

## PANTOMIME: VISUALISING MYTH IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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One of the most important media through which the inhabitants of the Roman Empire had access to the canonical stories which had first been dramatised at Athens in the fifth century BCE was in the performance of pantomimes, serious balletic narratives in which all (*panta*) the important roles were mimed by a silent male solo dancer. When recently writing the introduction to the first collection of essays entirely devoted to this art form, *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*,<sup>1</sup> it struck me that much of the important testimony which needed to be put together as contextualising material had previously remained almost completely unfamiliar to most scholars of ancient drama, and has usually been given only a perfunctory treatment even in histories of ancient entertainment. The present volume offers an ideal vehicle for introducing theatre historians as well as classicists to the new developments in our understanding of this intriguing medium, and to that end I here offer an adapted and condensed version of that introductory essay.

The pantomime dancer was accompanied by music and the words of the “libretto”, which was performed by singers and sometimes a speaking actor or herald. But it was the dancer’s skill in communicating through movement and gesture, and in transforming himself from one role to another assisted by little more than a change of mask, which thrilled antiquity’s enthusiastic pantomime fans. This glamorous medium of entertainment, where the text was subordinated to the visual language, was regarded by many educated people in antiquity as vulgar and degenerate;<sup>2</sup> their prejudices were inherited by classical scholars, who until recently almost ignored pantomime, except for its role in Roman politics. For 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

<sup>1</sup> E. Hall and R. Wyles 2008. *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*.

<sup>2</sup> One of the editors suggests to me that this prejudice may ultimately go back to Aristotle, or his contemporary critics of tragic *mimesis*; cf. *Poet.* ch. 26, 1461b28–29 λίαν δῆλον ἔτι ἢ ἅπαντα μιμουμένη φορτική.

and dissatisfaction with the emperor's authority through such decadent associations.<sup>3</sup> In 15 CE 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 CE, 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 pantomime has been relatively well investigated.<sup>4</sup>

The medium's nature as a performance genre has fared less well. This is partly because the evidence is so patchy and diverse; there are hardly any certain visual images and no undisputed example of a pantomime libretto. The explicit surviving testimony is troublesome: it mainly consists of two rhetorically tendentious treatises by defenders of the medium (Lucian and Libanius),<sup>5</sup> biased condemnations by moralists and church fathers, and some rather uninformative inscriptions and short poems. Yet an effort to understand this late chapter in the history of ancient theatre performance is rendered indispensable by the extent of its impact on ancient culture. Until well after the triumph of Christianity, pantomime dancers performed in every corner of the Roman Empire, from at least as early as the second decade of the first century BCE, when a reference to a *pantomimos* first appears in an inscription from Priene in south-west Asia Minor.<sup>6</sup>

The formal conditions under which the pantomime dancers performed could vary enormously. They were sometimes joined by an assistant actor, or groups of dancers of either sex. They 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 could vary from danced drama on high-minded tragic themes, to stagings of 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; the Pergamene doctor 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, *Satire* 6.66).

<sup>3</sup> Slater 1994; Edwards 1997; Lada-Richards 2007: 57–61.

<sup>4</sup> Jory 1984, Slater 1994, Browning 1952, and Cameron 1976, especially 193–229, 16–17.

<sup>5</sup> For an excellent study of Lucian's *De saltante*, see Lada-Richards 2007.

<sup>6</sup> *IP* 113.66; see Robert 1930: 114–115 and Jones 1991: 195–196.

Yet 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.<sup>7</sup>

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' (τραγικῆς ἐρρυθμοῦ κινήσεως ὑποκριτής). The term is found, for example, on a Delphi inscription of the late second or early third centuries CE, attached to the statue of a pantomime named dancer Apolaustos.<sup>8</sup> The inscription, which originally accompanied a statue of this superstar, recorded some of the highlights in his glittering career. He had travelled all over Greece and the Hellenised East, winning victory in festival competitions in any city worthy of the name. Rewarded at each with a portfolio of honours—cash prizes, honorary citizenship or membership of the council, a coveted priesthood, a statue, an honorific inscription—this artist was felt to be one of the best travelled and most illustrious individuals of the day.<sup>9</sup>

Although 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. More than a century 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.<sup>10</sup> This dancer must have travelled the theatres of Gaul competing, with the help of his assistant, to the sound of a portable water organ (**Fig 1**).

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<sup>7</sup> *Latin Anthology* 100.7–10, ed. Shackleton-Bailey 1982: 88–89; translation by the author.

<sup>8</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes* iii.1.551.

<sup>9</sup> See Slater 1995.

<sup>10</sup> The medallion, manufactured and found at Orange, is now in the museum at Saint-Germain (cat. no. 31673). For a discussion, see Perrot 1971: 93.



Figure 1.

Pantomime represents a lost aesthetic of profound and widespread influence, similar to the missing link in Roman literary history that Fantham influentially argued two decades ago was constituted by the allied medium of mime.<sup>11</sup> Pantomime became “Romanised” and culturally significant in Italy under Augustus, as contemporary authors attest. They are also witness to the huge popularity of pantomime. The rhetoric surrounding it, whether 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 (θελεξιφρονα) trembling of his palm” (*Greek Anthology*

<sup>11</sup> Fantham 1989.

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.<sup>12</sup>

Quantitatively speaking, pantomime played 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 (διδασχὴν τινα τοῖς πλῆθεσι) 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). Most 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 brawls 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 7th century CE.<sup>13</sup> It is even more important that it was performed over such a wide geographical area.

The textual evidence is particularly disappointing when it is contrasted 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 one hundred and seventy five 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 northern part of the British county of Yorkshire) 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.<sup>14</sup> Entertainers travelled immense distances to perform for audiences

<sup>12</sup> See Garelli 2007 and the essays by Huskinson, Lada-Richards, Schlapbach, and May in Hall and Wyles 2008.

<sup>13</sup> See Puchner 1997 and 2002; Lada-Richards 2007: 22–25.

<sup>14</sup> Sear 2006: 103.

of quite different ethnicities: witness, for example, the documents relating to the transportation of dancers by donkey in Roman Egypt,<sup>15</sup> and the Greek-language epigraphic evidence for a dancer (*orchēstēs*) in imperial Arelatae (Arles, *IG* 14.2474).<sup>16</sup>

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 (11.3.85–87; tr. D. Russell, 2001):

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 *De saltante* 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-Hellenised, he cannot understand the libretto. 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.

Unlike its more ribald sibling genre of mime, pantomime was one of the principal ways, along with sung recitals by star *tragoedi*,<sup>17</sup> in which the prestigious tradition of classical tragedy was kept alive in the Roman Empire. Recent scholarship has emphasised the importance of viewing ancient theatre history as a continuous process of creative responses and

<sup>15</sup> See Sijpesteijn 1976.

<sup>16</sup> Slater 1995: 291.

<sup>17</sup> See Hall 2002.

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.<sup>18</sup> 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.

It was also 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 myths, and above all what they believed to have been the all-sung form taken by ancient theatrical tragic performances, as the models for their new medium. But considerably less interest has been manifested in 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 often conventionally working under such names as Pylades or Bathyllus, Hylas or Paris, fundamentally informed, many centuries later, the nature of modern dance theatre.<sup>19</sup> The semantics of these performers' assumed names may also be significant. 'Pylades' (a particular favourite), 'Hylas' and 'Paris' suggest a desire to lay claim on (by identifying with) the mythic personages brought to life by these performers.

Pantomime was a relatively late arrival in the world of ancient entertainment, emerging in the first century BCE. Writers in antiquity and Byzantine lexicographers elaborated a version of its origins which claimed that it had been introduced to Rome, or even invented there, in around 20 BCE. 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.<sup>20</sup> Bathyllus was a freedman and on close terms with Maecenas, who some said was infatuated with the dancer (Tacitus, *Annals* 1.54.2); the Augustan rhetor Cestus regarded him as the nonpareil in the genre (Seneca *Contrersia* 3, *Praef.* 16). Pylades performed at Augustus' dinner parties (Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 54.17.5; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2.7.19).

<sup>18</sup> See Easterling 1993 and 1997; Csapo 2004; Hall 2007a and 2007b; Csapo 2010, esp. ch. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Hall 2008b.

<sup>20</sup> Ath. 1.20d; Zosimus, *Historia Nova* 6.1; Suda s.v. "Alexandria", "*pantomimos*", and "Bathyllos". See also Leppin 1992: 284–285, 217–218 and Goldberg 2005: 119–120.

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 modification.

Athenaeus (1.20e) described Pylades' dancing style as exalted (ὀγκώδης), and emotive (παθητική)—two terms which had long since been associated with the tragedy of Aeschylus and Euripides respectively.<sup>21</sup> But he added that it was 'many-masked' or 'containing many roles' (πολυπρόσωπος), 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, for example the danced representation of the marriage of Dionysus and Ariadne, performed in the fourth century BCE at the end of the dinner party described in Xenophon's *Symposium* (9.2–7). The dancers in Xenophon's treatise used gestures and movements to convey the erotic encounter, thereby mightily inflaming their spectators, but they did speak and were apparently unmasked. It is much 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 memorialised in an Alexandrian epigram by Dioscorides in the mid-3rd century BCE.<sup>22</sup> This case is strengthened by the subsequent popularity of the Gallus theme in Roman imperial entertainment such as, for example, Suetonius, *Augustus* 68.<sup>23</sup> The picture is made more complex by the rareness of the term *pantomimos* in surviving Greek literature, which prefers to speak simply of a "dancer", or use a variety of different circumlocutions such as "dancer of myths" (ὄρχηστής μύθων) which was used to describe a Roman citizen named Furius Celsus, who danced at the beginning of the first century CE at Gortyn in Crete).<sup>24</sup> But in transliterated form *pantomimus* is the standard term in Latin epigraphy.<sup>25</sup>

The Latin-speaking world speedily became addicted to pantomime, partly because since Etruscan times Italians had enjoyed mimetic dancing traditions of their own, so Livy 7.2.3–13, including impersonations of satyrs

<sup>21</sup> On the terminological connections with the ancient discussion of tragedy, see Jory 2004: 154–155.

<sup>22</sup> On attempts to identify early Greek ancestors of pantomime dancing, see above all Kokolakis 1959.

<sup>23</sup> 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: 357–366.

<sup>24</sup> Stephanis 1988 no. 1389; see Robert 1969: 241; on the Greek terminology, see also Vesterinen 2005.

<sup>25</sup> The contents of this paragraph owe much to Jory 2002: 238–240.



in processions at the games (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 7.70–73), balletic interludes (ἐμβόλιμα) during them, in which women were prominent, fancy-dress role-playing as gods at dinner parties (Velleius Paterculus 2.82.3), and probably mythological burlesque mimes with erotic overtones.<sup>26</sup> The Latin language used a wide variety of terms for the pantomime and other dancers,<sup>27</sup> but the transliterated Latin term *pantomimus* first occurs in an inscription from Naples of about 2 BCE,<sup>28</sup> and in the first century CE the nearby city of Pompeii comes to prominence as a centre of pantomime activity.

It is from Pompeii 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. Within the recessed niches and central door of a stage, a dancer is painted in the process of performing the successive roles of Minerva, Apollo and Marsyas.<sup>29</sup> 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*, 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 a crown of bunches of fruit and vine leaves, and it has been suggested that he is some kind of personification of Autumn in a pantomime.<sup>30</sup> 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 Bastet has interpreted them, instead, as scenes from a theatrical pantomime entertainment in which vignettes from the career of the god Dionysus were danced sequentially.<sup>31</sup>

Pompeii also provides direct epigraphic evidence for the activities of pantomime troupes, and indeed of their rival fan clubs.<sup>32</sup> This cosmopolitan and eastern-looking town was prosperous enough by the second century BCE to enjoy its own large theatre. By the mid-seventies BCE two duumvirs built the small theatre. Later in the imperial period it was to acquire its beautiful stone floor; in his second *Homily on the Spectacles of the Theatre* Jacob of

<sup>26</sup> See especially Wiseman 1985: 47 and Wiseman 2000.

<sup>27</sup> Starks 2008.

<sup>28</sup> *CIL* 10.1074d.

<sup>29</sup> Bieber 1961: 232–233, with fig. 776.

<sup>30</sup> Elia 1965.

<sup>31</sup> Bastet 1974; see also Moorman 1983 and Gallistl 1995.

<sup>32</sup> See Franklin 1987.

Sarugh implies that this was the type of floor preferred by discriminating pantomime dancers.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> The Pompeii amphitheatre followed soon afterwards, 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. They added lavish marble ornamentation and 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.<sup>35</sup>

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* 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 arrangements, and shape of orchestra.<sup>36</sup> 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 at 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.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The sole manuscript (which also contains metrical discourses by another Syriac 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 an edition and translation of what survives was published by Cyril Moss in 1935 in *Le Muséon: revue d'études orientales* vol. 48; a version of his translation, slightly rephrased and updated, can be found in an appendix to Hall and Wyles 2008.

<sup>34</sup> Zanker 1998: 65–68 calls the small theatre an *odeum*.

<sup>35</sup> Zanker 1998: 44–46, 107–109, 113.

<sup>36</sup> See Sear 2006: 25–36.

<sup>37</sup> Zarmakoupi 2007 especially chs. 4–5; see also Sear 2006: 46–47.

In the second century, 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 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 BCE, 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, 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.<sup>38</sup>

Antioch's exceptional 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.<sup>39</sup> But the real reason for the prime place taken by Antioch in pantomime studies is that it is the focus of much of the literary evidence. It may have been in Antioch that Lucian composed his oration *De saltante*—a reply to an attack on the dancers (now lost) that had been composed by his brilliant contemporary and rival sophist Aelius Aristides. Aristides' assault on pantomime may have been prompted by the (eventually successful) moves to incorporate pantomime into the official competitive events (θυμελικοί ἀγῶνες) held at religious festivals. 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 officially stationed in the East in order to supervise the ongoing military campaign against the Parthians.<sup>40</sup> 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 *Against games and theatre spectacles*.<sup>41</sup> And Libanius' 64th oration, *Reply to Aristides on Behalf of the Dancers*, was written in Antioch.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Malalas *Chronographia* 222.20–22 and 276.3–9; see Downey 1961: 444.

<sup>39</sup> For further details and reproductions see Becker and Kondoleon 2005, Bingöl 1997 and Cimok 2000.

<sup>40</sup> The fundamental exposition of the issues surrounding the date and place of the composition of Lucian's treatise remains Robertson 1913.

<sup>41</sup> *PG* 56.263–270. For John Chrysostom's evidence for pantomime the seminal discussion is still Thecharidis 1940, to be supplemented by Bergian 2004 and Webb 2008a.

<sup>42</sup> The text is available, with somewhat unreliable English translation and detailed commentary, in the edition of Molloy 1996.

Libanius' 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.<sup>43</sup> Libanius describes the Antiochene theatre happily resounding “with contests of pipes, lyre and voice and the manifold delights of the stage (11.218).” Libanius received his higher education in the Classics at Athens, 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 *De saltante*, 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 CE, confirms Libanius' impression that there were many actors living there: it was the sort of metropolitan centre which, says Julian, had more mimes than ordinary citizens.<sup>44</sup> 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 gave public support to mimes and pantomime dancers.

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.<sup>45</sup> Pantomime dancers were available for hire in Roman Egypt. Pantomime is associated explicitly in the sources with Carthage and Uzalis in North Africa. The case of Sabratha is particularly intriguing. Its theatre is decorated with a superb sculptural depiction of the five roles of Paris, Hermes, and the three goddesses judged by Paris preening themselves, all with the closed mouths of the pantomime mask, dating from the late

<sup>43</sup> Becker and Kondoleon 2005: 194 with fig. 4.

<sup>44</sup> *Misopogon* 342 B.

<sup>45</sup> *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 32.9, in Rougé 1966: 166.

second century CE,<sup>46</sup> and it was at Sabratha where Apuleius himself was put on trial. Apuleius' novel *Metamorphoses*, often known as *The Golden Ass*, includes one of the few ancient descriptions of a dance on a mythological theme, the *Judgment of Paris* ballet in book 10. This was an outstandingly popular theme not only in the theatre, but in rhetorical exercises and the visual arts of the imperial period. 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 ..."<sup>47</sup> Pantomime performance of the Judgment of Paris in a much larger, public arena is implied by its depiction on a Roman mosaic from Kos as part of a larger composition, including wild beast hunts, seemingly depicting amphitheatre spectacles.<sup>48</sup>

It is important not to neglect the Western provinces of the empire, where pantomime was enjoyed just as much as in the old Hellenised cities in what is now Turkey and Syria. 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 southwestern 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.<sup>49</sup> It was at Trier (Augusta Treverorum), a city with a spectacular ancient theatre, that Salvianus was educated, before moving to work as a priest in Massalia (Marseilles) in the mid-5th century CE, 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; it is an ivory plaque now in Berlin (**fig. 2**).  
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<sup>46</sup> A spectacular colour photograph by Robert Polidoro of these relief sculptures occupies a double spread in Di Vita, Di Vita-Evrard and Bacchielli 1999: 178–179.

<sup>47</sup> Becker and Kondoleon 2005: 29, 23–25, with excellent photographs of the mosaic, which is now in the Louvre [Ma 3443].

<sup>48</sup> Kondoleon 1991: 109 fig. 5.9.

<sup>49</sup> Jürgens 1972: 203–204. On the Arelate theatre, see also Garton 1982: 583 and Sear 2006: 81.



*Figure 2.*

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?<sup>50</sup> No doubt he enjoyed his wealth and celebrity. He will surely have relished his ability to mesmerise his spectators as well as move them to tears (Augustine *Confessions* 3.2.4). 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, *Carmina* 23.269–270). 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), we have no subjective records of the dancers’ thoughts and experiences, although comparison with writings on other global dance traditions such as Kathakali can prove suggestive.<sup>51</sup>

Pantomime masks were distinguished from tragic masks by their closed mouths and greater visual beauty. An invaluable comment in Fronto tells us that the pantomime dancer’s costume was very distinctive: he details the remarkable uses to which a single garment—the mantle—could be put (*On Orations* 5). It 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). It is difficult to reconstruct exactly how the changes of mask and costumes were effected, but the language of costume clearly worked differently in pantomime from the way that it functioned in conventionally staged tragedy.<sup>52</sup>

Women featured prominently 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

<sup>50</sup> 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.

<sup>51</sup> Webb 2008b.

<sup>52</sup> Wyles 2008.

altogether approve of a matron indulging in such a hobby), and the hundreds of thousands of spectators who enjoyed it. There may also have been 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 *saltatriculae* 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. John Starks has recently argued, however, that a crucial piece of epigraphic evidence has been overlooked. It celebrates a teenage girl named Hellas,<sup>53</sup> who had worked as a pantomime dancer in the Julio-Claudian or slightly later period, and was memorialised as such by her proud father Sotericus. The inscription was found in Narbonne in Gaul.<sup>54</sup>

The presence of women amongst the casts of pantomime, along with the existence of itinerant troupes, reminds us that this was not a medium just about male star dancers. 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*<sup>55</sup>); 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, including especially the mysterious warlike initiation dance called the 'pyrrhic' (*πυρρική*).<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> One of my editors suggests "Hellas" is a significant name, indeed "a synopsis, one might say, of the central function of *pantomimoi* as links between Greek culture and Roman spectacle."

<sup>54</sup> Starks 2008.

<sup>55</sup> On the Charition mime, Hall 2010.

<sup>56</sup> On the relationship between pantomime and the pyrrhic dance see Ceccarelli 1998 ch. 9.



As with any live performance before the age of audio-visual recording technologies or even “still” photography, we can never 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 (to use modern parlance) a multi-medial impact: two sources even stress how the performances appealed to the noses of those present, through the deliciously fragrant burnt spices that were wafted through the performance space.<sup>57</sup> 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” (*Variarum* 4.51.9).

Opponents of pantomime, on the other hand, are 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.”<sup>58</sup> Similar viewpoints are to be found in the works of the 3rd-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. Clement of Alexandria associated musical instruments that featured 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,

<sup>57</sup> 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). 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 of *PBarc* Inv. nos. 158ab, 159ab, 160ab and 161a, incorporated as fols. 33–36; see Hall and Wyles 2008: 415).

<sup>58</sup> *Discourse to the Greeks* 22 = *PG* VI, 837, as translated in McKinnon 1987: 2.

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.<sup>59</sup>

Other instruments found in discussions of pantomime include the panpipes and the lyre (Lucian, *De saltante* 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,<sup>60</sup> and the *scabellarius* could clap it against either stone floors or a plank provided specially.<sup>61</sup> At Rome, several inscriptions reveal that the *scabellarii* were sufficiently proud of their professional specialisation to form a guild (*collegium*).<sup>62</sup> The *scabellum* was particularly disliked by the Christian opponents of pantomime such as the austere African convert Arnobius. In the early fourth century CE 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 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.<sup>63</sup>

*Adversus Nationes* II.42 = *PL* V.881–882

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*, was the original Pylades (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2.7.18). Novatian, a third-century Roman schismatic theologian, suggests that pantomime produced

<sup>59</sup> *Paedagogus* II, iv = *PG* VIII, 440–441, translated by McKinnon 1987: 34. For the cultural context, see Webb 2008a.

<sup>60</sup> There is a photograph of a replica *scabellum* designed by the ancient music specialist Annie Bélis, and constructed by Jean-Claude Condi, in Piché and Vendries 2001: 46. For an instrumentalist dressed as a Bacchic dancer playing one (as well as a double *aulos*), on a sarcophagus of the second century CE in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, see the image reproduced in Piché and Vendries 2001: 46.

<sup>61</sup> See Lucian, *De saltante* 2, 63, 68; Libanius 64.97; Bélis 1988.

<sup>62</sup> See Piché and Vendries 2001: 98–100.

<sup>63</sup> Translated by McKinnon 1987.

the effect of an anarchic competition between the dancer, the narrator(s) and the instrumentalists in monopolising the attention of the spectators (*De spectaculis* IV.5 = *PL* IV.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 *Satyrice* 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. 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* (292–294), 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 (295–297):

In large theatres, an instrument in the shape of a dome (*cortina*, i.e. the cistern) produces the music by using water. The variety of notes it produces makes it melodious, and it sings, controlled by the art of the performer, as a column of air is propelled by water pressed up from underneath, as if with an oar.<sup>64</sup>

The *hydraulis* could be found wherever imperial culture travelled and for several centuries, for example, in fourth-century Oxyrhynchus.<sup>65</sup>

A fascinating 3rd-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.<sup>66</sup> The instrument's sophisticated technology allowed it to produce a variety of tonalities that must have seemed to suit this protean divinity, and to be particularly appropriate to the constant transformations undergone by the performer in the fluid dance medium of pantomime. Indeed Tertullian (*De anima* XIV. 4 = *PL* II.669) rhetorically presents the organ as an example of unified diversity—so many pipes and parts and sounds, and yet they constitute a single entity—in language similar to that often found in relation to the dancer, “the single body endowed with many souls” (Lucian, *De saltante* 66). It is entirely appropriate that it is over

<sup>64</sup> Translation by the author.

<sup>65</sup> A payment of corn is made to a water-organist named Gorgonios in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 1 (1898) no. 93, p. 155.

<sup>66</sup> See Reinach 1904 and Perrot 1971: 55–56.

a *hydraulis* that on the Orange medallion the dancer Parthenopaeus (see above fig. 1) brandishes his mask. His 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.<sup>67</sup>

All the clacking and variegated trumpeting and booming effects were, however, in principle (if, one imagines, not always in practice) meant to complement, rather than drown out, the words of the libretto. It is the loss of the 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 (*δείξειν*) of the things that were being sung" (*τὰ ᾄδόμενα*, *De saltante* 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 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 voices of Orpheus or Philomela after her metamorphosis into a bird, are likely to have offered opportunities for solo singing by individual members of the choir.<sup>68</sup> Petronius describes a high-pitched aria being sung solo by a slave-boy at a symposium at the precise moment when it is likened to a pantomime (*Satyrical* 31); Pliny implies that the singing in pantomime sounded effeminate (*Panegyricus* 54). But of the *ᾄδόμενα*, the actual songs that accompanied pantomime, we may have no certain examples, beyond the uninformative three Greek words, "the great Agamemnon", with which a pantomime danced by the Augustan star Hylas apparently concluded (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2.7.13–14).

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 use for theatrical texts used by actors—*histrionum litterae*, or *histrionicae litterae* (Tertullian, *Apologeticus* 15.2, *Ad nationes* 1.10.4). Crinagoras refers to a text performed by Bathyllus in the era of Augustus as the "story", or "plot" (*muthos*, *AP* 9.542), just as Martial on one occasion refers to the *fabula* (*Liber de spectaculis* 2.7.17); Lucian specifies "the things sung" (*τὰ ᾄδόμενα*, *De saltante* 2.62) and "the songs" (*τὰ ᾄσματα*, *De saltante* 2.74). In Latin, the libretto as enjoyed in performance is often called

<sup>67</sup> Perrot 1971: 93.

<sup>68</sup> Lucian, *De saltante* 51; Claudian, *Against Eutropius* 2.405; see further Hall 2002: 29–30.

the *canticum*; Martial refers to Hylas dancing a *canticum*, with *saltare* as a transitive verb that takes *canticum* as its object (*Liber de spectaculis* 2.7.13; see also Suetonius, *Nero* 39).

The poets Statius and Lucan are both said to have written pantomimes,<sup>69</sup> and the evidence suggests that they were always in verse rather than prose. One line of approach to libretti is to explore specific examples of surviving literary works that we know were used in pantomime. Three sequences from the *Aeneid* were definitely 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 (*Saturnalia* 5.17.5).<sup>70</sup> The strong visual appeal and bodily transformations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* have long invited comparison with the pleasures of pantomime, and the use of Ovidian poetry in this dance form seems confirmed by Ovid's references from exile to his poetry being danced in the theatres.<sup>71</sup>

Since Greek tragedy is known to have been fertile material for this medium, the quest for pantomime libretti takes us to 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.<sup>72</sup> It was a path-breaking article by Zimmermann<sup>73</sup> which first analysed passages from the plays with this hypothesis in mind. Zimmermann argued 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

<sup>69</sup> For Statius' Agave libretto see Juvenal, *Sat.* 7.82–87; for Lucan see the anonymous *Life* of Lucan sometimes attributed to Vacca (p. 78, 16 in Reifferscheid [1860]).

<sup>70</sup> See Panayotakis 2008.

<sup>71</sup> Ingleheart 2008.

<sup>72</sup> Jürgens 1972: 237–245, 56–65.

<sup>73</sup> First published in 1990, this text is available in English translation as Zimmermann 2008.

visualising, as he wrote, a theatrical performance with dance and music rather than a recitation. Indeed, close readings of Senecan verse have now shown how apparently intractable problems related to the possibility of staging the plays disappear entirely if pantomimic performances formed part of the entertainment.<sup>74</sup>

Moreover, one pantomime libretto based on a canonical tragedy may in fact have survived. The candidate is a Latin hexameter poem, preserved only in a Barcelona papyrus (*PBarc* Inv. nos. 158ab, 159ab, 160ab and 161a, incorporated as fols. 33–36), 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 (Macrobius 5.17.5), and the theme, the death of Alcestis, is said in other sources to have attracted practitioners of the medium, which (unlike Athenian tragedy) enjoyed enacting violence and death scenes in front of its audience. 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.<sup>75</sup>

By the first century CE, people living in a large area of the ancient world had developed a vivid mental image of the pantomime dancer and his art, and the shared mental image, with all its associations, began to affect cultural discourses and practices. At the peak of pantomime's popularity in the late second and third centuries CE, pantomime 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 criticism from professional singers, sophists, and declaimers, who found it easy to charge it, as a relative latecomer into the cultural repertoire of acts on offer, as trivial, decadent, sleazy or low-class.

Pantomime has indeed always had a sense of newness about it. It was a relatively late arrival on the ancient Greco-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

<sup>74</sup> Zanobi 2008.

<sup>75</sup> Hall 2008a.

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new Muse of Pantomime. The identification of the ancient name with this novel and 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).<sup>76</sup> Silence "full of meaning": there could be no better description of the fragmented, disjointed but commanding evidence for the cultural significance of ancient pantomime.

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<sup>76</sup> Translated by W.H.D. Rouse 1940.