs* (dancer/pantomime?) age 5,³⁰ a *saltatrix* (dancer/pantomime?) age 9,³¹ a *mimas* (mime actress) age 10 1/2,³² a *saltator* (dancer/pantomime?) age 11,³³ and an *emboliaria*, age 12.³⁴ More instructive material appears for those closest to Hellas' age. Septentrio, another young dancer, who performed and died in Gaul at age 12, 'danced and pleased (the audience) for two days in the theatre at Antipolis', obviously the most successful performance of his short life and possibly even his solo debut.³⁵ The *emboliaria* Galeria Copiola debuted (*producta tirocinio*) at the age of 13 or 14 (Pliny, *NQ* 7.158),³⁶ and the young actress Licinia Eucharis had also recently launched into her career, possibly including a solo debut on a big, public stage, when she died at the age of 14.³⁷ Procopius records that the mother of Theodora introduced each of her three daughters to the stage when they 'came of age (*es hēbēn ēlthe*)' and 'were old enough for the job' (*es to ergon touto hōraia*, *Arc.* 9.8). These child performers were making the transition to their adult lives and careers. Their years of professional experience and advancement through puberty made them eligible for more specialized performance, and, as Procopius

leave *pantomim* and *fil* abbreviated; Csapo and Slater (1994), 380 simply translate the title 'pantomime' with no indication of her gender.

³⁰ Paridion: Bean (1956), no. 74, Prosperi-Valenti (1985), no. 8: 'ballerino, pantomimo'.

³¹ [I]ulia Nemesis—*CIL* 6.10143, Prosperi-Valenti (1985), no. 2.

³² Adaugenda—*IGUR* 275 = *IG* 14.2179, Prosperi-Valenti (1985), no. 3, Maxwell (1993), no. 1.

³³ Olympus—*CIL* 6.10142, Prosperi-Valenti (1985), no. 1.

³⁴ Phoebe Vocontia—*CIL* 6.10127, Prosperi-Valenti (1985). See below, pp. 128–9 and Fig. 4.2. no. 4.

³⁵ *CIL* 12.188 = *ILS* 5258; Prosperi-Valenti (1985), no. 7.

³⁶ See below, pp. 122–4, under *emboliariae*.

³⁷ *CIL* 1.1009, *ILS* 5213, Courtney (1995), 20: *heic viridis aetas cum floreret artibus crescente et aevo gloriam conscenderet: ... et Graeca in scaena primo populo apparui* ('When my young life here was beginning to flourish in the arts and was gaining glory with increasing age... I appeared first on the Greek stage before the people').

implies here and elsewhere, the mature girls gained more attention as stage presences for male audience members.

The singularity of Hellas' explicit identification as a teenage *pantomima* by her proud father may be the best evidence that she danced solos and received worthy recognition for her talent and career advancement. This teenage girl wears the title *pantomima* at a time, during the height of Roman power, when that art form was popular, but she stands alone until Byzantine times as a representative of her gender in the profession under this clear Latin title; all other presumed *pantomimae* are identifiable through less explicit titles or inferences based on their performance methods. The growing prominence of *pantomimus* as a title for these speciality dancers beginning in the first century AD, and Seneca's reference to some *pantomimae* as salaried or dowried women during this period, make it unlikely that Hellas worked as one of the choral back-up singers for pantomime performances.

As a *pantomima*, Hellas may have been a young solo dancer, such as Luxorius' Macedonia, or a member of a *corps de ballet* that danced ensemble scenes, such as the pantomimic 'Judgement of Paris' described by Lucius the ass in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 10.30–31.³⁸

³⁸ On the episode in Apuleius see May, below, this volume. The mime actress Bassilla (IG 13.2342, 3rd cent. AD) is hailed for her 'varied talent in mimes, and moreover in dances/choruses (*eita choroisi*),' and another mime actress, Margarito, stage name of the saint later called Pelagia (4th–5th cent. AD), is labelled in most manuscripts of her hagiography as 'best of the mime actresses of Antioch . . . also the best of the choral dancers of the pantomime' (*hē prōtē tōn choreutriōn tou orchēstou*, Flusin, redaction π of *The Life of St Pelagia* 4, in Petitmengin et al. (1981), 77–93). Webb (2002), 289, employs these two passages to suggest professional transition between mime and pantomime work, possibly even concurrent engagements in each genre. It is tempting to assume that mime actresses might move from lowbrow mime comedy to the more prestigious, more popular, and possibly more lucrative pantomime and that they might consider this a step up in their professional careers, and certainly no available texts contradict the possibility of such a career move. But there are problems with this interpretation in both passages. Bassilla and her colleague mentioned on the epitaph are consistently identified as mimes, and Bassilla appears to exhibit varied talents in acting, song and dance, rather than in both mime and pantomime. She is the proverbial 'triple threat' of the modern acting world. As for Pelagia, I believe the praise of her work in 'choral dance' or 'pantomime ensemble dance' shows the hand of a later editor attempting to clarify the popular story of this converted mime actress. The earliest surviving text, a Syriac copy of a Greek original, identifies Margarito only as a mime (Syriac *mym*s, Bedjan (1896), 620), without the additional reference to her prominence as a choral dancer or pantomime (Syriac

If we consider Lucian's notice that pantomimes required extraordinary agility and we compare Hellas with modern women gymnasts, we can easily accept that Hellas could have gained enough prominence by the age of 14 to dance solo with the right roles, troupe, and audience. Whatever the nature of Hellas' stage work, her identification as a *pantomima* and the frequent use of periphrastic and alternate terminology for female performers suggest that we should search for other women who may have been performing pantomime under other titles.

EMBOLIA AND EMBOLIARIAE

Among the many ancient actors whose performance styles are difficult to categorize are *emboliariae*, performers of *embolia* (from Greek *embolima*), translated most literally, 'entr'actes', 'intermission pieces', or 'interludes', but maybe also 'episodes' or 'sketches'. Like *pantomimus*, -a, this term of Greek derivation gains parlance in Roman theatrical contexts, but it never appears with this exact meaning in Greek contexts, where it is usually understood as 'an insertion', such as Aristotle's railing against Agathon's interjection of unthematic 'choral interludes' into his tragedies (*Poetics* 1456^a 29). If we were to judge by the definition alone, *emboliariae* might be speciality dancers, gymnasts, singers, or comedians who performed during scene changes or between acts in a longer programme.³⁹

Cicero remarks that P. Clodius, a real performer (*actor et acroama*) rather than a mere spectator, 'knows all his sister's *embolia*' (*Sest.* 116).

mymswt); for the text and information on the manuscript, see Guillaumont's French translation of the Syriac in Petitmengin (1981), 287–315. Convenient as it would be to accept that these two passages corroborate the work of pantomime actresses, I believe that neither Bassilla nor Margarito was a pantomime in the strictest terms, but rather a mime actress.

³⁹ Cic. *Fam.* 9.16.7, Shackleton Bailey (1977), no. 190 notes that in late republican Rome, mime shows were replacing the native Italian Atellan farces as *exodia* or 'afterpieces'. A sixth-century circus program (*POxy.* 2707) notes mimes provided one of five pieces of intermission entertainment between chariot races; also see mimes as entr'actes at Choricus, *Defence of the Mimes* 116.

This is a dig at his disguise as a female musician (*psaltria*) when he intrudes into Caesar and Pompeia's house during the Bona Dea festival. Cicero's application of precise theatre terminology throughout this passage indicates that he is using *embolium* to convey contemporary performance practice to a jury familiar with the theatre. It seems likely that he is suggesting lewd, effeminized movement (possibly even transgendered performance) in *embolia*, given his imputations of incest between Clodius and his sister, Clodia Metelli, and given that he moves immediately to the famous charge that Clodius dressed as a female entertainer to 'crash' a women's festival and commit adultery with Pompeia. A scholiast on this passage adds that Clodia was too good at dancing for a Roman matron and that 'embolia consist of dancers' gestures.⁴⁰ So if we take Cicero and his scholiast together, they suggest that *embolia* are typically musical (whether vocal or instrumental) dances performed by female or effeminate performers.

Only four performers of *embolia* are known to us: Galeria Copiola,⁴¹ Sophe Theorobathylliana (*CIL* 6.10128, *ILS* 5263), Phoebe Vocontia (*CIL* 6.10127, *ILS* 5262), and Oppius.⁴² Because Pliny is interested in Copiola's performance in advanced old age, her performance career is among the most precisely dated of any dramatic artist in the classical world (Pliny, *NH* 7.158):

⁴⁰ *embolia* ... *pertinent ad gestus saltatorios*: see the Bobiens scholiast on Cicero, *Sest.* 116 ed. Hildebrandt (1907), 99 with comments at Wissowa (1905), 2491.

⁴¹ Pliny, *NH* 7.158; see Münzer (1912), 597; *PIR*² G32; Spruit (1969), no. 78; Garton (1972), no. 85 and (1982), no. 32.

⁴² *Oppi emboliari fur furuncule* (*CIL* 4.1949; graffito from the Basilica, Pompeii). Oppius is the only man known as an *emboliarius*, a possible indication that men or women could perform such acts, but Maxwell (1993), no. 86 remarks persuasively that, given the snide tone of this graffito and Oppius' unusual designation as an *emboliarius*, this descriptive title may be part of a further insult to Oppius as effeminate and not intended at all as a serious professional title. Cicero calls L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus a mime actor (*Prov.* 14) and L. Murena was accused as a *saltator* by Cato (*Cic. Mur.* 13); since the author considers Oppius a 'rotten little thief', *emboliarius* could easily be seen as a first piece of invective against him. Compare the abusive use of *cinaedus*, which also originally meant 'dancer', but became standard terminology for an effeminate or passive homosexual (thus 'dancer' at Plaut. *Mil.* 668, but 'homosexual' at Plaut. *Poen.* 1318). This graffito at least informs us that the terms *embolia* and *emboliarius* were still recognizable theatrical terms sometime in the first century AD prior to August 79.

Galeria Copiola *emboliaria* reducta est in scaenam C. Poppaeo Q. Sulpicio cos. [AD 9] ludis pro salute Divi Augusti votivis annum CIIII agens, producta fuerat tirocinio a M. Pomponio aedile plebis C. Mario Cn. Carbone cos. [82 BC] ante annos XCI, a Magno Pompeio magni theatri dedicatione anus pro miraculo reducta [Sept./Oct. 55 BC].

Galeria Copiola the *emboliaria* was brought back onstage at age 104 in AD 9 for the votive games honoring the recovery of the Divine Augustus. She had made her stage debut in 82 BC, ninety-one years earlier, in M. Pomponius' production as aedile of the plebs, then, as an old woman, had been brought back onstage as a marvel by Pompey the Great for the dedication of his great theatre.

Copiola debuted, or at least made her first big stage appearance, at one of the two plebeian games, the *ludi Ceriales* in April or the *ludi plebeii* in November of 82 BC, at the age of 13 or 14. Her ability to perform *embolia* warranted two command performances returning from retirement, once as an 'old woman' of about 40 and then at the age of 104, at especially lavish votive games; both festivals apparently sought acts that showed the abilities of aged performers.⁴³ Copiola seems to have been retired from the stage for several years by 55 BC. The fact that she could have retired while still physically able to perform, and presumably perform well, indicates that she was in good health and enjoying a reasonable livelihood, not a subsistence wage. The average woman obviously would not have been expected to perform as an *emboliaria* at this age due to the physical demands, whether acrobatic manoeuvres, fancy footwork, or intricate gesture. Though we cannot say with certainty, she was probably a featured, non-vocal soloist who had been well known for her *embolia* throughout her career, performances that probably highlighted vigorous, youthful dance.

⁴³ Cicero watched some of Pompey's dedicatory games (*Fam.* 7.1.1–2, Shackleton Bailey (1977), no. 24). He specifically addresses the boring mime shows, but also notes that several aged players returned to the stage. The famous, and then elderly, tragic actor, Aesopus, for example, did not do well in his return performance. Cicero suggests that others had also done poorly when they should have left people with the memories of their good years onstage. Though Cicero does not mention Copiola, she does seem to fit in with a theme presented at Pompey's games, old favourite actors coming back to the stage for one last performance.

SOPHE THEOROBATHYLLIANA: CREDENTIALLED
PANTOMIMIC EMBOLIARIA

A most important assignation connecting *emboliariae* with pantomime appears in an inscription on a bone tablet discovered along the *via Latina* outside Rome (*CIL* 6.10128, *ILS* 5263):

Sophe | Theoroba|thylliana | arbitrix | imbolia|rum

Sophe Theorobathylliana, chief mistress of entr'acte dancers (or dances).

Theorobathylliana is not a cognomen, but an epithet describing or identifying Sophe's affiliation with a man or men named Theoros and Bathyllus, possibly one man named Theorobathyllus, or, as several have concluded, the famous pantomime Bathyllus, originally named Theoros.⁴⁴ Here the suffix *-iana* marks Sophe's membership in, or factional attachment to, a troupe owned and/or led by the person(s).⁴⁵ A C. Theoros is declared *victor pantomimorum* over Pylades of Cilicia (the famous Pylades), Hylas of Salmacis, Nomius of Syria and Pierus of Tibur on a round plaque from Tibur.⁴⁶ This Theoros, or a namesake or descendant of his, may be the honorand of a Pompeian fan club of *Theoriani*.⁴⁷ Sophe's invocation of these two

⁴⁴ Weinreich (1948), 48–50, proposes that Theoros took the name Bathyllus, one of the love interests of the poet Anacreon, when he was freed by his artistically minded patron, Maecenas. He concludes that the *-ianus, -a* suffix is not used to designate an official student of a particular teacher or teachers, so he rejects the idea that Sophe's epithet implies her training at the hands of Bathyllus, or more properly, Theorobathyllus, since he proposes that this compound name merges Theoros' former name with his new stage name. The following are in agreement with this identification of Theoros as Bathyllus: Bonaria (1965*e*), 950; Leppin (1992), 217–18; *PIR*² B91; Webb (2002), 290; Solin (2003), 1098.

⁴⁵ Cf. *scaenici Asiaticiani* (*CIL* 12.1929, *ILS* 5205); *fanatici Actiani Anicetiani* (*CIL* 4.2155). A club of *Paridiani* ('fans of Paris') appears in Pompeii (*CIL* 4.7919; building 9.12.7, Purpurio's tavern) endorsing a candidate for local office, and again in a few greetings (*CIL* 4.8885,8888a–c, building 3.4.2). Franklin (1987), 104 concludes that the political endorsement signifies an interest group or club, rather than a troupe of Paris' pantomimes; see also Leppin (1992), 273.

⁴⁶ *CIL* 6.10115, *ILS* 5197, *CLE* 925, Csapo and Slater (1994), 381, no. 5.30.

⁴⁷ *CIL* 4.1891, 1917. Maxwell (1993), no. 88, accepts the connection between the *Theoriani* and C. Theoros; because Leppin (1992), 217–19 accepts that Theoros and Bathyllus are two names for the same individual, and we know Bathyllus was an Augustan actor, he thinks it improbable that an artist of the early principate would have had a fan club in Pompeii. Considering that both these scholars know how often

names probably dates her plaque from the last quarter of the first century BC to the end of the first century AD, since that is the period of greatest prominence for the pantomime names Theoros and Bathyllus.⁴⁸

The simplest solution in accordance with standard onomastic practice would be that an otherwise unattested pantomime Theorobathyllus, who created his name from two successful practitioners of early pantomime, had Sophe, possibly his slave, as a member of his pantomime troupe. But this does not seem much more satisfactory than saying Sophe herself crafted a professional name from these two pantomimes. Her epithet could be her own, her patron's, or a fan's creation suggesting a connection with the style or work of Theoros and Bathyllus. She may have danced or arranged *embolia* regularly for these two different pantomimes, or even provided that service at a specific festival where Theoros and Bathyllus were the main attractions. The two pantomimes themselves may have been connected, even partners; Bathyllus' name is noticeably absent from the Tibur record of pantomimes whom Theoros defeated, an omission which has led some to conclude that Theoros *is* Bathyllus, though it could simply indicate that Theoros and Bathyllus were not competitors for other reasons. Bathyllus was a practitioner of an early, and ultimately short-lived, comic style of pantomime.⁴⁹ Perhaps Theoros also danced this style of pantomime, and Sophe, by choosing this epithet,

names of famous stage personalities were adopted by later actors (see Bonaria (1959) on dynasties of similarly named pantomimes), it is odd that neither of them suggests that the Theoros honoured at Pompeii could be different from the victorious C. Theoros of *CIL* 6.10115. Solin (2003), 1098, also continues to identify Theoros with Bathyllus and dates Sophe's plaque to the Augustan period on that basis.

⁴⁸ An inscription from Petelia to T. Bathil[i]us Metrobius suggests that the prominence of Bathyllus' name extended well into the second century AD, to the point that it might even be coined as a gentilicium in a professional context. Lazzarini (2000), 507–9 defends her reconstruction of Bathilius on grounds of other comparable Greek names, but the space could easily fit a second L. Since the names Bathyllus and Metrobius (Plut. *Sulla* 2.4, 36.1) belong to performers, Lazzarini believes that this individual chose the names for a stage name particularly appropriate to work as a pantomime.

⁴⁹ Although Sen. *Con.* 3, pr. 10 says that Bathyllus practised an enjoyable style of pantomime dance, and Juv. 6.60–66 = T12 suggests his Leda drove women sexually wild, Ath. 1.20d–e = T26 notes that Bathyllus' lighter comic pantomime did not maintain its popularity like Pylades' tragic style.

may be showing her admiration of this style or her own specialization in comic pantomime. On the other hand, if Theoros danced tragic pantomime and defeated Pylades in his own style, she might be displaying her versatility as a dancer and choreographer for excellence in both styles. Like Cratinus' Old Comic coinage, 'Euripidaristophanizing' (Cratinus fr. 342 KA), in allusion to stylistic imitation and parody, Sophe's compound epithet may suggest tragicomedy or versatility in opposites. Panarete's emulation of the style of the pantomime Karamallos (see above, p. 111) may then offer the most apt comparison for Sophe's relationship with Theoros and Bathyllus.⁵⁰

Since Theorobathylliana is more of a professional designation than a name, we might better understand the epithet as a description of her professional title *arbitrix*. As *arbitrix* <e>*mboliar(iar)um*, Sophe could be head mistress and lead dancer among some *emboliariae*,⁵¹ or an agent/consultant for *emboliariae* working to create contracts between them and pantomime troupes;⁵² as *arbitrix* <e>*mboli<o>rum* she may be an organizer/choreographer of *embolia* or a prima ballerina of pantomimic *embolia*.⁵³ This inscription, carved on a piece of bone, could be an easily portable advertisement or a sort of résumé created by Sophe, an assistant, or a fan to provide information about her expertise for a potential customer; alternatively, it could be an early example of a performance souvenir etched out by an admirer. Certainly the irregular spelling of *imboliarum* indicates an unofficial, lower-class, possibly non-Latin speaking source for the inscription.

⁵⁰ This is in spite of Weinreich's conclusion on philological grounds (see fn. 44 above) that Sophe was not an official student of Theoros and Bathyllus; he does, however, believe Panarete was a student of Karamallos.

⁵¹ Weinreich (1948), 48, calls her 'director and prima ballerina of intermission pieces'.

⁵² The clearest source revealing a woman serving as agent for other female performers is a contract between Isidora the *krotalístría* (dancer to the clappers/castanets, *krotala*) and a certain Artemisia in AD 206. Isidora is to bring two other dancers with her for dancing at a festival, for a specified number of days, under detailed terms for their wages and benefits. *PCorn.* 9 = Vandoni (1964), no. 20; Stephanis (1988), no. 1291, Perpillou-Thomas (1995), no. 91; for discussion see Webb (2002), 286, 291; Westermann (1924), *passim*; Lefkowitz and Fant (1992), 309.

⁵³ I lean slightly toward the genitive feminine plural, since the omission of the repeated *-iar-* through haplography would be an easy mistake; Maxwell (1993), no. 88, reads similarly.

DANCERS 'OF ARTISTRY IN EVERYTHING'

The final *emboliaria* known to us is Phoebe Vocontia,⁵⁴ who died at the age of twelve and was buried in Rome.⁵⁵ In addition to her youth, the most important feature of Phoebe's monument is the phrase that follows her professional title. She is declared an *emboliaria artis | omnium erodita*, which at first sight appears to mean that she was an 'entr'acte dancer trained in every art, or the art of all.' But the tall 'I' of *artIs* in Phoebe's epitaph (see Fig. 4.2) indicates that the vowel should be read long for *artes* in an accusative of respect, which would mean Phoebe was being described more precisely as 'an entr'acte dancer trained in the arts of all'.

This is similar to the professional title in the dedicatory header from the frequently cited verse epitaph of the Republican-era actress Licinia Eucharis: *docta, erodita omnes artes virgo*, 'a young woman taught and trained in all arts'.⁵⁶ Note, again, that Cicero taunts

P H O E B E .
V O C O N T I A .
EMBOLIARIA . ARTIS .
OMNIVM . ERODITA
HVNC . FATVS . SVVS . PRESSIT
VIXIT ANNIS . XII .

Figure 4.2 *CIL* 6.10127, Rome.

⁵⁴ *CIL* 6.10127, *ILS* 5262. Vocontia is probably to be understood here simply as an ethnic or regional description for the Vocontii of Narbonese Gaul (*ILS* 5262), not as a true *gentilicium*, though the cognomen does appear elsewhere (Kajanto (1965), 418 *additamenta*).

⁵⁵ Solin (2003), 314, dates her to the Julio-Claudian period; Leppin (1992), 277 modifies this to the early Julio-Claudians based on the use of the formula *v(ivus, -a)*, employed by the freedpersons Fabius Faustus and Pompeia Sabbatis on the sides of the monument as the dedicators of the gravestone, and possible parents, of young Phoebe.

⁵⁶ *CIL* 12.1214 + p. 970, 6.10096 + p. 3492, 1.1009 = *CLE* 55 = *ILS* 5213. Many who describe Eucharis define her by default as a mime actress because of a sense that no other performance genres were open to women in the first century BC (Leppin (1992), for example, is uncharacteristically strong in declaring Eucharis a mime actress although nothing in her description demands that she be considered a mime); only Courtney (1995), 239, suggests early pantomime as a possible assignment of Eucharis' dramatic genre.

Clodius as a 'real actor who knows ALL his sister's *embolia*,' knowledge that derived from a training that also prepared him for his scandalous cross-dressing role at the Bona Dea festival (*Sest.* 116). Automedon, an epigrammatist of the Augustan period or early first century AD, describes a dancer (*AP* 5.129):

I like that dancing girl (*orchēstris*) from Asia, who moves in lusty postures right down to her delicate fingertips, not because she emotes everything (*panta pathainetai*), nor because she tosses her delicate hands delicately this way and that, but because she knows how to dance on my worn out rod and she doesn't flee from wrinkled old things.

The specific attention to delicate hand gestures and expression of all things through emotions (elements which clearly contrast with the skills of a speaking performer) suggest a dancer similar to a pantomime. The poet intentionally addresses her artistic movements, only to dismiss them in favour of his satirical, sympotic objectification of the dancer as sex in motion. A late Latin gloss reads, *pantomima: omnium artium lusor* (*CGL* 5.380.42), while Lucian states that the *pantomimos* gained his distinctive title among the 'Italians' because a single man 'acted and danced everything' or (more precisely in this context) 'all roles' (*On Dancing* 66–7 = T21–2). These numerous texts suggest not simply broad training in the performing arts (i.e. training in *all arts*), but more likely 'artistry in everything' or training 'in the representation of all things'.⁵⁷ *Ars/artes omnium* or *artes omnes* might sometimes be read as early, colloquial designations for the 'pantomimic art', much as *ars ludicra* and *ars scaenica* represent general theatre work, and *ars lyrae* represents the entire discipline of lyre-playing.

Like Sophe, whose professional epithet shows connection to two star pantomimes, Phoebe, Eucharis, Copiola, and Automedon's Asian dancer are described during the period before *pantomimus* and *pantomima* were standard designations of dancers who performed highly gesticulative, interpretive dance. All these women

⁵⁷ Pantomimic skills and the art itself appear in this plural form at Sen. *NQ* 7.32: *harum artium multi discipuli sunt multique doctores* (there are many students and teachers of these artistic skills). It is possible, but less clear, that the *emboliaria/pantomima* interpretation of *omnes artes* applies to two other verse epitaphs to young girls, one a performer, the other a possible performer. Scope, age 11, had a *domina* who taught her *omnes artes* to the point that she would have been *doctissima* if death had not stolen her too soon (*CIL* 9.3122, *CLE* 1213); cymbals appear on the monument. Salvidiena Hilara dedicated a monument to her fifteen-year-old daughter, Salvidiena Faustilla, who was *erudita omnibus artibus*—no additional indications of performance appear in this epitaph (*CIL* 6.25808, *CLE* 1570).

may have been known in their day as *emboliariae artis omnium*, or by some equivalent title that emphasized their silent expressiveness for all actions. And if the title is an expanded Latinization of *pantomima*, *emboliariae* and *pantomimae* are virtually synonymous, or more precisely *emboliariae* may have been proto-*pantomimae*. In fact, *emboliariae* may have been a standard designation for some or maybe all female pantomime troupe members well into the first century AD; some may have danced in or led choruses (Eucharis, Sophe), others may have danced solo (Copiola, Automedon's dancer), but they were most likely 'short sketch' artists as opposed to the featured male dancers, or 'curtain-warmer' acts to fill the stage between principal pantomime sketches.

HISTRIONICA ACTICA: A PANTOMIME ACTRESS IN POMPEII

The pantomime Actius Anicetus acclaimed at Puteoli (*CIL* 10.1946⁵⁸) is probably the same Actius hailed at several locations in Pompeii.⁵⁹ At house 9.8.6 (House of the Centenary⁶⁰) on a wall between the tepidarium and caldarium of a private bath, someone scrawled the

⁵⁸ This inscription reads: *C. Ummidius | Actius | Anicetus | pantomimus*. Dessau *ILS* 5183, Franklin (1987), and others have discussed this man's possible membership in, or relationship to another in, the pantomime troupe of Ummidia Quadratilla (Plin. *Ep.* 7.24; see esp. Sick (1999) for evaluation of Ummidia's business investment in pantomime). Leppin (1992), 191–3, acknowledges, but questions, the association of this C. Ummidius with the Actius Anicetus in Pompeii.

⁵⁹ See *CIL* 4.2155: *fanatici tres... Actiani Anicetiani sinceri (caupona/hospitium* 7.12.35—in which also see *CIL* 4.2150 and 4.2161); 4.3891: *Acti Anicete* (house 1.2.6 across the Via Stabiana from the theatre district); 4.5399: *Acti dominus scaenicorum* (tomb outside the Porta Nucerina). Zangemeister and Mau, editors of *CIL* 4, connect the Actius Anicetus from Puteoli and many of these acknowledgements, but the definitive study is Franklin (1987), who assembles these and many other graffiti into a rudimentary pantomime troupe that may be Ummidia's troupe or an earlier generation of her troupe. Leppin (1992), 192–4 challenges several of Franklin's conclusions about this troupe's membership, but does not discount many of the individual graffiti that Franklin pulls together in his study.

⁶⁰ Confusingly, *insula* numbers at Pompeii have changed since the publication of this volume of *CIL* 4. Mau marks this inscription in a house on *insula* 9.7, but the table of contents notes that *insula* 7 was changed to 8.

HISTRIONICA ACTICA

Figure 4.3 *CIL* 4.5233,
House of the Centenary,
Pompeii 9.8.6.

phrase *histrionica Actica* to a significant length of 19.5 cm (see Fig. 4.3).⁶¹ The two words have been read in various ways.⁶² Given its semi-private setting, the most important feature of this enigmatic graffito is the *hapax legomenon* that serves as a title for an actress, specifically a pantomime actress; *histrionica* otherwise appears only once as a substantive adjective for (*ars*) *histrionica*.⁶³ But here it is a feminine substantive equivalent of *histrion*, which comes into use in the first century AD as a specific title for pantomimes,⁶⁴ not just actors in general, and by the second century *histrion* appears as the term of choice for some known pantomimes, such as M. Ulpius Apolaustus.⁶⁵ This graffito and the first documented appearance of *histrion* for *pantomimus* in Petronius (*Sat.* 52.9) indicate that use of *histrion* (and by derivation *histrionica*) for pantomimes probably began as vernacular terminology among pantomimes and their fans; it then gradually became a term used in mainstream culture as pantomime's popularity grew through the first and second centuries, until it became the feature presentation of most theatrical events and the designation of pantomimes as *histriones* ('the actors') made perfect sense.⁶⁶

⁶¹ *CIL* 4.5233; Sogliano (1879), 285 = Bonaria (1956), no. 782 = Franklin (1987), 103.

⁶² Franklin (1987), 103 believes this graffito explicitly acknowledges a woman named Actica who was a member of the pantomime troupe of Actius. A. Mau (*CIL* 4.2 editor) thinks *Histrionica* is this woman's cognomen, with Actica as an agnomen signifying her membership in Actius Anicetus' troupe; Kajanto (1965), 321 agrees, listing the cognomina *Histrica*, *Histricilla* (variations on *hister* as an alternate form of *histrion*), and *Histrionica* under cognomina derived from professions. He admits that *Histrica* and *Histricilla* may come from the geographical/ethnic designation for the *Histri* of Venetia (50, 196). I believe that the first two genuine cognomina have nothing to do with acting, and that *histrionica* is a professional title, rather than a cognomen. Bonaria (1965*b*), 2, states that Actica is a variant of Actiana, indicating troupe identification. Leppin (1992), 192 acknowledges the graffito, but declares Franklin's claim that she was an actress in Actius' troupe 'unconvincing.'

⁶³ *Historia Augusta—Heliogabalus* 12.1; *TLL* 6.2846, s.v. *histrionica*.

⁶⁴ Petron. *Sat.* 52.9; Tac. *Ann.* 4.14; Apul. *Fl.* 18, *Apol.* 13; Lact. *Inst.* 20.2.29; see Cameron (1976), 224.

⁶⁵ *CIL* 6.37841; 6.10114 = *ILS* 5184; see Leppin (1992), 205.

⁶⁶ In defence of my reading of *histrionica* as a substantive built on *histrion* for a female performer, it is important to rule out analogies built on similar constructions

The order of the graffito itself may lend support to the conclusion that *Actica* implies only this woman's troupe membership, not a proper name. It would be odd for a writer who knew the woman's name to include it after her professional title. I think the strongest possibility is that we have the graffito of a personal fan who became fascinated with a woman performing with Actius Anicetus' pantomime troupe, but that he did not know her name, and so he memorialized her with all the information he knew. Since the bath is private, maybe the bather, invited to a dinner party or other social function, has witnessed a private performance by troupe members here in the House of the Centenary, then recorded his recognition during a leisure moment. Such a setting, and the actress' outfitting with a pantomime mask or her participation in an ensemble, could also contribute to her anonymity. On the other hand, the graffito is on a wall of a passageway between bathing pools, not a particularly well-lit area, so the author could instead be a guest, attendant, or freedman taking a moment to acknowledge his attraction to an actress seen elsewhere.

Outside the west wall of the large theatre there may be a shorter recognition of a woman associated with Actius. *CIL* 4.2463b may read ACTIC(?)A. The C is my reading from Zangemeister's sketch of the graffito (Fig. 4.4), which he reads hesitantly as *Acti va(le)*, based on numerous similar graffiti.⁶⁷ But none of the many Pompeian scripts allow reasonable confusion between a C and a V. Since Zangemeister was unaware of *CIL* 4.5233, the reading *Actica* would

such as *fullonica* (substantive for a fuller's shop or work, though never for a female fuller) from *fullo*. The actor's designation *hieronica* 'victor in sacred competition' is attested for Nero (Suet. *Ner.* 24.1, 25.1) and numerous pantomimes, always male (*CIL* 5.7753; 6.10117, 10121; 10.3716; 14.2977; *TLL* 6.2782, s.v. *hieronica*). This suffix *-nica* does appear for victories in particular sacred games, but always as a composite with a Greek term (Actionica = victor in Games in honor of Actium, Sebastonica = Games in honor of the Emperor Augustus—*CIL* 6.10120 = *ILS* 5232; DEAR, s.v. *Actionica*), not an admixture of languages as would be the case if *histrionica* were interpreted according to this model. *Histrionica Actica* makes much more sense as a feminine appellation than as a generic location or an awkward title for a victorious actor. It is, I suppose, possible that *histrionica* plays on the titles of victorious actors by assigning it here in the feminine.

⁶⁷ *Acti va(le)* appears at *CIL* 4.1890, 2993m, 4471, 4479, 4965, 5404, 8060, 8813, 8827, 9077, 10175a.

Λ C T I C A C L

Figure 4.4 CIL 4.2463b. West wall of the large theatre, Pompeii.

Figure 4.5 CIL 4.3015, Tab. 48.22. Entrance to Amphitheatre, Pompeii.

22 (n. 3015)

ACTIA $\frac{1}{4}$

ACTIA
 POPULI
 REDIA

LOCUS
 CITO

Figure 4.6 CIL 4.5395. Tomb outside Porta Nucerina, Pompeii.

not have occurred to him as relevant. *Actia*, a rare name,⁶⁸ acknowledged in a graffito at an entrance to the amphitheatre, may belong to another member of this troupe (CIL 4.3015—Fig. 4.5). Fairly close to the amphitheatre on a tomb outside the Porta Nucerina (CIL 4.5395—Fig. 4.6) is a greeting previously read as a popular appeal to Actius, like the nearby CIL 4.5399. But if the mark after *Acti* is in fact not punctuation but remnants of a worn letter, this may instead be a plea to *Actia* or *Actica*, a favourite of the people (*deliciae* or *voluptas populi*) to return quickly. In contrast to the private bath setting of the graffito to the *histrionica Actica*, these other possible recognitions significantly appear outside entertainment venues

⁶⁸ There is a single example in Solin (2003), 618.

where any number of viewers might record a passing recognition of an anonymous actress seen on a public stage.

(ANICETI)ANIA?: OTHER HISTRIONICAE
AT POMPEII?

On the east side of the Vico di Tesmo, near the busy corner with the Via dell'Abbondanza, someone recorded the greeting (CIL 4.2413d; Fig. 4.7):

ania
Acti Castresis va Anicetiane.

Only a few blocks/*insulae* west, on the Vico d'Eumachia on the interior atrium wall of guest house/inn 7.12.35, Castresis is greeted three times along with *calos Acti* (Actius is gorgeous) and *Anicet(e)* (CIL 4.2150);⁶⁹ a wall of the next guest room off the atrium contains a significant salute from supporters (*fanatici*) of Actius Anicetus (CIL 4.2155—see fn. 74 below), and across the atrium may be another brief acknowledgement of an actress with the possible reading *sc(a)enica* in a graffito (CIL 4.2161—Fig. 4.8).⁷⁰ On the north side of the Vico dei Soprastanti near the western wall of the city appears the graffito, *Chloe Acti Castresis* (CIL 4.1646—Fig. 4.9).⁷¹ The names Actius and Castresis therefore appear together in these three instances

ANIA

ACTI CASTRESIS VA ANICETIANE

Figure 4.7 CIL 4.2413d. East side of Vico di Tesmo, Pompeii.

⁶⁹ Zangemeister corrects his original reading *calos Actio* to *calos Acti* among the corrigenda on p. 215 of CIL 4.

⁷⁰ *Scaenicus* is a substantive adjective describing pantomimes as successful competitors at CIL 6.10114, but most significantly for pantomimes in Actius Anicetus' troupe (*Acti dominus scaenicorum*, CIL 4.5399). But since *scaenicus* also appears for mimes (CIL 6.1063, 1064), it is unclear whether the single documented *scaenica* was a pantomime or mime actress; unpublished inscription in Vatican, partial text provided to me by S. Panciera, e-text 20 June 1999—see Leppin (1992), 222.

⁷¹ Though Zangemeister is unsure if the reading is *Acti* or *Actii* in the main entry, he reads it as a definite *Acti* followed by a punctilla in the corrigenda on p. 210 of CIL 4.

23

Figure 4.8 CIL
4.2161, Tab. 35.23.
Guest house / inn
7.12.35. Vico d'Eumachia, Pompeii.

36

Figure 4.9 CIL 4.1646, Tab. 31.36. Vico dei Soprastanti, Pompeii.

in Pompeii, and indeed once more on a cinerary urn at Alba Pompeia that reads *calos Acti Castresis*.⁷² The repeated appearance of these names together suggests that Actius Castresis was a pantomime, probably in the troupe of Actius Anicetus.⁷³

Actius Castresis is directly associated with the pantomime troupe of Actius Anicetus through the further application of the appellative Anicetianus in CIL 4.2413d—Fig. 4.7. Variations on the suffix *-anus*, *-a* appear for Actius' fan club, the *fanatici Actiani Anicetiani* (CIL 4.2155),⁷⁴

⁷² Leppin (1992), 191–3, Culasso Gastaldi (1984), AE 1984.416.

⁷³ Actius and Castresis (an alternative spelling for Castrensis) are popular cognomina in general (see Solin (2003), 617–18—42 examples of Actius in Rome; Kajanto (1965), 208 more than 60 examples of Castrensis). The names appear elsewhere in Pompeii (CIL 4.1661, 1679, 2180, 2290). Since we know that two or three Actii are associated with pantomime, the name may have been borrowed as a dynastically recognized pantomime cognomen. In addition to Actius Anicetus and Actius Castresis, a pantomime C. Iulius Actius Cucuma is memorialized at CIL 6.33966, ILS 5182.

⁷⁴ CIL 4.2155 reads: *C. Cominius Pyrrichus et | L. Novius Priscus et L. Campius | Primigenius fanatici tres | a pulvinar Synathaei | hic fuerunt cum Martiale | sodale Actiani Anicetiani | sinceri Salvio sodali feliciter*. Franklin (1987), 104, declares the whole of this graffito 'cryptic'; he interprets only Martial as a fan of Actius Anicetus, but the most logical interpretation of *Actiani Anicetiani sinceri* is that it further describes the three *fanatici* who wrote the greeting. These 'three seriously devoted fans of Actius Anicetus' and their 'buddy,' Martial, are greeting yet another 'buddy,' Salvius.

performers called *scaenici Asiaticiani* (CIL 12.1929, ILS 5205), and Sophe Theorobathylliana.⁷⁵ Part of the solution to this greeting may be the previously misunderstood presence of ANIA over the second half of the graffito. Zangemeister (CIL 4 editor for this graffito) and Franklin are unsure of the significance of this superscript.⁷⁶ I observe that the ANIA appears directly above the ANE of *Anicetiane* with no signs of erasures or other markings before it, and written in the same hand as the lower portion of the graffito. Zangemeister's edition of R. Schoene's transcription of the graffito indicates that the initial and final 'A' in ANIA represent two different, but common, letter forms, the latter a typical final 'A,' and a possible indication that the writer wanted this ANIA understood as a feminine ending. I believe ANIA or ANA is intended as a supplementary feminine suffix to the word directly below, so that the greeting is understood as directed to an *Anicetianus* and an (*Aniceti*)*ania*, the latter abbreviated with an extraneous vowel included by the writer or misread by Schoene. Thus the greeting might be translated: 'Actius Castresis, hello, you Anicetian, and the female Anicetian, too.' Actius Castresis is hailed as a member of Actius Anicetus' troupe alongside an anonymous female pantomime associate. As in the recognition of the *histrionica Actica*, this female performer's identity is so strongly affiliated with the principal male star that her greeting is grafted onto his as an afterthought.

⁷⁵ Franklin (1987), 97–9, and 104, concludes from the other graffiti scattered around Pompeii that Castre(n)sis was a member of Actius Anicetus' pantomime troupe, but that Actius Castresis was not the name of one individual. He reads *va(lete)* in CIL 4.2413d, since he sees Actius and Castresis as separate members of the same pantomime troupe. But then the singular vocative form *Anicetiane* would be insufficient for the two pantomimes hailed. Since Leppin (1992), 195 is aware of Culasso Gastaldi's discovery (1984) of the additional greeting to Actius Castresis, a graffito unknown in Franklin's study, he reads Actius Castresis as an individual, but he wonders whether the designation *Anicetiane* means Actius Castresis was a fan of Actius Anicetus instead of a member of his pantomime troupe, or whether the graffito writer is ironically affiliating Actius Castresis with Actius Anicetus. Leppin and Culasso Gastaldi believe that Actius Castresis was completely unaffiliated with Actius Anicetus, but this strains the most reasonable interpretations of CIL 4.2413d and 2150.

⁷⁶ Franklin (1987), 98 n. Bonaria (1956), no. 781, and (1965c), 3, (1965d) 21, claims that *Ania Anicetiana* is yet another name of a pantomime actress in this troupe, perhaps a freedwoman of Actius. Solin (2003), 502, identifies a single example of *Anius*, but *Ania* is unattested.

The inscription *Chloe Acti Castresis*, again, brings the names Actius and Castresis together with an additional address to a certain Chloe.⁷⁷ With one or two other female pantomimes suggested as members of Actius' troupe, Chloe is at least a possible female member of this band, and she or any other number of women may be the otherwise anonymous female pantomimes suggested by *histrionica Actica*, *Actica*, *Actia*, or *(Aniceti)ania*.⁷⁸

Histrionica Actica and *(Aniceti)ania* most likely signify the presence of an actress or actresses in Pompeii, and while the other readings above rely on more ambiguous data, ambiguity is built into the colloquial nature of the graffito medium and is a feature of our fleeting recognitions elsewhere of women in pantomime. The near silence of the texts is not total silence, and every possible indicator of these women deserves further attention. They are almost certainly not principal dancers, but their recognition by association with the male dancers suggests the kind of anonymity that we would expect for dancers in choruses or in short sketches between the stars' appearances. Actius Anicetus and Actius Castresis were marquee actors known by name and reputation. We should not expect fans always to know the names of their female assistants or to greet them in terms that would be recognizable to those of us who have never seen a presentation by an ancient pantomime troupe. But we should acknowledge that the exceptional audience member might want to record his greeting to a woman whose dancing or appearance inspired him to recognize her, though he did not know her name.

⁷⁷ *CIL* 4.1646—Fig. 4.9 above. The name Castresis appears again on the south side of the Vico dei Soprastanti, but connected with different individuals (*CIL* 4.1661: *Sicule Castresis | Chrysaspis*), and thus probably not connected with Actius Anicetus or Actius Castresis.

⁷⁸ Like Leppin (1992), 194, I am not convinced by Franklin's further attempts (1987), 100–1, to claim that the many acknowledgements of Chloe at the Palaestra Grande are for an actress in Actius' troupe; the name is very common: see Solin (2003), 1191–2. While these *may* greet the same Chloe as the one on the opposite NW corner of Pompeii, and that Chloe *may* be herself connected to Actius Castresis, these attestations of Chloe carry no contextual hints that might allow us to connect them with Actius. Bonaria (1965c), 3, does list Chloe among the pantomimists in Actius' troupe.

A PANTOMIME ACTRESS RECONSTRUCTED

A broken verse epitaph of the second to third century AD in Rome (found near the Baths of Caracalla) has been reconstructed twice, first by Antonio Ferrua (1967), more completely by Giacomo Mangano (1970), itself replenished in Avetta (1985), 139–40, to reveal the life of a woman whom all these scholars identify as a likely pantomime actress. With the gracious help of officials at the American Academy in Rome and the Museo Nazionale delle Terme (esp. Sra. Sonia Panetta), I was allowed to examine this stone and reconsider several key lines (see Fig. 4.10).

To preserve some element of the spacing available on the broken portions of the stone, I reproduce here the received text with all orthographical errors retained, but with my own reconstruction added:

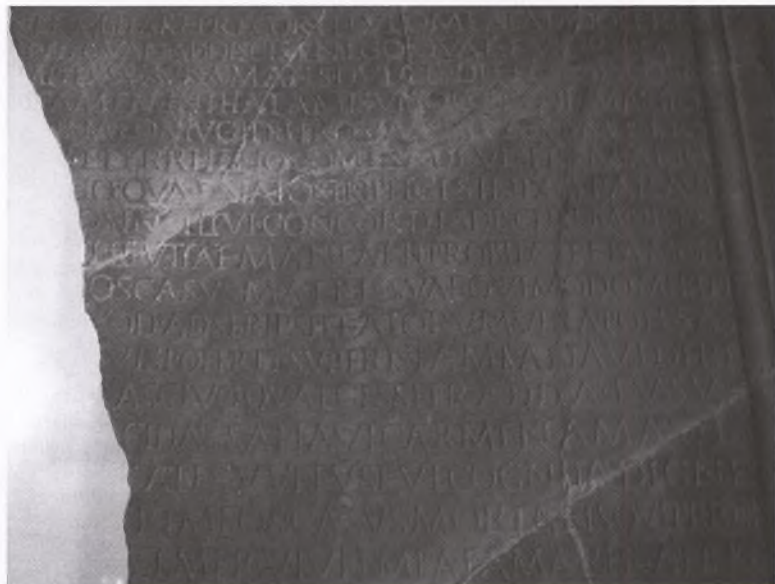


Figure 4.10 Epitaph found near the baths of Caracalla, Rome (second–third century AD).

NE DVBITARE PRECOR TITVLO MEA FATA DOLERE
 A]NTEQVAN ADDISCIS EN EGO QVAE FVERIM
 SI]MPLEX SVAVIS AMANS DVLCIS DILECTA IOCOSA
 ATT]AMEN IN THALAMIS VNO CONTENTA MARITO
 LIM]INA CONIVGI DILEXI QVAE MEA SEMPER, 5
 QVA]RE TYRRHENO COMES ADFVI SEPE MARTO
 ILLA E]GO QVAE NATOS TRIPLICES INIXA PARAVI,
 IPSA H]OS INSTITVI CONCORDES DISCERE MORES,
 VT PARI]LES VITAE MANEANT PROBITATE ET AMORI
 EIS VARI]OS CASVS MATRIS SVAE QVI MODO MERENT 10
 TRISTE Q]VOD AD SERIPSIT FATORVM VERA POTESAS
 VSQVAM Q]VIS POTERIT SVPERIS TAM LAETA VIDERE
 LVDICRA L]ASCIVO QVAE GESSI TRADITA LVSV
 VT DIVAS PLA]CIDAS SALTAVI, CARMEN AMAVI
 ATQVE AD VO]CALES VVLTVS FVI COGNITA DIGNE 15
 NVNC SVP]ERI MEOS CASVS MORTALISQVE PRECOR
 NARRATE VT] SEMER VIVIT MEA FAMA PER ANNOS

In the following reading, I adjust the brackets for broken portions to allow for letters well enough preserved to provide certainty of their inclusion in the received text, and I offer annotation and commentary on relevant passages from previous reconstructions.

ne dubitare, precor, titulo mea fata dolere
 a]ntequa<m> addiscis. en ego quae fuerim:
 si]mplex, suavis, amans, dulcis, dilecta,⁷⁹ iocosa,
 at]tamen⁸⁰ in thalamis uno contenta marito,
 lim]ina coniugi(i) dilexi quae mea semper; 5
 qua]re⁸¹ Tyrrheno comes adfui s(a)epe mar(i)to.
 illa e]go, quae natos triplices inixa paravi

⁷⁹ *delicia*: Ferrua, Manganaro. The T of *dilecta* is not preserved, but close examination of the stone reveals that *dilecta* is the correct reading, making unnecessary the awkward adjectival construction *delicia*, explained by Ferrua and read similarly by subsequent editors.

⁸⁰ *et tamen*: Ferrua, Manganaro.

⁸¹ [*et ma*]re: Ferrua; [*aequo*]re: Manganaro; [*lito*]re: Barbieri. Previous editors have considered that *Tyrrheno* must be the Tyrrhenian Sea where this woman and her husband often travelled, and they have, therefore, reconstructed various phrases for the sea. Since *Tyrrheno* is one of the most specific details in the inscription, I think it may be her husband's name, Tyrrhenus, agreeing with *mar<i>to* at the end of the line; for Tyrrhenus as a name see *LGPN* 1.449 (6th cent. BC Samos) and more importantly in Pompeii (AD 56; *CIL* 4.3340.19: C. Fulvius Thyrenus) and Zakynthos (Heliodorus, *Ethiopica* 5.18.5–46; *LGPN* 3A.437). Barbieri's emendation (1972), 264, partially derives from his belief that an acrostic of the actress' gentilicium *Nasellia* appears in the first letter of each line, followed by an unpreserved cognomen. I have entertained the idea that the unusual beginning with a distich and the use of *en* in line 2 may

ipsa h]os institui concordēs discere mores,
 ut pari]les⁸² vitae maneant probitate et amor<e>
 eis vari]os⁸³ casus matris suae qui modo m(a)erent, 10
 triste] quod ad ser[i]psit⁸⁴ fatorum vera potes(t)as.
 usquam]⁸⁵ quis poterit superis tam laeta videre
 ludicra]⁸⁶ lascivo quae gessi tradita lusu?
 ut divas pl]acidās⁸⁷ saltavi, carmen amavi,
 atque ad vo]cales⁸⁸ vultus fui cognita digne. 15

suggest that the verse is drawing attention to the woman's name beginning with the hexameters in line 3; *Salvia Vetuliana* or something similar would almost be possible with my reconstruction, but I am not inclined to force the acrostic interpretation.

⁸² *ut dociles*: Ferrua; *ut similes*: Manganaro.

⁸³ *funereos*: Ferrua, Manganaro.

⁸⁴ *dura] quod ads[c]ripsit*: Ferrua, Manganaro. Spacing and an interpunctio between *ad* and *ser* suggest that the author constructs a prepositional phrase at the beginning of the line and then inserts an unnecessary *i* in *serpsit*, rather than marring *adscrispit* as Ferrua suggests.

⁸⁵ *nescio*: Ferrua, Manganaro.

⁸⁶ *ut modo*: Ferrua; *quam modo*: Manganaro.

⁸⁷ [*saevos Ae]acidās*: Manganaro. Ferrua questions whether the second word might be *parricidas*. Manganaro's reconstructed reading of this line and the next are accepted by all subsequent scholars listed here. Manganaro 78–79 cites Wüst (1949), 847 and *TLL* 1.904, s.v. *Aeacides* for the appearance of Achilles as a child of Aeacus and subject of some pantomime libretti. I believe this reconstruction depends too heavily on the presumption that a pantomime always performs dark, tragic themes, and as such, it creates an unnatural contrast in the actress' character before her plea for the gods' attention in the final two lines. I believe she may have performed frequently as a benevolent goddess onstage, a role that would certainly explain why the gods should be pleased with her presentation and should spread word of her life (cf. Panarete's representation of beautiful, benevolent goddesses, Aristainetos 1.26). Manganaro reads an unusual proper allusion into an epitaph that otherwise speaks in broader generalities, with the exception of *Tyrrheno* discussed above.

⁸⁸ [*inter ami]cales*: Ferrua. [*ob nover]cales*: Manganaro. Manganaro proposes that this pantomime dances 'stepmother' roles, traditionally regarded as sinister, perverse and violent (Manganaro cites, and Avetta repeats, Phaedra and Procne as examples, but Procne was a treacherous mother, not a stepmother). Subsequent scholars again follow Manganaro's lead into this rather surprising suggestion. I accept that such stereotyped roles were danced onstage, but I do not believe they fit the context of this poem; rather, they unnecessarily narrow the scope for her artistic repertoire. I propose that she is speaking of her fame for producing silent expressions that speak to the audience (again cf. Panarete above p. 111 as an 'orator', whose movements express a versatile silence: *kinēmata polutropou sigēs*; also see the *kōtilon omma* (chattering eyes), of Xanthippe, an alluring *psaltria*, in a poem by Philodemos, *AP* 5.131).

nunc? sup]eri⁸⁹ meos casus mortalisque, precor,
narrate, ut]⁹⁰ sem(p)er vivit mea fama per annos.

Please, do not hesitate to grieve before you discover my fate on this epitaph. Pay attention to the type of woman I was: sincere, pleasant, loving, sweet, beloved, full of laughs, and yet satisfied in marriage to just one husband; I loved my husband's house, which was always mine [or always as my own], which is why I was often a companion to my husband, Tyrrhenus. I am a woman who bore and cared for three sons [children]; I personally determined that they learn the ways of peace, so that their lives might remain balanced in integrity and love, though they are now lamenting the inconsistent circumstances of their mother, this sad state of affairs toward which the true power of the Fates has crept. Who in the world will see shows so pleasing to the gods as those I acted out, performed in mischievous [or exuberant] playacting? When I danced [the roles of] kindly goddesses, I loved the song, and I was deservedly well known for my facial expressions that spoke. Now, gods and mortal, please, tell about my circumstances, inasmuch as my fame always lives through the years.

The initial distich (Lines 1–2) asks the passerby to consider carefully who this woman really was. The first hexameter (Line 3) introduces her personal qualities, which begin as a standard list of admirable characteristics for any Roman wife and mother. *Dilecta* 'beloved, dear' balances *amans* and, though certainly appropriate to her relationship with her family and friends, the description also hints at qualities important for her public image as a popular performer. Along with *iocosa* this finishes the list as very apropos of an actress, not necessarily so of an ideal Roman matron, as Sallust's famous dig at Sempronius's untoward ability to dance and tell jokes implies (*Cat.* 25). As patroness of mime, Flora is 'full of laughs' (Mart. 1.pr.), as is Venus, the personified embodiment of passion (*Priap.* 83.45), and Ovid speaks

⁸⁹ Manganaro reads *vos superi*, but that creates a fairly small number of letters at a portion of the stone that widens considerably as it breaks towards the centre of the epitaph from left to right. Ferrua's *nunc* is not an ideal choice, but the size of the lacuna allows for several words here, though the metre appears to be irreparably garbled by the *precor* at the end of the line.

⁹⁰ *dicite, si*: Ferrua; *discite, sic*: Manganaro. A longer word for 'declare', such as my *narrate*, works better here, and is certainly preferable to Manganaro's *discite*, which invites the gods to 'learn' her story at the end, when by this time they have already done that by reading her epitaph. Ferrua changes *vivit* to *vivet* to make his conditional clause construction work, but that is unnecessary for the sense of the last line.

of his *Musa iocosa* (Tr. 2.354). But this actress appears to be an *univira*, a Roman paragon, and probably chosen as a spouse by her master (his house was always hers so she was probably a *verna*—a slave born into the household). Here ‘and yet’ (*attamen*) acknowledges the strong shift in cultural expectations between the qualities that would make a great performer and a great wife who served as a true companion to her husband. The next five lines continue in this vein, extolling her virtues as a mother of three children (practically eligible for advanced status under the privileges bestowed by multiple mothers under the *ius liberorum* ‘the children law’, though if she was a freedwoman, she might be required to bear four children to claim such status).

This proclamation of ideal Roman womanhood leads to acknowledgement of her professional career. She invokes mortal and immortal witnesses to her talent, and proclaims her own adherence to the standards of her trade. She performed (*gessi + tradita*⁹¹) some type of recognizable acts (*ludicra*) with the proper level of passionate acting (*lascivo lusu*).⁹² Since many Romans might think that performing such roles would contradict her testimony to her own morality, she painstakingly invokes her chastity and talent, and her

⁹¹ The performance context expands here: *gero*, though not the most common verb for stage performance, may be chosen here based on its root status for *gestus* and *gestio*, indicating the woman’s articulation through expressive gesture. Likewise *tradita* may serve here as a cross between the common verbs for theatrical production *traducere* and *edere* with the added implication that these shows are in effect ‘shared, communicated, passed on’ through the medium of ‘mischievous, lascivious, or exuberant play’.

⁹² Especially compare Mart. 6.71, where the *puella Gaditana* Teletusa is *edere lascivos ad Baetica crumata gestus et Gaditanis ludere docta modis*, ‘trained for exhibiting lewd gestures to the accompaniment of Baetic (Spanish) finger cymbals and for performing to the rhythms (or tunes) of Gades,’ and Mart. 9.26.10, where Nero *lascivum lusit opus*, ‘played a lusty work.’ But in deference to Leppin (1992), 43 n., who overzealously rejects this woman’s status as an actress, I do acknowledge Martial’s most famous citation of *ludat lasciva* (5.34.7) in his memories of the charming behaviour of a favourite young slave girl, Erotion. Pliny (7.4.9–10) was inspired by a *lascivus lusus* of Cicero to write short poems with erotic content (Roller (1998), 269, 276). Ovid (Tr. 3.2–5–6, *Fast.* 2.6, *Rem.* 380 and the authors of the *Priapea* (1.1, 2.1) and *Culex* (1–8) also use forms of *ludere* to describe their composition of erotic verse (Roller (1998), 301). It is therefore quite reasonable to assume that verse mime scripts and pantomime libretti or their performance might also be labelled *lascivi lusus*, especially in the third century when pantomime was extremely popular in the Roman empire.

conformity to the gods themselves and to social and theatrical conventions as her justification for claiming that her professional work falls within acceptable parameters. If my reconstructions are correct, this woman is proudly using her accurate representation of goddesses onstage as a way to declare that the gods should now look kindly on her reputation and pronounce her fame for expressing their character properly.

As for her stage work, her humour and her proud claim to perform mischievously or lustily might, at first, suggest the work of a mime. But her admissions that she dances certain stage characters and loves song,⁹³ along with her reputation for expressions that produce speech without words, are in keeping with descriptions of pantomime. This structured (if not perfectly executed) apology for stage artistry centres around her 'exuberant play-acting' and her dancing of some type of stage role in the accusative case, which is a well attested form of syntax for describing dramatic dance (see e.g. Suet. *Ner.* 54).

I have most significantly reconstructed Manganaro's key lines, in particular his reading, [*saevos Ae*]acidas saltavi, carmen amavi, | [*ob nover*]cales vultus fui cognita digne ('I danced the savage Sons of Aeaecus, I loved the song, I was deservedly well known for portrayal of stepmothers.') This would oddly invite readers to proclaim the story of an exemplary mother and wife *in spite of*, and a great actress *because of*, the insidious, self-serving stepmothers and other women she played onstage (moreover *novercales* does not scan here). This clashes too harshly with the woman's virtues mentioned earlier, and especially strains her claim that her virtuous life and her performance career are worthy of mortal and immortal attention. As both Ferrua and Manganaro note, Vincentius, a pantomime of late date in Africa, similarly compares and contrasts his personal virtues with normative public opinions that declared actors' morals suspect; this theme had appeared at an earlier date in Martial's epitaph for the mime Latinus.⁹⁴

⁹³ Ferrua and Manganaro believe that her love of song indicates that she was a dancer with an accompanying chorus, i.e. a pantomime actress.

⁹⁴ Vincentius (on whom see especially Bayet (1967 [1955])), styled the 'glory of pantomimes', was similarly a dancer of 'well-known stage scripts' (*fabulas*), 'harmless and self-restrained, but as holy as he was in his lifestyle, he was even more eloquent in gesture' (*innocens et continens, sed sanctus vita gestu erat facundior*). Latinus, 'glory of

But *saevos Aeacidas* and *novercales* would too abruptly break the positive assessment of this woman's image without providing a reasonable transition within the epigram, and such images would leave a very sour impression of the woman's character at the end of the poem precisely where she is attempting to move the gods and the passer-by to tell her story more widely. Vincentius and Latinus may dramatically and ironically distance themselves from their onstage characters, but not by highlighting their expertise in modelling particularly egregious examples of misbehaviour.

But this woman's family believes that her personal life and her professional life beg for special consideration, and that the Fates wronged her in taking her away. The proper balance for her case is struck by looking again at the pantomimic ensemble described in the 'Judgement of Paris' scene in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and Aristainetos' letter to Panarete. I believe this woman danced *divas placidas*; Venus Placida is honored at CIL 6.783 and in Ovid's April *Fasti* 4.160–2.⁹⁵ In Apuleius, the 'curtain warmer' for the 'Judgement of Paris' is an intricately choreographed Pyrrhic dance performed by young men and women (*Met.* 10.29–34=T15). The 'Judgement of Paris' itself features four principal dancers playing Paris, Juno, Minerva, and Venus. Each of the goddesses' costumes, choreography, and musical accompaniment are selectively chosen to tell her story. For Venus, sweet Lydian modes play on the *tibia* and, surrounded by a host of beautiful Horae, Graces, and Cupids, 'a far sweeter Venus gracefully moves downstage (*placide commoveri*) with a soft, alternating step and gently swaying torso. Then, shaking her head with feeling, she moves farther down and responds with delicate gestures to the soft sound of the flutes, and then gestures with eyes batting softly, then threatening fiercely, and sometimes she dances only with her eyes.' Venus exudes joy, happiness, and pleasure, the very sentiments the actress in the epitaph hopes to stir in her audiences of gods and humans (see further below, May, Ch. 15, this volume). Panarete plays goddesses as a silent

the stage', could turn the gravest audience members into fans, but he claims passionately that 'his real life took nothing from his stage life, and that his stage characters were only stage artifice' (*sola arte*, Mart. 9.28).

⁹⁵ 'Venus, most beautiful goddess, with your kindly expression'. Similarly, Pales is *placida* at Tib. 1.1.37 and Juno/Saturnia's words are *placida* at Val. Flacc. Arg. 6.457.

'orator' whose body language presents a 'versatile silence'; this actress speaks through expression, and the ironic reference to her voice after mention of dancing roles and *enjoyment of* rather than *participation in* song suggest the pantomime performance setting of silent dancer and chorus.

The voiceless existence of so many women in ancient Mediterranean societies already draws us to epitaphs and graffiti where their memories are recalled. Professional women represent a smaller subset of that female population, and performers a still smaller subset.⁹⁶ The heavily dowried *pantomimae* referenced by Seneca do not appear in our documentary sources, and none with the fanfare, accolades, and prizes awarded to the male superstars of the pantomime stage. Young Hellas and Phoebe, Sophe the Theorobathyllian specialist, the 'Actian' *histrionica(e?)* in Pompeii, and Tyrrenus' wife who silently danced the roles of goddesses invite us to search further for these supporting cast members who must have filled out the popular pantomime performances in *corps de ballet*, in short solo sketches such as *embolia*, or as principal dancers in ensemble pieces. Galeria Copiola and Aelia Catella danced in advanced old age, but they were exceptions to the rule, and thus ironic commentators on their own personal vitality and versatility, and on the energy required for a woman to perform dramatic dance even in her prime. Though often objectified recipients of spectators' gazes, these women and their Byzantine descendants returned gazes of their own, possibly through masks that accentuated their expressive eyes and demanded articulate gesticulation. For Apuleius' fictional Venus-dancer, Aristainetos' possibly fictional Panarete, and the genuine, but anonymous, actress of Terme inv. 121.598, their positive presentations of goddesses and their silent, but expressive, faces speak volumes.

⁹⁶ Treggiari (1976).

'Mime' and 'Pantomime': Some Problematic Texts

T. P. Wiseman

The first problem is nomenclature. Inevitably, in English 'mime' suggests a performance without words, while 'pantomime' has inescapable associations with a particular type of seasonal performance for children. (Oh no it hasn't! Oh yes it has!) And even when we think away all that, and insist on using the terms only as the Graeco-Latin *mimus* and *pantomimus*, are we sure we know what we mean? For instance, do we really know what it was that made 'pantomime' different from 'mime', which was itself a very heterogeneous performance genre? And what difference does it make that whereas the study of 'pantomime' traditionally begins with Bathyllus and Pylades in Augustan Rome, most of the available material comes from texts written in the Greek East in the second and fourth centuries AD (Lucian, Libanius), and from archaeological material of various dates from many different places?

This chapter draws attention to five texts, ranging in date from the 50s BC to the mid-first century AD, which I think have not been discussed in this context before, but may be relevant to the early history of 'pantomime'. The purpose of the exercise is not to propose a particular hypothesis, but to try to understand what the texts presuppose—and if it results in a recognition of how little we know, that may not be a bad thing.

1. Cicero, *Pro Rabirio Postumo* 35 (54 BC), attacking the credibility of Alexandrian witnesses:

audiebamus Alexandream, nunc cognoscimus. illinc omnes praestigiae, illinc, inquam, omnes fallaciae, omnia denique ab eis mimorum argumenta nata sunt.

We used to hear about Alexandria, but now we know about it. It's the source of all trickery and all deceit, and from them the source of all the mime plots.

What knowledge is Cicero taking for granted here? It seems from what he says that 'Alexandria' was something new in the Romans' experience, and that mime was a part of this novelty. Mime itself was of course nothing new; there was a famous story of an old *mimus* at the *ludi Apollinares* in 211 BC,¹ and the *mimae* at the games of Flora had presumably been performing ever since those *ludi* were first put on, in 241 or 238 BC.² So is Cicero referring to a particular type of Alexandrian mime plot—or even a particular sort of Alexandrian mime? We happen to know that Bathyllus came from Alexandria, and the Alexandrians a century after Cicero were great fans of 'theatrical mime'.³ Cicero's remark is just a throwaway line, and we cannot know what his audience made of it, but the combination of mime, novelty, and Alexandria may make us wonder whether a new style of performance was already being offered in Rome.

2. Berne scholiast on Lucan 1.543–4 (Usener (1869), 35–6):

Atreus Thyestis fratris sui filios ob adulterium Aeropae uxoris suae ad aram mactavit simulato sacrificio. uinum sanguine mixtum uisceraque filiorum eius pro epulis Thyesti adposuisse dicitur. quod nefas ne sol aspiceret, nubibus se abscondit, hoc est eclipsin passus est, Mycenisque nox fuit. sed hoc fabulosum esse inueni in libro Catulli †quis cribitur permimologiarum†. qui ait <Atreum> primum ciuibus suis solis cursus ueros et ante inauditos ostendisse ac persuasisse illum contrarium signis omnibus ascendere et quod ceterae uagae stellae facere dicuntur: et ob hanc scientiam inclitum summoto fratre regnum accepisse. quod in prodigium minores tragoedi conuerterunt.

qui inscribitur περὶ μιμολογιῶν Mueller (1869)

qui inscribitur περὶ μίμων λογάριον Ussani (1902–3)

¹ Festus 436–8L: he kept on dancing while the audience left to face Hannibal at the gates of Rome (*salua res est, saltat senex*).

² Valerius Maximus 2.10.8 (*mimae*); Velleius Paterculus 1.14.8, Pliny, *NH* 18.286 (rival dates). For some possible plots, see Wiseman (1999) = (2008), 175–86.

³ Athenaeus 1.20d = T36 (Bathyllus); Philo, *In Flaccum* 34, 38, 72, 85 (Alexandria, 40s AD).

Because of his wife Aerope's adultery, Atreus slew the sons of his brother Thyestes at the altar in a pretended sacrifice. It is said that at a banquet he served Thyestes with wine mixed with blood and the entrails of his sons. The sun hid himself in clouds so as not to see this horror—that is, the sun was eclipsed, and there was night at Mycenae. But I have found in a book of Catullus entitled *On Mimes*[?] that this is a legend. He says that Atreus was the first to explain to his fellow-citizens the true and hitherto unfamiliar courses of the sun, and convince them that it rises opposite the signs [of the Zodiac], and what the other planets are said to do, and that becoming famous through this expertise he supplanted his brother and became king. Later tragedians turned this into a prodigy.

The exact title of the book the scholiast found is concealed in the textual corruption; but two very plausible emendations have long been available,⁴ both of which presuppose a Greek title about mime or mimes.⁵ If that is correct, then 'mime' must include performances on tragic themes, since the author was discussing the story of Atreus and Thyestes.

Who was the author? The natural assumption is that he was 'Catullus the mimographer', referred to by Martial, Juvenal and Tertullian.⁶ Catullus' *Laureolus* was put on at the games in AD 41 when Gaius Caligula was assassinated, but that provides only a *terminus ante quem*; Shackleton Bailey makes the attractive suggestion that he was the mime-writer Valerius mentioned by Cicero in a letter of 54 BC.⁷ (My own view is that he was identical with Catullus the love-poet, but there is no need to press the point here.⁸) That would fit with item 1 above: a new style of mime in the 50 BC, discussed in a learned treatise with a Greek title.

⁴ Mueller (1869); Ussani (1902–3).

⁵ For Mueller's *mimologiai*, cf. Strabo 5.3.6 (233) on Oscan plays performed in Rome: ὥστε καὶ ποιήματα σκηνοβατεῖσθαι κατὰ τινὰ ἀγῶνα πάτριον καὶ μμολογεῖσθαι.

⁶ Martial 5.30.3–4, 12.83.4, cf. *De spectaculis* 7.4, 12 (*Laureolus*... *fabula*); Juvenal 8.156–7, 13.110–11; Tertullian, *Aduersus Valentinianos* 14.

⁷ Suetonius, *Gaius* 57.4, cf. Josephus, *Antiquities* 19.94; Cicero, *Ad familiares* 7.11.3, with Shackleton Bailey's commentary (1977) ad loc.

⁸ Wiseman (1985), 183–98. Cf. Goldberg (2005), 111 n. 51: 'the suggestion is widely resisted, though no solid arguments have been made against it.'

3. Manilius, *Astronomica* 5.478–85, on the man born under Cepheus (text and translation from Goold (1977):

	<i>nunc uoce poetis</i>	
<i>nunc tacito gestu referensque affectibus ora,</i>		
<i>et sua dicendo faciet, scaenisque togatos</i>	480a/482b	
<i>aut magnos heroas aget, solusque per omnis</i>	482a/480b	
<i>ibit personas et turbam reddet in uno;</i>	481	
<i>omnis fortunae uultum per membra reducet,</i>	483	
<i>aequabitque choros gestu coetque uidere</i>		
<i>praesentem Troiam Priamumque ante ora cadentem.</i>		

He will interpret the poet's words, now by his voice, now by silent gesture and expression, and the lines he declaims he will make his own. On the stage he will take the part of Romans or the mighty heroes of myth; he will assume every role himself, one after another, and in his single person represent a crowd; he will draw over his limbs the aspect of fortune's every vicissitude and his gestures will match the songs of the chorus; he will convince you that you see Troy's actual fall and Priam expiring before your very eyes.

What type of dramatic performance does Manilius have in his mind? On the one hand, *dicendo* in line 480 describes a speaking actor; on the other, *membra* and *gestu* in lines 483–4 clearly imply the art of the *pantomimus*, performing with a chorus. The alternative parts in line 482 suggest *fabula praetexta* and tragedy respectively; for the former, it is worth recalling Manilius' contemporary Stephanio (he performed at both Augustus' and Claudius' Secular games), who first introduced 'dancing in the toga'—presumably of Roman roles in pantomime.⁹ Though the passage is puzzling for us, Manilius' readers must have been clear on the sort of performances to which the poet was referring.

4. Phaedrus 5.7.23–7, describing *ludi* put on by a *nobilis*:

aulaeo misso, deuolutis tonitribus,
di sunt locuti more translaticio.
tunc chorus ignotum modo reducto canticum
insonuit, cuius haec fuit sententia:
'Laetare incolumis Roma saluo principe.'

⁹ Pliny, *NH* 7.159: *qui primus togatus saltare instituit.*

The curtain went down, the thunder rolled, the gods spoke in the traditional way. Then the chorus sang a song that was new to the man who'd just come back, and this was how it went: 'Rejoice, Rome, the *princeps* is safe, and so you are too.'

The man who'd just come back was a well-known *tibia*-player, who regularly accompanied Bathyllus.¹⁰ He had been performing while swinging through the air on the crane (that in itself tells us something about pantomime), and had fallen and broken his leg. Once he was fit to walk with a crutch, the grandee who was putting on the games persuaded him to make a guest appearance. His name was *Princeps*;¹¹ as he was waiting offstage he heard the chorus sing '*Laetare incolumis Roma saluo Principe*', and thinking it was his cue he made a fool of himself by coming on to take a bow.

Again, we wonder what sort of performance it was. The gods speaking may remind us of tragedy in the time of Plautus, when gods regularly appeared on stage to tell the audience of their benefactions to Rome.¹² The song of the chorus was evidently an example of the loyal effusions which Augustus told the praetors in charge of the games to keep to a minimum.¹³ Was there a pantomime dancer interpreting it, as in item 3? The two passages together seem to indicate the casual coexistence under Augustus of traditional spoken drama with the dance and choral song of *Princeps*' own speciality, pantomime.¹⁴

5. Philo, *De legatione* 78, 79, 96, on Caligula's belief in his own divinity:

ἤρχετο γὰρ ἐξομοιοῦν τὸ πρῶτον τοῖς λεγομένοις ἡμῆεις ἑαυτόν, Διονύσω καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Διοσκούροις . . . εἶθ' ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ σκευὴν ἄλλοτε ἄλλοίαν ἀνελάμβανε, τότε μὲν λεοντὴν καὶ ῥόπαλον, ἀμφότερα ἐπίχρυσσα, διακοσμούμενος εἰς Ἡρακλέα, τότε δὲ πῖλους ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὅποτε ἄσκοιτο εἰς Διοσκούρους· ἔστι δὲ ὅτε κιττῶ καὶ θύρσῳ καὶ νεβρίσιν εἰς

¹⁰ Phaedrus 5.7.5: *operam Bathyllo solitus in scaena dare*.

¹¹ A real name, though not a common one: e.g. *CIL* 6.448 (L. Brinnius C.I. *Princeps, magister uici Sandaliari*).

¹² Plautus, *Amphitruo* 41–4.

¹³ Suetonius, *Diuus Augustus* 89.3: *admonebatque praetores ne paterentur nomen suum commissionibus obsoleferi*. Goldberg (2005), 184, wrongly takes *commissiones* as 'honorific speeches'; see Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 15.26.1, 16.5.1, etc. (full references in *TLL* 3.1900.20–31).

¹⁴ For a possible example two generations later, see Wiseman (2004), 269–70: a dance scene inferred after [Seneca] *Octavia* 645.

Διόνυσον ἤσκειτο . . . χοροὶ τε εὐθὺς εἰστήκεσαν συγκεκροτημένοι, παιᾶνας εἰς αὐτὸν ᾄδοντες, οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ Βάκχον καὶ Εὐθύιον καὶ Λυαῖον ὀνομάζοντες καὶ ὕμνοις γεραίροντες, ἥνικα τὴν Διονυσιακὴν ἀνελάμβανε σκευήν.

First of all he began to liken himself to the so-called demigods, Dionysos and Herakles and the Dioskouroi, . . . then, as if in a theatre, he used to put on different costumes at different times, sometimes the lion-skin and club (both gilded) when dressed up as Herakles, sometimes caps on his head when he played the Dioskouroi, and sometimes he played Dionysos with ivy, thyrsus and fawnskins. . . . And straight away [when he impersonated Apollo], trained choirs stood there singing paeans to him, having just before called him Bacchos and Euiois and Lyaiois and honoured him with hymns when he was wearing his Dionysos costume.

Later authors refer to Caligula's impersonation of gods, and his *chorus Bacchanalis*,¹⁵ but the importance of Philo's testimony is that he was a contemporary and an eyewitness. As one of the Alexandrian ambassadors to the emperor in AD 39–40, he not only saw Caligula in action but was well placed to understand that what he saw was a theatrical performance. As a young man, Caligula had been an enthusiastic dancer and singer for the stage;¹⁶ once he became emperor, he played the roles that expressed his unlimited power, both in public for the Roman people and privately in the palace for the terrified senators.¹⁷ So it may not be too far-fetched to take Philo's report of his behaviour, 'as if in a theatre' with 'trained choirs', as indirect evidence for stage performance in the mid-first century AD.

The best sort of evidence is what an author writing about something else lets fall in passing, thus revealing (if we're lucky) part of the shared experience he and his readers had in common. These five passages come from very different types of author, writing in very different genres—an orator and statesman, a learned commentator, an astrological poet, a teller of moral fables, a Jewish philosopher—and they cover a period of about a century during which the theatre at Rome became notorious for outrageous extravagance, fanatical partisanship and murderous rioting, culminating in the prohibition

¹⁵ Suetonius, *Gaius* 52, Cassius Dio 59.26.5–10, Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 3.12 (*ex choro autem Bacchanali*); cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, 19.30.

¹⁶ Philo, *De legatione* 42; Suetonius, *Gaius* 11 (*scaenicas saltandi canendique artes studiosissime appeteret*).

¹⁷ Suetonius, *Gaius* 54.2 (*magno tiliarum et scabellorum crepitu cum palla tunicaeque talari prosiliuit ac desaltato cantico abiit*), Cassius Dio 59.5.5.

of public stage performance from AD 23 to 37.¹⁸ If we want to visualize what happened on the stages of Roman theatres, we need all the help we can get, from whatever source.

Items 1 and 2 raise problems about the degree of overlap between 'mime' and 'pantomime', items 3 and 4 about the evident coexistence of speaking actors with the 'dancer and chorus' mode. We evidently need to avoid mental stereotypes and mutually exclusive categories, and remember instead the degree of constant innovation and experiment that must have been necessary to keep that huge and demanding audience entertained. In that context, it is worth drawing attention also to evidence from other periods which may act as a corrective to our schematic view of dramatic genres.

In late fifth-century Athens, a dramatist called Gnesippos was described both as a tragedian and as a writer of *paignia* or mimes.¹⁹ In late fourth-century Latium, engravings on bronze *cistae* reveal what look like *mimae* performing tragic scenarios, including a naked Iphigeneia about to be sacrificed in a scene from Euripides.²⁰ In early third-century Tarentum, Rhinthon was writing plays that were called 'cheerful tragedies' (*hilarotragōidiai*).²¹ In third- or second-century Capri, a Greek author called Blaesus was writing 'serious amusements' (*spoudogeloia*), which included a play with the Latin title *Satournos*.²² In the seventies BC in Rome, Varro in his *Menippean Satires* referred casually to a performance of the Actaeon myth by 'dancers in the theatre'.²³ After the period covered by our five texts, we come to Nero, with his promise to the Roman people that he would

¹⁸ Extravagance: Livy 7.2.13, Valerius Maximus 2.4.6, Pliny, *NH* 36.5, 36.113–20. Stars and fans: Suetonius, *Diuus Augustus* 45.4, Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.7.12–19. Riots: Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.54.2, 1.77.1, Cassius Dio 56.47.2 (AD 14–15); Velleius Paterculus 2.126.2 (*theatralis seditio*), Valerius Maximus 2.4.1 (*ciuili sanguine*). Prohibition: Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.14.3, Suetonius, *Tiberius* 37.2, Cassius Dio 57.21.3, 59.2.5.

¹⁹ Cratinus fr. 256 (KA), Athenaeus 14.638d, cf. Plutarch, *Sympotic Questions* 7.8 = *Moralia* 712e on *παίγνια*; Davidson (2000).

²⁰ Battaglia and Emiliozzi (1990), 1.2, 273–7 for the Iphigeneia scene. Wiseman (2000), esp. 274–86 = (2008), 104–24.

²¹ *Suda* s.v. Rhinthon, Stephanus Byzantinus s.v. Taras. Fragments and *testimonia* in Kaibel (1899), 183–9 and (2008), 104–24.

²² Athenaeus 11.487c; Kaibel (1899), 191.

²³ Varro, *Sat. Men.* fr. 513 Astbury (Nonius 355M), with Krenkel's commentary (2002), ad loc.: *crede mihi, plures dominos serui comederunt quam canes. quod si Actaeon occupasset et ipse prius suos canes comedisset, non nugas saltatoribus in theatro fieret.*

'dance Virgil's Turnus' for them, and to Lucian's contemporary L. Acilius Eutyches, whose tombstone describes him as *nobilis archimimus... tragicus comicus*.²⁴

What was 'mime'? What was 'pantomime'? History is always more complicated than we think, and of all historical phenomena show business is the least likely to be static and predictable.

²⁴ Suetonius, *Nero* 54 = T8; *ILS* 5196, on which see Slater (2005), esp. 319–20 for C. Atilius Eutyches as a prize-winning mime-artist at the cult site of Anna Perenna.

II

Pantomime Libretti

The Pantomime Dancer and his Libretto

John Jory

Dance had been a part of Roman theatrical entertainment from its inception, and dancers had at various times been favourites with leading political figures,¹ but no one could have envisaged the impact of the new dance form which emerged in Rome in the early years of Augustus' reign. It challenged the fabric of Roman society and some of its practitioners, the pantomimes, came to wield a powerful influence in the imperial household. In the theatres it soon surpassed in popularity all other forms of entertainment and individual pantomimes attracted fanatical groups of supporters. Outside of the theatre they were popular with all classes of Roman society. Equites escorted them in the streets and senators frequented their houses. Augustus favoured their public performances and had them perform privately for his dinner guests. According to Macrobius and Dio even the riots, which from very early on accompanied the shows, were a topic of banter between the emperor and Pylades,² who, with Bathyllus, was given credit for introducing the new dance to Rome.³

But what were the characteristics that defined what I have elsewhere called imperial pantomime and distinguished it from other contemporary dances? First, despite the fact that Pylades hailed from Cilicia and Bathyllus from Alexandria, it was from the outset associ-

¹ Jory (2004).

² Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.77.5; 1.54.2, Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.7.17–18 = T32, Dio Cassius 54.17.5.

³ Jory (1981).

ated with Italy. Aristonikos, a contemporary of Augustus, Pylades, and Bathyllus, referred to it as 'the Italian dance' and even in Lucian's day the Greeks of Italy, unlike other Greeks, called the dancer a παντόμιμος, 'from what he does'.⁴ What the dancer did was present a dramatic story in dance form. He was a solo artist and danced all the different roles in sequence. Unlike earlier dancers he did not speak but was accompanied by a chorus which sang a libretto, a *fabula saltica*, supported by a musical accompaniment which could include a wide variety of instruments. The pantomime dancer wore a different mask for each role and the masks differed from those of tragedy and comedy in that they were beautiful, with mouths that were closed and not wide open, because the dancer did not speak.⁵ Finally, public performances were competitive and led to rioting among the spectators. The rioting was present from the beginning and recurred at regular intervals up to the sixth century AD.⁶

While most of the features mentioned have received scholarly attention not a great deal has been said about the pantomime libretto.⁷ This is perhaps not surprising since no complete libretto has survived and we possess only one certain fragment. This is the often quoted τὸν μέγαν Ἀγαμέμνονα, 'great Agamemnon', cited by Macrobius to illustrate an incompetent or inappropriate interpretation of the word μέγαν by Pylades' rival Hylas.⁸

LITERATURE AND THE LIBRETTO

The generally held view that pantomime libretti had little merit may partly be due to a remark of the elder Seneca about the son of Abronius Silo, *qui pantomimis fabulas scripsit et ingenium grande*

⁴ Lucian, *On Dancing* 67 = T22.

⁵ Lucian, *On Dancing* 29.

⁶ Dio Cassius 54.17.4; Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.7.19 = T32; *CIL* 6.10115; Jory (1984); Slater (1993) and (1994a); Cameron (1976), 223–57.

⁷ An exception is Sargent (1996), 69 ff. There is much useful information here, although I am not inclined to accept her main contention about the *Heroides*, for further discussion of which see further Ingleheart, below, p. 208.

⁸ *Sat.* 2.7.13 = T32. The unintelligible 'μάδεια περιμάδεια' cited by Petronius, *Sat.* 52 is unlikely to have been part of a libretto for pantomime.

non tantum deseruit sed polluit ('who composed *fabulae* for pantomime dancers and not only wasted a great talent but "polluted" it').⁹ Abronius composed libretti for pantomime dancers, not for pantomime performances. The distinction is important. Although pantomimes were the darlings of Roman high society, they did not belong to it, and Abronius was working for, or employed by, a professional entertainer. This may account for Seneca's use of the emotive 'polluted'. The word is employed in a theatrical context by other authors. Livy in his famous chapter on the history of drama in Rome claims that the 'iuventus', young noblemen, did not allow the *fabula Atellana*, Atellan farce, to be 'polluted' by *histriones*, that is to be performed by professional actors.¹⁰ Tacitus tells us that on the accession of Vitellius strong measures were taken to prevent Roman knights (*equites*) from being 'polluted' by the stage or the arena, that is from taking part in public performances.¹¹ Appearance on the professional stage was not seen as appropriate for the upper classes and brought *infamia* and other penalties.¹² A few individuals composed tragedies for public performance but there is no indication that they did so at the behest of specific actors, nor that they were paid for it. The elder Seneca's censure of Silo reflects the scorn of a traditionalist for an aristocrat writing for pantomime dancers, and more particularly writing for money. It says nothing about the quality of the writing.

Disapproval of writing for the stage and for pantomime performers in particular might also be inferred from Juvenal when he records that his contemporary Statius wrote an *Agave* for the pantomime Paris in the reign of Nero, *sed cum fregit subsellia versu, esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agaven* ('but although the applause for his poetry (the Thebaid) causes the seats to collapse he will starve unless he sells his new *Agave* to Paris').¹³ But what Juvenal was

⁹ *Suasoriae* 2.19. Seneca died between AD 37 and 41 and the *Suasoriae* were written towards the end of his life. Given the perfect rather than present tenses employed by Seneca, it is likely that Silo's son was active in the period of the theatre riots before AD 23, when Tiberius banished pantomimes either from Italy (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.14.3) or from Rome (Dio Cassius 57.21.3), rather than in the reign of Gaius who revoked the ban in the early period of his reign (Suetonius, *Tiberius* 37.2, Dio Cassius 59.2.5).

¹⁰ Livy 7.2.

¹¹ *Hist.* 2.62.

¹² The problem was a longstanding one. See Levick (1983); Lebek (1990) and (1991), esp. 56–61.

¹³ *Satires* 7.86–7. = T13.

lamenting in this satire was the absence of noble patrons who would furnish poets with an income that allowed them to write serious poetry. It was this absence of noble patronage that forced them to write pantomime libretti. Juvenal was not only scandalized at the notion of Statius writing libretti for the powerful upstart Paris, but at the need for him to do so. Again he implies nothing about the quality of the libretti. These passages from Seneca and Juvenal make it clear that talented contemporary poets wrote libretti for pantomimes. Silo and Statius were not the only ones; Lucan too, although relatively well-off himself,¹⁴ wrote numerous pantomime libretti. Vacca, in his life of that poet, records that fourteen were still extant in his day, five centuries later. An epigram of Crinagoras encourages Philonides to write a story to be danced by his contemporary, Bathyllus: 'Never fear, write a story shaped for four characters or even more; grace shall not fail you, Philonides, or Bathyllus, the one in the songs, the other in the hands.'¹⁵ Ovid's poems became libretti for pantomimes and were performed before the emperor (T6–7). Virgil's *Aeneid* was also adapted for performance and Nero promised that if spared he would dance the Turnus of Virgil on the last day of his victory games.¹⁶ In later times the story of Dido was a popular theme for the dance.¹⁷ Right from the beginning, too, the stories of the traditional myths of Greek tragedy were adapted for pantomime dancers. We hear of Pylades dancing *Hercules Furens* and his one time pupil and later rival, Hylas, dancing Agamemnon and Oedipus.¹⁸ Lucian twice implies that that only the best poetry was suitable for pantomime libretti. In one instance, summing up the themes a dancer should know, he says that 'he will not be ignorant of anything that is told by Homer and Hesiod and the best poets and above all by tragedy'; here the emphasis is not only on the content but on the quality of the poetry. On the other occasion, underlining the need for the dancer to

¹⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 16.17, Statius, *Silvae* 2.7.85.

¹⁵ AP 9.542 = Crinagoras 39 = T37; The epigram suggests that Bathyllus, like Pylades, could present a complete *fabula*.

¹⁶ *Tristia* 2. 519–520 = T6; Suetonius, *Nero* 54 = T8: see below, Ingleheart, Ch. 9.

¹⁷ Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.17.5 = T32, Lucian, *On Dancing* 46: see below, Panayotakis, Ch. 8.

¹⁸ Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.7.12–19 = T32. For the use of themes derived from Homer, Hesiod and the tragedians, see Lucian, *On Dancing* 61.

be a literary critic, Lucian says that 'he should be able to judge poetry, to select the best songs and melodies and to reject worthless compositions'.¹⁹ All the evidence that we have, then, suggests that the pantomime libretti were frequently valuable literary works, adapted from the best epic and tragic poets of the past or freshly composed by the best poets of the age. Given that the best poets composed the libretti, it is a logical deduction that the words were of primary importance for the performance. That none survived for more than five hundred years cannot obscure this importance.

Why then did the libretti not survive? One reason is provided by Libanius in the fourth century in a response to Aristides' criticism of the texts and their influence. After admitting that some *cantica* may not be equal to the works of Anacreon and Sappho, an admission that not all contemporary libretti were of outstanding poetic merit, he goes on to say, 'For dancing is not made complete by the songs but it is for the sake of the dancing that the songs are worked out. We judge the day by the beauty and ugliness of the dance, not by the words of the songs. Our consideration of these is brief.'²⁰ In other words the libretti were not important to the spectators for their own sake, they only served as a prop for the dance. Outside of the dance they had no independent existence and therefore no independent value. For this reason they did not survive as works of art. For Libanius in the fourth century the spectacle, not the poetry was important and no doubt there were many in the audience who would agree with him. Here we have a direct contrast with the earliest performances of Greek tragedy and comedy. In these the focus was on the poet and his poetry. The poets competed for the prize for the best poetry and the function of the actors was merely to highlight the poetic and dramatic qualities of the piece. Subsequently, because of their poetic and literary value, the texts were recorded and have survived.

But there is a further reason for the disappearance of the pantomime libretti. The themes of pantomime are, as Lucian says, the same as the themes of tragedy.²¹ But the existing texts of tragedy were not suitable for the dance. For example, rapid exchange of dialogue was

¹⁹ *On Dancing* 61 and 74.

²⁰ *Or.* 64.87-8.

²¹ *On Dancing* 31 = T17.

ruled out by the structure of the solo dance form, where a series of characters were portrayed sequentially rather than being on stage together. This must have involved a succession of monologues or perhaps choral odes, but no dialogue. The great myths of tragedy were being presented in a new way, and the texts of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides had to be adapted to suit the new spectacle. They were adapted but not displaced and continued to have an independent existence of their own. They were stored in libraries and studied in schools. We have seen the same process in modern times when cinema, and later television, opened up the way for new interpretations of old themes, whether their earlier presentation had been in the form of plays or of novels. These cinema and television scripts, like the libretti of pantomime, have no independent existence outside of the cinema or the television screen, but they require a special expertise and technique in writing and are recognized as works of art in their own right. Despite this, they are unlikely to survive for even the 500 years of Lucan's libretti, although the plays and novels they are based on will.

THE LIBRETTO AND THE DANCE

But if the text and the quality of the libretto were important to the dancer, how closely did he interpret by his dancing the words sung by the chorus? Let us begin with the story related by Macrobius about Hylas dancing the phrase τὸν μέγαν Ἀγαμέμνονα, 'great Agamemnon'. Let me quote, 'When Hylas was dancing a *canticum* which concluded with the words "Great Agamemnon" Hylas attempted to portray a large tall man. Pylades could not put up with this and cried out from the audience (in Greek!) "you are making him tall, not great!" The crowd then forced him to dance the same *canticum*, and when he came to the phrase which he had criticized, he portrayed Agamemnon thinking, considering that nothing more befitted a great leader than to think on behalf of all men.'²² This anecdote tends to suggest that the dancer concentrated on every word of the

²² *Sat.* 2.7.13 = T32.

text and attempted to reproduce it in his actions, and this is how Boissier and more recently Sargent have understood how the dancer functioned.²³ But this was a special case, since the criticism came from Pylades, when he was a member of the audience, and not all audiences were as erudite and attentive to the nuances of every gesture as Pylades. Much of the subtlety of the performance may well have gone over the heads of the average spectator. Ancient audiences were as varied in their composition as audiences are today, and the dance could be appreciated at many different levels of sophistication. Pylades could well have been hypercritical of his one-time pupil once Hylas had become a rival. Jealousy is not unknown among stage performers, and given that pantomime performances were frequently competitive, rivalry was endemic to the genre. We have no other evidence for a dancer being criticized for misrepresenting words. Some are criticized for their physical appearance, some for confusing their roles, some for displaying excessive passion, and others for not sticking to the story. It seems that all were competent in their gesture.

However, a number of other references emphasize the close attention paid to gesture, and particularly the movements of the hands, by the dancer, although none provides indisputable evidence that each individual word of the text was so interpreted. The younger Seneca, who had lived through the genesis of the pantomime dance, has this to say in the his *Epistulae Morales: mirari solemus saltandi peritos quod in omnem significationem rerum et adfectuum parata illorum est manus, et verborum velocitatem gestus adsequitur* ('We frequently marvel that the hand of expert dancers can so readily adjust to every indication of events and emotions and the gestures match the rapidity of the words').²⁴ Lucian concludes his anecdote about a dancer, probably Paris, putting on a special performance in Nero's time with the words of the Cynic philosopher Demetrius, 'I hear the story that you are acting, man, I don't just see it. You seem to me to be talking with your very hands'.²⁵ He also recounts that Lesbonax of Mytilene called dancers 'wise in their hands', while Antipater in the

²³ Boissier (1861), 338; Sargent (1996), 76.

²⁴ 121.6.

²⁵ *On Dancing* 63 = T19.

Palatine Anthology speaks of Pylades' hands 'that can say everything'.²⁶ Examples of the commonplace could be multiplied, but perhaps the most elegant expressions of the importance of the hands come from the sixth-century Cassiodorus: 'To these (tragedy and comedy) were added the speaking hands of dancers, their fingers that are tongues, their clamorous silence, their silent exposition. The Muse Polymnia is said to have discovered this, showing that humans could declare meaning even without speech'; '... and '(the dancer) comes on stage... then the hand of meaning expounds the song to the eyes of melody, and by a code of gestures, as if by letters, it instructs the spectators sight; summaries are read in it, and without writing, it performs what writing has set forth'.²⁷ The gestures of the pantomimes were conventional and the interpretation standard, as Augustine asserts in the *De doctrina Christiana*,²⁸ but the importance of the hands was unquestioned.

Gesture was not new to the Roman stage. It had always been a vital part of the techniques of the speaking actors of Roman comedy and tragedy, and Roscius in particular was famed for his mastery of it. The use of gesture to emphasize a point was also traditional in the training of Roman orators and the distinctions made between the gestures of the orator and those of the stage by Cicero and Quintilian shed some light on the practice of the pantomimes.

In the *De Oratore*, Cicero directly compares the gestures of the orator with those of the actor. After describing how the orator should vary his intonation according to the emotion he was portraying, he adds, 'But all these emotions must be accompanied by gesture, not this stagy gesture which represents the words (*non hic verba exprimens scaenicus*), but one conveying the general situation and idea (*sed universam rem et sententiam... declarans*), the hand movements less rapid, following the words with the fingers and not representing them (*manus autem minus arguta, digitis subsequens verba, non exprimens*).' The contrast between the gestures of the actor and the orator is that the actors' gesture 'represents' the actual words, the orators'

²⁶ Lucian *On Dancing* 69, Antipater in the Palatine Anthology 16.290.

²⁷ *Var.* 4.51.7 and 4.51.9 = T16, translated elegantly by Barnish (1992). See also above, pp. 37–8.

²⁸ 2.25.38.

the general situation.²⁹ Cicero illustrates this distinction in much the same words in a passage of the *Brutus* where he praises the orator Antonius because *gestus erat non verba exprimens, sed cum sententiis congruens* ('his gestures did not represent the words but were in accordance with the sentiments expressed').³⁰ The context makes it clear that Cicero is thinking of performances of tragedy, where the actor both speaks the words and 'represents' them with his hands.

Earlier in the *De Oratore* Cicero comments on the training undergone by the actor: 'I would assert that it would not be possible for him to satisfy his audience with his gesture unless he had been taught wrestling and dancing.'³¹ If the tragic and comic actor had to undergo training in dancing, then it is clear that dance movements were a vital ingredient in acting. When Quintilian, more than a century later, gives his instructions for training orators the contrast was directly between the orator and the pantomime dancer: *abesse enim plurimum a saltatore debet orator, ut sit gestus ad sensus magis quam ad verba accommodatus; quod etiam histrionibus paulo gravioribus facere moris fuit* ('for the orator should be as unlike a dancer as possible, and his gesture should be more adapted to his thought than his actual words, a practice that was indeed once upon a time even adopted by the more dignified performers on the stage').³² We do not know who these more dignified performers were, nor the time to which Quintilian is referring. We do not even know whether Quintilian is referring to tragic and comic actors or to pantomimes. What is clear, however, is that in Quintilian's opinion the gestures of pantomime dancers were adapted to the words of the story rather than to the sense. Thus there seems to have been little distinction between how the actors in the dramatic performances of Cicero's day used gesture to represent the words they spoke and how the later pantomimes used gesture to represent the words of the libretto sung

²⁹ *De Orat.* 3.220.

³⁰ 38. 141.

³¹ *De Orat.* 3.83.

³² *Inst. Orat.* 11.3.89, cf. 11.3.85, *nam ceterae partes loquentem adiuvant, hae (manus), prope est ut dicam, loquuntur* ('For other portions of the body merely help the speaker, whereas the hands may almost be said to speak.' Trans. Butler (1922)). See also Hall below, Ch. 12.

by the chorus. The gestures of the pantomimes may or may not have been identical with those of Cicero's contemporaries Roscius and Aesopus, but it is reasonable to assume that they were similar and that the pantomimes capitalized on the familiarity of the Roman audiences with the expressive gestures of tragedy and comedy in order to represent the words sung by their own choruses.³³ With so much emphasis being placed on the pantomime's representation of the individual words of the libretto, it is clear that at least in the early years of the pantomime dance these words were of critical importance to the performance. Hence the search for high-quality libretti by the pantomimes of the first two centuries of the Empire.

But there remain problems concerning the use of gesture to illustrate the words of the libretto. Pylades was a Greek speaker and at least some of the tragic texts he and Hylas danced were Greek-language texts. How were these Greek words represented by gesture? There is little evidence for performances of Greek tragedy in the original language on the Roman stage of the late republic and thus little opportunity for audiences to associate gestures with words in that language. We can perhaps get a clue from considering again the anecdote about the altercation between Pylades and Hylas.³⁴ Representation of the 'greatness' of 'great Agamemnon' would involve the same gesture whether the language was Latin or Greek. So it is the meaning of the word rather than the word itself which is being represented, and the meaning is the same whether the word is μέγαν, *magnum* or even 'great'. The point is further illustrated by another anecdote in Lucian.³⁵ A royal visitor from Pontus who spoke little Greek visited Nero and watched a pantomime perform so cleverly that although he could not follow what was being sung he understood everything. When he was about to return to Pontus Nero asked what he would like as a gift. 'You would please me most if you gave me the dancer', he said. When Nero asked, 'What good would he be to you there?' he replied, 'I have barbarian neighbours who do not speak the same language and it is not easy to get interpreters for them. If I need one therefore this man will interpret everything by

³³ For the actual gestures themselves see Taladoire (1951); Sittl (1890), 199–252; Requeno (1982), 61–82; Maier-Eichhorn (1989).

³⁴ See above p. 163.

³⁵ *On Dancing* 64 = T20, on which see esp. also pp. 7–8.

signs.' Whether this would work in practice hardly matters. Lucian is attempting to claim a universal understanding of the pantomime's gestures whatever the language.

There were others who had differing views. Augustine, writing at the end of the fourth century in Hippo where he was bishop, illustrates the ability for humans to communicate by signs by referring to pantomime performances, *nam et histriones totas in theatro fabulas sine verbis saltando plerumque aperiunt et exponunt* ('for *histriones* (i.e. pantomimes), dancing without words, frequently illustrate and expound whole plays in the theatre').³⁶ Is he referring to a performance with no sung libretto? Probably not. It is more likely that he is emphasizing the fact that the dancer did not need words to convey the meaning of the story. The dance movements were sufficient. Elsewhere he gives us a glimpse of a performance that may have had unusual features, at the same time stressing that the understanding of the gestures was learned rather than innate: *Illa enim signa, quae saltando faciunt histriones, si natura, non instituto et consensione hominum valerent, non primis temporibus saltante pantomimo praeco pronuntiaret populis Carthagini, quid saltator vellet intellegi* ('For if the gestures made by pantomimes [*histriones*] in their dance had a natural meaning rather than one established and agreed by men a *praeco* would not in the earliest times have announced to the peoples of Carthage, while the pantomime was dancing, what the dancer wanted to be understood.'³⁷ The phrase 'in the earliest times' presumably refers to the earliest times that pantomime dancers performed in Carthage, where the audience had had no experience of their gestures and without such experience could not interpret the story. Augustine goes on to say that even in his own day if a member of the audience is ignorant of the stories, unless someone else tells him what the movements mean, his efforts to understand the dance are totally wasted.³⁸ The corollary of this is that if the audience of Augustine's day knew the story, they could understand the gestures. But the emphasis is again on the fact that the gestures had to be learned.

³⁶ *De magistro* 3.5.

³⁷ *De doctrina Christiana* 2.25,38.

³⁸ *nunc quoque, si quis theatrum talium nugarum imperitus intraverit, nisi ei dicatur ab altero, quid illi motus significant, frustra totus intentus est.*

CONCLUSION

We do not have an established format for pantomime performances, nor do we know the precise details of how the pantomimes competed with each other. There must have been considerable variation between, for example, a performance at a private dinner party and one on the public stage. The size of the chorus will have varied as well as the range of instruments in the musical accompaniment. But the essential feature remained. The solo pantomime, the mime of everything, took all the roles in a story and represented the words of the libretto by his movements. Over time audiences may have focused their attention more on the graceful movements of the dancers than on the details of the story being danced, but the libretto was still at the core of the performance, and how its words were illustrated was the key to the success of the spectacle.

Roman Pantomime Libretti and their Greek Themes: The Role of Augustus in the Romanization of the Greek Classics

Yvette Hunt

The pantomime dance was introduced at that time as well as other things which remain to this day the cause of many evils

Zosimus, *New History* 1.6.1, trans. Ridley (1982)

It is not always possible to identify primary causes for social phenomena in the ancient world, but, in the case of imperial pantomime and its success throughout the empire, the primary cause was the involvement of Augustus. This was recognized in this passage of Zosimus, five centuries after pantomime's introduction to Rome. Augustus was the first patron of pantomime there; he supported it because it provided an entertainment medium which was new, but also reflected old Roman ritual dance and popular mythology. It thus fitted with what Augustus was promoting in Rome at the time. Pantomime was a thoroughly Greek dance genre, with most of its dancers and libretti themes originating from the eastern part of the Mediterranean, yet it owes its eventual acceptance into the great Greek festivals to the patronage it received from Augustus.

I would like to thank the University of Queensland Graduate School and the School of History, Philosophy, Religion, and Classics who funded the trip to the Oxford symposium *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*. Without this funding, I would have been unable to attend. I would also like to thank Prof. T. Parkin, Prof. R. Milns, Dr B. Jones, and Dr M. Charles for their insightful comments on drafts of this paper; all mistakes and errors are my own. This paper is a part of a larger project on imperial policies towards pantomime at Rome.

AUGUSTUS AND THE INTRODUCTION OF IMPERIAL PANTOMIME TO ROME

Augustus' role in the introduction of pantomime to Rome was personal and overt. The two dancers who first brought pantomime to the Roman stage were Pylades from Cilicia and Bathyllus of Alexandria. Bathyllus is well attested as the favourite of Augustus' close friend and adviser Maecenas (Tac. *Ann.* 1.54 and Cass. Dio 54.17.5),¹ but Pylades' position is not quite as transparent as that of his rival. It has been suggested that Pylades was possibly a freedman of Augustus.² The anecdotal evidence certainly suggests a close relationship between the two. Both Cassius Dio (54.17.5) and Macrobius (*Sat.* 2. 7.19 = T32) record Pylades' response to Augustus' rebuke for the trouble and rioting that his rivalry with other dancers had caused in the theatre: he responded that Augustus should be grateful that the attention of the people was focused on the dancers and not on Augustus himself. This is not the reaction to Rome's first citizen that one would expect from a foreign dancer whose profession led to his immediate classification as *infamis*,³ unless there were some personal connection between the two.

Jory's influential dating to 23 BC of the introduction of pantomime to Rome entails the involvement of Augustus in its very inception. According to Jory, pantomime first appeared in Rome at the games presided over by Augustus' nephew Marcellus, who benefited from the aid of his uncle in their organization.⁴ The most significant involvement of pantomime in a project organised by Augustus was the inclusion of at least one pantomime dancer in the Secular Games presented in 17 BC (Pliny, *HN* 7.48.159). The disruptive influence of pantomime had already been demonstrated at Rome before this time by the actions of Pylades, who had been exiled but recalled to Rome in 18 BC (Cass. Dio 54.17.4–5). Despite this, we know (thanks to the Elder Pliny) that one dancer, Stephanio, performed in a toga instead

¹ Leppin (1992), 217, suggests that Bathyllus was a freedman of Maecenas.

² Leppin (1992), 284.

³ Ducos (1990), 19–33, provides an in-depth analysis of the status of *infamia* imposed on actors, including pantomime dancers, in Roman law.

⁴ Jory (1981), 147–8, based on Cass. Dio 53.31.2–3.

of the *tunica talaris* (which suggests that the theme was Roman rather than Greek⁵) at the Secular Games celebrated by Augustus, as well as those later held by the emperor Claudius (*HN* 7.48.159). Unfortunately, it is impossible to say whether other pantomime dancers performed at these games, because unlike the *Acta* of the Severan games, which mention the performance of three named pantomime dancers,⁶ either the *Acta* of the Augustan games did not provide as much detail, or their record of performers has not been recovered. Either way, it remains possible that other dancers may also have performed.

The *Ludi saeculares* are now thought to have been one of the most important cultural institutions of what Zanker has styled the 'Augustan programme of cultural renewal';⁷ they are given special mention in Augustus' *Res Gestae* (22.2). Augustus was in control of these archaic games on account of his leadership of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*,⁸ the college which was responsible for the Sibylline Books. These were the texts from which he obtained the directions on the manner in which the festival was supposed to be conducted. It has been suggested that Augustus' membership of this college gave him the chance to manipulate these directions to suit himself.⁹ The shift in focus from Dis and Proserpina, chthonic Italian deities celebrated at the games previously, to Apollo and Diana, Greek deities with whom Augustus self-identified,¹⁰ certainly suggests that he availed himself of such an opportunity.

⁵ Lucian's inclusion in his list of pantomime themes of 'the story of Cleopatra the Egyptian' (*On Dancing* 37 = T18) indicates that he acknowledged the existence of Roman historical themes for pantomime libretti. That Stephanio's costume was the toga implies that the theme he performed was historical, perhaps revealing the influence of Roman drama on pantomime. For the two-way relationship between Roman history and Roman drama, see Wiseman (1998).

⁶ *AE* (1932), 70 lines 51–9.

⁷ Zanker (1988), 101–2, 167–93, provides an in-depth discussion of the way in which Augustus used the *Ludi saeculares* in conjunction with his 'golden age iconography.' See also Davis (2001), 112, and Beard, North, and Price (1998), 201.

⁸ *Res Gestae* 22.2: 'For the college of *quindecimvirs*, as master of that college and with Marcus Agrippa as my colleague, I conducted the Secular Games,' trans. Brunt and Moore (1967). For a study of other members of this priestly college, see Lewis (1955), 88–9.

⁹ Davis (2001), 112–13; see, Cass. Dio 54.17.2 and Suet. *Aug.* 31.1.

¹⁰ Beard, North, and Price (1998), 202–3.

But in what fashion was pantomime compatible with these archaic games? In the six years since its introduction prior to the *Ludi saeculares* in 17 BC, imperial pantomime had already generated strife within the theatre,¹¹ and members of the equestrian class had performed the genre on the public stage contrary to the law.¹² Pantomime was new to Rome, but had been known for centuries in the Greek world, and had apparently been held in low regard there. This is indicated by an inscription from Delos dating to 169 BC, which records an ὀρχηστής ('dancer'), not among the actors of tragedy and comedy or in the company of the choruses, but among the marionette puppeteers and 'performers of wonders'—a reference to jugglers, acrobats, or magicians.¹³ It would seem that the esteem in which pantomime was held in the Greek world was not the basis on which Augustus introduced it to Rome. There had to be further aspects to pantomime to make it appealing to Augustus at this time.

It is worth thinking about the position of dance in Roman society more widely. According to Livy, it was from dance that Roman scenic entertainment originated,¹⁴ and dance held an important place in Roman religion and society. The phrase 'all is well; the old man is still dancing', preserved in Festus,¹⁵ alludes to the position that dance held in archaic cult practices. This is also seen in the rites of the Salian priesthood; these included the performance of a dance by members of the college, which continued to meet until the fourth century AD.¹⁶ At a social level, dance exerted a continuous attraction. Velleius Paterculus' description of Plancus dancing 'Glaucus the Nereid' at a dinner party provides evidence of a dance type sharing features with pantomime, being performed by a senator in a social setting (2.83.2)

¹¹ See above, Jory, p. 163.

¹² Cass. Dio 53.31.2–3, and see the commentary by Levick (1983), 105–8, on the *Senatus consultum* from Larinum.

¹³ IG XI.2.133, lines 71–81.

¹⁴ 7.2.4 (see below).

¹⁵ Festus 17 p. 436, line 31 in Lindsay (1913): 'Salva res <est dum cantat/saltat?> senex'; see also Otto (1890), 317–18, for the reading *saltat* instead of *cantat*. Further variations on this proverbial phrase come from Serv. *Aen.* 3.279 (*omnia secunda, saltat senex*), and Serv. *Aen.* 8.110 (*salva res est, saltat senex*). See also Cic. *Harusp.* 23.

¹⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 8.663. Scullard (1981), 85–7, provides the best general description of the rites of the Salii. See also Beard, North, and Price (1998), 229.

There is some evidence that dance was seen as slightly disreputable, such as Scipio Aemilianus' complaints that dance schools included young members of the nobility among their students (Macrob. *Sat.* 3.14.6–8), and Sallust's description of Sempronia being able to dance 'better than a matron should'.¹⁷ But the implication in the latter instance is that dancing *moderately* well would have been acceptable.¹⁸ The Roman attitude towards dance in the late Republic was therefore paradoxical, since in rhetoric it was forcefully attacked.¹⁹ Dance combined a popular pastime of the nobility with archaic Italian cult practice; what pantomime added was aspects of these pre-existing cultural phenomena to libretti featuring Greek mythology. This fusion therefore included a Hellenic touch, much like the Augustan *Ludi saeculares*, and created a form of entertainment not seen before in Rome.

The provision of a display not seen by the audience before was one of the obligatory requirements of Roman games that were to enjoy not only success but a permanent place in the public memory.²⁰ Those extant literary sources that deal with Roman public entertainment are filled with comments on novelty (e.g. the giraffe which 'was first seen at Rome at the games in the Circus given by Caesar when dictator',²¹ and on the numbers of imported animals being displayed.²² The success of games often relied on the unique quality or extraordinary quantity of 'wonders' on display. Suetonius indicates that Augustus followed the rules by displaying such wonders as had never been seen in Rome before, including a rhinoceros, a tiger, and a giant snake.²³ He also included wondrous displays such as the re-enactment of the naval battle of Salamis.²⁴

¹⁷ Sall. *Cat.* 25.2. See also Serv. *Aen.* 4.62.

¹⁸ Macr. *Sat.* 3.14.5 points out that it is the ability to dance *too* well that Sallust censured, not dancing generally.

¹⁹ See Cic. *Pis.* 22, and *Pro rege Deiotaro* 9.26 and 10.28 as examples of the rhetorical use of the slanderous term 'dancer'.

²⁰ Edmondson (1999), 77.

²¹ Pliny, *NH* 8.27.69, trans. Rackham (1940).

²² Pliny, *NH* 8.24.64: 'But Scaurus in his aedileship first sent in procession 150 female leopards in one flock, then Pompey the Great 410, and the late lamented Augustus 420', trans. Rackham (1940).

²³ Suet. *Aug.* 43.4; see also Pliny, *NH* 8.25.65 for the display of tigers.

²⁴ Ovid, *AA* 1.171–2 and Cass. Dio 55.10.7. See also Coleman (1993), 54; Bridges, Hall, and Rhodes (2007), 4–5 with fig. 1.1.

It should be remembered that, like the rhinoceros and the tiger, pantomime such as that performed by Pylades and Bathyllus had never before been seen in Rome. Its instant popularity must partly have resulted from its fulfilment of the requirement of novelty.²⁵ Introduced under the aegis of Augustus, and associated with him alone, pantomime offered Augustus the almost perfect popular entertainment: its success meant that it became an institution as permanent as any of Rome's physical theatres, its versatility as a medium meant that it could be performed in any one of them (thus making him the focus of the event), and it reflected parts of his archaizing religious reforms.²⁶ The connection with religious reform must have been obvious to at least some members of the Roman audience, if not all; why else would Livy have referred to pantomime in his famous description of the introduction of scenic entertainment to Rome?²⁷ Whether or not there was an authentic evolutionary connection in terms of archaic and Republican theatre history in Italy is of little importance. What is significant is that a connection was *thought* to exist between this dance genre, with its use of Greek mythological themes, and archaic Roman non-mimetic dance.

EARLY ROMAN PANTOMIME LIBRETTI THEMES

So what exactly were the Greek mythological themes danced in the early, Augustan pantomimes? The logical place to start such a search

²⁵ See Jory (2003), 187–93, for the changes made to pantomime, especially by Pylades.

²⁶ *Res Gestae* 8.5: 'By new laws passed on my proposal I brought back into use many exemplary practices of our ancestors which were disappearing in our time,' tr. Brunt and Moore (1967).

²⁷ Livy's description starts by discussing dance and the way it developed into Rome's drama. Even when discussing Livius Andronicus (7.2.8–10), he continually returns to dance and concludes by discussing the events of his own time. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that he is referring to the introduction of pantomime to Rome in the following statement: 'Amongst the humble origins of other institutions it has seemed worthwhile to set down an early history of the play, that it might be seen how sober were the beginnings of an art that has nowadays reached a point where opulent kingdoms could hardly support its mad extravagance' (7.2.13), trans. Foster (1924).

might be the gazetteer of libretti themes that Lucian includes in his *On Dancing*. But this list of themes was the result of nearly two centuries of performances of Imperial pantomime. Evidence for the subject-matter performed in the Augustan period must be obtained elsewhere. Contemporary poems, including epigrams, along with the anecdotal material recorded in Macrobius, suggest a number of themes.

An epigram by Antipater of Thessalonica implies the topic of Dionysus at Thebes (*Anth. Plan.* 4.290);²⁸ his description of the audience's delight and terror at Pylades' depiction of Dionysus suggests in particular the story of Pentheus and Agave immortalized in Euripides' *Bacchae*.²⁹ The subject of the Trojan War, specifically Agamemnon's command, is implied by Macrobius' description of the argument between Pylades and his former student Hylas on how to perform 'the Great Agamemnon'.³⁰ Pylades' response to Hylas' depiction of the general as tall was to depict him in the process of great thought, because thoughtfulness was the best trait in a commander of men. This indicates that the theme of the libretto was the war, not Agamemnon the cuckolded husband. Moreover, the information that this Agamemnon was impersonated in the closing scene raises the possibility that other characters involved in the Trojan War were danced prior to Agamemnon.

Another of Macrobius' descriptions of Pylades' public attacks on Hylas states that the theme of Oedipus was also used as a libretto.³¹ The criticism of Hylas 'using his eyes' might refer to the close of a pantomime based on *Oedipus Rex*, the whole of *Oedipus at Colonus*, part of Euripides' *Phoenissae*, or a libretto uniting parts of these

²⁸ No. 78 in Gow and Page (1968).

²⁹ Trans. Paton (1918): 'Pylades put on the divinity of the frenzied god himself, when from Thebes he led the Bacchantes to the Italian stage, a delight and terror to men, so full by his dancing did he fill all the city with the untempered fury of the demon. Thebes know but the god born of the fire; the heavenly one is this whom we see brought into the world by these hands that can utter everything.' Evidence for later use of this topic in pantomime is provided by Juvenal's statement that Statius would have to sell his *Agave* to the pantomime Paris (*Sat.* 7. 82-87 = T12).

³⁰ *Sat.* 2. 7.13-14 = T32.

³¹ *Sat.* 2. 7. 15 = T32, trans. Davies (1969): 'when Hylas was dancing Oedipus, Pylades criticized him for moving with more assurance than a blind man could have shown, by calling out: "You are using your eyes."'

Greek plays into one performance. But Pylades was also subject to criticism; it is Macrobius' record of Pylades being censured for unseemly behaviour on stage (he shot arrows into the audience during a performance), and his response to the censure, which indicate that the *Madness of Heracles* was another theme of Augustan pantomime (*Sat.* 2. 7.16–17 = T32).

The poetry of Ovid provides hints about the themes of early Roman pantomime libretti. His *Remedia Amoris* (lines 755–6 = T5) includes the advice to avoid the theatre because love stories are danced there and 'the actor's art teaches the allure of what you must avoid'.³² Ovid also included in a poem addressed to Augustus (*Tr.* 2.519–20 = T6) an accusation which suggests that some of his works were presented on stage as pantomime libretti, and arguments have been made to suggest that the poems referred to here were his *Heroides*.³³ Their erotic and emotive content would indeed have fitted in with his recommendation to broken-hearted lovers in the *Remedia* to avoid watching lovelorn women weeping for their swains. Sargent's study of the *Heroides* as written pantomime libretti points out that most of the heroines who are the narrators also feature in Lucian's gazetteer and are derived from myth and tragedy.³⁴ But, as Ingleheart argues in Chapter 9 below, it should be remembered that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* also draws extensively on Greek myth and tragedy, and the change from one physical form to another is described as suitable for pantomimic dance.³⁵ No certain Ovidian episode can therefore be identified as the theme of an Augustan pantomime, but in the case of Virgil's *Aeneid* we know that the Dido and Turnus episodes were later selected as libretti for pantomime performance.³⁶ Indeed, Macrobius includes in his discussion of the *Aeneid* a description of the story of Dido's love for Aeneas as a popular theme for various arts, including pantomime (*Sat.* 5.17.5 = T33). Since the works of Virgil were adapted to the stage

³² Trans. Mozley (1929).

³³ Cunningham (1949), 100–6 and esp. Sargent (1996). I would like to thank Dan Curley of Skidmore College who generously sent me a copy of Sargent following the 2004 PacRim Roman Literature Conference in Sydney during July 2004.

³⁴ Sargent (1996), 147.

³⁵ Lucian, *On Dancing* 19 = T16.

³⁶ Suet. *Ner.* 54 = T8 See further Panayotakis, Ch. 8 below.

even in the poet's lifetime,³⁷ it is a distinct possibility that the great literary characters of his great epic already featured in the earliest Roman pantomimes.

AUGUSTUS' USE OF GREEK MYTHOLOGY

The most securely evidenced themes of Augustan pantomime, however, are associated with Greek tragedies and in particular with Pylades, who danced, as the elegist Boethus put it, 'according to the true canon of the servants of the tragic muse'.³⁸ Yet the encouragement of this use of Greek material by the Princeps was scarcely acknowledged in the supremely influential study of Augustan culture by Zanker. Indeed, Zanker makes no effort to fit pantomime into what he has called 'the Augustan Programme of Cultural Renewal' beyond this statement:

We know that the works of patriotic Roman poets were performed in public theaters, that Augustus awarded prizes to certain favourite plays, such as the *Thyestes* of Varius, and that Vergil was especially honoured. It would be fascinating to know what other plays were performed, in order to see what extent the dramatic reworkings of Greek myth were politicized. But this aspect of Augustan imagery is almost entirely lost to us. We may be sure, however, that the pretensions of 'high culture' did not last long in the theatre and that burlesque and pantomime took over.³⁹

Zanker here inaccurately implies that Augustus had no involvement in the introduction of pantomime to Rome. He also introduces a misleading distinction between reworkings of Greek myth in a dramatic context on the one hand, which were a 'pretension of high culture', and on the other hand 'low' popular genres of scenic entertainment, in which he includes his idea of (or misapprehension of) pantomime. This is, of course, a contradiction in terms, because the pantomime libretti so often obtained their themes from Greek literature and mythology.

³⁷ Kohn (2000), 267–74, provides an overview of Virgil's early career and relationship with the stage.

³⁸ *AP* 9.248, 3–4 = T34, trans. Paton (1918).

³⁹ Zanker (1988), 149.

Beacham provides a more accurate discussion of pantomime's place within Augustan ideology:

The advent and popularity of the new art of pantomime in Rome were probably in large part due to the encouragement and opportunities provided it by a regime that saw in its practice a useful medium both for mass entertainment and embodying and popularizing the classical mythology and traditional beliefs so central to the ideology of the principate.⁴⁰

Beacham weakens the force of this sensible statement by supporting it only by reference to the Augustan poets.⁴¹ But other media were directly controlled by Augustus, including the public presentation of his own actions, architecture, visual arts, games, and numismatics (which he oversaw).⁴² So, how did Augustus personally use Greek myth? Was his patronage of pantomime connected with the desire to disseminate certain myths to a wide public? There are certainly numerous examples of such dissemination provided by his actions and his choice of decoration for public buildings.

The personal association that Augustus fostered between himself and Apollo, a Greek god rather than an amalgamation of Roman deity and Hellenic mythology like many other deities in the Roman pantheon,⁴³ provides several examples. One is the decision that Augustus made to transfer the Sibylline Books from the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus to the Temple of Palatine Apollo (Suet. *Aug.* 31). This action might have been the first association between these oracular works and Apollo in Rome. The association between the two refers to a Greek mythical narrative concerning the relationship between Apollo and the Sibyl.⁴⁴ Since Varro's description of the sale of the Sibylline Books to Tarquin does not mention Apollo's involvement, the two may well have been separate in Roman tradition.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Beacham (1999), 146.

⁴¹ Beacham (1999), 139.

⁴² Zanker (1988), 107–8, and Davis (2001), 111.

⁴³ Gurval (1999), 90–1. Another indication that Apollo was perceived as a 'foreign' god is that his temple was built outside the *pomerium* until Augustus built the temple on the Palatine.

⁴⁴ See Potter (1994), 82–3, who states that Varro does not even mention Apollo in connection with the Sibylline Books.

⁴⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.61–6, following Varro. See also Cic. *Div.* 2.54.110–112, which tells the same story without mention of Apollo.

Another example of Augustus' use of Greek myth is his choice of decoration in the *Area Apollinis* on the Palatine. In Propertius' description, 'Apollo's golden portico has been opened by mighty Caesar. The whole of it had been marked out for a promenade with African columns between which stood the many daughters of old Danaus... Doors which were a famed piece of African ivory; one door lamented the Gauls cast down from Parnassus' peak, the other the deaths of Niobe and her children'.⁴⁶ The story of the daughters of Danaus is recorded in Ovid's *Heroides* (16), in particular the story of the only Danaid not to kill her husband; the theme is also mentioned in Lucian's gazetteer (*On Dancing* 57). The story of Niobe, documented in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (6.148–312), was certainly used as a libretto theme by the time of Nero.⁴⁷

Kellum notes that Augustus' combination of Mars and Venus in the pediment of the temple of Mars Ultor embodies a reference to specifically Greek myth. While the inclusion of Venus and Mars along with the deified Caesar is representative of the Julian line and the foundation of Rome, the inclusion of Amor beside Venus, handing to her the sword of Mars, is a reference to the Homeric narrative *Odyssey* 8.266–320 in which the pair were lovers.⁴⁸ This is not, however, a feature of the Venus myth as represented in the Roman history of the Julian line.⁴⁹ It is therefore intriguing that the affair between Aphrodite and Ares as told in the *Odyssey* was certainly later, in the time of Nero, the theme of a pantomime performance (Lucian, *On Dancing*, 63 = T19).

Augustus' use of Greek mythical themes appeared in private and public buildings throughout Rome: from the terracotta decorative plaque featuring Apollo and Heracles' struggle for the tripod in the

⁴⁶ 2. 31. 1–4, 12–14, trans. Goold (1990). See also *Ov. Am.* 2.2.3–4.

⁴⁷ *AP* 11. 254, tr. Paton (1918) = T35 'From what oak-trees did your father cut you, Aristo, or from what mill-stone quarry did he hew you? For indeed you are a dancer "made of venerable tree or of stone", the living original Niobe; so that I wonder and say: "You, too, must have had some quarrel with Leto, or else you would not have been naturally made of stone." On the death of Niobe in this pantomime see also Hall, below, Ch. 12.

⁴⁸ Kellum (1997), 176–7. See also Schmidt (1997), 228.

⁴⁹ Venus as the mother of the Julian line is Venus Genetrix; Venus as the lover of Mars is Homeric in origin. Zanker (1988), 195–6, points out that the erotic story of their liaison was overlooked and skirted around by Augustus.

Temple of Palatine Apollo,⁵⁰ to the placement of Pegasus in Corinthian capitals used in the Temple of Mars Ultor.⁵¹ But it must be remembered that Augustus was not alone in his use of Greek mythology. Two examples are the Stoa of Poseidon built by Agrippa and the Temple of Apollo Medicus restored by Sosius. Both these buildings used Greek mythological themes in their decorative schemes: the stoa featured a painting of Jason and the Argonauts,⁵² and the temple's pediment featured an Amazonomachy.⁵³ The temple was also famed for housing many Greek original works of art depicting Apollonian themes.⁵⁴ While it could well be argued that Agrippa was acting in collusion with Augustus, it is thought that the building of the temple of Apollo by Sosius predated the battle of Actium, and Sosius was a supporter of Antony.⁵⁵ Galinsky places the popularity of Greek themes in art at this time in the context of the late republican taste for Greek culture in all aspects of society, including private art collections belonging to the wealthy and the influence of Greek literature on Roman authors.⁵⁶ Since Roman tragedy was conditioned by the themes of Greek tragedy, Greek heroic myths, especially those constituting the Trojan cycle, were popular in all the arts.⁵⁷

Indeed, it was impossible to escape Greek mythological themes in the city of Rome during the Augustan period: they could be seen in and on temples; they decorated public spaces including porticoes, *fora*, stoas and libraries (Pliny, *NH* 35.2.10), and were also of course reflected in the theatres of Rome and the literature of the day. Horace's famous exhortation to work with Greek models both by day and by night was not a record of a direct instruction from

⁵⁰ Zanker (1988), 247, fig. 193.

⁵¹ Galinsky (1996), 201, fig. 113.

⁵² Haselberger et al. (2002), 236–7.

⁵³ Excavated remains of these sculptures are in the Capitoline Museum: see Claridge (1998), 246.

⁵⁴ See Pliny, *NH* 35.36.99–100 for Aristides of Thebes' painting 'Tragic Actor and Boy'; 36.4.28 for Scopas' or Praxiteles' sculpture 'Dying Children of Niobe'; 36.4.34 for Philiscus of Rhodes' sculpture 'Apollo'; 36.4.35 for Timarchides' sculpture 'Apollo With His Lyre.' See also Gurval (1999), 119.

⁵⁵ Gurval (1999), 115–19 provides a convincing argument that this need not represent Augustus in any fashion. See also Claridge (1998), 246–7.

⁵⁶ Galinsky (1996), 332–63, provides many examples from the conquest of Syracuse in 211 B.C. onwards. See also Pollit (1978), 155–78.

⁵⁷ Beare (1950), 15–26 and Beacham (1992), 16–24; 117–25.

Augustus, as Beacham suggests,⁵⁸ but a response to the cultural environment of the time in which both Horace and Augustus worked. Augustus' patronage of pantomime is yet another example of his operations within this intellectual and aesthetic culture. The association between Augustus and pantomime was the direct result of the patronage he bestowed upon this genre of entertainment, and it is this connection which aided the diffusion of imperial pantomime throughout the Roman empire—especially throughout the Greek East.

PANTOMIME AND THE EASTERN IMPERIAL CULT

Immediately following the death of Augustus, festivals held in his honour started to include pantomime, for no obvious reason other than his own patronage and enjoyment of the medium. This can be seen not only in the *Augustalia* held in Rome (Tacitus, *Annals* 1.54, 77), but also in the programme of the *Sebasta* games held in Naples, which changed following the death of Augustus so as to include musical and dramatic competitions, among which pantomime featured.⁵⁹ It is impossible to say exactly when the inclusion of pantomime occurred, as opposed to the other alterations to the programme, but Lucian suggests that it predates this occurrence in the East.⁶⁰ In Aphrodisias, a town which was closely connected

⁵⁸ Beacham (1999), 46, discussing Horace, *Ars Poetica* 268–9.

⁵⁹ Geer (1935), 208–9, discusses the changes in the games, but incorrectly reads (ibid. 12–13 n.19) *δρχη]σταί*, in verse 54, stating that this is a correction of the *κιθαρι]σταί* read by the original editors, Dittenberger and Purgold (1896). But an examination of the original publication of the inscription reveals that it actually does appear to read *κιθαρι]σταί* and indeed the drawing of the inscription published with the text vindicates this reading. Geer does correctly cite the example of the pantomime Apolaustus (*SEG* 33.770) as an indication that pantomime was included at the *Sebasta*.

⁶⁰ Lucian, *On Dancing* 32, trans. Harmon (1962): 'If the dance does not feature in contests, I maintain that it is because the governors of the games thought the thing too important and too grand to be called into competition. I forbear to mention that a city in Italy, the fairest that belongs to the Chalcidian race, has added it, by way of embellishment, to the games held there.' That the term 'the Chalcidian race' denotes Naples is supported by Robert (1930), 119–20.

to the Julio-Claudian family, the *Sebasteion* employed among its decorations theatre masks, including those with closed mouths used in pantomime productions.⁶¹ These three examples are associated with the imperial cult, and particularly with the deification of Augustus.

Despite the Greek origins of pantomime, it was only through Roman imperial cults that pantomime was finally accepted. Price makes the point that, like gladiatorial competition, pantomime was introduced into eastern festivals in the second century as part of the process by which *munera* (i.e. performances added to established festivals), donated by priests of the imperial cult, slowly led to the acceptance of pantomime in the 'sacred festivals.'⁶² Slater proposes a far more detailed hypothesis concerning this process.⁶³ Through a study of the scant epigraphic material, he notes that the term *κοινὰ Ἀσιᾶς* appears amalgamated with other festivals, including those Greek games classified as 'sacred.' *Κοινὰ Ἀσιᾶς* festivals were donated by the chief priests of the imperial cult and could diverge significantly from the programmes of the 'sacred' games in order to dovetail more closely with Roman tastes. Among the more Roman-style competitions were pantomime performances. The syncretism of the *κοινὰ Ἀσιᾶς* games with the sacred games represents the inclusion of the imperial cult among these important festivals. It also provided a loophole through which pantomime dancers could enter Greek 'sacred' festivals as true competitors. Slater also suggests that the organizers of these *κοινὰ Ἀσιᾶς* festivals might have cited Italian events that legitimized the inclusion of pantomime: 'Their imperial sponsors, especially the donors of *munera*, were happy to facilitate their admission, citing no doubt the examples of Campania.'⁶⁴ If it were not for Augustus' patronage of this medium of entertainment, leading to the inclusion of pantomime in the games which honoured the imperial cult, such as the *Sebasta*/*Augustalia* in Naples and the *Augustalia* in Rome, this would never have eventuated. The inclusion of pantomime in imperial cult practice was the direct result of Augustus' patronage, and it was possibly only because of its inclusion in imperial cult celebrations that pantomime gained acceptance into

⁶¹ Jory (2002), 238–53.

⁶² Price (1984), 89.

⁶³ Slater (1995), 281–2.

⁶⁴ Slater (1995), 289.

the greater Greek festivals. This case can hold because pantomime had been known to the East before its introduction to Rome, but it was not included in the sacred competitions there until the late second century AD.

CONCLUSION: THE ROMANIZATION OF THE GREEK CLASSICS

It is impossible to say exactly what Augustus hoped in 23 BC would result from his patronage of imperial pantomime, although I do not think that he would have expected to be castigated for it five centuries later by an Eastern historian such as Zosimus. At that time, Augustus would have seen a new and unique entertainment which would fit into his design of archaic religious reforms by the pantomime's use of dance, with a Hellenic glamour provided by the Homeric and especially tragic themes of the accompanying libretti. These themes included the Trojan War, the plight of Oedipus, Hercules' madness and the result of Pentheus' denial of Dionysus' divinity. They may well have included important episodes from the *Aeneid* and myths which we know Augustus fostered elsewhere, such as those surrounding Apollo and Aphrodite, and the tales of Niobe and the Danaids. Added to these was the occasional Roman theme which required the dancer to wear a toga, and more commonly, famous love stories from Greek mythology. The Greek origins of both the pantomime dance idiom and the themes of its libretti were not in direct contrast with Augustus' practices within Rome, but were a reflection of his own use of Greek mythological themes throughout the city. These were themselves influenced by the use of this corpus of material prior to the battle of Actium.

It is easy to see, therefore, that Augustus had no idea that his patronage of this elegant entertainment was opening a cultural equivalent of Pandora's Box. Its contents were not to be contained within Rome, but subsequently spread throughout the entire empire. The reason for this proliferation was Augustus' patronage of pantomime, on account of which it became associated with the imperial

cult, not only in Rome and Italy, but also throughout the Greek East—the society which had already questioned the seriousness of pantomimic dance as a performance medium prior to the innovations of Pylades. Now, with the inclusion of pantomime among the Roman-style entertainments provided as *munera* in honour of the imperial cult, the ‘sacred’ festivals were force-fed Greek mythology, but not as they had known it previously. Pantomime libretti were Roman, despite their Greek themes. This is why pantomime libretti must be regarded as a Romanisation of the Greek classics.

Virgil on the Popular Stage

Costas Panayotakis

The aim of this chapter is twofold. First, I look at some of the features and inherent tensions which mime and pantomime shared as theatrical forms in Rome. The Roman mime was a type of popular entertainment which featured actors and actresses with speaking parts enacting mainly low-life situations, although mythical themes and episodes, in more burlesque and light-hearted form than they appeared in pantomime, were not unknown. Mime, like pantomime, influenced and was influenced by widely divergent literary genres, such as love-elegy and the novel, and the boundaries demarcating mime from pantomime were not always as clear as some scholars, seeking to impose order on inherently diverse and contradictory source materials, have liked to imagine. In the second half of the chapter I take Virgil as my case-study in order to explore not how he used drama in order to compose elevated poetry, but how and why Roman 'popular' performance culture, especially pantomime, appropriated the literary status of influential authors such as Virgil, and exploited in its repertory erudite poetic compositions.

The first century BC was the 'golden age' of popular drama in Rome. By Sulla's time the native Italian type of entertainment conventionally known as Atellane comedy had already acquired literary

Short versions of this paper were read at the APA meeting (Boston) in January 2005 and at the CA Annual Meeting (Reading) in April 2005. I am grateful to the audience on these occasions for their helpful observations. Above all I am indebted to Edith Hall for inviting me to contribute to this volume; she and Rosie Wyles have been extremely generous with their patience and assistance in correcting drafts of the chapter.

status in the hands of L. Pomponius and Novius. But in 55 BC Cicero was able to claim that an early mime (*mimus vetus*) entitled *Tutor* was witty and full of tasteful puns (*De Orat.* 2.259), and in 46 BC he stated that Atellane farces had been replaced in the theatre by mime-plays (*Ad fam.* 9.16.7). Playwrights such as Decimus Laberius and Publilius from Syria—and perhaps other mimographers of the mid-first century BC from whose plays nothing survives¹—gave the low theatre of the mime literary qualities, which it did not seem to have displayed until then.² The same period saw the appearance of many named actresses (for instance, Eucharis, Tertia, Cytheris, and Arbuscula) in addition to anonymous *mimi* and *mimae*, many of whom were favoured by important political figures such as Sulla and Mark Antony.³ The genre *mimus* was acknowledged as a literary category by intellectuals such as Cicero (*Phil.* 2.65, *persona de mimo*), Horace (*Serm.* 1.10.6, *et Laberi mimos ut pulchra poemata mirer*), and Ovid (*Trist.* 2.497, *si scripsissem mimos*), who could no longer ignore its importance.

Descended from the mime but ultimately surpassing it in popularity, prestige, and required acting skill, the spectacle of solo dancing associated with professionals who came to be widely known from the first century AD onwards as *pantomimi* (i.e. 'mimes of everything') seems to have existed in Rome long before the dates which the literary evidence of Jerome (23 or 22 BC) and the inscriptional data from Pompeii (after 2 BC) suggest.⁴ Jory speculates that the professional career of the famous pantomime-dancer Pylades extended back to the late 40s BC (and that a form of mimetic dance was inextricably linked to the origins of Roman drama as described by Livy);⁵ this is plausible. For the action of a masked and mute solo dancer portraying individual characters in different stories, or a

¹ See e.g. Nucula: Cic. *Phil.* 11.13 describes him as a writer of mimes or farces (*commentatus est mimos*). See *RE* 17.1 (1936), 1238–9, s.v. Nucula 1.

² The evidence on the development of the mime as a theatrical form of entertainment and as a literary genre is presented and discussed in the Introduction (ch. 2) to my forthcoming volume on Laberius' fragments.

³ I discuss their portrayal in Panayotakis (2006).

⁴ Although *testimonia* on pantomime are gathered in Rotolo (1957), 87–121 and in Bonaria (1965a), 169–274 ('Fasti mimici et pantomimici'), the most useful discussion of the origins and features of pantomime in Rome is Jory (1996); the link with mime is made persuasively on pp. 25–7 of that article and in Jory (1995), 149–50.

⁵ See Jory (1981), 157.

series of characters in the same story, was already a Roman theatrical phenomenon to which Horace casually alluded in the mid-40s BC: one of the amusing incidents mentioned during the eventful journey to Brundisium is the comic 'battle' between the buffoons Sarmentus and Messius Cicirrus. The speaker of the satire reports how Sarmentus teased Cicirrus because of his facial scar, and 'asked him to dance the shepherd Cyclops, claiming he had no need of a mask or of tragic buskins'—*pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat: | nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis* (*Serm.* 1.5.63–4, trans. P. M. Brown). Although Horace does not use the word *pantomimus* (or a related term) in this passage, the verb *salto* governing an internal limiting accusative (see *OLD* s.v. 2a), the reference to serious subject-matter from myth (does 'Cyclops' refer to the story of 'Cyclops and Odysseus' or 'Cyclops and Galatea?'), and the allusion to masks (*larva*; see *OLD* s.v. c) leave little doubt that he has in mind a form of mimetic show performed by a solo dancer through bodily movement alone and without the aid of words.⁶

It can be argued then that mime (in the form of both an unscripted spectacle and a text-based 'literary' play) and pantomime (with its libretto and a chorus accompanying the gestures of the professional dancer) existed simultaneously and harmoniously in the theatrical culture of Rome in the late republic and the empire, and for various reasons it is not easy (or wise) to draw a sharp distinction between them—in fact, our non-dramatic sources often do not attach a specific generic label to shows which may be seen as belonging to either of these forms of popular entertainment.⁷ The close parallels between mime and pantomime reveal the generic fluidity which characterized them. Although actors and actresses in mime were supposed to have acted without masks (Cic. *De Orat.* 2.251–2),⁸ it is possible that the plot of *some* mime-plays *did* require masks.⁹

⁶ See P. M. Brown (1993), 146. Kokolakis (1959), 12 n. 19, gives a list of instances of *orchoumai* + accusative and *salto* + accusative, both of which he takes as constructions designating pantomime themes.

⁷ See Wiseman above, Ch. 5.

⁸ Contrast this practice with that of the solo *pantomimus*, who normally wore a mask with closed mouth; see esp. Kokolakis (1959), 33–41; Jory (1996), 5–6 and figs. 1–19.

⁹ This may be the case in Tertullian's account of mythological mimes (*Apolog.* 15.3): *Imago dei vestri ignominiosum caput et famosum vestit* ('The image of your god covers the head of a shameless and infamous person').

Moreover, even though dance was the central means by which the *pantomimus* or *histrion* (*orchēstēs* or *pantomimos* in Greek) conveyed the story and emotions of mythological characters to an audience in pantomime,¹⁰ dancing was also a feature strongly associated with mime-actors.¹¹ Finally, in spite of the fact that the extant literary evidence from non-dramatic texts associates mime with the portrayal of low topics from everyday life, and pantomime with the presentation of highly emotional and (mainly) tragic situations from myth, some of our sources on the Roman literary mime suggest that the repertory of mimes included mythological material.¹² It is therefore sensible to infer that mime and pantomime sometimes presented similarities in performance and subject-matter, and that these similarities may have made the differentiation between the shows in the mind of the audience less rigid and more fluid than we believe it was.

Mime, with its low-life stories and inconsequential characters, was the pre-eminent generic vehicle for crude realism in antiquity: a maskless actor or actress, usually a slave or freedman (or freedwoman),

¹⁰ See Lucian, *On Dancing* 67 = T22.

¹¹ That mime-actors, like pantomime-actors, danced is confirmed by Ov. *AA* 1.501–2 (dancing in an adultery mime), Aulus Gellius 1.11.12 (*ut planipedī saltanti*), Diod. Sic. 31.16.3, Athenaeus 5.195 (dancing mimes at the court of Antiochus IV Epiphanes), Philo, *De agr.* 35, and Porph. in Hor. *Serm.* 2.6.72 (the harmonious combination of Lepos' speech and dancing). Dance was a common feature in the description of the activities of the mime-performers Bassilla, Eucharis, and C. Caecilius Chariton Iuventus (*IG* 14.2342 and *add.* on p. 704 of that volume; *CIL* 6.10096 = *ILS* 5213 = *ILLRP* 803 = Buecheler no. 55, p. 27; Gentili (1961), 20–1). Cf. Choricus, *Apol. Mim.* 124 *δεῖ γὰρ καὶ φωνὴν εὐφραίνουσαν ἔχειν καὶ ῥέουσαν γλώτταν ἐτοίμως—μῖμος γὰρ διλογῶν ἢ προσπταίων συρίττεται μᾶλλον ἢ ῥήτωρ τοῦτο παθῶν—, δεῖ καὶ χορεύειν ἐπίστασθαι καὶ μὴ φθέγγεσθαι μόνον ἐπιδειξίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλέμματι θέλγειν* and Stephanis (1986), *ad loc.*

¹² Lists of (tragic) pantomimic themes are conveniently provided in Wüst (1949), 847–9 and Kokolakis (1959), 51–4. Varro (*apud* Aug. *Civ. Dei* 6.1) cites a fragment from an unspecified mime-play, which contains someone's absurd request for water from Bacchus and for wine from the water-nymphs—possibly evidence for mythological parody in mime; cf. Aug. *Civ. Dei* 4.22. One of the titles of mimes attributed by Gellius (16.7.10) and Nonius (90,22M = 129,20L) to Laberius is *Anna Peranna*. T. P. Wiseman (1998), 72–3, speculates that Ovid's aetiological story in *F.* 3.523–696 about Anna Perenna, Mars, and Minerva is a (perhaps direct) descendant of Laberius' mime, whose plot would involve Anna in the role of the mimic bawd. Wiseman (1999) 197–200 also argued that the festival of the *Floralia* gave the opportunity to the public to watch 'indelicate' mime-plays whose plot was taken from Rome's mythical or historical past, thus reinforcing the concept of 'Roman-ness' in the audience.

would expose himself (or herself) to the public gaze, and satirize people and contemporary events with inelegant and uncouth words that belonged to the vocabulary of the lower classes. Pantomimes too were acted by men and women of low social status and ambiguous moral reputation. Often these actors were said to have had enormous wealth and to have enjoyed the support of powerful public figures,¹³ but at the same time they were regarded as social outcasts and objects of desire. There is then a clear tension, especially in pantomime, between the moral stigma attached to acting in these theatrical spectacles, which could be seen as violating the masculinity or sexual integrity of the performers, and the highly developed artistic skills required for the success of these shows.¹⁴ To put it differently, the more skilful you were as a dancer, the worse your reputation fared as an individual; the more famous you were as a mime-actress, the more infamous your name became in decent Roman households. I argued elsewhere that the actors and actresses of the popular stage paradoxically played an important role in ensuring the perpetuation of the moral behaviour of the elite women in the hierarchically structured Roman society.¹⁵ By means of their portrayal as 'negative social examples', mimes and pantomimes reinforced the *status quo* in terms of gender roles and indicated to men and women of the Roman elite the norms for morally proper and socially acceptable behaviour.

A similar tension may be observed in the apparent clash between the effeminate and disreputable pantomime-acting and the

¹³ The pantomime-actor Pylades was an acquaintance of Augustus and the dancer Bathyllus was the favourite of Maecenas (see Jory (1981) 147; the best overview of the evidence on these actors is in Leppin (1992) 284–5 and 217–19). A list of powerful men favouring mime-actors and actresses, each no doubt for their own reasons, would include Philip (Dem. 2.19), Alexander (Ath. 1.20a), Agathocles of Syracuse (Diod. Sic. 20.63.2), Antiochus II Theos (Ath. 1.19c), Antiochus IV Epiphanes (Ath. 5.195, 10.439; Diod. Sic. 31.16.3), Ptolemy II Philadelphus (Ath. 13.576–7), Sulla (Ath. 6.261c; Plut. *Sulla* 2.5); Julius Caesar (Macr. *Sat.* 2.7 = T32), Mark Antony (Cic. *Phil.* 2.66, 2.101, 8.26; Plut. *Ant.* 21.3), Caligula (Dio Cass. 59.2.5), Nero (Tac. *Ann.* 14.14; Suet. *Nero* 4.2, 11; Juv. 8.190–4); Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 15), Commodus (Herod. 1.13.8), Elagabalus (Herod. 5.7.6–7), Gallienus (*HA, Gall. duo* 21.6), Carinus (*HA, Car.* 16.7), Justinian (Chor. *Apol. mim.* 58), and Theodosius (Zosimus 4.33.4).

¹⁴ There are excellent discussions of this tension in Webb (2002), 287–9, Lada-Richards (2003a), Duncan (2006), 124–59, and the contribution of Lada-Richards to this volume (Ch. 13).

¹⁵ Panayotakis (2006), 136–7.

elevated (i.e. 'tragic') repertory employed by professional pantomime-dancers, who often looked to celebrated literary works so as to draw inspiration or material from them for their next performance. Manilius (*Astr.* 485), Lucian (*On Dancing* 76), and inscriptional evidence all testify to the presentation of scenes from the Homeric epics on the pantomime-stage;¹⁶ Wiseman has discussed the possibility of a theatrical representation of Catullus 63 at the Megalesian games (was it the performance of a solo dancer?), while Sargent comprehensively investigates the scholarly view that Ovid's *Heroides* were the first literary text composed as libretti for pantomime.¹⁷ In this volume, chapters below by Ingleheart, Zimmermann, Zanobi, and Hall explore the possibility that pantomime dancers used texts (or extracts from texts) on mythical and tragic themes by Ovid, Seneca, and an anonymous Latin poet who adapted the *Alcestis* theme familiar from Euripides' famous play. In the remaining part of this chapter I wish to consider the implications which arise from this tension between low reputation and high repertory, and I take as my case-study the connection between the elevated and highly visual poetry of Virgil and the spectacular and morally ambiguous world of the stage.

That there was such a connection is neither an original nor a surprising observation. Theatre seems to have been in Virgil's mind when he composed the dramatic tale of Dido (see, for instance, Virgil's explicit comparison of Dido, in *Aen.* 4.469–73, to Orestes and Pentheus as characters on the tragic stage), and Hardie has offered a comprehensive account of the presence of Greek and Roman tragedy and the 'tragic' in the *Aeneid*.¹⁸ But it is important to stress that Virgil's texts provided material for adaptation to both mime and pantomime, and to reiterate the point that such performances shared certain features, including the rearticulation of Virgilian verses in the mouths and through the bodies of decidedly non-elite performers. Evidence for the use of material from Virgil's works by both mimic and pantomimic actors is not lacking, and covers a wide period from Virgil's lifetime to the fifth century AD. It testifies to the

¹⁶ See *CIL* 14,4254 with Jory (1996), 18 and n. 55.

¹⁷ Wiseman (1985), 198–206; Sargent (1996).

¹⁸ Hardie (1997).

aesthetic acquaintance with, and appreciation of this poet by ordinary people well beyond the literary elite.

We are told, for example, that the mime-actress Cytheris gave lively recitals from the *Eclogues* in the theatre, with Cicero in the audience (see also above, Starks, p. 115). Yet the mode of performance here clearly shared some features with the more elegant and refined genre of pantomime, since Servius, our source for this event (*ap. Ecl.* 6.11), interestingly employs the verb *cantasset* to describe Cytheris' performance—a verb which can indicate both reciting in a melodious tone of voice (see *OLD* s.v. 2b and 3) and acting in *pantomime*.¹⁹

Dicitur etiam ingenti favore esse recitata, adeo ut, cum eam postea Cytheris cantasset in theatro, quam in fine Lycoridem vocat, stupefactus Cicero cuius esset requireret.

It is also said that *Eclogue* 6 was recited with enormous acclaim to such an extent that, when Cytheris, whom Virgil calls Lycoris in the final *Eclogue*, acted it subsequently in the theatre, Cicero was amazed and was asking whose poem it was. [my trans.]

There are problems with this passage. The event (if it took place) should have happened not later than 43 BC, if Cicero was to have taken part in it. Yet the *Eclogues* are said to have been originally composed (as opposed to circulated in the form in which we have them today) during the period 42–38 BC,²⁰ which suggests that, if Servius and/or his source were right about Cicero's presence in the audience, the recitation of *Eclogue* 6 and its theatrical performance should refer to a public event *before* the publication of the text as part of a collection of poems. I cannot say whether Servius' cautious phrasing (*dicitur*) derives from the corresponding entry in Donatus' now lost commentary on Virgil, or whether Servius thought of it himself in order to project the image of an objective commentator. In either case, I am inclined to think that the performance of *Eclogue* 6 was not a figment of Servius' imagination, but that Servius and/or his source inserted Cicero's name into the narrative in order to

¹⁹ See Suet. *Nero* 21 (*tragoedias...cantavit...cantavit Canacem parturientem*), with Hall (2002a), 27–30.

²⁰ See Coleman (1977), 16–8, Boyle (1976), 4, and Clausen (1994), xxii.

give grandeur to, and confirm the artistic merit of Virgil, the *new* 'pastoral' poet.

In Servius' account the most distinguished author of the late republic, Cicero, is therefore portrayed as acknowledging the genius of a newcomer, Virgil, whose name will be inextricably linked with Augustan literary culture. Likewise, it is conceivable (but unlikely) that the most celebrated mime-actress of the republic, Cytheris, whose lovers included Mark Antony and Cornelius Gallus, was not originally involved in this incident but was deliberately added as the main character in it because of the connection between Gallus and *Eclogues* 6 and 10 and the reference to Lycoris (i.e. Cytheris) in *Eclogue* 10.2. In a personal letter, Philip Hardie has suggested to me another interpretation of the lines *pauca meo Gallo sed quae legat ipsa Lycoris | carmina sunt dicenda* ('I must sing a brief song for my Gallus, but one that Lycoris herself may read', *Ecl.* 10.2–3). Although these lines 'are normally read within the conventions of elegy written for the eyes of the *puella*', they might be taken to mean 'that a poem that puts Gallus "on stage" in the *persona* of a Daphnis figure—a kind of mime?—is precisely the kind of poem that would interest Cytheris'. But even if Servius is accurate about Cytheris' involvement in the event described above, the question remains: what did she do on stage?

Sargent simply comments, 'It is difficult to determine the exact nature of Cytheris' performance'.²¹ This is true. However, Quinn, the only scholar I know to have ventured a guess on the details of Cytheris' acting on that occasion, explores the possibility of a performance which resembles what we would now define as ancient pantomime.

Did she take the part of Aegle in a dramatized version of the text? Hardly likely: in our version Aegle says nothing and it is not easy to imagine her in an important speaking role; moreover, Servius makes no mention of other actors; he implies a solo performance. Indeed, what he says about Cicero suggests Cytheris, not the sixth Eclogue, was the attraction since Cicero had to ask who the author was. It seems a reasonable supposition that he went to see Cytheris, whom he had met socially [see *Ad Fam.* 9.26.2, dated to 46 BC], and that the performance took the form of a dramatic enactment of a series

²¹ Sargent (1996), 94 n. 12.

of poetic texts; *Cytheris perhaps accompanied her declamation by some kind of interpretative dance*; other possible items on the programme were poems of Cornelius Gallus, whose mistress Cytheris was and in whose poetry she figures under the name Lycoris; the sixth *Eclogue* was perhaps chosen for the tribute it contains to Gallus' poetry; a text eighty-six lines long is not likely to have been the only item on the programme.²²

It is possible, then, that Cytheris (or another professional actor) recited Virgil's text in a dramatization of the sixth *Eclogue*, or that Cytheris, at a public reading of the sixth *Eclogue*, enacted parts of the text which easily rendered themselves to dramatic representation: for instance, the bucolic farcical scene involving Chromis, Mnasyllus, Aegle, and Silenus in lines 13–30. The spectacle in which Cytheris (or a dancer accompanying Cytheris' recital) would imitate these characters one after another would have formed a show of solo mimetic dancing based on a literary theme.

But what does it mean to have one of your poems recited by a mime-actress in front of a full theatre? Is there any tension between, on the one hand, the social/theatrical status of the actress and, on the other, the Virgilian text delivered on stage? Indeed, how do the male poetic voices of Virgil and Silenus in *Eclogue* 6 square with the female sex of the performer? I believe that the crucial element in this account, which makes the recital of Virgil's work so special and, in terms of Virgilian reception, testifies to the literary appreciation of this poet by literary elite and common people alike, is the identity of the reciter. The powerful and scandalous image projected onto Cytheris by the literary sources of the period suggests that she was the best means of publicly acknowledging and advertising to a wide audience the achievement of a new literary genius, Virgil. On the other hand, having the most renowned personality of the 'star-system' reciting and/or acting the poetic manifesto of a celebrated poet achieves more than the enhancement of the literary image of the poet. Cytheris' recital of Virgil is an influential means of reinforcing also Cytheris' artistic standing and of elevating the low genre with which she was associated. The sophistication and the intellectual respect owed to Virgil now reflect back upon and effectively crown the performer herself; the tension between her reputation as a

²² Quinn (1982), 153 (emphasis and words in square brackets are mine).

woman and her profession as a comic actress becomes less marked, and is perhaps resolved entirely: Cytheris is presented as a Muse who not only inspires poets (such as Gallus) to compose masterpieces, but also plays the role of intermediary in that she delivers these masterpieces to the wider community. She becomes the poet's Thalia (the Muse of comedy), who is not ashamed to be associated with the poetry of humble forests (*nostra nec erubuit silvas habitare Thalia*, *Ecl.* 6.2).

This is not an isolated theatrical event in the history of the reception of the *Eclogues*, if we are to judge from (and believe) the author of the *vita Virgili*, who refers to repeated theatrical performances of the *Eclogues* (*bucolica eo successu edidit, ut in scaena quoque per cantores crebro pronuntiarentur*).²³ Was it Suetonius and his source that provided Servius, and possibly Donatus, with the information about an incident concerning the recital of the *Eclogues*? This is not entirely certain, for in Suetonius' account of the recital of the *Eclogues* Cytheris is not mentioned, and her name has been replaced by many unnamed actors (*cantores*; see *OLD* s.v. 1b), who *pronuntiarent*—an ambiguous verb which denotes not only the delivery of a recital but also an acted performance on the mime-stage (see Pliny, *NH* 7.158 and *OLD* s.v. 7b). But in what way were these texts adapted for performance? Are we to imagine short dramatic representations which would involve a narrating voice, actors and dancers playing the roles of Tityrus, Meliboeus, Mopsus, Menalcas, and other herdsmen, and lively actions? Excellent opportunities would have been provided to a solo dancer wanting to portray fictional characters in passionate situations (what Lucian, *On Dancing* 35 and 67 = T22 calls *ēthē* and *pathē*) by the arrangement of the dialogue in the 'amoebaeon' *Eclogues* 3, 6, and 7, and the highly emotional content of sections such as the song of Alpheisiboeus in *Eclogue* 8.64–109. The genealogy of the last example can be traced, via Theocritus' second *Idyll*, all the way back to the mimographer Sophron's plays of the fifth century BC. But our sources do not allow any certain conclusions to be drawn.

Equally vague are the words of the poet Maternus in Tacitus' *Dialogus* 13 referring to Virgil's verses being heard in the theatre (*auditis in theatro Virgilii versibus*). Maternus pleads for the eloquence

²³ Suetonius, *De Poetis* 103–4, ed. Rostagni (1944).

of poetry against his opponent Aper, who defends the profession of oratory. Maternus contrasts the consulship with which a successful orator is usually rewarded and the serene life of Virgil, favoured by both Augustus and the Roman population, who, in the theatre and in the poet's presence, rose to their feet in unison and honoured him as they would have honoured Augustus. If this story is true, it must apply to a later period than that referred to by Suetonius and Servius. However, there is nothing in Maternus' narrative to suggest a full-scale production or dramatization of the *Eclogues* (could he be referring to anything else but the *Eclogues*?), and I cannot say whether it was a couple of lines or a whole poem that was recited, and in what context these Virgilian lines were heard: did they form part of a play whose plot had nothing to do with Virgil's work? The reception of the *Eclogues* does not end here: in the late fourth century AD the irate Jerome castigates Christian priests for abandoning the study of the Gospel, reading comedies, and knowing by heart the bucolic love-affairs of Virgil (*amatoria bucolicorum versuum cantare*; Jerome, *Epistulae* 21.13.9). But it is noteworthy that none of the three sources considered above (Servius, Suetonius, and Tacitus) mocked or ironized Virgilian lines when they were incorporated in a dramatic (mimic or pantomimic) context.²⁴

It is arguable that Virgil suits tragedy better than he suits comedy, and scenes from the *Aeneid* were repeatedly taken up by pantomime artists, who tended to align their art with the more serious theatrical genre. The death of Turnus and the unfortunate love affair of Dido were stories which were very well suited to the pantomimic stage, according to Suetonius (*Nero* 54 = T8) and Macrobius (5.17.5 = T32), who implies that the 'tale of the lascivious Dido' was a regular theme in the pantomimic repertory, celebrated incessantly 'by the gestures and songs' of the actors.²⁵ One can easily

²⁴ This is an important point given the parody of well-known 'classics' on the mime-stage; see, for instance, the comic adaptation of Euripides' *IT*, *Helen*, and *Cyclops* in the so-called 'Charition' mime (*POxy.* 413 *recto*), discussed in Hall (forthcoming c). A full discussion of this topic is in Santelia (1991) 12–31. See also above p. 24.

²⁵ See also Lucian, *On Dancing* 46, who refers to the wandering of Aeneas and the sexual passion of Dido; Sargent (1996), 189–91 discusses how Dido's letter to Aeneas (Ovid, *Her.* 7) could be read as a pantomime-script.

enough imagine the skilful pantomime enacting the parts of both Dido and Aeneas, the love-scene between them, the departure of the wandering hero, and the suicide of the queen (see below, Hall, pp. 274–5). Here the identity of the Roman nation is reinforced by means of a romantic story presented in a relatively dignified—although undoubtedly ‘popular’—form of theatre, as the audience watches their own ‘history’ enacted dramatically. The point I am making is that such events helped not only to maintain the ‘literary’ status of Virgil and to advertise his work to an audience that may otherwise have had little access to it,²⁶ but also to increase the cultural value of pantomime, whose relationship with the governing authorities and the elite did not always go smoothly.²⁷

Likewise, the episode between Aeneas and Anchises in the Underworld is, according to Augustine (*Sermones* 241.5 = *PL* 38,1135–6), a familiar theatrical scene in the mind of his readers; Augustine suggests clearly that few of his readers read this episode, but that the majority of them saw it performed in the theatre (‘Yes, nearly all of you know about this; and I’d much rather only a few of you did. But only a few of you know about it from books, many of you from the theater, that Aeneas went down to the underworld, and his father showed him the souls of the great Romans who were going to come into bodies.’ trans. Hill (1990)). No theatrical context for this episode is specified by Augustine, but it seems that the ghosts of deceased Romans somehow participated in the plot. It is not clear to me whether this was a performance which dramatized the whole of *Aeneid* 6 or parts of it, nor indeed how it would have articulated the actual words of Aeneas to his father as cited and briefly discussed by Augustine: ‘Oh, Father, am I therefore to believe that of these souls some go, soaring hence, up to the world beneath our sky and return once more into dreary matter? Why should the poor souls so perversely desire the light of our day?’ (*Aen.* 6.719–21, trans. W. F. Jackson Knight). This could have formed part of a mime, for in the first century BC the mimographer Laberius is said to have composed

²⁶ Ingleheart in this volume discusses well how important theatre was as a medium for cultivating the appreciation of an audience for the work of literary authors.

²⁷ On this topic see Jory (1996), 3 with further bibliography in his n. 7.

two plays, whose titles have suggested to some scholars the motif of the descent into the Underworld and perhaps of Homeric parody: these titles are *Necyomantia* and *Lacus Avernus*.²⁸ But it is also possible—and perhaps easier—to imagine these lines as the libretto of a pantomime sung by a chorus, and to visualize the Underworld scenes realized in pantomimic dance.

In this chapter I considered the ‘problem’ of having high-brow Virgilian works (or individual scenes from these works) added to the repertory of ‘popular’ shows constituted by mime and pantomime. I did *not* attempt to show that Virgil composed the *Eclogues* or the *Aeneid* as pantomime libretti. My argument was that, on the basis of the extant evidence, mimes and pantomimes presented Virgilian scenes in a serious fashion, and that, as far as ‘literary’ prestige and reputation were concerned, the theatrical exploitation of bucolic tales and the stage re-enactment of Aeneas’ tragic love-affair with Dido, benefited both Virgil and the stage (especially pantomime). Moreover, there was a reciprocal borrowing and a two-way movement between highly esteemed cultural products and less prestigious art-forms, both of which retained their vitality precisely because of this mutual cross-pollination.

²⁸ See Panayotakis (forthcoming), commentary, ad loc.

Et mea sunt populo saltata poemata saepe
(*Tristia* 2.519): Ovid and the Pantomime

Jennifer Ingleheart

Two tantalizingly short passages in Ovid's exilic *Tristia* claim that his poems have been danced on the Roman stage (*Tristia* 2.517–520 = T6 and 5.7.25–30 = T7), in what are almost certainly references to pantomimic performance. These passages have attracted relatively little critical comment, thanks to their brevity, the lack of evidence for the performance of Ovid's poems, and scholarly neglect of the pantomime genre. My chapter offers a close reading of the relevant passages, as I attempt to establish the most salient aspects of the wording of these allusions to pantomime for a study of the genre. Without making any claims that Ovid intended his poetry to be performed by pantomime dancers (indeed, he explicitly claims that he had never composed with theatrical performances in mind), I explore the question of which Ovidian poems may have been used as the basis for pantomime libretti, and which of their features made them attractive to the practitioners of an art form which gained great popularity in Augustan Rome. As a result, I challenge the common assumption that the *Heroides* are the most likely candidate

Earlier versions of this paper were delivered in 2007 at the Work in Progress seminar at the Department of Classics at Durham University and the Classical Association Annual Conference in Birmingham; I would like to thank the audiences at these gatherings for useful comments. Particular thanks are owed to Edith Hall for encouraging me to set down my thoughts about Ovid and pantomime in a single place, and for her enlightening criticism of earlier drafts. All translations are my own.

for performance. A major concern throughout my chapter is to interpret Ovid's references to pantomime in both their immediate context and in the wider context of his exilic poetry.

First, let us turn to the Ovidian passages, and consider how their evidence fits with other testimony on pantomime. The first reference to Ovid's poems being performed in the pantomime forms part of a longer self-justification addressed to the emperor Augustus. Ovid attempts to exculpate himself from the charge of promoting adultery to the Roman populace in his *Ars amatoria*—one of two charges that led to Ovid's banishment from Rome¹—and to implicate Augustus in the same crime on the grounds that the princeps has sponsored and witnessed adulterous scenes on stage in mimes (cf. *Tristia* 2.497–514, and in particular 511–14).²

Ovid rejects the notion that the stage allows a special licence to the mime that is not granted to non-theatrical works, before informing the emperor that Ovid's poems have also been danced for audiences including Augustus. The final couplet on the performance of Ovid's own poems is not a mere after-thought appended to the longer section on mime, but provides the first testimony we have for the pantomimic performance of Ovid's works:

scribere si fas est imitantes turpia mimos,
 materiae minor est debita poena meae.
 an genus hoc scripti faciunt sua pulpita tutum,
 quodque libet³ mimis scaena licere dedit?
 et⁴ mea sunt populo saltata poemata saepe,
 saepe oculos etiam detinuere tuos.

¹ See *Tristia* 2.207 (*perdiderint . . . me duo crimina, carmen* [i.e. the *Ars Amatoria*] *et error*—'two charges destroyed me, a poem and a mistake') and 212 (*arguor obsceni doctor adulterii*—'I am accused of being the teacher of obscene adultery', which alludes to the claim at *Ars* 1.17 that *ego sum praeceptor amoris*—'I am the teacher of love').

² For Ovid on Augustus and mime, cf. Ingleheart (2006), 78–81.

³ *libet* is almost certainly correct; *licet*, found in some MSS, is easily explicable as repetition from *licere*.

⁴ *en* ('see!'), conjectured by J. B. Hall (1992) for the *et* found in all MSS, would play up the theme of sight, which is important both to the rhetoric of this passage as a whole, and to the stress on sight in ancient writing on the pantomimic genre. However, *et* is probably necessary here, as Ovid needs to emphasize that his poems too, like mimes, have received performance on stage.

If it is lawful to write mimes imitating shameful things,
 a lesser punishment is due to my theme.
 Or does the stage that belongs to it make this genre of writing safe,
 and does the theatre grant mimes whatever freedom they like?
 My productions too have been danced for the people often,
 often they have even held your eyes.

(Ovid, *Tristia* 2.515–520 = T6)

We can quickly dispose of the theory that the final couplet might refer to the dancing of the one Ovidian work which we know was written for the stage: the lost tragedy *Medea*. Although it is not impossible that this play, or portions of it, received a pantomimic realization at some point in antiquity, it is unlikely that Ovid here refers to his *Medea*, given that, soon after this, he alludes to the tragedy in a separate section on his more generically grand works (*Tristia* 2.553–4). Furthermore, the verb *saltare*, usually used of dancing a role,⁵ or sometimes a scene or theme,⁶ is the *vox propria* for pantomimic dances. Finally, the positioning of this reference to Ovid's poems being danced just after a lengthy discussion of mime guarantees that Ovid here refers to pantomime, given close connections between the two genres.

The apparent lack of distinction between mime and pantomime here deserves comment; this is an unusual blurring of genres for *Tristia* 2, a work keenly interested in generic boundaries.⁷ Such failure to distinguish between mime and pantomime is actually fairly common in ancient sources, where there is frequently a lack of

⁵ See e.g. *Remedia Amoris* 755 = T5 (*illic assidue ficti saltantur amantes*—'there continually lovers in stories are danced'), Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.63 (*pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat*—'he begged him to dance the Cyclops as shepherd'), Juv. 6.63 = T12 (*chironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo*—'when sissy Bathyllus dances pantomimic Leda'), and Vell. Pat. 2.83.2 (*Plancus... Glaucum saltasset*—'Plancus... danced Glaucus').

⁶ See e.g. Pliny, *Paneg.* 54.1 (*laudes imperatorum ludis etiam et commissionibus... saltarentur*—'the praises of emperors at even games and events are danced'), and compare Lucian, *On Dancing* 63 = T19 for the same transitive usage of *orcheisthai* in 'he danced the adultery of Aphrodite and Ares'.

⁷ Genre plays an important part in Ovid's self-defence at *Tr.* 2.213 ff., where the generic slightness of the elegiac *Ars* is set against Augustus' serious concerns (cf. Barchiesi (1993), 162), and genre is a clear organising principle in the catalogue of authors who have written on erotic themes (*Tr.* 2. 363–466).

certainty as to which of these genres reference is being made.⁸ The confusion here should perhaps not be particularly surprising: Ovid's major concern in this passage is with spectacles offered to the Roman people on stage,⁹ so there is little need for him to distinguish sharply between the genres, which were, from the early imperial period onwards, the most popular entertainments on the Roman stage.

Ovid alludes to the popularity of pantomime when he talks about his poems being danced *populo* (519), and through the repetition of *saepe*; he had already stressed the popularity of mime and its adulterous content by emphasizing that it was viewed by all sectors of Roman society at *Tristia* 2.501–2. Picking up on his comment there that mime had its upper-class fans, and his insistence at 511–12 that the emperor himself had often been a spectator of mimes, here Ovid follows his statement about his poems being danced for the people with a reference to Augustus' eyes being held by the pantomimic performance of his poems (*saepe oculos etiam detinuerunt tuos*). This fits well with our other evidence about pantomime: Ovid's stress here on pantomime as above all a compelling sight is paralleled in many of our sources.¹⁰ Furthermore, Augustus' personal liking for, and even encouragement of pantomime and its practitioners is widely attested.¹¹ In this, Augustus anticipated the enthusiastic response to

⁸ One Ovidian example: *Ars* 1.501–2 (*et plaudas aliquam mimo saltante puellam, | et faueas illi, quisquis agatur amans*—'Applaud when the mime is dancing the role of some woman, | and support him, whoever plays the part of the lover'), where *saltante* evokes pantomime, but *mimo* and *aliquam* and *illi* suggest two actors and thus mime (cf. Hollis (1977), 116).

⁹ Cf. e.g. *Tr.* 2.409–10, where Ovid groups either satyr drama or tragicomedy (the former is more likely) with Greek tragedy (381–408).

¹⁰ See e.g. Manil. 5.484–5 (*coetque [sc. pantomimus] uidere | praesentem Troiam Priamumque ante ora cadentem*—'[the pantomime] forces his audience to see | Troy and Priam in very presence falling before their faces'), and Lucian, *On Dancing* 2 and 64 = T20, with Lada-Richards (2003a), 34.

¹¹ See e.g. Macrob. *Sat.* 2.7.17 (= T32) [*Pylades*] *eandem personam [Hercules] cum iussu Augusti in triclinio ageret*—'Pylades was playing the same role on the orders of Augustus at a banquet', 2.7.18 ('This man, who was said to have introduced a new and elegant style of dancing in place of the clumsy fashion which flourished among our ancestors, when he was asked by Augustus as to what he had contributed to dancing replied: "The sound of flutes and pipes and voices of men"'), Tac. *Ann.* 1.54 ('Augustus had tolerated such performances out of indulgence to Maecenas, who was passionately in love with Bathyllus. Besides, Augustus himself liked this sort of

pantomime of later emperors;¹² pantomime indeed appealed simultaneously both to the lowest sectors of society and those in the highest positions.¹³ The popularity of the genre in general, and its appeal to the emperor in particular as stressed here, have more far-reaching implications for Ovid's work, however.

The statement that pantomimes have held the attention of Augustus' eyes implies criticism of the emperor's frivolity in repeatedly (*saepe*) watching Ovid's poems being danced, rather than devoting his attention to more pressing concerns: compare *Tristia* 2.219–224, where Ovid complains that Augustus read his *Ars amatoria* instead of overseeing the world as its protector. By stressing Augustus' interest in pantomime, Ovid repeats his earlier point that Augustus neglects more important business, but adds the point that he does this for pantomime, an entertainment which was held in low regard by many, perhaps trading upon the disapproval felt by many for the genre.¹⁴ In addition, the way in which Ovid here emphasizes Augustus' interest in pantomime provides an important transition from his claims that Augustus has promoted mime (and thus vice) to the next section of *Tristia* 2.521 ff. For in this section Ovid presents Augustus as complicit in corrupting his citizens through sight, by putting on public display paintings with sexual content, mentioning paintings which have a particular connection with the Julian family.¹⁵ The insertion of a brief mention of pantomime serves to remind Ovid's wider audience of Augustus' well-known close personal links with the genre, links which are clear from his connection with Pylades and Bathyllus,¹⁶ pantomime's alleged inventors, but which are not attested in

amusement and thought it looked democratic to join in the people's entertainments'), Dio 54.17.5. See Hunt. (Ch. 7, above) and Jory (1981), on the Augustan aspect of pantomimes.

¹² See e.g. Suet. *Nero* 54 = T8, *Gaius* 54.2 and Dio 59.5.5.

¹³ See Lada-Richards (2003a), 34–5 for pantomime's popularity with the elite; note, however, the salutary cautionary comment that the mass of evidence for imperial fondness for the genre may be attributable to historiographers' bias.

¹⁴ See e.g. the criticisms of pantomime formulated by Crato in Lucian, *On Dancing*, and Lada-Richards (2003a), 31.

¹⁵ On these lines, see Ingleheart (2006), 81–3.

¹⁶ See Hunt above, Ch. 7 and Jory (1981) for the evidence on Augustus' connections with the pantomime and its practitioners.

the case of mime. It thus prepares us for the material on paintings that are closely connected with the emperor and his family.¹⁷

What of Ovid's focus here on the popular appeal of the genre? The popularity of pantomimic performances of Ovid's poetry is again emphasized in Ovid's second reference to the performance of his poems in the medium: *Tristia* 5.7.25–30 = T7. These lines are formulated as a response to the news that his poems are being performed in Rome:

carmina quod pleno saltari nostra theatro,
uersibus et plaudi scribis, amice, meis,
nil equidem feci (tu scis hoc ipse) theatris,
Musa nec in plausus ambitiosa mea est.
non tamen ingratum est, quodcumque obliuia nostri
impedit et profugi nomen in ora refert.

That my songs are being danced in the packed theatre,
and that my verses are applauded, you write, my friend.
I have composed nothing (you know this yourself) for the theatres,
nor is my Muse ambitious for applause.
It is not however unwelcome, nor anything which hinders forgetfulness
of me and brings back the name of an exile onto lips.

The main issue arising from this passage to exercise critics has been Ovid's assertion that he has written nothing for the theatre; a claim apparently contradicted by Ovid's tragic *Medea*, but surely in context an assertion that Ovid has not written pantomime libretti.¹⁸ More important than Ovid's selective reporting of his own literary career here is the point that this omission of his *Medea* guarantees that Ovid is here talking of pantomimic performance of his works. The popularity of the pantomimic medium, stressed twice in a single couplet (the full theatres and the applause of their spectators in 25–6), is of major significance for this passage: it is crucial for the exiled poet,

¹⁷ Ovid's statement that his poems were performed in pantomime in *Tristia* 2 also forms part of Ovid's interest in the reception of poetry in that work: on this see Gibson (1999). This can be linked with Ovid's claim at *Tr.* 5.7.25–30 that he did not compose poetry with pantomimic performance in mind, given that *Tr.* 2 is at pains to stress that authors are not responsible for the reception of their works.

¹⁸ Compare the fact that we never learn about Statius' pantomime *Agave* from the poet's own work; perhaps poets were not particularly proud of their work being performed in pantomimes.

since, as he himself acknowledges, the pantomimic performance of his poetry helps to maintain his memory and fame in the city.¹⁹ This is no standard reference to the popularity of the genre, but a point that is absolutely key to the exiled poet: Ovid claims that, despite having offended Augustus, the man at the top of Roman society, he still has the approval of the masses.²⁰ Ovid's assertion that his poems were performed to enthusiastic audiences in Rome takes on an added political edge if we recall that, at *Tristia* 3.1.65 ff., Ovid informs us that his works were banned from Rome's public libraries because of the offence caused by the *Ars*. In our passage, then, Ovid stresses that, although his books might not be in Rome's public libraries, he could still reach an appreciative audience for his poetry in the theatre.²¹

I wish now to consider the vexed question of which of Ovid's works received performance in pantomimes. Given that Ovid is not explicit on this point, and that we have no certain external evidence for the pantomimic performance of his poetry, it is hardly surprising that various candidates have been suggested: the *Ars amatoria*, *Heroides*, and *Metamorphoses*.²² I propose to examine the case for each,

¹⁹ There is irony in the phrase at line 30, which closely echoes Propertius 3.1.24's *maius ab exsequiis nomen in ora uenit* ('a greater name comes onto lips after a funeral'), where the earlier love elegist had foreseen an increase in his fame after death. When Ovid attaches exactly the same phrase (*nomen in ora*), found only in these two passages in Latin literature (according to a PHI search), to *profugi*, he makes a bitter joke about the way in which his own career as love elegist went wrong; after he wrote the *Ars amatoria* and so offended Augustus, he metaphorically became a dead man through his exile.

²⁰ For Ovid's exilic claims about the popular appeal of his poetry, cf. *Tr.* 1.1.7, 3.1.82, and Tarrant (2002), 23.

²¹ Cf. Horace, *Epist.* 2.1.60–1 (where Horace claims that 'mighty Rome learns these authors [i.e. those whose plays received theatrical performance] and views them packed into the narrow theatre'), and *Fasti* 3.535–6, where Ovid claims that the people sing and reperform the songs that they have learned at the theatre (*illic et cantant, quicquid didicere theatris, | et iactant faciles ad sua uerba manus*—'There they sing too whatever they have learned at the theatres, | and toss about pliant hands to the sound of their words').

²² Peter Heslin suggested at the Durham seminar at which I delivered an earlier version of this paper that Ovidian poems now lost may have been performed in pantomime, given the potential parallel of Statius' pantomime *Agave*, about which, were it not for Juvenal 7.86–87, we would not know. However, Christopher Rowe reminds me that the parallel of the performance of portions of Virgil's *Aeneid* (including the myth of Dido and Aeneas and the death of Turnus; see Panayotakis above pp. 196–7) suggests that poems which were already successful and popular received pantomimic performance; thus we do not need to assume that lost and obscure portions of Ovid's work received performance.

exploring Ovid's wording when referring to the performance of his works together with the extant evidence for pantomime performances. The evidence is far from conclusive, but it is nonetheless possible to make some tentative suggestions.

In 1924 Owen was the first to identify the *saltata poemata* of *Tristia* 2.519 as portions from the *Ars amatoria*,²³ although he notes that the poems alluded to as currently being performed (note the present tense of *saltari*) at 5.7.25 ff. cannot have included the incriminated *Ars*, given the offence that this poem had caused to Augustus, leading to its banning from public libraries, and Ovid's banishment.²⁴ Owen's argument in favour of the *Ars* appears to be based on the rhetoric of the passage in which 2.519 appears: Owen's inference from these lines is that Ovid argues that the adulterous content of the *Ars* should be overlooked because it was performed on stage, just

²³ Owen (1924), 271. Owen also suggested that pantomimic performances of Ovid's poems might even have included selections from his exilic works eulogizing Augustus (e.g. descriptions of Augustan triumphs at e.g. *Tr.* 4.2 and *Pont.* 2.1, which would have offered a pantomime the opportunity for playing the roles of various members of the imperial family and their captives), on the basis of the evidence from Pliny, *Paneg.* 54.1 (for which see above n. 6) that imperial panegyrics were so performed. Ovid cannot allude to such poems in either of our passages, since, if he were referring to poems which were flattering to the emperor, it is unlikely that he would not mention this aspect of his poems, given that his exile poetry constantly purports to try to appease the emperor for Ovid's offensive *carmen et error*. A few scholars have suggested that episodes from the *Fasti* may have been danced: cf. Sargent (1996), 145 n. 2, who posits that the historical story of Claudia Quinta, as related at *Fasti* 4.305 ff., was performed in pantomime, drawing on Ovid's evidence at *Fasti* 4.326 (*mira, sed et scaena testificata loquar*—'I tell a strange story, but one that is also attested by the stage'); however, this is more probably a reference to mime at the Ludi Megalenses. Furthermore, although the structure of the *Fasti* (which relates events in the Roman calendar) provides short, self-contained episodes which might have lent themselves to pantomimic performance, and the didactic nature of this poem perhaps fits well with pantomime's function of teaching non-elite audiences the myths it portrayed, Ovid cannot refer to pantomime performance of the *Fasti* in either passage from the *Tristia*, given the date of publication of the *Fasti*. Although *Tr.* 2.549–52 suggests that Ovid has written (or at least drafted) the *Fasti*, it is clear that Ovid continued to work on this poem after AD 9 (the probable date of composition for *Tr.* 2), from passages such as *Fasti* 1.1 ff., where Germanicus is addressed, lines which to have been added after Augustus' death in AD 14. For post-exilic revisions to the *Fasti*, see Fantham (1998), 1–4, and Feeney (1992), 15–19.

²⁴ This point misses the fact that our only evidence for the banning of the *Ars* from Rome's public libraries (*Tr.* 3.1.65 ff.) also suggests that Ovid's other works were also excluded from libraries, given that Ovid represents the *Tristia* being forbidden to enter the libraries.

as adultery in mimes was not punished by the emperor: 'Not only', argues Ovid, 'mimes are permitted and even witnessed by you the emperor (514), but my own poems also (*et*) have been performed by dancers in public in your august presence' (520).

Yet Owen's assumption that the *Ars* ought to have gained licence because it was performed on stage is unnecessary; all that Ovid says here is that some of his own works have been performed on stage, and even enjoyed by the emperor who banished him. Owen seems to rely too much on the (supposed) logical progression of Ovid's argumentation at *Tr.* 2.515–20, from adulteries on stage in mimes to the performance of the *Ars amatoria*, which had been charged with teaching adultery; in fact, Ovid's argument should not be pushed as far as this, given that it is (typically for *Tr.* 2)²⁵ complex and disingenuous.²⁶ There is no need to assume that the Ovidian poems performed on stage were either identical with the *Ars* or adulterous in content; the pictures which Ovid identifies as erotic and therefore culpable in the lines which follow on immediately from his material on mime and pantomime are not adulterous in theme.

The *Ars* is, nevertheless, a possible candidate for pantomimic performance, not least because it contains many passages with mythological, erotic exempla which could easily have been adapted to pantomimic performance. For example, we know that one myth

²⁵ For other disingenuous arguments in *Tr.* 2, cf. e.g. the lengthy catalogue of authors (364–466) adduced in support of Ovid's claim that he has been unfairly singled out for writing erotic verse (361–2), which conceals the specific charge against the *Ars*: that it taught adultery.

²⁶ It is worth briefly unpacking Ovid's argument: his first point (515–16) is that if mime is *fas*, even though it shows adultery, then his own poems should be allowed too, since they are not as culpable as mime (for the adulterous content of mimes, see Reynolds (1946)); if, however, Ovid had the *Ars* in mind here, the point about the lesser punishment being owed to his own material surely could not stand, given that the content of the *Ars* was believed by Augustus to be adulterous. Before the next couplet, Ovid hints at but fails to express the objection that if mime is not in fact *fas*, Augustus has some explaining to do about why it is on stage; Augustus' imagined response to 515–16 (introduced by *an.* 517) is then given: that the stage makes mime *fas*. This leads Ovid to say that his own works have been performed on stage, so if the stage grants licence, his works should gain licence. This of course leaves open the issue of which of his works were performed on stage, and, more importantly, whether those of Ovid's works which were not performed on stage were *fas* (I am grateful to Luke Pitcher for his clear-minded approach in discussing this difficult passage with me).

frequently performed in pantomime was the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite.²⁷ Ovid's version of this myth in the *Ars* (2.561 ff.) would have been particularly suited to pantomimic performance, given that it would have required stage props in the form of the snares that the betrayed Hephaestus laid for the adulterous pair,²⁸ and versatility in the dancer who portrayed the roles of Mars, Venus, Hephaestus, Sol, and the gods who come to have a good look at the captured adulterers.²⁹ The Ovidian passage even seems to provide stage directions when we are told that Venus imitated her lame husband (*Ars* 2.569), and several words might allude to the performance of this scene in pantomime: the surprised pair are described as *spectacula* (581), which may point to a 'performance . . . devised for entertainment' as well as the more obvious sense of a 'sight',³⁰ and Ovid emphasises their inability to place their hands in front of their *partibus obscenis*, which may allude both to the importance of hand gestures in pantomime,³¹ and the etymology of *obsc(a)enus*, which can refer to actions which take place on the stage or *scaena*.³²

²⁷ See Lucian *On Dancing* 63 = T19. Another reference to the performance of this myth in pantomime can be found in Jacob of Sarugh, *Homilies On the Spectacles of the Theatre* (=T41) 4, folio 19 recto a ('Do you believe when you learn in it of the goddess of committed adultery?').

²⁸ *Ars* 2.577 ff. For pantomimic use of props, cf. Wyles above, pp. 75–7 on Fronto, *On Orations* 5.150.16 = T14.

²⁹ Lucian, *On Dancing* 63 (=T19) confirms that the pantomime Paris in the Neronian era performed a solo dance of this myth.

³⁰ Cf. use of *spectaculum* with both senses at e.g. Cic. *Mur.* 72.1 (of shows), Plaut. *Poen.* 209 (of the sight of a beautiful girl), and Tib. 2.5.119 (of a triumph).

³¹ Some examples: at Lucian, *On Dancing* 63 (=T19): Demetrius, previously an enemy of the genre, says to a pantomime: 'I hear the story that you are acting, man, I do not just see it; you seem to me to be talking with your very hands'. See too Cassiodorus *Var.* 4.51.9 (=T49), 'Then the hand of meaning expounds the song to the eyes of melody and by a code of gestures, as if by letters, it instructs the spectator's sight; summaries are read in it and without writing, it performs what writing has set forth', Nonnus, *Dion.* 7.21 '[The dancer] having only nods for words, hand for mouth, fingers for voice', *Anth. Lat.* 111.9–10 ('He has as many tongues as limbs, so wonderful is the art by which he can make his joints speak although his mouth is silent'). Ovid may allude to the importance of hand gestures in pantomime at *Tristia* 5.7, just before our passage, in a double reference to hands (*manu*, | *dextera*, 5.7.18–19), which, by bringing together two hands, also neatly anticipates Ovid's comments about applause of his poems at 5.7.26 and 28.

³² See Maltby (1991), 421.

The most common critical view is that the poems mentioned in the *Tristia* should be identified with the elegiac *Heroides*,³³ this position is often asserted without proper argumentation, but was first defended at any length by Cunningham (1949), and developed by Sargent (1996). Both Cunningham and Sargent start from the incorrect assumption that Ovid's claim to literary novelty in composing the *Heroides* at *Ars* 3.345–6³⁴ (*uel tibi composita cantetur epistula uoce*,³⁵ | *ignotum hoc aliis ille nouauit opus* = 'or let a letter [i.e. one of the *Heroides*]³⁶ be sung by you in a well-modulated voice; | he devised this work, unknown to others') should be taken seriously, and proceed to argue that the 'novelty' of the *Heroides* lies in Ovid having composed them as libretti for pantomime.³⁷ In fact, dubious claims to literary precedent-setting are very much a feature of the macho posturing of the poetic world of the early imperial period: take, for example, Horace's assertion at *Epistles* 1.19.21 ff. that he was the first to transfer Greek lyric to the Latin language, which conveniently ignores the translation/adaptation of Sappho fr. 31 in Catullus 51, or Ovid's own failure at *Ars* 3 to acknowledge previous verse epistles by, among others, Lucilius, Catullus, Horace, and Propertius.³⁸

This does not necessarily rule out the possibility that Ovid's *Heroides*, given their erotic content, often closely drawn from epic or tragedy (both important sources for pantomime), are the poems referred to in our passages, and Sargent tests her theory by looking at

³³ See e.g. Fränkel (1945), 45 ('Ovid's *Heroides* were especially suited to being sung and danced') and Lada-Richards (2003a), 39 n. 60: 'Which particular parts of his verses were reworked for the stage is not known . . . but the *Heroides* with their heavily erotic material lend themselves for pantomimic adaptations.'

³⁴ This couplet forms part of the advice to female readers to be cultured and learn how to sing the songs of some of the most famous poets of antiquity (*Ars* 3.311 ff.), and precedes Ovid's advice to women to learn how to dance (349 ff.).

³⁵ Gibson (2003) ad loc. (correctly, in my view) reads *cantare* as a synonym for *legere* ('to read', *Ars* 3.341 and 344) and *composita* as a variation on *molliter* ('softly', *Ars* 3.344; *composita* is to be taken as meaning 'well-modulated', 'studied', 'composed'); he does not mention the possibility that the *Heroides* were performed in pantomimes, and (again, correctly, in my view) identifies the status of the *Heroides* as a collection of poetic letters as the novelty of this text.

³⁶ On various contenders for the title of the *Heroides*, see Knox (1995), 5, n. 8.

³⁷ Cf. Cunningham (1949), 106.

³⁸ See Gibson (2003), on *Ars* 3.345–6.

the suitability of the *Heroides* as libretti, considering features such as costume, 'cues' in the text, and the presence of a secondary actor at points in the text, before examining *Heroides* 7 and 10 in detail as potential pantomimic texts. I discuss below several factors which perhaps militate against the performance of the *Heroides* in pantomime, and which do not receive consideration from Sargent.³⁹

Selected passages from the *Metamorphoses* seem more likely candidates for pantomime performance, and several scholars have briefly considered connections between the poem and the medium. See, for example, the following description of pantomime:⁴⁰

What mattered was not the tragic content or the 'message', but the actor's versatility. Even an element of change was involved... It amounted, like the writing of the *Metamorphoses*, to a cultivated solo performance that required, on the actor's part, a good knowledge of mythology and a superior education. Shortly after its introduction in 22 BC, the tragic pantomime became the rage and its stars, the darlings of the higher classes. This is precisely the public for which Ovid wrote... The emphasis on single scenes in the *Metamorphoses*, the narrator's bravura performance, his sophistication, the constant shifts and changes, and the graphic, visual appeal of many scenes all have their counterpart in the pantomime. Conversely, the pantomimic qualities of episodes like that of Narcissus (3.339–510) are striking. Besides, in the most comprehensive ancient discussion of the nature of the pantomime, Lucian's *On Dance*, the scope of the pantomimic artist's undertaking is defined in terms that are very similar to Ovid's *primaque ab origine mundi ad mea... tempora* (*Met.* 1.3–4): 'Beginning with chaos and the primal origin of the world, he must know everything down to the story of Cleopatra the Egyptian' (Lucian, *Salt.* 37). Lucian's speaker follows this up with a catalog of myths, which has been supplemented with the titles of pantomimes found in other authors, and only a very few are not among the myths that Ovid tells in the *Metamorphoses*.

Drawing on such work, I argue that the *Metamorphoses* would, on the strength of much of the ancient testimony about pantomime, seem a more natural source for pantomime libretti, for a variety of reasons.

³⁹ Sargent (1996), 147 ff., 149, 163–70, 189–217.

⁴⁰ Galinsky (1996) 265–6. Cf. too Lada-Richards (2003a) 39 n. 60 ('of course, the mythological substratum of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* coincides very neatly with the range of material described in Lucian's *De Saltatione*').

First, as Galinsky notes, its subject-matter (the panoramic vision of myth) bears several striking resemblances to Lucian's catalogue of pantomime themes in *On Dancing*. Furthermore, the *Metamorphoses'* frequently erotic take on myth makes it a natural candidate for pantomime, given compelling evidence that love stories were staples of pantomimic performance.⁴¹ In formal terms, too, the poem's epic hexameters would have been inherently suited to pantomime performance: there is a mass of testimony confirming that both Greek and Latin hexameters could be dancing metres, from the dance in Phaeacia in *Odyssey* 8 to the testimony relating to the pantomimic realization of Virgil,⁴² whereas there is little evidence from anywhere in antiquity that poems in elegiacs—the metre of the *Heroides* and *Ars amatoria*⁴³—were associated with danced performance.

A fourth consideration is that the very concept of metamorphosis would be ideally suited to pantomime,⁴⁴ since the pantomime actor often took on several roles successively in any one performance and was praised precisely for his protean mutability.⁴⁵ Although it is a late source, Jacob of Sarugh's fifth homily could not be more explicit that adulterous liaisons of the gods featuring transformation into animals or trees, including several myths narrated in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, were absolutely traditional subject-matter in the medium.⁴⁶ Sargent

⁴¹ Cf. e.g. Lucian, *On Dancing* 2 ('a girlish fellow playing the wanton with delicate clothing and bawdy songs and imitating love-sick minxes, the most erotic of all antiquity, such as Phaedra and Parthenope and Rhodopis') and *Rem.* 755 (*illic assidue ficti saltantur amantes*—'there continually lovers in stories are danced' = T5).

⁴² See Panayotakis above, pp. 195–7, Hall below, pp. 280–1.

⁴³ As well as the *Fasti* and Ovid's exilic poetry (for these as potential pantomime libretti, see above, n. 23).

⁴⁴ Note that staged representations of Ted Hughes' version of selected episodes from the *Met.*, *Tales from Ovid* (1997), have often included dance; this is not proof that the *Met.* itself was so performed, but suggests that pantomimic performances of the *Met.* may have been successful. I am grateful to Wendy Pearson for informing me that Steven Berkoff's 1989 production of Kafka's *Metamorphosis* starred the acclaimed dancer Mikhail Baryshnikov as Grigor Samsa: the movements of those who have taken on the physical form of a different species are perhaps peculiarly suited to being performed by skilled dancers.

⁴⁵ See e.g. Lucian, *On Dancing* 19 and 67 = T22, Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.124–5 (*ut qui | nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa mouetur*—'like him who | dances now a Satyr, now a rustic Cyclops'), and Manil. 5.480–1 (*unusque per omnis | ibit personas et turbam reddet in uno* = 'one man through all the | roles will go and will represent a crowd in his one person').

⁴⁶ See above, Introduction to this volume, pp. 38–40, and Appendix, below, pp. 417–18.

argues that monologues rather than straight 'narrative' were suited to pantomimic performance, ruling out the *Metamorphoses* as a candidate for performance,⁴⁷ but the ancient evidence does not bear this out (see further Hall, below, pp. 277–8).

Furthermore, the epistolary nature of the *Heroides* should not be overlooked: Sargent frequently refers to the *Heroides* as 'monologues',⁴⁸ but such terminology obscures the strong emphasis on the heroines writing in many of these letters,⁴⁹ and this epistolary element seems unsuited to representation through dance. Moreover, the *Heroides*, which purport to be the words of abandoned women of myth and history, while containing in each epistle many shifts of tone, emotional state, and addressee, simply do not seem to offer the same sheer variety of roles, nor the scope for performing a variety of roles within a single myth. Sargent's comment that the *Heroides* 'could be performed as a *series* [my italics] of solo dances, a change in costume and mask serving to introduce a new character'⁵⁰ does not solve this problem; surely moving from representing (for example) Briseis to Phaedra (the writers of *Her.* 3 and 4 respectively) would not have represented a great enough challenge to a pantomime dancer keen to showcase his versatility.

Given that, as Galinsky noted in the quotation above, many of the themes which Lucian says the dancer should have in his repertoire feature in the *Metamorphoses*, a large number of passages from the poem might be adduced in support of the theory that they would have been suited to pantomimic performance. In 1990, Zimmermann suggested that Seneca was influenced in the composition of his tragedies by the aesthetics of pantomime, the most popular dramatic spectacle of his own day (see below, Ch. 10). Following Zimmermann's influential hypothesis, I propose briefly to examine a

⁴⁷ Sargent (1996), 89–90.

⁴⁸ Sargent (1996), 12, where she notes that the 'epistolary format ensures that our attention is focused solely on the internal voice of the heroine, without the intervention of a narrator'.

⁴⁹ See e.g. *Heroides* 3.1–4 (where Briseis talks about her barbaric hand writing Greek letters, which her tears have blotted) or 10.3 (*quae legis, ex illo, Theseu, tibi litore mitto*—'these words you read, I send, Theseus, from that shore'); Kennedy (2002) has recently emphasized the importance of epistolarity for interpretations of the *Heroides*.

⁵⁰ Sargent (1996), 12.

few passages from the *Metamorphoses* which treat myths or mythical themes included in Lucian's catalogue of themes he believed the pantomimic dancer should know (*On Dancing* 37–61), exploring the extent to which they may have been affected by the new, body-centred aesthetic of pantomime, and consequently may have seemed suitable material to dancers looking for libretti. I have chosen merely a few passages which seem to contain material that might have been extremely attractive to a pantomime star.

The first of these is the myth of Apollo falling in love with and pursuing the nymph Daphne, which ended with her transformation into a tree, found at *Metamorphoses* 1.452–567. We know from Jacob of Sarugh how intimately associated with pantomime this myth had become by later, Christian times,⁵¹ but Ovid's version of this myth would be particularly appealing to a pantomime dancer in several respects: its theme is erotic; the pantomimic performer could have switched between the roles of Daphne, her father, Cupid (whose arrows cause Apollo to fall in love; his bow and arrows, emphasized at 455, 464, and 468–73 would call for props⁵²), and Apollo; Ovid describes emotion as it is portrayed on Daphne's face at 484, which may point to the way in which pantomime dancers wore masks which obscured their faces.

There is, moreover, plenty of action which could easily be represented through movement, gesture and basic stage props: for example, Cupid shooting Apollo and Daphne with arrows which both cause and repel love (468–73), Daphne clinging to her father's neck (485), the flight and pursuit (502–42), Daphne's garments fluttering behind her (528), her transformation from woman into tree (548–52; compare the sluggishness that overcomes her at 548 ff. with that of Alcestis' death scene in the 'Barcelona Alcestis', as discussed by Hall below, Ch. 12), Apollo's embrace of the resistant tree (553–6), and the waving branches and nodding top of the laurel tree (566–7). Furthermore, Ovid's description of Apollo praising Daphne's *digitosque manusque | brachiaque et nudos media plus parte lacertos* (—'fingers and hands | and arms and upper-arms bare up to more than their

⁵¹ Cf. Libanius, *Or.* 64.67 on the pursuit of Daphne by Apollo in pantomimes.

⁵² For arrows as props, shot into the audience during Pylades' pantomimic performance of the madness of Hercules, see Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.7.17 = T32.

mid-point, 500–1) repeatedly draws attention to precisely the body parts which were the tools of the pantomimic dancer's trade, and looks very similar to enthusiastic praise of the various 'speaking' body parts of pantomime actors in ancient sources (cf. n. 31).

Stylistically, several features would add to the physical performability of Ovid's version of the myth: pronounced use of isocolon (strikingly, *eritque, fuitque* | *estque*, 517–18), anaphora—e.g. *dare* twice in 458, *qui* at the start of 459 and 460, *fugat hoc, facit illud amorem*; | *quod facit, auratum est et...* | *quod fugat, obtusum est et* (469–71), *saepe pater dixit* (at the start of 481 and 482)—and the use of cognate words in different cases: e.g. *amat/ amantis* (474), *petiere/ petentes* (478), and *fugias/ fugis* (515). The narrative proceeds at a fast pace which suits the speed of Cupid's punishment of Apollo and his ensuing love, and the god's pursuit of Daphne, thanks to enjambement. Indeed, the rare end-stopped lines often coincide with a change of character—as at 462, where Apollo's speech to Cupid ends, or at 480, where Daphne's father first features—or come immediately before a significant, new action (e.g. at 524: Apollo's speech ends just before the chase begins). There is frequent internal rhyme (e.g. *siluarum... captiuarum... ferarum*, 475), as well as isoteleuton rhyme (e.g. *lustrat/ curat*, 479–80, and *debes/ nepotes/ iugales*, 481–3). All of these features would have added to the episode's performability for a dancer.

Ovid's version of the myth of Althaea (*Metamorphoses* 8.445 ff.), and her destruction of her son Meleager by burning the brand on which his life depends, is also well suited to pantomimic performance, and it is included in Lucian's list of themes (*On Dancing* 50). Lucian explicitly mentions 'the brand', which suggests that the prop was a major part of the pantomimic performance of this myth. Ovid's narrative has precedents from the tragic theatre in both Euripides' and Accius' *Meleager*;⁵³ these could have suggested many actions which would lend themselves to performance through gesture and props, such as Althaea's change of robes from gold to black (448), four attempts to throw the brand on the fire (461–2), and Meleager's death as he is burned from within; and Althaea refers to her hands' inability to carry out their intention (492), which could be

⁵³ Hollis (1970), 89.

represented well in dumb show. In addition, the major focus of interest in Ovid's treatment of the myth is Althaea's rapidly changing emotions, as she wavers between hatred and love of her son, and the portrayal of shifting *affectus* was one of the pantomime dancer's specialities.

Finally, an interesting challenge for the pantomime dancer is posed by the myth of Iphis (*Met.* 9.666 ff.), the girl whose gender is concealed by her mother at birth, is raised as a boy, falls in love with a girl (Ianthe) when she reaches puberty, and, after she and her mother pray to the gods, miraculously becomes male. Lada-Richards has written about the 'dubious sexual identity' of the pantomime dancer,⁵⁴ and the way he transcended gender boundaries; these aspects of the performer would have been showcased by myths featuring 'gender bending', and indeed these are identified by Lucian as suitable for the medium when he speaks of 'all the metamorphoses of myth... those who became men from being women, I mean Caeneus and Tiresias and those sorts' (*On Dancing* 57). The myth of Iphis would perhaps be ideally suited to such performers, who would have to represent first a female 'passing' for a male, and then the transformation of Iphis into an actual man, which, in Ovid's words, is something that becomes apparent through her movement: *sequitur comes Iphis euntem, | quam solita est, maiore gradu*—'Iphis followed [her mother] as a companion as she went, | with a greater stride than she customarily had', (*Met.* 9.786–7).

Might anything in the wording of Ovid's references to his poems further support the theory that portions of the *Metamorphoses* were the most likely of his works to have been performed in the pantomime? The evidence is not at first glance promising: Ovid calls the works which are thus performed *poemata* (2.519), *carmina*, and *uersibus* (5.7.25–6). I wonder whether in *uersibus* we might detect a hint of a pun in the echo of *uersis*, the 'changes' for which the *Metamorphoses* is famed; if it is legitimate to think of applause for Ovid's changes as well as his verses here, this would fit well with the acclaim gained by pantomime dancers for their rapid changes of roles. *Carmina* would obviously work as a description of any of Ovid's poems. *Poemata* is perhaps more revealing, given that this is

⁵⁴ Lada-Richards (2003a), 24.

the only occurrence of the word *poema* in the Ovidian corpus. Usage of *poema* and its plural reveals that the word usually has no particular generic charge: it is used of poems of all types by a wide variety of sources.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, I see Ovid's sole use of this word as pointed: Ovid may allude to the distinction made between *poema* and *poesis* in Hellenistic literary theory.

This technical distinction was well known in Rome: compare Varro's definition, clearly based at least in part on Hellenistic writings on poetics:

poema est lexis enrhythmos, id est uerba plura modice in quandam coniecta formam, itaque etiam distichon epigrammation uocant poema. poesis est perpetuum argumentum e rhythmis, ut Ilias Homeri et annalis Enni

poema is rhythmical language: i.e. many words, according to a rule, placed into a certain form; and so they call even a two-line epigram a *poema*. *poesis* is continuous narrative in accordance with rhythm, such as the *Iliad* of Homer and the *Annales* of Ennius. (Varro, *Men.* 398)

Varro does not report quite accurately the division as formulated by Hellenistic theorists such as Neoptolemus of Parion, whose distinctions are criticized in Philodemus' *On Poems* col. 11.26 ff.:⁵⁶

It is astonishing of him [Neoptolemus] to claim that theme alone belongs to *poiēsis*, when 'poem' and all things in general belong to *poiēsis*. For *poiēsis*, e.g. the *Iliad*, is also a 'poem', whereas the first thirty lines of it are a 'poem', and not *poiēsis*.

Such a division was correctly noted by Lucilius:

primum hoc, quod dicimus esse 'poema'. pars est parua 'poema'. . . epistula item quaeuis non magna 'poema' est; illa 'poesis' opus totum, ut tota Ilias una est, una ut θεῖσις Annales Enni atqui ἔπος unum, et maius multo est quam quod dixi ante 'poema'.

First of all, look at this which we say is a 'poem'. A 'poem' is a small part . . . Again, any epistle you like [i.e. a verse epistle] which is not big is a 'poem'; that 'poesis' is a whole work, just as the whole *Iliad* and *Annales* of

⁵⁵ A few examples: Cat. 50.6 (of poem 50 itself), Cic. *Ad Quint. frat.* 2.10.31 (of Lucretius' poetry), and Apul. *Apol.* 5.9 (of a play by Caecilius Statius). Cf. Greenberg (1961), 267, for the broad usage of *poema*, without technical distinctions.

⁵⁶ On this passage, see Asmis (1992).

Ennius are one theme and one epic, and it is a much larger thing than that 'poem'. (*Saturae* 9.339 ff.)

Ovid may therefore allude to such definitions which distinguish *poema* or *poemata* as 'small parts' of a longer work from *poesis*, a much larger, complete single work, which (as can be seen from above) all our sources agree is best exemplified by epic. Ovid's choice of wording would therefore neatly hint that he is talking about the performance of selected passages (*poemata*) from the *Metamorphoses*, as opposed to the *poesis* of this epic as a whole; there may also be play upon Varro's definition of *poesis* (and epic) as *perpetuum*, and the way in which the singing and dancing of portions of the *Metamorphoses* would disrupt this *perpetuum*... *carmen* (= 'continuous/eternal song', *Met.* 1.4). Thus the overwhelming majority of both external and internal evidence points towards the performance of the *Metamorphoses* in pantomime.⁵⁷

In conclusion, excavating pantomime and rescuing it from the margins of cultural history can stimulate significant reappraisal of the evidence on the biographies and poetic careers of major ancient poets. In the final section of this chapter, I wish briefly to return to the significance of Ovid's comments about the pantomimic performance of his poems for his exile poetry. We have already seen that Ovid's comments in *Tristia* 2 reflect in several ways upon the portrayal of his addressee, the emperor who was responsible for Ovid's banishment from Rome, and that those in *Tristia* 5.7.25–30 are important in that they claim that pantomimic performance is one of the factors which enables the exiled Ovid to still have fame in the

⁵⁷ The date of publication of the *Met.* need not be a barrier to identifying it with the danced poems of *Tr.* 2 (to be dated to c. AD 9); although Ovid seems to claim at *Tr.* 2.555–6 that the *Met.* is unrevised, he also adduces it as evidence of his loyalty to Augustus at 63 ff., where Augustus is told to consult (*inspice*, 63) a copy, in terms which only make sense if Augustus could have done so. Thus the *Met.* was presumably circulating in some form in Rome by the time of Ovid's banishment; it would have had to be a fairly instant hit to be performed in pantomimes as early as by AD 9, but this does not seem impossible, given the literary success that Ovid had already had by this stage in his career, and the scandal of Ovid's banishment may have given it an extra edge and added popularity. Furthermore, Ovid's linguistically detailed references to the *Met.* in *Tr.* 1.7 suggest that copies were widely available at Rome at least as early as winter AD 8–9 (the presumed date of composition of the first book of the *Tristia*).

city which he was forced to leave. There may be more to Ovid's reference to the pantomimic performance of his work at *Tristia* 2.519–20, however. Ovid would have been well aware that the poems of Virgil, according to our evidence (see Panayotakis above, Ch. 8), were popular pantomime libretti.⁵⁸

I wonder whether Ovid's reference here to the performance of his own poems may thus be an attempt to associate himself with Virgil, the favourite of the princeps, who is referred to in a passage shortly after this as *ille tuae felix Aeneidos auctor* (—'that lucky, famous author of your [i.e. the Augustan] *Aeneid*', *Tr.* 2.533). In *Tristia* 2, Ovid frequently evokes his similarities with, and even superiority as a supporter of Augustus over, other poets who had gained Augustus' favour,⁵⁹ and mention of the pantomimic performance of Ovid's poems may serve to strengthen the impression that Ovid is, like Virgil, a poet who ought to be rewarded for what his poetry can do for Augustus and his regime. However, despite Ovid's claims that his own poems were danced frequently in Rome in front of packed audiences, he never did return to Rome to see such performances, and witness the popularity of his *fabulae salticae*.

⁵⁸ Indeed, Ovid's awareness that Virgil's poetry was performed in pantomimes might have influenced his own writing; I think in particular of the visuality of the *Met*.

⁵⁹ See Ingleheart (forthcoming).

Seneca and Pantomime

Bernhard Zimmermann

Whatever period may have given birth to the tragedies of Seneca, they are beyond description bombastic and frigid, unnatural both in character and action, revolting on account of their violation of propriety, and so destitute of theatrical effect, that I believe they were never meant to leave the rhetorical schools for the stage.¹

That the tragedies of Seneca were declamations, not intended for the stage but only dressed up to look like tragedies—this was the ruling of August Wilhelm Schlegel that would determine the nature of scholarly discussion until the present day. It is recalled in both Friedrich Leo's description of the Senecan pieces as 'declamations written on the lines of tragedy and divided into acts',² and Nilsson's

¹ See Schlegel (1846), 211.

² Leo (1878), 148: *civilibus bellis peractis cum rhetorica disciplina magis magisque in eruditione summum locum occuparet, et consentaneum erat ut prisca prisco more tractata displicere Romanis inciperent, et ipsi novo instrumento novum quiddam proferre posse sibi videbantur. . . . novum autem genus tragoedia rhetorica inventa est, cuius indoles breviter sic describi potest ut ethos in ea nullum, pathos omnia esse dicatur.* ('After the end of the civil wars, as the study of rhetoric assumed an ever more important place in study, and it no longer seemed to please the Romans to apply themselves to the old texts in the old ways, they realised that they themselves could produce something innovative by means of a new device. . . . The new genre of rhetorical tragedy was invented, the inherent quality of which can be succinctly described as follows: all emotion and no character'.) Compare esp. *ibid.* 158: *istae vero non sunt tragoediae sed declamationes ad tragoediae amussim compositae et in actus deductae.* ('They are indeed not tragedies, but declamations formed precisely like tragedies, and divided into acts').

treatise *On the History of Theatre Productions in the Roman Empire*. Nilsson, who in 1906 was already looking back at a sizeable scholarly debate on the subject, summed it up: 'Few have seriously believed that they were ever performed or that they were written for the theatre.'³

The problem presented by the difficulty of staging Seneca's plays was eventually summarized and systematically investigated by O. Zwierlein in his dissertation *Die Rezitationdramas Senecas* (1966). The question of the absence of any known instance of a staging of a Senecan tragedy is here methodically investigated by being addressed solely to the text of the plays. Zwierlein subjects the corpus of Seneca's 'Attic' tragedies to a detailed investigation, and attempts to prove, on the grounds of 'dramatic technique' and 'structure', that they are unsuited to the stage.⁴

Amongst the critics who have engaged with Zwierlein's thesis, several have found ways to solve the problem that Zwierlein adduces as evidence for the proposal that Seneca on no account wrote his plays for the stage.⁵ Recently L. Braun has emphatically disagreed with Zwierlein's view.⁶ He adduces numerous examples in which the course of the action only becomes comprehensible if the scenes in question can be seen enacted.⁷

In the discussion that follows here, one of Zwierlein's considerations to do with 'dramatic technique' is singled out. This is his point that if one isolates Seneca's dramas and treats them in comparison with Attic tragedy, what is initially striking is the 'Recitation-like character' of the pieces—the bits that Zwierlein calls 'Dumb show—description of the action'.⁸ There are scenes in which we hear the poet 'as he pictures for the listener the dramatic scene which he has imagined to himself'.⁹

³ Nilsson (1906), 23.

⁴ Zwierlein (1966), 13 ff. and 88 ff.

⁵ Cf. esp. Riels (1967); Lefèvre (1968); in addition to these, Herington (1966), 444–6 and Dihle (1983).

⁶ Braun (1982).

⁷ This applies to such passages as e.g. the uncovering of the heads and hands of the murdered sons of Thyestes (*Thyestes* 970 ff.); compare Braun (1982), 45–7; on this passage see also Lefèvre (1973), 106 n. 1.

⁸ Zwierlein (1966), 56–63.

⁹ *Ibid.* 63; cf. 58.

There are in fact numerous scenes of the type; they can, however, be explained if we take into account the forms taken by theatrical activity in the first century AD. One of the most fashionable genres of theatre was without doubt the *fabula saltata*, the pantomime.¹⁰ The distinctive feature of this popular genre was precisely that a choir performed a mythical episode vocally, to musical accompaniment, while a dancer realized the same narrative as action through his dance steps, gestures, and movements. Normally all the roles that the story required were undertaken by one and the same dancer.¹¹ The collection of possible themes that Lucian presents in his treatise on pantomime (*On Dancing* 37 ff.) shows clearly that the *fabula saltata* treated the same material as tragedy, along with material from myth or history.¹² The broad spectrum of roles that the dancer needed to master is expressed succinctly in the sentence that introduces the catalogue (37 = T18): 'Beginning with Chaos and the primeval origin of the universe, he must know everything all the way down to the story of Cleopatra the Egyptian.' In the *fabula saltata* an entire plot was presented, just as it was in tragedy, and in contradistinction to the equally popular *fabula cantata*, in which scenes from well-known myths were performed as arias by a solo singer.¹³

The fact that Seneca's tragedies contain a good number of parts that point precisely to the character of a pantomime, a *fabula saltata*, makes more likely the assumption that Seneca may have been influenced by that popular genre in the composition of these scenes, as if he was visualizing a theatrical performance with dance and music rather than a recitation.

In Seneca's tragedies three kinds of 'pantomimic scene' can be identified. The first are actual pantomimes, in which the chorus describes the movements of an actor. The second are scenes in

¹⁰ On which see Rotolo (1957), Fugmann (1988), 21–3.

¹¹ Cf. Lucian, *On Dancing* 67 = T22 on the swift changes in the portrayal of different emotions and different roles: 'Indeed, the most surprising aspect of it is that on the very same day we are shown at one point Athamas in a frenzy, at another the terror of Ino; the same person is later Atreus, a little later (*meta mikron*) Thyestes, then Aegisthus or Aerope. And all these are but a single man.'

¹² Lucian stresses, in ch. 31, that tragedy and pantomime treat the same plot material (*hupotheseis*).

¹³ On these theatre practices see Gentili (1979), 13 ff.; Dihle (1983), 162–4.

which an actor pictures the activities and movements of another; the third are 'short pantomimic commentaries', in which the chorus, or an actor, reacts only briefly to the movements of a participant in the action, usually to their arrival or departure.

1. 'Actual pantomimes' are present in three scenes: *Medea* 849 ff., *Agamemnon* 710 ff., and *Hercules Furens* 1082 ff. In these passages the chorus describes the activities and especially the movements of the raving women Medea and Cassandra, and of Hercules, who after his episode of madness is still being tormented by *furor* in his sleep. The special emphasis laid on the description of the mimes of the women can perhaps be explained by the fact that in the *fabula saltata* the face of the dancer was hidden, so that the words of the chorus were required to describe the facial movements that could not be seen.¹⁴ A telling example of such an 'inserted' pantomime is constituted by the verses at *Agamemnon* 710–19, in which the chorus describes how Cassandra becomes ecstatic:

Silet repente Phoebas et pallor genas
 Creberque totum possidet corpus tremor;
 Stetere vitae, mollis horrescit coma,
 Anhela corda murmure incluso fremunt,
 Incerta nutant lumina et versi retro
 Torquentur oculi, rursus immoti rigent.
 Nunc levat in auras altior solito caput
 Graditurque celsa, nunc reluctantis parat
 Reserare fauces, verba nunc clauso male
 Custodit ore *maenas* impatiens dei.

Suddenly Phoebus' priestess is silent; pallor spreads
 Over her cheeks, continual trembling over her whole body.
 The holy ribbons stand out, while her soft hair bristles.
 Her panting breast is loud with pent-up utterance;
 Her unfocused gaze droops; her eyes roll backwards,
 Then again are fixed and rigid.
 Now she lifts her head higher in the air than usual
 And walks tall; now she tries to force
 Open her reluctant jaws; now tries in vain to close her mouth
 And hold back her words, a maenad trying to evade the god.

¹⁴ On the dancer's mask see Lucian, *On Dancing* 29–30.

A comparison with *Medea* 849 ff. shows clear points of contact and correspondence, as does *Hercules Furens* 1082–8:¹⁵

En fusus humi saeva feroci
 corde volutat somnia: nondum est
 tanti pestis superata mali;
 clavaeque gravi lassum solitus
 mandare caput
 quaerit vacua pondera dextra,
 motu iactans bracchia vano . . .

Look, as he lies on the ground
 Violent dreams are whirling in his fierce heart; not yet
 Is the powerful illness' poison overcome.
 From his habit of resting
 His head when weary on the heavy club,
 He searches for its mass with his empty hand,
 Flinging his arms in fruitless movements . . .

2. A modified form of 'actual pantomimes' occurs in scenes in which an actor, rather than the chorus, describes the actions and movements of another actor. An illuminating example is constituted by *Medea* lines 382–90:

*Incerta qualis entheos gressus tulit
 cum iam recepto maenas insanit deo
 Pindi nivalis vertice aut Nysae iugis
 talis recursat huc et huc motu effero,
 furoris ore signa lymphatic gerens.
 flammata facies, spiritum ex alto citat,
 proclamat, oculos uberi fletu rigat,
 renidet: omnis specimen affectus capit.
 haeret minatur aestuat queritur gemit.*

Like an ecstatic maenad taking erratic steps,
 Crazy and possessed by the god,
 On snowy Pindus' peak or Nysa's ridges,
 So she keeps running here and there with wild movements,
 With signs of frenzied rage in her expression.
 Her face ablaze, she draws deep breaths,
 She shouts out, weeps floods of tears;

¹⁵ On the *Medea* passage see also Zanobi below, Ch. 11, pp. 233–6.

Beams with joy; she shows evidence of each and every emotion.
She hesitates, threatens, fumes, laments, groans.

The nurse goes into detail as she describes Medea's different actions: her gait, her facial features, which show signs of her derangement, her panting, her exclamations and the movements of her eyes. In short, the outer signs of Medea's psychic turbulence are portrayed.

If these scenes are compared with one another, their stereotypical nature is obvious. With slight variations they offer the same repertoire of sequential movements, gestures and mime actions. The rigidity of the facial features, the rushing gait, the shaking of the head in the greatest agitation, as well as the colour of the face are stressed by the use of similar formulaic expressions. As the cue *maenas* shows in the scenes with women, Seneca seems to have included these inserted pantomimes especially in order to represent the derangement, raving or ecstasy of a woman.

3. Let us also take a quick look at the third type of pantomimic insert, the 'short pantomimic commentary'. This occurs in places where an actor or the chorus just briefly responds to the movements of another participant, usually when they are arriving or departing. An example occurs at *Phaedra* 583–6:

Sed Phaedra *praeceps graditur*, impatiens morae.
Quo se dabit fortuna? Quo verget *furor*?
Terrae repente corpus exanimum accidit
Et *ora* morti similis obduxit *color*.

But Phaedra approaches impetuously, intolerant of delay.
What will befall? What will be the upshot of her madness?
Suddenly her body falls to the ground in a faint,
And a deathlike pallor has spread over her face.

In these short pantomimic commentaries, too, we see the same repertoire as in the more extensive sections: the indication of the rushing gait and the facial colour, but most particularly the information that Phaedra's behaviour is dominated by *furor*.¹⁶

¹⁶ For another short pantomimic commentary see e.g. *Trojan Women* 615–17: *maeret, illacrimat, gemit; | sed huc et illuc anxios gressus refert | missasque voces aure sollicita excipit*. ('She [Andromache] is grieving, weeping, groaning; yet she paces nervously up and down, and strains her ears to catch each word spoken.') See also *Medea* 186–7; *Phaedra* 728–9 and 829–34; *Agamemnon* 775–81 (775 includes the cue-term *furor*).

When one reviews the pantomimic passages in Seneca's tragedies, it is evident that it is emotions, especially raving, *furor*, that get portrayed. As one can infer from Lucian, *On Dancing* 67, and the anonymous epigram 'On the Pantomime' in the *Latin Anthology*, the danced reproduction of psychological impulses is an essential characteristic of the *fabula saltata*.¹⁷

Seneca adopts an element of pantomime that he can utilize in the achievement of his poetic and philosophical goals: namely, the potential to confer an impressive mode of representation on emotions such as anger and fury, the symptoms of which he describes in *De Ira* (1.1.3–4):¹⁸

For as the marks of a madman are unmistakable—a bold and threatening mien, a gloomy brow, a fierce expression, a hurried step, restless hands, an altered colour, a quick and more violent breathing—so likewise are the marks of the angry man; his eyes blaze and sparkle, his whole face is crimson with the blood that surges from the lowest depths of the heart, his lips quiver, his teeth are clenched, his hair bristles and stands on end, his breathing is forced and harsh, his joints crack from writhing, he groans and bellows, bursts out into speech with scarcely intelligible words, strikes his hands together continually, and stamps the ground with his feet; his whole body is excited and performs great angry threats; it is an ugly and horrible picture...

Perhaps Seneca hoped that with his new kind of tragedy, suited to the taste of the Neronian period, he could offer a substitute for the popular genres of theatre, favoured by the public, that he despised.¹⁹

There is general agreement amongst scholars that Seneca did not compose his tragedies as texts to be read, but for oral performance,

¹⁷ Lucian, *On Dancing* 67 = T22: 'In general, the dancer undertakes to present and enact characters and emotions, introducing now a lover and now an angry person, one man afflicted with madness, another with grief'. Cf. the *Latin Anthology* 100.7–10 in Shackleton Bailey (1982), 88–9 = T38.

¹⁸ Translation by Basore (1928), 107–9: '*nam ut furentium certa indicia sunt audax et minax uultus, tristis frons, torua facies, citatus gradus, inquietae manus, color uersus, crebra et uehementius acta suspiria, ita irascentium eadem signa sunt: flagrant ac micant oculi, multus ore toto rubor exaestuante ab imis praecordiis sanguine, labra quatuntur, dentes comprimuntur, horrent ac surriguntur capilli, spiritus coactus ac stridens, articulorum se ipsos torquentium sonus, gemitus mugitusque et parum explanatis uocibus sermo praeuptus et complosae saepius manus et pulsata humus pedibus et totum concitum corpus magnasque irae minas agens, foeda uisu et horrenda facies...*'

¹⁹ On the popularity of pantomime dancers in Nero's time, see Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* 7.32.3.

whether in the form of a recitation or a theatrical production.²⁰ Seneca's plays must therefore be analysed according to elements and structures that can be adduced as evidence either for or against either kind of oral performance—as a recitation or as theatre.

It has transpired that precisely one of the main features of the works that has previously seemed to suggest the character of a recitation—the description by the chorus or an actor of a dumb show—may not be included as part of the argument for the unperformability of the dramas. The interpretation of the 'pantomimic' passages has shown with great clarity how important it is to discuss Seneca's tragedies in the context of the literature of the first century AD, and especially to consider the theatrical styles of this era. A method of interpretation that steadily contrasts Seneca's tragedies with Attic tragedy of the fifth century BC will inevitably lead to the identification of elements that stem from the literature and the theatrical activity of the early imperial period.²¹

If one considers Seneca's plays by applying these methodological criteria, it becomes apparent that a larger group of scenes points towards the influence of another popular genre of theatre: the solo sections. These in part exceed the requirements of the actual situation within the action, or anyway bear only a loose relation to it.²² These virtuoso sections for a soloist (for example Hercules' mad scene (*Hercules Furens* 895 ff.), Hippolytus' hunting aria (*Phaedra* 1 ff.), Medea's sorcery song (*Medea* 740 ff.), or the solo of the drunken Thyestes (*Thyestes* 920 ff.)), were for the public of the time not 'unperformable', nor did they hamper the action through a lack of connection with it, but on the contrary were familiar to everyone from the way that theatre was practised. Singing to the cithara and the *fabula cantata*—the recital of tragic highlights by a solo singer—flourished during the Neronian period on account of the artistic ambitions of the emperor and other leading men such as Piso.²³

²⁰ Cf. Zwierlein (1966), 161–4.

²¹ On which see Nilsson (1906); Kelly (1979); Dihle (1983); Fugmann (1988).

²² Compare the discussion of these scenes in Zwierlein (1966), 110 ff.

²³ On Piso and Nero see Tacitus, *Annals* 15.65: *quin et verba Flavi vulgabantur non referre dedecori, si citharoedus demoveretur et tragoedus succederet (quia ut Nero cithara, ita Piso tragico ornatu canebat* 'Even a saying of Flavius was popularly current, "that it mattered not as to the disgrace if a citharode were removed and a tragedian succeeded him." For as Nero used to sing to the cithara [harp] so did Piso in the dress of a tragic singer'.) On tragic solos and citharody see Dihle (1983) and now Hall (2002a).

Suetonius' *Life of Nero* attests to the emperor's performance, as citharode, of a *Niobe* and that he also sang *fabulae cantatae* including *Canace Giving Birth*, *Orestes the Matricide*, *Oedipus Blinded*, *Oedipus the Exile* (46) and *Hercules Mad* (21). These titles could for the most part have been transcriptions of solo sections in Seneca's tragedies.

This opening up of the genre 'tragedy' to the popular genres of theatre at that time concords completely with the characterization of Seneca as a writer that Tacitus offers in his *Annals* (13.3): the man had 'an attractive genius which suited the ears of the time' (*fuit illi viro ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus accomdatum*).

The Influence of Pantomime on Seneca's Tragedies

Alessandra Zanobi

Viewed as dramatic texts, Seneca's tragedies are controversial.¹ This is largely due to the fact that some formal characteristics of his tragic *corpus* violate the theatrical conventions of tragedy as exemplified in the classical Greek plays of the fifth century BC. The most striking peculiarities are the pronounced looseness of structure, freedom in the handling of the chorus, the representation of death on stage, and the presence of lengthy descriptive narratives. In this chapter, I will argue that some of these features may be ascribed to the influence of pantomime, which was an extremely popular genre of performance in his time. Since Seneca was undoubtedly well aware of this popularity, he may have included some pantomimic elements in his tragedies to make them more appealing to his audience; Seneca's sensitivity to the taste of his contemporaries is at any rate consistent with Tacitus' description of him as a man who used to have a brilliant mind well suited to the taste of his age.²

¹ I am using Fitch's edition and translation of Seneca's tragedies because I am largely in agreement with his colometry, especially in controversial sections.

² Tacitus, *Annales* 13.3: *fuit illi viro ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus accomodatam* 'whose pleasing talent was so well suited to a contemporary audience'). See also above, Ch. 10, p. 226. I do not here address the question of the authorship of the plays attributed to Seneca. Although I am personally of the view that the majority of the plays are indeed his compositions, the substance of my argument—that these imperial Latin tragedies were affected by the cultural presence of pantomime—would stand even if they were not by Seneca himself.

In this chapter, I therefore explore the possibility that it is to the influence of pantomime that we may ascribe three distinctive features of Seneca's plays, all of which have been found particularly troublesome by scholars assessing them as dramatic texts and evaluating their aesthetic value. These features are the characteristically loose dramatic structure, the presence of 'running commentaries', and lengthy narrative set-pieces. I will therefore provide and develop my examination of one example for each of these three features.

STRUCTURE

The dramatic structure of Seneca's tragedies is remarkably loose (or asyndetic as Boyle defines it³). Individual scenes have an independence that weakens the dramatic coherence of the whole. Lengthy descriptions in which the action of the main plot does not advance severely suspend dramatic time. The setting is fluid, there are abrupt transitions of single scenes or acts and the unifying function of the chorus has been abandoned. Regenbogen rightly described these features as 'dissolution of the dramatic structure'.⁴

One of the factors which produces the characteristic structural looseness of Seneca's plays is the independence of individual scenes, which are often just juxtaposed without connecting material and appropriate transitions and seem curiously 'free-standing'. Scholars have offered conflicting explanations of the phenomenon. For Zwierlein in his influential *Die Rezitationsdramen Senecas* (1966), it was the lack of organic structure that provided evidence of a lack of interest in stage drama; but Tarrant approaches the issue from the perspective of dramatic history instead, and reaches the conclusion that 'Seneca's neglect of classical norms of coherence' may be inherited from post-classical tragedy.⁵ Most recently, Erasmo has proposed that 'Seneca's

³ Boyle (1994), 19.

⁴ Regenbogen (1963), 430–1.

⁵ Tarrant (1978), 230: 'Indirect evidence confirms the impression that postclassical drama sacrificed structural coherence to the emotional or rhetorical effect of a single scene. Aristotle records the damaging effects of the actor's supremacy on fourth-century tragedy: the highly developed rhetorical and pathetic skills of the performers encouraged writers of tragedy to emphasize histrionically effective solo writing at the

concentration on episodes rather than on the dramatic structure as a whole may be due to the influence of pantomime,⁶ and my argument develops a similar hypothesis. For evidence found in ancient writers suggests that pantomimic performances did indeed focus on the most climactic and spectacular moments of the chosen myth and did not attempt to portray the myth in all its narrative extent or full detail. From Lucian and Libanius we can infer that the tragic libretto did not present the development of the mythical plot as a whole but only its most emotionally climactic and spectacular moments; that the solo dancer could use up to five masks within a performance seems to suggest that with the changing of the mask a change of character or scene took place as well. If so, then, the scenes were fundamentally successive in conception and execution, and in important ways dramaturgically unconnected to one another—a feature which is usually derogated as ‘episodic’ rather than thought about seriously for what it might imply about performance practice. But instead of dismissing this feature as bad dramaturgy, we might instead conceive each scene as a sort of single tableau representing the very essence of a specific part of the mythological whole. Lucian (*On Dancing* 67), for example, describes a pantomimic performance in these terms: ‘Indeed, the most surprising part of it is that within the selfsame day at one moment we are shown Athamas in a frenzy, at another Ino in terror; presently the same person is Atreus, and after a little, Thyestes; then Aegisthus, or Aerope’;⁷ we have a similar description in Libanius (*Or.* 64.67): the theatre saw Deianeira, but also Oeneus and Achelous and Heracles and Nessus.⁸

Libanius’ account is particularly interesting; the pantomime performance he describes is concerned with the final segment of the saga of Heracles and its thematic unity resides in the fact that all the

expense of a coherent whole. These pressures could only have grown stronger in the Hellenistic period, when evidence for the performance of selections from classical tragedy is most abundant. Seneca’s neglect of classical norms of coherence may thus be the natural outcome of a long evolution in dramatic history.’

⁶ Erasmo (2004), 134: ‘Seneca’s concentration on episodes, rather than on the dramatic structure as a whole, may be due not only to the influence of epic, but also to the success of the episodic mime productions of Publilius Syrus and to the influence of pantomime.’

⁷ = T22. See also above, p. 222 n. 11.

⁸ εἶδε Δηϊάνειραν τὸ θέατρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Οἰνέα καὶ τὸν Ἀχελῶον καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ Νέσσον.

characters have a strict relation with Heracles; but, since the episodes related to each character happened neither at the same time nor in the same place, we have to infer that the transitions between single episodes of the myth were not subjected to a logical development. Rather, each episode was somehow performed in a pictorial tableau and not in the dramatic sequence that classical Greek tragedy has led scholars of ancient theatre to require of a tragic script for performance.

All Senecan plays, to a greater or lesser degree, present a loose dramatic structure. But I have taken as an example of this the specific case of *Trojan Women*, in which the dramatic action is particularly incoherent and episodic in two main respects. First, there is the problematic lack of unified location, since the play is not confined to a single setting. According to Fantham, the actions of the first, second, and third acts are meant to take place in front of Hector's tomb, but the second scene of Act 2 has its setting in the Greek camp. The fourth act is set near Sigeum (931), the battlefield, and Achilles' tomb (893–95), and the fifth perhaps by the shore.⁹ Second, incoherence manifests itself in the transitions between the scenes within a single act as well as the acts themselves; the play also lacks consistent indications of entrances and exits of the characters and the chorus. For these reasons, Zwierlein has argued that in *Trojan Women* 'it is not Seneca's purpose to create a continuous dramatic action, but to juxtapose various independent and self-contained tableaux'; undoubtedly, the play is constituted by five main tableaux, four of which are then subdivided into two scenes unevenly connected to one another (the fourth tableau does not show this bipartite structure).¹⁰

I would suggest, however, that the reason for this organization of the play around self-contained tableaux is that Seneca was aiming at portraying the most dramatic, pathetic, or spectacular episodes within the Trojan saga, without any particular interest in creating dramatic coherence as well as dramatic illusion. If we analyse Seneca's *Trojan Women* closely, this accumulation of emotive effects becomes

⁹ Fantham (1982), 38.

¹⁰ Zwierlein (1966), 88–93. In relation to the structure of the *Trojan Women*, Owen (1970), 124, has brilliantly argued that Seneca added the dimension of sequence to the traditional Aristotelian ones of time, space, and action, which, in modern times, is a technique related to cinematic montage.

evident (a structural analysis of the play is provided in tabular form at the end of this chapter). The first act begins with Hecuba's highly emotional soliloquy; this is followed by a lyric interchange (in anapaests) between Hecuba and the chorus. In Seneca's tragic *corpus* this is the only lyric exchange between a character and the chorus (in Greek terms, a *kommos*), and it clearly echoes the parallel passage in Euripides' *Trojan Women* (153 ff.); nonetheless, Boyle asserts that Euripides' chorus is 'less ritualistic and formal, focusing on the fates awaiting the Trojan women, not on the deaths of Hector and Priam or on Troy's tragic past'.¹¹ Boyle rightly observed that the character of the Senecan chorus is not only ritualistic in content but also in form: the Trojan women perform wild gestures such as the beating and baring of their breasts and the tearing of their hair, which are the typical gestures of lamentation for the dead; the expression '*iusta Troiae facite*' at line 65 confirms that the women are performing the prescribed acts of the dirge. Boyle again states that the sacred effect of the lamentation, which in Euripides is in part dissipated by the inclusion of dramatic information, is in Seneca particularly emphasised.¹²

The second act is devoted to Talthibius' lengthy narration of the appearance of Achilles' ghost to demand the sacrifice of Polyxena; the third one is devoted to Andromache's efforts to hide her little son from the Greeks; the act achieves its pathetic and dramatic climax with Andromache's lyric monody (in anapaests, 705–35), during which she pleads for Astyanax's life by compelling him to supplicate Ulysses; interestingly, Andromache's lyric monody, which one would expect to be the lament of a mother surrendering to the cruel destiny of her son, actually describes the mute performance of Astyanax as he performs the gestures required of a suppliant. The fourth act deals with Polyxena's destiny. In this case as well, Polyxena herself does not speak a word even though she is the protagonist of the act; here, again, her reactions to the cruel destiny which awaits her are described by Helen and Andromache; Polyxena thus acts out a mute performance similar to that of Astyanax in the previous act. Boyle affirms that 'the silence of Polyxena throughout this act is a major aspect of the act's dramatic power'.¹³

¹¹ Boyle (1994), 144–5.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.* 207.

The fifth act consists of the messenger's long description of the heroic deaths of the two young Trojan captives (Astyanax and Polyxena) and the tearful reactions of both Greeks and Trojans at the sight of them. The fact that the messenger's *rhexis* narrates the deaths of the two children as well as the reactions of the crowd, which is described as an audience gathering in the theatre (the parallel is explicitly made at line 1125), not only makes this passage extremely peculiar, with its two superimposed layers of spectatorship, but also strives for an accumulation of pathetic effects which provides a spectacular ending.

RUNNING COMMENTARIES

Running commentaries are passages in which the emotions, actions, or physical appearance of a character are described in the third person by the chorus or by another actor; usually, the character described remains mute and does not hear or react to the words spoken about him. Running commentaries can describe actions which are taking place either onstage or offstage.¹⁴ We can describe the result produced by this practice as that of a running commentary made by a speaking actor upon the topic of a mute performance by a silent actor. In Greek theatre, this technique does not feature at all. In fact, in Greek tragedies emotions are portrayed by means of very brief and simple physical description or are usually 'conveyed implicitly rather than explicitly described';¹⁵ furthermore, observations of an actor's behaviour are usually addressed to him and cause a reaction in the character addressed.

The question of the descriptions of the character's movements was considered by Zwierlein in *Die Rezitationsdramen Senecas*, where he defined this sort of descriptive passage itself as a 'mute performance'.¹⁶ The language that he chooses to use here is significant: the spectator would receive the impression that he is witness to a

¹⁴ I adopt here the definition of Larson (1994), 31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 28.

¹⁶ Zwierlein (1966) 56–63.

pantomime, but one described cumbrously by a third person, 'indeed pedantically, as if the spectator were blind'.¹⁷ The fact that the action is described by a third person makes Zwierlein think that the tragedies were meant for recitation because, if they were staged, there would not have been any need to describe the action, this being before the eyes of the audience. But Zimmermann's completely different interpretation of the phenomenon, reproduced in English translation as the previous chapter of this volume, addressed Zwierlein's concern about the widespread descriptive scenes to be found in the tragedies by turning the very presence of these scenes into the solution of the problem that they allegedly presented.¹⁸ Zimmermann argues that these descriptive scenes can be easily explained as pantomimic elements. Now, if we take into account that the pantomimic dancer danced, through his gestures, the words sung or spoken by another party, the connection of these parts with pantomime (indeed their presentation of a 'pantomime in the mind' performed through words, as Zwierlein also suggests) begins to become clear.

I would develop Zimmermann's interpretation by suggesting that the influence of the aesthetics of pantomime in Seneca's running commentaries manifests itself in three specific aspects, which are identifiable as content, distinctive stylistic features, and construction of the verse. In order to support my case, I will draw examples from running commentaries found in five of Seneca's tragedies. These are the description in *Phaedra* of the lovesick Phaedra (delivered by the nurse at 362–83), the description in *Medea* of Medea (delivered by her nurse at 380–96 and by the chorus at 849–78), in *Oedipus* of Oedipus (delivered by the messenger at 919–24 and 958–62), in *Hercules Oetaeus* of Deianira (delivered by the nurse at 241–53), and the description in *Agamemnon* of Cassandra (delivered by the chorus at 710–19). For convenience these passages are provided, with an English translation, at the end of this chapter.

All these running commentaries deal with descriptions of characters enduring the effects of harmful emotions. In the case of Phaedra it is love; Medea is suffering the effects of *furor*; Oedipus is guilt-stricken and in pain; Deianira is full of anger caused by

¹⁷ Ibid. 58.

¹⁸ Zimmermann (1990), translated above, as Ch. 10.

jealousy; Cassandra in *Agamemnon* exhibits the symptoms of prophetic *furor*. It is significant, therefore, that the representation of a character in a state of anger, *furor*, *dolor*, or frenzy was a typical constituent of pantomime performances. The 'tragic' dancer aimed precisely at portraying characters as they underwent emotional strain, such as being in love, being mad, or being consumed with grief; according to Lucian, speaking in more general terms, 'the dancer undertakes to present and enact characters and emotions, introducing now a lover and now an angry person, one man afflicted with madness, another with grief, and all this within fixed bounds'.¹⁹ Lucian's description is echoed in the famous epigram in the *Latin Anthology* about the art of the dancer: 'He fights, he plays, he loves, he revels . . .'.²⁰ Seneca's interest in the potential offered by absorbing techniques from this emotive theatrical medium may, therefore, have been aroused by a perception that pantomime was exceptionally well equipped and suited, thanks to its effectiveness in expressing many different *affectus*, to displaying the effects of passions. Moreover, we know that the Stoic Seneca was extremely interested in the effects of the passions on a human being, since he explored them in his philosophical works, especially the *De Ira*. Indeed, Seneca tells us in his own words that his appreciation of pantomime was due to the dancer's ability to portray emotions: 'We are accustomed to feeling wonder at skilled dancers because their gestures are perfectly adapted to the meaning of the piece and its accompanying emotions, and their movements match the speed of the dialogue' (*Mirari solemus saltandi peritos quod in omnem significationem rerum et adfectuum parata illorum est manus et verborum velocitatem gestus adsequitur*, Seneca, *Epistulae*, 121.6).

When it comes to the style of the running commentaries, it is noticeable how Seneca tends simply to describe emotions or states of mind in terms of the bodily symptoms and physical sensation which they produce. This technique seems clearly to strive for a physical externalisation of the passions and a visualization of the outward manifestation of an inner state of mind. In the description of the infatuated Phaedra (362–83), for example, the effects of love are

¹⁹ Lucian, *On Dancing* 67 = T22.

²⁰ *Latin Anthology* 100.7–10 = T38.

minutely described: her madness is betrayed in her face and the fire of love bursts out from her eyes (*proditur vultu furor; erumpit oculis ignis*, 363–4); her eyes cannot bear the daylight (*lassae genae | lucem recusant*, 364–5); pain shakes her limbs restlessly (*artusque varie iactat incertus dolor*, 366); she collapses and cannot support her head on her neck (*nunc ut soluto labitur marcens gradu | et vix labante sustinet collo caput*, 367–8); she can neither sleep or eat (*somni immemor/noctem querulis ducit*, 369–70; *nulla iam Cereris subit | cura aut salutis*, 373–4); she is restive and constantly changing attitude and condition (*semper impatiens sui | mutatur habitus*, 372–3). She walks with uncertain steps since she has lost all her strength (*vadit incerto pede | iam viribus defecta*, 374–5); she is weak and pale (*non idem vigor, | non ora tinguens nitida purpureus rubor*, 375–6); she cries continuously and abundantly (*lacrimae cadunt per ora et assiduo genae | rore irrigantur*, 380–1).

It is also worth noticing the extensive presence of references to body parts contained in the passages, which is suggestive of a poet producing verse with gestural and choreographic accompaniment in mind (see also Hall, below, Ch. 12 pp. 271–2): the special emphasis on the movements of the eyes recalls the similar emphasis ancient writers give to the highly expressive and fundamental role of the dancer's gaze. Apuleius, for example, claims that the dancer 'would dance with the eyes alone' (*nonnunquam saltare solis oculis*) and Augustine affirms, similarly, that the dancers 'almost talk with their eyes' (*cum oculis quasi fabulantur*).²¹ In the passage dealing with Cassandra's prophetic frenzy, eye movements are described at length (714–15): *incerta nutant lumina et versi retro | torquentur oculi, rursus immoti rigent* ('her gaze is unsteady and dropping; her eyes roll backwards, then again are fixed and rigid'). The eye movements may have been suggested by emphatic movements of the head, to which a vivid expression of the eyes may have added emotional intensity, and the words of the libretto more specific explanatory or descriptive information.

²¹ Apuleius, *Met.* 10.32: *nunc mite coniventibus nunc acre comminantibus gestire pupulis et nonnunquam saltare solis oculis* ('She gestured with her glances, now softly languid, now sharply threatening, and sometimes she would dance with her eyes alone'); Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 2.4.5. See also Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 5.107 (see above p. 37) and 19.201: 'he moved his eyes about as a picture of the story.'

Thirdly, the descriptions of emotions and states of minds in the running commentaries are heavily stereotyped to the point that Seneca employs the same or very similar formulas and attributes in order to portray different characters, even those affected by different passions, such as anger, love, or grief. If we compare the several descriptions proposed above, the recurrence of similar patterns of behaviour is evident. The characters all move with hasty or agitated movements and are affected by a constant change of attitude (*Med.* 385: *talis recursat huc et huc motu effero*; 862: *huc fert pedes et illuc*); *H.O.* 247: *incurrit, errat*; *Phae.* 372–3: *semper impatiens sui | mutatur habitus*; *H.O.* 250: *nec unus habitus durat*). Their eyes flash and turn (*Phae.* 364: *erumpit oculis ignis*; 380: *oculi nihil gentile nec patrium micant*; *Oed.* 958: *ardent minaces igne truculento genae*; *Ag.* 714–15: *incerta nutant lumina et versi retro | torquentur oculi, rursus immoti rigent*). The colour of their faces is in constant change (*Phae.* 376: *Non ora tinguens nitida purpureus rubor*; *Med.* 387: *Flammata facies*; 858–61: *Flagrant genae rubentes, | pallor fugat ruborem. | nullum vagante forma | servat diu colorem*; *H.O.* *nunc inardescunt genae | pallor ruborem pellit* 251–52; *Ag.* 710–11 *Pallor genas... possidet*). They also cry and groan (*Phae.* 370: *noctem querelis ducit*; 381–2: *Lacrimae cadunt per ora et assiduo genae | rore irrigantur*; *Med.* 388: *oculos uberi fletu rigat*; 390: *queritur gemit*; *Oed.* 922: *gemitus et altum murmur*; 961: *gemuit*; *H.O.* 249: *fletus insequitur minas*; 253: *querit, implorat, gemit*).

Interestingly, even the range of comparison used in the descriptions is limited, and recurs especially in the adoption of a set of similar epic similes. One pattern is discernible in the case of comparisons with a wild animal (*Med.* 862–5: *ut tigris orba natis | cursu furente lustrat | Gangeticum nemus*; *Oed.* 919: *Qualis per arva Libycus insanit leo, | fulvam minaci fronte concutiens iubam*; *H.O.* 241: *feta ut Armenia iacens | sub rupe tigris hoste conspecto exilit*). Another pattern recurs in comparisons with a maenad (*Med.* 382–3: *Incerta quails entheos gressus tulit | cum iam recepto maenas insanit deo | Pindi nivalis vertice aut Nysae iugis*; 849–50: *Quonam cruenta maenas | praeceps amore saevo | rapitur*; *H.O.* 243–4: *aut iussa thyrsum quaterere conceptum ferens | Maenas Lyaeum dubia quo gressus agat*; *Ag.* 719: *Maenas impatiens dei*).

The use, therefore, of the same standard repertoire of either behaviour and expressions used in the descriptions seems to suggest that Seneca did not aim at any kind of variation or nuanced portrayal of different emotions and characters; on the contrary, running commentaries seem to offer standardized and rather predictable descriptions of stock exhibitions of emotional disturbance by the characters.²²

In terms of verse construction, it is helpful to explore what the influence of a pantomime aesthetic might have on a conventional scene-type when turned into a Senecan 'running commentary'. This can be done by looking more closely at the description of Cassandra delivered by the chorus in *Agamemnon*, and by comparing it with its literary model, the description of the effects of the prophetic frenzy on the Cumaean Sybil in the *Aeneid*:

Silet repente Phoebas et pallor genas
creberque totum possidet corpus tremor;
stetere vittae, mollis horrescit coma,
anhela corda murmure incluso fremunt,
incerta nutant lumina et versi retro
torquentur oculi, rursus immoti rigent.
nunc levat in auras altior solito caput
graditurque celsa, nunc reluctantes parat
reserare fauces, verba nunc clauso male
custodit ore, maenas impatiens dei.

Seneca, *Agamemnon* 710–19 (for translation see Zimmerman, Ch. 10, p. 221)

cui talia fanti
ante fores subito non vultus, non color unus,
non comptae mansere comae; sed pectus anhelum,
et rabie fera corda tument, maiorque videri
nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando
iam propiore dei.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 6. 46–51

²² Suggestively, Schlegel defined Seneca's characters as 'gigantic puppets' who were 'set in motion' at different times 'by the string' of heroic urges or unnatural passions (as translated into English in Schlegel (1846), 211).

As she uttered these things in front of the doors, there was a sudden alteration in her face and her colour, her hair became dishevelled, her breast heaved, her heart became distended with rabid frenzy, she appeared taller and sounded supernatural, for she is breathed upon by the god's divine power as it comes closer.

The first remark to make is that, as Fitch has rightly pointed out, 'the tendency of Seneca's reworking is toward a simple, direct, less elevated (and less evocative) style'.²³ The Senecan passage adopts a staccato mode which sharply contrasts with the flowing mode of the Virgilian description. Seneca thus tends to present the image of Cassandra in clipped segments rather than as a continuous sequence, so that a single image is self-contained within a line or two. The staccato mode is achieved by a heavy use of end-stopped lines and a sparing use of enjambment, which usually runs over just two lines (on enjambment see see further below, pp. 280–1). In fact, in the Senecan passage end-stopped lines are intercalated with enjambed lines, while the Virgilian one is heavily enjambed. The presence of end-stopped lines create breaks and pause in the flow of the rhythm of the verse. Furthermore, the syntax of the passage moves predominantly in staccato phrases; connectives are used seldom, the style is mostly paratactic, and there are few subordinate clauses. This syntactical device lends the passage a restless rhythm which matches the feverish inner state of the protagonist. The visualization of the actions performed is facilitated by the use of parallel statements, which describe the character's movements in a very simple and arguably unpoetic way. In conclusion, these stylistic devices combine to produce an image that would be not only easy to visualize, but also to convey physically, by means of gestures.

NARRATIVE SET-PIECES

Lengthy narratives occur in almost every tragedy of the Senecan *corpus* with the exceptions of *Medea* and of *Phoenissae*. They are developed as independent set-pieces which have little or no importance for the

²³ Fitch (1987), 320.

advancement of the plot.²⁴ These narratives take the form of speeches in which a character brings information of some preceding action occurring offstage to the characters onstage. The speeches are either delivered by 'true' messengers or by characters who fulfil the same dramatic function;²⁵ as Larson states, it is legitimate to classify them as messenger speeches since they display some of the conventional formal features of messenger speeches as they occur in Greek, and especially Euripidean tragedy.²⁶ But besides sharing these features, Senecan messenger speeches differ from the Greek examples in many respects. First, while the Greek messenger speech is employed to narrate events which are strictly connected and needed for the advancement of the plot, or which are not conventionally shown on stage (such as death and violence), Seneca's messenger speeches expand and elaborate on episodes and themes which, albeit belonging to the myth in question, are not needed either for the advancement of the plot or to overcome difficulties conventionally connected with the representation of bloodshed on stage. Furthermore, while the Greek messenger delivers a speech where he implicitly expresses his emotions, thoughts, and perspective on the events, the Senecan one 'excludes himself completely from the story he tells'.²⁷ The Senecan messenger represents thus more an epic narrator or a 'medium' (to use Larson's term) than a dramatic character.

Since Seneca knew his Greek models, from which he could draw well-established and more obviously economical dramatic conventions, we have to interpret his different use of the messenger as a dramatic device that he has purposely selected. It seems to me evident that Seneca employed lengthy narratives for a specific purpose, which is other than just a means for rhetorical display or to overcome the absence of stage performance, since their occurrence in almost every tragedy makes them become a constant device, which thus acquires the status of practice and must be treated accordingly. It seems, then, far too simplistic and dismissive to label their presence solely ornamental.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 275.

²⁵ Larson (1994), 67 states that 'the consequence for the extension of the messenger role to characters involved in the action of the tragedy, is that there are more opportunities for messenger-speeches.'

²⁶ *Ibid.* 31.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 65. See also Garelli (1998), 25, for a similar interpretation.

According to Garelli, 'the tendency to develop these scenes well beyond the dramatic necessities is a clear evidence of a choice which is fully conscious and literary, a choice of theatrical writing'.²⁸ She points out three aspects of the set-pieces which show Seneca's different aesthetic perspective on the material. First, the extreme length of the set-pieces indicates that their role is intended to be pivotal; in the structure of the play, in fact, they actually acquire the status of an episode in itself which often occupies a whole act.²⁹ According to Garelli, these pieces are not conceived as elements of the drama, but as *equivalents* of it.³⁰ Second, the narratives dramatize epic poetry, and the characters are depicted by Seneca in the most theatrical attitude offered by the epic text.³¹ Third, Seneca tends to simplify the dramatic structure of the set-pieces and develop and elaborate, instead, the narrative element in it. Garelli exemplifies this tendency to simplify on the one hand and to elaborate on the other by comparing the description of the storm in Aeschylus' (636–80) and Seneca's *Agamemnon* (421–578). In Aeschylus the description of the storm is brief and the return of the Greek fleet, which the messenger comes to announce, remains the most important fact in relation to the further development of the plot; in Seneca the narration of the storm is so long and its details so prominent that the return of *Agamemnon* and the Greek fleet is neglected. Thus Seneca's narrative usually develops one action and concentrates on one hero.

This point of view is shared by Larson, who describes the Senecan messenger speech as dealing with a limited scope of time and action, that is, with just one event, which it 'describes it in elaborate details. The effect is that each Senecan messenger speech presents not more than could be depicted in one picture'.³² This tendency becomes even more evident when we compare the Senecan messenger speech and the Greek one; in fact the latter 'is generally more concerned to present a chain of events in chronological perspective, that is, to compose a narrative', while the Senecan messenger speech 'concentrates rather

²⁸ Garelli (1998), 20–1.

²⁹ See also the comments of Henry and Walker (1965), 12, in relation to Theseus' description of the Underworld in *Hercules Furens*.

³⁰ Garelli (1998), 26.

³¹ *Ibid.* 27.

³² Larson (1994), 68.

on accumulating details to make a picture of one stage in this chain of events.³³ Moreover, Larson stresses that Seneca's set-pieces usually open with an *ecphrasis topou* (description of place) which functions as a background for the figures or characters. The position of the lengthy *ecphrasis* at the beginning of the speech 'gives it the status of an entertaining opening to a story', and 'the present tense in which is couched establishes the place in permanency and makes a background for the figures'.³⁴

This background is described in a detailed and often graphic way, but, at the same time, the mode of depiction does not aim at being accurate or realistic; it pictures a scenario which is more imagined than real and thus quite fluid. The details also aim more at creating the general atmosphere of the place than a specific or concrete *locus*. Seneca's *ecphraseis* seem a deliberate attempt to create an 'imaginary frame' in which his characters move. It is, of course, obvious that such a landscape—an imaginary atmosphere—may not be portrayed as materially evident by means of theatrical business; but, in my opinion, such a background is purposely created because the whole scene is meant to be mimed or pantomimed. The 'realistic' constraints imposed by the theatrical conditions can thus be much more easily sidestepped in performance. Even more importantly, an expansion of the scenic space may have been extremely suitable to (and indeed required by) the very nature of these performances. Undoubtedly, the mime or pantomime that was performed could move in a fluid imaginary setting, more evocative than the concrete one created by the words of the libretti. Moreover, the dancer could have easily represented, by means of allusive gestures and movements, actions which would have been impossible for actors to represent. All the distinctive aesthetic techniques of the Senecan set pieces identified by Garelli and Larson could, therefore, be related to the cultural presence and experience of the perspective on epic versions of myth applied by an imperial tragedian. But it could also be that the descriptive narratives of Seneca, which are often dismissed as bombastic, excessive, and redundant, could actually be another sign of their *positive* function as words designed to accompany mute action and dancing.

³³ Ibid. 34.

³⁴ Ibid. 68.

Senecan narratives usually deal with literary *topoi* typical of the epic tradition, where descriptions of events of such a kind are employed to arouse emotional effects; the secondary episodes treated in Seneca's narratives tend either to deal, generally speaking, with a sort of performance of wonders (as for example, the description of the descent to the Underworld, the necromancy, the appearance of shades, descriptions of storms and shipwrecks, sacrifices and invocation to the souls of the dead), or with a dramatization of death and murder, especially of children (such as the description of the killing of Thyestes' sons or of Polyxena and Astyanax in *Trojan Women*). Seneca's fondness for the treatment of supernatural and horrific events seems to be a sign of his prioritisation of the creation of theatrical and spectacular effects. Our extant sources on pantomime attest that such themes and striving for spectacle were a typical feature of pantomimic performances as well. From Lucian's catalogue, for example, we know that a pantomime dancer had to know about what happened in the reign of Hades with the punishments and the reasons for each (*On Dancing* 60).

An illuminating narrative set-piece to take as an example is Theaeus' description of the Underworld (*inferorum descriptio*) in *Hercules Furens* 662–827, the lengthiest of all the numerous set-pieces in Senecan tragedy. The narrative has elicited diverse scholarly assessments. Shelton regards it as a 'rhetorical showpiece', which 'gives Seneca an opportunity to exhibit his skills at descriptions'.³⁵ Fitch emphasizes that 'such scenes have a considerable degree of independence from the body of the play, and offer an opportunity for display of rhetorical-poetic technique and in particular for δεινότης, that is, treatment of the gruesome and horrific'.³⁶ A more positive judgement is delivered by Henry and Walker, who rightly claim that 'the long central scene of the play, by its position, length, and impressive power is clearly intended to be pivotal'; furthermore, 'a scene whose verse is of such compelling and astonishing power cannot be dismissed as merely an interruption of the dramatic development'.³⁷

I would agree with this statement, and add that since the narrative develops for almost 200 lines, and thus forms the matter of a whole

³⁵ Shelton (1978), 50. ³⁶ Fitch (1987), 275.

³⁷ Henry and Walker (1965), 12.

act, it seems to me hardly credible that Seneca built it up just to display his rhetorical skills and ability to react to a famous literary model, namely Aeneas' descent to the Underworld as described by Virgil in *Aeneid* 6. In my opinion, Seneca, regardless of whether he envisaged his tragedies to be theatrically performed or to be recited, wrote the piece with the distinctive features of pantomime in mind. In fact, I would suggest that the narrative, both in its structure and in some stylistic features of composition, may reflect the visual and choreographical aesthetics of pantomime. Since it is such an extended and *ecphrastic* section, and because there are classical—indeed Virgilian—prototypes of much of the material which can help us, by comparison, to identify its innovative and distinctive features, it provides particularly good material from which to infer stylistic elements that are consonant with these aesthetics.

Besides its self-contained quality, the most distinctive feature of this set-piece description is the way that Theseus' role is less that of a dramatic character engaged in the action than that of an external narrator. His speech is basically a soliloquy or monologue, interrupted by only brief questions asked by Amphitryon. These seem to be 'cues' or 'prompts' which have been introduced mainly to avoid the necessity of providing linking transitions between the parts of the narrative. Three features seem particularly striking. First, Theseus' narration of the underworld is totally impersonal and objective. Besides the use of the third person plural at 821, *intulimus orbi*, there is no hint of his subjective reactions to it, of his own personal feelings in or experience of the Underworld, to the extent that he never reveals his point of view or his direct participation in the occurrence even when replying to Amphitryon's questions. On the contrary, all his replies begin with a new *ecphrasis topou*, which, by the way, neither reflects nor delimits the initial position of the characters (namely Theseus and Hercules) in the space. Henry and Walker have correctly seen that the character of Theseus 'remains resolutely undeveloped';³⁸ in fact, Theseus performs the function of an impersonal narrator uninvolved in the action. His figure has no dramatic reality and consistency. He is just a mouthpiece for a story.

³⁸ Ibid. 19.

Secondly, within the economy of the play, the figure of Theseus seems deliberately introduced for the sole purpose of narrating Hercules' labour in the Underworld. In fact, Theseus' first appearance does not occur until the third act, when he and Hercules arrive at Thebes directly from the Underworld. As soon as Amphitryon reveals Lycus' threat against the family, Hercules quickly decides to face Lycus and compels Theseus to remain with his family while he is away. At this point, Amphitryon asks Theseus to narrate Hercules' exploit in the Underworld. As soon as the narration is concluded, the Athenian hero will leave the stage and appear again only in the last act of the play (as he does in the Euripidean prototype), to offer to Hercules purification and a home in Athens; despite the importance of his role in relation to Hercules' future after the killing of his family, Theseus' final intervention is concentrated in three and a half lines (1342–6: *Nostra te tellus manet. | illic solutam caede Gradivus manum | restituit armis; illa te, Alcide, vocat, | facere innocentes terra quae superos solet.* 'My land waits you. There Gradivus had his hand purified of bloodshed and returned to warfare. That land summons you, Alcides, which customarily restores gods to innocence'). In Euripides' *Heracles*, Theseus does not appear until the action is much more advanced, but he then has a much more extensive role. Seneca, on the other hand, needs to have him on stage earlier because Theseus is the only character who can be in charge of the description of the Underworld.

Thirdly, from the point of view of dramatic illusion, Theseus' speech is undoubtedly highly implausible. The long narration of Hercules' quest of Cerberus takes place in a moment of crisis, since Hercules and his family are in mortal danger. Actually, Amphitryon asks Theseus to narrate Hercules' deed in the Underworld at the exact moment when Hercules is in combat with Lycus. At this tense moment of crisis, such a request, especially from Hercules' desperate father Amphitryon, seems awkward at the very least; Theseus' reply is no less awkward, since his speech opens with something so inappropriate to the hour as an *ecphrasis topou* of the Underworld which lasts approximately for 100 lines (662–96; 698–706; 709–27; 731–47; 750–9). It is not followed even by the narration of Hercules' deed itself until line 762.

Now, this apparent lack of concern for dramatic illusion results from the way that the scene combines elements typical of two conventional speech-types: a tragic messenger-like rhesis and an epic ephrastic set-piece told by an external narrator. The piece's mixed character, which seems to cross the generic boundaries of tragedy and epic, may be evidence of pantomime's free appropriation and fusion of both tragic and epic elements in pursuit of its own goal. Furthermore, the pantomime libretti may have been composed by assembling elements typical of different genres in the well-established literary tradition. Tragedy and epic were possibly the main poetic basins from which the pantomime librettist could draw draughts of this new type of mythological verse, although they were by no means the only ones.

Another remarkable feature of the narrative is that it is sharply divided into two parts, the first one being concerned with a description of the geography of the Underworld (662–759) and the second one with the last of Hercules' labours, the quest for Cerberus (760–827). The sharp effect of this division results from the lateness with which Hercules appears in the narrative, directly after Theseus has introduced Cerberus. This structure shows that Theseus' description of the Underworld has certainly not been arranged in order to narrate, for example, how Hercules made his way into the Underworld, what he encountered and what he experienced there. The impression we get from the bipartite arrangement of the narrative is that Seneca aimed at combining together two themes, Underworld environment and performed labour, which remain structurally separated; the two parts are, in fact, only unified thematically, since Hercules' capture of Cerberus allowed Seneca to deal generally with the theme of the Underworld environment. In my opinion, Seneca may have felt the combination of the two themes particularly appealing because they were *both* very popular in pantomime. Lucian (*On Dancing* 41) and Libanius (64.70) attest to the popularity of Hercules' labours in the medium; Lucian (60) also cites the *katabasis* of Theseus and Pirithous as a pantomime theme, and it is probably to pantomime that Augustine was referring when he stated that his contemporaries used to know the Virgilian episode of Aeneas' descent to the Underworld more because of the theatre than because they had actually read it (*Sermones* 241.5 = *PL* 38,

1135–6; see above, Panayotakis, pp. 196–7). The bipartite arrangement of the piece may, therefore, be a telling sign of pantomime's influence.

Indeed, I would argue that the two sections of the narrative can be conceived as two tableaux. Although they are different in tone and content, it is possible to ascribe their conception in this form and the common stylistic features to cultural awareness of the potentialities of pantomime. The Underworld tableau consists of a long *ecphrasis topou* (662–96), in which move numerous mythical figures whose physical appearance is described at length. From a stylistic point of view, as aptly pointed out by Henry and Walker, 'the description of Hell is written in verse which is precise and effective; so that so far from being composed in the abstract, often generalizing way which Roman poets conventionally use for such scenes, the detail is particular and selective.'³⁹ In fact, even though the depiction of the hellish landscape presents all the sinister elements topically associated with it such as deep woods, rocks, and darkness, the imaginary landscape tends to be presented as if animated and not in abstract terms. See, for example, the opening (662–7):

Spartana tellus nobile attollit iugum,
 densis ubi aequor Taenarus silvis premit.
 hic ora solvit Ditis inuisi domus
 hiatque rupes alta et immenso specu
 ingens vorago faucibus vastis patet
 latumque pandit omnibus populis iter.

There rises in the land of Sparta a far-famed ridge, where Cape Taenarus hems the sea with its dense forests. Here the house of hateful Dis opens its mouth; a tall cliff gapes wide, a cavernous abyss extends its vast jaws and spreads a broad path for all the nations.

Seneca combines here two Virgilian passages (*Aen.* 6.237 and 7.569): '*Spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatu*, and '*ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago | pestiferas aperit fauces*.' The Senecan picture is vivid and atmospheric but impressionistic rather than precise, and the heavy presence of pleonasm (*vasta, immenso, ingens, vastis; ora solvit, hiat, patet, pandit*) conveys the image of a rapaciously threatening *locus*

³⁹ Henry and Walker (1965), 12.

which resembles the embodiment of the devouring rapacity of death itself.

The description of the path to the Underworld is handled in a similar way, where Seneca aims at portraying *the actual agents or forces* which make the way back from the Underworld irretrievably impossible (675–9):

nec ire labor est: ipsa deducit via.
 ut saepe puppes aestus invitas rapit,
 sic pronus aer urget atque avidum chaos,
 gradumque retro flectere haud umquam sinunt
 umbrae tenaces.

To travel is no toil: the path itself draws you down. As often a current sweeps ships unwillingly off course, so the downward breeze and the greedy void hurry you on, and the clutching shades never allow you to turn your steps backward.

The passage is modelled on Virgil (*Aen.* 6.126–8):

facilis descensus Averno:
 noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis;
 sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,
 hoc opus, hic labor est.

easy is the descent to Avernus: night and day the door of gloomy Dis stands open; but to recall one's steps and pass out to the upper air, this is the task, this the toil!

In Virgil the Sybil states that the journey down to the Underworld is easy to achieve, while the difficult toil for Aeneas is to retrace his steps. The Sybil's statement is purposely addressed to the difficulties Aeneas could face in leaving the Underworld, but Theseus' statement is more generalizing and does not refer to the actual difficulties Hercules and he himself could face in returning from the reign of Pluto. Seneca reworks the Virgilian model by adding and emphasizing the concrete agents which make the way down easy (the breeze and the void—*pronus aer urget atque avidum chaos*, 677) and those which make the way backwards difficult (the clutching shadows—*umbrae tenaces*, 679). Thus we get the image of two forces, one which pulls down and the other which clutches firmly. The presence of an irresistible force is then already presented in the almost formulaic

simile of the current which sweeps ships off course. Reaction to concrete agents would be much easier to dance mimetically in an attempt to create a supernatural atmosphere than abstract statements of the kind Virgil's Sybil is prone to make.

Another detail added by Seneca to the hellish landscape serves to animate it, namely the presence of 'ill-boding birds at large in the Underworld'⁴⁰ (a vulture, an owl, and a screech-owl). Yet another good example is the description of the sterility of the Underworld (698–704), which is conveyed through negative clauses that evoke vividly the fertility that it lacks; the natural elements of the landscape are presented as active agents and abstractions (as, for example, in the case of *vastitas*) tend to be personified:

Non prata viridi laeta facie germinant
nec adulta leni fluctuat Zephyro seges;
non ulla ramos silva pomiferos habet;
sterilis profundi vastitas sqaulet soli
et foeda tellus torpet aeterno situ-
rerumque maestus finis et mundi ultima.
immotus aer haeret et pigro sedet
nox atra mundo.

There are no joyful grassy meadows of verdant aspect, no ripened grain rippling in the gentle west wind, no trees with fruit-laden branches; a barren desolation crusts over the Stygian soil and the foul earth languishes in perpetual stagnation—sad end of things, the world's last estate. The air hangs motionless, and black night sits over the torpid world.

As we have previously said, Seneca includes numerous descriptions of physical appearance which can be considered as running commentaries,⁴¹ and another feature of his tragedies is that mythological figures, instead of the characters involved in the plays, can be so described. In our passage, appearances are made by Dis (721–5), the great sinners (750–9), Charon (764–7), and numerous personified abstractions (690–6). The descriptions, to a greater or lesser extent, are modelled on Virgil's corresponding ones and a comparison between the two illuminates how Seneca reworked his models for his own purposes. As far as the personified abstractions are concerned,

⁴⁰ Fitch (1987), 299.

⁴¹ See above, pp. 232–8, on running commentaries.

Seneca increases their number to eleven whereas Virgil lists just seven of them; Seneca also increases the number of adjectives applied to them in comparison with the Virgilian passage, where they have just a single one or none. Seneca's description also tends to be more concrete and to be conveyed by a portrayal of the characteristic activity of the abstractions personified (which can be quite simple or more elaborated), while in Virgil the description is conveyed by emphasizing the more abstract qualities connected with them.

Seneca adds more colour than Virgil by giving an account of an activity of three of his figures—*Fames*, *Pudor*, and *Senectus*. In fact Hunger (*Fames*) 'lies with wasted jaws' (*Famesque maesta tabido rictu iacet*, 691), Shame (*Pudor*) 'covers its guilty face' (*Pudorque serus conscios vultus tegit*, 692), and Old Age (*Senectus*) 'supports its steps with a stick' (*iners Senectus adiuvat baculo gradum*, 696). Similarly, the other abstractions personified are accompanied by graphic adjectives which describe the negative and concrete effects associated with them: Sleep (*Sopor*) is 'sluggish' (*segnis*, 690), Resentment (*Dolor*) is 'gnashing' (*frendens*, 693), Disease (*Morbus*) is 'trembling' (*tremens*, 694); Virgil, instead, uses adjectives which describe the negative and more abstract qualities associated with them (*Aen.* 6.274–81): thus Diseases (*Morbi*) are pale (*pallentes*, 275), Old Age (*Senectus*) is sad (*tristis*, 275), Hunger (*Fames*) is temptress to sin (*malesuada*, 276), Want (*Egestas*) is loathsome (*turpis*, 276). All Seneca's 'action' details are suggestive of an imagination producing verse with gestural and choreographical accompaniment in mind.

When it comes to the second tableau, the capture of Cerberus, we find that the Senecan tragedy provides the fullest extant treatment of this episode.⁴² It opens with a brief *ecphrasis topou* which 'has no functional purpose but helps to create a grim, oppressive atmosphere'.⁴³ As we have previously seen, in the first part of the narrative the description of the landscape played a major role; in the second part, however, the atmospheric landscape is just briefly sketched and the description of Cerberus and of the fight between Hercules and the watchdog of the Underworld is prominent. Even the tone of Theseus' narration, which was solemn in the description of the Underworld, is subject to drastic alteration: it

⁴² Fitch (1987), 317.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 319.

becomes rhetorical—comical as soon as Hercules makes his appearance at line 770.⁴⁴ Shelton and Fitch state that the whole aim of the scene is to provide a negative characterization of Hercules, in which case its comical character deliberately presents him as a burlesque figure whose achievements against monsters are not morally valuable, and emphasizes the way that he invariably resorts to violence and brutal force in the accomplishment of them. Yet, in my opinion, this is completely to misunderstand the scene. It has a totally different purpose, since its character is markedly mimetic, concentrated as it is in fully describing at length, in graphic and pictorial details combined with action-verbs, each stage of Hercules' fight with Cerberus. The stages of the encounter almost create the effect of vivid pictures of action, which follow one after the other like consecutive photographic stills or video clips.

The first picture presents Cerberus' physical appearance and him sensing the approach of Hercules (783–91):

hic saevus umbras territat Stygius canis,
 qui trina vasto capita concutiens sono
 regnum tuetur. sordidum tabo caput
 lambunt colubrae, viperis horrent iubae
 longusque torta sibilat cauda draco.
 par ira formae: sensit ut motus pedum,
 attollit hirtas angue vibrato comas
 missumque captat aure subrecta sonum,
 sentire et umbras solitus.

Here the fierce Stygian hound keeps the shades in fear and guards the kingdom, tossing his triple heads with clamorous noise. Snakes lick the heads foul with pus, his manes bristle with vipers, and a long serpent hisses in his twisted tail. His rage matches his appearance. As he heard the movement of feet, his shaggy coat bristled with quivering snakes, and he pricked up his ears to catch the sound, being practised in hearing even ghosts.

The second picture presents the fight between Hercules and Cerberus and the hero's victory over the monstrous creature (793–827):

solvit a laeva feros
 tunc ipse rictus et Cleonaeum caput

⁴⁴ Henry and Walker (1965), 18.

opponit ac se tegmine ingenti tegit,
victrice magnum dextera robur gerens
huc nunc et illuc verbere assiduo rotat,
ingeminat ictus.

Then the hero loosed the fierce, gaping jaws from his left shoulder, thrust out the Cleonaeon head and screened himself with that huge shield. Wielding the great tree trunk in his all-conquering right hand, he whirled it this way and that in constant blows, and redoubled his strikes.

Cerberus immediately resigns himself and lowers his head (802–4):

domitus infrengit minas
et cuncta lassus capita summisit canis
antroque toto cessit.

Mastered, the hound broke off its threats, wearily drooped all his heads and emerged from the cave that it filled.

The third one presents the detailed description of Cerberus' transformation after his capture (808–812):

oblitus sui
custos opaci pervigil regni canis
componit aures timidus et patiens trahi,
erumque fassus, ore summisso obsequens,
utrumque cauda pulsat anguifera latus.

Forgetting himself, the unsleeping watchdog of the dark realm timidly laid back his ears and tolerated being led, acknowledging his master, submitting with lowered muzzles, and thumping each flank with his snaky tail.

In fact, once captured, Cerberus undergoes a quite comical transformation from the fearful watchdog of the Underworld (793–802) into a submissive pet who drops his ears and wags its tail.

The last picture presents Hercules dragging Cerberus away from the Underworld (813–27); as soon as Cerberus sees the light of the day, he becomes so scared and frightened that he violently pulls Hercules backwards (just a few lines previously, Hercules' strength had overwhelmed the dog very easily); the dog can be dragged further only with the additional help of Theseus. Finally, Cerberus must yield and he finds shelter from the daylight under Hercules' shadow. In relation to the final part of Cerberus' capture, Shelton

rightly observed that 'at the end of the scene we are left with the puzzling picture of a frightened dog and two men dragging him towards the light it fears'.⁴⁵

CONCLUSION

It is important to clarify that I am not suggesting that the influence of pantomime on Seneca's conception of mythical narrative, which seems virtually inevitable given the cultural environment in which the plays came into being, necessarily bears the implication that Seneca intended from the minute he conceived them that his tragedies were to be performed as pantomime or with pantomimic sequences. In fact, it unnecessary to assume that he wrote them in a way that excluded the possibility of any of the forms of performance, whether rhetorical or theatrical, with or without elements of mimetic dance, that were popular in the mid-first century AD. My point is rather than he wrote them 'with pantomime in mind', and that both the formal structure of the tragedies and the details of the verse they contain may reveal characteristics which are assimilated from the pantomimic genre. Yet Seneca may indeed have composed the tragedies in a way that he was quite aware offered potential for pantomimic performance. They certainly reflect a familiar cultural language which had been well established by Seneca's day through the traditions of tragic pantomime.

Trojan Women: Structural Analysis⁴⁶

Tableau One

Place: at Hector's tomb.

Scene 1: Hecuba mourns over the fall of Troy.

Transitions: there is no indication that the chorus has entered, but *lamentacessant* suggests that they have been moaning softly onstage.

⁴⁵ Shelton (1978), 55.

⁴⁶ This table is an adapted version of that in Fantham (1982), 18.

Scene 2: Hecuba leads the chorus of Trojan women in a formal antiphonal lament for Troy, Hector, and Priam.

Transitions: Talthynius' entrance is uncued. We have to infer that Hecuba exits at 164 and the chorus remains on stage.

Tableau Two

Place: at Hector's tomb; there is a change of place at 203, the action is in the Greek camp.

Scene 1: Talthybius recounts to the chorus of Trojan Women the appearance of Achilles' ghost, demanding that Polyxena be sacrificed to him.

Transitions: Pyrrhus' and Agamemnon's entrances are uncued.

Scene 2: Pyrrhus and Agamemnon discuss Achilles' demand. They summon Chalcas (351–2, appears 353), who proclaims that not only Polyxena but also Hector's son Astyanax must be killed before the Greeks can sail.

Transitions: Andromache's entrance is uncued

Tableau Three

Place: at Hector's tomb.

Scene 1: Andromache, warned by her dead husband Hector in a dream, hides her son Astyanax in Hector's tomb chamber.

Transitions: Ulysses' entrance is cued

Scene 2: Ulysses arrives to fetch the boy; Andromache almost convinces him that the boy is dead, but her nervousness betrays her. Ulysses drags the boy away

Transitions: all entrances are uncued apart from that of Pyrrhus (enters 999 and exits 1003).

Tableau Four

Place: near Sigeum (931); battlefield and Achilles' tomb (893–95)?

Scene 1: Helen is sent to collect Polyxena, on the pretext of preparing her for marriage. Unable to maintain the pretence, she reveals the truth. Finally Pyrrhus enters and silently drags Polyxena away.

Transitions: all entrances are uncued

Tableau Five

Place: by the shore

A messenger recounts at length the deaths of Astyanax and Polyxena

Excerpts

Excerpt 1. Phaedra 362–83

torretur aestu tacito et inclusus quoque,
 quamvis tegatur, proditur vultu furor;
 erumpit oculis *ignis* et lassae genae
 lucem recusant; nil idem dubiae placet,
 artusque varie iactat incertus dolor:
 nunc ut soluto labitur marcens gradu
 et vix labante sustinet collo caput,
 nunc se quieti reddit et, somni immemor,
 noctem querelis ducit; attolli iubet
 iterumque poni corpus et solvi comas
 rursusque fingi; semper impatiens sui
 mutatur habitus. nulla iam Cereris subit
 cura aut salutis. vadit incerto pede,
 iam viribus defecta: non idem vigor,
 non ora tinguens nitida purpureus rubor;
 [populatur artus cura, iam gressus tremunt,
 tenerque nitidi corporis cecidit decor]
 et qui ferebant signa Phoebeae facis
 oculi nihil gentile nec patrium micant.
 lacrimae cadunt per ora et assiduo genae
 rore irrigantur, qualiter Tauri iugis
 tepido madescent imbre percussae nives.

The fever silently burns her, and her inner madness, however much concealed, is betrayed in her face. Fire bursts forth through her eyes; her weary sight cannot bear the daylight. Nothing pleases her fickle mind for long, and her restless pain disturbs her body in various way: now she flags and collapses, with weakness in her step, and can hardly support her head on her dropping neck; now she prepares to rest, but forgets sleep and spends the night in laments. She bids them raise her body and lay it down again, unfasten her hair and arrange it once more; her condition is always impatient with itself and changing. No thought of food or health now occurs her. Her feet falter as her strength fails; there is not that same vigour, not the ruddiness that coloured her glowing face, and those eyes once betokened Phoebus' torch have none of that inherited ancestral brilliance. Tears fall across her face, her eyes are flooded with constant moisture, as on the ridges of Taurus the snows melt when struck by warm rain showers.

Excerpt 2. Medea 382–90: see Zimmermann, this volume, pp. 222–3

Excerpt 3. Medea (849–78)

Quonam cruenta maenas
praeceps amore saevo
rapitur? quod impotenti
facinus parat furore?
uultus citatus ira
riget et caput feroci
quatiens superba motu
regi minatur ultro.
quis credat exulem?

Flagrant genae rubentes,
pallor fugat ruborem.
nullum vagante forma
servat diu colorem
huc fert pedes et illuc,
ut tigris orba natis
cursu furente lustrat
Gangeticum nemus

Frenare nescit iras
Medea, non amores;
nunc ira amorque causam
iunxere: quid sequetur?
quando efferet Pelasgis
nefanda Colchis aruis
gressum, metuque solvet
regnum simulque reges?
Nunc, Phoebe, mitte currus
nullo morante loro,
nox condat alma lucem,
mergat diem timendum
dux noctis Hesperus.

Where is the bloodstained maenad being driven impetuously by savage love? What crime is she planning in uncurbed fury? Her face is sharpened with anger and set; her head is tossing with fierce and arrogant movements and she actually threatens the king. Who would think her an exile? Her cheeks are red and inflamed, then the red is displaced by pallor; she keeps no colour for long, her appearance ever shifting. She paces to and fro, as a tigress robbed of her children roams in a raging onrush the Gange's wooded banks.

Medea cannot rein in her feelings of love or anger. Now anger and love have joined their force: what will follow? When will the evil Colchian make her way from Pelasgian fields, and free from fear the kingdom along with its kings? Now, Phoebus, run your chariot with no restraint from the reins: friendly night must hide the sunlight, and this fearful day be buried by Hesperus, leader of night.

Excerpt 4. Oedipus (919–24; 958–62)

qualis per arva Libycus insanit leo,
fulvam minaci fronte concutiens iubam.
vultus furore torvus atque oculi truces,
gemitus et altum murmur, et gelidus volat
sudor per artus, spumat et volvit minas
ac mersus alte magnus exundat dolor.

ardent minaces igne truculento genae
oculique vix se sedibus retinent suis;
violentus audax vultus, iratus ferox
iamiam eruentis. gemit et dirum fremens
manus in ora torsit.

As a Libyan lion rages through the countryside with a menacing glare, shaking its tawny mane. His face was wild with fury, his eyes savage, there were groans and deep mutterings, cold sweat ran over his limbs, he spilled threats from his foaming mouth, as his great pain poured from deep within him. . . .

His eyes blazed threateningly with a ravening fire, and their orbs scarcely held fast in their seats. Full of audacious violence was his gaze, of ferocious anger, as he prepared to root it out.

Excerpt 5. Hercules Oetaeus (241–53)

feta ut Armenia iacens
sub rupe tigris hoste conspecto exilit,
aut iussa thyrsus quatere conceptum ferens
Maenas Lyaeum dubia quo gressus agat
haesit parumper. tum per Herculeos lares
attonita fertur, tota vix satis est domus;
incurrit, errat, sistit, in vultus dolor
processit omnis, pectori paene intimo
nihil est relictum; fletus insequitur minas.

nec unus habitus durat aut uno furit
contenta vultu: nunc inardescunt genae,
pallor ruborem pellit et formas dolor
errat per omnes; querit, implorat, gemit.

She resembled a whelped tigress, lying beneath a crag in Armenia, that leaps up at sight of the foe; or a Maenad, called to brandish the thyrsus, quickened and ridden by Lyaeus, who hesitates briefly, unsure where to direct her steps. The she rushed in frenzy through Hercules' house, the whole building scarcely giving room enough; she charged forward, swerved, stopped. All her pain come into her face, almost nothing was left hidden in her breast. Tears followed hard on threats. No single attitude lasted long, no single expression of rage satisfied her: now her cheeks flamed, now pallor expelled the colour. Her pain ranged through every possible form, she lamented, entreated, groaned.

Excerpt 6. Agamemnon (710–19): see Zimmermann, this volume, p. 221.

Is the 'Barcelona *Alcestis*' a Latin Pantomime Libretto?

Edith Hall

INTRODUCTION

It has always been difficult to believe that such an important and long-lived aesthetic medium as ancient pantomime could have vanished without leaving any significant trace of the texts that were designed, from the moment that their authors conceived them, to be delivered by the singers who accompanied the dancers. By the end of Augustus' patronage of the medium, there must have been a considerable demand for pantomime libretti;¹ it is easy to forget that 'in actual fact, there was a libretto for every single pantomime'.² By the late fourth century, at any rate, Libanius says that the songs which accompanied the huge number of pantomime performances were designed to facilitate and support the movements that the particular dancer intended to perform (*Or.* 64.88). This suggests that they were usually new works. The implication must be that there was a substantial and consistent scale of production of a type

This chapter has benefited enormously from the discussions following its delivery at Royal Holloway, University of London, and at the APGRD in Oxford, in March and April 2007 respectively. Particular thanks are owed to Richard Alston, Ewen Bowie, Stephen Harrison, Ahuvia Kahane, Nick Lowe, Peter Parsons, Jonathan Powell, Oliver Taplin, David Wiles, and Rosie Wyles.

¹ Sargent (1996), 38–40.

² Fick (1990), 225.

of poetic text that has now completely disappeared—truly a 'lost chord' of Roman imperial culture.

One of the reasons for the vagueness of scholars in relation to the libretti of pantomime has been the variety of ways in which the ancient sources suggest that they could be performed. We hear of both large choirs who supply melodious polyphony (Lucian, *On Dancing* 30, 63, 72), and of solo singers (*AP* 9.542). There is evidence for a secondary actor or dancer in supporting roles (e.g. one who played Odysseus in support of the star's Ajax, according to Lucian, *On Dancing* 83 = T24), indeed for an actor whose lovely voice was distinct from the singing of the choir (*ibid.* 68). It is wholly conceivable that in any particular libretto, available personnel allowing, a chorus could perform the narrative sections while the secondary performer could not only voice occasional interjections but speak significant passages of direct speech.³ But the susceptibility of ancient theatrical performance conventions to variation across time and location should surely not prevent us from enquiring into the nature of the libretti.

If an ancient pantomime libretto were suddenly to become available, for example through a papyrus find, it would indeed be an exciting event in ancient theatre studies. This chapter explores the possibility that one such libretto was actually disinterred, although not identified as such, in a library in southern Spain in the early 1980s. The text in question is the so-called Barcelona *Alcestis*, a Latin hexameter poem on the death of this female exemplar of spousal devotion, recorded on four leaves of papyrus that at some point were incorporated into a codex held at the Foundation Sant Lluç Evangelista in Barcelona.⁴ The codex also contains Cicero's speeches against Catiline 1 and 2, a Latin psalm, and a Greek liturgical text.

The poem was first edited by Ramón Roca-Puig (1982), and improved texts by Wolfgang Lebek and by an Oxford University team were both published in the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* the following year.⁵ Editions with commentary, taking

³ Kelly (1979); Hall (2002a), 24–30; Hall (2005), 64–5.

⁴ *PBarc.* Inv. Nos. 158ab, 159ab, 160ab and 161a, incorporated as fos. 33–6. The early half-uncial script has cursive elements.

⁵ Lebek (1983); Parsons, Nisbet, and Hutchinson (1983).

into account the previous textual work, have been published in English by Miroslav Marcovich (1988) and in Italian by Lorenzo Nosarti (1992). The transmitted poem consists of 122 hexameter lines (the complete text seems originally to have consisted of 124), reproduced as T40 in the Appendix (below, pp. 404–12) from Marcovich's edition, with my own translation.

If several other pantomime libretti had survived involving a compressed Greek tragedy, scenes of love and death, and four or five successive monologues loosely connected by short narratives, then I suspect that some scholar would immediately have proposed that pantomimic realization was the intended function of the Barcelona *Alcestis*. But such a situation would always have been unlikely to arise, given that ancient scribes were inconsiderate enough not usually to superimpose generic labels—'*tragoedia saltata*', '*declamatio*', or 'adultery mime'—as headers on their papyri. Unfortunately there is no certain example of a pantomime libretto, nor even a description of one, with which to compare this poem, and so we have to work out principles according to which it needs to be scrutinized. The most important considerations will rest on internal evidence. Is it inherently performable as pantomime? Do its stylistic features seem appropriate to enunciation by a choir or narrator accompanying an individual engaged in changing from mask to mask in a display of 'tragic rhythmical movement'? But before analysing the poem in detail, there are also some more general factors that need to be taken into account.

First, the poem's date is not known, but Marcovich argues that it is a late work, perhaps composed in the fourth century AD.⁶ Pantomime flourished in Latin-speaking areas from the late first century BC until later than Marcovich's proposed date, and so the papyrus text is of the appropriate era. It could even have been performed by Parthenopaeus, the dancer celebrated on the medallion found at Orange (see above, Fig. 0.1, p. 3). When it comes to the geographical provenance of the poem, Marcovich has suggested an Eastern one, since he thinks that the oriental spices that *Alcestis* burns (111–16, on which see further below p. 274) mean that the plot seems to

⁶ Marcovich (1988), 101.

be transferred from Pherae in Thessaly (the setting of Euripides' *Alcestis*) 'to somewhere in the Near East'; more specifically, since the poem is preserved on papyrus, he also tentatively suggests that Egypt, as the producer of papyrus, is the most likely provenance of the text itself.⁷ But a composer of Latin poetry in Italy or Gaul could of course mention as many oriental spices as he wanted, and pantomime was performed all over the Roman empire, certainly as far to the south-west as Narbo and Arles in France. An *Alcestis* pantomime could certainly have been performed in the lively culture of southern Spain (there was probably a theatre at Barcelona, and certainly a beautiful amphitheatre at Tarraco). There is testimony to the pantomime dancers' rivals, itinerant star *tragōidoi*, visiting cities in Iberia.⁸ Yet there is, of course, no reason to insist that because the codex in which this *Alcestis* is included was discovered in Barcelona, the poem must have originated there. It could have been a famous libretto, of virtually any provenance, that did the rounds of all the Latin-speaking communities in which theatre flourished.

A second significant point is that we know that pantomimes on the theme of Admetus and *Alcestis* were familiar enough items in the repertoire of the ancient pantomime dancer to be mentioned by both Juvenal (6.652) and Lucian (*On Dancing* 52). That the *Alcestis* story enjoyed currency at the time of the Second Sophistic is repeatedly demonstrated by the way that it supplied an inspiration for anecdotes and motifs in the ancient novels;⁹ this literary presence may itself imply widespread familiarity with the myth through popular entertainment. The pantomime dancer and his librettists will have been reminded constantly of this myth, partly because of its ubiquity in ancient funerary arts (see above, p. 105), but also because *Alcestis* remained a popular figure within other media in the performance culture of later antiquity; indeed, a recently published Oxyrhynchus papyrus (*POxy.* 4546) contains the sole certain example of an ancient actor's speaking part in iambics, the lines attributed to Admetus at Euripides' *Alcestis* 344–82, but not those spoken by his interlocutors.¹⁰ This is clear evidence that Euripides' play—or at least scenes

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Philostratus, *Life of Apoll.* 5.9; see Hall (2002a), 36.

⁹ Schmidt (1981), 543; see also Tandoi (1984), 236 and Nosarti (1992), xix.

¹⁰ Marshall (2004); Hall (2006), 42–4.



Figure 12.1 Drawing of the painting of Admetus and Alcestis (seated left) in the Basilica, Herculaneum (Naples Archaeological Museum).

from it—was being performed in Roman imperial times. The popularity of the Alcestis myth amongst theatre-mad citizens of the Roman Empire is also confirmed by its appearance in wall-paintings at Herculaneum and Pompeii (see Fig. 12.1), and Pompeii was a magnet for pantomime stars and their accompanying troupes.¹¹

¹¹ See above, the Introduction, pp. 12–14 and Starks, above, pp. 130–7.

Thirdly, the myth is handled in a compressed and emotive way, concluding with Alcestis' death scene and not with her rescue or resurrection. This is exactly what we would imagine a librettist for pantomime to do with this 'pro-satyrical' and generically indeterminate drama of Euripides: he has turned it into a properly affecting tragedy.¹² He has also included a remarkable loving encounter between Admetus and Alcestis in their marital bed, followed by a prolonged death scene. It is worth considering this approach to the myth in terms of Lucian's *On Dancing*, our best ancient discussion of the material suited to pantomime libretti, from which certain clear principles emerge. The 'plots' (*hupotheseis*) of tragedy and pantomime are the same, but pantomime shapes the material to provide the crucial transformations of role, and takes a fresh and learned look at the familiar material (31 = T17). Pantomime is a display of 'characters and emotions' (*ēthous te kai pathous epideiktikē*, 35; see also the elaboration of the idea in 67 = T22), indeed very intense emotions, to the extent that the dancer needs to be careful not to get carried away through identifying excessively with the character (67 = T22, 83–4). According to Lucian, the stories the pantomime dancer should look to 'above all others' (*pro pantōn*, 59) are those involving erotic love; this dovetails with what is almost certainly a reference to pantomime in Ovid's memorable phrase about the theatre: 'there fabled lovers dance assiduously' (*illic adsidue ficti saltantur amantes*, *Rem. Am.* 755 = T5).

Lucian also insists that the viewer will be edified by watching stories which fill him with sorrow (*lupē*, 79). Dying on stage was one of the features of pantomime that most clearly distinguished it from classical tragedy, which tended to avoid it. An epigram by the Neronian poet Lucilius (*AP* 9.254 = T35) makes a particular point of the fact that a dancer, although dying convincingly as Niobe (who turned into stone) and Capaneus (who was struck by a thunderbolt attempting to scale the walls of Thebes), had wrecked the entire performance by omitting to kill himself, on stage, in the role of the

¹² Marcovich's general approach, which is addressed to literary sources and therefore emphasizes some slight similarities of expression between the Greek play and the Latin poem, seems to me to miss the important point, which is how very different the two treatments of the myth actually are.

suicidal Canace: 'you had a sword and yet you left the stage alive'.¹³ There is other ancient testimony to the popularity of death scenes in the medium (Libanius *Or.* 64.110). What is fascinating about the Barcelona *Alcestis* is the emotional point of the story related. The poem's climax and conclusion is the sorrowful death of Alcestis, and not, as in the Euripidean tragedy, her rescue and resurrection.

Fourthly, the metre is the one that, on the evidence of the Latin texts that we know were danced in pantomime—the *Aeneid* and Ovidian poems, including almost certainly the *Metamorphoses* (see Panayotakis and Ingleheart, Chs. 8 and 9 above)—we would predict would be used by a librettist. Moreover, the Barcelona *Alcestis* is composed in blocks of between seven and thirteen hexameters, corresponding with a series of individuals—Admetus, Apollo, Admetus' father, Admetus' mother, and Alcestis herself.¹⁴ This feature has led the poem to be identified as a text for declaiming, or a 'rhetorical exercise' in *ethopoea* (character-drawing through direct speech in the first person singular), with the addition of some third-person mythical narrative. One reason for this is that the poem shares its subject-matter with what does seem to be, relatively speaking, an inferior rhetorical exercise, *Alcesta*, which survives in the Codex Salmasianus in Paris.¹⁵ Others have dismissed the Barcelona poem as a 'cento' or proposed the generic label *epyllion*, and compared it with the *Hylas* and indeed the *Orestis Tragoedia* of the North African Christian poet Dracontius, although it is more consistently emotive and contains more concretely envisaged action and more emphatic rhythmical patterns.¹⁶ Some commentators have indeed been so struck by the Barcelona *Alcestis*' dramatic structure and large proportion of direct speech that (despite its major differences from Euripides' play) they have been induced to remark, without taking the observation any further, on how closely it resembles a miniature tragic drama.¹⁷

¹³ See also Palladas' poem in the Greek Anthology (11.255): Memphis 'of the snub nose' danced the roles of Daphne and Niobe—Daphne as if he were made of wood; Niobe as if he were made of stone.

¹⁴ The proper names of Admetus' parents are not used in this text, but their identity is clear from the terms 'genitor, 'genetrix' and 'mater'.

¹⁵ *Anth. Lat.* I, no. 15 in Riese (1894–1906).

¹⁶ The probable influence on Dracontius' narratives of pantomime aesthetics is noted by Bright (1987), 219–20. It is interesting that Dracontius' *Helen* is clearly divided into five scenes.

¹⁷ Schäublin (1984), 176.

Others have invented wholly new hybrid genres, such as Garzya's 'pastiche of mimetic elements and epyllion'.¹⁸

But the feature that is too often overlooked is also the most obvious one. The text consists of five 'monodramas' in succession, offering the expression of emotions and the imitation of the actions of Admetus, Apollo, Admetus' father, Admetus' mother, and Alcestis. In Lucian's precious anecdote about the reactions to pantomime evinced by the barbarian king from the Pontus, who pondered that one man would 'possess many souls' by using several masks, the number of masks specified is five (*On Dancing* 66). In the pantomime about the first generation of the accursed royal family of Argos described by Lucian, the dancer takes on four roles: Atreus, Thyestes, Aegisthus, and Aerope (*On Dancing* 67). Perhaps four roles was the minimum expected of a great dancer: an epigram by Crinagoras says that a story was shaped for the pantomime dancer Bathyllus so that it offered 'four roles, or more' (*tettarsi diaplsthenta prosōpois | muthon kai toutōn . . . epi pleiosin*, AP 9.542).

In the *Barcelona Alcestis*, with the exception of a brief section involving Admetus (see below), all five characters appear serially, express themselves (and in some cases act), and then disappear, without their physical presence overlapping with that of another character for any time whatsoever. This is reminiscent of Lucian's description of the pantomime dancer's ability to transform himself into serial roles during the same performance, and at speed (*On Dancing* 67 = T22):

Indeed, the most surprising aspect of it is that on the very same day we are shown at one point Athamas in a frenzy, at another the terror of Ino; the same person is later Atreus, a little later (*meta mikron*) Thyestes, then Aegisthus or Aerope. And all these are but a single man.

The structure of the *Barcelona Alcestis*, rather than being evidence that it is a typical 'cento' poem, or a mere rhetorical exercise that plays with a Euripidean prototype, therefore lends it with an ease unparalleled by any other ancient poem to a tentative pantomimic reconstruction.

¹⁸ Garzya (1985), 14.

The possibility of at least a relationship with pantomime, in terms of aesthetic influence upon the text and the popularity of the myth, was fleetingly noted as early as 1984.¹⁹ But in 1999 Olumpio Musso, Professor in the Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità at the University of Florence, became so intrigued by the theatricality of the text that he organized an experimental performance, in masks reconstructed along lines suggested by Pollux in his *Onomastikon*, by a student professionally trained as a dancer (Sara Cascione). The performance took place, in connection with Musso's undergraduate course on Greek and Roman theatre, on 17 June 1999. It has been described in some detail by Annalaura Burlando in an article published the following year.²⁰

Cascione danced to the accompaniment of a recording of the poem, rhythmically recited by Marco Leonardi in the original Latin hexameters, with musical accompaniment. According to Burlando, the performance riveted the attention of its late twentieth-century Florentine audience; but, as she sadly admits, rather than proving that the text was designed as a pantomime libretto, the success of the performance demonstrates only that the text lends itself to such a realization, and that the performance can be effective.²¹ Four years later, in 2003, Cascione made an audiovisual recording of a slightly different series of masked solo dances inspired by the text, choreographed and narrated by herself but danced by Chiara Fiaschi (see below, Figs. 12.2 and 12.3).²²

¹⁹ Tandoi (1984), 236. Sara Cascione informs me that the possibility of a connection with pantomime is accepted in the introduction to Salanitro (2007), which I have at the time of writing as yet been unable to see.

²⁰ Burlando (2000), 22–5. The experiment was conducted, coincidentally, at exactly the same time that I began, quite independently, to think about this text as one amongst several putative examples of ancient pantomime libretti when conducting the research for a study of singing in the ancient theatre, later published as Hall (2002a).

²¹ Burlando (2000), 25.

²² A copy of this is available at the APGRD. The two photographs reproduced here are derived from the 2003 performance for filming. The locations were the Roman Temple, Roman Theatre, and Etruscan Temple at Fiesole, and the Villa di Bivigliano. The music was composed by Davide Zannoni. I am extremely grateful to both Professor Musso and especially Sara Cascione for sending me the DVD and the photos and corresponding with me about the issues raised by the performances.

TEXT, PERFORMANCE AND ROLE CHANGE

The poem, which is printed in full with an English translation in the Appendix (T40), opens with an eleven-line prayer delivered by Admetus, in which he invokes Apollo. He asks the god to tell him when it is appointed that he will die, and presents the imparting of this information as a favour that Apollo owes him in return for the protection that he received when working as Admetus' shepherd (1–11). When Apollo now answers the prayer of Admetus, his news is bad: Admetus' death is imminent, unless he can persuade someone else to die in his place (11–20). During the next twenty-one hexameters Admetus, shattered at the news, goes home and lies down, prostrate with weeping, where his father finds him (21–42). In the next sequence, Admetus approaches his mother instead (42–70). In another abrupt transition, Alcestis, the selfless heroine of the piece, finally comes to the fore (71–125).

The most important question to arise, if this text is considered as a libretto for a pantomime, is when and how the mask changes might be effected. There are two equally plausible views. In one view, the dancer may have begun the piece as Admetus, subsequently changing at the end of line 11, between 21 and 31, at line 42, and the end of line 71, into the masks of Apollo, the father, the mother and Alcestis respectively. This would make a total of five different roles: a man, a god, another man, and two women. This the way in which Cascione interpreted the text in both performed realizations (see Fig. 12.2). Her reconstruction is entirely possible, but arguably leaves a slight anomaly in the form of the second chunk of direct speech attributed to Admetus at 26–31, even though a competent pantomime dancer could certainly have acted a father *reacting to* an address from a his son.

It is just as plausible that the star actor might not have taken the role of Admetus at all, but have taken just four roles while an assistant acted Admetus throughout. The pantomime assistants are well-attested features of the medium;²³ one may be depicted on the medallion from Orange reproduced above, as Fig. 0.1, p. 3. An

²³ See Jory (1998) and Hall (2002a), 29 on the use of the second actor—not necessarily a second dancing star—in pantomime.



Figure 12.2 Chiara Fiaschi as Admetus. Still from Sara Cascione's production of *Alcestis* (2003).

assistant playing Admetus throughout will have been required to kneel and lie on a couch, but these are not demanding positions to hold. He is the recipient of many of the sentiments, but is not himself represented as expressing himself after he approaches his father. If an assistant played Admetus, the star will have changed from his first role as the god Apollo (in whose role he performed lines 12–20), to the aged father (21–41), and the rhetorically flamboyant mother (43–70), before assuming the mask of Alcestis for her prolonged bedroom and death scenes. The *Alcestis* section is both emotionally and quantitatively the most substantial; it not only ends in death but constitutes more than fifty lines—not much less than half of the total poem (71–124).

We have no external information to help us reconstruct the identity of the scribe who copied the text of the *Alcestis* poem onto the papyrus found in the codex; he was, however, very bad at literary Latin and is therefore most unlikely to have been the original poet. In company with almost all the other ancient scribes who made

copies of the texts that had been used in the course of theatrical performances, he did not record or supply any stage directions, least of all relating to exits, entrances, the execution of actors' mask changes, or the provision and extent of musical interludes. In the absence of any such information, there can be no obligation upon the modern scholar to explain in minute detail exactly how the timings worked in the way that any theatrical text related to performance—whether it was a performance of tragedy, comedy, mime, or one of the concert recitals performed by *tragōidoi*. The fact that performance conventions were not recorded and are not always easy to envisage may not be used as an argument that any particular text was never enjoyed in performance.

In this poem, however, the points at which each of the several characters are associated with direct speech are helpfully marked by clear internal cues (the speakers are named or specified at 4, 12, 32, 47, and 72). If the poem was originally conceived as a pantomime libretto, or indeed ever realized as such in performance, then we are in the fortunate position of at least being able to reconstruct approximately when the changes of mask were executed.

One of the central attractions of the medium was that the same dancer's body represented, in the course of a single performance, entirely different types of body successively. Cassiodorus, Theoderic the Great's civil servant, nostalgic for the past glories of Roman imperial culture, wrote in the early sixth century, 'the very same body represents Hercules and Venus, a woman in a man, creates a king and a soldier, signifies an old man as well as a young one. One would think that there are many bodies in just the one, individuated by such a variegated form of imitation.'²⁴ Portable drapes (*siparia*) that could be positioned anywhere in the stage area for the use of actors—and perhaps facilitating mask change—are amongst the stage fittings listed on an inscription from the theatre at Thugga in Tunisia (*CIL* 8.26606). Yet the evidence does not allow us to be certain about the mechanics of role change in pantomime, and indeed practice may have varied widely across time and performance context.²⁵

²⁴ *Variarum Epistolae* 4.51.9 = T34.

²⁵ See the sensible remarks of Nicoll (1931), 132.

In large-scale productions, there may have been not only orchestral music but other types of dancer performing during the 'intervals', as Sargent suggests on the basis of an inscription which names the *embolaria* Sophe Theorobathylliana, who performed alongside Bathyllus.²⁶ Yet, as Wyles has argued above (pp. 68–77), the magical business of the star's actual transformations seems to have been part of the fascination of the medium, as is strongly suggested by the dancer proudly displaying his 'box of tricks' in the form of his mask collection on the 'Trier ivory' (see above, Fig. 2.1, p. 63). Certainly, in the first, continuously performed Italian experiment choreographed by Cascione (revived just once, in 2002), the dancer wore a neutral costume and simply changed mask and accessories visibly, without leaving the performance space. The objects themselves were part of the overall impact of the performance. It took well under sixty seconds to change masks and accessories, and for most of the transitions this period comfortably corresponded with the time which it took for the narrator to recite the Latin text between the scenes. A few bars' extra score music was simply supplied when the timing seemed tight.²⁷

CHOREOGRAPHIC COMMENTARY

This text, delivered by a choir or narrator, offers an opportunity for the dancer (or his assistant) to take up the position of Admetus, a man at prayer, perhaps kneeling. The imagined space is a shrine of Apollo. Admetus may mime an address to an imagined statue surrounded by laurel branches, or perhaps address the star dancer, standing extremely still in order to represent the statue (a trick that was a particular favourite in the pantomime dancer's repertoire).²⁸ Although it is nowhere near as suggestive of physical movement and gesture as much of the rest of the poem, even this opening prayer implies the possibility of physically pointing upwards to the breezes and the stars, and downwards to the Underworld. The last three lines

²⁶ *CIL* 10128; see Sargent (1996), 86.

²⁷ Personal communication from Sara Cascione, 17th May 2007.

²⁸ See above, pp. 78, 88–9 and below, pp. 334–6.

also offer a chance to express or indicate the contrasting emotions of terror and joy.

At this point, either the first mask change is effected, or (in my view more plausibly) the star dancer makes his entrance in the role of the god Apollo. He may have been standing still as a statue and now mysteriously 'comes to life', in order to accompany the singing of the choir or the narrator with the steps and gestures appropriate to the god. Perhaps he carries the traditional props of Apollo—a lyre or a bow. He has the opportunity to echo, in the manner appropriate to a divinity, Admetus' references to the gloomy world below and the bright daylight of the sky; the directive to seek out parents and children certainly invites gestures in a performance space of any size.

At 21, the imagined space becomes a private chamber, as Admetus is described fleeing to his couch (*toro*), which could be supplied as a single item of furniture, a prop that could be transformed later into his marriage bed and subsequently Alcestis' pyre.²⁹ If Admetus is played by the pantomime's assistant, this comfortably allows time for the star dancer to change into the mask of Admetus' father, before he arrives at 23–4 (*concurrit*). If there is only one dancer, then he will need, in the role of the ageing father, to react to his son's words as sung by the choir or narrator.

The physical potential of the role of Admetus' father (elsewhere known as Pheres) for the pantomimist is obvious, even intrusive. Marcovich, nonplussed, comments that 'a substitute sacrifice consisting of either a man's sight or of his right hand is puzzling', before speculating on the connection of the idea with mutilation as a punishment in criminal law.³⁰ But he does not even consider the possibility that the text is designed for a performance other than by a rhetorician. If, instead, the choice of diction is seen from the perspective of a dancer, a picture begins to emerge of the potential

²⁹ Oliver Taplin points out to me that there are a few examples of ornate couches in tragedy-related scenes in classical vase painting, including those portraying the stories of Euripidean heroines who featured later in pantomime (e.g. Phaedra and Canace: see Taplin (2007), nos. 39 and 56 on pp. 131–3 and 168–9). See especially the beautiful Apulian loutrophoros in Basel portraying Alcestis (S. 21), seated on a decorated couch, saying farewell to her husband and children, no. 31 in Taplin (2007), 110. The ornate couch could have been one of the elements of tragic performance practice absorbed into pantomime.

³⁰ Marcovich (1988), 49.

to impersonate a sightless individual, to point at the eyes, and to gesture with each hand consecutively. After all, the most important part of any pantomime's equipment was his eloquent hands: in his handbook of dream interpretation, Artemidorus says that it is a dangerous sign for such dancers (along with sailors and magicians) to dream of being deprived of their hands, 'because without them they can't work' (1.42). The remainder of the speech of the father (39–42), perhaps dancing around the coach, allows yet another development of the now established contrast between the darkness of death and the daylight enjoyed by the living.

The imagined space seems to change again, as Admetus is said to fly to his mother, perhaps conceived as being in another part of the same house. The mother's opening verses (46–52) create a different mood from that established by the father: her emotional range includes a violent degree of anger and grief unvisited by her milder mannered and less expansive husband. But these emotions are suggestive of physical movement. Recoiling from her son, who is not here supine but adopting the position of a suppliant (whether he is actually mimed by the assistant or merely an imagined presence created by the *responsive* mime movements of the star dancer as he performed the mother's role), she assumes the rhetorical position of a prosecutor rather than a defendant and upbraids him. The father had indicated his eyes and hands, but the mother gestures to her breasts and her womb in the traditional signals of aggrieved maternity (48–9). Childbirth itself seems to have been one of the somatic disturbances that pantomime dancers enjoyed representing,³¹ and the reference to it would allow a dancer a moment where he could perform the mother's recollection of childbirth with allusive movements and gestures.

The verses that accompany the mother's next section suggest the ways that a dancer could make use of a considerable amount of horizontal space; here he could represent the idea of flight to the ends of the earth, of ethnic alterity, and even the rebirth of the sacred Phoenix. The contrast between night and day, or darkness and light, is then introduced yet again, leading into the two groups of mythical

³¹ Attested titles include *Birth-Pangs of Leto* and *Canace*: see Hall (2006), 93 with nn. 100–1; AP 11.254; P. Knox (1995), 258.

exempla. Four divine figures who entered the Underworld—suggestive of downwards movements along what stage performers call the vertical axis—are cited, followed by five mythical mothers who killed their sons. Two of these are given strong and suggestive 'action' words—Agave *tore* her son to pieces, while Procne *wept* as she *collected* together the entrails of her son. The section concludes with a line consisting of four strong, present-tense words all meaning approximately 'they die', in emphatic asyndeton and (in the case of the last three) rhyming isoteleuton: *cedunt labuntur moriuntur contumulantur* (71).

In another transition, this time so abrupt that it is almost inexplicable in terms of ordinary expectations of narrative (as opposed to theatrical) verse, the dancer changes into the mask of a younger woman as the last of the individuals in *Alcestis*—the noble heroine—finally takes centre stage (71–125; see Fig. 12.3). Alcestis' section of the poem is by far the longest, and itself falls into three distinct parts: her speech to Admetus (73–103), her bedroom scene leading into her preparation of her funeral (104–16), and her actual demise (117–24). Mute performers in addition to Admetus *could* be included (but are



Figure 12.3 Chiara Fiaschi as Alcestis. Still from Sara Cascione's production of *Alcestis* (2003).

not necessary) to impersonate her children and the figure who plays the Hour of her death: that some of the itinerant pantomime troupes included women dancers is attested by epigraphy (see Starks above, pp. 110–45), and children may have been readily enough available as mute extras (see May below, pp. 349–50).

At the most obvious level, this climactic episode offers a range of different emotions and actions for a pantomime dancer. During Alcestis' address to Admetus (73–103), the images suggestive of danced mimesis proliferate: the Ferryman, the stroking of the urn containing her ashes, the garlanding of tombstones, the nightly visitations to the marital bed, references to childbirth, and the fantasy of an avenging maternal ghost. But it is the two following narrative sections (104–16, 117–24) where the proliferation of action words in the present tense begins to sound more like a series of choreographic directions and even prop descriptions than a straightforward narrative poem.

Alcestis begins lying beside her husband (on the same couch which had been used earlier), but arises to speak to her children, to put an ornamental coverlet on her bier (where the same couch could acquire a new function), to collect and arrange foliage and different unguents around it, and to *scrape, beat, and tear* various different plants after collecting them (113–15). At 116, she arranges for all the fragrant spices to be burnt with her: this fascinating line may in fact be a performance cue, directing those engaged in the entertainment to fill the performance space with scent: at the end of *The Judgement of Paris* ballet described in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, a saffron-coloured cloud is released through a spout, releasing 'a sweet odour' that reached everyone in the theatre (10.34). Moreover, Joseph of Sarugh's third *Homily on the Spectacles of the Theatre* berates the pantomime dancer because 'he mimes the stories of the gods, and burns perfume at the plays' (folio 11 verso b; T41 see below, p. 415).³²

Having been her own scenographer in creating and arranging her own bier, including the preparation and burning of perfumed spices,

³² On the complex cultural and spiritual associations of different scents in late paganism, and the part they played in the carving out of Christian identity, see the excellent study by Harvey (2006), esp. ch. 1.

the dancer playing Alcestis can then be imagined as lying down upon it to undergo the final process of dying. The gradual stiffness settling into her limbs, the inspection of fingernails, the increasing heaviness of her lower legs—these all represent stages in a death-dance that culminates in a touching embrace with Admetus (whether actually present in the form of the assistant, or only imagined through mime) as she finally expires.

In all of ancient literature the scene which provides the clearest and certainly the most famous parallel is the death of Dido in the fourth book of the *Aeneid*.³³ There are of course some fundamental differences between the two voluntary deaths in terms of both motive and method (Dido is angry as well as despairing, is attended by Anna and employs a priestess, whereas Alcestis is resigned to her sad fate and is attended only by her husband). But certain details in terms of the narrated action are remarkably similar. Dido builds her own pyre in the centre of her palace, piling up pine logs and ilex, hanging it with garlands and funeral branches (*Aen.* 4.504–7). There is a description of nightfall, with the appearance of the stars and sleep coming upon the animal world (522–8). There are several lines describing the actual death throes Dido undergoes (4.685–96), and the book concludes as the warmth of her body 'passed away and her life disappeared into the winds'.

In this *Alcestis* text as a whole, the emotional range includes despair, fear, anger, exhortation, boasting, and threat. The actions include supplication, rushing, collapsing and tossing on a bed, weeping, prostration at a mother's feet, marital embraces, pretending to be a ghost, collecting props for a bier, preparing spices, and gradually losing bodily sensations and consciousness. Implied props or objects highly suggestive to a skilled gesticulator include laurel branches, a couch, a tombstone, flowers, an urn, foliage, various spices and containers, and an embroidered coverlet. Body parts to which reference is made include hands (several times), eyes (several times), feet (twice), faces (several times) laps (twice), maternal breasts, faces (several times), entrails, and Alcestis' womb, fingernails and limbs.

³³ Marcovich (1988), 100, says that the dying Alcestis' characterization reveals a poet under 'the spell' of Virgil's Dido.

STYLE AND METRE

What stylistic features might we expect a pantomime libretto, designed as such *ab initio*, to display? Lucian recommends that the expert dancer learn to judge the aesthetic value of melodies and of poetry, and choose good examples, rejecting those that were poorly composed (*On Dancing* 74). Yet in practice, an industry with such a fast turnover must often have produced lacklustre merchandise: Seneca speaks with real derision of Silo, the son of one of his literary associates, who 'abandoned and defiled his great talent' (*ingenium grande non tantum deseruit sed polluit*) by writing 'stories for dancing' (*fabulae salticae*, *Suas.* 2.19). Even more illuminating are the words of Sidonius in a letter he sent to accompany a poem he had written for his own friend Lampridius in 478 BC (*Epistles* 8.9.5), where he refers to the importance of performance by an interesting comparison with the mediocre texts so beautifully sung by the pantomime choirs:

... a piece which you only read and cannot hear recited is robbed of all the advantage which delivery by the author lends it. His manuscript once dispatched, the most musical of poets has no further resource; distance does not allow him to do for himself what pantomime choruses do by their accompaniment—make bad verse acceptable by dint of fine delivery [*quod solent chori pantomimorum, qui bono cantu male dictata commendant*].

'Poor poetry shown off to greatest advantage by the fine delivery by the choir': this could, in practice, prove a useful working definition of the ancient pantomime libretto, although it is not a very scientific one. When Libanius is defending the songs sung in pantomime, he admits that they are not of the standard one would require from a Sappho or an Anacreon. But what is the crime in that, he asks? In an image informed by his conviction that pantomime was culture rightly made accessible to the masses, he suggests that comparing the works of poetic geniuses with the ordinary verses sung in pantomime is as futile as comparing aristocrats with baggage-carriers (*Or.* 64.87).

Yet the views of neither Sidonius nor Libanius provide us with any hard information about the style and content of the songs. In terms of discourse analysis and speech genres, what sort of narrative and

speech acts would be most appealing to a dancer? Long ago, in his pathbreaking 1834 treatise on pantomime, the Cologne philologist Carl Grysar suggested that it would be logical to suppose that pantomime libretti contained high proportions of direct speech in the first person singular, allowing each character impersonated by the dancer to express his or her emotions: indeed, in the pantomime about the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite described by Lucian (*On Dancing* 63 = T19), there would have been a series of situations expressed through 'Monologen'.³⁴ Grysar believed that the Latin term *canticum*, also used of the songs sung by the tragic singers, implies the form of a monologue. His notion was influential in the nineteenth century,³⁵ and has been adopted enthusiastically by Sargent, in order to support her argument that the verse monologues constituted by Ovid's *Heroides* were inherently suited to pantomime realization.³⁶ But other sources of evidence imply that first-person narrative, with a density of action verbs in the active voice, would also make an ideal text for a pantomime dancer to bring to life with movement and gesture. The perfect text for portraying both *ēthos* and *pathos* through dance might well offer both monologues in *oratio recta* and action narrative of the type that may be echoed in the very diction of the famous poem in the *Latin Anthology* which describes the pantomime dancer in a punchy sequence of active verbs, without connecting particles: *pugnat, ludit, amat, bacchatur, vertitur, adstat; | inlustrat verum, cuncta decore replet* ('He fights, he plays, he loves, he revels, he recasts himself, he stands still, he illuminates the truth, and imbues everything with grace').³⁷

What, however, should form the subject-matter of the monologues and action narratives? Here the very *concrete* nature of the material in the *Alcestis* papyrus becomes a significant factor. There are very few abstract ideas in the poem, as opposed to material objects or bodily sensations; moreover, those abstractions that there are tend to be expressed, through circumlocution, in concrete terms that could be represented with gesture and movement. Destiny is envisaged as

³⁴ Grysar (1834), 56.

³⁵ See e.g. Boissier (1861), 335, who describes pantomime as 'a series of *cantica*'.

³⁶ Sargent (1996), 89–90.

³⁷ Shackleton Bailey (1982), no. 100.7–8 = T38.

sisters who break threads of fate (4); the process of dying is described as a spirit going into the starry breezes (6); becoming a herdsman is expressed as going forth to raise woodland cries (10–11); when Alcestis talks about death, the Ferryman is imagined bearing her away 'in a black robe' (82), which could scarcely be more suggestive given what Fronto says about the pantomime dancer's versatile cloak (see above, p. 75).

This insistent preference for imagining abstractions in concrete terms is reminiscent of Quintilian's contrast between what is expected of the orator and of the dancer (11.3.88–9 = T10)

The gestures of which I have been speaking all appear to be natural concomitants of *words*. There are others however which express *things* by mimicry. For example, you can suggest a sick man by imitating a doctor feeling the pulse, or a lyre-player by shaping your hands as if you were stroking the strings. (89) You should refrain altogether from such things in pleading. An orator has to be *very different from a dancer* [*Abesse enim plurimum a saltatore debet orator*]; he must adapt his Gesture to his sense more than to his words—which indeed was the practice of *the more serious actors too* [*quod etiam histrionibus paulo gravioribus facere moris fuit*].³⁸

Here we learn that the pulse-taking doctor and the curling-handed citharist were examples of the stylized, mimetic language of the body that was associated with the *saltator*-actor (i.e. the pantomime dancer) as opposed both to 'serious' orators and to the traditional actors of spoken tragedy. These men used gesture to express the overall 'sense' of what they were saying—which, presumably, could be highly abstract, ethical or philosophical argumentation. But it is the habit of the newer *histriones* to imitate not ideas, but *things*. Quintilian, importantly, develops the distinction (11.3.89): it is legitimate for the orator to point to himself or towards another person, but not 'to mime attitudes and make a visual display of whatever he says' (*ita non effingere status quosdam et quidquid dicet ostendere*). We can infer that a libretto that was helpful to a pantomime dancer would supply numerous concrete 'things', attitudes, and precise actions—pulse-taking, lyre-strumming—that could form 'a visual display of whatever' was being uttered by the choir or narrator.

³⁸ Translation by Russell (2001). For a wide-ranging discussion of the uses to which Quintilian puts comparisons of the orator with the pantomime dancer, see Montiglio (1999).

Yet a poem designed for danced realisation would ideally attempt to offer rhythmical and aural features suggestive for the dancer 'of tragic rhythmical movement', who performed to the accompaniment of an insistent percussive rhythm (see above, Introduction, pp. 26–8). The Barcelona *Alcestis* is indeed stylistically noteworthy, as has been remarked by every commentator since its first publication. It does contain many clear echoes of allusions to famous poems in Augustan or Silver Latin: the most dominant influences are the poets Virgil, Ovid (in his *Metamorphoses*), and Statius,³⁹ who all, as it happens, wrote texts that were danced in pantomime. The poem's most pronounced idiosyncrasies are isocolon, anaphora, use of the same verb in different moods and tenses (e.g. *tuam concedere lucem* (31), *concedam* (33), *concessissem* (41), *vitam concedere vellem* (51), *concedo* (73), and *docuere... edocuit* at 27–8); the use of 'heavy' five-syllable words for emphasis (e.g. *concessissem* (41, in the father's mouth), *contumulantur* (71, in the mother's mouth), *soporifero* (105) and *corripiebat* (papyrus reading *diripiebat*, 118)—both (perhaps significantly) within narrative relating Alcestis' actions. All these features would work well with the regular beat of a clacking *scabellum*.

So would the heavy alliteration in the rhetorical sequences, especially of 't' and 's' sounds (*tu scelerate... | tu tumulis*, 47–8, see also 72 and 63, *Cererem Veneremque*). Alcestis has a striking string of alliterative effects in her rhesis with c-, u-, m-, p-, and l- sounds.⁴⁰ There are also many rhetorical questions (see 8, 37, 47–51, 53, 64–5) and future participles connected with death, especially the repeated *moritura*. Another striking feature with interesting potential for a rhythmic dancer is rhyme through serial perfect infinitives, with the *-isse* ending providing rhyming isoteleuta, above all the mother's string *abisse | ... obisse | ... perisse | ... subisse* at the ends of four consecutive lines (60–3), placed in order to stress her point that even divinities—a whole series of them—have had to go to the Underworld. Isoteleuton rhyme is also marked, especially at 106–7, where Alcestis both lay beside her husband (*iacebat*) and looked at him (*videbat*). A comparable feature is similar wording in the same position in a line

³⁹ See the verbal parallels collected by Nosarti (1992), xxxi–xxxiii.

⁴⁰ Marcovich (1988), 74.

with very slight variation, for example at lines 91–2, which end *ne desera a te* and *desero pro te* respectively.

Metrically speaking, there are five extremely ‘slow’ lines in the poem, with spondees in the first four feet. They are all closely related to the theme of death, suggesting a use of dance rhythm that formed coherent thematic patterns across the whole poem. The first is Admetus’ question about his own death (5, *Quae finis vitae, quid mi post fata relinquant*); the second is the sole tender sentiment that the mother expresses to Admetus, when she says she would give her life if she could be sure he would live forever (52). The other three occur at 114, 116, and 122, which are all within the final narrative of Alcestis’ demise, and thus ‘may well reflect the slow process of Alcestis’ dying.’⁴¹ The connection with death was perhaps represented by the long, slow steps taken by the dancer if the principle of dancing to dactylic hexameters worked to the accompaniment of Latin verse in the same way as it seems to have done in relation to Greek.⁴²

It can safely be assumed, however, that the ancient dancers will have been no more interested in artistic patterns that connect the whole display than in the precise relationship of fairly short groups of rhythmical beats to their own steps and gestures. From this perspective, it is striking how marked a tendency there is towards dividing the hexameter into two short, distinct cola,⁴³ and to the avoidance of enjambment (almost) altogether. There is no doubt that metrical experts are generally correct when they assert that, in a poetic medium designed only to be heard, the effect of a long succession of end-stopped lines can be monotonous. The most distinguished poets tried to avoid this danger through enjambment. Of all Virgil’s hexameters, for example, at least 40 per cent are ‘overflow’ lines where the sense runs into the next line.⁴⁴ Yet in the Barcelona *Alcestis*, almost all the sentences are brought to a close at the end of a hexameter line. Moreover, the poet has a particular penchant for sentences consisting of two hexameters (e.g. 1–2, 3–4, 5–6). We find one emphatic break mid-line at 42, and this is when the father

⁴¹ Marcovich (1988), 94.

⁴² On the principle of the correspondence of one syllable to one step in dancing to the Greek dactylic hexameter see the detailed discussion of David (2006), 227–36.

⁴³ Nosarti (1992), xxxix.

⁴⁴ Cooper (1952), 26.

finishes and the narrative describing how Admetus turns to his mother begins, perhaps creating a sense of the son's conception of his parents as a closely united pair. The mother, though, does have a tendency, with her earlier rhetorical questions, to finish them at caesura (48, 50) or even later in the line (52), but otherwise her section is also emphatically end-stopped throughout.

Alcestis, on the other hand, has a more complicated relationship between sentence end and hexameter end, but only in her opening thirteen lines of speech, where the end of a sentence, on the first four and on the sixth occasions, very conspicuously does *not* correspond with the end of a line. But after this jerky opening, her section, too, settles down into self-contained groups of 1, 2, or 3 hexameters, while in 112–16, where the serial actions of spice preparation are described, there is on one occasion a sentence consisting of four complete hexameters.

The variety creating the staccato effect in the opening of Alcestis' speech is aesthetically significant. It shows beyond all doubt that this poet was quite capable of avoiding end-stop. Giving Alcestis enjambment when he does (see also above, Ingleheart pp. 000–00) might be connected with the fact that this role was the most important of all those in the poem. Moreover, the overwhelming predominance of short sentences consisting of completed hexameters therefore *must* be seen as an aesthetic decision rather than a sign of clunking technical maladroitness. If one thinks in terms of a choir singing songs of a type that were known to be catchy, and a dancer creating 'rhythmical movement' that corresponded rather precisely to the rhythm of the words, pointed up with a loud percussion instrument, the effect of this poet's technique looks more like a decidedly competent craftsman in theatrical verse fulfilling a specific commission.

Quintilian, once again, may prove a helpful commentator, since traits that he dislikes in the orator seem often to be associated in his mind with the art of the pantomime dancer. He is emphatic that he does not like the Greek orators' habit of using both hands to shape their rounded enthymemes with a gesture, marking every phrase (11.3.102). He dislikes it intensely if an orator's gestures are too tightly synchronized with the rhythm of the words; some students, he scoffs, actually compose sentences to fit the way in which the hand

is to fall (11.3.109). Perhaps these two prohibitions reflect techniques that more 'vulgar' orators had picked up precisely from their appreciation of the marriage of physical movement to metrical verse that they had seen in the dancers of pantomime. 'Compose your sentences to fit the way in which the hand is to fall' would, after all, make a perfect instruction to a pantomime librettist.

CONCLUSION

It is impossible to prove either that the Barcelona *Alcestis* was composed as a pantomime libretto, or that it was ever performed as one, at least until 1999. But I hope to have shown that it is in any case a helpful and illuminating document to think with, when we are considering the type of poetry that an ancient pantomime dancer would have found suitable to realize in his art form. He was, after all, 'an actor of tragic rhythmical movement', who could impersonate the actions and speeches of a series of different individuals in varied emotional states. And thinking about this is surely essential if we are to get in touch with the aesthetic life of the inhabitants of the Roman empire, and the way that many of them will have consumed—even if not this particular papyrus text or the Senecan passages discussed by Zimmermann and Zanobi in this volume—the poetry of Virgil or Ovid, or the *Agave* pantomime of the imperial epic poet Statius. Given the extraordinary popularity of pantomime across the theatres of the Roman empire, perhaps the onus should not be on those trying to prove that any particular chunk of danceable Latin narrative poetry *was* ever performed by a pantomime artist, but on those who want to prove that it *wasn't*.

III

The Idea of the Pantomime Dancer

Was Pantomime ‘good to think with’ in the Ancient World?

Ismene Lada-Richards

My starting point is a paradox. For the greatest part of pantomime’s traceable history, socio-political elites not only embraced the genre and graced its performers with gifts and honours but, most importantly, used the dancer as a crucial asset in their own agonistic or other performative events: the star pantomime’s well-documented ability to throw vast crowds into raptures was easily convertible into political and economic capital as well as social prestige for a festival organizer or civic benefactor.¹ Moreover, *pantomania* was not the exclusive vice of the mindless. Base-born, aristocrats, and even emperors and empresses alike were wholly infatuated with star dancers. But, while the reality of elite lived experience proved enthusiastic (or, to say the least, tolerant) towards pantomimes, our story changes dramatically if we think of the elite not in its ‘state of being’, but in its state of ‘*being perceived*’²—crucially, being perceived by itself: it is first and foremost the elite as it liked to *think* of itself and as it emerges from its own strategies of textual self-presentation that registers itself as the bitterest opponent to pantomime dancing. Whenever the politically dominant classes chose to redraft themselves as intellectual nobility, they also tended to reinvent themselves as over-jealous guardians of cultural boundaries and arbiters of cultural authenticity, and liked to invest themselves with the power

¹ See Lada-Richards (2007), 61–3.

² For the distinction, see Bourdieu (1984), 483.

to pronounce definitive judgements on the value of different cultural expressions. Faced with pantomime in their own cultural backyards, they fenced themselves in. *Go away—we want nothing to do with you; you are not one of us; we're shut tight.*

And yet they were not exactly 'shut tight'. Not really. They calumniated pantomime as fiercely as they could but, insofar as they neither expelled it from their line of vision nor made the dancer untraceable by their cultural antennae, they did not make the cut clean, though they could easily have done so. Instead of turning the performer into a total cultural 'outlaw', they chose to weave both him and his accursed genre into their own discourses, turn them both into significant players in their own cultural territory: despite the overall shortage of sources on pantomime dancing, it is startling how many times pantomimes come out of the woodwork, as it were, in places and contexts where we least expect to find them. The central question, then, that this chapter seeks to address can be formulated thus: what makes elite writers bother with an art which in their own exercises in cultural mapping fares so badly, being deemed disputed ground at best, a threat of large-scale pollution and degeneration at worst? To put it in another way, why was pantomime so 'good to think with' in the 'symbolic economy' of the empire? After successive glances at pantomime's implication in the elite terrain of rhetoric in the first section and its relative position in the heterogeneous entertainment culture of the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic world (second section), the third section attempts to puzzle out the most striking case of intellectual complicity between the 'technologies' of high culture and the pantomime's art, namely Lucian's little dialogue *De Saltatione* (*On Dancing*), an undervalued gem in the Greek literature of the imperial era. My final section will take us to the single real-life battlefield where talented pantomimes and a relatively small but prominent section of the upper classes collided in 'contests' whose prizes were no more and no less than an even greater share in the kind of fame and power that a public performance could bestow on individual agents. A visit to such highways of imperial culture, *prima facie* completely unconnected with the pantomime experience, will demonstrate that, despite its persistent attempts to sequester itself from pantomime, high culture became oddly saturated by it. While the genre's influence was immediately obvious in the case of

those who were sexually attracted to the dancer's undulating limbs, this same influence was much more subtle in the case of the intellectual elites who came in direct contact (and confrontation!) with the dancer's formidable appeal. For pantomime spawned a promiscuous intermingling of high and low culture, its most active cultural progeny being the brilliant but maverick elite show-speaker, mostly to be found among the ranks of those whom Philostratus deemed (or would have deemed) as 'sophists'. In all cases, it will, I hope, be clear that pantomime was not a minor player in the cultural ferments that shaped the imperial world, but provided a dynamic site for a multiplicity of intellectual and socio-cultural debates.

PANTOMIME DANCER OR THE ORATOR'S 'BLACK DOUBLE'

My first stop will be the domain of Rhetoric, whence the pantomime seems to be categorically expelled. The fashion of producing 'the rhythms of stage-dancing' in one's speech not only 'does not befit an orator' but is 'scarcely worthy of a man', declares Messalla in Tacitus' *Dialogue on Orators*, legislating thus on the mutual exclusiveness of a declaiming and a dancing body.³ Insofar as stage mimicry in general must be kept at the farthest possible distance in pleading (Quintilian, *Inst.* 11.3.88),⁴ 'the orator must be as far removed from the dancer as possible' (*Abesse enim plurimum a saltatore debet orator*) (Quintilian,

³ See Tacitus, *Dial.* 26.2: *neque enim oratorius iste, immo hercule ne virilis quidem cultus est quo plerique temporum nostrorum actores ita utuntur ut lascivia verborum et levitate sententiarum et licentia compositionis histrionales modos exprimant.* ('They make it their aim, by wantonness of language, by shallow-pated conceits and by irregular arrangement, to produce the rhythms of stage-dancing.' Trans. Peterson (1970)). In *Dial.* 26.3, moreover, Messalla declares himself appalled at many of his contemporaries' boast that 'their speeches can be sung and danced to' (*cantari saltarique commentarios suos*), as though that were a mark of 'praise', 'fame' and 'genius'. More generally, on the incompatibility of manly rhetoric with effeminate bodies, fit only for the lubricious study of singing and dancing, see Seneca the Elder, *Con.* 1, *Praef.* 8–10.

⁴ The kind of unacceptable mimicry Quintilian mentions by way of an example in *Inst.* 11.3.88 = T10 (indicating a sick man by imitating the doctor's feeling of the pulse or a lyre-player by shaping the hands as if they were plucking the strings) is the kind of gestural language we can plausibly imagine a pantomime (and, primarily, a

Inst. 11. 3. 89 = T10). *You're not welcome here*, is the bottom-line message. Yet Quintilian himself is in no haste to dispense with this unwanted interloper, for over and above complete erasure, the chance to control excess and deviance offers infinitely better opportunities for the subject's own self-definition. In other words, Quintilian needs the pantomime to remain right there, *within* his line of vision, not only because the correct dose (no more than a speck!) of dancing elegance can be even beneficial for his speaker,⁵ but, most importantly, because the pantomime's excesses in bodily eloquence will make it easier for him to construct (and police) the kind of eloquence he envisages for his own brand of perfect rhetoric.

Whenever we take a walk along the edges of rhetorical legitimacy, we stumble on the pantomime's body (together with that of the stage-actor, the woman, and the slave, to be sure).⁶ Cross that line where the dancer dwells, assimilate yourself in the tiniest respect to that bodily landmark that is the dancer's locomotion, and you turn yourself into an abomination, an exemplary hybrid that can tell others a cautionary tale about the dreaded, impermissible boundary. So it happened, we are told, with Quintus Hortensius, a foremost orator derided many a time on account of his lively, histrionic gestures, until one day Lucius Torquatus, one of his detractors, called him not just a *histrion* (actor? pantomime?), but a female exponent of gestural narrative (*gesticularia*) by the name of Dionysia (*Dionysiamque*), apparently a famous *saltatricula*—a dancing girl (Aulus Gellius, *NA* 1.5.3).⁷ Similarly, for Aelius Aristides, rhetorical transgression places its practitioners beyond the pale, where legitimate, manly speech melds with the turning-and-twisting of female pantomimes

mime) employing (see above, Hall, Ch. 12, pp. 278–9). It is perfectly conceivable that dancers impersonating, say, Apollo, would signal to the audience the god's identity by miming the action of lyre-playing (as the 20th-cent. choreographer George Balanchine did, in his *Apollo*).

⁵ Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.11.19, in particular, speaks volumes on the tense relationship between oratory and pantomime dancing.

⁶ On the thin (sometimes invisible) and multiply problematic boundary between rhetoric and the stage, see the most inspiring discussions of Gleason (1995); Richlin (1997); Connolly (1998); Gunderson (1998) and (2000); Fantham (2002).

⁷ Among the many discussions of Aulus Gellius' story, see above esp. Edwards (1993), 97; Gunderson (2000), 127–32; and the chapters by Starks (Ch. 4) and Panayotakis (Ch. 8). On the question of whether we should translate the term *saltatrix* as 'female dancer' or as 'pantomime', see Webb (2002), esp. 284–7. Although Dionysia's period of fame (c.76–62 BC; see Garton (1972), 249) antedates the formal

(*orchēstrides*) (*Or.* 34. 23). For the eminent second-century AD Greek sophist, the direct equivalence of the dancer's fluid, masterless body to that of a wayward declaimer is fittingly encapsulated in the memorable metaphor that fixes degenerate speakers in the act of 'dancing out' (*exorcheisthai*) the secrets of their hallowed profession.⁸

Is pantomime any 'good to think with', then? By all means 'yes'. It gives a name and a shape to that furthest outpost beyond which rhetoric degenerates into another kind of discourse, lowly theatricalized mimicry or even the sensual, lascivious tropes prevalent in body idioms which are characteristically female. The body that elite narratives (albeit not exclusively polemical) attribute to the pantomime lies at the antipodes of the strictly disciplined body of the good (male) speaker. Multiple and metamorphic,⁹ unbridled and incontinent, 'sinewless'¹⁰ and 'soft',¹¹ 'broken' and 'fragmented',¹²

emergence of pantomime as a separate genre in Rome, the story is still relevant to our discussion for, by Gellius' own time (2nd cent. AD), the dance vs oratory polarity has been thoroughly reconfigured as an antagonism between oratory/declamation and pantomime dancing (cf. below, Section 4).

⁸ *Exorcheisthai* literally means to burlesque or vulgarize through mimetic dancing what is supposed to be kept secret (cf. Lucian, *On Dancing*. 15). In Aristides' speech, *exorcheisthai* (see esp. 61) refers to the burlesquing of the mysteries of rhetoric (on which, see Korenjak (2000), 214–19).

⁹ The pantomime dancer 'takes his name [*panto-mimos*] from multifarious imitation (*a multifaria imitatione nomen est*, Cassiodorus, *Var.* 4.51.9 = T39); he 'fashions himself into everything by means of the dance' (Plotinus, *Enneads* 6.1.27) and imitates the legendary Proteus (Lucian, *On Dancing* 19 = T16); see also Lucian, *On Dancing* 67 = T22; Libanius, *Or.* 64.117 = T29; Aristainetus, *Ep.* 1.26, 11–12, quoted in full by Starks above, p. 111.

¹⁰ See e.g. Cyprian, *Don.* 8 (*enervati corporis*); Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 6.20.29 (*enervata corpora*); Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 37.12 (*enervis histrio*). Crucially, the connotations are also sexual, since *nervus*, literally 'sinew', 'tendon', is Latin slang for 'penis', so that *enervare* can also mean 'castrate'; see Adams (1982), 38.

¹¹ The pantomime's body, trained by professionals who aim to make it 'utterly soft' (*katamalattein*; see John Chrysostom, *PG* 49.195), is 'softened up to a feminine gait and carriage' (*in muliebrem incessum habitumque mollita*) (Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 6.20.29), with the pantomime himself presented as the epitome of foppishness (see John Chrysostom, *PG* 59.119–20). Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 6.63 = T12; Firmicius Maternus, *Mathesis* 6.31.39; Novatian, *Spect.* 6.6; Hieronymus, *Dial. Adv. Pel.* 3.12.24; Ambrosius, *Ep.* 1.58.5 (*PL* 16.1179); John Chrysostom, *PG* 57.427, 58.489; Maximus of Turin, *PL* 57.257. John Chrysostom even uses the adjective *malakos* (soft) as a shorthand for pantomimes (e.g. *PG* 51.211, 62.386). On *mollitia* as a marker of effeminacy in Roman socio-cultural discourses, see esp. (amid a large bibliography) Edwards (1993), 63–97 (and *passim*).

¹² In the Greek sources, this is mostly expressed with compounds of the verb *κλάω*, i.e. 'break' or 'break off'. See e.g. Lucian, *On Dancing* 5; Tatian, *Or. ad Graecos* 22.7;

fluid,¹³ bending,¹⁴ sinuous,¹⁵ and luxuriously adorned,¹⁶ the pantomime functions as the inverse image or 'black double' of the body owned (or ideally owned) by a well-trained elite youth: virile and upright (no unmanly softness in the neck!), 'bounded by lines of decorum defining, constraining, and restraining' it at all times,¹⁷ resplendent without ostentation, always true to itself, and unfailingly integrate. Having forfeited the vigour and the nerve of manly nature,¹⁸ the brawny and erect carriage of a man, the pantomime is good to bear in mind because he incarnates (or is made to incarnate) the very faults a budding speaker is taught day in and day out to eradicate—his is the body that belongs to the *degenerate*, the *lapsed* orator.

Moreover, if 'style' has its own body, bad style can be said to have a pantomime's body. Insofar as transgressive eloquence can be conceptualized as 'broken'¹⁹ and 'soft',²⁰ 'delicate and flowing' (*tenera et*

Gregory of Nazianzus, *C.* 2.2.8, 92 (PG 37.1583); Libanius, *Or.* 64.60; Procopius of Gaza, *Panegyricus in Imp. Anastasium* (PG 87 [3] 2815, 16). Latin narratives refer to the pantomime's body most commonly with forms of *frangere*, 'to break into pieces', 'shatter'; e.g. Cyprian, *Don.* 8 (quoted below, n. 18) and *Ep.* 2.2.1; Novatian, *Spect.* 6.6; Hieronymus, *Ep.* 43.2, 79.9.

¹³ Terms denoting 'wateriness' (*ύγρός*, *ύγρομελής*, *έξυγραινόμενος*, *ύγρότης*, *ύγρώς*) belong to the semantics of pantomime dancing; see e.g. Pollux, *Onom.* 4.96–8; Lucian, *On Dancing* 19 and 73. In Libanius, *Or.* 64.104 the pantomime's hands and feet follow the rest of his body as if they were made of wax.

¹⁴ *Αυγίζειν* (to bend or twist like a withe) and *λύγισμα* or *λυγισμός* (sinuous bend, twist) are 'technical' terms in descriptions of the pantomime's locomotion. See e.g. Lucian, *On Dancing* 77; Tatian, *Or. ad Graecos* 22.7; Philostratus, *VA* 4.21; Pollux, *Onom.* 4.97–8 (*lugizein*, *lugismos*, *lugistikon* in a section pertinent to pantomime dancing); Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 21.12 (PG 35.1093).

¹⁵ Note, in particular, the use of the verb *sinuare*, i.e. 'bend', 'wind', 'move in sinuous curves', as in e.g. Ambrosius, *Ep.* 1.58.5 (PL 16.1179): *sinuare gestus*.

¹⁶ On the dancer's dress, see Wyles above, Ch. 2 and Jory (1996), 5.

¹⁷ Gunderson (2000), 78.

¹⁸ The full spectrum of the pantomimic body's deviance is nicely encapsulated in Cyprian, *Don.* 8: *evirantur mares, honor omnis et vigor sexus enervati corporis dedecore mollitur plusque illic placet, quisque virum in feminam magis fregerit* ('men are emasculated, the entire honour and vigour of the male gender melts because of the dishonour of a sinewless body, and whoever goes to greater lengths in order to break down virility into womanishness gives the greatest pleasure in that matter').

¹⁹ See e.g. Tacitus, *Dial.* 39.2; Seneca, *Ep.* 114.1; Seneca the Elder, *Suas.* 2.23 and *Suas.* 7.12. On the connotations of effeminacy accompanying the words 'broken'/'break' (*fractus*, *infractus*, *frangere*; Greek *keklasthenos*) in ancient rhetorical criticism, see Gleason (1995), 112.

²⁰ See e.g. Seneca the Elder, *Con.* 2, *Praef.* 1.

fluxa) (Seneca, *Ep.* 114.21), 'translucent' (*translucida... elocutio*) (Quintilian, *Inst.* 8, *Praef.* 20), 'loose',²¹ 'lascivious' and 'effeminate',²² 'sinewless' and 'jointless',²³ and, in a word, opposed to a 'straightforward speech' (*sermo rectus*) (Quintilian, *Inst.* 2.5.11), the pantomime's wayward corporeal narrative becomes the perfect metaphor for the depraved orator's expressive tropes. Thus, for Quintilian (*Inst.* 9.4.142), many an orator's *compositio* is despicably effeminate and enervated (*compositionem... effeminatam et enervem*), the kind of style that 'dances' (*saltat*) to the 'most lascivious rhythms' (*lascivissimis... modis*) of castanets.²⁴ The pantomime's body, then, is fashioned as coterminous with the unruly rhetor's body, just as bad oratorical style, whose most prominent 'corporeal' signs are fragmentation, sinewlessness and dissolution, is also imagined as coterminous with the pantomime's body.²⁵

Insofar as it fleshes out, then, the 'unauthorized', 'illegitimate' performance against which the good orator can and must define his own laudable *eloquentia corporis*,²⁶ pantomime is spectacularly 'good to think with' in the fold of imperial educational discourses.

²¹ See e.g. Seneca, *Ep.* 114.4; [Anon.] *Rhet. Ad Heren.* 4.11.16.

²² See e.g. Quintilian, *Inst.* 4.2.39, on orators who 'behave wantonly' (*lasciviunt*) in theme, words, composition and corporeal mannerisms alike; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 114.2, on the 'wantonness' (*lascivia*) of public orations. In Quintilian, *Inst.* 2.5.10 bad speeches can be full of 'lascivious, effeminate' (*lascivia effeminata*) expressions.

²³ See e.g. [Anon.] *Rhet. ad Heren.* 4.11.16, on the style that is 'without sinews and joints' (*sine nervis et articulis*), flowing hither and thither (*fluctuat huc et illuc*), and unable to proceed with sufficient virility.

²⁴ Cf. Longinus, *Subl.* 41.1–2, venturing on an open parallelism between the 'broken', effeminate and hurried style in rhetoric and the usual rhythms of dancing (*orchēstikon*).

²⁵ It must nevertheless be noted that the disquieting partnership of 'pantomimic' and rhetorical styles antedates pantomime's meteoric rise. For example, some of the pantomime's most frequently lambasted bodily sins are matched by Cicero's perceived offences of style—according to his detractors, Cicero was 'loose and sinewless' (*solutum et enervem*, a criticism attributed to Calvus) or, in Brutus' words, 'broken and loose in the loins' (*fractum atque elumbem*) (Tacitus, *Dial.* 18.4–5). In Quintilian's version (*Inst.* 12.10.12), contemporary criticism saw Cicero as 'broken (*fractum*) in his composition' and 'almost... softer (*mollitiorem*) than a man'. Cf. Richlin (1997), 107.

²⁶ See Gunderson (2000), 133, who understands the orator's body as 'set against other, unauthorized bodies'.

‘OTHERING THE DANCE’: PANTOMIME AND THE
‘LEGITIMATE’ ENTERTAINMENTS OF THE
CULTURAL ELITES

Pantomime was not undiluted ‘high’ culture (and in all probability it never pretended to be it either). Relying almost entirely on the body, with its carnal, biological, all too sensual means of expression, it was always unavoidably rooted in the terrain of the low and the popular (especially given the well-documented contempt of some elite circles for all body matters). To believe, however, that it was an entirely hopeless aspirant to cultural authority and a complete ‘write-off’ with respect to the regions of the mind (the pastime of the brainless, the immoderate, the effeminate and the insane—in a word, those unworthy of the status of free men)²⁷ is tantamount to falling into the trap so artfully set by some of our sources, namely the image of a genre justifiably expelled to the incoherent subculture of the imperial world.

Of all the genres under the rubric of corporeal entertainment, pantomime came closest (sometimes disquietingly close) to up-market cultural domains, its foremost claim to cultural legitimacy being its shared subject-matter with the venerable genre of tragedy, an affiliation objectively affirmed in the official titles accorded to the genre and the artist: *τραγική (ἔνρυθμος) κ(ε)ίνησις* (tragic [rhythmic] movement), *ἔνρυθμος τραγωδία* (tragedy set in rhythm), *τραγικῆς ἐνρύθμου κ(ε)ινήσεως ὑποκριτής* (actor of tragic rhythmic movement).²⁸ The very fact that pantomime’s stock-in-trade was

²⁷ See further Lada-Richards (2007), 66–8, 122–4.

²⁸ See primarily *F.Delphes*, III (i), no. 551 (lines 1–2) = T25; *F.Delphes*, III (ii) no. 105; *I.Ephesus* II.71; *SEG* 1.529 (from Apameia on the river Orontes); *I.Magnesia* 165; *IGR* 4.1272 (cf. *REG* 4 (1891) 174, no. 2); in a funerary epigram from the Pontic Heracleia the genre is referred to as ‘rhythmical tragedy’ (see Sahin 1975: 294, line 15), while an inscription from Magnesia is unique in opting for the variant ‘rhythmical tragic poetry’ (*ἔνρυθμον | τραγικὴν ποίησιν*: *I.Magnesia* 192, lines 11–12, with Slater (1996*b*), 199). In general, see Robert (1930) and cf. Athenaeus, 1.20d (on pantomime as *tragikē orchēsis*) and *AP* 9.248, 4. A most interesting insight into the enduring public perception of pantomime’s affinity with tragedy comes from the 6th-cent. AD historian Procopius of Gaza, who refers disparagingly to the writers of pantomime libretti as *tragōidodidaskaloi*, ‘tragedy teachers’, and shudders at the thought that he himself might be associated with their kind: see *Secret History* 1.4, with Theoharidis (1940), 30.

material which, when clothed in the legitimizing armour of the Attic dialect, could be transformed into a prized model of instruction, places the genre considerably higher than, say, the 'absurd exhibitions of jugglers',²⁹ pole-bearers or contortionists, whose function is to merely 'astound' the crowds. As neither a sophisticated 'drama of words'³⁰ nor entirely the stuff of the fairground (like the jugglers, marionette-players and various sleight-of-hand artists who defile the stage of Aeschylus and Euripides in Athenaeus, 1.19b-20b = T26), pantomime might be best understood by us today as dwelling in a grey area of cultural ambivalence, perhaps as the most licit denizen of an illicit cultural world, the world of non-literary and therefore non-elite spectacles and institutions.³¹

Libanius expresses pantomime's intermediate cultural positioning impressively well when arguing for the genre's power to 'redress' the lack of education of the masses:

So, up to the point where the race of tragic poets was in bloom, they continued to come into the theatres as universal teachers of the people. But when, on the one hand, tragic poets dwindled and, on the other hand, only the very rich could participate in the instruction offered in the schools of art and poetry, while the majority of the people were deprived of education, some god took pity on the lack of education of the many and, to redress the balance, introduced pantomime as a kind of instruction for the masses in the deeds of old. Consequently, a goldsmith now will do not badly in a conversation with a product of the schools about the house of Priam or of Laius. (*Or.* 64. 112 = T27)

Just as British nineteenth-century working and lower middle-class audiences with 'little or no formal training in Latin or Greek' secured some access to classical material through theatrical burlesques

²⁹ Basil of Caesarea, *To young Men, on How they Might Derive Profit from Pagan Literature* 9.7.

³⁰ Burian (1997), 199 on tragedy.

³¹ With respect to social and political structures too, the pantomime genre was something of a taxonomical anomaly: 'insider' and 'outsider' at once, he was both 'of' the civic order as well as without a socially sanctioned place in the middle of that order. Flirting with the outskirts of cultural legitimacy, the genre in its entirety became indelibly marked by the precariousness or the ambivalence of its positioning with respect to the several orthodoxies of mainstream imperial culture. See further, Lada-Richards (2007), 127–34.

(a genre 'providing entertaining semi-musical travesties of well-known texts and stories, from Ovid to Shakespeare and the *Arabian Nights*'),³² a large proportion of imperial audiences would have derived their mythological staples (or furthered the elementary knowledge provided by the grammarian) from the *fabulae* danced on the pantomime stage. In sharp contrast to the one-sided picture put together by several of our elite 'informants',³³ pantomime could boast of at least some of the rudiments of an upmarket education. Indeed, by means of its appropriation of the educated narrative of the 'ancient fables of the Greeks', it was uniquely positioned to act as a conduit for the easy passage of elements across cultural frontiers, from the highlands of *paideia* to the lowlands of popular culture and back.

Pantomime, therefore, I submit, was not marginalized because of its triviality,³⁴ but became trivialized *in the process* of its systematic undervaluing at the hands of the most snobbish or conservative segments of the cultural elites. For, as I will argue in the remainder of this section, pantomime's relegation to the cultural subaltern is the thoroughly predictable result of several cultural mechanisms—difficult to disentangle, yet by no means unique to the imperial period or indeed the ancient world.

If it is generally true that 'To understand oneself as self implies a knowledge that there is something outside the self, an other, in contrast to which the self can be defined and distinguished', pantomime furnished the various (often irreconcilable) mainstreams of dominant culture with a 'dialogical partner' by means of which they could perceive and test their own limits.³⁵ Thus, in opposition to the impeccable orderliness befitting elite activity, pantomime could be

³² On the genre with respect to the classical tradition, see Hall (1999); quotes from 336 and 337; also Hall and Macintosh (2005), chs. 12–15 *passim*.

³³ Pantomime was often fashioned, by pagans as well as Christians, as disruptive of or incompatible with educational activities, first and foremost the study of rhetoric. See e.g. Libanius, *Or.* 3.12, 35.17; Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 7.24. On the Christian side, see e.g. John Chrysostom, *PG* 59.320; cf. *PG* 57.22, 57.30. More generally, on the pantomime as the 'black double' of an educator, see Cyprian, *Ep.* 2.1.1 and 2.2.3; Novatian, *Spect.* 6.2; John Chrysostom, *PG* 60.301; Basil of Caesarea, *PG* 29.80.

³⁴ More or less the assumption of scholars who never deigned to study it because of its non-textual nature.

³⁵ Shusterman (1998), 108 and 109 respectively.

made to stand for the frenzied, the uncontrollable, the maddening.³⁶ Opposite the rationality of articulate *logos*, pantomime could be derided as performance alphabet in total disarray—dissonant movements and random gestural articulations with no sense in them whatsoever (cf. Lucian, *On Dancing* 2, 63). To the high morality claimed by the educated man,³⁷ pantomime could be juxtaposed as a narrative of moral dissolution, 'a spring of licentiousness',³⁸ 'a nourishment for vices' (*alimenta vitiorum*, Cyprian, *Donat.* 8), the 'cause of ruin for its viewers' (*φθορὰν τῶν θεωμένων*), and the 'defilement of households and cities' (*λύμη... πόλεων... καὶ οἴκων*) (Libanius, *Or.* 64.9 and 31 respectively).³⁹ Most importantly, in opposition to the manliness of high culture, and in full accordance with the diachronic and cross-cultural 'gendering as feminine of that which is devalued'⁴⁰, pantomime could be easily equipped with, so to speak, female 'genitals'.⁴¹

Pantomime's formidable relational value is well illustrated in Lucian's *On Dancing*:

CRATO: Who that is a man at all, a life-long friend of letters, moreover, and moderately conversant with philosophy, abandons his interest, Lycinus, in

³⁶ The frenzy of pantomime audiences is most forcefully illustrated in Lucian, *On Dancing* 83–4; although incongruous with the remainder of Lycinus' pantomime 'apology', this section dovetails with the disparaging construction of audience behaviour in other sources. See e.g. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 32.42 (*σαφῶς ἐξεστηκότες καὶ παρανοοῦντες*), 55 (*ἐκπεπληγμένοι*), 89; the Syriac homilist Jacob of Serugh repudiates the dancer as 'He who maddens you with dancing' and is equally unsparing of his pantomime-struck congregation: 'you have become mad' (Homily 5, F22v1; for translation of the text see Appendix to this volume, T41).

³⁷ In the upper-class circles of the first centuries AD, possession of education went hand in hand with the underlying assumption that the *pepaideumenos* was also morally superior; as Kaster (1988), 27 writes, 'literary culture in itself guaranteed virtue'.

³⁸ Jacob of Sarugh, *Hom.* 3, F9v1 = T41.

³⁹ See further Lada-Richards (2007), 68–9.

⁴⁰ Huyssen (1986), 53.

⁴¹ This is not to claim, however, that pantomime was gendered 'female' merely as a result of 'othering' techniques. Pantomime was an inherently 'female' genre, both with respect to the abundance of female roles (directly impersonated by the male dancer) in its repertory as well as the performer's own corporeal language, which could be provocatively unmanly (that is to say, full of the bends and twists, the arches and the spirals that go against the 'cult of the straight line' which guides elite male deportment). Cf. Lada-Richards (2007) 30, 54, 69–72, but I will return to such issues in detail elsewhere.

all that is better and his association with the ancients to sit enthralled by the flute, watching a girlish fellow play the wanton with dainty clothing and bawdy songs and imitate love-sick minxes, the most erotic of all antiquity, such as Phaedra and Parthenope and Rhodope, every bit of this, moreover, accompanied by strumming and tootling and tapping of feet?—a ridiculous business in all truth, which does not in the least become a freeborn gentleman of your sort. So, for my part, when I learned that you give your time to such spectacles, I was not only ashamed on your account but sorely distressed that you should sit there oblivious of Plato and Chrysippus and Aristotle, getting treated like people who have themselves tickled in the ear with a feather, and that too when there are countless other things to hear and see that are worth while, if one wants them—flute-players who accompany cyclic choruses, singers of conventional compositions for the lyre, and in especial, grand tragedy and comedy, the gayest of the gay.⁴²

All the predictable polarities are here, including the overarching one of 'male vs female', the very *best to think with* for those concerned with preserving the age-old 'cave man' line. Crato's impassioned discourse against pantomime's femininity and feminizing power (with all their cultural attendants, ranging from senseless and sensual pleasure to unrestrained emotionality and moral and cultural decadence) is part and parcel of patriarchy's need for feminized 'others', so that upper-class manliness with all its cultural baggage, not least educational discourse and entertainment options which delight the rational part in man, can be better defined, protected, valorized.

We are now ready to advance to some more general considerations. First and foremost, as anthropologist Barbara Babcock put it, 'We seem to need a "margin of mess", a category of "inverted beings" both to define and to question the orders by which we live.'⁴³ Because of pantomime's undeniable affiliation to the corporeal and the non-verbal, it could easily be made to fulfil the role of that 'margin of mess', the intellectual netherland needed to define both the core as well as the outer rim of cultural legitimacy. In the ever-fresh elite re-mappings of the geography of entertainment culture in the Greek and Roman world of the first centuries AD as well as in the regular 'pigeon-holing' exercises of those obsessed with the construction of taxonomies of erudite pursuits, 'inferiors'/losers were even more

⁴² Lucian, *On Dancing* 2; trans. Harmon (1962).

⁴³ Babcock (1978), 28.

eagerly sought out than 'superiors'/winners. Before a particular genre could be deemed of 'higher' rank, a number of subaltern realms were needed, spectacles that could be sprawled out underneath. To borrow from Crato's tirade against pantomime in Lucian's *On Dancing*, for 'gay comedy' and 'grand tragedy' to be highlighted as bastions of refinement and culture, pantomime and its cultural brethren must first be trampled underfoot.⁴⁴

Second, as Bourdieu has taught us, pronouncements of taste express themselves through 'the refusal of other tastes',⁴⁵ and similarly, authoritative views on what constitutes acceptable, wholesome, liberal entertainment are also best expressed in a negative fashion: in Aelius Aristides' language of cultural differentiation,

it is not fitting, I think, for the orator and the philosopher and all those involved in liberal education to please the masses in the same way that these servile fellows do, the pantomimes and mimes and jugglers. (*Or.* 34. 55)

One of pantomime's multiple cultural roles became 'to serve as a foil, a negative reference point', in relation to which 'high class aesthetics' defined itself through a series of 'successive negations'.⁴⁶ All the while pantomime was blasted as an inauthentic cultural form, addressed to the culturally illiterate (or, even worse, returning educated minds to the jungle of illiberal tastes and tapping an audience's rawest passions), the intellectual elites staked out and advertised their own cultural authority.

Finally, if the legitimate 'technologies' of culture felt pressurized by pantomime's appeal, they also became adept at overblowing the pantomime threat, till it took on the colours of a cultural monstrosity, poised to strangle and squeeze out all liberal pursuits:

Who respects a philosopher or any liberal study except when the games are called off for a time or there is some rainy day which he is willing to waste? And so the many schools of philosophy are dying without a successor. The Academy, both the Old and the New, has no professor left [...] But how much worry is suffered lest the name of some pantomime actor be lost for ever! The House of Pylades and of Bathyllus continues through a long line of successors. For *their* arts there are many students and many teachers.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Lucian *On Dancing* 2.

⁴⁵ Bourdieu (1984), 56.

⁴⁶ See Bourdieu (1984) 57, on the function of the working classes 'in the system of aesthetic positions.'

⁴⁷ Seneca *Natural Questions*, 7. 32. 1–3; trans. Corcoran (1972).

Claiming that pantomime is rising over the ashes of the philosopher's trade makes as little sense as claiming, with Allan Bloom, that rock 'has risen to its current heights in the education of the young on the ashes of classical music'—rock and classical music exist today side by side, just as pantomime and philosophy apparently did.⁴⁸ But the point is that Seneca, and any other who sounds the clarion call against what he perceives as galloping cultural decadence, promotes his own profession as the non-negotiable terrain of unsurpassable intellectuality. Besides, let us not forget the widely attested process whereby the cultural fare that is most widely shared by all segments of a population becomes inevitably relegated to the lower rungs of the cultural hierarchy by those intent on marking their 'difference' and superiority.

To conclude this section, then. All the while denigrating pantomime, elites turned the genre into a crucial instrument in their own exercises of cultural self-definition. When thinking of themselves and their preferred occupations as 'different from' or even 'superior to' pantomime and its dancer, they were not merely expressing their disdain towards the lower social orders, absorbed in their boorish, crude, illiberal pursuits. They were constantly remapping their own intellectual and cultural world—with pantomime as a compass, they were re-positioning themselves in it, defining their own domain of cultural legitimacy.

EMANCIPATING THE DANCE: LUCIAN'S ON DANCING

Throughout this piece, my use of the term elite or high culture includes invisible quotation marks: it should be understood as shorthand for socio-cultural formations that were neither static (and therefore easily definable) nor even homogeneous but brimming with a multiplicity of socio-ideological 'languages'⁴⁹ belonging to different professions, vocations and moral inclinations, literary and entertainment genres or even educational discourses. Inevitably, if

⁴⁸ Bloom (1988), 73.

⁴⁹ See Bakhtin (1984), 483.

the constellation of 'cultural performances' that could be termed high culture in the imperial world was constantly under review, the interface between that culture and an immensely popular art like pantomime dancing would not have been reducible to a single mode of interaction. Apart from the strategies of 'othering' and 'alienation' that I have been primarily preoccupied with in the first two sections, intellectual strategies for the incorporation of the genre into the mental structures of high culture were also in operation, with many authors perfectly adept at using them. Admiring glimpses of pantomime dancing can be found in authors ranging from Manilius to Plotinus to Nonnus, in epigrams of the *Greek Anthology* as well as in Libanius, Cassiodorus or, as late as the sixth century AD, Choricus of Gaza. The most intriguing of such texts by far in mainstream Greek literary production is Lucian's *On Dancing*, a light-hearted dialogue composed in all probability in the second part of the second century AD.⁵⁰

In his attempt to guarantee for pantomime an undisputed place among honourable pursuits, Lycinus, the dialogue's fictive defender of the dance, embarks on an imaginative re-evaluation of the pantomime's art, repackaging it as the quintessence of all learning⁵¹ and the distillation of moralizing discourse: having experienced the dance, we are told, the viewer will return from the theatre a better person (*βελτίων*, *On Dancing* 69), with his character improved (*ἀμείνων τὸ ἦθος*, *On Dancing* 72). The most sustained emancipation strategy employed by Lycinus is the building of strong bridges between pantomime and a range of disciplines, intellectual pursuits, and spheres of expertise, including history, rhetoric, philosophy, music and rhythm, and the plastic arts (see esp. *On Dancing* 35). In addition, with the dancer himself emphatically promoted as a guardian of historical memory and mythical tradition by means of the wide-ranging

⁵⁰ The scholarly consensus is that *On Dancing* was composed in Antioch, at the time Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius' pantomime-mad co-emperor, was stationed in the area on account of the Parthian war (AD 162–6); see Robertson (1913), arguing that it was written in Antioch, between 162 and 165; Robert (1930) 121–2; Jones (1986) 68 favours the years 163 (Verus' arrival at Antioch) and 164 (estimated time of Lucian's return to mainland Greece).

⁵¹ See esp. *On Dancing* 35, where pantomime is hailed as *πάσης παιδείσεως ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀφικνουμένην*; cf. *On Dancing* 37 on the dancer's required *polymatheia* and *On Dancing* 81 on the dancer's designation as 'a deeply learned man' (*τὴν παιδείαν βαθύν*).

repertoire he is required to master,⁵² pantomime's prestige and cultural legitimacy could not have been staked any higher.⁵³

Yet all that glitters is not gold, for Lucian's *On Dancing* is an enormously problematic text. In the first place, Lycinus anatomized a 'middlebrow' art as if it were a fully-fledged product of high culture and tried to enmesh it in networks of legitimate cultural expression into which it could not entirely fit.⁵⁴ The trouble is that by lavishing on it so liberally the trappings of high culture and especially by raising it so provocatively to the ranks of an educated and educational pastime, he ultimately detracted from it attributes that were inherently, even exclusively, its own. He dissociated it from the real roots of its power: sex and sex and the body, the raw visceral appeal of the dancer's bodily rhythm and (often alluring) physical presence.⁵⁵ By turning pantomime into an upper-class man's ideal spectacle, Lycinus launched a genetically modified version of the genre, that is to say substantially true to form but artificially enhanced, with wrinkles smoothed and shades toned up or down, as required on each occasion. Consequently, there is a real sense that, rather than empowering the dancer, Lycinus' apology subtracted from his power, for the construct of a 'fully integrated' pantomime, speaking from the same subject-position as any minstrel of elite educational

⁵² See esp. *On Dancing* 36, 37, 61; for further discussion, see Lada-Richards (2007) 81–3 and ch. 7 (on Lycinus' pantomime as a treasure-trove of the Greek cultural patrimony).

⁵³ For a full discussion of Lucian's legitimising tactics, see Lada-Richards (2007), ch. 6.

⁵⁴ Looked at from the 'I/eye of imperial elites, pantomime dancing could not have been what Lycinus wanted it to be. Even in the eyes of those *pepaideumenoí* who *did* deign to pay attention to its charms, pantomime would have been an aesthetically pleasing encounter with mythical and literary traditions, yet unable to substitute literature's role in the acculturation of the dominant classes or rival the educational capital disseminated by the parchment in the library or the *logos* in the mouth of the declaiming sophist.

⁵⁵ A more realistic insight into the joys of pantomime viewing can be gained from e.g. Aristaenetus, *Ep.* 1. 26, 15–18 (quoted above, p. 111); Plotinus, *Enneads* 4.4.33; Libanius, *Or.* 64.57; on the perceived erotic impact of the dancing body, see e.g. Ovid, *Rem.* 753–6 = T5; Procopius, *Panegyricus in Imp. Anastasium* (PG 87 [3] 2815, 16); Novatian, *Spect.* 6.6; Tertullian, *Spect.* 25; Gregory of Nazianzus, *C.* 2.2.8, 107 (PG 37. 1584). For the argument that the Church Fathers have been very good at capturing the spectacle's libidinal dimension, see my forthcoming 'Firebrands on the Stage: Pantomime Dancers, *Castrato* Opera Singers and the Seductions of Sexual Ambiguity'.

practices could only be a pale imitator, a bungler of cultural discourses in which other agents were far more likely to excel. What Lycinus failed to teach us (alongside Crato, of course, his 'built-in' addressee) is how to appreciate a pantomime show *on its own terms*, without first relating it to, or feeling obliged to translate it into, the tropes and languages of a different register of culture.

It cannot be overemphasized that Lycinus' dance apology is not a 'disembodied' voice. The dialogue as part of which it can be heard is composed by Lucian,⁵⁶ a professional show-speaker and 'accomplished', 'practised sophist'.⁵⁷ But Lucian's voice is notoriously hard to position with any certainty on the game board between his various fictional contestants, interlocutors, narrators.⁵⁸ We may sense Lucian's presence at many moments in the text but, as Bakhtin would put it, he so deftly 'utilizes now one language, now another', switching abruptly between belief-systems and cultural accents, that he ultimately 'avoid[s] giving himself up wholly to either of them', remaining 'as it were neutral with regard to language', a 'third party' (even when biased) in a medley of dissonant voices.⁵⁹ Searching for the 'real' Lucian behind 'even perfectly transparent' pseudonyms,⁶⁰ such as 'Lycinus' or 'The Syrian',⁶¹ is like standing on quicksand. Quite simply, there is no methodologically foolproof way of establishing with any certainty what the historical Lucian would have told

⁵⁶ Given the flimsy nature of the arguments pronounced against Lucianic authorship of the dialogue in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, no one is seriously worried about its authenticity today, especially after Robertson's essay (1913) cleared the air in a more or less decisive way. Cf. Jones (1986), 69 n. 3 and G. Anderson (1977), 275: 'There has never been any single cogent argument for denying the authenticity of *De Saltatione*, generally ascribed to Lucian.'

⁵⁷ See Whitmarsh (2005), 47 and 27 respectively. For a brief overview of Lucian's ambivalent relation to the culture of the Second Sophistic (ranging from a deep affinity between his work and the principles of display oratory to a real gulf separating his perspective from what we might call a 'hard core' sophistic mentality), see Lada-Richards (2007), 152–8.

⁵⁸ See primarily Branham (1989), a path-breaking publication; Whitmarsh (2001), 247–94; Goldhill (2002), 60–107; cf. Said (1993); Dubel (1994). Branham (1989), 13 refers to 'a repertoire of over 170 characters' in Lucian's works.

⁵⁹ Bakhtin (1981), 314.

⁶⁰ Said (1993), 253.

⁶¹ Lucian was a Syrian from Samosata in the small kingdom of Commagene on the very edge of the empire.

us about the genre and its artist, had he resolved to speak to us 'with facial features exposed' (*Nigr.* 11), without a rhetorical mask. There is, however, one remaining avenue that can be travelled by those wishing to make sense of an intellectual's (seeming or real) cultural investment in pantomime and its dancer.

On the one hand, we cannot help feeling that pantomime is given a tremendous boost by being designated as the sole focus of an intellectual's attention. The meticulous research into the genre's thematic range and the pioneering exposition of the requisite qualifications for the building of the perfect dancer imply and project the recognition that *orchēsis* is neither a derivative art, a second-rate substitute for the old and venerable genre of tragedy,⁶² nor a haphazard exercise in gravity-defying leaps, but an art in its own right and a spectacle of astounding physical and intellectual complexity deserving even a wise man's respect. By the time Lycinus has brought his exposition to a close, pantomime has been fashioned as a noble and ennobling form of cultural capital. Moreover, it is difficult to overlook the fact that this is precisely how the dialogue was received in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, when it provided the basis not only for momentous changes in the fledgling art of the ballet but also for several attempts to emancipate the stage-performer's art.⁶³

At the same time, however, we cannot escape the feeling that we have in this treatise a coexistence of two incommensurable systems of communication, a co-presence of two 'languages': the socially superior, 'dominant' language of rhetoric, the legitimate performative discourse of upper-class *paideia* on the one hand, and the allegedly inferior, non-verbal language of pantomime dancing on the other. The fact that these languages are not paraded side by side, but configured in such a way that the latter can only reach us through the mediation of the former, i.e. after it has been reconstituted and remoulded within the cultural/linguistic consciousness of the literate

⁶² Other performative genres were not as lucky in securing educated advocates. As Richard Hunter observes, solo performances by such artists as the (now) elusive *hilarōidoi*, *simōidoi*, *magōidoi*, *lysiōdoi* were typically viewed by the elites as 'debasements of "high" educative texts', 'corruptions' of the practices of earlier lyric poets' and classical drama (see Hunter 2002, 196–7).

⁶³ Preliminary indications for the reception of the genre and the dancer in 18th-cent. England and France can be found in Lada-Richards (2007), 163–73 and below, this volume, Ch. 16.

elites,⁶⁴ sends out an important message as to their relative standing: there is, after all, an imbalance of power between the medium of dance and that of oratorical performance. To put it in another way, Lucian's *On Dancing* encodes the voice of an intellectual (Lycinus in the text) in the act of 'giving voice' to the pantomime's silent body. But in a world where voicelessness can signify powerlessness, while the ability to 'lend one's voice' implies a position of control and superiority, speaking *for* and *on behalf of* pantomime is tantamount to establishing one's intellectual authority over the genre or, better still, laying claim to 'the monopoly of legitimate discourse' on pantomime dancing.⁶⁵ The *prima facie* puzzling literary alliance between orator and dancer which seems to undergrid the dialogue begins to make sense. For even as he elevates the dancer to a live embodiment of acclaimed artistic and cultural values, Lycinus/(?) Lucian towers over him by far, by turning himself into a custodian and guarantor of those same values: it is *he*, the educated speaker who, posted at the gates of that elite landscape the pantomime can only gaze from afar, appropriates and exercises the right to define and defend its boundaries, handing out, generously or thriftily, tickets of admission to cultural legitimacy.

Was pantomime, then, 'good to think with' for a virtuoso performing intellectual like Lucian? By all means yes. For, all the while 'playing with' the genre and even producing the perfect alibi for the pantomaniac of social and intellectual standing who wants to feel good about his socially suspect pantomime addiction, Lucian enacts a cultural conquest. Having created a scintillating piece wherein the fabulously popular art, although granted a legitimate existence within the performance field occupied by high culture, appears 'contained' and containable, subordinate or, to use Bourdieu's terminology, 'dominated',⁶⁶ Lucian broadcasts his message far and wide. The top prize in the contest over the right to entertain, the right to control the politics of a multi-coloured performance culture, does

⁶⁴ My thoughts at this point owe much to Bakhtin (1981), 358–66.

⁶⁵ Bourdieu (1993), 36.

⁶⁶ See Bourdieu (1993), 164, on agents occupying 'a dominated position in the dominant class', being 'owners of a dominated form of power at the interior of the sphere of power'.

not belong to the dancer's silent, corporeal eloquence but to the educated declaimer's witty eloquence of words.⁶⁷

RESISTANCE BY APPROPRIATION

The previous section intimated that there existed in imperial culture 'battlefields' wherein pantomimes and Lucian's brethren—generally speaking, the breed of public declaimers or 'show orators' of all colours and denominations⁶⁸—fought it out among themselves for fame, power, material rewards, and cultural supremacy. When scrutinized from a modern perspective such a proposition sounds implausible: we, in the twenty-first century, would be hard-pressed to imagine a social context wherein, say, world famous rock-stars and Oxbridge dons (good modern equivalents of pantomimes and elite declaimers) could find themselves performing side by side and in intense competitive spirit for the plaudits and affections of a single audience. In antiquity, however, there was an ample 'zone of contact' where electrifying pantomimes and sophists saw their career paths cross and fame charts in conflict. A good indication of the problematic coexistence of pantomimes and elite declaimers in the performative arenas of their world can be found in Philostratus' celebration of Hadrian of Tyre's cultural conquests in Rome:

⁶⁷ Under no circumstances, however, should this be taken to mean that Lucian's personal reaction to pantomime (assuming we were in a position to reconstruct it in the first place) was more likely to have been in compliance with the aesthetic tastes of the wider body of contemptuous well-born *pepaideumenoí*. For, as I have argued elsewhere in detail (see Lada-Richards 2007, 154–7), of all 2nd-cent. AD declaiming intellectuals, Lucian, a migrant from Samosata, a geographical and cultural provenance which branded him as ineradicably 'Other' with respect to an 'intensely discriminating literary culture' (Branham 1989, 32) and a fiercely chauvinist Greek tradition, was the most likely to have experienced some kind of psychological congruity with pantomime, having perhaps suffered at the hands of fully-fledged 'Greeks' (i.e. by birth no less than education) the kind of treatment reserved for pantomime at the hands of overbearing cultural snobs.

⁶⁸ The question of how to distinguish between 'sophists', 'philosophers', and 'orators' was notoriously murky ground in the first centuries AD (see e.g. Stanton 1973). Although terminological distinctions have no bearing on my argument, this section reserves the term 'sophist' for the mega-stars in the elite performance circus, those public lecturers blessed with fame, money, honours and students.

When he was promoted to the higher chair of rhetoric he so successfully drew the attention of all Rome to himself that he inspired even those who did not know the Greek language with an ardent desire to hear him declaim. [...] So much so that, when they were attending shows in which the vulgar delight—these were, generally speaking, performances of dancers—a messenger had only to appear in the theatre to announce that Hadrian was going to declaim, when even the members of the Senate would rise from their sitting, and the members of the equestrian order would rise, not only those who were devoted to Hellenic culture, but also those who were studying the other language at Rome; and they would set out on the run to the Athenaeum, overflowing with enthusiasm, and upbraiding those who were going there at a walking pace.⁶⁹

Pantomimes may well have been the losers in the popularity contests referred to here, but at the same time they were not to be ignored.⁷⁰ 'Beggars' on the threshold of high culture they may well have seemed to be, but they were also formidable presences in the world of imperial performative displays. There can be little doubt that one of the reasons why the pantomime lingered so persistently in the elite declaimer's mental field of vision was that, more often than not, he also hovered at the edge of his physical vision, being a stubborn speck in the declaimer's own eye. This much at least we can surmise from Apuleius, exact contemporary of Lucian and illustrious public lecturer in North Africa. Despite his fame, Apuleius seems acutely conscious of the fact that even an eminent orator in his league does not perform inside an insulated bubble, but shares his venues, sometimes as imposing as the Carthaginian theatre, with his subcultural show-business rivals. As he puts it in one of his speeches,

here [i.e. the theatre of Carthage] the mime indulges in idle talk, the comedian engages in conversation, the tragedian bawls, the rope-dancer takes risks, the miracle-worker steals, the pantomime displays his gestures, and all the other players demonstrate to the people whatever art each of them possesses. (*Florida* 18.4)

⁶⁹ Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 589, trans. Wright (1921).

⁷⁰ The same Hadrian of Tyre, for one, whom Philostratus' narrative presents as a greater crowd-puller than his lowly antagonists in Rome, is said to have delivered such a magnificent funeral oration in honour of the pantomime Paris (probably Paris III) that it could just as well have been meant as a farewell to a fellow sophist; see Libanius, *Or.* 64.41, who adds: 'indeed, he deemed the pantomime worthy of being called exactly that (i.e. a sophist)'.

No shadow of a doubt as to who of the performers is superior intellectually—the sophist knows this all right. Simultaneously, however, he harbours no illusions about who is really in control of theatre space: it is those whom Dio Chrysostom sneeringly enumerates by means of a Homeric pastiche as ‘mimes and pantomimes (*orchēstai*), best of men in beating the ground with their dancing, and the riders of swift horses’ (*Or.* 32.4). It is they who rule the roost and it is over and against the crowd’s applause for *their* talents that he, the wise intellectual, must strive to be heard. Even from the viewpoint of the declaimer sitting on the highest throne of literary culture, the silent pantomime is a ‘voice’ to be reckoned with.

At the time of Lucian’s *On Dancing*, then, sophist/elite declaimer and dancer were not merely engaged in ‘deep play’⁷¹ vis-à-vis their public, that is, performances in which their reputations could be built, affirmed and celebrated just as easily as torn in tatters. They were also engaged in ‘zero-sum’ games⁷² played out against each other, as neither side could claim for itself an uncontested lead in the perilous performative arenas of imperial culture. Indeed, upper-class performers suffered from a serious disadvantage in comparison to their pantomime rivals: while the pantomime was supported in his efforts by an array of sensational paraphernalia (‘the silk robes and beautiful masks, the double pipes and trillings and the pleasing voices of the singers’, *On Dancing* 63 = T19), the orator was solely responsible for ‘stage-managing’ his one-man show, with all its special effects. As mass audiences are wooed more easily by the flamboyant and spectacular, the elite declaimer was painfully aware that his intellectual pre-eminence alone was unable to secure an uncontroversial lead on his behalf:

It is not easy to cope with the din of so great a crowd nor to stand face to face with countless myriads of human beings without (the support of) song and a lyre; for this is indeed the antidote (needed) against the people of your city, admits Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 32.20). All the while the bearer of up-market education was looking down on pantomime as inferior, crude

⁷¹ For the notion of ‘deep play’, see Geertz’s celebrated anthropological piece entitled ‘Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight’, in Geertz (1973).

⁷² That is to say, predicated on the idea that ‘for one man to triumph, all his rivals had to lose’ Gleason (1995), xxiii.

and ignorant pretenders to educational capital, he must have known full-well that, without a supportive array of eye-catching and ear-seducing mannerisms, even the most eloquent among declaimers ran the risk of being outshone by the collection of electrifying items which routinely accompanied a dancer's show.

Now, if I am right in my contention that a serious asymmetry of power existed between the most successful exponents of popular entertainment culture and elite declaimers of all kinds, it must also be conceded that elite performers would have felt the need to develop strategies for their defence. We have already seen (pp. 292–8) how pantomime's cultural demotion was a crucial tactic in the struggles for elite self-definition. Yet 'othering' the vulgar arts and their performers were bound to prove allies of little strength when tested in the fray, unable to secure a crowd's rapturous applause or, at least, prevent it from shouting: 'when will the guy shut up?' or 'when will the juggler (*thaumatopoios*) come on?', as Dio Chrysostom complains (*Or.* 32.7). Responses to the pantomime threat may well have been as different as individual declaimers and therefore impossible to chart with any certainty. It is nevertheless possible to identify one very distinctive trend among the ranks of those searching for prestige and power *via* the intellectual route. Just as in early eighteenth-century London David Garrick, the famous actor-manager of Drury Lane theatre (1747–76), decided to curb the tyranny of popular entertainments not by shutting them out altogether but by co-opting them into his repertoire of serious English plays and, all the while declaring his distaste for them, appropriated some of their key features and assimilated some of their techniques,⁷³ imperial elite performers seem to have thought: if the pantomime is gaining ground on us, why not try to beat him at his own game, thrash him with his own weapons?

Eager to redefine elite performance as a spectacle that holds the crowds in thrall through the 'easy' and 'mindless' seductions of the eye and the ear (appended, in the best of cases, to the seductions aimed at the viewer's intellect), men of the calibre of Herodes and Hadrian of Tyre, Scopelian and Favorinus, scintillating mega-stars of

⁷³ For this view of Garrick's relation to popular entertainments (esp. the hybrid form then called pantomime), see O'Brien (2004), esp. ch. 7.

the elite performative horizon, seem to have channelled their efforts in the direction of becoming at least as intensely theatrical as their opponents, proving themselves to be the stage's equals in the areas where stage-performers (especially the pantomimes) were thought to be unequalled: impersonation and physical dramaturgy, the gestural vocabulary of bodily communication. To be sure, theatricality was an intrinsic dimension of the upper-class man's *meletai* (declamations), insofar as they entailed the re-creation of 'long-vanished figures of both history and myth'⁷⁴ and the composition of 'imaginary speeches in character'.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the self-styled 'enfants terribles' of the sophistic movement opted for going considerably *further* than their peers in the practice of adopting 'exaggeratedly theatricalized qualities in their oratory and daily lives',⁷⁶ treating their everyday sophistic 'act' self-consciously as theatre, 'complete with dramatic entrances, flamboyant dress, interpretative gesturing, careful modulation of voice, and, of course, a shrewd sense for the audience's expectations'.⁷⁷ To continue quoting from Joy Connolly's masterful work on rhetoric and the second sophistic, some VIP declaimers sought to enhance their reputation by 'reclaiming' the 'theatrical', re-appropriating, that is, and cultivating assiduously those 'theatrical aspects of rhetoric which rhetoricians were so eager to disavow and demonize'.⁷⁸

Antagonizing the dancer, who was able to enchant without words, with the silence of his 'speaking' fingers, adventurous sophists developed the art of entrancing even those ignorant of their declamatory language, that is to say, independently of intellectual comprehension.⁷⁹ Traces of contamination are discernible even in external appearance, insofar as those sophists who chose to deviate 'from the leonine norms of masculine public deportment'⁸⁰ dressed elegantly,

⁷⁴ Zeitlin (2001), 208.

⁷⁵ Russell (1983), 1.

⁷⁶ Connolly (2001), 94.

⁷⁷ Branham (1989), 3. Even just in Philostratus' corpus, one would notice the recurrence of *hypokrinesthai*, in the sense of acting out a role, playing one's part as if on stage and *skēnē*, in the sense of 'stage effects', 'theatrical properties' (most importantly, VS 520, 537, 541, 595); Lucian, *On Dancing* 65 uses *hypokrisis* as a connecting tissue between declamations and pantomime dancing (see further Lada-Richards (2007), 84, 114–15).

⁷⁸ Connolly (2001), 92.

⁷⁹ See e.g. Philostratus, VS 491 on Favorinus, 589 on Hadrian.

⁸⁰ Gleason (1995), 74.

luxuriously and ostentatiously, as if measuring themselves up against the alluringly attired pantomimes.⁸¹ From the sophists of Lucian's and Philostratus' day to the elite performers of later antiquity this particular picture of transgressive rhetoric wrapped up in extravagant splendour seems uniformly constant in the competitive epideictic performances of the Second Sophistic. It informs Lucian's second century AD satirical brush-strokes in his *Professor of Rhetoric* no less than Themistius' fourth-century AD portrayal of pretend philosophers (i.e. in his view, sophists) who 'often bring their eloquence out to theatres and festive assemblies, adorned in gold and purple, exuding the smell of perfumes and painted and rubbed with cosmetics all over and crowned with garlands of flowers' (*Or.* 28. 341b–c).⁸² In other words, alongside forging a disquietingly close partnership between theatre and oratorical performance, maverick trend-setters launched a new fashion-line predicated on the treacherous notions of sensual over-refinement,⁸³ androgynous grace and the erotic excitement associated with a doubly gendered performing body. How close to one another came the dancer's and the sophist's versions of gender bending in performance we can gauge from Lucian's own *Professor of Rhetoric*, where the market-wise rhetorician is introduced as

πάγκαλον ἄνδρα, διασεσαλευμένον τὸ βάδισμα, ἐπικεκλασμένον τὸν αὐχένα, γυναικεῖον τὸ βλέμμα, . . . πάναβρόν τινα Σαρδανάπαλλον ἢ Κινύραν ἢ αὐτὸν Ἀγάθωνα, τὸν τῆς τραγωδίας ἐπέραστον ἐκείνον ποιητήν.

an exquisitely beautiful fellow, a man with a shimmy in his walk,⁸⁴ with his neck bent, with a womanish look in his eye, . . . an altogether soft guy, a

⁸¹ See e.g. Philostratus, VS 572 (exquisite costume), 587 (very expensive clothes and precious gems); from a hostile point of view, see Epictetus, *Diss.* 3.1.1, 3.23.35 (a fancy cloak or dainty mantle); in a satirical vein, see Lucian, *Rh. Pr.* 15 (on the need for a flowery or white dress, allowing the body to 'show through'), 16, 17; *Somn.* 11 (splendid dress worn by the sophisticatedly inclined 'Lady-Education'), 16; *Bis Acc.* 31. On the pantomime's dress, see above, n. 16.

⁸² Philostratus often harps on the great sophists' ostentatious display of magnificence; see e.g. VS 532, 572 (exquisite costume), 587 (very expensive clothes and precious gems); from a hostile perspective, see Epictetus, *Diss.* 3.1.1, 3.23.35; in a satirical vein, see Lucian, *Rh. Pr.* 15, 16, 17, 20; *Somn.* 11, 16; *Bis Acc.* 31.

⁸³ See e.g. Philostratus VS 536 and 571 on Scopelian and Alexander 'Clay-Plato' respectively.

⁸⁴ This is Gunderson's (2000), 155, felicitous translation of the Greek, capturing brilliantly the idea of a 'sexualized step', as he puts it. The bad orator's 'mincing walk' is the gait of a *cinaedus*, as the Romans might call him. Such a man shakes his genitals and buttocks, drawing attention to them, attracting desire, promising pleasure'

Sardanapallus or Cinyras or the very picture of Agathon himself, that lovely composer of tragic poetry (*Rh. Pr.* 11).

All the ingredients of the pantomime's appearance are tightly packaged in this passage: beauty and elegance, erotic allure, the gift of Aphrodite and the Graces, effeminate mannerisms and utter softness, a body that twists and sways far more than masculine *habitus* allows. The body of the rule-breaking sophist, whose meteoric rise rests on an assortment of verbal and corporeal digressions from ethical legitimacy, bears the unmistakable hallmarks of the dancer's body (cf. pp. 288–91).

Was pantomime then the single generating force behind such a feminized 'aesthetic of performative excess'?⁸⁵ To make such a claim would be to ignore both the multifaceted complexity of so unhomogeneous a cultural phenomenon as the second sophistic was as well as the sheer diversity of imperial and late antique performance culture. As intimated above (pp. 292–3), the pantomime was only *one* among the many theatrical or theatricalized entertainers of all shades—from the intolerably vulgar rope-dancers and contortionists to the exquisitely graceful mellifluous *tragoidoi*—who were bothersome enough to generate in their opponents the desire to ensure that their ascendancy was kept in check.

At the same time, however, given its centrality in the entertainment life of the empire and its formidable hold on public imagination, the pantomime genre was *uniquely posed* to become a model for anyone craving for success and power with the masses, sparking off the desire to recreate the kind of expressive vocabulary that would transcend the communicative range of verbal language. Moreover, it may well have been the dancer's unbeatable appeal by means of his departure from the physical deportment of unadulterated masculinity which emboldened maverick sophists to style themselves

(Gunderson, *ibid.*). Pantomimes and dancing masters too were persistently associated with *cinaedi* (passive homosexuals; see Corbeill (1996), 137): e.g. Lucian, *Merc. Cond.* 27; Firmicius Maternus, *Mathesis* 6. 31.39, 8.23.3. The gloss on *cinaedi* in the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* (5.654.7) attributes the quivering of the buttocks in public to 'dancers or pantomimes' (*saltatores vel pantomimi*); cf. Arnobius, *Adv. Gent.* 2.42 and see Adams (1982), 194.

⁸⁵ Connolly (2001), 77.

in mental and corporeal attitudes calumniated as unmanly.⁸⁶ Pantomime's roaring success must have made it abundantly clear that the unsettling of gender-norms through the practice of corporeal dialects of sexual ambiguity as well as the eroticisation of the male body were not so much 'high risk' investments for the astute performer as potentially astronomical high earners.⁸⁷ All in all, the most valuable lesson that eccentric sophists could have learnt from pantomime dancers was how to build one's personal renown deliberately on deviance. As Aelius Aristides (by no means an unbiased source) paints his opponents, the practitioners of emasculated rhetoric, 'they claim to transgress the line which circumscribes order and correctness for the sake of this, namely to enable themselves to please as many as possible' (*Or.* 34.1).

Individual star sophists, to be sure, negotiated the frictions of virility and femininity, oratorical decorum and theatricality, in their performances in their own way, but what puts them on a par with pantomimes is their remarkable ability to translate prominent markers of their deviance into *insignia* of glory. For, as Cyprian perceptively observes, public appeal in the case of pantomimes is inextricably interwoven with the lure of ambivalence, controversy, the crossing of the barriers: the dancer 'grows' in fame in accordance with his crime, and is 'judged so much more skilful as he is more disgraceful'.⁸⁸ If one had to pinpoint a single calling sharing most manifestly with sophists 'a temptation to appropriate characteristics

⁸⁶ It goes without saying that we should never imagine the entire 'rank and file' of upper-class declaimers as dabbling at stagy or effeminate modes of rhetorical self-presentation (see e.g. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 35.10, in praise of decent, non-showy sophists). If the threat of the subcultural was great, greater still was the opprobrium that could be aroused by a clumsy mixing of the codes, a half-hearted or botched attempt to maintain one's elite masculine status while experimenting with what the oratorical handbooks condemned (for failed experiments, see e.g. Philostratus, *Life of the Sophists* 623 and Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 34.47). Even *within* the cultural terrain of sophistic superstardom, not everyone followed a provocatively theatrical and androgynous style of rhetorical performance.

⁸⁷ If pantomimes became the object of the crowd's erotic fascination, sophists could also be presented as aiming to forge a libidinal channel of communication with their spellbound public. See e.g. Lucian, *Rh.Pr.* 23, where the aspiring sophist is advised to take particular pains to promote himself as the focus of female adoration as well as build an image of himself as capable of answering the dreams of both genders (cf. the pantomime's ambivalently gendered sex appeal).

⁸⁸ See Cyprian, *Don.* 8: *In laudem crescit ex crimine et peritior quo turpior iudicatur.*

of “the other” as a way of gaining power from outside the traditionally acceptable sources’ that would certainly have been the art of pantomime dancers.⁸⁹

It cannot be stressed too strongly that the kind of elite response to pantomime and other popular theatrical attractions that is outlined here would not have materialized overnight, but must have been a messy and protracted process of cultural cross-pollination. As the lines of the sophists became more thickly populated in the first centuries AD, and as the fame of entertainment heroes rose ever higher, along the whole explosive battlefield one would have seen not only competitive encounters but also progressively abundant signs of interbreeding. Amid the sparks of the collisions, a new cross-breed of cultural performers was taking shape: turning male rhetoric into an embattled gender-ground, the site of heightened eroticism and histrionic antics, a monstrous, hybrid progeny of public declaimers gradually emerged, the outlandish product of quirky cultural amalgamations in which pantomime played a vital part. In other words, whatever the precise layout of the equation, pantomime dancing must have been a powerful catalyst, quickening the pace of the various chemical reactions taking place at the slippery interface between the high and the low in imperial performance culture.

To recapitulate then. All the while the upper classes were obsessed with keeping vigil by the heavily patrolled frontier that separates high and low cultural manifestations, they either failed to notice or failed to contain some of their own numbers who defected from the ranks, i.e. those *pepaideumenoí* who chose to borrow, rather than shun, the tropes of self-presentation that held sway ‘across the border’, in areas which their peers calumniated as an educational and moral underworld. For such code-breaking public lecturers, pantomimes were eminently ‘good to think with’, insofar as the dancer’s success was the crucial yardstick by which they reconfigured the terms of their own cultural dominance and renegotiated the markers of their own intellectual distinction. As well as defining itself by means of a *contrast* to the cultural ‘Otherness’ that the dancer’s body represented (as we saw in the first two sections), imperial high culture seems to have also enriched itself through its selective and targeted *appropriation* of the pantomime ‘Other’.

⁸⁹ Gleason (1995), 162.

CONCLUSION

Popular with all levels of society, pantomime became a sizzling melting pot of social identity construction. Even on the basis of our fragmentary evidence, pantomime begs to be envisaged as the vibrant, ever colourful terrain where competing models of individuality could be explored, cultural configurations (especially of gender and desire) fashioned and contested, and important negotiations between elite and popular culture played out. Most importantly, just because pantomime itself does not speak from any subject-position it can call its own in our extant sources; just because it is for us a genre *spoken of*, *objectified*, we should not be fooled into believing that in its own time it was a passive agent, acted-upon by a dominant, superior culture that played with it as it willed and shaped it to its own designs. This is merely the deceptive impression we derive from various vantage points in our written record. In reality, pantomime quickened the pace of cultural formations and shaped aesthetic sensibilities, moral categories and modes of understanding of the self and others in ways we have only very recently begun to reassess. Even the mere 'idea' of the pantomime dancer, with its attendant connotations of disorder and licentiousness, eroticism and riotous passion as well as its intoxicating play with multiple identities thrillingly fused into a single protean body, proved polarizing with respect to issues at the very heart of Graeco-Roman culture. The time is ripe for placing the genre as well as its star artist back onto the map of the imperial and late antique world as powerful and central elements of the political, social, intellectual, and symbolic orders. A genre long neglected in modern scholarly debates, pantomime deserves a closer look as a phenomenon of tremendous potency and far-reaching repercussions.

Lucian's *On Dancing* and the Models for a Discourse on Pantomime

Karin Schlapbach

INTRODUCTION

As a form of expression, pantomime is situated between word and image: it narrates events in the visual mode, through the moving body of the actor. This is true to some extent for every form of theatre, but the visual aspect is more prominent in pantomime because the performer is silent. He 'speaks' with his hands and eyes, thus creating a visual language that stands in lieu of spoken words. Neither the music—provided by pipes, percussion, sometimes the cithara and a variety of other instruments (see above, this volume pp. 25–8)—nor the 'libretti' of the chorus or solo singer that accompanied the performance receive any sustained attention in discussions of the genre, so that the tension between the silence of the protagonist and the narrative content of his performance is even more foregrounded. It is safe to say, then, that the key issue of the discourse on pantomime is the relationship between visuality and text.

This essay goes back to versions of a talk I gave at the convention of the APA in Boston, at the Universities of Colorado at Boulder and of California at Berkeley, and at the Warburg Institute in London. It has been made possible by a generous research grant from the Swiss National Research Foundation. I would like to thank in particular Laura Gemelli, Mark Griffith, John Ferrari, Costas Panayotakis, Susanna M. Braund, and the editors of this volume for the helpful comments and suggestions they offered at various stages.

Lucian's dialogue *On Dancing*, which is at the centre of this chapter, is among our most important sources for the ancient discourse on pantomime. Without being a technical treatise in the narrow sense, it is one of few surviving examples of a sustained treatment of the genre, which is matched or surpassed in length and wealth of detail only by Libanius' speech in defence of pantomime-actors, written roughly two hundred years later (*Oration* 64). Lucian's dialogue gives us therefore invaluable insight into the question of how the relatively recent genre of pantomime was conceptualized and what models could be used in such an enterprise. It has long been noted that rhetoric plays a prominent role as a paradigm for the description of pantomime in *On Dancing*.¹ In particular the self-referentiality of the work, i.e. the interpretation of the pantomime artist as a figure for the sophistic orator and ultimately for the author himself, has been discussed.² More recently Ismene Lada-Richards has suggested that by using rhetoric as a model and a standard, according to whose categories pantomime is described, the dialogue implicitly constructs a hierarchical opposition between rhetoric and the visual medium of *orchēsis*, or between word and image, on the (reductive) assumption that literary and visual genres represent widely accepted ancient notions of elite and popular culture respectively.³

This essay aims to show, however, that if the portrayal of pantomime draws heavily on discussions of rhetoric,⁴ this suggests a relationship of fundamental affinity, rather than a straightforward opposition or hierarchy. The use of rhetorical categories in the description of pantomime must be explained by taking into account a broader background, in which not only the model of the orator plays a role, but also the description of art works and the interdependence of the technical vocabulary for painting, sculpture, rhetoric, and music. Rhetorical ideals like clarity, liveliness, and

¹ See e.g. Korus (1986). Nesselrath (1985), 226–8 argues more specifically that rhetorical treatises were a source for Lucian's concept of *technē*. On the genre of *On Dancing* see further Lada-Richards (2003a), 26–33.

² Duncan (1979), 18–19; Bracht Branham (1989), 18; Lada-Richards (2003a), 31.

³ Lada-Richards (2003a), 33, 66.

⁴ For dance and rhetoric see Webb (1997), 137–9.

versatility are not confined to eloquence; rather they are standards that are both created through the interaction of various arts and claimed by various disciplines. Lucian's dialogue makes conscious use of the fact that rhetorical discourse is indebted in various ways to the visual and dramatic arts, and thus subtly emphasizes the ambivalent position of pantomime between text and visuality, rather than giving preference to one over the other.⁵

In what follows I will first examine the terms in which the impact of pantomime on the spectator is described by the two interlocutors, one of whom, Crato, portrays pantomime as a pernicious and corrupting medium, which is unworthy of the attention of the educated, while the other one, Lycinus, defends and praises it. They both concentrate on pantomime's visuality, but at the same time the language they use points to wider discussions of aesthetic impact. The next two sections explore Lycinus' use of the categories of *mimēsis*, demonstration, and signification. The examples he adduces to illustrate the expressive and versatile figure of the pantomime-artist, Proteus and the octopus, are familiar from depictions of orators. But rather than subordinating the pantomimist to ideals of oratory and to the standard set by myth, they serve to portray him as prior to myth and as fulfilling those rhetorical ideals more easily and perfectly than the orator. The recourse to demonstration and signification shows that pantomime, on the one hand, conserves some independence from language while, on the other hand, incorporating language by paradoxically being 'audible' just like speech. In the last part, I will further explore the ties of Lycinus' portrayal of pantomime with the discourses on rhetoric and art. By belonging to the same broad literary (and performance) culture, pantomime and rhetoric or poetry must naturally be described in similar terms. But if rhetorical categories do play an important role in the portrayal of pantomime, conversely the very purpose of rhetoric is to a great extent expressed in visual terms, so that pantomime ends up being, as it were, a better rhetoric than oratory. Finally, a glance at the tradition of ecphrasis shows that even where language and texts seem to be a standard against which images are measured, we don't need to assume that the visual and textual genres are in some kind of hierarchical

⁵ For the wider debate on art and text in antiquity see Goldhill and Osborne (1994); Elsner (1996).

relationship. While not offering a comprehensive interpretation of the dialogue, my observations will shed a critical light on the view that the argument of the dialogue can be explained against the backdrop of a general preference, characteristic of the Second Sophistic, for words over images, or literary culture over visuality. Instead it seems that the issue is rather more complex.

VISUAL IMPACT

The pantomimic medium operates both on the visual and the acoustic levels. But the controversy of *On Dancing* focuses largely on the mute protagonist, thus foregrounding the visual impact of pantomime. Both interlocutors address the problem of pantomime in terms of what it does to the spectator: for Crato, watching pantomime means seduction and loss of identity; for Lycinus, it leads instead to knowledge and self-cognition. Both interlocutors seem to build on the commonplace that sight is particularly powerful, more so than other types of sense perception.⁶

Crato employs drastic metaphors to describe the consequences of watching pantomimes, namely slavery, effeminacy, and disease.⁷ The spectator is seduced as if by Circe or the Sirens, the stock examples of seduction and sorcery, which are familiar also from the discourse on rhetoric. These are swiftly adapted to the context, when Crato points out that whereas Odysseus' companions were exposed only to sound (in the case of the Sirens), the spectator of pantomime succumbs also to what he sees: 'You, however, seem to be totally enslaved also through the eyes.'⁸ Just like Odysseus' companions, the spectator of pantomime is permanently affected, being dispossessed of his former identity as a male citizen. Particularly interesting in this context is the repeated use of the verb *lanthanein* and its compounds, to which Lycinus will respond in his own terms. According to Crato, the spectator not only forfeits his former education, 'forgetting Plato and Chrysippus and Aristotle' (§ 2), but undergoes physical and

⁶ Pl. *Phdr.* 250d; cf. *Phd.* 83c; Arist. *Metaph.* 1.1: sight is also the most delightful sense.

⁷ Sections 1–6. Cf. Lada-Richards (2003a), 40–8.

⁸ Section 3: *σὺ δὲ καὶ δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔοικας ὄλος δεδουλώσθαι*. Lucian's works are quoted after Macleod (1972–87).

social transformations that are likely to remain unnoticed until it is too late: 'See to it that you do not change *unawares* from the man that you were of old to a Lyde or a Bakkhe.' Hence he urges Lycinus to take up the customary studies again, 'before you *unwittingly* fall quite under the spell of these Sirens in the theatre.'⁹

Lycinus undertakes his defence and praise of pantomime in a long, uninterrupted speech. He claims that pantomime expresses contents in a way that they become absolutely plain and need no further interpretation. According to him pantomime makes the spectator see and know. He shrewdly points to the epistemic quality of seeing by using a word from the visual domain to describe the illuminating effect of pantomime: the spectator becomes 'more insightful' (*dihor-atikōteros*, § 4), and thus 'more knowing' (*pleiona eidōs*, *ibid.*); accordingly, he retorts to his opponent that he is 'not altered into forgetfulness'.¹⁰ On his account, the spectator achieves nothing less than self-cognition: he *sees* himself in the performer as if in a mirror, so that watching pantomime is the easiest way to follow the Delphic maxim *Know Thyself*.¹¹ Incidentally, the pantomimist too is omniscient just like Calchas: 'nothing escapes him'.¹² In accordance with this hyperbolic line of argument, Lycinus points out to Crato that in accusing pantomime, he *unwittingly* accuses the 'greatest good of life'.¹³ The insistence of both interlocutors on words connected to *lanthanein* is hardly accidental in a discourse that concentrates precisely on the relationship between visuality on the one side and awareness and knowledge on the other, and it is perhaps all the more significant in a culture that understands truth as 'what is not hidden' (*a-lētheia*).¹⁴

⁹ Section 3. Translations of Lucian are based on Harmon (1913–79).

¹⁰ Section 4: οὐ γὰρ εἰς λήθην . . . περιίσταμαι.

¹¹ Section 81. The image of the mirror is popular in protreptic discourse, e.g. Pl. *Alcib. I* 132e–133c. See Lada-Richards (2005).

¹² Section 36: μηδὲν αὐτὸν διαλανθάνειν. Cf. by contrast Pl. *Ion* 536d–539e: the rhapsode is not an expert in all the arts mentioned by Homer; 533c–536d: the rhapsode has no knowledge, but is inspired; cf. *Republic* 10.598e: the claim that tragedians are virtually omniscient is examined.

¹³ Section 1. For *lanthanein*, see further sections 26, 36, 76, and 79.

¹⁴ *λανθάνειν* was used in specific philosophical contexts: 'Being unaware' is a technical term in Chrysippus' book on the *Topos Περὶ τοῦ διαλεληθότος*, which refers to the paradox that one can supposedly become wise without being aware of the sudden change. Plotinus uses the verb in the discussion of sense perceptions: pain comes about 'in combination with the fact that it *does not remain hidden* to the faculty of perception' (4.4.19.25).

Crato's idea of unnoticed influences upon the spectator at the theatre is anticipated—in more sober terms—in Plato's discussion of the impact of the works of poets and artists in *Republic* 3, where *lanthanein* also recurs. Socrates differs from Crato in allowing for a positive or negative impact, depending on the objects represented.¹⁵ The discussion in *Republic* is not confined to the theatre, but sets the frame for a much wider idea of (unnoticed) aesthetic impact and its educational value, which proved to be very influential on later authors. The metaphors of slavery, effeminacy, and disease are also prefigured in Plato's critique of poetry and theatre, and they are commonplaces in the later ancient moralistic discourse on aesthetic impact.¹⁶ However, while illness and effeminacy are clearly negative metaphors in the ancient context, slavery is more ambiguous when referred to an audience: to 'enslave' the listener is the aim of the orator according to the treatise *On the Sublime*, ascribed to Longinus (15.9).¹⁷ But there are of course different views within the theories of rhetoric. Aristotle favours the illustrative function of rhetoric (*dēloun*), as opposed to the psychagogic one (*psychagōgein*, *Rhet.* 3. 1404^b1), and this is the line of argument the advocate of pantomime takes in *On Dancing*. Magic, which is implied in the figure of Circe, is equally ambiguous: while clearly being denigrating here, it often indicates the sheer power of rhetoric.¹⁸ The Siren is a particularly ambivalent image for the impact of rhetoric and poetry; it can imply admiration and praise as well as derogation.¹⁹

So the terms in which the controversy is shaped point to a wider debate on aesthetic impact, in which rhetoric features prominently, and some of the motifs the interlocutors use actually recall contentions *within* rhetoric. This will now be examined in more detail.

¹⁵ *Republic* 3.401b8-c3. The possibility of a positive influence through worthy objects is also considered (401c7-d3). The theme of 'subrational' inferences through eyes and ears in Plato has been treated by M. Burnyeat in a talk entitled 'Plato and the dairy maids'.

¹⁶ 'Enslaved': Pl. *Smp.* 215e; Ael. *Arist. Or.* 34.33 and 57; 'effeminate': *Republic* 10.605d-e; Plin. *Paneg.* 46.4; Apul. *Apol.* 7-8; 'ill': *Republic* 10.595b; Ael. *Arist.* apud Lib. *Oration* 64.83.

¹⁷ See Korenjak (2000), 200-1.

¹⁸ Romilly (1975); Ford (2002), 173-4.

¹⁹ Kaiser (1964), 115-20. The image was also applied to the theatre: on a herma from the 2nd century AD Menander is called the Siren of the stage (*IG* 14,1183).

A closer look at Lycinus' defence shows that the extraordinary cognitive capacity of the pantomimic medium is accounted for by three concepts of referentiality, whose connotations complement each other, namely *mimēsis*, demonstration, and signification. Their role in Lycinus' argument and their relationship with rhetoric is the subject of the next two sections.

MIMĒSIS: PANTOMIMIC IMPERSONATION

With *mimēsis*—'representation' or 'impersonation'—the emphasis lies on visual immediacy through the illusion of a virtually perfect identity of performer and character. The argument draws on one of the basic, original meanings of *mimēsis*, mimed impersonation.²⁰ What it means to be 'mimetic' in the context of pantomime is illustrated with the example of Proteus (T16), which at the same time elucidates pantomime's relationship with its primary subject-matter, myth. Proteus, the mythical master of metamorphoses, is presented as a prototypical pantomime-artist; as a female parallel, Lycinus cites Empousa, perhaps responding to a need to justify the presence of female pantomimists (on the question of whose existence under the Roman empire see Starks, above, Ch. 4).²¹ By differentiating carefully between what the myth means (*legein*) and its narrative form (*dihēgeisthai*), Lycinus states that Proteus was nothing but a sort of 'dancer', a 'mimetic person', capable of endless transformations. In this 'euhemeristic' reading, Proteus' miraculous metamorphoses are simply translated back into impersonation, and the story is shifted back from the mode of the quasi-miraculous, the *paradoxon* (often associated in Lucian with myth and its allegorical interpretation) to a more commonsensical explanation.²²

The move implemented here is different from the one transmitted in a scholion to the *Odyssey*, which explains Proteus' transformations

²⁰ See Halliwell (2002), 15; Hall (2006), 30. An earlier theory, which explains the origin of the term exclusively with representation through dance, has proved to be too one-sided: Koller (1954).

²¹ For a different view and further bibliography see Webb (2002), esp. 286.

²² Section 19. For *paradoxon* in Lucian see e.g. *Heracl.* 3; *True Narratives* 1.2, 1.40; and Georgiadou and Larmour (1998), 5–6.

likewise as mere illusions, but ascribes them to magic (Schol. *Od.* 4.456: *ouk alēthōs metebalen, alla phantasian epoiei technēi magikēi*). A similar explanation is advanced by Menelaus in his dialogue with Proteus (Lucian, *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods* 4.1), where the question remains unresolved: 'I think it's all a trick, and you cheat the eyes of the onlookers, and don't turn into any of these things' (ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖς . . . γοητεῖαν τινὰ προσάγειν τῷ πράγματι καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξαπατᾶν τῶν ὁρῶντων αὐτὸς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο γιγνόμενος). In *On Dancing* 19 instead, Lycinus does not refer to magic or sorcery, but simply to artistic skill.²³ The rational explanation of myth is not surprising in the contemporary context. It was a common strategy of the defenders of Homer against Plato's critique of poetry, although the method they used was usually allegorical. Dio Chrysostom refers to it and mentions Antisthenes and Zeno as its champions (*Or.* 53.3–5), while the recourse to what we now call euhemerism was especially popular with Christian writers, who explain in particular the metamorphoses of pagan gods as the deeds of human beings: according to Lactantius, for example, Zeus did not physically appear to Danae in the form of a shower of gold, but simply offered money to her (*Div. Inst.* 1.11).²⁴ However, the explanation of a mythical transformation as a form of artistic illusion created by impersonation is, as far as I can see, singular and quite remarkable. It is certainly possible that earlier theorists of pantomime had already used the example of Proteus, as does Libanius later on (*Or.* 64.117 = T29). Libanius may well have been countering a different and more negative use of the analogy in the oration by Aristides which he is answering (see above, Introduction, p. 18). But the specific implications of the claim that Proteus *was* a pantomimist might have interested in particular a writer like Lucian, with whose delight in questioning myth we are familiar from other works.

Proteus' role in the discussion of performance skills goes back to at least as early an author as Plato, where he is an image for the rhapsode or the sophist. In *Ion* 541e, Socrates calls the eponymous

²³ On a purely literary level, this kind of artistic skill could be compared with metaphor, which is sometimes difficult or impossible to distinguish from metamorphosis proper, e.g. *Od.* 3.372 (see Pucci (1986), 24–5).

²⁴ *Or.* 53.3: πότερον Ὀμηρος ἤμαρτε περὶ ταῦτα ἢ φυσικούς τινας ἐνότας ἐν τοῖς μύθοις λόγους κατὰ τὴν τότε συνήθειαν παρέδιδου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (see Long (1992), 59).

character a 'manifold Proteus', and in *Euthydemus* 288b he explains that the strangers who hold back their wisdom imitate Proteus, the 'Egyptian sophist'.²⁵ In the first century BC, or early in the first century AD, Dionysius of Halicarnassus adopted the sea-god as an entirely positive image for the rhetorical skill of Demosthenes, while Maximus of Tyre in the second century AD contrasted the versatility of the philosopher and his *logos* with the inconsistency of Proteus, interestingly in a context that describes the performance of the philosopher as a form of drama.²⁶ But unlike these precedents, Lycinus does not adduce Proteus as a mythic paradigm to which the performer (or literary style) is compared, whether positively or negatively. In a more radical move, he demystifies the myth altogether by claiming that Proteus is nothing but a pantomime performer. To put it another way, the form taken by Lycinus' allusion to the mythic model of the ideal performer entails, as it were, the dissolution of that model, since it becomes clear that the ideal paradigm of the medium is provided by the medium itself. His move is twofold: on the one hand the mythic ideal disappears in front of our eyes, but on the other hand pantomime itself becomes that ideal. It can only look to itself for a model, and Lycinus pursues the circular movement of his scenario one step further by adding that contemporary pantomime-artists in turn imitate Proteus himself, *auton ton Prōtea*. If what they are doing, actually, is imitating an actor, the Proteus-story becomes a perfect *mise-en-abîme* of pantomime's self-referentiality.

This reductive deflation of myth is remarkable in a discussion of a medium that serves primarily as a vehicle for myth (as becomes clear in the lengthy list of mythical subject-matters of pantomime in sections 37–61). In Lycinus' Proteus-story pantomime is not a vehicle for myth; the relationship is reversed as the myth now owes its subject to pantomime. It is tempting to pursue this thought further and ask what it implies for the relationship between pantomime and myth in general. Perhaps not only Proteus, but any other mythical

²⁵ For Ion as a typical sophist see Flashar (1963), 50.

²⁶ Dion. Hal. *Demosth.* 8 (with anti-Platonic undertones); Max. Tyr. *Or.* 1.1 (for the latter see also below, pp. 325–6). For Proteus as a figure for the poet or bard see Lonsdale (1988), 171; perhaps connected is the theme of the poet as a seer or shaman, for which see Compton (2006), 171–4; cf. Burkert (1962), 41–2. See also Lawler (1943).

subject could likewise be explained as the performance of a pantomime artist, rather than the deeds of gods and heroes. For surely a pantomime artist who is capable of representing animals, water, and fire, like Proteus, must also be able to represent all kinds of super-human beings; accordingly, just like Proteus all other mythical characters could be explained as mere pantomime performers (or the characters represented by them), who subsequently became the subjects of myths. The paradigmatic nature of Lycinus' Proteus-story for myth in a wider sense is perhaps all the more plausible if we take into account that many gods are indeed shape-shifters, like Athena in the words of Odysseus: 'you can take on any form' (*Od.* 13.313: *σὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν παντὶ εἴσκεις*). They are therefore no less 'histrionic' than Proteus, and when Plato asks whether the gods are wizards who can change their shape, he cites precisely the story of Proteus as a parallel (*Republic* 2.381d). Conversely, on the comic stage, the possibility of becoming a god through mere travesty seems to have been exploited early on, as a fragment by Aristomenes shows (Fr. 5 KA, from the *Wizards*): 'to take this armour of the god and the mask; put it on and wear it' (*παντευχίαν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτην λαβεῖν | καὶ περιθετον πρόσωπον, ὃ λαβὼν ἕσταθι*). Moreover, Proteus may recall myths of transformation, which became extremely popular in the Hellenistic period and were perhaps to some extent perceived as exemplary for myth in general: Hellenistic scholars like Nicander collected them, and Ovid chose them for his 'mythological encyclopedia', the *Metamorphoses*.²⁷ In pantomime they certainly play an important role, since the transformation of a character into inanimate matter (Niobe, Daphne) must have been particularly fascinating to represent.²⁸ Thus Lycinus' interpretation of Proteus is an

²⁷ Nicander, *Heteroeumena*; cf. Parthenius' poem of metamorphoses, now lost. For the difference between shape-shifting and metamorphoses see Forbes Irving (1990), 171.

²⁸ The transformation into inanimate matter is the subject of a number of epigrams on pantomimists, e.g. *AP* 11.253 f.; see Weinreich (1948), 84–97. These poems play precisely with the idea that the performer merges with the character he represents and the resulting possibility to refer attributes both to the character (turned into stone or wood) or to the performer, thus poking fun at stiff and awkward pantomimists. This is clearly a specific innovation of the genre, as very few metamorphoses seem to feature in classical tragedy (examples are quoted in Fantham (2004), 14. See further Ingleheart, above, pp. 210–12.

excellent, subtle way to demystify myth in a wider sense, whose miraculous features are now accounted for by the skill of a talented performer. In this scenario, myth is not thought to be pantomime's subject-matter, it is the other way round: myth represents pantomime. In this way pantomime is freed from the flaw of being a recent art: it is not just as old (*palaios*, 19) as the myth about Proteus, it is actually prior to the myth.²⁹ Moreover, if mythical characters *are* pantomime artists, pantomime re-enacts the deflation of myth by repeating this simple fact in every single performance. Pantomime is therefore uniquely true to itself: it *is* in fact what it represents.

The reference to Proteus draws attention to the fictionality of both myth and pantomime. Both function on the level of 'as if', but while myth 'paradoxically' refers to superhuman beings, pantomime gives the (anthropocentric) truth back to myth by representing it just as it ought to be understood according to Lycinus, namely as the fictions of a skilled artist which have no existence outside their medium. The explanation of Proteus as a pantomime-actor is an ingenious *aition* of the narrative shift operated by the myth, since the myth only exploits what is already built in in its protagonist, namely fictionality itself, or the ability to represent fictional characters. But while the myth, on Lycinus' reading, ends up presenting a clear divide between meaning and narrative form (or between signified and signifier), in its pantomimic enactment there is no such gap, since actor and character visibly merge in the body of the performer; the fiction is, as it were, part and parcel of him.

At the same time, the reference to Proteus' exceptional mimetic skill emphasizes the wide range of pantomime's expressive possibilities, which overcome even the boundaries between animate and inanimate matter. Note that it is by aptly representing the specific qualities of animals, water, fire, or a tree, that he creates the illusion of actually being those objects: 'the *liquidity* of water, the *sharpness* of fire, etc.' (19). With this sophisticated method the pantomime artist signifies any object, making it physically, materially present and thus visible. For the audience, visibility entails the possibility of

²⁹ Since the 5th century BC, the fact that an art is mentioned in Homer is taken as a proof of its old age and venerability (e.g. Podalirius for medicine; Nestor for rhetoric).

eyewitnessing, which is often presented in other Lucianic works as a seeming guarantee for truth, with particular insistence in the dialogue between Proteus and Menelaus.³⁰

In antiquity, the conception of the artist as capable of the impersonation of virtually any object, animate or inanimate, was by no means confined to actors, but extended in particular to philosophers and orators. Perhaps the ancient cultural memory—whether it was factually true or not—that the earliest tragedians had acted their own tragedies contributed to the conflation of composing poetry or speech and impersonation; this idea is certainly explored in the Agathon scene in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*.³¹ The conflation is implied in Plato's characterization of poets as 'being capable of becoming manifold' and 'as it were, someone else'. To be sure, Plato sees the danger of poetry precisely in the conflation of author and character, which jeopardizes the identity of the poet or performer and, by analogy, that of the audience. This view was widely discussed in antiquity, and some authors tried to rescue poetry from Plato's allegations. In his speech on Homer, Dio Chrysostom takes up Plato's idea of the poet as 'capable of everything', ignoring the fact that Plato intended this as a critique.³² The speech is carefully constructed as a model encomium, probably for use in schools, and as such it reflects the most common stereotypes about the poet.³³ Maximus of Tyre in turn claims—clearly against Plato—that if there is no blame in tragic actors who appear now as one character, now as another, even less reprehensible is the philosopher, who adapts to the ever-changing situations in life (*Diss.* 1.1–2):

But let us imagine someone who leaves Dionysiac activities to entertainment and the theater, and instead considers society as a drama appropriate to

³⁰ *Dialogue of the Sea-Gods* 4.2; cf. *Lovers of lies* 15. In *On Dancing* 78, the proverbial saying is quoted that what one sees is trustworthier than what one hears (cf. *Hdt.* 1.8.2).

³¹ Muecke (1982); Duncan (2006), 32–47.

³² *Or.* 53.5: καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ (sc. Homer) θαυμαστὴν τινα ἀποφαίνει (sc. Plato) τῆς ποιήσεως ὡς ἱκανὸν ὄντα παντὸς χρήματος καὶ πάσας ἀτεχνῶς ἀφιέντα φωνάς, ποταμῶν τε καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ κυμάτων. The relevant passage from Plato is *Republic* 3.398a1–2: ἄνδρα δὴ...δυνάμενον ὑπὸ σοφίας παντοδαπὸν γίγνεσθαι καὶ μιμεῖσθαι πάντα χρήματα, cf. 3.393c1: ὡς τις ἄλλος ὢν; the sounds of rivers and the sea are mentioned in *Republic* 3.396b. Dio elaborates the theme of Homer's 'polyphony' in much greater detail in *Or.* 12.68–9.

³³ Fornaro (2002), 85.

himself... a drama that comprises the very business of life, a drama that would be worthy of a philosopher... If, then, this man should act in such a drama, casting himself as its protagonist... would anyone consider him aberrant and inconsistent, would anyone liken him to the Homeric Proteus, to the sea hero who could change himself into any shape or form? Or should one's verdict regarding this protagonist be closely analogous to what it would be in regarding a musician if we believed that musical art and ability were essential for human happiness?... Is it any the less necessary for the devotee of this Muse (sc. philosophy), and for his words, to be attuned to the production of many different sounds in many different forms, than it is for the ordinary musician?³⁴

Although Maximus formally repudiates Proteus as a model in favour of the less provocative figure of the musician, the wording of the last sentence blurs the boundaries between the philosopher and his speech: not only the latter (*logon*) must be versatile and multifaceted, but the former (*andra*) too, who must attune or shape himself in a variety of ways. The idea of a virtual identification of the philosophical orator with any subject, made necessary by the ever-changing reality of human life, is thus implicitly allowed back in, and even where Proteus is rejected as a paradigm, his figure seems to hover over the scene. The learned audience of *On Dancing*, then, would presumably recognize the affinity of Proteus the dancer (*orchēstēs*) with familiar depictions of poets, rhapsodes, and public orators. Although the medium is different—bodily movement, not speech—the issues and the examples used to address them are exactly the same; but some of the examples are arguably more appropriate for the pantomime artist than for the orator.

This is also the case with another familiar image Lycinus uses to illustrate the versatility of the pantomimist, the octopus. The connection between Proteus and the octopus is made clear by Proteus himself in his dialogue with Menelaus, where he compares himself to the animal (Lucian, *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods* 4.2). In the dialogue on pantomime, the octopus appears in a quotation from Pindar, which Lycinus introduces as 'that well-known poetical admonition' (67): 'My son, in your converse with all cities keep the way of the sea-creature that haunts the rocks.'³⁵ The words are addressed by Amphiaraios to his son Amphilochochus. The scene was extremely

³⁴ 1.1, translation adapted from Koniaris (1983) and Trapp (1997).

³⁵ Section 67; cf. Pi. Fr. 235 Bowra.

popular and had long before found its way also into the late archaic collection of verses ascribed to Theognis, where the advice ends with the concise gnome that 'cunning is superior to inflexibility'.³⁶ The wording here would certainly remind ancient readers of Odysseus, the versatile hero *par excellence*, and in fact Athenaeus uses the quotation from Pindar in a discussion of Odysseus.³⁷ Whether or not Odysseus always used his versatility in appropriate ways was controversial, but the quality itself is certainly perceived as something admirable, since the Homeric gods themselves are characterized by the gift of likening themselves to many different shapes.³⁸ For the present purpose it is interesting to note that Philodemus quotes Pindar's version of Amphiaraios' admonition in his treatise on rhetoric, and in the sequel he remarks explicitly that orators were compared to the octopus.³⁹ So Lucian's audience might have been aware of the fact that the octopus represented a rhetorical ideal that was now transposed to the pantomimist, and at the same time they might have noticed that the image was in fact *more* appropriate for the pantomimist; for while the orator achieves versatility through speech, the pantomimist has a malleable and flexible body, just like the marine animal. The pantomimist, then, fulfils the rhetorical ideal of versatility more easily and naturally than the orator.

DEMONSTRATION AND SIGNIFICATION

In Lucian's dialogue the notion of *mimēsis* is complemented by those of demonstration and signification. By specifying how the illusion of

³⁶ v line 218: *Κρέσσων τοι σοφίη γίνεται ἀτροπίης* (further parallels in Groningen (1966) ad loc.). The passage from Theognis was parodied in Philostr. *Lives of the Sophists* 1.5, a further token of the popularity of the scene. Amphiaraios' farewell was a common motif also on Attic vases (see *LIMC* s.v.).

³⁷ Athen. 12.513c, in a different form also in 7.317a.

³⁸ See Stanford (1963), 91; for the octopus as an image of cunning intelligence see Detienne and Vernant (1991), 27–54, esp. 39. Eustath. *Od.* p. 1381, 37 f. mentions negative uses of the octopus (*ὡς οἱ μεθ' Ὀμηρον σκώπτουσι πολύποδα*). For divine shape-shifting see *Odyssey* 17.485–6: 'For the gods do take on all sorts of transformations, appearing as strangers from elsewhere, and thus they range at large through the cities', trans. Lattimore (1965); note the similarity with Amphiaraios' advice.

³⁹ *Rhet.* II p. 75,32–4 Sudhaus: *ὅτ[ι παρέ-]βαλε* (sc. his source?) *ρήτορας [τοῖς πολύποσιν] πολύποδες γάρ εἰσιν κτλ.* The context does not seem to imply that the comparison has a negative connotation.

physical identity is created, these notions are used in ways that aim at dissociating pantomime from the immediacy and quasi-materiality implied in impersonation. It would be mistaken to consider demonstration and signification as clear-cut or mutually exclusive categories. Nevertheless, some attempt at systematization is undeniable. Demonstration presumably refers to those gestures of the pantomimist that Plutarch explains as ‘indicating the objects straightforwardly’, as in pointing to the sky, the earth, or the audience.⁴⁰ Apart from this simple, but limited way of indicating objects, pantomimic gesture comprises less straightforward ways of referring to objects, notably to absent ones, so that it can appropriately be described as a form of language. In doing so, Lycinus stresses once more the infinite range of the objects or contents of pantomime. It represents not only all visible phenomena, animate and inanimate, but also everything invisible, including thoughts, so that the pantomimist does not just impersonate all sorts of material objects, but also refers to intellectual activity and content. Lycinus combines these aspects in his definition of pantomime as a ‘science of representation and demonstration, of speaking out what is in the mind and making clear what is obscure.’⁴¹ The pantomimist’s body becomes here a medium for signs that can be translated back into thoughts. Indeed, Lycinus attempts to reclaim pantomime as a semi-otic system equal (if not superior) to spoken language and certainly with more claim to universality. As the ‘highest praise’ of pantomime he recounts the anecdote of a foreigner who, after seeing a pantomime-artist and understanding him without listening to the song, thought that he could take him to his country and use him as an interpreter with his barbarian neighbours (64 = T20). This ‘half-Greek’ (*ibid.*) misunderstands pantomime as a universally intelligible communication system, rather than a culturally determined artistic medium. The episode recalls other anecdotes about foreigners who found themselves at a loss when confronted with Greek theatre, but the stranger’s lack of familiarity with pantomime results here in an—exaggerated—emphasis on pantomime’s clarity.⁴²

⁴⁰ *Sympotic Questions* 9.15.2 = *Mor.* 747c–e (Ammonius is speaking).

⁴¹ Section 36: *μιμητική τίς ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη καὶ δεικτική καὶ τῶν ἐνοσηθέντων ἐξαγορευτική καὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν σαφημιστική.*

⁴² *Anach.* 23; *Dio Chrys. Or.* 7.24; *Philostr. Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 5.9.

The assumption that pantomimic signs are natural and, hence, universally intelligible would not have been shared by ancient theories of gesture, which, by and large, described gesture as a conventional phenomenon produced by and relative to each society. Theatrical gestures in particular were thought to correspond closely to spoken language and hence would have been particularly difficult to understand for members of a different culture. In an effort to distinguish between theatrical and rhetorical gesture, Cicero claims that actors illustrate single words with pictorial gestures, whereas the orator uses gesture in order to explain the overall meaning of the speech 'by signifying, not by demonstrating'.⁴³ Quintilian, too, states that rhetorical gesture does not simply refer to language, but to the underlying emotions or psychic states, or to the structure of the argument.⁴⁴ This description allows for a certain independence of gesture from spoken language, and despite the endeavour of some authors to separate rhetorical from theatrical gesture, pantomime presumably also makes use of the more sophisticated and complex gestures that Cicero and Quintilian claim for the orators.

The idea of a visual medium that is independent from language and gives immediate access to thoughts and emotions was not confined to gesture. It is also the basis of ancient theories of physiognomy, which in turn informed the discourse on painting and sculpture. In a conversation with the painter Parrhasius and the sculptor Cleiton, Socrates makes it clear that the visual arts are certainly capable of representing *ēthos* and *pathos* (*Xen. Mem.* 3.10.1–8). The argument rests on the assumption that inner states express themselves in fully visible, transparent ways on the body and can therefore be represented in painting and sculpture. Thus affectionate or hateful looks and a noble or a vile disposition (*ēthos*) can be rendered, liveliness is conveyed through the representation of someone's activity, and emotions (*pathē*) like joy or aggression are also depicted.⁴⁵ The question whether psychic states are always and

⁴³ Cic. *De Orat.* 3.220: *non hic (sc. gestus) verba exprimens scaenicus, sed universam rem et sententiam non demonstratione sed significatione declarans*; similarly Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.88.

⁴⁴ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.66. See Graf (1993), 39, 43.

⁴⁵ 3.10.4. See Preisshofen (1974). A similar view is expressed on a more sceptical note in Arist. *Pol.* 8.5.1340^a 28–38.

exhaustively visible on the body is not addressed, nor is the possibility of deception or misinterpretation. It is also assumed without discussion that the artist fully succeeds in rendering the visible expression of inner states. The short conversation gives us therefore a somewhat simplistic picture of the issue, but it nevertheless mirrors ancient ideas about the representation of *ēthos* and *pathos* in painting and sculpture on which the discourse on pantomime could draw.

A similar, but more complicated issue is addressed in the discussion of divine images and their relationship to the gods, insofar as the gods are not only invisible, but situated on a different, higher level of existence. If Democritus describes the names of the gods as sounding images (*ἀγάλματα φωνήεντα*, DK 68 B 142), he builds on the fact that images represent the gods independently from language; analogously, names are thought to encapsulate something of the true nature of the gods without giving a discursive account of them. Later on, Dio Chrysostom explains that it is necessary to portray the invisible with the help of the visible, which functions as a *symbolon* (*Or.* 12.59). Similarly, Maximus of Tyre understands divine images as signs, *sēmeia*, that enable the apprehension of the gods, in the same way that written words function as signs of spoken ones (*Or.* 2.2; cf. 2.10).⁴⁶ So divine images, far from being faithful pictorial representations, were nevertheless thought to be capable of disclosing knowledge about the gods. Plotinus adds to his discussion of the Zeus of Phidias the example of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, which he takes to give immediate access to intelligible contents (*Enneads* v.8.6). Lucian's dialogue on pantomime refers to the religious dimension of the problem in a different way, namely by comparing the spectator to the Pythia who, in a passage from Herodotus, does not need spoken words in order to guess and actually 'hear' people's thoughts.⁴⁷

The emphasis on hearing is repeated in Lycinus' example of Demetrios, a Cynic, who was allegedly converted to pantomime when he saw a performance—without any accompaniment—that was so clear that he cried out in awe: 'I *hear* the story that you are

⁴⁶ Note the explicit link between the discourses on the visual arts in general and on divine images in *Or.* 12.59. Cf. Varro *Fr.* 225 Cardauns (1976) = *Aug. Civ.* 7.5. See Graf (2001).

⁴⁷ Section 62: *καὶ κωφοῦ συνιέναι καὶ μὴ λαλέοντος τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ ἀκούειν* (cf. *Hdt.* 1.47.3).

acting, man, I do not just see it: you seem to me to be *talking* with your very hands!'⁴⁸ Pantomime, then, functions not simply as a visible code that replaces spoken language, rather it incorporates the audible dimension as well by paradoxically appealing to eyes and ears alike. This is, as it were, an inversion of ecphrasis, which is usually characterized as making the listener *see* what is being described in words.⁴⁹

To sum up, pantomime is productive of speech by making the spectator *hear* what is being represented by the silent pantomimist, but at the same time it could also be perceived as independent from speech, just as gestures, bodily features and images were thought to disclose knowledge independently from spoken language.

PANTOMIME, RHETORIC, AND THE VISUAL ARTS

The relationship between pantomime and rhetoric, as it emerges from the passages examined above, is rather complex and cannot adequately be described as an unambiguous hierarchy with rhetoric at the top. It is true that the orator serves as a model to which the *orchēstēs* is repeatedly compared, most explicitly in section 62: 'just like the orator he must cultivate clarity.'⁵⁰ Pantomime is said to 'demonstrate character and emotion' (*ēthous te kai pathous epideiktikē*, 35 and 67 = T22). The pantomimist must be learned in all disciplines (35), not unlike the rhetor according to Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.10–11) or Maximus of Tyre (*Or.* 25.6). He achieves exactly what Pericles did in one of his great speeches, namely 'to know what is appropriate and to express it'. After quoting this line from Thucydides, Lycinus glosses the word for 'expression' (*hermēneia*) for the present purpose with 'clarity of the postures.'⁵¹ The gloss plays with

⁴⁸ Section 63: Ἀκούω, ἄνθρωπε, ἃ ποιεῖς· οὐχ ὁρῶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖς ταῖς χερσὶν αὐταῖς λαλεῖν = T19.

⁴⁹ See e.g. Theon, *Progymnasmata* 118 (66–69 Patillon (1997)); Hermog. *Prog.* 10 (Rabe p. 22, 7 f.). See Webb (1999), 11.

⁵⁰ Sections 62 and 65: his performance (*hupokrisis*) is just like that of an orator. Actors and orators have been compared as early as Arist. *Rhet.* 3.1.

⁵¹ Section 36: καὶ ὅπερ ὁ Θουκυδίδης περὶ τοῦ Περικλέους εἶφη ἐπαιῶν τὸν ἄνδρα, τοῦτο καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ ἀκρότατον ἂν ἐγκώμιον εἶη, γινῶναι τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι αὐτά. ἐρμηνείαν δὲ νῦν τὴν σαφήνειαν τῶν σχημάτων λέγω (cf. Thuc. 2.60.5).

the various senses of *schēmata*, the conventional one ('shapes' or 'postures') and the rhetorical one ('figures of style').⁵² The latter is evoked through the combination with 'clarity' (*saphēneia*), another rhetorical key-word, which marks the end of interpretation.⁵³

Nevertheless, I think that to reclaim pantomime as 'rhetorical' is not necessarily a polemical move of a culture that values eloquence more than anything else, as the Second Sophistic is often portrayed. Interestingly, the term clarity belongs originally to the visual domain. This holds also for another rhetorical term that Lycinus employs various times to describe pantomime, (*epi*)*deixis* ('illustration').⁵⁴ Hence it is all the more appropriate that these terms are applied to the visual medium of pantomime. In doing so, Lycinus reinforces the impression that pantomime is a form of rhetoric, but at the same time he also exploits the fact that rhetoric borrows some of its key categories from the visual domain. By applying them to pantomime, he gives them back to the cultural arena to which they had originally belonged. If rhetoric combines both components essential to pantomime, the sign-system of language and the immediacy and self-evidence of visual clarity, pantomime is a better rhetoric than eloquence. Lycinus thus gently draws attention to the fact that the very purpose of rhetoric is described in visual terms.

More generally speaking, it is important to remember that the technical vocabulary for rhetoric and the theories of art and drama was to some extent the same one. Not only *saphēneia* and *epideixis*, but also terms like *schēma*, *ēthos kai pathos*, *hupokrisis*, and others, were frequently used both in rhetoric and in the discourse on visual and dramatic arts.⁵⁵ It seems that the discourse on art has always been informed by rhetorical categories, and vice versa, and it is often impossible to determine in which domain a term had first become technical. So when the same terms are applied to pantomime, we must not only look to rhetoric for a possible model, but also to

⁵² Koch (2000); Lawler (1954).

⁵³ Section 62 (see above n. 47) and 64. For discussions of rhetorical clarity see the contributions of S. Dubel, R. Webb, and B. Cassin in Lévy and Pernot (1997); Zanker (1981).

⁵⁴ Sections 35; 36; 67. This notion must be distinguished from the narrower 'demonstration', discussed above.

⁵⁵ See Pollitt (1974); Lawler (1954); Koch (2000).

the discourses on art and drama. Furthermore, by the time Lucian wrote his dialogue, pantomime looked already back to a history not only of polemics such as Aristides' attack on the medium, but of technical treatises, to which Lycinus alludes in section 33 ('many before myself who wrote on *orchēsis*').⁵⁶ Presumably the authors of these treatises established a technical vocabulary for pantomime, drawing on earlier discussions of dance, drama, music, rhetoric, and art. So the presence of rhetorical notions in *On Dancing* does not necessarily mean that the visual medium of pantomime is perceived as secondary and inferior to spoken words and written texts. Rather, it is the result of a mutual indebtedness and interdependence of the visual and the textual domains.

I would like to add two further observations that qualify the importance of rhetoric as a model for pantomime. First, the prominent role of rhetorical categories might at least partly be due to pantomime's subject-matter and its history as a genre: it was perceived as resting on and referring to texts, or at any rate myths—stories—that were in some form or other transmitted as texts.⁵⁷ The view that texts—very ancient texts—are the 'material' of pantomime is expressed in Lucian's *On Dancing* through the way in which Lycinus sums up his extraordinary catalogue of subjects for pantomime performances (61): they comprise everything 'said by Homer, Hesiod, and the best poets, particularly the tragic ones.' These authors and their texts represent the frame of reference for the contents of pantomimic shows. Moreover, earlier types of lyric performance such as the *hyporchēma*, which in its wider, untechnical sense traditionally denoted a song that is closely illustrated by dance, presumably influenced the development of pantomime and shaped its tight relationship with language.⁵⁸ After all, according to Plato (*Laws* 7.816a), the origin of dance lies in gestures that

⁵⁶ The claim that many others have written on the same subject is often used as *captatio benevolentiae* in oratory and historiography, e.g. Dio, *Or.* 53.1; Isocr. *Paneg.* 74; Liv. praef. 3 (this does not necessarily make it a false claim).

⁵⁷ On the relationship between pantomime performance and texts see especially Garelli (2006), 119–25.

⁵⁸ Athen. 1.15 and 14.628–631; Plu. *Symptotic Questions* 9.15.2 = *Mor.* 747 b–c. See Dale (1969); Montiglio (1999), 266 n. 14. For the (complementary) influence of the mime on the development of pantomime see Jory (1996), 26–7; Garelli (2006), 120.

express what one is saying.⁵⁹ The connection with both song and traditional mythical subjects, which persists in pantomime, invites us to look at pantomime as part and parcel of a larger literary (and performance) culture, which grew out of specific contexts like the symposium.⁶⁰ In a culture where the oral performance of poetry plays an important role, the boundaries between word and image are blurred, because every performance has also a visual component.⁶¹ So instead of being the site for a competition between language and visuality as two separate domains, the pantomimic genre participates in a long-standing interaction, which explains at least partly why language plays a prominent role in its portrayal. Accordingly, the description of pantomime in terms of a (visual) language is not just typical of the Second Sophistic.⁶² Pylades, Augustus' favourite pantomime artist, was described by his contemporary Antipater of Thessalonike as 'gifted with all-talking hands'.⁶³ The motif can also be found in prose, for instance in Tacitus, who points out that it is a cliché: 'actors dance eloquently.'⁶⁴ However, it should also be clear that the historical account of pantomime as a genre that refers to and interacts with texts does not imply that it is ancillary or inferior to texts (the opposite can also be imagined, as Lycinus' Proteus example shows).

More specifically, the idea that we can hear speech where there is none is quite common in the description of works of art, for instance in an epigram from the new Posidippus on a statue of Idomeneus by the late fifth-century sculptor Cresilas:

⁵⁹ 7.816a, 5–6: διὸ μίμησις τῶν λεγομένων σχήμασι γενομένη τὴν ὀρχηστικὴν ἐξηργάσατο τέχνην σύμπασαν.

⁶⁰ Xenophon's *Symposion* ends with two dancers staging the myth of Dionysos and Ariadne (9.2–6 = T1); see above, Introduction, p. 11.

⁶¹ See for instance Herington (1985), 3–40.

⁶² Thus Weinreich (1948), 144 is not convincing when he claims that the motif of 'hearing' silent speech (*On Dancing* 63 = T19) is not a topos, but an accurate account of an experience.

⁶³ AP 16.290: παμφώνοις χερσὶ λοχεύόμενος (see Weinreich (1948) 54, 144); cf. a funerary epigram dedicated to an unknown pantomimist in Rome (2nd or 3rd cent.): 'He depicts myths and narrates everything with his hands' (*JG* 14, 2124; Weinreich 73); AP 9. 505.17–18, etc.

⁶⁴ Tac. *Dialogus* 26: unde oritur illa foeda et praepostera, sed tamen frequens [sicut his clam et] exclamatio, ut oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones diserte saltare dicantur (trans. Peterson (1970)).

How perfectly he worked, we can see.
Idomeneus cries: 'Good Meriones, run...!'⁶⁵

The words attributed to Idomeneus seem to allude to a scene from the *Iliad* (13.240 ff.), where Idomeneus calls Meriones 'quick on his feet' (*podas tachy*, line 249). Like pantomime, art is here understood to refer to texts and to fulfil the very same function as texts, namely the production of speech. But it would be mistaken to assume that the fact that art is described with the help of textual memories implies a hierarchy between art and text, or that art is in any way deficient compared to its textual model. On the contrary, one could equally plausibly argue that art is perceived as superior to texts, since it is both visible *and* audible, incorporating the textual dimension in its visual perception. The idea that works of art translate directly into language is expressed, with slightly different emphasis, in Porphyry's treatise *On statues*. He writes that the learned 'read from the statues as from books', whereas 'those who do not understand the written letters look upon the monuments as mere stones, and on the tablets as bits of wood, and on books as woven papyrus'.⁶⁶ So it is the privilege of the learned to decode images like texts. But the passage hardly implies that the reading of texts is prior and superior to the decoding of images, since reading itself involves recognizing the specific meaning of visual symbols, namely the letters.

The origin of the motif of 'speaking statues' probably goes back to inscriptions on all sorts of objects like weights and coins that attribute a voice to the object itself, of which examples can be found as early as around 700 BC. In particular, funerary inscriptions make the stone 'speak with a silent mouth' (*aphthongōi phthengomena stōmati*).⁶⁷ The absence of the voice of the dead gives the motif of the speaking stone its poignancy: the stone is mute like the dead, yet speaks in lieu of the dead. In this context, the silence of written letters is sometimes also mentioned: like the stone itself, they have no voice and cannot be heard, but only seen, yet they are capable of producing

⁶⁵ P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309 = Austin and Bastianini (2002), 64,2-3: ὡς ἄκρωσ ἠργάσατ' εἶδομεν εὖ | γ]αργύ[ει] Ἰδομενεύς· ἄλ[λ'] ᾧ ἴαθ' Ἐ Μηριόνα, θεῖ, κτλ.' See Kosmetatou (2004) 197; Angio (2002), 140.

⁶⁶ Porph. *Peri agalmatōn* 1 (Bidez (1913), p. 1*).

⁶⁷ GVI 1745 (a marble slab from Smyrna, 3rd cent. BC); cf. GVI 1729, etc. See Kassel (1991); Burzachechi (1962).

speech. In the discourse on art, the attribution of voice to a statue or painting is a chief criterion of vividness and realism, since voice distinguishes the living from the dead. The reference to specific literary works, as in the example of Posidippus quoted above, is a further refinement of this ancient topos, of which writers on pantomime must have been aware. In this light, it is not clear whether the motif of an image that speaks silently in a poem attributed to Anacreon is a later interpolation due to the influence of pantomime (as Weinreich suggested).⁶⁸ Rather, the motif was widely diffused at a much earlier stage already, and those who wrote on pantomime could in turn draw on this background.⁶⁹ That they exploited the tradition of ecphrasis is all the more natural and plausible, since among the very earliest texts on pantomime there are in fact ecphrastic epigrams. The reverse process, i.e. the influence of pantomime on the description of artworks, can also be observed, most clearly perhaps in the fifth-century author Callistratus.⁷⁰

Finally, the view that rhetoric, in the narrow sense of eloquence, dominates the culture of the Second Sophistic, and was an ideal to which all other arts aspired, might to some extent be a projection of modern developments back onto antiquity, for modern music and painting and the accompanying theories did indeed develop on the model of ancient rhetoric.⁷¹ On the other hand, recent scholarship has shown that the ideal of *paideia*, characteristic of the Second Sophistic, manifests itself by no means only in literary culture, but pervades many other aspects of art and society. This contributes to the impression that in antiquity the literary and visual arts, music, and drama are tightly connected and conceptualized in similar ways. In fact it has been argued that the autonomy of different art forms is achieved only in the eighteenth century.⁷²

⁶⁸ *Anacreontea* 17 West (Weinreich (1948), 82 n. 1).

⁶⁹ The affinity between the discourse on pantomime and (contemporary) ecphrasis is discussed by Lada-Richards (2004a), 21.

⁷⁰ Epigrams on pantomimists are collected in Weinreich (1948); for Callistratus and pantomime see Lada-Richards (2003b).

⁷¹ Wille (1997), 217 attributes to antiquity a 'musikalisch infizierte Rhetorik', while early modern composers and theorists of music took ancient rhetoric as a model. For the analogous phenomenon in painting see e.g. Rehm (2002), 52–9 (on Alberti's *De pictura*).

⁷² For the Second Sophistic see e.g. Borg (2004). For the autonomy of art forms see Koch (2005), 2.

CONCLUSION

The picture that emerges hardly allows us to state that the ancient discourse on pantomime by and large subordinated the genre to rhetoric or literary culture. Rather, the discussion of pantomime is an excellent opportunity for a writer like Lucian—and presumably some of his predecessors—to explore the intricate interactions and mutual indebtedness of visual and textual genres. If the portrayal of pantomime is undercut by irony (a question that I have not been able to discuss in detail here), this does not affect its relationship with rhetoric. Since the two are closely intertwined, an implicit critique of pantomime inevitably reflects also on rhetoric and the claims that are made about the ideal orator. Far from playing out literary against visual culture, Lucian offers a rather more complex view of pantomime and its multiple models.

The Metamorphosis of Pantomime:
Apuleius' *Judgement of Paris* (*Met.* 10.30–34)

Regine May

INTRODUCTION

We have no text that was certainly composed as a pantomime libretto (although see Part II of this volume), and only very few extended or detailed descriptions of a pantomime in performance. One of the few candidates is the well-known *Judgement of Paris* pantomime in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 10.30–4 = T15, which therefore deserves a closer look.¹ Set in the theatre at Corinth, it describes a lavishly equipped spectacle with several dancers and many extras. All are wearing beautiful costumes. Paris even guards his real sheep on an artificial hill in the theatre.² The roles of the goddesses are danced by pretty and well-dressed young women, and their companions (e.g. little Cupids, the Dioscuri, and Hours) by gaggles of little children.

I would like to thank Stephen Harrison, Nicholas Horsfall and Maaïke Zimmermann, who generously commented on earlier drafts of this paper.

¹ There is no trace of a pantomime in the abridged Greek novel entitled *Ass* (*Onos*) attributed to Lucian (see Hall (1995), 56–8); it is likely that the Apuleian pantomime is his addition to the plot of the lost Greek original. In *Onos* 54 the transformation takes part in the theatre, before any spectacle has even had the chance to begin. For specific discussions of this episode in Apuleius cf. Fick (1990); Finkelpearl (1991); Zimmermann (1993); and Frangoulidis (2001), 147–62.

² On the employment of such hills in the theatre, with an erotic interpretation, see Finkelpearl (1991), 224–5.

Juno, Minerva, and Venus perform solo dances in succession; beguiled by Venus' dancing skills and elegance, Paris unceremoniously and unhesitatingly gives the apple to her, to the general applause of the smitten Corinthian audience.

Apuleius' elaborate spectacle does not exactly match what is generally held to have been the 'normal' form taken by Graeco-Roman pantomime. According to the widespread definition, a single, masked male dancer performed silently, while a chorus or solo singer sang a libretto taken primarily from Greek mythology.³ The definition is inferred from (and by circular argumentation accordingly fits) many of our descriptions of ancient pantomime, but Apuleius' elaborate *Judgement of Paris* constitutes a major exception, since it contains several divergences from what is often assumed to be the norm. It involves several soloists (five altogether, taking the roles of Paris, Mercury, Juno, Minerva, and Venus),⁴ several extras in the roles of attendants, and the whole Corinthian children's *corps de ballet*,⁵ all wearing elaborate costumes and carrying suitable props (e.g. Paris' apple or Minerva's helmet). There is no mention of a chorus or solo singer telling the story, which implies that the interpretation of the action has to be inferred entirely from the silent pantomime dance itself, the musical accompaniment and instrumentalization, along with the gestures of the dancers. Although there seems to be a primary dancer (Venus), she is not the only performer on stage. Some of the dancers are women, and the question of whether masks were worn or not is not clearly answered, either. There is also another, perhaps less obvious, deviation from what is usually said to be the 'normal'

³ See Jory (this volume), and the definition by Jory (1996), 1–2: It 'consisted of a of a silent, solo dance, in which the artist [...] enacted stories that were, for the most part, taken from the vast repertoire of Greek mythology.' Cf. also Jory (1986), 147; Jory (1996), 3–4; Potter (1999), 273–4; Cameron (2004), 229; and Lucian, *On Dancing* 29–30.

⁴ It is clear that there are several soloists on stage, which is made explicit when Apuleius describes how the two disappointed goddesses leave: *Met.* 10.34 *postquam finitum est illud Paridis iudicium, Iuno quidem cum Minerva tristes et iratis similes e scaena redeunt, ... Venus vero gaudens...* 'After the judgement of Paris was completed, Juno and Minerva went off stage, gloomy and acting angry, ... Venus, on the other hand, joyfully....' All translations from Apuleius follow the Loeb edn. by Hanson (1989).

⁵ Cf. Steinmetz (1982), 354–5.

pantomime practice, namely the reaction of the diverse audiences to the performance, which, as we will see, will be important for interpreting Apuleius' specific approach to pantomime in including such an unusual scene in this precise position in his novel.

Thus in Apuleius' spectacle there seem to be more elements that are exceptions to the 'rules' of pantomime than elements that conform with them. Considered in isolation, none of these might be thought problematic, but cumulatively they affect whether we can really insist on the orthodox definition of pantomime on the one hand, or, on the other, define Apuleius' *Judgement of Paris* as a pantomime at all. In this chapter I shall try to suggest a solution to this dilemma by taking a closer look at some of these unusual elements, before placing the performance within its context in the novel. This will allow an analysis of the ways in which the *Judgement of Paris* fits into the pattern of the *Metamorphoses* as a whole: its plot features the young man Lucius, who is interested in magic, and accidentally turned into a donkey through the actions of the pretty maidservant Photis. As a donkey, he journeys through Greece, until at the end he is turned back into human form with the help of the goddess Isis, whose priest he then becomes. The *Judgement of Paris* 'pantomime' appears at a crucial point in the novel, just before Lucius is re-metamorphosed into human form, and thus it—and its somewhat unorthodox constitution—may have substantial significance for the work's interpretation.

UNUSUAL FEATURES

The apparent divergences from 'normal' pantomime have led some scholars to argue that Apuleius' *Judgement of Paris* is not a pantomime at all,⁶ but the definition which restricts pantomime to a male

⁶ Fick (1990), 225 poses the question, and other scholars have similar misgivings, mainly due to the presence of more than one dancer (cf. e.g. Jory (1998)). Slater (1990), 219 notes that Suet. *Nero* 12 might indicate that pantomime may be attached to a Pyrrhic performance, and the situation may be similar here in Apuleius. Robert and Robert (1981), 448 (no. 481) state that at the time of the empire the Pyrrhic

solo performer may well be too narrow. Occasionally, females and groups performed pantomimic dances. There is evidence for female *pantomimae* or *saltatrices* from early on, and the word *pantomima* occurs in Latin first in Seneca's *Consolatio ad Helviam*.⁷ Moreover, there may be evidence for two soloists on stage in a pantomimic performance,⁸ as Hall stresses: 'It is clear that there was no single "correct" way to stage a pantomime: although usually featuring a star (male) saltator (Lucian, *On Dancing* 66 = T21), the genre could add a second dancer (Quintilian 6.3.65), a herald to broadcast the actions beforehand (Augustine, *De doct. Chris.* 2.38.97), or an actor.'⁹

Yet the sheer crowdedness of Apuleius' stage seems odd in the light of the paucity of evidence, as discussed by Jory (1998), for the presence of plural dancers, even if the art-form was not strictly a solo one. The presence of as many as five soloists, rather than one or perhaps two, certainly pushes the definition of a pantomime performance to its limits, although the number five does have a special significance in relation to pantomime in that it is sometimes mentioned as the number of roles performed by one single dancer in the course of a single show.¹⁰

Such divergences in the Corinthian spectacle from 'regular' practice are certainly not due to Apuleius' lack of knowledge of the pantomime genre. Pantomime performers are described in several other places in Apuleius' work; outside the *Metamorphoses*, everything he says

dances were 'des ballets mythologiques à nombreux personnages richement costumés'; cf. also Molloy (1996), 43–4 for an interpretation of this scene. Frangoulidis (2001), 155 calls the performer of Venus a *mima*, thus associating the performance with mime, but then refers to the performance as pantomime (p. 156). The classic discussion is Friedländer (1965), 2. 108 ff., who thinks Apuleius is describing a mythological Pyrrhic dance; see also Ceccarelli (1998), 97, who puts Apuleius' *Graecanica pyrrica* (Met. 10.29) into the category of 'balletto a carattere mitologico che gli è proprio in età imperiale', cf. also pp. 225–7. Cf. Graverini (2006), 2 on the primarily visual character of imperial theatre and p. 14 (briefly) on the 'pantomime' of Paris.

⁷ Female *pantomimae*: cf. Wüst (1949), 850–2; Rotolo (1957), 240–1; Webb (2002), 285–6; and Starks (this volume, ch. 4) for the evidence. Although female performers are attested early, they become more common during the empire.

⁸ Pace Friedländer (1965), 2. 104 and Jory (1998), the involvement of several actors is not without parallel, cf. Quint. 6.3.65, and Rotolo (1957), 16.

⁹ Hall (2002a), 29.

¹⁰ Lucian, *On Dancing*, 66 = T21.

draws on commonly found, stereotypical approaches to pantomime. In *Florida* 18 he describes various performers found in the theatre, and denotes the pantomime dancer by his most characteristic action, his gestures: *histrío gesticulatur*.¹¹ Similarly, in the defence speech he delivered at Sabratha in AD 158, when accused on a charge of practising magic, Apuleius is clearly of the regular view that the usual pantomime costume was the *crocata* (saffron-coloured gown; *Apol.* 13.5). Male pantomime dancers were often vilified as effeminate, and Apuleius shows the same attitude in addressing his prosecutor and arch-enemy Herennius Rufinus (*Apol.* 78):

Tune effeminatissime, tua manu cuidam viro mortem munitari<s>? At qua tandem manu? Philomelae an Medae an Clytemnestrae? Quas tamen cum saltas—tanta mo<l>litia animi, tanta formido ferri est—, sine cludine saltas.

So you, the most effeminate of men, are threatening death to a real male with your own hand? But what hand will it be? That of Philomela, or Medea, of Clytemnestra? But if you perform these roles, you do so without a dagger: such is your weakness, such your fear of steel!¹²

The same target of abuse had a little earlier been accused by Apuleius of having tried—rather unsuccessfully—to be a pantomime dancer in his youth (*Apol.* 74.7):

Mox in iuventute saltandis fabulis exossis plane et enervis, sed, ut audio, indocta et rudi mollitia; negatur enim quicquam histrionis habuisse praeter impudicitiam.

Later, as a youth, he turned to performing pantomime; he seemed to be without bones or sinews, but this softness (so it is said) was both unskilled and unrefined. For it is said that he possessed nothing of an actor's character except for sexual impurity.

The disrespectful treatment of the personal morality of pantomime actors here is congruent with the negative stereotypes in general circulation, and it is clear from the first cited text that this popular image assumed that female roles were performed by men.¹³ Herennius

¹¹ On *histrío* as signifying primarily *pantomimus*, see Csapo and Slater (1994), 371.

¹² Translations from the *Apologia* follow Hunink in Harrison, Hilton, and Hunink (2001).

¹³ Cf. Harrison (2000), 78; Csapo and Slater (1994), 275–85. Cf. Plin. *Paneg.* 46.4: *Idem ergo populus ille, aliquando scaenici imperatoris spectator et plausor, nunc in pantomimis quoque aversatur et damnat effeminatas artes et indecora saeculo studia.*

(accused of being effeminate) is shown to be the one who dances female roles, and the identification between actor and role is stressed. A dancer of female roles, Apuleius implies, is effeminate himself by nature.

The situation is different for the other overtly pantomimic performance in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* at 6.24; although more consistent with our received concept of pantomime in involving a solo dancer, it is still unusual in several aspects. At the end of *Cupid and Psyche*, Venus dances as a sign of her reconciliation (Met. 6. 24):

Apollo cantavit ad citharam, Venus suavi musicae superingressa formosa saltavit, scaena sibi sic concinnata, ut Musae quidem chorum canerent aut tibias inflarent, Saturus et Paniscus ad fistulam dicerent.

Apollo chanted to the accompaniment of his lyre, and Venus danced gorgeously, stepping to the tune of the lovely music. She had arranged the stage so that the Muses were singing in a chorus, a Satyr blew the flute, and a Paniscus played on the reed-pipes.

Hall argues that if, 'as seems likely, pantomime is reflected in this Olympian entertainment, it could clearly accommodate both solo singing and accompanied recitation'.¹⁴ Here the dancer is female, and apparently unmasked. Naturally, Venus does not need a mask to enhance her identification with impersonated 'self'. Still, although Venus is female, she is a single solo dancer, with a libretto accompaniment, and surely all this is within the norms of what are considered to have been 'regular' pantomime performances. Although Apuleius is here straining at the leash, and beginning to experiment with the narrow definition of the pantomime performance conventions, he may only be preparing the reader for a rather greater deviation from what might be considered orthodox pantomime performances in book 10, where again he casts a dancing Venus.

In the *Judgement of Paris* there is no mention of a libretto. No one seems to be singing at all, the ballet is mute, and this time it is not Venus herself who dances, but a girl miming Venus through her dance. Another important problem is the usual employment of masks by the dancers. It is unclear whether Apuleius' goddesses are

(‘Therefore the same people, who once watched and applauded an actor-emperor, now turn against even the pantomime performers and condemn their effeminate arts and the pursuits unworthy of our age.’)

¹⁴ Hall (2002a), 29.

characterized by masks,¹⁵ or whether the Corinthian ballet school was fortunate enough to have three budding young dancers who, remarkably, provided visual appearances that corresponded closely with the typical iconographical representations of each goddess. There is no clear evidence either way within Apuleius' text. The reference to the girls dancing 'with their eyes alone'¹⁶ can be paralleled from other sources which do refer to masks; Cicero, moreover, suggests that masks may have had large enough eyeholes to allow the eyes to be visible:¹⁷

Saepe ipse vidi, ut ex persona mihi ardere oculi hominis histrionis videntur.

I have often seen myself how the eyes of the actor seemed to gleam at me from behind a mask. (*De Orat.* 2.193)

In *On Dancing*, Lucian says that pantomime masks, with their closed mouths are far more *beautiful* (29), which might also imply more *realistic* than the gaping masks of tragedy, at least by the second century AD. Apuleius' young women might, therefore, be meant to be understood as wearing masks, but relatively lifelike ones. Thus it might be quite unnecessary to mention their masks, especially given Apuleius' delight, so often exemplified, in taut narrative economy;¹⁸ he mentions what is necessary to build a scene or sequence, and omits other, less important things. Yet there might be another reason, as we shall see. The fact that each of the dancers is entirely adequate to his or her role would also make the quick change of mask and character, by a lone star, unnecessary. Since the identification of each of the dancers with her or his role—one of the main reasons for a mask—is unproblematic, Apuleius omits to mention the masks either way—they are neither explicitly described as present, nor are

¹⁵ Undecided: Steinmetz (1982), 352; Fick (1990), 226; Zimmermann (2000), 391.

¹⁶ Apul. *Met.* 10.32: 'She gestured with her glances, now softly languid, now sharply threatening, and sometimes she would dance with her eyes alone.' Cf. also *Met.* 10.31.6.

¹⁷ There are parallel remarks contained in other descriptions of pantomime and mime, listed in Rotolo (1957), 5, with n. 3: Augustine, *De doct. Christ.* 2.3.4 *cum oculis eorum quasi fabulantur*, Tatian. *Adv. Graec.* 22; Nonn. *Dion.* 5.107 = T31, 19.199; Leontius Scholasticus in *AP.* 16.283, vv. 3–4.

¹⁸ On the concept see van Mal-Maeder (1995).

they conspicuously absent. It is typical of Apuleius to leave this position, and the statement of it, so vague.

One might perhaps argue that the availability in the world of Apuleius' novel (which may or may not conform to any ancient reality) of several dancers of both sexes makes both masks and the narration of the well-known story superfluous. By listing the figures impersonated in the performance, the story is as good as told. The experience of enjoying Apuleius' prose is sufficient to the plot, in just the same way as the experience of visually 'reading' the depictions of the three goddesses preening themselves, and of Paris and Hermes—all with closed mouths—in the pulpitum of the theatre at Sabratha (see above, Introduction, p. 19). Pantomime libretti must often have been of negligible 'literary' value,¹⁹ and the characterization of the goddesses in the novel, similarly, takes place sufficiently through costume, gesture, and musical modes, all described in detail, while the plot is well-known enough (*Met.* 4.30) and needs no introduction.

Yet no amount of special pleading can obscure the fact that Apuleius' entertainment is exceptional for a pantomime. The bulk of our evidence for the medium does concern single performers, usually men, dancing up to five successive roles, with different masks, one role after the other.²⁰ Moreover, the evidence for props is fairly slight, while some witnesses recorded that the dancer could his fabric mantle as a prop (T14). Again, Apuleius' lavishly equipped Corinthian troupe is unusual in that respect.

One piece of evidence that underlines the importance of the soloist's use of masks to realise different roles within a pantomime is the story that Nero was interested, shortly before his death, in performing a *Turnus* pantomime, in which he would have had to take on the roles of both Aeneas and Turnus successively:²¹ according to Suetonius, Nero said that he would, if he survived the revolts against him by his armies, perform Virgil's *Turnus* at games in honour of his

¹⁹ Plutarch (*Symptotic Questions* 9.15.2 = *Moralia* 748c) says so, but on the other hand Lucan and Statius wrote libretti, which might indicate that in some instances the libretti were more elaborate and artistic than in others.

²⁰ Cf. Lucian, *On Dancing* 66 = T21.

²¹ Cf. Connors (1998), 98. Bartsch (1994) has shown (pp. 1–35) how Nero reversed the roles of audience and actor.

victory (*saltaturumque Virgili Turnum*).²² The distinction between the victorious and the vanquished characters would obviously be possible only through masks. In this style of performance, with one character allowed one action after the other, the submerging of the dancer's 'real' identity behind successive masks constituted a major part of the medium's appeal. Even though his spectators would have been quite 'tuned in' to this kind of character change, Nero would have had to be rather skilful to achieve the desired identifications in their minds. But the downside of this performance convention was that it excluded some of the subtlety and variety of an art-form with a larger acting personnel, and complex interaction between several characters would have been virtually impossible.

PANTOMIME DANCERS: IDENTIFICATION OF DANCER AND ROLE

Pantomime versions of myth certainly seem to have offered instantaneous, 'photographic' glimpses into particular moments of a continuous narrative, expressed through single characters in isolated actions. In Lucian's *On Dancing* 63 = T19, it is said that a pantomime performer

danced the amours of Aphrodite and Ares, Helios tattling, Hephaestus laying his plot, and trapping both of them with his entangling bonds, the gods who came in on them, portrayed individually, Aphrodite ashamed, Ares seeking cover and begging for mercy, and everything that belongs to this story.²³

Similarly, in *Met.* 10 Apuleius puts more stress on the single dancers' beauty and gestures than on their interaction with each other, which tallies with Lucian's description of pantomime performance, for which strictly controlled and choreographed gestures become

²² Suet. *Nero* 54 = T8. Although evidence for Roman themes in pantomime is scarcer, it exists (*contra* Cameron (2004), 229, who argues for exclusive use of Greek myths). See e.g. Macr. *Sat.* 5.17.15 = T33 on a *Dido* pantomime; Horsfall (2003), 56; Panayotakis and Ingleheart (this volume).

²³ Translation by Csapo and Slater (1994), 383 (no. v 38).

necessary to tell the story in the right way. If the dancer does not follow the prescribed gestures, the actions haplessly metamorphose from one myth into another.²⁴

To avoid misunderstandings, performers themselves tried to stretch their performance to the limits in terms of adequate use of descriptive gestures, for example Pylades dancing the role of *Hercules Furens*, mimicking his insecure and strange movements. When the audience taunted him, he criticized them as fools, since he was dancing the role of a madman, and just acting accordingly.²⁵ In the mind of the audience, this acting style must have produced a close identification of actor and role. At the same time the identification was not only a physical equation, but could be skilfully exploited by the dancer to make statements going beyond the moment and context of performance. Connors makes a strong case for Nero trying to manipulate an audience used to this kind of identification:

In political and mythical terms, a *Turnus* pantomime would aptly celebrate Nero's hoped-for recovery from the imminent threat to his reign: Turnus' death is the violence which founds the Roman state, one ending for the series of events which the Trojan conflagration sets in motion. Caught in his final crisis, Nero imagines the possibility of a Roman state refounded with his identity as emperor intact. . . . Thus in a *Turnus* pantomime Nero would have the chance to represent both Turnus and Aeneas. As Turnus he would fall in death and rise triumphantly from the staged crisis to resume his reborn imperial power; playing the victorious Aeneas he would found Rome over the body of a dead enemy.²⁶

Another type of identification, which invited the drawing of parallels between a significant spectator the plot of the pantomime dance, was implied by Mnester in relation to Caligula on the day of his assassination. Mnester danced the same dance that was performed for

²⁴ For *gesticulatio* cf. refs. in Jory (1986), 148; Zimmermann (2000), 381. For an accident of gesticulation, switching accidentally from a portrayal of Kronos eating his children to Thyestes doing the same, cf. Lucian, *On Dancing* 80. This incident shows how essential the use of the approved and formalised gestures must have been to pantomime performance.

²⁵ Macr. *Sat.* 2.7.12–16 = T32.

²⁶ Connors (1998), 98. Nero, when performing tragic arias (i.e. not pantomimes), chose roles like *Orestes the Matricide*, or *Oedipus in Exile* (his last performance); its lines concluding 'Wife, mother, father, all do urge my death' were taken by the audience to be a good omen for Nero's speedy exit.

Philip of Macedon at the games where he was assassinated: *Cinyras and Myrrha*. The pantomime was seen as indicating Caligula's past as well as future, identifying the fates of the pantomime characters with that of Caligula.²⁷ It both paraded his incestuous relationship with his sister and anticipated his untimely and violent death.

Since audiences tended to identify action and dancer or action and audience, the dancer's bodily form became important, as Epictetus notes (*Diss.* 4. 2. 9): the same dancer cannot portray both Thersites, bent and twisted, and proud Agamemnon.²⁸ The dancer has to match his role, not only in appropriate gesturing, but also in actual, physical appearance. Many anecdotes recall that dancers were judged by the suitability of their stature for their role—a short dancer dancing Hector was taunted by the audience for looking rather like Astyanax, or a tall dancer dancing Capaneus is likewise told that he does not need a ladder to climb the walls of Thebes.²⁹ Lucilius in *AP* 11.254 = T35 derides a bad pantomime, who danced every part of the story 'according to the story' except the part of Canace, which he however spoiled by leaving the stage alive, rather than killing himself, as the role required, with his sword. Usually, when physical appearance and role were commensurate, and the identification of actor and role was thus facilitated, the audience was satisfied. The same rule applied to female performers.³⁰

In conjunction with the physical suitability of the dancer for his role, the simplicity of the pared-down pantomime plotlines, derived from generally well-known stories, lent them to easy appropriation to the real-life situation at hand. The performance context and the skill and personality of the performer, rather than the myth itself, dominate the interpretation, which is strictly contextual. In Nero's case, of course, he never got the chance to apply the *Turnus*

²⁷ Cf. Molloy (1996), 55, on Suet. *Cal.* 57.

²⁸ On necessary bodily details cf. Wüst (1949), 856.

²⁹ The well-known anecdotes are found in Lucian, *On Dancing* 76 = T23, and also discussed in Jory (1986), 148.

³⁰ A small *pantomima* dancing tall women was derided for dancing Andromache or the kidnapping of Helen (*Anthologia Latina* 12. 310) and kindly recommended to dance Thersites instead. A similar point is also made in the epitaph of Allia Potestas (*CLE* 1988, from c. AD 200), a freedwoman praised for her legs on the ground that they resemble those of Atalanta on the comic stage. Text, translation and discussion of the epitaph can be found in Horsfall (2003), 126–7.

symbolism to himself. But in other performances, if all went well, the identification of role and dancer was nearly complete, and the dancer had achieved his ultimate goal. This can be seen from the Tivoli tomb inscription for Theorus, which dates from the late first century BC, and celebrates the way he could capture by his art even the persona of god himself, thus defeating Pylades of Cicilia, Nomius of Syria, Hylas of Salmakis, and Pierus of Tivoli (*CIL* 6.10115). This ideal of perfect identification led to exuberant claims. One poem states that Pylades was so successful in depicting Dionysus that Hera on Olympus would be made to claim that she, not the mortal Semele, had borne him, resulting in the correction of the myth (*AP* 9.248 = T34).³¹

Here, of course, we have a manifestation of the ancient notion that an imitator (actor) was identifiable with the imitated figure, just as great art mirrored life. In Apuleius' pantomime, the little boys who look like Cupids offer a similar instance of art imitating life: 'In an inversion of an aesthetic of mimesis Lucius praises real children for their successful transformation into *objets d'art*':³² 'You would have said that those soft, round, milky-skinned babies were real Cupids who had just flown in from the sky or the sea. With their little wings and tiny arrows and all the rest of their costume they fitted the part splendidly' (*Illos teretes et lacteos puellos diceret tu Cupidines veros de caelo vel mari commodum involasse*). These little children offer the sense of total indivisibility between actor and role to which Pylades had aspired. In the mind of the audience, the perfect pantomime performance, ideally, breaks down the boundaries between the role performed and the performer.

The goddess Venus features prominently in the *Met.*, especially in *Cupid and Psyche*. This earlier inset tale often mirrors elements from the main story of the novel.³³ At its beginning (*Apul. Met.* 4.30), the pre-echoes of the *Judgement of Paris* pantomime in book 10 are important, as Venus herself refers to the judgement of Paris (4.30):

³¹ Cf. also Beacham (1999), 144.

³² Thus Currie (1996), 155; cf. Zimmermann (2000), 386. I would however argue that Apuleius had the gods, not an artistic representation of them, in mind here. On the importance of the actors' ability relative to other aspects of the performance, see Graverini (2006), 3.

³³ As a *mise en abyme*. For the concept, see Dällenbach (1989), and for its application to *Cupid and Psyche* see Junghanns (1932), 143 ff.; Walsh (1970), 190 ff.; Tatum (1969), 487–527; Smith (1998), 69–82.

Frustra me pastor ille, cuius iustitiam fidemque magnus comprobavit Iupiter, ob eximiam speciem tantis praetulit deabus.

So it meant nothing when that shepherd, whose justice and trustworthiness were confirmed by great Jupiter, preferred me for my surpassing beauty to such mighty goddesses.

The irony of the scene is of course that the judge, despite what Venus herself might think, was everything but just—a concept reinforced in *Met.* 10.33. Interesting, too, is that the reference to the *pastor ille* alone is enough to conjure up and thus prefigure the image of the Judgement of Paris itself, which we will then finally see performed in book 10, and there we are observers of the arbitrariness of the judgement ourselves, as well as of Venus' triumph, which is endangered in *Cupid and Psyche* by the unusual beauty of her mortal rival Psyche.³⁴

Similarly, when Venus dances herself in her own *scaena* in *Met.* 6.24 (see above), Apuleius implies an extreme and remarkable identification of actor and theme of the pantomime. No longer is a dancer dancing the role of a goddess so well that she might be mistaken for her, but the goddess dances herself, *in propria persona*. In her case, the identification of actor-dancer and the role is perfect, a suitable ending to the story of *Cupid and Psyche*, which itself is full of dramatic plotlines.³⁵ And this identification of role and actor is also invited in the *Judgement of Paris* pantomime: estranging effects like masks, *praecones* (announcers) or the presence of a chorus are, perhaps for this reason, not mentioned by the narrator, allowing an easier 'suspension of disbelief'. In addition, the elaborate costuming of each character (rather than the usual nondescript long robe of the pantomimes) enhances the identification. The little Cupids certainly succeed, and in the eyes of the Corinthian audience the Judgement has indeed taken place.

³⁴ On repetition of recurrent motifs as a structural principle, see Junghanns (1932), 102. On the parallels between all the Venus figures in *Met.*, see Zimmermann (2000), 375. Photis, Lucius' love interest, too, poses as Venus in *Met.* 2.17, perhaps reminiscent of a pantomime schema, and links thus the seduction of Lucius thematically with the pantomime here. See Zimmermann (1993), 151 ff. (on Photis' 'dance' with the cooking pots in *Met.* 2.7); Zimmermann (2000), 389, and Frangoulidis (2001), 157 give verbal parallels. On parallels between *Met.* 4.30 and the Judgement of Paris cf. Zimmermann et al. (2004), ad loc.

³⁵ This is shown in more detail in May (2006).

DELIBERATE DEVIATIONS: LUCIUS AS ACTOR
AND PRAECO

The *Judgement of Paris* is only part of a larger spectacle: it is preceded by a group of young boys and girls performing a 'Pyrrhic' dance in *Met.* 10.29,³⁶ a dance which other evidence suggests could even form part of mute enactments in wedding rituals or other spectacles. Suetonius records a show in which 'amongst the *pyrrhiches* [sc. there was one in which] a bull mounted Pasiphae hidden in a wooden image of a heifer' (*inter pyrricharum argumenta taurus Pasiphaam ligneo iuvencae simulacro abditam iniit*, *Nero* 12.2.1). The *Judgement of Paris* in Apuleius is apparently intended to be followed a performance of the ever-popular Pasiphae mime,³⁷ with the unlucky ass in the role of the bull, and a condemned murderess as Pasiphae. Both these stories were also extremely popular themes of pantomime, as well as familiar to the discerning audience of what Coleman influentially termed 'fatal charades'—'real' executions presented as enacted mythical scenes.³⁸ The *Judgement of Paris* is mentioned several times as a pantomime topic, over a large stretch of time and in Greek as well as in Roman contexts (see also above).³⁹

Yet it is important to stress that whatever the descriptive iconographical techniques that are applied in other representations of the Paris pantomime, none of them seems actually to require several dancers. And one dancer, to the accompaniment of singer(s), taking one role after the other seems to be possible here, too. Indeed, given

³⁶ Cf. Zimmermann (2000), 361 ff.; Steinmetz (1982), 352. On the Pyrrhic dance as a prelude to *venationes* cf. Ceccarelli (1998), 156 ff. with refs. It can also be used in initiatory ceremonies, esp. marriage ceremonies (Ceccarelli (1998), 61–2, 208–9). Cf. also Frangoulidis (2001), 148, who links the different spectacles to a progressing marriage ceremony.

³⁷ It is attested in *On Dancing* 49; Mart. *De Spect.* 5; Aelian *Nat. An.* 7.4; Suet. *Nero* 12. All stories performed here include allusions to weddings, and Venus elsewhere is associated with marriage, cf. *Met.* 5.28, 6.6, 6.11, 10.32 (with Zimmermann (2000), 386, who gives all places where Venus is associated with marriage in the *Met.*), and esp. 6.24, where she dances a pantomime-like dance at Cupid and Psyche's wedding.

³⁸ Theatrical performances which result in the actual (and intentional) death of one of the performers, cf. Coleman (1990).

³⁹ Cf. Lucian, *On Dancing* 45; Tert. *Apol.* 15.2; Aug. *Civ. Dei* 18.10; and also Steinmetz (1982), 350 and n. 148.

that each one of Apuleian soloists dances *after* the other, with hardly any interaction between the characters, it would have been perfectly possible for Apuleius to describe a 'standard' pantomime performance in which a single dancer performed all the roles. Even the elaborate stage setting, with Paris on a hill surrounded by sheep, could have been portrayed by a skilful dancer. Libanius implies that one single pantomime can conjure up a whole image of a meadow with flocks of sheep, describing in detail, through his gestures, the landscape, the flocks of goats and sheep, as well as the shepherds guarding them.⁴⁰

Thus neither the scenery nor the plot warrants the elaborate staging and multiple personnel that Apuleius describes. Our evidence suggests that famous pantomime themes such as the Paris and the Pasiphae stories would have acquired a conventional repertoire of gestures and dance steps, well known to both the Corinthian audience and the reader of the novel. Even small deviations from gestures or other norms associated with particular pantomime plots were noticed by the discerning audience.⁴¹ Here the Corinthian audience does not seem to mind the unusual element of the show, and the gestures and dance moves employed by all the actors seem to be dexterous and appropriate to the situation.

Yet the planned Pasiphae-mime was to include an ass as an actor, who is actually the protagonist of the novel, and it is difficult to see how an actual, impersonated man-ass could fit into a standard pantomime.⁴² That this deviation is deliberate seems even more likely when we consider that Lucius the ass is able to dance and gesticulate like a *pantomimus* (*Met.* 10.17),⁴³ and his master has every reason to assume that the ass will do what is expected of him in the Pasiphae performance.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Cf. Libanius, *Or.* 64.116 = T28.

⁴¹ Cf. the incident in Lucian, *On Dancing* 80, n. 24 above.

⁴² For (on the whole unsuccessful) attempts to teach animals the *pyrrhiche* cf. Babr. 80 (camel); Luc. *Pisc.* 36 (apes); Luc. *Apol.* 5–6, Pliny *NH* 8.2.5 (elephants) etc.; with Ceccarelli (1998), 226.

⁴³ 'First he taught me to recline at table leaning on my elbow; then he taught me to wrestle, and even to dance (*saltare*) with my forefeet in the air. Most amazing of all, he taught me to respond to words with a gesture (*verbis nutum commodare*)'.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Met.* 10.19 ff.

LUCIUS PANTOMIMUS

Since Lucius is the *histrion*-to-be of his own performance,⁴⁵ the next step in my argument entails exploring the parallels between pantomimes and Lucius' own story in the novel. The description of the pantomime in the novel (T15) is full of comments by Lucius the *auctor*,⁴⁶ which dominate and condition the way we read it. Although the Corinthian audience embraces the beauty of the performance, it is the first-person narrator who, despite some brave attempts on the part of the actors to merge with their roles, consistently refuses to permit them completely to blur the distinction between fiction and reality, by pointing out repeatedly the artificiality of the situation.⁴⁷

For example, Mount Ida is 'a wooden mountain, constructed with lofty craftsmanship' (*mons ligneus, sublimi instructus fabrica*), its fountain is 'made by the designer's hand' (*de manibus fabri fonte manante*), whilst Paris himself is attired like the Phrygian shepherd Paris' (*in modum Phrygii pastoris*), 'with exotic robes flowing over his shoulders' (*pulchre indusiatus adulescens*), who only *pretends to be* a shepherd (*pecuarium simulabat magisterium*). His apple is not genuine gold, but 'gilded with gold leaf' (*maleum . . . inauratum*). Never is the reader allowed to forget that everybody on stage is an actor: 'the person who was acting Paris' (*ei, qui Paris videbatur*), a girl 'got up as the goddess Juno' (*puella . . . in deae Iunonis speciem similis*), another girl 'whom you would have recognised as Minerva' (*quam putares Minervam*), because her 'military equipment had turned her into Minerva' (*quam cultus armorum Minervam fecerat*); the third is 'representing Venus' (*designans Venerem*). The boys playing Castor and Pollux were 'also boys from the stage-company' (*sed isti Castores errant scaenici pueri*).

⁴⁵ Cf. Zimmermann (2000), 244 on Met. 10.17 (on *saltare*).

⁴⁶ That is, by the 'narrating I' of Lucius the Isis priest who retells his story, as opposed to the 'experiencing I' (or *actor*) of Lucius who is in the process of living through his story. The terms are used by Winkler (1985), Zimmermann (1993), 153 ff. (a narratological reading of the scene) and Zimmermann (2000), *passim*.

⁴⁷ Cf. Zimmermann (2000), 367 (and *passim*); Zimmermann (1993), 148. For similar theatrical mountains see also. Sen. *Ep.* 88.22, Strabo 6.2.6. On the expectations of a theatre-going audience see Horsfall (1997), 173: 'Theatre audiences, despite the distances involved, expected a degree of verism.'

Lucius is also a connoisseur of the myth to the extent that we do not need a libretto; he even specifies the province of Asia as one of the gifts offered,⁴⁸ an idea it might be difficult to express in gestures alone. The narrator, *praeco*-like, fills in the gaps for us; as in other places of the *Metamorphoses*, he oscillates between different functions and levels of narratorial experience, by moving between the narrating and the experiencing 'I', between the *actor* and the *auctor* of his own story, where the narrator sometimes describes the events from the perspective of the Isis priest (*auctor*), and sometimes from the viewpoint of the man inside the ass's body.⁴⁹ Although single elements, if considered alone, do not disrupt the illusion that what is being described is confined within the semiotic capacities of what would be regarded as a conventional pantomime, the accumulation of oddities has a rather alienating effect, also reflected in the reactions of the audience.

LUCIUS' AUDIENCES: PROBLEMS OF IDENTIFICATION

Apuleius scripts three types of audience reaction. First, the narrator's subjective responses. These are informative; the narrator not only supplies information that otherwise might have been offered by the libretto (e.g. the specification of the whole of Asia as Juno's gift), but also, despite acknowledging the charm of the performance which captivated the Corinthian audience, continuously points out the scene's artificiality. Secondly, Apuleius portrays the accommodating internal audience of Corinthians, who enthusiastically applaud Venus and the unceremonious handover of the apple (*Met.* 10.32: 'And now Venus, amidst loud applause from the audience', and 'these tunes were delightfully charming the spectators' hearts, far more delightfully Venus started gently to move'. But, thirdly, there

⁴⁸ *Met.* 10.31, 'with lady-like gestures she promised the shepherd that if he awarded her the prize for beauty she would assign him rule over all Asia (*sese regnum totius Asiae tributuram*)'.

⁴⁹ Graverini (2006), 8 ff. and 14 ff. now also argues that the narrative structure of the *Met.* integrates narrated versions of theatrical plots.

are three interesting direct addresses to the readership by the narrator, which explicitly construct an additional audience extraneous to the text.⁵⁰

The first two of these addresses are the identification of the young boys with Cupids at *Met.* 10.32 ('You would have said that those soft, round, milky-skinned babies were real Cupids') and Minerva's invitation to the audience to identify actors and action, *quam putares Minervam*). The third address, which is by far the longest, castigates the readership for doing exactly that—identifying actors and action. This castigation takes the form of an interruption to the narrative, disapproving of the unquestioning acceptance of the pantomime as a pretty spectacle (*Met.* 10.33):

Why are you so surprised, you cheap ciphers—or should I say sheep of the courts, or better still vultures in togas, if nowadays all jurors hawk their verdicts for a price, since at the world's beginning an adjudication between gods and men was corrupted by beauty's influence, and a country shepherd, chosen judge on the advice of great Jupiter, sold the first verdict for a profit of pleasure, resulting in the destruction of himself and his entire race? . . . But I am afraid one of you may reproach me for this attack of indignation and think to himself, 'So, now are we going to have to stand an ass lecturing us on philosophy?' So I shall return to the story at the point where I left it.

As we have seen, we have some idea of what was held to be a 'normal' ancient audience's reaction to a successful pantomime performance, which went beyond merely taking pleasure in the identification of actor and role. It was even claimed that a performance had a sustained influence on the audience's character: Tertullian repeatedly expressed his fear that watching pantomimes would turn the audience back to the pagan gods, and John Chrysostom felt that watching scantily dressed women performing pantomimes would have a harmful effect on the (male) audience's morals.⁵¹ Lucian, too, claims

⁵⁰ For a discussion of different addresses and addressees in the *Met.*, but from a different angle, see Zimmermann (1993) and (2001).

⁵¹ Cf. Webb (2002), 296: 'Some Christian critics of the theatre, like Tertullian, were most concerned by the pagan, cultic associations of the theatre, and their comments are therefore mostly aimed at the depiction of the pagan gods in the pantomime. The tirades of John Chrysostom have a different emphasis. Again and again he expresses his concern about the danger to the male viewer of the sight of women on stage. Singing and acting out scenes of "unnatural love" (*atopous erōtas*), these women had a harmful effect on the spectator's imagination' (PG 62.428).

that watching the performance of dances changes the watcher (*On Dancing* 85):

for you will be enchanted, and by Zeus it will not be any donkey's head or pig's heart that you will have, but your mind will be more firmly established and you will be so enraptured that you will not give even a tiny bit of the brew to anyone else to drink. Homer says, you know, of the golden wand of Hermes that he 'charmeth the eyes of men' with it, 'whomsoever he wishes, and others he wakes that are sleeping.' Really, dancing does just that: it charms the eyes and makes them wide awake, and it rouses the mind to respond to every detail of its performances.

Both the Church Fathers' negative view and Lucian's positive statement stress the influence on a captivated audience of complete absorption in the action on stage, uncritical acceptance of the fictitious action as reality, and a possible assimilation of what is seen on stage to the spectator's own life. This assimilation can even extend to a point where watching dancers perform has metamorphic qualities for the audience.

Apuleius' description of the goddesses is certainly sensuous enough and beautiful: John Chrysostom, if he had seen the Corinthian performance, would probably have felt righteously indignant. Usually pantomime performances were considered to be so realistic that they deceived the reader into thinking the action was real. Compare the performance in Xenophon's proto-pantomime *Ariadne and Dionysos*,⁵² where the audience is finally convinced that the love portrayed by the two actors is indeed real, not acted, and is compelled to go home and make love to their wives. Yet in Lucius' account, the stress is on the *fictionality* of the situation, the unbreachable gulf between actors and characters, and the pantomime as a work of fiction.⁵³ Despite the palpable beauty of the dancers and the scene, the last leap into assuming the situation is 'real' is not made. Apuleius' narrator has a different response: Lucius keeps his distance through stressing the artificiality of the scene enacted.

⁵² = T1. The genre of the scene enacted here is problematic, since it also has some mime-like features. Csapo and Slater (1994), 370 describe it as 'largely pantomimic'; Molloy (1996), 52 excludes it from her discussion because of the performance including two dancers, as well as for reasons of dating. See above, Introduction, p. 11.

⁵³ Cf. Zimmermann (2000), 18, with further references.

ARTIFICIALITY AND 'META-PANTOMIME'

Apuleius draws on what seems to have been a widespread and largely justifiable view, that pantomime, generically speaking, was superficial: pantomime is, as Steinmetz puts it, only a sequence of 'moving images'. There is little tragic conflict enacted in Apuleius' pantomime and no real tragic action or characterization. It is enough to charm the Corinthians, but not the narrator, who is at pains to illustrate the distance between himself and the story told, repudiating the identification. The plot is superficially simple, a prettified version of a myth the Corinthian audience knows to have tragic consequences, but prefers not to imagine as such.⁵⁴ The handover of the apple,⁵⁵ which is distinctly unceremonious and lacks a sense of its grave consequences, shows that the stress is on the display of beauty, not on the potential conflict inherent in the story.

Given that, as I would argue, the merging of actor and role is one goal—or at least effect—of pantomime performance, this insistence on artificiality is quite unusual. It certainly is not felt by the Corinthian audience, which celebrates the pantomime. Women or girls are moreover so often identified with goddesses or their statues, especially in the ancient novels, that this reaction in Apuleius may be seen as the 'normal', expected, one.⁵⁶ It is only the narrator, not the rest of the audience, who lists those elements which undermine the possibility of a complete identification. The beauty of the girls and the presence of more than one dancer, with the possible lack of masks and certainly no reason to change either them or costumes, should actually facilitate this identification. This is a 'meta-pantomime', filling in gaps that the pantomime audience is usually asked to bridge in their imagination, suspending disbelief during periods of role change.⁵⁷ Apuleius' portrayal of pantomime is 'idealistic' in the

⁵⁴ Steinmetz (1982), 354–5.

⁵⁵ *Met.* 10.32: 'At that point the Phrygian youth eagerly handed the girl the golden apple he was holding, so casting the vote for her victory.'

⁵⁶ For references see e.g. May (2004), 130 and 150 n. 6.

⁵⁷ I would introduce this term, following the definition by Waugh (1984), 2, on meta-fiction: 'Metafiction is a term given to fictional writing which self-consciously

sense that it shows the scene as it should ideally be perceived in the imagination of its audience.

Yet the pantomime, through the narrator, is portrayed as artificial, though beautiful, and he does offer the information that the result of the wrong judgement of Paris is the destruction of Troy. This is brought home in the last interjection to the reader: *Met.* 10.33 condemns not only the injustice of Paris' judgement, but also of that of Palamedes and the *Armorum Iudicium* between Odysseus and Ajax, painful stories caused by the Trojan War. In the performance context, the execution of a murderess is supposed to follow as part of a staging of the Pasiphae story, involving Lucius the ass as one of the means of execution, during which he easily might come to a sticky end himself, as he sees it, by being eaten by wild beasts in the arena: the ostentatiously beautiful Paris Judgement may easily end in bloodshed.

It seems clear, therefore, that the pantomime is deliberately adapted and scripted not as a realistic depiction of a pantomime performance, but as a metaphor or synecdoche for Lucius' progress in the novel. By scripting different types of audience reactions, the narrative oscillates between unquestioning identification and critical distancing, both of which are addressed in the author's direct appeals to his readers.

Lucius the ass only gradually becomes aware of the danger he is in (*Met.* 10.34), and this growing awareness is helped by the inclusion of the references to the artificiality of the pantomime, and the placement of the pantomime within the set of three spectacles. The long interjection by the 'narrating I' (*Met.* 10. 33, cited above) may serve a similar purpose. Obviously, in the interjection the animal comparisons (sheep, vultures) might remind the reader that Lucius himself is currently an animal. But this procedure does not only function to show the indignation of an older (but not necessarily wiser) Lucius, since it also contains the serious address of the readership, with the warning against being seduced by the charm of the pantomime. It is an invitation to see it for what it is—a pretty, shallow version of a well-known myth.

and systematically draws attention to its status as an artefact in order to pose questions about the relationship between fiction and reality.' Apuleius here problematizes the gap between the actual performance seen and the story to be imagined by the audience.

ENDING THE NOVEL

Pantomime, with its relatively unimportant (or in Apuleius' case, wholly neglected) libretto, captivates audiences because of its beauty, the identification of actor-dancer and the role on the one side, and the subtle fusion between him and the situation surrounding him on the other. For pantomime, in which well-known versions of the myth allow concentration less on the plot and more on the performance itself, the relationship between actor, his theme, and the audience becomes extremely significant. Ideally, as we have seen, the audience should be compelled by a brilliant performance to identify the actor and the role. Nero dancing the role of *Turnus* wants to comment on his own situation, and display it to his anticipated audience. A pantomime thus offers a particularly apt analogy to Lucius' situation, since it suggests that the ass can fruitfully apply the situation of the pantomime to his own life.

The artificiality of the scene is very much stressed in the *Metamorphoses* pantomime: the dancers—(or their make-up and masks?) as well as their body language fit the scene very well, and they do exactly what they are supposed to do as part of their performance. But still there are two divergently scripted audience reactions. Lack of proper overlap between actor and performance, or unusual movements, are the usual points of critique in our sources on pantomime. Again, the dancers in Corinth do everything correctly—there are no short Hectors (Lucian, *On Dancing* 76) or tall Capaneuses here. On the contrary, the girl dancing Venus has a perfect figure and a smiling face, and is a suitable representation of 'laughter-loving' Venus in *Met.* 10.31–4.⁵⁸

Yet, despite the absence of elements disrupting the illusion, Lucius uses more subtle means to draw attention to the discrepancy between the illusory world and material reality, an artificiality expressed also in the role of actors and the surroundings. The disbelief created by primitive stage settings, i.e. a wooden mountain rather than a 'real' mountain, is created in the mind not of the 'internal', Corinthian audience, but only of the narrator and his 'external' audience of

⁵⁸ This is an epithet used of Venus/Aphrodite from Homer onwards, e.g. *Iliad* 4.10.

readers. He constantly reminds himself (and us) of the artificiality of the situation, and this despite the more naturalistic portrayal with several male and female actors, costumes and props. For Lucius, as well as for the reader of the novel, the pantomime, a genre often devoid of deep meaning and tragic content, becomes suddenly indicative of his own situation. Typically, Lucius is completely unaware of this at first; an ass still, he delights in the performance, together with the Corinthian audience, peacefully eating his grass.⁵⁹

Lucius, unlike the Corinthian audience, becomes increasingly aware of the fictionality of the situation and its applicability to his own life. He realizes suddenly the danger he is in: just as the actors, in his eyes, do not become one with their role, so there is no guarantee that in the Pasiphae mime in which he is to star the ass—a defenceless creature, not a strong bull—would survive the *venatio*. And then Lucius, unwilling to be such a vulnerable actor, decides to escape from the theatre. Before the beginning of the spectacle, Lucius himself was attempting to be an actor who (for the eyes of the Corinthian audience) fully merged with his role. In the form of an ass, he looks and acts the part, even to the extent of eating grass in the arena, an unusual action for him.⁶⁰ But in his retrospective narrating and the reader's eyes, the two aspects, ass-role and human-actor, have not fully merged. Neither the pantomime actors nor the Lucius-ass are quite what they seem or aspire to appear.

METAMORPHOSIS OF PANTOMIME

Metamorphosis is integral to regular pantomime performances, with their quick changes of costume and mask. This is underlined by the curious ways in which Lucian's list of pantomime topics is arranged; in this it closely resembles Ovid's arrangement of his

⁵⁹ *Met.* 10.29 *tantisper ante portam constitutus pabulum laetissimi graminis, quod in ipso germinabat aditu, libens affectabam*, 'meanwhile I enjoyed myself standing in front of the gate, browsing on the lush, rich grass which grew right in the entrance-way'.

⁶⁰ On the importance of human vs animal food in the *Met.* cf. Heath (1982). For the importance of Lucius' role-playing (animal vs man) before and in this scene cf. Frangoulidis (2001), 150 ff.

Metamorphoses.⁶¹ Obviously, a single pantomime dancer, donning different roles and masks during one single performance, could symbolize the very experience of shape-shifting, a quality brought out in Lucian's suggestion that Proteus in the *Odyssey* was 'a dancer, an imitative fellow, able to shape himself and change himself (*metaballesthai*) into anything' (*On Dancing* 19 = T16).⁶²

It is therefore remarkable that Apuleius lets pass—indeed, conspicuously avoids—the opportunity to show a quick metamorphosis into different roles. Yet it is not only the metamorphosis of Lucius which is imminent here. By using this performance as a symbol for Lucius' own situation, Apuleius has metamorphosed the pantomime itself, both in its outward appearance and by pushing it to the limits of its generic capacities: it is turned from a beautiful but shallow spectacle into an indication, as Zimmermann has noted (in a slightly different context), that nobody and nothing is quite as it seems for Lucius, and that Lucius is himself master of the situation.⁶³ He can break the illusion, and escape from the Pasiphae myth, unseduced by the metamorphic qualities of the enactment.

The method by which Apuleius achieves this, at the crucial point of the *Metamorphoses*, is by metamorphosing a pantomime itself (i.e. a solo performance by a single masked male dancer, moving to a libretto performed by others), into a spectacle involving several performers, but without a libretto. At the same time, both the plot and some essentials of the performance style are strongly associated with pantomime, in the terms of which both the 'internal' Corinthian audience and Apuleius' contemporary readership would certainly think of the spectacle described. Just as Nero, in his never-performed *Turnus* pantomime, intended to manipulate his audience, and as the Church Fathers feared that watching pantomime would lead audiences into sin, so Apuleius subtly uses the idea of pantomime both to show a 'normal' audience reaction (that of the Corinthians), and to manipulate his readers into quite another one. He prepares them for his very own transformation of the Greek novel's original in book XI, with the re-metamorphosis of Lucius into his proper

⁶¹ Habinek (2002), 52–3.

⁶² Cf. Libanius 64.117 = T29; Aristainetos, *Letters* 1.26 (see above p. 111); Montiglio (1999), 275.

⁶³ Zimmermann (1993), 148.

persona, a human being. Thus Apuleius, as so often in his novel, transforms one dramatic genre into another one. Metamorphosis is the main theme of his novel, and the transformation of the Corinthian festival from a 'realistically performable' pantomime into a consciously idealized version of the same typifies Apuleius' method of writing.⁶⁴

All three elements of the Corinthian spectacle revolve around the theme of mimesis, but of different kinds (imitation of a weapon dance by children; a pantomime; and the imitation of a woman in love with a bull, acted by an ass). Yet the actual pantomime is constantly undermined by the narrator himself and would remain devoid of meaning if it were not for the narrator's breaches of fictionality, the carefully placed interjections and addresses to the reader, and the positioning of the pantomime before the fatal charade. Apuleius' *Judgement of Paris* is a 'meta-pantomime', a metamorphosed version of a dramatic genre in a novel concerned with the fluidity of generic status as well as personal identity: dancers become gods, gods resemble little children, the readership becomes sheep and vultures, and all the time the stress on artificiality allows metamorphosis itself to become a theme. Apuleius artfully employs his own metamorphosis of the pantomime genre, as a signifier of metamorphosis, at the precise point in his novel when his pantomime ass is about to become human again.

⁶⁴ A theme discussed in more detail in May (2006).

Ancient Pantomime and the Rise of Ballet

Edith Hall

This book has argued that ancient pantomime matters to classicists because it was so important an element of cultural life under the Roman empire. But why should it be a matter of concern to any other cultural historians? The reason is that the very idea of the ancient medium played a definitive role in the emergence of ballet, dance theatre, and modern dance. The founding fathers of the balletic dance idiom, in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were consciously inspired by the example of ancient pantomime, and formulated their aesthetic projects in imitation of what they thought it entailed. Their own descendants, from Nijinsky to Duncan, Fokine, Graham, and Bausch, have thus indirectly been reacting to the ancient pantomime dancers (even if they have been unaware of it), whether they have been emulating or reacting against the principles of classical ballet.

By the early eighteenth century, when John Weaver (as we shall see) organized performances of danced mythical narrative that certainly make him best candidate for the title of the first ballet choreographer in the modern sense of the term, the nature of the ancient pantomime dancer was beginning to become properly understood. Weaver, rather charmingly and not at all inaccurately, glosses the term *pantomimus* as 'Universal Actor in Dancing'.¹ Yet it is instructive to begin the story in 1606, when the excellent translator Philemon Holland published his version of Suetonius' *Life of Domitian*. He had

¹ Weaver (1728), 19.

encountered what he must have inferred was an important entertainer named Paris, described in Latin as a *pantomimus* (12.10). Since there was no equivalent within Holland's culture, and no studies of ancient pantomime available, he did not know exactly what this meant. He therefore assumed that Paris was a stage actor, and he translated *pantomimus* as 'player and counterfeit'.² Twenty years later, as the Puritan attacks on the legitimacy of the theatre grew ever more acerbic during the reign of James I, the great dramatist Philip Massinger was inspired by the story of this Egyptian-born player, his impact at court, and the love that Domitia, the emperor's wife, conceived for him. Indeed, he made Paris the hero of his theatrical defence of his profession, an important stage play. But since Massinger perpetuated the mistranslation of *pantomimus*, he chose as his play's title, rather than *The Roman Dancer*, the somewhat different *The Roman Actor*. His Paris was conceived not as a dancer but as an archetype of the Jacobean acting profession, whose expertise was, quite unlike that of Paris, centred on vocal skills.³

By just one century later, it would have been very much for difficult for either Holland or Massinger to make or perpetuate this mistake. Ancient pantomime was rediscovered, effectively, during the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, largely but not exclusively through the circulation of Lucian's treatise *On Dancing*. The rediscovery of pantomime, a fundamentally Enlightenment phenomenon, was rather later than the Renaissance rediscovery of the ancient tragic singer, the performer of *tragoedia cantata*, by the founding fathers of opera in Florence, Ottavio Rinuccini and Jacopo Peri in their *Dafne* of 1598. These men sincerely believed that they were reviving the art of the ancient *tragoedus*. Although *Dafne* is lost, two years later Rinuccini explained their project in the dedication to his next opera, *L'Euridice*:

It has been the opinion of many . . . that the ancient Greeks and Romans sang entire tragedies on the stage; but such a noble manner of reciting has not only not been renewed, but, so far as I know, not even attempted until now by anybody, and this I thought a defect of modern music, very far inferior to the ancient.⁴

² See Holland in Whibley (1899), 238 and 245; Hall (2002*b*), 424–5.

³ See Sandidge (1929), 21–3; Hall (2002*b*), 424–6.

⁴ Translated by Donington (1981), 104–5; see Hall (2002*b*), 430–1.

The story of the rather later emergence of what we call ballet is a complex one, since stage plays in sixteenth-century Italy had sometimes been interspersed with musical *intermedii* on themes from classical mythology involving dancers and mime.⁵ Yet it was to be directly from the new medium of *opera* that ballet emerged as a distinct and serious art form in its own right. It grew out of the danced interludes—*balli*—within the performances of the Venetian operas that were developed in the early seventeenth century; important examples are the three beautiful youths dressed as Loves, and twelve graceful wood nymphs, who performed dances at the ends of Act I and II of the opera *Andromeda*, the first opera to be presented in public in Venice at the Teatro San Cassiano (1637).⁶ But it was not until the practitioners who danced the *balli* needed to create their own professional ‘family tree’, with an accompanying aetiological narrative of origins which could rival that on the basis of which opera had been founded, that the real nature and significance of the ancient pantomime stars finally began to be acknowledged.

It is not that information derived from the ancient sources on pantomime dancing was entirely unavailable, as Naerebout has demonstrated exhaustively in his brilliant study *Attractive Performances*.⁷ Lucian was an extremely popular author during the Renaissance. Although *On Dancing* was by no means a favourite at that time, as were his *True Histories* and his *Dialogues of the Gods*, the complete works of Lucian were widely available in printed form by the mid-sixteenth century, and indeed in Latin translation.⁸ This is why the Italian humanists and early dance historians, such as Rinaldo Corso

⁵ For sources see Brinson (1966), 26–7.

⁶ See the original sources translated in Worsthorne (1954), 26, 34–5.

⁷ Naerebout (1997), section 1.2.

⁸ See Naerebout (1997), section 1.2 with n. 17. The Latin versions of Lucian’s treatises, for example Micyllus (1538), will have made them accessible to a very wide audience. A scholarly history of the printed editions and translations of *On Dancing* would be a most useful ‘new direction’ in which pantomime scholarship could move. Libanius’ oration (no. 64) on the same theme, *Reply to Aristides on Behalf of the Dancers*, which dates from more than two centuries later, did not begin to receive serious attention from classical scholars, let alone dance specialists, until much later. The crucial event in Libanius studies was the appearance of the relatively late edition—Greek text edited directly from the manuscripts, with Latin Introduction and annotation—by Johann Reiske of Libanius’ complete *Orationes* and *Declamationes*, published in Altenburg between 1791 and 1797.

in his *Dialogo del Ballo* (1555), could include colourful anecdotes, images, and details—although as yet no understanding of the essentially masked, narrative, and mimetic nature of pantomime—from *On Dancing* in their works.⁹ Indeed, despite its availability, knowledge of Lucian's text on the dance seems to have been slow to circulate, since, at least outside Italy, there are few signs of it even in studies that emphasize the ancient sources of courtly dancing, such as the influential Spanish treatise by Juan Esquivel Navarro (1642).¹⁰

The slow rate at which *On Dancing* became standard reading outside Italy may have been caused by the lack of interest in narrative choreography amongst dancers of intermezzi until a few decades later. In the early 17th century they did not yet need to locate the precedents available to them in Lucian's text because they were not telling stories: they were still simply supplying incidental spectacle to ornament the frame tale performed by operatic singers. The tension between the techniques used in the traditional intermezzi and the emergent idiom of integrated danced *action* begins to be apparent in the operas of the 1640s, such as *L'Ulisse errante* by Giacomo Badoaro and Francesco Saccati, performed at the Teatro SS Giovanni e Paolo in Venice in 1644. In this opera, the material for the second sung *attione* was provided by the *Odyssey's* Circe episode, concluding with an extravagant danced spectacle involving the statues on the sorceress's estate. But at its climax her palace fell in ruins, and her statues *returned to life as her spell was removed*. This was no longer an irrelevant incidental dance, but movement integrated into the narrative.¹¹

In France, Louis XIV had brought expressive ballet—although not narrative dance theatre—to a high level in his Versailles court, and once the School of Dancing was added to the Royal Academy of Music in 1672, a division between singing and dancing was recognized on an institutional level, leaving the door open for the

⁹ Corso (1555), 11–12.

¹⁰ For this seminal text, with an English translation and commentary, see Brooks (2003), 197–305.

¹¹ Less integral, perhaps, was the dance of monsters that concluded the Underworld *attione*, and the dancing Months who concluded the Calypso episode. On this opera and its different *attioni* see Bjurström (1961), 50, 52, 60, 60–3, 95.

emergence of the virtuosic solo dancer on the professional stage, even if his role was still confined to performances within the operas in the Italian tradition by Lully (for example, the 'baneful dreams' sequence in his *Atys* (1672)).¹² It was only a decade later that Claude Ménéstrier isolated the problem of integral movement as opposed to balletic *entr'actes* in his landmark treatise of 1682, *Des Ballets anciens et modernes*, which can certainly claim to be the first printed history of ballet. It also marks the conceptual dawn of the idea of ballet as an autonomous theatre art, which as a phenomenon inherently belongs to the Enlightenment.¹³ It was also the book that brought ancient pantomime, properly understood as silent mime dancing of narrative subject-matter, to the general public's attention.

Ménéstrier describes pantomime's conventions and demonstrates how elements of contemporary public spectacle and ceremony can be improved by assimilating the ancient dancer's use of characterisation by visual means. Like the ancient entertainers themselves, Ménéstrier, an enterprising Jesuit priest, was also himself a peripatetic showman, famous throughout Europe for his choreography not of operas but of pageants, wedding ceremonies, and fêtes.¹⁴ He distinguished between '*danse simple*', which was a physical expression of musical cadences, and 'ballet', which he said should be a performance that represented an *action*, in the sense of the Aristotelian *praxis*. Indeed, in this treatise he becomes the first individual to use the phrase *ballet d'action*, although lamenting that most dancers would much rather execute pretty steps than represent any significant deed.¹⁵ Yet even at this date his seminal work still insists that ballet is *not* fundamentally suited to the realization of plays or dramas, since they are ultimately imitations of 'nature' and emotion rather than of 'action'.

It was in the wake of Ménéstrier's treatise, as the question of the precise role of dance within opera became more pressing, that antiquarian scholars of Greece and Rome also began to be seriously

¹² Lynham (1972), 120–1.

¹³ Guest (1996), 1 and 3, where he points out that the great *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and D'Alambert, published from 1751 onwards, which is widely regarded as the cornerstone of the Enlightenment intellectual project, gave dance an honoured place: it included articles not only on ancient pantomime, but on Ballet, Choreography, and Gesture.

¹⁴ See Schwartz and Schlundt (1987), 53; Lee (2002), 79–80.

¹⁵ See Cohen and Matheson (1974), 38.

interested in ancient pantomime. Since Niccolo Calliachi's dissertation *De Ludis Scaenicis* was not published until 1713, after his death, and he had been born at least seventy years before that date, it is impossible to be certain when the significant distinctions he draws between ancient mime and pantomime were first inferred and recorded systematically.¹⁶ Perhaps it was indeed the Italians who first argued for a revival of pantomime, as an elevated mimetic narrative dance on ancient mythical themes. The Lucianic precedent is central to Gasparo Angiolini's dissertation on ancient pantomime, written to explain his own *Ballet pantomime tragique de Semiramis*, produced in 1765. The use of Lucian by Angiolini—most famous for his collaboration with the composer Gluck—is particularly apparent when he is emphasizing the importance of moving the audience to terror and compassion.¹⁷ But controversy rages (often aggravated by nationalist versions of cultural history) about the inauguration and true originator of ancient pantomime's revival as *ballet d'action*.

One crucial factor was however less a matter of individual innovation than internationally manifested structural developments in response to popular taste. In the very early eighteenth century, dance sequences began to be separated from operas, as public demand led theatre managers to hire dancers to perform longer afterpieces as well as, or in addition to, entr'actes and (most importantly) to perform them after plays as well as operas. Afterpieces would run for about an hour, but the most common form was an amalgam of individual dances and songs repeated from the entertainments offered in the foregoing interludes, especially 'character dances' (by sailors, Turks, or peasants, for example). There was still no significant linking narrative.

Who, then, invented the ballet with a plot in the Aristotelian sense? In the final section of Ismene Lada-Richards' book on Lucian and pantomime, she considers various early claimants to this title of founding father.¹⁸ Some cite the mysterious narrative mime danced to music and dramatic verse at an entertainment on the theme of the brothers Horatii given by the daughter-in-law of the now elderly Louis XIV, the Duchess of Maine, in the summer of 1714.¹⁹

¹⁶ Calliachi (1713), 53–98.

¹⁷ Angiolini (1765).

¹⁸ Lada-Richards (2007), 166–71.

¹⁹ See Lee (2002), 91–2.

The German-speaking dance tradition points to the contribution to dramatic narrative in dance made by Franz Hilverding in eighteenth-century Vienna. But an even stronger case can be made for John Weaver's much earlier *The Loves of Venus and Mars*, staged at Drury Lane on 2 March 1717, followed in 1718 by *Orpheus and Eurydice* (see Fig. 16.1), in which he took the demanding role of Orpheus himself, and rather later by *The Judgement of Paris* (1733).

What is really important about Weaver's productions is the care with which he had read Lucian's *On Dancing*, and the extent to which he consciously formulated his own practice in dialogue with the ancient text. His excitement at what he reads is palpable:

Nobody can deny, but that this was a very surprising *Performance*, and the *Wonder* of it so *great*, and the *Difficulty* of doing it so far beyond our *Conception*, that it in a manner *confounds Credibility*.²⁰

In the same treatise, his concise summary of the Lucian's *On Dancing*, along with his eye for the significant detail or anecdote therein, demonstrate the care with which he had read this ancient authority. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Weaver's first attempt to stage, at Drury Lane, 'a dramattick entertainment of dancing attempted in imitation of the pantomimes of the ancient Greeks and Romans' (to give it his own title), took as its subject-matter *The Loves of Mars and Venus*. For this, as we have seen, was one of the few pantomimes that Lucian had described in any detail (*On Dancing* 63 = T19; see above, Ingleheart pp. 206–7). In Weaver's updated revival, the first scene introduces Mars, in a military camp, where he performs a Pyrrhic dance. The second introduces Venus, who dances in her boudoir, where she argues with Vulcan. In the third, Vulcan oversees the construction, by the Cyclopes, of the net with which he will entrap his wife and the rival who is cuckolding him; in the fourth Mars seduces Venus, in the fifth the work on the net is completed, and in the sixth the adulterous couple are apprehended.

Weaver's use of the term 'pantomime' may well have confused his spectators. One or two Englishmen with specialist knowledge of the ancient theatre seem to have understood the true nature of ancient

²⁰ Weaver (1728), 7.

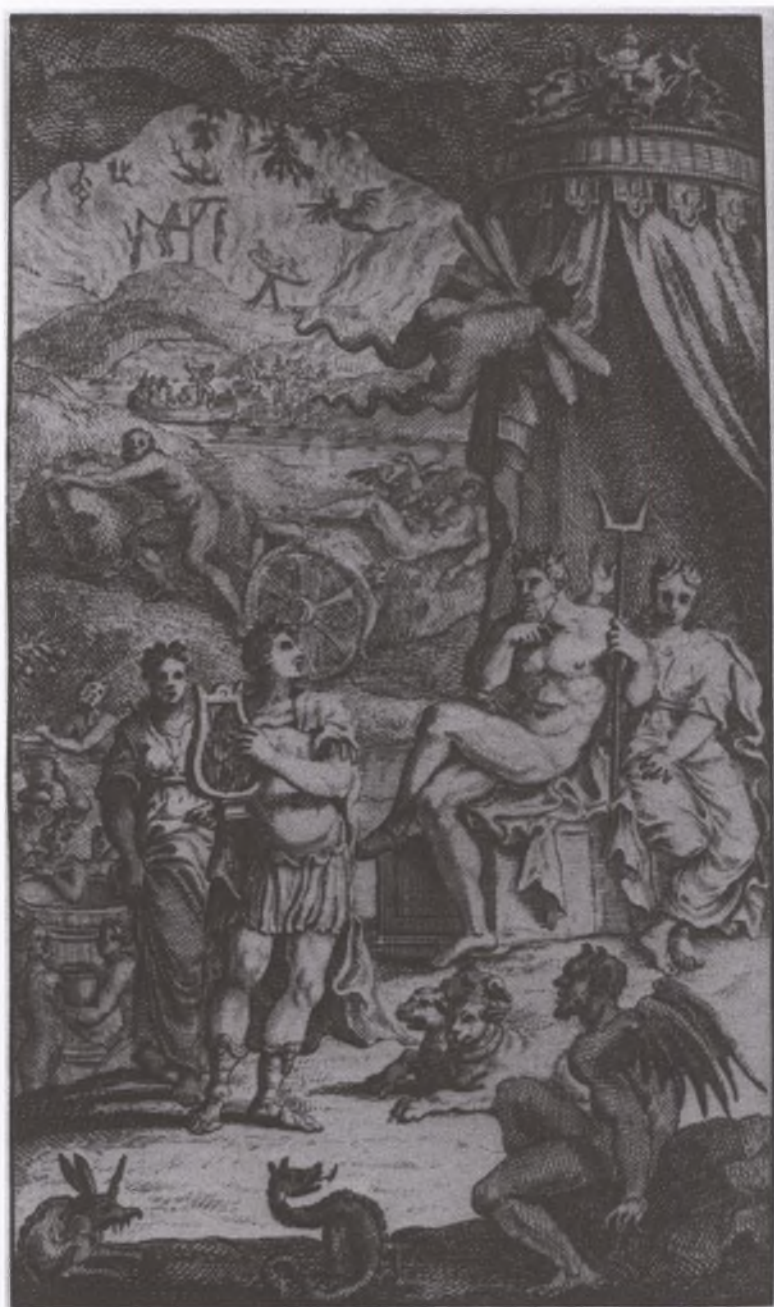


Figure 16.1 Engraving by E. Kirkall, the frontispiece to Weaver, *The Fable of Orpheus and Eurydice* (London, 1718).

pantomime as early as 1615,²¹ and Ben Jonson rather tentatively uses the term in the context of the court masque.²² But possibly by the second decade of the eighteenth century, and certainly by the third, a rival sense was to emerge that has subsequently become what is normally understood by the term 'pantomime' in the English language. For the Victorian children's pantomime, still a tradition at Christmastime today, grew out of the Italian farces featuring Harlequin and Columbine. And by the early 1730s, 'pantomime' had already become virtually synonymous with the type of performance that Dryden had nearly fifty years earlier derided as 'those nauseous Harlequins in Farce'.²³ A 1734 Drury Lane Harlequinade was entitled *Colombine-Courtezan. A dramatic pantomime entertainment. Interspers'd with ballad tunes*;²⁴ Colley Cibber regretted that the Harlequin-Columbine performances, as 'childish Pantomimes', had taken 'so gross a Possession of the Stage'.²⁵ It is scarcely surprising that Weaver dropped the term 'pantomime' in the title of his Orpheus ballet, his second 'dramatick entertainment in dancing . . . attempted in imitation of the ancient Greeks and Romans', but not 'in imitation of the pantomimes of the ancient Greeks and Romans'.²⁶

Nomenclature notwithstanding, Weaver's influence on ballet, in imitation of ancient pantomime, is undeniable. Brinson has drawn attention to the presence in London during 1717 of the young Marie Sallé, dancing at the rival theatre of Lincoln's Inn Fields for the entrepreneurial John Rich. Sallé grew up to become a major choreographer as well as exponent of dramatic ballet, typified by her famous *Pygmalion* (1734); moreover, the enormously tall and dignified man who danced the role of Mars for Weaver, Louis Dupré, went back to Paris and became the teacher of none other than Jean Georges Noverre.²⁷ Since Weaver's desire to revive ancient

²¹ See Brathwaite (1615), 126, from the Epilogue to his *Strappado for the Divell*: 'In time No question but hee'l prooue true Pantomime, | To imitate all formes, shapes, habits, tyres | Suting the Court.'

²² Jonson (1640), vol. 2, section headed 'Masques' (which has separate pagination), 45: 'After the manner of the old Pantomime'.

²³ See Dryden's epilogue, appended to *Etherege* (1676).

²⁴ Anon. (1734).

²⁵ Cibber (1740), xv, 299.

²⁶ Weaver (1718).

²⁷ Brinson (1966), 163–4. See also Guest (1996), 86, who points out that Dupré was responsible for the teenaged Noverre's first professional engagement, at the Opéra-Comique in 1743.

pantomime seems to have been slightly before his time, it is more usually Noverre who is lauded as the first great dramatic choreographer, who (like the ancient pantomime dancers) was particularly drawn to danced realizations of myths famous from classical Greek tragedy, such as the story of Medea. Through his friend David Garrick, whose interest in Greek tragedy is well documented,²⁸ and Garrick's wife, who had been the pupil of Hilverding in Vienna, Noverre arrived at a watershed in his career.²⁹ He began to see how the tragic and violent love stories, ending in death, so much appreciated by the ancient pantomime dancers, could once again become appropriate subject-matter for danced performances. It is also more usually Noverre than Weaver whose words, in his *Letters on Dancing* (1760), on the importance of dramatic action to ballet are quoted in dance history books:

Ballets, being representations, should unite the various parts of the drama. Themes expressed in dancing are, for the most part, devoid of sense, and offer a confused medley of scenes as ill-connected as they are ill-ordered... The subject of every ballet must have its introduction, plot and climax...³⁰

But there can be little doubt that Weaver was the first dancer systematically to attempt to revive the ancient art of pantomime dancing *in practice*, within the commercial theatre.

What made Noverre incomparably significant was not that he was the first advocate of the *ballet d'action*, nor even the first practitioner, but that he created more than one hundred different examples of this new dance idiom. Some were dramatizations of contemporary story-lines, some were 'comedy ballets', but many were based on tragedies, and ensured that ancient Greek tragedy would always be recognized as important to its foundation and early repertoire. Indeed, he was uniquely positioned to turn Greek tragedy into French dance art. His mother was a sophisticated Frenchwoman, but his father was a Swiss Protestant, and all over Europe Greek studies had been

²⁸ Hall and Macintosh (2005), 129, 144–5, 195.

²⁹ For the intense correspondence between the two men, see Lynham (1972), 25–49.

³⁰ *Letters on Dancing* no. 2, trans. Cyril Beaumont, in Cohen and Matheson (1974), 60.

associated with the Protestant humanist tradition of education and values.³¹

Noverre's ballets on ancient tragic themes included *Les Danaïdes* (created in 1761), *La Mort d'Hercule* (1762), *Agamemnon vengé* (1771) *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1772), *Iphigenia in Aulide* (1782), and several versions of the story of Alcestis including his *Admète* (1761).³² His incomparably influential ballet on the theme of Medea and Jason, ultimately derived from Euripides' *Medea*, was first performed in Stuttgart in 1763, but was almost immediately plagiarized by his rival Vestris, and produced in France to great acclaim.³³ Those old favourite themes of the ancient pantomimes, *The Judgement of Paris* (created in Marseilles in 1755) and *Les Amours d'Énée et de Didon* (1768–73), were also in Noverre's repertoire, for Noverre was a great consolidator of previous experiments and experience. During this astonishing career, he was able to refine and actualize all the discoveries and ideas of his predecessors, especially Weaver, Sallé, Hilverding, and Angiolini.³⁴ French scholars also often cite Louis de Cahusac, a French librettist who collaborated with Rameau and who in 1754 published *La danse ancienne et moderne, ou traité historique sur la danse*, which argues passionately for his idea of a *ballet en action* rather than *ballet d'action*, and the concomitant importance of single gestures as the 'bearers of the soul's emotions' in expressive dance.³⁵ But even in the arena of music, Noverre was the most energetic champion of the importance of dancers paying strict attention not only to the rhythm of the music, but also to its expressive function.

By the late eighteenth century, the rise and increasing popularity of ballet as an art form, the importance of which rivalled both spoken drama and opera, was also accompanied by a deluge of new books on the history of dancing. These were often adorned with attractive illustrations, and aimed less at the dancing profession or classical scholars than the wider readership, including women, who enjoyed watching ballet. The place of the ancient sources on the pantomime

³¹ See Hall and Macintosh (2005), 34–6; Hall (2007b), 10–11.

³² Dates taken from Lynham (1972), Appendix B, 165–73.

³³ See the entertaining account by Guest (1996), 43–9.

³⁴ Lee (2002), 110–11, and 106–7.

³⁵ See Lee (2002), 90.



Figure 16.2 Engraving from François Henri Stanislas de l'Aulnay, *De la Saltation théâtrale, ou recherches sur l'Origine, le Progrès, & les effets de la pantomime chez les anciens* (Paris, 1790).



Figure 16.3 Plate from Francisco Ficorini, *Dissertatio de Larvis Scaenicis, et figuris comicis antiquorum romanorum. Ex Italica in Latinam linguam versa* (Rome, 1750): Antonio de Rubeis.

dancer in these certainly needs further investigation, as do the records of how their authors visualized the medium in practice. One of the more important is de L'Aulnay's, *De la Saltation théâtrale, ou recherches sur l'Origine, les Progrès, & les effets de la pantomime chez les anciens* (1790), which, as he admits, had been partly inspired by the popularity of the ballets for which the composer Gluck had written the musical scores.³⁶ L'Aulnay uses Plutarch's *Sympotic Questions*, Quintilian, and Cassiodorus as well as Lucian,³⁷ but is most concerned that his readers gain a visual sense of the exoticism of the ancient medium. It is from his treatise that the beautiful

³⁶ See L'Aulnay (1790), 10.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 12, 19.

engraving of a pantomime mask reproduced as Figure 0.4 above, p. 21 is taken,³⁸ and in his passage on the diversity of the musical instruments that accompanied the pantomime choirs, he rather improbably suggests that one such might have been a kind of bagpipe, played by another, and very scantily dressed dancer (Fig. 16.2).

The imaginations of other eighteenth-century exponents of the genre of books on ancient dancing were particularly fired by the individual pantomime stars whose careers are mentioned in the historiographers of Rome, above all Bathyllus. Francisco Ficoroni's treatise on the ancient stage included a beautiful plate offering a reconstruction of Augustus' monument to Bathyllus (Fig. 16.3).³⁹ Bathyllus was once again to be figure large in the public imagination after Jean Bertheroy (the pseudonym of a militant feminist named Berthe-Corinne Barillier) had published her novel *Le Mime Bathylle* in 1894; this exciting novel uses historical fiction to examine contemporary *fin-de-siècle* aesthetic and social debates, and is rather less accurate when it comes to the details of the ancient dancing profession. Maurice Marodon's ancient dancing star performed, it seems, barefoot, semi-naked and certainly unmasked (see Fig. 16.4).

The themes of the ancient pantomime to which the discussions in this book have repeatedly returned—the plots of Greek tragedies, the Judgment of Paris, Aeneas and Dido, Venus and Mars—were all realized in eighteenth-century ballets, and can still be seen on the contemporary stage. In the forthcoming study of ancient drama in post-Renaissance dance, edited by Fiona Macintosh, this fascinating narrative will be examined in depth and detail. To conclude the current volume, just a few examples will suffice. Apuleius describes a Judgement of Paris ballet, and two ballets on this theme, a traditional realization by Frederick Ashton and a more risqué choreography by Antony Tudor actually competed against one another for public attention in London in 1938. Tudor's version, which offered an 'amusing exposure of sordid music-hall dancing',⁴⁰ is still today in the repertoire of the Ballet Rambert. Martha Graham's production of

³⁸ Ibid. 78 n. describes it (his Plate VII no. 1) as 'un des plus beaux masques de Pantomime que nous connoissons'.

³⁹ See Ficoroni (1750), Plate V, discussed by him at 18–20.

⁴⁰ Chazin-Bennahum (1994), 84.



Figure 16.4 Engraving by Maurice Marodon, in Jean Bertheroy, *Le Mime Bathylle* (Paris, 1894).

Vivian Fine's ballet *Alceste*, which dated from 1960,⁴¹ aroused an intense controversy when performed in New York City in 1968.

In his 1999 theatrical production of a version of Ted Hughes' *Tales from Ovid* (1997, translations from the *Metamorphoses*), staged by the Royal Shakespeare Company, Tim Supple decided, it seems almost intuitively, that members of the performance ensemble should mime the stories to incidental music, while a narrator recited the poetry.⁴² Ballet met both solo vocal performances and synchronized swimming in Sasha Waltz's ballet *Dido and Aeneas* at Sadler's Wells, London in 2007. It is unlikely that Tudor, Graham, Supple, or Waltz knew anything much about Pylades and Bathyllus. They may

⁴¹ McDonagh (1973), 286, 321.

⁴² After all, Hughes had written phrases in his Introduction that would have immediately have caught the interest of an ancient pantomime dancer (Hughes (1997), ix): 'Ovid was interested in . . . what a passion felt like to the one possessed by it. Not just ordinary passion, either, but human passion *in extremis*—passion where it combusts, or levitates, or mutates into an experience of the supernatural.'

well never have heard of them. Yet through the medium of the line of dance theorists, practitioners, and historians that stretches from Corso in the sixteenth century to the inauguration of *ballet d'action* and 'classical' dance in the eighteenth, they work in a cultural tradition that without any doubt traces its conceptual roots all the way back to the glamorous stars of ancient pantomime.

Appendix: Selected Source Texts

This appendix assembles, with English translations, those texts or extracts from texts that have arisen with particular frequency in the foregoing chapters. These texts are arranged in approximately the chronological order in which they are believed to have been composed. In addition, there are provided the whole of the two substantial but somewhat unfamiliar and inaccessible texts discussed at length, the ‘Barcelona *Alcestis*’ (the Latin poem preserved on a papyrus which forms the subject of ch. 12) and Jacob of Sarugh’s Syriac *Homilies on the Spectacles of the Theatre* (in translation) respectively.

This appendix is not intended to provide a comprehensive collection of sources on ancient pantomime; although such a research resource is badly needed, it would require full translations of the entirety of Lucian’s *On Dancing* and Libanius’ 64th *Oration*, along with extensive passages from the Church Fathers, some of Choricus’ *Defence of the Mimes*, dozens of inscriptions and epigrams and several images that have not been reproduced in this volume. For more adequate (but by no means comprehensive) collections of *testimonia* on pantomime the reader is recommended to consult Rotolo (1957), 87–121 and Bonaria (1965a), 169–274 (‘Fasti mimici et pantomimici’). A more up-to-date set of translations of short texts, with indispensable commentary, can be found in Csapo and Slater (1994), 378–85. The purpose of this appendix is more modest. It is simply to make it easier for the reader to use the rest of *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*, by identifying those passages which have provoked the most widespread and often different interpretations.

T1 Xenophon (Greek prose author, c. 431–355 BC), *Symposium* 9.3–7

[3] Ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ἀριάδνη ὡς νύμφη κεκοσμημένη παρήλθε καὶ ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. οὐπω δὲ φαινομένου τοῦ Διονύσου ἠύλειτο ὁ βακχεῖος ῥυθμός. ἔνθα δὴ ἠγάσθησαν τὸν ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλον. εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡ Ἀριάδνη ἀκούσασα τοιοῦτόν τι ἐποίησεν ὡς πᾶς ἂν ἔγνω ὅτι ἀσμένη ἤκουσε· καὶ ὑπήντησε μὲν οὐδὲ ἀνέστη, δῆλη δ’ ἦν μόλις ἠρεμούσα. [4] ἐπεὶ

γε μὴν κατείδεν αὐτὴν ὁ Διόνυσος, ἐπιχορεύσας ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις φιλικώτατα ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων καὶ περιλαβὼν ἐφίλησεν αὐτήν. ἡ δ' αἰδουμένη μὲν ἔώκει, ὄμως δὲ φιλικῶς ἀντιπεριελάμβανεν. οἱ δὲ συμπόται ὄρωντες ἅμα μὲν ἐκρότουν, ἅμα δὲ ἐβόων Αὔθις. [5] ὡς δὲ ὁ Διόνυσος ἀνιστάμενος συναέστησε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Ἀριάδην, ἐκ τούτου δὴ φιλοῦντων τε καὶ ἀσπαζομένων ἀλλήλους σχήματα παρῆν θεάσασθαι. οἱ δ' ὄρωντες ὄντως καλὸν μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον, ὠραίαν δὲ τὴν Ἀριάδην, οὐ σκώπτοντας δὲ ἀλλ' ἀληθινῶς τοῖς στόμασι φιλοῦντας, πάντες ἀνεπτερωμένοι ἐθεώοντο. [6] καὶ γὰρ ἤκουον τοῦ Διονύσου μὲν ἐπερωτῶντος αὐτὴν εἰ φιλεῖ αὐτόν, τῆς δὲ οὕτως ἐπομνουύσης ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὸν Διόνυσον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἅπαντας συνομόσαι ἂν ἦ μὴν τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν παῖδα ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φιλεῖσθαι. ἐώκεσαν γὰρ οὐ δεδιδαγμένοις τὰ σχήματα ἀλλ' ἐφευμένοις πράττειν ἅ πάλα ἐπεθύμουν. [7] τέλος δὲ οἱ συμπόται ἰδόντες περιβεβληκότας τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ὡς εἰς εὐνὴν ἀπιόντας, οἱ μὲν ἄγαμοι γαμῆν ἐπώμνυσαν, οἱ δὲ γεγαμηκότες ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀπήλαινον πρὸς τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας, ὅπως τούτων τύχοιεν. Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ὑπομείναντες πρὸς Λύκωνα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν σὺν Καλλίᾳ περιπατήσοντες ἀπήλθον.

[3] Then to start proceedings, in came Ariadne, apparelled as a bride, and took her seat in the chair. Dionysus being still invisible, there was heard the Bacchic music played on the flute. Then it was that the assemblage was filled with admiration of the dancing master. For as soon as Ariadne heard the strain her action was such that everyone might have perceived her joy at the sound; and although she did not go to meet Dionysus, nor even rise, yet it was clear that she kept her composure with difficulty. [4] But when Dionysus caught sight of her, he came dancing toward her and in a most loving manner sat himself on her lap, and putting his arms about her gave her a kiss. Her demeanour was all modesty, and yet she returned his embrace with affection. As the banqueters beheld it, they kept clapping and crying 'encore!' [5] Then when Dionysus arose and gave his hand to Ariadne to rise also, there was presented the impersonation of lovers kissing and caressing each other. The onlookers viewed a Dionysus truly handsome, an Ariadne truly fair, not presenting a burlesque but offering genuine kisses with their lips; and they were all raised to a high pitch of enthusiasm as they looked on. [6] For they overheard Dionysus asking her if she loved him, and heard her vowing that she did, so earnestly that not only Dionysus but all the bystanders as well would have taken their oaths in confirmation that the youth and maid surely felt mutual affection. For theirs was the appearance not of actors who had been taught their poses but of persons now permitted to satisfy their long-cherished desires. [7] At last, the banqueters, seeing them in each other's embrace and obviously leaving for the bridal couch,

those who were unwedded swore they would take to themselves wives, and those who were already married mounted horse and rode off to their wives that they might enjoy them. As for Socrates and the others who had lingered behind, they went out with Callias to join Lycon and his son in their walk. [trans. O. J. Todd (1922)]

**T2 Greek Anthology 11.195, attributed to Dioscorides
(active 3rd century BC)**

Γάλλον Ἀρισταγόρης ὠρχήσατο· τοὺς δὲ φιλόπλους
 Τημενίδας ὁ καμῶν πολλὰ διήλθον ἐγώ.
 Χὼ μὲν τιμηθεῖς ἀπεπέμπετο· τὴν δὲ τάλαιναν
 Ὑρνηθῶ κροτάλων εἰς ψύφος ἐξέβλεν.
 εἰς πῦρ ἡρώων ἔτε πρήξιες· ἐν γὰρ ἀμούσοις
 καὶ κόρυδος κύκνου φθέγγετ' αἰοδιότερον.

Aristagoras danced *Gallus*: I, with much trouble, got through *Temenidae*, lovers of war. He was sent off with applause, but one rattle of the clappers [sc. accompanying my dance] dispatched poor Hyrnethe. To blazes you deeds of heroes; for among philistines a lark would sing more musically than a swan. [trans. adapted from Csapo and Slater (1994)]

**T3 Inschriften von Priene 113.60–68, c. 80 BC. Inscription from
Priene, a decree honouring the public benefactor Zosimus of Priene
[as supplemented in Louis Robert (1930), 114–15]**

μόνος δὲ μετὰ τὸν πό-
 λεμον ἐν τῇ στεφανηφορίᾳ ἐπίσημον εὐωχίαν ἐπετελέσατο, τοῖς μὲν ἀπὸ
 τῆς θυσίας εἰς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν χρησάμενος, οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς
 κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν ὑποστειλάμενος· ... κατατιθεῖς δὲ μὴ μόνον τὰ πρὸς
 ἡδονήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλόμενος ἐκτὸς ἀπάτην χορηγῆσαι τοῖς θεαταῖς,
 αὐλητὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆσκηνης μισθωσάμενος καὶ τὸν δυνάμενον τῇ τέχνῃ
 ψυχα—γωγῆσαι παντόμμον Πλουτογένην, ἐπιδιξάμενος δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
 τὰς τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρας· ἀβέβηλον καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιθυμίας τὸν τε καιρὸν
 συντηρῶν, θεωρῶν δὲ καὶ βίον ἰδιώτου...

After the war, as *stephanēphoros* he gave a notable feast to the whole people, the only person to do so, using the [meat] from the sacrifices for the reception... And desiring to prove what conducted not only to pleasure but also to amusement, he hired performers from abroad, including

the pantomime Ploutogenes, who was able to beguile by his art, and he exhibited him for three days, making the occasion participate in this kind of enjoyment too.

T4 CIL 10.1074d. Inscription from Pompeii, c. 2 BC

PRIMO DUOMVIRATV APPOLLINARIB IN FORO POMPAM TAVROS TAVROCEN-
TAS SVCCVRSORES PONTARIOS PARIA III PVGILES CATERVARIOS ET PYCTAS
LVDOS OMNIBVS ACRVAMATIS PANTOMIMISQ OMNIBUS ET PYLADE

Aulus Clodius Flaccus, son of Aulis, thrice *duumvir*, five times elected military tribune by the people, <gave> in his first duumvirate at the Apolline games in the forum: a procession, bulls, matadors, escape artists, bridge fighters [i.e. gladiators; 'bridge' was a type of scaffolding] three pairs; boxers in teams and fighters, games with every entertainment and with all the pantomimes and Pylades. [trans. Csapo and Slater (1994)]

T5 Ovid (Roman poet) *Remedies for Love* 751–5 (5 BC)

At tanti tibi sit non indulgere theatris,
Dum bene de vacuo pectore cedat amor.
Enervant animos citharae lotosque lyraeque
Et vox et numeris brachia mota suis.
Illic adsidue ficti saltantur amantes.

But it is better not to indulge in the shows at the theatre
until love has thoroughly departed from your empty heart.
The citharas, lutes and lyres sap your strength,
and the singing voice and limbs moved in time to the music.
There the stories of fictitious lovers are danced incessantly.

T6 Ovid, *Tristia* 2.515–520 (AD 10)

scribere si fas est imitantes turpia mimos,
materiae minor est debita poena meae.
an genus hoc scripti faciunt sua pulpita tutum,
quodque libet¹ mimis scaena licere dedit?

¹ *libet* is almost certainly correct; *licet*, found in some MSS, is easily explicable as repetition from *licere*.

et² mea sunt populo saltata poemata saepe,
saepe oculos etiam detinuere tuos.

If it is lawful to write mimes imitating shameful things,
a lesser punishment is due to my theme.
Or does the stage that belongs to it make this genre of writing safe,
and does the theatre grant mimes whatever freedom they like?
My productions too have been danced for the people often,
often they have even held your eyes. [trans. Jennifer Ingleheart]

T7 Ovid, *Tristia* 5.7.25–30

carmina quod pleno saltari nostra theatro,
uersibus et plaudi scribis, amice, meis,
nil equidem feci (tu scis hoc ipse) theatris,
Musa nec in plausus ambitiosa mea est.
non tamen ingratum est, quodcumque obliuia nostri
impedit et profugi nomen in ora refert.

That my songs are being danced in the packed theatre,
and that my verses are applauded, you write, my friend.
I have composed nothing (you know this yourself) for the theatres,
nor is my Muse ambitious for applause.
It is not however unwelcome, nor anything which hinders forgetfulness
of me and brings back the name of an exile onto lips. [trans. Jennifer
Ingleheart]

T8 Suetonius (Roman biographer, c. AD 70–c. 130) *Life of Nero* 54 (c. AD 120)

Sub exitu quidem vitae palam voverat, si sibi incolumis status permansisset,
proditurum se partae victoriae ludis etiam hydraulam et choraulam et
utricularium ac novissimo die histrionem saltaturumque Vergili Turnum.
Et sunt qui tradant Paridem histrionem occisum ab eo quasi gravem adver-
sarium

² *en* (see!'), conjectured by J.B. Hall (1992) for the *et* found in all MSS, would play up the theme of sight, which is important both to the rhetoric of this passage as a whole, and to the stress on sight in ancient writing on the pantomimic genre. However *et* is probably necessary here, as Ovid needs to emphasize that his poems too, like mimes, have received performance on stage.

Actually, as he neared the end of his life, he made a public vow that if he retained his position, he would perform at the games to celebrate his victory on the water-organ, the pipe, and the bagpipes, and that on the final day he would make an appearance as an actor to dance Vergil's *Turnus*. There are some people who even claim that he executed the actor Paris as if he were a deadly rival.

T9 Quintilian (Roman rhetorician, c. AD 35–100), *Institutio Oratoria* 11.3.85–7

Manus vero, sine quibus trunca esset actio ac debilis, vix dici potest quot motus habeant, cum paene ipsam verborum copiam persequantur. Nam ceterae partes loquentem adiuvant, hae, prope est ut dicam, ipsae locuntur. An non his poscimus pollicemur, vocamus dimittimus, minamur supplicamus, abominamur timemus, interrogamus negamus, gaudiam tristitiam dubitationem confessionem paenitentiam modum copiam numerum tempus ostendimus? Non eadem concitant inhihent [supplicat] probant admirantur verecundantur? non in demonstrandis locis atque personis adverbiorum atque pronominum optinent vicem?—ut in tanta per omnis gentes nationesque linguae diversitate hic mihi omnium hominum communis sermo videatur.

As for the hands, without which the Delivery would be crippled and enfeebled, it is almost impossible to say how many movements they possess, for these almost match the entire stock of words. Other parts of the body assist the speaker: the hands, I might almost say, speak for themselves. Do we not use them to demand and promise, summon and dismiss, threaten and beg, show horror and fear, inquire and deny, and also to indicate joy, sadness, doubt, confession, remorse, or again size, quantity, number, and time? Do they not excite, restrain, approve, admire, display shame? Do they not serve instead of adverbs and pronouns when we need to point out places or persons? Amid all the linguistic diversity of the peoples and nations of the world, this, it seems to me, is the common language of the human race. [trans. D. Russell (2001)]

T10 *Institutio Oratoria* 11.3.88–9

Et hi quidem de quibus sum locutus cum ipsis vocibus naturaliter exeunt gestus: alii sunt qui res imitatione significant, ut si aegrum temptantis venas medici similitudine aut citharoedum formati ad modum percutientis nervos manibus ostendas, quod est genus quam longissime in actione

fugiendum. Abesse enim plurimum a saltatore debet orator, ut sit gestus ad sensus magis quam ad verba accommodatus, quod etiam histrionibus paulo gravioribus facere moris fuit.

The Gestures of which I have been speaking all appear to be natural concomitants of *words*. There are others however which express *things* by mimicry. For example, you can suggest a sick man by imitating a doctor feeling the pulse, or a lyre-player by shaping your hands as if you were striking the strings. (89) You should refrain altogether from such things in pleading. An orator has to be very different from a dancer; he must adapt his Gesture to his sense more than to his words—which indeed was the practice of the more serious actors too. [trans. D. Russell (2001)]

T11 Plutarch (Greek essayist, c. AD 46–120), *Sympotic Questions* 7.8.3 = *Moralia* 711e–f

Δεξάμενος οὖν ὁ Διογενιανός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους, ἔφη, νήφοντας ἀκούω λόγους· ὥσθ' ὁ οἶνος ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν οὐκ ἔοικεν οὐδὲ κρατεῖν. δέδια δὴ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐθύνας ὑπόσχω· καίτοι τὰ πολλὰ περικοπτέα τῶν ἀκροαμάτων ἐστίν· πρώτην τὴν τραγωδίαν, ὡς οὐ πάντι συμποτικὸν ἀλλὰ σεμνότερον βοῶσαν καὶ σκευωρουμένην πραγμάτων ὑποκρίσεις πάθος ἐχόντων καὶ οἰκτον. ἀποπέμπω δὲ τῆς ὀρχήσεως τὴν Πυλάδειον, ὀγκώδη καὶ παθητικὴν καὶ πολυπρόσωπον οὖσαν· αἰδοῖ δὲ τῶν ἐγκωμίων ἐκείνων, ἃ Σωκράτης περὶ ὀρχήσεως διήλθε, δέχομαι τὴν Βαθύλλειον αὐτόθεν πέζαν τοῦ κόρδακος ἀπτομένην, Ἥχους ἢ τινος Πανὸς ἢ Σατύρου συν' Ἐρωτι κωμάζοντος ὑπόρχημά τι διατιθεμένην.

Taking the cup, Diogenianus said, 'These, too, sound like sober words to me; the wine seems not to be harming us or getting the best of us. So I fear that I may myself be subject to correction. All the same, most kinds of entertainment must be trimmed from the list. First of all, tragedy: it is not at all appropriate to a party, with its majestic elocution and its elaborate representation of events that are moving and sorrowful. As for dances, I should disqualify the Pyladic as pretentious and emotional and requiring a large cast; but out of respect for Socrates' well-known praise of the dance, I will accept the Bathyllic. It is a straightforward unaccompanied dance, verging on the *kordax*, and presents a danced interpretation of Echo or some Pan or Satyr revelling with Eros.' [trans. Minar (1961)].

T12 Juvenal (Roman Satirist, late 1st–early
2nd century AD) 6.60–6

Porticibusne tibi monstratur femina voto
digna tuo? cuneis an habent spectacula totis
quod securus ames quodque inde excerpere possis?
chironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo
Tuccia vesicae non imperat, Apula gannet,
[sicut in amplexu, subito et miserabile longum.]
attendit Thymele: Thymele tunc rustica discit.

Can our colonnades show you any woman who matches your wishes? Do our shows with all their tiers contain an object that you could pick out from there and love without anxiety? When sinuous Bathyllus is dancing his pantomimic Leda, Tuccia loses control of her bladder, Apula yelps, and Thymele is all attention. It's then that clodhopping Thymele learns something. [trans. Braund (2004)]

T13 Juvenal *Satires* 7.86–7

sed cum fregit subsellia versu, esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit
Agaven.

But when he's broken the benches with his poetry, he'll go hungry unless he sells his virgin *Agaue* to Paris. [trans. Braund (2004)]

T14 Fronto (Roman rhetorician, c. AD 100–170),
Ad M. Antoninum de Orationibus 5 (letter to Marcus
Aurelius on speechmaking)

Primum illud in isto genere dicendi vitium turpissimum, quod eandem sententiam milliens alio atque alio amictu indutam referunt. Ut histriones, quom palliolatim saltant caudam cycni, capillum Veneris, Furiae flagellum, eodem pallio demonstrant, ita isti unam eandemque sententiam multimodis faciunt: Ventilant, commutant, convertunt, eadem lacinia saltitant, refricant eandem unam sententiam saepius quam puellae olfactaria sucina.

The first and most objectionable defect in that style of speech is the repetition of the same thought under one dress and another, times without number. As actors, when they dance clad in mantles, with one and the same mantle represent a swan's tail, the tresses of Venus, a Fury's scourge,

so these writers make up the same thought in a thousand ways, flourish it, alter it, disguise it, with the same lappet dance, rub up one and the same thought oftener than girls their perfumed amber.

T15 Apuleius (African Roman novelist, c. AD 123–180),
Metamorphoses (= *The Golden Ass*) 10.30–4

30. Erat mons ligneus, ad instar incluti montis illius, quem vates Homerus Idaeum cecinit, sublimi instructus fabrica, consitus virectis et vivis arboribus, summo cacumine, de manibus fabri fonti manante, fluviales aquas eliquans. Capellae pauculae tondebant herbulas et in modum Paridis, Phrygii pastoris, barbaricis amiculis umeris defluentibus, pulchre indusiatus adulescens, aurea tiara contexto capite, percurarium simulabat magisterium. Adest luculentus puer nudus, nisi quod ephebica chlamida sinistrum tegebat umerum, flavis crinibus usquequaque conspicuus, et inter conas eius aureae pinnulae colligatione simili sociatae prominebant; quem [caduceum] et virgula Mercurium indicabant. Is saltatorie procurrens malumque bracteis inauratum dextra gerens (adulescentis), qui Paris videbatur, porrigit, quid mandaret Iuppiter nutu significans, et protinus gradum scitule referens et conspectu facessit.

Insequitur puella vultu honesta in deae Iunonis speciem similis: nam et caput stringebat diadema candida, ferebat et sceptrum. Inrupit alia, quam putares Minervam, caput contexta fulgenti galea—et oleaginea corona tegebatur ipsa galea—clipeum attollens et hastam quatiens et qualis illa, cum pugnat.

31. super has introcessit alia, visendo decore praepollens, gratia coloris ambrosei designans Venerem, qualis fuit Venus, cum fuit virgo, nudo et intecto corpore perfectam formositatem professa, nisi quod tenui pallio bombycino inumbrabat spectabilem pubem. Quam quidem laciniam curiosulus ventus satis amanter nunc lasciviens reflabat, ut dimota pateret flos aetatulae, nunc luxurians aspirabat, ut adhaerens pressule membrorum voluptatem graphice liniaret. Ipse autem color deae diversus in speciem, corpus candidum, quod caleo debeat, amictus caeruleus, quod mari remeat. Iam singulas virgines, quae deae putabantur, (sui tutabantur) comites, Iunonem quidem Castor et Pollux, quorum capita cassides ovatae stellarum apicibus insignes contegebant, sed et isti Castores erant scaenici pueri. Haec puella varios modulos Iastia concinente tibia procedens quieta et inadfectata gesticulatione nutibus honestis pastori pollicetur, si sibi praemium decoris addisset, sese regnum totius Asiae tributuram. At illam quam cultus armorum Minervam fecerat duo pueri muniebant, proelii deae comites armigeri, Terror et Metus, nudis insultantes gladiis. At pone tergum tibice Dorium caneat bellicosum et permiscens bombis gravibus tinnitus acutos

in modum tubae saltationis agilis vigorem suscitabat. Haec inquieto capite et oculis in aspectum minacibus citato et intorto genere gesticulationis alacer demonstrabat Paridi, si sibi formae victoriam tradidisset, fortem tropaeisque bellorum inclutum suis adminiculis futurum.

32. Venus ecce cum magno favore caveae in ipso meditullio scaenae, circumfuso populo laetissimorum parvulorum, dulce subridens constitit amoene: illos teretes et lacteos puellos dices tu Cupidines veros de caelo vel mari commodum involasse; nam et pinnulis et sagittulis et habitu cetero formae praeclare congruebant et velut nuptialis epulas obiturae dominae coruscis praelecebant facibus. Et influunt innuptarum puellarum decoraes suboles, hinc Gratiae gratissimae, inde Horae pulcherrimae, quae iaculis foris serti et soluti deam suam propitiantes scitissimum construxerant chorum, dominae voluptatum veris coma blandientes. Iam tibiae multiforabiles cantus Lydios dulciter consonant. Quibus spectatorum pectora suave mulcentibus, longe suavior Venus placide commoveri cunctantique lente vestigio et leniter fluctuante spinula et sensim adnutante capite coepit incedere mollique tibiarum sono delicatis respondere gestibus et nunc mite coniventibus nunc acre comminantibus gestire pupulis et nonnumquam saltare solis oculis. haec ut primum ante iudicis conspectum facta est, nisu brachiorum polliceri videbatur, si fuisset deabus ceteris antelata, daturam se nuptam Paridi forma praecipuam suique consimilem. Tunc animo volenti Phrygius iuvenis malum, quod tenebat, aureum velut victoriae calculum puellae tradidit.

33. Quid ergo miramini, vilissima capita, immo forensia pecora, immo vero togati vulturii, si toti nunc iudices sententias suas pretio nundinantur, cum rerum exordio inter deos et homines agitatum iudicium corruerit gratia et originalem sententiam magni Iovis consilii electus iudex rusticanus et opilio lucro libidinis vendiderit cum totius etiam suae stirpis exitio? [...] Sed nequis indignationis meae reprehendat impetum secum sic reputans: 'Ecce nunc patiemur philosophantem nobis asinum?', rursus, unde decessi, revertar ad fabulam.

34. Postquam finitum est illud Paridis iudicium, Iuno quidem cum Minerva tristes et iratis similes e scaena redeunt, indignationem repulsae gestibus professa, Venus vero gaudens et hilaris laetitiam suam saltando toto cum choro professa est. Tunc de summo montis cacumine per quandam latentem fistulam in excelsum prorumpit vino crocus diluta sparsimque defluens pascentis circa capellas odoro perpluit imbre, donec in meliorem maculatae speciem canitiem propriam luteo colore mutarent. Iamque tota suave fraglante cavea montem illum ligneum terrae vorago deceptit.

30. There stood a wooden mountain, constructed with lofty craftsmanship to resemble the famous mountain of which the bard Homer sang,

Mount Ida. It was planted with bushes and live trees, and at its very peak, from a flowing fountain made by the designer's hand, it poured river-water. A few goats were browsing among the low grasses, and a young man, beautifully attired like the Phrygian shepherd Paris, with exotic robes flowing over his shoulders and a golden tiara covering his head, was feigning mastery of the flock. Then a radiantly beautiful boy appeared, naked except for an ephebic cape covering his left shoulder. He attracted all eyes with his blond curls, and from his hair projected little wings symmetrically attached; a caduceus and wand identified him as Mercury. He danced forward, carrying in his right hand an apple gilded with gold leaf, which he held out to the person who was acting Paris. Then, after indicating Jupiter's instructions with a nod, he quickly and elegantly retraced his steps and disappeared.

Next came a girl of respectable appearance, got up as the goddess Juno: her head was bound with a pure white diadem and she carried a sceptre. On came another girl, whom you would have recognized as Minerva: her head was covered by a gleaming helmet and the helmet itself was topped with an olive wreath; she held a shield and brandished a spear, in the attitude of the goddess when fighting.

31. After these another girl made her entrance, surpassingly beautiful to look at, with a charming ambrosial complexion, representing Venus as Venus looked when she was a virgin. She displayed a perfect figure, her body naked and uncovered except for a piece of sheer silk with which she veiled her comely charms. An inquisitive little breeze would at one moment blow this veil aside in wanton playfulness so that it lifted to reveal the flower of her youth, and at another moment it would gust exuberantly against it so that it clung tightly and graphically delineated her body's voluptuousness. Moreover, the very colouring of the goddess offered variety to the eye—her body white because she comes from heaven, her robe blue because she comes up from the sea.

Each of the maidens who was acting a goddess was accompanied by her own companions. Juno was followed by Castor and Pollux, whose heads were capped with egg-shaped helmets marked by stars at their peaks. In fact these twin Castors were also boys from the stage-company. Accompanied by an Ionian pipe playing various tunes, Juno stepped forward with quiet and unaffected movements, and with ladylike gestures promised the shepherd that if he awarded her the prize for beauty she would assign him rule over all Asia. Now the girl whose military equipment had turned her into Minerva was guarded by two boys, armour-bearing companions of the battle-goddesses, Terror and Fear, who leaped forward with naked swords. Behind their backs a piper played a martial Dorian tune and mixed deep growls with shrill

whistles like a war-trumpet, rousing the energy of their brisk dance. She tossed her head and glared menacingly, and with quick, jerky gestures indicated to Paris that if he assigned her the victory in beauty he would become, with her assistance, brave and renowned for trophies gained in war.

32. And now Venus, amidst loud applause from the audience, delightfully took her position at the very centre of the stage, smiling sweetly and surrounded by a whole mob of happy little boys. You would have said that those soft, round, milky-skinned babies were real Cupids who had just flown in from the sky or the sea. With their little wings and tiny arrows and all the rest of their costume they fitted the part splendidly, and they lit the way for their mistress with twinkling torches as if she were on her way to her wedding feast. Then in streamed handsome groups of unwed girls, on one side the graceful Graces, on the other the lovely Hours, worshipping their goddess by throwing garlands and loose flowers; they formed a most elegant dance-pattern as they beguiled the Queen of pleasures with the tresses of Spring. Now pipes with many stops played Lydian melodies in sweet harmony; and while these tunes were delightfully charming the spectators' hearts, far more delightfully Venus gently started to move. With slow hesitant step and smoothly undulating body and gently moving her head she began to walk forward, and to respond to the sound of the pipes with delicate movements. She gestured with her glances, now softly languid, now sharply threatening, and sometimes she would dance with her eyes alone. As soon as she arrived in sight of her judge, she could be seen to promise, with a motion of her arms, that if she were preferred over the other goddesses she would give Paris a bride of surpassing beauty, the very image of herself. At that point the Phrygian youth eagerly handed the girl the golden apple he was holding, so casting the vote for her victory.

33. Why are you so surprised, you cheap ciphers—or should I say sheep of the courts, or better still vultures in togas, if nowadays all jurors hawk their verdicts for a price, since at the world's beginning an adjudication between gods and men was corrupted by beauty's influence, and a country shepherd, chosen judge on the advice of great Jupiter, sold the first verdict for a profit of pleasure, resulting in the destruction of himself and his entire race? . . . But I am afraid one of you may reproach me for this attack of indignation and think to himself, 'So, now are we going to have to stand an ass lecturing us on philosophy?' So I shall return to the story at the point where I left it.

34. After the judgement of Paris was completed, Juno and Minerva went off stage, gloomy and acting angry, proclaiming with gestures their wrath at being defeated. Venus, on the other hand, joyfully and gaily proclaimed her happiness by dancing with her entire chorus. Then, from a hidden pipe at the very peak of the mountain, saffron dissolved in wine came spurting up

into the air and rained down in a fragrant shower, sprinkling the goats that were grazing all round, until, dyed to a greater beauty, they exchanged their natural whiteness for a yellow hue. Finally, when the theatre was filled with the delightful fragrance, a chasm in the earth opened and swallowed up the wooden mountain. [trans. Hanson (1989)]

T16 Lucian (Hellenized Syrian rhetor, c. AD 125–190),

On Dancing 19

Ἄξιον δέ, ἐπεὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν διεξεληλύθαμεν, καὶ ἐς τὴν γείτονα αὐτῶν Αἴγυπτον καταβῆναι τῷ λόγῳ. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι ὁ παλαιὸς μῦθος καὶ Πρωτέα τὸν Αἰγύπτιον οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ ὄρχηστὴν τινα γενέσθαι λέγειν, μιμητικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πρὸς πάντα σχηματίζεσθαι καὶ μεταβάλλεσθαι δυνάμενον, ὡς καὶ ὕδατος ὑγρότητα μιμείσθαι καὶ πυρὸς ὀξύτητα ἐν τῇ τῆς κινήσεως σφοδρότητι καὶ λέοντος ἀγριότητα καὶ παρδάλεως θυμὸν καὶ δένδρου δόνημα, καὶ ὅλως ὅ τι καὶ θελήσειεν. ὁ δὲ μῦθος παραλαβὼν πρὸς τὸ παραδοξότερον τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ διηγῆσατο, ὡς γιγνομένου ταῦτα ἄπερ ἐμμεῖτο. ὅπερ δὴ καὶ τοῖς νῦν ὄρχουμένοις πρόσσεστιν, ἴδοις τ' ἂν οὖν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ὠκέως διαλλαττομένους καὶ αὐτὸν μιμουμένους τὸν Πρωτέα. εἰκάζειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ τὴν Ἐμψουσαν τὴν ἐς μυρίας μορφὰς μεταβαλλομένην τοιαύτην τινὰ ἄνθρωπον ὑπὸ τοῦ μύθου παραδεδοσθαι.

Since we have spoken of India and of Ethiopia, it will repay us to make an imagery descent into Egypt, their neighbour. For it seems to me that the ancient myth about Proteus the Egyptian means nothing else than that he was a dancer, an imitative fellow, able to shape himself and change himself into anything, so that he could imitate even the liquidity of water and the sharpness of fire in the liveliness of his movement; yes, the fierceness of a lion, the rage of a leopard, the quivering of a tree, and in a word whatever he wished. Mythology, however, on taking it over, described his nature in terms more paradoxical, as if he became what he imitated. Now just that thing is characteristic of the dancers today, who certainly may be seen changing swiftly at the cue and imitating Proteus himself. And we must suppose that in Empusa, who changes into countless forms, some such person has been handed down in mythology. [trans. Harmon (1925)]

T17 Lucian, On Dancing 31

Αἱ δὲ ὑποθέσεις κοινὰ ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ οὐδὲν τι διακεκριμέναι τῶν τραγικῶν αἰ ὄρχηστικάι, πλὴν ὅτι ποικιλώτεραι αὐταὶ καὶ πολυμαθέστεραι καὶ μυρίας μεταβολὰς ἔχουσαι.

The themes of tragedy and the dance are common to both, and there is no difference between those of one and those of the other, except that the themes of the dance are more varied and more un-hackneyed, and they contain countless vicissitudes. [trans. Harmon (1925)]

T18 Lucian, *On Dancing* 37

ἀπὸ γὰρ χάους εὐθύς καὶ τῆς πρώτης τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως ἀρξάμενον χρῆ
αὐτὸν ἅπαντα εἰδέναι ἄχρι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν.

Beginning with Chaos and the primeval origin of the universe, he must know everything all the way down to the story of Cleopatra the Egyptian. [trans. Harmon (1925)]

T19 Lucian, *On Dancing* 63

καὶ οὕτως ἐποίησεν ἤσυχίαν γὰρ τοῖς τε κτυποῦσι καὶ τοῖς αὐλοῦσι καὶ αὐτῶ
παραγγείλας τῷ χορῷ, αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὠρχήσατο τὴν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἄρεος
μοιχείαν, Ἥλιον μνηνύοντα καὶ Ἥφαιστον ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς
ἀμφοτέρους, τὴν τε Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν Ἄρη, σαγηνεύοντα, καὶ τοὺς
ἐφεστῶτας θεοὺς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, καὶ αἰδουμένην μὲν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην,
ὑποδεδοικότα δὲ καὶ ἱκετεύοντα τὸν Ἄρη, καὶ ὅσα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ταύτῃ
πρόσεστιν, ὥστε τὸν Δημήτριον ὑπερησθέντα τοῖς γιγνομένοις τοῦτον
ἔπαινον ἀποδοῦναι τὸν μέγιστον τῷ ὀρχηστῇ· ἀνέκραγε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλη τῇ
φωνῇ ἀνεφθέγγετο, Ἄκούω, ἄνθρωπε, ἃ ποιεῖς· οὐχ ὁρῶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ μοι
δοκεῖς ταῖς χερσὶν αὐταῖς λαλεῖν.

This is what he did; enjoining silence upon the stampers and the flute-players and upon the chorus itself, quite unsupported, he danced the amours of Aphrodite and Ares, Helius tattling, Hepaestus laying his plot and trapping both of them with his entangling bonds, the gods who came in on them, portrayed individually, Aphrodite ashamed, Ares seeking cover and begging for mercy, and everything that belongs to this story, in such wise that Demetrius was delighted beyond measure with what was taking place and paid the highest possible tribute to the dancer; he raised his voice and shouted at the top of his lungs: 'I hear the story that you are acting, man, I do not just see it; you seem to me to be talking with your very hands!' [trans. Harmon (1925)]

T20 Lucian, *On Dancing* 64

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Νέρωνα ἔσμεν τῷ λόγῳ, βούλομαι καὶ βαρβάρου ἀνδρὸς τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ γενόμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ μέγιστος ἔπαινος ὀρχηστικῆς γένοιτ' ἄν. τῶν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου βαρβάρων βασιλικὸς τις ἄνθρωπος κατὰ τι χρέος ἦκων ὡς τὸν Νέρωνα ἐθεάτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν ὀρχηστὴν ἐκείνον οὕτω σαφῶς ὀρχούμενον ὡς καίτοι μὴ ἐπακούοντα τῶν ἀδομένων—ἡμιέλλην γὰρ τις ὦν ἐτύγχανεν—συνεῖναι ἀπάντων. καὶ δὴ ἀπιῶν ἤδη ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, τοῦ Νέρωνος δεξιουμένου καὶ ὃ τι βούλοιο αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος καὶ δώσειν ὑπισχνομένου, “Τὸν ὀρχηστὴν,” ἔφη, “δοὺς τὰ μέγιστα εὐφρανεῖς.” τοῦ δὲ Νέρωνος ἐρομένου, “Τί ἄν σοι χρήσιμος γένοιτο ἐκεῖ;” “Προσοίκους,” ἔφη, “βαρβάρους ἔχω, οὐχ ὀμογλώττους, καὶ ἐρμηνέων οὐ ῥάδιον εὐπορεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς. ἦν οὖν τινος δέωμαι, διανεύων οὗτος ἕκαστά μοι ἐρμηνεύσει.” τοσοῦτον ἄρα καθίκετο αὐτοῦ ἢ μίμησις τῆς ὀρχήσεως ἐπίσημός τε καὶ σαφῆς φανείσα.

Since we are under Nero in fancy, I wish to tell the remark of a barbarian concerning the same dancer, which may be considered a very great tribute to his art. One of the barbarians from Pontus, a man of royal blood, came to Nero on some business or other, and among other entertainments saw that dancer perform so vividly that although he could not follow what was being sung—he was but half Hellenised, as it happened—he understood everything. So when it came to be time for him to go back to his own country, Nero, in saying good-bye, urged him to ask for anything that he wanted, and promised to give it him. ‘If you give me the dancer,’ said he, ‘you will please me mightily!’ When Nero asked, ‘What good would he be to you there?’, he replied, ‘I have barbarian neighbours who do not speak the same language, and it is not easy to keep supplied with interpreters for them. If I am in want of one, therefore, this man will interpret everything for me by signs.’ So deeply had he been impressed by that disclosure of the distinctness and lucidity of the mimicry of the dance. [trans. Harmon (1925)]

T21 Lucian, *On Dancing*, 66

Ἐθέλω γοῦν σοὶ καὶ ἄλλον βαρβάρου ῥῆσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπεῖν. ἰδὼν γὰρ πέντε πρόσωπα τῷ ὀρχηστῇ παρεσκευασμένα — τοσοῦτων γὰρ μερῶν τὸ δρᾶμα ἦν— ἐζήτει, πρόσωπα ἕνα ὀρῶν τὸν ὀρχηστὴν, τίνες οἱ ὀρχησόμενοι καὶ ὑποκρινόμενοι τὰ λοιπὰ προσωπεῖα εἶεν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν ὅτι αὐτὸς ὑποκρινεῖται καὶ ὑπορχήσεται τὰ πάντα, “Ἐλελήθεις,” ἔφη, “ὦ βέλτιστε, σῶμα μὲν τούτα ἔν, πολλὰς δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἔχων.”

In that connection I should like to tell you something that was said by another barbarian. Noticing that the dancer had five masks ready—the drama had that number of acts—since he saw but the one dancer, he enquired who were to dance and act the other roles, and when he learned that the dancer himself was to act and dance them all, he said; ‘I did not realise, my friend, that though you have only this one body, you have many souls.’ [trans. Harmon (1925)]

T22 Lucian, *On Dancing* 67

Τὸ δὲ ὄλον ἦθη καὶ πάθη δείξειν καὶ ὑποκρινεῖσθαι ἢ ὄρχησις ἐπαγγέλλεται, νῦν μὲν ἐρώντα, νῦν δὲ ὀργιζόμενόν τινα εἰσάγουσα, καὶ ἄλλον μεμνηνότα καὶ ἄλλον λελυπημένον, καὶ ἅπαντα ταῦτα μεμετρημένως. τὸ γοῦν παραδοξότατον, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἄρτι μὲν Ἀθάμας μεμνηνώς, ἄρτι δὲ Ἴνώ φοβουμένη δείκνυται, καὶ ἄλλοτε Ἄτρεὺς ὁ αὐτός, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν Θυέστης, εἶτα Αἰγισθος ἢ Ἄερόπη· καὶ πάντα ταῦτα εἰς ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν.

In general, the dancer undertakes to present and enact characters and emotions, introducing now a lover and now an angry person, one man afflicted with madness, another with grief, and all this within fixed bounds. Indeed, the most surprising part of it is that within this the selfsame day, at one moment we are shown Athamas in a frenzy, at another Ino in terror; presently the same person is Atreus, and after a little Thyestes; then Aegisthus, or Aerope; yet they all are but a single man. [trans. Harmon (1925)]

T23 Lucian, *On Dancing* 76

Ἐθέλω γοῦν σοι καὶ δήμου τινὸς οὐ φαύλου τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπισημαίνεσθαι βόας εἰπεῖν· οἱ γὰρ Ἀντιοχεῖς, εὐφροσύνη πόλις καὶ ὄρχησιν μάλιστα πρεσβεύουσα, οὕτως ἐπιτηρεῖ τῶν λεγομένων καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων ἕκαστα, ὡς μηδένα μηδὲν αὐτῶν διαλανθάνειν. μικροῦ μὲν γὰρ ὀρχηστοῦ εἰσελθόντος καὶ τὸν Ἐκτορα ὀρχουμένου μᾶ φωνῇ πάντες ἀνεβόησαν, “ὦ Ἀστυάναξ, Ἐκτωρ δὲ ποῦ;” ἄλλοτε δέ ποτε μηκίστου τινὸς ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτριον ὀρχεῖσθαι τὸν Καπανέα ἐπιχειροῦντος καὶ προσβάλλειν τοῖς Θηβαίων τείχεσιν, “Υπέρβηθι,” ἔφησαν, “τὸ τεῖχος, οὐδὲν σοι δεῖ κλίμακος.” καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παχέος δὲ καὶ πιμελοῦς ὀρχηστοῦ πηδᾶν μεγάλα πειρωμένου, “Δεόμεθα,” ἔφασαν, “φείσαι τῆς θυμέλης.” τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον τῷ πάνυ λεπτῷ ἐπεβόησαν, “Καλῶς ἔχε,” ὡς νοσοῦντι. τούτων οὐ τοῦ γελοίου ἔνεκα ἐπεμνήσθη, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἴδης ὅτι καὶ δήμοι ὄλοι μεγάλην σπουδὴν ἐποίησαντο ἐπὶ τῇ ὀρχηστικῇ, ὡς ῥυθμίζειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ αὐτῆς δύνασθαι.

To illustrate, I should like to tell you about the cat-calls of a certain populace that is not slow to mark such points. The people of Antioch, a very talented city which especially honours the dance, keep such an eye upon everything that is done and said that nothing ever escapes a man of them. When a diminutive dancer made his entrance and began to play Hector, they all cried out in a single voice 'Ho there, Astyanax! where is Hector?' On another occasion, when a man who was extremely tall undertook to dance Capaneus and assault the walls of Thebes, 'Step over the wall,' they said. 'you have no need of a ladder!' And in the case of the plump and heavy dancer who tried to make great leaps, they said, 'We beg you spare the stage!' On the other hand, to one who was very thin they called out: 'Good health to you,' as if he were ill. It is not for the joke's sake that I have mentioned these comments, but to let you see that entire peoples have taken a great interest in the art of dancing, so that they could regulate its good and bad points.

T24 Lucian, *On Dancing* 83–84

Οἶον ἐγὼ ποτε μέμνημαι ἰδὼν ποιοῦντα ὀρχηστὴν εὐδοκιμοῦντα πρότερον, συνετὸν μὲν τὰ ἄλλα καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιον, οὐκ οἶδα δὲ ἦτιμι τύχη εἰς ἀσχήμονα ὑπόκρισιν δι' ὑπερβολὴν μιμήσεως ἐξοκείλαντα. ὀρχοῦμενος γὰρ τὸν Αἴαντα μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν εὐθὺς μαινόμενον, εἰς τοσοῦτον ὑπερεξέπεσεν ὥστε οὐχ ὑποκρίνασθαι μανίαν ἀλλὰ μαίνεσθαι αὐτὸς εἰκότως ἂν τινι ἔδοξεν. ἐνὸς γὰρ τῶν τῷ σιδηρῷ ὑποδήματι κτυποῦντων τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατέρρηξεν, ἐνὸς δὲ τῶν ὑπαυλοῦντων τὸν αὐλὸν ἀρπάσας τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς πλησίον ἐστῶτος καὶ ἐπι τῇ νίκη μέγα φρονούντος διείλε τὴν κεφαλὴν κατενεγκῶν, καὶ εἴ γε μὴ ὁ πῖλος ἀντέσχευε καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς πληγῆς ἀπεδέξατο ἀπωλώλει ἂν ὁ κακοδαίμων Ὀδυσσεύς, ὀρχηστῆ παραπαίοντι περιπεσόν. ἀλλὰ τό γε θέατρον ἅπαν συνεμεμῆνει τῷ Αἴαντι καὶ ἐπήδων καὶ ἔβῳν καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀνερρίπτουν, οἱ μὲν συρφετώδεις καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἰδιῶται τοῦ μὲν εὐσχήμονος οὐκ ἔστοχασμένοι οὐδὲ τὸ χεῖρον ἢ τὸ κρεῖττον ὀρώντες, ἄκραν δὲ μίμησιν τοῦ πάθους τὰ τοιαῦτα οἰόμενοι εἶναι· οἱ ἀστειότεροι δὲ συνιέντες μὲν καὶ αἰδοῦμενοι ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις, οὐκ ἐλέγχοντες δὲ σιωπῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα, τοῖς δὲ ἐπαίνοις καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἄνοιαν τῆς ὀρχήσεως ἐπικαλύπτοντες, καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὀρώντες ὅτι οὐκ Αἴαντος ἀλλὰ ὀρχηστοῦ μανίας τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν. οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεσθεῖς τούτοις ὁ γενναῖος ἄλλο μακρῷ τούτου γελοιότερον ἔπραξε· καταβὰς γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐν τῇ βουλῇ δύο ὑπατικῶν μέσος ἐκαθέζετο, πάνυ δεδιότων μὴ καὶ αὐτῶν τινα ὥσπερ κριὸν μαστιγώσῃ λαβῶν.

Καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οἱ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον, οἱ δὲ ἐγέλων, οἱ δὲ ὑπόπτεινον μὴ ἄρα ἐκ τῆς ἄγαν μιμήσεως εἰς τὴν τοῦ πάθους ἀλήθειαν ὑπηρέχθη. καὶ αὐτὸν μέντοι

φασίν ἀνανήψαντα οὕτως μετανοῆσαι ἐφ' οἷς ἐποίησεν ὥστε καὶ νοσῆσαι ὑπὸ λύπης, ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ μανίᾳ κατεγνωσμένον. καὶ ἐδήλωσέ γε τοῦτο σαφῶς αὐτός· αἰτούντων γὰρ αὖθις τῶν στασιωτῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν Αἴαντα ὀρχήσασθαι αὐτοῖς, παραιτησάμενος, “Τὸν ὑποκριτὴν,” ἔφη πρὸς τὸ θέατρον, “ἱκανὸν ἐστὶν ἅπαξ μανῆναι.” μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν ἠνίασεν ὁ ἀνταγωνιστῆς καὶ ἀντίτεχνος· τοῦ γὰρ ὁμοίου Αἴαντος αὐτῷ γραφέντος οὕτω κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως τὴν μανίαν ὑπεκρίνατο ὡς ἐπαινεθῆναι, μείνας ἐντὸς τῶν τῆς ὀρχήσεως ὄρων καὶ μὴ παροιήσας εἰς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν.

Something of that sort, I remember, I once saw done by a dancer who until then had been in high esteem, as he was intelligent in every way and truly worth admiring; but by some ill-luck, I know not what, he wrecked his fortunes on an ugly bit of acting through exaggerated mimicry. In presenting Ajax going mad immediately after his defeat, he so overleaped himself that it might well have been thought that instead of feigning madness he was himself insane; for he tore the clothes of one of the men that beat time with the iron shoe, and snatching a flute from one of the accompanists, with a vigorous blow he cracked the crown of Odysseus, who was standing near and exulting in his victory; indeed, if his watch-cap had not offered resistance and borne the brunt of the blow, poor Odysseus would have lost his life through falling in the way of a crazy dancer. The pit, however, all went mad with Ajax, leaping and shouting and flinging up their garments; for the riff-raff, the absolutely unenlightened, took no thought for propriety and could not perceive what was good or what was bad, but thought that sort of thing consummate mimicry of the ailment, while the politer sort understood, to be sure, and were ashamed of what was going on, but instead of censuring the thing by silence, they themselves applauded to cover the absurdity of the dancing, although they perceived clearly that what went on came from the madness of the actor, not that of Ajax. For, not content with all this, our hero did something else that was far more laughable. Coming down among the public, he seated himself among the senators, between two ex-consuls, who were very much afraid that he would seize one of them and drub him, taking him for a wether! The thing caused some to marvel, some to laugh, and some to suspect that perhaps in consequence of his overdone mimicry he had fallen into real ailment. Moreover, the man himself, they say, once he had returned to his sober senses, was so sorry for what he had done that he really became ill through distress and in truth was given up for mad. Indeed, he himself showed his repentance clearly, for when his supporters asked him to dance Ajax for them once more, begging to be excused, he said to the audience, ‘For an actor, it is enough to have gone mad once!’ What irked him most was that his antagonist and rival, when cast for Ajax in

the same role, enacted his madness so discreetly and sanely as to win praise, since he kept within the bounds of the dance and did not debauch his histrionic art.

T25 *Fouilles de Delphes* iii.1.551.1–2, inscription from Delphi recording the achievements of the pantomime dancer Apolaustos, (late 2nd–early 3rd century AD), as supplemented by Louis Robert (1930), 106–7

Τιβ. Ἰούλιον Ἀπόλαυστον τ[ραγικῆς ἐν]—
 ρύθμου κινήσεως ὑποκριτή[ν. . .

Tiberios Ioulios Apolaustos actor tragic rhythmical movement . . .

T26 Athenaeus (Greek Rhetorician, late 2nd–early 3rd century AD) *Deipnosophists* 1.20d–e

Τῆς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον ὀρχήσεως τῆς τραγικῆς καλουμένης πρῶτος εἰσηγητῆς γέγονε Βάθυλλος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ὃν φησι παντομίμους ὀρχήσασθαι Σέλευκος. Τοῦτον τὸν Βάθυλλον φησιν Ἀριστόνικος καὶ Πυλάδην, οὗ ἐστι καὶ σύγγραμμα περὶ ὀρχήσεως, τὴν Ἰταλικὴν ὀρηχσιν συστήσασθαι ἐκ τῆς κωμικῆς, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο κόρδαξ, καὶ τῆς τραγικῆς, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο ἐμμέλεια, καὶ τῆς σατυρικῆς, ἣ ἐλέγετο σίκινις. . . ἦν δὲ ἡ Πυλάδου ὀρηχσις ὀγκώδης παθητικὴ τε καὶ πολυπρόσωπος, ἣ δὲ Βαθύλλειος ἰλαρωτέρα· καὶ γὰρ ὑπόρχημά τι τοῦτον διατίθεσθαι.

Now the first to introduce this ‘tragic dancing’, as it was called, in the style of Memphis, was Bathyllus of Alexandria, who, as Seleucus says, danced in pantomime. Aristonicus says that this Bathyllus, together with Pylades, who wrote a treatise on dancing, developed the Italian style of dance out of the comic fling called the *cordax*, the tragic measures called *emmeleia*, and the satyr rout called *sicinnis*. . . Now Pylades’ dancing was solemn, expressing passion and variety of character, whereas Bathyllus’s was more jolly; in fact he composed a kind of *hyporcheme*. . .

**T27 Libanius (Antiochene rhetorician, c. AD 314–394)
Oration 64.112**

ἕως μὲν οὖν ἦνθι τὸ τῶν τραγωδιοποιῶν ἔθνος, κοινοὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῖς δήμοις εἰς τὰ θέατρα παρήσαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀπέσβησαν, τῆς δὲ ἐν μουσείοις παιδεύσεως ὅσον εὐδαιμονέστερον ἐκοινώνησε, τὸ πολὺν δὲ ἐστέρητο, θεῶν τις ἐλεήσας τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀπαιδευσίαν ἀντεισθήγαγε τὴν ὀρηχσιν διδασχὴν τινα

τοῖς πλήθεσι παλαιῶν πράξεων, καὶ νῦν ὁ χρυσοχόος πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τῶν διδασκαλείων οὐ κακῶς διαλέξεται περὶ τῆς οἰκίας Πριάμου καὶ Λαῖου.

So, up to the point where the race of tragic poets was in bloom, they continued to come into the theatres as universal teachers of the people. But when, on the one hand, tragic poets dwindled and, on the other hand, only the very rich could participate in the instruction offered in the schools of art and poetry, while the majority of the people were deprived of education, some god took pity on the lack of education of the many and, to redress the balance, introduced pantomime as a kind of instruction for the masses in the deeds of old. Consequently, a goldsmith now will do not badly in a conversation with a product of the schools about the house of Priam or of Laius. [trans. Molloy (1996)]

T28 Libanius, *Oration* 64.116

ἀλλὰ μὴν, εἴ γε τὸ βλέπειν εἰς ἀγάλματα θεῶν σωφρονεστέρους ἀπεργάζεται τῇ θέᾳ, τὰ πάντων οὗτός σοι δίδωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ὄραν οὐκ ἐν λίθῳ μιμούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ παριστάς, ὥστε κἂν τὸν ἄκρον ἀγαλματοποιὸν εἶξαι τῶν πρωτείων ὀρχησταῖς ἐν κρίσει τοῦ περὶ ταῦτα κάλλους. ποία γὰρ γραφή, τίς λειμῶν ἥδιον ὀρχήσεως καὶ ὀρχηστοῦ θέαμα περιάγοντος εἰς ἄλση τὸν θεατὴν καὶ κατακοιμίζοντος ὑπὸ τοῖς δένδροισιν ἀγέλας βοῶν, αἰπόλια, ποιμνία καὶ τοὺς νομέας ἰστώντος ἐπὶ φρουρᾷ τῶν θρεμμάτων τοὺς μὲν σύριγγι χρωμένους, τοὺς δὲ αὐλοῦτας ἄλλον ἐν ἄλλοις ἔργοις; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἡμερώτερος εἴη καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ οἰκέταις δείπνον αἰρούμενος ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ θέᾳ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἡδονῆς ἐνδιαιωμένης ἐπὶ πλείστον τῇ γνώμῃ; ποίοις δὲ εἰκὸς ὀνειράσι τὸν ἐκ τούτων ἀναπαυόμενον ὀμιλήσειν; ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ τοῖς ψυχαγωγίαν ἔχουσι.

And further, if looking at statues of gods makes men more self-disciplined by sight, the dancer allows you to see portrayals of them all on the stage, not representing them in stone, but rendering them in himself, so that even the top sculptor would yield the first places to dancers in a judgement of beauty in this respect. For what kind of picture, what meadow is a more pleasant sight than dancing and the dancer as he leads the spectator round to groves and lulls him to sleep under the trees as he evokes herds of cattle and flocks of goats and of sheep, and their shepherds on guard over the young, some playing the pipe and others the flute, as they attend to their different tasks? And who would not be more gentle both to his wife and his slaves when he takes his dinner after such a sight, when the pleasure which dwells in his mind from the performance is the highest possible? And what sort of dreams

is it likely that the man resting after these performances will encounter? It seems to me the sort which transport the soul. [trans. Molloy (1996)]

T29 Libanius, *Oration* 64.117

τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν γέρων καὶ ῥάθυμος, ὁ μὲν τῆς φύσεως, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀμείνων εἰς τὸ κινεῖσθαι γένοιτο παρακαλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου πηδημάτων; πότερον δὲ τὰς Φαιάκων ναῦς ἢ τὰς τούτων στροφὰς εὐλογώτερον εἰς τάχος εἰκάσαι νοήματι καὶ περῶ; τό γέ τοι δι' ἀκριβείας ὀφθῆναι τῶν δρωμένων ἕκαστον ὑπὸ τῆς ὀξύτητος ἠρπάσθη πολλάκις μεταπίπτοντος εἰς ὃ τι βούλει τοῦ σώματος. Πρωτεύς Αἰγύπτιος μικροῦ τούτων ἕκαστος. φαίης ἂν αὐτοὺς τῇ ῥάβδῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἢ τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ Ὀδυσσεῶς τρέπει, πάντα φαίνεσθαι. πρεσβύτας, νέους, ταπεινοὺς, ὑψηλοὺς, κατηφεῖς, ἀνειμένους, διακόνους, δεσπότας. τῶ πόδε δὲ κἄν διερευνησαιοτί τις μὴ Περσέως αὐτοῖς ἐνῆ πλεονέκτημα.

And in respect of movement what old man would not rise above his age, or what sluggish person his nature, after being stirred by a dancer's leaps? Is it more reasonable to liken in respect of their speed the ships of the Phaiacians or the turns of the dancers to a thought and a wing? Mind you, the possibility of each of the actions being accurately observed has been taken away by the speed of their body repeatedly undergoing a change to whatever you like. Each one of them is almost Proteus the Egyptian. You would say through the wand of Athena, which transforms the shape of Odysseus, they take on every guise; old men, young men, the humble, the mighty, the dejected, the elated, servants, masters. With respect to their feet, one might even question whether they possess the advantage over Perseus. [trans. Molloy (1996)]

T30 Augustine (philosopher, theologian, bishop and saint, 354–430 AD), *Confessions* 3.2.4

At ego tunc miser dolere amabam, et quaerebam ut esset quod dolerem, quando mihi in aerumna aliena et falsa et saltatoria ea magis placebat actio histrionis meque alliciebat vehementius qua mihi lacrimae excutiebantur.

But I in my misery then used to love to feel woe, and sought out what to grieve at; when [watching] the calamity of another person being feigned and danced, I was most delighted by the actor's performance, and most strongly attracted to it, when it reduced me to tears.

T31 Nonnus (Greek epic poet, late 4th–early 5th century AD) describes in his *Dionysiaca* the wedding celebration of Harmonia and Cadmus (5. 103–7)

καὶ μέλος ἐκρούσατο βιοσσόον ἐννέα Μοῦσαι
καὶ παλάμας ἐλέλιζε Πολύμνια, μαῖα χορείης,
μιμητὴν δ' ἐχάραξεν ἀναυδέος εἰκόνα φωνῆς,
φθεγγομένη παλάμησι σοφὸν τύπον ἔμφροσι σιγῇ
ὄμματα διενέουσα

The nine Muses too struck up a lifestirring melody: Polymnia nursing mother of the dance waved her arms, and sketched in the air an image of a soundless voice, speaking with hands and moving eyes in a graphic picture of silence full of meaning. [trans. W. H. D. Roose (1940)]

T32 Macrobius (grammarian and philosopher, early 5th century AD), *Saturnalia* 2.7. 12–19

(12) sed quia semel ingressus sum scaenam loquendo, nec Pylades histrio nobis omittendus est, qui clarus in opere suo fuit temporibus Augusti, et Hylam discipulum usque ad aequalitatis contentionem eruditione provexit. (13) populus deinde inter utriusque suffragia divisus est, et cum canticum quoddam saltaret Hylas cuius clasula erat τὸν μέγαν Ἀγαμέμνονα, sublimes ingentemque Hylas velut metiebatur. non tulit Pylades et exclamavit e cavea: σὺ μακρὸν οὐ μέγαν ποιεῖς. (14) tunc eum populus coegit idem saltare canticum, cumque ad locum venisset quem reprehenderat, expressit cogitantem, nihil magis ratus mango duci convenire quam pro omnibus cogitare. (15) saltabat Hylas Oedipodem, et Pylades hac voce securitatem saltantis castigavit: σὺ βλέπεις. (16) cum in Herculem furentem prodisset et non nullis incessum histrioni convenientem non servare videretur, deposita persona ridentes increpuit: μωροί, μαινόμενον ὀρχοῦμαι. (17) hac fabula et sagittas iecit in populum. eandem personam cum iussu Augusti in triclinio ageret, et intendit arcum et spicula immisit. nec indignatus est Caesar eodem se loco Pyladi quo populum Romanum fuisse. (18) hic quia ferebatur mutasse rudis ilius saltationis ritum, quae apud maiores viguit, et venustam induxisse novitatem, interrogatus ab Augusto quae saltationi contulisset, respondit:

αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπήν ὀμαδὸν τ' ἀνθρώπων.

(19) idem cum propter populi seditionem pro contentione inter se Hylamque habita concitatem indignationem excepisset Augusti, respondit: καὶ ἀχαριστεῖς βασιλεῦ ἔασον αὐτοὺς περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀσχολεῖσθαι.

(12) Having once begun to talk about the stage, I must not omit to mention Pylades, a famous actor in the time of Augustus, and his pupil Hylas, who proceeded under his instruction to become his equal and his rival. (13) On the question of the respective merits of these two actors popular opinion was divided. Hylas one day was performing a dramatic dance the closing theme of which was *The Great Agamemnon*, and by his gestures he represented his subject as a man of mighty stature. This was more than Pylades could stand, and from his seat in the pit he shouted: 'You are making him merely tall not great.' (14) The populace then made Pylades perform the same dance himself, and, when he came to the point at which he had found fault with the other's performance, he gave the representation of a man deep in thought, on the ground that nothing became a great commander better than to take thought for all. (15) On another occasion, when Hylas was dancing *Oedipus*, Pylades criticized him for moving with more assurance than a blind man could have shown, by calling out: 'You are using your eyes.' (16) Once when Pylades had come on to dance *Hercules the Madman*, some of the spectators thought that he was not keeping to action suited to stage. Whereupon he took off his mask and turned to his critics with the words: 'Fools, my dancing is intended to represent a madman.' (17) It was in this play too, the *Hercules Furens*, that he shot arrows at the spectators. And when, in the course of playing the same part in a command performance at a banquet given by Augustus, he bent his bow and discharged arrows, the Emperor showed no annoyance at receiving the same treatment from the actor as had the populace of Rome. (18) He was said to have introduced a new and elegant style of dancing in place of the clumsy fashion popular in the time of our ancestors, and, when asked by Augustus what contribution he had made to the art of dancing, he replied in the words of Homer: The sound of flutes and pipes and the voices of men. (*Il.* 10.13). (19) Moreover, when the popular disturbances caused by the rivalry between him and Hylas brought on him the displeasure of Augustus, he retorted: 'And you, Sire, are ungrateful, for you would do well to let the populace busy themselves with our affairs.' [trans. Percival Vaughan Davies (1969)]

T33 Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.17.5

quod ita elegantius auctore digessit, ut fabula lascientis Didonis, quam falsam novit universitas, per tot tamen saecula specimen veritatis obtineat et ita pro vero per ora omnium volitet, ut pictores fictoresque et qui figmentis liciorum contextas imitantur effigies, hac materia vel maxime in

effigiandis simulacris tamquam unico argumento decoris utantur, nec minus histrionum perpetuis et gestibus et cantibus celebretur.

And here he has arranged the subject matter so much more tastefully than his model that the story of Dido's passion, which all the world knows to be fiction, has nevertheless for all these many years been regarded as true. For it so wings its way, as truth, through the lips of all men, that painters and sculptors and those who represent human figures in tapestry take it for their theme in preference to any other, when they fashion their likenesses, as if it were the one subject in which they can display their artistry; and actors too, no less, never cease to celebrate the story in gesture and in song. [trans. Percival Vaughan Davies (1969)]

T34 *Greek Anthology* 9.248, epigram attributed to Boethus

*Εἰ τοῖος Διόνυσος ἐς ἱερὸν ἦλθεν Ὀλυμπον,
κωμάζων Λήναις σὺν ποτε καὶ Σατύροις,
οἷον ὁ τεχνῆεις Πυλάδης ὠρχήσατο κείνον,
ὄρθα κατὰ τραγικῶν τέθμα μουσπόλων,
παυσαμένη ζήλου Διὸς ἄν φάτο σύγγαμος Ἥρη
“Ἐψεύσω, Σεμέλη, Βάκχον ἐγὼ δ’ ἔτεκον.”*

If Dionysus had come revelling with the maenads and satyrs to holy Olympus, looking just as Pylades the great artist played him in the ballet according to the true canons of the servants of the tragic Muse, Hera, the consort of Zeus, would have ceased to be jealous, and exclaimed: ‘Semele, you pretended that Bacchus was your son; it was I who bore him.’ [trans. Paton (1917), adapted]

T35 *Greek Anthology* 11.254, epigram attributed to Lucilius

*Πάντα καθ’ ἱστορίην ὀρχούμενος ἔν τῷ μέγιστον
τῶν ἔργων παριδῶν ἠνίασας μεγάλως.
τῆν μὲν γὰρ Νιόβην ὀρχούμενος, ὡς λίθος ἔστης,
καὶ πάλιν ὡν Καπανεύς, ἐξαπίνης ἔπεσες
ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῆς Κανάκης ἀφυῶς, ὅτι καὶ ξίφος ἦν σοι
καὶ ζῶν ἐξῆλθες τοῦτο παρ’ ἱστορίην.*

You played in every ballet according to the story, but by overlooking one very important action you highly displeased us. Dancing the part of Niobe you stood like a stone, and again when you were Capaneus you suddenly fell

down. But in the case of Canace you were not clever, for you had a sword, but yet you left the stage alive; that was not according to the story. [trans. Paton (1917)]

T36 *Greek Anthology* 16.289, anonymous epigram on the dancer Xenophon of Smyrna

Αὐτὸν ὄρῶν Ἰόβακχον ἐδόξαμεν ἠνίκα Ληναῖς
ὁ πρέσβυς νεαρῆς ἦρχε χορομανίης,
καὶ Κάδμου τὰ πάρηβα χορεύματα, καὶ τὸν ἀφ' ὕλης
ἄγγελον εὐϊακῶν ἰχνηλάτην θιάσων,
καὶ τὴν εὐάζουσιν ἐν αἵματι παιδὸς Ἀγαύην
λυσσάδα. φεῦ θείης ἀνδρὸς ὑποκρισίης

We thought we were looking on Bacchus himself when the old man lustily led the maenads in their furious dance, and played Cadmus tripping it in the fall of his years, and the messenger coming from the forest where he had spied on the rout of the Bacchantes, and frenzied Agave exulting in the blood of her son. Heavens! how divine was the man's acting. [trans. Paton (1918)]

T37 *Greek Anthology* 9.542, epigram attributed to Crinagoras

Θάρσει καὶ τέτταρει διαπλασθέντα προσώποις
μῦθον καὶ τούτων γράψαι ἔτι πλέοσιν
οὔτε σὲ γὰρ λείψουσι, Φιλωνίδη, οὔτε Βάθυλλον,
τὸν μὲν ἀοιδάων, τὸν δὲ χερῶν χάριτες.

Never fear, Philonides; write a piece composed for four parts or even more; for neither your singing nor the motions of Bathyllus' hands shall be lacking in grace. [trans. Paton (1917)]

T38 *Latin Anthology* 100 ed. Shackleton Bailey (1982), 88–9, from the Codex Salmasianus (Paris 10318)

Mascula femineo declinans pectora flexu
atque aptans lentum sexum ad utrumque latus
ingressus scenam populum saltator adorat,
sollerti spondens prodere verba manu.
nam cum grata chorus diffundit cantica dulcis,
quae resonat cantor, motibus ipse probat.
pugnat, ludit, amat, bacchatur, vertitur, adstat;

inlustrat verum, cuncta decore replet.
 tot linguae quot membra viro. mirabilis ars est
 quae facit articulos ore silente loqui.

Declining his masculine breast with a feminine inflection and moulding his pliant torso to suit either sex, the dancer enters the stage and greets the people, promising that words will come forth from his expert hands. For when the sweet chorus pours forth its delightful song, what the singer declaims, the dancer himself confirms with his movements. He fights, he plays, he loves, he revels, he turns round, he stands still, he illuminates the truth, and imbues everything with grace. He has as many tongues as limbs, so wonderful is the art by which he can make his joints speak although his mouth is silent. [trans. with the advice and assistance of Jonathan Powell]

T39 Cassiodorus (Administrator of Ostrogoth state, 6th century AD) *Variae* 4.51.7–9 ed. Mommsen (1894), 138–9

(7) Tragoedia ex vocis vastitate nominatur, quae concavis repercussionibus roborata talem sonum videtur efficere, ut paene ab homine non credatur exire. erigitur autem in hircinos pedes, quia si quis inter pastores tali voce placuisset, capri munere donabatur. comoedia a pagis dicta est: comus enim pagus vocatur, ubi rustici gestientes humanos actus laetissimis carminibus irridebant. (8) His sunt additae orchestarum loquacissimae manus, linguosi digiti, silentium clamosum, expositio tacita, quam musa Polymnia repperisse narratur, ostendens homines posse et sine oris affatu suum velle declarare. Musae vero Eoa lingua quasi homousae dicuntur, quod invicem sicut virtutes necessariae sibi esse videantur. his levium pinnarum acumina ideo in fronte pinguntur, quoniam earum sensus celeri cogitatione subvectus res altissimas intuetur. (9) Pantomimo igitur, cui a multifaria imitatione nomen est, cum primum in scaenam plausibus invitatus advenerit, assistunt consoni chori diversis organis eruditi. tune illa sensuum manus oculis canorum carmen exponit et per signa composita quasi quibusdam litteris edocet intuentis aspectum, in illaque leguntur apices rerum et non scribendo facit quod scriptura declaravit. idem corpus Herculem designat at Venerem, feminam praesentat in mare, regem facit et militem, senem reddit et iuvenem, ut in uno credas multos tam varia imitatione discretos.

(7) Tragedy owes its name to the impressive voice of the actor; fortified by echo-chambers, it produces such a sound that you would hardly think it issued from a human being. Tragedy in fact stands on goats' feet, for any shepherd winning favour by such a voice was rewarded with the gift of a goat. Comedy is named from villages; for a village is called a *comus*, and is

where the rustic actors made fun of human doings in merry songs. (8) To these were added the speaking hands of dancers, their fingers that are tongues, their clamorous silence, their silent exposition. The Muse Polymnia is said to have discovered this, showing that humans could declare their meaning even without speech. Now the Muses, in the eastern tongue, are so called as if *Homousae* [beings of the same essence] because, like the virtues, they depend on one another. They are depicted with light and pointed feathers on their foreheads since their perceptions are borne up on swift thought, and contemplate the loftiest matters. [9] Again, there is the pantomime actor, who derives his name from manifold imitations. When first he comes on stage, lured by applause, bands of musicians, skilled in various instruments, support him. Then the hand of meaning expounds the song to the eyes of melody, and, by a code of gestures, as if by letters, it instructs the spectator's sight; summaries are read in it, and without writing, it performs what writing has set forth. The same body portrays Hercules and Venus; it displays a woman in a man; it creates a king and a soldier; it renders an old man and a young; you would thus imagine that in one man there were many, differentiated by such a variety of impersonation. [trans. S. J. B. Barnish (1992)]

T40 Anonymous, Latin hexameter poem known as the 'Barcelona *Alcestis*' = *PBarc* Inv. Nos. 158ab, 159ab, 160ab and 161a, incorporated as fols. 33–6. Text from Marcovich (1988)

Pr<a>escie Lauripotens, Latonie Deli<e> P<a>ean:
 invoco te laurusque tuo de nomine lectas.
 <Arcitenens,> da scire diem, da noscere, quando
 rumpant Admeti fatalia fila Sorores.
 Quae finis vitae, qui<d> mi post fata relinquunt, 5
 edoce, siderea<s> animus quando ivit in auras.
 Quamvis scire homini, ni prospera vita futura <est>,
 tormentum (sit<ne> atra dies et pallida regna?),
 ede tamen, si te colui famulumque paventem
 succepi pecudumque ducem post crimina divum 10
 accipi iussi<que> idem dare iubila silvis.'

Pr<a>escius <h>eu P<a>ean: 'Doleo, sed vera fatebo<r>:
 mors vicina premit m<a>estique Ac<h>eron<t>is adire
 iam prope regna tibi gratamque relinquere lucem.
 Sed veniat, pro te qui mortis damna subire 15
 possit et instantis in se convertere casus,
 tu porteris posthac alieno vivere fato.

Iam tibi cum genitor, genetrix cum car<a> supersit
et coniunx natiq̄ue rudes, pete, lumina pro te
qui claudat fatoq̄ue tuo tumuloq̄ue cremetur.' 20

Ille larem post dicta petit m<a>estusq̄ue beato
iactat membra toro et fletibus atria conplet.
Ad natum genitor triste<m> concurrit et alto
pectore suspirans lacrimis <quae> causa requirit.
Edocet ille patrem fatorum damna suorum: 25
'Me rapit, ecce, dies, genitor: para funera nato.
Hoc Parc<a>e docuere nefas, hoc noster Apollo
invitus, pater, edocuit. Se<d> reddere vitam
tu, genitor, tu, sancta, potes: si tempora dones,
si pro me mortem subitam tumulosq̄ue subire 30
digne<r>is natoq̄ue tua<m> concedere lucem.'

Hic genitor, non ut genitor: 'Si lumina poscas,
concedam, grateq̄ue manum de corpore nostro,
nate, velis, tribuam: vivet manus altera mecum;
si sine lumine <e>ro, aliquid tamen esse videbor: 35
nil ero, si qu<o>d sum donavero. Quanta senect<a>e
vita meae superest, minimam vi tollere v<i>s iam?
Quam propter mea regna dedi tibi, castra reliqui.
Cont<r>istant tumul<i>, <vi>ta quia dulcius una
nil mihi. Post mortem quam tu si reddere velles, 40
nate, tibi concessissem tumulosq̄ue <h>abitasse<m>,
visurus post fata diem.' Pulsus genetricis
volvitur ante pedes, vestigia blandus adorat
inque sinus fundit lacrimas. Fugit illa rogantem,
nec pietate, nocens, nec vincitur improba fletu, 45
haec super inproperans: 'Oblitus mente parentum
tu, scelerate, potes materna<m> cernere morte<m>,
tu tumulis gaudere meis? Haec ubera flammae
diripia<n>t, utrum<que> rogi vis ultimus ignis
consumat, quo te peperit? Hostis mihi lucis, 50
hostis, nate, patris. Vitam concedere vellem,
si semper posses ter<r>ena <in> sede morari.

Cur metui<s> mortem, cui nascimur? Effuge longe,
quo part<h>us, quo Medus Arabs<que>, ubi barbarus ales
nascitur, ac nobis iteratus fingitur orbis; 55
illic, nate, late: <ibi> te tua fata sequentur.
Perpetuum nihil est, nihil est sine morte creatum:
lux rapitur et nox oritur, moriuntur et anni.
Non<ne> est terra locos, quos egeneraverat ante?

Ipse pater mundi fertur tumulatus abisse 60

- et fratri<s> Stygii regnum mutatus obisse;
 Bacc<h>um fama refert <T>ita<nu>m ex arte perisse,
 per<que> vadum Lethi Cererem Venereremque subisse.
 Cur ego de nato doleam, quem fata reposcunt?
 Cur ego non plangam, sicut planxere priores? 65
 Amisit natum Diomede, carpsit Agaue;
 perdidit Alt<ha>ea <g>natum, dea perdidit Ino;
 flevit Ityn Progne, dum colligit ilia cruda.
 Nam qu<a>ecumque tegit <ca>eli v<i>s vel vagus aër 70
 cedunt labuntur moriuntur contumulantur.’
 Coniugis ut talis vidit Pelieia fletus,
 ‘Me, <me> trade neci; me, coniunx, trade sepulcris,’
 exclamat. ‘Concedo libens, ego tempora dono,
 Admete, <e>ventura tibi, pro coniuge coniunx.
 Si vinco matrem, vinco pietate parentem, 75
 si m<or>ior, laus magna mei post funera nostra.
 Non ero, sed factum totis narrabitur annis,
 et coniunx pia semper ero. Non tristior atros
 aspiciam vultus, nec toto tempore flebo,
 dum cineres servabo tuos. Lacrimosa recedat 80
 vita procul: mors ista placet. Me trade sepulcris,
 me portet melius nigro velamine Po<r>t<h>meus.
 Hoc tantum moritura rogo, ne post mea fata
 dulcior ulla tibi, vestigia ne mea coniunx
 carior ista legat. Et tu, ne<c> nomine tantum, 85
 me cole, meque puta tecum sub nocte iacere.
 In gremio cineres nostros dignare tenere,
 nec timida tractare manu, sudare fa<v>il<l>as
 unguento, titulumque novo pr<a>ecingere flore.
 Si redeunt umbr<a>e, veniam tecum<que> iacebo. 90
 Qualiscumque tamen, coniunx, ne desera<r> a te,
 nec doleam de me, quod vitam desero pro te.
 Ante omnes commendo tibi pia pignora natos,
 pignora, quae solo de te fecunda creavi,
 ex te sic nullas habe<a>t mors ista querellas. 95
 Non pereo, nec enim morior: me, crede, reservo,
 quae mihi tam similes natos moritura relinquo.
 Quos, rogo, ne parvos man<u>s indigna<nda> novercae
 prodat, et <h>eu flentes matris pia vindicet umbra.
 Si tibi dissimuler, si non mea dulcis imago 100
 paulum ad te veni<at> ...
 ... et tu pro coniuge cara
 disce mori, de m<e> disce exemplum<m> pietatis.’
 Iam vaga sideribus Nox pingebatur et ales

rore soporifero compleve<ra>t omnia Somnus: ad mortem properans, in coniuge fixa iacebat Alcestis lacrimasq<ue> viri peritura videbat. Plangere saepe iubet sese natosque virumque, disponit famulos, conponit in ordine funus l<a>eta sibi: pictosque toros variosque pa<ratus>... †... ones†	105
barbaricas frondes <et> odores, tura crocumque. Pallida sudanti destringit balsama virga, ereptum nido percidit pulver amomum, arida purpureis destringit cinnama ramis, arsurosq<ue> omnes secum disponit odores.	115
<H>ora propinquabat lucem ra<p>tura puellae, tractavitque manu: rigor omnia corripiebat. C<a>eruleos ungues oculis moritura notabat algentisque pedes, fatali frigore pressos.	120
Admeti in gremiu<m> refugit fugientis imago. Ut vidit sensus <labi>, 'Dulcissime coniux,' exclamat, 'rapior: venit, mors ultima venit, infernusque deus claudit <mea> membra sopore.'	

'O prescient Lord of the Laurel, son of Latona, Delian Apollo!
I invoke you and the laurels that are precious because of your
name.

[...] Grant that I may know, grant that I may learn the day
when the

Sister-Fates will break the threads of Admetus' life.

Tell me what will be my life's end, and what destiny awaits
me thereafter, 5

When my spirit has gone into the starry breezes.

Although I know that it is painful for a man to know about his
future

Existence unless it's a pleasant one (is it a sunless life in
colourless realms?),

Yet tell me, nevertheless, if ever I took you in and looked after
you when you were a terrified slave

And accepted you as my herdsman, after the gods had laid
charges against you, 10

And myself sent you forth to raise joyful woodland cries.'

Alas! Prescient Apollo replied to him, 'It pains me, but I shall
tell you the truth.

Death presses close upon you, and the time is near for you to
approach

The realm of depressing Acheron and leave the daylight
you love.

But if someone else were able to suffer death on your behalf 15
 And take on himself your imminent demise,
 It would be possible for you to live out, from now on,
 the destiny of another.
 Since your father and dear mother are still alive,
 Along with your wife and young children, go and ask if any
 of them
 May be prepared to close their eyes for you, assume your 20
 fate and be burned on your pyre.⁷
 At these words, Admetus returns home, grief-stricken,
 Tosses his limbs on his opulent couch, and fills the halls
 with weeping.
 His father hastens to his sorrowful son; heaving a sigh
 From deep within his breast, he asks what has made
 his son cry.
 The son tells his father about his premature death. 25
 'See, father, my death-day has arrived: make your son's
 funeral arrangements.
 The Fates disclosed this unspeakable event, and our Apollo,
 Father, revealed it, if unwillingly. But it is in your
 power, revered
 Father—yours—to give me my life back, if you give me the
 time that is yours,
 If you think it is appropriate to suffer sudden death and the 30
 grave on my behalf,
 And give up your life for your son.'
 At this the father speaks, unlike a father: 'if you should ask me
 for my eyes,
 I would give them up for you, and gladly would I bestow upon
 you a hand,
 My son, from my body. I would still have the use of the
 other hand;
 Even if I had no power of vision, I would not myself be unseen: 35
 But I shall be nothing at all, if I donate to you my very being.
 In my old age
 Are you trying to wrest away untimely even the little of my life
 that remains?
 It was to enjoy this short time that I handed over my kingdom
 and court to you.
 The thought of the grave repels me, since there is nothing
 sweeter than life alone
 To me. If you would one day return my life to me, 40
 allowing me,

Son, to see daylight again after my death, I would gladly
 concede my life to you
 And make the grave my dwelling.' Rejected by his father,
 He prostrates himself at his mother's feet, trying to persuade
 her with veneration,
 And pours tears into her lap. She impiously recoils from
 the suppliant,
 And callously resists his weeping in her wickedness; 45
 What's more, she reproaches him: 'Have you lost your
 sense of filial obligation,
 Criminal one, to the extent that you can look upon your
 mother's death
 And take pleasure in her grave? Is it your wish that that
 funeral flames
 Lay waste these breasts, and the ultimate fire consume
 the womb
 From which I gave birth to you? You are the enemy of my 50
 daylight,
 The enemy, my son, of your father. I would give up my life
 for you,
 But only if it were possible for you to remain on earth forever.
 Why do you fear death, for which we are born? Run far away,
 To the place where the Parthian or the Mede or the Arab or the
 wild Phoenix
 Lives, so that men may dream of the birth of a new era for the
 world.
 Go there, son, and hide—even there your fate will catch up 55
 with you.
 Nothing lasts forever; nothing deathless comes into being.
 Daylight is overcome and night arises; even the years die away.
 Does not Earth destroy the places that she herself has
 previously created?
 They say that even the Father of the Universe himself was 60
 buried and departed,
 Changing his residence to the realm of his Stygian brother.
 Rumour has it that Bacchus perished because of the cunning
 of the Titans,
 And both Ceres and Venus passed beyond the stream of death.
 Why should I grieve for a son who is claimed by Fate?
 Why should I not be liable to mourning, when other 65
 mothers have mourned before?
 Diomedes lost her son, and Agave tore hers to pieces;
 Althaea destroyed her son, the goddess Ino destroyed hers.

Procne wept for Itys while she collected his bleeding entrails.
 For whatever is encompassed by the ether and the 70
 roaming air
 Passes away, perishes, dies and is entombed forever?
 Seeing what tears her husband shed, Pelias' daughter
 exclaimed,
 'It is me—me—whom you must hand over to death and hand
 over to the grave.
 I give up my life gladly, I donate my future time,
 Admetus, to you—as one spouse to another.
 If I prove superior to your mother and to your father in 75
 my sense of duty,
 If I die, the glory that shall be mine after my death will be
 immense.
 I will no longer exist, but my actions will be narrated through
 all future time,
 And I will forever be a dutiful wife. I will not be saddened by
 looking at
 The dour faces around me, nor weep every time
 I attend your ashes. May such a tear-filled life be never 80
 Mine! I prefer this death. It is me that you must hand over
 to the grave,
 Me that the Ferryman should better bear away in a black robe.
 There is just one thing I ask of you before I die. After my
 demise,
 May you never love another woman as much as me, may
 the wife
 Who takes my place never be dearer to your heart. And keep 85
 feeling love
 For me—not in name alone, but by imagining that I lie with
 you at night.
 Feel free to hold my ashes in your lap,
 To caress them with an unhesitating hand, to ensure that the
 urn holding them
 Is moist with oil, and that my inscribed headstone is
 garlanded with fresh flowers.
 If the shades of the dead can return, I will come and lie 90
 with you.
 However I appear to you, do not abandon me.
 And may I never have reason to regret having abandoned
 my life for you.
 Before all else, I entrust to you the sacred pledges of our love
 —our children.

- To these pledges I have given birth, pregnant by you alone,
 So that this death of mine can elicit no complaints from 95
 you.
- I shall not perish, for I shall not die; believe me, I am
 preserving myself
- By leaving behind me, on my death, children who are so
 like me.
- I ask you to make sure that since they are so little, no unworthy
 hand of a stepmother
- Betray them—alas!—or the dutiful shade of their mother
 will avenge their tears.
- If you disregard me, if the sweet image of me 100
 Does not come to you sometimes [. . .] you, too, learn how
 to die
- For a beloved spouse, learn dutifulness from my example.
 Stars were now beginning to decorate the roaming night,
 and winged
- Sleep had already filled all creatures' eyes with the dew that 105
 brings on sleep:
- Alcestis, hastening towards death, was lying, transfixed, by
 her husband,
- Watching him in tears at her imminent death.
 She tells both her children and her husband to mourn her
 frequently;
- She takes care of the servants in her will, and makes her
 own funeral arrangements
- Happily: an ornamental bier, with patterned [coverlet . . .], 110
 Exotic foliage and scents, frankincense and saffron.
- She scrapes off the pale balsam-gum from the oozing
 balsam tree;
- She beats the amomum, taken from a bird's nest, to powder;
 She tears the dry cinnamon stems from their purple 115
 branches,
- And arranges for all the fragrant spices to be burnt along
 with her.
- The Hour who would rob the girl of the light of day was
 now approaching,
- And she touched her with her hand: stiffness began to set in to
 every part of her.
- With death imminent, Alcestis watches her fingernails turn
 blue,
- And her chilly feet becoming weighed down by a fatal frost. 120

A fleeting apparition now, she seeks refuge in her husband's lap.
 And when she realised that she was losing consciousness,
 'Darling husband'
 She called out, 'I am gone: death, the final moment of my death has come,
 And the god of the Underworld is enveloping my limbs in sleep.'

T41 Jacob of Sarugh (Bishop and Polemicist) *Homilies on the Spectacles of the Theatre* (c. AD 500)

Jacob of Sarugh was born in 451 in a village in Sarugh on the upper Euphrates, and eventually became Christian bishop of Batnae, the chief town of the district, which lies on what is now the border area between Syria and Turkey. He lived a long life and survived well into the sixth century. Amongst his surviving works are five homilies, written in metrical Syriac (a local dialect of Aramaic), attacking the spectacles of the theatre. These constitute a rare and precious source for the kind of theatrical activity still current in early Byzantine provinces; performances included solo dancers who acted out classical mythology—i.e. pantomimes. As a source Jacob's homilies have been overwhelmingly neglected by theatre historians.

The sole manuscript (which also contains metrical discourses by another Syrian homilist, Isaac of Antioch) is in the British Library (Add MS 17158, folios 1–48). Unfortunately, the text of Jacob's first homily is almost entirely missing, and parts of homilies 2 and 3 are illegible. But a translation of what survives was published by Cyril Moss in 1935 in *Le Muséon: revue d'études orientales* vol. 48; what is printed here is a version, slightly rephrased and updated, of his translation.³ It is particularly interesting because of what it says about the actual practices of the dancers (breast-binding to look like women; the metal plate for tap-dancing on wooden boards and the stone floor; the burning of perfume at performances). Equally significant is the information presented in *Homily 5* about the myths which Jacob says were still familiar currency through danced realization, especially the metamorphosis of Daphne, pursued by Apollo.

Homily 2

[*This seems to be a description of the pantomime dancer*]:

[Folio 3 verso b] The deceiver stood in their midst; his hands slipped from both of them [?], and look! He has become a sign to the onlookers. He has

³ Many thanks to Dr. David Taylor of the Theology Department at Oxford University for his indispensable advice: see above, Introduction, p. 39.

become a playing-ball for the spectacle, and see how his friends laugh at him; they have made him an object for laughter, and they shout at him. They cry out in order to praise him—that is, they make sport of him; they have devised this out of their love, so that they may mock at him the more. Because he has lost his [true?] appearance,⁴ he has gained only laughter; and since he sought to fight against nature, [his] training has only brought him mockery. This man the licentious ones love; on this man the insipid ones seize; to this man the lewd ones resort; in this man the city becomes contemptible. [Folio 4 recto a] Listen to me honestly, and do not speak to me with false gestures, but with words that are faithful [sc. to the truth]. If you love change, by which in one thing you may see something else, I will today invoke Moses, and he will amaze you with his changes. He is not bound around his breast so that he may appear as a woman; he is girdled with truth and he is divinely changed. He does not bind the sandal on his foot, and the plate of metal, so that he can strike with it, but he loosens his sandals⁵ so that he may go down and tread the Egyptians under foot.⁶ He does not strike the board with the little piece of wood in order to delight you, but he smites the flood with the rod [which typifies] the cross, and he breaks it [sc. the flood]. The corrupt crowd does not surround him and sing in his honour, but creation is disquieted because it must go astray from its normal course according to his wishes. He does not dance upon the stone [stage], a thing which is easy for the worthless ones; but he smites the flint, and causes the flood to gush forth from it.⁷ He does not use gestures in performing⁸ the stories of idols; but he writes down, as a confidential servant, the making of created things. He does not relate the stories of gods who do not exist; but he relates the majesty of the Being who is one in his essence.

Homily 3

[Folio 7 verso b] The fruits [sc. of the spectacles of the theatre] are the things which you have learned through watching them: dancing, amusement, music, and the miming⁹ of lying tales; teaching which destroys the mind;

⁴ The Syriac word here is equivalent to the Greek *schēma*.

⁵ This word, *mšōnō*, is the standard term for sandals in the Syriac translations of Christian texts.

⁶ The reference here is to Exodus 14:16 (the parting of the Red Sea).

⁷ Exodus 17:5 ff.

⁸ The phrase 'use gestures in performing' translates a Syriac word deriving from the root *rmz*, the base meaning of which is 'indicate by physical means', and therefore must here mean 'mime'.

⁹ The root here, again, is *rmz*.

choruses which are not true; troublesome and confused sounds; melodies which attract children; carefully crafted popular tunes; skilful chants, lying canticles [composed] according to the folly which the Greeks invented. What profit to you accrues, O Onlooker, from these lies? Your meeting place should be here [i.e. in the church], so that you may see and hear sublime matters. Your ear is captivated by song; look—we have jubilation! Instead of Jubal, the son of the murderer [sc. Cain], [there is] David, King and prophet, a man of toil, and a spiritual man, a marvellous, great and meek man. [A man] who was the heart of God, and acted according to God's thoughts. The harpist of the spirit [Folio 8 recto a] who was extolling the angels, the poet of the house of God who was speaking in prophecy. The heavenly musician, who was driving away devils by means of his voice; the skilled workman of the chants of the spirit, who puts demons to flight by means of his striking [sc. on the harp]; the prophet who held the harp, and sang concerning hidden things...

[Folio 8 verso a] ... that instead of the chants of the son of Jesse, he should love the songs of the play. Who has a heart of stone that he should reject such a man as this, and instead of his [sc. David's] spiritual chants, the song of the mimes should be pleasing to him? ...

[Folio 9 verso b] Do not love dancing, the mother of all lasciviousness; understand it, how and what it is when you investigate it. It is a great fountain of mockery which every day spews forth spectacles; a spring of licentiousness which flows so that it may give drink to worthless fellows. [It is] a sport which encourages children to forget admonition; a net which ensnares boys in the ways of a vicious life. [It is] a disorderly foster-mother who teaches her sons to commit fornication; a teacher who instructs her pupils in the stories of idols. [It is] a mimier of wanton sights concerning the companies of the goddesses; [it is] the preceptor in whose repertoire there are many gods. It has invented things which never existed, in order to lead the world astray with sport; it knows the secrets of the perfidious one [i.e. the devil], because it is anxious to repair his breaches [?]

[Folio 10 recto a] It is the threshold of the house of the left [i.e. those on the left hand of Christ who will be rejected on the Last Day] which fights against the right; it is the bringer of zeal for idols, because it mimes their heroic acts. [It is] a sport which introduces paganism by means of lying stories, an inciter to hateful deeds by reason of these its licentious gestures ...

[Folio 11 verso a] For if he, the pipe of Satan [i.e. the pantomime actor], does not take his origin from paganism, why then does he introduce the story of Artemis? If he is not the friend of idols and the lover of dead images, why do his gestures call to mind the goddess of the Ephesians? If he is not far from truth and entirely with the party of the left, why does he praise the

magic which brought down the moon, as he says? But if he is certain that there is only one God, why [does he praise] many gods by means of crowds of spectacles? [Folio 11 verso b] If he is not really a pagan, if he acts [only] in jest, what lord does he propitiate with the incense of the bdellium which he offers? If he were not in conspiracy with his friend Satan, to whom would he burn incense at the time of the games? If in his art he did not put on the ephod¹⁰ of demons, he would not offer incense in order to propitiate the furious ones, either. He mimes the stories of the gods, and burns perfume at the plays, in order to do great honour to tales that are true for him. And if this be not so, why then does he burn incense at that time to the Fortune of anything? And all this pertains to paganism. See, I have shown you through [describing] actions, without wronging truth, that Satan wishes to set up paganism by means of the play.

Homily 4

[*Jacob has been describing the resurrection of Lazarus. He compares this 'true' marvel with those acted in the theatres.*]

[Folio 18 recto b bottom] Tell me now, O discerning ones, at which spectacles do you marvel? At the dissolute dancing which is on the stone [Folio 18 verso a], or at the walking of the buried one [sc. Lazarus]? He who dances amazes you... Isn't your mind astounded at this man who is bound and [yet] walks? Which is [more] wonderful to the sight, that feet which are loose should gyrate, or that He [sc. God] should let loose and free the walking of those [feet] which were tied up and bound? Which is easier and simpler, that a sandal should circle on marble, or that the step of the buried one should tread the ascent of the grave? At which do the spectators marvel [more]—even though we should be without men of discernment: at him who was sent out and dances [i.e. the pantomime dancer], or at him who is not [even] freed [from his shroud] and yet walks? Which sight amazes you [the more], and attracts the parties to marvel at it? The dead man who is alive and dances for joy, or the living man who mimes a dead man. At which place was the manifestation of true things celebrated? Upon the *Bema*,¹¹ which is the source of the Mysteries, or in the playhouse? [Folio 18 verso b]. Which is the speech of learning, dyed in the colour of truth? This which is spoken by us, or the miming of that liar? Which assembly is fair[er] and [more] lovely? This one of the mother of Saints [sc. the Church], or that festive assembly of wantonness, which is celebrated with fornication? Let truth which is indeed established announce whose

¹⁰ The technical term for the garment worn by Jewish high priests.

¹¹ That is, the space between the sanctuary and the nave of the Church.

countenance is bold [i.e. who is confident]—he who is the preacher of the house of God, or he who is the mimer of idols? Which teaching is wise, beautiful, true and helpful? This of the disciples of Jesus, or the mimer of the gods? Judge truly in your mind—do not be admonished by my speech—which tales are accurate, those of God or of the gods? With your eye and your ear as scales, weigh the tunes [i.e. the hymns of the church] and the mime performances and test [them], while your understanding [as] the weigher holds the balance of justice. See, we have tunes out in the open, and he has mimes which are masked.¹²

[Folio 19 recto a] . . . with sight and with your understanding now test the two parties. I do not summon another as a stranger [to you] to judge you; clothe your mind with truth, and it shall be [as] a judge to you. Bring out that righteousness which is in you, so that it may sit [and] hear between us, and let my words be set out, and if [then] you have prevailed over me, I will be silent. Is there a plurality of gods? Are the stories concerning them true? Ought we then to believe in female gods? Do you consent to cherish gods who love adultery? Is your ear willing that the report of the house of Zeus the adulterer should fall on it? Is it well for you when you see the depravity of female idols? Can you endure, being the servant of Jesus, to take delight in Apollo? Do you credit the mimings concerning the hero Heracles? Do you believe when you learn in it of the goddess who committed adultery?¹³ Is it good for you to listen to [Folio 19 recto b] the zeal for adultery prevailing amongst the gods?

Homily 5

[Here there is missing the first part of Jacob's resumé of a defence of those who frequent the spectacles, a defence which he will shortly refute]

[Folio 19 verso b] 'It is an amusement,' they say, 'not paganism. Why is it a problem for you if I laugh? And, since I deny the [sc. pagan] gods, I shall not lose through the stories concerning them. The dancing of that place [sc. the theatre] gladdens me, and, while I confess God, I also take pleasure in the play, while I do not because of that bring truth to nought. I am a baptised [Christian] just like you, and I confess one Lord; and I know that the mime performances which belong to the spectacle are false. I do not go in order to believe, but in order to laugh. And what do I lose on account of this, since I laugh [Folio 20 recto a] and do not believe? [As for] those things in the stories which are mimed concerning the tales of the idols, I know that they are false; and I see

¹² The root term here is *hp*, 'cover' or 'conceal', sometimes with specific reference to the face, but distinct from the standard root word used for veils.

¹³ That is, Aphrodite, in *Odyssey* 8, with Ares.

them—laughing [the while]. What shall I lose on account of this? I am of the opinion that I [shall lose] nothing. So why do you blame a man who is without blame?’

[*Jacob's reply*]:

The mimer of the spectacles meditates on the stories of the gods. Who can bathe in mud without being soiled? He mimes [stories] about the goddesses; he can not tear himself away from the tales concerning them. And how can he not be alienated from the party of the house of Jesus? You are the assembly [Folio 20 recto b] of the baptised, whose husband and God is Jesus; and how will he not become jealous since you praise idols . . .

[*Here there must have been a discussion of the longevity of the stories mimed in the theatres.*]

[Folio 21 verso a] These worthless spectacles which are mimed with dancing, I will tell [you] without shame from what source they are stirred up. When the physician lances a boil, he bespatters his hands with festering matter; and he makes his fingers swim in foul blood on account of the healing [sc. of the patient]. He soaks his clean hands in loathsome pus, and he does not shrink; and he defies the foul smell so that he may scrape away the matter of the boil. It is according to this rule that I approach the boil which the spectacles have caused, in order that, when the tongue lances it, and is bespattered with it, it may become clean. I will say concerning their plays [Folio 21 verso b] how futile their stories are, to forestall any man supposing that I am bringing shame on their deeds rashly.

They say that the grandfather of the gods was devouring his sons; and as a dragon [swallows] a serpent [?], so he [sc. Cronus] was swallowing the child of his belly. This is the beginning of the story of the dancing of the Greeks; this one thing alone is sufficient reason why their tales should be condemned. And for this very god, they say, who was eating his own sons, they wrapped up a stone, and he devoured it, because he supposed that it was a child.

But his son [sc. Zeus], who was saved from him, became famous through adultery, and under various forms he committed fornication with many women. Like father, like son—his whole way (of life) was base; one, they say, was devouring his sons, the other was committing immorality with men.¹⁴

[Folio 22 recto a] Who indeed is so base? This adulterer, they say, was the begetter of all the gods. Under various forms he was committing adultery, and was seeking a stratagem for his lust. Once, they say, he became a bird and committed fornication with one [woman], as he desired. And for one [woman] he made himself like a bull; he beguiled another with gold;¹⁵ and again in his many forms he was united with many

¹⁴ Ganymede (see Ovid, *Met.* 10.155).

¹⁵ Leda, Europa, and Danae respectively.

women. I do not spare my tongue, so don't you spare your ears. Endure for me, a little while, the foulness of the abscess which comes to the lancing.

They say that another god made himself like a billy goat, in order to commit fornication in that very form, in the metamorphosis that he had invented.¹⁶ And another, they say, had a sweet-toned harp; and all the Muses of song and instrumental music made use of his skill. And this very god [Apollo] loved a maiden [Daphne], and his lust was poured out after him ... [Folio 22 recto b] ... because she would not do his bidding. And the god, they, say, was running, but was not overtaking the girl; and when she was fleeing from before him, he was not able to catch her. But perhaps he was weary and was [therefore] unable to overtake her. According to their tale, a maiden was beating the gods at running. And afterwards, they say, the earth defeated [the intention of] the god so that she was transformed. And he [sc. Apollo] was pursuing her; for he came and drew near to the tree. On account of his lust, which had not ceased, he [sc. for the first time] crowned his head with its branches [i.e. of the laurel tree]. Shall these things be called virtuous? But if they are not, why are they mimed? For it is on these things that the mimer of lying things meditates.

Another, they say, the daughter of the gods [Aphrodite], [Folio 22 verso a] on account of lust overflowed in sleep, and she was received in a murex-shell, and was born from the midst of the waters. And this very [goddess], the mother of adultery, was famous for fornication, and by reason of the substance of her power men and gods commit fornication. I have gone down to the slough of filth, and perhaps its stench has hurt you. Would that you had utterly abandoned the miming of these [stories]!

One god is glorified because he invented drunkenness [Dionysus], and for this thing alone he is praised among their stories. Are not those who meditate on these [stories] ashamed of them? And is the study of folly [which] corrupts the mind good for them? Who among you would wish to possess slaves such as these? I speak not of gods but of slaves who are adulterers. Don't you rebuke your female slave, if you hear that she commits fornication? Why then is the goddess [Folio 22 verso b] who taught adultery lauded with shouting? The gods and goddesses were renowned for disorderly adulteries, so that you would not even want to have them in your possession [as] slaves and maids. [Yet] by means of outward gestures these stories are made manifest [i.e. brought out into the open and made famous] and the very same things enter there [sc. the theatre] every day in the play. The father of all the gods [Zeus], they say, was committing immorality with men and

¹⁶ Probably Hermes, who according to Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods* 22, slept with Penelope in the form of a goat, thus begetting the god Pan.

women; and the story of this excellent one is famous among the spectacles. O, my tongue, come up from foulness; you have been swimming in filth long enough! You have stirred up to a great degree the foul, loathsome filth of idols. He who maddens you with dancing makes use of these tales; from here [sc. these tales] are his mime performances, and how will converse with him profit you? From this fountain he draws; he gives you to drink, and you become proud. He bespatters your faces with mud, and you laugh at him, because you have gone mad. These are the plots [Folio 23 recto a] which, even though he is silent, he makes manifest. He is masked¹⁷ and mimes them, and you exult with shouting. Our hearing [i.e. the hearing of the writer] did not circle over all the tales told in his mimes, to prevent me wasting the time with empty and loathsome inventions. Of that sea of filth I have poured out the cup before you; if it is pleasant to you, drink of the foulness which you have loved . . .

¹⁷ See above n. 10.

Bibliography

- Adams, J. N. (1982), *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*. London.
- Amedick, R. (1991), *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben. Vita Privata. Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, I, 4, Berlin.
- Andresen, Carl (1974), 'Altchristliche Kritik am Tanz—ein Ausschnitt aus dem Kampf der alten Kirche gegen heidnische Sitte', in Heinzgünter Frohnes and Uwe W. Knorr (eds.), *Die alte Kirche*, 1. 344–76. Munich.
- Anderson, G. (1977), 'Lucian and the Authorship of *De Saltatione*', *GRBS* 18, 275–86.
- Angio, Francesca (2002), 'La statua di bronzo di Idomeneo, opera di Cresilas', *Museum Helveticum* 59, 137–41.
- Angioloni, Gasparo (1765), *Dissertation sur les ballets pantomimes des anciens, publiée [sic] pour servir de programme au ballet pantomime tragique de Semiramis*. Vienna.
- Anon. (1734), *Cupid and Psyche: or, Colombine-Courtezan. A dramatic pantomime entertainment. Interspers'd with ballad tunes. As it is perform'd at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, by His Majesty's servants* [electronic resource]. London.
- Armstrong, A. H. (1984), *Plotinus, Enneads*. Cambridge, MA, and London.
- Asmis, E. (1992), 'Neoptolemus and the Classification of Poetry', *CPh* 87, 206–31.
- Astbury, Raymond (2002, 2nd edn.), *M. Terentii Varronis Saturarum Menippearum fragmenta*. Munich.
- Audolent, A. (1904), *Defixionum Tabellae*. Paris.
- Austin, C., and Bastianini, G. (eds.) (2002), *Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia*. Milan.
- Avetta, L. (ed.) (1985), *Roma—Via Imperiale: Scavi e scoperte (1937–1950) nella costruzione di Via delle Terme di Caracalla e di Via Cristoforo Colombo (Tituli 3)*. Rome.
- Babcock, B. A. (1978), 'Introduction', in B. A. Babcock (ed.), *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*, 13–36. London.
- Baker, R. (ed.) (1990), *Propertius I*. Warminster.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1981), *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. M. Holquist; trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist. Austin, TX.
- (1984), *Rabelais and his World*, trans. H. Iswolsky (first published 1965). Bloomington, IA.
- Barba, E., and Savarese, N. (1991), *A Dictionary of Theatre Anthropology: The Secret Art of the Performer*. London.

- Barbieri, G. (1972), 'L'Année épigraphique 1966–1968', *Rivista storica dell'Antichità* 2, 261–4.
- (1975), 'Una nuova epigrafe d'Ostia e ricerche sugli acrostici', *MGR* 4, 301–403.
- Barchiesi, A. (1993), 'Insegnare ad Augusto: Orazio, Epistole 2.1 e Ovidio, *Tristia* II', *MD* 31, 149–84.
- Barnish, S. J. B. (1992), *Cassiodorus: Variaae*. Liverpool.
- Bartsch, Shadi (1994), *Actors in the Audience: Theatricality and Doublespeak from Nero to Hadrian*. Cambridge, MA.
- Basore, John William (1908), 'The Scholia on Hypokrisis in the Commentary of Donatus', Diss. Baltimore.
- (1928) *Seneca Moral Essays*, vol. 1. (Loeb). Cambridge, MA and London.
- Bastet, F. L. (1974), 'Fabularum dispositas explicationes', *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 49, 206–40.
- Bayet, J. (1967 [1955]), 'Les Vertus du pantomime Vincentius', in *Mélanges de littérature latine* (Storia e letteratura raccolta di studi e testi 110), 439–60. Rome. First published in *Libyca, archéologie-épigraphie* 3 (1955), 103–21.
- Beacham, Richard (1992), *The Roman Theatre and its Audience*. Cambridge, MA.
- (1999), *Spectacle Entertainments of Early Imperial Rome*. New Haven, CT.
- Bean, G.E. (1956), 'Kitabeler: Inscriptions', in A. M. Mansel, G. E. Bean, and J. Inan, *Side Agorasi ve Civarindaki Binalar: 1948 Yili Kazilarina dair rapor (Die Agora von Side und die benachbarten Bauten: Bericht über die Ausgrabungen im Jahre 1948)*, 79–98. Ankara.
- Beard, M., North, J., and Price, S. (1998), *Religions of Rome: Vol. 1, A History*. Cambridge.
- Beare, W. (1950), *The Roman Stage*. London.
- Becker, Lawrence and Kondoleon, Christine (2005), *The Arts of Antioch: Art-Historical and Scientific Approaches to Roman Mosaics and a Catalogue of the Worcester Art Museum Antioch Collection*. Worcester, MA.
- Bedjan, P. (1896), *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, vol. 6. Paris and Leipzig.
- Bélis, Annie (1988), 'KROUPEZAI, Scabellum', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 112, 323–39.
- Bellemore, J. (1994), 'Gaius the Pantomime', *Antichthon* 28, 65–79.
- Bergian, Silke-Petra (2004), '“Das hier ist kein Theater, und ihr sitzt nicht da, um Schauspieler zu betrachten und zu klatschen”—Theaterpolemik und Theatermetaphern bei Johannes Chrysostomos', *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 8, 567–92.
- Bertheroy, Jean (1894), *Le Mime Bathylle*. Paris.
- Betts, J. H., Hooker, J. T., and Green, J. R. (eds.) (1986), *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster*. Bristol.

- Bharucha, R. (2000), *The Politics of Cultural Practice: Thinking Through Theatre in an Age of Globalization*. London.
- Bieber, M. (1961), *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, 2nd edn. Princeton, NJ, London, and Oxford.
- Bidez, J. (1913), *Vie de Porphyre*. Teubner (= Hildesheim: G. Olms 1964 (repr.)).
- Bingöl, Orhan (1997), *Malerei und Mosaik der Antike in der Türkei* (= Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt, 67). Mainz am Rhein.
- Bjurström, Per (1961), *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design*. Stockholm.
- Bloom, A. (1988), *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students*. Harmondsworth.
- Boissier, Marie Louise A. Gaston (1861), 'De la signification des mots *saltare* et *cantare tragoediam*', *Rev. Arch.* ns 2, 333–43.
- Bonaria, Mario (1956), *Mimorum Romanorum fragmenta*. (Università di Genova Facoltà di Lettere—Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Filologia Classica 5), 2 vols. (fasc. 1—*Fragmenta*; fasc. 2—*Fasti mimici e pantomimici*). Genoa.
- (1959), 'Dinastie di pantomimi latini', *Maia* 11, 224–42.
- (1965a), *Romani mimi* (Poetarum Latinorum reliquiae, Aetas rei publicae 6.2). Rome.
- (1965b), 'Actiani', in *RE Supplement* 10, 1–2.
- (1965c), 'Actius Castrensis', in *RE Supplement* 10, 3.
- (1965d), 'Anicetiani', in *RE Supplement* 10, 20–1.
- (1965e), 'Theorus', in *RE Supplement* 10, 950, s.v. Theoros 3.
- Bordenache Battaglia, Gabriella and Emiliozzi, Adriana (1990), *Le ciste prenestine*, I. Rome.
- Borg, B. E. (ed.) (2004), *Paideia. The World of the Second Sophistic*. Berlin and New York.
- and Witschel, C. (2001), 'Veränderung im Repräsentationsverhalten der römischen Eliten während des 3. Jhs.n.Chr.', in G. Alföldy and S. Panciera (eds.), *Inscriptliche Denkmäler als Medien der Selbstdarstellungen in der römischen Welt*, 47–120. Stuttgart.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977), *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge.
- (1984), *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (trans. R. Nice; French original 1979). London.
- (1993), *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, (edited and Introduced by R. Johnson). Cambridge.
- Boyle, A. J. (1976), *The Eclogues of Virgil*. Melbourne.
- (ed.) (1994), *Seneca's Troades*. Leeds.

- Bowersock, G. W. (1969), *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*. Oxford.
- Branham, R. B. (1989), *Unruly Eloquence: Lucian and the Comedy of Traditions*. Cambridge, MA and London.
- Brathwaite, Richard (1615), *A strappado for the Diuell*. London.
- Braun, L. (1982), 'Sind Senecas Tragödien Bühnenstücke oder Rezitationsdramen?', *Res Publica Litterarum* 5, 43–52.
- Braund, S. M. (trans.) (2004), *Juvenal and Persius*. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA and London.
- Bridges, Emma, Hall, Edith, and Rhodes, P. J. (eds.) (2007), *Cultural Responses to the Persian Wars: Antiquity to the Third Millennium*. Oxford.
- Bright, David F. (1987), *The Miniature Epic in Vandal Africa*. Norman and London.
- Brilliant, R. (1963), *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art. The Use of Gestures to Denote Status in Roman Sculpture and Coinage*. Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences XIV. New Haven, CT.
- (1984), *Visual Narratives. Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art*. Ithaca, NY.
- Brinson, Peter (1966), *Background to European Ballet: A Notebook from the Archives*, with a foreword by Mary Skeaping. Leiden.
- Brock, S. P., and Harvey, S. A. (1998), *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient*. Berkeley, CA.
- Brooks, Lynn Matluck (2003), *The Art of Dancing in Seventeenth-Century Spain*. Lewisburg, PA and London.
- Brown, P. Michael (1993, ed.), *Horace. Satires I*, with an introduction, text, translation and commentary. Warminster.
- Browning, Robert (1952), 'The Riot of A. D. 387 in Antioch: the role of the theatrical clagues in the Later Empire', *JRS* 42, 13–20.
- Brunt, P. A., and Moore, J. M. (1967), *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: the Achievements of the Divine Augustus*. London.
- Burkert, W. (1962), 'ΓΟΗΣ. Zum griechischen "Schamanismus"', *RhM* 105, 36–55.
- Burian, P. (1997), 'Myth into *Muthos*: The Shaping of Tragic Plot', in Easterling (1997a), 178–210.
- Burlando, Annalaura (2000), 'L'Alceste di Barcellona a teatro', *Orpheus* 21, 17–25.
- Burnand, Y. (1961), 'Chronologie des épitaphes romaines de Vienne (Isère)', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 63, 291–313.
- Burzachechi, M. (1962), 'Oggetti parlanti nelle epigrafi greche', *Epigraphica* 24, 3–54.
- Butler, H. E. (1922), *Quintilian*, Vol. 4. London and Cambridge, MA.
- Calliachi, Niccolo (1713), *De ludis scaenicis, mimorum et pantomimorum syntagme posthumum*. Padua.

- Calvo-Merino, B., et al. (2005), 'Action Observation and Acquired Motor Skills: an fMRI Study with Expert Dancers', *Cerebral Cortex* 15, 1243–9.
- Campbell, S. D. (1988), *The Mosaics of Antioch. Subsidia Mediaevalia* 15. Toronto.
- Cameron, Alan (1973), *Porphyrius the Charioteer*. Oxford.
- (1976), *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*. Oxford.
- (2004), *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*. Oxford.
- Caputo, Giacomo (1959), *Il teatro di Sabratha e l'architettura teatrale Africana*. Rome.
- Cardauns, B. (1976), *M. Terentius Varro Antiquitates rerum divinarum*. Mainz.
- Caso, Laura (1989), 'Gli affreschi interni del cubicolo "amphithalamos" della casa di Apollo', *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 3, 111–30.
- Castrén, Paavo (1975), *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus: Polity and Society in Roman Pompeii*. Rome.
- Ceccarelli, Paola (1995), 'Le dithyrambe et la pyrrhique: à propos de la nouvelle liste de vainqueurs aux Dionysies de Cos (Segre, ED 234)', *ZPE* 108, 287–305.
- (1998), *La pirrica nell' antichità greco-romana: Studi sulla danza armata*. Pisa and Rome.
- Chazin-Bennahum, Judith (1994), *The Ballets of Antony Tudor*. New York and Oxford.
- Chouler, B. (2001), 'La défense de la pantomime par Libanios', *GITA* 144, 249–80.
- Cibber, Colley. (1740), *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, comedian ... With an historical view of the stage during his own time. Written by himself*. London.
- Cimok, Fatih (ed.) (2000), *Antioch Mosaics: A Corpus*. Istanbul.
- Claridge, A. (1998), *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*. Oxford.
- Clausen, W. (1994), *A Commentary on Virgil, Eclogues*. Oxford.
- Coarelli, F. (ed.) (2002) *Pompeii*, trans. P. A. Cockram. Udine.
- Cohen, Selma Jeanne and Katy Matheson (1974), *Dance as a Theatre Art: Source Readings in Dance History from 1581 to the Present*. New York.
- Coleman, K. M. (1990), 'Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments', *JRS* 80, 44–73.
- (1993) 'Launching into History: Aquatic Displays in the Early Empire', *JRS* 83, 48–74.
- Coleman, R. (ed.) (1977), *Virgil. Eclogues*. Cambridge.
- Colson, F. H. (1962), *Philo*, Vol. X. London.
- Compton, T.M. (2006), *Victim of the Muses. Poet as Scapegoat, Warrior, and Hero in Greco-Roman and Indo-European Myth and History*. Washington, DC.

- Connolly, Dom R. H. (1909), *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai, translated from the Syriac*, with an appendix by Edmund Bishop. Cambridge.
- Connolly, J. (1998), 'Mastering Corruption: Constructions of Identity in Roman Oratory', in S. R. Joshel and S. Murnaghan (eds.), *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations*, 130–51. London.
- (2001), 'Reclaiming the Theatrical in the Second Sophistic', *Helios* 28, 75–96.
- Connors, Catherine (1998), *Petronius the Poet: Verse and Literary Tradition in the Satyricon*. Cambridge.
- Cooper, Charles Gordon (1952), *An Introduction to the Latin Hexameter*. Melbourne and London.
- Corbeill, A. (1996), *Controlling Laughter: Political Humor in the Late Roman Republic*. Princeton, NJ.
- (2004), *Nature Embodied. Gesture in Ancient Rome*. Princeton, NJ.
- Corcoran, T. H. (1972), *Seneca Naturales Quaestiones* (Loeb). London and Cambridge, MA.
- Corso, Rinaldo (1555) *Dialogo del ballo*. Venice.
- Courtney, E. (1995), *Musa Lapidaria: A Selection of Latin Verse Inscriptions*. (American Philological Association American Classical Studies 36). Atlanta, GA.
- Crawford, M. (ed.) (1996), *Roman Statutes* (BICS Supp. 64). London.
- Croall, J. (2002), *Peter Hall's Bacchai: the National Theatre at Work*. London.
- Csapo, Eric, and Slater, W. J. (1994), *The Context of Ancient Drama*. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Csapo, Eric (2004), 'Some Social and Economic Conditions behind the Rise of the Acting Profession in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC', in C. Hugoniot, F. Hurllet, and S. Milanezi (eds.), *Le Statut de l'acteur dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine*, 53–76 [= Collection Perspectives Historiques 9]. Tours.
- Culasso Gastaldi, E. (1984). 'Epigraphica subalpina (Viva Azio Castrese)', *BSBSubalpino* 82, 166–74.
- Cunningham, Maurice P. (1949), 'The Novelty of Ovid's *Heroides*', *CP* 44, 100–6.
- Currie, S. (1996), 'The Empire of Adults: the Representation of Children on Trajan's Arch at Beneventum', in Jas Elsner (ed.), *Art and Text in Roman Culture*, 153–81, Cambridge.
- Dain, A. (1933), *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre: les textes inédits*. Paris.
- Dale, A. M. (1969), 'Stasimon and hyporcheme', in A. M. Dale, *Collected Papers*, 34–40. Cambridge.

- Dällenbach, L. (1989), *The Mirror in the Text*, trans. Jeremy Whiteley and Emma Hughes. Cambridge.
- Daremberg, C., Saglio, E., and Pottier, E. (1877–1919), *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*. 2nd edn., 5 vols. Paris.
- David, A. P. (2006), *The Dance of the Muses: Choral Theory and Ancient Greek Poetics*. Oxford.
- Davidson, J. (2000), 'Gnesippos paigniagraphos: the Comic Poets and the Erotic Mime', in David Harvey and John Wilkins (eds.), *The Rivals of Aristophanes*, 41–64. London.
- Davies, G. (1985), 'The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art', *American Journal of Archaeology* 89, 627–40.
- Davies, P. V. (1969), *Macrobius, The Saturnalia*. New York.
- Davis, P. (2001), 'The Fabrication of Tradition: Horace, Augustus and the Secular Games', *Ramus* 30, 111–27.
- De l'Aulnaye, François Henri Stanislas (1790), *De la Saltation théâtrale, ou recherches sur l'Origine, les Progrès, et les effets de la pantomime chez les anciens*. Paris.
- De Romilly, J. (1975), *Magic and Rhetoric in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge, MA and London.
- Detienne, M., and Vernant, J.-P. (1991, [1974]), *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*, trans. J. Lloyd. Chicago and London.
- Di Vita, Antonino, Di Vita-Evrard, Ginette, and Bacchielli, Lidiano (1999), *Libya: The Lost Cities of the Roman Empire*. Cologne.
- Diderot, D., and D'Alambert, M. (1751–72), *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*. Geneva.
- Dihle, A. (1983), 'Seneca und die Aufführungspraxis der römischen Tragödie', *Antike und Abendland* 29, 162–71.
- Dittenberger, W., and Purgold, K. (1896), *Die Inschriften von Olympia*. Berlin.
- Domingo-Forasté, Douglas (ed.) (1994), *Claudii Aeliani Epistulae et Fragmenta*. Stuttgart.
- Donington, R. (1981), *The Rise of Opera*. London and Boston, MA.
- Downey, Glanville (1961), *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*. Princeton, NJ.
- Dresken-Weiland, J. (2003) *Sarkophagbestattungen des 4–6 Jahrhunderts im Westen des römischen Reiches (Römische Quartalschrift Supplementband 55)*. Freiburg.
- Dubel, S. (1994), 'Dialogue et autoportrait: les masques de Lucien', in A. Billault (ed.), *Lucien de Samosate*, 19–26. Lyon and Paris.
- Ducos, M. (1990), 'La contition des acteurs à Rome. Données juridiques et sociales' in Jürgen Blänsdorf (ed.), *Theater und Gesellschaft im Imperium Romanum*, 19–33. Tübingen.

- Dumont, Jean Christian, and François Garelli, Marie-Hélène (1998), *Le Théâtre à Rome*. Paris.
- Dunbabin, K. M. D. (2004), 'Problems in the iconography of Roman Mime' in C. Hugoniot, F. Hurlet, and S. Milanezi (eds.), *Le statut de l'acteur dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine*. Actes du colloque qui s'est tenu à Tours les 3 et 4 mai 2002, 161–81. Tours.
- Duncan, A. (2006), *Performance and Identity in the Classical World*. Cambridge.
- Duncan, D. (1979), *Ben Jonson and the Lucianic tradition*. Cambridge.
- Easterling, Pat (1993), 'The End of an era? Tragedy in the Early Fourth Century', in A. H. Sommerstein et al. (eds.), *Tragedy, Comedy and the Polis*, 559–69, Bari.
- (ed.) (1997a), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*. Cambridge.
- (1997b), 'From repertoire to canon', in Easterling (1997a), 211–27.
- and Richard Miles, (1999), 'Dramatic Identities: Tragedy in Late Antiquity', in Richard Miles (ed.), *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, 95–111. London and New York.
- and Hall, Edith (eds.) (2002). *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*. Cambridge.
- Edmondson, J. (1999), 'The Cultural Politics of Public Spectacle in Rome and the Greek East, 167–166 BCE', in B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon (eds.), *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, 76–95. New Haven, CT.
- Edwards, C. (1993), *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge.
- (1997), 'Unspeakable Professions: Public Performances and Prostitution in Ancient Rome', in J. P. Hallett and M.B. Skinner (eds.), *Roman Sexualities*, 66–95. Princeton, NJ.
- Elia, Olga (1965), 'Rappresentazione di un Pantomimo nella Pittura Pompeiana', in *Gli Archeologi Italiani in Onore di Amedeo Maiuri*, 169–77. Cava dei Tirreni.
- Elsner, J. (ed.) (1996), *Art and Text in Roman Culture*. Cambridge.
- Emigh, J. (1996), *Masked Performance: The Play of Self and Other in Ritual and Theatre*. Philadelphia, PA.
- Erasmus, M. (2004), PA. *Roman Tragedy: Theatre to Theatricality*. Austin, TX.
- Etherege, George (1676), *The Man of Mode, or, Sir Fopling Flutter: A Comedy. Acted at the Duke's Theatre*. London.
- Ewald, B. C. (1999), *Der Philosoph als Leitbild. Ikonographische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs*. Mainz am Rhein.
- Fantham, Elaine (1982), *Seneca's Troades: A Literary Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary*. Princeton, NJ.

- Fantham, Elaine (1989), 'Mime: The Missing Link in Roman Literary History', *Classical World* 82, 153–63.
- (ed.) (1998), *Ovid, Fasti: Book IV*. Cambridge.
- (2002), 'Orator and/et Actor', in Easterling and Hall (2002), 362–76.
- (2004), *Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Oxford.
- Feeney, D. (1992), 'Si licet et fas est: Ovid's *Fasti* and the problem of free speech under the Principate', in Powell (1992), 1–25.
- Ferrua, A. (1967), 'Antiche iscrizioni inedite di Roma II', *Epigraphica* 29, 62–100.
- Fick, Nicole (1990), 'Die Pantomime des Apuleius (*Met.* X.30–34.3)', in Jürgen Blänsdorf, Jean-Marie André and Nicole Fick (eds.), *Theater und Gesellschaft im Imperium Romanum: Théâtre et société dans l'empire romain*, 223–32. Tübingen.
- Ficoroni, Francisco (1750), *Dissertatio de Larvis Scaenicis, et figuris comicis antiquorum romanorum. Ex Italica in Latinam linguam versa*. Rome.
- Fiechter, Ernst R. (1914), *Die Baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters*. Munich.
- Finkelpearl, Ellen (1991), 'The Judgement of Lucius: Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 10.29–34', *CA* 10, 221–36.
- Fitch, J. G. (1987), *Seneca's Hercules Furens: A Critical Text with Introduction and Commentary*. Ithaca and London.
- (ed.) (2002–4), *Lucius Annaeus Seneca: Tragedies*. Cambridge.
- Flashar, H. (ed.) (1963), *Platon, Ion*. Munich.
- Flower, H. I. (1996), *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*. Oxford.
- Forbes Irving, P. M. C. (1990), *Metamorphosis in Greek Myths*. Oxford.
- Ford, A. (2002–4), *The Origins of Criticism. Literary Culture and Poetic Theory in Classical Greece*. Princeton, NJ and Oxford.
- Fornaro, S. (2002), 'Un encomio di Omero in Dione Crisostomo (Or. LIII)', *SemRom* 5, 83–104.
- Förster, Richardus (ed.) (1908), *Libanii Opera: Vol. IV: Orationes LI–LXIV*. Leipzig.
- Foster, B. O. (1919–59), *Livy, History of Rome*, Vol. 2. London.
- Frangoulidis, Stavros (2001), *Roles and Performances in Apuleius' Metamorphoses*. Stuttgart.
- Fränkel, H. (1945), *Ovid: A Poet between Two Worlds*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA.
- Franklin, James L. (1987), 'Pantomimists at Pompeii: Actius Anicetus and his troupe', *AJP* 108, 95–107.

- Frere, Sheppard, and Simpson, Grace (1970), 'The Roman Theatre at Canterbury', *Britannia*, Vol. 1, 83–113.
- Friedländer, Ludwig (1965), *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire: Authorized Translation of the Seventh Enlarged and Revised Edition of the Sittengeschichte Roms*, by J. H. Freese and Leonard Magnus. Vol. 2. London.
- Fugmann, J. (1988), *Römisches Theater in der Provinz. Eine Einführung in das Theaterwesen im Imperium Romanum* [= Schriften des Limesmuseums Aalen 41]. Stuttgart.
- Gager, J. (1992), *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. Oxford.
- Galinsky, Karl (1975), *Ovid's Metamorphoses: An Introduction to the Basic Aspects*. Oxford.
- (1996), *Augustan Culture*. Princeton, NJ.
- Gallistl, Bernhard (1995), *Maske und Spiegel: zur Maskenszene des Pompejaner Mysterienfrieses*. Hildesheim, Zurich and New York.
- Garelli, Marie-Hélène François (1998), 'Tradition littéraire et création dramatique dans les tragédies de Sénèque: l'exemple des récits de messagers', *Latomus* 57, 15–32.
- (2001), 'La pantomime entre danse et drama: la geste et l'écriture', *GITA* 14, 229–48.
- (2004), 'Néron et la pantomime', in C. Hugoniot, F. Hurllet, and S. Milanezi (eds.), *Le Status de l'acteur dans l'Antiquité romaine*, 353–68. Tours.
- (2006), 'Pantomime, tragédie et patrimoine littéraire sous l'Empire', *Pallas* 71, 113–125.
- (2007), *Danser le mythe: la pantomime et sa réception dans la culture antique*. Louvain.
- Garetii, J. (ed.) (1729), *Magni Aurelii Cassiodorii Senatoris: Opera omnia*. Venice.
- Garton, Charles (1972), *Personal Aspects of the Roman Theatre*. Toronto.
- (1982), 'A Revised Register of Augustan Actors', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II.30.1, 580–609. Berlin and New York.
- Garzya, A. (1985), 'Riconoscizioni sull' "Alcesti" di Barcellona', *Koinōnia* 9, 7–14.
- Geer, R. M. (1935), 'The Greek Games at Naples', *TAPA* 66, 208–21.
- Geertz, C. (1973), *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York.
- Gentili, Bruno (1979), *Theatrical Performances in the Ancient World* [= London Studies in Classical Philology 2]. Amsterdam.

- Gentili, G. V. (1961), 'Nuovi elementi di epigrafia siracusana', *Archivio storico siracusano* 7, 5–25.
- Georgiadou, A., and D. H. J. Larmour (1998), *Lucian's Science Fiction Novel True Histories. Interpretation and Commentary*. Leiden.
- Geyer, A. (1977), *Das Problem des Realitätsbezuges in der dionysischen Bildkunst der Kaiserzeit*. Würzburg.
- Gibson, B. J. (1999), 'Ovid on Reading: Reading Ovid. Reception in Ovid, *Tristia* 2', *JRS* 89, 19–37.
- Gibson, R. K. (ed.) (2003), *Ovid: Ars amatoria Book 3*. Cambridge.
- Gigante, M. (1979), *Civiltà delle forme letterarie nell' antica Pompei*. Naples.
- Giuliano, A. (ed.) (1985), *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture I*, 8. Rome.
- Gleason, Maud W. (1986), 'Festive Satire: Julian's Misopogon and the New Year at Antioch', *JRS* 76, 106–19.
- (1995), *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome*. Princeton, NJ.
- Goldberg, Sander M. (2005), *Constructing Literature in the Roman Republic: Poetry and its Reception*. New York.
- Goldhill, S. (2002), *Who Needs Greek? Contests in the Cultural History of Hellenism*. Cambridge.
- and R. Osborne (eds.) (1994), *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture*. Cambridge.
- Goold, G. P. (1977), *Astronomica Manilius* (Loeb) Cambridge, MA and London.
- (1990), *Propertius' Elegies*. Cambridge, MA.
- Graf, F. (1993), 'Gestures and Conventions: The Gestures of Roman Actors', in J. Bremmer and H. Roodenburg (eds.), *A Cultural History of Gesture*, 36–58. Cambridge.
- (2001), 'Der Eigensinn der Götterbilder in antiken religiösen Diskursen' in G. Böhm and S. E. Hauser (eds.), *Homo pictor*, 227–243. Munich and Leipzig.
- Graverini, Luca (2006), 'La scena raccontata: teatro e narrativa antica', in F. Mosetti Casaretto (ed.), *La scena assente: Realtà e leggenda sul teatro nel Medioevo*, 1–24. Alexandria.
- Green, J. R. (2007), 'Theatre Production, 1996–2006', *Lustrum* 49.
- Greenberg, N. A. (1961), 'The Use of *poiema* and *poiesis*', *HSCPh* 65, 263–89.
- Groningen, B. A. van (1966), *Theognis: le premier livre*. Amsterdam.
- Grysar, C. J. (1834), 'Über die Pantomimen der Römer', *Rheinisches Museum* 2, 30–80.
- (1854), 'Der römische Mimus', *SAWW* 12.2, 237–337.
- Guest, Ivor (1996), *The Ballet of the Enlightenment: the Establishment of the Ballet d'Action in France, 1770–1793*. London.

- Gunderson, E. (1998). 'Discovering the Body in Roman Oratory', in M. Wyke (ed.), *Parchments of Gender: Deciphering the Bodies of Antiquity*, 169–89. Oxford.
- (2000), *Staging Masculinity: The Rhetoric of Performance in the Roman World*. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Gurval, R. A. (1999), *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War*. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Habinek, Thomas (2002), 'Ovid and Empire', in Philip Hardie (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, 46–61. Cambridge.
- Haines, C. (1920), *The Correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto*, Vol. 2. Cambridge, MA and London.
- Hall, Edith (1995), 'The Ass with Double Vision: Politicising an Ancient Greek Novel', in David Margolies and Maroula Joannou (eds.), *Heart of a Heartless World: Essays in Cultural Resistance in Honour of Margot Heine-mann*, 47–59. London.
- (1999), 'Classical Mythology in the Victorian Popular Theatre', *IJCT* 51, 336–66.
- (2002a), 'The Singing Actors of Antiquity', in Easterling and Hall (2002), 3–38.
- (2002b), 'The Ancient Actor's Presence since the Renaissance', in Hall and Easterling (2002), 419–34.
- (2004), 'Towards a Theory of Performance Reception', *Arion* 12.1, 51–89.
- (2005), 'Aeschylus' Clytemnestra versus her Senecan tradition', in F. Macintosh, P. Michelakis, E. Hall, and O. Taplin (eds.), *Agamemnon in Performance*, 53–75. Oxford.
- (2006), *The Theatrical Cast of Athens*. Oxford.
- (2007a), 'Tragedy Personified', in C. Kraus, S. Goldhill, H. P. Foley and J. Elsner (eds.), *Visualizing the Tragic: Drama, Myth and Ritual in Greek Art and Literature*, 221–56. Oxford.
- (2007b), 'Greek Tragedy 430–380 BC', in R. Osborne (ed.), *Debating the Athenian Cultural Revolution*, 264–87. Cambridge.
- (forthcoming a), 'Homeric Precedents in the Renaissance Debate on Dancing', in Macintosh (ed.), *The Ancient Dancer in the Modern World*. Oxford.
- (forthcoming b), 'Iphigenia in Oxyrhynchus and India: Greek Tragedy for Everyone'.
- and Macintosh, F. (2005), *Greek Tragedy and the British Theatre 1660–1914*. Oxford.
- Hall, J. B. (ed.) (1992), *Ovidi Nasonis: Tristia*. Stuttgart and Leipzig.

- Hallett, C. (2005), *The Roman Nude. Heroic Portrait Statuary 200 BC–AD 300*. Oxford.
- Halliwell, S. (2002), *The Aesthetics of Mimesis*. Princeton, NJ and Oxford.
- Hanson, J. Arthur (ed. and trans.) (1989), *Apuleius, Metamorphoses*. 2 vols. Loeb. London and Cambridge, MA.
- Hardie, P. (1997), 'Virgil and Tragedy', in C. Martindale (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, 312–26. Cambridge.
- (ed.) (2002), *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*. Cambridge.
- Harlow, M. (2004), 'Clothes Maketh Man: Power Dressing and the Elite Male in the Later Roman World', in L. Brubaker and J. Smith (eds.), *Gender in the Early Medieval World*, 44–69. Cambridge.
- (2005), 'Dress in the *Historia Augusta*: The Role of Dress in Historical Narrative', in L. Cleland et al. (eds.), *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, 143–53. Oxford.
- Harmon, A. M. (1913–79), *Lucian* (Loeb edn.). London and Cambridge, MA.
- Harrison, Stephen J. (2000), *Apuleius: A Latin Sophist*. Oxford.
- Hilton, John, and Hunink, Vincent (trans., comm.) (2001), *Apuleius: Rhetorical Works*. Oxford.
- Haselberger, L. et al. (2002), *Mapping Augustan Rome. Journal of Roman Archaeology* (Supplementary Series 50.i) Portsmouth.
- Harvey, Susan Ashbrook (2006), *Scenting Salvation. Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Heath, John (1982), 'Narration and Nutrition in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*', *Ramus* 11, 57–77.
- Henry D., and Walker, B. (1965), 'The Futility of Action. A study of Seneca's *Hercules Furens*', *CPh* 60, 11–22.
- Herington, C. J. (1966), 'Senecan Tragedy', *Arion* 5, 422–71.
- Herington, J. (1985), *Poetry into Drama. Early Tragedy and the Greek Poetic Tradition*. Berkeley.
- Herrmann, Léon (1924), *Le Théâtre de Sénèque*. Paris.
- Hildebrandt, P. (ed.) (1907), *Scholia in Ciceronis Orationes Bobensia*. Stuttgart.
- Hill, E. (1990), *Saint Augustine: Sermons*. New York.
- Holland, Philemon (trans.) (1606), *The historie of tvvelve Cæsars, emperours of Rome: vvritten in Latine by C. Suetonius Tranquillus, and newly translated into English*. London.
- Holliday, P. J. (1993), *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*. Cambridge.
- Hollis, A. S. (ed.) (1970), *Ovid: Metamorphoses Book VIII*. Oxford.
- (ed.) (1977), *Ars amatoria: Book I*. Oxford.
- Horsfall, Nicholas (1997), 'Criteria for the Dating of Calpurnius Siculus', *RFIC* 125, 166–96.
- (2003), *The Culture of the Roman Plebs*. London.

- Hughes, Ted (1997), *Tales from Ovid: Twenty-four Passages from the Metamorphoses*. London.
- Hugoniot, C., Hurllet, F., and Milanezi, S. (eds.) (2004), *Le statut de l'acteur dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine*. Tours.
- Hunter, R. L. (2002), '“Acting Down”: The Ideology of Hellenistic Performance', in Easterling and Hall (2002), 189–206.
- Huskinson, Janet (2002), 'Representing Women on Roman Sarcophagi', in A. McClanan and K. R. Encarnacion (eds.), *Personal Objects, Social Subjects: The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation and Marriage in Pre-modern Europe*, 11–31. New York.
- (2003), 'Theatre, Performance and Theatricality in Some Mosaic Pavements from Antioch', *BICS* 46, 131–61.
- Huysen, A. (1986), *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Post-Modernism*. Basingstoke.
- Ibsen al-Faruqi, L. (1978), 'Dance as an Expression of Islamic Culture', *Dance Research Journal* 10, 6–13.
- Ingleheart, J. (2006), 'What the Poet Saw: Ovid, the *Error* and the Theme of Sight in *Tristia* 2', *MD* 56, 63–86.
- (forthcoming) 'Parallel Lives: Ovidian Poetic “autobiography” in *Tristia* 2'.
- Jones, C. P. (1986), *Culture and Society in Lucian*. Cambridge, MA and London.
- (1990), 'Lucian and the Bacchantes of Pontus', *Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views*, ns 9, 53–63.
- (1991), 'Dinner Theater', in W. J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context*, 185–98. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Jonson, Ben (1640), *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson*. Vol. 2. London.
- Jory, John (1981), 'The Literary Evidence for the Beginning of Imperial Pantomime', *BICS* 28, 147–61.
- (1984), 'The Early Pantomime Riots', in Ann Moffat (ed.), *Maistor: Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning*, 57–66. Canberra.
- (1986), 'Continuity and Change in the Roman Theatre', in Betts, Hooker, and Green (1986), 143–52.
- (1995), 'Ars ludicra and the ludus talaris', in A. Griffiths (ed.), *Stage Directions: Essays in Ancient Drama in Honour of E. W. Handley*, 139–52. London.
- (1996), 'The Drama of the Dance: Prolegomena to an Iconography of Imperial Pantomime', in W. J. Slater (1996a), 1–27.

- Jory, John (1998), 'The Pantomime Assistants', in T. W. Hillard et al. (eds.), *Ancient History in a Modern University*, 217–21. MacQuarie, Grand Rapids, MI, and Cambridge.
- (2001), 'Some Cases of Mistaken identity? Pantomime Masks and their Context', *BICS* 45, 1–20.
- (2002), 'The Masks on the Propylon of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias', in Easterling and Hall (2002), 238–53.
- (2003), 'The Achievement of Pylades and Bathyllus', in J. Davidson and A. Pomeroy (eds.), *Theatres of Action: Papers for Chris Dearden*, 187–93. Auckland.
- (2004), 'Pylades, Pantomime, and the Preservation of Tragedy', in *Mediterranean Archaeology* 17 [= Special Issue, *Festschrift in Honour of J. Richard Green*], 147–56. Sydney.
- Junghanns, Paul (1932), *Die Erzählungstechnik von Apuleius' Metamorphosen und ihrer Vorlage*. Leipzig.
- Jürgens, Heiko (1972), *Pompa Diaboli: die lateinischen Kirchenväter und das antike Theater*. Stuttgart and Berlin.
- Kaibel, Georgius (ed.) (1899), *Comitorum Graecorum fragmenta*, vol. 1. Berlin.
- Kaiser, E. (1964), 'Odyssee-Szenen als Topoi', *MH* 21, 109–36.
- Kajanto, I. (1965), *The Latin Cognomina*. (Societas scientiarum fennica. Commentationes humanarum litterarum 36.2.) Helsinki.
- Kampen, N. (1981), 'Biographical Narration and Roman Funerary Art', *American Journal of Archaeology* 85, 47–58.
- Kassel, R. (1991), 'Dialogue mit Statuen', in H.-G. Nesselrath (ed.), *R. Kassel: Kleine Schriften*, 140–53. Berlin and New York.
- Kaster, R. A. (1988), *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London.
- Kelly, H. A. (1979), 'Tragedy and the Performance of Tragedy in Late Roman Antiquity', *Traditio* 35, 21–44.
- Kellum, B. (1997), 'Concealing/Revealing: Gender and the Play of Meaning in the Monuments of Augustan Rome', in T. Habinek and A. Schiesaro (eds.), *The Roman Cultural Revolution*, 158–81. Cambridge.
- Kennedy, D. (2002), 'Epistolarity: the *Heroides*', in Hardie (2002), 217–232.
- Knight, W. F. Jackson (trans.) (1956), *Virgil. The Aeneid*. Harmondsworth.
- Knox, P. E. (ed.) (1995), *Ovid Heroides. Select Epistles*. Cambridge.
- Koch, G., and Sichtermann, H. (1982), *Römische Sarkophage (Handbuch der Archäologie)*. Munich.
- Koch, N. J. (2000), 'ΣΧΗΜΑ. Zur Interferenz technischer Begriffe in Rhetorik und Kunstschriftstellerei', *IJCT* 6, 503–15.
- (2005), 'Bildrhetorische Aspekte der antiken Kunsttheorie', in W. Brassat (ed.), *Rhetorik. Ein internationales Jahrbuch* (vol. 24), 1–13. Tübingen.

- Kohn, T. D. (2000), 'An Early Stage in Vergil's Career', *CW* 93, 267–74.
- Kokolakis, Minos (1959), 'Pantomimus and the Treatise *Peri Orcheseōs*', *Platon* 11, 3–54.
- (1961), 'Lucian and the Tragic Performances in his Time', *Platon* 12.
- Koller, H. (1954), *Die Mimesis in der Antike. Nachahmung, Darstellung, Ausdruck*. Bern.
- Kondoleon, Christine (1991), 'Signs of Privilege and Pleasure: Roman Domestic Mosaics', in Elaine K. Gazda (ed.), *Roman Arts in the Private Sphere*, 103–13. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Koniaris, G. L. (1983), 'On Maximus of Tyre: Zetemata (II)', *CA* 2, 212–50.
- Koortbojian, M. (1995), *Myth, Meaning and Memory on Roman Sarcophagi*. Berkeley.
- Korenjak, M. (2000), *Publikum und Redner: ihre Interaktion in der sophistischen Rhetorik der Kaiserzeit*. Munich.
- Korus, K. (1986), 'Funktionen der literarischen Gattungen bei Lukian', *Eos* 74, 29–38.
- Kosmetatou, E. (2004), 'Vision and Visibility: Art Historical Theory Paints a Portrait of New Leadership in Posidippus' *Andriantopoiika*', in B. Acosta-Hughes et al. (eds.), *Labored in Papyrus Leaves: Perspectives on an Epigram Collection Attributed to Posidippus (P.Mil. Vogl. VIII 309)*, 187–211. Washington, DC.
- Kranz, P. (1984), *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, V, 4. Berlin.
- Krenkel, Werner A. (2002), *Marcus Terentius Varro Saturae Menippeae*. St. Katharinen.
- La Piana, G. (1936), 'The Byzantine Theater', *Speculum* 11, 171–211.
- Lada-Richards, I. (2003a), '“A worthless feminine thing”? Lucian and the “Optic Intoxication” of Pantomime Dancing', *Helios* 30, 21–75.
- (2003b), 'Mobile Statuary: Refractions of Pantomime Dancing from Callistratus to Emma Hamilton and Andrew Ducrow', *IJCT* 10, 3–37.
- (2004a), 'Μύθων Εἰκόν: Pantomime Dancing and the Figurative Arts in Imperial and Late Antiquity', *Arion* 12.2, 17–46.
- (2004b), 'Authorial Voice and Theatrical Self-definition in Terence and Beyond: The *Hecyra* Prologues in Ancient and Modern Contexts', *Greece and Rome* 51, 55–82.
- (2005), '“In the Mirror of the Dance”: A Lucianic Metaphor in its Performative and Ethical Contexts', *Mnemosyne*, 58.3, 335–57.
- (2007), *Silent Eloquence: Lucian and Pantomime Dancing*. London.
- Lancha, J. (1997), *Mosaïque et culture dans l'Occident romain (Ier–IVe s.)*. Rome.
- Larson, V. T. (1994), *The Role of Description in Senecan Tragedy*. Frankfurt.

- Lattimore, R. (1965), *The Odyssey of Homer*. New York.
- L'Aulnaye, Francois Henri S. de (1790), *De la saltation théâtrale, ou Recherches sur l'origine, les progrès and les effets de la pantomime chez les anciens*. Paris.
- Lawler, L. B. (1943), 'Proteus as a Dancer', *CW* 36, 116–17.
- (1954) 'Phora, Schêma, Deixis in the Greek Dance', *TAPA* 85, 148–58.
- Lazzarini, M. L. (2000), 'Grecanici come gentilizii. Una nuova iscrizione Latina di Petelia,' in G. Paci (ed.), *Epigraphai. Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini*, 2 vols. (*Ichnia* 5), 503–10. Tivoli.
- Le Guen, B. (2001), *Les Associations de Technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique*. Paris.
- Lebek, Wolfgang Dieter (1983), 'Die neue Alcestis-Gedicht der Papyri Barcinenses', *ZPE* 52, 1–29.
- (1985), 'Senecas Agamemnon in Pompeji (*CIL* IV 6698)', *ZPE* 59, 1–6.
- (1990), 'Standeswuerde und Berufsverbot unter Tiberius: Das SC der Tabula Larinas', *ZPE* 81, 37–96.
- (1991), 'Das SC der Tabula Larinas: Rittermusterung und andere Probleme' *ZPE* 85, 41–70.
- Lee, Carol (2002), *Ballet in Western Culture: A History of its Origins and Evolution*. New York and London.
- Lefèvre, E. (1968), Review of Zwierlein (1966) in *Gnomon* 40, 782–9.
- (1973), 'Die Kinder des Thyestes', *Symbolae Osloensis* 48, 97–108.
- Lefkowitz, M. R. and Fant, M. B. (eds.) (1992), *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in Translation*. Baltimore.
- Leo, F. (1878), *De Senecae tragoediis observationes criticae*. Berlin [repr. 1962].
- Leppin, H. (1992), *Histrionen*. Bonn.
- Leucci, Tiziana (2005), 'Nartaki: figurina eburnea indiana ritrovata a Pompei', *Dioniso* 4, 142–9.
- Levi, D. (1947), *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*. Princeton, NJ.
- Levi D'Ancona, Mirella (1950), 'An Indian Statuette from Pompeii', *Artibus Asiae*, 13, 166–80.
- Levick, B. (1983), 'The *Senatus Consultum* from Larinum', *JRS* 73, 97–115.
- Lévy, C., and Pernot, L. (eds.) (1997), *Dire l'évidence (philosophie et rhétorique antiques)*. Paris.
- Lewis, M. W. H. (1955), *The Official Priests of Rome Under the Julio-Claudians*. Rome.
- Lindsay, W. M. (1913), *Sexti Pompei Festi. De uerborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome*. Leipzig.
- Litsas, Fotios K. (1984), *Choricus of Gaza, an Approach to his Work: Introduction, Translation, Commentary*. Diss. Chicago.

- Long, A. A. (1992) 'Stoic Readings of Homer', in R. Lamberton and J. J. Keaney (eds.), *Homer's Ancient Readers. The Hermeneutics of Greek Epic's Earliest Readers*, 41–66. Princeton, NJ.
- Lonsdale, S. (1988), 'Protean Forms and Disguise in Odyssey 4', *Lexis* 2, 165–78.
- Luck, G. (ed.) (1967), *Tristia Band I*. Heidelberg.
- Lynham, Deryck (1972), *The Chevalier Noverre: Father of Modern Ballet*. London.
- Macintosh, Fiona (ed.) (forthcoming), *The Ancient Dancer in the Modern World*. Oxford.
- Macleod, M. D. (1972–1987), *Luciani opera*. Oxford.
- Maier-Eichhorn, U. (1989), *Die Gestikulation in Quintilians Rhetorik*. Frankfurt am Main.
- Malineau, V. (2003), 'Les éléments du costume de théâtre dans l'antiquité tardive', in F. Chausson and H. Inglebert (eds.), *Costume et société dans l'antiquité et le haut Moyen Age*, 153–68. Paris.
- Maltby, R. (1991), *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies*. Leeds.
- Manganaro, G. (1970), 'Pankarpeia di epigrafia latina', *SicGym* 23, 75–88, repr. in Avetta (1985).
- Marcovich, Miroslav (ed.) (1988), *Alcestis Barcinonensis: Text and Commentary* [= *Mnemosyne* suppl. 103]. Leiden.
- Marshall, C. W. (2004), 'Alcestis and the ancient rehearsal process (POxy. 4546)', *Arion* 11.3, 27–45.
- Matz, F. (1969), *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage. Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* IV,3. Berlin.
- Maxwell, R. L. (1993), *The Documentary Evidence for Ancient Mime*. Diss., Univ. Toronto.
- May, Regine (2004), 'Chaste Artemis and Lusty Aphrodite: The Portrait of Women and Marriage in the Greek and Latin Novels', in Warren S. Smith (ed.), *Satiric Advice on Women and Marriage*, 129–53. Ann Arbor, MI.
- (2006), *Apuleius and Drama: The Ass on Stage*. Oxford.
- McCleave, Sarah (ed.) (1998a), *Dance and Music in French Baroque Theatre: Sources and Interpretations*. London.
- (1998b), 'English and French theatrical sources: the repertoire of Marie Sallé', in McCleave (1998a), 13–32.
- McDonagh, Don (1973), *Martha Graham: A Biography*. New York.
- McKinnon, James (ed.) (1987), *Music in Early Christian Literature*. Cambridge.
- Ménéstrier, Claude François (1682), *Des ballets anciens et modernes selon les règles du théâtre*. Paris.

- Mesk, Josef (1908), 'Des Aelius Aristides verlorene Reden gegen die Tänzer', *WS* 30, 59–74.
- Micyllus, I. et al. (1538), *Luciani Samosatensis opera, quae quidem extant, omnia, e Graeco sermone in Latinum, partim iamolim diversis autoribus, partim nunc demum per Iacobum Micyllum, quaecunque reliqua fuere, translata*... Frankfurt.
- Minar, E. L. (trans.) (1961), *Plutarch, Moralia* vol. 9. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA and London.
- Molloy, Margaret E. (ed.) (1996), *Libanius and the Dancers* [= *Altertums-wissenschaftliche Texte und Studien*, vol. 31]. Hildesheim and New York.
- Mommsen, T. (ed.) (1894), *Cassiodori Senatoris Variarum*. Berlin.
- Montiglio, S. (1999) 'Paroles dansées en silence: l'action signifiante de la pantomime et le moi du danseur', *Phoenix* 53, 263–80.
- Moorman, Eric M. (1983), 'Rappresentazioni teatrali su scaenae frontes di quarto stile a Pompei', *Pompeii Herculaneum Stabiae: Bollettino dell' associazione internazionale Amici di Pompei* 1, 73–117.
- Morgan, T. (1998), *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*. Cambridge.
- Moss, C. (1935), 'Jacob of Serugh's homilies on the spectacles of the theatre', *Le Muséon. Revue d'Études Orientales* 48, 87–112.
- Mozley, J. H. (1929), *Ovid. The Art of Love and other poems* (vol. 2, 2nd edn. rev. J. P. Goold 1979) Loeb. London and Cambridge, MA.
- Muecke, F. (1982), 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman', *CQ* 32, 41–55.
- Mueller, L. (1869), 'Der Mimograph Catullus', *Rheinisches Museum* 24, 621–2.
- Müller, Friedhelm L. (ed.) (1998), *Die beiden Satiren des Kaisers Julianus Apostata* [= *Palingenesia* 66]. Stuttgart.
- Münzer, F. (1912), *RE* 7, 597, s.v. Galeria 1.
- Muth, S. (1998), *Erleben von Raum—Leben im Raum. Zur Funktion mythologischer Mosaikbilder in der römisch-kaiserzeitlichen Wohnarchitektur (Archaologie und Geschichte 10)*. Heidelberg.
- Naerebout, F. G. (1997), *Attractive Performances: Ancient Greek Dance. Three Preliminary Studies*. Amsterdam.
- Nesselrath, H.-G. (1985), *Lukians Parasitendialog. Untersuchungen und Kommentar*. Berlin and New York.
- Newman, J. K. (1990), *Roman Catullus and the Modification of the Alexandrian Sensibility*. Hildesheim.
- Nicoll, Allardyce (1931), *Masks, Mimes and Miracles: Studies in the Popular Theatre*. London, Bombay, and Sydney.

- Nilsson, N. M. P. (1906), *Zur Geschichte des Bühnenspiels in der römischen Kaiserzeit* [= *Acta Universitatis Lundensis* 40 (1904)]. Lund.
- Norman, A. F. (2000), *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius*. Liverpool.
- Nosarti, Lorenzo (ed.) (1992), *Anonimo. L'Alceste di Barcellona. Introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento*. Bologna.
- O'Brien, J. (2004), *Harlequin Britain: Pantomime and Entertainment, 1690–1760*. Baltimore, MD and London.
- Otto, A. (1890), *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*. Leipzig.
- Owen, S. G. (ed.) (1924), *P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium Liber Secundus*. Oxford.
- Owen, W. H. (1970), 'Time and Event in Seneca's Troades', *WS* 4, 118–37.
- Page, D. L. (1941), *Greek Literary Papyri I: Poetry*, ed. with Eng. trans. Loeb. London.
- Panayotakis, C. (2006), 'Women in the Greco-Roman Mime of the Roman Republic and the Early Empire', *Ordia Prima. Revista de Estudios Clásicos* 5, 121–38.
- (forthcoming), *Decimus Laberius: The Fragments*. Cambridge.
- Panciera, S. (1999), Electronic letter on the subject of an unpublished inscription in the Vatican Museum, containing the text: d(is) m(anibus). Ar[- - - -]didae coniug(i) optim[ae et bene mere]nti caenicae . . . , 20 June 1999.
- Panella, C. (1967), 'Iconografia delle Muse sui sarcofagi romani' *Studi Miscellanei* 12, 11–43.
- Parsons, Peter, Nisbet, R. G. M., and Hutchinson, Gregory (1983), 'Alcestis in Barcelona', *ZPE* 52, 31–6.
- Patillon, M. (1997), *Aelius Théon: Progymnasmata*. Paris.
- Paton W. R. (1916–18), *The Greek Anthology*, Vols. 1, 3, and 4. London.
- Péché, Valérie, and Vendries, Christophe (eds.) (2001), *Musique et spectacles à Rome et dans l'Occident Romain sous la république et le haut-empire*. Paris.
- Peek, W. (1955, repr. 1988), *Griechische Vers-Inschriften. Grab-Epigramme*. Berlin.
- (ed.) (1960), *Griechische Grabgedichte* (Schriften und Quellen der Alten Welt 7). Berlin.
- Perpillou-Thomas, F. (1995), 'Artistes et athlètes dans les papyrus grecs d'Égypte', *ZPE* 108, 225–51.
- Perrot, Jean (1971 [1965]), *The Organ from its Invention in the Hellenistic Period to the End of the Thirteenth Century*. Eng. trans. London, New York, and Toronto.
- Peterson, W. (1970), translation of *Dialogue on Oratory* in R. M. Ogilvie, E. H. Warmington, and M. Winterbottom (rev.), *Tacitus, I, Agricola. Germania. Dialogue on Oratory*. London and Cambridge, MA.

- Petit, Paul (1955), *Libanius et la vie municipale a antioche au IVe Siècle après J.-C.* Paris.
- Petitmengin, P., et al. (eds.) (1981), *Pélagie la pénitente. Métamorphoses d'une légende* (Séminaire d'Histoire des Textes de l'École normale supérieure), vol. 1. Paris.
- Pollit, J. J. (1974), *The Ancient View of Greek Art: Criticism, History, and Terminology.* New Haven, CT and London.
- (1978), 'The Impact of Greek Art on Rome', *TAPA* 108, 155–78.
- Potter, D. (1994), *Prophets and Emperors—Human and Divine Authority from Augustus to Theodosius.* Cambridge, MA.
- (1999), 'Entertainers in the Roman Empire', in D. J. Mattingly and Potter D. S. (eds.), *Life, Death and Entertainment in the Roman Empire*, 256–326. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Powell, A. (ed.) (1992), *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus.* London.
- Preisshofen, F. (1974), 'Sokrates im Gespräch mit Parrhasios und Kleiton', in K. Döring and W. Kullmann (eds.), *Studia Platonica*, 21–40. Amsterdam.
- Price, S. R. F. (1984), *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor.* Cambridge.
- Prosperi-Valenti, G. (1985), 'Attori-bambini del mondo romano attraverso le testimonianze epigrafiche', *Epigraphica* 47, 71–82.
- Pucci, P. (1986) 'Les figures de la métis dans l'Odyssee', *MHTIS* 1, 7–28.
- Puchner, Walter (1997), *Akkommodationsfragen. Einzelbeispiele zum paganen Hintergrund von Elementen der frühkirchlichen und mittelalterlichen Sakraltradition und Volksfrömmigkeit* (= Kulturgeschichtlichen Forschungen, 23). Munich.
- (2002), 'Acting in the Byzantine theatre', in Easterling and Hall (2002), 304–24.
- Quinn, K. (1982), 'The Poet and his Audience in the Augustan Age', *ANRW* II.30.1, 75–180.
- Rackham, H. (1940–63), Pliny, *Natural History*, Vol. 3. London.
- Regenbogen, O. (1963), *Schmerz und Tod in den Tragödien Senecas*, Darmstadt.
- Rehm, U. (2002), *Stumme Sprache der Bilder. Gestik als Mittel neuzeitlichen Bilderzählung.* Munich.
- Reifferscheid, A. (ed.) (1860), *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Praeter Caesarum libros reliquiae.* Leipzig.
- Reinach, Théodore (1904), 'Inscriptions des Iles', *REG* 17, 196–214.
- Requeno, V. (1982), *L'arte di gestire con le mani.* Palermo.
- Reynolds, R. W. (1946), 'The Adultery Mime', *CQ* 40, 77–84.

- Richlin, A. (1997), 'Gender and Rhetoric: Producing Manhood in the Schools', in W. J. Dominik (ed.), *Roman Eloquence: Rhetoric in Society and Literature*, 90–110. London.
- Ridley, R. T. (1982), *Zosimus New History: A Translation With Commentary*. Canberra.
- Rieks, R. (1967), Review of Zwierlein (1966) in *Poetica* 1, 567–71.
- Robert, Jeanne, and Robert, Louis (1981), 'Bulletin épigraphique' *REG* 94, 364–485.
- Robert, L. (1930), 'Pantomimen im Griechischen Orient', *Hermes* 65, 106–22.
- (1936), 'ARXAIOLOGOS', *REG* 49, 235–54.
- (1938) *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*. Paris.
- (1981), 'Amulettes Grecques', *Journal des Savants*, 1–44.
- (1969–90), *Opera minora selecta: épigraphie et antiquités grecques*. Amsterdam.
- Robertson, D. S. (1913), 'The Authenticity and Date of Lucian *De Saltatione*', in E. C. Quiggin (ed.), *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway*, 180–5. Cambridge.
- Roca-Puig, R. (ed.) (1982), *Alcestis. Hexàmetres Llatins. Papyri Barcinonenses, Inv. No 158–161*. Barcelona.
- Rolfé, J. C. (1913–14), *Suetonius, The Lives of the Caesars*. London.
- Roller, M. (1998), 'Pliny's Catullus: The Politics of Literary Appropriation', *TAPhA* 128, 265–304.
- Romano, D. (1980), 'Il lascivus lusus di Cicerone.' *Orpheus* NS 1, 441–47.
- Rosenblum, M. (1961), *Luxorius: A Latin Poet among the Vandals* (Records of Civilization Sources and Studies 62). New York.
- Rostagni, Augusto (ed.) (1944), *De poetis e biografi minori / Suetonio; restituzione e commento* [= Biblioteca di filologia classica no. 6]. Turin.
- Rotolo, Vincenzo (1957), *Il pantomimo: studi e testi* [= Quaderni dello Istituto di filologia greca della Università di Palermo, no. 1]. Palermo.
- Roueché, Charlotte (1993), *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods*. London.
- Rougé, Jean (ed.) (1966), *Expositio Totoius Mundi et Gentium*. Paris.
- Rouse, W. H. D. (trans.) (1940), *Nonnus, Dionysiaca*, 3 vols. Loeb Classical Library. London.
- Russell, Donald (1983), *Greek Declamation*. Cambridge.
- (trans.) (2001), *Quintilian: The Orator's Education*. Vol. 5. Loeb. Cambridge, Mass. and London.
- Rutschowskaya, M.-H. (2000) 'La peigne d'Helladia', in N. Bosson (ed.), *Études Coptes 7: Neuvième journée d'études Montpellier 3–4 juin 1999* (Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte 12), 235–44. Paris.

- Sahin, S. (1975), 'Das Grabmal des Pantomimen Krispos in Herakleia Pontike', *ZPE* 18, 293–7.
- Said, S. (1993), 'Le "Je" de Lucien', in M.-F. Baslez, P. Hoffmann, and L. Pernot (eds.), *L'invention de l'autobiographie d'Hésiode à Saint Augustin*, 253–70. Paris.
- Salanitro, Giovanni (ed.) (2007), *Alcesta. Cento vergilianus*. Bonanno.
- Sandridge, William Lee (ed.) (1929), *A Critical Edition of Massinger's The Roman Actor*. Princeton Studies in English. no. 4. Princeton, NJ.
- Santelia, S. (1991), *Charition Liberata (P.Oxy. 413)*. Bari.
- Sargent, Jeanette L. (1996), 'The Novelty of Ovid's *Heroides*: Libretti for Pantomime', Ph.D. Dissertation, Bryn Mawr.
- Schäublin, Ch. (1984), 'Zur Alkestis Barcinonensis', *Mus. Helv.* NS 41, 174–81.
- Schechner, R. (1988), *Performance Theory*. New York.
- Schefold, Karl (1952), *Pompejanische Malerei: Sinn und Ideengeschichte*. Basel.
- Schlegel, A. W. (1809–11), *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*. Heidelberg.
- (1846), *A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*. English trans. John Black. London.
- Schmidt, E. (1997), 'Venus', *LIMC* 8.1, 192–230. Zurich and Munich.
- Schmidt, M. (1981), 'Alkestis', *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. 1, 533–45. Zurich and Munich.
- Schnusenberg, Christine Catharina (1988), *The Relationship between the Church and the Theatre, Exemplified by Selected Writings of the Church Fathers and by Liturgical Texts until Amalarius of Metz—775–852 AD*. Lanham, New York, and London.
- Schwartz, Judith L., and Schlundt, Chistena L. (1987), *French Court Dance and Dance Music: A Guide to Primary Source writings, 1643–1789*. Stuyvesant, NY.
- Scullard, H. H. (1981), *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic*. Ithaca, NY.
- Sear, Frank (2006), *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study*. Oxford.
- Segal, Charles (1993), 'The Female Voice and its Contradictions: From Homer to Tragedy', in J. Dalfen, G. Petersmann, and F. F. Schwarz (eds.), *Religio Graeco-Romana: Festschrift für Walter Pötscher*, 57–75 [= *Grazer Beiträge* suppl. 5]. Graz.
- Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (1977), *Epistulae ad Familiares*. Cambridge.
- (ed.) (1982), *Anthologia Latina*, vol. 1. Stuttgart: Teubner.
- Shelton, J. (1978), *Seneca's Hercules Furens: Theme, Structure, and Style*. Göttingen.

- Shusterman, R. (1998), 'Understanding the Self's Others', in C. Gupta and D. P. Chattopadhyaya (eds.), *Cultural Otherness and Beyond*, 107–14. Leiden, Boston, and Köln.
- Sick, D. H. (1999), 'Ummidia Quadratilla: Cagney Businesswoman or Lazy Pantomime Watcher', *Classical Antiquity* 18, 330–48.
- Sichtermann, H. (1992), *Die mythologische Sarkophage: Apollon bis Grazien, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* XII,2. Berlin.
- Sijpesteijn, P. J. (1976), 'Transportation of Entertainers in Roman Egypt', in J. M. Bremer, S. L. Radt, and C. J. Ruijgh (eds.), *Miscellanea Tragica in honorem J. C. Kamerbeek*. Amsterdam, 425–9.
- Sittl, C. (1890), *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*. Leipzig.
- Slater, William J. (1990), 'Orchestopala' *ZPE* 84 (1990), 215–220.
- (1992), 'Review of H. Leppin *Histrionen*', *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 03.04.05, accessed on the World Wide Web at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/1992/03.04.05.html>.
- (1993), 'Three Problems in the History of Drama', *Phoenix* 47, 205–12.
- (1994a), 'Pantomime Riots', *Classical Antiquity* 13, 120–44.
- (1994b), 'Beyond Spoken Drama: Pantomimes', *Didaskalia* 1.2.
- (1995), 'The Pantomime Tiberius Iulius Apolaustus', *GRBS* 36, 263–92.
- (ed.) (1996a), *Roman Theater and Society* (E. Togo Salmon Papers 1). Ann Arbor.
- (1996b), 'Inschriften von Magnesia 192 Revisited', *GRBS* 37, 195–204.
- (2004), 'Where are the Actors?', in Hugoniot and Milanezi (eds.), 143–160. Tours.
- Smith, Warren S. (1998), 'Cupid and Psyche Tale: Mirror of the Novel', in M. Zimmermann et al. (eds.), *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass II: A Collection of Original Papers*, 69–82. Groningen.
- Sofer, A. (2003), *The Stage Life of Props*. Ann Arbor.
- Sogliano, G. (1879), *Notizie degli Scavi*. Rome.
- Solin, H. (2003), *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: Ein Namenbuch*, 2nd edn. 3 vols. (Auctarium 2). Berlin.
- Spruit, J. E. (1969), 'Catalogus van Romeinse Acteurs', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands historisch Instituut te Rome* 34, 59–95.
- Stanford, W. B. (1963), *The Ulysses Theme*. 2nd edn. Oxford.
- Stanton, G. R. (1973), 'Sophists and Philosophers: Problems of Classification', *AJP* 94, 350–64.
- Steinmetz, Peter (1982), *Untersuchungen zur römischen Literatur des zweiten Jahrhunderts nach Christi Geburt*. Wiesbaden.
- Stephanis, I. E. (ed.) (1986), *Chorikiou sophistou Gazes Synegoria mimon: eisagoge, keimeno, metaphrase, scholia* [= *Klasika grammata* 3]. Thessalonike.
- (1988), *Dionysiakoi Technitai*. Heraklion.

- Stewart, P. (2003), *Statues in Roman Society. Representation and Response*. Oxford.
- Straub, K. (1992), *Sexual Suspects: Eighteenth-Century Players and Sexual Ideology*. Princeton, NJ.
- Stroszeck, J. (1998), *Löwen-Sarkophage, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* VI,1. Berlin.
- Sumi, G. S. (2002), 'Impersonating the Dead: Mimes at Roman Funerals', *American Journal of Philology* 123, 559–85.
- Sutton, D. F. (1986), *Seneca on the Stage*. Leiden.
- Swain, Simon (1992), 'Novel and Pantomime in Plutarch's *Antony*', *Hermes* 120, 96.
- (1996), *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism and Power in the Greek World AD 50–250*. Oxford.
- Taladoire, B.-A. (1951), *Commentaires sur la mimique et l'expression corporelle du comedien romaine*. Montpellier.
- Tandoi, V. (1984), 'Anonymi Carmen de Alcestide nuper repertum', *Quaderni AICC di Foggia* 4, 3–11.
- Taplin, Oliver (2007), *Pots and Plays*. New York and Oxford.
- Tarrant, R. J. (1978), 'Senecan drama and its antecedents', *HSCPh* 82, 213–63.
- (2002), 'Ovid and Ancient Literary History', in Hardie (2002), 13–33.
- Tatum, James H. (1969), 'The Tales in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*' *TAPhA* 100, 487–527.
- Theocharidis, Georgios (1940), *Beiträge zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Profantheaters im IV. und V. Jahrhundert*. Thessaloniki.
- Thraede, Klaus (1978), *Der Hexameter in Rom: Verstheorie und Statistik*. Munich.
- Todd, O. J. (trans.) (1922), *Xenophon* vol. 3 (containing *Anabasis* bks 4–7 with an Eng. trans. by Carleton L. Brownson; *Symposium* and *Apology* with an Eng. trans. by O. J. Todd), Loeb Classical Library. London and New York.
- Trapp, M. B. (1997), *Maximus of Tyre: The Philosophical Orations*. Oxford.
- Treggiari, S. (1976), 'Jobs for Women', *American Journal of Ancient History* 1, 76–104.
- Trendall, A. D., and Webster, T. B. L. (1971), *Illustrations of Greek Drama*. London and New York.
- Turcan, R. (1966), *Les Sarkophages romains à représentations dionysiaques*. Paris.
- (1978), 'Sarcophages romains et symbolisme funéraire', in W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 16,2, 1700–35.
- Ussani, V. (1902–3), 'Catullo mimografo e uno scolio lucaneo', *Bollettino di filologia classica* 9, 63–4.

- Van Den Hout, M. P. J. (1988), *M. Cornelii Frontonis Epistulae*. Leipzig.
- (1999), *A Commentary on the Letters of M. Cornelius Fronto*. Leiden.
- Van Mal-Maeder, D. (1995), 'L'Ané d'Or ou les métamorphoses d'un récit: illustration de la subjectivité humaine', *GCN* 6, 103–25.
- Van Nijf, O. (1999), 'Athletics, Festivals and Greek Identity in the Roman East', *PCPS* 45, 176–200.
- (2001), 'Local Heroes: Athletics, Festivals and Elite Self-Fashioning in the Roman East', in S. Goldhill, (2001, ed.) *Being Greek Under Rome*. Cambridge, 306–334.
- Vandenbergh, B. H. (1955), 'St. Jean Chrysostome et les spectacles', *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 7, 34–46.
- Vandoni, M. (1964), *Feste pubbliche e private nei documenti greci*. Milan.
- Vesterinen, Marjaana (2003), 'Reading Lucian's *Peri Orchēseōs*—attitudes and approaches to pantomime', in L. Pietilä-Gastrén and M. Vesterinen (eds.), *Grapta Poikila 1: Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute of Athens* 8, 35–52. Helsinki.
- (2005), 'Some Notes on the Greek Terminology for Pantomime Dancers and on Athenaeus 1,20d-e', *Arctos* 39, 199–206.
- Von Cube, G. (1906), *Die römische 'scenae frons' in den pompejanischen Wandbildern 4. Stils [= Beiträge zur Bauwissenschaft, Heft 6]*. Berlin.
- Vout, C. (1996), 'The Myth of the Toga: Understanding the History of Roman Dress', *G and R* 43, 204–20.
- Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew (1983), 'Ut pictura poesis?' (review of J.M Croisille (1982) *Poesie et Art Figuré de Néron aux Flaviens. Recherches sur l'Iconographie et la Correspondance des Arts à l'Epoque Impériale*. Bruxelles). *JRS* 73, 180–3.
- (1994), *House and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*. Princeton, NJ.
- Walsh, P. G. (1970), *The Roman Novel*. London.
- Ward, Philip (1970), *Sabratha: A Guide for Visitors*. Harrow.
- Wagh, Patricia (1984), *Metafiction: The Theory and Practice of Self-Conscious Fiction*. London.
- Weaver, John (1717), *The Loves of Mars and Venus; a Dramatick Entertainment of Dancing, Attempted in Imitation of the Pantomimes of the Ancient Greeks and Romans*. London.
- (1718), *The Fable of Orpheus and Eurydice*. London.
- (1728), *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes, with an Historical Account of Several Performers in Dancing, living in the Time of the Roman Emperors*. London.
- Webb, Ruth (1997), 'Salome's Sisters: The Rhetoric and Realities of Dance in Late Antiquity and Byzantium', in L. James (ed.), *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, 119–48. London.

- Webb, Ruth (1999), 'Ekphrasis Ancient and Modern: The Invention of a Genre', *Word and Image* 15, 7–18.
- (2002), 'Female Entertainers in Late Antiquity', in Easterling and Hall (2002), 282–303.
- (2005), 'The Protean Performer: Mimesis and Identity in Late Antique Discussions of Theater', Luisa Del Giudice and Nancy van Deusen (eds.), *Performing Ecstasies: Music, Dance and Ritual in the Mediterranean*, 3–11. Ottawa.
- (2008), *Demons and Dancers: Theatrical Performance in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge, MA.
- Wegner, M. (1966), *Die Musensarkophage, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs V*, 3. Berlin.
- Weinreich, O. (1948), *Epigrammstudien I. Epigramm und Pantomimus nebst einem Kapitel über einige nicht-epigraphische Texte und Denkmäler zur Geschichte des Pantomimus* (SHAW 1944/48.1). Heidelberg.
- Wessner, Paul (ed.) (1931), *Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora*. Leipzig.
- Westermann, W. L. (1924), 'The Castanet Dancers of Arsinoe', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 10, 134–44.
- and C. J. Kraemer, Jr. (eds.) (1926), *Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University*. New York.
- Wheeler, A. L. (1924), *Ovid, Tristia Ex Ponto*. London.
- Whibley, Charles (ed.) (1899), *Suetonius: History of twelve Caesars, translated into English by Philemon Holland, anno 1606; with an introduction by Charles Whibley* (2 vols.) London.
- Whitmarsh, T. (2001), *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation*. Oxford.
- (2005), *The Second Sophistic (Greece and Rome: New Surveys in the Classics*, no. 35). Oxford.
- Wille, G. (1997), 'Die Bedeutung der Musik für die römische Rhetorik', in id., *Schriften zur Geschichte der antiken Musik*, 207–217. Frankfurt.
- Wilson, W. (1867), *The Writings of Clement of Alexandria* (Anti-Nicene Christian Library v. 4. 12). Edinburgh.
- Winkler, J. J. (1985), *Auctor and Actor: A Narratological Reading of Apuleius'* Golden Ass. Berkeley, CA.
- Wiseman, Peter (1985), *Catullus and his World: A Reappraisal*. Cambridge.
- (1998), *Roman Drama and Roman History*. Exeter.
- (1999), 'The Games of Flora', in B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon (eds.), *The Art of the Ancient Spectacle*, 194–203. Washington, DC.
- (2000), 'Liber: Myth, Drama and Ideology in Republican Rome', in Christer Bruun (ed.), *The Roman Middle Republic: Politics, Religion and*

- Historiography c.400–133 BC* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 23), 265–99. Rome.
- (2004), *The Myths of Rome*. Exeter.
- (2008), *Unwritten Rome*. Exeter.
- Wissowa, G. (1905), ‘Emboliaria’, in *RE* 5 (1905), 2491–2.
- Wooten, G. (1999), ‘A Mask of Attis: *Oscilla* as Evidence for a Theme of Pantomime’, *Latomus* 58, 314–35.
- Worsthorne, Simon Towneley (1954), *Venetian Opera in the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford.
- Wright, W. C. (1921), *Philostratus, The Lives of the Sophists*. Loeb. London and Cambridge, MA.
- Wüst, E. (1932), ‘Mimos’, in *RE* 15.2, 1727–64.
- (1949), ‘Pantomimus’ in *RE* 18. 3, 833–69.
- Wyles, M. R. (2007), *The Stage Life of Costume in Euripides’ Telephus, Heracles, and Andromeda*. Ph.D. Dissertation, London.
- Zanker, G. (1981), ‘Enargeia in the Ancient Criticism of Poetry’, *RhM* 124, 297–311.
- Zanker, Paul (1988), *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Ann Arbor.
- (1998 [1995]), *Pompeii: Public and Private*, Eng. trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider. Cambridge, MA.
- and Ewald, B. C. (2004), *Mit Mythen leben. Die Bilderwelt der römischen Sarkophage*. Munich.
- Zarrilli, P. (1990), ‘What does it mean to “become the character”: Power, Presence and Transcendence in Asian In-body Disciplines of Practice’, in R. Schechner and W. Appel (eds.), *By Means of Performance*, 131–48. Cambridge.
- Zarmakoupi, Mantha (2007), *Villae Expolitae: Aspects of the Architecture and Culture of Roman Country Houses on the Bay of Naples*. D.Phil. Dissertation, Oxford.
- Zeitlin, F. I. (1994), ‘The Artful Eye: Vision, Ekphrasis and Spectacle in Euripidean Theatre’ in Goldhill and Osborne (1994), 138–96.
- (2001), ‘Visions and Revisions of Homer’, in S. Goldhill (ed.), *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic, and the Development of Empire*, 195–266. Cambridge.
- Zimmermann, B. (1990), ‘Seneca und der Pantomimus’, in G. Vogt-Spira (ed.), *Strukturen der Mündlichkeit in der römischen Literatur*, 161–7. Tübingen. [= Eng. trans. by E. Hall, ‘Seneca and Pantomime’, in this volume.]
- Zimmerman, Maaïke (1993), ‘Narrative Judgement and Reader Response in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* 10, 29–34: The Pantomime of the Judgement of Paris’, *GCN* 5, 143–61.

- Zimmerman, Maaïke (2000), *Apuleius Madaurensis, Metamorphoses: Book X—Text, Introduction and Commentary*. Groningen.
- (2001), 'Quis ille... lector: Addressee(s) in the Prologue and throughout the *Metamorphoses*', in Ahuvia Kahane and Andrew Laird (eds.), *A Companion to the Prologue of Apuleius' Metamorphoses*, 245–55. Oxford.
- (2004), Panayotakis, S., Hunink, V. C., Keulen, W. H., Harrison, S. J., McCreight, Th. D., Wesseling, B., and Van Mal-Maeder D. (edd., comm.), *Apuleius Madaurensis, Metamorphoses: Books IV 28–35, V and VI 1–24, The Tale of Cupid and Psyche*. Groningen.
- Zwierlein, Otto (1966), *Die Rezitationsdramen Senecas. Mit einem kritisch-exegetischen Anhang*. Meisenheim am Glan.

Index

- Abronius, composer of libretti, 158–159
Achelous, representation of, 229
Achilles, representation of, 231
Actica, female dancer, 131–132 and n. 62
Actio, use of name, 133–134
Actius Castresis, *scaenica*, evidence on, 134–137 and nn. 70–78
- Actors
- aged, return in Pompey's dedicatory games, 124 n. 43
 - charioteers contrasted with, 44–45
 - Church Fathers' condemnation of, 25–26, 39–40, 355–356 and n. 51. 361
 - in mime, pantomime, social status, 42 and n. 1, 102–103, 188–189, 287–291
 - in relationship of pantomime and sarcophagi, 102–107
 - mime, powerful men favouring, 189 n. 13
 - orators compared, 289–90 and nn. 11–13, 331–336 and n. 50
 - tragic, relationship with costume, 80–81, 86
 - see also* Actresses, Dance, Pantomime dancers
- Actresses
- as agents for other female performers, 127 and n. 52
 - anonymous:
 - epitome of ideal Roman woman, 138–142
 - reconstruction of verse epitaph, 138–145
 - child performers, 120–122
 - dancing in *Judgement of Paris*, 338, 339
 - evidence on:
 - costume, 112 and n.7
 - from Aristainetos, 111–112 and n. 4
 - from early times, 115–116, 117, 121, 341 and n. 7
 - from inscriptions, 110–145
 - from Lucian, Libanius, 110–111 and n. 3
 - members of mixed-gender choruses, 110
 - presence, 23–24, 112
 - John Chrysostom's tirades against, 355 and n. 51
 - in mime, pantomime:
 - in itinerant troupes, 274
 - powerful men favouring, 189 n. 13
 - social status, 188–189, 193–194
 - performing in extreme old age, 123–124 and n. 43, 145
 - problems in designation of, 115–118
 - suitability of bodily form for role, 348 and n. 30
 - see also* Pantomime dancers and individual performers
- Admetus
- and Alcestis, theme in early ballet, 373
 - 'monodrama' devoted to, in Barcelona Papyrus, 264, 265
 - representation of, 267–268, 270–271, 280–281
 - see also* Alcestis
- Admetus' father
- 'monodrama' devoted to, in Barcelona Papyrus, 264 and n. 14, 265
 - representation of, 267, 271–272
- Admetus' mother
- 'monodrama' devoted to, in Barcelona Papyrus, 264 and n. 14, 265
 - representation of, 267, 272–273
- Adultery
- in mimes, perceptions of, 188 n. 11, 205–206 and n. 26
 - Ovid accused of teaching, in *Ars Amatoria*, 206 and nn. 25–26
 - theme in tragedy, sarcophagi and pantomime compared, 95
- Aegisthus, representation of, 229
- Aelia Catella, dancer in old age, 145

- Aelius Aristides* see Aristides
- Aeneas (mythical figure)
and Dido, theme in early ballet, 373, 375
representation in pantomime,
195–197; see also *Aeneid*, Dido,
Dido and Aeneas
- Aeneid*, Virgil
Aeneas' descent to Underworld in,
242–248
depiction of Underworld in Seneca
and, compared, 246–248
use in pantomime, 30, 33, 160,
176–177, 183, 190, 195–197,
204 n. 22, 245–246
- Aerope, representation of, 229
- Aesopus, tragic actor, return to stage,
124 n. 43
- Africa, north
presence of female dancers in, 112
proliferation of theatres in, 7
- Agamemnon (mythical figure)
portrayed by Hylas, Pylades, 16–167,
162–163, 175
representation of, 253, 348
themes based on:
in early ballet, 373
in pantomime, 175
- Agamemnon*, Aeschylus, description of
storm in Seneca, and,
compared, 240
- Agamemnon*, Seneca
description of storm in Aeschylus and,
compared, 240
favoured theme for pantomime, 31
and n. 32, 89
pantomime characteristics, 221–222,
223 n. 16
representation of Cassandra in *Aeneid*
and, compared, 233, 237–238
- Agathocles of Syracuse, admiration for
mime actors, 189 n. 13
- Agave (mythical mother), representation
of, 22, 273
- Agave*, Statius, 29 n. 85, 203 n. 18,
204 n. 22
- Ajax, attack on colleague by actor
playing, 59, 82
- Alcestis (mythical figure)
favoured theme:
for early ballet, 373
for pantomime, other arts, 94,
261–263
for sarcophagi, 94, 261
'monodrama' devoted to, in Barcelona
Papyrus, 264 and n. 14, 268
portrayal on ornate couch, 271 n. 29
representation of, 267, 273–274, 281
theme in early ballet, 373
- Alcestis*, ballet production by Martha
Graham, 375–376
- Alcestis*, Barcelona Papyrus
basis for pantomime postulated,
32–33 and n. 91, 190, 212,
258–282
characterization by costume change in
performance of, 74 n. 31, 75
choreographic commentary, 270–275
discovery, early study, 259, 266
dominant influences on, 279
emotional range, 275
Euripides' play, compared, 263 and
n. 12, 264
few abstractions in, 276–277
focus on erotic love, tragic death,
263–264, 280
implied props, 275
modern performances, 266 and
nn. 19–22, 268
provenance, 260–261
significance of structure, 264–265
style and metre, 264, 276–282
suitability for beat of *scabellum*, 279
text, 404–412
transcription by scribes, 268–269
- Alcestis*, Euripides
Barcelona Papyrus compared, 263
and n. 12
performances of, 261–262
theme for pantomime, 33, 190
- Alexander, admiration for mime actors,
189 n. 13
- Alexandria, mime in, 146–147
- Algeria, pantomime in, 2
- Alphesiboeus, song of, use in
drama, 194

- Althaea, myth of, Ovid's representation, 213–214
- Ambrose, condemnation of
pantomime, 25
- Ambrosius, evidence on dancer's use of
body, 290 n. 15
- Ammianus, reference to *saltatrices*, 117
- Amphiaraios, reference to octopus,
325–326
- Amphitryon, in Seneca's *Hercules
Furens*, 243, 244
- Anacreon, poem attributed to, 336
- Andromache
representation of, 231, 253
role danced by actress, 115
- Andromeda*, opera, danced
interludes, 365
- Anicetus (Actius)
dancer, evidence on, 130–131 and nn.
58–59, 134–137 and nn. 70–78
pantomime troupe, 131–132 and
n. 62, 133–134
- Angiolini, Gasparo
association with Gluck, 368
contribution to recovery of
pantomime, 368, 373
use of Lucian, 368
- Ania, use of name, 136 and n. 76
- Animals
use, depiction of, 352 and nn. 42–43,
358
wild, obligatory inclusion in Roman
games, 173–174 and n. 22
- Antioch
literary evidence from, 16–17, 18
mosaics, 16–17, 36
presence of female dancers in, 112
prime place in development of
pantomime, 14–19
theatres in, 16
- Antiochus II Theos, admiration for
mime actors, 189 n. 13
- Antiochus IV Epiphanes, admiration for
mime actors, 189 n. 13
- Antipater of Thessaloniki
on pantomime themes, 175
on Pylades, 163–164, 334
- Antisthenes, as champion of
mimēsis, 321
- Antonius, orator praised by
Cicero, 165
- Aphrodisias, evidence on pantomime
productions, 181–182
- Aphrodite
myths of Ares and:
songs in pantomime based on, 277
theme common to tragedy,
sarcophagi and pantomime,
95, 96
theme of pantomime, 179, 183, 207
and n. 27, 346
role danced by actress, 11–112
- Apolaustos (M. Ulpius) (dancer)
described as *histrion*, 131
in Sebasta Games, 181 n. 59
inscriptions recording triumphs,
44 n. 2
statue at Delphi, 2, 4
travels, 2
- Apollo (deity)
Augustus' devotion to, 178–181, 183
'monodrama' devoted to, in
Barcelona Papyrus, 264, 265
myths of, favoured as pantomime
themes, 212–213
plaque featuring struggle with
Heracles, 179–180
representation of, 267–268, 271,
287–288 n. 4
Temple of Palatine, 178 and n. 43
- Apollo Medicus, Temple of, Greek
mythological themes in, 180
- Apuleius
comments on:
audience reactions, 354–356
costume, 65, 342
dancer's use of eyes, 235 and n. 21
effeminacy in pantomime, 342
gesture, 342
variety of theatrical genres, 305
versatility of solo performer,
346–347
- Judgement of Paris*
absence of libretto, 343–344,
359, 361
audience reaction to, 339–340
concept of, as 'meta-pantomime',
357–358, 362

- Apuleius (*cont.*)
 dance in, 35–36, 121 and n. 38, 144
 divergences from normal pantomime, 339–345 and n. 4, 357–358, 361–362
 emphasis on display of beauty, 357–358
 identification of role and actor in, 346–350, 351–360
 modern ballet based on, 375
 representation of Cupids, 338, 339, 349, 350, 355
 setting, 338–339
 suitability for solo performance, 351–352
 use of fragrant spices in performance, 274
see also Lucius
 knowledge of pantomime, 341–342
Metamorphoses:
 Characteristics, 35, 121, 343
 extract from, 386–391
 representation of Venus in, 349–350 and n. 34
- Arausio *see* Orange
- Arbitrix*, significance as title of Sophe Theorobathylliana, 127
- Archimedes, water organ, 27 and n. 78
- Area Apollinis*, Greek myth in ornamentation of, 179
- Arelate (Arles), pantomime performances in, 7, 19
- Ares *see* Aphrodite
- Ariadne and Dionysos*, Xenophon, realism of performance, 356 and n. 52
- Aristagoras*, dancer in role of Gallus, 11
- Aristainetos, evidence on pantomime actresses, 111–112 and n. 4, 144, 145
- Aristides (Aelius)
 attack on pantomime, dancers, 17 and n. 47, 25, 26–27, 64 n. 7, 67, 82, 288, 289 and n. 8, 297, 311 and n. 86, 321, 365 n. 8
 comment on *scabellum*, 26
see also Libanius
- Aristomenes, on representation of gods, 323
- Aristonikos, on association of pantomime with Italy, 157–158
- Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, evidence on conflation of composition, acting, 325
- Aristotle
 on effects of actor' supremacy, 228 n. 5
 on function of rhetoric, 319
- Arnobius, condemnation of pantomimes, 25, 26–27
- Ars Amatoria*, Ovid
 elegiac verse form, 210
 offence caused by, 199, 204, 205–206 and n. 24
 possible pantomime performance, 206–207
- Art, pictorial
 affinities between visual techniques of pantomime and, 85–86, 315–316, 332–333, 334–335
 concept of, as independent from language, 329
- Arts
 concept of, as mirroring life, 349
 differentiation, a modern trend, 336
 interconnection in antiquity, 336, 337
- Ashton, Frederick, ballet on Judgment of Paris, 375
- Asia, gift offered in *Judgement of Paris*, 354 and n. 48
- Astyanax
 Andromache's appeal for, 231
 representation of death of, 232, 242, 253
- Atellana, Atellane farce
 literary status, 185–186
 performance of, 159
- Athamas, representation of, 229
- Athenaeus
 description of Pylades' dancing style, 10
 evidence on dancing by mime actors, 188 n. 11
 extract from, 396

- reference to octopus in discussion of Odysseus, 327
- Audiences
- Apuleius' perception of reactions, 354–356
- metamorphic effects of watching pantomime, 354–356
- moral implications of pantomime, 61, 102, 107
- perceptions:
- and evaluation of dancers, 52–53
 - and knowledgeability, 52–53
 - evidence from Libanius, 52, 71, 72, 79 n. 37
 - interaction with performers, 47–48 and n. 16, 59–60 m 294–295 and n. 36, 359
 - of characterization through use of costume, 22, 23, 73–77
 - of identification of dancer and role, 346–350, 359
 - of real dancer, the represented, moral trap, 102
 - of suitability of dancers' bodily form, 348
 - recognition of stereotypes, codes, 72 and n. 26, 236–237, 270, 272, 273, 346–347 and n. 24, 352
 - significance, 359
 - those of viewers of sarcophagi compared, 108
see also Pantomime (genre)
- response to visuality, 22–23, 30, 108–109, 314–336
- training in gymnasia, 52–53
- visual language directed at viewers of sarcophagi and, compared, 108–109
- Augustalia*, inclusion of pantomime in, 30, 181
- Augustine
- emotional response to pantomime, 20 n. 63
 - extract from, 398
 - on dancer's use of eyes, 235
 - on dancers' use of hands, 164, 167
 - on knowledge of Virgil in theatre, 245–246
 - on scene of Aeneas and Anchises in underworld, 196–197
 - perception of pantomime, 25, 49, 167
- Augustus
- and Ovid, 199–203, 205 n. 23
 - association with Pylades, Bathllus, 10, 157, 170, 177, 202–203
 - contribution to development of pantomime, 10, 30, 157, 170–174 and n. 7, 183–184, 201, 202
 - favoured themes, 30, 174–177
 - predilection for Greek culture, 4–5, 169, 170–172, 177–178
 - use of Greek mythology:
 - in ornamentation of buildings, 179–181
 - personal association with Apollo, 178–179
- Auloi*, use in pantomime music, 26
- Aulus Gellius *see* Gellius
- Automedon, description of dancer, 129–130
- Bacchae*, Euripides, pantomime themes derived from, 22, 175
- Bacchus, depiction on Roman sarcophagus, 91–92
- Badoaro, Giacomo, libretto for *L'Ulisse errante*, 366
- Balinese dance, parallels with pantomime, 45, 49
- Ballet
- classical:
 - with Aristotelian attributes, development, 368–371
 - contributions of
 - Noverre, 20, 371–373 and n. 27
 - Weaver, 20, 363, 369–371, 373
 - emergence from *balli* within opera, 365
 - inspiration from Greek tragedy, 372
 - pantomime distinguished, 51
 - role of pantomime in emergence of, 8–9 and n. 14, 45, 363–377
 - concept of, as autonomous art, 367
 - expressive, in court of Louis XIV, 366

- Ballet (*cont.*)
 recognised in *Encyclopaedie* of Diderot,
 D'Alembert, 367 n. 13
- Ballet d'action*
 contribution of Noverre to
 development, 372–373
 origins, 367, 368, 377
- Ballet, modern, parallels with
 pantomime, 45, 363
- Ballet pantomime tragique de Semiramis*,
 Angiolini, 368
- Ballet Rambert, inclusion of Judgment
 of Paris in repertoire, 375
- Balli*, interludes in opera, 365
- Barcelona papyrus *see Alcestis*
- Bassilla, mime actress, 121 n. 38,
 188 n. 11
- Bathyllus
 association with Maecenas, 10, 170
 and n. 1, 189 n. 13
 background, 10, 147, 157
 Bertheroy's novel on, 15, 29, 375, 376
 evidence on text performed by, 29
 historians' interest in, 375
 identification of Theoros with,
 125–126 and nn. 44, 46–48
 relationship with Augustus, 10, 170,
 202–203, 374, 375
 role in emergence of pantomime, 10,
 46, 114, 118
 themes favoured by, 33
- Berne scholiast on Lucan
 evidence on mime, 147–148
 identification, 147 and nn. 6–8
- Bertheroy, Jean, novel on Bathyllus,
 15, 29, 375, 376
- Blaesus, *Saturnos*, 152
- Boethus, epigram attributed to, 401
- Byzantium, female dancers from,
 111–113 and nn. 4, 8–9
- Cadmus, representations of, 22
- Caecilius Chariton Iuventius, mime
 performer, dancer, 188 n. 1, 11
- Caesarea (Palestine), pantomime in, 19
- Calhusac, Louis de, librettist, argument
 for *ballet en action*, 373
- Caligula
 admiration for mime actors, 189 n. 13
 assassination, dance performed on
 day of, 347–348
 evidence on theatricals, 150–152
- Calliachi, Niccolo, on mime,
 pantomime, 368
- Callistratus, influence on description of
 art works, 336
- Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, mime
 actor, 123 n. 42
- Calypso episode, dance featuring, in
L'Ulisse errante, 366 n. 11
- Canace
 failed performance of death scene,
 263–264
 representation on ornate couch,
 271 n. 29
- Canace Giving Birth*, Nero's performance
 in, 225
- Capaneus, representation of, 263, 348
- Carinus, admiration for mime actors,
 189 n. 13
- Carthage, pantomime in, 19
- Cascione, Sara, productions of
 Barcelona *Alcestis*, 32–33, 266
 and n. 19, 267, 270, 273
- Cassandra, representation in Seneca's
Agamemnon, Virgil's *Aeneid*
 compared, 233, 237–238
- Cassiodorus
 admiration for pantomime dancing,
 269, 299
 designation of female dancers,
 116–117
 on eloquent use of hands, 164
 evidence on chourses, musical
 instruments, 25
 extract from, 403–404
 on multifarious imitation, 289 n. 9
 use by L'Aulnaye, 374
- Cassius Dio
 evidence on:
 Nero's support of pantomime, 114
 Pylades, 170
- Castor and Pollux, depiction in
Judgement of Paris, 353
- Castresis (Actius), *scaenica*, 134–137
 and nn. 70–78
- Catella (Aelia), dancer in old
 age, 145

- Catullus
 identification of Berne scholiast with, 148
 translation of Sappho, 208
 verse epistles, 208
- Catullus 63, representation at Megalesian games, 190
- Cerberus, Hercules' quest of, in Seneca's *Hercules Furens*, 244, 245, 249–252
- Cestus, admiration for Bathyllus, 10
- Chalcas, representation of, 253
- Charioteers, contrasted with actors, dancers, 44–45
- Charition mime
 parody of Euripides, 195 n. 24
 theme, 24
- Charon, Seneca's representation of, 248
- Children, as *corps de ballet* in *Judgement of Paris*, 338, 339, 349
- Chloe
 putative actress, 137 and n. 78
 use of name, 137 n. 78
- Choir *see* Chorus
- Choreography, recognised in *Encyclopaédie* of Diderot, D'Alembert, 367 n. 13
- Choricus of Gaza
 admiration for pantomime dancing, 299
 defender of pantomime, 61
- Chorus, choruses
 accompaniment to dancer, 270–271
 character in *Trojan Women* of Seneca, and Euripides, 231, 252–253
 contemporary evidence on, 25, 26, 150
 importance of words rendered by, 221–222
 integral to pantomime, 28–29, 143 n. 93, 270, 271, 339
 mixed-gender, 110
 opponents, 25–26
see also Libretti
- Christianity, opposition to pantomime within, 6, 21–22, 25–26, 35, 38–40; *see also* Church Fathers
- Church Fathers
 assaults on pantomime 25–26, 35, 38–40, 44, 355–356 and n. 51, 361
 on libidinal dimension of pantomime, 300 n. 55
 on reputation of Senecan tragedy, 31
 particular objection to *scabellum* 26
see also individual writers
- Cibber, Colley, condemnation of Harlequinades, 371
- Cicero
 commendation of mime *Tutor*, 186
 comparison of style of pantomime and, 291 n. 25
 evidence from, on mime in Alexandria, 146–147
 observations on Clodius, 122–123, 129
 on eyeholes in masks, 344 and n. 17
 gestures in rhetoric, the stage distinguished, 164–165, 165–166, 329
 observation on Pompey's dedicatory games, 124 n. 43
 possibly at performance by Cytheris, 191–194
 on replacement of Atellane farce by mime, 186
 use of term *embolium*, 123 and n. 42, 129
- Circe, image for impact of rhetoric, poetry, 319
- Circe episode, danced in *L'Ulisse errante*, 366
- Cleiton (sculptor), conversation with Socrates, 329
- Clement of Alexandria
 condemnation of musical instruments, 25–26
 on effeminacy of costume, 81 n. 41
 on length of robe, 64 and n. 7, 65, 82
- Cleopatra the Egyptian, pantomime theme, 171 n. 5
- Clodius, Cicero's observations on, 122–123, 129
- Codex Salmasianus, extract from, 402–403
- Codex Theodosianus
 approach to pantomime, 85 n. 50
 on display of paintings of pantomime actors, 78–79

- Commodus, admiration for mime actors, 18, 189 n. 13
- Constantinople, presence of female dancers in, 111 n. 4, 112
- Copiola (*emboliaria*)
evidence on, 120, 123–124
solo dancer, 120, 123–124, 145
techniques, 129–130
- Corinth, venue for Apuleius' *Judgement of Paris*, 338; *see also* Apuleius
- Cornelius Gallus *see* Gallus
- Corso, Rinaldo, knowledge of Lucian, 365–366
- Costume
adoption of elaborate, by sophists, 308–309 and nn. 81–82
alleged effeminacy, 47, 61, 64–65 and n. 5, 81 n. 41, 82–83, 309 and nn. 81–82
basic:
described, 64–68
versatility, 47
feminizing padding, 66 and nn. 7, 11
footwear, 67–68 and n. 14; *see also* *Scabellum*
hats, 66–67, 68, 73–74
kinetic manipulation, 74–77
'language' of, 70–71, 73–77 and n. 77, 77–79
lavish, in *Judgement of Paris*, 338, 345
monochrome or patchwork, 93 and n. 44
pallium (scarf), 47, 65–66, 68, 74–76 and n. 31, 77–79, 81–82, 83–84
relationship between dancer and, 79–84
robe, 22, 64–65 and nn. 5, 7, 342
seductive power of beauty, 84–85
softness, 83 and n. 46
sources of evidence on, 2 and nn. 3–4, 4, 11, 13, 21–22, 39, 63–65 and nn. 5–7, 66, 67, 82, 112 n. 7, 338, 342
symbolism, concept of corruptive nature, 61
use as prop, 22, 66, 68, 72–73, 74–75
- Couches, ornate
use in tragedy, 271 and n. 29
versatility, 271, 274
- Cresilas (sculptor), statue of Idomeneus, 334–335
- Crinagoras
epigram attributed to, 160, 402
reference to pantomime text, 29
- Crocota*, dancer's saffron robe, 342
- Cupid (mythical figure), representation of, 212–213
- Cupid and Psyche*, in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*,
representation of Venus in, 349–350 and n. 34
- Cupids, representation in *Judgement of Paris* 338, 339, 349, 350, 355
- Curse tablets
against charioteer, 52 n. 31
against Hyperechios, 52
- Cyclops, stories of
in Weaver's *Judgement of Paris*, 369
representation in mime,
pantomime, 187
- Cymbals, use in pantomime, 26
- Cyprian
evidence on dancer's use of body, 289–290 nn. 12, 18
on public appeal of pantomime, 311–312
- Cytheris
designation as *mima*, 115
recitals from Virgil's *Eclogues*, 191–194
- Dactylic hexameter, suitability for dancing, 280
- Dafne*, Rinuccini and Peri, 364
- Danaids
in decoration in *Area Apollinis*, 179
theme;
in early ballet, 373
in pantomime, 183
- Dance, dancers
attacks on:
by Aelius Aristides, 17 and n. 47, 25, 26–27, 64 m/ 7, 67, 82, 288–289 and n. 8, 207, 311 and n. 86, 321, 365 n. 8
by Church Fathers, 17, 25–26, 35, 38–40, 44, 289 n. 11,

- 300 n. 55, 355–356 and n. 51, 361
- charioteers contrasted with, 44–45
- creative tension, 59–60
- emergence of professional on European stage, 366–367
- emotional range, 234, 274
- hexameter suited to, 210
- interconnection with musical technique, 59
- in mime, 187–188 and n. 11
- modern, contribution of pantomime to 5, 8–9, 363, 367
- in origins, development of pantomime, 10–11, 25–26, 186–187
- perception of, as disreputable, 173
- performing in toga, evidence on, 21 n. 65, 149, 170–171 and n. 5
- Plato's perception of origins, 333–334
- position in Roman Society, 172–174
- proliferation of books on history of, 373–375
- pyrrhic:
 - as prelude to other spectacles, 351 and n. 36
 - characteristics, 117 and n. 24, 144
 - initiation dance, 24
 - in *Judgement of Paris*, 340–341 n. 6
 - in Weaver's *Judgement of Paris*, 369
- role within opera, 365–368
- skills of oratory and, compared *see* Oratory
- troupes, 131–132 and n. 66, 133, 134, 274
- see also* Pantomime dancers and individual dancers by name
- Daphne, representation of, 212–213, 263, 323
- Daphnis and Chloe*, Longus, characteristics of dance in, 35
- De Ira*, Seneca, exploration of effects of passion in, 234
- Deianeira, representation of, 229, 233–238
- Delos, inscription from, 172
- Delphi
 - inscription from, 11, 396
 - statue of Apolaustos, 4
- Demetrius the Cynic, perception of pantomime, 84, 330–331
- Democritus, on sound of names of gods, 330
- Demonstration
 - Lycinus' use of, 316
 - signification and, in pantomime, rhetoric compared, 316, 320, 327–331
- Dialogues of the Gods*, Lucian, popularity, 365
- Dido
 - and Aeneas, theme in early ballet, 373, 375
 - representation as lascivious, 195 and n. 25
 - story of, popular theme for pantomime, 30, 160, 176–177, 195, 204 n. 22, 275 and n. 33
 - see also* *Aeneid*
- Dido and Aeneas*, ballet at Sadler's Wells, 376
- Dio Chrysostom
 - on *mimēsis*, 321
 - on popularity of pantomime, 6, 306, 307
 - on portrayal of the invisible, 330
 - on sophists, 311 n. 86
 - speech on Homer, 325
- Dionysia, female dancer, 117–118, 288 and n. 7
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, representation of Proteus, 322
- Dionysus (Dionysos)
 - cult of:
 - favoured theme of pantomime, sarcophagi, 91, 93
 - use of water organ, 28
 - danced by Pylades, 349
 - pantomime themes depicting, 13, 175, 183
- Dionysus and Ariadne*, myth of, danced representation, 11, 46, 334 n. 60, 356
- Dioscorides
 - extract from *Greek Anthology*, 380

- Dioscorides (*cont.*)
 reference to dance, 46
- Dioscuri, in *Judgement of Paris*, 338
- Dis, Seneca's representation of, 248
- Disease
 association with pantomime, 317, 319
 representation of, 249
- Dolor* (Resentment), representation of, 249
- Domitian, admiration for mime actors, 189 n. 13
- Dracontius, Barcelona Papyrus compared to works of, 264 and n. 16
- Drama, affinities between visual techniques of pantomime and, 332–333
- Drapes (*siparia*), use of, 269
- Dryden, John, condemnation of Harlequinade, 371
- Dupré, Louis (dancer)
 in role of Mars, 371
 teacher of Jean Georges Noverre, 371 and n. 27
- Ēthos*, representation of, 329–330
- Ecloques* (Virgil), possible performance as pantomime, 33 n. 91, 191–195
- Ecphrasis
 epigrams as early texts on pantomime, 336
 tradition of, 316–317
- Effeminacy
 associated with:
 costume, 47, 61, 64–65 and n. 5, 66 and nn. 7, 11, 81 n. 41, 82–83, 309 and nn. 81–82
embolia, 123
 attributed to singers, 29
 in perceptions of pantomime, 34, 44, 47, 188–189, 289 and n. 11, 290 nn. 18–19, 317, 319, 342–343
 sophists' tendency towards, 309–310, 310–311
- Egestas* (Want), representation by Virgil, 249
- Egypt, presence of dancers in, 7
- Egyptian clappers, use in pantomime, 6
- Elagabalus, admiration for mime actors, 189 n. 13
- Elegiacs, not associated with pantomime performance, 10
- Embolia/emboliariae*
 in designation of female dancers, 115
 link with pantomime, 122–124, 125–127
 use of terms, 12, 122–124 and n. 42, 129–130
see also individual performers
- Empousa, Lucian's representation of, 320
- Encyclopaedie*, Diderot, D'Alembert, recognition of ballet, choreography, gesture, 367 n. 13
- Epic, tragedy, and, as sources for libretti, 245
- Epictetus, on suitability of dancer's bodily form, 348
- Equites*, banned from participation in public performance, 159
- Eroticism
 promoted by pantomime, 3–4, 11, 34, 44, 199 and n. 1, 200 n. 7, 210, 289 n. 10, 309, 311 n. 87
 Ovid accused of, 206 n. 25
- Eucharis
 leader of chorus, 130
 mime performer, dancer, 188 n. 11
 professional title, 128 and n. 56
 republican era actress, 120
 techniques, 129–130
- Euhemerism, in Christian writers, 321
- Euripides, mime, pantomime themes derived from, 22, 24, 33, 175–176, 190, 195 n. 24
- Eutyches (L. Acilius), performer of mime, 153
- Eyes, importance in pantomime, 48 and n. 20, 199 and n. 4, 200, 201 and n. 10, 207 and n. 30, 235 and n. 21
- Fabula*, texts for pantomimes, 29
- Fabula saltata*
 concept of, relative to Senecan tragedy, 32, 220
see also Pantomime (genre)

- Fames* (Hunger), representation of, 249
 'Fatal Charades', presented as mythical scenes, popularity of, 351 and n. 38
 Favorinus (orator), techniques, 307–308
 Female figures
 in choirs accompanying pantomime, 23
 depiction on sarcophagi, 22
 representation in pantomime, evidence on, 23–24
 see also Actresses
 Fiaschi, Chiara, dancer, 266, 268, 273
 Ficorini, Francisco, treatise on ancient stage, 374, 375
 Fine, Vivian, ballet *Alcestis*, 375–376
 Flaccus (A. Clodius), sponsor of Pylades, 1 and n. 2
 Flamenco, comparison with pantomime dancing, 50–51
 Flora, 'full of laughs', 141
Floralia, festival of, mime plays in, 147, 188 n. 12
 Footwear
 worn by dancers, 67–68 and n. 14
 see also *Scabellum*
 France, pantomime in, 2 and n. 4, 7, 19–20
 Fronto
 extract from, 385–386
 on use of costume, 22, 47, 65–66, 76 and n. 35
 Funerary sculpture *see* Sarcophagi
 Furius Celsus, dancer in Crete, 11
 Galen
 comments on:
 physical skills of dancers, 51–52, 54–55
 sexual responses to pantomime, 4
 statues of dancers, 2
 perception of pantomime, 44
 Galeria Copiola *see* Copiola
 Gallienus, admiration for mime actors, 189 n. 13
 Gallus (Cornelius), lover of Cytheris, 192
Gallus, theme for dance, pantomime, 11 and n. 22, 46
 Games, archaic *see* Secular Games
 Ganymede, in mosaic on Judgment of Paris, 37 n. 98
 Garrick, David
 interest in Greek tragedy, 372
 relation to popular entertainment, 307 and n. 73
 Gaul, pantomime in, 2 and n. 4
 Gellius
 evidence on:
 dancing, 188 n. 11, 288 and n. 7
 female dancer, 117–118
 mythology in mime, 188 n. 12
 Gesture
 Apuleius' evidence on, 342
 as form of language, 166–68, 328–329
 choreographed codes, 72 and n. 26, 346–347 and n. 24, 352
 eloquence of hands, 8, 163, 164, 167, 271, 334 and n. 63
 importance, primacy, 7, 49, 56, 100–101 and nn. 60–62, 118, 163–167, 168, 202 and n. 31, 235, 238, 334, 339
 in *Judgement of Paris*, 345
 in origin of dance, 333–334
 range offered in Barcelona *Alcestis*, 275
 recognised in *Encyclopaedie* of Diderot, D'Alembert, 367 n. 13
 in rhetoric, pantomime, distinguished, compared, 5–6, 7–8, 164–165, 165–166, 281–282, 329
 in Roman theatrical tradition, 164, 166
 use to illustrate words of libretto, 166–167
 Gluck, association with Angiolini, 368
 Gnesippos, tragedian, writer of mimes, 152
 Goddesses
 Apuleius' description of, 356
 benevolent, portrayal of, 138–145
 in *Judgement of Paris*, 338–345

- Gods
 representation independently from language, 330
 see also Mythology and under individual divine persona
- Golden Ass, The, see Metamorphoses, Apuleius*
- Graham, Martha, production of ballet *Alcestis*, 376–377
- Greece, ancient
 fashion for culture of, in Rome, 5, 169, 170–172, 180–181
 mythology, tragedy:
 Augustus' predilection for, 170–172, 177–181
 primary source for pantomime themes, 3–4, 9, 22, 23, 93–100, 183–184, 188 and n. 12, 189–190, 321–327
 representation of language by pantomime techniques, 166–167
 studies in, associated with Protestant humanism, 372–373
- Greek Anthology*, epigrams in favour of pantomime dancing, 299
- Gregory of Nazianzus
 on erotic impact of dancers, 300 n. 55
 evidence on dancer's use of body, 289–290 nn. 12, 14
- Hadrian of Tyre (orator), techniques, 304–305 and n. 70, 307–308
- Hair, dancers' long, flowing, 67
- Halius, Phaeacian dancer, 10–11
- Hands, eloquence of dancers', 8, 163, 164, 167, 271, 334 and n. 63
- Harlequinades, in emergence of modern pantomime, 371
- Hats, dancers', 66–67, 68, 73–74
- Hector, representation of, 348
- Hecuba, representation of, 231, 252–253
- Helen
 representation of, 231, 253
 role danced by actress, 115
- Helladia (female dancer), praised by Leontius, 112 and n. 7
- Hellas (female dancer)
 age, 120–121, 145
 dates, 119 n. 28
 inscription, 23, 119
- Hephaestus, depiction in tragedy and pantomime compared, 95
- Herculeaneum
 theatre at, 14 n. 37
 wall paintings of *Alcestis* myths, 262
- Hercules (Heracles) (mythical figure)
 costume in *Frogs* (Aristophanes), 83
 plaque featuring struggle with Apollo, 179–180
 representation of, 82, 83, 183, 229–230
 theme:
 in early ballet, 373
 in pantomime, 245
- Hercules*, Ovid, monologues suited to pantomime, 276
- Hercules Furens*, Seneca
 depiction of Underworld in *Aeneid* and, compared, 246–248
 description of capture of Cerberus, 244, 249–252
 description of the Underworld in, 242–252
 favoured theme for pantomime, 31, 32
 pantomime characteristics, 221–222
 Pylades' use of gesture in, 347
- Hercules Mad*, Nero's performance in, 225
- Hercules Oetaeus*, Seneca, representation of Deianira in, 233–238, 256–257
- Herennius Rufus, arch-enemy of Apuleius, 342
- Herodes (orator), techniques, 307–308
- Herodotus, on insight of Pythia, 330
- Heroides*, Ovid
 arguments for, against performance as pantomime, 31, 208–209 and n. 33, 210, 211
 elegiac verse form, 210
 epistolary nature, 211
 pantomime themes derived from, 176, 190
- Hexameter, as dancing metre, 210
- Hieronymus, perception of pantomime, 289–290 nn. 11–12

- Hills, depiction in theatre, 338 and n. 2, 352, 353 and n. 47
- Hilverding, Franz
 contribution to emergence of ballet, 369, 373
 teacher of Garrick's wife, 372
- Histrion/histrionica*, use of term, 115, 131–132 and nn. 62, 66
- Histrionica Actica*, significance on Pompeian inscription, 130–134
- Histrionum litterae, histrionicae litterae*, texts for pantomimes, 29
- Holconii brothers, restoration of theatre in Pompeii, 14
- Holland, Philemon, translator of Suetonius' *Life of Domitian*, 363–364
- Homer
 significance of references in, for proof of age, 324 n. 29
 speech of Dio Chrysostom on, 325
see also Odyssey and individual characters
- Horace
 admiration for Greek culture, 180–181
 evidence on:
 origins of pantomime, 186–187
 theatrical performances, 204 n. 21
 fallacious claim to primacy in translation of Greek lyric, 208
 on literary status of mime, 186
 verse epistles, 208
- Horatii brothers, theme in entertainment at court of Louis XIV, 368
- Hortensius, dispute with Torquatus, 117–118 and n. 25, 288 and n. 7
- Hours, in *Judgement of Paris*, 338
- Hughes, Ted, ballet on *Tales from Ovid*, 376 and n. 42
- Hunger (*Fames*), representation of, 249
- Hydraulis (water organ)
 associated with cult of Dionysus, 28
 portable, dancer accompanied by, 2
 use in pantomime, 27–28
- Hylas of Salmakis (dancer)
 criticised by Pylades, 162–163, 166–167, 175–176
 dancing a *canticum*, 29
 in role of Oedipus, 160
 performing the phrase 'the great Agamemnon', 29, 158, 160, 162–163, 166–167
 evidence from Macrobius on, 158
 Greek speaker, 166
 Theoros declared victor over, 125, 349
- Hyperchios (dancer), target of curse, 52, 58–59 and nn. 46, 49
- Hypokrisis, hypokrinesthai*, in pantomime and oratory, 308 and n. 77
- Hyporchēma*, influence on development of pantomime, 333
- Iambics, Euripidean, evidence on familiarity with, 261–262
- Idomeneus, Cresilas' statue of, 334–335
- Immortality, sexual, attributed to acting profession, 25–26
- Imperial cult
 and Romanisation of 'sacred' games, 182
 spread of pantomime through, 181–183, 183–184
- Impersonation *see Mimēsis*
- Incense, use in pantomime, 25, 39, 85 and n. 51, 260–261, 274
- Indian dance, parallels with pantomime, 20, 38 n. 45, 100
- Infanticide, representation of, 273
- Inscriptions, nature of evidence from, 4–5, 11, 23, 28, 43–44 and n. 2, 110–145, 172, 349, 381, 396
- Intermezzi
 and emergent idiom of dance action, 366
 traditional techniques, 366
- Iphigeneia
 subject for mime, 24, 152
 theme in early ballet, 373
- Iphigenia in Tauris*, Euripides, burlesqued in Charition mime, 24
- Iphis, myth of, theme for pantomime, 214–215

- Isidora (*krotalistría*), evidence on acting as agent, 127 n. 52
- Isis, depiction in *Judgement of Paris*, 340
- Jacob of Sarugh
 assault on pantomime dancing, 38–40, 85–86, 210, 274
 evidence on:
 dancers' footwear, 67
 feminizing padding, 66 and n. 11
 popularity of myths of Apollo, 212
 theme of Aphrodite, 207 n. 27
 use of burnt spices, 274
 translation of, 412–419
- Japanese Noh
 parallels with pantomime, 45
 training in, 56
- Jerome, opposition to priests' knowledge of Virgil, 195
- John Chrysostom, perception of pantomime, 17 and n. 49, 25, 289 n. 11, 355 and n. 51
- Jonson, Ben, use of term pantomime, 371
- Jones, Sarah, performance in *Women can't wait*, 76, 78
- Josephus, evidence from, on female dancers, 116–117 and n. 20
- Judgement of Paris*, Apuleius
 absence of libretto, 343–344, 359, 361
 audience reaction to, 339–340
 concept of, as 'meta-pantomime', 357–358, 362
 dance in, 35–36, 121 and n. 38, 144
 divergences from normal pantomime, 339–345 and n. 4, 357–358, 361–362
 emphasis on display of beauty, 357–358
 identification of role and actor in, 346–350, 351–360
 modern ballet based on, 375
 representation of Cupids, 338, 339, 349, 350, 355
 setting, 338–339
 suitability for solo performance, 351–352
 use of fragrant spices in performance, 274
see also Lucius
- Judgment of Paris, popularity of theme, 19, 35–37, 351, 375
- Julia Nemesis, *saltatrix*, 117
- Julian, evidence on Antiochene culture, 18
- Julian line, Venus as mother of, 179 and n. 49
- Julius Caesar, admiration for mime actors, 189 n. 13
- Juno, depiction in *Judgement of Paris* 144, 339, 353
- Justinian, admiration for mime actors, 189 n. 13
- Juvenal
 extract from, 385
 on popularity of Alcestis myths, 261
 on writing for the stage, 159–160
 perception of pantomime, 44, 160, 289 n. 11
- Kafka, *Metamorphosis*, 1989 production, 210 n. 44
- Karamallos (dancer), evidence on, 111 and n. 4, 112, 127
- Kathak, Kathakali
 parallels with pantomime, 20, 38 n. 100 45, 47–48
 role transformation in, 48
 technique for rising intensity, 50 n. 26
 training methods, 54–55 and n. 40, 56 and n. 41
- Kitharōidia* (singing epic to lyre), rival genre, 34
- Knossos, eating children, representation of, 347 n. 24
- Kos, evidence from, 36–37 and n. 98
- Laberius
 contribution to status of mime, 186 and n. 2, 188 n. 12
 plays on Homeric themes, 196–197
- Lactantius, on Zeus' appearance to Danae, 321
- Language, barriers overcome by gesture, 166–167, 168, 328–329

- Lanthanein*, use of term, 318–319 and n. 14
- Laodamas, Phaeacian dancer, 10–11
- Latinus (dancer)
praise for, 143 n. 94
style, 144
- L'Aulnaye, De, work on history of dance, 374–375
- Leda, seduction of, use of pallium in representation of, 47
- Leonardi, Marco, participation in modern performance of *Alcestis*, 266
- Leontius, praise of female dancer, 112
- Lesbonax of Mytilene, on dancers' use of hands, 163
- L'Euridice*, Rinuccini and Peri, 364
- Libanius
admiration for pantomime, 17, 18, 61, 84, 110–111, 299, 315
background in Antioch, 17–18
comments on:
audience perceptions, 52, 71, 72, 79 n. 37, 83
dancer's use of body, 289–290 nn. 12–13
educational value of pantomime, 96, 293
length of robe, 64, 82
pantomime as art form, 78, 161
pantomime structure, 229–230
popularity of Hercules as theme for pantomime, 245
presence of female dancers, 110–111 and n. 3
role transformation, 68–69 and nn. 17, 19
training of dancers, 53–54
skills of solo dancer, 352
use of *scabellum*, 67
defence of:
dancer's robe, 64–65
pantomime libretti, 276
disapproval of Christianity, 18
extracts from, 396–398
rediscovery of *Reply to Aristides on Behalf of the Dancers*, 365 n. 8
use of myths of Proteus, 321
- Libretti
absence from *Judgement of Paris*, 343–344
for dancers, pantomime dancers, distinguished, 159
demand for, 258–259
evidence on:
Greek mythological themes, 174–177, 177, 183
integral nature of music, singing, 28–29
language barrier overcome by pantomime techniques, 166–167, 168
paucity, failure to survive, 158, 161–162, 260
sources, characteristics, 29–33, 158
surviving Barcelona papyrus, 33;
see also Alcestis
perceptions of literary value, 159–161, 345 and n. 19
Romanisation of Greek classics, 184
sources, in tragedy and epic, 245
stylistic features expected of pantomime, 276–282
variety of performance styles, 259
verse form, 29–30
Vienna papyrus, 32–33 and n. 91
- Licina Eucharis *see* Eucharis
- Life of Domitian*, Suetonius, translation by Holland, 363–364
- Livy
on position of dance in Roman society, 172, 174 n. 27
on performance of Atellan farce, 159
- Longinus
comparison of pantomime, rhetoric, 291 n. 24
on enslavement of listener to oratory, 319
- Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, characteristics of dance in, 35
- Louis XIV, support of expressive ballet, 366
- Love, power of, theme in tragedy, sarcophagi and pantomime, 95, 96
- Lucan, pantomime libretti written by, 29, 160

- Lucian
 areas for future study, 365 n. 8
 as sophist, 300 and n. 57
Dialogues of the Gods, 365
 influence on John Weaver, 369
 insight given by, 315
On Dancing:
 Angiolini's use of, 368
 arrangement of pantomime topics,
 360–361
 authenticity, 301 and n. 56
 background, 301–302 and n. 61,
 304 n. 67
 extracts from, 391–396
 origins, composition, 17 and n. 48,
 299 n. 30
 personal reaction to pantomime,
 304 and n. 67
 polemical nature, 35
 post-Renaissance popularity,
 365–366 and n. 8
 rediscovery, 364–366
 use by L'Aulnaye, 374
*for detailed comment on individual
 aspects of pantomime, see On
 Dancing*
True Histories, popularity, 365
- Lucilius
 epigram attributed to, 401–402
 on failed performance, 263–264, 348
 on use of *poema*, 215–216
 verse epistles, 208
- Lucius
 in Apuleius' *Judgement of Paris*:
 depiction of, 340, 349, 350 n. 34,
 358, 361–362
 role as actor, auctor, 353–354 and n.
 46, 358, 359–360 and n. 60
- Ludi saeculares* see Secular Games
- Lugdunum (Lyons), pantomime in, 19
- L'Ulisse errante*, dance spectacle in, 366
- Lully, operas, role of solo dancer in, 367
- Lycinus
 in Lucian's *On Dancing*:
 dance apology, 299–304, 316–320
 on 'clarity', 331–332
 on singing, 28–29
 representation of Proteus, 321–327
- Lycus, in Seneca's *Hercules Furens*, 244
- Lyre, use in pantomime, 26
- Macedonia
 female dancer in Antioch, 112 n. 8
 female dancer in Vandal Africa,
 112 n. 8, 115, 121
- Macrobius
 comment on:
 libretti, 158
 Pylades, 170, 175–176
 pantomime derived from Virgil,
 195
 performance of Dido and
 Aeneas, 30
 themes favoured in Augustan
 pantomime, 175–176
 extracts from, 399–401
- Maecenas, admiration for Bathyllus, 10,
 170 and n. 1, 189 n. 13
- Manilius
 admiration for pantomime dancing,
 299
 evidence on mime, pantomime, 149,
 190
- Margarito, mime actress, 121 n. 38
- Mark Antony
 admiration for mime actors, 189 n. 13
 lover of Cytheris, 192
- Marriage ceremonies
 association of Venus with, 351 n. 37
 use of pyrrhic dances in, 351 n. 36
- Mars
 and Venus:
 combined in pediment of temple of
 Mars, 179
 in Weaver's *Judgement of Paris*, 369
 theme in early ballet, 375
- Martial, reference to pantomime text, 29
- Masks
 closed mouth:
 distinctive, in pantomime 3, 10, 21,
 67, 68, 89, 91–92, 158, 344
 use by actresses, 112 and n. 7
 depiction of, associated with
 Polymnia, 37, 92
 evidence from Athenian, on use of
 hats, 66–67

- evidence on
 from Aphrodisias *Sebasteion*, 180–181
 from Orange medallion, 2 n. 4
 from Trier ivory plaque 19–20, 63, 65, 66–67, 270
 pantomime, tragic distinguished, 21, 92, 158
 particular use in role transformation, 3, 10, 21, 47, 69–74, 265, 345–346
 Pylades' use of, 10
 significance of use or non-use, 48–49, 55 and n. 39, 339, 343–346 and n. 17
 use:
 in mime, 187 and n. 9
 in role transformation, 47, 69–74, 76, 229, 265, 267–270, 345–346
- Massinger, Philip, *The Roman Actor*, Paris the dancer in, 364
- Maternity, traditional signals for, 272
- Maternus (Firmicius)
 evidence on performance of Virgil's works, 194–195
 perception of pantomime, 289 n. 11
- Maximus of Tyre
 on boundaries between philosopher and his speech, 325–326
 on knowledge required of orator, 331
 on representation of the gods, 330
 representation of Proteus, 322
- Medallions
 evidence from:
 as source, 2 and n. 3, 4, 63
 Contorniate, 65
 on dancers' robe, 64–65
 on dancers' scarf, 65
 Kos, 36–37 and n. 98
 Orange, 2 and n. 3, 4, 63, 64–65, 267
- Medea (mythical figure)
 favoured theme:
 for modern classical ballet, 372
 for sarcophagi and pantomime, 93
 representation, 233–238, 255–256
- Medea*, lost tragedy by Ovid, 200, 203
- Medea*, Euripides, inspiration for early ballet, 373
- Medea*, Seneca
 absence of lengthy narrative, 238
 pantomime characteristics, 221–222, 222–223 and n. 16
 representation of *Medea* in, 233–238, 255–256
- Megalesian games, representation of Catullus 63, at, 190
- Meleager
 myths of:
 favoured theme for sarcophagi and pantomime, 93
 Ovid's representation of Althaea and, 213–214
- Ménéstrier, Claude, treatise on ballet, 367
- Messengers
 representation of, 22
 speeches:
 in classic Greek tragedy, 239 and n. 25, 240–241
 in Seneca's tragedies, 239–241
- Metamorphosis
 integral to pantomime, 360–361; *see also* Role transformation
 main theme of *Judgement of Paris*, 362
 popular theme in Hellenistic period, 323–324 and n. 27
- Metamorphoses*, Apuleius, characteristics, 35, 121, 144, 343
- Metamorphoses*, Ovid
 dating of, 216 n. 57
 myths of transformation, 323, 360–361
 performance as pantomime, 30–31, 39, 176, 209–216 and nn. 40, 44, 57, 323 n. 28
 visual appeal, 30
- Metamorphosis*, Kafka, 1989 production, 210 n. 44
- Mima*, in designation of female dancer, 115
- Mimas/meimas*, use of term, 115 n. 17
- Mime
 association with comedy, 24, 185–187
 bravura associated with pantomime, 10, 12
 characteristics, 185

- Mime (*cont.*)
 concept of, as allied medium, 5
 dancing in, 187–188 and n. 11
 designation of actresses in, 115,
 121–122 n. 38
 as genre, pantomime distinguished,
 compared, 8, 24, 121–122 n.
 38, 146–153, 185–190,
 200–201, 368
 influence on development of
 pantomime, 333 n. 58
 intermission entertainment, 122 n. 39
 lewdness associated with, 24, 201
 literary status, 186 and n.2
 perception of, as lowbrow
 entertainment, 188–189
 and n. 12
 popularity in Italy, 12
 powerful men favouring actors,
 actresses, 189 n. 13
 spoken, contrasted with silent
 pantomime, 24
 status of actors, actresses, 188–189
 subject matter, 188 and n. 11–12
 techniques of, used in pantomime, 10
 use of masks in, 187–188 and n. 9
 women in, 12
- Mimēsis*
 in Apuleius' *Judgement of Paris*, 362
 in pantomime, rhetoric, 320–327
 Lycinus' use of, 316
 use of term, 320 and n. 20
- Minerva, depiction in *Judgement of Paris*, 144, 339, 353, 355
- Mnester (dancer), anticipating death of Caligula, 347–348
- Morbus* (Disease)
 association with pantomime, 317, 319
 representation of, 249
- Mount Ida, depiction in *Judgement of Paris*, 353
- Murena, desigated 'saltator' by Cato, 123 n. 42
- Muses, depiction on Roman sarcophagus, 92
- Music
 chorus, choruses
 accompaniment to dancer,
 270–271
- character in *Trojan Women* of Seneca, and Euripides, 231, 252–253
 contemporary evidence on, 25, 26, 150
 importance of words rendered by, 221–222
 integral to pantomime, 16, 28–29, 97, 143 n. 93, 270, 271, 339
 mixed-gender, 110
 opponents, 25–26
see also Libretti
- impact of rising intensity, 50–51 and n. 26
- in *Judgement of Paris*, 345
- instruments:
 condemned by Church Fathers, 25–26
 contemporary evidence, 16, 25–26
 diversity expounded by L'Aulnaye, 375
see also individual instruments, techniques
- integral to performance, 7, 50, 59, 306, 333, 334, 339
- variety, 3
- Myth, Lucian's rational explanation of, 320–321
- Mythology, ancient
 in sarcophagi and, compared 92–97
 inspiration for:
 early modern ballet, 372
 opera, 9
 derived from ancient texts, 333–334
 education in, through pantomime, 6
 evidence of benevolent goddess roles, 140 nn. 87–88, 141, 143
 primary source for pantomime, 3–4, 8–9, 10–11, 22–23, 30–33, 38, 46–47, 93–100 and n. 12, 140 n. 87, 160, 161–162, 173, 174–177, 188 and n. 12, 189–190, 321–327, 332–333, 346 n. 22
 origins in eastern empire, 169, 171–172
 Roman rather than Greek, 170–172, 345–346 and n. 22
 use for mime, 188 and n. 11

- Naples, significance of sarcophagus from, 106, 107
- Narbo (Narbonne), pantomime performances in, 19
- Narrator, role of, integral to performance, 28–29
- Navarro, Juan Esquivel, treatise on dancing, 366
- Neptolemus, use of *poema* criticised, 215
- Nero
 admiration for mime actors, 189 n. 13
 designated *hieronica*, 131–132 n. 66
 enthusiasm for dance, 152–153
 passion for pantomime, 114, 131–132 and n. 66, 152–153, 160, 189 n. 13, 224–225, 345–346 and n. 21, 347 and n. 26, 348–349, 359, 361
- Nessus, representation of, 229
- Nicander, collection of myths of transformation, 323
- Niobe
 representation of, 263, 323
 story of:
 in decoration in *Area Apollinis*, 179
 in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 179
 theme in pantomime, 179, 183
- Noh, Japaense
 parallels with pantomime, 45
 training in, 56
- Nomius of Syria (dancer)
 criticised, 52
 defeat by Theoros, 125, 349
- Nonius, evidence from, on mythology in mime, 188 n. 12
- Nonnus
 admiration for pantomime dancing, 299
 description of dance of Muses, 37
 extract from, 399
- North Africa
 presence of female dancers in, 112
 proliferation of theatres in, 7
- Novatian
 comment on:
 erotic impact of dancers, 300 n. 55
 noise of pantomime, 27
 perception of pantomime, 289–290 nn. 11–12
- Noverre, Jean Georges
Admete, 373
Agamemnon vengé, 373
 dramatic choreographer, 371
Iphigénie en Tauride, 373
Iphigenia in Aulide, 373
La Mort d'Hercule, 373
Les Amours d'Enée et de Didon 373
Les Danaïdes, 373
Letters on Dancing, 372
 pupil of Louis Dupré, 371 and n. 27
 significance in history of ballet, 20, 372–373
The Judgement of Paris, 373
- Novius, contribution to status of Atellan comedy, 185–186
- Numidia *see* Algeria
- Octopus, significance of Proteus' connection with, 326–327 and n. 38
- Odysseus
 echoes of, in references to octopus, 326–327
 plight of, a theme in pantomime, 179, 183
 representation of, 259
- Odyssey*, Homer
 early operas inspired by, 366
 reference to transformations of gods, 327 n. 38
- Oedipus (mythical figure), pantomime themes derived from, 175–176 and n. 31, 183
- Oedipus*, Seneca
 favoured theme for pantomime, 31
 representation of Oedipus in, 233–238, 256
- Oedipus Blinded*, Nero's performance in, 225
- Oedipus the Exile*, Nero's performance in, 225, 347 n. 26
- Oedipus Rex*, Euripides, pantomime themes derived from, 175–176
- Oeneus, representation of, 229
- Old Age, representation of, 249
- On Dancing*
 Angiolini's use of, 368

On Dancing (cont.)

- arrangement of pantomime topics, 360–361
- authenticity, 301 and n. 56
- background, 301–302 and n. 61, 304 n. 67
- comment on:
 - areas for future study, 365 n. 8
 - arguments of Lycinus, Crato summarised, 316–320
 - athleticism of dancers, 51
 - characteristics, 35, 299–304 and nn. 51–67
 - comprehensibility of genre, 7–8
 - dancers' robe, 65
 - dancer's use of body, 289–290 nn. 12–14
 - defence of pantomime, 61, 95, 110
 - demonstration, signification, 315, 320, 327–331
 - difference between dancers and tragic actors, 80–81 and n. 39, 84
 - effect of pantomime on audience, 355–356
 - effeminizing power of pantomime 295–296
 - emphasis on portrayal of violent emotion, 224 n. 17
 - importance of gesture, 163–164
 - knowledge required of dancers, 93, 160–161, 220, 242, 331
 - masks, 67, 265
 - mimēsis*, 315, 320–327
 - pantomime as art form, 78
 - pantomime structure, 229
 - presence of female dancers, 110–111 and n. 3
 - qualities required of dancer, 102
 - qualities required of music, poetry in pantomime, 276
 - reasons for appeal of pantomime, 7–8
 - role transformation 48, 68–69
 - skills of rhetoric, pantomime, 35
 - solo nature of pantomime, 129, 361
 - texts for pantomime, 29
 - themes for pantomime, 171 n. 5, 190, 245, 261, 263–264
 - use of feminizing padding, 66 n. 11

- use of masks, 69, 70–71 and n. 22–23
- versatility of solo performer, 346
- extracts from, 391–396
- origins, composition, 17 and n. 48, 299 n. 30
- polemical nature, 35
- rediscovery, 364–366
- significance, 299–304
- use by L'Aulnaye, 374

Opera

- influence of ancient tragic singers
 - on emergence, 365
- intermezzi, development, 366–367
- role of dance within, 367–368
- themes drawn from ancient mythology, 9

Oppius (*embolarius*)

- invective against, 123 n. 42
- source of evidence on, 123 n. 42

Orange (France)

- medallion:
 - depiction of water organ, 28
 - evidence from, 2 and n. 3, 4, 63, 64–65, 267

Orators

- actors compared, 289–290 and nn. 11–13, 331–336 and n. 50
- adoption of extravagant costume, 308–309 and nn. 81–82
- concepts of impact on spectator, 319
- cultural interrelation of sophists, pantomime dancers, 304–312, 315
- differences between gesture in pantomime and, 29
- techniques of pantomime and, distinguished, compared, 21 n. 65, 34–35, 100, 102–103, 164–165, 276 and n. 38, 281–282, 287–291 and nn. 3–4, 6, 302–303, 315–316

Orchēsis, perception of, as art form, 302 and n. 62*Orchēstriaī*, pantomimes described as, 115, 116–117, 315*Orchēstris*, in designation of female dancers, 115–116

- Orestes, pursued by Furies, use of
pallium in representation of,
47
- Orestes the Matricide*, Nero's
performance in, 225, 347 n. 26
- Orpheus and Eurydice*, John Weaver's
presentation of, 369, 370, 371
- Ovid
Ars Amatoria, offence caused by, 199,
204, 205–207 and n. 24
awareness of performance of Virgil,
217 and n. 58
choice of myths of transformation,
323
emphasis on popularity of
pantomime, 203
eulogising of Augustus in exilic works,
205 n. 23, 216
evidence from, on dancing by mime
actors, 188 n. 11
in exile:
claims about appeal of poetry,
203–204 and nn. 19–20
continuing fame during, 205 n. 23,
216–217
self-justification to Augustus,
199–203
extracts from:
Remedies for Love, 381
Tristia, 198, 381–382
Hercules, monologues suited to
pantomime, 276
Heroides, arguments for, against use in
pantomime, 30–31, 179,
208–209 and n. 33, 211
influence on Barcelona *Alcestis*, 279
on erotic impact of dancers, 300 n. 55
on literary status of mime, 186
lost tragedy *Medea*, 200, 203
Metamorphoses:
dating of, 216 n. 57
performance as pantomime, 30–31,
39, 176, 206–216 and nn. 40,
44, 57
visual appeal, 30
poetry, performance as pantomime,
30–31 and nn. 39, 86–87, 160,
176, 188 n. 12, 190
reference to '*Musa iocosa*', 141–142
- Tristia*:
extracts from, 198, 381–382
reference to stage presentation of
works, 198, 217
Venus Placida honoured by, 144
- Padding, feminizing
Lucian's disgust at, 66 n. 11
possible use, 66 and n. 7
- Painting
affinities between visual techniques
of pantomime and, 332–333,
334–335
concept of, as independent from
language, 329
- Palatine, Greek myth in ornamentation
of, 179
- Palladas, poem describing failure of
dancer, 264 n. 13
- Pallium* see Scarf
- Palm leaf, evidence on, from Orange
medallion, 2 n. 4
- Panarete (actress)
Aristainetos' letter to, 111, 112 n. 4,
144
roles as benevolent goddess, 140 nn.
87–88, 144–145
student of Karamallos, 127
- Panpipes, use in pantomime, 26
- Pantomime (genre)
adaptability in different venues, 16
affinities with
art, drama, 85–86, 315–316,
332–333, 334–335
funerary sculpture, 22–23; see also
Sarcophagi
religion, 85, 330
rhetoric, 331–336
and rhetoric, distinguished,
compared, 5–6, 7–8, 34–35,
100, 102–103, 164–165, 276
and n. 38, 281–282, 287–291
and nn. 3–4, 6, 302–303,
304–312, 315–316, 319, 329,
331–336
appeal to all social classes, 33–35, 174,
201–202, 292–294
Apuleius' emphasis on artificiality of
situations, 357–358, 359–360

- Pantomime (genre) (*cont.*)
- archaic games and, compared, distinguished, 172–174
 - areas for future study, 38–40
 - association with Italy, 157–158
 - at Pompeii, 1 and n. 1, 13–14, 65, 111–145
 - attempts to ban, 6, 159 n. 9
 - centrality in Greek, Roman culture, 6–83
 - characteristics, concepts of:
 - educational value, 6
 - focus on emotion, 229, 263–264
 - noisiness, 27; *see also Scabellum*
 - representation of passion, frenzy, 224 and nn. 17–18, 233–238
 - role transformation, 3, 10, 37, 47, 48, 66 and n. 11, 68–77, 158, 212, 220 and n. 11, 229, 265, 267–270, 341, 346
 - shared with tragic theatre, 4, 8, 292–293; *see also* subject matter *below*
 - summarised 3, 4, 110–111, 157–158, 209, 220, 314, 359
 - theatrical, spectacular effects, 229, 242
 - use of human body as medium, 45–46, 50–51, 300 n. 55, 309–310, 314, 328; *see also* Gesture, Pantomime (dancer)
 - versatility of solo dancer, 10, 46–49, 158, 220 and n. 11, 339, 341, 346–347, 351–352
 - concepts of educational value 96, 293–294, 299–300
 - connection with religious reform 174
 - connection with song 333, 334
 - contribution to:
 - classical ballet, 8–9 and n. 14, 51, 302, 363–367
 - dance theatre, 2, 5, 8–9, 363–377
 - modern dance, opera, 5, 8, 363–377
 - costume, transcendental quality, 84–86; *see also* Costume
 - dating of introduction, 170, 186–187
 - dawn of public awareness of ancient, 367
 - demise, 4, 40
 - emotional impact, 3–4, 6–8,, 10, 20 and n. 63, 50–52, 157, 285–287, 294–295 and n. 36
 - evidence on:
 - dispersed, fragmentary nature, 4–7 and n. 7, 12–13, 63, 90–91, 147–153, 338
 - in ephrastic epigrams, 316–317, 336
 - from inscriptions, 4–5, 11, 23, 28, 43–44 and n. 2, 110–145, 172, 349, 381, 396
 - from proliferation of theatres, 7
 - presentation, 150
 - significance of Lucian's *On Dancing*, 299–304; *see also* *On Dancing and individual sources*
 - incorporation into official events, Games 17, 30, 124 n. 43, 170–172, 172–174 and n. 22, 181 and n. 59, 182–183, 190
 - 'interval' performances, 270
 - libretti *see* Libretti
 - medium for Romanization of Greek culture, 5, 7–8
 - mime, as genre, distinguished, compared, 8, 24, 121–122 n. 38, 146–153, 185–190, 200–201, 368
 - modern, 371
 - musical accompaniment *see* Music
 - noise associated with, 26, 27; *see also* *Scabellum*
 - origins, development, 9–12, 46, 185–188
 - parallels with modern dance forms, 45
 - perceptions of:
 - ambivalence, 34, 102–103, 103–104, 173, 285–287, 316
 - among Church Fathers, 25–26, 38–40, 44, 3355–356 and n. 51, 361
 - among scholars, 294
 - as corrupting, 355–356 and n. 51
 - as dance form, 46–60
 - as immodest, lascivious, 21–22, 142–143 and n. 92, 189, 300 n. 55

- as lowbrow entertainment, 34, 202, 287–291, 292
- as promoting effeminacy, 34, 44, 47, 60 and n. 11, 188–190, 289 and n. 11, 295 and n. 41, 317, 310, 342–343
- as promoting sexual, erotic themes, 3–4, 11, 34, 44, 199 and n. 1, 200 n. 7, 210, 289 n. 10, 309, 311 n. 87
- in England and France, 302 and n. 63
- in Greek world, 3, 172, 300 nn. 54–55
- importance for prose fiction, 35–36
- interrelation of poetry, acting in, 193–194
- performance:
 - dramatic force of rhythmic beat, 26–27 and n. 50, 67–68, 74, 100
 - pacing, 97, 99–100
 - presentation of sarcophagi and, compared, 97–101
 - primacy of dance over poetry, 161–162
 - primacy of gesture, *see* Gesture
 - representation of statues, 270
- political significance, 9
- production in eastern empire, 116 n. 21
- recent studies, 4–5 and n. 7
- rediscovery:
 - described, 363–368
 - recognised in *Encyclopaedie of Diderot, D'Alembert*, 367 n. 13
 - through antiquarian scholarship, 367–368
 - through *balli* in opera, 365–367
 - through knowledge of Lucian, 364–365
 - through work of Ménestrier, 367
- relationship between visuality and text:
 - emphasis on demonstration and signification, 315, 320, 327–331
 - Lycinus' exploration of, 316–320
 - postulated, 29–31, 314
 - in rhetoric, visual arts compared, 331–336
 - relationship with myth, 322–323; *see also* Mythology
- representation of personal identity on sarcophagi and, 102–107
- rivals to popularity of, 34
- role of assistant dancers, 2, 3, 16, 47 n. 16, 267–268, 270, 274, 275, 339, 341
- roles of choir and narrator, 28–29, 158
- seductive power of beauty, 84–86
- significant terminology, 11, 12, 23–24, 114–118, 122–134, 341
- socio-cultural significance, 9, 33–35
- sound effects, contemporary evidence on, 25
- subject matter:
 - benevolent goddess roles, 140 nn. 87–88, 141, 143
 - in sarcophagi and, compared, 22–23, 92–97
 - derived from ancient texts, 333–334
 - Greek mythology, tragedy, 3–4 and n. 7, 8–9, 10–11, 22–23, 30–33, 38, 46–47, 62, 93–100 and n. 36, 140 n. 87, 160, 161–162, 173, 174–177, 188 and n. 12, 189–190, 220 n. 12, 263, 292–293, 332–333, 346 n. 22
 - origins in eastern empire, 169, 171–172
 - Roman rather than Greek, 170–172, 345–346 and n. 22
- techniques:
 - codes, stereotypes, 72 and n. 26, 236–237, 270, 272, 273, 346–347 and n. 24, 352
 - shared with other arts, 332–333
 - in tragic theatre distinguished, 76–77, 77–79, 80
 - see also individual aspects, e.g.* Gesture
- use of burnt spices, incense, to augment impact, 25, 39, 85 and n. 51, 260–261, 274
- widespread appeal, 2, 5–6, 12, 16–19, 116 n. 21, 181–183 and n. 60, 183–184, 203, 261, 299, 311 n. 87

- Pantomime dancers
- absence of personal testimony, 20
 - accident of gesticulation, 347 n. 24
 - attempts to ban, 6, 159 n. 9
 - attributes described in poem in *Latin Anthology*, 276
 - body attributes:
 - evidence on use of, 290 n. 15
 - eyes, 48 and n. 20, 199 and n. 4, 200, 201 and n. 10, 207 and n. 30, 235 and n. 21
 - flowing hair, 67
 - hands, 8, 164, 167, 271, 334 and n. 63
 - importance, 348 and n. 30
 - of actresses. suitability for role, 348 and n. 30
 - of orators and, compared, 289–290 and nn. 11–13
 - reference to, in *Barcelona Papyrus*, 275
 - cultural interrelation with sophists, 304–312
 - display of paintings of, 78–79
 - emotional impact:
 - and identification with role, 346–350, 359
 - evidence on, 3–4, 6
 - furthered by interaction with audience, 47–48 and n. 16, 59–60; *see also* Audiences
 - stereotypes, epic similes, 236–237
 - through skill at portraying changing emotions, 213–214
 - wide range, 274
 - evaluation by audiences, 52–53
 - honours conferred on, 2
 - interchange of male, female representations, 48
 - knowledge required of, 93, 160–161, 220, 242, 331
 - moral qualities:
 - alleged immodesty, 21–22
 - attacked, 44–45, 342
 - defended, 44
 - number of roles expected of, 265
 - opposition to upper-class intermarriage with, 113–114
 - origins, 2, 54, 57–60
 - personal perspectives, 57–60
 - popularity in Nero's time, 224 and n. 19
 - qualities:
 - range of those required, 102
 - in relationship of pantomime and sarcophagi, 102–107
 - relationship with costume, 79–84, 86, 306; *see also* Costume
 - representation of:
 - natural, supernatural beings, 322–327
 - personal identity by sarcophagi and, 102–107
 - rewards, 2
 - significant terminology, 11, 12, 23–24, 114–118, 122–134, 341
 - silence contrasted with mimetic speech, 24
 - social status, 43 and n. 1, 102–103, 113–114, 188–189, 287–291
 - statutes of, 2
 - techniques:
 - alteration of movement with static pose, 50–51
 - described, 4, 6, 39–40
 - gestures *see* Gesture
 - orators distinguished *see* Oratory
 - range of, 49–52
 - see also* Role transformation
 - training, 53–54
 - travels, 2
 - troupes, 131–132 and n. 66, 133–134, 274
 - wealth and celebrity, 20
 - see also* Actresses, Dance, Pantomime (genre) and individual performers
- Pantomimos/pantomimus/Pantomima/pantomimae*
- as understood by Holland, Massinger, 364
 - in designation of female dancers, 115–116, 117, 121, 341 and n. 7
 - use of titles, 3, 11–12, 46, 114, 115–116, 121, 129–130, 186, 289 n. 9, 341 and n. 7, 369–371
- Paridion, child dancer, 54

- Paris (mythical figure)
 representation in *Judgement of Paris*,
 144, 339, 353, 358
see also Judgement of Paris
- Paris (pantomime dancer)
 funeral oration, 305 n. 70
 Jacobean interest in, 364
 performance of theme of Aphrodite
 and Ares, 207 n. 29
- Parrhasius (painter), conversation with
 Socrates, 329
- Parthenopaeus
 dancer, travels in Gaul, 2 and n. 4
 evidence on, from Orange medallion,
 260
 water organ, 28
- Pasiphae, subject of mime, pantomime,
 36, 351, 352, 358, 361
- Pathos*, representation of, 329–330
- Pegasus, depiction in Temple of Mars
 Ultor, 179–180
- Pelagia, S, mime actress Margarito,
 121 n. 38
- Pentheus *see* Dionysus
- Perfume, burning of, to augment
 impact, 25, 39, 85 and n. 51,
 260–261, 274
- Peri, Jacopo, role in emergence of opera,
 364
- Pericles, reference to eloquence, 331
- Personification, of abstractions, Seneca's
 techniques, 248–249
- Petronius
 evidence on singing in pantomime, 29
 first use of term *histrion* for
 pantomime, 131
 fragments of pantomime in work of, 30
- Phaedra (mythical figure)
 favoured theme for sarcophagi and
 pantomime, 93
 representation on ornate couch,
 271 n. 29
 sinister stepmother, 140 n. 88
- Phaedra*, Seneca
 favoured theme for pantomime, 31
 pantomime characteristics, 223 and
 n. 16
 representation of Phaedra in, 233–238,
 254
- Phaedrus, theatrical performance,
 perhaps pantomime, 149–150
- Pheres *see* Admetus' father
- Philip, admirer of mime actors,
 189 n. 13
- Philip of Macedon
 assassination, 347–348
- Philo
Embassy to Gaius, on use of costume
 as prop, 73–7 and n. 304
 on Caligula's theatricals, 150–152
 on dancing by mime actors,
 188 n. 11
- Philodemus
 treatise on rhetoric, reference to
 octopus, 327
 on use of *poema*, 215
- Philonides, libretto for Bathyllus, 160
- Philostratus
 on dancer's use of body, 290 n. 14
 on interrelation of pantomime,
 rhetoric, 304–305, 308 n. 77,
 309 n. 81
 on sophists, 311 n. 86
- Phoebe Vocontia (*emboliaria*)
 dates, 128 n. 55
 evidence on, 123, 128–130, 145
 inscription, 128, 129
 origins, 128 n. 54
 techniques, 129–130
- Phoenissae*, Euripides, pantomime
 themes derived from, 175–176
- Phoenissae*, Seneca, absence of lengthy
 narrative, 238
- Photis, depiction in *Judgement of Paris*,
 340, 350 n. 34
- Physiognomy, concept of, as independent
 from language, 329
- Pierus of Tabur, Tivoli, Theoros declared
 victor over, 125, 349
- Pindar, reference to octopus, 325–326,
 327
- Plato
 on impact of works of poets, artists,
 319 and n. 15, 321, 325
 on Proteus, 321, 323
- Pliny
 comment on effeminate singing, 29
 evidence on Galeria Copiola, 123–124

- Pliny (elder), on dancer in toga, 149, 170–171
- Plotinus
 admiration for pantomime dancing, 299
 comparison of dance to heavenly movements, 57–58
 on representation of the gods, 330
- Ploutogenes
 dancer in Priene, 1, 11
 first use of title *pantomimos*, 114
- Plutarch
 comment on static poses, 51, 99–100
 designation of *mima* Cytheris, 115
 extract from, 384
 on gesture in pantomime, 328
 perception of pantomime, 49
Sympotic Questions, use by
 L'Aulnaye, 374
- Poema*, *poemata*, use of terms, 214–216 and n. 55
- Poetry, poets
 need of noble patronage, 159–160
 pantomime libretti written by, 160–161; *see also individual poets, works*
- Pollux, on dancer's use of body, 290 nn. 13–14
- Polymnia, Polyhymnia
 as Muse of Pantomime, 37
 eloquence of hands, 164
 role danced by actress, 111–112
- Polyxena, representation of, 231, 232, 242, 253
- Pompeii
 club of *Paridiani*, 125 and n. 45
 evidence on pantomime from, 12–16, 81 n. 40, 111–145, 130–134, 134–137 and nn. 70–78, 262, 381
 performance in c. AD 20, 1 and n. 1
 performance of Seneca's *Agamemnon*, 31 and n. 89
 possible Indian statuette, 38 n. 100
 Purpurio's tavern, 125 n. 45
 variety and size of venues 13–16
- Pompey, dedicatory games, return of aged actors to, 124 n. 43
- Pomponius, contribution to status of Atellan comedy, 185–186
- Pontus, comment on masks attributed to, 265
- Porphyry, treatise on statues, 335
- Posidippus, on eloquence of works of art, 334–335, 336
- Priene, inscription from, honouring Zosimus, 380–381
- Procne, representation of 140 n. 88, 273
- Procopius of Gaza
 on child dancers, 120–121
 on erotic impact of dancers, 300 n. 55
 perception of pantomime, 289–290 n. 12
- Propertius
 prediction of fame after death, 204 n. 19
 verse epistles, 208
- Props
 evidence on use of, 21–22, 73 n. 28
 integral to identification of character, 72–73 and n. 28
 range offered in Barcelona *Alcestis*, 270, 271, 275
 use of costume as 22, 66, 68, 74–75
- Proteus
 as figure for poet, 322 n. 26
 Lucian's representation of, 320–327, 361
 significance of connection with octopus, 326–327
 significance of Libanius' references to, 68, 71–72 and n. 24
- Psalteries, use in pantomime music, 26
- Psyche, representation of, 350
- Ptolemy II Philadelphus, admiration for mime actors, 189 n. 13
- Publius
 contribution to status of mime, 186
 influence on Seneca, 229 n. 6
- Pudor* (Shame), Seneca's representation of, 249
- Pygmalion*, Marie Sallé, 371
- Pylades
 background, origins, 10, 157
 credited with introduction of noisy accompaniment, 27

- criticism of Hylas, 162–163, 166–167, 175–176
- dancing style, 10, 347
- dating of career, 186
- emotional responses to, 4
- evidence on, 189 n. 13
- exile from Rome, recall, 170
- Greek speaker, 166
- in role of Agamemnon, 162
- in role of Heracles, 66, 73, 82, 160, 176
- lost treatise on pantomime, 20
- objective of indivisibility between actor and role, 349
- performance at Pompeii, 1 and n. 2
- relationship with Augustus, 10, 157, 170, 189 n. 13, 202–203
- role in emergence of pantomime, 10, 46, 114, 118
- skilful use of hands, 163–164, 334
- themes favoured by, 33
- Theoros declared victor over, 125, 127, 349
- use of bow against audience, 66, 73
- Pyrrhus, representation of, 253
- Pythia, in Lucian's dialogue on pantomime, 330
- Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, Augustus' role in, 171 and n. 8
- Quintilian
- extracts from *Institutio Oratoria*, 383–384
- on dancers' gestures, 7, 329
- on knowledge required of orator, 331
- on relationship between rhetoric, the stage, dancing, 21 n. 65, 34–35, 164, 165–166, 276 and n. 38, 281–282, 287–288 and nn. 4–5, 291 and nn. 22, 25, 329
- use by L'Aulnaye, 374
- Reiske, Johann, edition of Libanius, 365 n. 8
- Resentment (*Dolor*), Seneca's representation of, 249
- Rhetoric
- as model for pantomime 331–336
- cultural interrelation of sophists, pantomime dancers, 304–312, 315
- exercises in:
- Alcestis*, 264
- status of Barcelona Papyrus, 264
- impact on spectator, 319
- pantomime distinguished,
- compared, 4–5, 7–8, 34–35, 55, 100, 102–103, 164–165, 276 and n. 38, 281–282, 287–291 and nn. 3–4, 6, 302–303, 315–316, 329
- rival genre, 34
- Rhinton, writer of plays, 152
- Rhodokleia, female dancer, 112 n. 8
- Rich, John, entrepreneur at theatre of Lincoln's Inn Fields, 371
- Rinuccini, Ottavio, role in emergence of opera, 364
- Robe, dancer's
- appearance, 64–65 and nn. 5–7, 68
- association with effeminacy, 64 and n. 5
- criticism of length of, 64 and n. 7, 65, 82
- relationship with, 22, 83–84
- saffron-coloured, 65, 68, 342
- Role transformation
- in representation of myths of Apollo, 212
- distinguishing characteristic of pantomime, 10, 220 and n. 11
- particular use of masks in, 3, 10, 47, 69–74, 265, 345–346
- significance of 'shape', 71–72, 78
- techniques for, 22, 48–57, 66, 68–77, 158, 229, 267–270
- Roman Actor*, *The*, Massinger, Paris the dancer in 364
- Rome, ancient
- characteristics of Atellane comedy, 185–186
- history, and Roman pantomime themes, 1701–172 and n. 5, 345–346 and n. 22
- notoriety of theatre in, and prohibition of public performance, 151–152
- seminal role in development of pantomime, 89
- society, position of dance in, 172–174

- Royal Academy of Music, School of
Dancing added to, 366–367
- Running commentaries, in Seneca's
tragedies, 232–238
- Rustic idyll, theme in sarcophagi and
pantomime, 97
- Sabratha
evidence on *Judgement of Paris*, 36,
342, 345
sculptures, 19, 36
- Sacratì, Francesco, composer of *L'Ulisse
errante*, 366
- Saffron, possible colour of robe, 65, 68,
342
- Salii, evidence on position of dance in,
172 and n. 16
- Sallé, Marie, dancer, choreographer,
371, 373
- Sallust, comment on Sempronia,
141, 173
- Saltare*, use of term, 200
- Saltatrices/saltatriculae*
in designation of female dancers,
115, 116–117, 341
evidence on role in pantomime,
23, 341
use of term, 288–289 n. 7
- Salvianus, critic of pantomime, 19–20
- Sandals, in dancers' costume, 67–68
- Sarcophagi, Roman
eloquence of, 335–336
frequent depiction of theatrical
masks, 93
from Antonine period, imagery on,
91–92
later, depiction of Muses, 92
made, used in Rome, 89
of children, 98
pantomime performance and:
affinities, 22–23
differences, similarities
summarised, 87–90
presentation compared, 97–109
visual language of, compared,
108–109
prominence of female figures, 23
representation on:
of cardinal virtues, 106, 107 n. 87
of different social roles, 106
of personal identity in pantomime
and, 102–107
stereotypes, 104 and nn. 72, 74
subject matter:
chronological, episodic
presentation compared, 98–99
of pantomime and, compared,
22–23, 93–97
techniques for presentation, 97–100
themes common to pantomime
and, 92–93
use of statue bases, 106 and n. 86
- Scabellum, scabella*
described, 26
emotional impact, 59
functions in pantomime, 26–27 and
n. 50, 67–68, 74
suitability of Barcelona *Alcestis* for
accompaniment by, 279
- Scaenicus/scaenica*, use of term, 115,
134 and n. 70
- Scarf (*pallium*)
dancer's relationship with, 81–82 and
n. 40, 83–84
described, 65–66
kinetic manipulation, 74–76 and n. 31
versatility, 47, 66, 68, 77–79
- Schēmata* (static poses)
communication through, 81 and n. 40
dramatic value, 50–51, 99–100
training in, 54, 55
- Scipio Aemilianus, perception of dance
as disreputable, 173
- Scopelian (orator), techniques, 307–308
- Sculpture, concept of, as independent
from language, 329
- Sebasta Games, incorporation of
pantomime in, 30, 181 and
n. 59, 182
- Sebasteion*, Aphrodisias, evidence on
pantomime productions,
181–182
- Secular Games
Augustus' organisation of, 171
importance, 171 and nn. 7–8
pantomime dancers in, 17, 30, 124 n.
43, 170–172, 172–174 and n.
22, 181 and n. 59, 182–183, 190

- Sempronia, Sallust's comment on, 141, 173
- Seneca
 comment on:
 aping of pantomime poses, 113–114
 gulf between pantomime, oratory, 290–291 and nn. 19, 22
pantomimae 341
 popularity of pantomime, 297, 298
 skills of dancer, 163
 influence of pantomime on,
 postulated, 211, 220–221, 227–252
 interest in effects of passion, 234
 popular theatrical genres despised by, 224
 Tacitus' favourable comment on, 225
 tragedies:
 'actual pantomimes', 220–221, 221–222
 characteristics, 227–228
 Church Fathers on reputation of, 31
 depiction of emotion, 224
 derived from epic tradition, 242
 dramatic structure, 228–232
 emotions expressed through
 stereotyped behaviour,
 expressions, 234–237
 fondness for theatrical, spectacular
 effects, 242
 in which actor portrays another
 220–221, 222–223
 messenger speeches, 239
 narrative set-pieces, 238–252
 pantomime themes derived from,
 31–33
 recitation-like character, 219–220
 running commentaries in, 232–238
 short pantomime commentary,
 220–221, 223 and n. 16
 suitability for performance, 31–32,
 218–225
see also individual works
- Seneca (elder)
 on gulf between pantomime, oratory,
 290 nn. 19–20
 on quality of libretti, 158–159 and n. 9
- Silo writing for dancing, 276
 use of title *pantomimus*, 114, 121
- Senectus* *see* Old Age
- Septentrio, child dancer, 54 n. 36, 120
- Sergius (*mimos*), 115
- Servius, evidence on performance of
Eclogues, 190–194, 195
- Severan Games, performance by dancers
 in, 171
- Shame (*Pudor*), Seneca's representation
 of, 249
- Shape, significance in characterization,
 71–72, 78, 83 and n. 46
- Shape-shifting *see* *Mimēsis*
- Sibylline Books
 acquisition by Tarquin, 178
 controlled by *quindecimviri sacris
 faciundis*, 171
 transfer by Augustus to Temple of
 Apollo, 178
- Sidonius, adverse comment on
 pantomime texts, 276
- Sight, importance in pantomime, 199
 and n. 4, 200, 201 and n. 10,
 207 and n. 30, 235; *see*
also Eyes
- Signification
 demonstration and, in pantomime,
 rhetoric, 316, 320, 327–331
 Lycinus' use of, 316
- Silk, importance in pantomime
 costume, 85 and n. 49
- Silo, writing for the stage, 158–159 and
 n. 9
- Sinners, the great, Seneca's
 representation of, 248
- Siparia* (drapes), evidence on, 269
- Siren *see* Circe
- Slavery, in Crato's condemnation of
 pantomime, 317, 319
- Sleep (*Sopor*), Seneca's representation
 of, 249
- Socrates
 on impact of works of poets, artists,
 319
 representation of Proteus, 321–322
 on visual representation of *ethos*,
pathos, 329–330
- Song *see* Music

- Sophe Theorobathylliana (*emboliaria*)
 evidence on, 123, 125–127, 145, 270
 leader of chorus, 130
 significance of name, 125–127 and nn.
 44–53
- Sophists
 adoption of extravagant costume,
 308–309 and nn. 81–82
 avoidance of extremes, 311 n. 86
 cultural interrelation with pantomime
 dancers, 304–312
 defined, 304 n. 68
 eroticism amongst, 309–310 and n. 84
 promotion of eroticism, 311 n. 87
 tendency to effeminacy, 309–310,
 310–311
 use of human body as medium,
 309–310
see also Rhetoric
- Sopor* (Sleep), Seneca's representation of,
 249
- Sosimus, use of Greek mythological
 themes in decoration of
 buildings, 180
- Spectaculum*, use of term, 207 n. 30
- Spectators *see* Audiences
- Spices, burning of, to augment
 impact, 25, 39, 85 and n. 51,
 260–261, 274
- Static poses, dramatic value, 51, 99–100
- Statius
Agave, 29 n. 85, 203 n. 18, 204 n. 22
 influence on Barcelona *Alcestis*, 279
 writer of pantomime, 29, 159–160
- Statues
 concept of 'speaking', 334–336
 techniques for representation of, 270
- Stephano, dancer, in toga, evidence on,
 149, 170–171 and n. 5
- Stepmother roles, tradition of sinister,
 140 n. 88
- Stoa of Poseidon, Greek mythological
 themes in, 180
- Suetonius
 comment on:
 Augustan games, 173
 Nero's performances, 225
 pantomime derived from Virgil,
 194, 195
 pyrrhic dance, 351
 extract from, 382–383
Life of Domitian, translation by
 Holland, 363–364
 Sulla, admiration for mime actors,
 189 n. 13
 Supple, Tim, production of *Tales from*
Ovid, 376–377 and n. 42
 Symposium, in origins of pantomime,
 334 and n. 60
 Syriac, assaults on pantomime in, 38–40
- Tacitus
 comment on:
 favourable, on Seneca, 225, 227
 and n. 2
 gulf between dancing, rhetoric, 287
 and n. 3, 290 n. 19
 performance of Virgil, 195
- Talthybius, representation of, 231, 253
- Tatian
 evidence on dancer's use of body,
 289–290 nn. 12, 14
 perception of pantomime, 25
- Terentia, *saltatrix*, 117
- Tertullian
 account of mythological mimes,
 187 n. 9
 antipathy to dancers, 22
 condemnation of theatre, pantomime,
 25, 355 n. 51
 on corruptive power of clothing,
 82 n. 42
 on erotic impact of dancers, 21–22,
 300 n. 55
 on water organ, 28
- Theatres
 in Antioch, significance, 16, 18
 in England, 19
 in Herculaneum, 14 n. 37
 of Marcellus in Rome, Augustus'
 patronage of, 14
 proliferation:
 in Pompeii, 13–16
 throughout Roman empire, 3, 7,
 13–16, 19
 upper class Romans banned from
 performance in, 159
 variety of types, 14–16 and n. 36

- Theocritus, dancer, performances in Rome, Lugdunum, 19
- Theodosius, admiration for mime actors, 189 n. 13
- Theogonis, theme of octopus in verses ascribed to, 326–327 and n. 36
- Theorobathylliana, derivation of name, 125–127 and nn. 44–52
- Theoros
 identification with Bathyllus, 125–126 and nn. 44, 46–48
 victor over Pylades, 125, 127, 349
- Theorus, evidence from inscription on skills of, 349
- Thersites, representation of, 348
- Theseus, representation in *Hercules Furens*, 24, 242–244, 245, 249–250, 251
- Thesmophoriazusa*, Aristophanes, evidence on conflation of composition, acting, 325
- Thugga, Tunisia, evidence from, 269
- Thyas, *saltatrix*, 117
- Thyestes
 favoured theme in pantomime, 31, 242
 representations of, 229, 347 n. 24
- Thyestes*, Seneca, difficulties in staging, 219 n. 7
- Thyrsus, evidence on, from Orange medallion, 2 n. 4
- Tiberius, attempt to control pantomime, 9, 159 n. 9
- Tiresias, representation of, 22
- Toga
 orators trained in dramatic use, 21 n. 65
 significance of dancer using, 21 n. 65, 149, 170–171 and n. 5
 themes requiring wear of, 183
- Torquatus, dispute with Hortensius, 117–118 and n. 25, 288 and n. 7
- Tragedy, tragic theatre
 actors' relationship with costume in pantomime and, distinguished, 80–81, 86
 characteristics shared with pantomime, 4, 8, 24, 62, 292–293
 epic and, as sources for libretti, 245
 Greek, inspiration for modern classical ballet, 372
 pantomime techniques distinguished, 76–77, 77–79, 80
 staging problems, overcome by pantomime, 32
 subject matter, of pantomime and, compared, 93 n. 36, 97
see also Masks, Mythology, Pantomime (genre)
- Tragœdia cantata*
 rediscovery of, 364
 rival genre, 34
- Trier (Augusta Treverorum)
 evidence from ivory plaque:
 on costume, 63, 65
 on hair styles, 67
 on hat, 66–67
 on props, 66, 270
 value, 19–20
- Tristia*, Ovid
 extracts from, 198, 381–382
 references to stage performance of poetry, 198, 216–217
- Troades*, (Seneca), favoured theme for pantomime, 31, 32
- Trojan War, pantomime themes derived from, 175, 183
- Trojan Women*, Seneca
 loose dramatic structure, 230–232
 and n. 10, 252–253
 pantomime characteristics, 223 n. 16
 striving for spectacle in, 242
- True Histories*, Lucian, popularity, 365
- Tudor, Antony, ballet on Judgment of Paris, 375
- Turnus, death of, popular theme for pantomime, 30, 195, 204 n. 22; *see also* Dido, Nero
- Turnus*, Virgil, Nero's promised performance, 152–153, 160, 345–346 and n. 21, 348–349, 359, 361
- Tutor*, mime, praised by Cicero, 186
- Tympana, use in pantomime, 26
- Tyrrheno*, use of term, 139 and n. 81
- Tyrrhenos, wife as dancer, 139 n. 81, 145

- Ulysses, representation of, 253
- Umidia Quadratilla, participation in pantomime, 23
- Ummidia/Ummidius, pantomime troupe, 130 nn. 58–59
- Underworld
 Aeneas' descent to, in Aeneid, 243–248
 danced episode featuring monsters in *L'Ulisse errante*, 366 n. 11
 depiction by Virgil, Seneca, compared, 246–248
 preoccupation with myths of, 242
 representation in pantomime, 30, 196–197
 traditional signals for, 270, 273
- Uzalis, pantomime in, 19
- Valerius, mime-writer, identification with Berne scholiast, 147 and n. 7
- Varro
 comment on sale of Sibylline Books to Tarquin, 178
 definition of *poema*, 415
 evidence on mythological themes in mime, 152, 188 n. 12
- Velleius Peterculus, description of Plancus dancing, 172–173
- Venice
 operas in:
 dance spectacles, 366
 first, early, 365, 366
- Venus (deity)
 and Mars, theme in early ballet, 375
 as mother of Julian line, 179 and n. 49
 as personified embodiment of passion, 141
 association with marriage ceremonies, 351 n. 37
 depiction in:
 Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, 343, 349–350 and n. 34, 351 n. 37
Judgement of Paris, 144, 145, 339, 340–341 n. 6, 353, 354–355, 359 and n. 58
 pantomime on Aphrodite and Ares, 207
 pediment of temple of Mars, 179 and n. 49
Weaver's Judgement of Paris, 369
 use of scarf in representation of, 47, 76, 77
- Venus Placida, honoured in poetry, dance, 144
- Vincentius (dancer)
 at Tingad, 20 and n. 62
 memorial poem for, 20 n. 62
 praise for, 143 n. 94
 style, 144
- Virgil
Aeneid:
 Aeneas' descent to Underworld in, 242–248
 use in pantomime, 30, 33, 160, 176–177, 183, 190, 195–197, 204 n. 22
Eclogues, use in pantomime, 33 n. 91, 191–195
 influence on Barcelona *Alcestis*, 279
 Ovid's awareness of performances of, 217 and n. 58
 relationship with stage, 177 n. 37, 190–197
Turnus, Nero's projected performance in, 152–153, 160, 345–346 and n. 21, 348–349, 359, 361
- Virtues, cardinal, representation on Roman sarcophagi, 106, 107 n. 87
- Visuality
 importance of spectacle in
 pantomime, 199 and n. 4, 200, 201 and n. 10, 2–7 and n. 30
 relationship between text and:
 emphasis on demonstration and signification, 315, 320, 327–331
 Lycinus' exploration of, 316–320
 postulated, 29–31, 314
 in rhetoric, visual arts compared, 331–336
 relationship with myth, 322–323;
see also Mythology
- Vitellius, ban on public performance by *equites*, 159

- Vulcan, in Weaver's *Judgement of Paris*, 369
- Waltz, Sasha, ballet *Dido and Aeneas*, 376
- Want (*Egestas*), representation of, 249
- Water organ (hydraulis)
 associated with cult of Dionysus, 28
 portable, dancer accompanied by, 2
 use in pantomime, 27–28
- Weaver, John
 contribution to development of ballet, 20, 369–371, 373
Orpheus and Eurydice, 369, 370, 371
 performances organised by, 363
The Judgement of Paris, 369
The Loves of Venus and Mars, 369
- Women
 depiction on sarcophagi, 23
 representation in pantomime:
 deranged, raving, or ecstatic, 223
 and n.16, 224
 evidence on, 23
 Roman, ideal, qualities of, 138–142
see also Actresses
- Writing, for the stage, disapproval of, 158–160
- Xanthippe, portrayal of, 140 n. 88
- Xenophon of Smyrna (dancer), epigram on, 402
- Xenophon
Symposium:
 dance of myth of Dionysus and Ariadne in, 334 n. 60, 356 and n. 52
 extract from, 378–380
- Zeno, as champion of *mimēsis*, 321
- Zosimus, perception of pantomime, 169

