DANCE: SACRED AND PROFANE

by

EMILY LAURA BILVERSTONE BIGGS

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Department of Classics, Ancient History and Archaeology
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham
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ABSTRACT

This work examines the place of dance in Roman society. It looks to cover the breadth of society in the Imperial age, including dance within the religious life of Rome and the Romans as well as dance performed as entertainment. In it, I argue that dance was integral to Roman life, and challenge the notion that Roman society had a negative or ambivalent attitude towards it.

This thesis concentrates on attitudes to dance. It provides an overview of dance in the ancient world, important for context, before examining dance in the Imperial age. The nature of the evidence means that the focus is particularly on Rome itself. Within this examination, the thesis first analyses dance in the religious sphere, establishing that dance is found across the breadth of religious practices, not just within the practices of particular priesthoods. It then moves on to look at dance which was performed as entertainment as found in both public and private arenas. Although each elicits reactions in the literature, these entertainments form a key part of Imperial life, accessible to all whatever their social status. Finally, the thesis examines Christian attitudes to dance, comparing and contrasting these to those of the pagan.

DEDICATION

For David. It has been a long time!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My greatest thanks goes to my supervisors: Prof. Ken Dowden, for continuing to steer me through across the long years that this has taken, and supporting me despite some difficult times along the way, including the early arrival of a baby, and Dr Philip Burton, for supporting me, first with my Greek and then taking on supervision. You have both been invaluable.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJA *American Journal of Archaeology* (New York, 1897-).

AJPh *The American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore, 1881-).

ALGRM *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*[2], eds W. H.Roscher, O. Gruppe (Leipzig, 1884-1937).

Anth. Lat. *Anthologia Latina, sive Poesis Latinae Supplementum*[2], 1.1, A. Riese (Leipzig 1894).

BICS *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* (London, 1956-).

BNP *Brill's New Pauly* [electronic resource], eds H. Cancik, H. Schneider (Leiden, 2006).

CEL *Carmina Latina Epigraphica,* ed. F. Buecheler (Leipzig, 1895-1897).

CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1863-).

CJ *The Classical Journal* (Chicago, 1905-).

ClAnt *Classical Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1982-).

CPh *Classical Philology* (Chicago, 1906-).

CQ *Classical Quarterly* (London, 1907-).

CW *The Classical World* (New York, 1957).

DHA *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* (Paris, 1974-).

G&R *Greece & Rome* (Oxford, 1931-).

HSPh *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* (Boston, 1890-).

JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London, 1914-2016).

JHS *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* (London, 1880-).

JRS *Journal of Roman Studies* (London, 2010-).

LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich, 1981-)

MDAI(R)	*Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung* (Berlin, 1916 -)
MEFRA	*Les Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Antiquité* (Rome, 1971-).
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology* (Atlanta, 1998-).
OCD^4	*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edition, eds S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth (Oxford, 2012).
OED^2	*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1989).
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome* (London, 1902-).
PRIA	*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature* (Dublin, 1889-1901).
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, eds. G. Wissowa, E. Kroll *et al.* (Berlin & Stuttgart, 1893-1878)
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Amsterdam, 1923-).
TAPhA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* (Boston, 1897-1972).
ThesCRA	*Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* (Los Angeles, 2004-2012)
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (Bonn, 1967-).

Note: Translations are Loeb editions unless stated otherwise.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Why research dance in the ancient world?

This work investigates the place of dance in Imperial Roman culture, looking at the dance forms that existed and the attitudes towards them. The aim is to build a picture of the reality of dance in Roman society, examining the dances performed as well as the ways in which dance was conceptualised and considered. There is a long-held view, which Harmon articulates, that 'the Roman society of the Imperial age appeared ambivalent towards dance'.[1] However, as will be seen, the attitudes towards dance in Roman society were more complex and nuanced than his statement implies, and this work aims to show that, despite limitations in the evidence, there is sufficient surviving to see that dance still held an integral place in Roman society and the Imperial world, and that one should not view Roman attitudes to dance as ambivalent, but instead consider the differing views towards dance that can be identified and the reasons these are shown in the evidence. Roman dance is not an area of study which has only recently been of interest, and this work seeks to add to the growing research in this field.

Dance is fundamentally human and found in every society. Hanna is correct to state that every society dances, for 'to dance is human, and humanity…universally expresses itself in dance'.[2] The term 'dance' covers more than generic 'movement', and we understand it to differ from running or walking, although it may incorporate both. It is organised, has pattern and rhythm, is coordinated and triggered by stimuli. The performance of dance is a complex sensorimotor action, and, when performing dance, the individual engages a range of neural regions.[3] It has been shown that dance can stimulate the reward centres of the brain even for those who are only observing and not performing.[4] Yet, despite the universality of the action, dance in Roman society has received relatively little attention in scholarship.

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[1] Harmon 2004, 75.
[2] Hanna 1979, 3.
[3] For precise MRI data on the neural regions which can be seen to engage during dance, see Brown, Martinez and Parsons 2006, 1159-1163.
[4] Krakauer 2008.

Dance is found in multiple contexts in a society: in rituals and in entertainment, in public and in private. The range of settings in which dance is found means that it is culturally complex. In different societies, different forms are either socially acceptable, or socially unacceptable. Dance therefore reflects the society; both its form and reception are influenced by the civilization from which it emerges. Recorded attitudes to dance show us what a society, or, rather, the influential sub-section of that society, find acceptable. They reveal the moral stance and priorities of these people. Dance is a form of interaction, understood by participants and observers as a kind of language. It can develop over time, or elements can be maintained as a deliberate snapshot, indicative of a time or cultural aspect which is felt to have special significance. Kalavrezou considers dance 'a universal form of expression recognizable by all when seen'.[5] In Hanna's view, whilst dance may be universal, for its communication to be effective, it also 'depends upon shared knowledge' and requires both a skilled performer and the sensitivity of the audience.[6] Studying the dance of a society or period therefore allows us to gain insight into the culture of that period. It highlights taboos and tolerances, and the styles of dance and their influences reveal a range of factors which connect and combine to form a picture of the community.

For Roman dance, the route to those insights is made more complex by the fragmentary nature of the evidence. As will be discussed later in this chapter, researchers who study dances in modern societies may have access to interviews, recordings or transcriptions of the dance in a form of dance notation,[7] but none of this is possible in the study of dance in the ancient world. We are able to glean information through surviving literature, inscriptions and art, but we are not able to see the dances, or to speak to those who participated in or observed them to understand their feelings or attitudes to the dance, or to fully understand the complexities of the form. Nevertheless, once these limitations are recognised, we can still build a better picture of the Roman world in the Imperial age by focussing on the place of dance within it.

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[5] Kalavrezou 2004, 279.

[6] Hanna 1979, 78.

[7] As Lindqvist does in their study of the relationship between dance and play in children; Lindqvist 2001, 41-52, and Kurath gives examples of several different types of dance notation; Kurath 1960, 244-5. These will not be explored further in this work as they were not used in the ancient world.

There are a number of anthropological theories on dance which can assist in creating this picture. In his work on ritual dance in Greece, Lonsdale analyses such anthropological theories and categorises them under a variety of headings. These are: the cathartic, in which dance is a 'safety valve', the homeostatic theory, in which dance transmits and maintains 'sentiments', the theory of boundary display, which highlights the competitive element of dance, and the theory of *communitas* and anti-structure, in which dance as ritual drama inverts the everyday social order.[8] Of these, it is the homeostatic theory which is particularly relevant to Roman dance because dance was used both as a method to convey and communicate mythology to a broad audience, and as a means of maintaining social structures. This will be seen throughout this work: in 3.2.1, for example, it will be seen that the dance of the Salian priesthood maintained a sense of antiquity and tradition and provided cultural practice which was passed on through the ages. In 4.2, it will be seen that the theatrical entertainment of the Imperial age, the pantomime, performed mythological stories, and in doing so, helped transmit them across the Imperial world and extend the commonality of knowledge of these stories. For our purposes, anthropological theories can only partially assist, as it is consideration of the dances themselves and the reactions to them which show cultural boundaries and norms. In 4.3, it will be seen that some of the attitudes towards the pantomime arise because of the social norms that the pantomime transcends. It will also be seen that, because of this, the pantomime becomes a topic in the moralising trope in literature.

Whilst all these aspects can assist in the understanding of dance, it is nevertheless difficult to progress with such a paucity of evidence. Progress is further hampered by the shortage of scholarly study on Roman dance. Dance in ancient Greece has a great deal more evidence, and has accordingly been the subject of a number of studies. At the turn of the twentieth century, dance in ancient Greece became a popular area of study, and the scholarship of Lillian B. Lawler and the performances of Isadora Duncan were inspired by it. Since then, there have been a number of works whose focus has been on ancient Greek dance.

[8] Lonsdale 1993, 19.

However, it is only recently that Roman dance has become a topic of interest. A full review of the evidence and the scholarship which exists on the topic is found in 1.5 and 1.6 below.

1.2 What is dance?

Dance can appear to be a straightforward term as, if someone is said to be dancing, everyone will have an idea of what is meant. Despite this recognition, it is not easy to define. The complexity lies in the fact that, for each person, what springs to mind will differ. The scope of the term is so broad that the frame of reference of the individual is important, and their understanding is contextualised within their own cultural framework. Dance is both the same, and different, across different times and different cultures.

A number of definitions have been proposed, and these provide several themes to which we might use to develop our understanding, but which also have limitations. It has already been stated (p. 1, above) that the term dance refers to something more specific than 'movement', that it can incorporate running or walking, but, in contrast to either of these, that it is triggered, structured, and rhythmic. The current *OED* definition, which is 'to leap, skip, hop, or glide with measured steps and rhythmical movements of the body, usually to the accompaniment of music, either by oneself, or with a partner or in a set'[9] is similar to that suggested by Franz Boas,[10] namely 'the rhythmic movements of any part of the body, swinging of the arms, movements of the trunk or head, or movements of the legs and feet.' Both definitions focus on the physicality of dance, do not mention any cultural context, and are so broad as to encompass rhythmic movements which would not themselves be dance: A rhythmic nodding of the head could indicate a dance movement, and would fit both definitions, yet it could also be indicative of many other things, from a physical or mental medical condition, to an internal mnemonic. These definitions are inadequate as they lack a sense of magnitude of movement for it to be dance. A movement of the head, or any other limb, alone, is not enough.

Kurath's definition encompasses the cultural as well as the physical, and separates dance from 'ordinary motor activities.'[11] Kurath defines dance as a movement that 'selects,

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[9] *OED s.v.* Dance.
[10] Boas 1955, 344.
[11] Kurath 1960, 234.

heightens or subdues, juggles gestures and steps to achieve a pattern, and does this with a purpose transcending utility'. A pattern or rhythm of movement is a consistent feature of these definitions, but, whilst Kurath's definition improves on these already mentioned because it shows recognition of the influence of culture by citing dance within the broader norms of society, the concept of 'transcending utility' is problematic. For Kurath, 'utility' is utilitarian movement, such as walking or running to travel, but, as she points out, the boundary between 'a utilitarian activity' and dance is so narrow as to be fluid: walking, for example, becomes processional when it 'attains a pattern'. Kurath gives the example of rice-planting as an activity where there is such fluidity. Its purpose is utilitarian, but it is, as she describes it, a rhythmic activity which is 'often accompanied by song' and can therefore 'easily be stylised into dance'.[12] Movement and function are both important aspects of the definition of dance. Hanna argues that there are some dances which seem to have a purpose which fits the definition of utility,[13] because they have a 'quality of being useful or serviceable', or 'functional'.[14] These dances are considered to fulfil a useful function of social unity or of religious practice. Hanna proposes that dance be defined as human behaviour composed of 'purposeful, intentionally rhythmical, and culturally patterned sequences of nonverbal body movements other than ordinary motor activities, the motion having inherent and aesthetic value'.[15] This definition is the most helpful, allowing for a range of movements which can be distinguished and have purpose and rhythm. Importantly, Hanna's definition brings in the concept of the aesthetic as being an important aspect of dance. This, then, is the definition which will be used in this work.

In the absence of Roman theories or definitions of dance, Plutarch (A.D. c. 46 – 120) provides the closest we have, identifying three constituents of dance as: φορὰ, σχῆμα and δεῖξις.[16] Though it seems that the dance of the pantomime (discussed in Chapter 4) is at the forefront of his mind in this description, Lawler's analysis shows that the terminology identified by Plutarch does apply more broadly to dance in the ancient world, and is used by a range of

[12] Kurath 1960, 234.
[13] Hanna 1979, 21.
[14] *OED* s.v. utility.
[15] Hanna 1979, 19.
[16] Plutarch *Quaestiones Convivales* 9.15.2 (747A) (appendices, T1).

authors in relation to dance.[17] Plutarch's Ammonius views dance as directly comparable and equivalent to poetry, and describes dance as 'silent poetry' and poetry as 'articulate dance.'[18] Within this description, dance is said to comprise three elements:

1. φορά, movement from one position to another, particularly rhythmic movements,
2. σχῆμα, form or shape, used to describe dance figures or particular poses. In pantomimic dance, particular poses could be related to particular characters.
3. δεῖξις, demonstration. For Plutarch, these were 'interpretive gestures', part of the storytelling of the dance, which could refer, for example, to gesticulations indicting the earth or sky. The term is, however, also used of portrayal of a particular character.[19]

Plutarch's description seems most representative of pantomimic performance and it shows a dance form which is quite different to modern performances, but it also reveals the usefulness of Hanna's definition when looking at ancient dance. The particular gestures, movements and form could be identified, and were recognisable to the audience (culturally patterned). This was particularly true of the σχῆμα. In Greek dance, and, presumably in some Roman forms, there were dance steps or figures. In the pantomime performances, these could be indicative of specific characters. Whether as a dance figure, step or specific character portrayal, there was aesthetic value appreciated and understood by the audience.

1.3 The content and structure of this work

In seeking to clarify the position of dance in Roman society, I seek to reveal a broader picture: to show what dance practices there were, what the different attitudes to this range of practices were, and how they fitted into the strata of society and societal attitudes and norms. Dance is a medium which aids cultural transmission and understanding, but despite being found universally, there is a hierarchy of form which will vary between societies, and

[17] Lawler 1954, 150-158.
[18] Plutarch *Quaestiones Convivales* 9.15.2 (748A): καὶ ὅλως," ἔφη, "μετάθεσιν τὸ Σιμωνίδειον ἀπὸ τῆς ζωγραφίας ἐπὶ τὴν ὄρχησιν λαμβάνει (appendices T3).
[19] Lawler 1954, 150-7.

this hierarchy itself can be revealing, showing social stratification and priorities of the culture.

The evidence, or, in many cases, the lack of it, is a factor both in the investigation of dance practices and attitudes and in the format of this work. The nature of the evidence means that, throughout, we are dealing not only primarily with Rome itself but with the value system of the Roman elite, which it must be remembered does not necessarily represent the attitudes of the majority. Rome did not exist in isolation; it was the heart of a vibrant and multicultural world. This world was not only influenced by Rome but played its own part in influencing Rome. Many of the cultures in this world held significant power in the Mediterranean prior to the Imperial age and should not be overlooked in a work that seeks to show the broader picture and the place of dance in a wide Imperial world. I therefore start by setting this scene, showing a glimpse of these cultures and how they differ from that of Rome, the main focus of the work. This overview can only be a glimpse, for each culture's dance can, and has, taken up entire studies of their own, but it offers some perspective for the forthcoming chapters, for to cite Rome alone, without the influences and cultures that built it, does not give a true view of the Imperial age.

The order of this work is also partly chronological as the sacred dances, such as that of the Salii are, at least ostensibly, ancient, whereas the primary dance of theatrical performance, the pantomime, developed in the early empire. Alongside the growth of the pantomime, there was a growth of Christianity. The relationship between Christianity and dance was complex, and this will be explored in chapter 5, with the preceding chapters contextualising the Christian sources. These sources all emerge from a society which had what can be termed the cultural intertext: it knew the theatre and practices about which these authors wrote, saw them performed and had the cultural context to recognise embellishment and irony. We have snapshots found throughout the surviving evidence, but we lack the dance itself. Recovery of a form is not, therefore, what is attempted here. As has been noted, there is a relationship between dances and their audiences, and with ancient dance, we may have lost much of the context which would be understandable to the ancient audience, nevertheless the sources we have can offer us insight.

A broad range of dances will be referred to throughout this work. The overview of the broader context of the ancient world in Chapter 2 starts with a short review of Etruscan practices which focuses primarily on funereal practices due to the nature of the evidence available. The section on Greek dances will briefly review the range of contexts in which dance is found in Greece. Although there is a great deal more evidence for Greece, and it is clear that not all forms or contexts were replicated in Rome, several forms found within this section will have relevance throughout the work: the pyrrhic dance, the war-dance which emulated both offensive and defensive battle movements and which formed part of gymnastic and weapons training in Greece, in both Athens and Sparta,[20] is noted repeatedly in our evidence. As will be seen, it is possible that there were, historically, elements of similar training for Roman youths, it offers a comparison for the Salian dance, and for that of the priests of Cybele, and it is a form which seems to have been found in processional dance.[21] Dance found as entertainment for the Greek symposia forms the basis for dances in the private sphere reviewed in chapter 4.3, and similar professional dancing girls are found in Rome as were found in the private entertainments of Greece. Similarly, the theatrical dances discussed in 4.2 may find their origins in Greece and the *emmeleia* and *kordax.* Egyptian evidence again demonstrates that there were professional entertainers for private functions, and gives historical context for dancing within the cult of Isis which forms part of the review of sacred dances found within chapter 3. Dance within Judaism is reviewed as it offers context for later, Christian comments (chapter 5).

The Roman dances studied start with those that will be termed as sacred, which are those found within ritual (Chapter 3). These start with those considered within the evidence traditionally Roman, the dance of the Salian priesthood, the Arval Brethren, the Lares, and dance within festivals. The armoured dances of the Salii will draw comparisons with the pyrrhic dances and some Etruscan practices seen in Chapter 2. The evidence for the Arval Brethren is limited, but there are similarities with the Salii which offer some comparison. The Lares are notable for dance within their imagery rather than ritual, but there are some references to dances within festival rites which point to more sacred dance practices, and

[20] Plato *Laws* 7.815A, Lawler 1964, 108.
[21] Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 10.31.

these are both covered in this section. We then move on to sacred dances which were practiced in several prominent cults found in Rome which originated elsewhere in the Empire: those of Cybele, Dionysus and Isis. For each, there is limited evidence, but there is an indication that there may have been some pyrrhic style dance for Cybele (chapter 3.3.1), ecstatic dances for Dionysus (chapter 3.3.2), and that there may have been a choral dance and pantomimic performance for Isis (chapter 3.3.3).

The next section, Chapter 4, covers danced entertainments. These are principally the public performances of the mime and the pantomime. Mime was a variety performance, which could incorporate a range of physical arts, including dances. Dances were also part of the short plays performed by the mime, which were usually comic. The pantomime was an entirely danced performance with musical accompaniment, usually tragic, and usually performed by a single dancer. Both were popular throughout the empire. As well as public performances, this section also covers the dances of performers who provided entertainments at the private dinner parties of the wealthy. These could be mime or pantomime performers or hired or retained slaves. Christian authors provide evidence for dance within the Imperial age, and this is covered in the succeeding chapter (chapter 5), Chapter 5 focuses on Christian attitudes to dance and explores the agenda of these sources and the complex nature of the relationship between dance and Christianity. Within this there is a discussion of whether there was dance within early Christian ritual practices (5.2.1), and the use of dance as allegory (5.5.2) as well as the attitudes found within Christian authorship towards dance. The origins of an historic attitude to dance which may be partly responsible for the 'limited view of dance' and generalisations which are commented on below in the review of the current research (1.7) can be seen in chapter 5.[22] The writing of the early Christians provides a discourse from which emerges a textual pattern of particular themes, one of which, as shall be seen, is a stance against dance. In these writings, any dance which takes place in a non-Christian setting is opposed as daemonic, and dance generally is suspected to lead to immorality. When one looks at references to dance in this discourse, the theme is one of disapproval, which has been

[22] Hanna 1979, 8.

interpreted more broadly alongside the development of Christianity throughout history. As Davies says, 'in general, it may be said that there is a constant rejection [by Christians] of dancing in any form.'[23] This is reviewed in more detail in chapter 5.

The following introductory sections will look at the evidence and the current existing research, as well as at aspects which will need to be considered throughout the subsequent investigations, the relationship between dance and play and dance and music in the Imperial age.

1.4 Dance and play

The brief exploration above of Plutarch's terminology for dance (chapter 1.2) shows that the movement, style and steps of ancient dance differ from modern performances. Just as the style and form of the performance differs, it should equally be considered that concepts of dance are likely to differ, and those held by both the Romans and the other ancient civilizations with which they interacted, most notably the Greeks, will not be the same as those held today.

One concept of dance which differs is in the association with play. In Greek there is a linguistic crossover which shows conceptual association between dance and play, as παίζω means both to dance and to play.[24] Londsdale explores this association, and he sees further 'linguistic support' for a close association between dance and play in ἑψιάασθαι, to amuse oneself, which has an implication of group movement and song and ἀθύρω, to play, act or dance.[25] As Lonsdale explores in detail,[26] Plato (c. 427 – 347 B.C.) associates play and dance in the *Laws*, using word play between παιδεία, education, in which music and dance play a vital part, and παιδιὰ, a childish game, as well as referring to playful dance.[27] Whilst it is true that there is not the same linguistic relationship between the concepts of dance and play in Latin, *ludus* means both play and a public performance, and dance is found within the context of the public *ludi*, and it seems that there is likely to be a similar cultural association.

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[23] Davies 1984, 19.
[24] Lonsdale 1993, 1.
[25] Homer *Odyssey* 21.429.
[26] Lonsdale 1993, 283 n.45, 21-44.
[27] Plato *Laws* 656c, 673a.

Although dance and play may no longer have such a close association, linguistically or culturally, there is scholarship which shows that there are still similarities. This shows that there are elements of play which can fit our definition of dance, and shows that play meets the same human needs as identified in dance from an anthropological perspective. Lindqvist defines play as 'an aesthetic process which creates new meanings,' something which 'reflects reality on a deeper level'. So, taking part in play is also a purposeful, culturally patterned action which has inherent and aesthetic value. The anthropological theories Lonsdale identifies in relation to dance, and discussed in 1.1 above, are also relevant for play. Play can also be cathartic, provide a safety value to explore emotions, and it can both transmit and maintain sentiments, it can also be used to explore social structures. As Lindqvist states, 'Play reflects the dialectic relationship between memory (reproduction) and imagination (creativity)'. Play is, characteristically, not simply reproduction, but is a creative activity.[28] In play, as in dance, cultural patterns are repeated and explored. In the relationship between dance and play, we may again be lacking a cultural context which was clear to the ancient world, and further lose nuance not only of performances but of references to dance in evidence.

1.5 Dance and music

Another conceptual difference between the ancient and modern worlds is in the association between dance and music. Whilst we can appreciate dance and music together as related artforms but also as separate disciplines, in Greece, music, poetry and dance 'almost indivisibly' form μουσική, the arts over which the Muses presided.[29] Μουσική therefore encompassed the breadth of performances. It was fundamental to culture across the Greek world and was found in all areas of life. It formed part of education, religion and social activities. The universality of dance already discussed was, in the Greek world, found in μουσική. It was a 'medium through which ideals of behaviour were developed and enforced.'[30] As Landels states, 'the Romans did not attempt to develop a musical identity of

[28] Lindqvist 2001, 42, 50.
[29] Lonsdale, 1993, 30.
[30] Murray & Wilson 2004, 1-5.

their own,' but developed their music culture by adapting elements of both Etruscan and Greek culture, and in both, music and dance were closely related.[31] The relationship between dance and music in Greece is clearer than the Roman relationship, nevertheless, there was still a connection, and there is evidence of an association between music, dance and poetry in the Roman world. This connection was reflected both linguistically and artistically. References to music in literature and art could be indicative of both music and dance, and certainly *vice versa* as dance was not performed without musical accompaniment. In Latin, *musica* has associations with poetry and high art.[32] Music and dance still held a place within the Roman educational curriculum, although this was much-diminished compared to the integral place μουσική held in the Greek educational curriculum. Corbeill argues that the Romans 'naturalized' the Greek education system, taking the elements which most appealed to them. Corbeill's article usefully explores a number of aspects of the Greek and Roman societies and culture which are relevant for this study. He explores, for example, a dichotomy which is found throughout this work between traditional practices and the disapproval of professional performers, in this case looking specifically at the traditional songs forming part of moral education and professional performers of poerty.[33] Corbeill's view differs somewhat from that of Marrou, who sees the Greek education system as being adopted by the Romans, with 'only slight' adaptations for Roman culture. One of these adaptations was that music and dance 'tended to be abandoned or at least neglected' in education, but notes that it was not proscribed. In his view, both music and sport were 'regressive cultural characteristics' in Greece. They had become the preserve of professionals, and were 'too feeble' to have any effect on the Latins.[34] Whilst Marrou offers a comprehensive account of ancient education, covering in detail education from Homeric times to the Christian schools of the fourth century, his work is very focussed and offers little that helps develop the understanding of the place of dance, either within the curriculum or in society. As Corbeill discusses, there is evidence that, historically, music played some part in Roman education, with references to symposium-like gatherings and

[31] Landels 1999, 172.
[32] Lewis & Short, *Musica.*
[33] Corbeill 2001, 261, 264-5.
[34] Marrou 1956, 242, 248-9.

songs sung 'in praise of famous men'.[35] Cicero (106 - 43 B.C.) laments this loss of this moral training,[36] and Quintilian (A.D. c. 35 – c. 100), although he also sees music as part of the appropriate training of the young, differentiates clearly between these praises and songs of brave men, and the inappropriate and indecent music of the theatre.[37] Quintilian's work shows that music and dance (or at least bodily movement) are still considered to be linked, and that both formed part of Roman education, as they did Greek, and that control of both is required:

> Numeros musice duplices habet, in vocibus et in corpore: utriusque enim rei aptus quidam modus desideratur
>
> Music has patterns of two kinds, in sounds and in the movement of the body, for both need proper control of some kind. [38]

Quintilian also speaks of graceful 'boyhood exercises,' which should underpin the movement of the orator.[39] It is likely that Quintilian refers here to similar training for youths to the training in Greek education in the pyrrhic dance. There were performances by children as there are in Greece, and from Horace (65 – 8 B.C.), we find that choirs of children from aristocratic families performed at festivals.[40] Catullus' reference to the singing 'chaste boys and girls' may refer to these same children's choirs.[41] It is notable that distinction is made between appropriate movement, whether as part of rhetorical training or as part of festival rituals, and that of the stage. Macrobius' *Saturnalia* (early fifth century A.D.) also refers to freeborn boys and the sons of senators learning to dance in the past, and contrasts this to morals in his own age, which he implies are superior because of a lack of dancing.

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[35] Cicero *Brutus* 75: *Atque utinam exstarent illa carmina, quae multis saeculis ante suam aetatem in epulis esse cantitata a singulis convivis de clarorum virorum laudibus in Originibus scriptum reliquit Cato.*

[36] Corbeill 2001, 264.

[37] Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 1.10.31: *Quamvis autem satis iam ex ipsis quibus sum modo usus exemplis credam esse manifestum quae mihi et quatenus musice placeat, apertius tamen profitendum puto non hanc a me praecipi quae nunc in scaenis effeminata et inpudicis modis fracta non ex parte minima si quid in nobis virilis roboris manebat excidit, sed qua laudes fortium canebantur quaque ipsi fortes canebant.*

[38] Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 1.10.22.

[39] Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 1.12.19 *A me tamen nec ultra puerilis annos retinebitur nec in his ipsis diu. Neque enim gestum oratoris componi ad similitudinem saltationis volo, sed subesse aliquid ex hac exercitatione puerili, unde nos non id agentis furtim decor ille discentibus traditus prosequatur*.

[40] Horace *Carmen Saeculare 6-8.*

[41] Catullus 34, 1-4.

Macrobius' primary source for children learning dance appears to be Scipio Aemilianus (185–129 BC) which places this before our time period.[42]

Artistic representations show the association between dance and music, although the representation of musicians is more common than that of dancers. Fless and Moede speculate that representation of music and musicians is indicative of both music and dance, even where dance is not explicitly shown. They note that depictions which wished to represent a level of gravitas, such as those depicting religious ritual, at which the *collegium* of musicians was used, could not demonstrate this with the inclusion of dance, as a 'fast rhythm or excessive gesture' would infringe the conventions of the demonstration of due dignity. Artistic depictions of the Salii, for example, who were noted in literature for their dance (which is discussed in depth in 3.2.1), do not show their dance.[43] This convention may help us understand why there are fewer depictions of dance, but the scarcity of depictions adds to the complexity of researching Roman dance.

We face a further difficulty in the study of both music and dance in the Roman world, one which arises from the modern concepts of these artforms, and this is the separation of each into discrete areas of scholarship. Murray and Wilson term this the 'tendency towards atomization in the study of mousikē' in which there is a 'divorce of music from mousikē'.[44] This is complex and longstanding in scholarship, and is not something this work seeks to resolve. The difficulty in identification of dance and uncovering attitudes towards it, and indeed the need to identify dance across the Imperial world makes it necessary to retain some segregation, but the relationship between music and dance is something to be borne in mind in the exploration of the evidence in the chapters that follow. It is important to note throughout this work that music and dance are not 'divorced' in the ancient world and reference to one is likely to indicate both.

1.6 The evidence

The effect of the limitations of our evidence is to dictate the scope of enquiry, giving a primary focus on practices within Rome. I use a number of case studies to illustrate the

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[42] Macrobius *Saturnalia* 3.14.4, 6-7.
[43] Fless & Moede 2007, 256.
[44] Murray & Wilson 2004, 7.

range of dances and their social positions. During the Imperial age, as we see, there were developments in dance as entertainment, and a change in religious focus. There is also a, seemingly connected, negative attitude to dance reflected in the literature. A review of the dances of the period and the evidence for them shows that the attitudes reflected in the literature were not solely negative, but instead contradictory. There were dance forms which elicited approval and those which were condemned in the writing of the literary elite. I will review which dances were treated in each manner and why. This includes any limitations there were on each form as dictated by the values and practices of the period, and what the attitudes to dance shown in the evidence reveal about the values and structure of the society in which they are found. The evidence we have is, on the one hand, broad ranging: as well as literary sources from across, and in some cases beyond, the time period concerned, there are inscriptions and artistic representations in the form of frescos, sculptures and even a gem stone that will be referred to. The range of evidence, whist seemingly broad, is necessary to build any picture as each piece has limitations. For the literary and epigraphic evidence, in some cases the references are sparce, a passing note in literature or on an inscription and for some we are reliant on a single reference so it is hard to clarify or verify. Some literary sources are heavily influenced by a specific agenda, and for the artistic evidence there are artistic conventions to try and account for. For all evidence we need to account for a loss of cultural nuance because of the temporal distance. Dance is a kinaesthetic art form and is transmitted and taught through action, and, with no clear written or illustrative references, this makes it hard for us to envisage or to recreate the ancient dances. Dance notation is a more modern concept, first developed during the fifteenth century,[45] and whilst the rhetorical occupations of the elite left surviving texts designed for the instruction of practitioners, such as those produced by Cicero and Quintilian, there are no such texts for danced performance.[46] In literature, there are few detailed or realistic descriptions of the performances, and there are insufficient images of Roman dance for these to provide any clarity of form. Our sources instead are fragments of information, from artistic, literary, and epigraphic sources, all of which need to be brought

[45] Craine & Mackrell 2010.

[46] A number of Cicero's works offer instruction to the rhetorician including *De Inventione, De Oratore, De Partitionibus Oratoriae, De Optimo Genere,* Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria*.

together to build any picture of the dance forms and of the differing attitudes towards each within society.

Identification of dance in imagery from the period is difficult. Representation of movement was often subtle, and therefore hard to clearly identify as dance rather than another form of movement, or, as has been discussed above (1.5), representations of musicians could be used to represent the presence of both music and dance within the scene depicted. The images that we have are, by their nature, at best a moment in time and are affected by artistic conventions. Images that can clearly be identified as Roman dance are very few, and it is impossible to use them to help replicate any dance form from the period. Nevertheless, they can provide information on the contexts within which dance is found. For example, frescos showing rites of the Isiac cult show both choral and pantomimic dance being performed in this context (appendices, Fig 3), and one in Pompeii has been associated with the Dionysiac cult (Fig 15). It is a depiction on a gem which reveals the shields of the Salian priesthood (Fig 9), which, as will be seen in Chapter 3.2.1, were used within their dance. This image helps us to interpret the enigmatic description of these shields found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (c. 60 – 7 B.C.).[47] Statues and frescos show the Lares dancing, which will be discussed in chapter 3 (3.2.3), and small number of theatrical images have been identified as showing the masks of the pantomime.[48]

A different challenge is posed by epigraphic sources. These are invaluable for administrative information, particularly for the priesthoods who dance as part of their rites, the Salii (chapter 3.2.1) and the Arval brethren (chapter 3.2.2) but they reveal little of the attitudes towards the dance or dances. There are a number of inscriptions which refer to theatrical dancers, and whilst they do not convey any information about the dance itself, or attitudes towards it, they can provide a little about the dancer. Sick's work regarding female patrons of theatrical performers has been very helpful in collating epigraphic sources which help

[47] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.70.3*:* τῇ δ᾽ εὐωνύμῳ κατέχει πέλτην Θρᾳκίαν· ἡ δ᾽ ἐστὶ ῥομβοειδεῖ θυρεῷ στενωτέρας ἔχοντι τὰς λαγόνας ἐμφερής (appendices, T2).
[48] See Jory 2001, 1-20.

provide further information for references found in Pliny the Younger (A.D. 61 – c. 113) (chapter 4.2.2).[49]

Whilst artistic and epigraphic sources can help support the literary sources, it is the surviving literary evidence which provides a greatest resource. Literature from across the extent of the period concerned will be needed to build a picture, it nevertheless still presents challenges, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus' description of the Salii is indicative of some issues encountered. Despite being one of the best sources for the Salian priesthood, it does not contain a detailed description of the dance, although Dionysius does provide information on other aspects of the priestly performances such as the clothes worn. Within this text, there is also some indication of the societal attitude towards the priesthood, and, by association, their dance, as Dionysus states the priests are highly valued (τίμιος).[50] Whilst he provides invaluable information on the Salian priesthood, without which we would not have such a clear picture of some of their activities and attire, Dionysius wrote from a Greek perspective. He illustrated for his audience certain aspects of Roman culture of particular interest, and this inevitably colours the information that survives for us. The agenda of the literary source is an issue which is encountered across the temporal and geographical breadth of the sources used within this work. From the opposite chronological end of the sources in this work, Procopius' (A.D. c. 482–565) work[51] is cited for information about the pantomimic performances,[52] but his image of the pantomime as erotic and obscene is driven by a desire to denounce the empress Theodora, because of her career as a dancer and actress. Procopius as a source, therefore, must be used with care, and always with note of this negative agenda and the associated exaggerations and rhetorical associations this brings. Despite this, there is also value in the literary context of the work as the fact that Procopius could still, as late as the sixth century, turn to a rhetorical trope which denounced danced entertainments (something which will be further covered in chapter 4), demonstrates a continuing recognition of the pantomime, but also the continued literary association between theatrical dance with the erotic and obscene. The problem that is faced throughout

[49] Sick 1999, 342-343.
[50] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.70.2 (appendices, T2).
[51] Procopius, *Anecdota* 9 (appendices, T3).
[52] E.g., in Webb 2008a, 5.

this work, and in dealing with the evidence we have, is to what extent representations are realistic. No ancient representation of ritual practice is a full account of practice in all places or at all times. In most cases, authors were not trying to accurately represent practices. What they provide is a combination of ritual, mythological and archaic practice in which there are sufficient identifiable aspects of each for the audience to find a recognisable context for the cult and potentially cult practice. Similarly, for representations of theatrical performances, where the work is driven by an author's moral agenda, exaggerations for rhetorical effect would be obvious to the audience, in a way which is lost to us.

Such literature was produced by and for a literate, intellectual section of society. So, whilst arguments and attitudes are recognisable, they represent only a small section of society with a particular agenda. Trying to identify attitudes towards dance from any other section of society is very difficult. The performers themselves had no voice. Although professionals in their field, they were primarily from the lower classes, and therefore were neither the audience nor the authors of the surviving literature. All that survives from the dancers themselves are a few honorific inscriptions, which show that there were dancers in a financial position to leave such epitaphs. This itself is revealing, showing the popularity of the art form which could raise the performers to such wealth. The popularity and influence of performers is revealed through the complaint against danced entertainments found in the literary record.

Throughout, the study of Roman dance is full of contrasts. On the one hand we see a moralistic stance which depicts dance as inappropriate, on the other, as we see from Plutarch, dance is also considered to be appropriate, aesthetically pleasing and is compared to poetry as he writes that dance is considered to be 'silent poetry and poetry articulate dance'. Despite this, Plutarch also adheres to an established trope of a lost golden age, and he compares dance to rhetoric, claiming that it has undergone a similar decline. According to Plutarch, dance had lost favour with the elite, and, importantly, it is theatrical dance which is to blame for this.

> καὶ γὰρ αὕτη πάνδημόν τινα ποιητικὴν προσεταιρισαμένη τῆς δ᾽ οὐρανίας ἐκπεσοῦσ᾽ ἐκείνης, τῶν μὲν ἐμπλήκτων καὶ ἀνοήτων κρατεῖ θεάτρων, ὥσπερ τύραννος ὑπήκοον

> ἑαυτῇ πεποιημένη μουσικὴν ὀλίγου τὴν ἅπασαν, τὴν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι καὶ θείοις ἀνδράσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς τιμὴν ἀπολώλεκε.
>
> Dancing has indeed made a profane poetry her companion and fallen out of favour with the other heavenly kind; and having tyrannously brought almost all music under her sway, she is mistress of the caprice and folly of the theatres, but has lost her honour among men who have intelligence and may properly be called divine.[53]

This impression of moral decline, of which Plutarch provides one example, is one which has passed into the work of later authors on dance. Fitton attempts to follow this to create a timeline, in which he dates this 'decline in prestige' to after the fifth century B.C., at which point 'it became an ungentlemanly thing, suitable only for the socially inferior, or, as Cicero said, for drunkards'.[54] This impression of a decline, whether in reference to Greek dance (Fitton), or dance across antiquity, is a simplification. It takes the literary trope of a prior golden age literally, and fails to account for social changes or diversification in form. It does not allow for the distortions imposed by the surviving evidence, or the concerns of the authorship about a rise in popularity of dance.

These are all aspects which will be seen throughout this work. Not all dance is considered equal, and, even for the Greeks, for whom dance permeated all aspects of their culture, some dances were deemed immoral and disruptive. There are a number of examples of dance forms which are at the low end of the hierarchy of acceptance. Castanet dancers, for example, were subject to particular criticism of lasciviousness: In the *Copa,* Virgil (70 B.C. – 19 B.C.) speaks of a castanet dance, accompanied by drink, which is performed as part of seduction.[55] This attitude towards these dancers seems to be long-standing as Macrobius reports Scipio's (236 – 183 B.C.) scathing criticism of a boy castanet dancing, in which he claims that such dancing would 'disgrace a shameless slave' (…*impudicus servulus honeste saltare non posset*).[56] Kraemer's comment that Scipio's criticism is 'just as much from the Roman aversion to dancing in general as from the fact that the castanet dance was unusually objectionable' is, again, a generalisation, and one which reflects a view that this work seeks

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[53] Plutarch *Quaestiones Convivales* 9.15.2 (747C, 748A, and 748 C-D) (appendices T1).
[54] Cicero *Pro Murena* 13 (appendices, T6), Fitton 1973.259.
[55] Virgil *Copa* 1-4.
[56] Macrobius 3.14.7 (appendices, T4).

to rectify, that the Romans were 'averse' to dance.[57] Macrobius writes in the early 5th century but reports a Republican source. His work is a difficult source because he relies heavily on older sources, and it is therefore hard to know to what extent Macrobius reveals anything of his own time.[58] It is hard to know whether his audience would recognise and be receptive to what he writes about and the attitudes shown from the context of their own time, or whether it would be recognisable to them only as part of the historical context. Macrobius has a specific agenda and context within which the report of Scipio's comment on castanet dancing is found, which is noticeable when the broader context within with the comment is found is explored. The need to examine the context of a reference to dance is an issue which will be found throughout this work, and examining the broader context of the report of Scipio's criticism is examined, there is a specific agenda. In many sources, direct references to or comments about dance are brief, and taken alone, can be misleading. They require further context to reveal more about attitudes towards dance. Such is the case when looking at Macrobius' use of Scipio. Scipio is cited by Macrobius as part of an argument focused on dance as inappropriate for the upper classes, and in Macrobius' report of the comments of Scipio, Scipio is concerned with the children of the elite being taught dance, and this is something of which he disapproves. His surprise at the number of children he saw at a dancing school shows the popularity of the art.[59] In Macrobius' argument, immediately preceding the reference to Scipio, is a reference to Sallust's (86 B.C.– c.35 B.C.) criticism of Sempronia, who is subject to a range of criticisms, amongst which is playing instruments and dancing elegantly, but this is more than is proper or necessary for a noblewoman (*psallere [et] saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probae*…). These accomplishments are not praised but described as 'instruments of wantonness (*luxuriae*) and are linked to her holding modesty and chastity, virtues of the Roman matron, in low regard.[60]

The evidence, therefore, must be treated with care and reviewed within the broader context in which it sits to gain the best view of both practice and attitudes. Contradictions are rife, and

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[57] Kraemer 1931, 135.
[58] Kaster 2010, 65.
[59] Macrobius 3.14.7 …*sed cum ductus sum in ludum saltatorium, plus medius fidius in eo ludo vidi pueris virginibusque quinquaginta*… (appendices, T4).
[60] Sallust *Bellum Catilinae* 25, 1-3. Macrobius 3.14.5: *adeo et ipse Semproniam reprehendit non quod saltare, sed quod optime scierit* (appendices, T4).

the task of identification of true attitudes complicated by rhetorical agenda. These contradictions shape the structure of this work, as they are most notable between dances which are part of ritual, the sacred dances (for which a more detailed definition is in chapter 3) and those as entertainment, the secular. Yet the two are linked, for danced entertainment was part of religious festivals, and there is therefore a connection between ritual and entertainment which we do not have today, a link between the holy day and the holiday that has been lost.

Whether the performance would fall into our categories of sacred or secular, it held a place within, and was understood by, the community within which it was performed. As Hanna states, 'just as a key feature of human speech is that any speaker of a language is capable of producing and understanding an indefinitely large number of utterances never encountered, so, in dance performance, new sequences of movement and gesture may be created by the performer and understood by the audience'.[61] This interaction between dancer and audience may be explained in terms of the theory of liminality and *communitas*. Dancers in the ancient world shared some of the characteristics which Turner defines as liminal as they 'fall in the interstices of social structure, are on its margins and occupy its lowest rungs'. As will be seen, there were both sacred and secular dancers who were from the lowest sections of society (like the mime and pantomime, see Chapter 4) or from its margins (such as the priests of the 'foreign' cult of Cybele, see chapter 3.3.1). This liminality is more complex for those sacred dancers who were from the higher echelons of society, but, as will be seen in chapter 3.2, their actions were noted as unusual and, as such, they were temporarily removed from the usual social structure. Danced performances, whether sacred or secular, created a sense of *communitas* which appealed to 'an essential and generic human bond'. Dance transcends boundaries, and can communicate with its audience through unregulated means. The dances of the Salii and Arval Brethren were viewed with approval because they fitted and maintained societal structure (see 3.2). These rites demonstrate the anthropological homeostatic theory and reveal a deliberate use of tradition. They were customs from antiquity whose preservation was part of a deliberate maintenance of societal

[61] Hanna 1979, 35.

structures. In these examples, dance preserved order. Conversely, some dances were perceived as disorderly: dances performed whilst drunk, and theatrical dances are subject to criticism in the literature both for immorality and as part of a broader, moralist trope. Dances which do not actively maintain order can be seen as dangerous.[62] As has been stated, the surviving literature does not reflect of the view of the whole of society, only a particular subset, and the moralising literary trope portrays a discourse which was set by the time of the late Republic. Whether or not this trope ever actually reflected social values, it was one which, once established, was rehearsed long after the Republic. Brown summarises this: 'What we have is an Empire whose tone had long been set by sombre and careful persons.'[63] Thus, throughout the evidence, we find a series of contradictions to work through between the literary discourse and the actual attitudes of those within society.

1.7 The current state of research

Modern scholarship on dance is found across the fields of not only anthropology and history but also medicine, therapy, and pedagogy. Historically, research on dance has formed part of anthropological studies and it is, for example, prominent in J.G. Frazer's 1890 work, *The Golden Bough.* Research on dance in the ancient world, as we have seen, has been skewed towards dance in Ancient Greece. Although there are brief references within some encyclopaedic volumes both on the history of sport[64] and on the classical world[65] to dance in the Roman era, it does not receive the same attention as Greek dance.

As this work will show, in the Roman Imperial era, dance was a feature of society which manifested in both public and in private, in religious practice and in entertainment, and which could be found across the whole expanse of the Empire. Despite this, there has not been a great deal of research on the subject. Hanna remarks that 'scholars generally have a limited view of dance, although it is a nearly universal and often complex behaviour.[66] There is some justification for this criticism in relation to the study of dance in the ancient world.

[62] Turner 1969, 125, 97, 109, 127.
[63] Brown 1988, 22.
[64] Grove 1907.
[65] Warnecke 1932.
[66] Hanna 1979, 8.

As Hanna observes, it is only after World War II that 'nonverbal communication… studies develop.'[67] Prior to this there are studies of the ancient world which encompass dance, but the primary aim of these works is to catalogue activity, and whilst these works remain an invaluable resource for practices and the collation of related source materials, they do not discuss the attitudes found within these sources: Wissowa's *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (1902), for example, is a comprehensive work on Roman religion and the primary aim of this work is to catalogue the religious activities of Rome. Within this work, Wissowa describes the dances found in a number of Roman religious rituals, and in many of these he sees Greek influences: 'Denn griechisch ist der ganze Brauch von Anfang bis zu Ende,'[68] he says, reviewing the evidence of a ritual as described by Livy (59 B.C. – A.D.17).[69] In the expiatory ritual of 207 B.C. described by Livy, a procession of girls stops in the Forum and use the Forum in the manner of the Greek dancing grounds, singing and dancing there. Wissowa sees a relationship between dance and play in Roman religion, similar to the relationship which Lonsdale explores in depth in relation to Greek dance.[70] Wissowa considers that *ludere* and *saltare* are synonymous, yet the reference to the dance of the Salii within this work, a dance which, as will be seen (chapter 3.2.1), was a notable and important part of the rites of the priesthood, is limited to mentioning their dances as an accompaniment to their song and 'a game' for Mars.[71] Geiger's 1920 entry in *RE* similarly primarily catalogues the evidence.[72] Cirilli's 1913 *Les Prêtres danseurs de Rome* is the only major scholarly work on the Salian priesthood is. In this work, which represents a thesis of 1912 supervised by Jules Toutain,[73] Cirilli diligently catalogues the evidence for the Salian priesthood, bringing together source material and covering all aspects of it: origin mythology, ritual attire, organisation, and ritual practice. In this work, he also attempts to reconstruct the movements of the Salian dance, and the possible veracity of this reconstruction will be further discussed in Chapter 3.2.1. Although from its title, *De Saltatione pantomimorum,*

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[67] Hanna 1988, 281.
[68] Wissowa 1902, 360.
[69] Livy 27.37.
[70] Lonsdale 1993, 21-43.
[71] Wissowa 1902, 382.
[72] Geiger 1920, 1876-1899.
[73] 'Le Collège des danseurs sacrés (Les Saliens)': see http://www.sudoc.fr/088703029 and https://www.persee.fr/doc/ephe_0000-0002_1911_num_25_21_19799 [accessed 18.11.19]

Bier's 1917 dissertation, published in 1920, would appear to provide a similar depth of information to that provided by Cirilli on the Salii on the Roman pantomime dancer, this is neither the aim or outcome of the work. Its primary aim is not to research pantomime performance or performer, but rather to attempt to date Lucian's (c. A.D. 120 – 190) work, *De Saltatione*, and in this, Bier does not offer insights into the dance nor any sociological perspective on dance and dancers. Weege's *Der Tanz in der Antike* (1926) is also less helpful for our study than the title leads one to believe. Although Weege attempts to catalogue dance forms in the ancient world and has chapters on Egyptian, Greek and Roman dance, the primary focus of the work is on Greece. The chapter on Roman dance is not only considerably shorter than the others but focuses on the pantomime. A similar focus on Greece and comparatively brief reference to the Roman dance is found in Warnecke's entry in *RE*, 'Tanzkunst' (1932). This encyclopedic article on dance mentions pantomime as a development of dance in the Roman era but devotes little space to any Roman dance. Wüst's *RE* entry, 'Pantomimus' (1949), is, in contrast, entirely devoted to the pantomime. This is comprehensive and invaluable as a catalogue of evidence but does not provide any sociological perspective.

The earlier works did much to catalogue the evidence, but scholarship in the post-war period developed a different agenda. Works in this period built on the earlier studies, and developed more theoretical and interdisciplinary research. The study of Greek dance benefitted from this initially, and Lawler's work in this area was comprehensive. Her 1964 work, *The Dance in Ancient Greece,* examines the range of sources for Greek dance, reviewing the evidence for these. Within this work, she considers the forms of Greek dance and categorises these, grouping together forms of animal dance, dances within drama, those of festivals and those of mystery cults. Lawler also wrote a series of articles on Greek dance, each of which focussed on either specific evidence or on a specific dance. Although Lawler's focus is on Greek dance, her work proves valuable for in siting Roman dance in the context of the ancient world (chapter 2.3). Her 1954 article, *Phora, Schêma, Deixis in the Greek Dance*, is particularly useful as it looks in detail at the terminology used by Plutarch when describing the elements of the dance, which, as already noted above (chapter 1.2) is likely to

refer to the performance of the pantomime.[74] She reviews a range of ancient literature to in relation to each term that Plutarch identifies with dance, and reviews to what extent each term is used in relation to dance in other sources. Analysing these terms, she develops the understanding of each term in relation to dance. Each has a broad scope, and she concludes that, whilst these are descriptive terms which relate to dance, they are not technical terms. Following Lawler's work, Lonsdale's *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion* (1993) focuses on dance within the cult and festival settings. In this, he uses Platonic thought and theory as a primary source for the 'matters of religion and social custom'.[75] He categorises religious dances using Platonic ideas of ordering dance, the cosmic and choral dances, and disordering dance, dances which invert the normal order.[76] He also uses Plato as a basis for exploration of dances performed at transitional periods of life: the pyrrhic for boys and those found in the Arkteia for girls, those of courtship and marriage and at the end of life. The summary of anthropological theories in relation to dance that Lonsdale articulates in relation to Greek dance are, as noted in chapter 1.1, also useful in relation to Roman dance.

It is only more recently that Roman dance has been given greater attention in scholarship. This has largely focused on pantomime and dances found in a theatrical context. Roman theatre was the subject of Beare's 1964 work *The Roman Stage* and Beacham's subsequent *The Roman Theatre and its Audience* of 1995, but both focus on plays and devote little discussion to the pantomime, despite its performance throughout the Imperial age, and therefore offer little assistance to this study. This is indicative of the marginal place held by mime and pantomime in scholarship on theatre until very recently, despite Pantomime being viewed by some modern scholars as 'an important cultural development',[77] and 'the most popular, and perhaps the most interesting and aesthetically complex, of all Roman theatrical forms'.[78] In contrast, Webb's *Demons and Dancers* and Hall and Wyles' *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime* have proved invaluable. These works, both published in 2008, indicated a new interest in Roman dance, particularly Roman theatrical dance.

[74] Plutarch *Quaestiones Convivales* 9.15.2 (747C-E) (appendices, T1).
[75] Lonsdale 1993, xvi.
[76] Plato *Laws* 653Ee-654a.
[77] Hall 2002, 28.
[78] Griffith 2007, 32.

Modern interest in pantomime is fuelled by increasing attention to the popular culture of the ancient world. Popular culture is difficult to identify in the ancient world for a number of reasons. This is not simply due to lack of evidence, but because popular culture is a modern concept and construct which itself is hard to define. Grig helpfully reviews in detail the complexity of the attempt to define popular culture. She perceives popular culture as encompassing 'quantitatively superior, qualitatively inferior, mass culture, a product of 'the people'' but that it is both embedded in, and has a dynamic relationship with, the 'dominant culture'.[79] It presents many facets, of which dance is one. Dance is found across the breadth of Roman culture and modern scholarly interest in popular culture so far has looked at the theatrical dance, and, with limited exception, has not extended to the more ritual aspects of sacred dance in Roman culture. Thus, despite an increased interest in dance in the Imperial age, there are few works which look to site dance in society as a whole, something this work, alongside a number of other, very recent works, seeks to address. The growth of interest in scholarship on Roman sacred dance is revealed in Naerebout's 2009 article 'Das Reich Tanzt…Dance in the Roman Empire and its discontents',[80] but the most relevant is Alonso Fernández' doctoral dissertation of 2011. Alonso Fernández' thesis was published after the conception of this work, and similarly attempts to address the lack of broader consideration of Roman dance in the scholarly literature.[81] Whilst the limited nature of the evidence means that much of the same source material is covered, her work approaches the topic in a different way: she gives a detailed review of the language of dance as well as a direct comparison between Greek and Roman dance. The focus here is on attitudes, how these vary between dances and over time. The growing number of works reveal an increased interest in Roman dance which encompasses dance in all areas of society. Dance is part of the 'network of social stratification' and the survival and acceptance of certain dance-types becomes part of the 'strain for cultural consistency and aesthetic phenomena'. In the case of sacred dances, dance is part of the experience of religion, and, in both sacred and secular contexts, dance 'functions as a multidimensional phenomenon'.[82] Dance provides an

[79] Grig 2017, 3-9.
[80] Naerebout 2009.
[81] Alonso Fernández 2011.
[82] Hanna 1971, 25.

experience of the culture within which it sits which is accessible across the breadth of society because its physical nature.

A range of research can inform the study of the dance in the ancient world. Theatrical scholarship, for example, can assist our understanding of the pantomime. The pantomime was a masked performance, and, in theatrical scholarship, a conscious analysis of the difference between masked and un-masked performance has been undertaken. Unlike ancient or Eastern theatre (such as the Noh theatre of Japan), the mask is not a common feature of western theatre or society, and some scholars see this as a point of distinction, but they view this from the culture which is uncomfortable with the use of the mask.[83] In contrast, a society which uses and accepts the mask as a norm in performance has a different perception. It sees beyond the mask itself, accepting that a mask offers a means of transformation into more than is literally shown. The development of a theatrical tradition which excludes the mask has led to a very different view of the use of mask in theatrical performance and this has influenced the perception of the modern authors in their commentary on the ancient theatre. Hall's exploration of the use of the mask shows performers found that they experienced an 'objectivity of art,' experience of a role, being or feeling, whilst retaining detachment. Through Hall's research we find that the use of a mask allows the wearer to know and experience things which would not otherwise be socially acceptable or possible within cultural confines, such as portraying a deity or inappropriate social behaviour.[84] Whilst distance between character and actor may have had a part to play in the ancient use of the mask, particularly if, as Livy (59 B.C. – A.D. c. 17) implies, it was noblemen who undertook the roles in the *Fabulae Atellanae*,[85] the convention of the mask was integral. Jevons' comment on the mask in Greek theatre is equally pertinent to Roman: 'masks and acting… were inseparable… the idea that it was even possible to act a part or to perform in a play without wearing a mask was one which never occurred to the mind of those responsible for the… stage.'[86] As will be seen in Chapter 4, the use of the mask can

[83] Wiles 2007a,181 explores a range of possible reasons why Christianity, in particular, is uncomfortable with the use of the mask, citing an association between masks and idolatry, and a separation between human and divine such that the divine cannot be directly seen by the human.
[84] Hall 2000, 24-25.
[85] Livy 7.2.
[86] Jevons 1916, 173-4.

play a part in the attitudes of the Roman authors towards the theatrical dance and dancer. The lack of mask in the performance of the mime leads to a relationship between both actor and character and actor and audience and feeds into criticism of the performer and performance in the literature.

Anthropological theories of dance consider the cultural significance of performances and how this affects the understanding of the audience: Writing in the 1970s, Lange, an ethnologist and dance researcher, claims that dances performed for entertainment emphasise 'the social integration of the… community',[87] and Hanna, writing at the end of the same decade, looks at the relationship between the audience and the performance. According to Hanna, whose work provides helpful insight in relation to understanding some of the aspects of transmission and interaction between audience and performance which have been lost from the ancient world, the reception of performance is dependent on cultural knowledge. Without the cultural context, even if the story is clear, nuances and subtleties which form part of the intertext of the story and the performance will be lost, and this is particularly pertinent when considering ancient dance as we have lost not only the form but also much of the cultural nuance. Dance performance involves a cultural interaction on multiple levels because of the interplay of gesture, story and music.[88] In accordance with anthropological theories, participation in such a performance does not have to mean taking part in the movement itself as the relationship between theatrically performed dance and its audience is also culturally significant. It is demonstrative of the understanding between audience and performer and the reaction of the audience to the dance is indicative of the place the dance holds in the society. The work of Lévi-Strauss and his theory of Binary Opposition is also useful in the study of ancient dance.[89] As Wiles states, it is 'helpful in relation to Greek culture because the tendency to think in terms of binary oppositions is so apparent in Greece.'[90] Lloyd identifies several ways in which oppositions are used in Greek culture and the same 'composition of opposites' can be seen in attitudes towards dance, particularly theatrical dance, in the Imperial age, and will be found

[87] Lange 1975, 92.
[88] Hanna 1979, 61.
[89] Lévi-Strauss 1955, 428-444.
[90] Wiles 1991, 73.

particularly in chapter 4 and chapter 5.[91] In these chapters, we will see the opposition between the religious activities, and attitudes, of pagan and Christian, the opposition of public and private, and of popular and moral, which, when it comes to the theatre, are at opposite ends of the scale – at least according to elite authors.

Whilst the current research specifically into Roman dance is limited, anthropological, theatrical and historical research can all help expand the understanding of the dances found in the Imperial age, and the attitudes found in our evidence towards these. All of these elements support the consideration of a fuller picture of dance in the Imperial age, for which, although Rome provides the primary focus, the broader ancient world offers further context.

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[91] Lloyd 1966 15-85, Aristotle *Metaphysics* 4.2.21.1004b.

CHAPTER 2: DANCE AND THE CONTEXT OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

2.1 Dance and the context of the ancient world - Introduction

In the height of the Empire, Rome ruled over a vast area, an area which ranged from Britain in the north, to northern Africa in the south, from Gaul in the west, to Mesopotamia in the east. Under the Empire, all that came before the Roman dominion continued to have an influence, from local cultures to the effect of previous conquerors. So, whilst Rome was the centre of the Empire, and it provides the vast majority of our evidence, it did not exist in isolation, nor was activity in Rome necessarily demonstrative or indicative of activity throughout the empire. The empire covered a range of cultures, each with their own history, traditions, and practices and, together, these formed the cultural intertext within which the daily life of the empire functioned. Not only is it likely that local practices were, in many places, retained, but that, through the transmission of cult practices and the movement of peoples, these practices themselves also influenced Rome throughout its growth and development. Despite the breadth of practice, the limited evidence, which focuses on Rome and the writings of a subset of society, has led to statements of Roman ambivalence towards dance, without considering the wider world of the empire.[92]

Showing dance in the wider ancient world clarifies the place of dance in Rome and, more broadly, Roman social situations under the Empire. Reviewing the broader context of the cultures with which Rome interacts, we can attempt to identify in what ways Roman dance practices are unique or comparable with those in other ancient societies. This comparison will briefly examine the evidence for the dance practices in these cultures so that the ways in which they conflicted with, concurred with or influenced practices and attitudes at Rome can be established. The cultures that will be reviewed in this chapter are those which have the greatest interaction with Rome. The evidence we have for dance in the different cultures of the ancient world varies greatly both in quantity and quality. This chapter will start by looking north of the immediate confines of Rome itself, to the Etruscans, from whom the evidence is principally iconographic. The chapter will then look to the south, at the Greek world which included Southern Italy and much of the Eastern Mediterranean, as these were home to Greek settlements. The Greek world provides a wealth of evidence for dance.

[92] Harmon 2004, 75.

Consideration of Egypt will follow. Egypt was under Greek rule following the conquest of Alexander, and, as Grimal states, although it can be argued that Egypt after 332B.C. was Greek, it did not lose its identity,[93] and Egypt had its own dance traditions. Much of the evidence for the historic Egyptian traditions are too far outside the scope of this work to be of more than limited relevance here, as much of the evidence, although rich, is from the period of the Egyptian Kingdoms. This said, it is certain that Egypt, albeit a later and more Hellenised Egypt, has an impact on Rome. There is some, more limited, evidence from the Near East, the most lasting and the most relevant of which can be found in Judaic dance practices. Whilst there were other historic practices in the ancient Near East on which some of the historic references in the Jewish literature may cast some light, these too are substantially before the Roman times we are considering. Unfortunately, for much of the Empire, the surviving evidence is too limited to offer any useful insight into dance practices or customs, or to draw any useful comparison with what one finds in Rome. For example, there is little evidence for dance in the more northerly and western areas of the Empire, apart from some rather enigmatic references to the Hispanic provinces. This area was, according to Martial, renowned for its dancing girls,[94] and Strabo (63 B.C. – c. A.D. 24), citing Posidonius (c. 135 – 51 B.C.), reports a ritual practice of nocturnal ritual dance there, claiming that the Celtiberians and their neighbours to the north celebrate rites to an unnamed god by dancing in chorus at night on the full moon.[95] This reference is to a ritual dance, and will therefore be revisited in Chapter 3.2.4. These references are so rare that the veracity of their description is difficult to ascertain.

This chapter provides a context for what comes hereafter and identifies similarities and differences in practice. This is as much as can usefully be done for our purposes, given the usual limitations of the evidence. In any case, one chapter obviously cannot provide a detailed study of dance within these cultures. Indeed, in most cases, such studies exist, and do not need to be replicated here. So here we will see how these practices influenced and how Roman practice compared with other cultures both around it and within its empire. Incorporation under Roman rule did not, after all, repress local practices, and, even where

[93] Grimal 1992, 383.
[94] Martial 14.203.
[95] Strabo 3.4.16.

evidence does not survive, what was already established locally is likely to have been retained long after.

2.2 Etruscan dance

Cherici, in a helpful section in a broad ranging work on the Etruscans which focuses on dance, states that 'our understanding of Etruscan dance is… inevitably spotty and based solely on images.'[96] Despite this 'spotty' understanding, it is clear that dance permeates Etruscan culture: it is found in scenic entertainments, ritual processions and as part of funerary rites. Whilst Greek influence can be seen in a number of these images, such as the representations of dancing Maenads,[97] there are also representations which seem to show purely Etruscan dances. As has been noted, the evidence is primarily pictorial, found in a number of surviving frescos, however there is also some further information is provided in Roman literature. According to Johnstone, there are twenty-one Etruscan tombs with frescos of dance scenes,[98] of which several are reproduced in the appendices at the end of this work. Livy credits the Etruscans with a strong performance tradition. It is their speciality in dance and performance which cause the Romans to bring them into Rome for entertainments designed to pacify the anger of the gods. Livy would have us believe that, at the time, these were entirely new to the Romans,[99] who were a previously warlike people. It is perhaps doubtful that the Romans were at this stage '*sine carmine ullo'*, but, in any case, there is a significant introduction of new, Etruscan, practice at this time.

As far as we can see from the evidence, much of which is from a funeral context, being found on tomb frescos, some sarcophagi, burial urns and monuments and some Etruscan vases,[100] dances were of a number of different forms: an armed dance, which Johnstone sees as more similar to playing with martial equipment than a pyrrhic dance, funeral dances,

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[96] Cherici 2017, 234.
[97] For example, that discussed by Lee 1955.
[98] Johnstone 1956, 11.
[99] Livy 7.2 (appendices, T5).
[100] Johnstone 1965, 11-123 covers all the examples of Tomb frescos, sarcophagi and urns, vases and bronzes and mirrors which show dance in detail, and identifies where there are scenes which may be copies of Greek images rather than representative of Etruscan practices for each.

and dances as entertainment.[101] According to Jannot,[102] who focuses on religion in Etruria is therefore interested in ritual dance in Etruria, dance is also found more widely in ritual,[103] although Johnstone disagrees, concluding that there is no sacred dance shown on the tomb frescos, and that there is limited representation on stelae and urns. The evidence is certainly limited. In her comprehensive review of the evidence, Johnstone sees no evidence of any chain dance or dances around sacred objects.[104] Jannot suggests that a representation of a bird-headed dancer, which is found on the antefix of a temple at Pyrgi, is part of solar cult.[105] There are a number of bird-headed representations, and Krauskopf sees oriental influences in these bird-headed creatures,[106] though one cannot judge to what extent their movement represents any dance in cult practice.

Whether dance was found in cult ritual or not, representation of dance as part of funeral ritual is common in Etruscan art. An amphora of the Micali painter (appendices, Fig. 4) depicts a series of dancers in procession accompanied by castanet players. Jannot states that the procession depicted on this amphora should be categorised as a funeral ceremony.[107] Such processions were part of the funeral rites, but, in artistic representation, they also indicated travel to the underworld. These travels replicate the funeral procession and again there were images of dancers who were accompanied by musicians.[108] Etruscan art 'incorporates the iconography of everyday official and religious ritual,'[109] so these representations show that dance and dancers formed part of funeral rites and funeral processions. Funeral banquets also provided an occasion for dance and other entertainments, and the frescos in the Tarquinian Tomb of the Leopard (appendices, Fig. 1) and the Tomb of the Triclinium (appendices, Fig. 2) depict dancers amongst those reclining for the feast, and alongside musicians, athletes and servants. Some of these dances, such as those seen in the dancer on the right of the Tomb of the Triclinium image (appendices, Fig.

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[101] Johnstone 1965, 146-148.
[102] See Jannot 2005, 110, fig 6.14.
[103] To see the definition of sacred dance used in this work, see Chapter 3.
[104] Johnstone 1956, 45-6, 76-8, 139.
[105] Jannot 2005, 110, fig 6.14.
[106] Krauskopf, 1997, 27-31.
[107] Jannot 2005, 42.
[108] Holliday 1990, 75-76.
[109] Holliday 1990, 93.

2) seem to have florid or possibly ecstatic movements which differ from those shown elsewhere on the frescos, and whose purpose is difficult to ascertain. Although Jannot describes these as 'dances of reanimation',[110] this description is bold, as it is difficult to determine whether these different images do represent different types of dance and, if so, what the purpose of these dances may have been. The more elaborate movements represented show some similarities to a number of Greek representations of maenadic dance, with the upturned gaze and stylised arm movements (appendices, Figs 7 and 8), although it is impossible to make any further inference from this.

There is a query as to who the performers seen in the representations are and what their status may have been. In the fresco on the Tomb of the Funeral Bed in Tarquinia there are dancing girls, who are likely to be either slaves or professionals, but the actors and dancers brought to Rome for the *Ludi,* as reported by Livy,[111] are, according to Cherici, people of rank. Whether the performers at Rome were of the higher social classes or not, Cherici sees evidence of dance in all echelons of society in the representations. He finds a depiction of the *komos,* a dance that 'concludes the banquets of the men of the ruling classes,' on architectural slabs,[112] and a cippus base from Chiusi (appendices, Fig. 5) shows competitions, which include dance, at funerary games. The prizes, judges and performers are shown and these include both pyrrhic dances and dancing girls accompanied by flute players as well as athletics and chariot races. Brendel surmises that in the image, one dancing girl represented a 'whole troupe'.[113]

From Livy, we hear of Etruscan performers imported into Rome to appease the gods after a 'pestilence.' That performers were brought in for this purpose shows the renown which performers from Etruria had for their skills. The dancing in these performances, according to Livy, is in a manner which was novel for the Romans, being accompanied by a flute player. So, in Livy's account, Etruscan practice was directly imported into Rome, and the Etruscans provided performers and performances for a Roman audience, although the actual inter-connection between the cultures is more complex than this. Despite the divinely sanctioned

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[110] Jannot 2005, 48- 49.
[111] Livy 7.2 (appendices, T5).
[112] Cherici 2017, 241-2.
[113] Brendel 1978, 279-280.

introduction of Etruscan dance into Rome, in their writings, both Livy and Virgil treat Etruscan dance with some suspicion.[114] This is part of 'well defined *topoi*' in literature in which Etruscans are represented as non-Roman. In this portrayal, they are shown as excessively opulent and as morally flawed.[115] Livy's assertion that actors and dancers were imported into Rome for the *Ludi* reflects this suspicion: although he admits that the dances themselves are 'not ungraceful',[116] he states that they were brought into Rome because the people had succumbed to superstition and, in desperation were looking to foreign customs.[117] There is a further trope in ancient literature which is a discourse against superstition, and Livy associates the 'non-Roman-ness' of the Etruscans with both dance and superstition. Polybius (c. 200 – 118 B.C.) sees superstition in Rome as useful in the management of the multitude, and for this reason he feels that the dismissal of it by the authors of his age is foolish. He sees the Roman religion as superior, because of the superstitions within it, which he sees as maintaining state cohesion with the levels of pomp with which it is celebrated which appeal to the masses.[118]

Following the same trope which shows the Etruscans as different and non-Roman, Virgil is similarly scathing when he focuses on Etruscan opulence. He accuses the Etruscans of only being interested in opulent banquets, eating, drinking and dancing in the service of Venus and Bacchus, quick to join the Bacchic dances and with a passion for feasts.[119] The Etruscan love of food and drink is also shown in the feasts represented in tomb paintings and reference is found in Posidonius,[120] but Virgil's implication is derogatory. They are being goaded into action, and their enjoyment of these pleasures are not simply gastronomic appreciation but opulence. This associates them with another recognisable literary and moralist trope, that against excess. This trope will be explored more fully in chapter 4, particularly 4.3, as it occurs in reference to dance as entertainment. It is difficult from such rhetorically charged evidence to identify the impact of Etruscan dance. Whilst being represented as other and different, Livy

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[114] Virgil *Aeneid* 11.736-40.
[115] Bittarello 2009, 219.
[116] Foster's translation, Loeb edition.
[117] Livy 7.2 (appendices T5).
[118] Polybius 6.56.12.
[119] Virgil *Aeneid* 11.736-40: …at non in Venerem segnes nocturnaque bella, / aut ubi curva choros indixit tibia Bacchi / exspectate dapes et plenae pocula mensae / (hic amor, hoc studium)…
[120] Posidonius *BNJ* 87, F119.

also shows that dance was deemed necessary, and it is clear that the Etruscans had a strong theatrical tradition which fed into the development of Roman theatre and its practices, even if the surviving literary references are couched within well established, xenophobic, topoi.

2.2.1 Etruscan dance and Roman dance.

There are differences between Roman and Etruscan dance practices, yet there are also prominent similarities. Dance in funeral processions found in Etruria is not found in Rome. It is notable that Holliday's examples of funeral procession iconography after Roman rule of Etruria lack dancers, although musicians are still shown in some.[121] Although lacking the funeral context, Jannot sees the influence of Etruscan processional dance in Roman practices.[122] He compares the procession depicted in the amphora of the Micali painter (appendices, Fig. 4) to that described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (c. 60 – 7 B.C.) at the Roman games of 490 B.C.,[123] in which there is both a pyrrhic dance and dancers who imitate satyrs, as seen on the amphora.

The procession of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the cippus base from Chiusi both show a dance in a pyrrhic style. Representations of pyrrhic style dance in Etruria are found not only on the funeral frescos but also on a number of amphorae. The amphora of the Heptachord and a silver situla of Plikasna from Chiusi both show depictions of a dance in armour which has been 'interpreted as a sacred dance,'[124] and these dances have been linked to the Roman dance performed by the Salian priesthood, which also has a pyrrhic style. An association between the Salii and Etruscan dance is found not only in the nature of the dance, but in the distinctive shield. As will be seen in Chapter 3, the Salii carry and beat unusual shields, *ancilia*, during their dance. This type of shield, shaped in a figure of eight, has been found covering the deceased in an Etruscan burial in tomb 1036 in Veii Casale del Fosso,[125] and is shown on a chariot from Monteleone (appendices, Fig. 6).

Etruscan dance may be characterised in literary reference as other and opulent, but it influences more than the theatrical dance which they were credited for. Processional dance,

[121] Holliday 1990.
[122] Jannot 2005, 42.
[123] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 7.72-73.
[124] Cherici 2017, 237-8, Trocchi 2017, 791.
[125] Trocchi 2017, 791, note 2261.

and the dance of the Salian priesthood both demonstrate Etruscan influence, giving some credence to the claims of antiquity associated with the Salian priesthood, which will be further considered in Chapter 3.

2.3 Greek dance

The evidence for dance in Greece is copious, found in literary, archaeological and artistic sources. Dance in ancient Greece has been the subject of extensive study, and has been covered in detail in a number of works, in particular that of Lawler and, more recently, Lonsdale. I cannot, and do not seek to, provide such depth in a brief summary, so here I will take advantage of these works and will only review some key points about dance in Greece, especially those which help us distinguish Greek influence on Roman dance as well as similarities and differences between Greek and Roman practices.

Dance forms an important part of life in Greece and across the Hellenistic world both prior to and during Roman Imperial rule. It is part of the lives not only of the Greeks but of their mythology. The heroes of Greek mythology dance themselves and, in their travels, find dance performed by mortal and immortal alike. The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* refers to the 'fair dance of the immortals.'[126] As has been noted, there are still a range of attitudes towards dance. For example, it offers a point of contrast to the heroes for whom war and toil form part of their honour, that there are mythical races for whom only the pleasures of life exist pass most of their time in pleasure, and feasting and dancing are the occupations of the Olympians, Ethiopians and, particularly the Hyperboreans.[127] The range of dances within the Iliad and Odyssey is covered by Lawler,[128] and include funeral dances and choral dances as well as those as entertainments. Within the world of the Homeric heroes, dance is not only an expected part of banquets, but their climax:

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον
> μνηστῆρες, τοῖσιν μὲν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἄλλα μεμήλει,
> μολπή τ᾽ ὀρχηστύς τε· τὰ γάρ τ᾽ ἀναθήματα δαιτός.

[126] *Hymn to Aphrodite* 261, West's translation (Loeb).
[127] Bridgman 2005, 6, 11. Pindar *Pythian Odes* 10.37-39.
[128] Lawler 1964 42, 44-50, 56.

> Now after the suitors had put away the desire for food and drink, their hearts turned to other things, to song and to dance; for these things are the crown of a feast. [129]

Dance is found throughout the Homeric works, and is particularly notable on the 'Shield of Achilles', where it is reflects aspects of life and dance within this is shown as part of contests, as part of celebrations, at a social gathering, as entertainment, as well as at a wedding procession, from which the bridal party is described as moving through the city with young men dancing and constant music.[130] Taplin describes the shield as showing a 'microcosm' of life, and Lonsdale views this Homeric description of dance at weddings as a reflection of the reality of Greek life, and he shows the similarity between the Homeric description and a range of depictions of wedding celebrations in vase paintings, in which dancers are found dancing linked hand over wrist and accompanied by musicians.[131]

2.3.1 Dance in Greek life: private life

Weddings and celebrations were only one aspect of dance in private life. When Murray states that dance is a fundamental part of the Greek *polis,* in which 'alcohol, dance and poetry are the basis of society,'[132] he is referring primarily to the *symposion*. *Symposia* were private, after dinner-party gatherings in which entertainment was provided by trained slaves, both male and female, who were dancers, musicians and acrobats. This was dance performed not by citizens but by professional dancers. They were not citizens, but slaves or freedmen of lower social status who were trained in different entertainment specialisms. Privately owned specialist entertainers could be 'hired out' by their 'managers' for functions or to provide entertainments for dinner parties and *symposia*.[133] In Xenophon's *Symposium,* Socrates praises the Syracusan, the manager of the boy who performs, for the training he has provided.[134] Female entertainers could also be courtesans, with those slaves who become companions for one or several of the men gain the status of *hetairai*. Although a

[129] Homer *Odyssey* 1.150-153, examples of dancing as part of a banquet can also be found throughout the *Odyssey*: 4.17-20, 8.248-255, 23.130-135.
[130] Taplin 1980 12, Homer *Odyssey* 8.247-269, 370-380, Homer *Iliad* 18.490-496, 569-572, 603-5, 490-96.
[131] Lonsdale 1993, 214-18.
[132] Murray 2018, 259.
[133] Lawler 1964, 128-9.
[134] Xenophon *Symposium* 2.13-16.

symposion was a private event, it began to function as a gathering of an intellectual community, and, once it did, the choral dance also found a place within it.[135] Dance held as common a place in private life as it does in public.

2.3.2 Dance in Greek life: religion and public life

For the Greeks, dance and music were inextricably linked as part of *mousikē*, that 'union of song, dance and word to which the Muses gave their name,'[136] and *mousikē* was found in all elements of life and across the breadth of the life course: dance had a place in childhood education and ritual, in marriage celebrations, and in funeral rites.

In Greece, ritual was part of life, and dance was part of ritual, and examples of dance in Greek life and religion were found throughout Greece and the Greek colonies: Callimachus (c.310 – 240 B.C.) gives us one description of a round dance held in honour of Aphrodite, in which men and women danced.[137] At festivals, such as the Delia,[138] Panathenaea and Dionysia, competitions in music and dance were held in honour of the Gods. Such choruses were viewed as being held not just in honour of the gods by order of the gods themselves, as they were required by oracular decree.[139] For Plato, in his *Laws,* they were not only for the enjoyment of the gods, but also had a cathartic purpose, giving relief and relaxation to human beings.[140] As Thucydides' (c. 460 – 400 B.C.) Pericles states:

> Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μέν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις νομίζοντες, ἰδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει.
>
> Moreover, we have provided for the spirit many relaxations from toil: we have games and sacrifices regularly throughout the year and homes fitted out with good taste and elegance; and the delight we each day find in these things drives away sadness.[141]

[135] Murray 2018, 256.
[136] Murray & Wilson 2004, 1.
[137] Callimachus *Delos* 300-315.
[138] Thucydides 3.104.
[139] Demosthenes 21.51-2.
[140] Plato *Laws* 672d, 790d-791a.
[141] Thucydides 2.38.

Pyrrhic dances formed part of the training for boys in Athens and Sparta.[142] In the city Dionysia, a dithyrambic contest was held between each of the tribes of Athens. Each tribe was represented by a chorus,[143] and their performances were considered by Xenophon (c. 431 – 354 B.C.) to be a thing of beauty to behold.[144] In honour of Zeus, and Apollo, but also Dionysus, *hyporchemata* were performed in a number of places, and, as Lucian relates,[145] at Delos a competition decided the best performers for the *hyporchema* to honour the gods. At Brauron girls danced as bears for Artemis. These dances were performed by girls between the ages of five and ten, dressed in bear-like costumes.[146] This is one example of 'mummery' through dance, which was replicated elsewhere in other rituals which mimicked deer and lions.[147] Dance was performed for the good of both god and man, and together they were 'fellows in the dance'.[148] All of these dances were group performances which reinforced the bonds between communities and their deities, and between the members of the communities, and, as such, they reinforced societal structure. Dance was performed for the gods and demonstrated piety, but it also marked different periods in the life course, found in rites of passage, and in both peace and war,[149] dance formed an intrinsic part of Greek life.

Taught from an early age, *mousikē* formed a large part of education, and both poetry and the accompanying tunes and rhythms were 'regarded as containing the ethical and moral material suitable for the formation of citizens as individuals and collectives'.[150] Dance was also demonstrative of physical prowess, and Xenophon shows that the pyrrhic dance was found across Greece, a range of different styles preparing young men for combat.[151]

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[142] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 14.630e-631a, Lucian *De Saltatione* 10.
[143] Lawler 1964, 80.
[144] Xenophon *Oeconomicus* 8.20: ὥσπερ κύκλιος χορὸς οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς καλὸν θέαμά ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦ καλὸν καὶ καθαρὸν φαίνεται.
[145] Lucian *De Saltatione* 16: Ἐν Δήλῳ δέ γε οὐδὲ αἱ θυσίαι ἄνευ ὀρχήσεως ἀλλὰ σὺν ταύτῃ καὶ μετὰ μουσικῆς ἐγίγνοντο. παίδων χοροὶ συνελθόντες ὑπ᾽ αὐλῷ καὶ κιθάρᾳ οἱ μὲν ἐχόρευον, ὑπωρχοῦντο δὲ οἱ ἄριστοι προκριθέντες ἐξ αὐτῶν. τὰ γοῦν τοῖς χοροῖς γραφομενα τούτοις ᾄσματα ὑπορχήματα ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ ἐμπέπληστο τῶν τοιούτων ἡ λύρα.
[146] Lawler 1964, 67-8.
[147] Lawler 1947a, 92-98, Dowden 1990, 30-31.
[148] Plato *Laws* 653D, Bury's translation (Loeb edition).
[149] Lawler 1947b, 344.
[150] Murray & Wilson 2004, 4.
[151] Xenophon *Anabasis* 6.1.1-13.

According to Polybius (c. 208 – 125 B.C.), Arcadian boys learned hymns ἐκ νηπίων, 'from infancy',[152] and performed annually in festival contests as both boys and young men, and a lack of musical training was seen as shameful.[153]

In the *Deipnosophistae*, Athenaeus' (late second century A.D.) Masurius cites this passage of Polybius with approval, which highlights the continuing centrality of *mousikē* to Greek education centuries later. In the Roman Empire of the second century A.D., *mousikē* provides much more than entertainment, it trains and sharpens the intelligence, contributing to student's broader understanding and knowledge:

> καὶ πρὸς γυμνασίαν δὲ καὶ ὀξύτητα διανοίας συμβάλλεται ἡ μουσική· διὸ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἕκαστοι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ γινωσκόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν χρώμενοι.
>
> Music also contributes to the training and sharpening of the intellect; this is why all the Greek and barbarian peoples known to us use it.[154]

Athenaeus lists a range of dances found in different forms and places in Greece, the length and variety of the list alone is enough to bear testament to the importance of dance to Greek society. These dances all have differing forms and purpose and particular poetic associations. Athenaeus claims that there were three styles particularly associated with dramatic poetry tragic, comic and satyric and three associated with lyric poetry; πυρρίχη, γυμνοπαιδική, ὑπορχηματική.[155]

Although Plato's *Laws* shows a theoretical society rather than the reality of Greek life, in this idealised society, dance is held in the highest importance. For Plato, in the ideal society, *mousikē* is fundamental and dance forms a vital part of education, indeed it is an uneducated man who has no choral training, and the educated man is fully trained.[156] The education of the body is as important as the education of the mind.[157] For Plato, dance is

[152] Polybius 4.20.8 (cited by Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae*, 14.626b).
[153] Polybius 4.20.11.
[154] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae*, 14.628c.
[155] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae*, 14.629c-631e, 14.630d.
[156] Plato *Laws* 654b: Ὁ καλῶς ἄρα πεπαιδευμένος ᾄδειν τε καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι δυνατὸς ἂν εἴη καλῶς.
[157] Calame 2013, 90-91.

important as it has the power to be an organisational force, and, as choral activity, it 'can reverse a tendency towards moral degeneration'.[158]

2.3.3 Dance in Greek life: ecstatic and theatrical dances

Whilst Plato shows particular admiration for the choral dance which was performed for god and state, as shown by Athenaeus, Greek culture encompassed a broad range of dance forms. Dances in honour of Dionysus show this breadth of dance forms as, being associated with Dionysus, there are both theatrical dances, found associated with the god under his patronage of the theatre, and ecstatic dances, found as part of Dionysiac worship. Ecstatic dances were not limited to Dionysiac worship, but they are notable within it.

Dance was integral to theatrical performances, and the nature of the performance dictated the type of dance performed. A number of exaggerated and lewd dances were associated with comedic performances. The *kordax* was 'lascivious, ignoble, obscene,' and it is said that 'its distinguishing feature was a lewd rotation of the abdomen and buttocks'. The *sikinnis* of the satyr play was 'vigorous, and lewd, with horseplay and acrobatics…, it made use of expressive gestures, many of them obscene'.[159] Just as these comedic dances were appropriate for comedy, other dances were appropriate for tragedy, such as the *emmeleia*.[160] According to Athenaeus, the ancient poets were referred to as dancers, ὀρχησταί, as they not only created provision for dance within their plays but also, over and above that, gave dancing lessons:

> φασὶ δὲ καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ποιηταί, Θέσπις, Πρατίνας, Κρατῖνος, Φρύνιχος, ὀρχησταὶ ἐκαλοῦντο διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον τὰ ἑαυτῶν δράματα ἀναφέρειν εἰς ὄρχησιν τοῦ χοροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξω τῶν ἰδίων ποιημάτων διδάσκειν τοὺς βουλομένους ὀρχεῖσθαι.
>
> They also say that the ancient poets—Thespis, Pratinus, Cratinus, and Phrynichus—were called "dancers" because not only did they integrate their own dramas with choral dancing, but, quite apart from their own compositions, they taught anyone who wanted to learn to dance.[161]

[158] Lonsdale 1993, 31.
[159] Lawler 1964, 87, 90.
[160] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 1.20e, 14.631d.
[161] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 1.22a.

Athenaeus comments on the skills of Aeschylus in the creation of dance steps, and of his dancer, Telestes when performing the *Seven Against Thebes*.[162] Dance is an element of theatrical performance which has been 'eliminated in more contemporary performances of Greek tragedy'.[163] However, the comments of Athenaeus serve to underline the fact that dance was an integral part of Greek drama, playing a great role in performances. It was not solely the speciality of the chorus, but was performed by the characters as well. Kitto's exploration of the metre and rhythm of tragedy and its impact on the chorus' danced performance shows that there is a subtext which is conveyed through this dance. As Kitto says, 'the dance put immediately and vividly before the very eyes of the audience an idea which we, reading the text, can miss entirely.'[164] We have lost both imagery and characterisation by losing the additional accompanying movement.

The dance found within drama is only one aspect of the association between Dionysus and dance. In representations, Dionysus is accompanied by dancers, and maenads and satyrs dance for him. He was patron of wine, and in art and theatrical representations, the rites of Dionysus were performed with a frenzied, manic dance fuelled by an ecstatic state given by the god. Through him and this manic dance, his devotees could achieve an altered state of consciousness. In cult, this ecstatic dance led to such a trance-like state that, according to Plutarch, the 'Bacchic frenzy' of the Thyads, the devotees of Dionysus, on one occasion unwittingly crossed into an enemy state during the course of their movements.[165]

To Plato, Dionysiac dance, if performed as directed by the gods, holds a purpose for man. As Lonsdale describes it, 'depending on how the gift is received by the worshiper, *mania* may be beneficial or destructive…For those who submit, Dionysus maintains the manic dancer within the two poles of chaos and order.'[166] It is not only the cult of Dionysus in which ecstatic dance forms an integral part, but all mystery cult rites, as Lucian (A.D. c. 120 – 190) states:

[162] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 1.21e-f,1.22a.
[163] Wiles 2015, 88.
[164] Kitto 1955, 37.
[165] Plutarch *De mulierum virtutibus* 13.249e-f.
[166] Lonsdale 1993, 78.

> Ἐῶ λέγειν, ὅτι τελετὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀρχαίαν ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἄνευ ὀρχήσεως, Ὀρφέως δηλαδὴ καὶ Μουσαίου καὶ τῶν τότε ἀρίστων ὀρχηστῶν καταστησαμένων αὐτάς, ὥς τι κάλλιστον καὶ τοῦτο νομοθετησάντων, σὺν ῥυθμῷ καὶ ὀρχήσει μυεῖσθαι. ὅτι δ᾽ οὕτως ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὄργια σιωπᾶν ἄξιον τῶν ἀμυήτων ἕνεκα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ πάντες ἀκούουσιν, ὅτι τοὺς ἐξαγορεύοντας τὰ μυστήρια ἐξορχεῖσθαι λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοί.

> I forbear to say that not a single ancient mystery-cult can be found that is without dancing, since they were established, of course, by Orpheus and Musaeus, the best dancers of that time, who included it in their prescriptions as something exceptionally beautiful to be initiated with rhythm and dancing. To prove that this is so, although it behoves me to observe silence about the rites on account of the uninitiate, nevertheless there is one thing that everybody has heard; namely, that those who let out the mysteries in conversation are commonly said to "dance them out." [167]

Ecstatic dances were found in worship of Artemis and Aphrodite, as well as Apollo, Hecate, the Muses,[168] and particularly in the mysteries of Demeter, in which the procession from Athens to Eleusis was accompanied by dancing, with rhythmic shouts denoting the movement performed by the crowd,[169] and dances were held at the wellhead in Eleusis.[170]

2.3.4 Greek dance and Roman dance.

Greek influences on Rome were manifold, in art, religion, politics, and literature, yet dance is a key area of difference between Greek and Roman society. Whilst dance in Greece is found in all areas of life, in Roman society, particularly in the Imperial age, it was regarded as suffering 'a steady decline in prestige'. In this line of thinking, it 'became an ungentlemanly thing, suitable only for the socially inferior.'[171] Fitton's view of decline, as will be seen, is unlikely, as neither the priesthoods nor the increase in popularity of a fully dances entertainment in the form of the pantomime supports this. Although the Greek influence on Rome was extensive, the societal structure differs, and where choral dance in Greece unified the society, in Rome there was a complex relationship between the layers of society, one in which attitudes to dance played a part, as will be seen later in this work. In the literature,

[167] Lucian *De Saltatione* 15.
[168] Strabo 3.10.3.
[169] Burkert 1985, 287.
[170] Pausanius 1.38.6.
[171] Fitton 1973, 259.

different dances were associated with different sections of society: the elite priesthood of the Salii was distinguished from the theatrical dances which were denigrated as lower class, albeit as part of a moralistic trope. The later chapters of this work aim to show that, despite this complex relationship, dance was found throughout Imperial society, not restricted to a particular class or stratum.

Whilst the evidence for dance in Rome is clearly more limited, and dance held a different place in society, the influence of Greece on Rome can still be seen. Greek commentators on sacred dance in Rome clearly see Greek influences in the pyrrhic nature of the dance of the Salian priesthood,[172] which is considered in detail in chapter 3.2.1. Roman authors drew heavily on their Greek predecessors, including in reference to dance. That dance formed part of the 'Shield of Achilles', for example, meant that it was appropriate for dance to have a place on the 'Shield of Aeneas' in the *Aeneid*. On the 'Shield of Aeneas', the images of dance are of the Salii. The imagery draws on the fabled antiquity of the priesthood.[173] The solo dance of the pantomime, which is the subject of chapter 4.2, originates at least in part in the dance of individual actors (as opposed to the chorus) that we have seen in Greek drama. Greek dance had various differing forms and steps, as listed by Athenaeus.[174] Such classification may be lacking for dance in Rome, but Greeks are well able to describe Roman dance by using comparisons to their own, which, in itself is evidence for significant similarity. Dionysius of Halicarnassus' description of the dance of the Salii, for example, was able to turn to the mythic Curetes, linking them as the aetiology of dances in armour.[175]

The different place held by dance in Greece and Roman society is identified as and used as a point of differentiation between the cultures, used to fuel a xenophobic trope. In Roman literature, Greeks may be the bringers of civilization,[176] but they are also 'fond of pleasure and averse to toil.'[177] Dance in the private arena, as will be seen in chapter 4.3, is associated

[172] Dionysius of Halicarnassus 7.72.
[173] Virgil *Aeneid* 8.663-6.
[174] See above, Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae*, 14.629c-631e.
[175] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.70.4, 2.71.3.
[176] Cicero *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem* 1.27-28: '*cum vero ei generi hominum praesimus non modo in quo ipsa sit sed etiam a quo ad alios pervenisse putetur humanitas, certe iis eam potissimum tribuere debemus a quibus accepimus'.*
[177] Polybius 39.1.10-11 παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἐζηλώκει τὰ χείριστα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν· καὶ γὰρ φιλήδονος ἦν καὶ φυγόπονος.

in Roman literature with overindulgence in pleasures. As Plato and Herodotus criticise dance inspired by strong drink, so do the Roman authors after them, following an existing trope of the problems of immoderate behaviour.

Greek dance practices, as outlined very briefly above and covered in detail in Lawler, Lonsdale and others, not only influence Roman practice, but also continue on their own account, undiminished, during the Imperial period. This is true both in Greece and elsewhere in the former Hellenistic world under the empire, and in both daily life and festivals. In his defence of pantomimic dance, *De Saltatione,* written in the first century A.D., Lucian states that 'you can see, even now, young men amongst them studying dance as much as fighting' (ἴδοις δ᾽ ἂν νῦν ἔτι καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους αὐτῶν οὐ μεῖον ὀρχεῖσθαι ἢ ὁπλομαχεῖν μανθάνοντας).[178] The Greek festival tradition, within which dance and danced contests play an important part, 'not only survive but… thrive during the centuries before Constantine'.[179] Slater shows that, whilst not a form of dance usually or traditionally included in the competitions, 'by at least 180 [A.D.]…the barrier to inclusion in the sacred festivals of the East had been broken down',[180] and festival contests include pantomimic performances., but the true origins The origin of the pantomime is discussed in Chapter 4.2.2, and Pylades, a dancer is credited with the development of the pantomime,[181] was credited with developing the pantomime as a theatrical style, but whatever the origins it was considered Roman and grew in popularity and developed in in the time of Augustus, and the inclusion of this Roman dance form into the Greek festival competitions shows a continued exchange and connection between Greek and Roman dance practices.

2.4 Egyptian dance

Prior to Roman occupation, Egypt had been under Greek rule, but its pre-existing culture included its own dance traditions, for which there is evidence in texts and tomb paintings. These survive from the First Dynastic Period onwards, and show dance was held in both the public and private spheres, and that it was performed both in public at festivals and at

[178] Lucian *De Saltatione* 10.
[179] Graf 2015, 13.
[180] Slater 1996, 290.
[181] Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.12.

funerals, and performed in private as part of the entertainment within houses. In this antique tradition, dance was an expression of joy and 'no feast was considered complete without dancing.' According to Erman, the relationship between dance and joy was such that 'to rejoice and to dance were synonymous expressions'. [182] As in Hellenistic culture, dance was found in ritual throughout the life course and the evidence shows that it was both 'essential to state religion and domestic piety'[183] as it formed part of religious celebrations both inside the temple and in public, and part of the ceremonies around both birth and death.[184] Dances are represented which formed part of funeral processions and at gatherings at the tomb entrance.[185] Spencer speculates that these show primarily female groups of professional entertainers, singers, dancers and musicians who are attached to particular temples or cemeteries and embalmers associations,[186] possibly the same Khener troupes identified by Graves-Brown.[187]

Whilst Kraemer argues that 'we may assume that the long tradition held over into the Greco-Roman period…,'[188] this assumes an unchanged practice over millennia, which seems unlikely. The evidence is too limited to be clear what practices did survive, although it is possible to find evidence of dance practices in Egypt which are influenced by Greek culture and tradition. As in the Greek *symposia*, there is evidence of professional entertainers and their managers. These paid, peripatetic performers were entertainers at social gatherings. Their work was, for the most part, paid in kind, although papyri from Arsinoë show examples of rates of pay for the hire of such performers in the Greco-Roman era.[189] As in the earlier representations of dance in Egypt, in these examples, women seem to be the primary dancers, although the evidence is too limited for this to be considered common. A letter to one Isadora, the owner and primary dancer in a peripatetic company of dancers and

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[182] Erman 1894, 245.
[183] Graves-Brown 2010, 90.
[184] Tomb decorations from a sixth dynasty tomb chapel show women dancing. They are portrayed alongside a song which refers to birth. In Papyrus Westcar, the dancers act as midwives. (Graves-Brown 2010, 156) After birth, dance, along with amulets and wands, played a part in the purification of the mother and child (Graves-Brown 2010, 60).
[185] The story of Sinuhe 194-195.
[186] Spencer 2003, 115-6.
[187] Graves-Brown 2010, 86-9.
[188] Kraemer 1931, 128.
[189] Spencer 2003, 119-20.

performers, requests that she and another of her dancers attend an event and perform for six days. This appears to be for a private celebratory event. In return, the letter states that they will be paid thirty-six drachmas per day, as well as barley and bread loaves. There is also promise to provide transport to and from the event. Westermann discusses a number of similar papyri and the contractual nature of these.[190] The use of such dancing girls was also found in entertainments for events in Greece.[191] In the same manner as flute girls and paid dancers were found entertaining *symposia,* there is evidence of paid performers entertaining private functions in the Greco-Roman period in Egypt, although it is difficult to identify whether this is Egyptian practice, or Greek practice found within Egypt. Examples of such contracts for entertainers can be found between the second and fourth centuries. The lack of evidence after this point does not reflect an end to danced performances.[192] It is difficult with this evidence to identify the level of Egyptian and Greek influences. Kraemer argues that the company owner and dancer, Isadora, is herself a mix of both Greek and Egyptian, and that the castanets she uses were of a Greek type found in rituals of Pan, Apollo, Dionysus, Cybele and Isis.[193]

2.4.1 Egyptian dance and Roman dance

It was through the Isis cult that Egyptian practices, or a version thereof, was spread throughout the Mediterranean. Dance and the Isiac cult in Italy will be discussed further in chapter 3.3.3. It was not just the goddess Isis who makes this move across the Mediterranean, but the 'Isiac Family.'[194] The Isiac family included Isis, Serapis and Harpocrates, and also Bes. During the Greco-Roman period, representation of Bes continued in Egypt, accompanying both Isis and Hathor and was represented dancing in a number of different situations.[195]

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[190] Westermann 1924, 135-6.
[191] See, for example, Xenophon *Symposium* 2.7-8.
[192] Westermann 1924, 144.
[193] Kraemer 1931, 133-135.
[194] Volokhine 2008, 233.
[195] A number of these examples of the dancing Bes imagery under Roman rule can be found in Volokhine 2008, 239-244.

Egypt was an ‘exotic place which could capture a Roman’s imagination’,[196] a place which was at once ‘other’ and part of the Roman world. Much has been written on the influence of Egypt on Rome and the Romans,[197] and it is not possible to explore such a broad topic here. The influence of the Isiac cult, within which there is evidence of dance, is a case in point. Augustus’ interaction with Egyptian influences, including the Isis cult, was calculated. Takács has argued that ‘the religious apparatus that supported succession in Cleopatra’s dynasty, in which the goddess Isis played a pivotal role, influenced and, in some ways, shaped Augustus’ political innovations.’[198] For Orlin, the view of Augustus’ decree against the performance of Egyptian rites within the pomerium as anti-Egyptian is incorrect .[199] Orlin sees this not as a move against the Egyptian cult practices, but as a considered action which deliberately did not limit the Isis cult, but maintained a particularly Roman area of sacred space. By doing so, Augustus highlighted ‘the distinctions between Roman and foreign religious practices’ and reconstructed ‘the sense of Roman identity that had been shattered by the civil wars of the previous fifty years.’[200] For Takács, this was only the beginning of a carefully gauged relationship between Egyptian cult and Roman practices. She sees Augustan innovation developing this relationship, and specifically moving towards an Imperial cult, which prepared the way for ‘the successful integration of Isis and Serapis into the political sphere.’ The Imperial cult formed the emperor into a dynastic, deified ruler, in the mould of the Egyptians pharaohs.

Egypt influenced Rome, but what can be said regarding the dance of the Isiac cult is limited by the lack of evidence. The images of the dance of the Isiac ceremony found in wall paintings in the Iseum in Herculaneum (appendices, Fig. 3) show what look to be a choral dance of two choirs in one image, and a single dancer performing in the manner of the pantomime performance in the other. These reveal that Isiac dance is similar in form to the Greek choral dances. As is found in Greek ritual, and, as shall later be seen, in the performances of the Salian priesthood, there are two choruses. Like the dance of the Salii,

[196] Takács 1995, 268.
[197] See, for example, Swetnam-Burland 2015, Barrett 2017.
[198] Takács 2011, 79.
[199] Dio Cassius 53.2.4.
[200] Orlin 2008, 232.

the accompaniment to the dance was percussive, although in the case of the Isiac cult this is the *sistrum* rattle, not beaten weaponry. Shaken as part of a religious ceremony, the sistrum made a rustling and metallic sound as it had disks which were on horizontal bars held onto the body of the rattle. This rattle indicates a very different dance rhythm from either the struck note of the Salii or the stringed and wind instruments which accompany the Greek choral performances, although there may be similarities with other dances with percussive accompaniments such as that of the rites of Cybele, which will be discussed in chapter 3.3.1.

2.5 Judaism

Alongside the range of cultures of the ancient Mediterranean, there were also Jewish communities. Whilst dance within the Jewish community cannot be said to influence the dances of Rome, or practices throughout the empire, it does raise comment in the writings of the early Christians. These are considered in chapter 5 of this work as they form part of our evidence for attitudes to dance, particularly in the later Imperial times. The dances of Judaism will therefore be briefly considered here to give context for the later references. The limited evidence and the historic, textual nature of the evidence we have for these dances makes it difficult to identify whether any of these dances were still practised in the era we are considering.

Just as 'dance' and 'rejoice' were synonymous in Egyptian poetry, studies of Hebrew also reveal an association between dance and joy.[201] The *Tractate Sukkah* shows early Hebrews danced as part of festival worship. During the festival of the Tabernacles, the celebrations included the dances of the water-drawing festival, which was performed to musical accompaniment by the men who carried torches.[202] Jewish festival dance of this form seems to survive in the modern day in the Orthodox custom of celebrating the Feast of Simhat Torah.[203] In 2 Samuel 6, David brings the Ark to Jerusalem:

> David again gathered all the chosen men of Israel, thirty thousand. David and all the people with him set out and went from Baale-judah, to bring up from there the ark of God, which is called by the name of the Lord of hosts who is enthroned on the

[201] See, for example, Gruber 1981, 326-346.
[202] Tractate Sukkah 5.1, available at https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/tractate-sukkah-chapter-5
[203] Hirsch, Schechter, and Enelow 1906.

cherubim. They carried the ark of God on a new cart, and brought it out of the house of Abinadab, which was on the hill. Uzzah and Ahio, the sons of Abinadab, were driving the new cart with the ark of God; and Ahio went in front of the ark. David and all the house of Israel were dancing before the Lord with all their might, with songs and lyres and harps and tambourines and castanets and cymbals…[204]

Mazar's assessment of the Hebrew is that '*m^{e}fazḗz* (2 Samuel 6:5, above) and *m^{e}karkḗr* (2 Samuel 6:14), probably mean dancing in ecstasy during the procession;[205] and Hirsch, Schechter and Enelow concur that it indicates a 'round dance… most likely turning round and round upon the heels on one spot, as practised by the dervishes'.[206] Gruber sees the adverbial phrase 'before the Lord' clarifying that this dance was performed in worship.[207] Lapson further suggests that this was common practice as part of worship.[208] This was a joyful procession, filled with music and dance. It was also a procession which brings into conflict the dance practices of Ancient Near East, Judaism and Christianity. To what extent this is representative of dance as part of early Jewish religious practice is unclear. Reflecting the Tanakh, Josephus' (A.D. c. 37 – 100) retelling of this depicts David's joyous dance, and that David's wife, Michal, reproaches him for dancing, because it was unseemly. David is unashamed of doing what was pleasing to God.

καὶ δὴ κατεμέμψατο ὡς ἀκοσμήσειεν ὀρχούμενος ὁ τηλικοῦτος βασιλεὺς καὶ γυμνούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως καὶ ἐν δούλοις καὶ ἐν θεραπαινίσιν. ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ αἰδεῖσθαι ταῦτα ποιήσας εἰς τὸ τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον ἔφασκεν, ὃς αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων προετίμησε· παίξειν τε πολλάκις καὶ χορεύσειν, μηδένα τοῦ δόξαι ταῖς θεραπαινίσιν αἰσχρὸν καὶ αὐτῇ τὸ γινόμενον ποιησάμενος λόγον.

None the less, she reproached him for his unseemly behaviour in dancing—so great a king as he was—and in uncovering himself, as he danced, in the presence of slaves and maid-servants. He replied, however, that he was not ashamed of having done what was pleasing to God, who had honoured him above her father and all other men, and that he would often play and dance without caring whether his actions seemed disgraceful to her maid-servants or herself. [209]

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[204] 2 Samuel 6, New Revised English edition.
[205] Mazar 2003, 126.
[206] Hirsch, Schechter, and Enelow 1906.
[207] Gruber 1981, 339.
[208] Lapson 2007, 409.
[209] Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 7.87-89.

Dance here is shown as both appropriate and unseemly, the context vital to how it is perceived, and the key for David (and Josephus) is that the dance was before the Lord. As found in the incident of the Golden Calf,[210] joyful dancing was part of worship and therefore only appropriate when performed for God. Josephus reveals that dance was not regarded as regal behaviour. It is difficult to establish to what extent the practices of the age of David were reflected in those of later Judaism.

That there were festival dances for the Jews may further explain implications found in the writing of both Philo and Josephus that there were practices of worship when dance was both joyful and appropriate.[211] The evidence for contemporary practice is limited. Philo's (c. 25 B.C. – A.D. 50) treatment of the incident of the Golden Calf reflects themes criticising dance, viewing it as associated with excess, drunkenness and a lack of control or moderation. Philo reflects attitudes to dance found elsewhere. As a Jewish, Greek intellectual, he reflects the view that some dance is appropriate, but for that which is not, the themes that emerge are those found in both Jewish and later Christian authors, and which we will see again as our focus returns to the Imperial age. The incident of the Golden Calf is found in Exodus 32; Moses ascends the mountain to speak with God, and in his prolonged absence, his people lose faith and ask the priest, Aaron, to fashion them gods. By melting down their jewellery, Aaron creates a golden calf, and the Israelites proceed to worship the calf, building an altar before it, giving offerings, and dancing and singing.[212] Philo's description casts some light upon both Hellenistic and Jewish attitudes of his time. The practices he depicts are considered to be inappropriate: the dances performed by the Israelites are not ritual or joyful dances for God, but 'untrained dances', or 'dances that ought not to be danced', and the hymns are 'no different from funeral laments' (χοροὺς ἀχορεύτους ἵστασαν ὕμνους τε ᾖδον θρήνων οὐδὲν διαφέροντας), from which we can infer that there were appropriate dances and joyful hymns. Philo is able to situate his work in the established context as he also draws on moral motifs found in contemporary literature

[210] Exodus 32.
[211] On the reaction to the Golden Calf in Ephrem see Krauss 1893, 90. A similar view is found in Theodoret of Cyrus' (A.D. 393-466) view that the Jews were led astray when in Egypt, where they were introduced to the 'shameful customs of the inhabitants', including dance within worship (Theodoret of Cyrus *Graecarum affectionum curatio, de sacrificiis 16* in McKinnon 1987, 106-7).
[212] *Exodus* 32.18-19.

against drunkenness. He associates the actions of the Israelites, including dancing, with madness and drunkenness, as they 'were possessed by the twofold intoxication of wine and folly' (διπλῇ μέθῃ κατίσχοντο, τῇ μὲν ἐξ οἴνου, τῇ δὲ καὶ ἀφροσύνης).[213]

In Philo's *De Vita Contemplativa,* we learn of a particular, isolated community. He describes 'a mixed celibate community of Hellenized Jews' near Lake Mareotis (the modern Mariout, near Alexandria) who lived an ascetic lifestyle in the third century B.C.[214] Within his description he covers their meetings, at which they perform a ritualistic dance after the banquet. This is described as a choral dance, with two choirs each gender forming one of the choirs, with the leader of the dance for each being the 'most honoured' and 'most musical'. The music is described as hymns which are choral or antiphonal and provide a beat for the dance. They drink as part of the rites and then form a single choir.[215] This dance and song is, according to Philo, in part based on the dance and songs of Moses and Miriam following the parting of the Red Sea (Exodus 15). Lapson categorises Miriam's dances as victory dances, which women perform to welcome home heroes. Lapson finds examples of this in the celebration of Mizpah's return from battle in Judges 11:34, Saul and David's return from battle in I Samuel 18:6, and in Judith 15:12, 13 where Judith leads the dance.

Dance formed part of the celebrations of the life course. The *Song of Songs* reflects dance at wedding celebrations, which was 'considered an act of religious devotion',[216] and one performed by Rabbis as a pious act.[217] The Rabbinic literature and tradition show that both in preparation for and during the wedding feast, it was the men who danced in the presence of the bride.[218] This was, in the Imperial era, a point of difference between Jewish wedding customs and of their contemporaries, both pagan and Christian, something which will be further explored in chapter 5.2.3. Whilst Jewish practice cannot be said to influence Roman practice in the way that Etruscan, Greek or Egyptian did, it is current throughout the Imperial age, and, whilst the examples of communities such as that described by Philo may be the

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[213] Philo *De Vita Mosis* 2.162-3, Colson's translation, Loeb edition.
[214] Corrington 1990, 134.
[215] Philo *De Vita Contemplativa* 11.83-85.
[216] Lapson 2007, 409-10.
[217] Hirsch, Schechter, and Enelow 1906.
[218] Ilan 2003, 136.

exception rather than the rule, they demonstrate the variety of practice found even within a subsection of the communities of the Empire. The influence of Jewish practice can be seen in Christian attitudes towards dance, as the moralising fathers of the Church try to distance Christian practice from both pagan and Jewish practice, as will be seen in Chapter 5.

2.6 Funeral practices

Some of the practices highlighted within this chapter, particularly those found historically in Etruria and Egypt, display the role of dance and movement in a funeral context. This therefore is worth some discussion. We have evidence for processions with musical accompaniment in Roman funerals,[219] and, according to Hope, dancers were amongst the hired specialists who performed at the funeral, though more evidence would be welcome. As Hope admits, surviving descriptions of funerals are 'exceptional.'[220] Without the evidence, we cannot comment on dance in a funeral context in Rome.

Even within the context for which we have evidence within our period, funeral practices are very different from those of other dances. Whilst some elements, such as the processional dances found as part of the Etruscan funeral, fit the definition of dance established in the introduction, the majority of dance in a funeral context do not. The activities of mourners were marked in their contrast to the usual, they did 'the opposite of what was usually expected.'[221] Mourners 'defile their hair with dust'[222] and movement in mourning is described as violent. Plato contrasts the appropriate funeral practice for priests of Apollo with the noise and movement of lamentation,[223] the 'dance Hades honours' which Euripides describes, with mourners beating their breasts and tearing their cheeks with their nails.[224] Sophocles' Electra bemoans the amount of time she has spent lamenting, the number of dirges has sung, and the times she has beat her 'bleeding breast'.[225]

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[219] For example, Horace *Satires* 1.6.44.
[220] Hope 2009, 69, 65.
[221] Hope 2009, 72.
[222] Virgil *Aeneid* 10.844, 12.608-11.
[223] Plato *Laws* 947b.
[224] Euripides *Supplices* 71-77.
[225] Sophocles *Electra* 86-91.

Literary representations of funerals in Rome show similar movements, 'women beating their chests, a sign of *planctus*, ritual mourning which consisted of the beating of chests, heads and thighs'.[226] Lucan (A.D. 39-65) describes a mother with dishevelled hair, women beating their breasts, embracing the dead, crying, throwing themselves to the floor, tearing their hair out and shriek.[227] Statius (A.D. 45-96) similarly gives examples of mourners tearing clothing and falling to the floor, and beating their arms.[228] Multiple sources refer to violent movements of the mourners, beating the breast,[229] and pulling at hair and cheeks.[230] Even in these movements of lament, Romans were to exercise moderation. Cicero describes the beating of the breast, thighs and head and tearing of the cheeks as detestable forms of mourning,[231] and for Horace, it is clear that the hired mourners should do more than the respectable family.[232]

Whilst these are ritual movements, and fit elements of our definition as they are purposeful, rhythmical and culturally understood, fundamentally these movements were an inversion of the norm and they are not designed to be aesthetically pleasing. Just as the vocal music of funerals and lamentation is not song but dirge, so the movement of funerals and lamentation is not pleasing but violent and desperate. This is not, however, the dance we are researching in Roman society, and, as such it will not be explored further in this work.

2.7 The Imperial world

Practices in Rome will be reviewed in the forthcoming chapters, though this 'Rome-centric' view gives a limited understanding of the full Imperial context. The Empire outside Rome was a rich variety of cultures and customs, which included dance whether in religious ceremony or other celebrations and in which local practices were maintained. As has been

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[226] Šterbenc Erker 2011, 46.
[227] Lucan *De Bello Civili* 2.23-33.
[228] Statius *Silvae* 2.1.170-3, 2.6.82-3.
[229] Catullus 64.351, Seneca *Epistles* 99.16-17, Lucan *De Bello Civili* 2.23-4, Statius *Silvae* 2.1.170-3, Lucian *De Luctu* 12.
[230] Virgil *Aeneid* 12.598-611, Catullus 64.350, Lucian *De Luctu* 12.
[231] Cicero *Tusculanae Disputationes* 3.62: 'Ex hac opinione sunt illa varia et detestabilla genera lugendi: pedores, muliebres lacerationes genarum, pectoris, feminum, capitis percussiones.'
[232] Horace *Ars Poetica* 431-3: 'ut qui conducti plorant in funere dicuntet faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo, sicderisor vero plus laudatore movetur.'

seen above, Etruscan practices influenced Roman in a number of ways: it seems that dancers for *ludi* originally came from Etruria,[233] and there are indications that the pyrrhic dance performed by the Salian priesthood (chapter 3.2.1) had Etruscan influences or an Etruscan origin. Etruscan dances were part of funeral rites and banquet entertainments, and there are possible ritual practices, although evidence is limited. The processional dances of Etruria may also have influenced Roman practice as Jannot claims.[234] Influences of Greek dance are found in Etruscan dances, and certainly Greece influenced Rome in a variety of ways. In regard to dance, this can be seen in the literary tropes which are continued by the Roman authors, in the development of the theatrical dance form of the pantomime (chapter 4) Dance was found throughout Greek life: in mythology, in ritual and at festivals and as entertainment at private events and *symposia*, and many Greek practices continue in many areas formerly under Hellenistic control, undiminished, during the Imperial period. Egypt was one of these areas, and we have noted the Hellenistic influences and similarities in the danced entertainers, with evidence of the employment of troupes of specialist dancers to provide these. These areas all also show evidence of dances as part of funerary practices. Although there do seem to be some similarities in Roman funerary practice, this is not something that will be explored further here as, although there were movements within these practices, they were an inversion of usual actions, and do not fit our definition of dance. The other area explored within this contextualising chapter has been the dances within Judaism, covered because of their context for some of the comments about dance found in the Christian authors and reviewed in chapter 5, as these, as will be seen, are critical not only of what they see as pagan practices but of Jewish practices as well. The overview above is largely limited to key areas which provide a range of evidence and have particular relevance to later chapters. The Imperial world was a complex and varied one, and one in which culture has its own place for dance according to the different cultural norms.

This chapter has enabled us to situate the Roman practice around which this work centres, in the context of other traditions within the broader Imperial world. When viewed in a broader context, we will see that, despite some criticism in our literary sources, dance in general, and

[233] Livy 7.2 (appendices, T5).
[234] Jannot 2005, 42.

Roman dance in particular, is part of the cultural intertext, and could be found throughout the Imperial world. The universality of dance is found in the ancient world as in the modern. The following sections will look at the different circumstances in which dance is found within the Imperial world, starting with dance within a ritual context, something which, as we have seen here, was prominent in the Greek world but for which there is less evidence and within a Roman context.

CHAPTER 3 - ROMAN SACRED DANCE

3.1 Roman sacred dance - Introduction

As has already been discussed, dance is found throughout the ancient world and plays a central role in Greek religion and ritual (see Chapter 1.6 and Chapter 2.3. Lawler (1964) and Lonsdale (1993) have explored religious dance in ancient Greece in detail). In this chapter, I seek to identify the place of dance in Roman religion, particularly within the Imperial era. I will explore attitudes to sacred dance, the context and cults within which dance is found, and how these relate to attitudes to dance in other social contexts. Cuisinier has defined sacred dance as that which forms 'part of a ritual', but she also extends her definition to dances which 'have a magical object' or those whose 'religious origin can still be traced'.[235] I shall not follow this extension, but consider here the dance which takes place as part of the action of religious rites, and maintain a distinction between sacred, ritual, dance, and theatrical dance, even if the latter formed part of the entertainment performed at religious festivals at this time.

The Roman Imperial world encompassed a broad range of ritual practice, and religious life in Rome incorporated cults from across the Roman world. Throughout this work, the focus is primarily on Rome itself, both as the heart of the empire and as source of much of the evidence. Although the focus is on Rome, this chapter will nevertheless be organised geographically, dividing the review of sacred dances to those cults which are perceived in the source material as 'traditionally' Roman, and those which are perceived as 'foreign.' This categorisation of 'traditional' and 'imported' cult practice, based on perceptions found in the source material, allows comparison between practices and attitudes towards them. From this, I will attempt to establish the factors which determined whether a sacred dance achieved approval and acceptance. The contrast of the 'traditional' and 'imported' found in the source material also reveals that a perception of 'Roman-ness' plays a part in approval. The 'traditional' section of this chapter will examine the Roman priesthoods of the Salii and the Arval Brethren, as well as the cult of the Lares, and the evidence that can be found for ritual dance within festival practices. Under the 'imported' cults section, I will look at the

[235] Cuisinier 1951, 63.

cults of Cybele, Isis and Dionysus. The conclusion to this chapter, entitled *Sacred dance in Roman Society*, pulls together the results from the prior reviews of practices and attitudes and includes an analysis of the terminology associated with sacred dance.

3.2 Dance in traditional Roman cult

In the literary sources, some cult practices are depicted as traditional and historic. This depiction is part of a trope in which a conscious nostalgia is established for a 'lost religious simplicity and authenticity…located in the past.'[236] The depiction is of rustic piety set in an idealised past, but it is also a reflection of cults which are viewed as integrally Roman. The evidence for dance in the cults which are portrayed in this way is found primarily in two priesthoods, both composed of members of the upper echelons of society: the Salii and the Arval Brethren.

3.2.1 The Salii

The Salii performed dances as part of their rites. In the performance of the festival rites, the priests wore an antiquated form of military attire,[237] and danced at set places through the city. The main sources for the activities of the Salii are a series of civic inscriptions and a number of literary references; there are few depictions. Whilst much of the epigraphic evidence is from Rome, there are also inscriptions which show that there are local colleges of Salii elsewhere in the empire; in Urso[238] and Saguntum[239] in Spain, in Ephesus in Asia Minor[240] and at the top of the Italian peninsula, in areas which are now northern Italy.[241] The epigraphic evidence records membership,[242] and, in Rome, these records reveal that there were always twenty-four active priests participating in the ritual. These priests were in two colleges based on the Palatine and the Quirinal. Although it is for the festival in March for which there is most information, Wissowa[243] and Warde Fowler[244] in comprehensive reviews

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[236] Feeney 1998, 133.
[237] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae*, 2.70.3, Plutarch *Numa* 13.69.
[238] *CIL* 2.1406 (appendices, E1).
[239] *CIL* 2.3853, CIL 2.3854, *CIL* 2.3859, *CIL* 2.3864, *CIL* 2.3865, *CIL* 2.6055 (appendices, E1).
[240] *CIL* 3.6074 (appendices, E1).
[241] *CIL* 5.1812 (Gemona), *CIL* 2.1978 (Opitergium), *CIL* 5.2851 (Patavium), *CIL* 5.3117 (Vicetia), *CIL* 5.4492 (Brescia), *CIL* 5.6461 (*Laus Pompeia)* (appendices, E1).
[242] Appendices, E1 reproduces the inscriptions relevant to the Salii.
[243] Wissowa 1891, ix.
[244] Warde Fowler 1899, 58.

both examine the festivals in which the Salii were involved and demonstrate that the rites performed by the Salii in their festivals in March and October are similar. Dances were performed in a different place every day in March, from the 1st until the 23rd of the month. Although there was daily dancing and movement through the city, three principal periods of movement of the sacred shields, the *ancilia,* are recorded. These took place on the 1st, the 9th and the 23rd of the month.[245] Accompanying the danced ritual, there were a number of rites of purification: the *ancilia* were purified at the *Quinquatrus* (19th), and the *tubae,* used in summoning the assembly, at the *Tubilustrium* (23rd).

It is from two Greek authors that we gain most information about the Salii: Dionysius of Halicarnassus (c 60 – 7 B.C.) in the *Antiquitates Romanae* and Plutarch in the *Numa*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus came to Rome in late in 30 or 29 B.C., and there gathered materials and wrote the History. A rhetorical teacher, he considered that the subject matter of historical work should be moral and of use to the reader, and that historians should gather their material with care. His aim was to show the Greek influence on early Rome, filling what he sees as a gap in the scholarship as there had not been an accurate history written of Rome by either Greeks or Romans.[246] Despite this aim of accuracy, his is a rhetorical work and frequently uses dramatic and rhetorical effects, particularly the use of speeches. His link between the Greeks and Romans is found in comparisons between the peoples throughout the work, and seen repeatedly in reference to the Salii from the outset: their festival is noted as being 'about the time of the Panathenaea', their hats compared to the Greek *kyrbasiai* and the rites of the Salii to those of the Curetes. Plutarch cites Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his work. Plutarch wrote at the beginning of the second century A.D. He was well educated and well-travelled, and spent time living in Rome, but admits he was not fully conversant in Latin.[247] He was a Platonic philosopher, a moralist and historian. In this work, the lives of great men from the history of Greece and Rome are compared and contrasted, the Roman Numa is paired with the Greek Lycurgus. Although these are historical figures and there is an historical element to the writing, it is primarily a moral text, and readers are to

[245] Warde Fowler 1899, 44.
[246] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.7.2, 1.2.1, 1.5.4.
[247] Plutarch *Demosthenes* 2.

use the characters to reflect on morality. His aim is to help the reader to understand the actions of the characters rather than to judge them.[248] As a Greek and both a follower and lecturer on Plato and Platonic philosophy, for Plutarch, religious dance would be an important aspect of social cohesion. Numa was known as a peaceful king, following the war-like Romulus, and Plutarch says that he asked the help of the gods to 'tame' the war-like Roman people, and this was done through 'sacrifices, processions, and religious dances, which he himself appointed and conducted' which managed to combine both solemn ritual and pleasure.[249] It is against this background that Plutarch describes the various priesthoods and religious functions instituted by Numa, including those of the Salii. The Salian rites are instituted in reaction to a disease which affected Rome. The divine intervention comes in the form of a shield which falls from heaven and must be maintained. Others are made in its image and it is these which form part of the Salian dance.[250]

Both works are aimed at a Greek audience,[251] and evoke a sense of 'strange Roman-ness' in their description of the Salian ritual. Both authors draw on Latin sources,[252] and provide an invaluable level of detail which is not found in surviving Latin sources. In Latin sources reference to the Salii is largely as an exemplar and they provide a recognisable frame of reference, even a stereotype. They are particularly noted for dance, antiquity, elaborate ritual feasts, and their ritual hymn, and each of these elements serve to define the archaic in contrast to the modern.[253] The dance of the Salii was revered due to its antiquity. It was part of time-honoured ritual which was conducted by important persons of state and it was the antithesis to trivial entertainment. Lucian describes the dance of the Salii as σεμνοτάτη, most revered or holy,[254] whereas the pantomime is entertainment and described as φαῦλος, base, worthless.[255] Although Athenaeus' focus is on Greek dance, the distinction he makes

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[248] Chrysanthou 2018, 1-3.
[249] Plutarch *Numa* 8.
[250] Plutarch *Numa* 13.
[251] For whether Dionysius of Halicarnassus was writing for a Roman or Greek audience, see Luraghi 2003, 268-8.
[252] Babbit 1962, 3.
[253] On dance see, for example, Horace *Odes* 1.36, Lucan 1.603, Seneca *Epistles* 15. On antiquity see, for example, Livy 1.20, Cicero *De Re Publica* 2.14. On feasts see, for example Horace *Odes* 1.37. On the ritual hymn see, for example, Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.9.14, Horace *Epistles* 2.1.86.
[254] Lucian *De Saltatione* 20.
[255] Lucian *De Saltatione* 1. Harmon's translation.

between different dances, between dignity and orderly beauty on the one hand, and vulgarity and disorder on the other (καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὀρχήσει καὶ πορείᾳ καλὸν μὲν εὐσχημοσύνη καὶ κόσμος, αἰσχρὸν δὲ ἀταξία καὶ τὸ φορτικόν) is also applicable to Roman phenomena.[256] The dance of the Salii was dignified, orderly and appropriate. That it was revered and held in high esteem is emphasised through a number of sources: Livy describes the dance as solemn (*canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu*),[257] and Diomedes Grammaticus (late fourth century A.D.) report sources who emphasised the antiquity of the priesthood. He associates the dance with the early king, Numa, who, he claims, called the beat of the dance 'pontifical' (Numam Pompilium divina re praeditum hunc pedem pontificium appellasse memorant...).[258] The dance is described as a *tripudium*, a term which has religious connotations, and will be discussed at length later in this chapter (3.2.5).

The Salii performed in a prolonged period of danced ritual, and we have evidence of this taking place in Rome. Although the primary evidence is from Rome, the Salii were found more broadly throughout the peninsula, in a number of places in the north,[259] in Praeneste,[260] in Tusculum,[261] in Aricia,[262] in Anagnia[263] and in Tibur.[264] Despite the breadth of their practice in Italy, the Salian dance was notable to sources as it was unusual. No other Roman sacred dance is described as being danced in armour or having such a prolonged and public performance. Although it was directly contrasted with theatrical performances, which, even if constituting part of a festival, were held in low esteem as *immodestia,* intemperate conduct (which will be discussed in chapter 5),[265] Wissowa nevertheless

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[256] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 14.628d.
[257] Livy 1.20.
[258] Diomedes Grammaticus *Ars Grammatica* 3 (1.476 Keil). This seems to come from Varro – see Goetz 'Diomedes' (14), *RE* 5.1 (1905), 828.
[259] *CIL* 5.1812 (Gemona), *CIL* 5.1978 (Opitergium), *CIL* 5.2851 (Patavium), *CIL* 5.3117 (Vicetia), *CIL* 5.4492 (Brescia), *CIL* 5.6461 (*Laus Pompeia)* (appendices, E1).
[260] *CIL* 14.2947 (appendices, E1).
[261] Servius *In Vergilii Aeneidem commentarii* 8.285.
[262] *CIL* 14.2171 (appendices, E1).
[263] *CIL* 10.5925 (appendices, E1).
[264] Wissowa 1912, 480 n2.
[265] Tacitus *Annales* 4.14.

considered that the performance of the Salii delighted the crowd, just as the dance as entertainment at festivals did.[266]

That dance was considered integral to the Salii is clear from attempted etymological links made in the work of a number of authors who attempt to link their name and terminology for dance and movement. Varro (116–27 B.C.), Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch all seek to derive *Salii* from *salio* (leap),[267] and Festus (late second century A.D.) connects *Salii* with both *salio* and *saltare* (*a saliendo et saltando dictos esse quamvis dubitari non debeat).*[268] Even if the etymologies were not compelling, these attempted derivations are indicative of a fundamental relationship between the Salii and their dance in the mind of a Latin speaker,[269] and the Latin language is of particular interest to Varro and Festus, who write to 'enrich' the discourse of Latin speakers, that they may better contribute to society.[270] The importance of the dance leads Cirilli, in his 1913 published thesis on the Salii, *Les Prêtres danseurs de Rome,* a very useful and comprehensive work on the Salii, to attempt to reconstruct the dance as part of his discussion. To do this, he relies heavily on the work of Corssen,[271] who, in his 1846 work *Origines Poesis Romanae,* considered terms from Festus relating to the Salii and the Salian hymn. Cirilli's attempt at a reconstruction of the Salian dance also draws on known movements in ancient Greek dance forms and a number of literary sources which will be discussed shortly. He proposed that there were two choruses of dancers, each of which starting their movements at one side of the altar. The movement of the dance then formed a criss-crossing pattern which brought the two dance groups together in front of the altar, returning them to the opposite side of the altar to that on which they started. The dancers continued a crossing and circling movement throughout the dance.[272] How accurate Cirilli's attempt at reconstruction is cannot be known; yet a number of his suggestions are not without foundation: Virgil and Diomedes Grammaticus both refer

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[266] Macrobius *Saturnalia* 3.12.7, Servius *In Vergilii Aeneidem commentarii* 8.285, *CIL* 14.3601, 3609, 3612, 3673, 3674, 3689 (appendices, E1).
[267] Plutarch *Numa* 13.4, Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 5.85, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 70.4.
[268] Festus p326M *Salios.*
[269] Ernout & Meillet 2001, 590.
[270] Spencer 2019, 42.
[271] Corssen 1846.
[272] Cirilli 1913:99.

to two choirs of Salii, members differentiated by age, one old, one young.[273] Virgil describes the two dance groups moving around altars as they sing:

> tum Salii ad cantus incensa altaria circum
> populeis adsunt evincti tempora ramis,
> hic iuvenum chorus, ille senum…
>
> Then the Salii come to sing round the kindled altars, their brows bound with poplar boughs—one band of youths, the other of old men…[274]

Servius (late fourth / early fifth century A.D.) also describes this in his commentary on the *Aeneid*,[275] and Diomedes Grammaticus speaks of the 'young' choir initiating the circular step.[276] Of the motion of the Salian dance, Plutarch uses the term ἑλιγμός, winding or twisting, a term particularly used of a twisting passage, such as that of a labyrinth.[277] Cirilli indicates the form of the dance to have been that of 'call and response', a form in which a leader initiates movement and there is a reciprocal response from other, following, dancers. This is indicated in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' description of the Salii moving, in martial rhythm, both in turn and together as they sing traditional hymns:

> κινοῦνται γὰρ πρὸς αὐλὸν ἐν ῥυθμῷ τὰς ἐνοπλίους κινήσεις τοτὲ μὲν ὁμοῦ, τοτὲ δὲ παραλλάξ, καὶ πατρίους τινὰς ὕμνους ᾄδουσιν ἅμα ταῖς χορείαις.
>
> For they execute their movements in arms, keeping time to a flute, sometimes all together, sometimes by turns, and while dancing sing certain traditional hymns.[278]

The leader in this call and response form was a priest who held the hierarchical position of *praesul.* Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 121-180) held this position whilst a Salian priest.[279] The call and response form of the dance is also indicated by Lucilius (c. 180 – 102 B.C.), who describes the action of the *praesul* and the dance group as found in Festus. According to Lucilius, Redantruare is the response from the dancers when the praesul has leapt (amptruavit) which mimic that of the praesul.[280]

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[273] Virgil *Aeneid* 8.285-287, Diomedes Grammaticus *Ars Grammatica* 3.1.471 Keil.
[274] Virgil *Aeneid* 8.285.
[275] Servius *In Vergilii Aeneidem commentarii* 8.285; 8.663.
[276] Diomedes Grammaticus *Ars Grammatica* 3 1.471 Keil.
[277] Plutarch *Numa* 13.5; used of the Labyrinth in *Theseus* 19.1.
[278] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.70.5.
[279] Scriptores Historiae Augustae; *Marcus Aurelius* 4.4.
[280] Lucilius *Satires* 9.348.

The priests are described in the inscriptions as *conlusores*, companions in play.[281] Although this is found in a single inscription, this provides further support for the choral, groups performance of the dance. As discussed in the introductory chapter (Chapter 1.3.), play and dance are closely linked. In keeping with the antiquated military attire of the priests, Corssen and Cirilli recreate dance movements which could be seen as military in nature, the *praesul* acting as commander, leading the priests in their movement.[282] Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch both state that the dancers not only perform in military attire, but that they use weaponry to create a beat by striking the sacred shields,[283] and Juvenal (A.D. c. 55 – 127) describes a Salian priest sweating under the weight of the sacred shields.[284]

The ritual attire of the Salii was indicative of both antiquity and social status. The purple military *trabeae* were originally worn by Roman kings, then consuls and significant priests including the *Flamen Dialis* and *Martialis.* These priesthoods, unlike the Salii, developed their attire over time.[285] The lack of development or change in their attire is only one aspect of a retention of antique features which can be found in many facets of the Salian priesthood. The meaning of the ritual and the words of the Salian song, both of which were maintained, are lost, and were lost to the Imperial age.[286] Dumézil, in passing, suggests that the dance, with its ‘loud noises and threatening gestures' was originally designed to frighten away 'invisible enemies'.[287] It is unclear why so many elements of the Salian priesthood (the costume, song and ritual practices, and the dance) were maintained with such care and remained static. It can be seen from the references to the priesthood in Macrobius that the Salii and their dance were identifiable throughout the Imperial period and until the early fifth century. There are six mentions of the Salii within the *Saturnalia*,[288] each brief enough

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[281] *CIL* 2.3853, Cirilli 1913, 99 (appendices, E1).
[282] Corssen 1846, 63-6, Cirilli 1913:99.
[283] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.70.5, Plutarch *Numa* 13.4.
[284] Juvenal *Satires* 2.125-6.
[285] Hurschmann 2009.
[286] Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 1.6.41.
[287] Dumézil 1970, 565.
[288] Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.9.14*: Saliorum quoque antiquissimis carminibus “deorum deus” canitur*; 1.12.12:…*sed ne in carminibus quidem Saliorum Veneris ulla ut ceterorum caelestium laus celebretur*; 1.15.14: *unde et Lucetium Salii in carminibus canunt*; 3.12.1: *nam et Salios Herculi dedit, quos tantum Marti dicavit antiquitas*; 3.12.5: *‘Salios autem Herculi ubertate doctrinae altioris adsignat, quia is deus et apud pontifices idem qui et Mars habetur*; 3.14.14: *Sed quid loquor de histrionibus cum Appius Claudius, vir triumphalis, qui Salius ad usque senectutem fuit, pro gloria obtinuerit, quod inter collegas optime saltitabat?*

to show that the Salii were a known reference for the audience. Throughout their activity, they continued to occupy a conspicuous place in Roman religion, both metaphorically and literally. In line with the homeostatic theory of dance (chapter 1.1), the retention of the historic is part of a conscious maintenance of practices as a maintenance of social order. Despite the maintenance of much of the priesthood, there are some limited indicators of change, and these be seen, for example, in the *Saliae Virgines*.

The evidence for the *Saliae Virgines* is such that they are almost completely lost to us, but they were, presumably, female equivalents to the Salii. [289] Glinister, who has helpfully analysed the limited evidence for the *Saliae*, feels that they were an older institution and that they were in decline in the empire. She considers it to be 'unclear that they existed even...at the end of the second century B.C.'.[290] The only surviving reference is from Festus (late second century. A.D.), who is citing earlier sources, the authors Aelius Stilo (c. 154 – 74 B.C.) and Cincius (early first century A.D.):

> Salias Virgines Cincius ait esse conducticias, quae ad Salios adhibeantur cum apicibus paludatas; quas Aelius Stilo scripsit sacrificium facere in Regia cum pontifice paludatas cum apicibus in modum Saliorum.
>
> Cincius says that the *saliae* are virgins who are assembled (*conducticias*), wearing the *apex* and armed and equipped (*paludatas*), to assist the *salii*, and Aelius Stilo has written that they perform a sacrifice in the *regia* with the *pontifex*, armed and equipped and wearing the *apex* in the manner of the *salii* .[291]

From this short surviving reference, we learn that they 'were counterparts in dress' to the Salii, unusually for females, wearing military attire and weapons, and they were responsible for a sacrifice in the *Regia.* Although some have considered *paludatas* to refer to *paludamentum*, a military cloak, Glinister shows that this can mean 'armed' or 'equipped', and, given the comparison to the attire of the Salii, this seems more accurate. Glinister's analysis of Aelius Stilo shows that this sacrifice was made with the *pontifex maximus,* and the *Saliae* were integral to the state cult.[292] Although it is impossible to clarify from this brief reference what

[289] Festus 439.18L.
[290] Glinister 2011, 117.
[291] Festus 439.18L, trans Glinister 2011, 117.
[292] Glinister 2011, 109-10.

part the *Saliae Virgines* played in other rites or in dances or rituals of the Salii, their performance of a sacrifice is indicative of an active part in ritual proceedings, and the existence of a *praesula,*[293] a female counterpart to the role of *praesul,* also implies that the *Saliae Virgines* also performed a sacred dance in the same call and response form as that of the Salii. Versnel views the sacrifice of the *Saliae Virgines* as one of a number of examples of role-reversal found in festival rites, and he compares the sacrifice of the *Saliae Virgines* to the status reversal found in the *Compitalia* and *Matronalia*.[294] Unlike the Salii, for whom there are a number of records of membership, it is unclear who the *Saliae Virgines* were. They are described using the term *conducticius,* hired or rented, which suggests that they were lower class,[295] but this has been disputed. Despite 'hired' or 'rented' being the more usual use of the term, Glinister suggests that use of *conducticius* in this context means 'brought together' or that this was a 'technical term for the appointment of the *Saliae*'. She compares the social standing of the *Saliae Virgines* to that of the Vestal Virgins, using the evidence of the Tusculan *praesula,* Flavia Vera, who was from 'at least the middle ranks of society'.[296] There are a number of reasons that it seems unlikely that they were, in fact, hired: their performance of a public sacrifice with high-ranking priests, their appellation as *virgines* (a term of respect and deference), the existence of other female equivalencies to priesthoods such as the *flaminica* or *regina*, their equivalence to the Salii in dress, and their performance of a ritual sacrifice. Although the social standing of the *Saliae Virgines* remains unclear, one of the arguments against them being lower class is their equivalence to the Salii, who were only from the upper section of society.

Like other early priestly offices in Rome, membership of the Salii was restricted to men from patrician families,[297] whose parents were living at the time of their co-option (χρῆν δὲ τούτους ἐλευθέρους τε εἶναι καὶ αὐθιγενεῖς καὶ ἀμφιθαλεῖς…).[298] There is evidence of both very young and old Salian priests taking part in the rites; Marcus Aurelius reportedly joined

[293] *CIL* 6.2177 (appendices, E2).
[294] Versnel 1993, 158.
[295] Beard 1990, 21, table 1 (appendices Ta 1).
[296] Glinister 2011, 116-7, 114-118.
[297] Beard 1990, 19.
[298] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.71.4.

the Salii at the age of eight and left only on his accession to the emperorship (A.D. 161).[299] Appius Claudius Pulcher (Consul 143 B.C.) is noted for remaining a Salian priest into old age.[300] Macrobius is writing a considerable time later in the early fifth century, and using earlier sources, some of whom are critical of Appius Claudius Pulcher,[301] whose triumph was celebrated despite the senate denying him one,[302] so whilst it is likely he was a Salian priest, the accuracy of the claims of the length of the position are difficult to ascertain.

Although theoretically membership of the Salii was lifelong, inscriptions demonstrate that usual practice was that a priest would leave when he attained a political position, at which point another would be co-opted in his place, thus retaining the same number of active priests at any one time.[303] Co-option into the Salii allowed the idea of membership being lifelong to be retained whilst maintaining the practical consideration that there be a consistent number of priests to perform the time-consuming rites. A comparison with other priesthoods reveals that the Salii were distinct from many other priestly offices in a number of ways. Livy speaks of the foundation of the twelve Salii amidst the priestly offices of the *Flamen Dialis*, *Flamen Martialis* and *Flamen Quirinalis*, posts each held by a single individual, and the Vestal Virgins, of whom there were originally only two.[304] Beard's overview, which includes a helpfully tabulated summary, reproduced in the appendices (Ta1), reveals that there were a very limited number of offices which had multiple priests: There were multiple *Augures*, *Pontifices*, *Quindecimviri* and *Septemviri*, but by the Imperial Age, these were elected posts and included both patricians and plebeians. The minor *flamines* comprised a single priest for each individual deity. The Salii, the Arval Brethren and the Luperci were all colleges of priests, but, of these, it is clear that the Salii and Arval Brethren both performed ritual dances and the *Luperci* performed a different ritual movement.

The movement of the Luperci differed from that of the Salii and the Arval brethren (who are discussed later in this chapter). Although there were two groups and a leader, in a similar

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[299] Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Marcus Aurelius* 4.4.

[300] Macrobius *Saturnalia* 3.14.14.

[301] See, for example, Dio Cassius 22, Fg 74.1.

[302] Münzer *RE* 'Claudius no. 295'

[303] *CIL* 6.1978, 1979 – 1983 (appendices, E1).

[304] Beard 1990, 21, table 1 (reproduced in appendices, Ta1).

manner to the choruses of the Salii, the Luperci did not dance but, led by one representative from each of two groups, they ran through the city. During the course of the run, the Luperci struck women who meet the procession with strips of skin from the sacrifice. The route they took is disputed: according to Warde Fowler it followed the pomerium at the foot of the Palatine,[305] but Kirsopp Michels proposes that the route of the run was up and down the Sacra Via.[306] The Luperci were comparable to the Salii in a number of ways. There were two groups of Luperci, as the Salii had two colleges, and they also performed rites that were considered antiquated. Warde Fowler theorises that the Luperci were also associated with Mars.[307] The Luperci did not dance, but their rites were equally physical as they included both the race and the whipping action. It has been posited that all the physical actions of the priesthoods were part of a series of initiatory rites,[308] but Glinister convincingly argues that, in the case of the Salii, this is unlikely for a number of reasons, including the age range of the priests, the two dance groups and the theoretical life-long membership of the priesthood.[309] Whatever the original reason for the rites, these ancient priesthoods of multiple priests all retained elements of ritual so antique their meaning was lost to the Imperial age, yet despite this, they were retained through the Republic, into the Imperial Age and on until 'the age of Imperial Christianity'.[310] We therefore find that the Salii were not unique in the maintenance of antique rituals, but they were part of a very select group. These priesthoods all retained a traditional status which maintains a difference between the roles of the patrician and the plebeian.[311]

Roman religion has been described as 'a religion of place',[312] and the location of the two *collegia* on two of the seven hills which were central and in the political and religious heart of Rome, is indicative of the long-standing reverence afforded to the cult. The Salii present as antique and revered, they maintained their integral part of the long-established religious

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[305] Warde Fowler 1899, 318-20.
[306] Kirsopp Michels 1953, 44-6.
[307] Warde Fowler 1899, 313.
[308] Piccaluga 1967, 147-157. Torelli 1990, 98-101. Versnel 1994, 319-327. Habinek 2005, 19.
[309] Glinister 2011, 119-123.
[310] Warde Fowler 1899, 312.
[311] Livy 4.54:*…salii flaminesque nusquam alio quam ad sacrificandum pro populo sine imperiis ac potestatibus relinquantur.*
[312] Orlin 2007, 79.

practices of the city which were from well before the time of the late Republic and our surviving evidence. Their reputed foundation by Numa, the 'pious king par excellence',[313] places their foundation mythology at the very establishment of the city's religious structure.[314] The Salii were embedded in the enduring religious calendar, and, although by the Imperial period the roles and titles were primarily honorific, they were 'clearly regarded as worth preserving.'[315] For reasons unknown, the same cannot be said of the *Saliae Virgines*.

Cicero provides an example of the contrast between attitudes towards the ritual dance of the Salii and private dances. Although the works he writes each have different agenda, they demonstrate the contrasting opinions. In the *De Re Publica,* which emphasises Roman history and the constitution, the Salii are represented as performers of complex, hard-learned actions:

> sacrorum autem ipsorum diligentiam difficilem... nam quae perdiscenda quaeque observanda essent, multa constituit...[316]

In contrast, in the *Pro Murena,* written to support the Murena against accusations of electoral malpractice, to be called a dancer is an insult because dance in a private context is associated with drunkenness, debauchery and *luxuria.*[317] These contrasts reveal a constant struggle in Roman society, the balance of the respected ancient with modern change, the struggle to retain *pietas, dignitas* and *modestia*. Despite the dance being an unusual ritual practice, the Salian dance exemplifies these virtues, and is in contrast with uncontrolled, drunken movement with no religious purpose. The Salii are part of a group of revered and sustained ancient priesthoods including the *flamines*[318] and Vestal Virgins.[319]

Macrobius, who is writing centuries later and whose work is set as a scholarly discussion, referring to many, much older, sources and centring around the work of Virgil, describes

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[313] Bloch 1958, 707.
[314] Dumézil 1970, 14.
[315] Glinister 2011, 111.
[316] Cicero, *De Re Publica* 2.14.27.
[317] Cicero *Pro Murena* 13 (appendices, T6).
[318] Livy 4.54, Cicero *De Domo Sua* 37-38.
[319] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.65, Plutarch *Numa* 14, Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* 1.12.6, Cicero *De Res Publica* 2.14.27.

Appius Claudius Pulcher, who is described as celebrating a triumph, being a Salian priest until old age and having taken pride in being the best dancer in the brotherhood. This is sited within criticism of dancers and actors. Appius, as noted above, is a character who is not considered favourably. He is a contradiction as, on the one hand, he fulfils some of the positive ideals of his noble status, showing *pietas* and remaining a Salian priest up until old age. On the other hand, he also demonstrates *hubris* as his triumph is celebrated without Senatorial approval, and he shows behaviour that one would not expect to see, displaying pride in his dance. As a religious function, the dance of the Salii should be seen as a demonstration of *pietas* and *gravitas.* In Roman ritual as in Greek, religious dance, was a group function and an individual boasting about their ability was in danger of bringing it into the realm of extravagance and lack of self-control. Competitive pride is reminiscent of the solo performances of the pantomime, and Macrobius' reference to Appius Claudius is made alongside criticism of actors. Macrobius goes on to give a number of examples of the nobility in the past behaving in a similarly inappropriate manner and berates the pride of other members of the nobility in their dancing. As exemplified by Appius Claudius, it is the 'serious interest' they take in dancing, their 'expertise' and 'great pride' that they take in this that are considered improper.[320]

It is pride in dance and a desire to be better than others that incur his disapproval. This is a theme within literature which will be seen again throughout this work, but particularly in reference to dance in the private arena (chapter 4.3). The literature represents the Salii and the dance in the Salian ritual as an approved, moderate, group dance. As a group activity within the religious sphere, the Salian dance was located within approved bounds and served an important function. When it was an individual activity, dance moves away from regulated bounds into the realm of the extravagant and unseemly. It was individual performance which was found in theatrical dance. The Salian dance held a positive status because of its religious function, group dynamic and antiquity, but it was maintained

[320] Macrobius *Saturnalia* 3.14.14-15.

through the need not only to perpetuate traditional practices,[321] but to maintain both the group dynamic and social stability which it fostered for the elite families.

The Salii and their dance are also portrayed in ancient literature as representative of Roman values. Performing the Salian duties demonstrated *pietas*; and such performance expressed what was traditional, appropriate and, in the case of the Salii, virile. In the case of the *Saliae virgines*, there is too little evidence for attitudes towards them to be clear, but the designation *virgines* is suggestive of a similar moral standing: *Virgo* 'normally designates a young unmarried woman or free birth and respectable morals',[322] as a designation, it carried an implication of respect and could even be used to address goddesses. The descriptions we have of the Salii themselves also reveal an attitude of reverence and approval. Dionysius of Halicarnassus considers the Salii to be most graceful, seemly and appropriate (εὐπρεπεστάτους).[323] For Juvenal, the Salii offer a point of comparison as their action of bearing the sacred shields shows them to be virile and upholding tradition, which is in contrast to the modern effeminacy he decries.[324] This comparison distinguishes the Salian dance from that performed by the Galli, the eunuch and therefore effeminate, priests of Cybele (further discussed later in this chapter). There is also positive commentary of the dance itself, and different authors with different agendae found across our time period convey a sense of the reverence in which, as a ritual action, it was held: Dionysius, writing to promote the Romans to the Greeks, describes it as πάνυ τίμιον (held in the greatest honour) amongst the Romans,[325] Livy, as part of his history, describes it as *sollemnis*, which although it denotes annual, also conveys a religious character, traditional and solemn,[326] and Lucian, who writes, as will be noted in chapter 4, as a rhetorical exercise covering the positive and negative stances on dance, particularly the pantomime, describes the Salii under the positive rhetorical argument as σεμνοτάτην τε ἅμα καὶ ἱερωτάτην (very majestic and very sacred).[327] The rhetorical contrast here is with the pantomime, who is described as φαῦλος (cheap /

[321] Quintilian 1.6.41.
[322] Dickey 2007, 200
[323] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.70.1.
[324] Juvenal *Satires* 2.124-126.
[325] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.71.3.
[326] Livy 1.20.
[327] Lucian *De Saltatione* 20-21.

worthless),[328] and this description mirrors those found elsewhere of theatrical dance which are discussed in Chapter 4 of this work. Through the literary references, the Salian religious duties are viewed as performing the important societal function of demonstrating core Roman values. Polybius and, subsequently and possibly citing Polybius, Livy both cite Scipio's demonstration of *pietas* in the continuation of his priestly duties whilst on campaign in 190 B.C.,[329] and Valerius Maximus (writing A.D. c. 14 to 37) cites L. Furius Bibaculus, praetor in the late 220s B.C.,[330] as an example of fulfilment of both filial and religious duty by maintaining his Salian priesthood, despite having many other duties.

The alleged foundation of the Salian priesthood by King Numa augments their significance and *gravitas*. Numa was part of the historic past, and as part of this, he is portrayed as being concerned with the development of the city, and the welfare of the city's residents.[331] Numa reportedly established peace, justice and the religious reforms which turned the Roman people away from the savagery of war. The Salii, their attire, hymn and dance constitute part of these religious reforms, and are established *sanctissime*.[332] The Salii also had an element of mythology in their origin story associated with Numa, as Numa was said to have received the first sacred shield from the gods. This was divine intervention, as it fell from heaven when Rome was suffering from a plague and Numa was told about this by the nymph Egeria and the Muses.[333] Numa's foundation of the priesthood is found in a range of sources: Livy claims that Numa established the Salii giving them the honour of wearing the embroidered tunic and bronze breastplate and bearing the heavenly shields, the *ancilia*.[334] Cicero claims that the religious duties of those institutions founded by Numa, were rightly elaborate and complex.[335] The tale of the origin of the Salian shield is that it fell from heaven as divine intervention against a plague besetting Rome.[336] This places both the Salii and Numa as in

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[328] Lucian *De Saltatione* 1.
[329] Polybius *Histories* 21.13.10-14, Livy 37. 33.
[330] Valerius Maximus 1.1.9.
[331] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.62, Cicero *De Re Publica* 2.14.26: *...amoremque eis otii et pacis iniecit, quibus facillime iustitia et fides convalescit...,* Livy 1.19.
[332] Cicero *De Re Publica* 2.14.27.
[333] Plutarch *Numa* 13.2.
[334] Livy 1.20.4.
[335] Cicero *De Re Publica* 2.14.27.
[336] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.71, Plutarch *Numa* 13.

the role of divine intermediaries, whose actions assist in the divine favour of the city. The Salian dance and ritual maintain divine favour and were themselves maintained throughout the Imperial age.

The Salii were an important example of approved and ritual dance in Rome which aligned with the Roman virtues, particularly *pietas* and *virtus*. They fitted the positive ideals, performing religious rites, only dancing as a group and with moderation and they had an antique origins and maintain tradition. Their social standing, being drawn from the highest level of society means that maintaining their structure maintains part of the structure of society, keeping some religious offices and rites within the sphere of the elite.

3.2.2 The Arval Brethren

In both group dynamic and social standing, the Arval Brethren offer a similar paradigm to the Salii. The similarities with the Salii were multiple as the Arval Brethren formed a pontifical college of twelve and were drawn from patrician families, and membership was life-long.[337] As Wissowa notes, there are no noted preconditions from membership, but only men of aristocratic society are found recorded in series of inscriptions which collectively are referred to as the *Acta Arvalia*.[338] Unlike the Salii, whilst there are co-options recorded in the *Acta Arvalia*, these were not to maintain the number of priests and replace those absent from rites or engaged in other duties, so the number of the Arval Brethren at the festivals, as recorded on the *Acta Arvalia,* was therefore fluid, although their rites are substantially shorter, being performed over three days rather than weeks, which may have been a factor.[339] The festival, in honour of the *Dea Dia*, comprised three days in May at which the priests perform annual rites and offerings for the fertility of the fields at the sacred grove of the Dea Dia outside Rome. Wissowa claims that this festival is the *Ambarvalia*,[340] although

[337] Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 7.8, Pliny the Elder Natural History 18.6.
[338] Wissowa 1896, 1478.
[339] The *Acta* which provide evidence for each of the three days of the festival is usefully complied in the appendices of Beard's 1985 article on the priesthood.
[340] Op. cit. 1468.

this is disputed.[341] The evidence for ritual dance in the rites of the Arval Brethren is limited, being known to us primarily through the *Acta Arvalia* of 218 A.D.

The primarily administrative nature of the inscriptions makes it difficult to establish attitudes towards the priests or their dance. There is more detail in these inscriptions than in those regarding the Salii, indeed, they become increasingly detailed over time. They record not only the names of those involved in the rites, but give increasing amounts of detail of what they did. Although the *Acta* are not a complete record as not all survive or survive intact, they are invaluable as the literary record only provides a' fragmentary and blurry image' of the Arval Brethren.[342] Such authors as mention the Arval Brethren do not give detailed accounts, and most are interested in the mythical origins of the priesthood. They set it in the historic past and situate it in the discourse of the traditional and historically authentic cults. Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23 – 79) and Aulus Gellius (A.D. c. 125 – 180), quoting Masurius Sabinus (early first century A.D.), both refer to the founding of the brotherhood in the era of Romulus, and include Romulus himself as one of the original twelve priests,[343] both authors refer to the 'garland of wheat ears and white fillets' which the priesthood wore.[344] Apart from Varro's etymology of the name *Fratres Arvales,*[345] in which the name is derived from the original agricultural function of the rites of the Arval Brethren, there is no surviving mention of the cult before Augustus. Wissowa suggests that the evidence, including their mention in Suetonius and the monumental record,[346] shows that the priesthood was subject to Augustus' religious reforms, and was in severe decline prior to this.[347] Wissowa's 1896 entry on the Arval Brethren in *RE* is a comprehensive work on the brotherhood, and updates Henzen's 1874 work, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, although, much more recently, Scheid's 2014 work Romulus et ses Frères, updates this further and reviews all of the evidence for the priesthood. According to Wissowa, the revival under Augustus was politically motivated, and the brotherhood offered a means of glorifying the Imperial family under the guise of reviving

[341] Bennett Pascal (1988, 526-530) and Kilgour (1938, 229-240), for example, argue against the *Ambarvalia* as the festival.
[342] Scheid 2014, 39.
[343] Pliny *Natural History* 18.2.
[344] Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 7.8.
[345] Varro *De Lingua Latina* 5.85.
[346] Suetonius *Augustus* 31.
[347] Wissowa 1896, 1463.

a declining priesthood in the context of wider reforms.[348] The broader religious reforms projected an image of Augustus as a pious leader, one who was concerned with rebuilding the state and society.[349] The reforms of this priesthood allowed Augustus to portray himself specifically as a new Romulus, holding a religious position in the priesthood as Romulus purportedly did. According to the origin mythology, Romulus was a member of the Arval Brethren, and the first amongst his court were his 'brothers'.[350] The *Acta Arvalia* demonstrate that there were strong links throughout the Imperial age between the Arval Brethren and the Imperial family. There was an association between Augustus and Romulus. According to both Suetonius and Cassius Dio, the name Romulus had been suggested instead of Augustus.[351] There were several ways in which Augustus and Romulus were associated or compared. Romulus was the founder of Rome, and Augustus was seen as the second founder of Rome following the Battle of Actium. Augustus wanted to develop a new sense of 'Italy', an age offer a particular attraction for Augustus, In the Romulan era, the whole of Italy played a part in 'building the Roman state and Roman identity'.[352] Against a similar backdrop of a long period of war and disruption to that which had been faced at the end of the Republic, Romulus not only offered a comparable founder-figure for Augustus, but reflected an age where Rome worked with the rest of Italy.[353] The association was calculated and deliberate, changing the cultural memory to reflect a Rome within Italy.[354] Augustus' reforms and the festivals of the *fasti*, as Wallace-Hadrill observes, focused on the Romulan age.[355] His 'great reorganisation and reanimation' reveal an 'attempt to link up the present to the "deep" origins of the Roman past'.[356] The Arval Brethren were, to use Dumézil's terminology, a 're-animated' priesthood, in decline prior to Augustus' reforms, they subsequently formed part of Augustus' association with the distant, united, Romulan past.

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[348] Wissowa 1896, 1471.
[349] Zanker 1990, 101-2.
[350] Wissowa 1896, 1463.
[351] Suetonius, *Augustus* 7.2, Cassius Dio 53.16.6– 8.
[352] Orlin 2007, 85.
[353] Augustus *Res Gestae* 25. Augustus makes a point of stating that he is supported by the whole of Italy.
[354] Orlin 2007, 85.
[355] Wallace-Hadrill 1987, 226.
[356] Dumézil 1970, 529.

As has been mentioned, the *Acta Arvalia* were public inscriptions, and were the official records of the cult. Their primary purpose was to relate names of the brothers performing the rites and the dates of performance. The most detailed provides both the text of the hymn and some detail of the dance. As these were administrative inscriptions, they do not directly give information about attitudes towards the dance of the Arval Brethren, but one can interpret the esteem in which the dance was held by assessing the position of the dance in the festival, the social situation of the priests, and the relationship of this priesthood to those for which we have more surviving information, principally the Salii.

We will review what can be gleaned about the dance itself and its situation within the festival context. The most detailed inscription is from A.D. 218. It relates the second day of the three-day festival, the day on which the dance and hymn were performed. The text, in the format provided by Beard, and followed by her translation, is reproduced in the appendices (E3).[357] According to Beard, the increase in the detail of the inscriptions, which, for the inscription of A.D. 218 included the song and dance of the brethren, is reflective of a development in the recording process, rather than any change in ritual practices, and Scheid agrees.[358] This inscription describes the central section of the festival. On this, second day, the dance dominated the day's activities. It was performed mid-way through the day and was framed by other significant events of the festival. Prior to the dance, these significant events included the sacrifice of the *agna opima,* which was an important sacrifice and which Kilgour sees as the most important of all the victims,[359] and the rolling of the *ollae,* sun-baked clay jars 'used in the most ancient rites'. Following the dance came the naming of the *magister* for the following year, the dinner and the games. The central position of dance in the rites denotes its prominence and significance. The proximity in the order of events of the dance to the rolling of the *ollae* speaks to antiquity of practice, even if, as Warde Fowler claims, the rolling of the *ollae* was not 'really primitive' but as a result of 'over-ritualisation' of the ancient practices.[360] 'Over-ritualisation', according to Warde Fowler, is a process by which the reason for a ritual action is forgotten, and, as such, the rite suffers and becomes

[357] As found in Beard 1985, 158. *CIL* 4.2104.
[358] Beard 1985, 134, Scheid 2014, 68-71.
[359] Kilgour 1938, 239.
[360] Warde Fowler 1911, 489-490.

performed 'carelessly or incompletely'. This could have affected both the dance and hymn of the Salii and the Arval Brethren as both reflect antiquated ritual practice, but the surviving evidence is too fragmentary to judge.

The *Acta Arvalia* reveal that the Arval Brethren were active for over two hundred years, with inscriptions surviving from A.D. 14 to A.D. 241, as well as others whose dates are less certain, but are possibly later.[361] The inscription of A.D. 218 reveals that, unlike the public performance of the Salii, the dance of the Arval Brethren was performed in private, and the priests were shut alone in the temple for the performance.[362] This means that the nature and form of the dance itself remain a mystery. The use of *tripudium* to describe the dance, a term discussed more fully a little later in this chapter, invites comparison in the rhythm and style of dance and hymn to that of the Salii, and the hymn certainly has threefold repetition.[363] García Calvo considers that their dance was 'violent', a pyrrhic style dance similar to that of the Salii.[364] Shapiro suggests that, within the hymn, there are indications of choreography that were not sung. These included instructions for the priests to stand still, to strike the floor and to jump over a threshold.[365] From the few literary references we have, the attitudes towards the Arval Brethren are comparable to those demonstrated towards the Salii. Pliny the Elder's account of the origin of the priesthood,[366] refers to their attire, and calls the primitive crown of leaves tied with a white fillet as 'the most holy emblem' (*religiosissimum insigne*). The two *sodalitates* are both drawn from the high social classes, fulfil similar religious roles, and both have an origin mythology that associates them with the very beginning of Rome. The hymns for each priesthood display threefold repetition and profoundly archaic language. Although the hymn of the Salii is largely lost, Varro mentions a few lines, giving the only indication of its contents, and states that the Salian hymn is from an age *quo Romanorum prima verba poetica dicunt Latina* (when, they say, the first poetic words of the Romans were composed, in Latin).[367] Quintilian (A.D. c. 35 – c. 100) jests that

[361] See Henzen 1874 xxvii – ccxlvi.
[362] *CIL* 4.2104. The Acta of 218 reproduced, with Beard's translation, in Beard 1985, 159-160.
[363] The hymn can be found reproduced in Henzen 1874, 26.
[364] García Calvo 1957, 390.
[365] Shapiro, 2006, 339.
[366] Pliny *Natural History* 18.2.6.
[367] Varro *De Lingua Latina* 7.26,7.3.

the words of the hymn are barely intelligible to the priests themselves, they are so antiquated (*Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta*).[368] In contrast, the hymn of the Arval Brethren is preserved in full in the inscription of A.D. 218.[369] In Saturnian verse, it invokes, not the *Dea Dia,* but the Lares and Mars. It is possible that the rhythm of the hymn gives an indication of the possible beat for the dance, and, as Shapiro suggests, that there are choreographic indications within it, but there are no further descriptions of the dance to support this. The hymn is 'one of the most important and ancient specimens of the genuine Roman language',[370] providing evidence of a genuine antiquity of the priesthood. Wissowa also viewed the *Dea Dia* as evidence of the antiquity of the priesthood because *Dea Dia* was not a name but an attribute, which, in olden times was substituted, out of 'begriflicher Scheu' ('understandable bashfulness') for a name now as a result forgotten, like that of the Bona Dea and others. Whatever the later reforms of the priesthood, the attribute name does seem to indicate some antiquity.[371]

Although not a state cult, nevertheless the Acta provide valuable information about state cult practices and the *Acta* also reveal that the brethren also sacrificed throughout the year for the welfare of the Emperor and his family,[372] and Gradel sees the Arvel brethren and the Acta as showing the extent to which the emperor came to dominate the state cult in Rome.[373] The Salii and the Arval Brethren both provide instances of dance performed as part of an established, traditional ritual. Both priesthoods fitted into a particular place in society, their offices were held by higher ranking families, and their dance was a group performance with strict boundaries and prescribed movement, which occurred only at set times and in set places. They both reflect and are examples of ancient ritual practices, albeit refined or reinstated practices, which found a place in and were retained by a society in which religious observance (*pietas*) and tradition was held in regard. These rituals fostered stability, and, as part of these priesthoods, dance was 'part of the social stratification.'[374] It was an experience

[368] Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 1.6.
[369] *CIL* 1^2.2.
[370] Donaldson 1860, 232.
[371] Wissowa 1896, 1472.
[372] See, for example *CIL* 6.2165.
[373] Gradel 2002, 22.
[374] Hanna 1979, 25.

of religion which maintained social consistency, not only because it highlighted the established social structure, but because it was part of antique practices which were being maintained. These two priesthoods provide the clearest evidence of 'traditional' Roman ritual dance, but there are is some, limited, evidence that this was more common.

3.2.3 Lares

The *Lares* provide an interesting case of a cult with which dance is associated but not, from the surviving evidence, practiced in the Imperial age. Similar in their antiquity to both the Salii and the Arval Brethren, the *Lares* are directly linked with the Arval Brethren. The *Acta Arvalia* show that the *Lares* were offered expiatory sacrifices as part of the rites. Taylor views the sacrifices to the *Lares* by the Arval Brethren as having a 'natural place' in their rituals because of their bucolic origins, referring to Varro's etymology of the name of the Arval Brethren, which records their performance of rites 'to make the Roman fields fruitful'.[375] The origin of the *Lares* is lost, and they are 'without clear genealogy or precise myth',[376] which causes them to be the subject of ancient scholarly conjecture,[377] but they are found across all areas of Roman life, in homes and civic spaces, whether in countryside or city. Their areas of concern would appear to be primarily liminal, possibly originally doors or the field boundaries, but there are associations with every liminal event, birth, death and marriage. Epithets reveal that there were *Lares* connected with the household (*lar familaris),* with the city (*lares publici /lares compitales*), and with roads (*lares viales* and *semitales*), as well as with military expeditions (*lares permarini* and *lares militares*).[378]

The lack of clarity over their origin and the contradictory evidence found in ancient scholarship has left modern scholars divided over the nature of the *Lares*. Examples can be found in the articles of Waites and Laing,[379] who offer contradictory opinions on the origins of the cult, and Samter who perceives the *Lares* as household deities, spirits of the ancestors.[380] These contradictory opinions draw on information which survives in the works

[375] Taylor 1925, 301.
[376] Tran Tam Tihn 1992, 205.
[377] See Flower 2017, 3-4.
[378] Mastrocinque & Huß *BNP 7* 'Lares'.
[379] Waites 1920, 241-361, Laing 1921, 124-140.
[380] Samter 1901, 110 and followed by Waites 1920.

of Augustine (A.D. 354 – 430) and Arnobius (died A.D. c. 330),[381] who themselves quote the works of Varro and Figulus (c. 98 – 45 B.C.). According to Arnobius (appendices T7), Figulus calls the Lares '*tectorum domumque custodes*', guardians of house and home, but he struggles to find a find a Greek equivalency. According to Arnobius, Varro offers several possible origins for the *Lares:* one is as *Manes* (spirits of dead men), hence sons of *Mania*,[382] or as gods of the sky who would be called 'heroes' in Greek, or as ghosts as a kind of *genius*. He derives the association with ghosts through an attempt at etymology, deriving *Lares* from *Larvai.*[383] Varro provides a resource for Augustine and Arnobius which offers them sufficient and sufficiently authoritative material for them to use in their treaties as evidence of pagan practices which were considered odd even to pagans themselves. Varro's writing shows his scholarly interest in the *Lares*, revealing his own erudition in his knowledge of the debates over the origins of the *Lares*, whilst grounding them in Roman history through etymology. The etymology serves a purpose not as a scientific origin of language, but to create an explanation and historic basis for the argument. The etymology offered for '*Lares'* is contradictory within Varro's own work, in which his etymology rhotacizes *Lases*, as found in the hymn of the Arval Brethren, into *Lares* (*ab Lasibus Lares*). It is this etymology, which Wissowa views as accurate, and with which Lewis and Short concur.[384] Wissowa perceives the origin of the *Lares* as protectors or the farmstead, whose inclusion in the song of the Arval brethren, is testament both to their antiquity and an origin in the fields.

Whatever their origin, dance was associated with the *Lares* in a number of ways. The inclusion of the *Lares* in the Arval hymn and the antiquity of this hymn associate dance with the 'invocation of the *Lares* from very ancient times'.[385] The *Lares* are described by Naevius (c. 270 – c. 201 B.C.) as *Lares ludentis*,[386] giving an impression of the playful dance performed by the Lares seen in later iconography, but it is in this iconography where the particular association with dance is seen: the *Lares* were depicted as dancing, 'curly-haired youths with

[381] Arnobius *Adversus Gentes* 3.41 Translation of Hamilton Bryce and Hugh Campbell, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Augustine *De Civitate Dei* 7.6.
[382] See Varro *De Lingua Latina* 9.61.
[383] Flower 2017, 8.
[384] Wissowa 1912, 148f, and followed by Laing 1921, Lewis and Short 1891, 1036 *Lares.*
[385] Flower 2017, 24.
[386] Naevius *Tunicularia* 100.

high-girt tunics and boots'.[387] Friederichs identifies two forms of representation for the Lares: one holds a *patera* and cornucopia, and is static (see appendices, fig. 10 for example); the other dancing holding a *rhyton*, and a *patera* or similar (see appendices Fig. 11 for example).[388] In *LIMC,* six of the ten forms of *Lares* are identified by Tran Tam Tinh as 'of the dancing type', which are then further differentiated by dress and whether the *rhyton* is in the right or left hand.[389] The identification of the 'dancing *Lares*' brings the *Lares* into the arena of religious dance, although it could be said that they fall outside the limitations of the definition stated at the outset of this chapter, as, apart from the association of the Arval hymn and dance, we lack substantial evidence that dance formed part of the ritual practice. There is one fresco from the house of Sutoria Primigenia (appendices, fig. 13) which shows the *aulos* being used as musical accompaniment for the celebrants. Although the fresco is degraded, the celebrants appear static. As has been discussed (chapter 1.4) the representation of music, in this case in the form of the *aulos,* with the dance of the *Lares* themselves implies that the celebrants themselves participated in the movement. Alonso Fernández sees the dancing *Lares* as imitative of the actions of their celebrants, as revealing 'a common ritual behaviour in Roman sacrifices',[390] and Flower notes that, although we lack literary references to a dance, the 'fact that the Lares are so often portrayed dancing' this may be indicative that dance was 'characteristic' of the celebrations.[391] Given the prevalence of the dancing image, and the lack of surviving evidence regarding the ritual practice, the question is to what extent the dancing *Lares* as an iconographic image reflect an attitude towards dance in society?

The scholarship on the *Lares* that pertains to dance revolves around the iconography. The iconography of the *Lares* dancing is considered by Wissowa a deliberate transformation, the dancing representation of the *Lares* being an innovation from an older, static form. The dancing form, according to this theory, was a reform of Augustus.[392] This reform, when considered alongside the evidence from the Arval Brethen and the Salii, may offer some

[387] Waites 1920, 251.
[388] Freiderichs 1868, 438f.
[389] Tran Tam Tihn 1992, 205-212.
[390] Alonso Fernández 2011 209-211.
[391] Flower 2017, 171.
[392] Wissowa, in Roscher 1890-1897, 1891.

opportunity for the consideration of the attitude to religious dance. The scholarship on the images and statuary, including the work of Friederichs and Tran Tam Tihn, primarily focuses on the images and statues themselves, cataloguing 'a sample of the many monuments preserved in the museums or in situ'.[393] Pollini's focus is only on one particular statue.[394] Waites' comment on this dancing iconography concludes that dance was appropriate to their worship as it is 'appropriate to all deities of fertility'. The dancing Lares statuary, in her view, is of a Dionysiac type, which, she agrees with Wissowa, was an Augustan innovation, although she feels that 'Wissowa's idea that the Lares in this aspect are heralds of the mirthful *Compitalia* is hardly acceptable'.[395] Flower's work is comprehensive on many aspects, including the different types of *Lar*, images and cult inscriptions and locations, but provides little further information on dance, other than the note, referenced above, that the images of the dancing *Lar* may indicate dance was part of the celebrations.

Augustus' religious reforms have already been considered in reference to the Arval Brethren. Amongst these reforms, he was also credited with the revival of the ancient festival associated with the *Lares*, the *Compitalia.*[396] The original foundation of the *Compitalia* was attributed to Servius Tullius, the sixth King of Rome,[397] and Augustus was therefore, again, perceived to be re-establishing ancient practices. The cult of the *Lares*, whilst it may have been subject to Augustus' reforms, was an ancient one, and their inclusion in the Arval hymn provides proof of antiquity for Palmer as well as Wissowa.[398] As has been mentioned, reference to the *Lares* is found in the surviving fragments of the work of Naevius,[399] and Palmer views Livy's reference to a notice from 428 B.C. that 'none but Roman gods should be worshipped, nor in any but the ancestral way' (*animadverterent ne qui nisi Romani di neu quo alio more quam patrio colerentur*) as a reference to the *Lares*,[400] as the *Lares* were the only gods which were worshipped in all the urban districts, although I feel we lack sufficient context

[393] Freiderichs 1868, 438f, Tran Tam Tinh 1992, 205.
[394] Pollini 2008, 391-398.
[395] Waites 1920, 255-60.
[396] Suetonius *Augustus* 31.4, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 4.14, Varro also associates the Compitalia with the Lares of the highway, and says that sacrifies were made at the crossroads; *De Lingua Latina* 6.25.
[397] Tran Tam Tinh 1992, 205.
[398] Palmer 1974, 253, n164.
[399] Naevius *Tunicularia* 100.
[400] Livy 4.30.11.

for this to be certain.[401] The Lares which were sacrificed to by the Arval Brethren seem to have been protectors of Rome as a whole (her fields, armies and people) and Augustus built a temple to them 'at the highest point of the sacred way' as part of his building programme.[402]

As has been noted in reference to the Arval Brethren, Augustus' religious reforms were calculated, designed to 're-shape' Roman identity to a form which was more inclusive, for not just the city, but all 'the residents of the Italian peninsula',[403] with the city at the heart. The success of Augustus' reforms lay in their strategic approach. The reforms were couched in a moral retrospective, *antiquis caerimoniis… restituit*[404] 'reviving of ancient rites'. As part of his reforms, Augustus not only reinstated the *Compitalia,* and reformed the imagery of the *Lares* into the dancing form, but further created an association between his own *genius* and the *Lares*. This association was established with the new imagery of the dancing *Lares* form and the image of the *genius* of Augustus shown set between the *Lares*.[405] The use of the dancing form, when considered as part of reforms that were deliberately retrospective, looking to the origins of the city, imply an association between sacred dance and antiquity. Although found in Greek religious practice, its most prominent position in Roman religion was as part of the ancient Salii. Association with these ancient practices through dance in the revival of both the Arval Brethren and the transformation of the *Lares* may have been the very 'over-ritualisation' to which Warde Fowler refers.[406] In this context, dance seems to have been associated with antique practices, even if, like the words of the ancient hymns of the Salii and Arval Brethren, these practices were potentially no longer fully understood. Although there may have been external influences on the iconography of the *Lares*, their association with dance may be seen as indicative of dance as part of their rites or, as it does with the Salii and the Arval brethren, it may have been part of an 'over-ritualisation' and been conveying an association with antique ritual practices. Augustus was keen to associate himself as a new founder of Rome (see 3.2.2, above), and his reforms show the honour with which historic practices were held. This does not, with any clarity, answer the question as to

[401] Palmer 1974, 117.
[402] Augustus *Res Gestae* 19.2.
[403] Orlin 2007, 91.
[404] Suetonius *Augustus* 31.4.
[405] Fishwick 1929, 85.
[406] Warde Fowler 1911, 490.

whether dance formed any ritual practice for the cult of the *Lares*, and given the lack of evidence, it could be argued that this seems unlikely in the Imperial age, although possible historically. Given that other reforms of ancient cults referred deliberately back to ancient practice, which did, at least for the priesthoods reviewed here, involve dance, I think the 'innovation' which associates dance and the *Lares* can be seen a deliberate reference to the antiquity of the cult and its part in Roman heritage.

The *Lares* differ from the Salii and the Arval Brethren not in their antiquity but in the practice and practitioners. The Salii and Arval Brethren were patricians, and their dance was performed only as a specific, regulated, group performance by the priests. The *Lares,* in contrast, were a popular phenomenon. They were worshipped in some form by all levels of society, and *lararia* could be found in servant's quarters (as in the House of the Vettii, appendices, fig. 12) and in kitchens (as in the House of the piglet, appendices, fig. 14). Yet, in the Imperial age at least, the dancing of the *Lares* cannot be clearly shown to be a rite performed by worshippers, but was an action of the gods themselves, accompanied by the *genius* of Augustus.

3.2.4 Festivals and plebeian practice

Sacred dance as viewed through the restricted lens of the ancient authors is a limited activity performed by unusual, patrician priesthoods. The question is to what extent this is a view of ancient practice skewed by the source material and its origins. In festival practice, there was certainly a place for dance within the entertainment of the *Ludi:* theatrical dance played a key part (a subject which will be dealt with separately in this work), but there is a small amount of evidence that some sacred dance was a standard part of ritual practice. Livy's description of the expiatory ritual of 207 B.C. in which a procession of girls stop in the Forum and use the Forum in the manner of the Greek dancing grounds, singing and dancing, although prior to our period, reflects dance as part of ritual, although the context is historic.[407] We have already referred (chapter 1.5) to the Horace's description of choirs of

[407] Livy 27.37.

children from aristocratic families performing at festivals,[408] and noted that there are other examples of this, albeit prior to our period as Catullus and Macrobius citing Scipio Aemilianus speak of children dancing.[409] The procession of a Roman festival as described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, contains both music and dance:

> ἠκολούθουν δὲ τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ὀρχηστῶν χοροὶ πολλοὶ τριχῇ νενεμημένοι, πρῶτοι μὲν ἀνδρῶν, δεύτεροι δ᾽ ἀγενείων, τελευταῖοι δὲ παίδων, οἷς παρηκολούθουν αὐληταί τε ἀρχαϊκοῖς ἐμφυσῶντες αὐλίσκοις βραχέσιν, ὡς καὶ εἰς τόδε χρόνου γίνεται, καὶ κιθαρισταὶ λύρας ἑπταχόρδους ἐλεφαντίνας καὶ τὰ καλούμενα βάρβιτα κρέκοντες.
>
> The contestants were followed by numerous bands of dancers arranged in three divisions, the first consisting of men, the second of youths, and the third of boys. These were accompanied by flute-players, who used ancient flutes that were small and short, as is done even to this day, and by lyre-players, who plucked ivory lyres of seven strings and the instruments called barbital…[410]

Although Dionysius is ostensibly describing an historical procession, that of the *pompa circensis* of around 490 B.C., his reference material for the description is likely to be more contemporary, and the description may therefore give us an insight into Roman religious processions. Bernstein views the Italian *pompa* as closely modelled on the Greek procession, although the Greek origin of our sources may colour this. He also sees defined Roman elements within this, the armour emphasising Rome's military strength and the dance intended to stimulate wider involvement in the ritual.[411] Fless and Moede are of the view that depictions of similar processions to those described by Dionysius, including dancers, can be found in images of the triumphal procession on the *decennalia* of Antonius Pius. They note that there are many depictions of priests in procession, but not performing the ritual actions, and wearing togas, rather than any distinctive clothing.[412] Although dance is difficult to identify in these representations of processions, music is represented (see chapter 1.4), and associated dance would have been recognisable to a contemporary audience. Artistic conventions seem to dictate that representations of ritual should display an appropriate

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[408] Horace *Carmen Saeculare* 6-8.
[409] Catullus 34, 1-4, Macrobius *Saturnalia* 3.14.4, 6-7.
[410] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 7.72-73, 7.72.5.
[411] Bernstein 2007, 228-9.
[412] Fless & Moede 2007, 254-5.

level of gravitas, and dance within the ritual is therefore understood through the inclusion of music.

Ritual dance is thus rarely explicitly shown (although there are some exceptions, such as a fragment of a frieze in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome showing an unknown ritual dance).[413] If Fless and Moede are correct that the representation of the musician in images of processions indicated both music and dance, it demonstrates that dance was a regular part of the festivals and that Dionysius of Halicarnassus' description, which places musicians and dancers together in the Roman procession,[414] is believable and represents more broadly the realities of Roman processions. Indeed, his story of the vision of Titus Latinius shows that dance was a fundamental part of the procession of Jupiter Capitolinus, and so central to it that an unacceptable leader of the dance could incur the displeasure of the god and necessitate a repetition of the rites. According to this account, Jupiter Capitolinus appears to Titus Latinius in a dream, telling him that he had not accepted the rites because there was not an acceptable leader of the dance for a recent procession so the rites needed to be repeated.[415] The reference to the lead dancer (τὸν ἡγούμενον ὀρχηστὴν) implies a similar call and response dance format as that of the Salii, led by the *praesul*. The image of the Lares dancing, too, would become more comprehensible if it had some relationship to ritual. Linking to the homeostatic theory, as explored by Lonsdale in relation to dance, in which dance transmits and maintains 'sentiments', the careful retention of the dance and possible reinstatement of the dance within the priesthoods shows that dance was part of the religious experience of society and even if our evidence is limited it is likely to have held a broader place within ritual than can now be clearly identified.

There is also some, very limited, evidence within the literature of other religious dance which may reflect activities outside the city and its patrician priesthoods and indicate some differing attitudes towards dance. In these, we find what Wille refers to as the *Konstrastideal*, a contrast between the Roman ideal of *gravitas* and reality of practices.[416]

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[413] Fless & Moede 2007, 256-7.
[414] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 7.72.5.
[415] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 7.68.3-4.
[416] Wille 1967. 19-20.

Although Wille is referring to attitudes towards music, as we have seen music and dance are connected. In both, one finds this *Konstrastideal*, and conflicting attitudes. This can be seen, for example, in references to foreign, particularly 'barbarian' practices and those of Greek, but also approved Roman, rites. Strabo's enigmatic reference to the ritual practices of the Celtiberians paints a picture of a strange and foreign practice; the god is unnamed, and the rites performed at night, and unlike the categorised choruses of Greek dances or the choruses of the Salii, which were specific in their gender and age range, Strabo talks of whole families coming out together.[417] This was ritual dance but of barbarian form, and not as recognised by the Greek or Roman elite audience of the work.[418]

This can also be seen in the description of the Augustan poets to dance in rural cult practice: Virgil describes the *motus incompositos*, ungainly (dance) movements of the devout peasant in honour of Ceres, together with the singing of sacred song.[419] Ovid (43 B.C. – A.D. c. 18) offers a glimpse into to the festival of Anna Perenna,[420] in which *plebs* do not perform part of the ritual performance, but revel, drunkenly, in the streets on their way back from the festival, dancing and singing (*Fasti* 3.525). Ovid's attitude is patronising at best, contemptuous at worst. This activity is not part of ritual, but inspired by drink and theatre. It is unregulated and uncontrolled: it lacks self-control and moderation, and it is not state sponsored or controlled. Athenaeus, talking about the *Parilia,* paints a similar picture of plebeian revelry at festivals, the whole city dancing and singing (βαλλίζουσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντες τῇ θεῷ).[421] This was not sacred dance (it was not part of the ritual), but given the processional dance described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[422] one wonders if this was the inspiration for this activity. If dance and music formed part of the 'official' rites and processions, as seem likely, these descriptions can be seen to contrast the appropriate and inappropriate, the elite and popular. Again, dance forms part of the *Kontrastideal*, in this case,

[417] Strabo 3.4.16.
[418] Lowe 70.
[419] Virgil *Georgics* 1.350.
[420] Ovid *Fasti* 3.535-542.
[421] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae*, 8.362a.
[422] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 7.68.3-4.

highlighting the differentiation between the author's ideal of regulated activity, and the reality.

3.2.5 Tripudium

The term *tripudium* is found applied to a number of religious dances, including those of the Salii and Arval brethren, and it has connotations beyond those of *saltare.* The term implies the rhythm of the dance, and brings both military and religious connotations to bear on the dances to which it is applied. Livy applied the term *tripudium* to the Salian dance,[423] as do two later commentators, Porphyrio (second century A.D.) in his commentary on Horace (65 – 8 B.C.) [424] and Servius in his work on Virgil's *Aeneid.* Servius describes the movement of the Salii using both *saltare* and *tripudiare: dicti Salii ideo quod circa aras saliunt et tripudiant*.[425] *Tripudium* implies a tripartite rhythm, which is reinforced by Horace:

> illic bis pueri die
> numen cum teneris virginibus tuum
> laudantes pede candido
> in morem Salium ter quatient humum.
>
> There, twice a day, boys and young girls together will praise your divinity and thump the ground with their white feet in triple time in the Salian style.[426]
>
> gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor
> ter pede terram.
>
> The digger enjoys beating with his feet in triple time his old enemy, the earth.[427]

Ovid also speaks of the triple beat of the foot on the floor during dance,[428] although this not in reference to a religious dance. Festus refers to the term *sonivium tripudium*,[429] which Cirilli considered referred to the song of the Salii,[430] although I propose that this may instead refer to the noise created through the rhythmic step and beating of shields in the

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[423] Livy 1,20.
[424] Porphyrio *Commentum in Horatium Flaccum,* Carmina 1.36.11-12; 1.37.1.
[425] Servius *In Vergilii Aeneidem commentarii* 8.285; 8.663.
[426] Horace *Carmina* 4.1.25-8.
[427] Horace *Carmina* 3.18.15-6.
[428] Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.111-2: *Dumque, rudem praebente modum tibicine Tusco, / Ludius aequatam ter pede pulsat humum…*
[429] Festus p297M.
[430] Cirilli 1913, 100.

performance of the *tripudium*. Although the details of this rhythm (in effect, what we may refer to as the time value) are unclear, it was likely to have been reflected in the movement, in the sounds and in the hymn.

It is clear that the term *tripudium* has both military and religious connotations. It is specifically applied to a number of religious dances: by Accius (170 – c. 86 B.C.) about Greek religious dances on Mount Parnassus,[431] by Catullus (c. 84 –54 B.C.) about the dances of the priests of the Magna Mater,[432] by Apuleius (A.D. c. 124 – c. 170) about a processional dance moving the statue of a goddess,[433] and, of course, about the dance of the Arval Brethren in the inscription of A.D. 218.[434] Horace's use of *tripudium* in reference to the cult of Faunus shows an association with not just religious practices but antique and bucolic practices. He implies that a *tripudium* would be an appropriate action of the rural adherent.[435] Giannotta views this as evidence of the *tripudium* forming part of cult practice, although this seems based on evidence too sparse to be unequivocal.[436]

In keeping with the armed Salian dance, the term was also used to refer to traditional war dances. Livy uses it in this context on a number of occasions: for a dance of the Carthaginian army,[437] for the Gauls dancing as they head into battle,[438] and for the Spanish customary armoured dances.[439] Curtius (first century A.D.) uses it when referring to Sogdian prisoners of war, singing and dancing to celebrate the prospect of a noble death,[440] and Tacitus (A.D. c. 56 – c. 120) uses *tripudium* to describe the traditional armed dances of the Germans.[441] *Tripudium* was not an exclusive term for religious or military dances, as it was also used more generically for dance by Cicero (106 - 43 B.C.), Seneca (c. 4 B.C. – A.D. 65) and Petronius (A.D. c. 27 – 66).[442] Habinek suggests that it was originally used of the Salian dance

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[431] Accius *Tragedies* 213-214.
[432] Catullus 63, 26.
[433] Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 8.27.
[434] See Beard 1985, 159.
[435] Horace *Carmina* 4.1.27-8.
[436] Giannotta 2004, 341.
[437] Livy 23.26.9.
[438] Livy 38.17.5, 21.42.3.
[439] Livy 25.17.
[440] Quintus Curtius *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonis* 7.10.
[441] Tacitus *Histories* 5.17.
[442] Cicero *Pro Sestio* 89, Seneca *Naturales quaestiones* 7.32.3, Petronius *Satyricon* 36.

and then more broadly.[443] However, Alonso Fernández has drawn attention to another religious context;[444] it can also denote a particular type of favourable omen conveyed through the feeding of chickens.[445] Attempts to link the meanings have not proved conclusive.

3.2.6 Conclusions on traditional cult practice

The Salii and the Arval Brethren offer a glimpse of ancient cult practices involving dance. Whether these, and the iconography of the dancing *Lares*, constitute a survival of antique practice (in the case of the Salii, possibly Etruscan in origin, chapter 2.2), or simply those most visible to us by accident of survival to us, cannot be known. With such a limited view of ancient cult practice, the full extent of sacred dance within the 'traditional' festival rites and procession is impossible to verify. There is, as has been shown, some evidence that sacred dance was broader that that shown by two patrician priesthoods and had a place in ritual and processions. Even within the narrow perspective of the sources, it is clear that sacred dance formed part of traditional Roman ritual, and there is an indication that it had historic importance in the development of Roman cult. The discernible attitudes towards sacred dance in traditional cult practice show both reverence and derision. The place it held within society is complex, influenced by social stratification, literary trope, association and the broader issues surrounding the cult within which the dance is identified, reflecting Wille's idea of *Konstrastideal*.

The *Konstrastideal* theory shows that, although the dances of the Salii and Arval Brethren were ostensibly portrayed positively because of their religious function, the positive portrayal is in fact underpinned by their demonstration of Roman values. They were, significantly, group practices, rooted in antiquity, whose performance was, at least ostensibly, a means to maintain traditional practices.[446] They portrayed positive values and act as a point of contrast against the immoderate or excessive. The Salii and the Arval

[443] Habinek 2005, 22-3.
[444] Alonso Fernández 2011 120-122.
[445] Cicero *De Divinatione*. 2, 34, 72; 2, 36, 77; 1, 15, 28; Livy 10, 40, 5.
[446] Quintilian 1.6.41.

Brethren were public, elite, demonstrations of *pietas* in performance of ancient rites. In this public display, dance maintained the status quo, religious action reinforcing established social stratification. These dances embody the ideal of a moderate, established and controlled practice and contrasts with the reality of other festival practices, which can lack regulation or status.

Dance as an experience of religion was not limited to these patrician priesthoods. There is evidence is that there was processional movement, and plebeian involvement in action which could be defined as sacred dance. The evidence is limited by the focus on Rome, and the limitations make analysis of attitudes towards this impossible. The Imperial world was not 'black and white', and not as clearly defined as to contain only cult practices which are traditional and unchanged. The ever-expanding Roman world brought together a diverse range of cultures, and, in Rome, dance could also be found within what I shall term 'imported' cult practice. These are cults that were categorised by Roman authors as of foreign origin, sometimes attracting a following from a cross-section of society, and inciting a different response again from the elite authors, in whom their foreign origin gives rise to a further possible contrast and attitude of disapproval, even where their integration into Roman society is long-standing.

3.3 Dance in imported cult practices - Magna Mater, Isiac, Dionysiac

The rites that have been considered so far have their origin in Rome itself, and form part of Roman religion which 'belonged in Rome… closely tied by its rituals and myths to the city itself'.[447] There were a number of cult practices of foreign origin which were both formally and informally introduced into the city. Dance featured prominently in some of these. Literature shows these cults and their dances inspiring controversy and being subject to criticism. They were seen as representative of the 'non-Roman', despite the participation of citizens, and in these cults, again, we see the complex political and social aspects of both dance and religion.

[447] Beard, North & Price 1998, 156.

3.3.1 The cult of Cybele (Magna Mater)

The cult of Cybele, the Magna Mater, was one of the most longstanding imported cults into the Roman pantheon, having been officially brought into the Roman pantheon in 204 B.C. The cult was already established in Greece and Greek colonies, including Sicily and those in the south of Italy. The introduction of the cult was on the instruction of the Sibylline Books during the time of the Second Punic War. It was predicted to be the means to ensure that Italy could not be invaded. The *mater Idaea* (Idaean Mother, Cybele) was welcomed to Rome in the form of her meteoric *xoanon* from Pessinus.[448] The goddess' origins in Asia Minor present her as mother of the Trojans, and, by association, the Romans through their legendary Trojan descent.[449] Her initial welcome in Rome was reverential, and she was received by the nobility on her entry into the city,[450] where a procession led her to her place in the heart of the city, on the Palatine.[451] Though it is not mentioned in the descriptions of the divine arrival, other sources reveal that Cybele did not come alone into Rome. Her mythological companion, Attis, and her eunuch priests, the *Galli*, were both part of cult and introduced with the goddess into Roman life. Attis is noted as part of the cult in southern Greece by Pausanius,[452] and Ovid refers to the *Galli* parading and beating drums as part of the procession of the April festival in honour of Cybele and her arrival into Rome, the Megalensia,[453] Valarius Flaccus and Statius both speak of the castration of the Attis and the Galli.[454] Although Cybele was compatible with Roman values, both as a mother goddess and as a link to a mythical Roman past, neither Attis nor the *Galli* were. Both Attis and the *Galli* epitomised the foreign, in both being and actions. As castrati, they contradicted the ideal of the Roman male, who was virile, strong and decisive. By definition, castrati were considered effeminate. As will later be discussed in relation to the Pantomime (chapter 4.2.2), effeminacy was synonymous with lack of self-control, and to be willingly effeminate was

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[448] Livy 29.10.4-6.
[449] Vermaseren 1977, 11.
[450] Livy 29.11.8.
[451] Livy 29.14.14.
[452] Pausanias *Description of Greece* 7.20.3, 7.17.9.
[453] Ovid Fasti 4.181.
[454] Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 7. 634, Statius, *Thebaid* 10.170.

indicative of socially disruptive behaviour. By relinquishing their physical manhood, they relinquished their manly and 'proper' place in society.

The dichotomy of a foreign, yet ancient, cult elicits an ambivalent attitude across the ancient sources. Dionysius of Halicarnassus provides a commentary (*Antiquitates Romanae* 2.19. Appendices, T8). As he states, the rites, sacrifices and games which correspond to the Roman ideals are performed by the praetors. This is as would be expected in a sanctioned cult, but, in contrast, and by legal statute, the priesthood was not held by Romans but by Phrygians. Elements of the cult therefore retained a foreign form and influence. Dance, as it was performed by foreign priests, fell into this category. In literature, many descriptions of dance and music relating to the cult of Cybele are found in context of the descriptions and retelling of the myth of Attis. These draw on associations with foreign elements: Catullus' retelling of the Attis myth sets a scene reminiscent of Bacchic dance. His story of Attis is set in elevated forest areas to a musical accompaniment of cymbals, timbrels and flute, with Maenads dancing *celerare tripudiis* (rapid dances).[455] This Bacchic imagery gives an impression of the dance as a mad, orgiastic rite. Despite this image, the use of *tripudium,* as has been discussed, indicates the religious nature of the dance. Lucretius' (99 – c. 55 B.C.) description also implied madness and rage through his use of *furor,*[456] and Ovid's etymology of the name of the *Galli* also suggests a similar allusion to madness.[457] Although there is a similar allusion to madness, unlike Catullus, Lucretius does not compare the rites to Bacchic rites but instead likens the priests to the Curetes, describing their dance as a pyrrhic style dance with weapons. The description of the priests maintains an impression of the foreign and alien, describing them as joyful in blood, *sanguine laeti* (Appendices T9).[458] An epigraphic reference reveals the existence of a group of dancers for Cybele, the '*ballatores Cybelae*',[459] who performed at the festivals of Cybele. The organisation of these *ballatores* into a *sodalitas* places them into the religious sphere and separates these performers from

[455] Catullus 63.
[456] Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 2.621 (appendices, T9).
[457] Ovid *Fasti* 4.361-6.
[458] Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 2.631 (appendices, T9).
[459] *CIL* 6.2265.

pantomimic performances. There is no evidence of the form of their dance, but as has been seen, sources portray it as orgiastic.

Modern scholarship recognises that the 'foreign elements' of the cult of Cybele were problematic for the Roman psyche. Roller, whose work on Cybele is comprehensive and follows on from the work of Vermaseren on the cult, sees the 'toning down' of Cybele's 'relations with nature, mountains and rural landscapes' as deliberate, that there was a move away from these associations towards a portrayal of Cybele as 'a patriotic, Roman goddess'.[460] It is not Cybele, but her companions, Attis, her mythical consort, and the *Galli*, her priests, who were viewed as foreign elements. They were the catalyst for the attitude which is found to the cult in Roman literature. Fear states Attis was 'clearly foreign, coming from outside the… classical world… Effeminate at best and self-castrator at worst... Attis' castration… and that of… the *Galli*… particularly raised problems for the cult's acceptance. Nothing could have seemed more characteristically oriental and alien to the Roman mind than the *Galli*'.[461] Pachis sees the *ambiance orgiastique* portrayed by Catullus, Lucretius and Ovid as amplified by the use of dance and music in the ceremonies,[462] and considers that, whatever the actual rites, this *ambiance orgiastique* is reflected as a realistic portrayal of the cult rites by commentators. Fear views the rites of Cybele as more provocative than those of Christianity because of their orgiastic and secretive nature.[463] Pachis views orgiastic rites as a reason for ambivalence toward the cult, and sees this characteristic distinguishable in Greek epigrams of the third century B.C.[464] He sees musical accompaniment of the rites and the dances as fundamental elements of the orgiastic atmosphere, and as a factor in the distrust of the priesthood in literature. He notes that, despite this distrust, there was a diverse range of musical instruments in the Romanised cult used to elicit the orgiastic atmosphere, and that, in some cases, these instruments were uniquely Roman.[465]

[460] Roller 1999, 280
[461] Fear 1996, 46.
[462] Pachis 1996, 208.
[463] Fear 1996, 49.
[464] Pachis 1996, 208, 200.
[465] Summer 1996, 358-61.

These distinctive, Roman elements show that the Romanised cult differed from the Greek and Phrygian. Vermaseren, in his review the development of the cult, finds that Attis 'does not play a strong part in the Greek version of the cult'.[466] However, more recently Bøgh, who reviews the Phrygian cult and looks at the difference between this and the Graeco-Roman cult, has argued that Attis was a later, Greek invention and that dance was 'a Greco-Roman cultic element', and the use of *gallos* to mean a priest of Cybele originates in Hellenistic times.[467] The Roman cult therefore presents as a contradiction: although in the literature, one sees an historic, revered cult, it is a cult with a priesthood and mythology which appears to pose a barrier to the Roman psyche. It presents a complex picture, and despite its state sanction, regulations were passed which limited the activity of the cult, excluding citizens both from the cult procession and from entering the priesthood. Even the games which were associated with the Megalensia, the April festival of Cybele, had unusual restrictions which separates the audience. These restrictions have provoked theories that 'the Romans discovered the undesirable features of the cult only when…[it] arrived'.[468] This does not seem likely, given that the cult was already established in the Greek world, with the accompanying *Galli*, music and dance, if without (or with a much less prominent version of) the consort, Attis. Indeed, Bøgh sees the same duality of attitude in Greece, where the 'anti-orientalism' in the fifth century B.C. leads to Cybele being 'at once one of the most detested and most beloved of the divinities worshipped by the Greeks'.[469]

The 'foreign' nature of the cult and of the priests fuels a number of established tropes within literature, particularly against effeminacy and lack of self-control. Linked to both of these literary tropes is a suspicion of that which is perceived as foreign, and of that which is not part of the established social structure. The rites of the cult incite a state of *furor* leading to willing self-mutilation. This represents a level of emotional volatility which is in stark contrast to established Roman values. The priests were castrati and therefore effeminate. Castrati were an uncomfortable phenomenon throughout Roman literature, associated with a lack of

[466] Vermaseren 1977, 32.
[467] Bøgh 2007, 329, 323.
[468] Beard, North & Price 1998, 98.
[469] Bøgh 2007, 308.

self-control and 'sexual perversion and decadence'.[470] The *semiviro Cybeles*[471] were mocked by Juvenal and Apuleius,[472] and to Augustine, the rites of the Galli are *cum deformiora… omni scaenica foeditate* (uglier than all the filth of the stage).[473] The dance found in the cult was surrounded by this attitude of suspicion. It was performed by the *Galli*, who themselves were surrounded by the negative associations of effeminacy. Although such associations are certainly visible in the literature, we have lost much of the context of these works and to say that the dance was viewed with suspicion because of its performers may be a simplification. It has been suggested that Catullus, in the retelling of the myth of Attis in poem 63, is 'questioning the very nature of 'Roman-ness'', raising issues around gender, madness and power over others.[474]

A broader view which encompasses what can be gathered of legal standing of the cult through decrees may offer a better view of the attitude to the cult over time. As has been seen in the review of the Salii and the Arval brethren, the visible attitude towards the dance is the attitude found towards the performers of the dance. In the case of Cybele, the dancers were the *Galli*. The two were not, and could not be, separate. The accounts of the arrival of the cult focus on the positive: Cybele was a saviour of the city, associated with positive values of chastity and piety,[475] and in these accounts there is deliberate omission of priests, their rites and any cult aspects which had negative connotations. Even upon introduction, the Romans made the cult their own, praetors performing the sacrifices and games, but the procession, with the associated music, dance and flamboyant attire, was led by the *Galli.* Romans, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us, are forbidden by law from taking part in this:

> Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῶν αὐθιγενῶν οὔτε μητραγυρτῶν τις οὔτε καταυλούμενος πορεύεται διὰ τῆς πόλεως ποικίλην ἐνδεδυκὼς στολὴν οὔτε ὀργιάζει τὴν θεὸν τοῖς Φρυγίοις ὀργιασμοῖς κατὰ νόμον καὶ ψήφισμα βουλῆς.

[470] Fear 1996, 47.
[471] Martial *Epigrams* 91.
[472] Juvenal *Satires* 2.110-116, Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 8.27-28.
[473] Augustine *De Civitate Dei* 6.7.
[474] Beard, North & Price 1998, 165.
[475] Ovid *Fasti* 4.305-325.

> But by a law and decree of the senate no native Roman walks in procession through the city arrayed in a parti-coloured robe, begging alms or escorted by flute-players, or worships the goddess with the Phrygian ceremonies. [476]

He claims that this is because the Romans are 'cautious' about admitting foreign customs, and averse to 'pompous' or indecorous displays.

There is, initially, a carefully controlled integration into the city. Roman citizens were banned from participation in the priesthood, and therefore banned from participation in the dance, and the sacrifices were performed by the praetors. The cult was dynamic, and after this careful introduction, the situation develops. John Lydus (A.D. 490–c.560) claims in *De Mensibus* that the *Arbor Intrat* festival was introduced under Claudius.[477] In the mid-second century A.D. there appears to have been a greater adoption of the cult:[478] the first *taurobolium* dates from about 160 and Vermaseren has conjectured that there was a state re-organisation of the cult which included the introduction of a 'state-priest'. He sees the inscription on the bust of the priestess Melitene of 163/4 A.D. as testament to this.[479] Under Domitian, as part of a range of measures, there was a decree which prohibited castration.[480] Whilst this decree was linked to developments in the slave trade, this may have been part of moral measures and may be indicative of a persistence of suspicion against castrati.

Ostensibly, the cult of Cybele is a contradiction. A state-sanctioned and controlled national cult, but one which was presided over by foreigners, and which therefore maintained some distance away from Roman society. On the one hand, it was ratified by the Sibyl with the purpose of protecting Rome, and, as such, it commanded authority and approval, something which was further ratified by associations with Troy. The cult had its origin in the area of Asia Minor around Troy, which linked it to Aeneas and the founding myth of Rome as found in the *Aeneid*. In the late Republic and early Empire, this also links to some key Roman families and their own mythology. On the other hand, Cybele's association with the castrated Attis and with rites which were connected with madness and wild behaviour, in which dancing

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[476] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.19.4-5.
[477] Lydus *De Mensibus* 4.59, Carcopino 1942, 76-171.
[478] See the arguments of Wissowa 1912, 321-6.
[479] Vermaseren *Cybele and Attis* 35; Vermaseren, *CCCA* 2, #315 (plate LXXXI = Louvre Ma 3068).
[480] Suetonius *Domitian* 7.1.

was included, associated the cult with not just the effeminate, but also the unregulated and the inappropriate. Whilst the case that the evidence for the cult shows all of these aspects, this summary is, however, superficial. The gradual integration of the cult demonstrates both popularity and incorporation of the cult and into the religious life of the city. Dance and its accompanying music are integral to literary imagery of the mother of the gods, and examples can be seen in literary works across our time period: Propertius (c. 50 – 15 B.C.) portrays her providing the accompaniment to the dance on the cymbals,[481] as we have seen, Ovid and Dionysius of Halicarnassus relate the dance and music of the processions,[482] Statius refers to the a complicated step to the cymbals,[483] and Claudian (A.D. c. 370 – 404) envisages her watching the spectacle performed for her.[484] As Vermaseren puts it, 'The Asiatic goddess… rejoices in the tambourine and dance.'[485]

The initial attempts to control the cult, segregating the foreign from the citizen practice were limited, and although there is evidence of suspicion of the performers of the dance, the portrayal of the cult as 'foreign' was a literary trope. This trope draws out the most unusual elements of the cult, highlighting, for example, the use of ululations, cymbals and drums, as well as the more usual wind and stringed instruments.[486] Unlike the priesthoods of the Salii and Arval Brethren, this was a cult in which, in the empire at least, there was a place for the liminal members of society, priesthoods becoming open to new citizens and ex-slaves. As Beard puts it, 'the majority of those participating in its rituals were no doubt as Roman as anyone in Rome in the first century B.C.'[487] The attitude to the dance within the cult is reflective of the attitude to the cult itself: as a religious performance it was revered, but it was also distrusted and kept at a distance because of the foreign and unusual nature of the original performers of the dance, the *Galli*. Over time, it became part of the religious atmosphere of the city, and one in which there was a place for the lower echelons of society to perform a function similar to that which they observed the Salii performing.

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[481] Propertius *Elegies* 3.17.35.
[482] Ovid *Fasti* 4.305-325, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.19.4-5.
[483] Statius *Achilleid* 1.828.
[484] Claudian *In Eutropium* 279 -280.
[485] Vermaseren 1977, 11.
[486] Ovid *Fasti* 4.183-186.
[487] Beard, North & Price 1998, 261, 160 n134.

3.3.2 Dionysiac dance

There is no doubt that dance was inseparable from the Dionysiac cult. It was seen in all aspects of the Greek cult including the theatre, in ritual, in myth and in artistic representations. The cult of Dionysus has proven complex for both ancient and modern scholars. All aspects of cult and cult representation are subject to scholarly debate and disagreement. As a deity, Dionysus sats apart from others in the pantheon, 'by turns civilizing and disruptive'.[488] For modern scholars, he 'notoriously resists clear-cut and simple definitions', encompassing 'a wild, violent and destructive power' as well as a stabilising influence.[489] In an attempt to categorise and classify the seemingly conflicting elements of Dionysus, modern scholars have turned to modern concepts. This has led to some bold ideas, which have had a strong influence on nineteenth and twentieth century impressions. It is therefore not ancient sources but, according to Nikolaidou-Arabatzi, Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* (1872), which forms 'the ground of the modern concept of Dionysus'.[490] As this implies, whether correct in terms of the ancient experience or not, Nietzsche's concept of the Dionysiac experience as an emotional, ecstatic state breaking down boundaries is followed by a number of scholars including Rohde, Harrison, Nilsson and Otto.[491] Within these works, identification and explanation of dance within the cult proves problematic. Several see the mythological representation as literal description: Harrison sees the ecstatic dance of the mythical Maenad as a reflection of real female worshippers and their practice and a maenad as therefore a 'mad woman,' or one of the female worshippers 'possessed' or 'maddened',[492] and Rohde views the frenzied dance represented in the literature as literal, and draws comparisons to anthropological phenomena including shamanic practices and dance epidemics.[493] Heinrichs categorises this as the 'psychological' approach to the cult.[494]

[488] Pailler 2004, 14
[489] Bierl 2012, 1-2.
[490] Nikolaidou-Arabatzi 2012, 40, following Henrichs 1984 and Schlesier 2002.
[491] For an overview of the positions and discussions of all, see McGinty 1978.
[492] Harrison 1908, 388.
[493] Rohde 1894, 116.
[494] Henrichs 1984, 206.

Dionysus was associated with theatre, music, dance and performance. In accordance with the dichotomy of a deity who was both civilizing and disruptive, the dances of Dionysus in Greek religion were both communal and disorderly. They incorporated both sacred group dances, as praised by Plato for their assistance in social cohesion,[495] and the wild or ecstatic sacred dances of the Bacchanalia, which displayed a frenzied, uncontrolled state induced by the god. Pausanius describes the Thyiads, who were the women who came together to perform secret or mystic rites (ὄργια) and dances in honour of Dionysus.[496]

Rome provides little evidence for Dionysiac cult practice, but there is no doubt that the cult existed in the city. In 186 B.C., a senatorial decree curtailed the breadth of the cult (appendices T10, and discussed further below) and, although according to Livy's account the context of this decree is particular concerns about seditious activity,[497] the decree indicates the breadth of influence held by the cult in the city. Many literary sources take a position which is more mythological than authentic, and provide at best an exaggerated impression of ritual practice.

As noted in the Introduction (chapter 1.6) one of the problems that we face with the evidence we have is the extent representations are realistic. This is particularly the case for the Dionysiac cult as the representations we have are combination of ritual, mythology and archaic practice. They would only need to be sufficiently identifiable for the audience, who could recognise these references more easily. In contrast, we have to try to identify what we can from the sources we have, and there is not a consensus among scholars. Nilsson views the Roman Dionysiac cult dances as being an altered form, changed from those of the Greek cult for the 'taste of the age' and providing 'no more than an occasion for performing pantomimic dances.'[498] Literary representations of the cult, and the extent to which they represent the reality of cult practice equally proves to be a matter of dispute. It has already been seen that Rohde and Harrison viewed the literary version of ecstatic dance as representative of actual practice. An overview of other scholarly debate is found in

[495] Laws, esp 654.
[496] Pausanias 10.4.3.
[497] Livy 39.8.
[498] Nilsson 1957, 60.

Osborne's discussion of the maenad.[499] This provides a summary of a range of different scholarly opinions, contrasting the views of Dodds, Heinrichs and Bremmer. These provide three different stances on the reality of maenadic, ecstatic dance in cult practice. Dodds' theory is of an 'evolution' in the action of the maenad, a ritualisation and ordering of originally spontaneous acts.[500] In this theory, mythology and the ecstatic dance as portrayed in literature reflects reality, albeit historical, rather than current reality. Heinrichs, in a number of separate articles,[501] finds distinction between the maenads of myth and historical practice and sees the mythology as remaining separate to practice. Bremmer finds a middle ground, with some archaic practice which passed into mythology represented in later literature as cult practice.[502] Whether it was actual cult practice, archaic or contemporary, or whether it was solely mythological, maenadic dance and ecstasy formed part of the cult association and imagery.

Interpretation of the artistic representation of the cult has incited as much debate as the literary, particularly the enigmatic 'Villa of the Mysteries frieze' (appendices Fig 15). The instruments which accompany the ritual (and imitations of mythical ritual) are not the usual wind and stringed instruments, but drums and cymbals.[503] These provided the beat for the songs and dances, as did the κρόταλα, a kind of castanet held by the dancer, shown in the 'Villa of the Mysteries frieze' (appendices Fig. 15).[504] Although it is agreed that the painting depicts the cult, 'intermingled, according to some, with the initiatory rites of marriage',[505] the detail of the representation is contested.

Several Greek representations of Dionysiac dance have been mentioned here, and whilst these do not reflect Roman practice, they can provide information about attitudes towards the cult in the broader empire. Euripides (c.480 – c.406 B.C.) associates the mountainside

[499] Osborne 1997, 187-190.
[500] Dodds 1971, 271-2, 76-7
[501] See Osborne 1997, 188 n4 for the details of these publications (between 1969 and 1990).
[502] Bremmer 1984, 267-286.
[503] Statius *Achilleid* 1.713 -716: *namque ambiguo sub pectore pridem / verso, quid imbelles thyrsos mercatus et aera / urbibus in mediis Baccheaque terga mitrasque / huc tuleris varioque aspersas nebridas auro?*
[504] Landels 1999, 82-3.
[505] Beard, North & Price 1998, 162.

with the mythical ecstatic dance, and the city streets with group performance.[506] Although Euripides is not a source for Imperial practice, the descriptions of city-wide festivities in the empire in honour of Dionysus echo the description in the play. Plutarch describes Mark Antony's arrival in Ephesus where he was greeted as Dionysus, the streets filled with celebrants and music and women were dressed as Bacchants.[507] Plautus' (c. 254 – 184 B.C.) and Plutarch's descriptions show the Dionysiac procession to be a notable feature of the festival, and one in which, as implied by Plutarch's reference to women dressed as Bacchants, dance was a significant part.[508] Lucian describes the captivation of the audience of the Bacchic dance in Ionia and Pontus.[509] The representation of the cult in Plautus' works show Dionysiac dance to be associated with the ecstatic frenzy found in the mythology,[510] but that it is also associated with play,[511] a potentially more realistic image for the modern mind than the excesses of the madness of the Bacchants, and a familiar ancient synonym for dance. Plautus refers to the cult in a number of different plays,[512] which reveals that the Bacchic cult was active in Rome and familiar to the stage audience of c. 225-185 B.C.

The familiarity of the cult to Plautus and his audience contradicts Livy's re-telling of the suppression of the cult in 186 B.C., which states that the cult was recently introduced.[513] Although the cult was known, it is possible that there had been some more recent innovations which included changes in the cult which led to the Senatorial decree against the cult by the Campanian priestess Paculla Annia.[514] This decree, or rather the inscription of the letter of the consuls communicating this decree, is reproduced in the appendices (T10). It restricted Bacchanalian worship, but allowed for a plea to the Senate to be heard and particular authorisation from the Senate to be given. From the degree, it can be ascertained

[506] Euripides *Bacchae* 85-87: Βρόμιον παῖδα θεὸν θεοῦ / Διόνυσον κατάγουσαι / Φρυγίων ἐξ ὀρέων Ἑλλάδος εἰς εὐ-/ρυχόρους ἀγυιάς… (Bring the roaring son of a god, Dionysus, from Phrygia's mountains to Hellas' streets, broad for dancing!).
[507] Plutarch *Antony* 24.3.
[508] Plautus *Cistellaria* 1.90: *per Dionysia / mater pompam me spectatum duxit…*
[509] Lucian *De Saltatione* 79.
[510] Plautus *Amphitryon* 704-5: *non tu scis? Bacchae bacchanti si uelis aduorsarier, / ex insana insaniorem facies, feriet saepius…*
[511] *Casina* 978-82: ...*nunc Bacchae nullae ludunt…*
[512] Plautus *Amphitryon* 705-6; *Miles Gloriosus* 855-7, 1017; *Casina* 978-82; *Aulularia* 408, 411a; *Bacchides* 53,371-2.
[513] Livy 39.8.
[514] Bauman 1990, 338.

that there were rites held in large groups which contained both men and women and that members of the cult took vows. All of this is also clear in Livy's account. Pallier (2021) regards the political motivations behind the 'Bacchanalian affair' as being rooted in the impact of the preceding Punic wars. He sees links between Livy's account of the war year 213 B.C., in which Livy describes the impact of protracted war as affecting Roman religious observance, fostering superstitions and inciting adherence to 'foreign, strange' rites,[515] something which must be dealt with by the Senate, and Livy's account of 186 B.C. Livy's representation of the cult is damning, accusing the initiates of the cult of drunkenness, violence, murder and debauchery:

> Cum vinum animos incendisset, et nox et mixti feminis mares, aetatis tenerae maioribus, discrimen omne pudoris exstinxissent, corruptelae primum omnis generis fieri coeptae… sed falsi testes, falsa signa testamentaque et indicia ex eadem officina exibant: venena indidem intestinaeque caedes, ita ut ne corpora quidem interdum ad sepulturam exstarent... occulebat vim quod prae ululatibus tympanorumque et cymbalorum strepitu nulla vox quiritantium inter stupra et caedes exaudiri poterat.
>
> When drink had aroused passions, and darkness and the intermingling of males and females, older and younger, had eliminated all moral judgment, depravity of every kind first began to emerge….There was also perjured testimony in court, forged seals and wills, and manufactured evidence, all emanating from the same workshop; and from there, too, came cases of poisoning and murders within families, sometimes with the bodies not even coming to light to make burial possible... The violence was hidden, however, because amid the fornication and bloodshed no outcry could be heard over the shouting and the beating of drums and cymbals.[516]

Virgil similarly emphasises the danger of the mythological Bacchic orgy and the associated night rites, frenzy and violence.[517] Although one can see an influence of the mythical ecstatic dance in these literary descriptions, and there is criticism of excess and odd or dangerous rites, the cult is denigrated because it was disruptive to the *res publica*. As Livy's account relates, the cult compromised family structures, already strained following years of war, and demands allegiance of initiates, thus distracting from their allegiance to state. Postumius warns that the 'the evil' grows, and that 'its objective is the control of the state' (*crescit et*

[515] Pailler 2021, 65.
[516] Livy 39.8.6-8.
[517] Virgil *Georgics* 4.520-522.

serpit cotidie malum. iam maius est quam ut capere id privata fortuna possit: ad summam rem publicam spectat).[518] Pailler argues that there was no conspiracy against the state from the Bacchants.[519] The senate's decree is designed to avoid such sub-groups in society (any 'second people') and ensures Senatorial control over foreign cults, and Livy reflects the same concerns in his treatment of the cult.[520]

Dance was part of the 'non-Roman' aspect of the Bacchic worship, and this also seemed to influence non-religious emulations, where imitating the maenad formed the basis for orgiastic behaviour. Tacitus' (A.D. c. 56 – 120) Messalina, in playing the maenad, was not doing so in a religious context, but is being portrayed as extravagant, drunken and uncontrolled,[521] and as such being shown in contrast to the idealised Roman matron. Alonso Fernández considers this an imitation of the altered consciousness of the Bacchants.

From the sources available, it seems that dance in the cult did include both processional and ecstatic dance of a kind, although the ecstatic may have been a playful emulation of mythology rather than a descendant of it. The attitudes found towards the cult and dance have drawn contradictory opinions. For example, Plautus' representation of the ecstatic dance and state in his plays has been interpreted as, on the one hand 'an eccentric feature…not considered particularly dangerous',[522] and on the other as 'joking about the dangers of Bacchic orgies'.[523] Whether one views Plautus as indicating an activity which was 'eccentric' or 'dangerous' depends upon how literally one views the representation of the cult. If Plautus' maddened Bacchant was a mockery of the mythological frenzy and exaggeration of actual practice, then Plautus offers a view of an eccentricity of the cult. If Plautus' comments on the madness and temper of the Bacchic dancer in frenzy represented a real hazard, then the cult presented a societal danger. For Henrichs, Livy provides a credible account of the deterioration of mythical maenadic activity into orgy, and that the 'maenadic pattern was converted to a wild Bacchic ritual of wine and sex orgies in which

[518] Livy 39.16.3-4.
[519] Pailler 2021, 70.
[520] Takács 2000, 302.
[521] Tacitus *Annals* 11.31.10.
[522] Alonso Fernández 2013, 187, 190.
[523] Walsh 1996, 191.

young men mingled with Roman matrons.'[524] This does not account for the inaccuracies of the introduction of the cult in Livy's account, nor the narrative of the corruption of Publius Aebutius in which Livy's use of tropes of vice and the 'un-Roman' to elicit disapproval is clear.[525] Nevertheless, Livy's account portrays the cult as a danger. It is critical of the ecstatic state and its lack of control, but underpinning the rhetorical themes, there is concern about the structure and composition of the cult. There is evidence from outside Rome that the hierarchal structure and sacred dance performance were interrelated. In Pergamon, the cult hierarchy reveals the office of βουκόλοι, and the holder of this office performed dances at the biennial festivals of Dionysus.[526] The senatorial decree (appendices, T10) provides the basis for Livy's account, reflecting the primary concern of the Senate, which was not cult practices, nor dance, but the scale and breadth of the cult. It had become a large-scale organisation, and it was a cult over which the state did not have control, and it therefore posed a potential threat to the state organisation. The senatorial decree sought to restrict the cult membership and referred not only to Rome but to the surrounding communities as well. It sought to limit the allegiances to the cult and the potentially unregulated power of individuals within the cult structure. Cult rites were criticised, but this criticism was driven by and reflected a fear of a threat to established organisation than necessarily of the rites themselves. The decree puts the cult under state control, and gave the Senate and the praetor control over Bacchic festivals and restricted the membership and meetings of the cult. The principal interest of the Senate in passing the decree was not the cult rites and ritual, but control over the structure and organisation of the cult. The cult was clearly widespread throughout Italy, and continuation of the cult into the second century A.D. demonstrates that the decree managed only a limitation, not a cessation, of cult activity. The continuation of the cult as a functioning religious group is attested by an inscription from Torre Nova listing the cult hierarchy in the mid-second century A.D.[527]

Attempts to analyse the Dionysiac dance suffer from the lack of evidence of practice, and we face difficulties interpreting the sources we have. Identifying the literal and the mythical in

[524] Henrichs 1978, 135.
[525] Livy 39.9-13.
[526] Nilsson 1957, 59.
[527] From Torre Nova near Tusculum / Latium, second century A.D., see Cumont 1933, 337-338.

the interpretation of the literary sources is problematic. As has been seen, the nature of the Bacchic dances have been debated, with Harrison,[528] and Rohde,[529] Dodds,[530] Heinrichs[531] and Bremmer all viewing the maenads and the dance differently.[532] Nilsson sees the mythology around Dionysus as offering an opportunity for dance which was taken up by nobility: 'the dances in the Dionysiac mysteries were no more than an occasion for performing the pantomimic dances of which the age was extremely fond' and envisages noblemen dancing at festivals 'under the pretext that it was a religious ceremony'.[533] The reality of Dionysiac ritual dance seems to have involved both processional and ecstatic dance in a popular cult with a hierarchical structure which had a broad appeal and which caused concern for the Senate. Although it is impossible to envisage the form of the dance, it is clear that it was integral to the cult, and that, despite the negative connotations and perceived disruptive elements of the dance, it was very popular.

3.3.3 Isiac dance

The cults of Isis and Serapis were not 'voted in' by the state authority as the Magna Mater had been; nor were they the result of a consultation of the Sibylline Books.[534] Although the cult was originally and ostensibly Egyptian, the cult in Rome was a Hellenised version born of the Greek reception of the Egyptian Isis. This was mystery cult whose foundation was in the mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis. The trade route through Delos shows that Italians were aware of the cult by the second century B.C.,[535] and the earliest evidence for the cult on the Italian peninsula is at Puteoli, where a temple of Serapis is recorded in an inscription which details the decision to erect a wall in the area in front of the temple.[536] The earliest evidence of the cult in Rome are inscriptions from 90 – 60 B.C., and these show worshippers to be

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[528] Harrison 1908, 388.
[529] Rohde 1894, 116.
[530] Dodds 1971, 271-2.
[531] See Osborne 1997, 188 n4 for the details of these publications (between 1969 and 1990).
[532] Bremmer 1984, 267-286.
[533] Nilsson 1957, 60.
[534] Beard, North & Price 1998, 160.
[535] Heyob 1975, 10.
[536] *CIL* 10.1781.

found in the families of well-connected freedmen.[537] The cult at Rome had a tumultuous history. As with the Bacchic cult, part of the surviving evidence for the cult is formed from legal injunctions against it. The decree against the Bacchic cult in 186 B.C. was followed by similar action against all collegiate groups, amongst them the mystery religion of Isis, and specific action against the cult and against the temples of Isis and Serapis. As with the Dionysiac cult, the limitations placed on the cult within these injunctions do not appear to have had a lasting impact. These short-lived injunctions are in contrast with the longevity of the cult, as there is evidence of cult activity into the third century A.D.

The cult of Isis in Rome has been well covered by scholars, notably in Witt's 1971 *Isis in the Ancient World* and Takács' *Isis and Serapis in the Roman World* (1994) both of which are invaluable in its study. A brief overview here offers context. As a mystery cult, knowledge was limited to the initiated. Literary evidence details the persecution of the cult: as part of criticising the lack of morality in his own age, Tertullian (A.D. c. 155– 240) relates what he sees to be positive moral actions of the past, amongst these is that the worship of Isis and Serapis, along with other eastern cults were prescribed by the consuls Piso and Gabinus in 58 B.C.,[538] Valerius Maximus and Cassius Dio (A.D. c. 155 – 235) both recount actions against the cult which decreed the destruction of the temples of Isis and Serapis in Rome in 53 B.C.,[539] and 50 B.C. The position of the cult was controversial. Valerius Maximus indicates the feeling against the cult was not universal, but was driven by the senatorial class, as workmen refused to carry out the decreed desecration. When they refused, the consul, Lucius Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, took an axe to the temple doors himself.[540] Only seven years after this desecration, the Senate voted for the construction of a temple to Isis and Serapis. The attitude towards the cult remained unsettled during the empire, and there is evidence of actions both regulating and sanctioning the cult as time goes on: From Cassius Dio, we learn of further regulation and marginalisation of the cult under Augustus,[541] and from Josephus (A.D. c. 37 – 100), of further action against the cult under the reign of Tiberius.[542] However,

[537] Takács 2011, 84.
[538] Tertullian *Apology* 6.8.
[539] Dio Cassius 40.47.
[540] Valerius Maximus 1.3.
[541] Dio Cassius 47.16, 54.6.6.
[542] Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 18.65-80.

during the reign of Caligula (or possibly Nero) the Isiac festival of the death and resurrection of Isis became *sacra publica populi Romani,*[543] and it is claimed that Otho publicly celebrated Isiac rites, although this does not cast the cult in a positive light as evidence comes from Suetonius (A.D. c. 69 – 122), who recounts this public Isis worship in the context of a description of Otho's peculiarity, including it in an account which also describes his appearance as both deformed and effeminate.[544] The use of the temple as a resting place prior to the triumph of Vespasian and Titus,[545] implies that the cult was once again in political favour at this point, and speaks to an acceptance and approval of the cult. Suetonius claims that Domitian disguised himself as an Isiac priest, and, whether or not it is true, the erection of an obelisk, with imagery of Isis crowning Domitian, shows that the cult continued to be accepted as part of the religious landscape. Evidence from Suetonius on the involvement of both Otho and Domitian in the Isiac cult, as Takács identifies,[546] was written to shock, but like all the best stories, must have had some semblance of fact.

Architecturally, integration of the cult, and therefore acceptance of its practices as part of the religious landscape of the city, can be seen in the location of the sanctuary on the *Campus Martius*.[547] Takács sees a very strong similarity in the decrees against the Isaic cult and those against the Dionysiac. These decrees were designed to 'defuse a possible trouble spot, rather than… eliminate a foreign cult'.[548] The acceptance, or dismissal, of the cult by the elite indicated neither popularity, nor any attitude towards particular cult practices (such as dance), but were reflective instead of the political climate.

The most notable literary evidence for Isiac festival is found in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. In Book 11, Isis appears to Lucius and he attends the festival. Apuleius' description of the procession is typically vivid, drawing on the senses of the reader to create a representation of a festival which, while potentially exaggerated, draws on elements known to the reader. His image is of celebrants, both human and animal, dressed in fancy dress. The

[543] Mommsen (*CIL* 1 p333-34) calculates the date to the reign of Caligula, Tran Tam Tinh (*Essai sur le culte d'Isis à Pompéi*) to the reign of Nero.
[544] Suetonius *Otho* 12.
[545] Josephus *The Jewish War* 7.12.123-4.
[546] Takács (1994, 99-100) view Suetonius' account as a 'clever fiction'.
[547] Vitruvius 1.100.7.
[548] Takács 1995, 58.

carnivalesque attire of these celebrants contrasts with the dress of the 'special' procession of the goddess, who Apuleius describes dressed in white and scattering flowers (*Mulieres candido splendentes amicimine… verno florentes coronamine*). Apuleius describes mimetic gestures which are accompanied by a chorus and music: showering the path of the sacred procession with flowers (*quae de gremio per viam qua sacer incedebat comitatus solum sternebant flosculis*) and mimicking the combing of the goddess' hair with ivory combs (*quae pectines eburnos ferentes gestu bracchiorum flexuque digitorum ornatum atque oppexum crinium regalium fingerent*).[549] Although not explicitly described as dance, these are specialist gestures with a specific and sacred purpose, and as such may still fit our definition.

In Apuleius' work, a triple beat is associated with religious music and dance. The triple beat in the cult practices we have already reviewed has been found in the *tripudium,* the beat created on the accompanying percussion or the *ancilla* of the Salii. As Isis appears to Lucius, it is this triple rhythm she creates on the sistrum rattle:

> Nam dextra quidem ferebat aereum crepitaculum, cuius per angustam lamminam in modum baltei recurvatam traiectae mediae paucae virgulae, crispante bracchio trigeminos iactus, reddebant argutum sonorem.
>
> In her right hand she held a bronze rattle made of a narrow strip curved like a belt, with a few rods across the middle which produced a tinkling sound as her arm moved in a triple beat. [550]

There is little overt reference to dance within the rites, but, as Dunand states, the Egyptian practices we find described by Roman authors represent not just those of Rome, but those found across the Mediterranean.[551] Isiac festivals in Egypt in the Greco-Roman period can therefore possibly further elucidate the later Roman cult practices. The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus from the fourth century B.C. documents songs of Isis and Nephthys, a series of solos and duets for a dramatic festival performance which were enacted by two priestesses.[552] The songs mention the sistrum repeatedly, which is unsurprising given the association with

[549] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.8-9.
[550] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.4.
[551] Dunand 1973, 137.
[552] For full details of the songs, see Faulkner's 1936 translation and commentary.

Isis worship. The initial section, which consists of directions for the performance, also states that the priestesses also carried tambourines.[553] This reveals a mimetic performance which included music, and therefore also dance, at the Isia, a festival which was held, according to the calendar of Philocalus, between 28 October and 1 November.[554]

The cult of Isis in Rome is comparable to other imported cults: Like the cult of Cybele, it was a cult of a mother goddess, which brought with it an independent priesthood which was out of the immediate control of the state or the patrician class. Like the cult of Dionysus, it was a mystery cult which had an alternative structure for adherents, and the detail of ritual practice which remains for us is limited. The Isiac cult offers evidence of participation across the breadth of the social spectrum. Epigraphic evidence reflects not only participation of all levels of society, but also wide participation from non-citizens.[555] In the case of Isis, artistic representation gives greater representation of ritual practice than that found for Dionysus. The Pompeian Iseum was decorated with ritual scenes showing use of the sistrum by priestesses and two dance groups, whom Witt envisages engaging in antiphonal singing as part of the rites, and a scene at Herculaneum also shows a dancer performing as part of the 'divine service' (appendices Fig 3).[556] From Propertius' complaints, we see that there were night services attended by the initiates.[557] Witt describes scenes of jubilation of music making and of dancing by the young nobility.'[558] Heyob views the popularity of the cult as increasing under the empire, stimulated by the desire of the emperors to emulate the Ptolemaic rulers,[559] and cites Otho's public execution of the Isiac rites. Given the context of Suetonius' description, this was not necessarily the case, or considered entirely favourably if it was.

Whilst dance formed part of the rites of the Isiac cult, the evidence is not clear enough to be certain of the form of this dance or where in the rites it occurred. For this cult, iconography reveals more clarity than literature. Whilst the literature implies dance but it not explicit,

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[553] Faulkner 1936, 122.
[554] Calendar of Philocalus, Chronography of 354 A.D.
[555] Takács 1995, 6.
[556] Witt 1971 plate 23, 92., plate 26.
[557] Propertius 2.33a
[558] Witt 1971, 92.
[559] Heyob 1975, 26.

there are a number of explicit images: an image of dancers in the *Navigium Isidis* (πλοιαφέσια) from a tomb along the Via Appia shows dancers being watched by an audience (appendices, Fig 16). The specialist attire of the procession described by Apuleius, and their mimetic movements suggests that it may be these who are the dancers, but it is the frescos from the temple in Pompeii and Herculaneum, which provide the clearest indication of ritual dance as they represent what look to be choruses and a single dancer performing, possibly as Bes as part of the ritual activity of the cult. This type of characterisation is in line with the performances described in the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus where women play the parts of Isis and Nephthys, performing together and in turn.[560]

3.4 Sacred dance in Roman society

As proposed at the start of the chapter, I have reviewed the dance found in a range of cult and ritual practice, contextualised these cults within society, and identified attitudes towards the cult dances in the surviving evidence. Using the review so far, I can now attempt to analyse what legitimises sacred dance in the Roman mind.

Shils' representation of the sacred element of society describes a central core, a core from which the values and beliefs of a society emerge. These do not embody those of the whole society, but provide a point from which the values and beliefs of the society run along a spectrum. Shils' description of the position of the elite within this structure, and the impact that they have on the broader society is particularly evocative of the phenomenon found of sacred dance in Rome. According to Shils, the elite attribute an importance and validity to the sacred dance in which they are directly involved:

> The central values system is constituted by the values which are pursued and affirmed by the elites of the constituent subsystems…by their very possession of authority, they attribute themselves an essential affinity with the sacred elements of their society, of which they regard themselves as custodians.[561]

It is the dances in which the elite performed which were held in the highest regard in the evidence we have. Despite the deliberate maintenance of some ritual dances and esteem in which, for example, the Salian dance was held, Weege fairly states that

[560] Faulkner 1936, 121-140 provides commentary and translation of the relevant part of the papyrus.
[561] Shils 1982, 93-95.

dance was never valued as highly in Rome as it was in Greece.[562] As we have seen, there was a distinct contrast in attitudes between the dances that were considered traditionally Roman and those which were perceived as foreign. The societal structure as described by Shils also elucidates the issue of the legal injunctions against the imported cults. It was only a small number who possessed the authority and were custodians of the sacred. Threats to this authority were therefore curbed through minimising the size of the group and, in relation to Shil's image, minimising movement from the central core. Our sources primarily reveal this small, core section of society. This group had a specific agenda, which included the maintenance of established status and structure, and within this there are ritual dance practices (homeostasis), it also included the need to 'police' the conduct of its membership.[563]

The late Republic and early Empire was a time of shifting religio-political priorities as the empire increased and as part of this growth, there was an 'increasingly wide range of options in human relations with the gods.' Mystery cults were unrestricted, they were not limited to a specific of section of society, and offered a potential freedom of choice in religion to individuals. The literature reveals the attempts of the elite to create and maintain their identity in a changing socio-political and religious climate, but this view is limited. As Beard, North and Price surmise, 'the role and significance of 'foreign' cults at Rome was much more wide-ranging and complex than any… simple narrative of acceptance and incorporation versus control and expulsion might suggest',[564] and it is, as Feeney points out, a simplification based on a different model of belief, to say that the development of 'foreign' cults in Rome 'supplied deficiencies' in the religious landscape.[565] Those who write in defence of the 'foreign' cults represent them using the same positive literary tropes and with the same positive attributes of moderation and piety described in the patrician priesthoods, and contrast the cult practices to lasciviousness and excess. In support of the Isiac cult, Plutarch says that the Egyptians shunned 'luxury, lavishness, and self-indulgence' (Ἀλλὰ τρυφήν τε καὶ πολυτέλειαν καὶ ἡδυπάθειαν οὕτω προβάλλεσθαι τοὺς παλαιοὺς

[562] Weege 1976, 147.
[563] Beard, North & Price 1998, 229.
[564] Beard, North & Price 1998, 154, 161.
[565] Feeney 1998, 3.

λέγουσιν).[566] Despite their appeal, and such claims of morality, cult rituals were not always in line with Roman ideals. Whilst there is too little information to comment on the Isaic dances, the manic Bacchanalia was by its nature disordered, and would not emphasise qualities of dignity, serenity or moderation. There was no controlled group performance or even military prowess, as the demonstrated by the Salii. The contrast between the perceived Roman ideals and perceived strangeness of the foreign cults strengthened the apparently ambivalent position of Romans towards both the 'foreign' cult and its dance.[567]

As has been seen, dance formed part of ritual practice in a range of cult practices in Rome, and although the evidence that is available is limited, that which we have reveals a society in which it was not, despite the affectation of the literary sources, only the mad or drunk who dance.[568] Dance permeates every section of society and is found in the cult practice of a range of religions, but in doing so, dance becomes a problem. It is not an activity reserved for the elite and it does not inspire moderation or stability; in the case of Dionysiac dance, even if in imitation of mythology, it shuns both. Paganism revolves around ritual. It 'speaks the language of actions',[569] but dance performed by those other than the elite priesthoods, particularly in mystery cult ritual, was outside the bounds of the control of the core group, and thus became demonised. The difficulties of retaining or shaping identity in a growing empire, and retaining cohesion, lead to literary sources which show an attempt to maintain the historic and 'Roman', which show that the perception of this was what mattered, not if the practices held real antiquity or not, and which show distrust of that which did not uphold the societal structure.[570]

[566] Plutarch *Isis & Osiris* 354 B.
[567] Fless & Moede 2007, 256.
[568] Cicero *Pro Murena* 6.13
[569] Dowden 2000, 2.
[570] See Galinsky 2014, 5-6.

CHAPTER 4: 'SECULAR' DANCE IN ROME

4.1 Dance and entertainment

As part of the series of festival days and associated rituals, observances and entertainments which comprise the Roman calendar, dance was accessible to all elements of society alike. The sacred and processional dances discussed in the previous chapter were part of this experience of dance, but there were also a range of theatrical, danced performances at the festivals. Although the term is not one which would be recognised in the ancient world, I have used the term 'secular' as these were not part of the ritual, but were entertainment, and took place both at festivals and as part of the entertainment at private events. Within the private domain, wealthy hosts entertained their guests at dinner gatherings with small scale versions of theatrical entertainments. Whether held in public or private, these dances had broad appeal. Dance became a specialism of entertainers, and professional dancers became famous for their skill. This chapter concentrates on dance as entertainment, particularly focussing on Roman and Greek evidence. The comments of Christian authors on dance will be discussed in the next chapter.

The greatest quantity of evidence is for the public performances, which drew large audiences. The Roman theatres and amphitheatres had room for huge audiences, and were able to stage varied performances.[571] The diversity of the performances is only hinted at in the surviving literature. Whilst there were a number of performances which incorporated dance, I will primarily discuss the pantomime and the related mime. It is for these that there is the greatest evidence, the most clarity on the form of the movement and the most information on societal attitudes. Of these two types of performance, mime was the older, originating in Greece as a variety performance. An umbrella term for a range of entertainments, mime included songs, dances, jokes and short plays or 'impromptu scenarios.[572] Pantomime took the specialisms and skills which had developed in the mime further, and was influenced by dance forms across the Mediterranean.[573] Thus, the pantomime became a popular theatrical genre in the Imperial age. In contrast to the mime,

[571] For evidence of pantomimic performance in amphitheatres, see Stark 2008, 131-133.
[572] Beacham 1995,129.
[573] See Slater 1994, 122.

it was a performance in which a single dancer created narrative and characterisation through gesture and movement. Pantomime could be comic, but was more often tragic in content, 'drawing on the same mythological sources as tragedy..., but embodying an altogether different mode of performance.'[574] In pantomime, costume and mask assisted in characterisation, but the skill of the dancer was fundamental to the performance. Its simple requirements meant that performances were possible in private homes, where they were performed as a miniature show after dinner for guests. Both mime and pantomime were versatile performances and could be adapted for the audience and their current mood. Although there is the most evidence for public performances of mime and pantomime, for neither public nor private performances do we have accounts from the performers themselves, nor were there instructional manuals for danced performances such as those found for the instruction of rhetoricians including those produced by Cicero,[575] and Quintilian.[576] Unlike rhetoricians, or some of the performers of the sacred dances, actors and entertainers were of low social standing. We will see presently the bearing the social standing of the performers had on attitudes towards both performers and performance.

As was stressed in the Introduction (chapter 1.5), the lack of surviving evidence is a constant problem for the study of Roman dance; and the question of whether images showing musicians testify to dance as well as music (chapter 1.5) is as pertinent to secular dance as to sacred given that dance and music were fundamentally linked in Greece and Rome. Landel's discussion and analysis of songs in the plays of Plautus describes elements of the surviving text using the terms 'aria' and 'recitative' and so likens these to modern opera. This is a view of the ancient play coloured by modern music and he does not offer comment on the associated movement, although he mentions the 'rhythmic variety' introduced by Plautus.[577] In contrast, Kitto's discussion of the metre of Greek tragedy is more helpful, as it leads him to identify its dance, a dimension which, as he rightly identifies, is lost when the text is simply read. In modern productions, the layer of meaning conveyed through movement, is

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[574] Beacham 1995, 140.

[575] A number of Cicero's works offer instruction to the rhetorician, including *De Inventione, De Oratore, De Partitionibus Oratoriae, De Optimo Genere.*

[576] Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria.*

[577] Landels 1999, 186.

lacking.[578] The extent to which dance was found in 'traditional' Roman theatre is hard to ascertain as there is insufficient evidence of it, although dance is implied as there were songs which were interspersed with the spoken dialogue.[579] Pantomime, however, was a theatrical form to which dance was integral. Although there are some surviving mime texts, pantomime was almost exclusively kinaesthetic in both performance and transmission. Performers were taught through demonstration and imitation, and, although there may have been accompanying libretti, none of these survive. Unlike sacred dance, where the natural focus is on Rome as the religious heart of the empire, entertainment took place across the geographical and temporal expanse of the Empire. This leads to a disparate range of source material, which only gives, at best, an overview. The chronological range of the evidence encompasses the religious shift experienced in the later Empire with the rise of Christianity (chapter 5). This section of this work, which consists of this chapter and the next, is one of what Lévi-Strauss would term 'oppositions':[580] thus, Chapters 4 and 5 show the contrast between pagan and Christian contexts and responses, and within this chapter, there are contrasts found within Roman life. These contrast are between public and private, the two contrasting areas of life in which dance as theatrical entertainment was performed, between the differing sections of society, and between popular and moral, which, when it comes to the theatre, were at opposite ends of the scale. In the review of the modern scholarship on dance (Chapter 1.7), we have seen that theatrical dance is an area in which interest has only recently developed, and much modern scholarship on theatrical dance is therefore from the late twentieth century. A number of articles preceded the more major interest of works such as Webb's *Demons and Dancers* and Hall and Wyles' *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime* in 2008. Whilst attention to dance is more recent, the ancient theatre has a wealth of scholarship, though most of the focus is on acted or written aspects of the theatre.

Within this chapter, I will identify theatrical dance practices and the reactions to them revealed by the evidence, and I will draw such conclusions as can be reached about the place

[578] Kitto 1955, 37.
[579] Comotti 1989, 50.
[580] Lévi-Strauss 1955, 428-444.

of these theatrical dances in society and for each section of society. The structure of this chapter will be to deal with first public performance, then private performances. I will start with the different public performance types and what is known about them, and then look in more detail at attitudes towards public theatrical dance, examining mime, pantomime and the general topic of public theatrical dance in literary sources. This will be followed by a focus on the private arena, and consideration of how these public performances translated into the private space, and what attitudes towards dance these private performances evoked.

4.2 Public theatre and spectacle

4.2.1 Mime

Mime was one of the oldest and most tenacious theatrical forms in the ancient world. Originating in Greece prior to the heyday of Attic drama, it remained popular into the Byzantine era. Given its Greek origins, it would have been familiar in Rome before it was officially incorporated into the Roman calendar in 173 B.C. as part of the *ludi* of the *Floralia*. It is, according to Fantham, 'best defined negatively';[581] that is, it incorporated such a broad range of variety entertainment that it is easier to say what was not counted under the term mime than what was. There are several, enigmatic, references to skilled performances which formed part of mime. As well as dance, these reveal acrobats,[582] and those who performed what may, today, come under the classification of 'circus skills', demanding similar physical dexterity to that of a dancer. Quintilian mentions the *pilarius,* 'one who performs tricks with balls', and the *ventilator* (discussed further later),[583] and Terence and Suetonius refer to the *funambulus* (tightrope walker or 'rope dancer').[584] The term mime covered every such entertainment, as well as including song, speech, and, most notably, short, comic, unmasked plays. The lack of masks differentiated these plays from other comic pieces of the Republic and early Empire. These comic pieces were often improvised, although some scripted mimes survive. The flexibility of the pieces meant that they could be adapted easily for different

[581] Fantham 1989, 154.
[582] For more on acrobats and attitudes towards them, see Dasen 2019, 127-143.
[583] Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 10.7.11.
[584] Terence *Hecyra*, prologue, Suetonius *Galba* 6 speaks of elephants performing this.

spaces or audiences. Performers were usually barefoot,[585] in simple costume, [586] and mimes were simple to produce because they only had a small number of performers and they did not require large staged areas, only a small curtain from behind which characters could be introduced, or which could act as a small changing area for the performers. Performers were both men and women, and the variety of mime and versatility of performance offered an opportunity for virtuosity. The small group usually comprised one lead performer accompanied by one or two subordinate performers, which allowed performers to display particular talents, and, being unmasked, to become known for these, be they in acting or dancing.[587]

As well as being part of variety entertainment, dance was also found within short plays, and, of all the mime entertainments, it is for these short plays for which there is the most evidence. Although the groups of artists were small and the performers therefore versatile, in these plays, there were evidently specialisms. Whilst they are not always clear, these specialisms were identified as different ‘parts’. If one accepts Buechler’s emendation of the inscription found at the Milvian bridge,[588] as Slater does,[589] it is the mime performers of the fourth part who were the specialists in dance. There is also evidence that it may, instead, have been the performer of the second part, as Martial (A.D. c. 38 – c. 104) and Festus (late second century A.D.) refer to the Parasite,[590] who danced to the flute, or, according to Horace (65 – 8 B.C.), led the action.[591] The form of the dance is lost. References which do survive, such as those found in Martial and Festus to the parasite, or to the potential epigraphic reference to the ‘fourth part,’ are obscure, but it is clear that there was a primary performer.[592] The dances that formed part of the variety entertainments are equally difficult to ascertain. There are references to a range of performers, and, as has been seen above,

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[585] Juvenal *Satires* 8.191, Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.9, Festus 342 L.
[586] Benz 2006, 428-434.
[587] Slater 2002, 315.
[588] Buecheler 1885, 190, *CIL* 6.10118.
[589] Slater 2002, 319.
[590] Martial *Epigrams* 9.28, Festus 438, 19 ‘*Ridiculeque de ip<sa> appellatione par<a>sitorum Apollinis hic causam reddit, cum eo praeterisset. Ait enim ita appellari, quod C. Volumnius, qui ad tibicinem saltarit, secundarum partium fuerit, qui fere omnibus mimis parasitus inducatur.*’
[591] Horace *Epistulae* 1, *Epistulae* 18.
[592] *CEL* 55. Discussed in Alonso Fernández 2011, 115-6.

these included those with both dance and circus-like skills. A funerary epigram from a grave stela from Beroia A.D. 28. speaks of an ὀξυβάτης,[593] which Slater defines as a 'quickstep expert',[594] as well as of musicians and gymnasts.[595] There are also references to dance performances named for the time they took place: the *exodiarius,* which were performed after a comic piece,[596] the *emboliaria* which were performed in the interludes.[597] There are also mentions of theatre performances by *ventilatores*.[598] Martial's *Agathinus* seems to have been a *ventilator*,[599] as he performed a shield dance which involved juggling, using the 'dummy armour' Seneca the Younger (c. 4 B.C. – A.D. 65) is so critical of.[600] These references may not clarify the details of performance, but they do reveal the diversity of the mime entertainments, and the importance of dance and skilled movement for performers.

Like Greek mime performers, Roman mime performers were excluded from official guilds. The only guild that they could belong to was the Parasites of Apollo. Jory believes this group gained their name from performers who earned their living performing in honour of the god.[601] Exclusion from guilds indicates the low status of the mime performers. In Rome, once mime was officially introduced into the public *ludi* in 173 B.C. as part of the *Floralia,* it became part of the festival calendar. As part of religious festival and public holiday, the entertainments were both physically and contextually accessible to the whole population, no matter their social standing. The need for performers at the regular religious festivals led to the foundation of a group of publicly funded mime performers, the *communes mimi*,[602] a hierarchical collegiate group of citizen performers.[603]

Greek attitudes towards mime set an ongoing tone. In Greece, mime artists were excluded from the theatrical guild, the artists of Dionysus, and were treated with disdain by authors.

[593] *SEG* 27 266.
[594] Slater 2002, 325.
[595] Historia Augusta *Carus, Carinus, Numerian* 19.
[596] *CIL* 02, 00065.
[597] *CIL* 06, 10127.
[598] Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 10.7.11.
[599] Martial *Epigrams* 9.38.
[600] Seneca *Epistulae* 117.25.
[601] Jory 1970, 241.
[602] Cicero *Epistulae ad Familiares* 7.1 (Loeb edition letter 24), *CIL* XIV 2408.
[603] Slater 2002, 317.

Demosthenes' (384–322 B.C.) scathing description of Philip of Macedon's companions reveals the low esteem in which mime performers were held, and a perceived association between dance, or dancers, and mime, low morals, lewd behaviour and drunkenness:

> εἰ δέ τις σώφρων ἢ δίκαιος ἄλλως, τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀκρασίαν τοῦ βίου καὶ μέθην καὶ κορδακισμοὺς οὐ δυνάμενος φέρειν, παρεῶσθαι καὶ ἐν οὐδενὸς εἶναι μέρει τὸν τοιοῦτον. λοιποὺς δὴ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι λῃστὰς καὶ κόλακας καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους οἵους μεθυσθέντας ὀρχεῖσθαι τοιαῦθ᾽ οἷ᾽ ἐγὼ νῦν ὀκνῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὀνομάσαι. δῆλον δ᾽ ὅτι ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ· καὶ γὰρ οὓς ἐνθένδε πάντες ἀπήλαυνον ὡς πολὺ τῶν θαυματοποιῶν ἀσελγεστέρους ὄντας, Καλλίαν ἐκεῖνον τὸν δημόσιον καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους, μίμους γελοίων καὶ ποιητὰς αἰσχρῶν ᾀσμάτων, ὧν εἰς τοὺς συνόντας ποιοῦσιν ἕνεκα τοῦ γελασθῆναι, τούτους ἀγαπᾷ καὶ περὶ αὑτὸν ἔχει.
>
> Any fairly decent or honest man, who cannot stomach the licentiousness of his daily life, the drunkenness and the lewd dancing, is pushed aside as of no account. All the rest about his court, he said, are robbers and toadies, men capable of getting drunk and performing such dances as I hesitate to name to you here. This report is obviously true, for the men who were unanimously expelled from Athens, as being of far looser morals than the average mountebank—I mean Callias the hangman and fellows of that stamp, low comedians, men who compose ribald songs to raise a laugh against their boon companions—these are the men he welcomes and loves to have about him. [604]

Demosthenes' correlation between immorality, vulgarity and comedians (mimes), reveals one of the reasons for the mime's continuing popularity and tenacity as a form of entertainment: Unlike traditional theatre, the short comedies were based on everyday life. They had contemporary settings and themes which portrayed scenes of all aspects of life in comic form, including drunkenness, sex and betrayal. In Greek literature, mime was considered unskilled, concerned with base subject matter and immoral. This attitude continued into Imperial literature. Both Greek and Roman literary sources, taken at face value, show mime to have been crude, uncontrolled and with low or vulgar humour. Such an interpretation fails to take into account the broader context. The tenacity of the form reveals a broad and long-standing appeal, and consideration of the literature alone fails to take into account all factors or effectively uncover attitudes towards it as the topics of the mime, though vulgar, were amusing and were accessible to all.

[604] Demosthenes *Orations* 2.19.

In Greek authors, mime was highlighted as a point of opposition to traditional theatre. There are a number of binary oppositions found in the negative depiction of mime in literature, including those between tragic and comic, skilled poetry performance and improvised pieces, and between literature and mime, which, even when written, did not comply with literary conventions.[605] In Platonic discussion of types of dance, although mime is portrayed as shameful in body and thought, it nevertheless was considered to have a function and a place in society. Plato admits that the comic is necessary to provide balance to the serious, but, in his view, mime was unsuitable for citizens to perform, and its performance should be relegated to δούλοις ... καὶ ξένοις ἐμμίσθοις, 'slaves and paid foreigners' (appendices T11):[606] Despite this segregation of 'serious' poetry and mime found in his writing, according to Diogenes Laertius, Plato supposedly introduced the mimes of Sophron to Athens and kept a copy under his pillow.[607] This story may be a fiction, but it is representative of the contrasting and contradictory attitudes to mime which persisted through the Imperial Age. Athenaeus summarises a range of epithets for mimes throughout Greece. This list of epithets shows that the mime was still popular across Greece in the late second century, and provides an indication of some of the different variety performances of the mime. The appellations he relates include the Spartan δικηλισταί, tricksters or fabricators, and the Sikyonian φαλλοφόροι, phallus-bearers, φλύακες, performers of 'tragic burlesque',[608] and αὐτοκαβδάλοι. Although Olson translates αὐτοκαβδάλοι as 'improvisers',[609] there were negative implications to the word. When used by Aristotle (384–322 B.C.),[610] the term αὐτοκάβδαλος meant improvised not just in terms of being unplanned but also unskilled, careless or slovenly, more akin to 'off hand' or 'careless'.[611] Despite being portrayed in literature as a vulgar form of entertainment, the mime performer's ability to be flexible and their representation of accessible and every day, comic themes meant that the form remained popular.

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[605] Aristotle *Poetics* 1774b: γὰρ ἂν ἔχοιμεν ὀνομάσαι κοινὸν τοὺς Σώφρονος καὶ Ξενάρχου μίμους.
[606] Plato *Laws* 7, 816d-e.
[607] Diogenes Laertius 3.18.
[608] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 14.621e-622c.
[609] In his 2011 Loeb translation of Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae.*
[610] Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1408a.
[611] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 14.621e-f, 622b.

Attitudes of Roman authors mirrored those found in Greek literature. Ovid, writing some three hundred years after Demosthenes, echoed his criticisms, and, like Plato, he placed the mime writer in opposition to the poet, and the popular in opposition to the moral. The greater the immorality of the stage, he complains, the more it pays '*quoque minus prodest, scaena est lucrosa poetae / tantaque non parvo crimina praetor emit*'. He also gives an indication of a common theme of the mime comedies as he refers to the forbidden love of 'the adulterer and artful wife' tricking her husband (*qui semper vetiti crimen amoris habent, / in quibus assidue cultus procedit adulter, / verbaque dat stulto callida nupta viro?)*. Ovid laments the fact that these shows are attended by all, from children to Senators (*nubilis hos virgo matronaque virque puerque / spectat, et ex magna parte senatus adest*.[612] Ovid's contrast of mime with stylish literature incorporates a further contrast of profitability with integrity. He implies that he would lose his integrity as a writer if he wrote mimes. This attitude reflects the contrast of literature and mime already discussed in Greek literature, and also found in Cicero, who criticises mime as poorly constructed and farcical in comparison with a 'proper play'.[613] Ovid shows that mime retained 'vulgar' themes, and that these remained popular and appealing across the social classes, and the popularity of the everyday and vulgar themes of the mime continue to be seen throughout the Imperial age, as late as the second half of fourth century A.D., Diomedes Grammaticus include mime in his work, defining it as an imitation of speech and movement and of shameful deeds and words (*Mimus est sermonis cuius libet imitatio et motus sine reverentia, vel factorum et dictorum turpium cum lascivia imiatio...*)[614]

Despite its ongoing popularity, much of the surviving evidence is critical. The theme of shame (as noted in Ovid) was associated with the writer, the audience and the performance, and was a theme which was central to the literary criticism of mime. The relationship between performer and audience in mime differed from that of the traditional theatre, and was cultivated through the unmasked performance of the mime. In the Hellenistic theatrical tradition, the mask not only denoted stock characters but distanced the performer from the performed. Performing in a mask, the performer did not show themself, and, as such, they

[612] Ovid *Tristia* 2.497-508.
[613] Cicero *Pro Caelio* 65.
[614] Diomedes Grammaticus 1.491 Keil.

'surrendered… [their] own identity' and were entirely seen as the character.[615] Being unmasked, mimes had a different relationship with both the characters they play and with their audience, with whom they interacted directly. Beare states that 'neither religious nor social conventions hamper the mimes, performers could… display their skill in moulding their own features to mimic the looks of others, [or] dress up… disguise their own features'.[616] Athenaeus describes Cleon as the best Italian 'unmasked mime',[617] and this description implies that mime could be masked or unmasked.[618] The opportunity to perform unmasked granted a transparency to the performer, which allowed mimes to both interact with their audience and to promote themselves in a way other theatrical forms did not allow.

The lack of a mask also permitted a level of realism in performance and the ability to add a shock factor to performances. According to some sources, this went so far as nudity or real or simulated sex. Valerius Maximus, admiring Cato's morality, reports that Cato left the theatre before the mime actresses stripped naked.[619] Martial refers to the nudity of the actress playing Flora in the *Floralia*.[620] A number of sources even imply that adultery was actually committed on stage: Valerius Maximus tells us that the Massilian moral guardianship was such that they did not allow mimes on stage because their spectacles of 'illicit intercourse', whether real or acted, could lead to spectators imitating the behaviour:

> Eadem civitas severitatis custos acerrima est, nullum aditum in scaenam mimis dando, quorum argumenta maiore ex parte stuprorum continent actus, ne talia spectandi consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat.
>
> The same community is a most strict guardian of morals, not allowing mimes access to the stage, as their themes for the most part involve the enactment of illicit intercourse, lest the habit of watching such things take licence to imitate them. [621]

These references show another common theme in the criticism of the mime, and which is also found in the passage of Ovid already referred to, a concern that the theatre will affect the morals of those watching as they will be compelled to emulate what they see.

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[615] Burkert 1985, 171.
[616] Beare 1939, 142.
[617] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 10.452f.
[618] Beare 1939, 142.
[619] Valerius Maximus *Facta ac dicta memorabilia* 2.10.8.
[620] Martial *Epigrams* 1.35.8-9.
[621] Valerius Maximus *Facta ac dicta memorabilia* 2.6.7.

Although there are references to nudity and to sex on stage, and despite the allegation in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* that Elagabalus (A.D. 218 – 222) insisted upon this level of reality (*In mimicis adulteriis ea quae solent simulato fieri effici ad verum iussit*),[622] the evidence for literal sex or adultery as part of performances is, however, scant. These extremes of behaviour give credence to Webb's view that the mime did not, as Diomedes Grammaticus's source suggests, represent real life,[623] but instead showed a caricature of it, stereotyping characters and situations.[624] Mime did not just use the aspects of everyday life for themes (as opposed to the heroic or divine themes of traditional theatre and the pantomime as will be discussed shortly)[625] but offered the political satire of the day.[626] Whilst it may have been a burlesque and subject to criticism, it not only remained popular but a part of society.

According to Quintilian, actors could provide a positive contribution to society as they demonstrated skills useful to the orator. This praise came with a restrictive caveat that what Quintilian was advocating was the actor's skill in delivery, not the behaviour displayed by the characters they portray. He instructs moderation in gesture, movement and expression and he advises that the orator should make these seem natural, even when learned:

> Ne gestus quidem omnis ac motus a comoedis petendus est. Quamquam enim utrumque eorum ad quendam modum praestare debet orator, plurimum tamen aberit a scaenico, nec vultu nec manu nec excursionibus nimius. Nam si qua in his ars est dicentium, ea prima est ne ars esse videatur.
>
> Nor should all kinds of gesture and movement be sought from the comic actors. Though the orator must indeed master both to a certain extent, he will keep well clear of staginess and of anything excessive in facial expression, or in the way he uses his hands or moves around. If speakers do possess an art of these things, its first rule is not to seem to be art. [627]

Similar praise of the skills for mime can, much be found in Ausonius (A.D. c. 310 – c.395), who, modestly decrying his own work, ends by saying that he lacked the skill of the

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[622] Historia Augusta *Elagabalus* 25.4.
[623] Diomedes Grammaticus 1.491 Keil.
[624] Webb 2008a, 104.
[625] Panayotakis 1995, xiii.
[626] Marcus Aurelius allows this satire *'…ut lenitatem Pii nemo desideraret, cum eos Marullus, sui temporis mimographus, cavillando impune perstringeret'* Historia Augusta *Marcus Antoninus* 8.
[627] Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 1.11.3.

‘barefooted’ mime or of the comic actor (*nec de mimo planipedem nec de comoediis histrionem*).[628]

Mime’s variety entertainments as well as the short comic pieces remained popular, as can be seen from Claudian’s A.D. 399 description of the ‘delights’ of the theatre which shows the breadth of the performances which could be found at theatres. He commends each: the clown who makes people laugh (*qui laetis risum salibus movisse facetus*), the mime who speaks through gesture (*qui nutu manibusque loquax*), the comedian and tragedian (*qui pulpita socco / personat aut alte graditur maiore cothurno*) and acrobats

> vel qui more avium sese iaculentur in auras
> corporaque aedificent celeri crescentia nexu,
> quorum compositam puer amentatus in arcem
> emicet et vinctu plantae vel cruribus haerens
> pendula librato figat vestigia saltu.
>
> Let us see acrobats who hurl themselves through the air like birds and build pyramids that grow with swift entwining of their bodies, to the summit of which pyramid rushes a boy fastened by a thong, a boy who, attached there by the foot or leg, executes a step-dance suspended in the air.[629]

There are also references to musicians who play the flute, lyre and water organ praised within Claudian’s ‘delights’. This breadth of theatrical performance includes the diverse entertainments of the mime and the dance of the pantomime, and it is to this we will now turn.

4.2.2 Pantomime

Unlike mime’s variety of entertainments, pantomime was a specifically and entirely danced performance. The origin of the pantomime is debated. Bier’s 1917 dissertation, published in 1920, shows that the pantomime was Greek in origin, and suggests that it may have originated in Hellenistic Egypt. This is further evidenced by Robert,[630] and something with which Wüst, in his 1949 *RE* entry on the pantomime, agrees.[631] Although the differences between mime and pantomime are highlighted by Wüst, he also identifies difficulties in

[628] Ausonius *Epistulae* 7.
[629] Claudian *Panegyricus de Consulatu Flavii Manlii Theodori* 311-324.
[630] Robert 1930, 109-122.
[631] Wüst 1949, 833.

distinguishing pantomime from the dances of the mime. Wüst's piece is comprehensive, particularly in cataloguing the evidence for the pantomime. Jory's much more recent work, however, suggests that the pantomime was a development of an existing Roman form, the *ludus talarius*.[632] Lada-Richards reviews the evidence which can be found for these early 'pantomimes', and finds a number of Greek antecedents for the artform.[633] Whatever the true origin of the form, it is clear that pantomime flourished from the time of Augustus. A professional dancer, Pylades,[634] was credited with developing the pantomime as a theatrical style, although it had certainly been in existence in some form prior to this.[635] Pantomime was often considered in conjunction with the mime and as a similar entertainment, but there were several key differences between mime and pantomime. A performance in which a single dancer retold a story through movement, pantomime combined elements of mime and of traditional theatre. Like the traditional theatre it succeeded, and in contrast to the reflection or caricature of real life provided in the mime, pantomime usually portrayed mythological, often tragic, stories, set in the mythic past. Like traditional theatre, the pantomime pieces were often performed masked. Like mime, it could be a small-scale performance needing few props and little space. Unlike either, there was no speech, only dance accompanied by a musical score, and possibly a libretto. In this sense, pantomime can be seen to have been a performance which was more similar to modern dance performances than to the comedy and variety entertainment of mime. Like mime, pantomime was part of the entertainments of festival days and widely accessible.

Our understanding of the performance of the pantomime is necessarily limited. Its kinaesthetic nature, and the absence of any form of dance notation (Introduction, chapter 1.6) precludes a written record. Nor are there many surviving artistic representations of the dancers, certainly too few to be useful in identification of form. A relief from the theatre at Sabratha, for example, shows a female dancer, but it is so eroded that it is not possible to discern whether she is a pantomime performer, a dancing girl or a Bacchant (appendices fig 17). Statues from the South Bath of Perga (appendices fig. 18) and from Nîmes (appendices

[632] Jory 1995, 151.
[633] Lada-Richards 2007, 19-20.
[634] Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.12.
[635] For a full discussion on the origins of the pantomime, see Jory 1981, 147-161.

fig. 19) show female dancers, but, again, the form of their dance is unclear, although the statue from Nîmes is associated with theatrical performances through other archaeological finds nearby. There are few, if any, realistic literary descriptions of the pantomime performance. The most detailed surviving description of a performance is found in Apuleius' account of a performance in book 10 of the *Metamorphoses*.[636] Despite Finkelpearl's assertions of verisimilitude,[637] the aspects she sees as realistic would be recognisable to the audience as mime, but not, insofar as we can tell, typical of tragic pantomimic performance. Apuleius' description was not a documentary record. He did not aim to give descriptive accuracy, but writes in a florid style, using detailed, vivid descriptions which draw on the senses. Exaggerations for effect would be clear to his audience, and he draws on pre-existing knowledge of his audience and their existing 'visual repertoire'.[638] The performance depicted, although extravagant, was pantomimic in style, and must have some level of credibility, but the loss of the wider information about the pantomimic performance makes it difficult to ascertain the extent of the realism and where one finds exaggeration or reference to existing representation of the myth in other media. The description of the costumes, for example, appears to reference artistic representations of the Judgement of Paris,[639] and the secondary performance of a pyrrhic dance performed by youths and girls draws on known dance formations, such as those found on the shield of Achilles in *Iliad* 18.[640] Apuleius' extravagant performance, including expensive props and a range of actors performing what would usually be done by a single performer, evokes the literary *topos* of opulence and unnecessary extravagance.

Whilst exaggerated, Apuleius' depiction of a pantomimic performance is nevertheless useful. It reveals that the pantomimic character was defined through movement, the demeanour of the character defining both the movements and the style of musical accompaniment. A particularly elaborate performance, Apuleius' performance shows a multitude of performers. This would have been unusual for pantomimic performances, which were

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[636] Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 10.30-34.
[637] Finkelpearl 1991, 227-230.
[638] See Slater 1998, 19.
[639] Zimmerman 2000, 369.
[640] Homer *Iliad* 18.593.

usually single dancers or very small troupes. The distinctive characterisation in both movement and musical accompaniment that he describes, however, would have been appropriate for the single performer creating multiple characters. In the pantomime of the *Metamorphoses,* the dance portraying Minerva is a bold and brisk dance in which the dancer 'tosses her head and glares menacingly' and uses sharp, jerky gestures to represent the character of the goddess (*Haec inquieto capite et oculis in aspect minacibus citato et intorto genere gesticulationis alacer)*. In contrast, the dance for Juno has subtle, respectable gestures accompanied by an Ionian flute (*Haec puella, varios modulos Iastia concinente tibia, procedens quieta et inaffectata gesticulatione nutibus*), and that for Venus has sensual, fluid movements to a Lydian melody:

> 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 nonnunquam saltare solis oculis.
>
> Now flutes with many stops played Lydian melodies in sweet harmony; and while these tunes were delightfully charming the spectators' hearts, far more delightfully Venus started gently to move. With slow hesitant step and smoothly undulating body and gently moving head she began to walk forward, and to respond to the soft sound of the flutes with delicate movements. She gestured with her glances, now softly languid, now sharply threatening, and sometimes she would dance with her eyes alone.[641]

The range of movement of the dancers described by Apuleius encompass the whole body, head, arms, legs and even eyes. Much later, Sidonius Apollinaris (A.D. c. 430 – 485) similarly lists as range of movements for the performer which include every part of the body:

> coram te Caramallus aut Phabaton
> clausis faucibus et loquente gestu
> nutu, crure, genu, manu, rotatu
> toto in schemate vel semel latebit…
>
> In your presence a Caramallus or a Phabaton, with his closed lips and his action that speaks through nod, leg, knee, hand, and spin, will for once be unnoticed all through his piece…[642]

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[641] Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 10.31-32.
[642] Sidonius Apollinaris *Carmina 23*.200-280.

The same representation of whole-body movement is found in an epigram of around A.D. 534 which was found in the Codex Salmasianus.[643] This codex is an eighth century copy of an earlier anthology which includes poems of the fifth century from the North African region, as well as works by Virgil, Ovid and Apuleius. In a familiar conceit, this epigram claims that the dancer has 'as many tongues as limbs, so wonderful is the art by which he can make his joints speak though his mouth is silent' (*tot linguae quot membra viro. mirabilis ars est / quae facit articulos ore silente loqui…*)[644]

It has been traditional in scholarship to lay stress on the role of the hand (χειρονομία) in pantomimic performance. This has been the case since Vossius' (A.D. 1577 – 1649) work on poetics, which makes the claim that the dancers expressed themselves 'by the agility of his feet and the movements of his body, but above all by representation by the hands'.[645] This claim is made with good reason, as one can point to several passages of ancient authors to that effect, including Cyprian's (A.D. c. 200–258) description *verba manibus expedire,*[646] Lucian's description ταῖς χερσὶν λαλεῖν,[647] and the epigram already referred to from the Codex Salmasianus, citing the line *sollerti spondens prodere verba manu.*[648] Indeed, it is a *cliché* that they 'talk with their hands'. We should not let this obscure from us the role of the body as a whole – as the broader context of the quotations above shows: Cyprian refers to all the limbs of the dancer, before referring to the hands (*Homo fractus omnibus membris…cui ars sit verba manibus expedire*).[649] The context of the quotation from Lucian is a discussion of Demetrius the Cynic who, delighted by the performance of a pantomime, praised the dancer's ability to convey a story through movement and without words or music:

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[643] Lausberg 2004, 502.
[644] *Anthologia Latina sive poesis latinae supplementum: Pars Prior, Carmina in Codicibus Scripta* Epigram 111: *Pantomimus.*
[645] Vossius *Poeticarum Institutionum Libri Tres* 36.
[646] Cyprian *De Spectaculis* 6.
[647] Lucian *De Saltatione* 63.
[648] *Anthologia Latina sive poesis latinae supplementum: Pars Prior, Carmina in Codicibus Scripta*, Epigram 111: *Pantomimus.*
[649] Cyprian *De Spectaculis* 6.

> ὥστε τὸν Δημήτριον ὑπερησθέντα τοῖς γιγνομένοις τοῦτον ἔπαινον ἀποδοῦναι τὸν μέγιστον τῷ ὀρχηστῇ· ἀνέκραγε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ ἀνεφθέγξατο, "Ἀκούω, ἄνθρωπε, ἃ ποιεῖς· οὐχ ὁρῶν μόνον, ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖς ταῖς χερσὶν αὐταῖς λαλεῖν.
>
> …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!".[650]

The epigram from the Codex Salmasianus has already been shown to also refer to the use of the whole body in the dance. The emphasis on the use of the hands in these texts does not mean that the dance was principally based around their hand or arm movement, but reveals a noteworthy contrast between pantomimic dances and other dance forms, as pantomime used the whole body. From the evidence already reviewed, traditional and religious dances were different. Religious dance descriptions (as has been seen in chapter 3.2.1 and 3.2.5) focused on step rather than movement of the whole body. Apuleius juxtaposes pyrrhic dance and pantomime, contrasting armed dance in a formulaic pattern with the pantomimic movement of the entire body, from the feet to the eyes. This contrast is equally notable when comparing the pantomimic dance and that of the Salii. The pantomime dancer was free to use the upper body demonstratively, whereas, in performance, the arms of the *Salii* were encumbered with shields and weaponry, and the use of their hands was confined to beating the shields to form the beat. Further evidence of the dance of the pantomime is found in Jacob of Sarug (A.D. 451 -521), which suggests that performances took place into the late fifth century. He seems to write from experience, having viewed performances as he adds detail as well as drawing on existing motifs. He reveals, for example, that dancers wore metal tips on their sandals, which tapped against the stone during the dance.[651] This is something we only otherwise know of from enigmatic remark in Libanius (A.D. c. 314 – 392), which refers to the dancer breaking the stage with their feet, and compares this to the noises made by the striking of a shield.[652]

These descriptions show a variety of movements encompassing the whole body, and through these movements and the accompanying music, the pantomime artists presented

[650] Lucian *De Saltatione* 63.
[651] Jacob of Sarug *Homily* 2.
[652] Libanius *Orations* 63.96-7.

the range of characters in the story they tell. What is difficult to envisage, particularly from Apuleius' description, with its unusually large cast, is how the single dancer managed to transform between characters. As Benz states, the use of masks allowed the pantomime to play different roles,[653] however most descriptions do not explicitly mention whether performers were masked, as in traditional theatre, or unmasked, like the mime. This has led to some debate as to whether the pantomime was performed masked or unmasked. Understanding the use of the mask in pantomime would allow us to not only better understand the form, but also attitudes towards the pantomime and its popularity.

Masks are a point of contrast between modern and ancient theatre. Unlike ancient or Eastern theatre (such as the Noh theatre of Japan), as theatre developed in the west, the mask was not a commonly used, a difference which Wiles convincingly speculates may be linked to the prevalence of Christianity in the West.[654] In contrast, a society which uses and accepts the mask as a norm in performance would have a different perception of it. It would see beyond the mask itself, and convey onto a representation of a type the nuances of character, and accept that the mask does not hide but offers a means of transformation into more than is literally shown. Peter Hall's exploration of the use of the mask leads him to conclude that the use of a mask therefore allows the wearer to show and experience things which would not otherwise be socially acceptable or possible within cultural confines, such as playing a deity or demonstrating inappropriate social behaviour.[655] Such detachment between character and actor may have had a part to play in the older theatrical traditions, particularly if, as Livy implies, it was noblemen who undertook the roles, for example, in the *Fabulae Atellanae*.[656] The convention of the mask is so integral to theatrical performance that it is unquestioned in the sources. Masks were the visual symbol of theatre, a way in which theatre might be 'conceptualised in the figurative arts.'[657] Lucian, one of the few

[653] Benz 'Pantomime' *BNP.*
[654] Wiles 2007a, 181 explores a range of possible reasons why Christianity in particular is uncomfortable with the use of the mask, citing the association between masks and idolatry, and a separation between human and divine such that the divine cannot be directly seen by the human.
[655] Hall 2000, 24-25.
[656] Livy 7.2.
[657] Petrides 2009, 504.

authors explicitly to reference the pantomimic mask, states that, without the exaggerated mouth of the theatrical mask, the pantomimic mask was more aesthetically pleasing:

> τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον αὐτὸ ὡς κάλλιστον καὶ τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ δράματι ἐοικός, οὐ κεχηνὸς δὲ ὡς ἐκεῖνα ἀλλὰ συμμεμυκός…
>
> His mask itself is most beautiful, and suited to the drama that forms the theme; its mouth is not wide open, as with tragedy and comedy, but closed…[658]

Petrides argues that Lucian's comparison of the theatrical and pantomimic masks also contains an implied analysis of performance, the pantomime being the decorous, balanced and graceful contrast to the overbearing theatrical mask, which draws away from the performance.[659] Like the masks of older theatrical forms, the pantomimic mask appears to have depicted stock characters. Lucian refers to five masks being used for a five-act drama,[660] and Athenaeus' description of the dancer as πολυπρόσωπος implies that the dancer played several roles.[661] Though the mask is not explicitly mentioned by other authors, this cannot be taken as evidence against its use; masks were embedded in the cultural perception of the theatre.

Modern discussion of the pantomimic performer's use of the mask is particularly concerned with the eyes of the performer. Use of the eyes in characterisation is widely attested. They can be found for instance, in Cicero, who claims to have seen the actor's eyes 'blazing behind his mask' (*ut ex persona mihi ardere oculi hominis histrionis viderentur…*), such was the passion of the performance and the emotion conveyed.[662] We have already noted Apuleius' description of the dancer of Minerva 'glaring menincingly',[663] and Augustine, in his *De Doctrina Christiana* states that actors move with 'every limb', and 'almost speak' with their eyes (*histriones omnium membrorum motibus dant signa quaedam scientibus, et cum oculis eorum quasi fabulantur*)[664] and Nonnus' (end of 4th / early 5th C A.D.) description of Maron's dance, describes his eyes moving about as an εἰκόνα μύθων ('a picture of the

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[658] Lucian *De Saltatione* 29.
[659] Petrides 2013, 434-5.
[660] Lucian *De Saltatione* 66.
[661] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 1.20e, Hall 2008, 10.
[662] Cicero *De Oratore* 2.193.
[663] Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 10.31.
[664] Augustine *De Doctrina Christiana* 2.3.4.

myths').[665] The question which arises is that of whether these references are meant literally. As the pantomime performer did not speak, the pantomimic mask was closed-mouthed, unlike the tragic or comic theatrical mask with its exaggerated mouth to allow projection of the voice. The eyes were therefore the only holes in the pantomimic mask and the eyes would be the only part of the face at all visible to an audience. In reality, however, they would only be visible from very close proximity. This may have been possible in private small-scale performances, but not in the large theatrical setting. In literary descriptions, such as that of Apuleius, reference to the eyes completes the image for his audience, bringing them closer to the performance and giving depth to the performer's characterisation. So, for Cicero, the eyes project the passion of the actor in their characterisation. The quotations from Augustine and Nonnus give further information when cited in their broader context: That from Augustine is cited in references to signs and signals given in a variety of forms of non-verbal communication. Nonnus, though possibly drawing on contemporary pantomime, is writing of Dionysus, and drawing on Bacchic dance, which was performed unmasked. Citing these sources, Rotolo sees a decline in the use of the mask, and considers it to become redundant in private performances. For this view, he relies on later authors, as it is impossible to construct a continuous history of the use of the mask in Imperial times.[666]

The iconographic record cannot help elucidate the use of the mask, as there are few images which can clearly be identified as showing the pantomime, and traditional theatrical masks present only a conventional symbol of theatre. A representation of the pantomimic mask is found on a late fifth century ivory plaque from Trier which shows a pantomime performer holding up a number of closed-mouthed masks,[667] and Jory's work has identified a number of images as representing the pantomimic mask.[668] The masks he has identified have closed mouths and very large eye holes. The large eyes in the masks identified by Jory make it more likely that eye movement could be seen by smaller audiences, allowing the possibility that the ancient references to the use of the eyes are, at least partially, literal. The use of multiple masks by the pantomime led to the identification of the pantomime performer

[665] Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 19.201.
[666] Rotolo 1957, 6.
[667] Webb 2008a, plate 6 (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin inv. 2497).
[668] See Jory 2001, 1-20.

themselves. As the single performer of the piece, with only a small curtain and no *scaena* to change behind, they had to make some changes of character in front of the audience. Unlike traditional theatre, in both mime and pantomime the performer could be identified as there were times when they were unmasked. As will be seen later in this chapter (section 2.3) the ability to identify the performer had an impact upon the attitudes found in the literary sources towards these theatrical forms.

Positive attitudes towards the pantomime are found in several authors: Cicero acknowledged the skill of the performer,[669] although this praise was aimed at the traditional theatre performer rather than the dancer. Quintilian uses both pantomime and mime as exemplars for the rhetorician. He advocates that the rhetorician should understand the importance of gesture as it can convey meaning without words. A dance, he states, was both understood and demonstrated emotion without the use of words:

> et saltatio frequenter sine voce intellegitur atque adficit, et ex vultu ingressuque perspicitur habitus animorum...
>
> A dance too is often understood and emotionally effective without the voice; mental attitudes can be inferred from the face or the walk…[670]

Specific praise of the skill of the pantomime dancer can be found in a number of sources: Lucian and Libanius both used the pantomime as a theme for demonstrating rhetorical arguments, and, in this, represented standpoints both for and against the pantomime. These texts provide little description of the performances themselves, but do provide some information on attitudes towards them, as the rhetorical arguments must have been, at the very least, recognisable to the audience and reflective of some real views. In his argument in favour of the pantomime, Libanius presents the pantomime's mythological subjects as transmitting culture across the breadth of the Empire, their dance providing ' a form of instruction for the masses in the deeds of the ancients' (τὴν ὄρχησιν διδαχήν τινα τοῖς πλήθεσι παλαιῶν πράξεων)[671] and Lucian presents them giving wisdom, and insight into life:

[669] Cicero *De Oratore* 1.128.
[670] Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 11.3.66-7.
[671] Libanius *Orations* 64.112. Trans Molloy 1996, 173-4.

> μακρῷ πινυτώτερος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ διορατικώτερος ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου σοι ἐπανελήλυθα.
>
> I have come back to you from the theatre with far more wisdom and more insight into life .[672]

Both authors praise the performances for giving pleasure to those who watch them,[673] and praise the skill needed by the performers both for the movement of the dance and for transformation between characters.[674] Libanius portrays the training of the young dancer twisting into 'convoluted shapes' in a manner reminiscent of a gymnast.[675] Athenaeus describes the dances of Pylades and Bathyllus, the two dancers credited with the origin of the pantomime,[676] and attributes differing styles to the two dancers; Bathyllus is described as cheerful and Pylades as grand and emotive. This echoes Plutarch, who states that because of its grand and emotive style, Pyladic dance, like the tragedy of traditional theatre, was inappropriate for dinner parties.[677] In the later empire, even the female performers attracted some praise in literature. Aristainetus' (early sixth century A.D.) first fictional letter is in praise of the pantomime actress Panarete, and three of the epigrams of Leontius Scholasticus (writing A.D. c. 540 - 555) praise the dancer Helladia, even claiming that the 'female nature is the victor in dancing' (Θῆλυς ἐν ὀρχηθμοῖς κρατέει φύσις).[678]

Whether the performers themselves were male or female, in both mime and pantomime the performer's skill lay in successfully portraying the range of characters, both male and female. There were both male and female mimes, but, originally and predominantly the pantomime performer was male, although there are later female *pantomimi*. However, if a male dancer could successfully portray the feminine, that generated accusations of actual effeminacy. As Webb puts it, 'the pantomime's ability to embody both male and female characters is frequently interpreted as a reflection of sexual deviancy, of a personal desire to be like a woman'.[679] *Mollitia*, softness or effeminacy, had long been established as a negative trait. It

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[672] Lucian *The Dance* 4.
[673] Libanius *Orations* 64.116, Lucian *De Saltatione* 6.
[674] Libanius *Orations* 64.117, Lucian *De Saltatione* 35-36.
[675] Libanius *Orations* 64.104, Lada-Richards 2007, 31-2.
[676] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 1.20e.
[677] Plutarch *Quaestiones Conviviales* 711e.
[678] Leontius Scholasticus *Anthologia Graeca* 16.284, 16.286 & 16.287.
[679] Webb 2008b, 44.

implied sexual passivity, and as such was a common rhetorical insult. It was considered that if one was passive sexually, that passivity permeated into other areas of their lives, and an accusation of *mollitia* therefore signalled 'political, social and moral weakness,' and 'no Roman willingly placed themselves in a passive role'.[680] *Mollitia* carried the implication of a lack of self-control. An accusation of *mollitia* implied that a man was inferior to other men, that he was more prone to self-indulgence and the temptations of luxury, which were accusations also aimed at women.[681] To be willingly effeminate was to go against the ideal of the virile, strong and decisive Roman male and therefore considered socially disruptive behaviour. *Mollitia* was thought to be indicated by gesture and dress, which were considered to be the outward signs of a potential inner, moral, corruption.[682] As one who deliberately not only dressed as, but actively imitated the female acting in female roles, this insult was particularly pointed when used of the pantomime performer. By willingly acting the female, the pantomime performer took on all the associated negative connotations of self-indulgence, luxury, lack of control and moral corruption already associated with *mollitia*. Accusations of noblemen being, or acting like, a performer also draw on this negative portrayal of the effeminate male. Aulus Gellius' account of the criticism of Hortensius reveals that, although he was a great orator, he was often denigrated as an actor in court due to his effeminacy in dress and gesticulation, and was nicknamed a 'Dionysian dancing-girl':

> quodque item Hortensius orator, ob eiusmodi munditias gestumque in agendo histrionicum, Dionysiae saltatriculae cognomento compellatus est.
>
> that the orator Hortensius also, because of similar foppishness and the use of theatrical gestures when he spoke, was nicknamed Dionysia the dancing-girl.[683]

The negative attitude towards the perceived effeminacy of the pantomime in the Roman mind is clear across the literature. Lucian's rhetorical argument based on the pantomime starts with the character hostile to dance referring to the pantomime as unworthy of interest. The dancer is described as γυναικεῖος (effeminate) and φαῦλος (cheap, base), and he states that pantomime distracted interest from more worthy pursuits, causing educated

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[680] Edwards 1993, 65, 70.
[681] See Edwards 1993, 78-79.
[682] See Olsen 2014, 204.
[683] Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 1.5.

men to abandon their interest and instead watch effeminate men imitate erotic scemes from mythology (…θηλυδρίαν ἄνθρωπον ὁρῶν ἐσθῆσι μαλακαῖς καὶ ᾄσμασιν ἀκολάστοις ἐναβρυνόμενον καὶ μιμούμενον ἐρωτικὰ γύναια, τῶν πάλαι τὰς μαχλοτάτας…).[684]

In his *Apologia* (A.D. 158), Apuleius condemns his accuser as a pantomime performer. He further damns him by asserting he was poor even at this, and that even his *mollitia* was clumsy and inartistic, and that there was nothing of the dancer to him apart from lewdness.[685] Passivity and effeminacy were closely linked in the Roman mind-set as going against the norm and as an imitator of the female, the pantomime performer was thus also against the norm.

The pantomime performer contravened the norms of society not only in the matter of gender, but in social stratification. In the Empire, the performers were frequently slaves or freedman,[686] their social class amongst the lowest in society. Cicero cites as the least respectable trades 'those which cater to the sensual pleasures,' specifically naming dancers:

> minimeque artes eae probandae, quae ministrae sunt voluptatum… adde huc, si placet, unguentarios, saltatores totumque ludum talarium.
>
> Least respectable of all are those trades which cater for sensual pleasures… Add to these, if you please, the perfumers, dancers, and the whole troupe of the *ludum talarium*.[687]

In the view portrayed in the moralising authors, performers had an influence which allowed them to lead a susceptible populace astray. This was already noted as a concern in the vulgar themes of the mime (4.2.1, above) and is also seen in reference to the pantomime, although the focus is on the influence of performer rather than what is performed. Seneca the Younger views the influence held by pantomimic performers over noble youths as holding them in a form of self-imposed *servitude:*

> ostendam nobilissimos iuvenes mancipia pantomimorum! nulla servitus turpior est quam voluntaria.

[684] Lucian *De Saltatione* 1-2.
[685] Apuleius *Apologia* 74.7.
[686] In the Republic, it is likely that the most famous mime actors, such as Roscius, were citizens – see Frank 1931, 11-20.
[687] Cicero *De Officiis* 1.42.

> I will show you youths of the noblest birth in serfdom to pantomime players! No servitude is more disgraceful than that which is self-imposed. [688]

Pliny the Younger (A.D. 61 – c. 113) also criticises sycophantic behaviour, in this case towards the pantomime owner Quadratilla, who he claims that people were fawning upon, jumping up and down, and clapping to show their admiration (*per adulationis officium in theatrum cursitabant exsultabant plaudebant mirabantur*)[689]

Although Quadratilla is criticised by Pliny for her extravagance in owning pantomime performers, this reference to her is also indicative of the popularity of the pantomime. Sick argues that Quadratilla was a business-woman,[690] and that her performers earned her sufficient wealth that she could afford not only to leave her grandchildren money in her will,[691] but also to build an amphitheatre,[692] and enhance her own political power. 'We should,' Sick suggests, 'imagine various upper-class friends…appealing to Ummidia for the use of her pantomimes at various public and private events'. His assertion that the patronage of the theatre 'presented an opportunity for women… in a field with which conservative upper-class men did not want to be associated directly' is persuasive when considered with the list of performers with female patrons he has compiled from the epigraphic evidence.[693]

Associations between noble youths and pantomime performers is one which Slater draws into sharp relief, pointing out the role of the equestrian youth in the riots of A.D. 14 and A.D. 15, and proposing that the close relationship between the young knights and the performers was due to knights acting as performers. Their gymnastic and acrobatic skills as dancers would, according to Slater, have been developed through Greek gymnastic training, for which he sees evidence in both Cicero and Quintilian. [694] Slater sees the legislation of 23 B.C. and that of A.D. 19, as evidenced by the *Tabula Larinas,* as an attempt to rectify the social stratification.[695] Here we see the same concern of maintenance of the existing social structures as has already been noted in the legislation which was meant to curb the Dionysiac

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[688] Seneca *Epistulae* 47.17.
[689] Pliny *Epistulae* 7.24.
[690] Sick 1999, 337-342.
[691] Pliny *Epistulae* 7.24.9.
[692] *CIL* 10.5813.
[693] Sick 1999, 345, 342-3.
[694] Slater 1994, 133-135.
[695] Dio Cassius *Historia Romana* 54.2.5.

and Isiac cults (see 3.3.2 - 3.4, above). Young nobles, apparently keen to perform, had been finding ways in which to lose their status so that they could do so without incurring the punishment of exile,[696] and it is against this background that we find Pliny and Seneca's references and concerns about the noble youth and the pantomime. Pliny and Seneca explicitly contrast the social standing of the 'victim' of the influence of the pantomime, and the pantomime performers. Pliny also draws on the criticism of the pantomime as extravagant, a theme we have already reviewed in regard to Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*. For Pliny, Quadratilla's pantomime troupe is indicative of her sybaritic lifestyle. Libanius refers to the favours of the pantomime performer being used as currency, and a youth being bribed by the reward of sleeping with a dancer:

> ἦν δὲ τοῦ ψεύδους ὁ μισθὸς συγκοίμησις ὀρχηστοῦ τινος πάντα πειθομένου τοῖς ἀμφ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν σοφιστήν. εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκομίσατο τὸν μισθὸν ὅ τε λαβὼν ὅ τε δοὺς οἶδεν, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ δ᾽ οὖν ἐτόλμα ἅπερ ἐτόλμα, τοῦτο ἦν.
>
> The reward for this lie was to bed with a dancer who obeyed my rival the sophist's clique in everything. Whether he actually got his reward, only he and the dancer can tell, but that was the object of this misdeed [697]

In this passage, again, there are multiple layers of criticism: he criticises not only the influence of the performer over others, but also those who lacked moral fortitude to behave with decorum. Accusations of sexual immorality accompanied the pantomime performer as they did the mime performer. Whilst the pantomime performance did not incite accusations of 'reality' in adultery or nudity, the performers were nevertheless a focus for such accusations, and, again were perceived to lead others astray. Juvenal's reference to the seduction of women by the male pantomime performer is a version of the more usual theme of actresses seducing the male audience,[698] as it was males who held the political power. The provocation of inappropriate behaviour in others leads to an analogy between enjoyment of the pantomime and illness. It is implied in several different sources that enjoyment of the pantomime was like a virus, that it spread rapidly and provoked unusual behaviour in those it effected. Even whilst admitting enjoyment of the pantomime, Seneca refers to it as

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[696] Slater 1994, 140-143.
[697] Libanius *Orations* 1.98.
[698] Juvenal *Satire*s 6.63-6, Cicero's criticism of the influence held by Cytheris over Mark Anthony is an example of the seduction of an actress. Cicero, *Philippic* 2. (Cytheris, a mime actress and mistress to Mark Anthony).

a '*morbus*', a disease,[699] and berates the most nobly born youths who were slaves to the pantomime.[700] The idea of the pantomime inciting a change in behaviour also leads to a development of this analogy to illness of the mind, a madness: Galen (A.D. 129 – c. 200) diagnosed not an illness, but an infatuation with a pantomime performer in the wife of Justus,[701] and Lucian's Crato accuses Lycinus of infatuation and suffering the ailment of a madman.[702] This comparison to illness itself provides information on the attitudes towards dance. Dance was enjoyed by all, even those who wrote against it. That it was like an illness gave an excuse for enjoyment of the artform – one enjoyed dance not through choice, but because of an ailment. This analogy also reflects a concern with the health of society in general; the dance is part of the moral decline which has been affecting society. Similar analogies can be seen in Republican histories which see the spread of vice and greed as affecting the state.[703]

4.2.3 Attitudes toward public performance

Although mime and pantomime were separate and distinct forms, it has been seen that both elicited some similar responses in literature. In some sources, the distinction between mime and pantomime was irrelevant. During the Republic, the various art-forms associated with mime were referred to as '*ars ludicra.*' This terminology, according to Frank, was 'not, at first… applied to the regular performances of the literary drama, but only to music-hall performances in which dancing predominated'.[704] From the Imperial age, when theatrical performances were primarily mime and pantomime, the term *ars ludicra* was used for them and became interchangeable with other theatrical descriptions for both. Whilst in some cases attitudes towards either the mime or the pantomime can be clearly distinguished, it is not always possible to do so because the generic terms, such as *ars ludicra*, were used to

[699] Seneca *Controversiae* 3.*Praef.*10.
[700] Seneca *Epistulae Morales* 48.17. *ostendam nobilissimos iuvenes mancipia pantomimorum: nulla servitus turpior est quam voluntaria.*
[701] Galen *De Praecognitione*14.630.15.
[702] Lucian *De Saltatione* 5-6.
[703] Walters, 2022, 22 gives examples from Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 36.5 and 31 gives examples from Cicero, who uses medical analogies to refer to Cataline as a pest (*In Catilinam* 1.2, 11, 22, 30, 33; 2.1, 2; 4.3) and a carrier of disease (*In Catilinam* 1.31).
[704] Frank 1931, 11.

apply to both. Attitudes towards dance can also be found in sources where it is not possible to distinguish between mime and pantomime.

The Legal status of performers.

Legal restrictions and injunctions covered mime and pantomime without distinction. Legal attitudes towards dancing and singing actors held them in the lowest esteem. Professional performers (as opposed to those noble youths who performed the Atellan farces) were, according to Livy, excluded from military service,[705] and Cicero tells us that they were denied the privileges of other citizens, and removed from their tribes.[706] The *Lex Iulia et Papia* prohibited the senatorial rank from marrying actors or their children, provided for the legal killing of an adulterer if they are a performer of the *ars ludicra*, and denied the same the right to accuse another of adultery.[707] Although it is not clear when this was introduced, legal status of *infamia* was in place for the performers of the *ars ludicra* around the time of Nero.[708] Legally, acting was not regarded as a skilled profession, and, in their legal status, performers were differentiated from athletes, who were seen as demonstrating skill, and were not subject to *infamia.*[709] Cornelius Nepos (c. 110 – 25 B.C.) highlights the contrast in attitudes between Greek and Roman society, noting an association between skilled athletes and stage performers (both forming part of the competitions at Olympia) in Greece, but in Rome performers were considered low and shameful:

> Magnis in laudibus tota fere fuit Graecia victorem Olympiae citari; in scaenam vero prodire ac populo esse spectaculo nemini in eisdem gentibus fuit turpitudini. Quae omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia atque ab honestate remota ponuntur.
>
> Almost everywhere in Greece it was deemed a high honour to be proclaimed victor at Olympia; even to appear on the stage and exhibit oneself to the people was never regarded as shameful by those nations. With us, however, all those acts are classed either as disgraceful, or as low and unworthy of respectable conduct.[710]

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[705] Livy 7.2.12.

[706] Cicero *De Re Publica* 4.10.

[707] *Digesta seu Pandectae* 23.2.44, 48.5.25, 48.2.4.

[708] Justinian *Digesta seu Pandectae* 3.2.5: The praetor says: "One who has appeared on a stage incurs infamia." … For Pegasus and Nerva the Younger said in replies that those who lower themselves to take part in contests for gain and all appearing on the stage for reward incur infamia. (*Eos enim qui quaestus causa in certamina descendunt, et omnes propter praemium in scaenam prodeuntes famosos esse Pegasus et Nerva filius responderunt).*

[709] *Digesta seu Pandectae* 3.2.4.

[710] Cornelius Nepos *De viris illustribus*, Praefatio, 5.

Although they provided entertainment for state festivals, and their performances were by some authors credited with having a role in transmitting mythology,[711] the performers of the *ars ludicra* were subject to *infamia* and were on the edge of society. There were few in any position of wealth or influence, and those that achieved this could still be in a dangerous position, as their low legal status left them little recourse if they were found guilty of a crime, and several performers were executed for their behaviour. The *Lex Iulia et Papia* classified performers alongside pimps, prostitutes, adulterers and criminals. A senator's daughter who had been an actress was defined in the same terms of disgrace as if she were a prostitute or convicted criminal and she was considered to 'have behaved so disgracefully that they have no honour left.'[712] Lists which covered a number of professions with lowest legal standing were used to exemplify immoral behaviour, particularly of those of the higher social classes who, it was felt in the moralising literature, should not be associating with the lower classes, or those associated with immorality. The criticism of the emperor Gallienus, for example, cites him as dishonourable because he allegedly frequently drank with pimps, actors and jesters in taverns (*nam et semper noctibus popinas dicitur frequentasse et cum lenonibus, mimis scurrisque vixisse*),[713] and a similar form of criticism was directed at the emperor Carinus, although his dishonour was greater as he brought these disreputable classes onto the Capitol. In this case the list is of mimes, prostitutes, pantomimes, singers and pimps (*mimis, meretricibus, pantomimis, cantoribus atque lenonibus Palatium replevit*)[714]

The association of actresses and prostitutes in these legal statutes has been taken to mean that the two professions were equated. Each law, however, listed actresses and prostitutes separately, which indicates separate consideration. As McGinn states, whilst there may be some overlap in the professions, and some actresses may also be prostitutes, the two were not analogous in classical law. Despite McGinn's assertion that 'the Romans…did egregiously identify actresses as prostitutes',[715] and Webb's that *pornai* is 'a common term

[711] Libanius *Orations* 64.112, Lucian *The Dance* 4.
[712] *Digesta seu Pandectae* 23.2.47: *Senatoris filia, quae corpore quaestum vel artem ludicram fecerit aut iudicio publico damnata fuerit, impune libertino nubit: nec enim honos ei servatur, quae se in tantum foedus deduxit.*
[713] Historia Augusta *Gallieni Duo* 21.6.
[714] Historia Augusta *Carus, Carinus, Numerian* 16.7.
[715] McGinn 1997, 100-1.

for actresses',[716] it is not until the Christian period, and particularly in the Christian authorship, that there is such synonymy. This will therefore be reviewed in the next chapter when considering the Christian perspective on dance and dancers (chapter 5.2.2). That actresses and prostitutes were not treated synonymously in literature until late antiquity does not mean that earlier mime and pantomime performers and performances were not subject to criticisms of improper conduct or promiscuity. As has already been seen, the mime drew criticism for its vulgar subject matter and the pantomime performers attracted accusations of sexual immorality. Both performances and performers were criticised. Propertius (c. 50 – 15 B.C.) blames the theatre for temptation, and accuses actresses of seduction through their supple gestures (…*molli diducit candida gestu / bracchia*) and the songs they sing (*…varios incinit ore modos*).[717] As has been noted, Libanius refers to the favours of the Pantomime being used as currency, and traded,[718] and Juvenal refers to the attraction of the male performers to women, implying that the performers prostituted themselves to the women of the upper classes.[719] Accusations of using seduction to attract audiences were not necessarily literal, but served a two-fold purpose for a moralising author. Such accusations associated the performer with the immoral, but, like the association of enjoyment of the pantomime with disease, they also acted to transfer blame; any attraction to the performer or to the art form was not the fault of the author or others in their social position. The author succumbed to enjoyment of the theatre not through his own choice, but through the beguilement of the performer.

Legal restrictions classified the social standing of the performer of the *ars ludicra* and restricted their social movement, and it is through such legal injunctions that turbulent and changing attitudes towards the performer, and their accordingly turbulent position within society are revealed. In the empire, the position of actors was reliant on the desires of the emperor: Augustus enjoyed the theatre, he funded competitions and entertainments, and restricted the punishment of performers. Suetonius' portrayal of Augustus is that he was fair, that his aim was to retain the social structure, and he

[716] Webb 2008a, 8.
[717] Propertius *Elegies* 2.22.
[718] Libanius *Orations* 1.98.
[719] Juvenal *Satires* 6.63-80.

punished only those performers who committed misconduct or had complaints made against them by the higher classes.[720] In contrast, Tiberius spent little on the arts or entertainment. The reaction to this lack of theatrical entertainment provides evidence of the popularity of performances. In A.D.14, performers (*ex histrio certamine*) were blamed by Tacitus for public disorder at the first *Augustales Ludi*.[721] Dio blames the riots on a dancer's (ὀρχηστής) pay dispute which the Senate was called in to resolve.[722] As both Tacitus and Dio reveal, this dispute arose from a pantomimic competition in which one performer refused to perform unless they received greater pay. This is indicative of a number of things: that there were, at this time, competitions for dancers in Rome as there were in Greece, that the *ars ludicra* was very popular and commanded a large following, and that it rose very quickly in popularity, particularly with the upper classes. As Slater states, it is reasonable to think that the performer concerned must have been sure of the backing of those in the upper echelons of society to 'openly subvert imperially sponsored festivities and bring pressure on the Senate'.[723]

In A.D. 15 there was further disorder, blamed on the performers, which incited a series of resolutions.[724] These curbed the cost of performances,[725] and forbade association between senatorial and equatorial classes and the performers. They forbade senators from entering the houses of pantomime performers, and knights or the public from following performances which were not in the theatre (implying either open air or private performances). It also allowed the exile of unruly spectators.[726] Despite the theatre and performers being blamed for the riots, it is notable that, although they were affected by the legislation, the performers themselves were not subject to direct regulation at this point. It was the spectators who rioted, and their actions which the Senate feared and looked to control. The crowd at the performance was in the thousands, and this mass of people would be hard to control within the confines of the games space. It was therefore

[720] Suetonius *Augustus* 45.
[721] Tacitus *Annals* 1.54.
[722] Dio Cassius *Historia Romana* 56.47.
[723] Slater 1994, 124-5.
[724] Tacitus *Annals* 1.77, Dio Cassius *Historia Romana* 57.14.10, Suetonius *Tiberius* 34.1.
[725] Tacitus *Annals* 1.77, Suetonius *Tiberius* 34.1.
[726] Tacitus *Annals* 1.77.

the spectators who were most affected by the legislation, their freedom to interact with the actors curtailed and their behaviour curbed. This, again, indicates that the popularity of the theatre and its performers was pervasive, and that dance and dancers found support from all social classes. It also reveals that the concerns found in Pliny and Seneca of the influence of the pantomime had some justification.[727] At this time, performers had the opportunity for social power, their popularity and fame such that they could influence events and people, despite their low status.

According to Dio, the legislation of A.D. 15 had limited impact,[728] and this would appear to be true, as by A.D. 23 there was further legislation, which directly affected the performers, and banished them. As Tacitus relates:

> postremo Caesar de inmodestia histrionum rettulit: multa ab iis in publicum seditiose, foeda per domos temptari; Oscum quondam ludicrum, levissimae apud vulgum oblectationis, eo flagitiorum et virium venisse, ut auctoritate patrum coercendum sit. Pulsi tum histriones Italia.
>
> Caesar at last brought up the question of the effrontery of the players:—"They were frequently the fomenters of sedition against the state and of debauchery in private houses; the old Oscan farce, the trivial delight of the crowd, had come to such a pitch of indecency and power that it needed the authority of the senate to check it." The players were then expelled from Italy.[729]

According to Tacitus, Tiberius' reasons for the banishment was sedition against the state. This would seem to refer directly back to the riots, particularly as he makes reference to a problem of the 'trivial delight of the crowd.' The complaint of 'debauchery in private houses' does not appear to be related to a specific incident, but this makes it clear that the performers of the *ars ludicra* were used as part of private entertainments (as discussed later in this chapter) and that the banishment was meant to curb their influence in the private as well as the public sphere. As can be seen as part of an emerging pattern with such actions against performers, this banishment was short lived. The same pattern was seen again during the reign of Nero, in which performers were banished in A.D. 56 and recalled in A.D. 59. In terms of curbing riots, the most successful measure seems not to have been those

[727] Pliny *Epistulae* 7.24, Seneca *Epistulae* 47.17.
[728] Dio Cassius *Historia Romana* 57.14.10.
[729] Tacitus *Annals* 4.14.

against either the performers or audience, but the removal of the competitive element of the pantomimic performance in Rome,[730] as there was not another documented pay dispute after A.D. 14.

Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus* (A.D. 100) demonstrates that there was a fine balance between the will of the upper classes and the will of the people. It shows this pattern of expulsion and recall, relating performers expelled, the law expelling them being over-turned, before they were, again, expelled. This text shows the shifting attitudes, as driven by the will of the emperor of the time. Pliny praises Trajan's expulsion of the performers whilst also criticising Tiberius' expulsion as ineffectual and saying that Nerva was right to over-rule this. Pliny justifies this as changing times and considers the once popular pantomime as to have become unworthy:

> Idem ergo populus ille, aliquando scaenici imperatoris spectator et plausor, nunc in pantomimis quoque aversatur et damnat effeminatas artes et indecora saeculo studia.
>
> And so the same populace which once watched and applauded the performances of an actor-emperor has now even turned against the professional mimes, and damns their perverted art as a taste unworthy of our age [731]

The tastes continued to change, and the same pattern of the expulsions being overturned was repeated. The *Historia Augusta* on the reign of Carus, Carinus and Numerian records the most notable events of their rule as a series of spectacles which were of a huge scale, including one thousand pantomime performers and gymnasts,[732] clearly showing that the performers were back in favour with the *populus* and their return had been legally supported.

The contradictions found in relation to public performance

The attitudes of the Imperial age to public theatrical dance display a range of contradictions: as well as the juxtaposition of *infamia* with influence, and abhorrence with adulation seen above, we have also seen that popular is contrasted with scholarly, moral with immoral, and the virile with the effeminate. There was contrast between sacred dances and those of

[730] Tacitus *Annals* 14.18-9, 14.21.
[731] Pliny the Younger *Panegyricus* 46.
[732] Historia Augusta *Carus, Carinus & Numerian* 19.

theatrical performance, not only in the purpose of the dance but in the scale of the performance: sacred dances were group performances with the primary audience a deity; in contrast, *ars ludicra* were performed by individuals or very small groups, and performed for the masses. Performance for the masses I s a key aspect of the disapproval found in literary references. The *ars ludicra*, being written for popular, and not scholarly appeal, were a point of contrast with what was considered to be true literary endeavour. This has been noted already in the work of Cicero, who criticises mime as poorly constructed and farcical in comparison with a 'proper play', and Ovid, who contrast of the profitable mime writer with his own 'proper' literature,[733] and can also be seen in Seneca's comment that Silo neglected his talents by being a mime writer.[734]

Despite the criticism, it is equally clear that writing both mime and pantomime could be lucrative due to this popularity. As has been noted, Ovid makes reference to the profitability of writing for mime (*quoque minus prodest, scaena est lucrosa poetae*),[735] and this is corroborated by Juvenal in reference to pantomime.[736] The *ars ludicra* form a topic in literature for moral antithesis. Lucian and Libanius use the pantomime as topic and use the rhetorical device of an argument between two parties. In this they draw out both positive and negative attitudes, themes within the moral trope, and potential counterarguments to these themes. A similar moral contrast in found in Pliny the Younger's reference to Quadratilla.[737] This is found as part of praising the moral character of her grandson. Quadratilla's grandson, Quadratus, who had been protected from the potential immoral influence of the pantomime troupe of his grandmother, and this is used to demonstrate his moral character. Quadratus moral character is contrasted with the nobility who succumb to or are led astray by the lower-class performers, and criticised for this by both Pliny and Seneca. The dancer's portrayal of the opposite gender elicits accusations of effeminacy. Such

[733] Cicero *Pro Caelio* 65, Ovid *Tristia* 2.497-508.
[734] Seneca the Elder *Suasoriae* 2.19: *…Silonis qui pantomimis fabulas scripsit et ingenium grande non tantum deseruit sed polluit.*
[735] Ovid *Tristia* 2.497.
[736] Juvenal *Satires* 7.83-8: *sed cum fregit subsellia versuesurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agaven.*
[737] Pliny *Epistulae* 7.24.

accusations draw on another established, rhetorical criticism, a criticism which implies that the accused was against the norm and potentially corrupt and immoral.

The pantomime was contrast in and of itself because it contained elements of both the traditional and the contemporary: It retained the mask and mythology of traditional theatre, but the format of the performance was entirely different as it lacked the *scaena*. The lack of the *scaena* meant that the performance lacked the modesty and suggestion offered by it which is one of the reasons the pantomime attracted criticism of immodesty. Apuleius states that unchasteness or immodesty (*impudicitia*) was a defining trait of the pantomime,[738] and Lucian echoes the criticism of his peers when referring to the performances as the lewdest or most wanton (μαχλος) dances.[739] Despite the criticism, pantomime was recognised for its universal appeal and as an important method of conveying the mythology to the broadening population of the empire. It is praised in Lucian's counter argument for the transmission of knowledge,[740] and in the epigram from the Codex Salmasianus,[741] as a marvellous art which can speak so many languages through the limbs. As has been seen, Quintilian used the pantomime and mime as exemplar for the rhetorician, similarly recognising their ability to act as a cultural conduit across the diversity of the empire, and the importance of dance as an effective and emotive form of transmission.[742] Mime and pantomime were not legally recognised as skilled professions despite their expertise in the portrayal of character and the physical demands of the performances. Despite this, their skill was recognised, and this is seen in some literary references: Lucian speaks of their studies, of the skill of expression and the intricate knowledge of mythology necessary for the pantomime, as well as the physical dexterity they needed.[743] Their skill was developed through formal training, and there were schools for both mime and pantomime in Rome, which taught all elements of entertainment from music to comedy.[744]

[738] Apuleius *Apologia* 74: *Negatur enim quicquam histrionis habuisse praeter impudicitiam.*
[739] Lucian *De Saltatione* 2.
[740] Lucian *De Saltatione* 4.
[741] Lausberg 2004, 502.
[742] Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 11.3.66-7.
[743] Lucian *De Saltatione* 35, 36 & 67, 37-61, 71, 77.
[744] Horace *Satires* 1.2.1-4.

The attitudes towards the *ars ludicra* were contradictory. Both mime and pantomime reveal social dichotomy. They blurred the gender boundaries and distinction and clarity between the set social roles of male and female. Performers, both male and female, played characters of the opposing gender. A male performing as a female elicited accusations of *mollitia*, with all the associated negativity of the term. A female performing as a male contradicted the ideal of the *matrona*, for whom the established representation in literature was of a 'respectable and (in most cases) married adult female that was ideally better known through her husband than by her own deeds'.[745] Performers also blurred the boundaries of the social strata. Troubling to the authors was the influence that performers held over their audience. This contradicted the established social hierarchy. The riots in A.D. 14 and A.D. 15 were the realisation of this fear, and reveal that the performers of the *ars ludicra* had sufficient influence to incite the *populus* against the nobility. The will of the crowd was a force with which the Senate struggled to reckon, and the performers were the focus of the attention. The ability to identify the performer in both mime and pantomime led to some achieving fame, and thus achieving a position of wealth and influence only usually held by those of a higher social standing. The number of identifiable actors and actresses from both mime and pantomime is indicative of the number who managed to achieve this level of wealth. Sick is able to identify a list of twenty-seven names of performers who had female patrons.[746] Rotolo collates references to the pantomime performer in both epigraphy and epigrams.[747] He shows that these performers not only had the wealth to be included in the epigraphic record, but the influence to be referenced in literature. The number of performers actually in this elevated position was only a small proportion of the total number of performers (this is, in fact, similar to the position today when, even with modern media, very few actors or dancers reach such international acclaim as to be recognisable names). The movement of the low class into positions of influence was not only contrary to the established social order; it was a potential threat to it. Cicero reveals that there were performers during the Republic who successfully transcended the social boundaries because of their skill, being

[745] Müller-Reineke 2008, 622.
[746] Sick 1999, 342.
[747] Rotolo 1957, 87-123.

invited to dinner with their patrons and their patron's peers.[748] He also reveals that they transcended the social gender boundaries and that actresses could even have political influence. This can be seen in his criticism of the influence of Cytheris, a mime actress and mistress of Mark Anthony.[749]

Performers fluctuated in and out of Imperial favour, repeatedly exiled and recalled, but remained consistently popular with the masses. The literature in part replicates the fluctuation of the Imperial favour, but it also reveals an expression of concern for the social status quo. Mime and pantomime both elicited a moral reaction in literature which built on established concerns around maintenance of the social strata and socially accepted and idealised behaviours. The concerns were not new, having been established in the Greek literary tradition and levelled at the early improvised comedies. As such, the *ars ludicra* provided a fertile area for an author. They were able to draw on well-established moral themes, themes which authors knew their audience would be familiar with and receptive to. These themes reflected the concerns of their audience. The authors and their primary audience were peers, and were concerned with retaining and safeguarding their own status and interests. Wiseman cautions against the sole use of literary evidence in ascertaining the attitudes of antiquity. Though our sources were literate, their world was not, and it is therefore 'impossible to find a way into the 'cultural memory' of a citizen body that was largely unlettered' using the literary sources alone.[750] In contrast to the impression of the literary sources, the repeated overturning of rulings against the performers demonstrate popularity of the *ars ludicra* in the Imperial age, as does the breadth and scale of the theatrical activity and the number of theatres. One hundred and seventy-five are currently known to have been in Italy and Sicily, and in the provinces, they have been found from Lisbon in the west and Catterick in the north over to Comana in Cappadocia.[751]

[748] Cicero *Epistulae ad Familiares* 9.26 (Loeb edition letter 197).
[749] Cicero *Philippic* 2.58, 2.69.
[750] Wiseman 2014, 49.
[751] Hall 2008, 7.

4.2.4 Theatrical dance in Imperial society

Reviewing theatrical dance, one has to work through not only the contradictions of the ancient evidence but deal with issues raised by modern perspectives. Whilst it seems to some scholars that 'the Roman society of the Imperial age appeared ambivalent towards dance',[752] this relies on the criticism found in literature and diminishes the reaction of the breadth of society, which was strongly enough in favour of the performers to incite riots and performances were frequent enough for the 'plebs… to memorise songs.'[753]

It is clear that both mime and pantomime appealed to the breadth of society, be it plebeian or senator, male or female. It is also clear that those who wrote for the theatre could attract wealth because of its popularity, and that the popularity of the *ars ludicra* continued throughout the Imperial age. Across the period, the *ludi* at which the *ars ludicra* were performed increased in number. As Horsfall states, there were 'eleven a year in Plautus' time, one hundred and one in A.D. 350',[754] and this therefore offered increased opportunities for performance. These increases show that the entertainments and their popularity had a great sway with the populace, and show that their popularity was greater than the surviving negative moralising literature would indicate. The increase in *ludi* led to further work for theatrical performers, but it is also clear that these alone did not keep the performers in business. Dio Chrysostom reveals pantomime dancers touting for business and passing on their skills in the streets, performing and offering lessons.[755] The business they tout for was not just employment in the *ludi,* but employment providing private entertainment, which will be discussed shortly. The chronological span of our sources also attests to the continued popularity of the *ars ludicra.* For just one aspect, evidence for the movements of the pantomime can be found in authors with different agendae across four centuries: examples can be found in the second century A.D. in Apuleius' fictional *Metamorphoses* and Lucian's rhetorical treatise *De Saltatione*. In the third century, further references to the movement of the pantomime can be found in the work Cyprian, an early Christian author writing against immorality, and in the fifth century in the poems of Sidonius

[752] Harmon 2004, 75.
[753] Horsfall 2003, 13.
[754] Horsfall 2003, 13.
[755] Dio Chrysostom *Discourses* 20.9.

Apollinaris and the epigram from the Codex Salmasianus, which refers to the ability of the pantomime to communicate through the body is from around A.D. 534.[756]

The popularity of the theatrical dances meant they attracted large crowds, which risked civil unrest, as has been seen in the cases of the riots in A.D. 15. Tacitus' account shows the use of the soldiers to attempt to keep the peace in the theatre.[757] This fear of theatrical popularity exposes a fear of social disorder and any upset of the societal norms. As has been seen, the performers were frequently slaves or freedman,[758] and their profession and social class were amongst the lowest in society. As low-class citizens, in the eyes of the literary class, the influence they held allowed them to lead the susceptible populace astray. As Webb puts it, 'the theatre is, according to many authors, a corrupting force in society; its personnel are the lowest of the low, both socially and morally, and their degraded state is transmitted to audiences'.[759] Ovid's and Apuleius' criticism of immorality,[760] and Seneca and Pliny the Younger's criticism of the influence of the pantomime over the noble youths,[761] are all indicative of this concern of the transgression of social boundaries, as are some of the legal restrictions imposed, such as Tiberius' injunction that forbade senatorial visits to the homes of pantomimes.[762] In using the literary criticism as evidence of an 'ambivalent' attitude, the established moral tropes within literature against inappropriate behaviour and opulence must be taken into consideration. The contradictions of the literary evidence do not necessarily reveal a universally negative attitude towards the dance, but the use of theatrical dance as a topic for rhetorical moralising.

The entertainment was associated with *ludi*. These days offered holidays open to the whole of society, and entertainment which cemented the transmission of cultural ideas and mythology in a broad and multilingual world. Dance therefore played an important role in

[756] *Anthologia Latina sive poesis latinae supplementum: Pars Prior, Carmina in Codicibus Scripta* Epigram 111: *Pantomimus.*
[757] Tacitus *Annals* 1.77.
[758] In the Republic, it is likely that the most famous mime actors, such as Roscius, were citizens – see Frank 1931, 16.
[759] Webb 2008a, 9.
[760] Ovid *Tristia* 2.497, Apuleius *Apologia* 74.
[761] Seneca *Epistulae* 47, Pliny *Epistulae* 7.24.
[762] Tacitus *Annals* 1.77.

societal unification, which both Quintilian and Lucian comment upon.[763] The pantomime developed cultural unification through the transmission of the mythological past in a format that did not require literacy or common spoken language. Mime provided unification through a different medium, that of laughter.[764] Provine, an experimental psychologist and neurobiologist, whose research focused on laughter, has shown that we are most likely to laugh or smile when in company. 'Laughing with', Provine states, 'brings the pleasure of in-group feeling, and bonding'.[765]. Both types of performance were popular, and not only with the mass audiences found at public performances of the *ludi,* but with those of the upper echelons of society, as it is these people who could afford to have private performances.

4.3 Private entertainment

Dance and music had long formed part of private entertainment in the ancient world. In the late 360's B.C., Xenophon included dancing girls, jugglers and flute players as a usual part of the entertainment of the symposium.[766] The private entertainments of the Imperial age were an opportunity for the wealthy in society to display that wealth. Petronius' (A.D. c. 27 – 66) *Satyricon* provides a comically hyperbolic version of this dinner entertainment, complete with extravagant food, music, singing, dancing, actors, acrobatics and gymnastics. In the Imperial age, these performers could be privately owned slaves, either individuals, such as the dancing girls who had found occupation in entertainment since the symposia, or whole troupes, such as those owned by Quadratilla.[767] The dancers who performed at these events could be the same as those who performed at festivals and *ludi*, slaves retained by those wealthy enough to maintain a troupe of entertainers both for public and private use. The members of society who could afford to provide lavish dinner entertainment were from the same strata of society, and therefore overlapped with, those in the position to support public theatrical entertainments. The private arena also offered an opportunity for danced entertainment during the winter months when the open-air theatre did not occur.[768] The

[763] Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 11.3.66-7, Lucian *De Saltatione* 4.
[764] Webb 2008a, 96.
[765] Provine 2012, 43.
[766] Xenophon *Symposium* 2.8.
[767] Pliny *Epistulae* 7.24.
[768] Juvenal *Satires* 6.67-70.

nature of both mime and pantomime, short works requiring minimal resources, made them ideal after dinner entertainment. These dinner entertainments become increasingly ostentatious and lavish, and, as such, were subject to criticism of the immorality of excess and ridiculed by Petronius in his portrayal of Trimalchio.

Although there is some evidence for private entertainment in both literature and art, the evidence for dance in private entertainment suffers the same complications as those of theatrical dance. It can be difficult to ascertain whether the few artistic representations represent public or private performances. A mosaic panel from third century A.D. in the Vatican Museum (appendices Fig. 21) shows a dancing girl accompanied by musicians, a statue from the South Bath of Perga (appendices Fig. 18) and another from Nîmes (appendices Fig. 19) show female dancers, but whether these are public or private performers is unclear. Literary references can be similarly enigmatic, and Plutarch implies that there were different styles of pantomimic performance appropriate for public and private arenas, and that the tragic style was not suitable for a party.[769] This system of tragic performances in public and comic in private is not something found in other sources.[770] Like reference to the *ars ludicra*, textual references to private dance reveal the class differences between the authors and the dancers. Petronius' Trimalchio is a deliberate extreme, but draws on elements of reality. Pliny the Younger complains of his friend's inclination to attend parties where rich food and Spanish dancing girls from Cadiz ('*Gaditanae*') were offered over Pliny's own.[771] These *Gaditanae* were clearly expensive, specialist and sought after, as Martial claims he was too poor to afford them.[772] In contrast to the business practices of the upper classes, Dio Chrysostom (A.D. c. 40 - 115) speaks of pantomime dancers touting for business and passing on their skills in the streets, performing and offering lessons.[773]

Whilst the performers of the *ars ludicra* were accused of immorality, the attitudes towards dancing girls differ. These dancers were praised for their ability to arouse their male

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[769] Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales* 711E-F (7.8.3)
[770] Webb 2008a, 65.
[771] Pliny *Epistulae* 1.15.3.
[772] Martial *Epigrams* 5.78.
[773] Dio Chrysostom *Discourses* 20.9.

audience. Those from Spain were particularly noted for their talents: Martial praises one of those from Cadiz who, he claims, could arouse Hippolytus,[774] the paragon of chastity, and whose arousal is a 'common trope in Roman erotic poetry'.[775] Automedon (first century A.D.) writes in praise of a dancing girl from Asia for her ability to excite the older male audience.[776] In the case of the *Gaditanae,* Fear claims that the dance style was similar to that of eastern belly dance and was accompanied by castanets,[777] something which is found in Juvenal's description of them. The skill of these dancers brings an association in literature with prostitution: Juvenal describes the arousal from their dances, and compares the private parties with these performances to a brothel,[778] and Martial refers to a dancing girl as being from Suburra, which implies that she is a prostitute.[779] This association is also seen in the work of Athenaeus.[780] The dancing girl, therefore, was a skilled and expensive asset, particularly prized from some areas of the Empire. They could be positively associated with sensual skill and sexual entertainment, but could also face similar criticism to that already identified as being levelled at the stage performers, and there was an association between these dancing girls and prostitution.

The criticisms of private entertainments in literature are criticisms of excesses. These excesses were both financial and in behaviour. There are accusations of over spending and opulence both in regard to the performances and to the associated dinners, and to excesses in behaviour, including overindulgence in food and, particularly, drink to the extent that this could drive inappropriate actions, which led people to disregard their social standing and its obligations and limitations. The association of private entertainment with expensive excess is long-standing. Plato, for example, complains that to have dancing girls and flute girls at a symposium was an expensive way to distract from the lack of education of the attendees.[781]

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[774] Martial *Epigrams* 14.203.
[775] Fear 1991 n.12.
[776] see Höschele 2006, 592-595.
[777] Fear, 1991, 76.
[778] Juvenal *Satires* 11.163-175, 11.163-170.
[779] *Corpus Priapeum* 40.
[780] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 13.571b.
[781] Plato *Protagoras* 347D.

Sallust's criticism of Sempronia provides an interesting and explicit example of the criticisms levelled at private entertainment:

> Sed in eis erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe virilis audaciae facinora conmiserat. Haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro [atque] liberis satis fortunata fuit; litteris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere [et] saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probae, multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt.
>
> Now among those women was Sempronia, who had often perpetrated many deeds of masculine daring. In birth and appearance, in her husband too and children, she was quite favoured by fortune; she was well versed in Greek and Latin literature, at playing the lyre, at dancing more skilfully than a virtuous woman needed to, and in many other accomplishments which are instruments of wantonness.[782]

Sempronia was of noble birth, had married well and had had children, and she was educated, but sings and dances, according to Sallust, more elegantly than a virtuous woman should. As Macrobius identifies, this criticism is not of her dance or song (indeed, these are skilful), but that she was acting in a manner which was inappropriate for her noblewoman status, her skill was fitting for a specialist slave or freedwoman.[783] Her skills are described as the tools of excess, the indicators of *luxuria.* Seneca's criticism of imitation of the *ars ludicra* in private echoes the same criticism. His image of husbands and wives competing to 'bare their flank more voluptuously' on the private stage brings together immoralities associated with the stage, the issue of influence of the performers of the *ars ludicra* on the nobility, and criticism of excesses.[784] A contrast to these excessive behaviours is seen in Pliny the Younger's praise of his wife, whose lyre playing was self-taught.[785] Macrobius implies that this fashion for the nobility trying to compete, in private, at dance has passed by his time of his writing (the beginning of the fifth century).[786]

Although dance and drink had a Dionysiac association, it is in this context of excess that an association between dance and drunkenness is found in discussion of private performances. This is another established theme by the time of the empire: Xenophon brings the difference between dance when drunk and dance as exercise into sharp relief, contrasting the foolish,

[782] Sallust *Bellum Catilinae* 25.
[783] Macrobius *Saturnalia* 3.14.5.
[784] Seneca *Naturales quaestiones* 7.32.
[785] Pliny *Epistulae* 19.4-5.
[786] Macrobius *Saturnalia* 3.14.4.

drunken dance of an attendee at the symposium with both that of the entertainment of the dancing girls and boys, and with dance as a form of exercise.[787] The perception that drink was linked to a compulsion to dance, particularly in a vulgar manner, is found in Plutarch's account of the life of Lycurgus.[788] A series of drunken dances are named by Athenaeus,[789] and, similarly, particular dances are highlighted by Lucian as having particular association with drunkenness,[790] and it is these same dances to which Plutarch refers. Our sources which name particular drunken dances were Greek, but the association transfers to the Roman literary evidence. It was found in the Ciceronian rhetoric, most clearly referred to in the *Pro Murena,* in which Cicero refutes the accusation that Murena is a dancer. Dance, he claims, happens when drunk, insane, or when paired with other sensuous enjoyment at the end of a dinner. Without the aspects of *luxuria* he says that there can be no basis for accusations of dancing:

> Saltatorem appellat L. Murenam Cato. Maledictum est, si vere obicitur, vehementis accusatoris, sin falso, maledici conviciatoris... Nemo enim fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit, neque in solitudine neque in convivio moderato atque honesto. Tempestivi convivi, loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema saltatio. Tu mihi adripis hoc quod necesse est omnium vitiorum esse postremum, relinquis illa quibus remotis hoc vitium omnino esse non potest?
>
> Cato calls Murena a dancer. Strong language from a forceful prosecution, if there is any truth in it; slanderous abuse, if it is false... Hardly anyone dances except in his cups, either by himself or at any respectable party, unless of course he is out of his mind. Dancing comes at the end of a seasonable meal, in attractive surroundings and after a wealth of sensuous enjoyment. You are seizing upon this climax of debauchery but leave out those attendant vices without which it cannot exist.[791]

Aelian (c. 175 – c. 235 A.D.) describes dancing and excess in the private sphere, both in the ostentation of spending on dinner entertainment, and spending on physical pleasures, as corrupting:

> ὑφορῶμαι δὲ καὶ τὸν οἶνον ὡς ἐπιβουλεῦσαι καὶ ἐπιθέσθαι γνώμῃ δεινῶς καρτερόν… σὺ δέ μοι καὶ αὐλητρίδας προσείεις καὶ ᾠδάς, ὦ καταγέλαστε… καλὰ δέ σου κἀκεῖνα, ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ ὁμιλῆσαι κόρῃ θερμότατα.

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[787] Xenophon *Symposium* 2.21-24.
[788] Plutarch *Lycurgus* 28.4.
[789] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 14.629e.
[790] Lucian *De Saltatione* 34.
[791] Cicero *Pro Murena* 6.

> I am suspicious of wine too as having a dreadful power to lay snares and to assail one's judgement… And you, you silly fool, hold out to me as a bait dancing girls and songs… and those are fine suggestions of yours too: dancing and having a red-hot time with a girl.[792]

During the empire, this drunken dancing could take the form of imitation of the pantomimic performances. From the evidence, it seems that people could become competitive in their imitations, and have drunken competitions at dinner parties. This was all behaviour which was deemed inappropriate for the nobility. Attempts to curb the excess of dinner entertainment did not limit the actions of the entertainers, instead they made them public property, spreading the resource equally. Cicero's brief phrase '*Nemo enim fere saltat sobrius'* is one which found favour with the church fathers. Ambrose (A.D. c. 340 – 397) directly manipulates the Ciceronian comment on dance in the private sphere. He removes the context of *luxuria*, which can be found in the fuller quotation above, and instead extracts the general moralising statement that 'no-one dances unless they are drunk.' He claims that where there is luxury, there one finds '*extrema saltatio',* unrestrained dancing.[793] The association of dance and drink within the Christian rhetoric will be further examined in the chapter dealing with Christianity and dance.

Dance as private entertainment was as tenacious as the public dances. By the time of the empire, it was long established, and it continued to retain a place within Roman culture, providing part of the varied entertainment of dinner. Even Cicero's criticism of dance states that it had a place as dinner entertainment.[794] The development of public theatrical forms of dance, particularly the pantomime, meant that members of the elite owned troupes of dances who could perform either in public or private fora. Whilst this private entertainment is criticised under the literary trope against ostentation and excess, it remained a popular and expected part of dinner parties.

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[792] Aelian *Epistulae* 16.
[793] Ambrose *De Virginibus ad Marcellinam Sororem Suam 3.5.*
[794] Cicero *Pro Murena* 6.

4.4 Conclusions on the place of dance as entertainment in Roman Imperial society

Dance was found in Imperial society in both private and public spheres. Outside of the ritual context, it formed part of both public *ludi* and dinner entertainments. Within each of these areas the evidence reveals contradictions: dance was, at one and the same time, popular and unpopular, all-encompassing and divisive, a cultural conduit and purveyor of immorality. Hanna states that the dance of a society reflects the society in which it is formed and shows the boundaries and sensibilities of the society.[795] Examining the 'secular' dance (i.e. that outside the ritual context) reveals a great deal about not only the concerns and values of Roman Imperial society.

We have evidence for dance within private homes in two forms: that performed by specialist slaves, skilled and expensive, and that performed by the attendees of the dinner parties. The literary evidence shows recognition of the skill of the performing slaves, but their dance was sensual and attracted associations with prostitution.[796] Whilst, as Pomeroy puts it, slaves were 'always employable for sexual purposes,'[797] there was a particular association between dancing slaves and prostitution in this long-standing form of private entertainment. This association was not just found between dance and prostitution in the private sphere, but, as we have seen, it was an association found in the public dances, although it has been established that the terms for the performer and prostitute were not synonymous until late antiquity (above, 2.3). The private dance performance, whether performed by slaves or by those of the wealthier classes, was subject to criticism in the moralising trope against *luxuria*. As part of expensive dinner entertainment, dance in the private home became a part of polemic against excess. Excessive spending on dinner entertainments was portrayed as spending on unnecessary expenses, and such unnecessary expenses were, in the moralist literature, linked to ruin. This ruin was, Edwards argues, not simply the intangible ruin of society, but a specific concern about noble families brought low through over-spending.[798] Within this moralist literature, extravagance was also associated with the excesses of food

[795] Hanna 1979, 78.
[796] Juvenal *Satires* 11.163-175.
[797] Pomeroy 1975, 192.
[798] Edwards 1993, 175.

and drink. In particular, the excesses of drink led to unmoderated behaviour, including dance performed by the attendees of the dinner parties in imitation of professional performers.[799] Unmoderated behaviour was the antithesis to appropriate noble behaviour as 'true nobility should be revealed in restraint.'[800] Just as nobility was associated with restraint, lack of restraint brings the nobility closer to the populace.

The popularity of the theatrical performance and the low status of the performers put the *ars ludicra* under the scrutiny of the same moralists. Members of the nobility, particularly the emperors, who consorted with performers or others of similar status, were criticised for their excesses. These were excesses in food, drink and sexual pleasures.[801] The nature of the *ars ludicra* drew criticism on another, associated and existing area motif, that of *mollitia*. Although this had implications of sexually inappropriate behaviour, it drew more broadly on the idea of immoderate behaviour. Edwards identifies the traits found in accusations of *mollitia*, and these included overtly careful dress or toilet, dance-like movement and a desire to look youthful.[802] All of these would form part of the job of the performer to create successful characterisations, but also drew them into another area of moral criticism. The performers themselves, therefore, become an element of this rhetorical trope.

Attitudes towards both the *ars ludicra* and dance as private entertainment within the literary sources were not criticisms of dance but were deeply entwined with broader societal concerns and existing motifs. As Hanna has identified, the study of dance reveals a great deal about the society. Study of the *ars ludicra* and private entertainment reveals this importance of cultural transmission to the Roman society (it forms part of the anthropological theory of homeostasis, noted in chapter 1.1) and the respect offered to skilled dancers:[803] Lucian speaks of the study needed to perform, of the skill of expression shown by the performer, and of the intricate knowledge of mythology that was necessary for the pantomime, as well as the physical skills to dance the shows.[804] The pantomime's body, should, according to

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[799] Seneca *Naturales quaestiones* 7.32.
[800] Edwards 1993, 194.
[801] E.g. Suetonius *Caligula* 11, *Nero* 26-27, Historia Augusta *Elagabalus* 24-6.
[802] Edwards 1993, 70-1.
[803] Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 1.11.
[804] Lucian *De Saltatione* 35, 36 & 67, 37-61, 71, 77.

Lucian's description, be as balanced and harmonious as his mask.[805] The evidence shows the class boundaries between the performers and the writers, it shows the expectations of behaviour of the nobility and the want to distance the actions of the patricians and plebeians. We see the concerns of the literary nobility of civil unrest (in the pantomime riots of A.D. 14),[806] of the influence of plebeian on patrician,[807] of immoderate behaviour (be that financial,[808] gluttonous or in drunken action),[809] and of behaviour which went against their norms of gender.[810] Studying dance also provides a rare glimpse of the populace. Danced entertainment was exceedingly popular, evidenced in the increasing numbers of performances being put on, and the opportunities for performers to gain wealth and prestige for their skills.[811]

These performers come from a social stratum for which we have little direct evidence. They are in opposition to the literary classes. The dancers, being 'socially and culturally 'other'',[812] draw out the oppositions inherent in Roman society. The dichotomy inherent in dance as entertainment is seen in Apuleius' description of the pantomime: Despite the culmination of the pantomime piece in this account in a morally reprehensible act (sex between the donkey and the prisoner), and the erotic undertones which are found throughout this work, including, in this section, the diaphanous clothing of some of the female performers (an image which draws to mind the dancing girls of private entertainment), this is nevertheless described as a positive experience for the character, Lucian, who finds 'watching the dance a greater source of refreshment than food'. Throughout the piece, the dichotomy is revealed in the language as positive and negative vie for the attention of the audience; the clothing of the pyrrhic dancers is *nitidus,* bright, and used of clothing, this implies a particular elegance and status, a positive image of the dance and the dancers, yet the succeeding dancer is described as *saltatorie,* the use of which is rare but which has associations of depravity and

[805] Petrides, 2013, 437.
[806] Tacitus *Annals* 1.77, Dio Cassius *Historia Romana* 57.14.10, Suetonius *Tiberius* 34.1.
[807] Seneca *Epistulae* 47.17, Pliny, *Epistulae* 7.24.
[808] Edwards 1993, 175.
[809] Cicero *Pro Murena* 6.
[810] Webb 2008b, 44.
[811] See Sick 1999, 342-3.
[812] Webb 2008b,43.

effeminacy.[813] Oppositions and contradictions in these danced performances reflect the broader conflicts of society. Despite the contradictions, virtue and pleasure, culture and vulgarity, luxury and poverty all formed part of society. The dancers were from the lowest social classes yet their performances were a luxury. They conveyed mythology and accepted culture, but were associated with inappropriate behaviour. Their performances brought physical pleasure, but this is contrasted with virtue.[814] There is also an important contrast between the ideal and the real: The ideal, moral society may not have some of the elements of dance that the moralising literature criticises, but, in reality, these were some of the most popular elements. The problem of the contrast between the ideal and the reality, and the survival of the ideal through the literary record has left a pervading opinion that 'Romans had long preferred to assume that dancers were necessarily persons of deplorable morals,'[815] and that dance had no importance within Roman society. In contrast, the dance of the pantomime was not only one of the most popular forms of entertainment, but had a function conveying 'cultural production',[816] in ensuring the transmission of common mythology, and conveying a shared cultural background into the breadth of the empire. This breadth of transmission fed its popularity, as Wiseman says, 'the stage was the only mass medium the ancient world knew'.[817] The moralising tropes in which dance is criticised give rise to the opinion that dance held no importance to society. These moralising tropes were as tenacious as the dances themselves, and it is through the continuation of such tropes into the Christian authorship through which a negative opinion of dance in literature endures.

[813] Zimmerman 2000, 360, 362, 371-2.
[814] Seneca *De Vita Beata* 7.3.2
[815] Horsfall 2003, 35.
[816] Griffiths 2007, 15ff.
[817] Wiseman 2014, 56.

CHAPTER 5 – CHRISTIANITY AND DANCE

5.1 Christianity and dance - Introduction

As has been seen in the previous chapter, the early Empire saw the growth of danced entertainments, in both the public and private arenas. During the same period, there was also a rapid growth of Christianity.[818] Christian sources are therefore important in building a picture of dance, although, as will be seen, they often have an agenda which is, for several reasons which will be explored in this chapter, negative, and therefore need careful treatment. These early Christian sources create a long-standing legacy, one which can be seen to affect the views of later Christians towards dance.

This chapter will focus on the Christian source material to identify both the evidence for dance practices it provides, and the attitudes towards dance within the Christian sources. Until this point, reference to Christian sources has been limited, revealing specific information about the pantomime relevant for the focus of the chapter: Jacob of Sarug revealing that the pantomime could 'tap dance' with metal on their shoe or Augustine providing some of the evidence for visibility of the dancer's eyes, for example.[819] The brief reference to Ambrose's distortion of the Ciceronian quotation in relation to dance and drink, however, sets the scene for what will be found throughout this chapter, which is a development in the literary sources of the moralising trope against dance which has a long-lasting impact on views of dance.

I will argue that the relationship between Christianity and dance is complex, particularly because of the place that dance plays in the sacred life of pagan society and the transmission of pagan mythology through dance in the theatre. The Christian sources provide information about practices already covered, particularly the pantomime, which needs to be included when looking at the place of dance in the Empire. The moralising trope against dance in Christian authorship continues and impact of Christian attitudes to dance is far reaching, the relationship between Christianity and dance in the ancient world forming the origin of some Christian attitudes to dance across history and through to the modern age. In an 'Education

[818] Stark 1996, 7, Table 1.1 estimates numbers from A.D. 40-A.D.350.
[819] Jacob of Sarug *Homily* 2.

of Christian Women,’ for example, which was a sixteenth century manual written by Juan Luis Vives for the education of Mary, daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, and a wider audience, it states that dance ‘must be considered, as it were, the culmination of all vices.’[820]

5.1.1 Scholarship on dance and Christianity

The study of Christian attitudes to dance is challenging. Many works, particularly those on early Christianity, do not deal with this subject matter. In the works that do speak on the subject, there is a particular interest in the conclusions which leads to contradictory views: On the one hand, in some works there is a simple view of the attitude of the Church to dance, namely that the Church was ‘ever hostile to the dance’.[821] On the other, and in other works, there are attempts to trace a clear line of continued practice between ancient Hebrew practices referred to in the Old Testament to modern dances. Such a link can be found in Taylor’s 1967 *A Time to Dance.* Although this work is primarily a ‘how to’ guide to dancing within Christian worship, it devotes a significant chapter to ‘the history of symbolic movement,’ in which Taylor traces her current advice and the twentieth century practices to which she refers back to practices originating in biblical times and those referred to in the writers of the early church. The evidence used to make such links between ancient and modern practices is limited, and Daniels’ 1981 work, *The Dance in Christianity*, uses similarly limited evidence to support its agenda. Some of the evidence comprises allegorical references to dance which are taken to be realities of practice to support this idea of continued practices throughout history. Daniels theory of continued practice is unconvincing, as she sees John Chrysostom (A. D. c. 347 – 407), who will be seen later in the chapter writing against dance (see 5.2.2 and 5.2.3 particularly), as ‘fond of dancing himself’, and claims that Theodoret’s (c.A.D. 393 – c. 458) writing on the celestial dance was ‘urging his reader to follow the angels’ example’.[822] Davies shows that this sort of attempt to read allegorical imagery of dance as reality of practice is long standing and that there are a

[820] Vives 1.113.
[821] Sachs 1937, 6.
[822] Daniels 1981, 19-20.

number of authors throughout history who attempt to read patristic allegorical reference to dance as evidence of practice:[823] Arbeau (1589) asserts that a custom of dancing and swaying to hymns survived from the 'primitive church' into his own time,[824] and Menestrier (1682) interprets the use of the term *praesul* not just as a leader, but, as is found in the hierarchy of the Salian priesthood, a leader of the dance.[825] The term *praesul* is used by Gregory of Tours (A.D. c. 538 - 594) in reference to St. Martin.[826] Although a less common term than *episcopus,* this also denotes a leader of the church, a bishop,[827] and there is no other evidence that its use is indicative of dance. In De Cahusac's (1754) opinion, dances were held in the church for the priests, laity and faithful at every feast day. These dances are, according to De Cahusac, the reason for the choir of the church.[828] This is unlikely to be the case for several reasons: Firstly, as will be seen later in this chapter, there is limited evidence for dance performed in early worship, secondly the term choir had a broader use and meaning than dance, and was used to denote a gathering or group of people. In this sense, it was a gathering of worshipers, and although this could refer to singers, it did not necessarily equate to dancers.[829] With the meaning of a gathering, choir is also a term which is found used metaphorically of angels or of stars.[830]

In the preface to *Liturgical Dance,* Davies recognises the issues that are found in scholarship in this area. He finds it necessary, as he puts it, to 'set the record straight,' as scholarship suffered from an over-reliance on the work of Backman,[831] a work which, according to Davies, is 'conspicuous for its inaccuracies'.[832] Backman's primary interest, as is stated in his preface, is the medieval dance epidemic,[833] and he sites his answer to the 'riddle' of this

[823] See Davies 1984, 36-42.
[824] Arbaeu 1589, 13.
[825] Menestrier 1682, preface, 3.
[826] Gregory of Tours *Historia Francorum* 1.36, 5.50.
[827] Niermeyer 1976, 842.
[828] De Cahusac 1754, 1, 43-4.
[829] Isidore *Etymologiae* 6.19.5-6: *Chorus est multitudo in sacris collecta, et dictus chorus, quod initio in modum coronae circum aras starent, et ita psallerent. Alii chorum dixerunt a concordia, quae in charitate consistit, quia si charitatem non habeat, respondere convenienter non potest. 6. Cum autem unus canit, Graece monodia, Latine sincinnium dicitur; cum vero duo canunt, bicinium appellatur: cum multi, chorus.*
[830] For example, Clement *Stromata* 7.12, Ignatius *Ad Ephesios* 19.2.
[831] Backman 1952.
[832] Davies 1984, X.
[833] Backman 1952, v.

epidemic within an historic and religious summary of dance. His examination of dance in the early Christian church relies heavily on the limited evidence for gnostic practices, including the dance found in the Acts of St. John (which will be reviewed in section 2.5 of this chapter). This evidence is augmented by short quotations from Justin (A. D. c. 100 – 165) and Clement of Alexandria (A. D. c. 150 - 215). The evidence Backman cites from Clement of Alexandria is from the *Proptrepticus*,[834] and whilst this does refer to dance, when set in context it is more likely to be allegorical than literal. Clement refers to the mountain of God, and contrasts dance of the righteous there to the mysteries of Dionysus and the maenadic, 'unchaste' dance, which are criticised earlier in the work.[835] Although Backman makes reference to possible allegorical interpretations, he asserts that these refer to literal dances, and states 'if you are inducted into the Christian mysteries, then you must perform a ring-dance round the altar, with the sacrament, not only with other novitiates but also with the angels'.[836] The evidence for this appears to be the *Acts of John,* in which there is a dance, but even if this is literal, it was a very limited community which performed this (see section 2.5 of this chapter) and it is therefore this general assertion of the literal over the allegorical dance that Davies finds 'inaccurate'.

Dance is covered in some encyclopaedic works on early Christianity: Stander does not consider that dance was ever part of the 'orthodox' liturgical worship, and that the spread of asceticism made it 'inconceivable' for the church to endorse dancing (see section 3 of this chapter). He does note that some dance was performed, and it was influenced by pagan and Jewish practices, but for this he names only heretical sects and the evidence of the *Acts of John* (for more on these dances, see section 2.5 of this chapter).[837] Gougaud starts his entry in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne* by stating that dance was considered unfavourably by the Christians of the first centuries, and although he also notes the existence of dance of the heretical sects, he also sees evidence for the existence of dance within Christianity,

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[834] Backman 1952, 19.
[835] Clement *Protrepticus,* 12. βακχεύουσι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ οὐχ αἱ Σεμέλης "τῆς κεραυνίας" ἀδελφαί, αἱ μαινάδες, αἱ δύσαγνον κρεανομίαν μυούμεναι, ἀλλ᾽ αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ θυγατέρες, αἱ ἀμνάδες αἱ καλαί, τὰ σεμνὰ τοῦ λόγου θεσπίζουσαι ὄργια, χορὸν ἀγείρουσαι σώφρονα. ὁ χορὸς οἱ δίκαιοι, τὸ ᾆσμα ὕμνος ἐστὶ τοῦ πάντων βασιλέως· ψάλλουσιν αἱ κόραι, δοξάζουσιν ἄγγελοι, προφῆται λαλοῦσιν, ἦχος στέλλεται μουσικῆς, δρόμῳ τὸν θίασον διώκουσιν, σπεύδουσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι πατέρα ποθοῦντες ἀπολαβεῖν...
[836] Backman 1952, 19.
[837] Stander 1998, 317.

albeit as entertainment, in the criticism in the writings the Church Councils (see section 4 of this chapter).[838]

Davies' work offers useful references, and traces a range of dance practices in the ancient world as well as Christian attitudes to dance. Davies' focus in the first part of this work is the historical place of dance within Christianity, and patristic attitudes and ancient historical practice form part of this section in Davies' work. He does, however, state that 'it was not so much Christianity that turned people against dance, culturally it was already despised by the educated'.[839] The evidence already reviewed in this work makes it clear that this statement is a simplification. Dance, whilst culturally complex, was not 'despised,' but the Christian sources do reveal a more consistently negative attitude to dance than those already reviewed.

5.1.2 Sources and range

As has been the case throughout this work, there are a breadth of sources across an extensive period that provide evidence, as Christianity has furnished us with a multitude of writings. As well as a large number of sermons and letters from Christian authors, there are a series of acts developed by the Church Councils. The continuation of Christianity also means that, whilst our focus is the Imperial age, there are some later, Byzantine, sources which provide insight into attitudes towards dance. The extent to which these sources, including the proceedings and edicts of the Church Councils, are representative of actual practice will be reviewed in line with the sources themselves. Old Testament biblical references for dance (such as are covered in chapter 2.5) do not reflect practice in the Imperial age, although they may influence attitudes. A number of New Testament references are covered in a number of different sections in this chapter.

Within this chapter, the designation of Christian will be used to describe those who follow the cult. Whilst it is understood that that there were many forms of the cult and that this was a designation assigned to these who followed it,[840] it is a useful term here as it encompasses all of those who follow the cult. In the case of the sources, they share the

[838] Gougaud 1920, 248-258.
[839] Davies 1984, 28.
[840] See Tacitus *Annals* 15.44.

religious orientation of the author (i.e. Christian authors), but the time at which they were written, the geographical location in which they were written and consistency and depth of the information all vary. Whilst the diversity in both temporal and geographical location may reveal different practices, it is also possible to identify common themes in the Christian authors and their discourse regarding dance. These are similar to those found within the contemporary literature already reviewed, and include the same moral tropes against dance and associations between dance and drunkenness and dance and sexuality which have already been identified. As well as the development of these existing themes, in the Christian authorship, dance is characterised as a pagan activity, and this was therefore an activity which Christians were advised not to undertake.[841] Dance was associated with pagan practices, and, consequently, Christian attitudes to dance are not found in isolation, but reveal Christian attitudes towards pagan practices. Similarly, there are some references to dance in Judaism which reveal Christian attitudes to Judaism.

5.2 Ancient Christian attitudes to dance

Betz notes that 'if one had asked Christians of the first generation whether they were members of a new religion, they would have said no.'[842] At the time of Jesus' death they were predominantly a group within Judaism. At all times, however, followers of Jesus were in touch with wider cultural movements and part of the wider communities in which they lived, and they experienced the same festivals and performances, and were aware of the literature and discussions of society. Their writing draws on some of the same considerations and sources as the moral authors already referred to, and the work of the Christian authors therefore interacts with this and altogether they form part of the broader intertext.

Gougaud feels that dance was destined to be considered negatively by the Christians of the first century,[843] as it was a dancer who demanded the head of John the Baptist.[844] This seems an unlikely reason for the negative attitudes found towards dance, although Ambrose

[841] Clement of Alexandria *Paedagogus* 3.11.
[842] Betz 1994, 2.
[843] Gougaud 1920, 248.
[844] Mark 6.21–28; Matthew 14.6-11.

(5.2.3, below) does make an association with this example, but the themes which emerge in the Christian sources are similar to those already explored, moral writers concerned with dance as an immoral or inappropriate act, but there are some notable elements which differentiate the Christian authors regarding dance. The subdivisions of sacred and secular made within this work, for example, are not easily identifiable in Christian sources. References to dance in the Christian sources refer to both sacred dance, as we have defined it (that performed in a ritual context), and that performed as entertainment. In these sources, both are associated with pagan religious practice because the entertainment is found within the context of the religious festivals. Although this makes it hard to discern a difference in the Christian attitudes between the sacred and the secular dances, the *ars ludicra* and festival entertainments elicit a particularly strong response from the Christian sources, and continue to be referenced into the Byzantine era.

5.2.1 Christian dancers

As will be seen, John Chrysostom is particularly critical of dance, as he says ΄Ενθα γάρ ὄρχησις, ἐκεῖ διάβολος (Where there is dance, there is the devil). He contrasts Christian and pagan action at weddings and private banquets (see 5.2.5, below), and criticises the theatre, and particularly dance.[845] In writing on the Psalms, however, he makes reference to singing as part of worship, for where there is song and dance for Christ, there, he says, is a church.[846] Despite the protestations against dance as an activity unbecoming of Christians, as seen in authors such as John Chrysostom, there is some evidence that, at least in some geographical areas, dance may have formed part of Christian worship. A collection of texts from the late second or early third century, the *Acts of John*, has within it a song and dance reported to have been performed by Jesus and the disciples. The *Acts of John* was considered heretical by the Nicene Council of 787.[847] The hymn found in this text is antiphonal in form, and the singing of it is followed by a ring dance which is performed by

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[845] John Chrysostom *In 1 Corinthios* Homily 12.10, *Homilia contra ludos et theatre* 272-278.

[846] John Chrysostom *In psalmum* 41,2: Ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ μίμους, καὶ ὀρχηστὰς, καὶ πόρνας γυναῖκας εἰς τὰ συμπόσια εἰσάγοντες, δαίμονας καὶ τὸν διάβολον ἐκεῖ καλοῦσι, καὶ μυρίων πολέμων τὰς αὐτῶν ἐμπιπλῶσιν οἰκίας (ἐντεῦθεν γοῦν ζηλοτυπίαι καὶ μοιχεῖαι καὶ πορνεῖαι καὶ τὰ μυρία δεινά)·οὕτως οἱ τὸν Δαυῒδ καλοῦντες μετὰ τῆς κιθάρας, ἔνδον τὸν Χριστὸν δι' αὐτοῦ καλοῦσιν. Ὅπου δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς, δαίμων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐπεισελθεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ παρακύψαι τολμήσειέ ποτε· εἰρήνη δὲ, καὶ ἀγάπη, καὶ πάντα ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῶν ἥξει τὰ ἀγαθά. Ἐκεῖνοι ποιοῦσι θέατρον τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν· σὺ ποίησον ἐκκλησίαν τὸ δωμάτιόν σου. Ἔνθα γὰρ ψαλμὸς, καὶ εὐχὴ, καὶ προφητῶν χορεία, καὶ διάνοια τῶν ᾀδόντων θεοφιλὴς, οὐκ ἄν τις ἁμάρτοι τὴν σύνοδον ταύτην προσειπὼν ἐκκλησίαν.

[847] See Findlay 1923 332 n. 202.

Jesus and his disciples, with Jesus the leader of the dance. The relevant text (in translation) in reproduced below:

> 94 Now before he was taken by the lawless Jews, who also were governed by (had their law from) the lawless serpent, he gathered all of us together and said: Before I am delivered up unto them let us sing an hymn to the Father, and so go forth to that which lieth before us. He bade us therefore make as it were a ring, holding one another's hands, and himself standing in the midst he said: Answer Amen unto me. He began, then, to sing and hymn and to say:
>
> Glory be to thee, Father. And we, going about in a ring, answered him: Amen. Glory be to thee, Word: Glory be to thee, Grace. Amen.… Grace danceth. I would pipe; dance ye all. Amen. I would mourn: lament ye all. Amen. The number Eight singeth praise with us. Amen. The number Twelve danceth on high. Amen. The Whole on high hath part in our dancing. Amen. Whoso danceth not, knoweth not what cometh to pass. Amen. I would flee, and I would stay. Amen…A way am I to thee a wayfarer. [amen].
> 96 Now answer thou (or as thou respondest) unto my dancing. Behold thyself in me who speak, and seeing what I do, keep silence about my mysteries. Thou that dancest, perceive what I do, for thine is this passion of the manhood, which I am about to suffer....[848]

This text provides a key piece of evidence for Christian dance practice, but it is one of a few, limited examples, which illustrates the difficulty of identification of dance practice. Schlapbach notes the recent publication of two related apocryphal texts including the Coptic *Dance of the Saviour around the Cross* and the *Gospel of the saviour*.[849] As has been noted, modern Church historians who personally favour dance are keen to trace the lineage of their own practices to danced Christian worship in the early church,[850] and the dance within the *Acts of John* forms part of their evidence for early Christian practice. The dance in the *Acts of John* has been argued to be reflective of an initiation rite into Christian mysteries, where the dance is an experience linking Christ and the dancer,[851] or as a reference to practices of certain communities, and Trebilco considers that this 'strongly suggests that the liturgical practice of a community stands behind the text',[852] although Schlapbach considers that the Acts is informed by mystery rites, and, as such, dance was integral as it was to all mystery

[848] *Acts of John* 94-6, M. R. James translation.
[849] Schlapbach 2017, 155.
[850] See, for example, Taylor 1967, Chapter 5, Taylor 2001, or Daniels 1981.
[851] Pulver, 1955, 155, Schlapbach 2017, 164.
[852] Trebilco 2018, 59.

religions. Nevertheless, it represents dance in the early ritual practice not of all Christians, but of a particular Christian group at around A.D. 130.[853] This may have been the practice of Johannine communities, and is likely to have been geographically limited to the Ephesus area, the location around which Trebilco argues that the *Acts* were centred.[854] Although the hymn and dance in the *Acts of John* possibly reflects a limited practice it is also, importantly, not a canonical text. There are further references to dance which are found in the canonical texts, however, that there are also allegorical references to dance in a number of Christian texts (something reviewed further in 2.6, below) makes it difficult to be certain if the references within the canonical texts were literal or allegorical (there is more on allegorical dance in 2.2 below). Lalleman sees parallels between what he sees as the literal dance found in *Acts of John* 95.19-22 and the metaphorical dance found in *Matthew* 11:17:

> We played the flute for you, and you did not dance; we wailed, and you did not mourn.[855]

He sees parallels between the texts in the order of the verbs used, as both the verbs and the order are the same in each:

> *Matthew* 11.17 'ηὐλήσαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ὠρχήσασθε, ἐθρηνήσαμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐκόψασθε,

and

> *Acts of John* 95:19– 22 Αὐλῆσαι θέλω , ὀρχήσασθε πάντες . Ἀμήν . Θρηνῆσαι θέλω , κόψασθε πάντες . Ἀμήν.[856]

Lalleman also notes the difference of the last verb in *Luke* 7.32:

> Ηὐλήσαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ὠρχήσασθε ἐθρηνήσαμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐκλαύσατε'.[857]

In these cases, although there are comparisons to be drawn, it is difficult to be certain that any canonical text refers to literal dance rather than or using dance as a metaphor. That the dance found in the *Acts of John* is only found as part of the non-canonical texts is itself

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[853] Mead 1907, 14.
[854] See Trebilco 2018.
[855] Matthew 11.17, New Revised Standard Version.
[856] Lalleman 1998, 128. See also Trebilco 2018, 46.
[857] Lalleman 1998, note 266.

indicative of the later opinion that this text was Gnostic, heretical or did not fit the doctrine.[858]

There were a number of heretical groups who are said to have practised religious dances.[859] The sources for dances within these heresies are Theodoret's (A.D. 393 - c. 458) *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* and a letter of Augustine. In *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, a number of heretical groups are mentioned and accused of a range of activities: the Meletians are accused of dancing, and the Manichees of leaping over demons.[860] Amongst other heretical sects, Augustine writes of the Priscillianists who, according to him, use a hymn which is used by several sects and which, like that of the Acts of John detailed above, spoke of song and dance, and which he reproduces, as below:[861]

> Salvare volo et salvari volo;
> Solvere volo et solvi volo;
> Ornare volo et ornari volo;
> Generari volo;
> <u>Cantare volo, saltate cuncti:</u>
> Plangere volo, tundite vos omnes:
> Lucerna sum tibi, ille qui me vides;
> Janua sum tibi, quicunque me pulsas;
> Qui vides quod ago, tace opera mea;
> Verbo illusi cuncta et non sum illusus in totum.[862]

The agendae of all of these sources makes their accuracy about practice difficult to verify. The evidence is limited, and that dance as was part of an existing literary theme which portrayed it as immoral and inappropriate may impact the representation of these groups dancing. The evidence may, therefore, be reflective of real practice or may be influenced by the invective, as a depiction of the group as dancing would show them as not acting as appropriate Christians, because dancing was non-Christian and inappropriate. The theme of dance as immoral and inappropriate, and specifically as a non-Christian activity is one which developed within Christian literature. The most that we can say is that, although there may have been dance in some geographical areas or in particular sects, the breadth of the

[858] Mead 1907, 9-15 & Luttikhuizen 1995, 148-9.
[859] Stander 1998, 317.
[860] Theodoret *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* 4.7, 4.11.
[861] Pulver 1955, 172.
[862] Augustine *Epistle* 237.

evidence shows, as Stander states, it is unlikely that dance was ever part of the liturgical worship services of the orthodox church.[863]

5.2.2 Allegorical dance

Whilst evidence for dance in Christian practice is very limited, there are Christian textual references to dance. The majority of these are cited within the earlier Jewish texts which came to form part of the Christian canon. These references were considered by much of the Christian authorship to be allegorical.

The Song of Songs provides one example of a reference to dance within the canon which is generally accepted in Christian commentary to be allegorical. There are a number of accepted theories as to the meaning of the Song of Songs, although whether it was a 'testimony to the goodness of human love', a more ancient cult poem 'adapted to represent the sacred marriage of god and Israel' or a prophetic allegory of the 'love between God and Israel' is debated.[864] Whatever its meaning, Song of Songs is a love poem, within which there is a brief reference to the dance of 'two companies.'[865] This appears to refer to a wedding dance such as formed part of the Jewish wedding celebrations. Origen's (A. D. c. 184 – 253) writing on the Song of Songs is plentiful, and includes at least two homilies and a commentary. His commentary offers two allegorical approaches to the Song of Songs. In these, the bridegroom is either the representative of Word of God, or he is representative of the Church. Origen's work and these two interpretations form the basis for the later allegorical interpretations of the Song of Songs, and Asiedu also sees Ambrose's description of baptism as 'appropriating the bridal imagery of the Song of Songs,' and wedding the newly baptised to Christ.[866]

As has been previously stated, dance and music were closely linked in the ancient world, and this is also seen in allegory. According to Smith, allegorical use of song and dance is found from some of the earliest Christian writings. He cites the *Odes of Solomon* (second century A.D.) in which the cithara is analogous for the Holy Spirit. Psalm 150 is particularly noted for

[863] Stander 1997, 317.
[864] Matter 1990, 50.
[865] Translation of Lapson (2007, 409).
[866] Asiedu 2001, 301-303.

its exhortation to use dance and music in worship, listing a number of different instruments for worship, as well as dance, specifically that praise should be made with the sound of the trumpet, with the psaltery and harp, with the timbrel and dance, with stringed instruments and organs and cymbals.

In the commentary of the Christian authors on this Psalm, the psalm is not a literal exhortation to use either music or dance in worship, but both as allegorical, although there does not seem to be full consensus on the nature of the allegory as it differs between different authors. Clement of Alexandria, for example, sees the dance in the psalm as reflecting the movement of the resurrection as promised by Christianity. He claims that the psalm's reference to the sound of the trumpet is the trumpet with which the Holy Spirit will raise the dead, that the exhortation of the psalm to 'praise him on the psaltery' refers to praising with the voice as 'the tongue is the psaltery of the lord', the timbrel and dance refer to the 'church meditation on the resurrection of the dead in the resounding skin, and the 'chords and organ' refer to the body, which when struck by the Holy Spirit is given voice. The cymbals refer to the tongue.[867] For Pseudo-Origen (fourth century A.D.), Psalm 150's exhortation to use music and dance, can be entirely explained through allegory. For him, 'the cithara is the practical soul activated by the commandments of Christ, the tympanum is the death of covetousness through goodness itself; the dance is the symphony of rational souls speaking in unison and avoiding dissention...'.[868] Similarly, Augustine refers to instruments in an allegorical, rather than a literal manner, and for him, the psaltery, as a ten stringed instrument, is representative of the ten commandments (*psalterium decem chordarum, decalogum tuum, deus altissime et dulcissime*).[869]

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[867] Clement of Alexandria *Paedagogus* 2.4: Τοῦ κώμου τούτου τὴν λειτουργίαν τὴν θεϊκὴν διαχωρίζον ψάλλει τὸ πνεῦμα αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν ἤχῳ σάλπιγγος, καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἤχῳ σάλπιγγος ἀναστήσει τοὺς νεκρούς˙ αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ, ὅτι ἡ γλῶττα τὸ ψαλτήριον κυρίου˙ καὶ ἐν κιθάρᾳ αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν, κιθάρα νοείσθω τὸ στόμα, οἱονεὶ πλήκτρῳ κρουόμενον τῷ πνεύματι˙ ἐν τυμπάνῳ καὶ χορῷ αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λέγει τὴν μελετήσασαν τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν ἠχοῦντι τῷ δέρματι˙ ἐν χορδαῖς καὶ ὀργάνῳ αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν, ὄργανον τὸ σῶμα λέγει τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ χορδὰς τὰ νεῦρα αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν ἐναρμόνιον εἴληφε τὴν τάσιν, καὶ κρουόμενον τῷ πνεύματι τοὺς φθόγγους ἀποδίδωσι τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους˙ αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν κυμβάλοις ἀλαλαγμοῦ, κύμβαλον τοῦ στόματος τὴν γλῶτταν

[868] Pseudo-Origin *Selecta in psalmos* 150, in McKinnon 1987, 39.

[869] Augustine *Confessiones* 3.8.16

Allegorical interpretation and Platonic thought are used to interpret religious texts by both Jewish and Christian writers,[870] and the Platonic view of a celestial dance of the stars provides Christian writers with a method of interpretation which does not involve dance as part of worship.[871] This is used particularly in reference to the Psalms. The attempt to remove the idea of dance as a reality of ritual is indicative that dance was one of the elements of the Old Testament that was, to Origen and those who followed his theology, in 'the literal or moral sense…offensive'.[872] In the Psalms, dance is not only mentioned, but explicitly described as a form of worship. According to the allegorical reading, however, the meaning of the psalm is not that Christians should actually perform a dance as part of their worship, but that this dance is representative of the joy of worshippers. Due to the association of musical instruments with pagan practices, theatre, and war, Smith believes that 'early Christian music was entirely vocal.'[873]

5.2.3 Christianity and private performances

As has been seen in the previous chapter (Chapter 4.3), in literature, dance in the private sphere was commonly associated not only with the immorality of the stage, but elicited criticism of ostentation and excess, and within this, dance finds association with drunkenness and even illness, particularly madness. When referred to in the Christian sources, dance receives similar treatment, and existing tropes are used and developed, not only in relation to dance in the private sphere but more generally. Association with excess and drunkenness, themes used in reference in to private dance, are found used more broadly in criticisms of dance. They are, for example, found in commentary on the tales of the Torah (which also made up the first five books of the Old Testament). Philo's treatment of the incident of the Golden Calf (see Chapter 2.5) reflects themes criticising dance as part of excess. Philo also draws on moral motifs found in the contemporary authors against drunkenness. He associates the actions of the Israelites, including dancing, with madness

[870] See Sterling 2018 on Philo's use of allegory.
[871] Plato *Timaeus* 40c.
[872] Bray 2017, 574.
[873] Smith 2016, 174.

and drunkenness, as they suffer the 'twofold intoxication of wine and folly': ἐμφορηθέντες ἀκράτου διπλῇ μέθῃ κατίσχοντο, τῇ μὲν ἐξ οἴνου, τῇ δὲ καὶ ἀφροσύνης...[874]

It is through the criticism of Christian authors of the *luxuria* and revelry found in the wedding celebrations that we learn dance could be found at ancient wedding celebrations. From the limited evidence we have, the wedding feast was elaborate.[875] The wedding banquet is described by a number of earlier authors: Plautus describes an expectation of lavish food and entertainment,[876] and Juvenal mentions the expectation of feasts and cakes.[877] It is, however, in Ambrose that dance is explicitly found as part of these celebrations. He makes passing reference within a warning against dance, to dance in the celebration of nuptials:

> Debet igitur bene consciae mentis esse laetitia, non inconditis comessationibus, non nuptialibus excitata symphoniis; ibi enim intuta verecundia, illecebra suspecta est, ubi comes deliciarum est extrema saltatio. Ab hac virgines Dei procul esse desidero. Nemo enim, ut dixit quidam saecularium doctor, saltat sobrius, nisi insanit. Quod si iuxta sapientiam saecularem, saltationis aut temulentia auctor est, aut amentia; quid divinarum Scripturarum cautum putamus exemplis cum Joannes praenuntius Christi, saltatricis optione iugulatus, exemplo sit plus nocuisse saltationis illecebram, quam sacrilegi furoris amentiam?
>
> There ought then to be the joy of the mind, conscious of right, not excited by unrestrained feasts, or nuptial concerts, for in such modesty is not safe, and temptation may be suspected where excessive dancing accompanies festivities. I desire that the virgins of God should be far from this. For as a certain teacher of this world has said: "No one dances when sober unless he is mad." Now if, according to the wisdom of this world, either drunkenness or madness is the cause of dancing, what a warning is given to us amongst the instances mentioned in the Divine Scriptures, where John, the forerunner of Christ, being beheaded at the wish of a dancer, is an instance that the allurements of dancing did more harm than the madness of sacrilegious anger. [878]

As will shortly be discussed, in this passage Ambrose is clearly associating himself with Cicero, directly quoting his *Pro Murena* in reference to immoderate dance.[879] Similarly, Gregory of Nazianzus (A.D. 329 - 389) wrote that the presence of Christ at weddings

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[874] Philo *De Vita Mosis* 2.162, Colson's translation, Loeb edition.
[875] On Wedding celebrations, see Hersh, 2010.212-3.
[876] Plautus *Aulularia* 354.
[877] Juvenal *Satires* 6.200-203.
[878] Ambrose *De Virginibus ad Marcellinam Sororem Suam* 3.5.25. Trans H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin and H.T.F. Duckworth. From Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 10.
[879] Cicero *Pro Murena* 6.13.

represented changes for the better,[880] implying that Christians enjoyed a more sober and sedentary celebration, and John Chrysostom claimed that marriage is honourable unless people introduce 'dancing, cymbals, auloi, shameful words and songs, drunkenness and carousing…':

> Ὁ γὰρ γάμος πρᾶγμα τίμιον εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν·καὶ ἔστι τίμιον·ἀλλὰ γάμων τελουμένων, τοσαῦτα καταγέλαστα γίνεται πράγματα, ὅσα αὐτίκα ἀκούσεσθε. Ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς συνηθείας οἱ πολλοὶ κατεχόμενοι καὶ παραλογιζόμενοι, οὐδὲ διαγινώσκουσιν αὐτῶν τὸ ἄτοπον, ἀλλ' ἑτέρων δέονται τῶν διδασκόντων. Καὶ γὰρ χορεῖαι καὶ κύμβαλα καὶ αὐλοὶ καὶ ῥήματα καὶ ᾄσματα αἰσχρὰ καὶ μέθαι καὶ κῶμοι καὶ ῥήματα καὶ ᾄσματα αἰσχρὰ καὶ μέθαι καὶ κῶμοι καὶ πολὺς ὁ τοῦ διαβόλου τότε ἐπεισάγεται φορυτός.
>
> For marriage appears to be an honourable thing, both to us and to those without it; and it is indeed honourable. But when weddings are performed, there take place the sort of absurd practices of which you will now hear. For the majority are bound and misled by custom, since they do not discern the unnaturalness of these things, but instead require others to teach them. For then they introduce dancing, cymbals, auloi, shameful words and songs, drunkenness and carousing, and much such rubbish of the devil.[881]

He also notes that auloi, cymbals and 'diabolical dances' dishonour the dignity of weddings:

> Εἶδες τὸ παλαιὸν μεθ' ὅσης σεμνότητος τοὺς γάμους ἐπετέλουν; Ἀκούσατε, οἱ περὶ τὰς σατανικὰς πομπὰς ἐπτοημένοι, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν προοιμίων τὰ σεμνὰ τοῦ γάμου καταισχύνοντες. Μή που αὐλοί; Μή που κύμβαλα; Μή που χορεῖαι σατανικαί;
>
> Do you not see with what dignity weddings were celebrated in antiquity? Hear this, you who flutter after Satan's pomp and who from the very start dishonour the nuptial solemnities. Were there auloi there? Were there cymbals, or diabolical dances? [882]

The moral stance found here not only criticises opulence and *luxuria*, and emphasises the moral rectitude of the Christians, who did not engage in such practices, but is critical not only of pagan but also of Jewish practices. The Jewish wedding dance was 'considered an act of religious devotion,'[883] and one performed by Rabbis as a pious act.[884] The separation of Christianity from dance at weddings is further sanctioned by the Council of Laodicea (A.D. c.

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[880] Gregory of Nazanius *Epistle* 232 in McKinnon 1987, 72.
[881] John Chrysostom *In 1 Corinthios* Homily 12. Trans. McKinnon 1987, 86.
[882] John Chrysostom *In caput 29 Genesim* Homily 56 Trans. McKinnon 1987, 84.
[883] Lapson 2007, 409 – 410.
[884] Hirsch, E., Schechter, S. and Enelow, H. 1906, 'Dancing'. The rabbi referred to, Rabbi Judah bar Ilai, is at the time of Hadrian.

364) in which Canon 53 states that ‘Christians, when they attend weddings, must not join in wanton dances.’[885]

Criticism of *luxuria* and ostentation finds further context in the Christian framework, as such self-indulgence is the antithesis to asceticism.[886] Clement of Alexandria, in his writing of ‘practical instructions and ascetic topics’ draws upon this criticism.[887] He echoes the existing moralist authors and rallies against immoderate behaviour, including dance, produced through overindulgence and drunkenness. The association between drinking and dance is quite evident as he criticises those who, disregarding what they hear within church, and occupy themselves with music, dancing and intoxication.[888] He associates not only the dance and drunkenness in the private sphere, but also associates drunkenness with the theatre. ‘burlesque singing’ and intoxication are ‘companions’, he claims, and drink leads to lust and shameful deeds:

> οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐλοῖς καὶ ψαλτηρίοις καὶ χοροῖς καὶ ὀρχήμασιν καὶ κροτάλοις Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τοιαύταις ῥᾳθυμίαις σάλοι ἄτακτοι καὶ ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι κομιδῇ γίγνοιντο ἄν κυμβάλοις καὶ τυμπάνοις ἐξηχούμενοι καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀπάτης ὀργάνοις περιψοφούμενοι. ἀτεχνῶς γάρ, ὡς ἐμοί δοκεῖ, θέατρον μέθης τό τοιοῦτον γίνεται συμπόσιον...

> For if people occupy their time with pipes, and psalteries, and choirs, and dances, and Egyptian clapping of hands, and such disorderly frivolities, they become quite immodest and intractable, beat on cymbals and drums, and make a noise on instruments of delusion; for plainly such a banquet, as seems to me, is a theatre of drunkenness.:[889]

The imagery found in Clement’s description of the banquet is reminiscent of Cicero’s in *Pro Murena*,[890] and similarly associates private banquets with dance, drunkenness and sensual pleasures. Cicero provides an authority for Christian authors. Ambrose associates himself strongly with the work of Cicero and his *De Officiis Ministrorum* is modelled on the Ciceronian text *De Officiis.*[891] Ambrose uses Ciceronian authority to give credence to his own moralising discourse. In reference to dance, Ambrose directly manipulates the Ciceronian

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[885] *Council of Laodicea*, Canon 53.
[886] See also 3, ‘Christianity and the body’, below.
[887] Salminen 2017, 38.
[888] Clement of Alexandria *Paedagogus* 3.11.
[889] Clement of Alexandria *Paedagogus* 2.4.
[890] Cicero *Pro Murena* 13.
[891] Ambrose *De Officiis Ministrorum* 1.7.25.

comment on dance in the private sphere found in *Pro Murena.*[892] Cicero's defence of Murena claims he cannot be accused of being a dancer as there is no evidence of the associated opulence, or 'loose and extravagant living'.[893] By extension, Cicero criticises nobility succumbing to inappropriate behaviour through overindulgence, and he is clear that dance is only one element of this. As noted in 4.3, above, Cicero states that the claim against Murena must be false as dance is associated with other vices or sensuous pleasures at the end of a dinner party for which no evidence has been provided.[894] Ambrose removes this context. Instead, he extracts from the *Pro Murena* a general moralising statement against dance, 'No-one dances sober unless they are insane,' although he goes on to claim that, where there is *luxuria*, there one finds dancing, which is warned against in the scriptures.[895]

Ambrose counsels against dance, referring to the death of John the Baptist at the behest of a dancer, the daughter of Herodias,[896] as a biblical warning against dance. Ambrose's deliberate use of Cicero as an existing authority both gives credence to his moral message and relates it to the existing moral discourse. Ambrose's version and his version of the Ciceronian quotation itself becomes part of the intertext. John Chrysostom compares private performances with the dance of Herodias' daughter for Herod.[897] In this comparison, he associates dance, disgrace, prostitution, and drunkenness. He sees the devil in the whole story of the daughter of Herodias, and her dance, as in this, he finds 'drunkenness and luxury,' immorality of all present, particularly Herod, and Herodias's daughter he compares to a prostitute.[898] Elsewhere in his works, John Chrysostom also links private entertainment and criticism of *luxuria* directly back to the theatre, saying that those who 'summon actors, dancers and prostitutes into banquets, also summon there demons and the devil,':

> Ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ μίμους, καὶ ὀρχηστὰς, καὶ πόρνας γυναῖκας είς τὰ συμπόσια εἰσάγοντες, δαίμονας καὶ τὸν διάβολον ἐκεῖ καλοῦσι, καὶ μυρίων πολέμων τὰς αὐτῶν ἐμπιπλῶσιν οἰκίας (ἐντεῦθεν γοῦν ζηλοτυπίαι καὶ μοιχεῖαι καὶ πορνεῖαι καὶ τὰ μυρία δεινά) οὕτως οἱ τὸν Δαυῒδ καλοῦντες μετὰ τῆς κιθάρας, ἔνδον τὸν Χριστὸν δι' αὐτοῦ καλοῦσιν. Ὅπου δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς, δαίμων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐπεισελθεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ

[892] Cicero *Pro Murena* 13.
[893] Macdonald's translation, Loeb edition.
[894] Cicero *Pro Murena* 13.
[895] Ambrose *De Virginibus ad Marcellinam Sororem Suam 3.5.25* cited above.
[896] Mark 6:14-29.
[897] Matthew 13.6.
[898] John Chrysostom *In Matthaeum Homily* 48.3-5.

παρακύψαι τολμήσειέ ποτε· εἰρήνη δὲ, καὶ ἀγάπη, καὶ πάντα ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῶν ἥξει τὰ ἀγαθά. Ἐκεῖνοι ποιοῦσι θέατρον τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν· σὺ ποίησον ἐκκλησίαν τὸ δωμάτιόν σου.

Just as those who introduce actors, dancers and prostitutes into banquets, also summon there demons and the devil, and fill their homes with every manner of discord - instances of jealousy, adultery, fornication and numerous other dread things - so those who call upon David with his cithara, call upon Christ inwardly through him. Where Christ is, no demon would dare enter, indeed none would even dare peep in there; rather would peace, love, and all good things flow as from fountains. Those others make a theatre of their house; you must make a church of your home. For where there is a psalm, prayer, the dance (χορεία) of prophets, and a pious attitude among the singers, one would not err in calling such a gathering a church.[899]

5.2.4 Christian attitudes towards the pantomime

The Christian literature which refers theatrical performance, like some of the sources already reviewed (Chapter 4.2.3), shows little distinction between mime and pantomime. Mime and pantomime both formed part of festival entertainments, and their differing comic or tragic, danced and acted forms did not elicit differing responses. Recognisable motifs, all found within existing literary forms (Chapter 4.2.1-2), which portrayed the theatre and *ars ludicra* as immoral, effeminate, inappropriately attired and portraying ignoble and sexual scenes resound in the treatment of the theatrical performance by the Christian authors, and in the Christian authorship an expansion of the moralising tropes and negative attitude which has been seen within the contemporary literature can be found.

Tatian's (A.D. c. 120–180) *Oratio ad Graecos,* 'an apologetic work, written to justify the position of Christianity in the Greco-Roman world' is vitriolic in its dismissal of all pagan practices, including those of the *ars ludicra* and festival entertainments.[900] In this, Tatian uses a number of established themes against theatrical performances. In line with several of the existing literary moral stances seen in chapter 4, according to Tatian, the festival performances should be treated with contempt. The performers are described as effeminate, and their performances unnatural, indecent and immoral. The performer's pretence at being something they are not particularly incites Tatian's disdain, as the

[899] John Chrysostom *In psalmum* 41,2. Trans. McKinnon 1987, 80-81.
[900] Hunt 2003, 19.

performer pretends to be something they are not, and in doing so demonstrates effeminacy (…πῶς ἔσωθεν μέν ἐστιν ἄλλος, ἔξωθεν δὲ ὅπερ οὐκ ἔστι ψεύδεται, τὸν ἁβρυνόμενον σφόδρα καὶ παντοίως διακλώμενον…) and plays a multitude of characters. Tatian claims that he himself has rejected such men (ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτὸν παρῃτησάμην πάντα ψευδόμενον καὶ τὴν ἀθεότητα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον) and condemns those who are 'held captive' by them, accusing them not only of being under the thrall of the performer but of 'reviling those who do not join in with their pursuits' (ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τούτων συλαγωγεῖσθε καὶ τοὺς μὴ κοινωνοῦντας ὑμῶν ταῖς πραγματείαις λοιδορεῖτε). This reflects the earlier criticisms seen in Seneca and Pliny.[901]

Tatian's remark that adultery is taught by the stage (καὶ τοὺς ὅπως δεῖ μοιχεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς σοφιστεύοντας αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ παῖδες θεωροῦσι) echoes comments found in the elite authorship. As seen in 4.2.1, this criticism is, for example, found in Valerius Maximus,[902] and implied by Ovid in his complaint about the adultery-mime,[903] and in the report of Elagabalus demands for reality.[904] The popularity of the performance and performers is also clear from Tatian's comments, as it is from Ovid's. Tatian wonders at the performers being 'praised by all,' and their audiences being 'held captive' by their performances,[905] a sentiment later echoed by Augustine.[906]

For Clement of Alexandria, the performers of the *ars ludicra* provide the epitome of the effeminate, immoral and inappropriately dressed. The description he gives particularly refers to the pantomime. He draws upon the established rhetorical themes already reviewed in which effeminacy is an indicator of immorality. Although both Tatian and Clement reflect the same themes as those found in the contemporary authorship, Clement takes his criticism and moral advice against the theatre further, and his stance is that Christian involvement and attendance should be prohibited. Whilst these prohibitions were not formally enforced or enforceable, they show the level of distance that the Christian authors wished to take from the theatre and dance, and it is a stance which differs from that of the elite authorship.

[901] Tatian *Oratio ad Graecos* 22 Seneca *Epistulae* 47.17, Pliny *Epistulae* 7.24.
[902] Valerius Maximus, *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium* 2.6.7.
[903] Ovid *Tristia* 2.497.
[904] Historia Augusta *Elagabalus* 25.4.
[905] Ryland's translation, Ante-Nicene Fathers.
[906] Augustine *Confessiones* 3.2.

In writing about women, Clement attempts to elevate the Christian woman above others, stating that a Christian woman must not imitate the motions of the dancers or conduct herself in the manner of the performer:

> Οὐ γὰρ ὥς τινες τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ζηλοῦσαι τῆς κωμῳδίας καὶ τὰς κατεαγυίας τῶν ὀρχηστῶν κινήσεις Παραφυλάττουσαι παρὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας σκηνοβατοῦσιν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς κινήμασιν τοῖς ἁβροῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑγροῖς βαδίσμασιν καὶ φωναῖς ταῖς πεπλασμέναις, κλαδαρὸν περιβλέπουσαι, δέλεαρ ἡδονῆς ἐξησκημέναι…
>
> For they must not do as some, who, imitating the acting of comedy, and practising the mincing motions of dancers, conduct themselves in society as if on the stage, with voluptuous movements, and gliding steps, and affected voices, casting languishing glances round, tricked out with the bait of pleasure. [907]

The implications of this are that the pantomimic performance had a broad impact on society, their performances being imitated and influencing the movements and actions of the masses, allegations previously seen in the accusations of Ovid, Seneca and Pliny.[908] It is not only women Clement prohibits from engaging with the theatre, but all Christians.[909]

The pantomime riots at the first *Augustales Ludi* of A.D. 14 and A.D. 15,[910] although historic, support Clement's association of public performances with disorder. His accusations of lasciviousness on stage, and of the audience repeating what they have seen, echo the sentiments of Seneca:

> Stat per successores Pyladis et Bathylli domus; harum artium multi discipuli sunt multique doctores. Privatum urbe tota sonat pulpitum; in hoc viri, in hoc feminae tripudiant.
>
> The House of Pylades and of Bathyllus continues through a long line of successors. For their arts there are many students and many teachers. The acting-stage resounds in private homes throughout the entire city. On it both men and women dance.[911]

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[907] Clement of Alexandria *Paedagogus* 3.11.68, trans William Wilson. Ante-Nicene Fathers,Vol. 2.
[908] Ovid *Fasti* 3.535-538, Seneca *Epistulae* 47.17, Pliny *Epistulae* 7.24.
[909] Clement of Alexandria *Paedagogus* 3.11.76
[910] Tacitus *Annals* 1.54, Tacitus *Annals* 1.77, Dio Cassius *Historia Romana* 57.14.10, Suetonius *Tiberius* 34.1.
[911] Seneca *Naturales quaestiones* 7.32.

Tertullian describes the theatre as the epitome of immorality, and continues the same themes found in Clement. Tertullian puts pressure on his audience not to attend the theatre because of its immorality:

> Similiter inpudicitiam omnem amoliri iubemur. Hoc igitur modo etiam a theatro separamur, quod est privatum consistorium inpudicitiae, ubi nihil probatur quam quod alibi non probatur. Ita summa gratia eius de spurcitia plurimum concinnata est, quam Atellanus gesticulatur, quam mimus etiam per muliebres res repraesentat, sensum sexus et pudoris exterminans, ut facilius domi quam in scaena erubescant, quam denique pantomimus a pueritia patitur ex corpore, ut artifex esse possit. Ipsa etiam prostibula, publicae libidinis hostiae, in scaena proferuntur…
>
> In like manner we are bidden to put away from us all impurity. By this command we are cut off once for all from the theatre, the proper home of all impurity, where nothing wins approval but what elsewhere has no approval. Its supreme charm is above all things contrived by its filth—filth in the gestures of the actor of the farce—filth acted by the buffoon playing the woman, banishing all sense of sex and shame, so that they blush more readily at home than on the stage, —filth that the pantomime undergoes, in his own person, from boyhood, to make him an artist. The very prostitutes, the victims of public lust, are produced on the stage, [912]

Tertullian's accusations against the performers are even more scathing and critical. He accuses them of greater crimes than the effeminacy, indecency or immorality found in other authors. He brings the performers into direct conflict with the scriptures, stating that they break the law of God:

> Proinde vocem sexus aetates mentientem, amores iras gemitus lacrimas asseverantem non probabit: omnem enim hypocrisin damnat. Ceterum cum in lege praescribit maledictum esse qui muliebribus vestietur, quid de pantomimo iudicabit, qui etiam muliebribus curvatur?
>
> The man who counterfeits voice, sex or age, who makes a show of false love and hate, false sighs and tears, He will not approve, for He condemns all hypocrisy. In His law He denounces that man as accursed who shall go dressed in women's clothes; what then will be His judgement upon the pantomime who is trained to play the woman? [913]

This is the law as stated in *Deuteronomy,* that 'No woman shall wear an article of men's clothing, nor shall a man put on woman's dress; for those who do these things are abominable to the lord your god'.[914] This criticism is repeated by Cyprian:

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[912] Tertullian *De Spectaculis* 17.
[913] Tertullian *De Spectaculis* 23.
[914] *Deuteronomy* 22.5.

> Nam, cum in lege prohibeantur viri induere muliebrem vestem et maledicti eiusmodi iudicentur, quanto maioris est criminis, non tantum muliebria indumenta accipere, sed et gestus quoque turpes et molles et muliebres magisterio impudicae artis exprimere?

> For since, in the law, men are forbidden to put on a woman's garment, and those that offend in this manner are judged accursed, how much greater is the crime, not only to take women's garments, but also to express base and effeminate and luxurious gestures, by the teaching of an immodest art. [915]

In the same period, Novatian (A.D. c. 200–258) contrasts theatrical dance to that found in honour of God in the Old Testament, specifically the dance performed by David before the ark of God: 'David and all the house of Israel were dancing before the Lord with all their might, with songs and lyres and harps and tambourines and castanets and cymbals'.[916] Novatian contrasts the style of dance, as well as the purpose:

> …nulla enim obscoenis motibus membra distorquens desaltavit graecae libidinis fabulam. Nabulae, cynarae, tibiae, tympana, citharae Domino servierunt, non idolis; a diabolo artifice ex sanctis in illicita mutata sunt.

> [David] did not distort his limbs in obscene gestures while dancing to a tale of Grecian lust. The nablas, kinuras, tibias, tympana and citharas played for God, not an idol....[917]

This increased level of criticism is a continuing trend in the Christian authorship. Clement's prohibition and Tertullian's criticism elaborate on established tropes, and Arnobius continues these themes. In his work, he establishes a higher moral stance of not only the Christians, but of their deity. The place that theatrical performances held as part of religious festival entertainments associated them with the pagan deities and, for Arnobius, the pleasure that these gods gain from watching the theatrical, danced, performances of men show the immorality not only of the pagans but also of their gods. Such performance is not something his deity would find worthy:

> Haec si dis immortalibus oblivionem adferunt simultatum, si ea comoediis, Atellanis, mimis ducunt laetissimas voluptates, quid moramini, quid cessatis, quin et ipsos dicatis deos ludere lascivire saltare, obscenas conpingere cantiones et clunibus

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[915] Cyprian *Epistles* 60 (*Ad Euchratium*), trans E.R. Wallis. Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 5.
[916] 2 Samuel 6, New Revised Standard Version.
[917] Novatian *De Spectaculis* 3,2-3 in McKinnon 1987,47-8.

> fluctuare crispatis? Quid enim differt aut interest, faciantne haec ipsi an ab aliis fieri in amoribus atque in deliciis ducant?
>
> If these things cause the gods to forget their resentment, if they derive the highest pleasure from comedies, Atellane farces, and pantomimes, why do you delay, why do you hesitate, to say that the gods themselves also play, act lasciviously, dance, compose obscene songs, and undulate with trembling haunches? For what difference is there, or what does it matter, whether they do these things themselves, or are pleased and delighted to see them done by others? [918]

The work of Augustine differs in tone, and, in a similar way to Seneca's grudging admittance of enjoyment,[919] reveals the appeal of the theatre. He provides his readers with a personal view, contrasting his pre-Christian follies with his Christian life. He admits enjoyment of the theatre in his former life, and that it was a reflection of the life he knew. This is likely to be a reference to mime, which, as has been discussed in the previous chapter (chapter 4.2.1) had themes of everyday life. Augustine, whilst critical of his former life, clarifies part of the appeal of the theatre: He describes it as compelling, and the audience empathises with the characters, as the stories reflect and feed into their own experiences. Augustine sees some purpose in the theatre in eliciting pity, but views this pity as an imperfect and misdirected version.[920] In the writings of Augustine, as in earlier authors, it is deemed inappropriate for Christians because it is considered immoral and the audience takes pleasure in this immorality:

> Rapiebant me spectacula theatrica, plena imaginibus miseriarum mearum et fomitibus ignis mei. quid est quod ibi homo vult dolere cum spectat luctuosa et tragica, quae tamen pati ipse nollet? et tamen pati vult ex eis dolorem spectator et dolor ipse est voluptas eius. quid est nisi mirabilis insania?… Neque enim nunc non misereor, sed tunc in theatris congaudebam amantibus cum sese fruebantur per flagitia, quamvis haec imaginarie gererent in ludo spectaculi…
>
> I was carried away by the stage shows, which were full of representations of my own unhappy experiences and added fuel to my flames. Why is it that in the theatre people are willing to suffer distress when watching sad and tragic events that they nonetheless have no desire to endure themselves? Yet they are willing to suffer distress from watching such events, and the pain itself is their pleasure. What is this but a remarkable madness? … Even now I still have the capacity to feel pity, but back then, at the theatres, I used to be united with the lovers in their pleasures, when they were

[918] Arnobius *Adversus Nationes* 7.33.7-8, trans H.Bryce, H.Campbell, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 6.
[919] Seneca *Controversiae* 3.*Praef.*10.
[920] Augustine *Confessiones* 3.2.

> revelling in sinful behaviour though they were playacting the misdeeds on the stage for entertainment. [921]

Augustine attempts to account for the enjoyment that the audience feels. He sees it as having its origin in the proper pity we feel when confronted by real-life examples of suffering. In the writings of Augustine, several other themes found in the elite authors regarding the theatre are repeated. For Augustine, as for Seneca and Lucian,[922] the theatre inspires a madness or sickness (on this trope see chapter 4.2.2). Enjoyment is, therefore, almost beyond the control of the individual. In *De Civitate Dei*, Augustine reflects the importance of the pantomime in the transmission of cultural ideas and mythology in the multicultural Empire, a sentiment already seen in the works of Quintilian and Lucian.[923] Unlike Quintilian and Lucian, however, for Augustine this cultural transmission is not positive, it is the stories of the 'debaucheries and base deeds' of the gods, which would be no better in books but are found 'daily sung and danced in the theatres':[924]

> Quid sunt ad hoc malum furta Mercurii, Veneris lascivia, stupra ac turpitudines ceterorum, quae proferremus de libris nisi cotidie cantarentur et saltarentur in theatris?

> In comparison with this evil, what are the thefts of Mercury, the wanton escapades of Venus, the debaucheries and base deeds of the others? We could produce such stories from books, if they were not daily portrayed by song and dance in the theatre. [925]

As Markus notes, Augustine recognises that acting and dancing have a commendable purpose as they are a means of communication which promote cohesion rather than an institution 'through which men communicate with demons.'[926]

Isidore of Pelusium (died. A.D. c. 435) refers to the misuse of psalm singing to arouse passion, as if the psalms were songs of the stage,[927] a criticism reminiscent of Ovid's comment criticising the plebeians singing in the streets on their way back from the festival

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921 Augustine *Confessiones* 3.2-3.
922 Seneca *Controversiae* 3.*Praef.*10, Lucian *De Saltatione* 5-6.
923 Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 11.3.66-7, Lucian *De Saltatione* 4.
924 McCracken's translation (Loeb edition).
925 Augustine *De civitate Dei* 7.26.
926 Markus 2012, 121.
927 Isidore of Pelusium *Epistle* 1.90 in McKinnon 1987, 61.

made some four hundred years earlier.[928] It is the pantomime which incites Jacob of Sarug in his *Homilies against the theatre* to call dancing the 'mother of all lasciviousness' and the dancer the 'pipe of Satan'. Despite this, in one homily, he also admits enjoyment of theatre.[929] It is unclear whether this enjoyment is genuine, or whether he is using the same rhetorical format as found in the work of Lucian and Libanius, and using theatre as a topic to demonstrate rhetorical skill.

The theatre provides the Christian writers with substantial material. They build on the existing themes of immorality associated with the theatrical dance, echoing the concerns found in pagan authors, criticising the immorality of the performances, the perceived threat of effeminacy, and associating theatre with immorality and prostitution. The Christian authors work within established parameters, and must be considered as part of this intertext. Their writings reveal a desire to establish Christianity within the existing literary and moral discourse and within society. It sets the Christian literature within established moral themes, and, within these themes, portrays them as being of the highest moral standard. They build not only on the themes that have been previously reviewed in this work, but also those of Greek authors. Plato is particularly influential, as is his rejection of mimesis,[930] and although he praises the religious and harmonious dance in his ideal city,[931] any comic acting (and mimicry) should be the domain of 'slaves or foreign hirelings' only and should not have 'any serious attention paid to it'.[932]

Christian authors use these established themes to set themselves apart, avoiding the moral failings of their pagan peers. Thus, whilst the themes are consistent, the stance of the Christian authors is more severe. For them, the theatre was not only immoral, but, as part of the entertainments on the festival days, intrinsically pagan and to be renounced by Christians. The very contradictions which made pantomime ripe subject matter for moralising authors, allowing them to use as it as a literary subject for a hypothetical debate

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[928] Ovid *Fasti* 3.535.
[929] Jacob of Sarug *Homily* 3, translated in Hall & Wyles 2008, 413-415*,* Jacob of Sarug *Homily* 5, translated in Hall & Wyles 2008, 416-419.
[930] See Malberg 1995, 10-21.
[931] Plato *Laws* 816C.
[932] Plato *Laws* 816E.

(such as is seen in the work of Lucian and Libanius) fed into Christian vilification. As part of the festivals, but also a public and private means of portraying and disseminating mythology, perhaps it is understandable that pantomime was a target for Christian moralists. The Christian authors were establishing an identity. Dance was not part of their main religious practices (although there were some possible exceptions, explored above, 2.5), the moral literature and intellectual stance discouraged dance, and this was a stance that they further exaggerated in order to distinguish themselves. As Christianity grew, they worked to set Christianity apart from and above the pagan practices, and tried to uphold the values that they had established. As such, they rallied against all aspects of paganism, including the mythology. The context and content of the pantomime, which spread this 'folly' within the festival context, made the Christian authors 'all the more ready' to criticise because it was 'connected with pagan worship'.[933] Criticism of the dance is found across Imperial Christian literature, and examples have been reviewed above. This criticism drew on the existing and current themes found in the moralising authors in which the theatre was portrayed as immoral, effeminate, and as portraying inappropriate, base and sexual themes.

5.2.5 The association of dance with sexuality

Theatrical dance provoked a consistent negative reaction within Christian authors across the temporal breadth of the literature. Whilst the moralistic trope drew on the existing literary condemnation, as has been noted, the Christian condemnation was more vitriolic. As well as advising Christians that attendance at spectacles was forbidden, it is in the Christian literature in which one finds an active link between performers and prostitution. As already discussed (Chapter 4.2.3), although performers were legally of the lowest social class and in the same social strata as prostitutes, adulterers and criminals, they were not legally analogous,[934] and it is only in the Christian authorship that actresses or dancers are synonymous with prostitutes. So, whilst an implied association between prostitution and performers is found in a range of authors, both Christian and pagan, the term *pornai* is 'used extensively by John Chrysostom of actresses.'[935] John Chrysostom's (A. D. c. 347 – 407) tale

[933] Davies 1984, 23.
[934] McGinn 1997, 101.
[935] Webb 2008a, 49.

of the conversion of an actress in *Homily* 67, for example, explicitly references the actress as a ‘*porne*’.

> …Καὶ γὰρ αὕτη πόρνη ποτὲ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἦν, τὰ πρωτεῖα ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἔχουσα, καὶ πολὺ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς πανταχοῦ, οὐκ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι Κιλίκων καὶ Καππαδοκῶν. Καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἐκένωσεν οὐσίας, πολλοὺς δὲ εἷλεν ὀρφανούς· πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ εἰς γοητείαν διέβαλλον, ὡς οὐ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ὥρᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς φαρμάκοις ἐκεῖνα τὰ δίκτυα πλέκουσαν. Εἷλέ ποτε καὶ βασιλίδος ἀδελφὸν αὕτη ἡ πόρνη· καὶ γὰρ πολλὴ ἦν αὐτῆς ἡ τυραννίς.
>
> For she was once a harlot among us, having the first honours on the stage, and great was her name everywhere, not in our city only, but even as far as the Cilicians and Cappadocians. And many estates did she ruin, and many orphans did she overthrow; and many accused her of sorcery also, as weaving such toils not by her beauty of person only, but also by her drugs. This harlot once won even the brother of the empress, for mighty indeed was her tyranny.[936]

Although Webb asserts that ‘the association of the stage with prostitution is ubiquitous in late antiquity’,[937] and there is certainly an association between dance and prostitution, the word *porne* may be used not simply to reflect prostitution but to stress the immorality and forbidden nature of the performers in the view of the authors. Gaca shows that *porne* is used in the Septuagint to refer to sexually immoral women, and is, importantly, used in reference to transgressions against God, even when not sexual.[938] Webb similarly notes that ‘John Chrysostom’s use of the term *porne* is… shaped by the Hebrew’ and notes its implications of ‘a woman who is religiously forbidden’ in Hebrew.[939]

The association between actresses and prostitutes is particularly clear in the work of Procopius (A.D. c. 500 – 554),[940] who writes against the Empress Theodora. Procopius’ description of Theodora paints her as a prostitute since childhood. He relates that she was sold by her mother into the theatre, where she performed not just as a dancer, but, as Procopius depicts it, as a ‘slave to pleasure’ and prostitute.[941] Whilst Procopius’ agenda in his portrayal is to demonise and dehumanise both Justinian and Theodora, and the rhetorical

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[936] John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum* Homily 67 (PG 58.637).
[937] Webb 2008a, 49.
[938] Gaca 1999, 36-39.
[939] Webb 2008a, 50.
[940] See Webb 2008a, 4-6, 97, 101, 142.
[941] Procopius *Anecdota* 9.6-22.

themes that he uses are established within the literary rhetorical and historical contexts, the association between the theatre, prostitution and obscenity influenced late antique views on theatre.[942] Procopius' description of Theodora depicts her, not as a skilled dancer or musician, but as a base performer and prostitute, of an unsuitable class to be in such a powerful position. He claims that she had no skills other than as a prostitute, being no musician or dancer:

> οὐ γὰρ αὐλήτρια οὐδὲ ψάλτρια ἦν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν αὐτῇ ἤσκητο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὥραν τοῖς ἀεὶ περιπίπτουσιν ἀπεδίδοτο μόνον οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς ἐργαζομένη τοῦ σώματος.
>
> For she was neither a flute-player nor a harpist, nay, she had not even acquired skill in the dance, but she sold her youthful beauty to those who chanced to come along, plying her trade with practically her whole body[943]

Procopius' Theodora, like Cicero's Cytheris,[944] holds inappropriate influence (see chapter 4.2.3), and, like Sallust's Sempronia,[945] is contrary in every way to a matron as she is ostentatious, indecorous, wanton and lust-filled (see chapter 4.3). Like both of these previous examples, Procopius' Theodora also embodies fears found in the earlier literature (chapter 4.2.3) of the influence the lower class performers could have over those in power.

5.2.6 Christianity and sacred dance

It is hard to distinguish a difference in the Christian attitudes between the sacred dance, as we have defined it (i.e. that performed in a ritual context), and that performed as entertainment. The morality of the Christian authors encompasses performance dance in both the public and private spheres. As well as using existing moral themes in reference to the dance of the theatre, the association of dance with *luxuria,* including drink and excesses, found in literary references to private performances is used more broadly. This allows a link in Christian literature between excess and paganism, further justified by the drunkenness within the Dionysiac or Bacchic cult. Within the Christian discourse, Dionysiac worship is an exemplar of the wickedness of paganism. The dance as part of this worship had associations with madness, a lack of control and with immorality, associations found within Greco-Roman

[942] Webb 2008a, 5.
[943] Procopius *Anecdota* 9.10-12.
[944] Cicero *Philippic* 2.
[945] Sallust *Bellum Catilinae* 25

literary writings on the cult, but which were developed in the patristic literature. As the epitome of pagan and inappropriate practice, it was this cult practice and its associated mad dance, which is envisaged in the patristic literature when they imagine the converse of ‘proper’ Christian practice. Clement of Alexandria contrasts the mysteries of Christianity, ‘rationality’, to those of the Bacchic mysteries, and Maenadic revelry with the chorus of the righteous.[946] Basil of Caesarea’s (A.D. 330 – 379) description of the defiling of the shrines of the martyrs uses maenadic imagery of barefooted, maddened dancing of wanton women to show the extreme profanity of the act of defiling the shrine.[947] The description is designed to be emotive, indicative of inversion of proper behaviour, drunken, excessive and uncontrolled and performed by women.

The cult of Cybele, in which some ritual dance is found, is also a target of Christian polemic.[948] According to Fear, ‘Christian antipathy to Cybele’ was a considered stance, the cult of Cybele was perceived as a particular threat to that of Christianity, and several heretical sects were influenced by the cult. Fear lists the similarities between the Metroac and Christian cults. Whatever the reasons for the particular cultic rivalry, both the Metroac and Bacchic cult were both victims of the hostility of the elite authors, as has been discussed (3.3.1 and 3.3.2, above). This hostility allowed Christian authors to take the same stance as the elite authors, that of moral indignation against the immoral cult.[949]

5.3 Christianity and the body

There is one other element which has, so far, only been briefly alluded to, which is the relationship between Christianity and the body. Dance is a kinaesthetic art form. As such, not only is it at odds with the textual basis of the Christian cult, but is fundamentally linked to the physical body, something which itself could hold challenges to some early Christian thought. Asceticism, as Shaw identifies, whilst originating as a practice of athletic discipline

[946] Clement of Alexandria *Protrepticus* 12.119.
[947] Basil of Caesarea *Homilia XIV: In Ebriosos* 1.
[948] Augustine, for example, devotes a section of *De Civitate Dei (*7.23) to the ‘shamefulness’ of the rites of Cybele.
[949] Fear 1996, 38, 39-41, 48.

with the goal of improvement, came to mean 'discipline to the point of self-denial'.[950] Asceticism was not a novel, Christian concept, however it was one which held a significance for the Christian authorship, possibly because it was in contrast to the usual lives of the majority of Christians. It grew and developed through their writings, and a fundamental shift in perception arose. As Brown says, this was not simply a movement towards a more inhibited or oppressive society, but an alteration in perception of the body. Christianity developed a 'different and more exacting set of prohibitions' which caused people to view their own bodies differently.[951]

The idea that luxury, meat and wine were weaknesses which damage both the body and the soul was a philosophical idea which influenced the work of Clement of Alexandria, particularly the *Paedagogus,* in which his 'refined' Christian practices show moderation and decorum.[952] As has already been seen, Clement prohibited dissoluteness and luxury, and those who occupied themselves with music, dancing and intoxication were subject to criticism.[953] Augustine himself rejected physical pleasure, including not only sex but also marriage,[954] although it is clear from his writing in *De Bono Coniugali* that he does not expect the same of other Christians,[955] and Jerome (A.D. c. 347 – 420) was similarly disturbed by the temptation of sensuality and removed himself from it, but in doing so differed from the majority. He advises that a widow should avoid the company of actors to retain her chastity and avoid temptation.[956] The association of dance with sexuality condemns it. For Jerome, the senses are the route through which vices access the soul (*per quinque sensus, quasi per quasdam fenestras, vitiorum ad animam introitus est*).[957] Dance is, in a very literal sense, sensual. The public performances were enjoyed for their sights and sounds, the private performances not only encompassed sights and sounds but, as they accompanied food and drink, also involved the sense of taste. Partaking in dance is a tactile, kinaesthetic experience. Following Jerome's logic, therefore, partaking in dance is a vice. This does not

[950] Shaw 1998, 5.
[951] Brown 1988, 29-30.
[952] Shaw 1998, 51.
[953] Clement of Alexandria *Paedagogus,* 3.11.
[954] Nightingale 2011, 150.
[955] Augustine *De Bono Coniugali*
[956] Jerome *Epistles* 79.9.
[957] Jerome *Adversus Jovinianum* 2.8.

mean that there was not beauty to be found in dance or in music, but, as has been discussed (5.2.2, above) but that this was considered to be in the heavenly, and not in the human form.

Following the philosophical principle of separation of the soul and the body, the ascetic was trying to live the angelic life, a non-corporeal life. The ascetic view was more extreme than the philosophical, in which appropriate care should be taken of the body.[958] Shaw describes the ascetic as 'living while in the body as if one were without a body'. Dance is fundamentally corporeal as the body is the instrument. Dance therefore does not hold any place in the ascetic life. Dance, like sexual activity, is a bodily element that man can survive without, and therefore abstaining from it is a form of discipline. It is discipline which identifies the ascetic, separating them from the wider society and 'perhaps at the same time in continuity with its ideals'.[959] Dance, music and consumption of alcohol fit the same pattern. By not taking any part in these activities, there is an unusual and very conscious separation from the societal norms, and adhesion to the ideals found in the moralising authors. The abstinence from dance may, in itself, lead to condemnation, as 'what one avoids, one condemns'.[960] The complexity of the Christian ascetic relationship with the body no doubt had influence on the attitudes to dance.

5.4 Dance and the Church Councils

The Councils of the church fall outside of the primary scope of this work, both chronologically, as the primary focus of this work is the Imperial Age, and in their main subject matter. Yet there are some references made within the canons of these Councils which are indicative of Christian attitudes towards dance and which seem to survive from an earlier time than the Councils themselves. The canons of the Councils are a culmination of the earlier moral writings, developing disciplinary tenets for Christians that both echo and ratify moral themes found through the earlier Christian literature. Ratified in the tenets of the Councils, one finds many of the themes already encountered above. Different Councils

[958] See Song 2013, 97-100.
[959] Shaw 1998, 180, 218.
[960] Wimbush 1990, 11.

provide different examples, but through the course of these synods, the censure of dance becomes part of the Christian canon.

A chronological review of dance within the canons of the Councils reveals attitudes which, although they may be historic are nevertheless pertinent and tenacious. The Council of Arles (A.D. 314) excludes actors from the becoming clergy (Canon 5: *De theatricis, et ipsos placuit, quamdiu agunt, a communione separari*).[961] Building on this, the Council of Gangra (the date of which is between A.D. 325 and A.D. 381, Barnes dates it to A.D. c. 355) has a number of prohibitions,[962] which, whilst they are primarily aimed at a particular ascetic movement,[963] also encompass issues found in theatrical performance. This is particularly the case for the prohibition of women wearing men's clothing and cutting their hair.[964] At a similar time, the Council of Laodicea (A.D. c.364) more explicitly censures both theatre and dance. It criticises private excesses including dance at weddings, conveying similar sentiments to those found in John Chrysostom and seen above. Where John Chrysostom claims dances dishonour the dignity of weddings, Canon 53 and 54 of the Council of Laodicea prohibit Christians from joining wedding revelry and clergy from witnessing the associated entertainments, stating: 'Christians, when they attend weddings, must not join in wanton dances', and 'Members of the … clergy must not witness the plays at weddings or banquets; but, before the players enter, they must rise and depart.'[965] Although, as has already been noted, Clement of Alexandria advised all Christians to avoid performances,[966] in the edict of this Council we see a more practical and specific injunction, aimed directly at clergy.

Although later than the period of this work, it is in the Council *in Trullo* (A.D. 692) in which the most explicit criticism of dance is found. Whilst itself too late for the period of this work, the Council is important as an indicator of Christian opinion for a number of reasons: the edicts of the Council are retrospective in nature, indicating opinion not necessarily of the time at which it was created, but of earlier times, and of issues which were of lasting

[961] *Council of Arles,* Canon 5.
[962] For the date of the Council see Barnes 1989, 124.
[963] Herrin 1992, 103.
[964] *Council of Gangra,* Canon 13, 17. Trans. H. Percival.
[965] *Council of Laodicea*, Canon 53. Trans. H. Percival.
[966] Clement of Alexandria *Paedagogus* 3.11.

concern to the church. It followed earlier Councils which had adjudicated cases and had 'given their opinion upon matters concerning discipline and order in the churches',[967] and it was at the time of this Council that Christian law began to be laid down.

Although it was itself not accepted by the Western church, the Council *in Trullo* was styled as if it were an ecumenical Council, complementary to the 5th and 6th Councils. The intention of Emperor Justinian II, who convened the Council and set the agenda, was the unity of the Church through uniformity of discipline or 'rite'.[968] The Council *in Trullo* makes particular mention of dance as, within its canons, censure is aimed at attendance of festival activities, including the spectacles and pantomime found therein. Although many of the canons were aimed at the Christian populace, it was those holding any office within the church that are subject to particular restriction. Canon 3 stipulates that no one who has married an actress could hold ecclesiastical office:

> …ὡσαύτως καὶ· τὸν χήραν λαβόντα ἢ ἐκβεβλημένην ἢ ἑταίραν ἢ οἰκέτιν ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς μὴ δύνασθαι εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον ἢ διάκονον ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ…
>
> in like manner, that he who has taken a widow, or a divorced person, or a harlot, or a servant, or an actress, cannot be bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or at all on the sacerdotal list. [969]

Canon 51 forbids Christians to put on 'mimes, wild beast fights and theatrical dancing', with the threat of defrocking or expulsion.[970]

> Καθόλου ἀπαγορεύει ἡ ἁγία αὕτη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος τοὺς λεγομένους μίμους καὶ τὰ τούτων θέατρα, εἶτά γε μὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν κυνηγίων θεώρια καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ὀρχήσεις ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. εἰ δέ τις τοῦ παρόντος κανόνος καταφρονήσοι καὶ πρός τι ἑαυτὸν τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων ἐκδῷ, εἰ μὲν κληρικὸς εἴη καθαιρείσθω, εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς ἀφοριζέσθω.
>
> This holy and ecumenical synod altogether forbids those who are called players, and their spectacles, as well as the exhibition of hunts, and the theatrical dances. If any

[967] Heith-Stade 2010, 10.
[968] Featherstone & Nedungatt 1995, 13.
[969] *Council in Trullo,* Canon 3, (Ohme 2013*,* 26, trans. H. Percival, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 14).
[970] Featherstone & Nedungatt 1995, 132.

> one despises the present canon, and gives himself to any of the things which are forbidden, if he be a cleric he shall be deposed, but if a layman let him be cut off. [971]

Canon 62 seeks to keep Christians away from dances performed for the pagan gods. It goes on to forbid cross-dressing or wearing masks:

> ... ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς τῶν γυναίων δημοσίας ὀρχήσεις, πολλὴν λύμην καὶ βλάβην ἐμποιεῖν δυναμένας, ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν παρ᾽Ἕλλησι ψευδῶς ὀνομασθέντων θεῶν ἢ ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν γινομένας ὀρχήσεις καὶ τελετάς κατά τι ἔθος παλαιὸν καὶ ἀλλότριον τοῦ τῶν χριστιανῶν βίου ἀποπεμπόμεθα, ὁρίζοντες μηδένα ἄνδρα γυναικείαν στολὴν ἐνδιδύσκεσθαι ἢ γυναῖκα τὴν ἀνδράσιν ἁρμόδιον˙ ἀλλὰ μήτε προσωπεῖα κωμικὰ ἢ σατυρικὰ ἢ τραγικὰ ὑποδύεσθαι μήτε τοῦ βδελυκτοῦ Διονύσου ὄνομα τὴν σταφυλὴν ἐκθλίβοντας ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς ἐπιβοᾷν...
>
> And also the public dances of women, which may do much harm and mischief. Moreover we drive away from the life of Christians the dances given in the names of those falsely called gods by the Greeks whether of men or women, and which are performed after an ancient and un-Christian fashion; decreeing that no man from this time forth shall be dressed as a woman, nor any woman in the garb suitable to men. Nor shall he assume comic, satyric, or tragic masks; nor may men invoke the name of the execrable Bacchus when they squeeze out the wine in the presses… [972]

The cumulative nature of the edicts of the Church Councils does not necessarily indicate survival of practices they describe, which include theatrical, pagan or an enigmatic reference to a tradition of leaping over fires set on the new moon.[973] The inclusion of these practices within the edicts, however, is indicative of both a desire to segregate Christian and traditional activity, and a fear of any potential continuation of pagan activity in the guise of traditional or secular. Their inclusion also shows a continuation and retention of the association between dance and immorality. The canons of this Council, as the introductory statement of the Council asserts, are designed to help Christians live better lives (ἐπί δὲ τὸν κρείττονα καὶ ὑψηλότερον μεταθῶνται βίον), taking away any elements of pagan or Jewish 'perversity' from the. Spectacles, theatre and other festival activities were included under this description.[974] It would seem that the purpose of the canons was to control any

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[971] *Council in Trullo,* Canon 51*,* (Ohme 2013*,* 45, trans. H. Percival, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 14).
[972] *Council in Trullo,* Canon 62*,* (Ohme 2013*,* 48, trans. H. Percival, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 14).
[973] *Council in Trullo,* Canon 65, (Ohme 2013*,* 49, trans. H. Percival, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 14).
[974] Featherstone & Nedungatt 1995, 52.

immorality, public extravagances, or what could be conceived as 'un-Christian' behaviours. Herrin feels that, under this preface, it is possible that some ancient and pagan customs 'still provided an excuse for unsuitable festivities, even in the seventh century'.[975] Whether these activities really occurred is difficult to tell as the Councils are part of a discourse which draws from earlier Christian and moral writings. The criticism of practices within the writings of influential authors or by influential figures retains the activity as a current topic, even if it is temporally or geographically limited.

5.5 Christianity and differentiation

The growth of Christianity generated in the Christians a desire to form their own identity, separate from the world around them and the time before them. Dance was not only something about which there was concern because of its association with immorality, but also something which was part of that preceding and non-Christian world. As has been seen, it was important to, and associated with, traditional pagan religious practices, and did not play a part in most Christian activities, so was an aspect of differentiation. The Christian authors developed existing tropes, emphasising moral superiority of Christians. Although this literature did not necessarily reflect the majority of Christians who lived in communities within the wider society, within the surviving literature there is a construction of a division of 'us and them', or what could be termed using the psychological jargon 'in-group/out-group'.[976] Dance was not the only aspect of life in which this differentiation was found, but it is the focus of this work, and the differentiation through the rejection of dance practice is of note. In distancing themselves from dances, whether theatrical performances at festivals, cult practices or private entertainment, Christians were separating themselves from the community around them and segregating themselves. The criticism of dance separated the Christian not only from the festivals of traditional religion, but also set them apart from usual practices such as dinner entertainment and the dances found in transitional life events, such as weddings. The prohibition of participation in dance at wedding celebrations not only

[975] Herrin 1992, 102.
[976] Mayer 2018, 10.

dissociated Christians from pagan celebrations but also from contemporary Jewish practices in areas of larger Jewish population.[977]

The desire to segregate themselves from the practices of others had a more extreme aspect than an aversion to dance at weddings. As Brown shows, although Jewish leaders chose to bless marriage as a continued, controlled element of human life, there were a number of ascetic Christians, both men and women who used 'their bodies to mock continuity.' This was not just a personal choice of abstinence and chastity, but an extreme which showed a marked contrast to the norms of pagan and Jewish life and societal expectations.[978]

The Council of Laodicea highlights differentiation from Jewish practice particularly, siting this prohibition with other canons which specifically forbid Christians from partaking in Jewish practices or associating with Jews at feasts.[979] Distancing themselves from dance practices was an integral part of a desire to differentiate Christianity from Judaism and paganism. Although the evidence of dance within Jewish practice is ancient, coming primarily from the Torah, it shows early Jews danced as part of their own festival worship: during the Festival of the Tabernacles, the dancing of the water-drawing festival was performed to musical accompaniment by the men who carried torches.[980] Jewish festival dance of this form survives in the modern day in the Orthodox custom of celebrating the Feast of Simhat Torah.[981] That there were festival dances, even if only historically, for the Jews may further explain implications found in the writing of both Philo and Josephus that there were practices of worship where dance was both joyful and appropriate, and a range of anti-Semitic Christian commentary that dance was an inappropriate, and Jewish practice.[982] Distance from Jewish practice is also found in reference to the dances in the Old Testament. The incident of the golden calf found in *Exodus* 32.1-35 (and mentioned again in *Deuteronomy* 9.12-21) in which dance is performed by the Israelites as they revert to their

[977] *Council of Laodicea*, Canon 53.
[978] Brown 1988, 59-64.
[979] *Council of Laodicea*, Canon 29, 37, 38.
[980] Lapson 2007, 409.
[981] Hirsch et al. 1906.
[982] See following on the reaction the golden calf in Ephrem (Krauss 1893, 90). A similar view is found in Theodoret of Cyrus' (A.D. 393-466) view that the Jews were led astray when in Egypt, where they were introduced to the 'shameful customs of the inhabitants', including dance within worship (Theodoret of Cyrus *Graecarum affectionum curatio, de sacrificiis 16* in McKinnon 1987, 106-7).

previous, pagan practices. For the Jewish authors, Philo and Pseudo-Philo (writing in the first century),[983] the incident highlights idolatry, and the difference between god and people, and between Moses' authority and the people's failure to understand God's ways (i.e. reverting to pagan idolatry), which is shown as 'graphically evident' when the golden calf is made.[984] Philo's account reflects his current situation as a leader of the Jewish community in Egypt, and he compares the bull idol to the Egyptian bull-headed god, Apis.[985] His account reflects the nature of the worship of Apis as he sees it in current practice. His comparison to an Egyptian deity highlights the reversion of the Israelites, who have escaped from Egypt, to Egyptian ways.[986]

In Christian literature, the focus on the golden calf incident changes, and it becomes an exemplar of the abandonment of God by the Jews.[987] Justin Martyr (c. A.D. 100 – 165) raises the issue of the idolatry of the golden calf and turning from the commands of God in *Dialogue with Trypho*. For Justin, incident of the golden calf is demonstrative of the Jewish people being 'wicked and ungrateful to god'.[988] Similarly Tertullian, in his introduction to *Adversus Iudaeos,*[989] cites the golden calf as an example of the Jewish people turning from God and the laws of God. When Julian (A.D. c. 331– 363) restores paganism as the religion of the empire, and releases coinage which depicts an altar and a beast. This coinage inspired allegations that the Jews rejoiced in this restoration, dancing with joy as they danced for the golden calf. Krauss translates from Ephrem the Syrian (fourth century):

> The Jewish people broke out into maddening noise; the circumcised blew their trumpets and rejoiced that he [Julian] was a magician and worshipper of idols. They saw again the image of the beast on his [Julian's] gold pieces; they again viewed the

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[983] See Murphy 1993, 6-7.
[984] Murphy 1993, 69.
[985] Philo *De Vita Mosis* 2.162.
[986] Feldman 2005, 251.
[987] Smolar & Aberbach 1968, 96. The *Apostolic Constitutions* 6.4.20 (author unknown, c AD 375 - 380) relates the incident of the golden calf as an example of the anger of God towards the Jews. Justin Martyr (AD 100 – 165) raises the issue of the idolatry of the golden calf and turning from the commands of God in *Dialogue with Trypho* 20.1 This is situated in the middle of a series of criticisms of Jews, and reference to the golden calf incident in this context is clearly aimed as further criticism of inappropriate Jewish behaviour.
[988] Justin Martyr *Dialogue with Trypho* 19.5.
[989] Tertullian *Adversus Iudaeos,* 1.

> bull of shame, and danced round it with trumpets and timbrels, for they recognised in this beast their ancient golden calf. [990]

Ephrem's comments in the fourth century imply that dance was considered not only to be an un-Christian practice, but one associated with other religions, including Judaism, by the Christian authors.

Having moved away from the Jewish law and its code of ethics, the Christian Fathers, and the following Councils, developed their own stance, setting out rules for Christians to live by, consolidating and unifying the laws for Christians and differentiating themselves from the pagan practices around them. Not only did Christian authors, as we have seen, align themselves with an existing moral genre, and by so doing associate Christian moral values with the moral stance of the elite, but they highlighted the differences between the religious practices. They took a stance which they can use to distance themselves not only from practices which they associate with pagan worship, but, importantly, from the negative rhetoric against Christianity itself. Minucius Felix (died c. 250 A.D.) summarises a range of views held against the Christians. In this, we see that Christians were considered illiterate, conspiratorial, and disruptive:

> Qui de ultima faece collectis imperitioribus et mulieribus credulis sexus sui facilitate labentibus plebem profanae coniurationis instituunt, quae nocturnis congregationibus et ieiuniis sollemnibus et inhumanis cibis non sacro quodam, sed piaculo foederatur, latebrosa et lucifuga natio, in publicum muta, in angulis garrula, templa ut busta despiciunt, deos despuunt, rident sacra, miserentur miseri (si fas est) sacerdotum, honores et purpuras despiciunt, ipsi seminudi!
>
> Fellows who gather together illiterates from the dregs of the populace and credulous women with the instability natural to their sex, and so organize a rabble of profane conspirators, leagued together by meetings at night and ritual fasts and unnatural repasts, not for any sacred service but for piacular rites, a secret tribe that shuns the light, silent in the open, but talkative in hid corners; they despise temples as if they were tombs; they spit upon the gods; they jeer at our sacred rites; pitiable themselves, they pity (save the mark) our priests; they despise titles and robes of honour, going themselves half-naked![991]

[990] Krauss 1893, 90.
[991] Minucius Felix *Octavius* 8.4.

Christians were accused of a range of shameful deeds, including 'promiscuous intercourse' and 'eating human flesh'.[992] They not only dispute these accusations, but counter them stating that they have higher morals than non-Christians, morals which do not allow them to partake in the immoral activities of theatre and dance. In the literature, they align to the established moralistic stance, but go beyond this, not just criticising but abstaining completely from the theatre and dance which raise the moral issues. Again, it is in Minucius Felix we find a summary of the Christian self-belief in their morality:

> Nos igitur, qui moribus et pudore censemur, merito malis voluptatibus et pompis vestris et spectaculis abstinemus, quorum et de sacris originem novimus et noxia blandimenta damnamus.
>
> We, whose values rest on morals and on modesty, have good reason to abstain from the vicious delights of your processions and spectacles; we know the rites from which they originated and condemn their pernicious attractions.[993]

Using existing attitudes, the Christians depict themselves as having the highest moral standards. At the same time, they are forging a unique identity and distancing themselves from those around them. Clement of Alexandria incites Christians to pay no heed to criticism from 'godless dancers' (pagans):

> μή οὖν ἔτι φροντίζετε μηδὲ [εἰ] ὀλίγον τί ὑμᾶς ἀγορεύουσι σύρφακές τινες ἀγοραῖοι, δεισιδαιμονίας ἄθεοι χορευταί, ἀνοίᾳ καί παρανοίᾳ ἐς᾽ αὐτὸ ὠθούμενοι τὸ βάραθρον, εἰδώλων ποιηταὶ καὶ λίθων προσκυνηταί.
>
> Pay no more regard, then, if you are rated by some of the low rabble who lead the dance of impiety, and are driven on to the same pit by their folly and insanity, makers of idols and worshippers of stones [994]

5.6 Christianity and dance conclusions

Christianity had an uncomfortable relationship with dance, and attitudes within literature were negative, as it was viewed as a pagan activity which Christians should not be involved in. The inclusion of dance within biblical texts, and potentially in the practices of the early church in some, albeit limited, groups or geographical locations, was problematic. There

[992] Justin Martyr *1 Apol.* 26. See also McGowan 1994.
[993] Minucius Felix *Octavius* 37.
[994] Clement of Alexandria *Protrepticus* 10 (trans. W. Wilson, Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 2).

were attempts to alleviate the complexity that dance creates. In the literature, the dances in the biblical texts are treated as an allegorical activity, and the Church Councils ratify this negative view by attempting to legislate against dance practices. Dance was an aspect of pagan and Jewish life from which Christian literature was keen to differentiate itself. Christian literature claims the moderate stance of the authors of the existing discourse; however, the patristic literature went further, and would have its adherents desist from participation in dance altogether. It is, unfortunately, very hard from the limited evidence we have to know what dance actually took place within Christian practice, or the differences between geographical and temporal locations. The earlier literature advocate moderation, recognition of social obligations and social standing. Its aim was to maintain the social norms and social structure. Christian authors followed these existing moralising themes as they sought to create an ethical and moral stance for their followers. They requested that the newly converted should 'choose moderation under the law in place of illegitimate pleasure' and that they 'substitute psalms, fasting and prayer for auloi, dancing and drunkenness' (…τοῖς ἀντί ἡδονῆς παρανόμου σωφροσύνην ἔννομον αἱρουμένοις. ἀντί αὐλῶν, καί χορῶν, καί μέθης, ψαλμόν, καί νηστείαν, καί προσευχήν μεταλαμβάνουσιν).[995]

Dance conceptualised in the literary world of the early Christians, and as reviewed above, seems to hold every possible negative trait. It was portrayed as immoral, effeminate, inappropriate and sexual. Yet despite a consistency of tone within the literary sources, this is still a simplification based on a stance of authors with specific agenda which was to promote their growing cult, and to guide its membership. In this, the authors followed the established moralising discourse, consciously adding weight and credibility to their own stance by doing so. They attempted to show Christians on a higher moral standing and wanted to support and develop the new cult's cultural position. This stance also distanced the Christians, not only from pagan practices and festivals, but the temptation associated with the traditional practices. At one extreme, there were ascetic aspects of Christianity which put them in conflict with the body. As Stander says, 'with the spread of asceticism, and the Christian struggle against the body, it was inconceivable for them to ever condone dancing'.[996] On the

[995] Basil of Caesarea *Homilia in psalmum 59.*
[996] Stander 1997, 317.

other, one finds dance within both canonical texts, and possibly within some localised Christian practices (see 2.5, above), as well as a number of references within the authorship with seem to condone some dance: Ambrose, for example, contrasts the dances of David to those of the stage, and claims that the dances which David practised before the ark of God (2 Samuel 6) are commended 'for everything is seemly which is done for religion':

> sed saltationem mandavit, quam saltavit David ante arcam Domini. Totum enim decet, quidquid defertur religioni; ut nullum obsequium quod proficiat ad cultum et observantiam Christi, erubescamus.
>
> But the dancing is commended which David practised before the ark of God. For everything is seemly which is done for religion, so that we need be ashamed of no service which tends to the worship and honouring of Christ.[997]

Similarly, John Chrysostom refers to song, prayer, psalms and the dance of the prophets forming a church.[998] Although it is difficult to be certain of the significance of the use of χορεῖαι as it is a typical description of celebration in Greek literature, given the attitude of much of the Christian literature towards dance, it is nevertheless interesting that Eusebius choses to use this in his description of the celebrations of the victory of Constantine:

> ἀφῄρητο δ᾽ οὖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πᾶν δέος τῶν πρὶν αὐτοὺς πιεζούντων, λαμπρὰς δ᾽ ἐτέλουν καὶ πανηγυρικὰς ἑορτῶν ἡμέρας, ἦν τε φωτὸς ἔμπλεα πάντα, καὶ μειδιῶσι προσώποις ὄμμασί τε φαιδροῖς οἱ πρὶν κατηφεῖς ἀλλήλους ἔβλεπον, χορεῖαι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὕμνοι κατὰ πόλεις ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀγροὺς τὸν παμβασιλέα θεὸν πρώτιστα πάντων,
>
> So then, there was taken away from men all fear of those who formerly oppressed them; they celebrated brilliant festivals; all things were filled with light, and men, formerly downcast, looked at each other with smiling countenances and beaming eyes; with dancing and hymns in city and country alike they gave honour first of all to God the universal King... [999]

This may not be representative of literal dance, given the literary precedent and its use to describe a choir of Christians, particularly of angels or saints but if it does show literal celebratory dance this could show a difference in attitudes towards celebratory dance.[1000] There is too little evidence for this to be clear.

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[997] Ambrose *De Poenitentia* 2.6.42.
[998] John Chrysostom *In psalmum* 41,2.
[999] Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 10.9.7-8. (Trans. H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin and H.T.F. Duckworth, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 10).
[1000] Lampe 1961, 1527.

Despite these references, the overwhelming view that comes through the sources is negative towards dance. Literary condemnation of dance, however, does not indicate popular opinion of the time, and although the inclusion of edicts against dance in the Church Councils does not in itself indicate a continuation of practice, there is other evidence that pantomimic performance continued into the sixth century: Aristaenetus' first fictional letter, from around A.D. 520, is directed at the pantomime actress Panarete, and the epigrams of Leontius Scholasticus praise a number of dancers. Three particularly refer to the dancer Helledia, who is, according to Leontius, praised across continents for her skill:

> Εἰμὶ μὲν Ἑλλαδίη Βυζαντιάς, ἐνθάδε δ᾽ ἔστην
> ᾗχι χοροστασίην εἴαρι δῆμος ἄγει,
> ὁππόθι πορθμῷ γαῖα μερίζεται· ἀμφότεραι γὰρ
> ἄντυγες ὀρχηθμοὺς ᾔνεσαν ἡμετέρους.
>
> I am Helladia of Byzantium, and here I stand where the people in spring celebrate the dance, here where the land is divided by the strait; for both continents praised my dancing.[1001]

According to Leontius, the female is a superior dancer: Θῆλυς ἐν ὀρχηθμοῖς κρατέει φύσις· εἴξατε κοῦροι (The feminine nature excels in dancing: give way, ye young men!).[1002]

The lack of written scripts for the pantomime limits our evidence in both the pagan and Christian contexts, however the continuation of performance implies that some of the concerns of the Councils were contemporary. The survival of the theatre, including the pantomime, into the Byzantine era has led to the hypothesis that theatre influenced the Church, culminating in the development of Christian theatre in the tenth century. Study of traditional Greek theatre was included as part of schooling as late as the seventh century.[1003] The traditional Greek theatre differed greatly from theatre in late antiquity. La Piana posits that liturgical dramas were acted and that it was the Iconoclastic controversy (A.D. 725 - 842) which put an end to such dramatic practices within liturgy in the east, with the destruction of liturgical and hagiographic texts at this time destroying much of the evidence.[1004] From La Piana's perspective, the surviving material is mainly found in the

[1001] Greek Anthology 16.284.
[1002] Greek Anthology 16.286.
[1003] Harding 2015, 15.
[1004] La Piana 1936, 179.

homilies, and the scenes originate from the apocryphal gospels and acts. Despite the 'religious spirit' of the plays, he finds that there are elements of humour and stock characters which show the influence of mime and he gives the example of Joseph as the stock character of the jealous husband. La Piana makes a distinction between theatrical and liturgical drama, viewing one as realistic and the other as symbolic.[1005] Pantomime, by its very nature and primary medium of movement rather than speech, was symbolic, and if one subscribes to La Piana's hypothesis of the appropriation of the theatre by the Church, one would accept some influence of the very popular pantomime as well. This did not seem to be an entirely reciprocal influence as, as Webb sees it 'Christianity itself did not affect the theatre directly, much as individual Christian leaders might have wished it'.[1006] Whether La Piana's theory is correct or not, dance was an aspect of life which continued, despite the patristic proscriptions, and for which practice, both in pagan and Christian communities, varied across the breadth of the Empire.

The surviving message from the patristic literature is that dance was, as Ambrose's edited citation of Cicero asserts, an activity of the drunk and insane,[1007] and, as Caesarius of Arles says, a carry-over from pagan practice.[1008] This tone resonated well beyond the early church, the end of pantomime as a theatrical performance and the edicts of the early Councils. It can be seen in the much later Chronicle of Lanercost (A.D. 1272-1346) in which reference is found to a priest being chastised by his local bishop for apparently 'reviving the profane rites of Priapus, collecting young girls from the villages, and compelling them to dance in circles to [the honour of] Father Bacchus', a cult unlikely ever to have existed in Inverkeithing. In the denunciation of the priest, the description of his actions is that he was 'singing and dancing himself like a mime',[1009] which is an indication of the associations and the disgust that such actions had developed in the minds of the later church.

[1005] La Piana 1936, 181-2, 178.
[1006] Webb 2008a, 11.
[1007] See above, Ambrose *De Virginibus ad Marcellinam Sororem Suam 3.5.25* quoting elements of Cicero *Pro Murena* 13.
[1008] Caesarius of Arles *Sermons* 13.4.
[1009] The Chronicle of Lanercost 1282.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

The aim of this work, as stated in the introduction, was to build a picture of the reality of dance in Roman society and, in doing so, to add to scholarship in an under-researched area and to challenge the view that 'the Roman society of the Imperial age appeared ambivalent towards dance'.[1010] This work has reviewed a range of dances found during the Imperial age, in Rome and beyond and the attitudes which can be found through investigation of the source material in order to try and establish the place of dance in Imperial Roman culture.

The source material can be challenging, as we lack a great deal of cultural context, and we therefore lose not just nuance but information. Our surviving artistic representations of dance are few, and many lack context. Whilst it can be surmised, as Fless and Moede have done, that a representation of music is a representation of both music and dance,[1011] further research is needed to ascertain whether images of music could therefore further elucidate our understanding of the contexts of dance, and the separation of the lines of scholarship between music and dance due to the modern separations of the concepts, as discussed in chapter 1.5, adds to the challenge of understanding and appreciating the integration of the two as understood in the Imperial Age. Similar nuances of language may be lost, as references to dance may be veiled in references to, for example, play. This was, as noted in chapter 1.4, more easily identifiable in Greek, but Roman conventions and language differ. The agendae which drove the authors of our literary sources, as explored in chapter 1.6, also has a large impact on what comes through to use from these, and that it is the writings of a few, moralising authors who write for their own social circle which survive drives what has been seen as a negative view of dance, or one that was, at best, ambivalent.

The topic embarked upon in this work has been broad-ranging, covering dance across the temporal and geographic range of the empire in an attempt to try and identify the place dance held in the Imperial world. Whilst evidence does not survive from the entire breadth of the Empire, by reviewing dances from Etruria, Greece, Egypt and Jewish practices, it is clear that dance was found in cultures which had ties to Rome and those which formed communities within Imperial society: The Etruscans, who were noted for their dance, and

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[1010] Harmon 2004, 75.
[1011] Fless & Moede 2007,256.

from whom, according to Livy, performers were brought to Rome to appease the gods,[1012] influenced Roman practices, and although it is festival performers that Livy refers to, the evidence of influence can most clearly be seen in ancient cult practices, such as those of the *Salii* (chapter 2.1). The Greeks, whose dances in both a ritual and theatrical context have been well studied,[1013] influenced Rome significantly in dance as in many cultural matters,[1014] and this influence continued into the Empire. The Roman pantomime seems to have been a Roman development of Greek dances which in the Empire can be found in Greek festival competitions, and Egyptian evidence shows an historic danced tradition which, whilst most of the evidence is from significantly before our time period, nevertheless is found in the cult of Isis and in danced entertainments.

Common themes of dance between the dances found within these cultures and those found within the evidence we have for Rome; the dance of the Salii, for example appears to share aspects of the Etruscan (the shields, discussed in 2.2.1 and 3.2.1) and elements which were compared to the pyrrhic, armoured dances of Greece, which formed the basis of some of the gymnastic training which was part of the Greek education system (discussed in chapter 1.5 and 2.3.2), and found in the mythology of the Curetes, with whose dance Dionysius of Halicarnassus' description of the Salii draws comparison.[1015] Danced entertainments were found in Egypt as they were in Greece and in Rome, and evidence for the employment of dance troupes and dancing girls from Egypt (chapter 2.4.1) and Greece (chapter 2.3.1) as well as from Rome (chapter 4.3) and into the Christian era (chapter 5.2.3), and whilst these attract criticism in the sources, they nevertheless appear to remain not only popular but expected as part of dinners throughout the period. The dances of the 'imported' cults also show that dance was part of the wider empire that had interacted within Rome: The influence of Egypt is most visible instead in the cults of the Egyptian deities Isis and Serapis as exported into the Roman world. In the cult of Isis, for instance (chapter 3.3), we can see that dance formed an integral part of the ritual, and the Phrygian priests of Cybele were the performers of the ritual dance of the cult. Not only did these societies and the others

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[1012] Livy 7.2 (appendices, T5).
[1013] By Lawler, Lonsdale and others, see Chapter 1.6.
[1014] See Chapter 2.4.
[1015] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.70.

encountered by Rome in the development of the Empire influence practices in Rome, it is likely that local practices continued under Roman rule, not only in these areas for which we have the most evidence, but throughout the Empire, and therefore the prevalence of dance across the Empire was far greater than has previously been considered.

Rome itself, sitting at the heart of the empire, provides the vast majority of the evidence, and from this, there are clearly dances in both the religious and private spheres, and dancing was part of life in Rome. In the Imperial age, as we have seen, dance occupied a central place in society in two key forms, designated here as sacred dance and secular dance. In this work, sacred dances have been defined as those found within a ritual context, and secular as those performed for the purposes of entertainment, whether they are held publicly or in private homes. Religion formed part of everyday life at Rome, the holy days were holidays, and dance as part of these days was accessible to all. As part of the religious rites of the Salii, dance was practiced as part of ritual by some of the highest in society. This priesthood, which was covered at length in chapter 3.2.1, provides a case-study and highlights some of the key findings of this work. The priesthood was revered for their antiquity, and their dance held in high esteem, yet the dance, as referred to by Dionysius of Halicarnassus[1016] and as reconstructed by Cirilli,[1017] is reminiscent of a Greek choral dance, with set dancing grounds throughout the city, 2 choirs of dancers and a dance leader in the form of the praesul. The Salian dance is the are one for which there is the most evidence of dance as ritual practice, and the literary sources demonstrate that they meet the Roman ideals showing virility, pietas and *gravitas.* This Roman ritual, like Greek religious dance, was a group function, and one which upheld the social structure and helped maintain it, retaining ancient practices. Its maintenance, even when the meaning of the hymn was lost,[1018] is in accordance with the anthropological theories of homeostasis, in which dance is part of a transmission and maintenance of 'sentiments', as it fosters continuity not only of practice but of the structures around that practice, in this case those of the social strata of society as this was an action that only the elite priests performed. As such, the actions of this priesthood also

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[1016] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.70-71, Appendices, T2.
[1017] Cirilli 1913:99.
[1018] Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 1.6.

demonstrate the theory of *communitas*; their actions appealed to 'an essential and generic human bond', but were part of the classifications of society, they were part of the order of public life.[1019] The Salii, however, were not a lone example, and offer a comparison for the dance of the Arval brethren, for which there is less evidence but which the administrative record, in the form of the Acta Arvalia, clearly demonstrates. This was also a priesthood of the higher strata of society, with a group dance. That the dance is only seen at all within the record because of a development in the recording practices is of interest,[1020] it was not felt necessary to document that dance was part of the activity of the priests until the fuller record in A.D.218. That the Arval brethren appear to be a reinvigoration of an ancient cult, and that there was therefore potentially an opportunity to revive or remove the dance in the reforms of Augustus and the dance was maintained shows that dance was felt to have some place within the religious sphere, and we are led to question how common this type of dance is in Roman religion. Evidence is limited, but the association of dance and the cult of the Lares (chapter 3.2.3), and the representations of the Lares as themselves dancing is a possible indicator of dances within the rites of the Lares,[1021] and, although there is insufficient evidence to be certain, it again shows that there was a link between dance and religion. There are some, rather tantalising references which imply dance could have been a more extensive part of religious practice. These are seen in brief references: Livy's description of the expiatory ritual of 207 B.C. is given in an historic context but describes a procession of girls who stop in the Forum and use the Forum in the manner of the Greek dancing grounds, singing and dancing,[1022] Horace describes choirs of children from aristocratic families performing at festivals,[1023] and Dionysius of Halcarnassus' story of the vision of Titus Latinius shows that dance was a fundamental part of the procession of Jupiter Capitolinus, and so central to it that an unacceptable leader of the dance could incur the displeasure of the god and necessitate a repetition of the rites.[1024] The reference to the lead dancer implies that there was a similar call and response dance format as that of the Salii,

[1019] Turner 1969, 127.
[1020] Beard 1985, 134, Scheid 2014, 68-71.
[1021] Alonso Fernández 2011 209-211, Flower 2017, 171.
[1022] Livy 27.37.
[1023] Horace *Carmen Saeculare* 6-8.
[1024] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 7.68.3-4.

led by the *praesul*. Dionysius also describes a procession of a Roman festival which contained both music and dance,[1025] and although, again, the context is historic, (the *pompa circensis* of around 490 B.C.), his reference material for the description was likely to be more contemporary.[1026] It is possible that this can be seen reflected elsewhere, for example in the images of the triumphal procession on the *decennalia* of Antonius Pius,[1027] and, if Fless and Moede are correct that the representation of the musician in images of processions indicated both music and dance, then there could be further artistic evidence of religious practice which has yet to be clarified.

The evidence shows that dance was accepted within the contexts of the religious priesthoods and when performed as part of a sanctioned, group activity that maintained the social structure. Outside of this, dance became a potentially disordering activity, and one for which we see Wille's *Konstrastideal*, a contrast between the Roman ideal of *gravitas* and reality of practices, demonstrated.[1028] Where dance formed part of foreign practices, although these could be in the religious setting, and therefore should be demonstrative of *pietas*, they were subject to criticism and described as non-Roman because they were potential disruptive to the structure of society: Strabo's Celtiberians worship not in structured choirs, segregated by age or gender, but in whole families. Their rites were performed at night to an unnamed god.[1029] Virgil's rural peasant worshipping Ceres performs an ungainly (dance) and song.[1030] However, this *Konstrastideal* is most relevant to the attitudes towards the 'imported' cult practices. These did not fit the ideal, yet were clearly popular. They were portrayed as non-Roman because they did not maintain the structure of society in their practices or fit with the Roman ideals; the dance of the cult of Cybele was performed by the Galii, who, as *castrati*, contradicted the Roman ideal of the virile. The cult of Isis, although the artistic evidence appears to show two choruses and therefore a group performance which would fit an appropriate structure, also appears to have had a solo performance which would not. More importantly, however, it risked the social structure

[1025] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 7.72-73, 7.72.5.
[1026] Bernstein 2007, 228-9.
[1027] Fless & Moede 2007, 254-5.
[1028] Wille 1967. 19-20.
[1029] Strabo 3.4.16.
[1030] Virgil *Georgics* 1.350.

because it was a mystery cult and therefore offered a second community over which the state had not control.[1031] The Dionysiac cult posed the same problem for the state, and both mystery cults were subject to repeated injunctions. The popularity of the cults with the *populus* was a cause for concern, and, instead of being demonstrative of *pietas*, the cult dances were part of the mysteries of the cult and were therefore part of forming this sub-group which the Senate was keen to subdue. This is in line with the Platonic discourse and established literary tropes, which, as Levi-Strauss identifies, demonstrate binary oppositions; in the literary evidence for dance, we see the contrast of the orderly and disorderly, moral and disreputable, and even link to the contrast of sober and drunk in the contrasts between the practices within the rhetoric.[1032] None of this rhetoric was new, and the use of these contrasts to support or denigrate practices would have been obvious to the audience, and so, as Wiseman cautions, we should be wary of relying on the literary evidence alone in ascertaining the attitudes of antiquity. Our sources speak for and to such a small section of society, and do so through a rhetorical framework that we lack some of the nuances of.[1033]

Taken together, the evidence from the Salii, Arval brethren and Lares with the limited references to dance in other ritual activities, indicate that dance had a great significance in more ancient Roman religious practices, and, although it is impossible to verify the extent of dance within ritual from the source material available, it is possible to show that dance was not restricted to these priesthoods and cults, but that it was a common part of state ritual practices, and although the portrayal differs in the literary sources, the fact that dance was was found across the breadth of religious practices, both within Roman and in the 'imported' ritual practices of Cybele, Dionysus and Isis shows that dance was part of the cultural fabric of the Imperial age. The evidence provides information on some attitudes towards dance, but that picture is limited to the literary and reflects the concerns of writers and readers of that literature. Their agenda and selectivity impacts what is visible, and results in a certain contradiction between attitudes to dance according to whether it is considered traditional, or, on the other hand, popular and/or imported. This reflects their sense of ownership or

[1031] Takács 2000, 302.
[1032] Lévi-Strauss 1955, 428-444.
[1033] Wiseman 2014, 49.

control and a desire to preserve a particular social structure and a particular structure of values.

These same values, and rhetorical tropes influence the information we have on danced entertainments. It is clear that these became particularly prominent in the Imperial age. Although part of the of events of festival days, they were public entertainments and, importantly, accessible to all, although we also see the dance as part of after dinner entertainments which would only have been accessible to those with the wealth to afford such luxuries. Dance had formed part of *ludi*, if Livy is to be believed, since 366 B.C,[1034] but it was in the Imperial age that the pantomime, an entirely danced form of entertainment, gained renown and became widespread. Performances had a broad cultural and geographical impact. The evidence lays bare the dichotomy: on the one hand performances were greatly popular and enjoyed across the breadth of society (chapter 2.4), these performances not only form part of the festivals but they serve a purpose, and, in line with the homeostatic theory, they are important for cultural transmission, and the dancers were praised for their skill and for how they convey mythology;[1035] on the other, the literary and legal evidence reveals that dance and dancers were held in low esteem, that the social standing of performers was akin to that of prostitutes and criminals (Chapter 5.2.3), and that they had a series of accusations levelled against them of immorality and effeminacy. Wille's *Konstrastideal*, a contrast between the Roman ideal of *gravitas* and reality of practices, is once again demonstrated; the dancer was low-status and therefore should not have any power, yet their popularity was clear. The dancer performed as the opposite gender, going against the ideals of virility or the Roman matron, yet they nevertheless were important for *communitas*: they brought society together, whilst themselves being liminal, from the lowest sections of society, but, as part of the performances, they were temporarily removed from the usual social structure.[1036] In the moralising writings of the literary classes, dancers are portrayed as socially disruptive. In representing female characters, male pantomime performers contravene the received concept or ideal of masculinity. They were therefore

[1034] Livy 7.2 (appendices, T5).
[1035] Libanius *Orations* 64.117, Lucian *De Saltatione* 35-36, Lucian *De Saltatione* 4.
[1036] Turner 1969, 125, 97, 109.

subject to all of the associations of the criticism of effeminacy, including an idea of moral corruption. Similarly, female dancers contravened a received concept or ideal of the matron. The literature on dance as entertainment again demonstrates binary oppositions. Again, we see contrast of the orderly and disorderly, moral and disreputable. In the writing on the dance, these rhetorical contrasts formed the basis for the works of Lucan in *De Saltatione* and Libanius *Orations 64*, but they can be seen in the brief passage from Ovid's *Fasti,* in which the moral writer is contrasted with the mime writer, one moral, one disreputable.[1037] The contrasts found in the writing about private entertainments are those which oppose the sober with the drunk and excess with moderation. Dinner party entertainments are part of the trope against *luxuria.* Again, we see the *Konstrastideal*, a contrast between the Roman ideal of *gravitas* and reality of practices; the Roman ideal was moderation, but lavish dinners and entertainments, of which Petronius's Trimalchio provides a mocking and exaggerated example were popular, and a lack of moderation in drink led to drunken behaviour, which included dancing. This formed part of a moral trope which was not only the contrast of sober and drunk, moderate and immoderate, but was driven, as Edwards argues, by a specific concern about noble families brought low through over-spending.[1038] Within this moralist literature, extravagance was also associated with the excesses of food and drink. In particular, the excesses of drink led to unmoderated behaviour, including dance performed by the attendees of the dinner parties in imitation of professional performers.[1039] This agin is a contrast as entertainments should only be performed by those of low status, it is not an activity in which, as Sallust's criticism of Sempronia shows, the nobility should show and skill or pride.[1040] Again, caution must be used in relying solely on the literature, for, in contrast to the picture it paints when reviewed alone, the archaeological record shows the breadth and scale of the theatrical activity and the number of theatres, and one hundred and seventy-five are currently known to have been in Italy and Sicily, and in the provinces, they have been found from Lisbon in the west and Catterick in the north over to Comana in Cappadocia.[1041] The performances as portrayed in the literature included immoral subject

[1037] Ovid *Fasti* 3.535-538
[1038] Edwards 1993, 175.
[1039] Seneca *Naturales quaestiones* 7.32.
[1040] Sallust *Bellum Catilinae* 25, 1-3.
[1041] Hall 2008, 7.

matter such as adultery, and, as a result, despite their popularity with all classes, the dancers and their performances were criticised in literature. This moralising trope is of long-standing, found in earlier Greek literary sources, which show similar attitudes to danced entertainment. However, we have seen that, such was the power of these performances, such attitudes are undermined by popular views, and even, at times, by the authors themselves.

Nevertheless, the impact of the writers is far-reaching, and as Christianity expanded, Christian authors developed the existing moral trope against dance. Yet dance is, and had been, part of life, embedded in the Christiansed society as in the preceding pagan society and adding a certain complexity to its relationship with dance. The Christian authors, for the most part, tried to portray dance as a pagan and immoral activity, whether it is performed in public or private. The allegations of immorality found in pagan authors are carried forward: Tatian,[1042] for example, repeats claims found in Valerius Maximus,[1043] and due to the immorality of performances, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian both forbade Christians to attend.[1044] Yet the relationship between dance and Christianity was complex. The patristic authors had to navigate the referenced to dance found in the Christian scriptures, which was done using allegory (chapter 5.2.6), and the practices of sects in some areas who seem to have danced, who were denounced as heretical (chapter 5.2.1), as well as the complex relationship that the growth of the ascetic movement had with the body. With limited exception, the patristic writings portray dance negatively. They reinforce the view that 'in general… there is a constant rejection [by Christians] of dancing in any form.'[1045] They lack the rhetorical oppositions of the earlier works and reinforced the moral trope against dance. Their agenda was threefold, as they used the existing authors and tropes to give credence to their works, they emphasised moral superiority of Christians, and they distanced themselves from pagan and Jewish practices, of which dance was seen to be a part. The patristic literature did not necessarily reflect the majority of Christians who lived in communities within the wider society, and despite negativity towards dance in the literature, the practices

[1042] Tatian *Oratio ad Graecos* 22
[1043] Valerius Maximus, *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium* 2.6.7.
[1044] Clement of Alexandria *Paedagogus* 3.11, Tertullian *De Spectaculis* 17.
[1045] Davies 1984, 19.

continued. Procopius' characterisation of the Empress Theodora as a performer, although designed to discredit Justinian and Theodora, serves to show the continuation of theatrical performance into the fifth century.[1046] This is confirmed by references in Aristaenetus' first letter, and the epigrams of Leontius Scholasticus,[1047] and, although references within the proceedings of the Church Councils cannot be taken as evidence of continuation of practice, they nevertheless reveal a continued influence of dance and dance practices (chapter 5.4).

In the course of this work, the topic has inevitably become broader than anticipated. Contextualising Roman dance within the cultural tradition of the wider Empire was necessary, but it also leaves much more to be explored. There are aspects covered by other recent works, such as the vocabulary of dance in the Roman age, which is explored by Alonso Fernández,[1048] and elements of the pantomime, such as the actor-martyrs, covered by Webb.[1049] As outlined in the introduction, the major limitation is the paucity of evidence, encountered throughout this work. Despite this limitation, it has been possible to establish that dance held an integral place in society. It was not something to which Roman society was 'ambivalent,' but something which was part of everyday life, found in all areas of society, part of religious rites in state sanctioned and popular 'imported' cults, in processions and entertainments, in public at all of the many festivals and in private as dinner entertainments. It should be considered as part of the daily life of the Romans as it was the Greeks, and it should be considered that our sources are strongly influenced by conventions and a culture that we only have part of, and from which we have lost much. This means that the moralising trope in literature against dancers and some dance forms should not be seen to amount to a genuine or general negative attitude. Dance was enjoyed by all sections of society whether at public festivals or as dinner entertainment for those in society wealthy enough to afford it. The dance practices of the Imperial age remained and were at the very least identifiable throughout the Imperial period right up to the early fifth century,[1050] and

[1046] Webb 2008a, 4-6, 97, 101, 142.
[1047] Greek Anthology 16.284
[1048] Alonso Fernández 2011, 71-144
[1049] Webb 2008a 209-213
[1050] Such as the references to the dance of the *Salii* found in Macrobius (chapter 2.2.1)

their tenacity is seen in the inclusion of dance in the Church councils. Depending on their form and origin, and, in particular, on who did the critique, attitudes to dance differ widely.

I hope that this work, together with other recent works provide a starting point for further study and help towards a reassessment of the role of dance in the Roman world.[1051] Dance may seem controversial, but, it was, nevertheless an integral part of Roman society.

[1051] Including Alonso Fernández 2011 and Webb 2008a.

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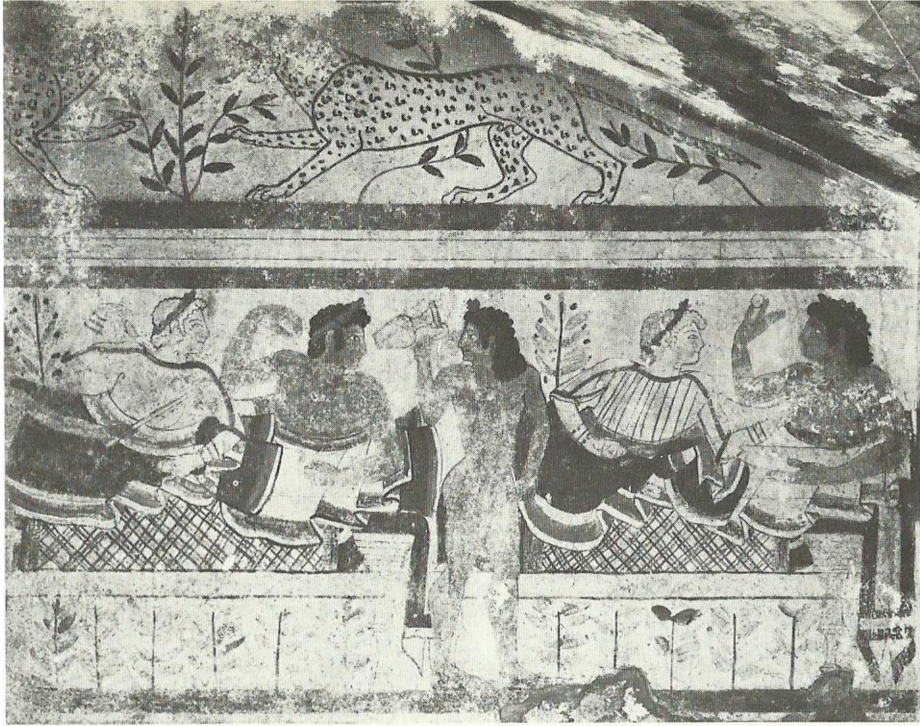
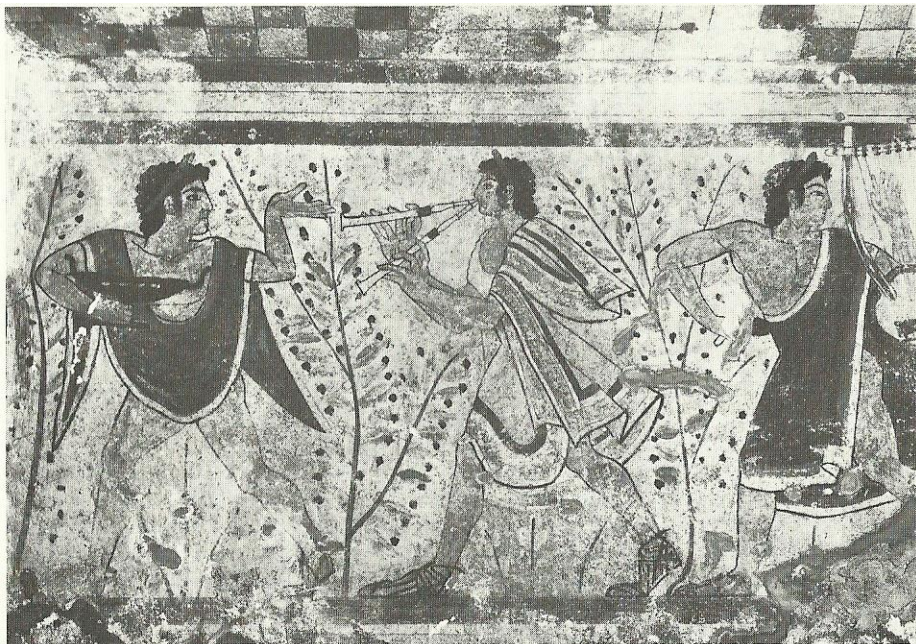
APPENDICES

1. Artistic evidence

Fig. 1. Detail of banquet and dancers from the Tomb of the Leopards, Tarquinia





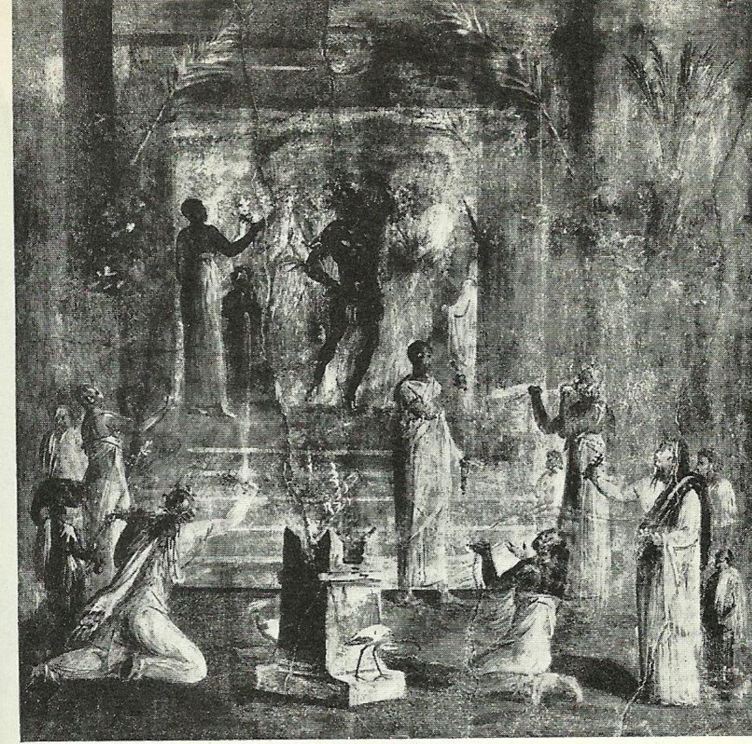
P.265, Fig 178 & 179 Brendel, O. 1978 *Etruscan Art* Harmondsworth

Fig. 2. Detail of the tomb of the Triclinium depicting dancers

P.42, fig 3.9 Jannot, J-R. 2005 *Religion in Ancient Etruria* London

Fig. 3. Wall paintings from the Iseum in Herculaneum

P.117, Fig 23 Witt, R, E. 1971 *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* London



P.119, Fig 26 Witt, R, E. 1971 *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* London

Fig. 4. Amphora of the Micali Painter depicting dancers in procession
P42, fig 3.9 Jannot, J-R. 2005 *Religion in Ancient Etruria* London

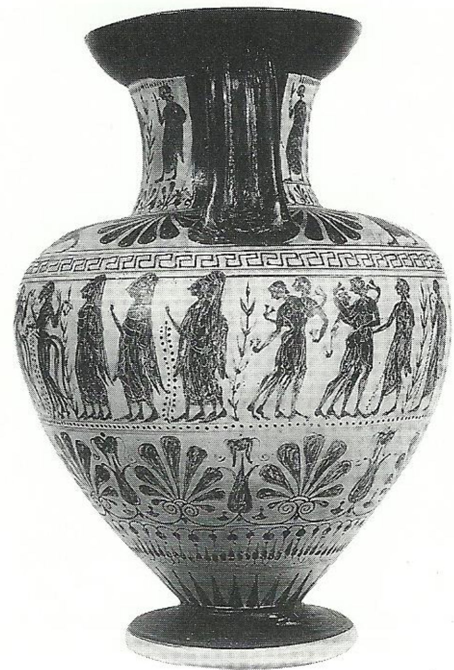
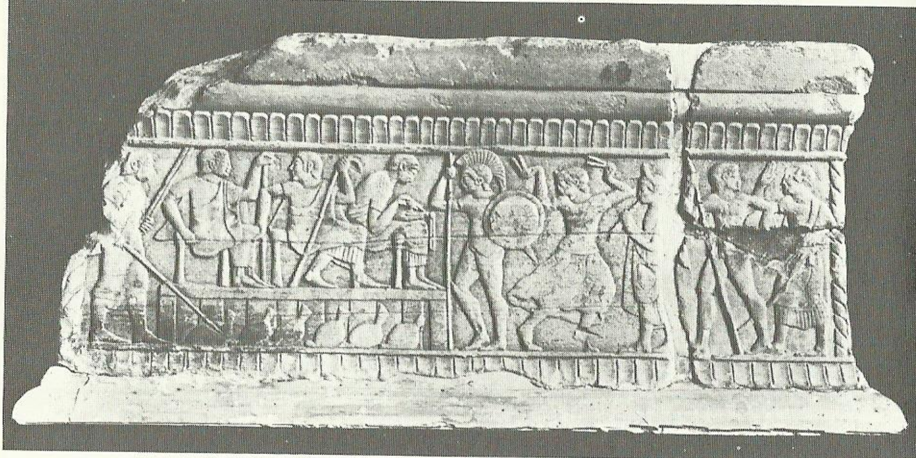


Fig. 5. Performers on a Cippus Base from Chiusi



P.280, Fig 196 Brendel, O. 1978 *Etruscan Art* Harmondsworth

Fig. 6. Chariot from Monteleone

P.147 & 148, Fig 97 & 98 Brendel, O. 1978 *Etruscan Art* Harmondsworth

Fig. 7. Dionysiac scenes, cup found at Vulci

P.151, fig. 81 Osborne, R. 1998 *Archaic and Classical Greek Art* Oxford

Fig. 8. Dionysiac scenes, image from the Louvre

P.20, fig. 3 Lawler, L. 1964 *The dance in Ancient Greece* London

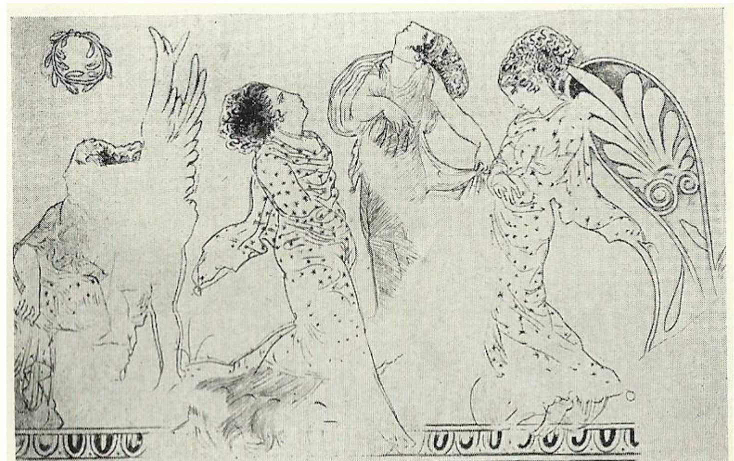


Fig. 9. Gem showing the Salian *Ancilia*

Furtwängler, A. 1900 *Die antiken Gemmen : Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum* Leipzig.

Fig. 10. An example of a 'static' *lar* representation

Plate 2. Flower, H. 2017, *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden,* Princeton.

Fig. 11. Example of a ‘dancing’ *lar* representation
Plate 3. Flower, H. 2017, *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden,* Princeton.

Fig. 12. Painting of the *Lares* from the servants quarters of the House of the Vettii, Pompeii
"Pompeii. The House of the Vettii" by John McLinden is licensed under CC BY-ND 2.0

Fig. 13. Fresco showing a dancing *Lar* and celebrants including an aulos player
Plate 10. Flower, H. 2017, *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden,* Princeton.

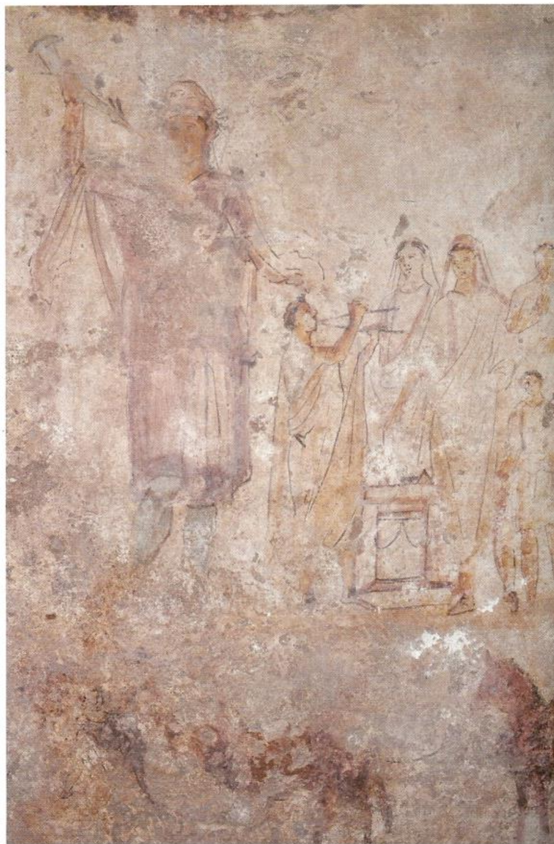


PLATE 10. House of Sutoria Primigenia, Pompeii (I.13.2). Detail of painting, showing the principal celebrants next to a *lar*.

Fig. 14. Fresco from a kitchen showing dancing Lares

PLATE 15. House of the Piglet, Pompeii (IX.9.b–c). Kitchen painting, showing a scene of *lares* and snakes.

Plate 15. Flower, H. 2017, *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden,* Princeton.

Fig. 15. The Villa of the Mysteries Frieze

The extent of the frieze

Credit: Martin Herbst **15:51, 26 December 2004** CC BY-SA 2.0 de, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=33582

The dancer detail

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Fig. 16. Fragment of a slab with a scene from the cult of Isis from a tomb along the Via Appia in Ariccia

Fragment of a slab with a scene from the cult of Isis from a tomb along the Via Appia in Ariccia Luni marble ca. 100 CE. Possibly depicting the *navigium Isidis* (March 5th) that marked the beginning of the sailing season. Museo Nazionale Romano - Palazzo Altemps Inv. 77255. Image by Dan Diffendale, available at https://www.flickr.com/photos/dandiffendale/3965081710/in/photostream/ under Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 Generic (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0).

Fig. 17. Dancer from theatre at Sabratha

"Dansaire, relleu de l'escenari (pulpitum), teatre de Sàbrata" *by* Sebastià Giralt *is licensed under* CC BY-NC-SA 2.0.

Fig. 18. Dancer statue from South Bath of Perge.

2nd century C.E. statue found in the Gallery of Claudius Peison at the South Bath of Perge. Archaeology Museum in Antalya. "Statue of a Dancer" *by* levork *is licensed under* CC BY-SA 2.0.

Fig. 19. Dancer statue, Musée de la Romanité, Nîmes.

Images author's own.

Fig. 20. Details of a mosaic panel found on Rome's Aventine Hill.

Dancer with musicians; details of a mosaic panel found on Rome's Aventine hill. Roman, 3rd century CE. Rome, Vatican Museum. Available at https://www2.cnr.edu/home/sas/araia/work.html

2. Textual evidence

T1 Plutarch *Quaestiones Convivales* 9.15. (747A-748D).

ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑ ΙΕ

Ὅτι τρία μέρη τῆς ὀρχήσεως, φορὰ καὶ σχῆμα καὶ δεῖξις· καὶ τί ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, καὶ τίνα κοινὰ ποιητικῆς καὶ ὀρχηστικῆς

Collocuntur Thrasybulus, Ammonius

Ἐκ τούτου πυραμοῦντες ἐπήγοντο τοῖς παισὶ[1] νικητήριον ὀρχήσεως· ἀπεδείχθη δὲ κριτὴς μετὰ (B) Μενίσκου τοῦ παιδοτρίβου Λαμπρίας ὁ ἀδελφός· ὠρχήσατο γὰρ πιθανῶς τὴν πυρρίχην καὶ χειρονομῶν ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις ἐδόκει διαφέρειν τῶν παίδων. ὀρχουμένων δὲ πολλῶν προθυμότερον ἢ μουσικώτερον, δύο τοὺς εὐδοκιμοῦντας καὶ βουλομένους ἀνασῴζειν τὴν ἐμμέλειαν ἠξίουν τινὲς ὀρχεῖσθαι φορὰν παρὰ φοράν.

Ἐπεζήτησεν οὖν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τί βούλεται τοὔνομα τῆς φορᾶς, καὶ παρέσχε τῷ Ἀμμωνίῳ περὶ τῶν μερῶν τῆς ὀρχήσεως πλείονα διελθεῖν.

Ἔφη δὲ τρί᾽ εἶναι, τὴν φορὰν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν δεῖξιν. "ἡ γὰρ ὄρχησις ἔκ τε κινήσεων (C) καὶ σχέσεων συνέστηκεν, ὡς τὸ μέλος τῶν φθόγγων καὶ τῶν διαστημάτων· ἐνταῦθα δ᾽ αἱ μοναὶ πέρατα τῶν κινήσεών εἰσιν. φορὰς μὲν οὖν τὰς κινήσεις ὀνομάζουσι, σχήματα δὲ τὰς σχέσεις καὶ διαθέσεις, εἰς ἃς φερόμεναι τελευτῶσιν αἱ κινήσεις, ὅταν Ἀπόλλωνος ἢ Πανὸς ἤ τινος Βάκχης σχῆμα διαθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος γραφικῶς τοῖς εἴδεσιν ἐπιμένωσι. τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ἡ δεῖξις, οὐ μιμητικόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ δηλωτικὸν ἀληθῶς τῶν ὑποκειμένων· ὡς γὰρ οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῖς κυρίοις ὀνόμασι δεικτικῶς χρῶνται, τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα καὶ τὴν (D) γῆν καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀνομάζοντες ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν λέγονται, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐμφάσεις καὶ τὰς μιμήσεις ὀνοματοποιίαις χρῶνται καὶ μεταφοραῖς, 'κελαρύζειν' καὶ 'καχλάζειν' τὰ κλώμενα τῶν ῥευμάτων λέγοντες, καὶ τὰ βέλη φέρεσθαι 'λιλαιόμενα χροὸς ἆσαι', καὶ τὴν ἰσόρροπον μάχην ''ἴσας ὑσμίνη κεφαλὰς ἔχεν,' πολλὰς δὲ καὶ συνθέσεις τῶν ὀνομάτων κατὰ μέλη μιμητικῶς σχηματίζουσιν…

(E) οὕτως ἐν ὀρχήσει τὸ μὲν σχῆμα μιμητικόν ἐστι μορφῆς καὶ ἰδέας, καὶ πάλιν ἡ φορὰ πάθους τινὸς ἐμφαντικὸν ἢ πράξεως ἢ δυνάμεως· ταῖς δὲ δείξεσι κυρίως αὐτὰ δηλοῦσι τὰ πράγματα, τὴν γῆν, τὸν οὐρανόν, αὑτούς, τοὺς πλησίον· ὃ δὴ τάξει μέν τινι καὶ ἀριθμῷ γινόμενον ἔοικεν τοῖς ἐν ποιητικῇ κυρίοις ὀνόμασιν μετά τινος κόσμου καὶ λειότητος ἐκφερομένοις…

(748 A) τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἁμαρτάνεται καὶ περὶ τὴν ὄρχησιν ἐν ταῖς δείξεσιν, ἂν μὴ πιθανότητα μηδὲ χάριν μετ᾽ εὐπρεπείας καὶ ἀφελείας ἔχωσι. καὶ ὅλως," ἔφη, "μετάθεσιν τὸ Σιμωνίδειον ἀπὸ τῆς ζωγραφίας ἐπὶ τὴν ὄρχησιν λαμβάνει. ταύτην γὰρ ὀρθῶς ἔστι λέγειν ποίησιν σιωπῶσαν, καὶ φθεγγομένην ὄρχησιν πάλιν τὴν ποίησιν· οὐθὲν γὰρ ἔοικεν οὔτε γραφικῇ μετεῖναι ποιητικῆς οὔτε ποιητικῇ γραφικῆς, οὐδὲ χρῶνται τὸ παράπαν ἀλλήλαις· ὀρχηστικῇ δὲ καὶ ποιητικῇ κοινωνία πᾶσα καὶ μέθεξις ἀλλήλων ἐστί, καὶ μάλιστα μιγνύμεναι περὶ τὸ τῶν ὑπορχημάτων γένος ἓν ἔργον ἀμφότεραι τὴν διὰ (B) τῶν σχημάτων καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων μίμησιν ἀποτελοῦσι. δόξειε δ᾽ ἂν ὥσπερ ἐν γραφικῇ τὰ μὲν ποιήματα ταῖς γραμμαῖς, ὑφ᾽ ὧν ὁρίζεται τὰ εἴδη… δηλοῖ δ᾽ ὁ μάλιστα κατωρθωκέναι δόξας ἐν ὑπορχήμασι καὶ γεγονέναι πιθανώτατος ἑαυτοῦ τὸ δεῖσθαι τὴν ἑτέραν τῆς ἑτέρας …

(C) λειόθεν τὴν ἐν ὀρχήσει διάθεσιν τὰ ποιήματα καὶ παρακαλεῖν τὼ χεῖρε καὶ τὼ πόδε, μᾶλλον δ᾽ ὅλον ὥσπερ τισὶ μηρίνθοις ἕλκειν τὸ σῶμα τοῖς μέλεσι καὶ ἐντείνειν, τούτων λεγομένων καὶ ᾀδομένων

ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν μὴ δυνάμενον. αὐτὸς γοῦν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ αἰσχύνεται περὶ τὴν ὄρχησιν οὐχ ἧττον ἢ τὴν ποίησιν ἐγκωμιάζων, ὅταν λέγῃ,

ἐλαφρὸν ὄρχημ᾽ οἶδα[9] ποδῶν μειγνύμεν·Κρῆτα μὲν καλέουσι τρόπον.

ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν οὕτως τὸ νῦν ἀπολέλαυκε τῆς κακομουσίας ὡς ἡ ὄρχησις. διὸ καὶ πέπονθεν ὃ φοβηθεὶς Ἴβυκος ἐποίησε,

δέδοικα μή τι παρὰ θεοῖς ἀμπλακὼν τιμὰν πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀμείψω.

καὶ γὰρ αὕτη πάνδημόν τινα ποιητικὴν προσεταιρισαμένη τῆς δ᾽ οὐρανίας ἐκπεσοῦσ᾽ ἐκείνης, τῶν (D) μὲν ἐμπλήκτων καὶ ἀνοήτων κρατεῖ θεάτρων, ὥσπερ τύραννος ὑπήκοον ἑαυτῇ πεποιημένη μουσικὴν ὀλίγου τὴν ἅπασαν, τὴν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι καὶ θείοις ἀνδράσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς τιμὴν ἀπολώλεκε.”

T2 Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.70-71

LXX. Ἕκτη δὲ μοῖρα τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα νομοθεσίας ἦν ἡ προσνεμηθεῖσα τοῖς καλουμένοις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Σαλίοις, οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ Νόμας ἀπέδειξεν ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων δώδεκα τοὺς εὐπρεπεστάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος νέους, ὧν ἐν Παλατίῳ κεῖται τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ καλοῦνται Παλατῖνοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγωναλεῖς, ὑπὸ δέ τινων Κολλῖνοι καλούμενοι Σάλιοι, ὧν τὸ ἱεροφυλάκιόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρινίου λόφου, μετὰ Νόμαν ἀπεδείχθησαν ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ὀστιλίου κατ᾽ εὐχήν, ἣν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Σαβίνους εὔξατο πολέμῳ. οὗτοι πάντες οἱ Σάλιοι χορευταί τινές εἰσι καὶ ὑμνηταὶ τῶν ἐνόπλων θεῶν. ἑορτὴ δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐστι περὶ τὰ Παναθήναια τῷ καλουμένῳ Μαρτίῳ μηνὶ δημοτελὴς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀγομένη, ἐν αἷς διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄγουσι τοὺς χοροὺς εἴς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἰδίους τε καὶ δημοσίους τόπους, χιτῶνας ποικίλους χαλκαῖς μίτραις κατεζωσμένοι καὶ τηβέννας ἐμπεπορπημένοι περιπορφύρους φοινικοπαρύφους, ἃς καλοῦσι τραβέας (ἔστι δ᾽ ἐπιχώριος αὕτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐσθὴς ἐν τοῖς πάνυ τιμία) καὶ τὰς καλουμένας ἄπικας ἐπικείμενοι ταῖς κεφαλαῖς, πίλους ὑψηλοὺς εἰς σχῆμα συναγομένους κωνοειδές, ἃς Ἕλληνες προσαγορεύουσι κυρβασίας. παρέζωσται δ᾽ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ξίφος καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ λόγχην ἢ ῥάβδον ἤ τι τοιοῦθ᾽ ἕτερον κρατεῖ, τῇ δ᾽ εὐωνύμῳ κατέχει πέλτην Θρᾳκίαν· ἡ δ᾽ ἐστὶ ῥομβοειδεῖ θυρεῷ στενωτέρας ἔχοντι τὰς λαγόνας ἐμφερής, οἵας λέγονται φέρειν οἱ τὰ Κουρήτων παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν ἐπιτελοῦντες ἱερά. καί εἰσιν οἱ Σάλιοι κατὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην Ἑλληνικῷ μεθερμηνευθέντες ὀνόματι Κουρῆτες, ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλικίας οὕτως ὠνομασμένοι παρὰ τοὺς κούρους, ὑπὸ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τῆς συντόνου κινήσεως. τὸ γὰρ ἐξάλλεσθαί τε καὶ πηδᾶν σαλῖρε ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν λέγεται. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὀρχηστάς, ἐπεὶ κἀν τούτοις πολὺ τὸ ἅλμα καὶ σκίρτημα ἔνεστι, παράγοντες ἀπὸ τῶν Σαλίων τοὔνομα σαλτάτωρας καλοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς ὑπείληφα ταύτην αὐτοῖς τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀποδιδοὺς ἐκ τῶν γιγνομένων ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ βουλόμενος συμβαλεῖ. κινοῦνται γὰρ πρὸς αὐλὸν ἐν ῥυθμῷ τὰς ἐνοπλίους κινήσεις τοτὲ μὲν ὁμοῦ, τοτὲ δὲ παραλλάξ, καὶ πατρίους τινὰς ὕμνους ᾄδουσιν ἅμα ταῖς χορείαις. χορείαν δὲ καὶ κίνησιν ἐνόπλιον καὶ τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἀποτελούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχειριδίων ψόφον, εἴ τι δεῖ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τεκμηριοῦσθαι λόγοις, Κουρῆτες ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι καταστησάμενοι. τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν μῦθον οὐδὲν δέομαι πρὸς εἰδότας ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντας γράφειν.

LXXI. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πέλταις, ἃς οἵ τε Σάλιοι φοροῦσι καὶ ἃς ὑπηρέται τινὲς αὐτῶν ἠρτημένας ἀπὸ κανόνων κομίζουσι, πολλαῖς πάνυ οὔσαις μίαν εἶναι λέγουσι διοπετῆ, εὑρεθῆναι δ᾽ αὐτήν φασιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς Νόμα, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων εἰσενέγκαντος μηδ᾽ ἐγνωσμένου πρότερον ἐν Ἰταλοῖς τοιούτου σχήματος, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ὑπολαβεῖν Ῥωμαίους θεόπεμπτον εἶναι τὸ ὅπλον. βουληθέντα

δὲ τὸν Νόμαν τιμᾶσθαί τε αὐτὸ φερόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κρατίστων νέων ἐν ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ θυσιῶν ἐπετείων τυγχάνειν, δεδοικότα δὲ ἐπιβουλάς τε τὰς ἀπ᾽ ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀφανισμὸν αὐτοῦ κλοπαῖον, ὅπλα λέγουσι πολλὰ κατασκευάσασθαι τῷ διοπετεῖ παραπλήσια, Μαμορίου τινὸς δημιουργοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἀναδεξαμένου, ὥστε ἄσημον γενέσθαι καὶ δυσδιάγνωστον τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐπιβουλεύειν τὴν τοῦ θεοπέμπτου φύσιν διὰ τὴν ἀπαράλλακτον τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἔργων ὁμοιότητα. ἐπιχώριον δὲ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πάνυ τίμιον ὁ κουρητισμός, ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι, μάλιστα δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς πομπὰς τάς τε ἐν ἱπποδρόμῳ καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις γινομένας· ἐν ἁπάσαις γὰρ ταύταις πρόσηβοι κόροι χιτωνίσκους ἐνδεδυκότες ἐκπρεπεῖς κράνη καὶ ξίφη καὶ πάρμας ἔχοντες στοιχηδὸν πορεύονται, καί εἰσιν οὗτοι τῆς πομπῆς ἡγεμόνες καλούμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς παιδιᾶς τῆς ὑπὸ Λυδῶν ἐξευρῆσθαι δοκούσης λυδίωνες, εἰκόνες ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῶν Σαλίων, ἐπεὶ τῶν γε Κουρητικῶν οὐδὲν ὥσπερ οἱ Σάλιοι δρῶσιν οὔτ᾽ ἐν ὕμνοις οὔτ᾽ ἐν ὀρχήσει. χρῆν δὲ τούτους ἐλευθέρους τε εἶναι καὶ αὐθιγενεῖς καὶ ἀμφιθαλεῖς, οἱ δ᾽ εἰσὶν ἐξ ὁποιασδήποτε τύχης. τί γὰρ δεῖ τὰ πλείω περὶ αὐτῶν γράφειν;

T3 Procopius *Anecdota* 9.

θ´. Ἰουστινιανῷ μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐς τὸν τρόπον ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι φράσαι τῇδέ πη εἶχεν. ἔγημε δὲ γυναῖκα, ἣ ὅντινα τρόπον γενομένη τε καὶ τραφεῖσα καὶ τῷδε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς γάμον ξυναφθεῖσα πρόρριζον Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πολιτείαν (2) ἐξέτριψεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. Ἀκάκιος ἦν τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ θηριοκόμος τῶν ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ θηρίων μοίρας Πρασίνων, ὅνπερ ἀρκτοτρόφον καλοῦσιν. (3) οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ Ἀναστασίου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ παίδων οἱ ἀπολελειμμένων τριῶν θήλεος γένους, Κομιτοῦς τε καὶ Θεοδώρας καὶ Ἀναστασίας, ὧνπερ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη (4) οὔπω ἑπταέτης γεγονυῖα ἐτύγχανεν. …
(8) ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παιδία ταῦτα ἐς ἥβην ἦλθε, καθῆκεν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα σκηνῆς αὐτίκα ἡ μήτηρ…τέως μὲν οὖν ἄωρος οὖσα ἡ Θεοδώρα ἐς κοίτην ἀνδρὶ ξυνιέναι οὐδαμῆ εἶχεν, οὐδὲ οἷα γυνὴ μίγνυσθαι·ἡ δὲ τοῖς κακοδαιμονοῦσιν ἀνδρείαν τινὰ μισητίαν ἀνεμίσγετο, καὶ ταῦτα δούλοις, ὅσοι τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἑπόμενοι ἐς τὸ θέατρον πάρεργον τῆς οὔσης αὐτοῖς εὐκαιρίας τὸν ὄλεθρον τοῦτον εἰργάζοντο, ἔν τε μαστροπείῳ πολύν τινα χρόνον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ παρὰ φύσιν ἐργασίᾳ τοῦ (11) σώματος διατριβὴν εἶχεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα ἔς τε τὴν ἥβην ἀφίκετο καὶ ὡραία ἦν ἤδη, εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς καθῆκεν αὐτήν, ἑταίρα τε εὐθὺς ἐγεγόνει, οἵανπερ οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι ἐκάλουν (12) πεζήν. οὐ γὰρ αὐλήτρια οὐδὲ ψάλτρια ἦν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν αὐτῇ ἤσκητο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὥραν τοῖς ἀεὶ περιπίπτουσιν ἀπεδίδοτο μόνον οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς ἐργαζομένη τοῦ σώματος. (13) εἶτα τοῖς μίμοις τὰ ἐς τὸ θέατρον πάντα ὡμίλει καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιτηδευμάτων μετεῖχεν αὐτοῖς, γελωτοποιοῖς τισι βωμολοχίαις ὑπηρετοῦσα. ἦν γὰρ ἀστεία διαφερόντως καὶ σκώπτρια, ἀπόβλεπτός (14) τε ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου εὐθὺς ἐγεγόνει. οὐ γάρ τινος αἰδοῦς τῇ ἀνθρώπῳ μετῆν ἢ διατραπεῖσάν τις αὐτὴν πώποτε εἶδεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς ἀναισχύντους ὑπουργίας οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἐχώρει, καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἦν οἵα ῥαπιζομένη μὲν καὶ κατὰ κόρρης πατασσομένη χαριεντίζειν τε καὶ μέγιστα ἀνακαγχάζειν, ἀποδυσαμένη τε τά τε πρόσω καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι γυμνὰ ἐπιδεῖξαι, ἃ τοῖς ἀνδράσι θέμις ἄδηλά τε καὶ ἀφανῆ εἶναι.

... ἥσσων γάρ τις οὔτως ἡδονῆς ἁπάσης οὐδαμῆ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐς ξυναγώγιμον δεῖπνον πολλάκις ἐλθοῦσα ξὺν νεανίαις δέκα ἢ τούτων πλείοσιν, ἰσχύϊ τε σώματος ἀκμάζουσι λίαν καὶ τὸ λαγνεύειν πεποιημένοις ἔργον, ξυνεκοιτάζετο μὲν τοῖς συνδείπνοις ἅπασι τὴν νύκτα ὅλην, ἐπειδὰν δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο πάντες ἀπείποιεν, ἥδε παρὰ τοὺς ἐκείνων οἰκέτας ἰοῦσα τριάκοντα ὄντας, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ξυνεδυάζετο μὲν αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ, κόρον δὲ οὐδ᾽ ὣς ταύτης δὴ τῆς μισητίας ἐλάμβανε...

ἡ δὲ κἀκ τριῶν τρυπημάτων ἐργαζομένη ἐνεκάλει τῇ φύσει, δυσφορουμένη ὅτι δὴ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τιτθοὺς αὐτῇ εὐρύτερον ἢ νῦν εἰσι τρυπῴη, ὅπως καὶ ἄλλην (19) ἐνταῦθα μίξιν ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι δυνατὴ εἴη. καὶ συχνὰ μὲν ἐκύει, πάντα δὲ σχεδὸν τεχνάζουσα ἐξαμβλίσκειν εὐθὺς ἴσχυε.

(20) Πολλάκις δὲ κἀν τῷ θεάτρῳ ὑπὸ θεατῇ παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἀπεδύσατό τε καὶ γυμνὴ διὰ μέσου ἐγένετο, ἀμφὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τοὺς βουβῶνας διάζωμα ἔχουσα μόνον, οὐχ ὅτι μέντοι ᾐσχύνετο καὶ ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ δεικνύναι, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι ἐνταῦθα γυμνῷ παντάπασι παριέναι οὐδενὶ ἔξεστιν ὅτι μὴ τῷ ἀμφὶ τοὺς βουβῶνας διάζωμα ἔχοντι. οὕτω μέντοι τοῦ σχήματος ἔχουσα, ἀναπεπτωκυῖά (21) τε ἐν τῷ ἐδάφει ὑπτία ἔκειτο. θῆτες δέ τινες οἷς δὴ τὸ ἔργον τόδε ἐνέκειτο, κριθὰς αὐτῇ ὕπερθεν τῶν αἰδοίων ἐρρίπτουν, ἃς δὴ οἱ χῆνες οἳ ἐς τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένοι ἐτύγχανον τοῖς στόμασιν ἐνθένδε κατὰ μίαν ἀνελόμενοι ἤσθιον. (22) ἡ δὲ οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσα ἐξανίστατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοτιμουμένη ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πράξει ἐῴκει. ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ἀναίσχυντος μόνον, ἀλλὰ (23) καὶ ἀναισχυντοποιὸς πάντων μάλιστα…

(29) Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τετέχθαι τε τῇδε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τετράφθαι ξυνέβη καὶ ἐς δημοσίους πολλὰς διαβοήτῳ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. (30) ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς Βυζάντιον αὖθις, ἠράσθη αὐτῆς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔρωτα ἐξαίσιον οἷον, καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπλησίαζεν ὡς ἐρωμένῃ, καίπερ αὐτὴν ἀναγαγὼν (31) ἐς τὸ τῶν πατρικίων ἀξίωμα. δύναμιν τοίνυν ἐξαισίαν τινὰ καὶ χρήματα ἐπιεικῶς μεγάλα περιβαλέσθαι ἡ Θεοδώρα εὐθὺς ἴσχυσε. πάντων γὰρ ἥδιστον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐφαίνετο, ὃ δὴ ξυμβαίνειν τοῖς ἐκτόπως ἐρῶσι φιλεῖ, χάριτάς τε πάσας καὶ χρήματα πάντα τῇ ἐρωμένῃ χαρίζεσθαι. (32) ἐγίνετό τε ἡ πολιτεία[3] τοῦ ἔρωτος τοῦδε ὑπέκκαυμα. ξὺν αὐτῇ τοίνυν πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸν δῆμον διέφθειρεν οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἀλλ᾽ (33) ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν…

(47) Ἕως μὲν οὖν ἡ βασιλὶς περιῆν ἔτι, γυναῖκα ἐγγυητὴν Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν Θεοδώραν ποιήσασθαι οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ εἶχεν. ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ μόνον ἀπ᾽ ἐναντίας αὐτῷ ἐχώρει, καίπερ ἀντιστατοῦσα τῶν (48) ἄλλων οὐδέν. πονηρίας μὲν γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ ἀπωτάτω οὖσα ἐτύγχανεν, ἄγροικος δὲ ἦν κομιδὴ καὶ (49) βάρβαρος γένος, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται. ἀντιλαβέσθαι τε ἀρχῆς[4] οὐδαμῆ ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπειροτάτη οὖσα διατετέλεκε τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγμάτων, ἥ γε οὐδὲ ξὺν τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ αὐτῆς ἰδίῳ ἅτε καταγελάστῳ ὄντι ἐς Παλάτιον ἦλθεν, ἀλλ᾽ Εὐφημία ἐπικληθεῖσα. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τῇ (50) βασιλίδι μὲν ἀπογενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν…

τότε δὴ τὴν ἐγγύην πρὸς τὴν Θεοδώραν ἐνεχείρει ποιεῖν. ἀδύνατον δὲ ὂν ἄνδρα ἐς ἀξίωμα βουλῆς ἥκοντα ἑταίρᾳ γυναικὶ ξυνοικίζεσθαι, νόμοις ἄνωθεν τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις ἀπορρηθέν, λῦσαί τε τοὺς νόμους τὸν βασιλέα νόμῳ ἑτέρῳ ἠνάγκασε καὶ τὸ ἐνθένδε ἅτε γαμετῇ τῇ Θεοδώρᾳ ξυνῴκησε, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι βάσιμον κατεστήσατο τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἑταίρας ἐγγύην, τυραννῶν τε αὐτίκα ἐπεβάτευε τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τιμῆς προσχήματι συμπεπλασμένῳ τῆς (52) πράξεως ἐπικαλύπτων τὸ βίαιον. ἀνεῖπον γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλέα ξὺν τῷ θείῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἴ τι δόκιμον ἦν, δειμάτων περιουσίᾳ ἐπὶ ταύτην ἠγμένοι (53) τὴν ψῆφον. παρέλαβον τοίνυν τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰουστινιανός τε καὶ Θεοδώρα πρότερον τῆς Πασχαλίας ἑορτῆς ἡμέραις τρισίν, ὅτε δὴ οὔτε ἀσπάσασθαι τῶν φίλων τινὰ οὔτε εἰρηναῖα (54) προσειπεῖν ἔξεστιν. ἡμέραις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον Ἰουστῖνος μὲν ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπιβιοὺς ἔτη ἐννέα, μόνος δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ξὺν Θεοδώρᾳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν.

T4 Macrobius *Saturnalia* 14.4-14

4. dic enim, Hore, qui antiquitatem nobis obicis, ante cuius triclinium modo saltatricem vel saltatorem te vidisse meministi? at inter illos saltatio certatim vel ab honestis adpetebatur. ecce enim, ut ab illo ordiar tempore quod fuit optimis moribus, inter duo bella Punica ingenui, quid dicam ingenui, filii senatorum in ludum saltatorium commeabant et illic crotala gestantes saltare discebant!

5. taceo quod matronae etiam saltationem non inhonestam putabant, sed inter probas quoque earum erat saltandi cura dum modo non curiosa usque ad artis perfectionem. quid enim ait Sallustius: “psallere saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae”? adeo et ipse Semproniam reprehendit non quod saltare, sed quod optime scierit.

6. nobilium vero filios et, quod dictu nefas est, filias quoque virgines inter studiosa numerasse saltandi meditationem testis est Scipio Africanus Aemilianus, qui in oratione contra legem iudiciariam Tib. Gracchi sic ait:

7. docentur praestigias inhonestas, cum cinaedulis et sambuca psalterioque eunt in ludum histrionum, discunt cantare, quae maiores nostri ingenuis probro ducier voluerunt. eunt, inquam, in ludum saltatorium inter cinaedos virgines puerique ingenui! haec cum mihi quisquam narrabat, non poteram animum inducere ea liberos suos homines nobiles docere: sed cum ductus sum in ludum saltatorium, plus medius fidius in eo ludo vidi pueris virginibusque quinquaginta, in his unum—quod me rei publicae maxime miseritum est—puerum bullatum, petitoris filium non minorem annis duodecim, cum crotalis saltare quam saltationem impudicus servulus honeste saltare non posset.

8. vides quem ad modum ingemuerit Africanus quod vidisset cum crotalis saltantem filium petitoris, id est candidati, quem ne tum quidem spes et ratio adipiscendi magistratus, quo tempore se suosque ab omni probro debuit vindicare, potuerit coercere quo minus faceret quod scilicet turpe non habebatur.

‘Ceterum superius pleramque nobilitatem haec propudia celebrare conquestus est

…

11. ceterum histriones non inter turpes habitos Cicero testimonio est, quem nullus ignorat Roscio et Aesopo histrionibus tam familiariter usum ut res rationesque eorum sua sollertia tueretur, quod cum aliis multis tum ex epistulis quoque eius declaratur.

12. nam illam orationem quis est qui non legerit, in qua populum Romanum obiurgat quod Roscio gestum agente tumultuarit? et certe satis constat contendere eum cum ipso histrione solitum, utrum ille saepius eandem sententiam variis gestibus efficeret an ipse per eloquentiae copiam sermone diverso pronuntiaret. quae res ad hanc artis suae fiduciam Roscium abstraxit, ut librum conscriberet quo eloquentiam cum histrionia compararet.

13. is est Roscius qui etiam L. Sullae carissimus fuit et anulo aureo ab eodem dictatore donatus est. tanta autem fuit gratia et gloria, ut mercedem diurnam de publico mille denarios sine gregalibus solus acceperit.

14. Aesopum vero ex pari arte ducenties sestertium reliquisse filio constat. Sed quid loquor de histrionibus cum Appius Claudius, vir triumphalis, qui Salius ad usque senectutem fuit, pro gloria obtinuerit, quod inter collegas optime saltitabat?

15. ‘Ac priusquam a saltatione discedo, illud adiciam, uno eodemque tempore tribus nobilissimis civibus non modo studium saltandi, sed etiam, si dis placet, peritiam qua gloriarentur fuisse, Gabinio consulari, Ciceronis inimico, quod ei etiam Cicero non dissimulanter obiecit, et M. Caelio, nato in turbas viro, quem idem Cicero defendit, et Licinio Crasso, Crassi eius qui apud Parthos extinctus est filio…

T5 Livy Ab Urbe Condita 7.2

Sine carmine ullo, sine imitandorum carminum actu, ludiones ex Etruria acciti ad tibicinis modos saltantes haud indecorous motus more Tusco dabant. Imitari deinde eos iuventus, simul inconditis inter se iocularia fundentes versibus, coepere; nec absoni a voce motus erant. Accepta itaque res saepiusque usurpando excitata. Vernaculis artificibus, quia ister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum; qui non, sicut ante, Fescennino versu similem incompositum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant, sed impletas modis saturas descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu motuque congruenti peragebant.

Livius post aliquot annis, qui ab saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere, idem scilicet—id quod omnes tum erant—suorum carminum actor, dicitur, cum saepius revocatus vocem obtudisset, venia petita puerum ad canendum ante tibicinem cum statuisset, canticum egisse aliquanto magis vigente motu, quia nihil vocis usus impediebat. Inde ad manum cantari histrionibus coeptum, diverbiaque tantum ipsorum voci relicta. Postquam lege hac fabularum ab risu ac soluto ioco res avocabatur et ludus in artem paulatim verterat, iuventus histrionibus fabellarum actu relicto ipsa inter se more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus iactitare coepit; unde exorta quae exodia postea appellate consertaque fabellis potissimum Atellanis sunt; quod genus ludorum ab Oscis acceptum tenuit iuventus nec ab histrionibus pollui passa est; eo institutum manet ut actores Atellanarum nec tribu moveantur et stipendia, tamquam expertes artis ludicrae, faciant, Inter aliarum parva principia rerum ludorum quoque prima origo ponenda visa est, ut appareret quam ab sano initio res in hanc vix opulentis regnis tolerabilem insaniam venerit.

T6 Cicero *Pro Murena* 13

Saltatorem appellat L. Murenam Cato. Maledictum est, si vere obicitur, vehementis accusatoris, sin falso, maledici conviciatoris. Qua re cum ista sis auctoritate, non debes, M. Cato, adripere maledictum ex trivio aut ex scurrarum aliquo convicio neque temere consulem populi Romani saltatorem vocare, sed circumspicere quibus praeterea vitiis adfectum esse necesse sit eum cui vere istud obici possit. Nemo enim fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit, neque in solitudine neque in convivio moderato atque honesto. Tempestivi convivi, amoeni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema saltatio. Tu mihi adripis hoc quod necesse est omnium vitiorum esse postremum, relinquis illa quibus remotis hoc vitium omnino esse non potest? Nullum turpe convivium, non amor, non comissatio, non libido, non sumptus ostenditur, et, cum ea non reperiantur quae voluptatis nomen habent quamquam vitiosa sunt, in quo ipsam luxuriam reperire non potes, in eo te umbram luxuriae reperturum putas?

T7 Arnobius *Adversus Nationes* 3.41

Possumus, si videtur, summatim aliquid et de Laribus dicere, quos arbitratur vulgus vicorum atque itinerum deos esse ex eo quod Graecia vicos cognominat laura. In diversis Nigidius scriptis modo tectorum domumque custodes, modo Curetas <ait> illos, qui occultasse [Lucr. II, 633-34] perhibentur Iovis aeribus aliquando vagitum, modo Digitos Samothracios, quos quinque indicant Graeci Idaeos Dactylos nuncupari. Varro similiter haesitans nunc esse illos Manes et ideo Maniam matrem esse

cognominatam Larum, nunc aerios rursus deos et heroas pronuntiat appellari, nunc antiquorum sententias sequens Larvas esse dicit Lares, quasi quosdam genios et functorum animas mortuorum.

T8 Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2. 19

καὶ ὃ πάντων μάλιστα ἔγωγε τεθαύμακα, καίπερ μυρίων ὅσων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐληλυθότων ἐθνῶν, οἷς πολλὴ ἀνάγκη σέβειν τοὺς πατρίους θεοὺς τοῖς οἴκοθεν νομίμοις, οὐδενὸς εἰς ζῆλον ἐλήλυθε τῶν ξενικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἡ πόλις δημοσίᾳ, ὃ πολλαῖς ἤδη συνέβη παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τινα κατὰ χρησμοὺς ἐπεισηγάγετο ἱερά, τοῖς ἑαυτῆς αὐτὰ τιμᾷ νομίμοις ἅπασαν ἐκβαλοῦσα τερθρείαν μυθικήν, ὥσπερ τὰ τῆς Ἰδαίας θεᾶς ἱερά. θυσίας μὰν γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ ἀγῶνας ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος οἱ στρατηγοὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους, ἱερᾶται δὲ αὐτῆς ἀνὴρ Φρὺξ καὶ γυνὴ Φρυγία καὶ περιάγουσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν οὗτοι μητραγυρτοῦντες, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος, τύπους τε περικείμενοι τοῖς στήθεσι καὶ καταυλούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἑπομένων τὰ μητρῷα μέλη καὶ τύμπανα 5κροτοῦντες· Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῶν αὐθιγενῶν οὔτε μητραγυρτῶν τις οὔτε καταυλούμενος πορεύεται διὰ τῆς πόλεως ποικίλην ἐνδεδυκὼς στολὴν οὔτε ὀργιάζει τὴν θεὸν τοῖς Φρυγίοις ὀργιασμοῖς κατὰ νόμον καὶ ψήφισμα βουλῆς. οὕτως εὐλαβῶς ἡ πόλις ἔχει πρὸς τὰ οὐκ ἐπιχώρια ἔθη περὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα ὀττεύεται τῦφον, ᾧ μὴ πρόσεστι τὸ εὐπρεπές.

T9 Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 618-643

tympana tenta tonant palmis et cymbala circum
concava, raucisonoque minantur cornua cantu,
et Phrygio stimulat numero cava tibia mentis,
telaque praeportant violenti signa furoris,
ingratos animos atque impia pectora volgi
conterrere metu quae possint numine divae.
ergo cum primum magnas invecta per Urbis
munificat tacita mortalis muta salute,
aere atque argento sternunt iter omne viarum,
largifica stipe ditantes, ninguntque rosarum
floribus umbrantes Matrem comitumque catervam.
hic armata manus, Curetas nomine Grai
quos memorant, Phrygias inter si forte catervas
ludunt in numerumque exultant sanguine laeti,
terrificas capitum quatientes numine cristas,
Dictaeos referunt Curetas qui Iovis illum
vagitum in Creta quondam occultasse feruntur,
cum pueri circum puerum pernice chorea
armati in numerum pulsarent aeribus aera,
ne Saturnus eum malis mandaret adeptus
aeternumque daret Matri sub pectore volnus.
propterea Magnam armati Matrem comitantur,
aut quia significant divam praedicere ut armis
ac virtute velint patriam defendere terram
praesidioque parent decorique parentibus esse.

T10 Text of the Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus
Inscriptiones latinae Selectae Ed. H. Dessau Vol 1. 18.

Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus

18 [*Q.*] Marcius L. f., S(p). Postumius L. f. cos. senatum consoluerunt n(onis) Octob. apud aedem | Duelonai. Sc(ribendo) arf(uerunt) M. Claudi(us) M. f., L. Valeri(us) P. f., Q. Minuci(us) C. f.

De Bacanalibus, quei foideratei | esent, ita exdeicendum censuere: 'Neiquis eorum [*B*]acanal[1] habuise velet; sei ques | esent, quei sibei deicerent necesus ese Bacanal habere, eeis utei ad pr. urbanum | Romam venirent, deque eeis rebus, ubei eorum v[*e*]r[*b*]a[2] audita esent, utei senatus | noster decerneret, dum ne minus senatorbus C adesent [*quom e*]a res cosoleretur. | Bacas vir nequis adiese velet ceivis Romanus neve nominus Latini neve socium | quisquam, nisei pr. urbanum adiesent, isque [*d*]e senatuos sententiad, dum ne | minus senatoribus C adesent quom ea res cosoleretur, iousiset.[3] Ce[*n*]suere. |

Sacerdos nequis vir eset; magister neque vir neque mulier quisquam eset; | neve pecuniam quisquam eorum comoine[*m h*]abuise ve[*l*]et; neve magistratum, | neve pro magistratu[*d*],[4] neque virum [*neque mul*]ierem quiquam fecise velet; | neve post hac inter sed conioura[*se nev*]e comvovise neve conspondise | neve conpromesise velet, neve quisquam fidem inter sed dedise velet. | Sacra in [*o*]quoltod[5] ne quisquam fecise velet; neve in poplicod neve in | preivatod neve extrad urbem sacra quisquam fecise velet, nisei | pr. urbanum adieset, isque de senatuos sententiad, dum ne minus | senatoribus C adesent quom ea res cosoleretur, iousiset.[6] Censuere. |

Homines plous V oinvorsei virei atque mulieres sacra ne quisquam | fecise velet, neve inter ibei virei plous duobus, mulieribus[7] plous tribus | arfuise velent, nisei de pr. urbani senatuosque sententiad, utei suprad | scriptum est.'

Haice utei in coventionid exdeicatis ne minus trinum | noundinum, senatuosque sententiam utei scientes esetis, — eorum | sententia ita fuit: 'sei ques esent, quei arvorsum ead fecisent, quam suprad | scriptum est, eeis rem caputalem faciendam censuere' — atque utei | hoce in tabolam ahenam inceideretis, ita senatus aiquom censuit, | uteique eam figier ioubeatis, ubei facilumed gnoscier potisit; atque | utei ea Bacanalia, sei qua sunt, exstrad quam sei quid ibei sacri est, | ita utei suprad scriptum est, in diebus X, quibus vobeis tabelai datai | erunt, faciatis utei dismota sient. In agro Teurano.[8]

Tabula ahenea rep. in vico Calabriae Tiriolo, nunc Vindobonae (Ritschl tab. XVIII; 1496 cf. X 404). — A. 568 de Bacchanalibus sacrisque nocturnis quaeri

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1) sacanal, 2) utra, 3) iousisent, 4) magistratuo, 5) aquoltod, 6) iousisent *aes.* — 7) *Scr.* mulieres. — 8) *Haec tria verba litteris maioribus adiecta.*

T11 Plato *Laws* 7, 816d-e.

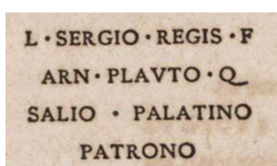
τὰ δὲ τῶν αἰσχρῶν σωμάτων καὶ διανοημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ γέλωτος κωμῳδήματα τετραμμένων, κατὰ λέξιν τε καὶ ᾠδὴν καὶ κατὰ ὄρχησιν καὶ κατὰ τὰ τούτων πάντων μιμήματα κεκωμῳδημένα, ἀνάγκη μὲν θεάσασθαι καὶ γνωρίζειν· ἄνευ γὰρ γελοίων τὰ σπουδαῖα καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ ἐναντία μαθεῖν μὲν οὐ δυνατόν, εἰ μέλλει τις φρόνιμος ἔσεσθαι, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐκ αὖ δυνατὸν ἀμφότερα, εἴ τις ἄρα μέλλει καὶ σμικρὸν ἀρετῆς μεθέξειν, ἀλλὰ αὐτῶν ἕνεκα τούτων καὶ μανθάνειν αὐτὰ δεῖ, τοῦ μή ποτε δι᾽ ἄγνοιαν δρᾶν ἢ λέγειν ὅσα γελοῖα μηδὲν δέον, δούλοις δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ξένοις ἐμμίσθοις προστάττειν μιμεῖσθαι, σπουδὴν δὲ περὶ αὐτὰ εἶναι μηδέποτε μηδ᾽ ἡντινοῦν μηδέ τινα μανθάνοντα αὐτὰ γίγνεσθαι φανερὸν τῶν ἐλευθέρων, μήτε γυναῖκα μήτε ἄνδρα, καινὸν δὲ ἀεί τι περὶ αὐτὰ φαίνεσθαι τῶν μιμημάτων.[1052]

3. Epigraphic evidence

E1 Selected Inscriptions regarding the Salian Priesthood

Note, a collection of all inscriptions can be found in Cirilli 1913, 149-172

CIL II 1406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SALIO · PALATINO
PATRONO

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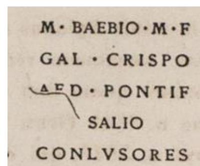
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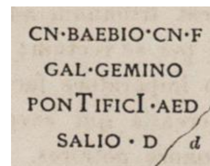
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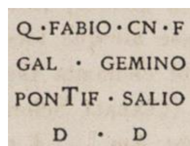
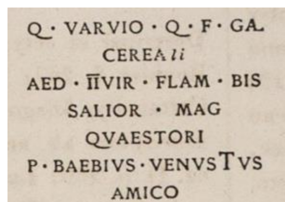
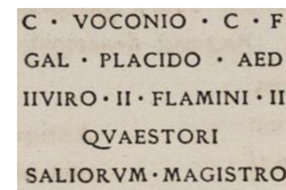

Q · FABIO · CN · F
GAL · GEMINO
PONTIF · SALIO
D · D

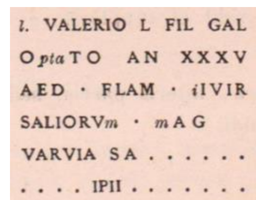
CIL II 3864


Q · VARVIO · Q · F · GAL
CEREAli
AED · IIVIR · FLAM · BIS
SALIOR · MAG
QVAESTORI
P · BAEBIVS · VENVSTVS
AMICO

CIL II 3865


C · VOCONIO · C · F
GAL · PLACIDO · AED
IIVIRO · II · FLAMINI · II
QVAESTORI
SALIORVM · MAGISTRO

CIL II 6055


l. VALERIO L FIL GAL
OptaTO AN XXXV
AED · FLAM · iIVIR
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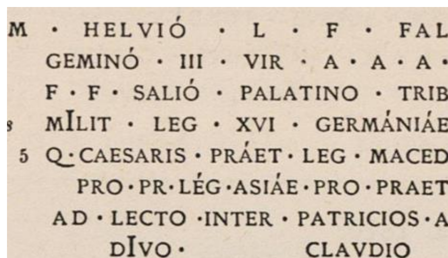
VARVIA SA . . . . . .
. . . . IPII . . . .

CIL III 6074


M · HELVIÓ · L · F · FAL
GEMINÓ · III · VIR · A · A · A ·
F · F · SALIÓ · PALATINO · TRIB
MILIT · LEG · XVI · GERMÁNIÁE
5 Q · CAESARIS · PRÁET · LEG · MACED
PRO · PR · LÉG · ASIÁE · PRO · PRAET
AD · LECTO · INTER · PATRICIOS · A
DIVO · CLAVDIO

[1052] Plato *Laws* 7, 816d-e.

CIL V 1078

M · LAETORIO
M · FIL · PAP
PATERCLIANO
IIII VIRO IVR DIC II
ALLECTO
AER SALIO ///
PATR *on* COLL

CIL V 1978

in latere:

*m. laetori*VS PATERCLIANV*s*
*n*VMERO · COLLEG
*opi*TERG · SALVTEM
COLLEGII · VES
5 M · OMNIBVS · EX
OPTIMI · COLLEG*ia*
C · QVOQVE · CONS
RIS · COMMODIS
E · POSTERITATIS ·
10 VT · HONOREM · TA
NME · CONFERENDO
S · QVO · AMORE · ME*o*
DEBVI · HOC · VESTRVA
M · LARGITIONE · LICET
15 MODICA · REMVNERARE
*con*FERO · VOBIS · HS · XX · MIL · N
*eu*I · VSVRIS · CENTESIMI
*quorum redit*VS · EFFICIT · ANNV*os hs m*
CVIVS · SVMMAE · PC
20 SPORTVLIS · VESTR
*d*IE · NATALIS · MEI
s IQVI · VERO · X
TICENTVR · VS
AM · VITA
25 MEVM
OREM
OI

in antica:

M · LAETORIO
M · FIL · PAP
PATERCLIANO
IIII VIRO IVR DIC II
5 ALLECTO
AER SALIO ///
PATR *on* COLL

CIL V 2851

Q · BRAETIVS
M · F · FAB
SALIVS
TESTAMENT
FIERI IVSSIT · SIB*i*
ET · SVIS ·

CIL V 3117

MA ...
A · TI · CLA*u*DIO · CAESARE
AVGVS*t*O · GERMANICO
CENSOR*e* *a*DLECTO · IN
5 SENATVM ET INTER
TRIBVNI*cio*S RELATO
AB EODEM ADSCITO IN
NVMERVM SALIOR*VM*
SALONIA · MATER
FILIO *pie*NTISSIMO
VIVA FECIT

CIL V 4492

C · VIRACIO
LONGINO
VI · VIR · VERON
ET · SALIO · ET
QVINTIAE · P · F · QVINTAE
C · VIRACIVS QVINTI[illegible]

CIL V 6461

ACC
VIT

CIL VI 1978

1978.

a. oraculo claro
M CORNELIO · CETHEGO COS a. p. C. 170
Q · TINEIVS · RVFVS · LOCO · T · HOEN SEVERI · COS
Q · TINEIVS · SACERDOS · LOCO · L · ANNI · LARGI · FLAMINIS
M · CLAVDIVS · FRONTO · NEOCYDES · LOCO
5 L · SALVI · KARI FLAMINIS
T · FVNDANIVS VITRASIVS POLLIO · LOCO
L · ROSCI · AELIANI · FLAMINIS
T · CORNELIVS · ANNEVS · FVSCVS · LOCO
L · COSSONI · EGGI · MARVLLI · FLAMINIS
10 L · HEDIVS · RVFVS · LOLLIANVS · AVITVS · LOCO
M · ACILI · VIBI · FAVSTINI · FLAMINIS
M · SOSIVS · LAELIANVS · PONTIVS · FALCO · LOCO
L · ANNI · RAVI · EXAVGVRATI
T · STATILIO · SEVERO
15 L · ALFIDIO · HERENNIANO COS 171
Q · HEDIVS · RVFVS · LOllianus gentiaNVS
LOCO · PONTI · FALCOnis
. . . . QVINTILIO maximo
ser. calpurnio scipione orfito cos 172

CIL VI 1979

1979.

L · ANTISTIVS · BVRRVS · ADVENTVS · LOC
L · LOLLIANI · AVITI ·
ISDEM › CO› a. p. C. 178
Q · IVLIVS · STRABO › TERTVLLVS ›
5 FIRMIDIANVS › LOCO ›
CAESENNI › ISAVRICI›
M · ANNIVS › FLAVIVS › LIBO ›
LOCO › TINEI › RVFI
IMP · L · AVRELIO · COMMODO · II › 179
10 P · MARTIO · VERO · II · COS ›
M · PETRONIVS · SVRA · SEPTIMIANVS
LOCO · Q · MVNATI · PRISCI ›
C · BRITTIO · PRAESENTE · II 180
SEX · QVINTILIO CONDIANO · COS ·
15 P · MARTIVS · SERGIVS · SATVRNINVS ·
LOCO · CORNELI · CETHEGI ·
IMP · M · AVRELIO · COMMODO · ANTONINo *aug. iii* 181
L · ANTISTIO · BVRRO *cos*
P · CLVVIVS · MAXIMVS · PAVLINVS · LOCO · M . . . . . .
20 L · CORNELIVS · SALVIVS · TVSCVS · LOCO · ST*atili*? . . . .
sic CN · SERIVS OPPIANVS AVGVRINVS *loco* . . . . . .
PROMOTI AT . . . . . .

CIL VI 1980

1980.

imp. m. auRElio commodO · ANTONINO PIO FELICI *u*
m'. acILIO GLABRIONE II COS
. . *rOCIVS* · PISO · IN LOCVM C MATTI SVLLINI
. . . *fu*SCIANO · II · M · SERVILIO · SILAN
5 . . VS · AMYNTIANVS · PROCVLVS IN
locum . . ROCII · PISONIS · FLAMINIS
. . . IO SILANO Q SERVILIO SILANO
*l. an(t)*NIVS · FABIANVS · IN LOCO
*m. pet*RONI SEPTIMIANI COS
10 . . . . . CORNELIVS SCIPIO ORFITVS IN LOCO SOSII
. . . . IO · PEDONE APRONIANO M VALERIO BRADVA
cos. L · ANNIVS MAXIMVS · LOCVM CALPVRNI SCI *sic*
*pionis orfi*TI Ø
*m. num*MIVS · SENECIO AL*b*INVS IN LOCV

CIL VI 1981

. . . . *in locum* . . . .
CETHEGI Ø
L · LVCRETIVS · OCTAVIVS L . . . . . . *in*
LOCVM · CORNELI · SCIPIO*nis orfiti*
D · CAELIVS BA*lbinus*
IN · LOC*um*

CIL VI 1892, 1983

1982. 1983.

p. cornelio anullino ii M · AVFID*io frontone cos* *a. p.*
*c. bruttius pr*AESENS·IN·LO*cum*
. . . . ODI · PONTIF
. . . . .IVS · SABINIANVS
5 *in locum* . . . . . . MI·VITA·FVNCTI
. . . . *in locum m. nu*MMI · SENECIONIS · PON*tificis*
*ti. claudio seuero c. aufidi*O *u*ICTORINO · COS
. . . . *in locum pe*SCENNI VITVLI · VITA · FVNCTI
*l. annio fabiano m. nonio c*RIO·MVCIANO · COS
10 . . . . *in locum* CORNELI *a*NVLLINI · AVGVR*is*
. . . . *in locu*M · IVLI *as*PRI · F*laminis*
*imp. caes. l. septimio seuero pio pertinace aug. i*II *m. aurelio antonino aug. cos* (?)

CIL X 5925

L · PANTILIO · L · F · PR · Q ·
PONT
L · PANTILIVS · L · F · PATER ·
PR · BIS · Q · BIS · SAL · PONT
5 CEMELLIAE · P · F

CIL XIV 2171

D M

L · SEMPRONI

L · F · HOR · PROCV

sic V · LI · A · XXXI

5 AED · Q · VI · SALI

CVRATORIS

PEC · OCRAN

LVRIA · SECVN

DA · MATER

CIL XIV 2947

P · AEL · P · F · PAL

TIRONI

SALIO · ARCIS

ALBANAE · QVEM

5 IMP · CAES //////

/// ANTONINVS

AVG · PIVS /////

GERM · SARM · BRITT

AGENTEM · AETATIS

10 ANNVM · XIIII

MILITIA · PRIMA

PRAEFECTVRAE

EQVIT · BRAVCO

NVM · ⊕ · EXORNARE

15 DIGNATVS · EST

DEC · DEC

BLANDVS · PATER

PRO · AMORE · CIVI

TATIS · SVMMAM · ET

20 SVMPTVM · OMNEM

~~DE · S · REMISIT~~

CIL XIV 3601

P · MVMMIO · P · F · GAL · SI

SENNAE · RVTILIANO

COS · AVGVRI · PROCOS

PROVINC · ASIAE · LEGATO · AVG

5 PR · PR · MOESIAE · SVPERIORIS

PRAEF · ALIMENT · PER · AEMILIAM

PRAEF · AER · SATVRNI · LEG · LEG · VI

VICTRIC · PRAETORI · TR · PL · QVAEST

TRIB · LEG · V · MACED · X · VIRO · STLI

10 TIB · IVDIC · PATRONO · MVNICI

PII · CVR · FANI · H · V · SALIO · HER

CVLANII · AVGVSTALES

L · D · S · C

in latere intuenti sinistro:

DEDICATA · KAL · IVN · MAXIMO · ET · ORFITO COS — 1. Iun. 172

in latere intuenti dextro:

CVRANTIB · P · RAGONIO · SATVR

NINO · ET · C · MARCIO · MARCIANO — Q.

ORDINIS · AVGVSTALIVM · TIBVRTIVM

CIL XIV 3609

Q · POMPEIO · Q · F · QVIR · SENECION

ROSCIO · MVRENAE · COELIO · SEX ·

IVLIO · FRONTINO · SILIO · DECIANO

C · IVLIO · EVRYCLI · HERCVLANEO · L ·

5 VIBVLLIO · PIO · AVGVSTANO · ALPINO

BELLICIO · SOLLERTI · IVLIO · APRO ·

DVCENIO · PROCVLO · RVTILIANO ·

RVFINO · SILIO · VALENTI · VALERIO ·

NIGRO · CL · FVSCO · SAXAE · VRYNTIANO

10 SOSIO · PRISCO · PONTIFICI · SODALI ·

HADRIANALI · SODALI · ANTONINIANI · sic

VERIANI · SALIO · COLLINO · QVAESTORI ·

CANDIDATO · AVGG · LEGATO · PR · PR · ASIAE

PRAETORI · CONSVLI · PROCONSVLI · ASI — p. C. 169

15 AE · SORTITO · PRAEFECTO · ALIMENTOR ·

XX · VIRO MONETALI · SEVIRO · PRAEF ·

FERIARVM · LATINARVM · Q · Q · PATRONO ·

MVNICIPII · SALIO · CVRATORI · FANI · H · V ·

S · P · Q · T

CIL XIV 3612

L · RO[SC]IO · M · F · QVI
AE[LI]ANO · MARCIO
CELERI
COS · PROCOS · PROVINC
5 AFRICAE · PR · TR · PL · QVAEST
AVG · X VIR · STLITIB · IVDIC
TRIB · MIL · LEG · IX · HISPAN
VEXILLARIOR · EIVSDEM
IN EXPEDITIONE · GERMANICA
10 DONATO · AB · IMP · AVG
MILITARIB · DONIS · CORONA
VALLARI · ET · MVRALI · VEXILLIS
ARGENTEIS · II · HASTIS · PVRIS · II
SALIO
15 C · VECILIVS · C · F · PAL · PROBVS
AMICO · OPTIMO
L · D · S · C ·

CIL XIV 3673

T · SABIDIO
PRAEF · COH
AVGVRI · SALIO · CVratori fani h. u

CIL XIV 3674

T · SABIDIO · T · F · PAL
MAXIMO
SCRIBAE · Q · SEX
PRIM BIS · PRAEF
5 FABRVM PONTIFICI
urceus SALIO CVRATORI patera
FANI HERCVLIS V
TRIBVNO AQVARVM
Q · Q · PATRONO
10 MVNICIPII LOCVS
SEPVLTVRAE DATVS
VOLVNTATE POPVLI
DECRETO · SENATVS
TIBVRTIVM

CIL XIV3689

APP · I
I
IIII · VIR aed. potestate?
IIII · VIR iure dicundo?
5 ITERVM quinquennalis
SALIVS C
TRIBVNVS ... curator
FANI HERculis uictoris
SVO EX

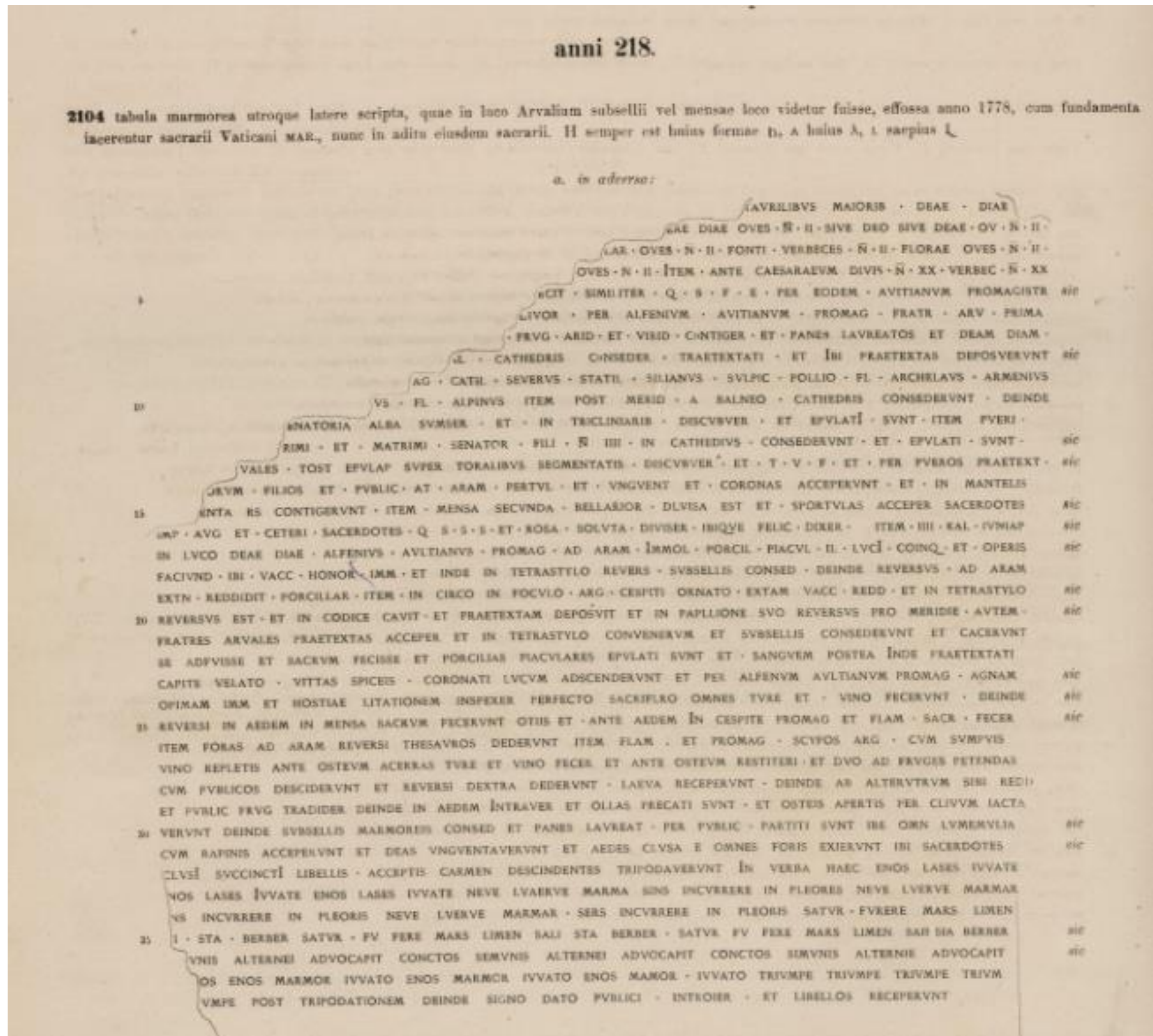
E2 Inscription regarding the Saliae Virgines

CIL VI 2177

D · M ·
FLAVIAE VERE PRAESVLE
SACERDOT · TVSCVLANOR
VIX · ANN · VI · MES · XI · DIE
FECIT · FLaui . . . . . .

E3 *Arval Acta* Inscription of A.D. 218

CIL VI 2104



anni 218.

2104 tabula marmorea utroque latere scripta, quae in luco Arvalium subsellii vel mensae loco videtur fuisse, effossa anno 1778, cum fundamenta iacerentur sacrarii Vaticani MAR., nunc in aditu eiusdem sacrarii. H semper est huius formae Ꮒ, A huius Λ, L saepius Ꙇ.

a. in adversa:

AVRELIBVS MAIORIB · DEAE · DIAE
AE DIAE OVES · N · II · SIVE DEO SIVE DEAE · OV · N · II ·
LAR · OVES · N · II · FONTI · VERBECES · N · II · FLORAE OVES · N · II ·
OVES · N · II · ITEM · ANTE CAESARAEVM DIVIS · N · XX · VERBEC · N · XX
5 CIT · SIMILITER · Q · S · F · E · PER EODEM · AVITIANVM PROMAGISTR *sic*
LIVOR · PER ALFENIVM · AVITIANVM · PROMAG · FRATR · ARV · PRIMA
· FRVG · ARID · ET · VIRID · CONTIGER · ET · PANES LAVREATOS ET DEAM DIAM ·
L · CATHEDRIS CONSEDER · TRAETEXTATI · ET IBI PRAETEXTAS DEPOSVERVNT *sic*
AG · CATIL · SEVERVS · STATIL · SILIANVS · SVLPIC · POLLIO · FL · ARCHELAVS · ARMENIVS
10 VS · FL · ALPINVS ITEM POST MERID · A BALNEO · CATHEDRIS CONSEDERVNT · DEINDE
NATORIA ALBA SVMSER · ET · IN TRICLINIARIB · DISCVBVER · ET EPVLATI · SVNT · ITEM PVERI ·
RIMI · ET · MATRIMI · SENATOR · FILI · N IIII · IN CATHEDIVS · CONSEDERVNT · ET · EPVLATI · SVNT · *sic*
VALES · TOST EPVLAP SVPER TORALIBVS SEGMENTATIS · DISCVBVER · ET · T · V · F · ET · PER PVEROS PRAETEXT · *sic*
ORVM · FILIOS ET · PVBLIC · AT · ARAM · PERTVL · ET · VNGVENT ET · CORONAS ACCEPERVNT · ET · IN MANTELIS
15 NTA RS CONTIGERVNT · ITEM · MENSA SECVNDA · BELLARIOR · DLVISA EST ET · SPORTVLAS ACCEPER SACERDOTES *sic*
IMP · AVG ET · CETERI · SACERDOTES · Q · S · S · S · ET · ROSA · SOLVTA · DIVISER · IBIQVE FELIC · DIXER · ITEM · IIII · KAL · IVNIAP *sic*
IN LVCO DEAE DIAE · ALFENIVS · AVLTIANVS · PROMAG · AD ARAM · IMMOL · PORCIL · PIACVL · II · LVCI · COINQ · ET · OPERIS *sic*
FACIVND · IBI · VACC · HONOR · IMM · ET INDE IN TETRASTYLO REVERS · SVBSELLIS CONSED · DEINDE REVERSVS · AD ARAM
EXTN · REDDIDIT · PORCILLAR · ITEM · IN CIRCO IN FOCVLO · ARG · CESPITI ORNATO · EXTAM VACC · REDD · ET IN TETRASTYLO *sic*
20 REVERSVS EST · ET IN CODICE CAVIT · ET PRAETEXTAM DEPOSVIT ET IN PAPLLIONE SVO REVERSVS PRO MERIDIE · AVTEM · *sic*
FRATRES ARVALES PRAETEXTAS ACCEPER ET IN TETRASTYLO CONVENERVM ET SVBSELLIS CONSEDERVNT ET CACERVNT
SE ADFVISSE ET SACRVM FECISSE ET PORCILIAS PIACVLARES EPVLATI SVNT ET · SANGVEM POSTEA INDE PRAETEXTATI
CAPITE VELATO · VITTAS SPICEIS · CORONATI LVCVM ADSCENDERVNT ET PER ALFENVM AVLTIANVM PROMAG · AGNAM *sic*
OPIMAM IMM ET HOSTIAE LITATIONEM INSPEXER PERFECTO SACRIFLRO OMNES TVRE ET · VINO FECERVNT · DEINDE *sic*
25 REVERSI IN AEDEM IN MENSA SACRVM FECERVNT OTIIS ET · ANTE AEDEM IN CESPITE PROMAG ET FLAM · SACR · FECER *sic*
ITEM FORAS AD ARAM REVERSI THESAVROS DEDERVNT ITEM FLAM . ET PROMAG · SCYFOS ARG · CVM SVMPVIS
VINO REPLETIS ANTE OSTEVM ACERRAS TVRE ET VINO FECER ET ANTE OSTEVM RESTITERI · ET DVO AD FRVGES PETENDAS
CVM PVBLICOS DESCIDERVNT ET REVERSI DEXTRA DEDERVNT · LAEVA RECEPERVNT · DEINDE AB ALTERVTRVM SIBI REDI
ET PVBLIC FRVG TRADIDER DEINDE IN AEDEM INTRAVER ET OLLAS PRECATI SVNT · ET OSTEIS APERTIS PER CLIVVM IACTA
30 VERVNT DEINDE SVBSELLIS MARMOREIS CONSED ET PANES LAVREAT · PER PVBLIC · PARTITI SVNT IBE OMN LVMEMVLIA *sic*
CVM RAPINIS ACCEPERVNT ET DEAS VNGVENTAVERVNT ET AEDES CLVSA E OMNES FORIS EXIERVNT IBI SACERDOTES *sic*
CLVSI SVCCINCTI LIBELLIS · ACCEPTIS CARMEN DESCINDENTES TRIPODAVERVNT IN VERBA HAEC ENOS LASES IVVATE
NOS LASES IVVATE ENOS LASES IVVATE NEVE LVAERVE MARMA SINS INCVRRERE IN PLEORES NEVE LVERVE MARMAR
NS INCVRRERE IN PLEORIS NEVE LVERVE MARMAR · SERS INCVRRERE IN PLEORIS SATVR · FVRERE MARS LIMEN
35 I · STA · BERBER SATVR · FV FERE MARS LIMEN SALI STA BERBER · SATVR FV FERE MARS LIMEN SAII SIA BERBER *sic*
VNIS ALTERNEI ADVOCAPIT CONCTOS SEMVNIS ALTERNEI ADVOCAPIT CONCTOS SIMVNIS ALTERNIE ADVOCAPIT *sic*
OS ENOS MARMOR IVVATO ENOS MARMOR IVVATO ENOS MAMOR · IVVATO TRIVMPE TRIVMPE TRIVMPE TRIVM
VMPE POST TRIPODATIONEM DEINDE SIGNO DATO PVBLICI · INTROIER · ET LIBELLOS RECEPERVNT

As reproduced and translated in Beard 1985, 159:

Item IIII kal(endas) Iuniap (sic - for *Iunias*)/ in luco Deae Diae Alfenius Avitianus promag(ister) ad aram immol(avit) porcil(ias) piacul(ares)…

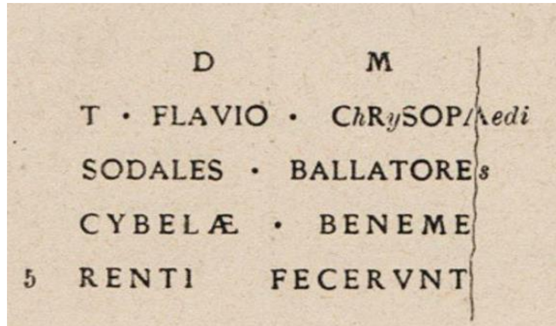
Deinde in aedem intraver(unt) et ollas precati sunt, et osteis apertis per clivum iacta/verunt, deinde subsellis marmoreis consed(erunt) et panes laureat(os) per public(os) partiti sunt: ibe (sic - for *ibi*) omn(es) lumemulia/ cum rapinis acceperunt et deas unguentaverunt, et aedes clusa e(st); omnes foris (sic - for *foras*) exierunt. ibi sacerdotes/ clusi, succincti, libellis acceptis, carmen descindentes tripodaverunt in verba haec: Enos Lases iuvate,/ [e]nos Lases iuvate, enos Lases iuvate. Neve luaerve (sic) Marma (sic) sins incurrere in pleores, neve luerve Marmar/[si]ns incurrere in pleoris (sic), neve luerve Marmar sers (sic) incurrere in pleoris (sic). Satur fu, furere (sic) Mars. Limen/ [sal]i, sta berber. Satur fu, fere Mars. Limen sali, sta berber. satur fu, fere Mars. Limen saiisia (sic) berber./ [Sem]unis alternei advocapit conctos, semunis alternei advocapit conctos, simunis (sic) alternie (sic) advocapit/ [conet]os. Enos Marmor iuvato, enos Marmor iuvato, enos Mamor (sic) iuvato. Triumpe, triumpe, trium/[pe, tri]umpe. Post tripodationem deinde signo dato publici introier(unt) et libellos receperunt.

[…… gap of c ? lines …..]
/noiae (sic) [… ibique felicia dixerunt et desciderunt lucum. Depositis]/ praetex[tis cenatoria alba acc(eperunt) et i]n tetra[stylo epulati sunt . Fercula cum campanis et urnalibus mulsi singulorum] more to[mpae (sic - for *pompae*) in tetrastylu]m transier[unt. Post epulas singuli praesentes acceperunt]/ sportulas [(denarios centenos) et rosam s]olut(am) acc(eperunt) et pa[rtiti sunt. Deinde L. Alfenius Avitianus promag(ister) latum]/ sum[sit] et rici[nium; superaccepit coron]am taciliem (sic - for *pactilem*) r[oseam, et summoto super carceres ascendit]/ signumque [quadrig(is) big(is) desul]toribus misit, p[r]aeside[ntibus… Catilio]/ Severo, Armen[io Peregrino, Caesonio] Lucialo (sic) […]t[. .], Novo (sic) [Severo Pio …ad cretam.]/ Deinde peract[is circensib]us Romae [reversi?] et in domu[… mag(istri) cenatoria]/ alba acceper(unt) et [discumbentes toralibus segmentatis ture] et vino fecer[unt, ministrantibus pueris]/ patrim(is) et mat[rimis senatorum filis q(ui)] supra; et sacrifice[io peracto unguenta et coronas]/ accep(erunt) et mantel[is pulment(a) rursus con] tiger(unt) et sportulas sing[ul]i [acceperunt (denarios centenos)]./ Mensam secun[dam bellariorum diviserunt e]t rosam solutam acceperu[nt ibique felicia dixerunt.]/

Then on May 29, in the grove of Dea Dia, Alfenius Avitianus, the promagister sacrificed at the altar two expiatory piglets… Then they entered the temple and prayed to the jars and, opening the doors, threw the jars down the hillside, then they sat down on the marble seats and they shared the loaves decorated with laurel, distributed by the public slaves; there they all took lumemulia with turnips and annointed the statues of the goddesses, and the temple was shut. All (who were not priests) went outside, while there the priests shut in, hitching up their togas, taking the books in their hands, (singing) the song, danced to these words: Arval Hymn Then after the dance, when the signal was given, the public slaves entered and collected the books. [The missing portion here no doubt included notice of the choice of master for the next year] and then they wished each other good fortune and descended the grove. Taking off their togae with purple border, they took up their white dinner dress and dined in the tetrastyle; in the manner of a procession, trays came into the tetrastyle with bells (?) and jars oimulsum for each one. After dinner each one present received a gift of a hundred denarii and they took the petals of a rose and wished each other good fortune. Then the promagister (name) put on his broad stripe and shawl; he put on in addition a garland woven with roses and with attendants clearing the way he climbed up above the starting gates and gave the signal to the four horse chariots, the two horse chariots and the leapers, while Catilius Severus, Armenius Peregrinus, Caesonius Lucillus, , Novius Severus Pius, , presided at the finish. Then, when the games were over, they returned to Rome and in the house of (name), the magister, they put on their white dinner dress and reclining on decorated coverlets they performed a libation with incense and wine, while boys of senatorial family whose fathers and mothers were still alive, waited on them, and when the sacrifice was finished they received oils and garlands and they picked up the portions of food again in their napkins and they each received a gift of a hundred denarii; they divided up the second course of sweets and received the petals of a rose and then wished each other good fortune.

E4 Inscription for the Ballatores Cybelae

CIL VI 2265



4. Tables

Ta1 Beard's overview of Republic Priests

Table 1. A simplified guide to Roman Republican priests

Title	*Number*	*Status & known qualifications (all male & freeborn, unless stated)*	*Duration of office*	*Method of selection*	*Date of foundation*	*Major duties*	*Other special features*
Augures (Augurs)	Originally ? 3; increased gradually. 9 in 300; 15 under Sulla; 16 under Caesar.	Originally patricians. Also plebeiansfrom300.	For life, even if condemned & exiled.	Originally cooption; from 104, part popular election, interrupted under Sulla.	Pre-Republican	Ascertaining approval/disapproval of gods for political & military action. Advising senate & magistrates. Defining sacred space on earth.	
Flamen Dialis	One	Patrician. Parents married by *confarreatio*.	For life – but resigned on death of wife or on committing major ritual fault.	Chosen by *Pontifex Maximus*.	Pre-Republican	Cult of Jupiter. Participation in ritual, e.g. Vinalia, *confarreatio* (traditional marriage ceremony).	Conduct hedged by taboos – so that normal senatorial career was almost impossible. As other flamines, wore special priestly hat (apex).
(*Flaminica Dialis*)	One	Wife of flamen	For life (or until death of flamen)		Pre-Republican	Assisted flamen with ritual. Regular sacrifice of ram to Jupiter.	Some taboos apply to wife as well. Distinctive dress.
Flamen Martialis	One	As *flamen Dialis*	For life – but resigned on committing major ritual fault	As *flamen Dialis*	Pre-Republican	Cult of Mars. Sacrifice at the festival of October horse.	
Flamen Quirinalis	One	As *flamen Dialis*	As *flamen Martialis*	As *flamen Dialis*	Pre-Republican	Cult of Quirinus. Sacrifices to Consus & at Robigalia, Larentalia.	
Minor *flamines* (flamens)	12	Plebeians	?	?	Pre-Republican	Cult of individual deities.	Only 10 out of 12 known: *flamen* Carmentalis, Cerialis, Falacer, Floralis, Furrinalis, Palatualis, Pomonalis, Portunalis, Volcanalis, Volturnalis. Lower status than 'major' flamens, above.
Fetiales	20	Originally patricians. ? later also plebeians.	Normally for life.	Cooption	Pre-Republican	Religious aspects of Rome's relations with outside world. Treaties, rituals on declaration of war.	
Fratres Arvales (Arval Brethren)	12	?	For life, even if condemned & exiled.	Cooption	Pre-Republican	Cult of Dea Dia, at cult centre in grove a few miles outside Rome.	Perhaps extinct in late Republic; revived by Augustus.

Luperci	2 groups (Fabiani & Quinctiales). Total unknown.	By late Republic, included ex-slaves.	??temporary	?cooption	Pre-Republican	Ritual of Lupercalia.	
Pontifices (Pontiffs)	Originally unknown; gradually increased. 9 in 300; 15 under Sulla; 16 under Caesar.	Originally patricians. Also plebeians from 300.	Normally for life.	As for *augures*	Pre-Republican	Ritual duties, including Carmentalia, Fordicidia, Argei, celebrations of Consus. Wide ranging religious/ administrative role (e.g. tomb law). Advice to senate on religion.	'Head' of college known as *Pontifex Maximus* (from 3rd century chosen by form of popular election). Powerful personal religious competence.
Potitii & Pinarii		Members of 2 families			Pre-Republican	Before 312, charge of cult of Hercules at Ara Maxima.	
Quindecimviri sacris faciundis	Originally 2; 10 in 367; 15 by 51; 16 under Caesar.	Originally patricians. Also plebeian from 367.	Normally for life.	As for *augures*	Pre-Republican	General charge of oracular Sibylline books. Supervision of foreign cults at Rome.	
Rex Sacrorum	One	Patrician. Parents married by *confarreatio*.	Normally for life	Chosen by *Pontifex Maximus*	Start of the Republic (trad. 509)	Believed to have taken over religious functions of king, at fall of monarchy. Ritual of Agonalia & Regifugium.	Prohibited from political career.
Saliae Virgines (Salian Virgins)	?	Women. Probably low, ? not freeborn, status.	?	Hired	?	Annual sacrifice with *Pontifex Maximus*.	
Salii	2 groups of 12, Palatini & Collini.	Patricians, with mother & father living at time of selection.	For life, but resignation common on obtaining major magistracy or priesthood.	Cooption	Pre-Republican	Ritual song and dance through city in March and October (start & end of war season).	
Septemviri epulones	Originally 3; 7 under ? Sulla; 10 under Caesar.	Patricians and plebeians.	Normally for life.	As for *augures*	196	Took over from *pontifices* organization of ritual feasts for gods.	
Sodales Titii	?	?	?	?	Pre-Republican	Some augural function.	
Virgines Vestales (Vestal Virgins)	Originally ? 2; later ? 4. 6 through the historical period	Virgin girls entering priesthood between 6 and 10, with both parents still living. No bodily defect. ?? Originally patricians.	Could leave priesthood after 30 years	Lot, from candidates selected by *Pontifex Maximus*.	Pre-Republican	Guarding of sacred hearth of city. Cult of Vesta – and other ritual involvement (Vestalia, Fordicidia, rites of Consus)	Penalty of death if found to be unchaste. Full-time attendance on ritual duties, resident in Atrium Vestae next to temple of Vesta. Distinctive dress. Many social and legal privileges.

(Beard & North 1990 *Pagan Priests* p10-21)