Solo Dance in Greek and Roman Comedy

Marleigh Anderson

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Solo Dance in Greek and Roman Comedy
by
Marleigh Dione Anderson

A dissertation presented to
Washington University in St. Louis
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2023
St. Louis, Missouri
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**Texts and Translations**

Unless modifications are noted, all texts and translations of the plays come from the following editions:

**Aristophanes**

**Texts**


**Translations**


**Menander**

**Texts**


**Translations**


**Plautus**

**Texts and translations**


**Terence**

**Texts**


**Translations**


Metrical information

Each passage quoted from the comedies throughout this work includes metrical identifications on the right-hand side. My sources for these identifications are as follows:

**Aristophanes’ lyric sections:**

**Aristophanes’ non-lyric sections:**

**Menander:**

**Plautus and Terence:**

**Metrical terminology/abbreviations:**
**Latin:** Moore, Timothy. “Abbreviations: Meter Types.” *The Meters of Roman Comedy* (Online database).
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and Office of Graduate Studies also generously supported this experience. I gained so much insight into this project while on that trip, and I am so grateful to those who made it possible.

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I would like to dedicate this work to Ali. May we all dance as freely, love as fully, and live as boldly as you did.

Marleigh Anderson

Washington University in St. Louis

May 2023
ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Solo Dance in Greek and Roman Comedy

by

Marleigh Dione Anderson

Doctor of Philosophy in Classics

Washington University in St. Louis, 2023

Professor Timothy Moore, Chair

In the first full-length study focusing exclusively on comic solo dance, I argue for the presence and significance of solo dance in both Greek and Roman comedy. My dissertation aims to answer two driving questions: where does solo dance (broadly defined as dance by actors) occur in extant Greek and Roman comedy, and how does such dancing contribute to the plays? The introduction lays out my methodology for approaching these questions. My study then moves from what can be known with certainty (definite solo dance scenes and references to dance) to what requires more speculation (likely dance scenes). Chapter one, “Definite Solo Dance: Showcasing the Individual” analyzes twelve definite solo dance scenes, culminating in a comparison of traits found in these scenes. Chapter two, “Dance References: Movement, Metaphor, and Mockery,” tracks the metaphorical use of dance language, showing that characters typically use such language to poke fun at an opponent. Chapter three, “Likely Solo Dance: Choreographic Potential” develops and applies criteria for identifying scenes that very likely featured solo dance by actors. The conclusion discusses five main functions of comic solo dance: transgression, characterization, communication of emotions, virtuosity, and entertainment. My study as a whole contributes to our understanding of comic solo dance by revealing how playwrights and actors used non-choral dance to create meaning in comic plays.
Introduction: Defining and Finding Dance

Solo dance, or dance by an actor as opposed to a chorus, features in both Greek and Roman comedy. To give one of the most famous examples: Philocleon, an old man obsessed with jury service in Aristophanes’ *Wasps*, turns into a dance-crazed fool at the end of the play, even instigating a dance competition with the sons of a contemporary tragedian. Philocleon’s solo dance indelibly affects the interpretation of the play, showing how the character takes his passions to excess, and it demonstrates the dangers of being isolated from one’s political and social groups.¹ Over two centuries later, the enslaved Pseudolus in Plautus’ *Pseudolus* drunkenly reperforms a dance he first performed at a party celebrating his success in tricking his master, Simo, and a pimp, Ballio. Pseudolus’ solo dance embodies Roman comedy’s “slave on top” motif, using dance to commemorate Pseudolus’ triumph and highlight the reversal of the expected outcome for slaves in real life.² Both Philocleon’s and Pseudolus’ dances share a transgressive strain: their dancing marks them as not conforming to typical sociopolitical roles (Philocleon) and socioeconomic hierarchies (Pseudolus). Far from merely adding an entertainment factor, these well-known examples of solo dance demonstrate the rich levels of meaning that such dance contributes to a play.

The prioritization of solo, virtuosic dance in these selected scenes is part of a tradition of theatrical solo dance that has been relatively underexplored. While much important scholarship has been done on the Greek chorus and its dances, pre-pantomimic solo dance has been largely neglected, despite its clear theatrical and literary relevance. In the first monograph on Greek solo dance, Sarah Olsen has recently argued that Philocleon’s competitive dance represents the

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¹ On this interpretation and Philocleon’s rupture from dancing communities (including that of the sympotic *komos* and the dramatic chorus itself, see Olsen 2021: 101-110.
² On this point, see Moore 2012: 110.
unruliness of the solo dancer, as opposed to both the chorus and the collective dancing group of
the *komos*.³ Olsen’s work as a whole persuasively argues for the inherently transgressive, unruly
nature of solo dance as found in archaic and classical Greek literature. The sociocultural
importance of the chorus in both Greek life and Greek literature contributes to this understanding
of solo dance as unruly: a good citizen dances as part of the whole, rather than to show off
individual talent.⁴ The case is different for solo dance in the Roman world, where *choreia* had
receded in cultural importance and the solo dance of pantomime became by the imperial period
the most popular style of theatrical dance.⁵ Still, the role of non-pantomimic solo dance has been
underappreciated. We can see solo dance in both Greek and Roman comedy long before the
genre of pantomime developed into its popular form.⁶ Even though there are important
differences between Greek and Roman theatrical dance, Timothy Moore has recently suggested
that Olsen’s arguments about the unruliness of the Greek solo dancer can provide more context
for dances in Roman comedy as well, such as Pseudolus’ drunken, lascivious dance.⁷ Although
several scenes of comic solo dance that I discuss in the coming chapters are not particularly
transgressive, the idea of the solo dancer as transgressing the boundaries of appropriate behavior
nevertheless remains an important lens for my study.

These are exciting new directions in a scholarly tradition that, in general, tends to focus
on the Greek tragic chorus, neglecting solo dance and comic dance. The vast majority of
scholarship on Greek dance has focused on the chorus.⁸ There is good reason for this: the chorus

⁴ The scholarship on the importance of the Greek chorus is vast. For an overview, see Zarifi 2007 and Weiss 2020;
for systematic studies, see Webster 1970 and Calame 1977.
⁵ On the need for models beyond *choreia* for Roman dance, see Alonso Fernández 2020: 173-74. However, for
discussions of the reception of *choreia* in Roman literature, see Foster 2015 and Curtis 2017.
⁶ Zimmermann 2016 persuasively identifies elements of pantomime in Plautus.
⁷ Moore, forthcoming, “Anapestic Dance Scenes in Plautus.”
⁸ See Naerebout 1997 for bibliography on theatrical choruses (pp. 126-129) and other choruses (pp. 129-137).
was a hugely important cultural institution in classical Greece, and the prominent role of the chorus in both theatrical and non-theatrical contexts means that there is a (relative) wealth of primary material to work with.\textsuperscript{9} The tragic chorus in particular has been studied extensively.\textsuperscript{10} However, even within studies of theatrical choruses, the comic chorus has received relatively little scholarly treatment, with Bierl’s \textit{Ritual and Performativity} being the only extensive treatment of choral dance in comedy.\textsuperscript{11} Meanwhile, Roman dance in general has been much less explored than Greek dance. Only recently has scholarship on Roman dance really boomed, with studies on Roman dance terminology,\textsuperscript{12} discourse on dance,\textsuperscript{13} and pantomime.\textsuperscript{14} Still, there remains much to be explored in the realms of both comic dance and solo dance, as will be shown in more detail in the literature review below.

Rarely do scholars of ancient dance cross the Greek-Roman divide; most scholarship in this area is either on Greek dance or Roman dance, and relatively few scholars have put these dance traditions in conversation with each other.\textsuperscript{15} This is partially related to the overwhelming scholarly focus on the Greek chorus: with the Greek chorus at the center, it is difficult to make cross-cultural comparisons between Greek and Roman dance, given the relative lack of choral

\textsuperscript{9} For non-theatrical choruses, see esp. Mullen 1982 on \textit{choreia} in Pindar; Ladianou 2005 on \textit{choreia} in the Anacreonta; Csapo 2008 on star choruses and Orphism; Peponi 2009 on \textit{choreia} in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo; Kowalzig and Wilson 2013 on dithyrambic choruses; and Naerebout 2017: 39-66 on aspects of choral dances in a religious context.

\textsuperscript{10} See especially Kitto 1955 on meter and dance in choral odes; Davidson 1986 on the shape of the chorus in the orchestra; Heinrichs 1994 on the self-referentiality of the tragic chorus; Heinrichs 1996 on choral projection (the chorus referring to the dances of other choruses or dances at other times/in other spaces); Golder 1996 on gesture in the tragic chorus; Steiner 2011 on \textit{choreia} in Euripides’ \textit{Helen}; Gagné and Hopman 2013: 1-226 with case studies on the multifaceted identities of the tragic chorus; Csapo 2017: 119-156 on the imagined shape of the chorus in Euripides; and Weiss 2018: 36-58 on the relationship between words, music, and dance in tragic \textit{choreia}.

\textsuperscript{11} Bierl 2009.

\textsuperscript{12} Alonso Fernández 2011.

\textsuperscript{13} Alonso Fernández 2015; Schlapbach 2018, which also includes Greek sources but focuses on the later Greco-Roman world.


\textsuperscript{15} Schlapbach 2018 is a notable exception.
dance in the Roman world. This divide has had its merits, in the sense that it has allowed for dance in each culture to be treated synchronically on its own terms.

However, for literary comedy in particular, integrating the study of Greek and Roman dance is a logical next step. As is well established, Plautus and Terence used Greek New Comedy as their model. While we do not know the extent to which dance as performed in Roman comedy related to its models, there is good reason to believe that it owes at least something to Greek comedy. Plautus and Terence would not need to see their Greek models performed onstage in order to be influenced by the ways their predecessors used dance: as will be demonstrated in the coming chapters, the texts of the plays themselves reflect bodily movement in a way that invites readers to imagine dancing. To zoom out further, Greek comedy (including Aristophanic comedy) was part of South Italian performance culture as early as the fourth century BC, and there was a good deal of cultural exchange between Athens and Southern Italy in the realm of theater and performance (as will be discussed in more detail below). Aristophanic comedies were also likely circulated as texts in the fourth century BC, and the librarians at Alexandria worked extensively on Aristophanes in the third and second centuries BC. While dance in Roman comedy probably benefited from a wide range of influences, including mime and Italian farce (see below), Greek comedy in general is one of those influences. Given the relationship between Greek and Roman comedy, it is worth considering how solo dance in Greek comedy relates to solo dance in Roman comedy.

In my dissertation, I am approaching the study of comic solo dance with the goal of better understanding the role that dance played in literary comedy. However, in order to discuss the

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16 But see n. 5 for the Roman reception of *choreia*.
function of Greek and Roman comic solo dance, there is a need to compile the sources and consider these sources in relation to each other. This approach can be seen in the two major questions I aim to address: 1) where is solo dance happening in Greek and Roman comedies? and 2) what is the significance of solo dance in comedy, and how does it contribute to the narration of the play’s plot and the characterization of its *dramatis personae*?

**Literature review**

Before delving into my methods and approach to this study, an in-depth literature review will help put my work into further context. Even as my focus on both Greek and Roman comic solo dance ventures into underexplored areas of the field, my work is heavily informed by previous scholarship on ancient dance, including Greek and Roman dance in general and comic dance in particular.

**Greek dance (general)**

While Roman dance is a newer area of study, Greek dance has a long and robust tradition of inquiry. Generally speaking, the main thrust of scholarship on ancient Greek dance up until the 1990s involved the reconstructionist approach, with the goal of reconstructing ancient choreography. Emmanuel (1896) attempted to reconstruct sequences of choreography by linking poses on Greek vase paintings to dance movements. He worked with a ballet master to record dancers’ movements and then used chronophotography (successive photos of objects or bodies in motion) to break down the modern dancers’ sequences into images. By comparing those images with ancient Greek dance iconography, he attempted to approximate ancient choreography.

18 For a lengthy historiography of scholarship on Greek dance, spanning over five centuries of inquiry, see Naerebout 1997: 3-113.
Sechan (1930) was inspired by Emmanuel and agreed with many of his interpretations but adopted a more literary-historical approach himself. Lawler (1940s-60s) published extensively on named lists of dances (*schēmata*), elucidating what those dances were and in which contexts they were performed. She was influenced by reconstructionists, but she primarily embraced a literary-historical approach throughout her prolific body of work. After some movement in the field away from reconstruction, Prudhommeau (1965) returned to Emmanuel’s work by taking images from vase paintings, putting them in “order” based on insights from classical ballet, and then scrolling through them in succession to propose choreography. She also assigned metrical values to modern dance steps and used this to develop choreography for Greek plays. Delavaud-Roux (1993-95) also embraced the goal of reconstruction but combined this goal with a literary-historical as well as an anthropological approach to studying dance, including armed dances, peace-time dances, and Dionysian dances.

The direction of scholarship on ancient Greek dance changed dramatically with Naerebout (1997). Naerebout was critical of the reconstructionist approach and instead advocated for studying the significance of dance through an anthropological lens, building a model for the role of dance as a mobilizing agent and a means of communication at public events.\(^\text{19}\) In this vein, recent work on dance—even if it does not take up Naerebout’s proposed model—tends to focus on ancient discourse and theory surrounding dance and/or the cultural role of dance rather than its form and choreography. Naerebout’s work has also been instrumental in formulating a shared definition of what we mean when we talk about ancient Greek dance, as I will discuss in more detail below.

\(^{19}\) Naerebout 1997: 293-409.
Recent specialized studies have shed further light on Greek theatrical dance in particular. Bocksberger (2021) challenges the typical understanding of schēmata as a technical term: while there has been much debate as to the term’s specific meaning, schēmata are frequently understood as static poses (as opposed to sequences of movement) that produce mimēsis. Bocksberger agrees that schēmata are mimetic but productively moves away from the static vs. kinetic dichotomy, instead arguing that schēmata fundamentally involve the ability to represent ēthos and pathos, both of which are crucial to creating and embodying characters. In other words, Bocksberger understands schēmata as a feature of dance that allows spectators to identify characters and their experiences— an essential tool for theatrical dance in particular. Delavaud-Roux (2019) argues that the chorus and actors of the Greek theater could sing and dance simultaneously without getting out of breath by making use of breaks at the ends of lines and at caesurae. As discussed above, Olsen (2021) persuasively argues for the inherently transgressive nature of solo dance and the ways in which this impacts both actual and imagined dance in tragedy and comedy. These studies have important implications for my work on comic solo dance, since I am able to take as my basis that: 1) dance schēmata are inherently linked to mimēsis and play a critical role in characterization, which is clearly relevant to comic dance; 2) it is possible for actors to dance and sing or speak at the same time, even with the use of masks; 3) a fundamental characteristic of solo dance is its unruliness or transgression.

Dance in Greek comedy

Dance has sometimes been discussed in introductions to or overviews of Greek comedy, as well as in companion volumes; however, dance is usually not treated in detail in these works.

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20 See Rocconi 2017 for a recent study that argues for understanding schēmata as static poses.
Csapo, in his introductions to the performance of Greek comedy (2010; 2014), occasionally mentions dance. On the comic chorus, Csapo discusses the shape of the orchestra as it relates to choral dance (2010: 124-125). On solo dance, Csapo notes the “gymnastic and balletic skills” required of comic actors (2014: 66) and discusses the possible role of dance in creating the theatrical illusion of being tied up and beaten in the famous calyx krater of the “Goose Play” in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, to which I will return below (2014: 65-66). Hughes (2012), in his study of the performance of Greek comedy, seems to see solo dance as a way for the actor to display versatility (103-105), even suggesting that the actor playing Lysistrata changes his costume and mask in order to play the Spartan Ambassador at the end of *Lysistrata* so that he can display his skill in dance and versatility in performance (104). Hughes also briefly discusses the comic chorus (92-94), including its formation and size. He suggests that the chorus simply changed over time rather than “declining” (94).

In my opinion, the most beneficial recent study of dance in Greek comedy is Zimmermann (2021), which focuses on the narrative function of dance (both choral and solo) in Aristophanes’ plays, arguing that dance is an important part of the plot and that it “builds a bridge between the everyday experience of the audience and the dramatic performance” (54). To help identify dance, Zimmermann distinguishes four types of internal *didaskaliai*, or director’s remarks, written into the text itself, which I will discuss in more detail below, as Zimmermann’s narrative categories have been instrumental to my identification of solo dance in comedy.

As has been established, systematic studies of Greek comic dance tend to focus on the chorus. Bierl (2009) remains the most in-depth study of the comic chorus. Bierl develops a ritual-performative method for understanding the chorus of Old Comedy, arguing for the duality

\[\text{21 For choral dance and the shape of the orchestra, see also Bosher 2009, who argues based on archaeological evidence that early Greek theatres (before the mid 4th century) had rectangular rather than circular dancing spaces.}\]
of the comic chorus as “characters” in the comic plot and a ritual group performing self-referential ritual utterances. Bierl develops his theory in the introduction (1-82), applies it to an extensive analysis of the comic chorus in Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazusae* (83-265), then discusses the *komos* and phallic songs and their implications for the comic chorus (267-325). The work as a whole invites us to shift our understanding of the function and importance of the comic chorus, though admittedly Bierl’s arguments feel localized to *Thesmophoriazusae* at times.

Webster (1970) studies both archaeological and literary evidence for the Greek chorus, with a focus on meter, taking as his basis that meter determines the rhythm of the dance. While the majority of the work deals with archaic lyric and tragedy, there is an extended section on Aristophanic comedy (180-92), in which Webster makes connections between the meter and the dancing or marching of the chorus. Despite his focus on the chorus, Webster does discuss the end of *Wasps* and the dances of Philocleon and the sons of Carcinus (184-85).

Studies of solo dance in Greek comedy have been more piecemeal, largely focusing either on the dances of Philocleon or on specialty performers. Since I will address the scholarship on the dances of Philocleon in the following chapter, here I give references for scholarship on specialty performers. Marshall (2000) uses a South Italian *skyphos* depicting a comic actor and a female acrobat on a potter’s wheel to raise the possibility that female performers could appear on stage as mute, “nude” dancing-girls in Aristophanes, given the link between South Italian comic vases and Attic comedy, as well as the attestation of potter’s wheel acrobatic dances in Athens. Hughes (2008) brings together visual evidence for female performers, including dancers, acrobats, and jugglers, whom he connects with mime and comedy. For example, he suggests that Konnakis, a nude woman depicted on a vase-painting as dancing and carrying a torch onstage, is a comic dancer because of her “voluptuous figure and awkward gait” (on which, see the
discussion of Greco-Roman mime below). These female specialty performers seem more readily connected to mime than to comedy, but Hughes points out that there are opportunities for such performers and/or mute women in Aristophanic comedy. He ends by proposing that a real female dancer appeared onstage as Elaphion at the end of *Thesmophoriazusae* (21-22).

Finally, it is worth dwelling briefly on the scholarship of Lillian Lawler, who frequently wrote on comic dance, both choral and solo. Lawler was a prolific scholar of ancient Greek dance and a master of *schēmata* and named dances. She frequently published about both ritual and theatrical dance and often discussed comic evidence for various *schēmata*. Dances that she identifies as relevant to comedy include the owl or “peering” dance (1939), the dance of the alphabet (1941), fish dances (1941), beating dances (1944), victory dance (1948), Cretan dance (1951), and more. The chapter on comic dance in her 1964 monograph combines and expands upon much of her previous work and is the place to go for named dances in comedy. While some have criticized her work for focusing too much on choreography and later sources, all scholars of ancient Greek dance are indebted to Lawler’s research.

**Synthesis: Greek**

While there has been much exciting work on Greek comic dance, especially recently, there is still no place to go for a systematic study. This is especially true for studies of solo dance, which have largely focused on Philocleon in the *Wasps*, even though there are other clear instances of solo dance in Aristophanic comedy, such as Elaphion in *Thesmophoriazusae* and Cinesias in *Birds*. Given Zimmermann’s argument about the importance of dance to the comic plot of Aristophanes (2021), as well as Bocksberger’s argument about the role of dance in

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22 Hughes 2008: 8.

23 On Lawler’s life as well as her prolific scholarship and legacy in the study of Greek dance, see Smith 2020.
characterization (2021), there is a good opportunity to look at comic solo dance and its role in narration and characterization more fully. Such a study will nevertheless require first making a clear case for where, when, and by whom dance is happening in Greek comedy, including the comedies of Menander.

**Roman dance (general)**

Roman theatrical dance has been much less studied than Greek theatrical dance, especially since Roman plays on the whole do not feature choral dance.\(^{24}\) Solo dance in the form of pantomime was the most popular type of dance under the Roman empire, and it has received more scholarly attention than other types of dance accordingly, with scholarship on pantomime especially booming in the past fifteen years or so. Jory (1981) lays out the literary evidence for the beginning of imperial pantomime, arguing that Bathyllus and Pylades came to Rome from the Greek world and that Roman pantomime thus has Greek roots. Jory (1996) discusses the iconography of pantomime, especially as it relates to the costumes of pantomime dancers. Lada-Richards (2007) studies both the history and art of pantomime as well as its importance and the discourse surrounding it, with Lucian’s *On Dance* as a starting point. Notably, she shows that pantomime grew out of a wide range of influences, including the mimed myth of Ariadne and Dionysus in Xenophon’s *Symposium*, thus refuting the older line of thought that considered Bathyllus and Pylades as “inventors” of pantomime (19-37). François-Garelli (2007), in another highly regarded study of pantomime, names as possible influences for pantomime Etruscan dance, pyrrhic dance, religious mime-dramas, gesture/cheironomia, dancing mime, and more. Hall and Wyles (2008) is a collection of essays on pantomime dancing, including general

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\(^{24}\) See Moore 2012: 129-30, 132 on two possible exceptions (the *aduocati* in *Poenulus* and fishermen in *Rudens*).
discussions of the art of pantomime (ch. 1) and its costume (ch. 2), as well as a series of chapters on pantomime libretti (chs. 6-12) and discourse surrounding pantomime (chs. 13-14). Petrides (2013) uses Lucian’s *On Dance* to study the use of masks in pantomime, arguing that the pantomime mask was neutral enough to allow for focus on the body as the dancer switched between roles (and more broadly suggesting that we can gain legitimate information about the performance of pantomime from Lucian’s work). Dunbabin (2016: 85-113) gives evidence for the Greek origins of pantomime and discusses its characteristics before laying out the (rare) visual evidence for pantomime performances.

For a comprehensive study of Roman dance that includes but is not at all limited to pantomime, we are fortunate to have Alonso Fernández (2011). Alonso Fernández compiles Roman vocabulary for dance and uses lexical work to create an extensive corpus of texts related to dance. She studies in detail dance and religion, dance and ludi, dance and entertainment (including theatrical dance and pantomime), and moral discourse on dance.

**Dance in Roman comedy**

Introductions to or overviews of Roman comedy occasionally but infrequently mention dance. Beare (1964: 10-12) briefly discusses dance as part of the early tradition of Roman theater. Marshall (2006) mentions dance in a discussion of gesture (168-70), which he suggests was important to Roman comedy even though it cannot be recovered.

As for fuller studies, Taladoire (1951: 13-48) lays out the evidence for actors’ movements in the texts of Roman comedy, especially in scenes that are particularly fitting for the mimetic gestures of actors. He shows that Plautine comedy in particular makes frequent reference to gesture. Alonso Fernández (2011: 352-63) discusses dance in Roman comedy as part of her comprehensive study of Roman dance (mentioned above). She lays out some general
considerations for understanding dance in comedy, including gesture as a way to facilitate understanding of scenes (353), imperatives and demonstratives as indications of imitative movement (353), and the ongoing rhythmic context of comedy that is suitable for dance and gesture (354). She further suggests that the roles of slaves and courtesans are particularly apt for dance (354-55) before giving an overview of the dance endings of Persa, Pseudolus, and Stichus (357-63). Alonso Fernández ends this section by suggesting that dance and choreography were clearly important on the Roman stage from its very beginnings (363).

Moore (2012: 105-134) remains the fullest treatment of dance in Roman comedy. Moore identifies various types of dance that occur in Plautus and, to a lesser extent, Terence: cinaedic dancing, which occurs in the endings of Persa, Pseudolus, and Stichus (106-114); gestural dance, which was likely very common, although specific gestures are difficult to pin down (114-19); and dancing with the feet, which is particularly relevant to scenes of excited movement or running (119-21). Moore further shows that solo dancing was the norm in Roman comedy (122-25, 128-29). The chapter as a whole suggests the importance and frequency of dance in Roman comedy, especially by individual actors. Moore also has two recent works on dance in Roman comedy, one on anapestic dance scenes in Plautus (forthcoming) and one on final dances in Plautus and Terence (2022: 159-178). The former argues that anapests are particularly suitable for varied and exuberant dance, and that Plautus often used anapestic “pops,” “closes,” “chunks,” and “sections” specifically for dance. The latter argues that dance at or near the ends of plays was a standard feature of Roman comedy, with Plautus and Terence often using a final dance to mark the climax or the resolution of the plot. These works together suggest that Plautus and Terence used dance as an organizing or structural feature of their plays.
Studies of gestural theory often contain important insights for comic dance. Dutsch (2013) uses Quintilian and Cicero to build a Roman theory of theatrical gesture, suggesting that oratorical and theatrical gestures were quite similar. She points out some perceived differences between their performance (e.g. comic actors seem to have moved more quickly or changed their movements in quicker succession than orators or tragic actors did) and philosophy surrounding their gestural movement (e.g. orators represent their “true emotions,” according to Quintilian and Cicero, while actors represent mere words). Rocconi (2022: 270-82) persuasively argues that Roman theories surrounding oratory and gesture were influenced by pantomime and the importance of 
\textit{mimēsis} to that genre of dancing. Although gesture is not always dance, Dutsch and Rocconi’s arguments and use of theory can help us better understand how movement and mimetic dance in the theater might have been used and perceived.

Other studies grapple with the relationship between theatrical/comic dance and pantomime. Wiseman (2014) suggests that dance was important to the Roman theater from its very beginnings, and that it did not just become popular out of nowhere with pantomime. Wiseman uses a fragment of Suetonius to make this point, arguing that Varro was Suetonius’ source and that the fragment thus contains real theatrical history. Zimmermann (2016) persuasively suggests scenes where mimetic dancing (similar to pantomime) is likely to occur in Plautus, especially in \textit{cantica} and in scenes where a hidden spectator onstage watches the main stage action.

\textbf{Synthesis: Roman}

Roman theatrical dance in general warrants more attention than it has received, though that has been improving recently. Despite recent advancements in the study of Roman comic dance, it remains unclear where exactly dance is happening in Roman comedy, versus where we
might expect simple gesture, and if there is a way to distinguish between the two. Therefore, the field will again benefit from a study that makes a clear case for where, when, and by whom dance is happening in Roman comedy. Zimmermann and Bocksberger’s arguments related to narration and characterization in Greek dance could productively be applied to dance in Roman comedy as well.

**Working definition of dance**

As I aim to identify and better understand comic solo dance, it is important to establish a working definition of dance as a tool to guide my study: there cannot be a systematic study of dance without an organizing idea of what dance is. This is no simple feat, due in part to the difficulties of capturing motion with words. In 1997, Naerebout in his seminal work on ancient Greek dance noted that a clear definition of dance had been missing from scholarship on ancient dance, resulting in a scholarly tendency to operate based on assumptions about what dance is rather than a standard definition.\(^{25}\) I will discuss definitions of dance given by three scholars in particular who have influenced my understanding of what dance is: Sally Banes, a dance historian; Judith Lynne Hanna, an anthropologist; and Naerebout, a classicist. While each definition has influenced my work, ultimately I follow Naerebout’s definition as my working definition of dance in this study.

In a discussion of the relationship between dance and drama, Banes defines dance as “designed movement, or movement framed to be perceived as designed.”\(^{26}\) This definition is much broader than the definitions of Hanna and Naerebout that I will discuss below, but it provides a useful starting point: dance is inherently kinesthetic and consists of intentional,

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\(^{25}\) Naerebout 1997: 155.

\(^{26}\) Banes 2005.
deliberate movement, as opposed to random movement. Banes goes on to discuss dance and drama as part of a continuum, borrowing South Asian terminology from ancient Sanskrit treatises on dance. On one end of the spectrum, *nritta* describes pure dance, which exists only for beauty in form rather than the interpretation of words or song. On the other end of the spectrum is *natya*, dance-drama, which is a narrative performance consisting of dancing, singing, and speech. In the middle is *nritya* or expressive dance, which signifies the words of a song, but not to the level of a dramatic performance. Banes also calls *nritya* mimetic dance, which is obviously applicable to our understanding of ancient Greek and Roman dance, which was largely, if not entirely, mimetic. Most Greek and Roman dance falls between *nritya* and *natya* on this continuum, but it is possible that something resembling *nritta* existed as well: some of the dances performed in Xenophon’s *Symposium*, for example, are not explicitly mimetic but do explicitly convey the beauty and aesthetic form of the dancing body. On the other side of the spectrum, Greek and Roman theater provides numerous examples of dance-drama or *natya*, and it is useful to think of dance in Greek and Roman comedy in this way, as one meaningful part of a multifaceted narrative performance.

Hanna’s definition of dance addresses the role of rhythm and cultural patterning in addition to design and intention:

Dance can be most usefully defined as human behavior composed, from the dancer’s perspective, of (1) purposeful, (2) intentionally rhythmical, and (3) culturally patterned

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27 I.e. the boy’s dance in Xen. *Symp.* 2.15: Ἐκ τούτου ὁ παῖς ὀφρησάτο. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔδει, ἐδει, ὡς καλὸς ὁ παῖς ὄν δῶς σῶν τοῖς σχήμασιν ἐτί κάλλιον φαίνεται ἢ ὅταν ἠμωσχίαν ἐδει; (“At this point the boy performed a dance, eliciting from Socrates the remark, ‘Did you notice that, handsome as the boy is, he looks even handsomer in the poses of the dance than when he’s at rest?’”). When the buffoon Philip mimics the boy’s dancing later, he again comments on the beauty of the boy’s dancing form (2.22): καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὁτί ἐπῆθεν ὡς ὁ παῖς σῶν τοῖς σχήμασιν ἐτί κάλλιον φαίνετο, ἀνταπέδειξεν ὁ τι κινοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαν τῆς φύσεως γελοιότερον (“To begin with, since the company had applauded the way the boy’s natural beauty was increased by the grace of the dancing postures, Philip made a burlesque out of the performance by rendering every part of his body that was in motion more grotesque than it naturally was,” ed. and trans. Marchant and Todd 2013). On dance and entertainment in Xenophon’s *Symposium*, see Wohl 2004, Gilhuly 2009, and Schlapbach 2018: 172-183.
sequences of (4a) nonverbal body movements (4b) other than ordinary motor activities, (4c) the motion having inherent and aesthetic value.\(^{28}\)

One complication in applying Hanna’s definition to an ancient context is that she uses this definition to identify dance “from the dancer’s perspective.” In other words, in Hanna’s definition, the dancer themself should see their own bodily movement as purposeful, rhythmical and culturally patterned in a way that moves beyond everyday motions. Of course, we cannot know if ancient comic actors saw their movement on stage in this way, or if they saw some movements in this way and not others. But we can do our best to determine how closely references to dance fit this definition from an etic perspective.\(^ {29}\) To focus on one element of Hanna’s definition, intentional rhythmicality strikes me as essential to any definition of dance and especially important to the study of Greek and Roman theatrical dance, given the role of meter, rhythm, and song in ancient theater.

Naerebout builds on Hanna’s definition but adds several elements: most notably, Naerebout sees dance as communicative and inherently communal, and he makes these aspects of dance central to his definition.\(^ {30}\) Naerebout’s full definition (1997: 165-66) is worth quoting in its entirety, as it provides the basis for my understanding of what should be considered dance in Greek and Roman comedy:

Dance is (1) human movement, involving the whole body. In dance (2) the body travels, usually within a relatively circumscribed space. Dance (3) is a communal activity, with any number of participants (performers and audience). In dance (4) movement is intentional, rhythmized and patterned, in any form, though always a form stereotyped to some degree. The movement has (5) some patterned sound as cue; this sound can be clapping, stamping, singing, or sound produced with instruments of any type, by the performers themselves or by others. In dance (6) the movement should be in some way distinguishable from everyday movement, and the performers themselves should consider

\(^{28}\) Hanna 1979: 19.
\(^{29}\) On etic definitions (i.e., “outside” definitions by scientific observers) and emic definitions (e.g., “inside” definitions by the practitioners themselves) as they relate to the study of ancient dance, see Naerebout 1997: 155-66.
\(^{30}\) Naerebout 1997: 162. As Naerebout notes (1997: 163n342), the role of dance as a communicative activity is important to Hanna’s theories as well, but Hanna does not explicitly include communication in her definition.
the movement to be so. That is, they should consider the movement to be (part of) a separate category or separate categories (which need not be called with a name which with semantical correctness translates into English as ‘dance’ or ‘march’ – both covered by my definition). The distinguishing factor lies in the communicative nature of the dance: it carries some meaning over and beyond that carried by everyday movement, and is perceived by participants as carrying such meaning.31

There are several merits to using this definition as my working definition of dance in this study.32 Naerebout’s formulation successfully captures a wide range of criteria that tend to come up across definitions of dance. His definition is specific and more comprehensive than the other definitions that have influenced me, while being largely applicable to the types of activities and movements (such as marching) that Greeks and Romans often seem to have considered dance, despite this being an etic definition. Still, practically speaking, part of this definition (item 6) creates a similar complication as Hanna’s when applying it to an ancient context: we cannot truly know if the performers themselves considered their movement different from everyday movement. There are further complications for identifying theatrical dance in particular. At baseline, acting involves movement and traveling within a circumscribed space (the stage area). Further, both Greek and Roman plays are inherently communal experiences. This means that any movement by an actor automatically fulfills items 1-3 of Naerebout’s definition. However, distinguishing between simple movement, gesture, and dance becomes more complicated with items 4-6. As I will discuss in more detail below, all Greek and Roman plays are rhythmic (even during scenes that do not include musical accompaniment) and full of patterned sounds, especially through singing and instruments. The theatrical context is such that nearly any

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31 It could be objected that aspects of Naerebout’s definition are too restrictive to encompass dance that is truly performed alone (where there is no real community or audience, and nothing is communicated). However, this definition sufficiently covers dance in a public performance, such as the dances being discussed in this work.
32 For ease of reference, I often refer to this definition throughout as ‘my/our working definition of dance,’ but I do not mean to imply that I created this definition, only that I am using it as the working definition underlying my study.
movement—if performed intentionally and rhythmically to sound, in a way that carries meaning beyond everyday movement—could be considered dance. But it is always difficult, and sometimes impossible, to determine whether an actor’s movements fit every aspect of this definition. Plays have rhythm and sound, and actors move—but how can we determine whether they move intentionally to the rhythm of the composition with sound as cue?

**Toolkit for identifying dance**

To attempt to answer the question above and identify dance in Greek and Roman comedy, we need to study the various ways that texts can reflect bodily movement, as well as the conditions under which such movement meets our working definition of dance. While I will incorporate some visual evidence as well, this is primarily a textual study, because the texts of Greek and Roman comedies themselves constitute my primary source of evidence. I will also use later textual sources that comment on these plays (such as scholia), or that give valuable information related to dance and theater (such as Plutarch and Pollux). All of these sources present real problems: we cannot know to what extent the text of each play as it survives relates to its original performance (vs. reperformances); we cannot know to what extent information in the scholia and later sources relates to the actual production(s) of the plays (vs. texts and scholarship on the plays); we cannot know to what extent visual representations of comic dance relate to its performance (vs. artistic license and tradition). While some of my work will retain an element of speculation because of these problems, I do believe that there are ways to mitigate them. When looking at the plays, I am considering how an actor might interpret the script and/or how the script might reflect the actor’s work on stage (in the case of improvisation, with the script recorded after the performance). Because of this, my arguments are less about where dance had to have happened in the original performance of the play and more about what it is in the
text of the plays themselves that calls for or reflects dance, no matter where or when the script is performed—although there is reason to believe that the preserved texts do reflect the original performance. As I will show, there are numerous instances throughout Greek and Roman comedy that must reflect actual dancing, or that any actor would take as a cue to dance. However, the vast majority of opportunities for dancing throughout Greek and Roman comedy operate in a gray area, in passages where movement is clearly important to the stage action, but the text merely raises the possibility that such movement is actually dance, rather than making it clear.

Imagining onstage movement as a continuum from “not dance” on the left to “definitely dance” on the right, the extant corpus of Greek and Roman comedy includes a handful of passages on either end, with a vast majority of passages falling somewhere in between the two points (see Figure 1.1). In this study, it is not my intention to identify every single line or passage that falls somewhere to the right of “not dance” on the spectrum. Instead, I am focusing on the “definitely dance” end of the continuum. Further criteria are needed to understand why certain passages fit on the “definitely dance” side and, even more so, to identify passages that very likely include dance, falling perhaps around three-quarters of the way down the continuum.

Figure 1: Visualization of continuum for dance in Greek and Roman comedy

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33 As Revermann 2006: 66-95 argues for the plays of Aristophanes.
There are four main tools that I use for identifying and discussing dance: words, meter, later textual sources, and visual sources. Of these, my two primary tools are words and meter. I use the words of the comedies themselves to identify places where a character definitely dances or might be dancing. In cases where the words make dancing certain, I use the meter to better understand the structural features of the dance scene. In cases where dancing is likely but not confirmed, I use the meter to help identify just how likely it is (e.g. if the meter is iambic trimeter/senarii, I am less inclined to suggest that the passage very likely involves dancing). I use later textual sources and visual sources to frame my understanding of comic dance and supplement my discussion of passages related to dance. In what follows, I discuss each of these tools and how I use them throughout my study.

**Words: vocabulary and narration**

Dance vocabulary, combined with various tools of narration, is the primary marker I use to identify where dance occurs in the text of the comedies. There is a relatively small range of vocabulary in Greek and Latin that exclusively signifies dance (Greek *orchēsis*, *choros*, and related terms; Latin *salto* and related terms), but a wider range of terms that can be employed to describe dance movements, such as leaping, spinning, and shaking.³⁴ For Greek dance, there is also a large number of named dances that we know about from later sources but occasionally show up in Aristophanes.³⁵ We need to exercise caution with terms that nonexclusively describe dance movements and with named dances from later sources, which may or may not reflect

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³⁵ See Naerebout 1997: 285-89 for a comprehensive list. Such dances recur throughout the scholarship of Lawler; for representative examples, see Lawler 1939, 1944, 1948.
Greek dance in the Classical period. Nevertheless, the presence of these terms with other context clues, such as meter and music, can help strengthen the identification of dance.

The presence of dance vocabulary alone is not the end of the story; the way the playwright uses the vocabulary matters. Narration is another tool that can help us make sense of the dance vocabulary. Bernhard Zimmermann, in a discussion of dance and narrative in Greek comedy, has recently laid out four types of choreographic didaskaliai, or director’s notes, that are written into the text of the play (2021: 41):

1. those that function as instructions for the chorus and prompt the chorus’ movements,
2. those with which the chorus or a soloist himself refers to his dance and its various gestures and steps—sometimes with detailed information and using the termini technici of the orchestra—and
3. those who, from the outside, comment on the movements of a dancer or group, with numerous references to the respective dance figure (σχῆμα / schēma) and sometimes with termini technici. While in the first case the dance is part and parcel of the dramatic action, in the second case the didaskaliai oscillate between an external and internal perspective: it is the chorus as a dramatis persona who speaks about his dance; however, he also sometimes pretends to watch himself dance. The separation between the commentator who speaks about the dance steps and the dancer is fully made in the third group, which is only a small step away from pure (4) ballet, in which there may be little or even no connection between the dance and the plot. All four scene types have in common that the attention of the audience is directed to the dance itself, albeit with different degrees of insistence, and the text thus puts the performance at the centre.

This taxonomy of didaskaliai works best for instances of actual dancing rather than references to dance, but it is still exceedingly helpful in putting the dance vocabulary described above to use, whether a character is describing their own dancing or commenting on someone else’s. In other words, the presence of some sort of narration helps separate true dance scenes from mere references to dance. I will refer to Zimmermann’s classifications throughout the coming chapters, especially types (2) and (3), which can apply equally to choral and solo dance.

Words related to music and instruments can also give us more context when looking for dance. It is largely assumed that iambic trimeters/senarii were unaccompanied by the aulos or tibia. However, Greek and Roman playwrights occasionally refer to the aulos or tibia when we
do not expect it. For example, at the end of Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazusae*, Elaphion clearly dances (1172-1206). Euripides tells the Scythian guard that Elaphion needs to practice for her upcoming dance at what was likely a symposium (ὀρχησομένη, l. 1178), and the Scythian tells her to practice her dance (ὁρκήσει καὶ μελετήσει, l. 1179). The potential problem is that the entire passage is written in iambic trimeters (1160-1226), which were not typically accompanied by music. Beyond the clear dance language, what confirms this scene as one of actual dancing are the direct instructions to the piper. Euripides tells an aulos-player named Teredon to play a Persian tune (σὺ δ’, ὦ Τερηδόν, ἐπαναφύσα Περσικόν, l. 1175) and even instructs the musician to play faster as Elaphion’s dance heats up (ἀφλεί σὺ θάττον, l. 1186). So, in a passage where there might otherwise be some debate as to whether Elaphion is actually dancing (given the unaccompanied meter), the musical language and Euripides’ instructions to the piper confirm that there is in fact music during the scene, which strengthens my identification of this as a secure attestation of dance. This brings us to the role of meter, rhythm, and sound in identifying dance.

**Meter**

The relationship between meter and dance has been hotly debated, but meter remains a critical tool in our toolkit for identifying dance. Naerebout discusses the issue of meter, rhythm, and dance in detail and concludes that meter and poetic composition “will not tell us anything about the dance except providing us, in the case of pre-Hellenistic sung/danced poetry, with some idea of dance rhythms.” While I agree with much of Naerebout’s discussion, especially

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36 Moore 2017:182-184 suggests that part of the humor in this scene (and similar ones) comes from the need for actors to shout their iambic trimeters, which were normally unaccompanied, over the *aulos*.
37 Naerebout 1997: 202-5. Naerebout limits this conclusion to pre-Hellenistic poetry because he subscribes to the approach of assigning a one-to-one relationship between meter and rhythm before the Hellenistic period, at which time musical rhythm began to differ significantly from metrical text (p. 204).
his skepticism about linking meters with specific dance steps, I do believe that metrical patterns can strengthen our understanding of where and when dance is happening, and sometimes to what effect.

As one approach to studying meter and dance, some scholars have assumed that meter dictates the movements of the dance and have linked certain dances or dance steps with certain meters accordingly. Prudhommeau (1965), for example, connected ancient Greek visual representations of dance with classical ballet, then assigned metrical values to modern dance steps in an attempt to approximate the choreography of Greek lyric.38 Webster (1970) takes as a premise for his study of the Greek chorus that meter dictates the feet of the dancers39 and that visual sources can tell us what choruses looked like, which dances lasted over time, when new dances were introduced, and even the tempo of the dance.40 Webster’s conclusions suggest that certain dance steps went with certain meters, although he does not commit to what exactly those dance steps were (p. 200):

The fact that we can construct long series of illustrations which show identical dance steps lasting for centuries, women dancing with linked hands, muffled walkers, pyrrhic dancers, padded-dancers, prancing satyrs, and the rest, is some confirmation of the reasonable conjecture that the survival of rhythms in choral poetry also means the survival of dance steps, that, for instance, an Athenian tragic chorus in the late fifth century would dance what we call an alcaic decasyllable in the same way as Alkman’s girls in the seventh century. We can accept, as a provisional formula, that a great many units of dance movement, which are also metrical units controlling the sung words, were traditional and that much of the art of the choral poet lay in finding new combinations of traditional units rather than in inventing new units.

Webster differs from Prudhommeau by not assigning specific steps to specific meters, but he maintains that the steps performed to certain metrical units stayed the same over time.

38 See Naerebout 1997: 86-88 for a critical but fair review of Prudhommeau’s work.
39 “[meter] controlled the feet of the dancers as well as organizing the words of the song,” (p. xi). Webster does not attempt to support this theory or discuss it further; see Diggle 1972 and Buttrey 1974 for similar critiques.
40 Webster 1970: xi-xii.
Approaches such as these have fallen out of favor, as it is unlikely that the same steps always corresponded to the same meter (even in one author’s work, let alone from the archaic to the classical period). Scholars agree that the dance steps would have related to the meter in some way, but most no longer assume an unchanging one-to-one relationship.

Other studies link different meters to different emotions, moods, or characteristics. Zimmermann has suggested that meter and its characteristic effects can relate to the role of Greek comic dance in crafting narrative. As examples, he lists catalectic iambic tetrameters, which “can express slowness and age,” trochees for their “aggressiveness and speed,” and ionics for their “exotic, ‘oriental’ ambience” as well as their association with early Greek tragedy. Interestingly, Zimmermann maintains that the meaning of a meter is more significant in comedy than tragedy, which suggests that we are particularly justified in examining metrical characteristics and their effects for comic dance. On the Roman side, Timothy Moore extensively discusses metrical characteristics in Plautus and Terence, with justification for why a playwright’s specific choice of meter is significant. For example, Moore maintains that cretics tend to be bouncy and call attention to themselves, which make them especially suitable for comic or farcical scenes, while the slowness and sense of struggle in bacchiacs can convey difficulty moving. Neither Zimmermann nor Moore argue that these are absolute rules, but their work suggests that comic playwrights in particular often choose certain meters for their particular characteristics to great effect. This is important for dance, since the characteristics of

42 Zimmermann 2021: 42n14
44 Cretics: 194-95; bacchiacs: 197.
45 For opposing viewpoints, see Maas 1962 (who suggests that meters do not have inherent characteristic effects and that ancient sources only connect meters with certain characteristics based on the meter’s previous usage) and Wallace 2005: 150-54 (who, after reviewing previous scholarship, suggests that metrical variation can produce an emotional effect in general but that particular meters do not correspond with a particular ēthos).
a certain meter could impact the dance movements, perhaps by suggesting slower choreography or more excited choreography as needed. Where relevant, these metrical characteristics can also drive the effect of the dance, whether it contributes to the chaos or joy or dejection of a scene. These considerations are inherently speculative, since we cannot know what the choreography consisted of, but this is an area where I believe speculation is useful, as it can allow us to consider the various possibilities for the role dance could play in the audience’s experience of a scene.

“Patterned sound”

As quoted above, Naerebout’s definition of dance includes a “patterned sound as cue.”

In studies of Greek and Roman dance, the presence of music or song is frequently considered necessary for there to be dance. A musical context makes it more likely that accompanying movements would meet our working definition of dance. However, it remains unclear what a “patterned sound” practically means for finding dance, especially in Greek and Roman comedy, which is full of patterned sounds. Some scholars have assumed that actual dancing requires a song, or lyric meters. For example, MacCary maintains that Philocleon does not dance at the end of Aristophanes’ Wasps, on the grounds that the meter is recitative and would have been delivered in parakataloge (something akin to chanting rather than speaking or singing); he assumes a similar in-between delivery of the movement, beyond ordinary movement but not quite dance. To proponents of this approach, merely an accompanied meter is not enough for movements to be considered dance; the meters must be lyric, rather than recitative. This

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46 Naerebout 1997: 166.
48 MacCary 1979: 140-41. MacCary builds upon Rossi 1979, who argues that Philocleon does not dance, but rather mimes unconnected figures. See Gianvittorio 2017: 95-96 for a refutation to this, in addition to Andrisano below.
approach is more limiting than etic and, to the best of our knowledge, emic definitions of dance require.\textsuperscript{49} On this point, Angela Maria Andrisano has argued that Greek dance does not have to be accompanied by song or music in particular.\textsuperscript{50} She uses Aristotle’s definition of dance in the \textit{Poetics} as evidence (1447a26-28):

\begin{quote}
αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ρυθμῷ [μιμοῦνται] χωρίς ἀρμονίας ἢ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν (καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι διὰ τῶν σχηματιζομένων ρυθμῶν μιμοῦνται καὶ ἥθη καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις).\textsuperscript{51}
\end{quote}

Andrisano’s translation: La danza può realizzare la performance con il solo ritmo e senza musica: i danzatori, infatti, rappresentano caratteri, passioni, azioni attraverso figure eseguite sulla base di un ritmo.

My translation: The art of dancers uses rhythm itself apart from music (for dancers also imitate both characters and emotions and actions by turning rhythms into \textit{schēmata}).

As Andrisano discusses, the focus of Aristotle’s passage is very much on rhythm, and he states that the dancer’s art uses rhythm without music (\textit{χωρίς ἀρμονίας}).\textsuperscript{52} This suggests that rhythm is the most important element for dance, and it means that we should not limit dance to lyric passages. Recitative meters that were accompanied by the \textit{aulos} would have provided more than enough rhythmical context to aid the dance and certainly fit the definition of “patterned sound.”

A more difficult question is whether movements during unaccompanied passages of iambic trimeters/senarii, if sufficiently intentional, rhythmized, and patterned, could be considered dance. The safest answer is: probably not. Aristotle twice contrasts iambic trimeters with trochaic tetrameters, stating that the trochaic tetrameter is “more fitting for dancing”

\textsuperscript{49} As an example of a patterned sound, Naerebout’s etic definition lists “sound produced with instruments of any type”; the presence of \textit{aulos} music, even during recitative or non-lyric meters, constitutes a patterned sound under Naerebout’s definition.
\textsuperscript{50} Andrisano 2017: 57-59.
\textsuperscript{51} Text ed. Halliwell 1995.
\textsuperscript{52} See \textit{LSJ} s.v. ἀρμονία A.IV.2 for this general definition. More specifically, ἀρμονία can refer to a musical scale or method of stringing instruments (A.IV) or vocal pitch (A.IV.5).
(ὀρχηστικωτέραν) while the iambic trimeter is suitable for speech and action. The implication is that iambic trimeters are there for dialogue and furthering the action of the plot. Still, it is likely that actors of both Greek and Roman comedy made frequent use of gesture, which sometimes but not always could be considered dance, in both accompanied and unaccompanied sections. I think it is unlikely that simple theatrical gestures during unaccompanied passages would be considered dance, either from the actor’s perspective or the audience’s perspective. Neither would such gestures meet our working definition of dance from the etic perspective.

But what about instances where the text indicates significant movement during an unaccompanied passage? For example, at the end of Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazusae*, after Euripides frees his in-law following Elaphion’s dance (discussed above), the Scythian guard enters looking for them and frantically runs around the stage trying to catch them, with the chorus leader intentionally misdirecting him so that he will run around in vain (1210-25):

ΣΕΟΤΗΣ:

1210 ὁ γράδι’, ὡς καριέντο σοι τὸ τυγάτριον
cou’ δύσκολ’, ἀλλὰ πράδο. ποῦ τὸ γράδιο;
oi’ ὡς ἀπόλολο- ποῦ τὸ γέροντ’ ἐντευτενί;
ὁ γράδι’, ὡ γράδ’. οὐκ ἐπανό, γράδιο.
Ἀρταμουξία.

1215 ὁ γραύς με διέβαλ’, ἀπότρεκ’ ὡς τάκιστα σύ.

ΤΟΞ.: ναί, ναίκι. εἰδες αὐτό;

ΚΟΡ.: ταύτη γ’ οἴχεται

53 Poetics 1449a21-27 (τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρόντο διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν…); 1459b37 (τὸ δὲ ταμβεένον καὶ τετράμετρον κινητικὰ καὶ τὸ μὲν ὀρχηστικὸν τὸ δὲ πρακτικὸν). See below for definite and likely comic dance scenes in trochaic tetrameters.


55 This is assuming that the aulos player, Teredon, stops playing by the time that Euripides dismisses him at 1203. See further discussion of this scene in chapter one below.
αὐτή τ’ ἐκείνη καὶ γέρων τις εἶπετο.

ΤΟΞ.: κροκῶτ’ ἐκοντο τῇ γέροντο;

1220 ΚΟΡ.: φήμ’ ἐγώ
ἐτ’ ἀν καταλάβοις, εἰ διόκοις ταυτη.

ΤΟΞ.: ὁ μιαρὸ γραῦτ’ πότερα τρέξι τὴν ὁδό;
Αρταμουξία.

ΚΟΡ.: ὅρθην ἄνω δίοικε. ποὶ θεῖς; σφι πάλιν
τηδί διώξεις; τούμπαλιν τρέχεις σὺ γε.

1225 ΤΟΞ.: κακόδαμον. ἀλλὰ τρέξι. Αρταμουξία.

Guard: Old lady, your girl is nice and easygoing, no trouble at all! (looking around)
Where’s the old lady? Oh no, now I’m done for! Where’d the old man get to? Old lady!
Lady! I don’ like this at all, old lady! Artamuxia! The old bag’s tricked me! (to Elaphion)
You, run after her as quick as you can! (Elaphion runs off).

(realizing his quiver is gone) Justly is it called a shaft case: I fucked mine away and got
shafted! Oh my, what am I gonna do? Where’d that old lady get to? Artamuxia!

Chorus leader: Are you asking for the lady with the harp?

Guard: Yeah, yeah! Seen her?

Chorus leader: She went that way (pointing left), and there was an old man with her.

Guard: Was the old man wearing a yellow dress?

Chorus leader: That’s right. You might still catch them if you go that way (pointing
right).

Guard: The dirty old bag! Which way should I go again? Artamuxia!

Chorus leader: Right! Straight up that hill! Where are you going? No, run the other
way! No, you’re going the wrong way!

Guard: Damn! I’ve gotta run! Artamuxia!

The bolded words make it clear that the guard is running around the stage: the chorus leader uses
deictics to lead him in different directions, the guard asks where he should run, and the chorus
leader gives conflicting directions that add to the confusion of the scene. This scene must have
added much humor at the end of the play, with the audience celebrating Euripides’ escape and laughing at the foreign guard for being duped. Could they also have been laughing at the Scythian’s frantic *dance*? The regular rhythm of spoken iambic trimeters could have provided a “patterned sound,” but in this case it is difficult to prove that the Scythian’s running was intentional, rhythmized, and patterned enough to count as dance.\(^{56}\) If the actor ran in an intentionally rhythmical way, reinforcing the meter, it is possible that an audience familiar with the importance of rhythm for dance could interpret it as a dance scene, even without music. It is further possible that the sound produced from the actor’s own running—if performed rhythmically—could have created a “patterned sound” on its own: Naerebout does include stamping as an example of patterned sound in his definition.\(^{57}\) But without knowing how the running was realized in practice, at best we can say that an actor could treat this as a dance scene if he so chooses.

**Later textual sources**

While my primary approach to identifying dance passages involves the use of dance terminology, musical terminology, narration, and meter from the comedies themselves, I also use later textual sources as supplementary evidence to better understand phenomena from the comedies. Relevant later sources for this study include scholiasts as well as works such as Plutarch’s *Quaestiones Convivales*, Lucian’s *Peri Orcheseos*, Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*, Varro’s *De Lingua Latina*, and Pollux’s *Onomastikon*. These sources have much to contribute to our understanding of comic solo dance, but each must also be approached with caution, as they postdate even Terence by several centuries. Here I address passages from later textual sources

\(^{56}\) Bierl 2009: 134n139 connects this scene with chase-dances and suggests that the guard dances as he exits.

\(^{57}\) Naerebout 1997: 166.
that have informed my understanding of comic solo dance at a high level. I reserve insights related to individual passages or phenomena for the chapters in which they are discussed.

Although the connections between Lucian’s dialogue on dance (Peri Orcheseos) and Roman imperial pantomime have been well documented, there are times when Lucian’s arguments about dance can be applied to earlier forms of dancing as well, especially theatrical dance.⁵⁸ After a lengthy discussion of the knowledge that a dancer must possess, Lucian’s narrator, Lykinos, identifies acting or playing a role as the primary pursuit of dancing:

"Ἡ δὲ πλείστη διατριβή καὶ ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς ὀρχηστικῆς ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἔστιν, ὡς ἔφην, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποτελούμενοι ἐπιτηδευμομένη, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς τὰς καλομένας ταύτας μελέτας διεξόμενοι οὐδὲν γοῦν καὶ ἐν ἑκεῖνοις μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦμεν ἢ τὸ ἐοικέναι τοῖς ὑποκείμενοις προσώποις καὶ μὴ ἀποθάνει τὰ λαγόμενα τῶν εἰσαγομένων ἀριστέων ἢ τυραννοκτόνων ἢ πενήτων ἢ γεωργῶν, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τούτων τὸ ἱδιον καὶ τὸ ἐξαίρετον δείκνυσθαι. (sec. 65)"

The chief occupation and the aim of dancing, as I have said, is **playing a part**, which is cultivated in the same way by the rhetoricians, particularly those who recite these pieces that they call “exercises”; for in their case also there is nothing which we commend more highly than their **accommodating themselves to the roles which they assume**, so that what they say is not inappropriate to the noblest people or tyrant-slayers or poor people or farmers whom they introduce, but in each of these what is individual and distinctive is presented.⁵⁹

Lykinos likens dancers playing a role through their movements to orators who take on a role in their verbal exercises: just as orators should make sure that what they say (τὰ λαγόμενα) is appropriate for the “character” they speak as, dancers should make sure that their movements fit the characters they play as well. According to Lykinos, this is not just an aspect of dancing but the most important aspect. This argument is clearly related to pantomime, in which the dancer would have rapidly changed between different characters to tell a story through dance. But it is also relevant for theatrical dance: actors would often have to play multiple parts in one play.

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⁵⁸ On Lucian’s dialogue and pantomime dancing, see especially Lada-Richards 2007.
⁵⁹ Text ed. and trans. Harmon 1936, with minor adjustments (here and below).
meaning that they also had to be skilled at matching their movements to individual, distinct characters. This close relationship between dance and playing a character suggests that dance can be used for much more than just entertainment: the way an actor moves conveys the type of person his character is.

Successfully conveying emotions through dance seems to have been one way that the actor-dancer characterized the role he played. Lykinos goes on to explain that a dancer is able to communicate emotions such as love, anger, madness, and grief through dance:

Τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἦλθη καὶ πάθη δείχειν καὶ ὑποκρινεῖσθαι ἡ ὁρχησίς ἐπαγγέλλεται, νῦν μὲν ἔρωντα, νῦν δὲ ὀργιζόμενον τινα εἰσάγουσα, καὶ ἄλλον μεμηνότα καὶ ἄλλον λελυπημένον, καὶ ἀπαντα ταῦτα μεμετρημένως. (sec. 67)

In general, the dancer undertakes to present and enact characters and emotions, introducing now a lover and now an angry person, one man afflicted with madness, another with grief, and all this within fixed bounds.

The passage continues as Lykinos gives more specific examples based on popular subjects of pantomime dancing (e.g. Athamas going mad; Ino being afraid). However, it is notable that the passage is framed by more general examples (a lover, an angry person, etc.) that could apply to pantomime dancing in particular or theatrical dancing in general. New Comedy, for example, includes numerous “lovers” as stock characters, and actors playing these roles would need to be skilled at conveying the emotion of love through their movements.

Lucian’s comments on the relationship between dance and emotions echo theories surrounding dance found in Plutarch’s Quaestiones Convivales, which can be traced further back to Aristotle’s Poetics. Each work suggests that dance in general, and theatrical dance in particular, has a special ability to communicate emotions in a nonverbal manner. It is perhaps

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60 For Roman sources on bodily performance and the expression of emotions, see Rocconi 2022.
this function of dance that best contributes to the characterization of dramatis personae and drives reactions to the plot.

In Plutarch’s final sympotic conversation (QC 9.15), the symposiasts praise the dancing of two slaves and want them to compete in a dance contest, φορά compared with φορά.61 This causes one of the symposiasts, Thrasyboulos, to ask about the meaning of φορά, and another symposiast, Ammonius, answers with a quasi-treatise on dancing, breaking the art down into φορά, σχήμα, and δείξις.62 According to this theory, φοραί are movements, σχήματα are poses or positions, and δείξις consists of pointing or straightforward indication:

ἡ γὰρ ὀρχήσις ἔκ τε κινήσεων καὶ σχέσεων συνέστηκεν, ὡς τὸ μέλος τῶν φθόγγων καὶ τῶν διαστημάτων· ἐνταῦθα δὲ αἱ μοναὶ πέρατα τῶν κινήσεων εἰσιν. φοράς μὲν οὖν τὰς κινήσεις ὄνομάζουσιν, σχήματα δὲ <τάς> σχέσεις καὶ διαθέσεις, εἰς ὅς φερόμεναι τελευτῶσιν αἱ κινήσεις, ὅταν Απόλλωνος ἢ Πανὸς ἢ τινος Βάκχης σχήμα διαθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος γραφικῶς τοῖς εἴδεσιν ἐπιμένωσι. τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ἡ δείξις, οὐ μιμητικόν ἀλλὰ δηλωτικὸν ἀληθῶς τῶν ὑποκειμένων.63 (9.15.1; 747C).

For the dance takes shape from both movements and stationary positions, as the song [consists] of notes and intervals, and here (i.e. in dance) the stops are the ends of the movements. So they call the movements φοραί, and [they call] the stationary positions (σχέσεις) and arrangements (διαθέσεις) σχήματα, into which [positions] the movements, being carried, end, whenever dancers, after composing the figure of Apollo or Pan or a Bacchant with the body, remain in the forms as if [they were] painted. The third, δείξις, is not mimetic, but rather shows the subject matter truly.64

61 TT 9.5.1 (747B): ἠξίουν τινές ὄρχεσθαι φοράν παρὰ φοράν. “Some thought fit for [the two slaves] to dance, φορά compared with φορά.” See LSJ (s.v. παρά C.I.7) for x παρά x as an indication of direct comparison. The dancers are referred to as παῖδες; see LSJ (s.v. παῖς A.III) for παῖς as ‘slave’. Schlapbach 2011: 159 also describes this as a competition between slaves.

62 For discussions of this passage, see especially Lawler 1954, Teodorsson 1996: 374-389, and Schlapbach 2018: 25-73. The theory could reflect an earlier (lost) treatise on dance, but if so, the emergence of pantomime would likely provide a terminus post quem. Teodorsson 1996: 379 and Schlapbach 2018: 44 note the clear influence of pantomime upon this theory, especially in the distinction between the two static, gestural components (σχήμα and δείξις).

63 Greek text ed. Hubert 1957.

64 Plutarch translations are my own. δείξις in this context means something akin to “pointing.” Ammonius goes on to compare δείξις to the use of proper names in poetry, or common words that clearly indicate the referent (e.g. Achilles, Odysseus, earth, heaven), as opposed to metaphor and onomatopoeia, which represent the referent in an indirect, suggestive way. To give a more concrete example, consider how a dancer might depict the winds and the sky: Ammonius’ discussion suggests a difference between mimetic representation (e.g., flying around like winds) and straightforward indication (e.g., gesturing to the sky to indicate the sky). Cf. Schlapbach 2011: 153-54 and passim; Bockesberger 2021: 72n35.
While a full discussion of this theory is out of scope here, it is worth dwelling on the relationship between φοραί and σχήματα (the mimetic elements), in particular. Ammonius’ definition of σχήματα above suggests that the static element of dancing – the poses – allows dancers to imitate the shape and form of known figures. Later, Ammonius elaborates on what exactly the movements, φοραί, represent: καὶ πάλιν ἡ φορὰ πάθους τινὸς ἐμφαντικὸν ἢ πράξεως ἢ δυνάμεως (“and, on the contrary, the φορά expresses some emotion or action or force,” 747E). Although the utility of distinguishing between these two functions (poses representing form and movements representing actions, emotions, etc.) can be debated, the general idea of dance being used to represent characters and portray emotions has parallel. Aristotle’s brief definition of dance in Poetics, discussed above for its insights on rhythm, names three objects of dancers’ imitations: καὶ γὰρ οὕτω διὰ τῶν σχηματιζομένων ῥυθμῶν μυθοῦνται καὶ ἠθη καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις (“For dancers also imitate both characters and emotions and actions by turning rhythms into schēmata”). While this is an extremely condensed description of what dancers do, it acts as a pre-cursor for many of the elements in Ammonius’ quasi-treatise: Ammonius’ σχήμα is reflected in Aristotle’s σχηματιζομένων, and the dancers of both accounts are attributed with the skill of imitating emotions (πάθος) and actions (πράξις). Recall that Lykinos in Lucian’s Peri Orcheseos also uses language similar to Aristotle’s when describing how dancers enact characters and emotions (Τὸ δὲ ὄλον ἡθη καὶ πάθη δείξειν καὶ ὑποκρινεῖσθαι ἡ ὀρχησις ἐπαγγέλλεται). This is one aspect of dance theory that remains remarkably consistent over time.

Both Plutarch and Aristotle elsewhere expand on the connection between movement and emotions. Aristotle suggests that tragedians should use σχήματα when they write their scenes, in order to truly connect with their emotions (Poetics 1455a29-32):

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65 On the ability of schēmata to imitate ēthos and pathos, see Bocksberger 2021.
δοσα δε δυνατον και τοις σχημασιν συναπεργαζομενον· πιθανωτατοι γαρ άπο της αυτης
φυσεως οi εν τοις παθεσιν εισιν, και χειμαινει ο χειμαζομενος και χαλεπαινει ο
οργιζομενος αληθινωτατα.

And, as much as possible, [the plot] should also be worked out with gestures; for
by nature people are most persuasive who are in their emotions—a person who is distressed
most truly distresses, and a person who is angered most truly angers.

Even though Aristotle is treating the composition of tragic plays rather than dance specifically,
his advice suggests that there is a natural connection between movement and emotion: simply
gesture will help a tragedian connect with the proper emotional register and, in turn, will also
help him convey those emotions to the audience through the plot of the play. Plutarch recognizes
this connection as well: in another sympotic conversation (QC 5.1), a discussion of comedy leads
the symposiasts (consisting of Plutarch himself and some Epicurean friends) to wonder why
people enjoy watching actors imitate negative emotions such as anger, pain, and fear, even
though such emotions pain or irritate them when expressed in real life. The question alone points
to the ability of actors in general, and comic actors in particular, to convey emotions, though the
role of movement is not addressed in the framing of the question. Plutarch himself, as a
symposiast, answers that this phenomenon stems from a natural attraction to reason (λόγος) and
artistry or craftsmanship (τέχνη). In his ensuing discussion, he suggests that such emotions are
connected to certain movements:

ἐπει τοινυν ο μεν ἀληθος ὀργιζομενος η λυπομενος εν τισι κοινος πάθεσι και κινήμασιν
όραται, τη δε μιμήσει πανορφία τις ἐμφαίνεται και πιθανότης ἀνπερ
ἐπιτυγχάνηται, τούτοις μεν ἥδεσθαι πεφύκαμεν ἑκείνοις δ’ ἀχθόμεθα. (673F-674A).

Since a person who is truly angry or grieved is seen displaying certain common emotions
and movements, but in imitation some knavery and persuasiveness appears (if the
imitation is successful), we naturally enjoy these (i.e. the imitations) and are vexed by
those (i.e. the real displays of emotions).

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66 Text ed. Halliwell 1995
67 Translation my own.
Again, Plutarch’s language here is clearly reminiscent of Aristotle’s: both are interested in distinguishing between “true” emotions and crafted ones (ἀληθινώτατα in Aristotle and ἀληθῶς in Plutarch), both focus specifically on anger and distress (ὀργίζομενος in both; χειμαζόμενος in Aristotle and λυπούμενος in Plutarch), and both mention persuasiveness or believability (πιθανώτατοι in Aristotle and πιθανότης in Plutarch). Plutarch and Aristotle agree that true emotions are represented through gestures or movements; they only differ on the role of persuasiveness. Aristotle suggests that a playwright who expresses true emotions will produce a work that is more persuasive or believable in its emotionality, while Plutarch maintains that the sheer existence of craftsmanship that is inherent to imitation makes any expression of emotions in a play noticeably different from such expressions in real life (and thus more palatable for spectatorship). Plutarch does not explicitly state that such imitations of genuine emotions also involve movements, but it stands to reason that such movements would be part of the τέχνη.

Across these passages of Plutarch and Aristotle, the key takeaway for my study of comic solo dance is that gesture and movement were seen as sharing a natural relationship with the expression of emotions. Actors can make use of this connection by using gestures to better express emotions such as anger and annoyance.

These later sources, along with Aristotle, have informed my approach to comic solo dance at a high level. From these passages, I take as my starting point that dance has a unique ability to convey emotions through movement and that conveying emotions in this way helps actors play certain characters. This is perhaps one area where earlier theatrical solo dance and later imperial pantomime relate.
Visual sources

Since my study is primarily a textual one, a comprehensive discussion of visual evidence is outside the scope of the project. Nevertheless, visual sources have informed my approach to studying comic solo dance, and it will be useful to discuss what information can be gleaned from visual sources before discussing textual sources in the ensuing chapters. To identify comic solo dance, I use Naerebout’s criteria for identifying dance imagery in static visual sources:

To summarize…look for raised legs; for jumps without weights; for bent knees with both legs held together; for tiptoeing feet; for groups, especially (but not only) holding hands; for swirling garments; for protruding buttocks; for some very specific gestures; for remarkable dress or undress and headgear; for the presence of musical instruments. One of these elements might do, but preferably we have a number of these helping to disambiguate each other.68

It is difficult to determine the precise extent to which visual depictions of theatrical dance reflect actual theatrical performances. However, the situation is better for depictions of comedy than it is for depictions of tragedy. From what we can tell, comic vases tend to reflect a recognizable scene in a given comedy, while tragic vases tend to blend myth and theater so closely that it is largely impossible to pinpoint what was performed onstage. As Oliver Taplin writes of vase paintings: “[A]s soon as a tragedy-related and a comedy-related painting are juxtaposed, it is evident that we are dealing with two radically divergent phenomena. With the tragedy it is not at all clear how or how far the painting reflects the play, if it does so at all: with the comedy the vase captures a particular moment of the particular play in performance.”69 Even so, interpreting comic vase paintings still remains difficult, especially since so many of the comedies on which these depictions must have been based are lost or fragmentary. For example, the scene depicted on the Würzburg “Telephos” is intelligible only because Aristophanes’

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68 Naerebout 1997: 224. For the full discussion, see 209-226.
Thesmophoriazusae survives; without the survival of the text of this play, the detail of the sacrificial wine-skin wearing booties, for example, would be incredibly puzzling.\textsuperscript{70}

Vase paintings and mosaics have most influenced my approach to studying comic solo dance, especially since these artistic mediums often include more contextual information than figurines do. I consider visual evidence from all regions of the Greco-Roman world as potentially relevant, but I focus on Attic and South Italian evidence, as the performance culture of both regions is relevant to my textual sources.\textsuperscript{71} Here I pick out the visual evidence that has most influenced my understanding of comic solo dance at a high level. I discuss further visual evidence as relevant in the ensuing chapters: most notably, in chapter one, I use the surviving mosaics from Menander’s Theophoroumene to argue for the existence of definite solo dance scenes in that play.

![Figure 2a-b. Ruvo askos (Museo Nazionale Jatta 1402).\textsuperscript{72}](image)

\textbf{2a (left): muffled dancer, comic actor, satyr. 2b (right): nude dancing woman}

\textsuperscript{70} On this vase, see Csapo 1986 and Taplin 1987.

\textsuperscript{71} For the relationship between South Italian “phlyax” vases and Attic comedy, see Csapo 1986. See also Hughes 2006: 45n26 for a brief outline of the controversy over the costumes on so-called \textit{phlyax} vases. Despite the established connections between these vases and Attic comedy, Dearden 2012 pushes back on the assumption that all \textit{phlyax} vases reflect Attic comedy, pointing out that only a small portion of the vases can clearly be linked in this way. These vases are relevant to my study whether they depict Attic comedy or not: vases that depict Attic comedy are clearly relevant to the study of Aristophanes, while any vases depicting South Italian comedy or another native performance genre are part of local Italian traditions that affected Roman comedy.

\textsuperscript{72} Image credit: Robinson 2004.
Figure 2c. Different view: Ruvo *askos* (Museo Nazionale Jatta 1402).
Satyr, nude dancing woman, maenad.

One painting in particular, found on the well-known Ruvo *askos*, demonstrates the centrality of dance to performance culture (*Figure 2a-c*).\(^73\) The *askos* features a variety of figures associated with performance, all of whom appear to be dancing. A heavily draped woman resembling a muffled dancer—a female dancer who performs wearing a mantle—stands on tiptoe with one foot in front of another in a manner suggesting movement, and she turns her head over one shoulder with her arms raised and pointed at each other.\(^74\) A masked comic actor, wearing a short tunic with phallus sticking out, bends one leg with the other leg extended behind him while lifting his arms and flexing his wrists in what appears to be a dance pose. A satyr arches his back, bending slightly backwards with his heels raised. A naked woman with pointed breasts and features that are associated with black people in ancient Greek art dances with her arms raised, one knee lifted in the air, and her supporting leg bent.\(^75\) A maenad’s dress flows out

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\(^73\) *PhV* 135, pl. 6c = Bieber 537 = *Illustrations* IV.12. See also Robinson 2004: 196.

\(^74\) On muffled or veiled dancers, who wore special *himatia* and probably performed at symposia, see Heydemann 1879; Galt 1931; Hughes 2008: 15-17. These female dancers are attested on vase paintings and figurines from the mid-5th c. BC to 2nd c. BC.

\(^75\) As *Figure 2c* shows, the artist depicts the woman in red-figure, just like the other figures. While her skin is not depicted as black, her profile indicates full lips, a broad nose, and what appears to be curly hair. Cf. Derbew 2022: 14 on the “orthography of blackness” used in her study of literary and artistic representations of black people in ancient Greece: “Lowercase ‘black’ denotes people with black skin and phenotypic features including full lips, curly
behind her, suggesting movement as she reaches forward with her front knee bent and back leg extended behind her. What all of these figures have in common is their association with various performance genres, and most figures are further associated with Dionysian performance (comedy, satyr play, ecstatic worship). The context for the performance of the nude dancing woman is more nebulous than the others, but she could plausibly be associated with mime or with private sympotic performances, which are related to Dionysus in his role as the god of wine. The painter’s choice to depict each figure as dancing highlights dance as a connector between various genres of performance, and it further suggests that dance is a central aspect of the visual and somatic experience of each performance context, including comedy.

Arguably the most famous Attic depiction of a comic actor— that of the “Perseus Dance” or “Anavyssos Perseus”— is also a depiction of comic solo dance (Figure 3). On an Attic

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76 Henderson 1997: 242-43 connects the woman’s pointed breasts and “high-stepping dance” with Konnakis, the probable mime dancer discussed below.

77 Image credit: Hughes 2006.

78 Taplin 1993: 9 identifies the Anavyssos Perseus as one of only fourteen Attic vase paintings related to comedy from the late 5th and early 4th c. BC. See Hughes 2006 for a study of the vase painting as seen in-person, rather than based on Gilliéron’s 1935 drawing (though Hughes ultimately shows that Gilliéron’s drawing was more accurate than has been assumed).
chous dated to ca. 420 BC, two seated figures, who have been plausibly interpreted as judges, watch a comic actor, evidently dressed up as Perseus, dancing on a stage. Based on a direct study of the chous, Hughes shows that the facial characteristics of the actor are consistent with the depiction of comic masks and that the actor wears diaphanous tights, which signify stage nudity. Beyond the character’s identification with Perseus, Hughes also shows that the gesture the actor performs with his right hand is found in depictions of tragedy rather than comedy. The theatrical context and the actor’s gesture, combined with his raised foot and bent knees, all work together to strongly indicate dancing, with the move as a whole being part tragic (upper body) and part comic/satyric (lower body). If the identification of this figure as a comic actor dancing the role of Perseus is accurate, then this depiction gives evidence for the use of solo dance as a mechanism for tragic burlesque on the comic stage in the late 5th century. Notably, the chous is dated around the same time as Aristophanes’ Wasps was produced (422 BC), which ends with Philocleon’s raucous solo performance of tragic dances, as will be discussed more fully in chapter one. About a decade later is Aristophanes’ Thesmophoriazusae (411 BC), which includes a parody of Euripides’ Andromeda (412 BC). The fact that Euripides’ version of the Perseus and Andromeda myth and Aristophanes’ parody both come after the “Perseus Dance” chous suggests that the comic Perseus featured on this vase painting is from a lost comedy parodying an earlier tragic Andromeda, probably by Sophocles.

This chous is especially relevant to my study because it contributes to an emerging picture of comic solo dance increasing in relevance around the late 5th c. BC, with the ~420 BC

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79 Hughes 2006: 427-28 uses comparative iconography to demonstrate why understanding these figures as judges is the most sound interpretation. Previous scholarship understood the seated figures as the priest of Dionysus and the choregos (Caputo 1935), an erastes and eromenos (Bulle 1937), a poet and producer watching a rehearsal (Karouzou 1945, cf. Taplin 1993: 9), and audience members (Pickard-Cambridge 1953, Csapo 2001).


81 Hughes 2006: 425.

82 On this point and some likely candidates for the comedy depicted, see Hughes 2006: 426.
chous and the 422 BC production of Wasps. Earlier Attic comic vases tend to depict the chorus rather than actors. The painter of the “Perseus Dance” is on the earlier end of the trends for depicting comic actors and is therefore not working within a strongly established iconographic tradition. It is perhaps not a coincidence that the painter chooses to depict this dancing, comic Perseus around the same time as our earliest and most memorable exemplum of Greek comic solo dance (Philocleon in Wasps). Taking the visual and the textual traditions together suggests that solo dance might have increased in theatrical importance towards the end of the 5th c. BC, which could explain its growing prevalence in the 4th c. and beyond, as I will demonstrate throughout this study.

![The New York Goose Play (Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.104)](image)

**Figure 4. The New York Goose Play (Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.104)**

Another well-known comic vase painting that has important implications for the study of comic solo dance is the New York Goose Play (**Figure 4**). This South Italian kalyx-krater from Taras, dated ca. 400 BC, depicts a scene from a lost comedy involving three figures. On the left is a beardless man wearing comic padding; based on the rod he carries, his stance, and the

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83 On this tendency, see Rothwell 2007: 36-80 and Green 2012: 289-90.
84 Image credit: myself.
strange unintelligibility of the word(s) coming out of his mouth, Taplin suggests that the figure is akin to the Scythian policeman in Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazusae* (first produced a little over a decade before the suggested date for this vase painting).85 Atop the stage on the right is an old woman with a dead goose, gesturing to the center of the scene and saying that she will provide something or hand something over.86 In the center is an old man, again wearing comic padding, who stands on his tiptoes and holds his arms above his head, looking towards the younger man with his body facing the old woman. According to the string of letters emerging from his mouth, he says that “he/she bound my hands above” (κατέδησ’ ἀνω τῶ χειρε). Taplin points out that there is no rope or binding depicted in the scene, and he suggests that the old woman cast a binding spell, following Beazley’s note that καταδέω can refer to putting something under a spell.87 This is possible, but it is just as possible that the old man is dancing in a way that mimetically represents his bondage, as Csapo suggests, rather than physically being tied up.88

The old man’s positioning on his tiptoes supports the possibility of his dancing; as mentioned above, a figure being on tiptoes is one of Naerebout’s criteria for identifying dance imagery. If this interpretation of the old man as dancing is correct, then this vase is a crucial example of dance being used by a comic actor to tell a story mimetically, using his body alone. Such a bodily technology represents an important tool in playwrights’ and actors’ toolkits: if the actor in this “Goose Play” can effectively convey his bondage through dance, then there is no reason to bother with ropes or other binding agents onstage, cutting down on the need for props. Such a tool is better for the audience, as well: most audience members would be too far away to

85 Taplin 1993: 30-31. According to Taplin, the letters read NOPAPETTEBAO, or -ΕΡΑΟ.
88 Csapo 2014: 65-66
see a rope tied around the actor’s wrists, but the powerful combination of dialogue and big dance movements can project his bondage even to those in the final rows.

These visual sources together have aided my approach to comic solo dance. I take from these sources that: 1) dance is a central aspect of performance culture; 2) solo dance appears to have increased in importance around the end of the 5th c. BC; 3) solo dance in comedy can be used for a number of memorable effects, such as parody or buffoonery through tragic burlesque (the “Perseus Dance”) or mimetic representation of a plot point (the “New York Goose Play”).

Non-literary comic performance genres: from Greece to Rome

While this study focuses on extant Greek and Roman comedy, there were many other popular comic performance genres that almost certainly would have interacted with the comedies in some way. Taking Livy’s account of early Roman theatrical history as a starting point, this section traces the broader webs of influence on comic dance, including evidence for Greek comedy in Southern Italy, Greco-Roman mime, and Atellan farce. The performance genres that I discuss throughout this section are especially important for understanding dance in Roman comedy, but there might also have been some interaction between mime and Greek comedy.

Livy on early Roman theatrical history

As told by Livy (7.2.3-11), dance was central to every single phase of the development of Roman stage performance.89 While there is some reason to doubt Livy’s account,90 there are also

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89 Oakley 1998: 40-71 remains the most useful discussion of this passage and its various controversies. On the possible influence of pantomime dancing upon Livy’s narrative, see Jory 1981: 154-55.
90 See esp. Oakley 1998: 54-55. A few of the reasons include: it does not match up very well with Horace’s account of the origins of Roman drama; Livy does not mention any Greek influence, even with the plays of Andronicus; the “careful balancing” of song and dance throughout “presents an overschematized view of what must have been a rather haphazard development.” Note also the similarities between Livy’s account of the origins of Roman theater
good reasons to trust the historicity of certain aspects of it.\textsuperscript{91} Livy’s account can be divided into five stages.\textsuperscript{92} According to Livy, the introduction of \textit{ludi scaenici} occurred in 364 BC, when the Romans were looking for a way to appease the gods and end a lengthy, deadly plague. Phase one involved Etruscan dancers brought in to perform to the \textit{tibia}:

\begin{quote}
Sine carmine ullo, sine imitandorum carminum actu ludiones ex Etruria acciti, ad tibicinis modos \textit{saltantes}, haud indecoros \textit{motus} more Tusco dabant.\textsuperscript{93}
\end{quote}

Without any singing, without imitating the action of \textit{carmina}, \textit{ludiones} who had been brought in from Etruria danced to the strains of the \textit{tibicen} and performed not ungraceful \textbf{movements} in the Tuscan fashion.\textsuperscript{94}

Livy stresses that this first step was new for the warlike people of Rome (\textit{nova res bellicosо populo}) and started with foreigners (\textit{ea ipsa peregrina res fuit}, referring to the Etruscans). The dancing of the \textit{ludiones} receives the most attention in this narrative: they do not sing, and their dancing is not mimetic, but they do perform graceful movements to the musical accompaniment of the \textit{tibia}, and Livy further characterizes these movements as typical for the Etruscans. There is no suggestion of comic dancing at this stage; rather, \textit{haud indecoros} implies elegant, tasteful dancing.

This appears to change with Livy’s description of phase two, in which Roman youth imitate the Etruscan \textit{ludiones} while exchanging jests and dancing along with the words:

\begin{quote}
Imitari deinde eos iuventus, simul inconditis inter se iocularia fundentes versibus, coepere; nec absoni a voce motus erant.
\end{quote}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{91} Livy’s source was very likely the antiquarian Varro, who wrote a three-book work on the origins of \textit{ludi scaenici}, among others works on the theater; cf. Oakley 1998: 43-51. For a detailed discussion of the reliability of Livy’s account, see Oakley 1998: 51ff., who accepts a “compromise position”: “many of the constituent parts of L.’s discussion have a historical basis, but both the connections which he makes between them and the overall argument of the chapter are far from satisfactory.” Points that Oakley argues should be trusted are: the date of 364 BC as the beginning of \textit{ludi scaenici}; the appeal to Etruscans for expiation; Etruscan dancing to the \textit{tibia}, which is depicted on Etruscan tomb-paintings (cf. Beare 1964: 22); the performance of Fescennine verses; Livius Andronicus as the first to introduce a plot; the origins of Atellanae from Oscan-speaking regions of Italy.
\bibitem{92} Cf. Oakley 1998: 41n1.
\bibitem{93} All Livy passages ed. Conway and Walters 1919.
\bibitem{94} All Livy passages trans. Foster 1924, with some modifications in each.
\end{thebibliography}
Next the youth began to imitate them, at the same time exchanging jests in uncouth verses, and bringing their movements into a certain harmony with the words.

These jests are the Fescennine verses also found in Horace; Livy calls them by name in the next section (below). As Oakley suggests, this description implies that the movements of the Roman youth were less graceful than those of the Etruscans, since they matched the jesting tone of the rough verses. Whereas the Etruscan performers danced only to music, without singing, here the youth are described as dancing along with their jests, not necessarily to music. Even though music was probably involved in these performances, the emphasis on dancing in a way that complements the voice (i.e., the words, or what is said) could have significance for the development of dance in Roman comedy. In other words, what is important for dancing to Fescennine verses is not necessarily dancing to music but rather dancing to emphasize the jests.

There is strong potential for competitive dancing here, which could have influenced the development of competitive, aggressive, or threatening dancing in Roman comedy. It also perhaps reminds us of scenes with rapid exchanges of insults in Aristophanic comedy (e.g. *Knights* 284-302). This is not to say that Fescennine verses themselves have roots in Greek comedy but that Plautus could be responding to both traditions.

In phase three, Livy tells us that such entertainment – the improvised jests of Fescennine verses – became popular and eventually turned into professional performances called *saturae*, performed by *histriones*:

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.

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And so the amusement was adopted, and frequent use kept it alive. The native practitioners (artifices) were called histriones, from ister, the Tuscan word for player; they no longer—as before—alternately threw off rude lines hastily improvised, like the Fescennines, but performed satyrae (“medleys”), full of musical measures, to melodies which were now written out to go with the tibia, and with appropriate movement. This phase suggests more coordination between music, dance, and song than was described in previous stages, as well as pre-meditation rather than improvisation, as the satyrae were written in advance of the performance (descripto...cantu). The nature of these satyrae and their possible connection with the (later) satires of Ennius and Lucilius have been debated. As Oakley maintains, some of the more plausible theories involve satura as a metaphor for a dish of assorted foods (relating to the various verses used in satyrae and the miscellany of Ennius’ work) and the influence of satyr dance-drama (which appears to have existed in Etruria) with abusive or jesting elements. Whether or not Livy is correct about the name of these performances, there is little reason to doubt the existence of a more professionalized stage of development between the Fescennine verses and Livius Andronicus.

Something resembling dance-drama comes in the fourth phase with Livius Andronicus (ca. 240 BC) and the introduction of plot:

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 diversaque tantum ipsorum voci relicta.

Livius was the first, some years later, to abandon satyrae and compose a play with a plot. Like everyone else in those days, he acted his own pieces; and the story goes that when his voice, owing to the frequent demands made upon it, had lost its freshness, he asked

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100 Cf. Duckworth 1952: 10 for the argument that these “medleys” represent a legitimate stage in theatrical development but were likely not called satyrae at the time.
and obtained the indulgence to let a boy stand before the *tibicen* to sing the monody, while he acted it himself, with a vivacity of movement that gained considerably from his not having to use his voice. From that time on actors began to use singers to accompany their movement, reserving only the dialogue parts for their own delivery.

Livy is demonstrably incorrect about the separation between actor and singer at this early stage of Roman drama: Plautus’ own plays give evidence for actors singing and dancing at the same time. E. J. Jory has demonstrated the likelihood that Livy was influenced by the developing genre of pantomime dancing in his presentation of this anecdote. Still, the fact that Livy is telling this particular story—true or not—suggests that dancing was considered to have been highly important to early Roman theater. In other words, people in Livy’s time (and that of his likely source for this section, Varro), need to imagine Livius Andronicus’ plays as involving a great deal of dancing for this anecdote to gain any traction.

In the fifth and final stage of development described by Livy, the youth leave staged comedy to the *histriones* and exchange jesting verses again, like the Fescennines, and that practice becomes *exodia*, which Livy said were combined with Atellan farces:

> Postquam lege hac fabularum ab risu ac soluto ioco res avocabatur et ludus in artem paulatim verterat, iuventus histrionibus fabellarum actu relictio ipsa inter se more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus iactitare coepit; unde exorta quae exodia postea appellata 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.

When this type of performance had begun to wean the drama from laughter and informal jest, and the play had gradually developed into art, the young men abandoned the acting of comedies to professionals and revived the ancient practice of fashioning their nonsense into verses and letting fly with them at one another; this was the source of the after-plays which came later to be called *exodia* and were usually combined with Atellan farces. The Atellan was a species of comedy acquired from the Oscans, and the young men kept it for themselves and would not allow it to be polluted by the professional actors; that is why it

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103 There are some textual issues surrounding *exorta quae*; see Conway and Walters 1919 (who choose not to print these two words) and Foster 1924: 362n3 (who does).
is a fixed tradition that performers of Atellan plays are not disfranchised but serve in the army as though they had no connection with the art of the stage.

This final stage suggests a permanent rupture between the professional dance-dramas of histriones and, according to Livy, amateur performances of farce and Fescennine verses, though both live on and continue to be performed. Below, a more detailed discussion of what we know about Atellan farce will help complete the picture of native Italian influences on dance in Roman comedy.

Even though certain details of Livy’s narrative of Roman theatrical history are up for debate, the overwhelming importance of dance throughout – from Etruscan dancers to dance-jesting to dance-medleys to dance-drama – suggests that we can be confident that early Roman theatrical performances were full of dance. These Italic traditions certainly influenced Plautus’ approach to comedy and probably his approach to comic dancing as well. But perhaps the most glaring problem with Livy’s account is the absence of any mention of Greek influence. Livy clearly prioritizes native Italian origin stories for Roman drama, starting from Etruscan dancers and ending with exodia and Atellan farce. While he might be correct about the overarching influence of Italian forms on Roman drama, the total lack of Greek sources in Livy’s narrative feels intentional: as Oakley points out, Livy does not even mention Greek drama when discussing Livius Andronicus. Discussions of Greek drama in Italy as well as other performance traditions such as mime and farce will help us complete the picture of potential webs of influence for comic dance.

Greek comedy and performance culture in Southern Italy

Magna Graecia experienced a thriving performance culture from the Archaic period onwards. Most notable for a discussion of comedy is the Syracusan Epicharmus as the so-called “Father of Comedy.” Plato in Theaetetus has Socrates call Epicharmus the chief poet of comedy, and Aristotle in Poetics attributes the invention of comic plots to Sicily. While little is known about Epicharmus and his works, he seems to have engaged with many different styles of comedy, including invective and mythological burlesque. Epicharmus was very likely a star of comedy in Sicily before the official introduction of comedy to the Dionysia in the 480s. As Dearden writes of Aeschylus’ visit to Syracuse in 476 BC, “Epicharmus already had a career in Syracuse commensurate with that of Aeschylus in Athens.” It is possible that solo dance was more important than choral dance in Epicharmus’ comedies, as the very existence of a chorus in his works has been doubted. While we do not know how much Epicharmus impacted the development of Athenian comedy, if at all, his popularity in Sicily and potential icon-status in Athens (if the Theaetetus passage represents a common opinion) means that Magna Graecia certainly had a thriving culture of comic theater in the early fifth century.

The early existence of this comic culture perhaps means that Southern Italy was primed for considerable cultural exchange with Athens in the realm of comedy. Thanks to vase paintings, as seen above, we know that fifth-century Athenian comedy was popular in the early fourth century in Southern Italy. The corpus of South Italian phlyax vases, as they used to be called, depicts actors wearing the costumes of Athenian Old Comedy, and some have been

105 On early performance culture in the Greek West, see Morgan 2012: 35-55.
106 152e: καὶ τὸν ποιητὸν οἱ ἄρχον τῆς ποιήσεως ἐκατέρας, κομῳδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, τραγῳδίας δὲ Ὀμηρος.
107 1449b: τὸ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἄρχης ἐκ Σικελίας ἡμεῖς.
108 Denard 2007: 144.
110 For Epicharmus’ comedies as non-choral, see Dearden 2012: 276 and Olson 2007: 7, 12. For the alternate view, see Wilson 2007: 362-63. Dearden notes that the fragments of Epicharmus do not contain indications of a chorus and that the strongest evidence for a chorus consists of some plural titles.
connected with Aristophanic comedy in particular. As Hugh Denard puts it: “The early fourth-century comic tradition in Southern Italy evidently either incorporated Attic Old Comedy, was closely modelled upon it, or effected some combination of the two.” Most South Italian vase paintings that demonstrate some sort of relationship with Athenian Old Comedy are dated from around 400 to the 360s BC and come from Apulia (Tarentum). Starting in the mid-fourth century BC, the Italian vase paintings start to “register a shift towards the kind of social comedy that by then dominated the Athenian stage.” Most important for my study is that the fourth-century South Italian vase paintings betray a good deal of cultural exchange with Athens when it comes to theater in general and comedy in particular. If the dating of vase paintings relates to the dating of performances, then the heyday for performances related to Old Comedy was around the same time as the introduction of Etruscan dancers and ludi scaenici at Rome. Some have even suggested Greek influence on the development of Atellanae, given the proximity between Greek Naples and Atella as well as the influence of Greek comedy in Magna Graecia.

Greco-Roman mime

While we know frustratingly little about mime, especially in its earlier stages, nevertheless this popular performance genre almost certainly influenced Roman comedy, if not Greek Middle and New Comedy as well. The earliest literary testimony that scholars usually connect with mime is the final performance of Xenophon’s Symposium (ca. late 360s BC), in

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111 In addition to the Würzburg Telephos, another vase painting has plausibly been connected with Diphilus’ Allotment. See Green 2007: 178 and Dearden 2012: 273.
112 Denard 2007: 145.
113 See Denard 2007: 146 and Green 2012 passim.
114 Denard 2007: 145.
116 As Duckworth 1952: 15 puts it: “The threads of the Greek and the Italian mime are so closely interwoven that it is best to refer to it as the Graeco-Roman mime.” See also Beare 1964: 149-54.
which a dancing-girl and boy from a Syracusan troupe perform a mythological burlesque as

Dionysus and Ariadne at a symposium in Athens (9.2-7):

Εἶκε τοῦτον πρώτον μὲν ἡ Αριάνῃν ὡς νύμφη κεκοσμημένη παρῆλθε καὶ ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. οὖν δὲ φαινομένου τοῦ Διόνυσοϋ ἑταίρετο ὁ βασιλεὺς ῥυθμός. ἔνθα δὴ ἠγάθησαν τὸν ὀρχηστοῦδάσκαλον. εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ η Ἀριάνὴ ἀκούσας τοιούτων τι ἐποίησεν ὡς πᾶς ἀν ἐγὼ ὅτι ἁμένη ἦκουσε: καὶ ὑπήντησε μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ ἀνέστη, δήλῳ δ’ ἦν μόλις ἱρμοῦσα. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν κατεῖπεν αὐτὴν ὁ Διόνυσος, ἐπιχορεύσας ὁσπερ ἄν εἰ τις φιλικῶτατα ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τὸν γονάτον καὶ περιλαβὼν εφίλησεν αὐτήν. ἦ δ’ αἰδουμένη μὲν ἐκιη, ὅμως δὲ φιλικὸς ἀντιπεριελάμβανεν. οἱ δὲ συμποταὶ ὁρῶντες ἁμα μὲν ἐκροτόσαν, ἡμα γε ἐβόδων Αὐθῆς. ὡς δὲ ὁ Διόνυσος ἀνιστάμενος συνανέστησε μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ τὴν Αριάνην, ἐκ τούτου δὴ φιλοῦντον τε καὶ ἀσπαζομένων ἥλιμους σχήματα παρῆθεν θεάσασθαι. οἱ δ’ ὁρῶντες ὄντος καλὸν μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον, ὥραν δὲ τὴν Αριάνην, οὐ σκόποντος δὲ ἀλλ’ ἀληθῶς τοὺς στῶματι φιλοῦντας, πάντως ἀνεπτερωμένοι ἠθέοντο. καί γὰρ ἠκούσαν τοῦ Διόνυσοῦ μὲν ἑπερωτώντος αὐτὴν εἰ φιλεῖ αὐτόν, τῇς δὲ οὕτως ἐπιμυνοῦσις ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὸν Διόνυσον < . . > ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἄπαντας συνομένα ἄν ἡ μὴν τὸν παίδα καὶ τὴν παιδί ὑπ’ ἄλληλον φιλεῖσθαι. ἐφύκασαν γὰρ οὐ δεδιδαχεῖται. τοῖς σχήματα ἀλλ’ ἐφειμένος πράττειν ὡς πάλαι ἐπεθύμουν.

τέλος δὲ οἱ συμπόται ἠδόντες περιβεβληκότας τε ἥλιμους καὶ ὡς εἰς εὐνὴν ἀπόντας, οἱ μὲν ἄγαμοι γαμεῖν ἐπώμυσαν, οἱ δὲ γαμημέρκες ἀναβάντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑπόμενως ἄπλημμαν πρὸς τὰς ἀναίδην γυναίκας, ὅπως τούτων τῶν εἰρήνης. Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ύπομείναντες πρὸς Λύκονα καὶ τὸν ὕόν σῖν Καλλία περιπατήσαντες ἀπήλθον. Αὐτὴ τοῦ τότε συμποσίου κατάλυσε ἐγένετο.

Then the Syracusan came in with the announcement: “Gentlemen, Ariadne will now enter the chamber she shares with Dionysus; then Dionysus, having got tipsy with the gods, will come join her; and then they will play with each other.”

With that, in came Ariadne, decked out as a bride, and took her seat in the chair. Before Dionysus was visible, the Bacchic tune was played on the pipes. Then they truly admired the dancing master, for as soon as Ariadne heard the tune, her action was such that everyone would have perceived her joy at the sound; and although she did not go to meet Dionysus or even rise, it was clear that she only just kept her composure. But when Dionysus caught sight of her, he came dancing toward her and in a most loving manner fell to his knees, put his arms around her, and gave her a kiss. Her demeanor was all modesty, but she returned his embrace with affection. As the banqueters saw it, they kept clapping and crying “encore!” Now Dionysus arose and gave his hand to Ariadne to rise also, and then there were the movements (schēmata) of lovers kissing and caressing each other to watch. The onlookers saw a Dionysus truly handsome, an Ariadne truly fair, not presenting a burlesque but offering genuine kisses with their lips; and all watched with
heightened excitement. For they overheard Dionysus asking her if she loved him and heard her vowing that she did, so earnestly that not only Dionysus <. . .> but all the bystanders as well would have jointly sworn that the boy and the girl were surely in love with each other. Theirs was the appearance not of performers who had been taught their moves but of people now permitted to satisfy their long-cherished desires.

At last, seeing them in each other’s arms and obviously heading for the bridal bed, some of the banqueters (the bachelors) swore that they would get married and others (the married men) mounted their horses and rode off to their own wives so that they might enjoy them. As for Socrates and the others who had lingered behind, they went out with Callias to join Lycon and his son on their walk. So broke up the banquet held that evening.117

Several aspects of Xenophon’s description of this performance stand out. First is the role of music: the piper’s bacchic tune is fitting for the content of the mime, and the choreography seems to have correlated with the tune, first with Ariadne expressing her joy (while staying seated), and then with Dionysus dancing his way to her. Xenophon’s description of the mime emphasizes the role of emotions and storytelling, as well as the impact of the performance on the audience. The performers move in a way that demonstrates genuine love, and Xenophon calls their kissing and embracing schēmata (φιλούντων τε καὶ ἀσπαζομένων ἄλληλους σχήματα παρῆν θεάσασθαι). Xenophon’s description suggests that the two were highly successful at communicating their emotions through dance: their performance makes the symposiasts believe that they are actually in love with each other (ἂν ἦν μὴν τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν παῖδα ὑπ’ ἄλληλων φιλεῖσθαι) and inspires the symposiasts either to get married, if they were not already, or to return home to their wives (οἱ μὲν ἄγαμοι γαμεῖν ἐπώμυναν, οἱ δὲ γεγαμηκότες ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς ἀπῆλαυν πρὸς τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας, ὡς τούτων τύχων). In the context of Xenophon’s literary symposium, this mime is portrayed as both positive and productive: the imitative dancing of Dionysus and Ariadne stimulate a return to the oikos and the potential for

procreation. The performance as described by Xenophon is hardly the raunchy, low-brow display that is sometimes assumed for mime, but the role of kissing and embracing through dance suggests a carefully crafted eroticism that clearly affected the spectators.

Some visual sources from the mid-fourth century and Hellenistic period have been linked with mime as well. Most notable for a discussion of dance is the depiction of a nude female dancer named Konnakis on a krater from Tarentum, painted in the Gnathia style, dated to slightly before the middle of the 4th c. BC (see Figure 5). Alan Hughes has argued that the doors behind Konnakis are stage doors, and he has further suggested that Konnakis could be a mime performer. Mime does seem to be a likely context: we know that women performed in mimes and that masks were typically not worn, and here Konnakis does not appear to be wearing a mask. On the krater fragment, Konnakis’ knees are bent, with one knee raised, in what appears to be a bout of dancing. She is naked but wears a cloak draped around her elbow and holds a torch. Her working costume (nudity) and boisterous-looking dance move suggest a grotesque quality that is at home with Greco-Roman comic genres (including mime). This type of dancing could have influenced the development of dancing in a number of Greek and Italian comic traditions.

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120 In addition to the Konnakis image discussed here, see esp. Bieber 1961: 107 and Dunbabin 2016: 122 on a late Hellenistic lamp from Athens depicting three mime actors (mimolagi) from the Hecyra mime. On the iconography of Roman mime, see Dunbabin 2004 and 2016: 114-137.
121 For the date and a discussion of the vase painting, see Hughes 1997: 237.
124 On Konnakis and the grotesque, see Hughes 1997: 241-43.
While mime appears to have been relatively popular in Southern Italy as early as the mid-4th c. BC, our earliest indication of mime in Rome proper occurs in 212-11 BC, thanks to the famous story of Pomponius, a mime performer who kept the *ludi Apollinares* going by dancing while the spectators left to beat Hannibal back from the city.\textsuperscript{126} There is also a Roman inscription from around this time of the mime actor Protogenes, dating him from 210-160 BC.\textsuperscript{127} It is nevertheless likely that Romans interacted with mime earlier than this, whether through traveling performance troupes or as a consequence of Rome’s conquest of Southern Italy (by 272 BC) and Sicily (by 241 BC). Mime in this period appears to have consisted of short, farcical situations with urban settings. From the late republic onwards (1st c. BC), adultery appears to have been a popular plot.\textsuperscript{128}

The Charition mime, found on a papyrus in Egypt (*P.Oxy* 413) that dates to the 200s AD, is particularly relevant for discussions of the role of dance in mime.\textsuperscript{129} It is written in a

\textsuperscript{125} Image credit: Hughes 2008: 8.
\textsuperscript{126} Duckworth 1952: 13; Beare 1964: 151.
\textsuperscript{128} On the adultery mime, see Reynolds 1946; Duckworth 1952: 15; Dunbabin 2016: 119, 121.
\textsuperscript{129} On the two mime texts contained on this papyrus, see esp. Tsitsiridis 2011: 187-89 (*Charition*), 189-195 (*Moicheutria*, an adultery mime). Tsitsiridis argues that both texts were technical copies, with the *Charition* text...
combination of Greek and Indian dialects. The plot involves a Greek maiden named Charition, who is being held against her will by an Indian king. A crew including Charition’s brother and a jester comes to rescue her, and they end up getting the king and a chorus of Indian men and women drunk so that they can escape.\(^{130}\) In their drunkenness, the king and the Indian chorus perform a dance, before the Greek rescuers tie the king up.\(^{131}\) Abbreviations on the papyrus probably indicate the accompaniment of tympana and krotala.\(^{132}\) The text implies that the king starts the dance and orders the Indian women to join in. Immediately following this dance, there is a struggle between Charition’s rescuers and the king as they tie him down, which could also be portrayed through aggressive dancing, and the abbreviations suggest that the tympanon continues during this tying scene. The surviving passage is probably from the end of the mime, as it ends with Charition’s escape.\(^{133}\) If this is a safe assumption, then it could suggest that mime and Greco-Roman comedy shared a predilection for memorable dance finales.\(^{134}\) However, we do not know how typical this mime was or the extent to which it relates to earlier Greco-Roman mime.\(^{135}\)

\(^{130}\) Cf. Tsitsiridis 2011: 189.
\(^{131}\) Tsitsiridis 2011: 189 notes that the Indian king sings Greek rather than Indian dialects during his monody in Sotadean tetrameters.
\(^{132}\) Wootton 2004: 244; Tsitsiridis 2011: 188.
\(^{133}\) On the probability that we are missing earlier parts of the mime, see Tsitsiridis 2011: 204-5.
\(^{134}\) Cf. Cicero’s disdain for implausible mime endings, featuring scabella (clappers or castanets played with the feet): Mimi ergo est iam exitus, non fabulae; in quo cum clausula non inventur, fugit aliquid e manibus, deinde scabilla concrepant,aulaeum tollitur (Pro Caelio 65). On this passage and Cicero’s general disdain for mime, see Sutton 1984: 32 and passim.
\(^{135}\) Scholars have noted the way this mime engages with motifs from Euripides’ Cyclops, Helen, and Iphigenia in Tauris; see Tsitsiridis 2011: 203-4, with reference to Crusius 1904: 357, Winter 1906: 24-28, Santelia 1991: 16.
Atellan farce

It is worth dwelling further on Atellan farce, another Italian performance tradition that doubtless impacted the development of Roman comedy. We saw Atellan farce earlier at the end of Livy’s digression on *ludi scaenici*, where he says that the Roman youth’s revamped Fescennines turned into *exodia* performed with *Atellanae*. This genre is generally believed to have been developed in Campania by the Oscans, as Livy states, and adopted in Rome at an early stage (300s BC).

Again, we do not know much about this comic tradition, but it is assumed to have involved many farcical plots, including cheating, deceit, and “general tomfoolery.”

From later sources, we can put together a tentative picture of the characters involved in *Atellanae*:
Maccus, a jesting, greedy fool; Bucco, a glutton or loudmouth; Pappus, an easily-duped old man; and Dossennus, a greedy swindler.

It is very likely that the stock characters of *Atellanae* influenced the development of stock characters and plots in Roman comedy. Scholars often suggest that Plautus himself—with his stage name of T. *Macc(i)us* Plautus—performed in Atellan farce and composed his plays with this influence in mind.

While this is highly speculative, it stands to reason that Plautus would also have been influenced by music and dance in Atellan farce, which appears to have been a very lively genre.

In this section, I have traced “lost” comic performance genres from fifth-century BC Greece to second-century BC Italy and beyond. Most important for this study is the overlap and exchange between Greek comic genres and Italian comic genres. We will never know the extent

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137 Duckworth 1952: 11.
138 On these types, see Duckworth 1952: 11-12; Beare 1964: 139-40; Fantham 1989: 24-25. See also Santucci 2013: 61-93 on various iconographic issues surrounding the identification of these Atellan characters.
140 There was also a later tradition of literary *Atellanae* by Pomponius and Novius; see Beare 1964: 143-48.
to which mime, farce, and literary comedy borrowed from each other, especially when it comes to their dancing. However, we can be relatively sure that dance in Roman comedy owes something to all of the above, and it is further likely that dance in Greek comedy owes something to early mimes.

**My approach, summarized**

In my study of comic solo dance, I am using dance vocabulary along with meter, and the information it gives us about musical accompaniment, to help determine where and when dance is (or is likely to be) happening. Since my working definition of dance includes rhythm and sound as essential elements, the presence of accompanied meters (whether recitative or lyric) makes it more likely that dance is occurring in a certain scene. In other words, if there is language that is indicative or suggestive of dance, and the passage has a musical context (through the use of accompanied meters), I consider it either a secure or a likely dance scene, depending on how strong the dance language is and the role of narration (e.g. if an observer is narrating another character’s dancing in real time, it is a secure dance scene). If there is language suggestive of dance in an unaccompanied passage (iambic trimeters/senarii), without clearly narrating dance in real time, I am more inclined to consider it a parody of dance or reference to dance than true dance. Even so, depending on the context, I track these instances either as likely dance scenes (since an actor inclined to dance could realize the passage as dance in performance) or as references to dance.

Beyond aiding the identification of dance scenes, another reason why I track the meter for each instance of dance is so that I can discuss structural patterns in the relationship between

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141 For metrical studies, in addition to the works cited in the preface, I have consulted Zimmermann 1985-1987, Webster 1970, Dale 1968, and Questa 1995.
meter and dance. Timothy Moore’s recent work has demonstrated the productivity of looking at meter as an organizing tool in Roman comic dance, especially for passages in which the text indicates that changes of meter correspond to movements. I expand upon this approach by tracking metrical patterns for all dance scenes in Greek and Roman comedy, which can help us better identify likely dance scenes as well. To summarize, I am using meter at a high level as information about where musical accompaniment is occurring and at a more granular level as information about how the playwright structures or accentuates a dance scene.

Finally, where relevant, I turn to sources outside of the comedies themselves, including later textual sources and visual sources, to aid my interpretation of dance scenes and better understand the role of dance. Several such sources have influenced my understanding of solo dance at a high level, as discussed above, and others contain insights that are more localized to individual passages or phenomena.

**Actor’s dance as solo dance**

A brief discussion of what I mean by solo dance will provide context for the decisions I have made throughout this study. The most intuitive, basic definition of solo dancing might simply be: “dancing alone.” But what is “alone” – does it mean that the solo dancer needs to be the only one dancing, or the only one in the performance area, or truly alone with no one else around? In today’s world of dance competitions, at least for dance studios and high school teams in the U.S., the solo category consists of one dancer performing a routine alone, with no one else on stage. But if that is how one conceptualizes solo dancing, then Pseudolus’ dance would be the only true example of solo dance in all of Greek and Roman comedy: in all other passages, other characters appear onstage (as spectators, competitors, etc.), whereas Pseudolus is the only figure onstage when he dances (1268-84). And even then, Pseudolus is not truly alone, as his dance is
part of the communal experience of the theater. Take Philocleon’s dance in *Wasps* as another example, which is universally considered an instance of solo dancing (1474-1537): he first dances alone but with Xanthias on stage commenting on his movements, and then he dances in a competition with the sons of Carcinus. If they all dance during the chorus’ song of dance instructions (1516-37), then they would be dancing at the same time, albeit probably performing different moves and certainly not dancing in coordination (see discussion in chapter one). For the comic theater of Greece and Rome, at least, conceptualizing solo dancing strictly as “dancing alone” would be unnecessarily limiting.\(^{142}\)

Instead, for this study I am understanding solo dance as dance by actors, as opposed to a chorus. I am broadly interested in the way that actors, as characters in the play, are framed as dancers. As will be seen in the coming chapters, sometimes dance by actors operates in total opposition to the chorus, while other times an actor dances in some coordination with the chorus or draws upon *choreia*, and still other times the chorus is simply not relevant. This means that some of the scenes I discuss through the lens of solo dance, especially in Aristophanic comedy, involve an actor dancing alongside the chorus, though often with the actor’s dance standing out in some way (see discussions in chapter one of Peisetairos at *Birds* 1755-62 and Blepyros at *Assemblywomen* 1163-67). The concept of actor’s dance as solo dance remains relevant for Roman comedy: as Bruno Zucchelli shows, *histrio* can refer to actors or dancers.\(^{143}\) Throughout Greek and Roman comedy, scenes in which multiple characters are dancing do not suggest synchronization; rather, the frequent context of competition or struggle suggests that the actors perform different movements or perhaps alternate dancing (e.g. Philocleon and the sons of Carcinus, *Wasps* 1516-37; Sikon and Getas, *Dyskolos* 946-64; Stichus and Sangarinus, *Stichus* 142

142 Compare the frequent use of solo dancers amidst an ensemble in classical ballet.

767-75). My interest in actor’s dance as solo dance might mean that some will disagree about the categorization of certain scenes as “solo” dance scenes (and I note throughout the chapters to come places where the passages I discuss push the boundaries of what can be considered “solo” dance). It is nevertheless my hope that viewing dance by actors, or characters framed as dancers, through the lens of solo dance will provide a new way of understanding dance in Greek and Roman comedy.

Structure of dissertation

Broadly speaking, my dissertation moves from what can be known with certainty to what involves more speculation. Chapter one, “Definite Solo Dance: Showcasing the Individual,” brings together scenes throughout Greek and Roman comedy in which we can be certain that solo dance occurs. For each scene, I discuss the features that indicate that dance occurs and consider how the dance scene contributes to and functions within the play. I conclude chapter one by synthesizing the passages to discuss shared features and the evolution of such features over time, including the role of meter and musical accompaniment, the gender and status of solo dancers in comedy, and dance finales. In chapter two, “References to Solo Dance: Movement, Metaphor, and Mockery,” I compile references to dance throughout Greek and Roman comedy, for which it is not clear that an actor is actually dancing, but it is clear that the playwright is using an allusion to dance to enhance the scene. Such references can tell us how dance might have been perceived by the playwright or received by the audience and thus aid our understanding of comic dance. Chapter three, “Likely Solo Dance: Choreographic Potential,” builds on the previous chapters by using insights from scenes that definitely include dance, as well as key references to dance, to identify a set of criteria that makes dance more likely to occur in a given passage. In this chapter, I do not aim to identify every single passage that could
include dance; rather, I identify categories of likely dance passages, such as running scenes (e.g., running entrances, running search scenes, and the servus currens scenes of Roman comedy) and scenes in which characters express considerable emotion (e.g., joy, fear, distress) to accompanied meters with textual indications of movement. This chapter argues that solo dance was likely much more common in both Greek and Roman comedy than previously thought, though I remain aware that my arguments regarding likely dance passages necessarily involve speculation. The conclusion to my study discusses the significance of solo dance in Greek and Roman comedy: what does it mean for a playwright to include a solo dance scene, and how does it contribute to the play?
Chapter 1: Definite Solo Dance: Showcasing the Individual

Extant ancient comedy includes 12 scenes where we can be certain that solo dance occurs: 6 in Aristophanes, two in Menander, and four in Plautus. Each of these scenes can be identified as dance scenes with certainty through the use of the “toolkit” discussed in the introduction: words, narration, and meter.\(^1\) Each of these instances includes explicit references to dancing and often to the type of dance performed. The use of narration in each scene makes it clear that actual dancing occurs. Most of these scenes are written in accompanied meters; Elaphion’s dance to iambic trimeters in Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazusae* is an exception, though the text nevertheless indicates that an *aulos* is playing during the scene, as will be discussed below. These dance scenes share a number of common features. Most occur at or near the end of the play, functioning as dance finales. While Aristophanes often features the dancing of citizen men, in Menander and Plautus it is almost always enslaved men who dance. When a woman explicitly dances alone (which occurs less frequently in our extant sources), she tends to be a woman of low status. Both Aristophanes and Plautus feature dance contests, celebratory dancing to revel in a victory or success, and parodies of other types of dance (e.g. dithyrambic dance, the dance of *cinaedi*, etc). All three playwrights include characters that use solo dance to harass or mock an adversary. As we will see, solo dance from Greek to Roman comedy often (but not always) displays a character’s bold audacity and individualistic mindset. The dance scenes can be understood as ranging from perfectly acceptable to ridiculous to downright transgressive.

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\(^1\) The exception is the solo dancing in Menander’s *Theophoroumene*, which is attested through mosaics rather than textual fragments.
In this chapter, I bring these scenes together and discuss the aspects of each scene’s construction that clearly indicate dancing, with a particular focus on the relationship between words, meter, music, and movement. I conclude with an in-depth discussion of shared traits across these scenes in order to better understand the role of known solo dance in Greek and Roman comedy.

**Aristophanes**

Clear evidence of solo dancing occurs six times in Aristophanes. No two of these instances are exactly alike, but they do share a number of similarities, including the tendency for dance to be transgressive, subversive, or even just annoying to the non-dancing characters. However, several scenes of solo dance do not perfectly fit this mold. Most notably, Elaphion’s sensual dance in *Thesmophoriazusae* simply fulfills her role as a (likely enslaved) dancing-girl: she follows Euripides’ orders, helps to secure Euripides’ in-law’s escape, and does so without at all subverting her given (marginal) role in society. In what follows, I discuss the six extant scenes of Aristophanic solo dance in chronological order, with a special focus on who dances and why they dance.

**Philocleon, Wasps 1474-1537**

Philocleon’s memorable dance at the end of Aristophanes’ *Wasps* is the earliest and most well-known instance of comic solo dance.² After Philocleon returns from a symposium where he behaves poorly, abducts an *aulētris*, and assaults people on the way home, his slave Xanthias announces in iambic trimeters that Philocleon is inside performing old tragic dances (1474-81):

\[
\text{νῆ τὸν Δίονυσον, ἀπορά γ᾿ ἡμῖν πράγματα}
\]

\[
\text{1475 δάιμον τις εἰσκεκυκληκεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.}
\]

ὁ γὰρ γέρων, ὡς ἔπει διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου
ήκουσέ τ᾽ αύλοι, περιχαρής τῷ πράγματι
ὄρχησάμενος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδέν παύεται
tάργατ᾽ ἐκείν᾽ ὦς Θέσπις ἤγονίζετο·
καὶ τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς φησίν ἀποδείξειν Κρόνους
tοὺς νῦν διορχησάμενος ὀλύγον ύστερον.

By Dionysus, some god has set our house awhirl with some baffling business! Since the old man hadn’t had a drink or heard the pipes for so long, he’s overjoyed with the whole business, and all night he hasn’t stopped dancing those old dances that Thespis used in his competitions. And he says that pretty soon he’ll take on the modern tragic dancers and show them up as old Cronuses.

While no actual dancing occurs onstage yet, Xanthias’ introduction sets the scene for Philocleon’s dance entrance and the upcoming dance contest. Xanthias primes the audience to see Philocleon’s dances as old, well-known tragic ones from the likes of Thespis, the famed “inventor” of tragedy. When Philocleon enters, he narrates his own dance steps in anapests, with Xanthias periodically commenting on Philocleon’s madness (1482-96):

ΦΙ.: τίς ἐπ᾽ αὐλείοισι θύραις θάσσει;  patience
ΞΑ.: τοῦτι καὶ δὴ χωρεῖ τὸ κακόν.  woe
ΦΙ.: κλῆθρα χαλάσθω τάδε. καὶ δὴ γὰρ

Xanthias: παῦες ἔλλεβορον.

See preface for citations of all texts, translations, and metrical identifications/abbreviations.

See Biles and Olson 2015: 501 on ἐκείνον as “well-known” and on Philocleon and the chorus’ propensity for the ancient tragedian Phrynichus earlier in the play. Despite Xanthias saying that Philocleon performs tragic dances, there has been ample debate about what types of dances Philocleon performs, with some scholars indeed seeing tragic burlesque or an attempt at representing old tragic dances (Rau 1967, MacDowell 1971: 322-23) and others seeing different types of dances, such as those of hetairai (Roos 1951) and pyrrhic dancers (Borthwick 1968). MacCary 1979: 141 argues that there was considerable overlap between the emmeleia (tragic dance), kordax (comic dance), and sikinnis (satyric dance), allowing for a range of references in Philocleon’s dance. I discuss the various styles involved in Philocleon’s dance in the conclusion to this chapter.
1495 στρέφεται χαλαρὰ κοτυληδών.
oùk eû;

ΞΑ.: μὰ Δί᾽ οὐ δῆτ’, ἀλλὰ μανικὰ πράγματα.

Ph.: Who couches at the outer gates?

Xa.: There he is, here comes the trouble!

Ph.: Let these gates be unbolted! Look here, the opening steps—

Xa.: Maybe more like the onset of madness!

Ph.: —where you bend the torso vigorously. How the snout snorts, and the spine cracks!

Xa.: Drink hellebore!

Ph.: Phrynichus crouches like a rooster—

Xa.: Soon you’ll be pelted!

Ph.: —kicking his legs sky high! The arsehole splits—

Xa.: Watch yourself there!

Ph.: —because now my hip joints roll smoothly in their sockets! Wasn’t that good?

Xa.: It certainly was not; it’s crazy business!

L. E. Rossi suggests that Philocleon does not actually dance here but instead mimes individual figures in an isolated fashion that would not have combined to make a true dance.\(^5\) This argument takes the relationship between Philocleon’s description and his performed movements too literally, imagining that there is no movement in between the bursts of descriptions, as if Philocleon bends over, then crouches, then kicks, then rolls his hips, but connects none of these movements together into a dance and performs no additional movements. Beyond the logical unlikelihood of these being isolated movements, the idea that Philocleon is not dancing contradicts what Xanthias explicitly tells us: Philocleon has not stopped dancing all night.

\(^5\) Rossi 1979. See Andrisano 2017 for a refutation of Rossi’s arguments on this passage.
(ὀρχούμενος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν παύεσαι, 1478). Xanthias has set up the audience to understand Philocleon’s performance as a dance. Philocleon’s own language further suggests that he is actually dancing. When he enters, the meter changes from iambic trimeters to anapests, which means that musical accompaniment began at this point as well. The beginning of music coincides with the beginning of the dance, and Philocleon continues using anapests throughout his performance. He uses the technical dance language of a schēma to start his performance (σχήματος ἀρχῆ, l. 1485) and goes on to describe his dance movements, occasionally using words that appear on later lists of named dances (λυγίσαντος, l. 1487; ἐκλακτίζων, l. 1492). The kicking movement (σκέλος οὐράνιαν ἐκλακτίζων) with which Philocleon purports to imitate Phrynichus stands out as an important type of step in this performance, and the chorus later repeats this language in their song accompanying the dance contest (καὶ τὸ Φρυνίχεον / ἐκλακτισάτω τις, 1524-5; ῥίπτε σκέλος οὐράνιον, 1530). However, it is important to note the high potential for dissonance between the steps described and the actual movements performed: as Sarah Olsen demonstrates, Philocleon’s dance is framed as incredibly baffling from the very beginning, and Xanthias continually comments on his evident madness. Whatever Philocleon’s actual movements were, Xanthias’ reaction frames Philocleon’s dance as particularly crazed and foolish. When Philocleon asks Xanthias, or the audience, if his performance was good (οὐκ εὖ;, l. 1496), the meter changes back to iambic trimeters, and the music presumably stops, signaling that Philocleon’s virtuosic dance is over—for now.

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6 See LSJ s.v. σχῆμα A.7 for this technical use.
7 Pollux 4.98 (λυγίσατο τὸ σῶμα); Pollux 4.102 (τὰ ἐκλακτισματα, which he says are dances of women).
8 Biles and Olson 2015: 502 call this initial dance of Philocleon a “warm-up session” for the upcoming contest, especially given the similarity in dance moves between the two performances.
9 Olsen 2021: 112-121.
Once Philocleon has danced by himself, he calls for tragic dancers to compete against him in a dance contest, and the sons of the tragedian Carcinus—either the real ones or specialty dancers representing them—take him up on the challenge (1497-1515):10

ΦΙ.: φέρε νυν, ἀνείποι κάνταγωνιστὰς καλῶν.
eἰ τις τραγῳδὸς φησίν ὀρχείσθαι καλῶς,
ἐμοὶ διορησόμενος ἐνθάδε εἰσίτω.
φησίν τις ἢ οὐδείς;

1500 ἙΑ.: εἰς γ´ ἐκεῖνοι μόνος.
ΦΙ.: τίς ὁ κακοδαίμων ἐστίν;
ἙΑ.: υἱὸς Καρκίνου
ὁ μέσατος.
ΦΙ.: ἄλλ´ ὁ τόσῳ γε καταποθήσεται
ἀπολῶ γάρ αὐτὸν ἐμμελείᾳ κονδύλου.
ἐν τῷ ῥυθμῷ γάρ οὐδέν ἐστίν.
ἙΑ.: ἄλλ´, ὡς, ραέ.

1505 ἔτερος τραγῳδὸς Καρκινίτης ἐρχεται,
ἀδέλφος αὐτοῦ.
ΦΙ.: νὴ Δί´ ὠψώνηκ´ ἄρα.
ἙΑ.: μά τὸν Δί´ οὐδέν γ´ ἄλλο πλὴν τρεῖς καρκίνους
προσέρχεται γάρ ἐτερος αὐτῷ τῶν Καρκίνου.
ΦΙ.: τοιτί τι ἢν προσέρχον; ὤξις ἢ φάλαγξ;

1510 ἙΑ.: ὁ πινοτήρης ὁ τόσῳ ἐστὶ τοῦ γένους,
ὁ σφικροτάτος, ὃς τὴν τραγῳδίαν ποιεῖ.
ΦΙ.: ὁ Καρκίν´, ὃς μακάρις τῆς εὐπαιδίας,
ὅσον τὸ πλήθος κατέπεσεν τῶν ὀργίλων.
ἀτάρ καταβατέων γ´ ἐπ´ αὐτοὺς μοι· σὺ δὲ
1515 ἄλμην κύκα τοῦτοισιν, ἢν ἐγώ κρατῶ.

Ph.: Come now, let me make an announcement: I challenge all comers! Any tragic performer who claims to be a good dancer, come right up here and dance against me! Anyone out there care to try? No one?

Xa.: Only that one over there. (A Son of Carcinus enters the orchestra.)

Ph.: Who is the unfortunate person?

Xa.: A son of Carcinus, the midmost one.

Ph.: Him? He’ll be eaten alive! I’ll demolish him with a pas de fist! Rhythmically, he’s nothing at all.

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10 On the controversy over whether the actual sons of Carcinus appear onstage, see Biles and Olson 2015: 506. Vaio 1971: 350n69 argues that Carcinus and his sons wear crab costumes, which would add to the humor of the dance contest.
Xa.: You sorry fool, here’s another Carcinite tragedian coming, this one’s brother! (Enter a second Son of Carcinus.)

Ph.: Then by god, I’ve got myself a tasty meal!

Xa.: No you haven’t; you’ve got nothing but three crabs, because here comes yet another son of Carcinus! (Enter a third Son of Carcinus.)

Ph.: What’s this thing crawling towards us? A scorpion or a spider?

Xa.: He’s the pea crab of the family, the tiniest one, who writes tragedy.

Ph.: Ah Carcinus, congratulations on your fine offspring! What a flock of wagtails has alighted! Well, I must go down to compete with them; you be stirring up the broth for them, in case I win. (Philocleon descends into the orchestra; Xanthias goes into the house.

Philocleon calls for skilled tragic *dancers* in particular (εἰ τις τραγῳδός φησιν ὀρχεῖσθαι καλῶς) to compete against him. As three sons of Carcinus enter one-by-one to take him up on the challenge, Philocleon makes fun of them by punning on the meaning of their father’s name, “crab.” This passage sets up the dance contest in the following lines. Philocleon comments on the poor dancing or rhythmical talent of one of the brothers (ἐν τῷ ῥυθμῷ γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστὶν, l. 1504), but the text does not make it necessary that actual dancing occurs yet in these lines. The passage is in iambic trimeters, which suggests a lack of musical accompaniment. However, given the context of the surrounding dance scenes, it is nevertheless possible that the sons of Carcinus danced as they came onstage. Any amount of time could have passed between the spoken lines as each son enters, during which time he could have danced and the *aulos* could have played temporarily. It is also possible that the energetic and brazen Philocleon performed some dance movements to emphasize his taunts against his competitors, especially as he uses the language of tragic dance (*emmeleia*) to describe the way that he will destroy the middle son: ἀπολῶ γὰρ αὐτόν ἐμμελείᾳ κονδύλου (1503). Without any textual references to an *aulos* player or music,
however, this is speculative. This section ends with Philocleon descending into the orchestra to start the competition (ἀτάρ καταβατέων γ’ ἐπ’ αὐτούς μοι, 1514).

While Philocleon narrated his own dancing earlier, this dance contest is accompanied by a choral song, with which the play ends (1516-37):

KO.: φέρε νυν, ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὄλιγον ἐνγχορήσωμεν ἀπαντές, ἵν’ ἔφ’ ἡσυχίας ἡμῶν πρόσθεν βεμβικίωσιν ἑαυτούς.

1518-9 ΧΟ.: ἀγ’, ὦ μεγαλούνμα τέκνα τοῦ θαλασσίου, archil
1520 πηδάτε παρὰ ψάμμαθον -- D
1521-2 καὶ θῖν’ ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτου, καρίδων ἀδελφοί’ archil
1523-4 ταχύν πόδα κυκλοσβείτε, καὶ τὸ Φρυνίχειον archil
1525 ἐκλακτισάτω τις, ὅπως -- D
1526-7 ἰδόντες ἄνω σκέλος ὄξωσιν οἱ θεαταί. ~ D + ith
1528-9 στροβεί’ παράβαινε κύκλω καὶ γάστρισθαν σεαυτόν, archil
1530-1 βίπτε σκέλος ὕφρανιον’ βέμβικες ἐγγενέσθων.
1532-3 καῦτος γὰρ ὁ ποντομέδων ἄνας πατήρ προσέρπει ἡθεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισι, τοῖς τριόρχοις.
1535 ἀλλ’ ἐξάγετ’, εἰ τι φιλεῖτ’, ὦρχούμενοι, θύραξ ἡμᾶς ταχύν τοῦτο γὰρ σφίδεις πο ὄρος δέδρακεν, ὦρχούμενος ὅστις ἀπῆλλαξεν χορὸν τρυγωδῶν.

Chorus leader: Come then, let’s all give them a bit of room, so that they can spin themselves around before us without interference.

Chorus: Up, you renowned children of Sir Salty, jump along the sand and the shore of the barren sea, brethren of shrimps; whirl a swift foot all around, and someone kick out the Phrynichus caper, so that seeing the foot in the air the audience will cry ooh! Whirl! Sidle around and slap your belly; throw a leg sky high; pirouettes included please! (Carcinus enters the orchestra.) Because the Lord and Master of the Deep scuttles hither himself, delighted with his very own children, the triple duckers! Now lead us out of here dancing, if you please, and quickly; for no one has ever done this before, to take a comic chorus off in dance.

The chorus leader uses anapestic tetrameters catalectic when calling for the chorus to move out of the way so that the soloists can dance (1516-17), then the chorus sings an ode in Archilochean

11 See discussion of ἐμμελεία κονδύλου as a metaphor in ch. 2.
12 Wilson prints ὄρχούμενον, but here I follow Henderson and Biles/Olson in choosing ὄρχούμενος. See discussion of this textual variant in the dance finales section of the conclusion to this chapter.
dicola while directing the dance (1518-37). The song reads as instructions for how the dancers should move during the contest, though dissonance between the chorus’ words and the actors’ dance steps is again likely, especially since this is a dance competition and each actor is likely performing their own different specialty steps rather than dancing in unison as the choral song seems to call for. Whether or not it reflects the actual dances as performed, the choral song includes jumping (πηδᾶτε), kicking (ἐκλακτισάτω, ῥῦπτε σκέλος οὐράνιον), and spinning (κυκλοσοβεῖτε, στρόβει, παράβαινε κύκλω, βέμβικες), including terminology familiar from Philocleon’s earlier dance. The song ends with the chorus telling the dancers to lead them offstage, and the novelty they express here speaks to the unique priority of solo dance in the ending of this play, along with real anxiety over what it means that a crazed, hyper-individualistic dancer bent on proving his superiority could overtake the chorus.¹³

Philocleon’s two virtuosic dances, first by himself and then against competitors, problematize the trajectory of his character in Wasps. Far from learning his lesson about his unhealthy obsession with jury service, Philocleon instead applies his excessive and impulsive tendencies in a different realm, that of symposia and drinking and dancing.¹⁴ Part of the problem with his excessive dancing is tied up with his gender and status: as a male citizen, Philocleon would be justified in dancing as part of a group in a post-symptotic komos or a ritual chorus (such as a tragic chorus), but his insistence upon dancing alone and challenging any competitors (especially as an old man) symbolizes his extreme rupture from society. This rupture would be especially severe if, as seems likely, Philocleon danced with acrobatic moves similar to those of

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¹³ On choral anxiety over being permanently replaced in these final lines, as well as the implications of the textual variant ὅρχομενον (1537), see Olsen 2021: 124-26 and the discussion of dance finales in the conclusion to this chapter.

¹⁴ On this point, see Vaio 1971: 351 and Zimmermann 2021: 49.
low-class, female entertainers. Wasps could have ended very differently if Philocleon had danced alongside the chorus of elders and re-joined the group he used to be a part of. But instead, he chooses individualism and continues to take his pursuits to extremes. It is up to the audience to decide how to understand this, but perhaps one takeaway is that they should laugh at Philocleon but try very hard not to become him.

Cinesias, Birds 1373-1409
To Peisetairos’ dismay, the dithyrambic poet Cinesias dances when he visits Cloudcuckooland in Birds to ask for a set of wings, with the meter changing from iambic trimeters to lyric meters at his entrance (1373-1409):

1373-7 ΚΙ. ἀναπέτομαι δή πρὸς Ὄλυμπον πτερύγεσσι κούφαις-
ΠΕ. τοιν τὸ πράγμα φορτίου δεῖται πτερόν.

1376-7 ΚΙ. ἀναπέτομαι δ’ ὄδὸν ἄλλοτ’ ἐπ’ ἄλλαν μελέων—
ΠΕ. ἀσποζόμεσθα φιλούρινον Κινησιαν.

1380–1ΚΙ. ὄνεις γενέσθαι βούλομαι λιγόθυμογος ἀπράον.
ΠΕ. παύσαι μελωδίαν, ἄλλ’ ὃ τι λέγεις εἰπέ μοι.
ΚΙ. ὑπὸ σοῦ πετρωθείς βούλομαι μετάρσιος ἀναπτόμενος ἐκ τῶν νεφελῶν καινὰς λαβεῖν

1385 ἀεροδονῆτοις καὶ νιφοβόλους ἀναβολάς.
ΠΕ. ἐκ τῶν νεφελῶν γὰρ ἂν τὶς ἀναβολάς λάβοι;
ΚΙ. κρέμαται μὲν οὖν ἐνετέθην ἡμὸν ἡ τέχνη.
τῶν διθυράμβων γὰρ τὰ λαμπρὰ γίγνεται ἀέρια καὶ σκοτεινὰ καὶ κυαναγέα

1390 καὶ πετροδόντα· σὺ δὲ κλών εἰσεί τάχα.
ΠΕ. οὗ δὴτ’ ἔγγαγε.

ΚΙ. νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα σὺ γε.

1393a εἰδῶλα πετηνῶν
1393b αἰθεροδρόμων
1394 οἰωνὸν ταναοδείρων—
1395a ΠΕ. ὃ ὀπ.
1395b ΚΙ. ἀλίδρομοιν ἀλάμενος

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16 On questions surrounding meter in this passage, see Parker 1997: 340-45. As Parker notes, Ruijgh 1960: 318-21 explains the puzzling meter of 1374 and 1376 by suggesting that Aristophanes is using resolution and contraction in choriambus unconventionally, as a parody of Cinesias’ own usage.
Cinesias: See, I soar up to Olympus on weightless wings, I soar now on this path of song, and now on that—

Peisetairos: This here’s going to take a whole load of wings!

Ci.: with fearless mind and body in quest of a new path.

Pe.: Our greetings to twiggy Cinesias! Why do you whirl your bandy foot hither in a pirouette?

Ci.: I wish to become a bird, a clear-voiced nightingale.

Pe.: Stop that vocalizing, and tell me what you’re saying.

Ci.: I want wings from you, to fly on high and snatch from the clouds fresh preludes (anabolai) air-propelled and snowswept.

Pe.: You’re saying you can snatch preludes from the clouds?

Ci.: Why, our whole art depends on them! In dithyrambs the dazzling bits are airy, dusky, darkly flashing, wing-propelled. Just listen, and you’ll soon understand.

Pe.: I’d just as soon not.

Ci.: You absolutely must! Here, I’ll run through the whole air for you: Ah visions of winged sky-coursing long-necked birds—

Pe.: Whoa!

17 Some line divisions here follow Parker 1997 rather than Wilson.
Ci.: oh to shoot up with a leap and run with the breaths of the winds—

Pe.: So help me god, I’ll put a stop to your breaths! (chases Cinesias with a pair of wings)

Ci.: (dodging) first travelling a southerly course, then swinging my body northwards, cleaving a harborless furrow of sky— (stops, struck) That’s a very witty trick, old man, and tricky!

Pe.: I thought you enjoy being wing-propelled!

Ci.: Is this how you treat me, the director of cyclic choruses whose services the tribes always fight for?

Pe.: Then would you like to stay here with us and serve as director for Leotrophides, with a chorus of flying birds, of the Corncrake Tribe?

Ci.: Obviously you’re making fun of me. But I’ll have you know I don’t intend to stop, not until I get my wings and scamper through the air!

It first becomes clear that Cinesias is dancing when Peisetairos comments on his entrance, asking him why he is moving his foot in a circle: τί δέερο πόδα σὺ κυλλὸν ἀνά κύκλον κυκλεῖς; (1379).

This could refer to dancing around in circles, spinning, or some other circular movement.\(^{18}\) Whatever the actual step, the double emphasis on circular movement at the end of the line suggests a visual allusion between Cinesias’ dance and circular dithyrambic dances.\(^{19}\) Lawler argues that Peisetairos’ description of Cinesias as φιλόρινος (1378) means that he is thin, weak, or shaky, which could be a comment on the dance Cinesias performs in the dithyrambic style.\(^{20}\)

She further connects the term with various lewd and pyrrhic dances, suggesting that the passage subtly criticizes Cinesias for the new and undignified \textit{schēmata} that he added to dithyrambic choreography. Cinesias later calls himself a \textit{kykliodidaskalos} (1403), suggesting that he has some mastery over such circular dancing. As far as his actual dancing in this scene, Peisetairos’

\(^{18}\) Cf. Holmes 2019: 122.

\(^{19}\) Dunbar 1997: 668; Franklin 2017: 4. For the link between circular choruses and dithyramb, especially from the last quarter of the 5\textsuperscript{th} c. BC and beyond, see Csapo 2017 and Ceccarelli 2013: 166-170.

comment on Cinesias’ dancing retroactively suggests that Cinesias’ entrance-song was accompanied by dance from the beginning. The implication is that Cinesias enters performing his circular dithyrambic dance, perhaps imitating the motion of wings to approximate flight, until Peisetairos interrupts him a few lines in. This is significant because the language Cinesias uses in his first few lines is not particularly suggestive of dance: he sings about flying to Olympus (ἀναπέτομαι; πέτομαι), but otherwise these opening lines do not clearly indicate that Cinesias is dancing or moving around much. Without Peisetairos’ question about Cinesias’ (dithyrambic) movement, it is unlikely that this would be flagged as a dance entrance. But with Peisetairos’ question, it becomes certain that the actor playing Cinesias would have danced onstage in some sort of parody of dithyrambic dancing.

The meter supports Cinesias’ movement and emphasizes the contrast between dancer (Cinesias) and non-dancer (Peisetairos). Cinesias first uses iambo-choriambics as he “flies” in dancing (1373). He then uses iambic dimeter when saying that he wants to become a bird (1380) and pherecrateans when specifying the type of bird, a clear-voiced nightingale (1381).21 Despite Cinesias’ use of lyric meters, Peisetairos continues speaking in iambic trimeters (1375, 1378-9) and explicitly asks Cinesias to stop singing (παύσαι μελῶν, ἄλλῳ τί λέγεις εἴπε μοι, 1382). This compels Cinesias to speak in iambic trimeters for several lines as he asks Peisetairos for wings, which suggests that the two could not deal with the real business of Cinesias’ visit while he sings and dances (1383-5; 1387-92). Cinesias then returns to lyric meters despite Peisetairos’ protests.

At this return to lyric meters, Cinesias uses language in his song that strongly suggests rhythmic movement, although he does not clearly narrate his own dancing. With a colon

21 See Hadjimichael 2014: 192 and passim for Cinesias’ appropriation of Bacchylides through the imagery of the nightingale.
reizianum and anapestic dimeter catalectic, Cinesias sings loftily of birds (1393-4), then uses what appear to be iambics and bacchiacs as he sings about leaping and running with the winds (ἁλίδρομον ἀλάμενος / ἅμ’ ἀνέμον πνοαίσι βαίην, 1395-6). After Peisetairos interrupts with an iambic trimeter (1397), Cinesias sings three lines of anapestic dimeter as he describes the movement of the winds (τοτὲ μὲν νοτίαν στείχον πρὸς ὀδόν, / τοτὲ δ’ αὖ βορέα σῶμα πελάζων / ἀλίμενον αἰθέρος αὐλακα τέμνων, 1398-1400). While he does not explicitly state that he is dancing in imitation of this (i.e. leaping and running around the stage as if he is becoming part of the winds himself), it seems likely that he does. The use of anapests strengthens the likelihood that he dances across the stage mimicking the winds, as anapests are commonly used in Greek drama in scenes of forward motion (though Cinesias’ dancing here would perhaps be more chaotic than was typical for the steadiness of anapests). It is further possible that Cinesias refers to the body here (σῶμα, 1399) to draw attention to his own bodily movement in mimicking the winds.

The next line makes it clear that Peisetairos does something to stop Cinesias’ performance, probably by hitting him, as Cinesias exclaims complaining about how Peisetairos has tricked him (χαρίεντά γ’, ὡ πρεσβῦτ’, ἐσοφίσω καὶ σοφά, 1401). The meter returns to iambic trimeters at this point. This makes most sense if Cinesias had been continuing his parodic dance by leaping and running as if he were the winds themselves, before Peisetairos stopped him. Throughout this renewed lyric section, Peisetairos does not comment on Cinesias’ dancing explicitly, other than expressing that he will put a stop to Cinesias’ “breaths” or the winds that

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23 For the role of anapests in Greek drama, see Dale 1968: 47-68 and Parker 1997: 55-61. On anapests and dance in Roman comedy, including some comparisons to Greek drama, see Moore forthcoming.
24 Peisetairos often strikes the visitors to Cloudcuckooland: he hits the oracle-monger with a book (985-91); punches Meton (1015-19); beats the inspector (1029-31) and decree-seller (1044-46); and whips, or at least threatens to whip, the informer / sycophant who enters after Cinesias (1461-67). On Peisetairos’ violence, cf. Bowie 1993: 169.
Cinesias is probably imitating (νὴ τὸν Δί’ ἦ γὰρ σου καταπαύσω τὰς πνοὰς, 1397). Instead, our evidence for dance consists of language in Cinesias’ own song that is highly suggestive of movement. Given that Cinesias is certainly dancing when he enters, further dancing when he picks his song back up is very likely.

Throughout the scene, there is tension between Cinesias’ lyric meters and Peisetairos’ iambic trimeters as Peisetairos is continually annoyed by Cinesias’ singing and dancing and tries to get him to end his performance. It seems likely that Cinesias sang while Peisetairos continued to speak. This tension could have been reflected through music as well, if the aulos player continuously stopped and re-started playing with the switches from iambic trimeters to accompanied meters. While Cinesias’ metrical variety is undeniably a spoof of dithyrambic songs and the “New Music,” it also allows for considerable variety in dance rhythms, supporting Cinesias’ use of movement in this scene.

Cinesias’ solo dancing in this scene is an object of mockery and contributes significantly to his rejection by Peisetairos. As William Arrowsmith notes, there is a mismatch between Cinesias’ somewhat gawky entrance, as described by Peisetairos (πόδα…κυλλὼν, 1379) and his sky-high lyrics (ἄναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον πτερύγεσσι κούφαις, 1373). If Peisetairos’ criticism of Cinesias’ dancing is to be believed, then it is the dancing in particular that represents Cinesias’ inability to be granted wings: his awkward steps hold him back from reaching the lofty ideals represented by his song. There is a further contrast between Cinesias’ lofty and

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25 Dunbar 1997: 661 notes the contrast not only between meters but also between tone, with Peisetairos being “practical and brusque” and Cinesias being lofty and poetic.
26 On Cinesias and New Music see West 1992: 356-72 (esp. 359), Hadjimichael 2014, and Franklin 2017. Hadjimichael 2014 argues that the language of Cinesias’ song parodies Bacchylides in the style of “New Dithyramb” (but does not discuss dance). Franklin 2017 sees in this Birds scene the “halting, modernist dance of a circular dithyrambic chorus” (4) and points out connections between Cinesias’ name and “the vigorous and elaborate ‘movement’ [kinesis] of his dithyrambic choreography” (35).
27 Arrowsmith 1973: 149.
28 For criticisms of Cinesias’ choreography, cf. Frogs 143-53, discussed in chapter two below.
enthusiastic, if clumsy, entrance on the “path of song” and his despondent exit to iambic trimeters, suggesting that Peisetairos’ mocking rejection has humiliated him. Peisetairos’ utter irritation with Cinesias’ performance throughout the scene suggests that the audience is supposed to laugh at Cinesias’ high-minded but misplaced dances. When contrasted with Peisetairos’ earlier, less harsh rejection of the Pindaric poet (904-53), Cinesias’ dance in particular emerges as a significant contributing factor to the harsh treatment he receives. Both poets are associated with circular forms (κύκλια πολλά, 918; κυκλιοδιδάσκαλος, 1403), but Cinesias is framed as a (bad) dancer in a way that the Pindaric poet is not: the lyrics that the Pindaric poet performs do not particularly suggest movement, and Peisetairos’ responses to the poet do not suggest that he is dancing. While dancing is not the only reason for the disparity in the treatment of the two poets (it is relevant, for example, that the Pindaric poet is associated with “old” forms of poetry while Cinesias is associated with the “new”), nevertheless comparing the role of dance in each scene suggests that Cinesias’ movement is a major reason why Peisetairos finds him so aggravating.

Further, there is some reason to believe that Peisetairos’ rejection of Cinesias is at least partially due to Cinesias’ own predilection for solo forms. Daniel Holmes suggests that Cinesias wants to compose solo pieces (anabolai, “preludes”) rather than taking up Peisetairos on his offer (however mocking) to train choruses:

The fact that it is Peisetairos’s admonition to train (διδασκάλειν) choruses in the polis that finally gets rid of Cinesias points to his true desire: these solo pieces (i.e., anabolai) as works of art in themselves, ars gratia artis. In the land of the birds Cinesias wanted to be free of choruses altogether, to seek out anabolai (i.e., solo pieces) by himself amid the clouds…and to go wherever the breezes might take him.³⁰

³⁰ Holmes 2019: 123, building on Comotti 1989: 116 on anabolai as astrophic solo pieces performed before strophic choral pieces.
The text does not suggest that Cinesias “wanted to be free of choruses altogether” – after stating his desire for *anabolai*, Cinesias returns to talking about the performance qualities of dithyramb (1388-90) and takes pride in calling himself a *kykloididaskalos* (1403). Nevertheless, Holmes’s interpretation provides a further lens through which we can view the rejection of Cinesias’ dancing. Cinesias’ desire to perform *anabolai* suggests that he has a real interest in solo forms in addition to the choral forms that he clearly enjoys producing. Peisetairos, on the other hand, does not seem interested in solo forms, as he (however mockingly) invites Cinesias to direct a chorus of birds (1406). The audience, then, is invited to laugh at Cinesias’ dancing for its awkward, gangly quality and to reject it on a deeper level for the threat that Cinesias’ affinity for solo song and dance poses to choral forms (representative of the socio-political community) in Cloudcuckooland.

**Peisetairos, Birds 1755-62**

Cinesias’ solo dance is not the last dance by an actor in *Birds*, as the play ends with Peisetairos dancing with his bride, Basileia, during a hybrid victory-wedding song after usurping Zeus’s power.31 After an ode in which the chorus likely separates to make room for Peisetairos and Basileia (1720),32 the chorus leader tells the chorus to follow the bride and groom.

Peisetairos then explicitly orders Basileia to dance with him in an appropriation of a ritual marriage procession (1755-65):

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1755-6 KO.: ἔπεσθε γυνή γάμωσιν, ὦ φῦλα πάντα συννόμων  
πτεροφόρ’ ἐπὶ δάπεδον Δίως καὶ λέχως γαμήλιον.33

1760 ΠΕ.: ὁρείζον, ὦ μάκαιρα, σήν χεῖρα καὶ πτερῶν ἐμὸν  
λαβοῦσα συγχόρευσον αἴρων δὲ κουφιῶ σ’ ἐγώ.
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31 An earlier section of the song (1731-42) incorporates telesilleans, which Parker 1997: 292-94, 356 notes were used in processional wedding hymns.
33 Wilson assigns these lines to Peisetairos but notes that others give them to the chorus leader.
Chorus leader: Follow now the wedding party, all you winged tribes of fellow songsters, to Zeus’s yard and to the bridal bower.

Pe.: Hold out your hand, my happy one, and holding to my wings join me for a dance; I’ll lift you up and swing you!

Chorus: Hip hip hooray! Hail Paeon! Hail your success, you highest of divinities!

After a few lines of dactyls, the meter changes to iambic dicola in these ending lines as Peisetairos explicitly dances with Basileia (συγχόρευσον) and the chorus follows him out singing a victory song, anticipating Aristophanes’ own hope for victory. This pushes the limits of what can be considered solo dance: Peisetairos does not dance alone, but he also does not explicitly dance in coordination with the chorus. Instead, he reaches out to Basileia as a partner in the dance. Besides Elaphion, Basileia is the only other female character in Aristophanes to take part in a known dance scene outside of choral dance, and both are mute figures.

The language suggests that Peisetairos takes control of this dance by lifting up his bride (αἴρων δὲ κουφιῶ σ᾽ ἐγώ) in what was probably a danced allusion to the beginning of a marriage procession, at which time the groom lifted the bride onto a chariot. The context of a marriage ritual is part of what makes Basileia’s dancing, as a female figure, acceptable (contrast Elaphion’s dance, discussed below, which is acceptable because of her low status). It is unclear how long the pair danced: these are the final lines of the play, and it is probable that they danced all the way offstage. It is also unclear what movements they performed beyond the lifting and swinging, although we can assume they performed movements familiar from marriage processions. But whatever the movements were, Peisetairos’ and Basileia’s dance would have

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34 See Blundell 1995: 123 on this aspect of marriage ritual and its contribution to the motif of abduction.
been the clear focal point of this finale, as suggested by the chorus leader telling the rest of the chorus to follow the couple off stage as in a marriage procession (ἐπεσθέ νῦν γάμῳσιν, l. 1755). Choreography and staging would then dictate to what extent Peisetairos and Basileia were seen as dancing in coordination with the chorus and to what extent they were seen as their own separate entity. Peisetairos’ dancing certainly does not undermine the chorus in the way that Philocleon’s did in *Wasps*, but it is an example of the dance of an actor being visually prominent in the finale of a play.\(^{35}\)

Even though Peisetairos’ dancing does not specifically undermine the chorus, nevertheless his dance with Basileia in this final scene visually highlights the culmination of his problematic pursuit of power throughout the play. Following Prometheus’ advice, he has just successfully convinced a delegation of gods to hand over both Zeus’s power and his “princess,” Basileia, who controls everything for Zeus from his thunderbolts to the law (1537-43).\(^{36}\) His dancing might be funny, but it also symbolizes his usurpation of Zeus’s power. The fact that he leads Basileia in the dance furthers this symbolization, given she has been characterized earlier as the one who oversees everything for Zeus. If he does lift her up and swing her around as the text suggests, then the dance would visually represent his total mastery over everything that used to be under Zeus’s reign. The chorus of birds happily cheers on Peisetairos’ victory (ἀλαλαλάι, ἱὴ παιών· / τίνελλα καλλίνικος, ὃ / δαμόνων ὑπέρτατε, 1763-65), but the audience may well be left unsure what to think of Peisetairos’ success in this endeavor.\(^{37}\)

\(^{35}\) For a more detailed discussion of dance finales and choral anxiety over being replaced at the end of *Wasps*, see the conclusion to this chapter. There is some precedent for Peisetairos’ dance finale even earlier than *Wasps*: Dicaeopolis leads the chorus offstage at the end of *Acharnians*, though dancing is implied rather than explicit, and any solo dancing would probably not have undermined the chorus.


\(^{37}\) Cf. Bowie 1993 on Aristophanes’ deconstruction of the possibility of utopia in this play.
Elaphion, Women at the Thesmophoria 1172-1206

At the end of Women at the Thesmophoria, in a rare example of a female solo dancer,

Euripides enlists a dancing-girl named Elaphion and a piper named Teredon to distract the

Scythian guard (ὁ τοξότης), allowing Euripides’ in-law to escape:

EY.: ἐμὸν ἔργον ἔστιν· καὶ σῶν, ὀλάφιον, ὃ σοι καθ’ ὄδον ἔφραξον ταῦτα μεμνήσθαι ποιεῖν.

priótov mé̂n oûn didè̂λε ká̂νακάλπασον.

1175

sù d’, ὁ Τερηδόν, ἐπαναφύσα Περσικόν.

TO.: τί τὸ βόμβο τοῦτο; κόμῳ τις ἀνεχείρι μοι.

EY.: ἢ παῖς ἐμελλε προμελέτιν, ὃ τοξότα.

ὀρχησμομένη γὰρ ἔρχεθ’ ὡς ἀνάρας τινᾶς.

TO.: ὀρκήσαι καὶ μελέτησι, οὐ κολύσ’ ἐγὼ.

1180 ὡς ἐλαπρός, ὀσπερ πυῆλλο κατὰ τὸ κόψιο.

EY.: φέρε θοιμάτιον ἀνώθεν, ὃ τέκνον, τοῦτο

καθιζομένη ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι τοῦ Σκύθου

tὸ πόδε πρόστιτον, ἵν’ ὑπολύσω.

TO.: ναίκα, ναί κάτησο κάτησο, ναϊκα ναϊκ, τυγάτρινον.

1185

οὔ’ ὡς στέρπο τὸ τιττί’, ὀσπερ γογγυλά.

EY.: αὔλει σὺ θάττον’ ἐτι δέδουκας τὸν Σκύθην;

TO.: καλὸ γε τὸ πυῆ, κλαβομ’ ἢ ἢ μὴ ὶνδον μένης.

εἰν’ καλῆ τὸ σκήμα περὶ τὸ πόστιον.

EY.: καλῶς ἐχε. λαβὲ θοιμάτιον’ ὦρα ’στι νόν

ἡδη βαδίζειν.

1190

TO.: οὔκι πάλησι πρότα με;

EY.: πάνυ γε’ φίλησον αὐτόν.

TO.: ὃ ὅ ὅ, παπαπαπα, ως γλυκερό τὸ γλῶσσα’, ὀσπερ Αττικός μέλις.

τί οὐ κατεῦδει παρ’ ἐμεῖ; 

EY.: χαίρε, τοξότα, οὐ γὰρ γένοιτ’ ἀν τοῦτο.

TO.: ναίκα, γράδιο, ἐμοὶ κάρισο σὺ τοῦτο.

1195

EY.: δώσεις οὖν δραχμήν;

TO.: ναί, ναϊκ, δῶσι.

EY.: τάργυριον τοῖνοι φέρε.

TO.: ἀλλ’ οὔκ ἔκκωδέν. ἀλλά τὸ συβῆνην λαβὲ.

ἐπείτα κομίσῃ αὕτης. ἀκολούθει, τέκνον.

σὺ δὲ τοῦτο τίρει τῇ γέροντο, γράδιο.

δνομα δὲ σοι τί ἄειτιν;

1200

EY.: Άρτεμισία.

TO.: μεμνῆσι τοῖνοι τοῦνοι ’ Άρταμουξία.

EY.: Ἐρμή δόλιε, ταυτὶ μὲν ἔτι καλῶς ποιεῖς.
σὺ μὲν οὖν ἀπότρεχε, παιδάριον, ταυτὶ λαβὼν·
ἐγὼ δὲ λύσω τόνδε. σὺ δ’ ὁπως ἀνδρικῶς,
όταν λυθής τάχιστα, φεύξει καὶ τενεῖς
ὀς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδί᾽ οἴκαδε.

Euripides: I’m ready for that job. (veiling his face) And your job, Elaphion, is to remember to do what I told you on the way over here. All right, the first thing is to walk back and forth swinging your haunches. And you, Teredon, accompany her on your pipes with a Persian dance tune.

Guard: What’s all the noise? A bunch of revellers is wakin’ me up.

Eur.: This girl was all set to rehearse, officer; you see, she’s on her way to dance for some gentlemen.

Guard: Let her dance and rehearse; I won’t stop her. She’s pretty nimble, like a bug on a rug.

Eur.: All right, girl, off with your dress, and sit on the Scythian’s lap. Now stick out your feet so I can take off your shoes.

Guard: Yeah, sit down, sit down, yeah, yeah, sweetie! Wow, what firm titties—like turnips!

Eur.: Piper, play faster. (to Elaphion) Still afraid of the Scythian?

Guard: What a fine butt! (looking down) You’ll be sorry if you don’t stay inside my pants! (opening his trousers) There, that’s better for my prick.

Eur.: (to Elaphion). Well done. Grab your dress, it’s time for us to be going.

Guard: Won’t she give me a kiss first?

Eur.: Sure. Kiss him.

Guard: Woo woo woo! Boyoboy! What a sweet tongue, like Attic honey! Why don’t you sleep with me?

Eur.: Goodbye, officer; that’s not going to happen.

Guard: No, wait, my dear old lady, please do me this favor.

Eur.: You’ll pay a drachma, then?

Guard: Sure I will.
Eur.: Well, let’s have it.

Guard: But I’ve got nothing on me! (offering his quiver) Wait, take my shaft case; and give it back after! (to Elaphion) You come with me! (to Euripides) Now you watch the old man, granny! And what’s your name?

Eur.: Artemisia.

Guard: Remember that name: Artamuxia.

Eur.: Trickster Hermes, just keep on giving me this good luck! (to Teredon) You can run along now, kid; and take this stuff with you. And I’ll release this one. (to Kinsman) As soon as you get loose you’d better run like a man away from here and head back home to your wife and kids.

Several aspects of this exchange make it clear that Elaphion is dancing, including the use of dance language and the role of the piper. First, Euripides gives Elaphion instructions to walk in a seductive manner (πρῶτον μὲν οὖν διέλθε κάνακάλπασον, 1174), which they apparently had practiced or discussed on the way over.38 Walking seductively does not exclusively signify dance, but Euripides’ instructions to the piper show that Elaphion’s seductive movements are performed to musical accompaniment (σὺ δ’, ὦ Τερηδόν, ἐπαναφύσα Περσικόν, 1175).39 Teredon must start playing the aulos at this point, as the guard complains about the noise (τί τὸ βόμβο τοῦτο; κῶμο τις ἀνεγειρί μοι;, 1176).40 Now Euripides uses explicit dance language, telling the guard that Elaphion is about to practice before she dances for some men, presumably at a symposium (ὁρχησομένη γὰρ ἔρχεθ’ ὡς ἀνδρας τινάς, 1178). The guard, in his Scythian dialect, allows her to practice her dance (ὁρκῆσι καὶ μελετῆσι, οὐ κωλὸς’ ἐγώ, 1179) and comments on the nimble, flea-like quality of her dancing (ὡς ἐλαπρός, ὅσπερ ψύλλο κατὰ τὸ

38 Cf. the role of the chorus as verbal directors of Philocleon’s dance contest in Wasps 1518-37.
39 Besides being a Persian tune, the song likely had a sexual tone to complement Elaphion’s dance (Austin and Olson 2004: 340). The scholia on this line suggest that Elaphion performs a Persian dance, the oklasma, to Teredon’s Persian music.
40 On the buzzing of auloi and its relationship to this line as well as a passage from Acharnians (860-71), see Moore 2017: esp. 178-83.
κόδιο, 1180). Euripides tells the girl to remove both her himation and her shoes, which would have helped her dance more freely, and tells her to sit on the Scythian’s lap, setting her up for an arousing lap-dance (φέρε θοιμάτιον ἄνωθεν, ὃ τέκνον, τοδὲ / καθιζομένη δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς γόναις τοῦ Σκύθου / τῷ πόδε πρότεινον, ἵν’ ὑπολύσω (1181-83). The guard, clearly aroused, comments on Elaphion’s breasts, at which point Euripides tells Tereon to play faster, likely as the dance is heating up (αὔλει σὺ θάττον, 1186). Just when the guard refers to his erect penis, Euripides moves to stop Elaphion’s dance, telling her to take her himation because it is time for them to go (καλῶς ἔχει. λαβὲ θοιμάτιον· ώρα στὶ νῦν / ἡδῆ βαδίζειν, 1189-90). This is presumably a way to tease the guard by taking Elaphion away (or, starting to take her away) just when the guard is at his most aroused. Austin and Olson assume that this is when Tereon stops playing the aulos and Elaphion stops dancing, but the text does not strictly require this.41 Elaphion could continue dancing as she kisses the guard, and Euripides does not explicitly tell Tereon to stop playing.

Euripides then leverages Elaphion’s seductive dance to pimp her out to the guard, accepting his quiver (συβήνην) as security because the guard does not have money on him (1193-98). The guard tells her to follow him (ἀκολούθει, τέκνον, 1198) before asking Euripides his name, at which point the guard and Elaphion probably exit for implied sex offstage.42 Euripides probably sends Tereon offstage shortly after the guard and Elaphion exit (σὺ μὲν οὖν ἀπότρεξε, παιάριον, ταυτὶ λαβὼν, 1203), but it is unclear if Tereon stops playing only at this point or if he had stopped playing earlier.43 It is only then that Euripides is able to free the in-law so that he can escape.

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41 Austin and Olson 2004: 343.
42 The guard has to exit for the in-law’s escape to work; he re-enters with Elaphion at 1210. For implied sex offstage, cf. Austin and Olson 2004: 347 on the guard’s praise of Elaphion for being charming and not difficult, i.e. doing everything he wanted (a sentiment also found about prostitution at Philem. fr. 3, 13-16).
43 LSJ s.v. παιάριον lists this passage as an example of παιάριον referring to a girl rather than a boy, assuming that Euripides is speaking to Elaphion. Henderson 1997: 611 and Austin and Olson 2004: 346 instead assume, I think correctly, that Euripides addresses Tereon. As Austin and Olson point out, the masculine participle λαβὼν does not
While the language makes it clear that Elaphion is dancing to musical accompaniment, the passage entirely consists of iambic trimeters, which were not normally accompanied. This is the only surviving scene in both Greek and Roman comedy that undoubtedly includes dance but is written in a meter that is usually unaccompanied. The iambic trimeter does provide rhythm, but it is likely that Elaphion’s dance followed the rhythm of Teredon’s *aulos*, especially since Euripides’ instructions to “play faster” suggest that the rhythm of the dance and the *aulos* are closely related in this scene. Moore has argued that the presence of music during a scene of spoken dialogue could have a farcical effect, as the speakers needed to yell to be heard over the music (2017). It is not difficult to imagine how this could add to the humor and chaos of the scene, especially if the guard had to yell his lines when he was aroused. Regardless of the mode of delivery, the dissonance between dance and dialogue would have added much humor to the scene. The scene as written is short, but it was probably longer in performance: in addition to dancing while Euripides and the guard are speaking, Elaphion most likely dances between their words as well.

What is most important about Elaphion’s dance is that it directly brings about the resolution of the plot. After a series of failed attempts to rescue his in-law by reenacting the plots of his tragedies, Euripides must turn to the realm of comedy, staging an original play-within-a-play in which Euripides himself has to act as an old woman and a mute dancing-girl’s lap dance is the only chance at resolution.⁴⁴ Far from problematizing the ending of the play, Elaphion’s solo dance is the sole mechanism by which resolution can be achieved, allowing Euripides to

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agree grammatically with the neuter Παιδάριον, but it does agree in sense if Παιδάριον refers to Teredon. Austin and Olson further suggest that the object Euripides tells Teredon to take is the himation that Euripides had been using as part of his old woman costume, which he no longer has need for (they argue against the quiver on the grounds that it is grammatically feminine).

⁴⁴ See Farmer 2017: 155-188 on the tragic parodies in *Thesmo*, and 190n82 for an extensive bibliography on those who understand this ending as one particularly indicative of comedy, with very few detractors. See also Tzanetou 2002: 352 on Elaphion’s creation of a mini-symposium.
finally rescue his in-law, who agrees to run as fast as he can to rejoin his wife and kids at home—a return to the fertility of the oikos (1205-7). While Elaphion’s seductive dancing is far from the bounds of “respectability” in Athenian thought, it is not transgressive: Elaphion is a dancing-girl, either enslaved or available for hire, who is simply following instructions. She fulfills her role in the play exactly how she is supposed to. The very fact of Elaphion’s seductive dance is only possible because of her low status and a lack of restrictions that mark high-status, freeborn women.

**Blepyros, Assemblywomen 1163-67**

At the end of Assemblywomen, the chorus and Blepyros (Praxagora’s husband) dance together as they go off to dinner. This also pushes the limits of what can be considered solo dance, especially since the text suggests that Blepyros dances in coordination with the chorus, but it is worth recognizing the ways that dance by an actor, as opposed to the chorus, again stands out in this finale (1163-67):

ΧΟ.: ὢ ὢ, ὡρα δή,<br/> φίλαι γυναίκες, εἴπερ μέλλομεν τὸ χρήμα δράν,<br/> ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ὑπανακινεῖν. Κρητικῶς οὖν τὸ πόδε καὶ σὺ κίνει.<br/> ΒΛ.: τὸ τοῦ δρώ.<br/> ΧΟ.: καὶ τάσσε νῦν <τὰς μείρακας χρή συνυπάγειν κοῦφα> λαγαράς τοῖς σκελίσκοιν τὸν ρυθμὸν.46

Chorus: Hey, hey, it’s time, dear ladies, to shake a leg and hop off to dinner, if we mean to do it at all. So you start moving your feet too in a Cretan manner.

Blepyros: That’s what I’m doing!

Chorus: And these girls too, so lithe, should join us in lightly moving their gams to the rhythm.47

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46 Supplement at 1166-7 is by Meineke.
The chorus’ language and Blepyros’ response show that he is dancing. They tell him to move his feet in a Cretan manner, which suggests stylized dance steps.\(^{48}\) Their language suggests that they are already dancing and are requesting that Blepyros join them (καὶ, 1166).\(^{49}\) Blepyros’ response verbally confirms that he is dancing (τοῦτο δρῶ), whether he is actually performing the steps requested by the chorus or not. While the text that follows is corrupt, it seems that the chorus calls for the girls attending Blepyros to dance with them as well, emphasizing the rhythm (τῶν ῥυθμῶν). Alan Sommerstein has suggested that Blepyros performs a “clumsy, comic version of a spectacular pas seul (i.e., solo dance) while the two girls and the Maid dance more expertly – a pattern similar to the dance of Philocleon and the three sons of Carcinus at the end of Wasps.”\(^{50}\) This arrangement is attractive, but the text leaves open a wide range of possibilities for how Blepyros, his attendants, and the chorus might dance. The dance begins with these lines in trochaic tetrameters catalectic, but it is possible that they all continued dancing during the next lines, which include the remarkable 28-dactyl long word describing the food they will eat at dinner, as well as a few iambic lines singing for victory.\(^{51}\)

If Blepyros is in fact following the chorus’ instructions and dancing in the way they ask him to, he might not come across to the audience as a “solo” dancer, unless he occupies a particularly prominent position onstage or performs movements more wildly or ineptly than the chorus does. What is significant is that this is a finale that involves some relationship between the dance of the chorus and the dance of actors. Whether he performs the moves they request or

\(^{48}\) Lawler 1951 argues that κρητικῶς should be understood as a dance term, rebutting previous interpretations of the adverb. Whether or not we accept Lawler’s suggestion that the term refers to a “proud, high-stepping gait,” I think she is correct that it is used here to refer to the style of dance. Others understand the term as referring to a Cretan tune. Cf. Sommerstein 1998a: 237 on the possible relevance of Cretan “leaping solo dancers.”


\(^{50}\) Sommerstein 1998a: 237.

\(^{51}\) Recall Aristotle, Poetics 1449a21-27 and 1459b37 on the suitability of trochaic tetrameters for dancing. The chorus’ final iambic lines suggest kicking or jumping movements (ἀἵρεσθ᾽ ὀνω, 1180); cf. Sommerstein 1998a: 239.
not, the actor stands out but in no way replaces the chorus as Philocleon did in *Wasps*. He does not even lead the chorus as Peisetairos did in *Birds*—instead, he appears to have followed their lead. This coordination between the dance of the chorus and dance of actors is a sign of unity at the end of a play.\(^52\) And perhaps it makes sense for Blepyros to be the one to achieve such coordination: he is the first person that Praxagora is able to convince of the soundness of the women’s plans, if only because he is able to see what’s in it for him (e.g., 710; 725-27). Kenneth Rothwell notes that Blepyros’ ending suggests a sort of justice in the eyes of the women: he is rewarded for his obedience with two girls and a festive ending, unlike the selfish man and the young man, thus “restor[ing] the moral order of Praxagora.”\(^53\)

Beyond signaling unity between Blepyros and the chorus of women, Blepyros’ dance also highlights the new sexual norms under the women’s regime. Immediately before Blepyros’ dance, he enters with two girls (τὰς μείρακας, 1138) and alludes to his plans to have sex with them later (1149-50). The Maid implies that Praxagora approves of her husband’s sexual exploits: Praxagora herself told her maid to bring Blepyros to dinner along with the girls.\(^54\) Following the women’s rewriting of sexual politics in Athens, the characters do not convey any sense of shame or impropriety around the old man’s sexual pursuit of the two girls. It is therefore notable that the chorus of women recruits Blepyros to follow their dancing rather than following him: the assemblywomen remain in charge for the final dance, thus reinforcing the play’s themes of gender reversals. This is a celebratory ending for Blepyros, who, as an old man, has reason to be happy with the women’s new approach to sexual politics. However, the regime’s cruel treatment of young people (both men and women) lingers in the background, making it difficult

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\(^52\) Cf. Rothwell 1990: 72 on the final scene: “the mood is one of reconciliation.”

\(^53\) Rothwell 1990: 72.

\(^54\) ὅμως δ’ ἐκέλευε συλλαβοῦσάν μ᾽ ἣ γυνή / ἄγειν σε καὶ τασσὸι μετὰ σοῦ τὰς μείρακας. “Still, your wife told me to gather you up and escort you there, and these girls with you,” 1137-38.
to see Blepyros’ celebration as truly celebratory for all.\textsuperscript{55} The dance calls attention to this new power dynamic: the women are in charge of the city as well as the dance, and people like Blepyros are given the opportunity to thrive (as exemplified by the way he joins in the dancing) while young men and women are mistreated and forced into unwanted sexual encounters. In this case, Blepyros unites with the chorus through dance, but that chorus itself is transgressive in its total reorganization of the \textit{polis}.

**Cario, Wealth 290-321**

Before \textit{Wealth’s} first choral ode, the text of which does not survive but is instead marked with \textit{chorou} (after l. 321), the slave Cario leads the chorus of old farmers onstage and engages them in dithyrambic parody that includes dancing both by the chorus and by Cario himself (290-321):

\begin{verbatim}
ΚΑ.: καὶ μήν ἐγὼ βουλήσομαι—θρεπτανελο—τὸν Κύκλωπα
291 μιμούμενος καὶ τοῖν ποδοῖν ὡδὶ παρενσαλεύων
 ὑμᾶς ἄγειν, ἀλλ’ εἰ σὲ, τῇκεα, θαμίν’ ἔπαναβοιντες
 βληχόμενον τε προβατίων
 αἰγῶν τε κινάβροντων μέλη
295 ἐπεσθ’ ἀπεψωλημένωι’ τράγοι δ’ ἀκρατεῖσθε.

ΧΟ.: ημεῖς δὲ γ’ αὖ ᾧτησομεν—θρεπτανελο—τὸν Κύκλωπα
 βληχόμενοι σὲ τουτοι πεινῶντα καταλαβόντες,
 πήραν ἐχοντα λάχανα τ’ ἄγρια δροσερά, κραπαλώντα,
 ᾧγούμενον τοῖς προβατίους,
300 εἰκή δὲ καταδαρθόντα που,
 μέγαν λαβόντες ἡμέμον σφηκίσκον ἐκτυφλώσαι.

ΚΑ.: ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν Κήρκην γε τὰ φάρμακ’ ἀνακυκώσαν,
 ἢ τοὺς ἑταῖρους τοῦ Φιλωνίδου ποτ’ ἐν Κορίνθῳ
 ἐπειεν ὡς ὄντας κάρπους
305 μεμαγμένον σκόρα ἐσθίειν, αὐτὴ δ’ ἔματτεν αὐτοῖς,
 μιμήσομαι πάντας τρόπους:
 ὑμεῖς δὲ γρυλίζοντες ὑπὸ φιληδίας
 ἐπεσθε μητρὶ χοίροι.
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{55} Cf. the preceding scene (877-1111), in which the new rule that young men must have sex with old women before young women plays out quite horrifically for Epigenes.
ΧΟΡΟΥ: οὐκοῦν σὲ, τὴν Κύρκην γε τὴν τὰ φάρμακα ἀνακυκλῶσαι
καὶ μαγγανέωσαι μολόνουσάν τε τοὺς ἑταίρους
λαβόντες ὑπὸ φυληδίας
tὸν Λαρτίου μιμοῦμενοι τῷν ὄρχεον κρεμῶμεν,
μηθὸς τοῦ ὀσπερ τράγου
tὴν ρίνα· σὺ δ’ Αρίστυλλος ὑποχάσκων ἠρεῖς,
“ἐπεθεὶ μητρὶ χοϊροί.”

ΧΟΡΟΥ:
As for me, I’m ready—ta dum da dum—to do a takeoff on the Cyclops
and lead you in dance, hopping with both feet like this!
Hey now, kids, sing out after me loud and clear: bleating songs of little lambs and stinky goats, follow me with pricks unsheathed: you goats will have your breakfast.

Chorus: Now it’s our turn—ta dum da dum—to pull something on the Cyclops (that’s you): bleating away, we’ll find you feeling famished, toting a pouch of fresh wild herbs, hung over as you lead your little lambs; then as you carelessly curl up somewhere, we’ll hoist a big burning stake and put out your eye.

Ca.: Then I’ll do Circe, the mixer of potions, who one day in Corinth convinced Philonides’ companions to behave like swine and eat shit cakes—she kneaded them herself; I’ll act out the whole story, while you grunt gaily and follow your mother, piggies!

Ch.: Now that you’re Circe, the mixer of potions, who’s bewitching and befouling those companions, we’ll grab you gaily, doing a takeoff on Laertes’ son, and hang you by the balls, and rub your nose in shit like a goat; and you’ll play Aristyllus, and say, “follow your mother, piggies!”

Ca.: Whoa now, it’s time to cut short your jibes and form up a different dance. Me, I’m set to sneak off, filch from my master some bread and meat, and spend the day working at gobbling it up.66

Choral interlude57

57 On the meaning of khorou and some interpretive issues surrounding it, see Sommerstein 2001: 160-61. As Sommerstein notes, Cario’s closing lines to the chorus in this passage make it certain that they continued singing/dancing in an interlude.
Cario begins the ode by singing about how he wants to lead the chorus (καὶ μὴν ἓγὼ βουλήσομαι… ύμᾶς ἁγεῖν) while miming the Cyclops (τὸν Κύκλωπα μιμούμενος) and swinging or jumping with his feet (τοῖν ποδοῖν ὅδι παρενσαλέων).\(^5^8\) That Cario is dancing himself is made clear by the demonstrative ὅδι, as he demonstrates the jumping movement.\(^5^9\) The scholiast on these lines tells us that this song is a parody of Philoxenus’ dithyramb about the Cyclops and Galatea.\(^6^0\) The explicit presence of this mimetic dance (with Cario imitating the Cylops) at the start of the ode, as well as the continued musical context (the song is entirely in iambics, mostly iambic tetrameters catalectic and iambic dimeters), makes it likely that both Cario and the chorus continue to dance throughout the ode as they play various parts.\(^6^1\) Cario’s instruction at the end of the song that the chorus turn their steps to another shape or form (ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ ἅλλ᾽ ἐῖδος τρέπεσθ’) further confirms this.

Throughout the song, both Cario and the chorus use forms of μιμέομαι to indicate the parts that they will perform by means of song and dance (μιμούμενος, 291; μιμήσομαι, 306; μιμοῦμενοι, 312).\(^6^2\) There are several physical aspects of the song’s lyrics that would be especially fitting to imitate through dance. The strongest contenders for dance occur when the chorus, playing Odysseus and his crew, sings about attacking the Cyclops with a stake (μέγαν λαβόντες ἥμμενον σφηκίσκον ἐκτυφλώσαι, 301); when Cario, playing Circe, refers to her kneading of dung-cakes (αὐτῇ δ’ ἔματεν αὐτοῖς, 305); and when the chorus (or, probably, the chorus leader) as Odysseus promises to grab Cario and hang him by his testicles ([τε] λαβόντες

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\(^{5^8}\) On παρενσαλέων as indicating a dance movement involving the feet that is often associated with madness, see Pagni 2013: 61-63.

\(^{5^9}\) On this point, see also Pagni 2013: 60.

\(^{6^0}\) On the Cyclops as a kitharoidos in this dithyramb, and Aristophanes’ parody, see Power 2013: 237-256.

\(^{6^1}\) Cf. Sommerstein 2001: 156 on this passage: “The lyric part of the parodos is basically a short role-playing song-and-dance number.

\(^{6^2}\) See LSJ s.v. μιμέομαι A.II on this use in the arts and acting.
Гестуральное танцы, имитирующие эти события, были бы особенно подходящим здесь.

While Cario’s dance in this scene occurs alongside choral dance and as part of a choral ode, there are still good reasons to consider it as part of the corpus of solo dances. First, Cario clearly leads the scene and must have stood out visually onstage. He sings of leading the chorus (ὄμᾶς ἄγειν, 292) and tells them to follow him (ἐπεσθ’, 295), even calling them his “younger” (τέκεα, 292). He gives them instructions both at the beginning of the song and at the end, suggesting that Cario is the one exerting control over the chorus’ song and movements. Despite his leading role, he does not quite fill the traditional role of a chorus leader (and, as a slave, he could not have been part of the dithyrambic chorus that this song parodies). He acts in blatant opposition to the chorus throughout the ode and leaves them at the end of the song to go about his own business while they remain onstage to perform an interlude. If there was a traditional chorus leader in this scene, he probably played Odysseus’ role while the rest of the chorus acted as Odysseus’ companions. Another aspect of this scene that makes Cario’s dance stand out is his changing of roles in each stanza. Notably, it is only Cario who switches roles throughout the song, first playing the Cyclops and then Circe, while the chorus continues to play Odysseus and his companions throughout. While this ode is too early to relate to the developed genre of pantomime, Cario’s changing of roles does share a standard feature of later pantomime, which involved rapidly changing parts and switching characters, all while using bodily movement to

63 On Cario as a soloist leading this scene, see Olsen 2021: 110-11.
64 Cf. LeVen 2014: 239 on the possibility of a similar arrangement in Philoxenus’ Cyclops, for which the chorus as Odysseus/his companions and a solo actor as the Cyclops (playing the cithara) have been posited. LeVen ultimately rejects this interpretation and proposes (242) that Philoxenus’ audience is only led to imagine the Cyclops as playing the cithara (while the actual music is that of the aulos accompanying the chorus).
65 The Circe portion does not rely on a known dithyramb in the way that the Cyclops portion does; see Sommerstein 2001: 158.
It would make sense for the role of Cario to go to an actor who is particularly skilled at mimetic dancing, since this scene gives him the opportunity to display considerable skill at switching between roles and leading a dance scene.

At first glance, Cario’s dance does not appear to relate much to the plot at all, since the lyric passage is disconnected from the rest of the work and leads into a (lost) choral performance. However, Silvia Pagni has suggested that the choice of the Cyclops as an object of Cario’s dance is significant in that the land of the Cyclops exemplifies the type of wealth and abundance that the chorus of poor farmers hopes to possess. Cario’s Cyclops-mimicking dance comes immediately after his promise of wealth being distributed to the farmers (ll. 284-89), and Pagni persuasively connects this context with the depiction of the Cyclops’ land in the *Odyssey* as a place of abundance where the fields grow crops entirely on their own.

**Certain Solo Dance in Aristophanes**

Across the six extant passages in which an actor clearly dances, it becomes evident that Aristophanes uses solo dance in a number of different ways. Only Elaphion’s dance in *Thesmophoriazusae* has a significant effect on the plot: her solo dance is the sole mechanism by which Euripides is able to save his in-law, and the plot of the play could not be resolved without it. Other solo dance scenes relate to themes or plot points in the play and/or significantly affect the interpretation of the play.

Philocleon’s dancing in *Wasps* is part of the plot in the sense that Philocleon’s post-symposium dancing and his insistence upon a dance contest become the final events of the play. As has been discussed, his dancing relates to the theme of excessiveness in his pursuits, whether

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66 On this and other standard features of pantomime, see Hall 2008: 1-40.
67 Pagni 2013: 57-59.
he is pursuing jury service, a night at a symposium, or a dance contest. The old tragic dances that he performs further relate to the triumph of old vs. new: even at the end of the play, the old man cannot be subdued or controlled by his son as he lets his madness shine through dance.68

Cinesias’ dance in *Birds* is part of the plot and affects it in a small way. He dances as he travels to Cloudcuckooland in an attempt to get his wings, and Peisetairos’ annoyance at Cinesias’ incessant dancing is a major reason why he rejects the dithyrambist—although, given that Cinesias’ arrival is second in a three-person string of arrivals and rejections, Peisetairos probably would have rejected him even if he did not dance (but perhaps less harshly, as with the Pindaric poet). Still, Cinesias’ dancing represents one of the most conspicuous features of dithyramb that Peisetairos holds in disdain. A further reason for Peisetairos’ rejection could be explained by Cinesias dancing solo while expressing his desire to compose *anabolai* (preludes/solo songs) and thus distancing himself from choral forms. Peisetairos’ own dance with Basileia at the end of *Birds* affects the interpretation of the play by enacting a ritual that celebrates his seizing of Zeus’s power, catalyzed by the way he purports to lift up Basileia as he dances with her.

Blepyros’ dancing in coordination with the chorus of *Assemblywomen* symbolizes the theme of “women on top,” since Blepyros appears to follow rather than lead the chorus of women. Even if his choreography was significantly different from that of the chorus, or if his (perhaps comically bad) execution of the choreography made him stand out, his dancing still would not undermine choral authority in this finale.

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68 On this point, see Vaio 1971: 351.
Cario’s dance in *Wealth* is not directly related to the plot, but it subtly relates to the theme of wealth distribution through the specific choice of the Cyclops as the danced figure, an allusion to Homer’s depiction in the *Odyssey* of the Cyclops’ land as a land of plenty.

These scenes represent a number of different ways that Aristophanes uses solo dance: it can be a means of celebration or the butt of the joke, the act destabilizing a play’s meaning or the act that brings about the plot’s resolution. These scenes also present on a spectrum from solo dance to group dance, with Philocleon and Elaphion as true solo dancers, Cinesias as a solo dancer influenced by choral forms, Cario as a soloist dancing in opposition to a group, and Peisetairos and Blepyros as dancers who are integrated with the chorus to some extent but also stand out on their own.

**Menander**

It is fortunate for this study that the only play of Menander to survive in its entirety includes a solo dance scene (*Dyskolos*) and that some of the most famous Menander mosaics depict solo dancing (*Theophoroumene*). Given how little of Menander survives, it is not surprising that this section includes only two definite dance scenes. It is probable that dance on the whole was less common in Menander than in Aristophanes: as E. W. Handley points out, unaccompanied iambic trimeters are by far the most common meter in what survives of Menander.\(^69\) Surviving evidence further suggests that Menander used less metrical variety than Aristophanes before him and Plautus after him. In *Dyskolos*, only three meters are used: iambic trimeter, trochaic tetrameter catalectic, and iambic tetrameter catalectic.\(^70\) Still, the two surviving solo dance scenes share some similarities with solo dance in Aristophanes: solo dance occurs at

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69 Handley 1965: 56.
70 For a discussion of these meters in *Dyskolos*, see Handley 1965: 56-73.
the end of the play in *Dyskolos*, as in most of the Aristophanic examples, and carries
connotations of transgression or unruliness in *Dyskolos* and *Theophrorumene*.

**Knemon, Sikon, and Getas, *Dyskolos* 946-964**

Menander’s *Dyskolos* ends with the slave Getas and cook Sikon using dance to bother the
grumpy Knemon and celebrate the triumph of the other characters in securing a marriage
between Sostratos and the girl. The meter of the entire dance passage is iambic tetrameter
catalectic, and there are several references to the *aulos* earlier in the scene that emphasize the
musical context: right as the meter changes to catalectic iambic tetrameters, the papyrus contains
the word αὐλεῖ, before Getas and Sikon go to bother Knemon (880), and Getas addresses the
piper before knocking on Knemon’s door, telling him to watch the rhythm (τὸν ῥυθμὸν σὺ τῆρει, 910). The meter of the scene suggests on its own that there is musical accompaniment, but these
references make it clear, and Getas’ emphasis on the piper’s *rhythmos* suggests that rhythm is
important to the scene. Leading up to the dance scene, Getas and Sikon bring the sleeping,
injured Knemon outside and bother him by asking for various household supplies as he struggles
to stand up. In the middle of these torments, Sikon quite soberly explains that the reason Knemon
has to suffer through it all is because he is such a recluse: he would not join the rest of the group
at the temple of Pan, so there is no one to help him now (ll. 932-34).

The resulting scene, in which Getas and Sikon force Knemon to dance against his will,
visually represents the consequences of Knemon’s solitary lifestyle (946-64):

\[\text{ΣΙ.}: \text{ἄλλος δὲ χερσὶν Ἐδίων γέροντα πολίων ἦδη} \text{ ia tetram cat} \]
\[\text{ἐκλίνε κοῖλον εἰς κύτως, μεγνύς τε νάμα Νυμφῶν} \]
\[\text{ἐδεξίοιτι αὐτοῖς κύκλῳ, καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἄλλος.} \]
\[\text{ἦν δʼ ὠσπερεὶ ὡς ἀμμον φοροῖς· ταῦτα μανθάνεις σὺ;} \]
\[\text{καὶ τὶς βραχεῖσα προσπόλων εὐήλικος προσώπου} \]
\[\text{ἄνθος κατεσκισμένη χορεῖν εἰσέβαινε} \]
\[\text{ῥυθμὸν μετ’ αἰσχύνης ὀμοῦ μέλλουσα <καὶ> τρέμουσα·} \]
Sikon: Now a hoary patriarchal vintage was tipped into a dimpled urn by hand of one who merged it with naiad springs, then pledged the men all round the cave. Another man pledged the ladies. This was just like irrigating beach sand. You fathom that? One of the maids who’d quaffed too much now shrouded the bloom of her fair youthful face, and then began the rhythmic pulse of a dance, demurely though, both hesitant and trembling. A second girl joined hands with her, and shared the steps.

Getas: (to Knemon, as if at first pitying him) Poor victim of a quite awful accident—now dance, stand up, we’ll help you! (Here Getas and Sikon suddenly pull Knemon to his feet, and try to make him dance with them.)

Kn.: You pests, what is it now you want?

Ge.: Just try, stand up, we’ll help you! You’re clumsy.

Kn.: By the gods, don’t do that!

Ge.: Let us take you in, then, now.

Kn.: Oh, what shall I do?

Ge.: (as if to renew the dance charade) Dance . . .

Kn.: Take me in, perhaps it’s better to face the tortures in the cave!

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71 Accentuation/punctuation from Arnott 1979: 350.
Ge.: You’re showing sense. We’ve triumphed! 
Hurrah, we’ve won! Hi, boy Donax, [and] you Sikon—lift him up and take him in. And you watch out, for in the future if we catch you causing any trouble, we’ll not treat you gently then at all, be sure! Give us a torch and garlands, someone.

Sikon begins this passage by describing the festivities at the party celebrating Sostratos’ and the girl’s marriage, including the dancing of women at the party. Given that Getas asks Knemon to join in the dancing immediately after Sikon’s recounting (χόρεω, συνεπίβαινε, 954), and that the meter here is iambic tetrameter catalectic, it would make most sense for Sikon to imitate the women’s dancing as he describes it. He first describes how one of the female servants covers her face after drinking too much (καὶ τις βραχεῖσσα προσπόλων εὐήλικος προσώπου / ἄνθος κατεσκιασμένη, 950-51) and then begins dancing, trembling with modesty (χορεῖον εἰσέβαινε / ὑποθυμον μετʼ αἰσχύνης ὁμοῦ μέλλουσα καὶ τρέμουσα, 951-2). Sikon imitating this feminine modesty while dancing would have added much humor to the description. The enjambment in these lines (950-52) is striking and could aid the flow of Sikon’s dancing as one thought flows into another without pause. It is possible that Getas joined in when Sikon describes another girl taking the servant’s hands and dancing together (ἄλλη ἔστησε παρά τε χεῖρα κάψανεν, 953). Sikon’s dance, then, imitates and perhaps even mocks the party-dancing of the women, given that Sikon emphasizes the women’s drunken and lascivious qualities. This directly leads into Knemon’s forced dancing.

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72 Gomme and Sandbach 1973: 282-3 note Sikon’s poetic and elevated style in these lines (246-53).
73 O’Bryhim 2001: 106-8 also argues that Sikon and Getas dance here, spoofing female chain dances traditionally performed at Greek weddings. O’Bryhim further suggests that this explains why Sikon and Getas poke fun at each other’s masculinity in preparation for the feminine parodic dance (ll. 891-2, 945).
74 Gomme and Sandbach 1973: 284.
75 Note the repeated use of words connected with choral dance (χορεῖον, 951; κάψανεν, 953; χόρεω, 954/957) in a context that would frequently involve group dancing, perhaps drawing further attention to the tension between solo and communal dance in this scene.
The iambic tetrameters catalectic continue as Sikon and Getas use dance for a different purpose: to harass Knemon. As mentioned above, Getas tells Knemon to dance with them using two imperatives, χόρευε and συνεπίβαινε, which has the force of “get on your feet along with us” or “with our help.” Knemon protests (τι ποτ’ ἔτι βούλεσθ’, ἀθλιοί; 955), and Getas repeats the command to stand up along with them (μᾶλλον σὺ συνεπίβαινε, 955). Knemon must have finally stood up at this point, as Getas goes on to comment on his rustic clumsiness (ἄγροικος εἶ, 956). Gomme and Sandbach take this as referring to “the failure of his (Knemon’s) feet to follow the rhythm of the dance into which he is being dragged,” citing other instances of the association between rusticity and awkwardness or stupidity, especially over rhythms and movements. Getas’ criticism suggests that Knemon is dancing but doing a poor job of it. Getas and Sikon are likely still dancing with the goal of further annoying Knemon, or at least continuing to grab him and trying to force him to dance: Knemon tells them to stop (μή, πρὸς θεόν, 956) and Getas tries to get him to take his dancing to the party (ΓΕ.: οὐκοῦν φέρομεν εἴσῳ / ἡδή σε. ΚΝ.: τί ποῆσω; ΓΕ.: χόρευε δὴ σύ, 956-7). Knemon reluctantly agrees, perhaps out of a metatheatrical desire to get out of sight of the audience rather than continuing to humiliate himself through dancing onstage (φέρετε· κρείττον / ἵσως ὑπομένειν ἐστι τὰκεῖ, 957-8). After finishing out the iambic tetramer catalectic by expressing victory (νοῦν ἔχεις, κρατοῦμεν, 958), Getas changes the meter back to iambic trimeters for the epilogue (959ff.), signaling the end of the dance scene with Knemon. Throughout this scene, the independent dances of individual actors creates a sort of ensemble: this is not choral dance, but the various choreography performed by Sikon, Getas, and Knemon would likely have been experienced as a coordinated effort.

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78 See also O’Bryhim 2001: 108 on Knemon’s failure to perform the dance.
Part of the humor of this scene lies in the contrast between Sikon’s dance imitating the women at the party and Knemon’s reluctant, clumsy dance. O’Bryhim suggests that this reflects Knemon’s inability to take on stock roles and his isolation from both family and community.\(^{79}\) It is problematic that Knemon remains stubborn even at the end of the play and refuses to join the wedding celebrations for his daughter, and this is why he is mocked and ridiculed through the slaves’ torments. That Menander chose dance as the medium to express Knemon’s need to join a community speaks to the importance of dance in communal customs and identities. It also makes for a more memorable ending full of physical humor. Without the light-hearted spectacle of dancing, the slaves’ torments and abuse of a citizen might not have been received well by the audience. But the fact that they are simply trying to get him to dance—something he should be doing in celebration of his daughter’s wedding anyway—lightens the mood and creates the opportunity for a slapstick ending featuring the celebratory dancing of the slaves and the clunky dancing of the grumpy Knemon before he rightfully joins his family. This use of dancing to draw an old man back into his community can be contrasted with Philocleon’s dancing at the end of *Wasps*, during which the old man celebrates his socio-political disconnect. The ending of *Dyskolos*, then, is an example of Menander using solo dance (i.e., the dances of individual actors) both to create an entertaining final spectacle and to add meaning to the play, indelibly affecting the interpretation of Knemon’s character.

**Kleinias, Lysias, and the girl possessed, Theophoroumene act II or III\(^{80}\)**

While frustratingly few textual fragments of Menander’s *Theophoroumene* survive, nevertheless the surviving mosaics and fragments together are enough to state with certainty that


\(^{80}\) The dating of *Theophoroumene* is unknown; here I discuss it after *Dyskolos* for the sake of clarity rather than chronology.
Menander used solo dance to great effect in this play. As Egert Pöhlmann has recently outlined, there are now four known mosaics depicting a dance scene from *Theophoroumene*: Pompeii, 1st c. BC; Mytilene, 3rd c. AD; Antioch, 2nd-3rd c. AD; Kastelli Kissamou, 3rd c. AD.\(^{81}\) The mosaics indicate that the scene comes from act two or three of the play, which is significant because it gives us an example of solo dance earlier in the play, rather than a dance finale.\(^{82}\) Based on the mosaics and relevant fragments, Pöhlmann argues that Menander invented the role of a girl possessed by Kybele in order to “bring a thrilling musical scene and fascinating Kybele ritual onto the stage.”\(^{83}\)

It seems that the plot involved two young men (Kleinias, Lysias) and possibly a *servus* (Parmenon) coming up with a plan to entice the possessed girl out of the house, before Kleinias and Lysias stand outside the house playing the *krotala* and *tympanon* while dancing.\(^{84}\) Kleinias might have been the girl’s lover.\(^{85}\) In one of the fragments, Kleinias’ defense of the girl to Lysias suggests that Lysias believes the girl is only pretending to be possessed, and the two come up with a plan to test her (F\(^1\) Austin 23-30).\(^{86}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ:} & \quad \text{φλυαρε} \, [\tau]ούτο γ’ \, αύτό, \, Λυσία, \, \text{ού προσποεῖται.} \\
\text{ΛΥΣΙΑΣ:} & \quad \text{πείραν εξεστίν λα[βεῖν’} \\
& \quad \text{εἰ θεοφορεῖται ταῖς ἀληθεύοισι γάρ,} \\
& \quad \text{νῦν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐνθάδ’ ἐκπηδή[σεται.} \\
& \quad \text{μητρός θεόν, μάλλον δὲ κορυβάντ[ε]ν σύ μοι} \\
& \quad \text{αύλεια. παράστασι δ’ ἐνθαδι πρὸς τὰς θύρας} \\
& \quad \text{τοῦ πανδόκειου.}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{81}\) Pöhlmann 2022: 117. For a detailed discussion of the Antioch mosaic, which was excavated at ancient Daphne in 2007, see Gutzwiller and Çelik 2012: 606-16.
\(^{82}\) On the issues with identifying the act number, see Gutzwiller and Çelik 2012: 607-9.
\(^{83}\) Pöhlmann 2022: 114.
\(^{84}\) See Arnott 1997b: 53-54 on the plot and the necessity for the actor playing Parmenon to exit before re-entering as the possessed girl.
\(^{86}\) Cf. Gutzwiller and Çelik 2012: 609; Pöhlmann 2022: 123-24;
ΚΛ.: νη Δί’, εὖ γε, Λυσία,

30 ὑπέρευ[γε]: τοῦτο βούλομαι. καλὴ θέα.87

Kleinias:
That’s nonsense. This isn’t something she’s making up, Lysias.

Lysias:
We could test her. If she’s really possessed by a god, she’ll come skipping out right away. (to the piper) Play that song for the mother of the gods, or rather the Corybants’ song. And stand over here by the door to the inn.

KL.: By Zeus, wow, Lysias, double wow. This is what I want. A lovely sight.88

The men decide to enlist an aulētris to play a tune fitting for ecstatic worship, on the grounds that the girl will jump out of the house if she is possessed.89 This is the scene that most of the mosaics depict, with the aulētris off to the side and the two men dancing while playing krotala and a tympanon (see Figure 6). The mosaics, when considered alongside the fragment quoted above, suggest that Kleinias and Lysias dance while playing the instruments to get the girl’s attention. Gutzwiller and Çelik suggest that the Corybantic dancing of Lysias and Kleinias constitute a sort of “play within a play,” as the two have to act the part of crazed initiates during their test for the girl.90

Figure 6. Dioskourides’ mosaic, from the Villa of Cicero, Pompeii (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 9985).91

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87 Text ed. Arnott 1997b.
89 Cf. Ar. Thesmo. 1175 and Euripides telling the piper to play a Persian tune for Elaphion’s dance.
90 Gutzwiller and Çelik 2012: 616.
91 Image credit: Pöhlmann 2022: 119.
Before the 2007 discovery of the Antioch mosaic, the only attested dancing was that of Lysias and Kleinias, though scholars had posited a monody for the possessed girl. Any conjectures about the girl also performing Corybantic solo dancing have been confirmed with the Antioch mosaic, which depicts the moment after the test when the girl comes out of the house and dances herself (Figures 7a-b). As can be seen more clearly in the close-up image, the girl uses krotala and hunches over significantly in her dance, moving one foot in front of the other.

Figure 7a. Mosaic panel from Daphne, Antioch.  

Figure 7b. Detail of possessed girl.

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Since there is debate as to whether the girl is really possessed or not, we do not know if her
dance is supposed to be a genuine expression of her ecstasy or another “play within a play,” with
the girl consciously playing the role of a follower of Kybele for her own aims. We also do not
know much about her status, but the fragments suggest that she is working as a prostitute and
that some gifts that have been stolen from her, which could have been tokens of her noble birth,
as is common in comic plots. Notably, the girl probably does sing – a stark contrast to the other
direct examples of staged female solo dancers in Greek comedy, who are all mute figures.

While there remain many open questions about these scenes and how they relate to the
rest of the play, it is nevertheless clear that Menander featured solo dancing in two related
scenes: first by Kleinias and Lysias, which was an imitation of ecstatic dancing, and then by the
girl herself, which may or may not have been an act as well. The energetic music, song, and
dance by actors in these scenes must have been very memorable, especially when compared to
what we know of Menander’s corpus and his general lack of metrical variety.

**Plautus**

In Roman comedy solo dancing was the norm. And unlike what we know of Menander,
the Roman comic playwrights used accompanied meters quite often: as Timothy Moore shows,
over 63% of what survives of Plautus and Terence is written in accompanied meters (i.e. meters
other than iambic senarii). No certain dance scenes occur in the extant plays of Terence, but

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97 Cf. Pöhlmann 2022: 123.
98 On fragments that are very likely part of the girl’s monody, see Pöhlmann 2022: 124-27.
99 On dance in Roman comedy (especially Plautus), see Moore 2012: 105-34, who argues that three types of dancing occurred: cinaedic dancing, gestural dancing, and dancing involving the feet.
100 See Moore 2008; Moore 2012: 380; Moore 2022: 160.
his corpus includes several likely dance scenes and references to dance that will be discussed in the coming chapters. While it is likely that Plautine comedy featured much solo dancing beyond our definite examples of it, such dancing occurs with certainty in four passages (the endings of *Persa, Pseudolus*, and *Stichus*; toward the beginning of the play in *Menaechmi*). In three of these four passages, male slaves dance at or near the end of the play, and each character explicitly compares his dancing to that of professional dancers associated with sexual transgression (*cinaedi* and Ionian dancers). These three scenes share striking similarities with each other, but also with solo dance in Greek comedy. Each scene picks up on transgressive and erotic associations with solo dancing, and two of the three scenes feature competitive dancing, recalling that of Philocleon. The dance scene in *Menaechmi* is shorter and less spectacular than the others but nevertheless gives a good example of Plautus using solo dance earlier in the play. While in these respects the dance in *Menaechmi* is quite different from the Plautine dance finales, nevertheless this scene relates to the others by implying gender transgression.

**Peniculus, *Menaechmi* 196-99**

While the other passages to be discussed in this section have received much scholarly treatment as dance scenes, a scene in *Menaechmi* is often left unacknowledged. And yet the text makes it clear that Peniculus does actually dance in this scene (196-99):

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102 See Lawler 1943 on Ionian dance (esp. 66-67 on its association with sexual suggestiveness), Sapsford 2022 on *cinaedi* (cf. discussion in the Plautus section of ch. 2 below), and Tsitsiridis 2015: 224-25 on the overlap between the two. In Plautus, cinaedic dancers and Ionian dancers are associated with each other or even identified as the same (see esp. *Stichus* 769). The association between dramatic finales and cinaedic dancing persists into the imperial period: the astrologer Firmicus Maternus in the 4th c. AD writes that *cinaedi* dance in imitation of the endings of old plays (*Mathesis* 6.31.39: [*cinaedi* qui veterum fabularum exitus in scaenis semper saltantes imitentur]). I follow Moore 2012: 112n15 in understanding this as an indication that *cinaedi* dance in Firmicus’ day danced scenes resembling the endings of *Persa, Stichus*, and *Pseudolus* (*pace* Habinek 2005: 178, who interprets Firmicus to suggest that *cinaedi* danced in the plays during Plautus’ day).

103 Habinek 2005: 178-81 and Moore 2012: 112 discuss references to *cinaedi* and cinaedic dancing in *Menaechmi* but do not mention this passage, instead focusing on 143-44 (Menaechmus comparing himself to Ganymede) and
Menaechmus I:
sustine hoc, Penicule: exuuias facere quas uoui uolo.  

Peniculus:
cedo; sed opsecro hercle, salta sic cum palla postea.  

Men.: ego saltabo? sanus hercle non es.  

Pen.: egone an tu magis?  
si non saltas, exue igitur.  

Menaechmus I:  
Lift up my cloak, Peniculus; I want to dedicate the spoils I vowed.  

Peniculus:  
Give it to me. (takes the cloak) But please, dance with the mantle like this afterward.  

Men.: I shall dance? You’re insane.  

Pen.: Who is more so, I or you? Well, if you aren’t dancing, take it off.  

To put the passage into context, Menaechmus I (of Epidamnus) has just stolen a palla from his wife and come onstage expressing his anger towards her for keeping too close an eye on him. He has decided to give the palla to the prostitute Erotium and to have dinner with her. He then runs into the parasite Peniculus and they exchange banter, at which point Menaechmus asks if Peniculus thinks he resembles paintings in which an eagle carries off Ganymede or Venus carries off Adonis, because of the way he is wearing the palla (143-46).104 Timothy Moore has suggested that Menaechmus himself performs cinaedic dancing here: he “transgresses the limits of acceptable masculinity” and “compares himself to the premier mythological cinaedus, Ganymede.”105 Both Moore and Thomas Habinek connect this passage with a later reference to

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512-13 (Menaechmus II calling Peniculus a cinaedus, on which see ch. 2). Alonso Fernández 2011: 74 quotes this passage as an example of the intransitive use of salto but does not discuss the content of the passage. Benz 2001: 238n173 mentions in a footnote that Peniculus asks Menaechmus to dance, but does not discuss the scene further.  

104 Men.: dic mi, enumquam tu uidisti tabulam pictam in pariete / ubi aquila Catamitum raperet aut ubi Venus Adoneum? / Pen.: saepe. sed quid istae picturae ad me attinent? Men.: age me aspice. / ecquid assimulo similiter? Pen.: qui istic ornatust tuos?  

105 Moore 2012: 112.
cinaedi (510-16), in which Peniculus mistakes Menaechmus II (who did not wear the palla) for Menaechmus I (who did), and Menaechmus II calls Peniculus a cinaedus while distancing himself from the accusation of cross-dressing.106

Whether or not Menaechmus I dances earlier, in our passage it is clear that Peniculus dances and Menaechmus does not. Peniculus takes the palla and tells Menaechmus to dance (salta) “like this” (sic), presumably in celebration of successfully stealing the mantle from his wife. The use of a demonstrative suggests that Peniculus performs a few moves himself, demonstrating to Menaechmus how he wants him to dance. Menaechmus refuses, associating Peniculus’ suggestion, or his dancing, or both with insanity (ego saltabo? sanus hercle non es, 198). There is a possibility for considerable irony here if Menaechmus himself was just dancing only 50 lines or so earlier. Perhaps this is part of the reason why Peniculus throws Menaechmus’ question back at him, questioning Menaechmus’ sanity as well (egone an tu magis?, 198).

Regardless, as Peniculus continues, it becomes clear that Menaechmus is not dancing now, regardless of whether he danced earlier (si non saltas, exue igitur, 199). This scene, then, demonstrates a contrast between the dancer and non-dancer.107

It is possible that Menaechmus’ aversion is not to dancing in general, but to the particular type of dancing that Peniculus performs (thus reconciling his potential for earlier dancing with his refusal to dance here). Since Peniculus is dancing with a feminine garment, he might have chosen to perform a feminine dance: one thinks of so-called muffled or veiled dancers—always women—who performed wearing mantles or heavy drapery.108 If this was the case, then part of the reason Menaechmus refuses could be because the specific dance Peniculus performed was

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106 See discussion of this passage in ch. 2 below.
107 On this feature of dance in Roman comedy, see Moore 2012: 130-31.
108 Such dancers are attested in visual sources from the mid-5th c. BC to the 2nd c. BC; see n. 74 in introduction.
especially associated with women. Alternatively, Peniculus could perform some dance moves associated with *cinaedi*, such as butt-wiggling.\textsuperscript{109} Such a dance would pick up on associations between cinaedic performance, effeminacy, and cross-dressing, which will later be made explicit when Menaechmus II calls Peniculus a *cinaedus* (as mentioned above and discussed in chapter two below). Regardless of the exact steps the actor chose to perform, it seems likely that Peniculus’ dance would have engaged with gender transgression. While this might explain Menaechmus’ sudden reluctance to dance, it is nevertheless significant that when the dialogue calls attention to dancing, it is not the *adulescens* who dances but the lower-status parasite. While this scene is short and Peniculus’ dancing probably does not last very long, it is still a definite solo dance scene. This is significant for our understanding of dance in Plautus because it gives a clear example of solo dance occurring early in a play to trochaic septenarii, whereas the other three Plautine examples each occur at the end of the play in (mostly) polymetric sections, as we will see.\textsuperscript{110}

**Paegnium, Toxilus, and Sagaristio, Persa 804-820; 821-827**

At the end of Plautus’ *Persa*, the slaves Paegnium, Toxilus, and Sagaristio use dance to annoy their rival, the pimp Dordalus, while throwing a party to celebrate their success in tricking him. Toxilus first encourages the slave boy Paegnium to “play” with Dordalus by dancing in a sexual manner (804-20):

\[\text{Tox.: uin cinaedum nouom tibi dari?}\]
\[\text{Pae.: decet me facetum esse et hunc irridere}\]

\[\begin{array}{ll} 805 & \text{cr4} \\ 805 & \text{cr3tr2} \\ 805 & \text{cr3tr2} \\ 805 & \text{ba4} \\ 805 & \text{ba2bacol} \\ \end{array}\]

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\textsuperscript{109} See Sapsford 2022: 150 on butt-wiggling as a commonly-discussed move of *cinaedi*. Benz 2001: 238n173 sees “Kinädentanz” in Peniculus’ request for Menaechmus to dance with the *palla*.

\textsuperscript{110} The exception is Toxilus and Sagaristio’s dancing to trochaic septenarii at *Persa* 821-31.

\textsuperscript{111} On the punctuation here, see Moore 2012: 108n8.
Tox.: perge ut coeperas.

Pae.: **hoc**, leno, tibi.  

810 Dor.: perii! perculit me prope.

Pae.: em, serua rursum.

Dor.: delude, ut lubet, erus dum hinc abest.

Pae.: uiden ut tuis dictis pareo?  

sed quin tu meis contra item dictis seruis  

atque hoc quod tibi suadeo facis?

Dor.: quid est id?

815 Pae.: restim tu tibi cape crassam ac suspende te.

Dor.: caue sis me attigas, ne tibi hoc scipione  

malum magnum dem.

Pae.: tu utere, te condono.

Tox.: iam iam, Paegnium, da pausam.

Dor.: ego pol uos eradicabo.

Pae.: at

819a te ille, qui supra nos habitat,  
820 qui tibi male uolt maleque faciet.  
820a non hi dicunt, uerum ego.

Tox.: Do you want a new *cinaedus* to be given to you? Paegnium, why don’t you play the way you usually do, since there is a free place for it here. Wow, great! You’ve brought yourself in royally and cleverly!

Pae.: It’s right for me to be clever, and it’s my desire to mock this pimp, since he deserves it.

Tox.: Go on as you started.

Pae.: **This** is for you, pimp! (*he bumps into Dordalus*)

Dor.: Ow! He almost knocked me over!
Pae.: All right, watch out again!

Dor.: Go on, mock me as you wish, while your master’s away.

Pae.: Do you see how I obey your orders? But why don’t you obey my orders as well and do what I urge you to do?

Dor.: What’s that?

Pae.: Get yourself a thick rope and hang yourself.

Dor.: Don’t you touch me, or I’ll give you a big beating with this staff.

Pae.: Go ahead. Use it, I grant you the favor.

Tox.: OK, now, Paegnium, give him a rest.

Dor.: By God, I’ll wipe you out!

Pae.: No, the one who lives above us [scil. Jupiter] will wipe you out: he wants you punished, and he’ll see to it that you are. That’s not what they say: it’s what I say.\textsuperscript{112}

At the beginning of the passage, Toxilus’ question to Dordalus sets the expectation that Paegnium will behave as a \textit{cinaedus} does (\textit{uin cinaedum nouom tibi dari?}, 804).\textsuperscript{113} He then tells Paegnium to play with or mock Dordalus (\textit{quin elude}, 805)\textsuperscript{114} and refers to there being enough room for Paegnium’s performance (\textit{quando liber locust hic}, 805). Paegnium must start dancing at this point, and Toxilus compliments him for moving in a kingly and elegant way (\textit{hui, babae! basilice te intulisti et facete}, 806). All of this is in cretics. Paegnium changes the meter to slow bacchiacs, perhaps to accompany grinding movements,\textsuperscript{115} as he expresses his desire to ridicule the pimp (807-8) and apparently bumps into him a few times while dancing (Pae.: \textit{hoc, leno, tibi. / Dor.: perii! perculit me prope. / Pae.: em, serua rursum}). Paegnium uses the demonstrative \textit{hoc}


\textsuperscript{113} On the relationship between \textit{cinaedi} and these Plautine dance scenes, see Moore 2012: 110-12. On \textit{cinaedi} as professional solo dancers in the Hellenistic period, see Benz 2001: 235-43 and Sapsford 2022: 79-104 and \textit{passim}.

\textsuperscript{114} On \textit{ludo} as a dance term, see Alonso Fernández 2011: 134-41.

\textsuperscript{115} For this suggestion, see Moore 2021: 174-175.
to refer to his own bodily movement that he “offers” to the pimp.\textsuperscript{116} This might be a good place for an actor to showcase moves associated with cinaedic dancing, such as butt-wiggling. The meter changes again to iambic tetrameters as Dordalus tells Paegnium to go ahead and mock him while he can (811) and Paegnium is happy to oblige (812). Paegnium changes the meter back to bacchiacs as he continues to mock Dordalus and tells him to hang himself (813-17). Toxilus tells Paegnium to take a break (\textit{iam iam, Paegnium, da pausam}, 818), and the meter then changes to trochaics until the polymetric section ends (820) and a section in trochaic septenarii begins (821-37).

Paegnium’s cinaedic dancing in this \textit{canticum} acts as a precursor for Toxilus and Sagaristio’s own lascivious dancing as they take a turn mocking the pimp (821-27):

\begin{quote}
Tox.: age, circumfer mulsum, bibere da usque plenis cantharis. \textit{tr7}
iam diu factum est, postquam bibimus; nimis diu sicci sumus.

Dor.: di faciant ut id bibatis quod uos numquam transeat.

Sag.: nequeo, leno, quin tibi saltem staticulum olim quem Hegea faciebat. uide uero, si tibi satis placet.

\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Tox.: me quoque uolo reddere Diodorus quem olim faciebat in Ionia.

Dor.: malum ego uobis dabo, ni[si] abitis.

\end{quote}

Tox.: OK, bring around the honeyed wine. Give us something to drink, with full drinking bowls. It’s a long time now since we’ve drunk; we’ve been dry for too long.

Dor.: I hope you drink something that will never pass through you.

Sag.: Pimp, I can’t keep from dancing for you the pose that Hegea used to do once. See if you like it OK.

Tox.: I want to offer up a pose too, the one that Diodorus used to do once in Ionia.

\textsuperscript{116} On the use of demonstratives to indicate imitative movement in Roman comedy, see Alonso Fernández 2011: 353.
Dor.: Get away from me, or you’ll be sorry.

Toxilus’ call to pass the wine around and renew the drinking kicks off this section of trochaic septenarii (821-22). At this point, it becomes clear that Toxilus telling Paegnium to stop dancing in l. 818 was not the end of Dordalus’ harassment, but rather a transition from a polymetric canticum to the regular rhythm of trochaic septenarii, as well as a transition between dancers. Sagaristio picks up on the cinaedic themes from Paegnium’s dance with a dance that a professional dancer named Hegea was known for (nequeo, leno, quin tibi saltem staticulum olim quem Hegea / faciebat, 824-5). Toxilus takes his turn by performing an Ionian dance for which a performer named Diodorus was famous (me quoque uolo / reddere Diodorus quem olim faciebat in Ionia, 825-6). While their dancing is not explicitly competitive, there is implied competition: instead of letting Sagaristio do all of the dancing, Toxilus offers up his own dance as well, and his choice to imitate a professional Ionian dancer is a direct response to Sagaristio’s similar choice. In addition to being subtly competitive, their dancing is aggressive: both Sagaristio and Toxilus likely dance right up on Dordalus, as he responds by threatening to hurt them if they do not go away (malum ego uobis dabo, ni[si] abitis, 827). This dance scene leads into a polymetric section in which Toxilus, Sagaristio, and Paegnium all hit Dordalus, continuing the boisterous use of movement in the conclusion of this play.

In addition to its competitive and aggressive aspects, dance in this finale can be seen as a celebration of the overwhelming success of Toxilus and his friends in tricking the pimp and obtaining Toxilus’ girlfriend, Lemniselenis. To borrow the framing of Ulrike Auhagen, Persa is typical in its plot (slave comes up with money to purchase girlfriend) but totally atypical in its

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117 On the suitability of trochaic septenarii for dance, see Moore 2022: 165-66.
118 Cf. Slater 2000 [1985]: 36 on Toxilus and Sagaristio’s competition to control the plot.
combination of the *servus callidus* and *adulescens amans* into one figure: Toxilus.\(^{119}\) Rather than planning his deceit on behalf of a young master, Toxilus contrives a plan to purchase Lemniselenis on his own behalf. The result is a remarkably metatheatrical play that feels as if it has been turned upside down, despite following a common stock plot.\(^{120}\) The finale reinforces this strangeness: there is no real reason for Toxilus and his friends to hold their celebration outside rather than inside, except for the fact that they are characters in a play and want to be on stage. Dance in this scene emerges as a self-conscious way to celebrate the triumph of Toxilus and his friends, as they enjoy using dance to mock the pimp. Notably, Lemniselenis is present at the banquet but does not dance: in one of her very few lines, she refuses Toxilus’ urging to “have our fun” with Dordalus because it is not in fitting with her character (Tox.: *agite hunc sultis ludificemus*. Lem.: *nisi si dignust, non opust. / et me hau par est*, 833-34).\(^ {121}\) Although Toxilus shared some tender moments with Lemniselenis at the beginning of the party scene (763ff.), by this point the dance-mocking has completely taken over and Lemniselenis is barely an afterthought. In other words, the party quickly devolves from a celebratory reunion between lovers into a chance for the play’s protagonists to have some fun with mocking their rival through dance. The parasite Saturio, despite being an integral part of Dordalus’ deceit, is not even present at the party.\(^ {122}\) Thus the only characters who dance in this ending are male slaves (Toxilus, Sagaristio, Paegnium): the danced celebration belongs specifically to the slaves who pulled off the plot on behalf of another slave. In this way, the dance finale perfectly encapsulates the topsy-turvy nature of the play.

\(^{119}\) Auhagen 2001: 95-96.


\(^{121}\) “Tox.: Go on, please, let’s have our fun with him. Lem.: There’s no need to if he doesn’t deserve it; and it isn’t appropriate for me.”

\(^{122}\) See Benz 2001: 224-25 on Saturio’s absence.
Stichus and Sangarinus, *Stichus* 767-75

At the end of *Stichus*—a scene with many similarities to the ending of *Persa*—the slaves Stichus and Sangarinus have a party with their shared girlfriend, Stephanium, and after much drinking, the play ends with a dance contest between the two male slaves (767-75):\(^{123}\)

Sang.: age, iam infla buccas, nunciam aliquid suauiter. \(ia6\)
redd’ cantionem utei pro ui<no> nouam. \(ia6\)
qui Ionicus aut cinaedicus\(<t>\) qui **hoc tale** facere possiet? \(ia8\)

770 Sti.: si istoc me uorsu uiceris, alio me prouocato. \(ia7\)

Sang.: fac **tu hoc modo**. \(versreiz\)

Sti.: at **tu hoc modo**.

Sang.: babae!

Sti.: tatae!

Sang.: papae!

Sti.: pax!

Sang.: nunc pariter ambo, omnis uoco cinaedos contra. \(versreiz\)
satis esse nobis non magis potis quam fungo imber. \(versreiz\)

Sti.: intro hinc abeamus nunciam: saltatum satis pro uino est. \(ia7\)

uos, spectatores, plaudite atque ite ad uos comissatum. \(ia7\)

Sang.: (to the piper) Go on, now puff out your cheeks, play something sweet now. Give us a new tune for the old wine. (The piper starts playing again.)

(whirling around) How could someone who is an Ionian or a lewd dancer do something **like this**?

Sti.: (also whirling around) If you get the better of me with that turn, challenge me with another.

Sang.: Do it **this way**.

Sti.: But you, **this way**.

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\(^{123}\) On associations between cinaedic dancing and sex in this scene, see Haginek 2005: 118 and Moore 2012: 110-11.
Sang.: Wow!

Sti.: Oh!

Sang.: Whoa!

Sti.: Enough! (they stop)

Sang.: Now both at the same time. (they start again, this time together) I challenge all lewd dancers to compete against us. We can no more get enough of it than a mushroom can get enough of rain.

Sti.: Let’s go in now; there’s been enough dancing for the wine. (they stop) You, spectators, give us your applause and go to your own places to have fun.

In the first two lines of this passage, Sangarinus tells the tibicen to start playing something sweet (767-8), which concludes a brief section in unaccompanied iambic senarii as the tibicen temporarily stopped playing to take a drink (762-68).

This is the second time that the tibicen stopped playing in order to drink. Earlier, during a passage in trochaic septenarii, Sangarinus tells the tibicen to drink (l. 715) then to start playing again (l. 723). Despite the lack of music in the intervening eight lines, the meter continues as trochaic septenarii, which were normally accompanied. This obviously contrasts with the second time the tibicen drinks (i.e. right before this passage), during which the meter changes to the normal unaccompanied meter, iambic senarii. It is odd that the tibicen’s drinking did not affect the meter previously but does affect it now. Perhaps this sets up an even greater contrast when the tibicen does start playing again in line 769, kicking off a brief but memorable polymetric dance section that ends the play.

Once the tibicen begins playing again, in the passage quoted above, Sangarinus uses an iambic octonarius to set up a dance contest, asking which Ionian dancer or cinaedus could dance as he does (qui Ionicus aut cinaedicus <t> qui hoc tale facere possiet?, 769).124 Stichus’ use of

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124 On this dance scene and its imitation of professional dancing, see Zimmermann 2016: 320-21.
demonstratives here indicates that he is referring to his own dancing as he performs. This challenge connects Sangarinus’ dancing with that of Paegnium, Toxilus, and Sagaristio in *Persa*, who similarly imitate Ionian and cinaedic dancers. Stichus picks up on the competitive aspect of Sangarinus’ question and asks to be challenged with another turn, likely performing a spin himself (*si istoc me uorsu uiceris, alio me prouocato*, 770). They continue the contest with a *versus reizianus* in which the speaker changes five times as Stichus and Sangarinus take turns showing off their movements (Sang.: *fac tu hoc modo*. Sti.: *at tu hoc modo*. Sang.: *babae!* Sti.: *tatae!* Sang.: *papae!* Sti.: *pax!*, 771). Each uses a demonstrative to refer to their own style of movement as they try to one-up each other, ending with Stichus’ exclamation calling for peace. From there, Sangarinus continues with *versus reiziani* but calls for Stichus to dance with him rather than against him, instead calling all *cinaedi* to compete against the pair of them (*nunc pariter ambo. omnis uoco cinaedos contra*, 772). Stichus concludes the play with iambic septenarii, stating that there has been enough dancing (*saltatum satis pro uino est*, 774) and asking for the audience to applaud.

Beyond its obvious entertainment value, the role of this dance finale in the play as a whole is peculiar, especially when compared to Plautus’ other dance finales. The celebratory dancing of Toxilus *et alia* in *Persa* and, as we will see below, Pseudolus in *Pseudolus* makes for a fitting conclusion to each play: the audience has been brought along with the dancing character’s schemes from the beginning and thus is (presumably) especially delighted with the opportunity to revel in the character’s successes during the finale. In *Stichus*, however, Stichus himself does not even appear onstage until halfway through the play (l. 402), and the audience

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125 There could be some metatheatrical play with *uorsus*, which is closely related to *uersus*: Stichus could be referring to Sangarinus’ line of poetry or his spinning dance movement (or both at the same time). See Lewis & Short *versus* (*vors*-), esp. II and IV.
has not seen him do anything particularly worth celebrating. Rather than orchestrating a
deception plot as a *servus callidus* would, Stichus simply asks his master, Epignomus, for a day
off to celebrate with his girlfriend as compensation for the misfortunes he has experienced,
perhaps during the long journey home (419-22). But the audience did not get to see any of these
miseries that Stichus endured, nor does he say what they were. As a result, this dance finale in
general feels less satisfying than those of *Persa* and *Pseudolus* – plays in which the audience is
invited to root for the *servus callidus* throughout.

Nevertheless, the dance finale does still relate to earlier parts of the play. Stichus and
Sangarinus can be seen as comic doubles of the two sisters who open the play, Panegyris and
Pamphila. The sisters are married women who have been forced to spend years apart from
their husbands, Epignomus and Pamphilippus, who have been away working as merchants in the
hopes of obtaining more money. The sisters’ father, Antipho, wants them to move on and find
new husbands to marry. The play opens with an unexpected polymetric scene in which Panegyris
and Pamphila lament their situation. The closing song-and-dance of Stichus and Sangarinus is
a far cry from the opening *canticum* of the women. But both Stichus and Sangarinus, as the
slaves of Epignomus and Pamphilippus, respectively, have also been away from home and thus
away from Stephanium. Given how the play began, the audience might wish to see an emotional
reunion or humorous recognition scene between husbands and wives. Instead, the reunion

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126 See Moore 2012: 262-63 on the musical structure of the play. See also Owens 2000: 401-2 on the role of the
finale in understanding the play as a response to the political crisis of 200 BC (following the Second Punic War and
leading into the Second Macedonian War).

127 On the name of the younger sister (or lack thereof), see de Melo 2013: 3. The name of the older sister, Panegyris,
is well attested. On the two slaves as doubles for the two wives, cf. Arnott 1972: 60-61 on linguistic echoes of the
wives’ opening song when the slaves set up the dance contest (724-26).

128 Most Plautine plays open with expository iambic senarii; see Moore 2012: 242-45. See also Arnott 1972: 54-61
on the contrast between the sisters and the way they are characterized through their use of language.

129 Cf. Owens 2000: 404, who suggests that Plautus paints the two women as Roman aristocrats while associating
the slaves with Greek debauchery.
between Stichus, Sangarinus, and their girlfriend humorously takes the place on stage of the more serious reunion.\textsuperscript{130} Just as in \textit{Persa}, the girlfriend fades into the background as virtuosic dancing between the two slaves takes over: the party quickly becomes less about the reunion between lovers and more about two rivals showing off their dance moves. This dance finale represents one last comic reversal of expectations in a somewhat odd, surprising play.

\textbf{Pseudolus, \textit{Pseudolus} 1268-84}

Whereas \textit{Persa} and \textit{Stichus} stage outdoor parties for their dance finales, in \textit{Pseudolus} the titular character drunkenly \textit{re}-performs for the audience dances that he had just performed inside at a party celebrating his triumph over his master Simo and the pimp Ballio (1268-84):

\begin{verbatim}
1268a hoc ego modo atque erus minor
1268b hunc diem sumpsimus prothyme,
1268c postquam opus meum
1269 omne ut uolui perpetraui
1270a hostibus fugatis.
1270b illos accubantis, potantis, amantis
1270c cum scortis reliqui et meum scortum ibidem
1271a suo cordi atque animo opsequentis. sed postquam
1271b exsurrexi, orant med ut saltem.
1271c ad hunc me modum intuli illis satis facete
1272a nimis ex discipulina, quippe ego qui
1272b probe Ionica perdidici. sed palliolatim amictus
1272c sic haec incessi ludibundus.
1273a plaudunt, “parum” clamitant mi ut reuortar.
1273b ocepi denuo, hoc modo. nolui
1274a idem. amicae dabam me meae,
1274b ut me amaret: ubi circunuortor, cada:
1275a nimiae tum uoluptati edepol fui.
1275b ob casum datur canthus: bibi.
1276a immuto ilico pallium, illud posui;
1276b indi huc exii, crapulam dum amouerem.
1276c nunc ab ero ad erum meum maiorem uenio foedus commemoratum.
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{130} Some have suggested that Menander in his original staged a celebration between the husbands and wives; see de Melo 2013: 8.
aperite, aperite! heus, Simoni me adesse aliquis nuntiate!

That’s how I and my young master spent this day merrily after I completed my entire work the way I liked, having put my enemies to flight. I left them reclining, drinking, and making love together with their prostitutes, and I left my prostitute in the same place, all enjoying themselves and having a good time. But after I got up, they asked me to dance. **I struck a pose for them like this** (demonstrates), in good form and very much in the correct style, since I learned the Ionian dance well. But dressed in a mantle I merrily **strutted these steps like this.** (demonstrates again) They clapped and shouted “encore” at me so that I’d return. I began again, in this way (demonstrates again), yet I didn’t want to. I was showing off to my girlfriend so that she’d love me; **when I was doing a pirouette, I fell:** that was the unhappy end of my performance. And so while I was struggling up, whoops! I almost soiled my mantle. Then they were really delighted. In return for my fall they gave me the cantharus; I drank. I put my mantle on at once and took the old one off. I went out here so as to get rid of my headache. Now I’m coming from my master to my old master to remind him of our treaty. (knocking at Simo’s door) Open up, open up! Hey, someone announce to Simo that I’m here!131

Pseudolus uses explicit dance language as well as frequent demonstratives that indicate his dancing, and his monody (1248-64) is full of metrical variety that aids the dance.132 This passage begins with Pseudolus describing the scene of the party to the audience, which includes reclining, drinking, and having sex with prostitutes (*illos accubantis, potantis, amantis / cum scortis reliqui*, 1271-2). Pseudolus uses bacchiacs here, a slow meter with potential for sensual movements. He continues in bacchiacs when describing how he stood up and the partygoers asked him to dance (*sed postquam / exsurrexi, orant med ut saltem*, 1272a-73). He switches to ionics when demonstrating his movements inspired by Ionian dance, and the presence of a demonstrative pronoun shows that Pseudolus is reperforming the dance as he tells the story (*ad hunc me modum intuli illis satis facete / nimis ex discipulina, quippe ego qui / probe Ionica perdidici*, 1274-5). The frequency of Ionian dancing in these Plautine dance scenes is now quite clear, as it appears in all three passages. Pseudolus sticks with ionics for his next demonstration

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131 Translation slightly modified.
132 On Pseudolus singing and dancing at the same time, especially as it relates to the early development of pantomime dancing, see Zimmermann 2016: 321-22.
of the playful way he walked, again using a demonstrative (*sic haec inessi ludibundus*, 1275a). He uses one line of bacchiacs when telling the audience that the partygoers clapped and demanded an encore (1276) then switches to cretics as he resumes his dance demonstration, ultimately ending with him turning around and falling (*occepi denuo, hoc modo. nolui / idem. amicae dabam me meae, / ut me amaret: ubi circumuortor, cado* (1277-78). The polymetric section continues, but Pseudolus’ fall marks the end of his dance reperformance, as he tells us that this was the grievous end for his playful dancing (*id fuit naenia ludo*, 1278a).^{133}

This is the only extant scene in all of Greek and Roman comedy in which a character dancing alone is the only figure on stage. Other solo dance passages involve spectators, competitors, or other figures, but here Pseudolus is the only one on stage as he reperforms his dance, commanding the audience’s full attention. This aspect of the dance scene highlights Pseudolus’ extreme success as a *servus callidus*: now that he has successfully tricked both Simo and Ballio, he not only gets to celebrate with his friends and prostitutes, but also, metatheatrically, with the audience themselves. This is his private moment to share his celebratory dances with no one but the audience who has been rooting for his success.

In these passages, solo dance represents the ultimate reversal of normal life for slaves: slaves in Plautus successfully trick their masters, throw parties, and dance to symbolize their success. Several common features have emerged throughout these Plautine scenes, including the use of meter, the imitation of Ionian or cinaedic dancing, and the role of dancing at or near the end of the play. In *Menaechmi*, the dancing of the parasite Peniculus, when contrasted with the avowed non-dancing of the *adulescens* Menaechmus, suggests that explicit dancing in Plautus

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^{133} Lewis & Short II.1 treats this line as a proverb: “my joy was turned to grief.”
Known solo dance in Greek and Roman Comedy: convergence and departure

While the plays in which these dance scenes occur occupy a span of nearly 250 years, they share a striking number of common features, suggesting enduring trends within comic solo dance. I focus on these shared features before turning to meaningful differences. The following table summarizes all twelve scenes of certain solo dance, tracking their meters as well as common features. This table serves as the basis for the ensuing discussion of meter and musical accompaniment, dance finales, recurring themes or uses of dance, and the gender/status of characters who dance:

**Table 1: Known solo dance in Greek and Roman comedy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Play, lines</th>
<th>Meter</th>
<th>Who dances?</th>
<th>What themes or common features occur?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ar., <em>Wasps</em> 1474-1537</td>
<td>1474-81: iambic trimeters (Xanthias setting up Philocleon’s dance) 1482-96: anapests (Philocleon’s dance) 1497-1515: iambic trimeters (Philocleon sets up the dance contest) 1516-37: anapestic tetrameters catalectic (1516-17); Archilochean dicola (choral song; dance contest between Philocleon and sons of Carcinus)</td>
<td>Philocleon (old male citizen) with sons of Carcinus</td>
<td>Competitive dancing Aggressive dancing Parodic dancing: tragedy Finale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play</td>
<td>Dance Type</td>
<td>Characters</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ar., <em>Birds</em> 1755-62</td>
<td>Iambic dicola</td>
<td>Peisetairos (male citizen) with Basileia (symbolic, mute female character)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Celebratory dancing</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ritual dancing</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ar., <em>The symposium</em> 1172-1206</td>
<td>Iambic trimeters</td>
<td>Elaphion (dancing-girl, mute female character)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Note that piper plays despite the unaccompanied meter; piper is addressed at l. 1175, 1186</td>
<td>Seductive/lewde dancing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar., <em>Assembly-women</em> 1163-67</td>
<td>Trochaic tetrameters catalectic</td>
<td>Blepyros (male citizen) with chorus and two mute female attendants</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Celebratory dancing</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Possible seductive/lewde dancing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar., <em>Assembly-women</em> 1163-67</td>
<td>Iambics (iambic tetrameters catalectic and iambic dimeters)</td>
<td>Cario (enslaved male) with chorus (poor farmers)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parodic dancing: dithyramb</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Men., <em>Dysk.</em> 946-64</td>
<td>Iambic tetrameters catalectic</td>
<td>Sikon (cook), Getas (enslaved male), and Knemon (male citizen)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parodic dancing: female wedding dances</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Men., <em>Theo. act II or III</em></td>
<td>Some hexameter and iambic trimeter (see Pöhlmann 2022: 124-27). Visual sources depict a <em>tibicen</em> as well as actors playing the tympanon and krotala</td>
<td>Kleinias and Lysias (young men); the possessed girl (unknown but possibly low status)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parodic dancing: ecstatic worship</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Men. 196-99</em></td>
<td>Trochaic septenarii</td>
<td>Peniculus (male parasite)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Celebratory dancing</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Possible parodic dancing: muffled/veiled dancers</td>
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<td>Toxilus and Sagaristio’s lascivious dancing: 821-31: trochaic septenarii</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
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<td>Near-finale</td>
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<td>Plautus, <em>Stichus</em> 767-75</td>
<td>767-8: iambic senarii (Sangarinus tells the piper to start playing again); 769: iambic octonarius; 770: iambic septenarii; 771-3: <em>versus reiziani</em>; 774-5: iambic septenarii</td>
<td>Stichus (enslaved male) and Sangarinus (enslaved male)</td>
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**Meter and musical accompaniment**

Each of these dance scenes has musical accompaniment, though Elaphion’s dance occurs during an unusually accompanied passage of iambic trimeters in *Women at the Thesmophoria*. In general, Plautine solo dance scenes are marked by more metrical variety than those in Aristophanes and Menander.

Several dance scenes in Aristophanes and Plautus are marked by the use of a variety of meters, though the framing meters and types of meters used differ. Aristophanic solo dance passages employ a variety of meters in two instances: Philocleon’s contest with the sons of Carcinus in *Wasps* and Cinesias’ dithyrambic dance in *Birds*. Each passage uses anapests during moments of significant travel across the stage. Philocleon’s dance competition is framed by anapestic tetrameters catalectic as the dancers move into the orchestra (1516-17), then transitions to lyrics of Archilochean dicola as the dancers compete (1518-37). Cinesias’ dance in *Birds* includes considerable metrical variety: he “flies in” dancing to iambo-choriambics (1373) and what appear to be further choriambics (1374, 1376), then expresses in iambic dimeter and pherecrateans that he wants to become a clear-sounding nightingale (1380-81). After speaking to Peisetairos more plainly in iambic trimeters, he resumes his song with a *colon reizianum*, anapestic dimeter catalectic, iambics, and bacchaics as he describes birds and their leaps through the sky in lofty language. He finishes with three lines of anapestic dimeter (1398-1400) as he describes the course of the birds, presumably imitating their travels through the sky with his body, until Peisetairos stops him and returns to iambic trimeters for good.

While such metrical variety is found in two of the six Aristophanic examples, Plautus uses a variety of meters in all three of his extant definite dance finales. Bacchiacs feature prominently in the dances of *Persa* and *Pseudolus*. Both *Pseudolus* and *Stichus* further use iambics and ionics specifically when referencing Ionian dancing. Paegnium’s dance in *Persa* is
framed by cretics as Toxilus sets the stage for Paegnium to mock Dordalus through dancing. Paegnium’s dancing is almost entirely performed to various combinations of bacchiacs, and the meter changes to trochaics when Paegnium is done. Pseudolus’ reperformance of his dance in *Pseudolus* similarly uses bacchiacs for slow and potentially sexual movements (1271-73), but he uses iambics when performing Ionian dance movements (1274-75). Cretics end the dance scene as Pseudolus turns around and falls down (1277-78), but the polymetric *canticum* continues as Pseudolus confronts Simo. Iambics frame the dance contest between Stichus and Sangarinus in *Stichus*: Sangarinus uses an iambic octonarius to set up the contest (769), specifically calling for an Ionian or cinaedic dancer, and Stichus responds with an iambic septenarius (770). The meter changes to *versus reiziani* as they compete against each other and challenge other competitors (771-73), then ends with more iambic septenarii to close out the play (774-75).

Even while these passages use a variety of meters throughout the dance scenes, other passages use just one type of meter throughout. Philocleon’s initial erratic dance in *Wasps* is entirely in anapests. Elaphion’s seductive dance is written in iambic trimeters, though the text makes it clear that she is dancing to the *aulos*. Peisetairos and Basileia in *Birds* dance to iambic *dicola* in celebration. Menander’s *Dyskolos* uses only iambic tetrameters catalectic for Getas and Sikon’s aggressive dancing. While Plautus otherwise uses a variety of meters in his dance scenes, he uses trochaic septenarii alone for Toxilus and Sagaristio’s lascivious dance-off in *Persa*, as well as Peniculus’ dancing in *Menaechmi*. This is especially important: without these dance passages exclusively in trochaic septenarii, it would seem that the use of polymetric *cantica* could be a requirement for Plautus’ dance scenes, decreasing the likelihood that any passages in just one meter could include dance. But Toxilus/Sagaristio’s and Peniculus’ dancing
shows us that Plautus does indeed compose dance scenes in just one meter, if less often than polymetric dance scenes.

Still, as I suggested at the beginning of this section, Plautine dance scenes are generally marked by considerable metrical variety, with changes in movement often corresponding to changes in meter. The only extant example of something like this among solo dance scenes in Greek comedy is Cinesias’ song and dance in *Birds*, a parody of New Music and New Dithyramb. While it is difficult to say with certainty given all that is lost, the surviving evidence suggests that Plautus innovates considerably by employing metrical variety in meaningful ways throughout known solo dance scenes.

**Dance finales**

Most of the surviving solo dance scenes from Greek to Roman comedy occur at or near the end of the play, demonstrating a correlation between solo dancing and finales (the exceptions are Cinesias in *Birds*; Cario in *Wealth*; Kleinias, Lysias, and the girl in *Theophoroumene*; Peniculus in *Menaechmi*). Timothy Moore has persuasively argued for the prevalence of solo dance at the end of Roman comedies, even ones in which characters do not explicitly describe themselves as dancing. However, the situation is more complicated for Greek comedy, at least as it relates to solo dancing in particular. Not enough endings of Menander’s plays survive to identify trends, though we can make educated guesses. And putting Aristophanic solo dance endings in context with the other endings of Aristophanic comedies suggests that the connection, at least during Aristophanes’ time, is not necessarily between finales and solo dancing in

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134 Moore 2022. Moore identifies eight Plautine plays (in addition to *Persa, Pseudolus, and Stichus*) that “contain moments suitable for dance in their final scenes” (p. 166) and twelve more (nine in Plautus and three in Terence) that appear to have “crisis/resolution dances” near the last moment of crisis or unraveling of the plot. On this concept, see ch. 3 below, n. 35.
particular, but between finales and dance in general, whether choral or solo or some combination of the two. The evidence for Greek and Roman comedy, taken together, suggests that dance in some form is expected at the end of a comedy. Fans of theater and film will not find this surprising: many traditions of performance and entertainment tend to conclude with lively dance scenes, from American musicals to Bollywood movies to Hollywood blockbusters. While there are exceptions, the general trend points to earlier dance finales (Greek Old Comedy) including primarily choral dance or a mix of choral and solo dance, while later dance finales (esp. Roman comedy) primarily feature solo dancing.

The ending lines of Aristophanes’ *Wasps* speak to the novelty of Philocleon’s solo dancing “replacing” the chorus at the end of the play:

άλλ’ ἔξαγετ’, εἰ τι φιλεῖτ’, ὀρχοῦμενοι θύροξε
ημὰς ταχόν τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεὶς πω πάρος δέδρακεν,
ὀρχοῦμενος ὡστὶς ὑπελλαξέν χορὸν τρυγῳδῶν.\(^{137}\) (ll. 1535-37)

But lead us out dancing, quickly, if you’d like. For there is no one who has ever done this: remove a chorus of comedies while dancing alone.

Sarah Olsen has recently suggested that the verb *apallassō* has stronger undertones than the typical translation of “to send off”;\(^{138}\) it can suggest getting rid of or even destroying something, which speaks to the chorus’ anxiety over being replaced by the solo, virtuosic dance of Philocleon.\(^{139}\) At the time of *Wasps*’ production (422 BC), it appears to be true that no solo dancer had replaced or gotten rid of the chorus in dancing offstage at the end of a play—though, as this chapter has already shown, the chorus’ fears will be realized as comedy changes over

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135 On the *kōmos*, ritual, and festive endings of Greek comedy, see e.g. Cornford 1993 [1934]: 56-78 and Pütz 2007 *passim*.
136 Cf. Moore 2022: 160, with other cross-cultural examples. Wedding dance scenes are a particularly common ending of Hollywood blockbusters (e.g., *Bridesmaids*, *Hitch*).
137 See Olsen 2021: 125-26 on the meaning of τρυγῳδῶν and the implications of the textual variants ὀρχοῦμενος and ὀρχοῦμενον (l. 1537), both of which have strong manuscript support.
138 See *LSJ* s.v. ἀπαλλάσσω A.3 “do away,” “get rid of,” “displace,” “destroy,” “bring to an end.”
time. Philocleon himself does not technically get rid of or destroy the chorus: he simply leads them offstage dancing. These lines, then, are not so much evidence of theatrical history at the time as they are expressions of choral anxiety at the threat of being replaced by solo dancers. 140

A brief overview of the endings of Aristophanes’ plays will help support the general trends I have identified. Six of Aristophanes’ surviving plays end with scenes that explicitly include dance (Wasps, Peace, Birds, Lysistrata, Thesmo., Assemblywomen), and three others end with songs or processions that likely include dance (Acharnians, Frogs, Wealth). 141 Of these nine examples, two exclusively feature solo dance (Wasps, Thesmo.), two indicate some combination of solo and choral dance (Birds, Assemblywomen), and the remaining five include (or likely include) choral dance (Acharnians, Peace, Lysistrata, Frogs, Wealth). In Acharnians (ll. 1190-1234), Dicaeopolis leads the chorus offstage with a victory song. Philocleon ends Wasps by challenging the sons of Carcinus to a dance competition (ll. 1474-1537). At the end of Peace, Trygaeus sings a solo song calling for a wedding procession that includes dance, then leads the chorus offstage in a wedding song, presumably fulfilling the procession he called for (ll. 1316-59). Birds also ends with a choral wedding song for Peisetairos as he asks his new bride to dance with him (ll. 1744-65). At the end of Lysistrata, the Athenian and Spartan delegates dance with

140 While this perhaps reflects some aesthetic anxiety, at its core the anxiety is socio-political: the replacement of the chorus by solo dancers would represent the failure of the community to properly integrate “singular and outstanding individuals” (to borrow Olsen’s phrasing) into the institutions of the polis. Cf. Olsen 2021: 80 on choral leadership and the politics of male dancing: “Institutional chorality in Athens, in practice as well as theory, provides a distinctive way of linking outstanding individuals with the larger community.”

141 See Zarifi 2007: 229-232 on contexts for Greek dance, several of which include processions. The only two plays excluded from this list are Knights and Clouds. Knights ends with dialogue between Demos and the Sausage-Seller in iambic trimeter. Demos tells the Sausage-Seller to follow him, but there is no song or dance language, and the unaccompanied meter does not suggest the usual procession. Parker 1997: 161 concludes based on the final meter that the end of the play is lost. Clouds is a complicated case, especially since it is the revised text that survives. The finale is mostly in iambic trimeters (ll. 1452-1509) but ends with two lines of anapestic tetrameter as the chorus says that they have danced enough today (ll. 1510-11), which might suggest the lack of a normal procession with song and dance.
their wives and alternate singing lively songs with frequent dance language (ll. 1232-1321).\textsuperscript{142} 

*Thesmophoriazusae* ends with Elaphion’s seductive dance for the Scythian guard and the guard running offstage in search of Euripides and his in-law (ll. 1172-1231). *Frogs* ends with the chorus singing Aeschylean songs as they escort Aeschylus back to the land of the living (ll. 1283-1323). At the end of *Assemblywomen*, Blepyros dances off to dinner with the chorus (ll. 1163-83). And finally, in *Wealth*, the chorus takes up the rear of the procession offstage in song (ll. 1208-9). It is important to reiterate that solo dancing is not the norm in this list: most passages call for choral dance or some combination of choral and solo dance. This makes the solo dances of Philocleon and Elaphion stand out that much more for overshadowing any choral dance that might have been expected at the end of an Aristophanic comedy.

Although the endings of Menander’s plays do not tend to survive, the few endings that do survive suggest it is possible that the expectation for a final scene involving dance carried over to this new comic genre. As discussed previously, *Dyskolos* ends with Sikon mimicking the dances of the women at the marriage party for Sostratos and the Girl, then with Getas and Sikon trying to get the peevish Knemon to dance, as an attempt to bother and annoy him (ll. 946-58). The end of *Samia* further alludes to a processional wedding dance (ll. 729-33). It is possible that this (likely) group dance, in the form of a wedding procession, was common in Menander’s plays given the prevalence of the marriage plot. However, without more evidence from the endings of his plays, it is impossible to say with certainty how often he employed solo dance over group dance. *Dyskolos* is a great example of the caution that should be applied here: the play could have easily ended with a group procession celebrating Sostratos and the Girl (and Knemon’s

\textsuperscript{142} It is likely that there was also a choral exit hymn following these dances: 1321 calls for a hymn to Athena Chalkioikos (i.e., the Spartan version of Athena Polias). The reason typically given for this hymn not being preserved in the text is that it was not composed by Aristophanes but instead was a traditional song. See Henderson 1987: 214.
participation in such a dance would have significantly changed the interpretation of his character), but instead Menander gave us parodic and aggressive solo dancing. While it remains unclear exactly how Menander fits in, the general trend remains: dance finales in Greek comedy tend to include choral dance or a combination of choral and solo dance, but the trend of ending with choral dance changes over time, until we get to the exclusive solo dance endings of Roman comedy.

**Recurring themes**

Several themes related to the style and/or aim of dancing recur across these solo dance scenes, as tracked in the table above, including seductive or lewd dancing, aggressive dancing, competitive dancing, and dance parodying other performative genres. These categories often overlap, with many scenes of solo dance demonstrating at least two of these traits (e.g. competitive dancing and lewd dancing in *Stichus*).

Many of the definite solo dance scenes feature seduction, sexual transgression, or dance as a stand-in for sex. Several of the characters either dance seductively or imitate lewd dancers, including Elaphion in *Thesmophoriazusae*; Paegnium, Toxilus, and Sagaristio in *Persa*; Pseudolus in *Pseudolus*; Stichus and Sangarinus in *Stichus*. Elaphion’s dance in *Thesmophoriazusae* is the clearest example of dance used explicitly for seduction. Euripides tells Elaphion to walk or trot back and forth in a context that implies seduction (προδυτον μεν ουν διελθε κανακαλπασον, 1174). When Euripides says that Elaphion is about to dance for some men (1178), the implication is that she will dance at a symposium, which comes with its own sexual connotations for the (likely enslaved) performer. His instruction that Elaphion take off her himation both aids her ability to dance freely and adds to the sensual nature of the scene, as a less-clothed Elaphion sits on the Scythian guard’s lap to dance (1181-83). At this point, the
guard sexualizes Elaphion’s breasts (1185), the piper plays faster (1186), and the guard’s penis becomes erect (1187-88). Elaphion’s seductive dance leads to implied offstage sex with the guard, while Euripides acts as her pimp. Other examples of seductive or lewd dance are not this explicit, but the language used to describe the dancing and the dancers makes the connotation of sexual transgression clear. In Persa, Toxilus frames the enslaved boy Paegnium’s dancing as that of the sexually deviant cinaedi (804), and Toxilus and Sagaristio themselves pick up this transgressive strain by performing Ionian dances (824-26). Sangarinus in Stichus compares his dancing to Ionian or cinaedic dancing (769), then further challenges any and all cinaedi to dance against both him and Stichus. Pseudolus similarly praises his own talent in dancing by sharing that he is trained in the seductive Ionian style (1274a-75). Adding to the sexual connotations of the reperformance, he brags that he first performed this dance for his prostitute (meum scortum, 1272), as his friends were reclining, drinking, and “making love” with theirs (illos accubantis, potantis, amantis / cum scortis, 1271-72). While none of these passages explicitly culminate in the dancer having sex, the lewd dances themselves nearly stand in for sex in these scenes.143 Whereas Aristophanes has Elaphion both perform a lap dance and go offstage for sex, Plautus simply stages lewd dance scenes with sex implied.

Solo dance in these scenes often demonstrates an aggressive strain as well. Dance is explicitly used to harass or mock the protagonists’ adversary in the finales of Dyskolos (Sikon and Getas with Knemon) and Persa (Paegnium, Toxilus, and Sagaristio with Dordalus), while Philocleon’s dance in Wasps contains implicit aggression as he continues his bad behavior through dancing. Sikon and Getas in Dyskolos relentlessly force the badly injured Knemon to dance against his will (954-57). The text at first (disingenuously) suggests that the two slaves

143 See n. 123 above.
will be dancing in coordination with Knemon (συνεπίβαινε, 954 and 955), but they are instead harassing him through dance, and his request for them to stop suggests that their harassment was especially physical (μῆ, πρὸς θεῶν, 956). Paegnium in Persa similarly dances aggressively in order to harass the pimp Dordalus. Paegnium uses a demonstrative to refer to the dance move that he “gives” to Dordalus (hoc, leno, tibi, 809), and Dordalus exclaims that Paegnium struck him (perii! perculit me prope, 810), at which point Paegnium just does it again (em, serua rursum, 810). When Toxilus and Sagaristio pick up the dancing, they are not described as hitting Dordalus or dancing as aggressively as Paegnium did, but they do still clearly annoy the pimp with their lewd dancing: he replies to their dance by saying that he will do something bad (i.e. beat them) if they do not go away (malum ego uobis dabo, nisi abitis, 827). Given the sexual connotations of the style in which they dance, as discussed above, it is possible that Dordalus sees their dancing as sexually aggressive, as if it means that the slaves are implicitly threatening to force him to have sex with them. To return to Philocleon in Wasps: his dance is not as explicitly aggressive as the dances of Dyskolos and Persa, but there is an aggressive implication as he demands that the gates to his house be opened (1482-83) and belligerently enters performing a wild dance, especially after he has behaved poorly at the symposium by stealing the aulētris and assaulting people on the way home.\(^\text{144}\) This aggressive strain becomes explicit when Philocleon sets up the dance contest: he alludes to a beating dance when he says that he will destroy the first son of Carcinus with the dance of his knuckle (ἀπολῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐμμελεία κονδύλου, 1503). The implication in each of these passages is that solo dance can be dangerously aggressive, at best used to annoy someone and at worst used as a physical attack. Peisetairos

\(^{144}\) See ch. 3 for possible aggressive dancing by Philocleon as he returns from the symposium in an entrance scene.
striking Cinesias to put an end to his dancing in *Birds* can be seen as a comic reversal of this aggressive strain of solo dancing.

The inherent competitiveness of solo, virtuosic dance can be seen in the competitive element explicit in many of these scenes and implicit in others. This aspect of solo dance represents the antithesis of choral dance: rather than dancing in coordination with a sociopolitical unit, moving as one and losing the individual in favor of the group, those who dance alone are often depicted as hyper-individualistic, wanting to prove that they alone are more talented than other dancers. Characters compete against each other in virtuosic dance contests at the end of *Wasps* (Philocleon against the sons of Carcinus) and *Stichus* (Stichus against Sangarinus). Philocleon dances on his own first (1482-96) and then challenges tragic dancers to compete against him (1497-1500). When the sons of Carcinus take him up on the challenge, he taunts them with crab puns (1501-15) before descending the orchestra to compete (1516-37). The dances of Stichus and Sangarinus are competitive from the beginning: Sangarinus begins by boldly proclaiming that his dancing is better than any Ionian or *cinaedus* (*qui Ionicus aut cinaedicus*<t> *qui hoc tale facere possiet?*, 769), and Stichus amusingly orders Sangarinus to challenge him with another move (*si istoc me uorsu uiceris, alio me prouocato*, 770) before they switch off performing dance moves and trying to one-up each other (771). Former competitors become a team when Sangarinus challenges other *cinaedi* to compete against them—a challenge that is quite similar to Philocleon’s:

ΦΙ.: φέρε νυν, ἄνείπῳ κάνταγωνιστάς καλῶς.
εἴ τις τραγῳδός φησίν ὀρχείσθαι καλῶς,
ἐμοὶ διορχησόμενος ἐνθάδ᾽ εἰσίτω.
φησίν τις, ἢ οὐδέν; (*Wasps* 1497-1500)

Philocleon: Come now, let me make an announcement: I challenge all comers! Any tragic performer who claims to be a good dancer, come right up here and dance against me! Anyone out there care to try? No one?
Sang.: nunc pariter ambo. omnis uoco cinaedos contra. satis esse nobis non magis potis quam fungo imber. *(Stichus 772-73)*

Sangarinus: *(after dancing against Stichus)* Now both at the same time. I challenge all lewd dancers to compete against us. We can no more get enough of it than a mushroom can get enough of rain.

Both Philocleon and Sangarinus call for *(καλῶ; uoco)* a particular type of dancer to compete against them, corresponding to the type of dance they have been performing: tragic dancing and cinaedic dancing, respectively. Sangarinus’ challenge does not come to fruition in the same way that Philocleon’s does; instead, Stichus says that they have danced enough and should go inside, demanding the customary applause from the audience. But the competition between the two of them has already demonstrated how each is set on proving that he is the most talented dancer, just as Philocleon brazenly challenged the sons of Carcinus in order to prove his own superiority in dance.

Characters who dance have the overwhelming tendency to imitate other dancers and dance from other genres. This phenomenon shares some similarities with “choral projection,” in which a chorus refers to the dancing of an outside group as they perform their own dance.¹⁴⁵ In other words, the tendency for dancers to model their dancing off of other groups and engage with a complicated tapestry of references is found in both choral and solo dance. On one level, Philocleon in *Wasps* purports to imitate tragic dancers: Xanthias says that Philocleon is performing the old tragic dances of Thespis and will soon challenge modern tragic dancers (1478-81), then Philocleon calls himself Phrynichus as he dances (1490) and makes good on Xanthias’ promise by challenging tragic dancers in particular to compete against him (1498-99). However, some have seen other referents besides tragedy in Philocleon’s movements. Ervin

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¹⁴⁵ For this concept, see esp. Heinrichs 1994 and 1996; Weiss 2018: 14-18.
Roos, after an extensive study of the scene, argues that Philocleon’s dance is that of a *hetaira*, associated with the symposium.\(^{146}\) Borthwick sees pyrrhic dancing in Philocleon’s crouching and leaping *schēmata*.\(^{147}\) While the text makes it clear that the primary reference for Philocleon’s dancing is tragedy, it is possible that all of these interpretations could be correct to some extent as Philocleon imitates more than just one type of dancer. For other examples of this trend, Cinesias in *Birds* and Cario in *Wealth* each imitate dithyrambic dancing with their performances—Cinesias likely imitating the real poet’s famed style of dancing, while Cario imitates Philoxenus’ dithyramb about the Cyclops and Galatea (then goes on to imitate Circe as well). Sikon in *Dyskolos* imitates the dances of the women at the party celebrating Sostratos’ marriage to the maiden (950-53). As has now been well established, most of the characters who explicitly dance in Plautus purport to be cinaedic or Ionian dancers, and it is likely that Peniculus too performs lascivious moves similar to theirs, despite not being compared to a *cinaedus* during his dance scene. These examples suggest that “comic solo dance” was really an amalgam of numerous dance styles: solo dance in Aristophanes, Menander, and Plautus incorporates tragic dance, dithyrambic dance, professional dance, and more, all put to comic aims.

**Gender and status**

When looking at known solo dancers from Aristophanes to Plautus, the status of such characters is perhaps the aspect that changes the most over time. Gender, on the other hand, stays remarkably consistent, with female characters very rarely appearing as dancers. In Aristophanes, the majority of the characters who dance are citizen men: Philocleon, Cinesias, Peisetairos, and

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\(^{146}\) Roos 1951: 201-202. Rau 1967 and MacDowell 1971: 322-23 disagree, arguing that Philocleon’s dances must be those of tragedy (whether tragic burlesque or a genuine representation of old tragic dances as they were understood in Aristophanes’ time).

\(^{147}\) Borthwick 1968: 44-46.
Blepyros. Elaphion, likely an enslaved woman, and Cario, an enslaved man, stand out among this list. Elaphion in particular is depicted as perfectly fulfilling her role as a dancing-girl on the comic stage. After Aristophanes, most of the securely attested solo dancers in Menander and Plautus are enslaved: Sikon and Getas (*Dyskolos*); Paegnium, Toxilus, and Sagaristio (*Persa*); Pseudolus (*Pseudolus*); Stichus and Sangarinus (*Stichus*). Aristophanes’ Cario appears to pre-figure these slave dancers and is perhaps further evidence for *Wealth* transitioning between Old and New Comedy. Menander’s Knemon, a citizen, is an exception that proves the general rule: he dances only after being harassed and forced, and he is not particularly good at it. This suggests a shift from Aristophanes’ willingness to depict citizen men as explicitly dancing, while Menander and Plautus tend to depict slaves as dancers. However, when it comes to Menander in particular, it is difficult to generalize too much given the lack of evidence. The survival of free young men and a young girl as dancers on the *Theophoroumene* mosaics makes us wonder to what extent the trends I have just articulated apply to Menander. If we had more of Menander’s corpus, we might have more enslaved dancers, such as Getas, or more young men as dancers, such as Kleinias.

It is striking that all of the male solo dancers have speaking roles, whereas the female characters who dance are nearly always mute characters (Elaphion and Basileia, to the extent that she can be considered a solo dancer). The dancing and probable monody of the possessed girl in *Theophoroumene* represent an exception to this, and it is regrettable that we do not know whether Menander’s plays contained other female dancers with speaking parts, or just how innovative this choice was at the time. Stephanium, Stichus’ girlfriend in Plautus’ *Stichus*, is almost another exception, until Stichus and Sangarinus dance in place of her. Before their competitive dance scene, Stichus calls for Stephanium to come out and promises that she will
dance (*ea saltabit*, 735), but she only comes out speaking about how she has spent so much time trying to look pretty (742-47). When the dancing begins shortly after (769), it is Sangarinus and Stichus who dance, not Stephanium. This is not to suggest that speaking female characters could not dance alone in likely passages of dance, but more to point out that when comic playwrights make it clear that a woman dances alone, they also tend to make it clear that she is a silent character. Some passages that will be discussed in chapter two, namely the Magistrate’s denigration of dancing wives in *Lysistrata*, will provide some context for the paucity of female solo dancers in this corpus: “respectable” women should not dance alone, and it is seen as especially dangerous to civic life if they do. While Aristophanes contains several examples of female choruses made up of married women (e.g., the choruses of *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, and *Assemblywomen*), he was clearly disinclined to frame married women as solo dancers.

From the role of meter to the point in the play where dancing occurs to the numerous common themes, I have argued for many commonalities in known solo dance throughout Greek and Roman comedy. It is unknown whether these shared traits across time reflect a self-conscious tradition of solo dance in literary comedy, or a theatrical response to ideas about solo dancers in real life, or (what I find most likely) some combination of the two. I of course do not mean to imply that solo dance stays exactly the same from Aristophanes to Plautus, and there is considerable variety over time in some of these trends (especially that of the final dance), but it is striking that known solo dance scenes share so many common features despite the centuries between them. The most meaningful difference between known solo dance in Old Comedy and New Comedy does not relate to the dancing itself, but rather to who performs it, with citizen men
often dancing alone in Aristophanes, while in Menander and Plautus the characters who explicitly dance alone are almost always enslaved men (with the exceptions of Knemon, in a sense, the dancers of *Theophoroumene*, and Peniculus). It seems likely that this trend in particular relates to the development of solo, virtuosic dance as a profession. What most—but not all—of these scenes demonstrate is the bold audacity and individualistic mindset of characters who dance alone rather than as part of a group, further contributing to the development and understanding of such characters.
Ch. 2: Dance References: Movement, Metaphor, and Mockery

Beyond scenes in which we know for certain that dancing occurred, there are a number of passages that make reference to dance(rs) or use the language of dancing to make a point: usually, to criticize or poke fun at an opponent. Analyzing these references is another means of understanding the role of dance in Greek and Roman comedy – not just literal dancing that occurs on the stage, but also metaphorical dancing or allusions to dancing. Throughout this chapter, I attempt to isolate references to solo dancing in particular, as opposed to the dancing of a chorus or another group, in order to understand better how comic playwrights utilized the image of the solo dancer. Still, I include some references that are more relevant to group dance when they either 1) relate thematically to solo dancing elsewhere in the play, or 2) are leveled against an individual character in a way that frames that character as a dancer or suggests something about how that character moves. Sometimes it is not possible to isolate references to solo dance as opposed to choral dance, especially when the reference is to dance steps (which could be performed by soloists or groups) or to types of dances that were sometimes solo and sometimes choral. For example, the kordax – the quintessential dance of comedy – appears to have often but not always been a solo dance.¹ This chapter moves chronologically from Aristophanes through Terence, tracking relevant dance references play-by-play.

¹ Most agree that the kordax was primarily solo dance, but there is some evidence for the chorus performing it as well: see Roos 1951: 153-60 and Lawler 1964: 69-70. Consider also pyrrhic dancing, which was sometimes solo and sometimes choral: I discuss a reference to the pyrrhiche below at Birds 1169 because it frames a single character as a dancer, but I omit a reference at Clouds 988 because it refers to Panathenaic pyrrhic dancing, which was choral (cf. Ceccarelli 1998, 2004 (passim)).
A few trends emerge when looking at these references together. The Greek passages (both Aristophanes and Menander) tend to fall into three major categories: references to theatrical dance, references to non-theatrical dance, and dance steps used as metaphors. The references to dance steps cannot neatly be identified as belonging to theatrical dance or non-theatrical dance: the steps could be employed in a number of contexts, as part of several different types of dance. The categories found in the Greek references do not hold very well for Roman comedy, which tends to refer to *dancers* rather than *dancing*. While a discussion of likely dance scenes is coming in the next chapter, here it is useful to keep in mind that there are almost certainly some blurred lines between references to dance and likely dance, especially when the reference is to dance steps. An actor could use the reference as an opportunity to dance, however briefly, while delivering reference lines, creating a visual as well as a verbal allusion.

**Aristophanes**

**Knights**

At the beginning of *Knights*, the slaves allude to dance while trying to think of a way to escape from their master, Paphlagon. In a section of iambic trimeters, the first slave uses a technical term for a type of dance (ἀπόκινος) to refer to their escape; while the actor could choose to use a dance movement to accent the line, the term primarily functions as a metaphor (11-20):

ΩΙΚΕΤΗΣ Α:

τί κινηρόμεθ’ ἄλλως; οὐκ ἔχρην ὑπείν τινα
σωτηρίαν νῦν, ἄλλα μὴ κλάειν ἐπὶ;

ΩΙΚΕΤΗΣ Β:

τίς οὖν γένοιτ’ ἄν; λέγε σὺ.

Α: σὺ μὲν οὖν μοι λέγε, ἵνα μὴ μάχομαι.
First Slave: Why are we standing here wailing? Shouldn’t we be looking for some way out of this, instead of just sobbing on?

Second Slave: All right, what way? Do tell.

First Slave: No, you tell me; I don’t want to squabble about it.

Second Slave: Not me, by Apollo, no!

First Slave: Come on, out with it; then I’ll tell you.

Second Slave: “Could you but say for me what I must say!”

First Slave: But I haven’t got an inkling.

Second Slave: All right, how can I possibly express it in smart Euripidean fashion?

First Slave: Please don’t, please don’t, don’t chervil me over! Just think of some kind of skidoo away from the master!

While we do not know what sort of movement the ἀπόκινος entailed, the little evidence we have suggests that it was a lewd comic dance. Pollux includes the ἀπόκινος in his list of comic,
licentious dances (4.101), and Athenaeus gives multiple Old Comic examples for the dance, though he also associates it with the dancing of women (14.629 c-d):

τὴν ὅποκίνον καλομένην ὀρχησίν, ἥς μνημονεύει Κρατίνος ἐν Νεμέσει καὶ Κηφισόδωρος ἐν Αμαξίσσιν Ἀριστοφάνης τ’ ἐν Κενταύρῳ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείονες, ὠστερον μακτρισμὸν ὀνόμασαν· ἦν καὶ πολλαὶ γυναικὲς ὀρχησόντο, ἢς καὶ μακτιστρίας ὀνομαζομένας οἶδα.

As for the so-called apokinos dance, which is mentioned by Cratinus in Nemesis, Cephisodorus in Amazons, Aristophanes in The Centaur, and numerous other authors, it was later referred to as a maktrismos; many women used to dance it, and I know that they were referred to as maktristriai.5

Given that all of Athenaeus’ examples are from playwrights of Old Comedy, it is possible that the ὅποκίνος as a dance was especially associated with the genre of literary comedy, though its use in other contexts (mime, symposia, etc.) cannot be ruled out.

Aristophanes’ use of a comic dance term to refer to the slaves’ escape is intentional. As the two slaves are attempting to decide how to escape, they deliberate back and forth, each wanting the other to say how they should escape. Throughout the exchange, there is an emphasis on speaking as each slave repeatedly tells the other to verbally formulate a plan, which they each refuse to do (λέγε, l. 13; εἰπέ, l. 15; φράσο, l. 15; λέξειας / λέγειν, l. 16; εἴποιμι, l. 18). The exchange contains several references to Euripides. The second slave quotes Euripides in asking the first slave to speak for him: πῶς ἂν σὺ μοι λέξειας ἀμὴ χρῆ λέγειν; (“Could you but say for me what I must say?”).6 When the first slave again refuses, the second slave asks how he might express a plan in Euripidean language: πῶς ἂν οὖν ποτε / εἴποιμ` ἂν αὐτὸ δῆτα κομψευριπικός; (“All right, how can I possibly express it in smart Euripidean fashion?”).7 The first slave vehemently turns the second away from Euripides and a verbal plan, instead suggesting a comic,

5 Ed. and trans. Olson 2011.
6 Hippolytus 345.
7 κομψευριπικός = shortened form of κομψευριπιδικός (LSI).
physical ἀπόκινος, which leads to a scene of physical comedy as the two imitate masturbation (21-29). Whether or not the actor performs a lewd, comic movement to accent the dance reference, the metaphor itself prioritizes the physical, humorous, and often lewd “escapes” or resolutions of comic plots over the contrived resolutions of tragic plots. Quoting Euripides will not help the slaves come up with a plan: they need a physical escape to “dance” their way out of the situation.

Although this opening dialogue is not meant to be taken very seriously (the slaves decide to stay and tell the audience what is happening inside the house instead of escaping), the concept of comic plots prevailing over tragic ones through dance has parallel in the ending of Women at the Thesmophoria, as the play’s resolution depends on a dancing-girl’s seductive lap dance, after several failed parodies of Euripidean escape plots. The metaphor of the ἀπόκινος at the beginning of Knights provides the earliest extant indication of Aristophanes’ interest in comic dance and its superiority over tragedy.

Aristophanes uses dance steps as a metaphor in two other instances in Knights. First, when Paphlagon and the Sausage Seller exchange threats, the Sausage Seller uses dance terminology to describe his reaction to Paphlagon’s threat of destroying him, in iambic trimeters (696-97):

> ἥσθην ἀπειλαῖς, ἐγέλασα ψολοκομίαις, ἀπεπυδρίσα μόθωνα, περικόκκασα.  

> Your threats are music to my ears! Your fuming boasts made me laugh, kick up a lewd dance, and cuckoo around!\(^8\)

---

\(^8\) Modified based on Lawler 1951.
Pollux includes the μόθων in his list of comic, licentious dances, further calling this dance “vulgar and nautical” (ὁ δὲ μόθων φορτικὸν ὀρχήμα καὶ ναυτικόν, 4.101). The allusion to such a dance in *Knights* suggests that the Sausage Seller does not take Paphlagon’s threats seriously: rather than making him want to escape or run, Paphlagon’s threats instead make the Sausage Seller laugh and dance around him in a comic, lewd fashion, taunting him rather than cowering before him. The primary function of this language is metaphorical: the specific dance terminology helps paint a picture of the Sausage Seller mocking and dismissing Paphlagon, whether or not he actually performs the dances of which he speaks. However, it seems likely here that the actor could have chosen to perform the movements along with the metaphor.10

While the passage is in iambic trimeters, the line containing dance terminology is metrically marked as different, as it opens with seven short syllables in a row (697). This abundance of short syllables through resolution could aid the Sausage Seller’s dance, perhaps allowing him to strike his buttocks with each syllable, for example. As discussed in the previous chapter, this would be in line with a trend found in definite solo dance scenes: the use of dancing to mock or taunt an adversary. Further, the Sausage Seller’s use of first-person verbs adds to the sense of narration (ἐγέλασα, ἀπεπυδάρισα, περιεκόκκασα; e.g., “I laughed, I danced, I cuckooed around”), although the aorist tense does not require the actor to perform the movements in the here-and-now of the performance (i.e., the Sausage Seller could be referring to an imagined dance instead). This use of dance language blurs the lines between metaphor and performance.

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9 *LSJ* s.v. μόθων II defines the term as “a licentious dance.” The meaning of ναυτικόν is unclear as it relates to μόθων. The frequency of nautical metaphors for sexual intercourse is likely relevant here, on which see Henderson 1991: 49. Given the context in which Pollux mentions it, perhaps it refers to vulgar dances associated with sea shanties. On this point, Olsen 2021: 5 takes Pollux to mean that the dance was associated with sailors, writing that the *Knights* reference is “a tantalizing glimpse into what may well have been a whole culture of dances and styles.” Alternatively, the dance could have evolved through comic parody of tragic rowing dances; on these dances and their possible paratragic allusions in Aristophanes, see Gianvittorio 2017: 93-96.

10 *Pace* Lawler 1964: 76, who thinks the reference is purely figurative.
The metaphor makes it clear on its own that dance language is used to mock Paphlagon; in addition, should the actor perform the steps that he alludes to, the role of dance in mocking an adversary would visually come to the forefront of the exchange.

Nearly 100 lines later, the Sausage Seller again uses dance terminology against Paphlagon. This time, he criticizes Paphlagon for rejecting peace treaties and for the way he kicked embassies out of the city (794-96):

And when Archeptolemus brought a peace proposal you tore it in pieces; and the embassies that offered a treaty, you kicked their butts and drove them from the city.

As the Sausage Seller criticizes Paphlagon for driving the embassies out of the city, he uses dance language to describe the way that Paphlagon drove them out: ραθαπνηγίζων ("striking the buttocks"), here used as a transitive verb. Lillian Lawler describes the dance as involving kicking the buttocks with the feet, or sometimes with the hands, citing Hesychius, the 2nd c. AD surgeon Antyllus, and the scholiast on this passage. If this description of the dance is accurate, then the Sausage Seller appropriates a dance that typically involves kicking one’s own butt to describe the way Paphlagon kicked others out of the city. The issue with Paphlagon’s actions, according to the Sausage Seller, is not only that he dismissed the embassies who were offering a peace treaty, but that he did so in a cruel and unbecoming fashion, expressed through a reference to a butt-kicking dance. There is some evidence that the butt-kicking dance was associated with Sparta in particular: the Spartan woman Lampito in Lysistrata says that she often jump-kicks her butt (discussed below), and Pollux describes Spartan butt-kicking dances as follows (4.102):

καὶ βίβασις δὲ τι ἦν εἶδος Λακωνικῆς ὀρχήσεως, ἢς καὶ τὰ ἄθλα προστίθετο οὐ τοῖς παισὶ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ταῖς κόραις: ἐδει δ’ ἄλλεσθαι καὶ ψαύειν τοῖς ποσί πρὸς τὰς πυγάς, καὶ

The *bibasis* was a type of Spartan dance, which was performed in contests not only by children but also by maidens. It involved jumping and touching the buttocks with the feet, and the jumps were counted, from which there was an epigram on one girl with a thousand jumps, more than ever before.\(^\text{13}\)

While butt-kicking could certainly belong to a number of different dance traditions, the association of such dances with Sparta elsewhere in Aristophanes is striking. If the reference to butt-striking in *Knights* also refers to Spartan dancing in particular, it could make Paphlagon seem especially ridiculous and vindictive as he uses a Spartan dance step to kick out Spartan embassies instead of settling for peace (and applies the step *against* other people rather than kicking his own butt). Regardless, the dance metaphor makes the Sausage Seller’s criticism more vivid and furthers Paphlagon’s negative characterization. The (likely) accompanied meter in this passage creates an environment in which the actor might have been more likely to perform the dance move himself, physically illustrating his critique.

**Clouds**

In *Clouds*, when Strepsiades knocks on the door of the Thinkery, a student who opens the door describes Strepsiades’ knocking with a kicking term that is sometimes used in the context of dance:

\[
\text{ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ:} \\
\text{βάλλεις κόρακας, τίς ἐσοθ' ὁ κόψας τὴν θύραν?} \\
\text{ΣΤΡΕΨΙΑΔΗΣ:} \\
\text{Φείδωνος υἱὸς Στρεψιάδης Κικυνόθεν.}
\]

135  ΜΑ.: ἀμαθής γε νή Δί', ὀστὶς οὔτωσι σφόδρα

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13 Translation my own. It is possible that *Lysistrata* 1307-15 refers to this type of dancing as well, as the Spartan delegate describes the jumping dances of Spartan girls, although there is no mention here of kicking the buttocks specifically.
ἀπεριμερίμωνς τὴν θόραν λελάκτικας καὶ φροντίδ’ ἐξήμβλωκας ἐξηγηρημένην.

ΣΤ.: σὺγγνωθί μου τηλοῦ γὰρ οίκο τῶν ἄγρων. ἄλλ’ εἰπέ μοι τὸ πράγμα τούξημβλωμένον.

Student: (within) Buzz off to blazes! (opening the door) Who’s been pounding on the door?

Strepsiades: Strepsiades, son of Phidon, from Cicynna.

Student: A dunce, damn it, the way you kick at the door so very inconsiderately, and abort a newfound idea.

Strepsiades: Forgive me; I live way out in the country. But tell me about the matter that’s been aborted.

Strepsiades’ kicking here is associated with a rustic lack of learning: the student calls Strepsiades unlearned (ἀμαθῆς, 135), and he replies that he lives far away in the country. The way that Strepsiades kicks at the door leads directly to his characterization as a “dunce.” The word that the student uses to describe Strepsiades’ kicking, λελάκτικας, reminds us of Philocleon’s disruptive, sky-high kicks in Wasps (ἐκλακτίζων, 1492) and, later, the men’s chorus kicking the women’s chorus in Lysistrata (κἀνατείνας λακτίσαι, 799). What both of these instances have in common is their impropriety: we have already seen how troublesome Philocleon’s dancing is, and the kicking by the choruses in Lysistrata occurs in the context of exchanging obscene, violent threats. Further, Pollux lists this kicking dance as a dance of women (τὰ δ’ ἐκλακτίσματα γυναικῶν ἰν ὀρχήματα, 4.101). While his source for this assertion is unclear, perhaps

14 λακτίζω is not exclusively a dance term; it is also used in the context of boxing (Od. 18.99) and battle or competition more generally (LSJ s.v. λακτίζω). Still, there are good reasons to consider dance as a significant reference point here. In addition to Pollux’s attestation of ἐκλακτίσμα as a dance term (see next note) and Aristophanes’ use of the term as part of the vocabulary of Philocleon’s dance, Aeschylus also uses the term in Io’s final monody of Prometheus Bound: κράδιδε δ’ φόβο φρένα λακτίζει (“my heart is kicking at my chest in fear”). Sommerstein 2009: 538-39 sees this as a dance scene, and Olsen 2021: 68-70 discusses the relevance of dance imagery to Io’s monody.

15 Pollux says that the dance involved “kicking above the shoulder”: ἔδει δ’ ὑπὲρ τὸν
Aristophanes makes a joke about this by using the term for the men’s chorus kicking the women’s chorus in *Lysistrata*: after the kick, the women’s chorus comments on the men’s “bush” (i.e., pubic hair) that the kick revealed (τὴν λόχμην πολλὴν φορεῖς, 800), but Aristophanes elsewhere uses λόχμη to describe female pubic hair.\(^{16}\) Strepsiades’ knock-kicking, then, whether strictly metaphorical or also literal, becomes associated not only with stupidity but also with aggression and danger (and possibly gender transgression as well, though we should take Pollux with a grain of salt). Despite the lack of musical accompaniment in this scene, it is possible that the regular rhythm of the iambic trimeter and the sound of Strepsiades’ knocking could have allowed him to dance temporarily and actually perform this dance-kick on top of being associated with it. The way the actor chooses to physically interpret the scene would affect whether the audience sees his kicking at the door as dancing or not. But whether or not Strepsiades actually dances, the student’s response to his knocking associates Strepsiades’ stupidity and lack of decorum with an aggressive dance move.

In the *parabasis* of *Clouds*, the chorus leader speaks on behalf of Aristophanes by outlining the merits of this new version of the play; one such merit is that it does not “drag” the *kordax* onstage (537-44):

\[\text{ώς δὲ σώφρον ἐστὶ φύσει σκέψις ἡτίς πρωτὰ μὲν εὐπολ τετραμ} \]
\[\text{oὐδὲν ἦλθε ραψαμένη σκότινων καθεμένων ἔρυθρόν ἐξ ἄκρου, παχῦ, τοῖς παιδίοις ἵν’ ἡ γέλως’} \]
\[\text{540 οὐδ’ ἔσκοψαν τοὺς φαλακροὺς, οὐδὲ κόρδας’ εύλκυσεν’} \]
\[\text{oὐδὲ πρεσβύτης ὁ λέγων τάπη τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τύπτει τὸν παρόντι, ἰφανείζων πονηρὰ σκύμματα’ οὐδ’ εἰςηζε δάδας ἐχοῦσ’ οὐδ’ ‘ιοῦ ἵο’ βοῦ’} \]
\[\text{ἄλλ’ αὐτὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐπεσιν πιστεῦσο’ ἐλήλυθεν.}
\]

\[\text{όμοι ἐκλακτίσα. While both the ἐκλακτίσα and the βιβασὶς involved kicking, it seems that the former describes a kick upwards (as in *Wasps*) while the latter describes a kick backwards to the buttocks (along with jumping).} \]
\[\text{16 *Birds* 207; cf. Henderson 1991: 147. In *Lysistrata*, when the women’s chorus eventually kicks back at the men’s chorus, Aristophanes uses a different term in what was perhaps a comic reversal (ἄλλα κροῦσσ τὸ σκέλει), 823).} \]
Look how naturally decent she (i.e., the play) is: first of all, she hasn’t come with any dangling leather stitched to her, red at the tip and thick, to make the children laugh; nor does she mock bald men, **nor dance a kordax**; nor does an old man, while speaking his lines, cover up bad jokes by beating the interlocutor with his stick; nor does she dash onstage brandishing torches, nor yell “ow ow.” On the contrary, she has come relying only on herself and her script.

The purported lack of the **kordax** in the revised version of *Clouds* is one of several factors that, the chorus leader argues, makes the play **σωφρων**—self-controlled, sound, temperate. Under this line of thinking, the **kordax** indicates a licentious indecency, while the lack of the **kordax** indicates restraint and sophistication.\(^\text{17}\) The context further suggests that the **kordax** is only good for a quick, surface-level laugh, whereas Aristophanes’ new play aims to use words to make the audience laugh and think more critically. Other features that Aristophanes claims to exclude from this play are similarly physical and “low-brow,” such as the comic phallus and comic beatings. Of course, the entire passage is patently ironic: *Clouds* is full of “low-brow” humor, the actors probably wear the comic phallos, Strepsiades beats people, and Strepsiades and Xanthias bring in torches at the end of the play to burn down the Thinkery.\(^\text{18}\) It is thus probable that the chorus leader’s claim that this revised *Clouds* does not drag out a **kordax** is also incorrect.\(^\text{19}\)

Given the irony of the passage, the chorus leader’s point is **not** that none of this has happened or will happen in the play, but that Aristophanes incorporates conventional comic elements in a more innovative fashion than his competitors and does not rely solely on this type of humor for laughs. As it relates to the **kordax**, the message is that such a dance is a cheap laugh when other

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\(^{17}\) See Dover 1968: 169, with reference to Theophrastus *Characters* 6.3, in which only a loss of sense (**ἀπόνοια**) could lead someone to dance the **kordax** when they are not either drunk or participating in a comic chorus.

\(^{18}\) Lewis 2020: 77-80 breaks down the irony in detail; see also Hubbard 1986: 189ff. and Major 2006.

\(^{19}\) Although the claim could be true in a sense if the extant revised version of the play was primarily meant for reading rather than reperformance, as we know this **parabasis** was revised (cf. Sommerstein 1997). For this view, see Rosen 1997 and Dover 1968: xcix. Alternatively, for the possible reperformance of the revised play, see Revermann 2006: 326-32 and Marshall 2012. Without a stage performance, technically there would be no actors to wear the phallus, dance, physically beat each other, or run onstage with torches, though a reader would likely imagine such scenes.
playwrights do it but highly effective when Aristophanes does it.\textsuperscript{20} This message would come across loud and clear if the actor performed some obscene dance moves while delivering this passage, if a reperformance is to be assumed (and the accompanied meter makes that a stronger possibility).

The message is reinforced as the \textit{parabasis} continues and the chorus leader criticizes the comic playwright Eupolis for adding a drunk old woman to his \textit{Maricas} to perform the \textit{kordax} (553-56):

\begin{quote}
Εὔπολις μὲν τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρώτιστον παρείλκυσεν \begin{flushright}
eupol tetram
\end{flushright}
ἐκστρέψας τοὺς ἡμετέρους Ἰππέας κακὸς κακὸς,
\begin{flushleft}
pροσθείς αὐτῷ γραῦν μεθύσην τοῦ κόρδακος οὐνεχ', ἢν
\end{flushleft}
Φρύνιχος πάλαι πεποίησ', ἢν τὸ κῆτος ἦσθεν.
\end{quote}

First of all Eupolis dragged his \textit{Maricas} before you, hacking over our \textit{Knights}, hack that he is, and \textbf{tacking onto it a drunken crone for the sake of the \textit{kordax}}, the same crone that Phrynichus long ago put onstage, the one the sea monster wanted to eat.

At face value, these lines again build on the notion that certain types of dance represent an inferior way to create comedy: Aristophanes’ problem with the \textit{Maricas} is not just that Eupolis allegedly plagiarized him, but that he made it worse by adding a \textit{graus} simply for the sake of licentious dancing. The implication is that Eupolis’ choice to add humor through a drunk old woman dancing the \textit{kordax} was a lazy one, whereas Aristophanes creates humor in more intellectual ways. Again, we have already seen throughout chapter one that Aristophanes quite enjoys staging “low-brow” dance scenes. The real problem with the \textit{kordax}, according to the logic of the \textit{parabasis}, is that Aristophanes’ rivals do not use it as creatively and effectively as he does.

\footnote{On this topos and poetic rivalry in Aristophanes, see esp. Sidwell 1995, Lewis 2020.}
Wasps

We have already seen how Wasps ends with the unhinged solo dancing of Philocleon. It is perhaps only fitting that a reference to crazed dancing opens the play as well. At the beginning of Wasps, Xanthias and Sosias guard Philocleon’s door when they are about to fall asleep, and Xanthias references the wild dances of the Corybantes to ask Sosias why he is thrashing around in his sleep: ἄλλ’ ἵ παραφρονεῖς ἔτεον ἦ κορυβαντὰς; (l. 8: “Whoa there, are you losing your mind, or having a corybantic fit?”). Here, Sosias’ unconscious thrashing while falling asleep (or, pretending to fall asleep) is associated with ecstatic dancing: both are uncontrolled, with the body taking over the mind. This initial reference sets the stage for a play in which uncontrolled dancing is central to the meaning.

The image of uncontrolled dancing is soon transferred from Sosias to Philocleon in two further bits of foreshadowing. When Xanthias gives the audience background information on Philocleon’s juror-crazed tendencies, describing all of the ways that Bdelycleon and his slaves have tried to prevent Philocleon from going to court, he uses not one but two dance references to describe Philocleon’s resistance (119-20, 125-30):

μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐκορυβάντις’, ὁ δ’ αὐτῷ τυμπάνῳ
ἀξίας ἐδίκαζεν εἰς τὸ Καὶνὸν ἐμπεσών.

... Then he [i.e., Bdelycleon] attempted to purify him [i.e., Philocleon] through Corybantic rites, but he burst into Common Court, tympanon and all, and started hearing cases… After that we stopped letting him out altogether. But he kept escaping through the gutters and the chinks. We stuffed every single gap with plugs and sealed

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21 Though Borthwick 1992: 275 is likely correct that Sosias is not actually leaping around like a Corybant on stage, the image of such dancing still comes to mind through Xanthias’ question.
them up. But he **hammered** pegs into the wall and **hopped up and away** like a pet crow.\(^{22}\)

Given the earlier association of Sosia’s thrashing with Corybantic madness, it is perhaps a red flag that Bdelycleon tries to “save” his father by putting him through Corybantic ritual, although he had good reason for this: as E. K. Borthwick rightfully points out, Corybantism is associated with “both madness and its cure” as the initiates are able to come out of their frenzy by transitioning to more controlled movements.\(^{23}\) It is no surprise that this does not work for Philocleon. Instead, the image emerges of Philocleon dancing in court with his *tympanon,* unwavering in his madness and determined to hear cases regardless of his son’s interventions. Madness for jury service and crazed dancing temporarily combine in this image: for a moment, Philocleon had an opportunity – sanctioned by his son – to become a crazed dancer through Corybantic ritual before the play action even began, in the hopes that he would see the ritual through and calm down, curing his madness. Here, his madness for jury service won out, and by the end of the play, he will fully embrace dance-mania, never to calm down.

Aristophanes goes on to use more dance terminology to explain Philocleon’s mad attempts to escape to court. The terminology in question (*ἐνέκρουεν, ἔξαλλετο*) has several meanings, and these terms are not exclusively dance terms: *ἐγκροῦω* often means to hammer or strike something in (as is the primary meaning in this passage), and *ἔξάλλομαι* often means simply to leap or jump, without needing to refer to dance. However, both terms have shades of meaning that include dance.\(^{24}\) Aristophanes uses *ἐγκροῦω* as a dance term in the *parodos* of *Frogs,* as the chorus of mystic initiates stomps (or hammers their feet into the ground) as part of their dance to the blessed fields of the afterlife (372-376). Also in *Frogs,* the chorus of frogs

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\(^{22}\) Translation slightly modified.


\(^{24}\) Cf. Naerebout 1997: 280 (*krouō poda / enkrouō*) and 282 (*hallomai*).
similarly uses ἅλλομαι to describe their leaping as part of their song and dance (242-248), and in Lysistrata it is used of Lampito’s butt-kicking jumps (82, below). By using this language to describe Philocleon’s attempts to escape, Aristophanes subtly invites the audience to imagine Philocleon as a dancer, stomping and leaping his way out of confinement, much to the annoyance of his son and slaves, who are trying to keep him at home and away from the courts. This mental image of Philocleon early in the play foreshadows his later, very real dancing on stage: in this initial metaphor, Philocleon is imagined as dancing out his escape so that he can practice his juror-mania, but by the end of the play, Philocleon displays his newfound dance-mania.

At the end of Wasps, once Philocleon has fully become a crazed dancer, he makes a dance reference himself, providing a useful example of the interplay between staged dancing and the metaphorical use of dance language. As mentioned in the previous chapter, when Philocleon announces the dance contest and disparages each of the sons of Carcinus as they emerge (1497-1515), he uses the language of tragic dance to describe the way that he will beat the middle son (1501-4):

ΦΙ.: τίς ὁ κακοδαίμων ἔστιν; ΞΑ.: υἱὸς Καρκίνου
ο marçoς.
ΦΙ.: ἄλλος οὗτος γε καταποθήσεται:
ἀπολῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐμελεία κονδύλου.
ἐν τῷ ῥυθμῷ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐστ᾿.

Ph.: Who is the unfortunate person?
Xa.: A son of Carcinus, the midmost one.
Ph.: Him? He’ll be eaten alive! I’ll demolish him with a pas de fist (lit: with a dance of the knuckle)! Rhythmically, he’s nothing at all.
Philocleon danced alone before this, and he will dance in the competition after this, but the meter and language of this section suggest that he is setting up the contest rather than continuing to dance (although it is certainly possible that the actor could choose to employ a dance move to illustrate Philocleon’s threat). The reference to emmeleia (the quintessential dance of tragedy) acts as a metaphor for Philocleon’s victory: Philocleon imagines himself as destroying the middle Carcinite not by beating him up in the traditional sense, but by embodying classic tragic dances more skillfully than he. Using the technical term for tragic dance connects this reference to the actual dances Philocleon performs: as discussed in the previous chapter, he continually fashions himself as a tragic dancer. The dance references in Wasps thus show a progression that mimics Philocleon’s own transformation: from Xanthias describing Sosias as a crazed dancer, to Xanthias describing Philocleon as dancing his escape out of the house, to Philocleon describing himself as a skilled dancer capable of beating his opponents.

**Peace**

While Aristophanes satirizes the dancing of the tragedian Carcinus’ sons in Wasps, he references the tragic dancing of Carcinus himself in Peace. Upon Trygaeus imagining holding the breasts of his bride, the chorus compares his fortune to Carcinus’ dancing (863-64):

TRYGAIOS:
οίμαι. τι δήθ’ ὄταν χυμῶν τῶν τιτθῶν ἐχωμαι;  

ia tetram cat

KORUPHAIOS:
eὐδιαμονέστερος φανεὶ τῶν Καρκίνου στροβίλων.

Trygaeus: I imagine so. Just wait till we’re together and I’ve got those tits in my hands!

Chorus-leader: You’ll seem luckier than Carcinus’ whirligigs!

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25 See Lawler 1964: 25, with references.
While στρόβιλος can signify anything from a ball to a spinning-top to, in later Greek, a pine cone, it can also signify a spinning dance move. 27 Pollux includes it in his list of dances, describing an obscure comic dance that is graceful, fluid, and whirly. 28 Athenaeus also includes it in a list of dances, though he does not comment further on the term. 29 While it seems likely that this whirling movement could be employed in a number of different dance contexts, here Aristophanes associates it with the tragedian Carcinus, though Olson plausibly suggests that the στρόβιλοι could refer to Carcinus’ sons as well. 30 By specifying the whirlings as those of Carcinus (or his sons), Aristophanes localizes the reference to tragic dance. The chorus leader’s metaphor here is deeply ironic, as the chorus has just denigrated the dancing ability of Carcinus and his sons in the parabasis (781-95):

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ἠν δὲ σε Καρκίνος ἑλθὼν} \\
\text{ἀντιβολή μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν χορεύσαι.} \\
\text{μήθ’ ύπάκουε μήτ’ ἔλ-} \\
\text{θῆς συνέριθος αὐτοῖς,} \\
\text{ἀλλά νόμιζε πάντας} \\
\text{ὁρχηστὰς γυλιάνθες ὀρχηστὸς,} \\
\text{καὶ γὰρ ἔφασχ’ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ παρ’ ἐλπίδας} \\
\text{ἐίχε τὸ δράμα γαλήν τῆς ἐσπέρας ὑπάγξασι.}^{31}
\end{array}
\]

And should Carcinus come and beg you (i.e., the Muse) to dance with his sons, don’t listen, don’t go as their hired hand, but consider them all home-bred quails, hump-necked dancers of dwarfish build, demi-dungballs, caper-chasers. For their father once insisted that the play he’d unexpectedly got booked was throttled one night by a weasel.

27 For such later uses of the term, see LSJ s.v. στρόβιλος A, 6-8. On στρόβιλος as a dance move, see Lawler 1964: 81.
28 Pollux 4.100: καὶ βαυκισμός Βαύκου ὀρχηστοῦ κόμος ἐπώνυμος, ἄβρα τις ὀρχήσις καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐξουραίνουσα καὶ στρόβιλος.
31 Some line numbering based on Parker 1997 instead of Wilson.
While Carcinus is primarily being mocked here for his unreliability in following through with a play he was selected to present,\textsuperscript{32} Aristophanes does not miss a chance to mock the dancing abilities of his sons in the process, telling the audience to consider them hump-necked, dwarf dancers, among a slew of other insults. The interplay between these passages suggests that the chorus leader’s comment on Trygaeus’ “luck” is just another way to criticize Carcinus and his sons and remind the audience of their unskilled dancing.

\textit{Birds}

A reference to pyrrhic dancing in \textit{Birds} blurs the line between reference to dance and actual dancing. Peisetairos compares a messenger running into Cloudcuckooland to a dancer of the \textit{pyrrhiche} (1168-74):

ΠΕΙΣΕΤΑΙΡΟΣ: \textit{ia trim}

άλλ’ ὃδε φύλαξ γὰρ τὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἄγγελος
εἰσθεὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς δεύορ \textbf{πυρρήθην βλέπων}.

ΑΙΓΕΛΟΣ Β:

1170 ιοῦ ιοῦ, ιοῦ ιοῦ, ιοῦ ιοῦ.

ΠΕ.: τί τὸ πράγμα τούτι;

ΑΓ.: δεινότατα πειπόθαμεν.

τῶν γὰρ θεῶν τις ἄρτι τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς
diά τῶν πυλῶν εἰσέπτατ’ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα,
lαθὼν κολοιους φύλακας ἡμεροσκόπους.

Peisetairos: But look, here’s a guard coming on the run to report on events over there, \textit{looking like a war dancer}.

Second Messenger: s.o.s! s.o.s! s.o.s!

Pe.: What’s all this fuss?

\textsuperscript{32} Cf. Olson 1998: 227-8, which demonstrates that weasels were known for eating mice and stealing meat. The joke is roughly equivalent to the modern “the dog ate my homework.” It is tempting also to think of the actor Hegelochus’ famous mispronunciation while performing Euripides’ \textit{Orestes} (γαλῆν/weasel for γαλήν᾽/calm), but \textit{Peace} (421 BC) predates \textit{Orestes} (408 BC). For Aristophanic parody of this joke, see Farmer 2017: 31-32.
Second Messenger: We’ve got terrible problems! One of the gods, Zeus’s gods, has just now flown through the gates into our airspace, dodging the jackdaws, our daytime sentries.

The messenger’s frantic entrance and the militaristic language of the exchange inform this reference to pyrrhic dance. The messenger is primarily identified as a guard (φύλαξ) who runs in (εἰσθῇ) acting as a messenger (ἄγγελος). The guard repeatedly yells in exasperation as he enters (ἰοῦ ἱοῦ, ἱοῦ ἱοῦ, ἱοῦ ἱοῦ) before reporting that one of the gods got past the city’s sentries (φύλακας ἕμεροσκόπους). The scene clearly calls for movement, though the unaccompanied iambic trimeters make it less likely that such movement would be considered dance.33 Whether or not the guard actually dances as he enters, or performs the pyrrhiche in particular, Peisetairos’ word choice frames the messenger as a dancer.34 The comparison of the guard’s appearance to that of a pyrrhic dancer provides context both for his quick movement onto the stage and for the impending threat of an “invasion” of Cloudcuckooland by the gods. It could explain his costume as well: it is likely that the messengers throughout this scene were costumed as birds,35 so this messenger would have two layers of costume (first as a bird, second as an armed dancer). Simply carrying a shield and spear might be enough to make the association work, but pyrrhic dancers famously performed nude.36 The joke could be not only that the messenger comes in enthusiastically and intensely, but also that he looks quite silly as a “nude” bird carrying sword and shield.37

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33 For this scene and similar ones as precursors to likely dance scenes in Roman comedy, see ch. 3.
34 The pyrrhiche could be solo or choral; see Olsen 2021: 80, with reference to Ceccarelli 1998.
35 See Rose 1940: 79 for the suggestion, accepted by Dunbar 1997: 594, 607. Both Rose and Dunbar note that the messengers’ cries sound like bird calls (ποῦ ποῦ ἵπτι, ποῦ ποῦ ποῦ ἵπτι, ποῦ ποῦ ποῦ ἵπτι, ποῦ, 1122; ἵπτι ἵπτι, ἵπτι ἵπτι, ἵπτι, 1170). For costumes in Birds, see Compton-Engle 2015: 129-143.
36 Cf. reference at Clouds 985-990 above. For the iconography of pyrrhic dancing, see Poursat 1968 and Delavaud-Roux 1993: 69-106.
37 On stage-nudity, see, for example, Green 2010: 78 and Compton-Engle 2020. On the iconography of nudity as a costume, see Bonfante 1989.
**Lysistrata**

Aristophanes engages with dance imagery frequently throughout *Lysistrata*, culminating in a spectacular dance finale in which the Athenian and Spartan delegates take turns singing songs and dancing with their wives, marking the reconciliation between spouses (1232-1321).³⁸

When Aristophanes introduces Lampito, Lysistrata’s Spartan ally, he uses a dance reference to emphasize the difference between the Spartan woman and the Athenian women:

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ:  
ὦ φιλτάτη Λάκκαινα, χαῖρε, Λαμπιτοῖ.  
ὁδὸν τὸ κάλλος, γλυκυτάτη, σου φαίνεται.  

80 ὡς δ’ εὐχροείς, ὡς δὲ σφριγὰ τὸ σώμα σου.  
κἂν ταῦρον ἄγχοις.

ΛΑΜΠΙΤΩ:  
μάλα γ’, οἰῶ, ναὶ τὸ σιώ·  
γυμνάδομαι γὰ καὶ ποτὶ πυγὰν ἀλλομαι.

Lysistrata:  
Greetings, Lampito, my very dear Spartan friend! My darling, how vivid your beauty!  
What rosy cheeks, what firmness of physique! You could throttle a bull!

Lampito:  
It’s true, I think, by the Twin Gods. I do take exercise, and I jump-kick my butt.

Lysistrata, by commenting on Lampito’s strong, vigorous body-type, sets the scene for the dance reference: Lampito explains Lysistrata’s observation by saying that she exercises and “jump-kicks” her butt. Upon first glance, this might appear as an athletic exercise rather than a dance move. However, as we have seen above, Lawler connects this reference with Spartan dances that involve the dancer kicking his or her own butt (βίβασις, Pollux 4.102).³⁹ The competitive element of the dance as described in Pollux (quoted above) would make sense with Lampito’s description here: she has the physique of someone who could win the jump-kicking dance contest. Or, at least, that is how she is described, but it is likely that there is incongruence

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³⁸ On dance and choreia in this ending, see Olsen 2021: 140-142 and Bierl 2011: 423-33.  
between this description and the appearance of the male actor playing Lampito, who could wear comic padding and might have appeared as stage-nude.\footnote{For this suggestion and comic ugliness in this passage, see Henderson 1987: 195 and Revermann 2006: 157-58.} Such a distinction would make the exchange between Lysistrata and Lampito hilariously ironic. In addition to Lampito’s physical appearance and dialect, the reference to this specific type of dancing further distances the Spartan woman from the Athenian women. Besides its association with Spartan dance contests, Lampito’s physical exercise and strenuous dancing share similarities with pyrrhic dances.\footnote{Cf. Delavaud-Roux 1993: 69-72, 83-84.} As a woman performing something akin to a pyrrhic dance, the Athenian audience might have seen an allusion to sympotic entertainment (the only context for female pyrrhic dance), thus associating Lampito with low-status women rather than traditional wives.\footnote{For female pyrrhic dancers as sympotic entertainment, see Goulaki-Voutira 1996 and Hughes 2008: 9.} Her proximity to pyrrhic dancing affords her a certain physical stature; however, as the exchange between the women makes clear, such a stature does not rival Lysistrata’s intellectual prowess as the leader of the group.

The real “danger” of solo dancing comes to the forefront when the Magistrate compares the actions of the semi-chorus of old women to the lone dancing of a woman worshipping Adonis (387-398):

ΠΡΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ:  
ἀν’ ἐξέλαμψε τὸν γυναικὸν ἢ τρυφή  
ὡς τυμπανισμὸς χοί πυκνοὶ Σαβάζιοι,  
ὁ τ’ Ἀδωνισμὸς οὔτος οὐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν,  
οὔ’ γώ ποτ’ ὤν ἤκουσαν ἐν τῆκλησίᾳ;  
ἔλεγεν ὁ μὴ ὧρασι μὲν Δημόστρατος  
πλεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν, ἡ γυνὴ δ’ ὀρχουμένη  
“αἰαὶ Ἀδωνιν” φησίν, ὁ δὲ Δημόστρατος  
ἔλεγεν ὀπλίτας καταλέγειν Ζακυνθίων·  
ἡ δ’ ὑποπεπωκυί’ ἡ γυνὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ τέγους  
“κόπτεσθ’ Ἀδωνιν” φησίν ὁ δ’ ἐβιatório,  
ὁ θεοίσιν ἐχθρὸς καὶ μιαρός Χολοζήνης,  
τοιαῦτ’ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἀκολαστάσματα.

\footnote{For this suggestion and comic ugliness in this passage, see Henderson 1987: 195 and Revermann 2006: 157-58.}
Magistrate:
So the women’s profligacy has flared up again, has it, the beating of the *tympanon*, the steady chants of “Sabazios,” this worship of Adonis on the rooftops? I heard it all once before while sitting in Assembly. Demostratus (bad luck to him!) was moving that we send an armada to Sicily, while his wife was dancing and yelling “Poor young Adonis!” Then Demostratus moved that we sign up some Zakynthian infantry, but his wife up on the roof was getting drunk and crying “Beat your breast for Adonis!” But he just went on making his motions, that godforsaken, disgusting Baron Bluster! From women, I say, you get this kind of riotous extravagance!

It is striking that, as Sarah Olsen demonstrates, the Magistrate frames the ritual dancing here as that of a lone madwoman instead of the communal ritual that the audience would have been familiar with.\(^{43}\) The Magistrate paints the solo dancing of Demostratus’ wife as depraved, licentious, and excessive (ἡ τρυφή, ἀκολαστάσματα). His account suggests that the woman’s drunken dancing and lamentations were not only annoying for the men in the Assembly, but also somehow responsible for the disaster that was the Sicilian expedition: this solo Adonia was simultaneously too much and not enough to stop the expedition from happening.\(^{44}\) But where the “crazed” solo dancing of Demostratus’ wife failed, the group of women in *Lysistrata* will eventually succeed. Laurialan Reizammer argues that Lysistrata and the women stage a metaphorical Adonia on the Acropolis, on the basis of the play’s alternate title of *Adoniazousai* (“Women at the Adonis Festival”) as well as the presence of key elements of the Adonis festival in the women’s rebellion.\(^{45}\) The reference to solo dance, then, acts as a foil for the ultimate group success of the women and choral dancing that ends the play.\(^{46}\) Even though there are good reasons for the audience not to trust the Magistrate as a narrator – as Olsen observes, he clearly misrepresents the communal ritual of the Adonia – still the message of his story is clear: women are not to be trusted, especially not women who dance, drink, and lament alone.

\(^{45}\) Reitzammer 2016: 60-89.
\(^{46}\) Cf. Olsen 2021: 140-141.
The magistrate immediately tells yet another story illustrating the danger of dancing wives, in which a foolish husband unwittingly gives his wife the opportunity to have sex with a goldsmith after she breaks her necklace while dancing (404-13):

When we ourselves abet our wives’ misbehavior and teach them profligacy, these are the sort of schemes they bring to flower! Aren’t we the ones who go to the shops and say this kind of thing: “Goldsmith, about that choker you made me: my wife was dancing the other night, and now the prong’s slipped out of the hole. Me, I’ve got to cruise over to Salamis, so if you’ve got time, by all means visit her in the evening and fit a prong in her hole.”

The passage is obviously euphemistic and full of double entendre, most noticeably with the “prong” and “hole” of the necklace. The wife’s dancing is ostensibly the excuse she gave for needing to get her necklace fixed, and the unsuspecting husband lays right into her plans by inviting the goldsmith over to fit the necklace’s “prong” back into its “hole.”47 In addition, it is possible that the wife’s “dancing” is a double entendre in itself: Jeffrey Henderson, in his study of obscene language in Attic comedy, observes that “the rapid rhythmic movements of dancing are often compared with those of intercourse” and implies that the wife was actually having sex with someone else when the necklace broke.48 Given the excessive use of euphemism in this passage, the suggestion of a further double entendre through the reference to dancing is attractive. But whether we accept this secondary meaning or take the wife’s dancing at face value, it is clear that

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47 On the goldsmith as a stock character in stories of cuckolds, see Henderson 1987: 121.
the magistrate is particularly committed to sowing mistrust around wives who dance. The group dances between husbands and wives at the end of the play wash over these “dangerous” images: those wives dancing with their husbands in a group present a productive image of unity after discord.

Aristophanes again refers to dance later in the play when a Spartan herald enters with an erection, and Cinesias, Myrrhine’s husband, compares him to an ithyphallic god / dance move (980-985):

KΗΡΥΞ:
980 πᾶ τάν Ἀσανᾶν ἐστιν ἄγερωχία
         ἢ τοί πρυτάνιες; λῶ τι μυσίζαι νέον.

ΚΙΝΗΣΙΑΣ:
σὺ δ´ ἐὰν τί; πότερ´ ἄνθρωπος ἢ Κόνισαλος;

KHP.: κάρυξ ἐγὼν, ὦ κυρσάνιε, ναὶ τῶ σιῶ
         ἐμολον ἀπὸ Σπάρτας περὶ τῶν διαλλαγῶν.

985 ΚΙΝ.: κάπειτα δόρυ δῆθο’ ὑπὸ μάλης ἣκεις ἔχων;

Herald: Where be the Senate of Athens or the Prytanies? I wish to tell them some news.

Cinesias: And what might you be? Are you human? Or a Konisalos?

Herald: By the Twain, I’m a Herald, youngun, come from Sparta about the settlement.

Cin.: And that’s why you’ve come hiding a spear in your clothes?

The basis of the joke is that the herald is fully erect (from having been denied sex by his Spartan wife); Konisalos is a phallic god associated with Priapus.49 This connection alone is enough to make the joke work, but there is evidence in Hesychius that Konisalos was further associated with phallic dancing, or at least that his name was also a name for a type of dance (K 3522):

κονίσαλος: σκίρτης σατυρική ἢ τῶν ἐντεταμένων τὰ αἴδοια

konisalos: a satyr-like jump of people with strained (i.e. erect) genitals

If Aristophanes had both the ithyphallic god and the ithyphallic dance move in mind, or if the audience was aware of both shades of meaning, the joke would become twofold: the herald is not only erect like Konisalos but also appears so strained that he could burst into a satyr-like leap. Again, imagery of solo dance throughout the play leads to the staged group dance that unifies the husbands and wives at the end of the play: the Spartan woman Lampito and the Spartan herald are both separately associated with jumping dances, and the herald’s assimilation to the jumping, erect Konisalos is a direct result of the separation between spouses that Lysistrata has orchestrated. The presence of jumping in the Spartans’ group dance with their wives at the end of the play visually represents a reconciliation of these images.

**Frogs**

In *Frogs*, Aristophanes uses a reference to pyrrhic dance to again criticize the dithyrambic poet Cinesias. When Heracles instructs Dionysus and Xanthias on their journey to the underworld, he describes all of the monsters and unsavory people that they will come across before they make it to the land of the mystic initiates, and Dionysus jumps in to add a particular group of dancers to Heracles’ list (143-53):

**ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ:**
μετὰ τοῦτ’ ὅρφεις καὶ θηρί’ ὁψεῖ μιμία δεινότατα.  

**ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ:**  
μὴ μ’ ἐκπλήττε μηδὲ δειμάτου’  
οὐ γὰρ μ’ ἀποτρέψεις.

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50 Text ed. Latte 1953.
51 *Lys.* 1273-78 establishes the dance between husbands and wives; 1303 (ὁ ἐλα κούφα πάλον) and 1318-20 (ποδοῦν τε πάδη ὅ τις ἔλαφος) invoke jumping.
Heracles: After that, you’ll see an infinity of serpents and beasts most frightful.

Dionysus: Don’t try to shock or scare me off; you’ll not deter me.

Her.: Then you’ll see lots of mud and ever-flowing shit; in it lies anyone who ever wronged a stranger, or snatched a boy’s fee while screwing him, or thrashed his mother, or socked his father in the jaw, or swore a false oath, or had someone copy out a speech by Morsimus.

Di.: And by heaven, we should add anyone who learned that war dance by Cinesias!

By adding Cinesias’ pyrrhic dancers to the list of unsavory people lying in mud and dung, Aristophanes clearly criticizes Cinesias’ dancing, as he did in Cinesias’ dance scene in *Birds* 1373-1409. In that scene, Cinesias is satirized through his own staged dancing, while here the reference does not imply actual dancing. The reference is obscure: it is possible, as Dover suggests, that Cinesias composed the music for a performance of the pyrrhiche, although it seems more likely, as Lawler suggests, that Aristophanes alludes to misplaced movements in Cinesias’ dithyrambic choreography. If Lawler’s interpretation is correct, it suggests a further level of criticism, namely that Cinesias’ choreography for a dithyrambic chorus unsuccessfully and inappropriately incorporated moves that should have belonged in a pyrrhiche. Regardless of which type of performance this reference alludes to, the fact that Dionysus advocates for adding

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the dancers themselves to the unpleasant list adds to the humor: even though Cinesias himself is responsible for the choreography, it is so bad that Dionysus has a problem with anyone who learned it.

**Wealth**

Immediately before Cario’s dithyrambic dance as the Cyclops (290-321), Aristophanes again employs the dance term μόθων to describe Cario’s character, as the chorus leader uses the term to criticize Cario and get him to finally share the news he has been teasing them with (279-83):

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ΚΟΡΥΦΑΙΟΣ:
διαφανείς, ὡς μόθων εἶ ἢ φύσει κόβαλος. ia tetram
280 ὃς φενακίζεις, φράσαι δ’ οὕτω τέτληκας ἡμῖν,
οἶ πολλὰ μοχθήσαντες, οὐκ οὐσῆς σχολῆς, προθύμως
deip’ ἥλθομεν, πολλῶν θύμων ρίζας διεκπερώντες.

ΚΑΡΙΩΝ:
ἀλλ’ οὐκέτ’ ἂν κρύψαμι...
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Chorus leader: Blow yourself to bits! **You’re an imp (μόθων)** and a rascal to play us for suckers, and you haven’t yet bothered to explain anything to us, when we’ve taken great pains to be here, and time we can’t afford to lose, passing right by innumerable thyme plants.

Cario: All right, I won’t keep you in the dark any longer.

As discussed above in reference to *Knights* 697, the μόθων is a comic, licentious dance. Here, it is used to describe Cario’s very personality, with the chorus leader calling him an “impudent fellow.”

However, the proximity to Cario’s own dance scene suggests that the term’s associations with dance are also relevant here. By calling Cario a μόθων, the chorus suggests that he behaves brazenly and disrespectfully, behavior which can be found in the licentious dance of

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53 For this definition, see *LSJ* s.v. μόθων A2.
the μόθων. When the chorus leader is happy to hear Cario’s news about incoming wealth, he expresses his desire to perform specifically choral dance because of his joy (βούλομαι χορεύσαι / ύφ’ ἠδονῆς, 288-89). The chorus leader, then, associates Cario with a negatively coded licentious dance before laying the groundwork for a positively coded choral dance. Perhaps this reference sheds new light on Cario’s choice to aggressively perform a dithyrambic dance against the chorus: they have already called him a μόθων, so he might as well hijack their choral performance and dance like one.

**Menander**

In the previous chapter, we saw definite dance scenes at the end of Menander’s *Dyskolos* as well as his *Theophoroumene* (as attested through mosaics). In addition to these scenes where dancing occurs on stage, Menander alludes to dance twice in *Samia*. Despite the massive changes in the genre of comedy between Aristophanes and Menander, the extant dance references in Menander are compatible with the types of references found in Aristophanes: namely, references to ritual dance and the names of dance steps used metaphorically.\(^{54}\)

While the text in question is corrupt, Menander very likely alludes to dancing in the prologue of *Samia*, as Moschion describes the women celebrating the Adonia in his house (38-50):

\[ \text{ἐξ ἄγροι δὴ καταδραμῶν, \ ia trim} \]
\[ ὁς ἐνυ[ξ[ε]γε', εἰς Ἀδώνι' αὐτάς κατέλαβον} \]
\[ 40 \ σεν|η|ὴ[μ]ὲνας ἐνθάδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετὰ τινῶν} \]
\[ ἀλλων γυναικῶν. τῆς δ' ἐφετῆς παιδιᾶν} \]
\[ πολλὴν ἐχούσης, ὠδὸν εἰκὸς, συμπαρών} \]

\(^{54}\) There is another possible dance step reference in a fragment from Menander’s *Halieis* (“Fishermen”): ἐκλακτίκεν ὁ χρήστος ἡμῖν μοιχός, ἀλλ' ἀντάλλαγος (Meineke fr. 24; cf. Suda Ἀντάλλαγον). Aristophanes uses ἐκλακτίζω to describe Philocleon’s kicks during his dance at the end of *Wasps* (1492), but it can also mean to “escape” or “run away” (LSJ s.v. ἐκλακτίζω 2; Suda ʼΕκλακτίκεν). Menander appears to have used a dance reference to describe how the “talented adulterer” ran away (i.e. he “kicked off”). The relevance of this reference is unclear without more context from the lost play.
ἐγινόμην, οίμοι, θεατής· ἀγρυπνίαν
ό θόρυβος αὐτῶν ἐνεπόει γὰρ μοι τινα·
ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος κήπους γὰρ ἀνέφερον τινας,
ὀρχοῖντες, ἐπανυχίζον ἐσκεδασμέναι.
όκνῳ λέγειν τὰ λοιπ’· ἰσος δ’ αἰσχύνομαι
ὁρδέν ὅρδελος· ἄλλ’ ὁμος αἰσχύνομαι.
ἐκόησεν ἡ παῖς· τοῦτο γὰρ φράσας λέγω
και] τὴν πρὸ τοῦτο πρᾶξιν.  

Well, [as it happened (?)], I had rushed back from the farm, and found them [gathered] in our house here for the Adonis revels, with some [other] women. Naturally the rites proved [lots of] fun, and being there with them—oh dear!—I turned spectator, for [the] noise they made kept me awake. They carried plants up [to] the roof, they [danced], they had an all night party—spread all through the house! I[’m scared] to say what happened next—ashamed perhaps [when] there’s no need, but still I am ashamed. The girl got [pregnant]. Saying that, I tell what happened earlier, [too].

We can be fairly confident that ὀρχοῖντες, suggested by M. L. West, is the proper reading. As Gomme and Sandbach point out, Aristophanes associates the Adonia with dancing in Lysistrata (discussed above), and the commentators see no viable alternative to the proposed reading. Moschion calling himself a “spectator” (θεατής, 43) also makes more sense in the context of the women dancing. Accepting this reading, the festive dancing of the women during the Adonia is part of the context for Moschion raping and impregnating Plangon, setting the scene for the play. That Moschion specifically mentions the dancing suggests that it stands out in his memory of that night. The private celebrations of the women thus become dangerous when a man intrudes. As Reitzammer discusses, something about the ritual seems to draw Moschion in: even though he calls himself a spectator, he must have joined at some point to interact with the women, although he is clearly ashamed to tell that part of the story. Reitzammer compares this experience to maenadic worship and ecstasy, especially as it is depicted in Euripides’ Bacchae.

57 On the literary motif of rape occurring at a pannychis, see Furley 2009 and Reitzammer 2016: 175n104.
and *Ion*. The dancing is one of the key elements of the ritual as Moschion describes it, but perhaps it is also part of what drew him to move from spectator to participant, as with maenadic dancing. Whereas the Magistrate in *Lysistrata* represents Demostratus’ wife as a dangerous solo dancer in her celebration of the Adonia, here it is not so much the dancing that is dangerous as it is what might happen when someone who should not be part of the ritual dance experience infiltrates the celebration.

Later in the play, Demeas calls Nikeratos a στρόβιλος, the dance term used to describe Carcinus’ “whirlings” in *Peace*. While this term has a wide range of meanings that go beyond dance, as discussed above, its shade of meaning as a dance term adds nuance to the scene. After Nikeratos sees his daughter, Plangon, breastfeeding her and Moschion’s baby – whom Nikeratos believes is Chrysis’ instead – he is incredulous, and Demeas describes his reaction inside as follows (553-556):

> ἡλίκον κέκραγε, τοῦτ’ ἦν· πῦρ βοᾷ· τὸ παιδίον φησίν ἐμπρήσειν ἀπειλοῦν. ύποδεῖν ὑπτόμενον ὕφομαι· πάλιν πέπληξε· τὴν θύραν. στρόβιλος ἦ σκηπτὸς ἀνθρωπός τίς ἐστι.

Hear the volume of his screaming! See, he calls for fire. He says he’ll cremate the baby, that’s his threat. I’ll see my grandson now being roasted! He’s just clanged the door again. The man is a hurricane, a whirlwind!

The balancing between στρόβιλος (“whirlwind” / “cyclone”) and σκηπτός (“hurricane” / “thunderbolt”) suggests that the primary meaning of this metaphor is one of storms; however, the “whirlings” of a dance move are also relevant as a secondary meaning. The surrounding scene involves a great deal of chaotic movement that is fitting for dance, as will be seen in the following chapter’s discussion of emotional or frantic entrances. Nikeratos enters in a frenzy as part of a tragic parody (533) and approaches Demeas (538), at which point Moschion runs away

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59 The use of trochaic tetrameter also suggests suitability for dance (cf. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449a21-27 and 1459b37).
in fear of Nikeratos (539). Nikeratos suddenly goes back inside his house (547), then noisily enters again immediately following the στρόβιλος/σκηπτός metaphor (556), only to hasten back inside the house after threatening to murder Chrysis (563). Chrysis then runs onstage, being chased by Nikeratos (568), leading to a physical fight between Nikeratos and Demeas (574-82) before they clear the air about Moschion’s plans to marry Plangon. While the text does not suggest that Nikeratos actually performs any spins or whirling movements in particular, the rapid string of his entrances and exits have a dizzying effect that mimics the sensation of whirling, with the στρόβιλος metaphor in the middle. Imagining Nikeratos as not only a hurricane but also a spinning dancer adds to the chaos of the scene.

**Plautus**

While Aristophanes and Menander often reference dancing (e.g. dance steps, dance in socio-religious contexts, etc.), Plautus references dancers (e.g. professional performers,\(^60\) cinaedi\(^61\)). There are likely two major reasons for this notable difference in dance references between Greek and Roman comedy. First, dance terminology in Latin is much more limited than Greek. While Greek has a relatively large lexicon of dance terms, including terms for specific dance steps, Latin does not use such precise terminology for dance steps, and its dance

\(^60\) *Ludius* and *ludicer/cra* are most relevant here: see TLL 1769.76-84 on *ludius* as *qui artem ludicram fere rudem vel vulgarem exercet* (maxime de saltatoribus) and 1761.64-1762.4 on *ludicer* referring to public dramatic spectacle. Cf. Moore 2012: 105-6 on overlap between *ludius*, dancers, and actors and Zucchelli 1963: 11-26 on *ludius* primarily referring to dancers, namely festival dancers.

\(^61\) For *cinaedi* as dancers, see TLL 1059.40-42. Beyond the Plautine references, a fragment of Lucilius, quoted in Nonius, gives evidence for the connection between *cinaedi* and dancing in the 2nd c. BC by criticizing C. Gracchus for going among the *cinaedi* to dance: *stulte saltatum te inter venisse cinaedos* (Warmington 1938 fr. 33). Nonius says of the fragment: ‘*Cinaedi* dicti sunt apud veteres saltatores vel pantomimi.'
vocabulary is limited.\textsuperscript{62} Further, the increasing professionalization of stage performance in the Hellenistic period seems to have influenced the way Plautus engages with dance imagery.\textsuperscript{63}

As will be discussed below, Plautus refers three times to stage or festival performers (\textit{Aulularia} 402 and 626, \textit{Curculio} 150) and five times to \textit{cinaedi} (\textit{Asinaria} 627, \textit{Aulularia} 422, \textit{Menaechmi} 513, \textit{Miles Gloriosus} 668, \textit{Poenulus} 1318). The references to ludic dancers often point to jumping as a key dance move, and one reference further associates such dancers with effeminacy (much like the \textit{cinaedi}). The references to \textit{cinaedi}, taken together, paint the \textit{cinaedus} as a soft and supple performer associated with penetration, club-beatings, and cross-dressing.

Tom Sapsford’s recent work on the non-normativity and performativity of \textit{kinaidoi/cinaedi} sheds further light on this figure. Sapsford’s study as a whole foregrounds the \textit{cinaedus}’s “malleability” – his ability to “morph, blend, and adapt” at the intersections of sex, gender, and sexuality.\textsuperscript{64} Often there is overlap between \textit{cinaedi} as professional performers of song and dance and \textit{cinaedi} as performers of sexual deviance.\textsuperscript{65} On the performative aspect of \textit{cinaedi}, Sapsford shows that \textit{cinaedus} “denotes a category of performer who is distinctive both in movement (wiggling), music (\textit{tympanum}), and, a feature most overlooked, word (Sotadean).”\textsuperscript{66} Whereas Catullus tends to minimize the performance qualities of \textit{cinaedi}, characterizing them more as social perverts than entertainers, Plautus often foregrounds \textit{cinaedi} as performers.\textsuperscript{67} Given the role of \textit{cinaedi} as professional performers, I consider all references to \textit{cinaedi} in Plautus as

\begin{footnotes}
\item[62] For this point, see Alonso Fernández 2011: 71. Naerebout 1997: 275-289 includes nearly 300 words in his Greek dance vocabulary, while Alonso Fernández in her study of a Latin dance lexicon identifies only a handful of Latin terms that refer to dance, namely: \textit{salto}, \textit{saltatio}, \textit{saltator/saltatrix}, \textit{exsulto/insulto}, \textit{tripudium/tripudio} and (later) \textit{ballo/ballatio} (though see also her discussion of Greek loan words and words signifying movement more generally).
\item[63] On the professionalization of acting and rise of “superstars,” see Easterling 2002: 327-341.
\item[64] Sapsford 2022: 198 and \textit{passim}.
\item[65] Cf. also Habinek 2005: 177-193.
\item[66] Sapsford 2022: 18 (cf. p. 150 for evidence of the “butt-wiggling” dance of \textit{cinaedi}). By “word,” Sapsford refers to a type of poetry associated with \textit{cinaedi} that uses the Sotadean meter; see Sapsford 2022: 105-32 for more on this.
\item[67] Sapsford 2022: 21, 162, and \textit{passim}. Cf. discussion of Plautine dance finales in ch. 1, esp. \textit{Stichus} and \textit{Persa}.
\end{footnotes}
potential references to dance, even though some of the references prioritize the role of the *cinaedus* as a dancer while others prioritize sexual transgression. Even references that do not explicitly mention the performative dimension of *cinaedi* could still call the signature butt-wiggling dance to mind, especially given the connection between butt-wiggling and anal penetration. Each reference would also give the actor a good opportunity to perform such a move, even briefly—and, as will be seen below, many of the references to *cinaedi* come during accompanied sections. Plautus’ use of *cinaedi* in these references can also shed further light on the cinaedic dance scenes he stages in *Stichus* and *Persa*.

**Asinaria**

In *Asinaria*, the slave Leonida insults his fellow slave Libanus by calling him a *cinaedus* after Libanus says that he wants to beat (*uerberare*) Leonida (627-28):  

> Leo.: quisnam istuc accredat tibi, cinaede calamistrat?  
> tun uerberes, qui pro cibo habeas te uerberari?

> Who on earth would believe you in this, you curly-haired *cinaedus*? You would beat me, you, you whose food it is to be beaten?

Leonida’s insult against Libanus relies upon calling him a *cinaedus* and assuming that he would perform the “passive” role in sex: according to Leonida, Libanus’ threats to beat him must be empty threats, because Libanus as a *cinaedus* would rather be beaten than do the beating.  

Notably, Leonida’s insult ends the argument, as the young lover Argyrippus goes on to talk about his love for Philaenium. The cinaedic reference as an argument-ending insult, which will be seen again in *Poenulus*, suggests that *cinaedi* represent an extreme of transgressive behavior:

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68 Plautine passages are again organized alphabetically rather than chronologically, given the tenuous nature of the dating of Plautus’ plays.  
69 But see Sapsford 2022: 138-39, 158, and passim on the *cinaedus* as an active initiator (sometimes aggressively so) of sex and performance, esp. in Roman imperial texts.
once someone is called a *cinaedus*, there is not much of a way to one-up the insult. This particular reference does not explicitly engage with *cinaedi* as dancers, but it does contribute to the characterization of those labeled as *cinaedi*. Given the accompanied meter of iambic septenarii, perhaps an actor could have chosen to perform a few dance moves inspired by *cinaedi*, which would physically bring the dance connotations to the surface.

*Aulularia*

Plautus refers to dancers in three separate metaphors in *Aulularia*. The first occurs when the cook Anthrax gives orders for preparing food, ordering one servant to pluck the feathers off a rooster so that it is smoother than a hairless dancer (398-405):

Anthrax: Dromo, desquama piscis. tu, Machaerio, congrum, murenam exdorsua quantum potest.

400 ego hinc artoptam ex proxumo utendam peto a Congrione. tu istum gallum, si sapis, glabriorem reddes mihi quam uolsus ludiust. sed quid hoc clamoris oritur hinc ex proxumo? coqui hercle, credo, faciunt officium suom. fugiam intro, ne quid turbai hic itidem fuat.

Dromo, scale the fish. You, Machaerio, remove the backbone from the conger-eel and the lamprey as quickly as possible. I’m asking Congrio to lend me a bread-pan from next door here. You there, you’ll pluck this cock cleaner for me than a depilated dancer, if you have any sense. (stops and listens) But what rumpus begins here next door? I think the cooks are doing their job. I’ll escape inside so there won’t be any chaos at our place as well.

Of all the metaphors Plautus could craft to illustrate hairlessness, his choice of a festival dancer (*ludius*) is significant. Associating the dancer with the bird suggests that both are objects for consumption: plucking the bird readies it to be cooked and eaten, while “plucking” a dancer prepares him to be put on display as public entertainment. The “hairlessness” of the dancer
further suggests effeminacy. The image of this effeminate dancer lingers when Congrio, the cook from l. 401 above, compares himself to a *cinaedus* (419-22):

Euclio:
*homo nullust te scelestior qui uiuat hodie,*

420 nec quoi ego de industria amplius male plus lubens faxim.

Congrio:
*pol etsi taceas, palam id quidem est: res ipsa testest;*
*ita fustibus sum mollior magis quam ullus cinaedus.*

Euc.: There isn’t a greater criminal alive today than you, or anyone I’d be happier to hurt more with full intention.

Con.: Even if you were silent it would be obvious: the facts speak for themselves; thanks to your clubs I’m softer than any *cinaedus*.

While a *cinaedus* is a different sort of dancer than a *ludius*, in both metaphors Plautus utilizes the imagery of dancers associated with effeminacy. It is notable that the metaphors are separated by a possible dance scene: a polymetric section as Congrio frantically runs onstage while exclaiming about being beaten inside Euclio’s house (406-414). Whether or not Congrio dances like a *cinaedus* as he enters, he explicitly connects the beating he receives with that of a *cinaedus* in this metaphor. The reference comes at the beginning of a uniquely extensive passage of *versus reiziani* (415-46), and it is possible that the unusual rhythm was particularly fitting for any erratic dancing that might have accompanied this scene. Here, as in *Miles Gloriosus* below, *cinaedi* are associated with softness (*mollis* vs. *malacus*). In the *Miles* passage, the softness of *cinaedi* is associated specifically with their dancing (*ad saltandum*), but in this passage, cinaedic softness or tenderness is associated with being beaten with clubs. These references taken together

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70 Cf. Martial 2.36.6.
71 On the likelihood of dance here, see the following chapter.
72 Cf. the use of *versus reiziani* for Stichus and Sangarinus’ competitive dance at the end of *Stichus* (771-73). For the possible connection between *versus reiziani* and erratic dance steps, as well as how dance might respond to other meters, see Moore forthcoming, “Anapestic Dance Scenes in Plautus,” in the “Future Directions” section.
suggest that Plautus employs language of softness when referring to *cinaedi* both because of certain qualities of cinaedic dancing (e.g. flexible movements) and because of associations between *cinaedi*, being beaten, and sexual transgression.

Plautus returns to dance imagery later when Euclio describes the fear he feels at the threat of his gold being stolen. This is another testimony for jumping as a dance move particularly associated with dancing (626-27):

> continuo meum cor coepit *artem facere ludicram* 
> atque in pectus emicare. sed ego cesso currere.

Immediately my heart began to practice the performer’s art and jump up and down in my breast. But I’m delaying running.

In the earlier metaphor, Euclio’s beating turned Congrio into a *cinaedus*; here, Euclio is the one closely associated with dancing (*artem ludicram*) in his state of panic. Given the accompanied meter of trochaic septenarii, it is possible that the actor would choose to perform some jumping dance moves to physically illustrate the panic to which he alludes. Again, shortly following this reference, Euclio has an extended likely dance scene in which he runs around panicked about his stolen gold, as we will see in the next chapter. This reference, then, becomes a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy: Euclio first compares his heart to a jumping dancer in his panic, but soon he himself will become a literal panicked dancer onstage. In both instances, Plautus uses dance to showcase Euclio’s anxiety over losing his gold, first on a metaphorical level and then through actual dancing. Taking these passages in *Aulularia* together reveals a sophisticated interaction between references and likely dance passages. In this play, references to dance quickly manifest in what were very likely actual dance scenes: both Congrio and Euclio come to embody the image that started out as metaphor. The relationship between status and dance reference is also

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73 Trans. Moore 2012: 120.
illuminating: the imagery of effeminate dancers is associated with “low” characters (i.e. cooks and their tasks), while the senex Euclio uses a more neutral reference to festive jumping dances to explain his emotional state.

Curculio

In Curculio, Phaedromus sings to the door of his beloved Planesium, asking the door’s bolts to jump up as barbarian performers do (145-156):

Phae.:
145 quid si adeam ad fores atque occentem?

Pal.: si lubet, nec uoto nec iubeo, an7
quando ego te uideo immutatis moribus esse, ere, atque ingenio.

Phae.:
pessuli, heus pessuli, uos saluto lubens,
uos amo, uos uolo, uos peto atque opsecro,
gerite amanti mihi morem, amoenissumi,
150 fite causa mea ludii barbari, cr4
sussilite, opsecro, et mittite istanc foras
quae mihi misero amanti ebbit sanguinem.
hoc uide ut dormiunt pessuli pessumi
nect mea gratia commouent se ocius!
155 re specio nihili mean uos gratiam facere. wilcrcol
st, tace, tace!

Phae.:
What if I approach the door and sing it a song?

Pal.: If you want to, I neither forbid you nor tell you to do so, master, since I can see that your habits and character have changed.

Phae.: Bolts, hey, bolts, I greet you gladly, I love you, I want you, I desire you, and I beseech you, obey me in my love, most charming bolts. Become barbarian performers for my sake, jump up, please, and send out the woman who drinks up my blood, miserable lover that I am. (pauses and steps back) Look at that, how the basest bolts are sleeping and won’t move any more quickly for my sake! I can see from how you behave that you don’t care about my goodwill toward you. (pauses and turns to Palinurus) Hush, be quiet, be quiet!
Phaedromus’ use of this metaphor furthers his characterization as the stock character of the young lover, acting in a ridiculous manner out of his desire for Planesium. His decision to sing to the door (145) puts the metaphor in context: Phaedromus’ singing is supposed to trigger the bolts’ “dancing.” It is striking that the dancers in this metaphor are specifically barbari. As Timothy Moore points out, “barbarian” in Plautus means “Roman,” from the point of view of the Greek characters. Phaedromus’ request that the bolts jump like Roman performers suggests that jumping was seen as a fundamental feature of Roman dance. The polymetric nature of this passage creates a strong possibility that the actor playing Phaedromus might dance himself while delivering this reference, perhaps representing physically what the character wants the bolts to do (i.e., jump up). Cretics in particular are bouncy, and the meter could be especially suitable for jumping.

Menaechmi

Another reference to cinaedi in Plautus plays with associations between cinaedi and cross-dressing. In Menaechmi, when the parasite Peniculus sees Menaechmus II (of Syracuse) with a feminine palla and accuses him of stealing it, Menaechmus II thinks Peniculus is accusing him of cross-dressing and asserts that he himself is not a cinaedus (510-16):

Peniculus:

510 satin sanus es?
occisa est haec res. non ego te indutum foras
exire uidi pallam?

Menaechmus II:

uae capiti tuo!
omnis cinaedos esse censes quia tu es?
514-15 tun med indutum fuisse pallam praedicas?

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74 Moore 2012: 120; see also Moore 1998b: 54.
75 See Moore 2012: 192-96.
76 On the relationship between this scene and earlier events of the play, see Habinek 2005: 178-81 and Moore 2012: 112. See also discussion of Peniculus’ dancing (ll. 196-99) in ch. 1.
Pen.: ego hercle uero.

Peniculus: Are you in your right mind? This is the end. Didn’t I see you come out wearing a mantle?

Menaechmus II: Curse you! Do you think everyone’s a *cinaedus* just because you are one? Are you telling me that I was wearing a mantle?

Pen.: Yes, I am indeed.

Menaechmus’ reference to a *cinaedus* suggests a close association between *cinaedi* and cross-dressing, and the twin is clearly upset at Peniculus’ accusation that Menaechmus participates in this behavior. He simultaneously distances himself from *cinaedi* and accuses Peniculus of being a *cinaedus* as a way to insult the parasite instead. This reference reminds the audience of Peniculus’ own dancing earlier in the play, discussed in chapter one, when Peniculus dances with the *palla* and Menaechmus I refuses. Both that earlier dance scene and this reference create meaning through comparisons between dancers (Peniculus) and avowed non-dancers (the Menaechmi). Both passages also imply gender transgression: the *cinaedus* and cross-dressing accusation here and the use of a feminine garment as a prop earlier. It is perhaps not a surprise that the character who is willing to call attention to his dancing and does not balk at being called a *cinaedus* is the parasite rather than the *adulescentes*.

**Miles Gloriosus**

In *Miles Gloriosus*, the *senex* Periplectomenus convinces the slave Palaestrio and the young lover Pleusicles that he is skilled (and youthful) enough to help them deceive the soldier Pyrgopolynices and retrieve Philocomasium, the kidnapped girlfriend of Pleusicles. Among a list of roles that Periplectomenus asserts that he is able to play, he describes himself as being more “soft” for dancing than a *cinaedus* (661-68):
tute me ut fateare faciam esse adulescentem moribus,
ita apud omnis comparebo tibi res benefactis frequens.
opusne erit tibi aduocato tristi, iracundo? ecce me!
opusne leni? leniorem dices quam mutum est mare
liquidiusculusque ero quam uentus est fauonius.
uel hilarissumum conuiuam hinc indidem expromam tibi
uet primarium parasitum atque opsonatorem optumum;
tum ad saltandum non cinaedus malacus aeque est atque ego.

I’ll make you yourself admit that I’m a youngster in character, so overflowing with kind
acts will I appear in all things. Do you need a grim, angry advocate? Here I am! Do you
need a mild one? You’ll call me milder than the silent sea and I’ll be gentler than the
zephyr. From the very same place I’ll produce for you the most joyful guest or a first-
rank parasite and perfect caterer. **Next, when it comes to dancing, a cinaedus isn’t as
soft as I am.**

As Thomas Habinek points out, Periplectomenus’ list is full of theatrical roles such as the
adulescens, the parasite, and the cook. When thinking of roles he can play, then,
Periplectomenus thinks not only of these quintessential stock roles but also of dancing cinaedi.
On this level, the reference suggests that cinaedic dancing could be an important part of a
Plautine actor’s repertoire (and this proves true in the endings of *Stichus*, *Persa*, and *Pseudolus*).
The adjective malacu further suggests a particular quality of the dancing of professional
cinaedi: soft, supple, limber, delicate. This adjective simultaneously suggests that
Periplectomenus, like a cinaedus, can be bendy and flexible as well as delicate and effeminate.
By comparing his ability to perform to that of a cinaedus, Periplectomenus distances himself
from the typical role of a senex and proves once and for all that he can be useful to Palaestrio and
Pleusicles. It is possible that the actor would perform some cinaedic dance moves while
delivering this reference in order to prove his point, and the accompanied trochaic septenarii
would support such dancing.

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78 Cf. Sapsford 2022: 146 on this passage: “Thus, the image of the malacu cinaedus is no longer one of soft
passivity, but rather one of supple agency: an individual able to shift shape in disarming fashion.”
79 On this point, see Moore 2012: 113.
Although this transgression of stock roles makes Periplectomenus come off as somewhat ridiculous, nevertheless I suggest that this is the only reference to *cinaedi* in Plautus that is framed positively: by the logic of the plot, Periplectomenus’ ability to perform the theatrical role of a *cinaedus*, just as he is able to perform other stock comic roles, is an asset that Palaestrio and Pleusicles can use to trick Pyrgopolynices. The other Plautine references to *cinaedi* use the term as an insult or with otherwise negative connotations. Among this corpus, Periplectomenus’ use of the term stands out and suggests a sort of double standard: professional *cinaedi* in everyday life are criticized harshly, but actors performing as *cinaedi* on the comic stage, putting cinaedic dancing to comic aims, create a positive addition to the play. Stichus and Sangarinus’ cinaedic dancing at the end of *Stichus* is a staged example of this.

**Poenulus**

*Poenulus* references the performances of *cinaedi* along with their sexual reputation when the soldier Antamynides and the young lover Agorastocles argue over Anterastilis (Antamynides’ “girlfriend” and the sister of Adelphasium, Agorastocles’ beloved). The term *cinaedus* is used as an insult in their exchange (1315-21):

Agorastocles:  
1315 num tibi, adulescens, malae aut dentes pruriunt,  
qui huic es molestus, an malam rem quaeritas?  

Antamynides:  
quin adhibuisti, dum istaec loquere, tympanum?  
nam te cinaedum esse arbitror magis quam virum.  

A.: scin quam cinaedus sum? ite istinc, serui, foras  
efferte fustis.  

Ant.: heus tu, si quid per iocum dixi, nolito in serium convertere.
Agorastocles: Young man, are your jaws or teeth itching, since you’re annoying him, or are you looking for trouble?

Antamynides: Why didn’t you use a tympanon while saying that? I believe you’re more of a cinaedus than a man.

Ag.: Do you know what sort of cinaedus I am? (into his house) Come outside, slaves, and bring clubs!

Ant.: (suddenly afraid) Hey you, if I said anything in jest, don’t turn it into earnest.

Habinek suggests that Agorastocles’ accusation of Antamynides having itching jaws (malae aut dentes prurient, 1315) is a reference to fellatio; Antamynides then caps the sexual transgression implicit in Agorastocles’ insult by calling him a cinaedus. Antamynides’ reference to the tympanon brings the performative aspect of cinaedi to the forefront: according to the logic of the metaphor, if Agorastocles is going to engage with the sexual transgression of cinaedi, then he should also be playing the instrument associated with cinaedic performance. Agorastocles denies Antamynides’ accusation by ordering his slaves to bring out his clubs, with which he will ostensibly beat Antamynides. Agorastocles’ threat represents not only his attempt to prove Antamynides wrong, but also to turn Antamynides into a cinaedus himself: Antamynides will become the beaten cinaedus (where being beaten represents sexual penetration), and Agorastocles, as the one performing the beating, cannot be a cinaedus. The threat of being beaten alongside the threat of sexual transgression inherent in references to cinaedi is enough to make Antamynides back down, ending the argument. The exchange is an example of cinaedic performance both used as an insult (by Antamynides) and repurposed into a threat (by Agorastocles).

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81 Cf. Sapsford 2022: 151.
82 On the relationship between beating and penetrating, see Habinek 2005: 183-84 and Sapsford 2022: 136-38 and passim.
Terence

Terence, on the whole, seems to have been much less interested in dance than Plautus. As seen in the previous chapter, there are no definite dance scenes in Terence. While Terence does not use dance metaphorically as often as Plautus, he does allude to dance once, in *Adelphoe*.

During an argument between Demea (the strict parent) and Micio (the lax parent), Demea questions Micio about his son Aeschinus’ actions. Aeschinus has stolen a music-girl (*psaltria*) and raped a poor citizen girl, whom he now needs to marry without a dowry (and Demea does not know that Aeschinus actually abducted the music-girl on behalf of Demea’s son, Ctesipho). During the dialogue between Demea and Micio, Micio comes across as very nonchalant about the situation, and they argue about what to do with the music-girl whom Micio ostensibly purchased for Aeschinus earlier in the play. When Micio insists upon keeping the girl at home, along with Aeschinus’ new wife, Demea ironically suggests that they will all dance together inside (749-754):

Demea:

> ita me di ament, ut video tuam ego ineptiam, *ia6*
> facturum credo ut habeas quicum cantites.

750 Micia:

> quor non?

Dem.: et nova nupta eadem haec discet?

Mic.: scilicet.

Dem.: **tu inter eas restim ductans saltabis?**

Mic.: probe.

Dem.: probe?

Mic.: et tu nobiscum una, si opus sit.

Dem.: ei mihi!

non te haec pudens?
Demea:
Heaven help me, if I understand your stupidity, I believe you’re setting up a singing partner for yourself.

Micio:
Why not?

Dem.: And the new bride will be taught to join in?

Mic.: Naturally.

Dem.: And you’ll take the rope and dance between them?

Mic.: Exactly.

Dem.: Exactly?

Mic.: And you can join us, if we need you.

Dem.: Oh dear! Do you have no shame?

Demea’s question as to whether Micio, Aeschinus, his new wife, and the music-girl will all perform a group rope dance is the last in a series of questions that become progressively more ridiculous. Demea clearly believes that this could not possibly be Micio’s plan, while Micio pokes fun at his brother’s moralistic nature by not only agreeing to everything but even suggesting that Demea join in. It is significant that Terence, in his only reference to dance, has a character present the possibility of dancing as particularly absurd and improper. However, the context of Demea’s question suggests that it is not necessarily the dance on its own that is improper, but the ragtag group of imagined dancers in Micio’s house. While the nature of this rope dance remains unclear, there is attestation for a Roman rope dance in a ritual context: Livy describes a group of virgines performing a dance in the Forum while holding a rope as part of a purification ritual following the sighting of various portents in 207 BC.83 While we do not know

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83 Livy 27.37.14: *in foro pompa constitit, et per manus reste data virgines sonum vocis pulsu pedum modulantes incesserunt*. Lawler 1946: 129 connects this dance in Livy and the rope dance in Terence to the Greek *geranos*
how common this type of dance was, it is possible that spectators of Adelphoe in 160 BC would have been familiar with rope dances as expiatory ritual. If so, the joke becomes clear: the rope dance is utterly misplaced in Micio’s house, as a chorus of virgines performing a dance for the public good is transformed into a private expression of indecency involving a music-girl, an unmarried citizen girl who has been raped, the man who raped her, and his inappropriate father.

Conclusions

In general, the “what” of dance references changes from Greek to Roman comedy: Aristophanes and Menander tend to refer to dance steps and dance in certain contexts (e.g., theatrical dance), while Plautus tends to refer to dancers rather than dancing. References to solo dance or dancers throughout Greek and Roman comedy are often used to criticize or satirize an antagonist, whether another character in the play (e.g., Paphlagon in Knights, Micio in Adelphoe) or, in Aristophanes’ case, personal rivals (e.g., the sons of Carcinus). This is perhaps the most consistent use of dance references from Aristophanes to Terence: each playwright utilizes dance references for the purpose of criticism and mocking. References to dance regularly interact with known or likely dance scenes, whether by foreshadowing later dancing (e.g., Wasps), justifying an upcoming dance scene (e.g., Cario’s in Wealth, likely Euclio’s in Aulularia), adding nuance to a surrounding dance scene (e.g., likely Nikeratos’ in Samia), or tying together themes throughout the play (e.g., jumping and butt-kicking in Lysistrata). The interplay between some of these references to dance and likely dance scenes will be made clearer in the next chapter.

dance, suggesting that Terence took the reference from his Greek source. However, this is based on a somewhat tenuous connection between snakes and ropes; it is equally possible that the Romans developed their own rope dance and that Terence is engaging with a living dance tradition rather than uncritically transmitting a Greek reference.
Table 2: References to (solo) dance in Greek and Roman comedy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Play, lines</th>
<th>Meter</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Referent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Knights 20</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>ἀπόκινος</td>
<td>dance step (unknown, comic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Knights 697</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>ἀπεποδάρισα μόθωνα, περιεκόκκασα</td>
<td>dance step (unknown, vulgar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Knights 796</td>
<td>Anaplectic tetrameter</td>
<td>ῥαθαπυγίζον</td>
<td>dance step (butt-kicking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Clouds 136</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>λελακτικας</td>
<td>dance step (kicking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Clouds 540</td>
<td>Eupolidean tetrameter</td>
<td>οὐδὲ κόραξι εἶλκυσεν</td>
<td>theatrical dance (comic, kordax)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Clouds 555</td>
<td>Eupolidean tetrameter</td>
<td>προσθής αὐτῷ γραῦν μεθύσην τοῦ κόρακος οὐνεξ’</td>
<td>non-theatrical dance (ritual, Corybantes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Wasps 8</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>ἐκορυβάντις’ ὀ δ’ αὐτῷ τομπάνα/ θέξις εἰδίκαξεν</td>
<td>theatrical dance (comic, kordax)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Wasps 119</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>ἐκρουεν / ἐξήλετο</td>
<td>theatrical dance (ritual, Corybantes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Wasps 130</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>ἐνέκρουεν / ἐξήλετο</td>
<td>theatrical dance (ritual, Corybantes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Wasps 1503</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>ἐμμελεία κονδύλου</td>
<td>theatrical dance (tragic, emmeleia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Peace 864</td>
<td>Iambic tetrameter catalectic</td>
<td>τῶν Καρκίνου στροβίλων</td>
<td>theatrical dance (tragic, Carcinus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Peace 788-789</td>
<td>Dactylic hexameter catalectic</td>
<td>γυλιθυέζεις ὀρχηστάς</td>
<td>non-theatrical dance (ritual, pyrrhic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Birds 1169</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>εἰσθαεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς δεῦρο πυρρίχην βλέπων</td>
<td>dancers (tragic, sons of Carcinus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Lysistrata 82</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>καὶ ποτὶ πυγάν ἄλλομαι</td>
<td>dance step (butt-kicking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Lysistrata 392-93</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>ἡ γυνῇ δ’ ὀρχουμένη / “αἰαὶ Ἀδοίνη” φησίν</td>
<td>non-theatrical dance (ritual, Adonia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Lysistrata 409</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>ὀρχουμένης μοὐ τῆς γυναικὸς</td>
<td>non-theatrical dance (possible pannychis, euphemism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Lysistrata 982</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>πότερ’ ἄνθρωπος ἢ Κοῦλισαλος;</td>
<td>non-theatrical dance (ritual, ithyphallic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Frogs 153</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>κεί / τὴν πυρρίχην τις ἔμαθε τὴν Κυνησίου</td>
<td>non-theatrical dance (pyrrhic, dithyrambic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Frogs 775</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>λυγησίμων</td>
<td>dance step (twisting, bending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Wealth 775</td>
<td>Iambic tetrameter</td>
<td>μόθων εἴ</td>
<td>dance step (unknown, vulgar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author, Work</td>
<td>Meter</td>
<td>Line(s)</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menander, <em>Samia</em> 46</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>ὧργο]ὕντ', ἐπανόχιζον</td>
<td>non-theatrical dance (ritual, Adonia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menander, <em>Samia</em> 555</td>
<td>Trochaic tetrameter catalectic</td>
<td>στρόβιλος</td>
<td>dance step (whirling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Asinaria</em> 627</td>
<td>Iambic septenarius</td>
<td>cinaedae calamistrate</td>
<td>dancer (<em>cinaedus</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Aulularia</em> 402</td>
<td>Iambic senarius</td>
<td>glabriorem reddes mihi quam uolsus ludiust</td>
<td>dancer (public festival)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Aulularia</em> 422</td>
<td><em>Versus reizianus</em></td>
<td>ita fustibus sum mollior magis quam ullus cinaedus</td>
<td>dancer (<em>cinaedus</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Aulularia</em> 626-7</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>continuo meum cor coepit artem facere ludicra / atque in pectus emicare</td>
<td>dance step (jumping, public festival)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Curculio</em> 150</td>
<td>Cretic tetrameter</td>
<td>fite causa mea ludii barbari</td>
<td>dancer (public festival)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Menaechmi</em> 513</td>
<td>Iambic senarius</td>
<td>omnis cinaedos esse censes quia tu es?</td>
<td>dancer (<em>cinaedus</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Miles Gloriosus</em> 668</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>tum ad saltandum non cinaedus malacus aeque est atque ego</td>
<td>dancer (<em>cinaedus</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Poenulus</em> 1318-20</td>
<td>Iambic senarius</td>
<td>Ant.: nam te cinaedum esse arbitror magis quam virum. / Ag.: scin quam cinaedus sum? ite istinc, serui, foras / efferte fustis.</td>
<td>dancer (<em>cinaedus</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence, <em>Adelphoe</em> 752</td>
<td>Iambic senarius</td>
<td>tu inter eas restim ductans saltabis?</td>
<td>non-theatrical dance (possible ritual, rope dance)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ch. 3: Likely Solo Dance: Choreographic Potential

Beyond scenes in which we can be sure that solo dance occurs, there are a large number of scenes in which solo dance is possible. It has long been recognized that gesture, movement, and dance were prominent features of both Greek and Roman comedy, and of ancient theater in general.¹ So far, I have examined passages that fit a narrow definition of dance, largely through the use of explicit language that refers to dancing. However, as discussed in the introduction, we can also consider a broader definition that includes choreographed, rhythmic bodily movement. With Naerebout’s definition of dance in mind, there is an almost infinite number of passages that theoretically could include dance: all Greek and Roman comedy has rhythm (even unaccompanied meters), and any intentional bodily movement (beyond everyday movement) relating to that rhythm, however brief, could be considered dance.² This definition allows for gesture, for example, to be considered as dance, namely in passages where the meter encourages coordination between movement and rhythm. Recall also the discussion of Aristotle, Plutarch, and Lucian in the introduction: schēmata in particular and physical movement in general, including gestures, were seen as imitating emotions. With these considerations in mind, it is nearly impossible to identify every passage that could include dance, nor would it add much value to the study of theatrical dance to do so. While we should remember that dance could theoretically occur at any time, it is more useful to identify a set of criteria that makes dance more likely than not.

² See discussion of Naerebout’s definition in introduction.
The natural place to start when identifying scenes that, more likely than not, involve solo
dance is to extrapolate from the trends found in scenes where it is certain that solo dancing
occurs (i.e., trends from chapter one). Such trends include: the use of accompanied meters or
indication of musical accompaniment; seduction, sexual transgression, or lewd dancing;
aggressive dancing that mocks or threatens an adversary; competitive dancing; dance occurring
as a finale at the end of a play. This means that scenes involving sex or seduction, lively threats,
competition, and celebration should be evaluated for their potential for dance, especially if they
are written in accompanied meters. The presence of language that is suggestive of movement or
spectacle further increases the likelihood of dance, as does language that is particularly physical
or could easily be imitated through gesture or mimic dance.

There is also good reason to include passages that suggest types of movement that are
typically found in choral dance scenes. For example: running, searching, and chasing are
common motifs found in Greek choral odes, and most scholars do not doubt that the chorus
dances as part of these odes.³ It does not stand to reason that the chorus running, searching, or
chasing should be considered dancing but a soloist performing the same actions should not be,
especially when musical accompaniment is involved. Further, these actions inherently involve a
good deal of movement across the stage and could involve codified motions (e.g. pumping the
arms while running, looking out under one’s hand while searching).⁴ Again, language that is
especially physical, ripe for imitation, or suggestive of movement has strong potential to meet
our working definition of dance.

⁴ Cf. Lawler 1939: esp. 499-502 on the “peering” motif and its connection with search dances in Greek satyr play
and comedy.
To synthesize my approach, this is the criteria that I look for when identifying scenes that likely involve solo dance: 1) language suggestive of dance, movement, or imitation (that does not clearly narrate dance); 2) musical context (i.e., meter that is typically accompanied); 3) display of other features that we know occur in dance scenes, especially solo dance scenes (e.g., dance as seduction, dance used to bother/mock, competitive dance, etc.), but also choral dance (e.g., running, searching, chasing). These criteria have led me to isolate a number of different types of scenes that are very likely to involve solo dancing by actors: running; emotional entrances (including joyful/celebratory ones); sex and seduction; threats and aggression. In these types of scenes, I tend to see the surviving text as giving an actor or director some clear cues for the use of the body, in a way that is likely to manifest as dance (especially if we understand gesture as an element of dance). In other words, I argue that language and meter taken together in these scenes evoke dance and provide strong opportunities for an actor to dance.

In this chapter, I bring together passages throughout Greek and Roman comedy that I have identified as strong candidates for solo dancing in each of these categories. Rather than attempting to identify every passage that could possibly include solo dancing, or even every passage that is likely to include solo dancing, I aim to track meaningful patterns in select scenes of likely dancing that fit into the above categories. This approach allows me to argue more cogently for the likelihood of dance in such scenes and to draw further conclusions about how each playwright (likely) uses solo dance. In each category, I discuss only the most meaningful examples, but I include a chart listing all examples at the end of the chapter. While there is still

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5 Timothy Moore, for example, identifies several possible dance scenes from a metrical approach that I do not include, as they do not fit into my categories for likely dance (cf. Moore 2012: 105-134, Moore 2022: 159-178, Moore forthcoming). This is not to say that such scenes cannot involve dance; rather, the use of different approaches and criteria simply yields different passages of interest. Still, there is a good deal of overlap between passages that Moore considers dance and those that I consider dance.
speculation involved in this approach, I hope to demonstrate the productivity of applying such criteria to solo dance in Greek and Roman comedy, both because this approach meaningfully broadens our idea of where solo dancing occurs and because it allows us to further understand how Aristophanes, Menander, Plautus, and Terence used dance in their plays.

**Running scenes**

At first thought, the act of running might not sound as if it has much relevance for dancing. Today, the action is closely associated with exercise and physical activity, and it had similar associations in the ancient Greco-Roman world as well (the prevalence of footraces suggests this). Even so, running shares some commonalities with dance, as it involves sustained bodily movement, often to some sort of pace or “rhythm.” To become dance, according to Naerebout’s working definition outlined in the introduction above, running must be performed with a patterned sound as cue and must move beyond ordinary motor activities. Both Greek and Roman comedy give ample opportunity for patterned sound to cue any running movements, especially in accompanied passages. Further, as discussed above, even unaccompanied passages could be considered as containing patterned sound through the regular rhythm of spoken iambic trimeters/senarii. Speculation becomes even more necessary, however, when considering whether the movement goes beyond ordinary motor activities. Much of this would have depended on the choices of individual actors, which we cannot hope to reconstruct. However, it is possible that there were codified dance movements for running scenes. For example, Timothy Moore has suggested that Roman comedy’s numerous *servus currens* scenes make most sense when envisioned as dance scenes:

> It has often been observed that running slave scenes seem exceedingly awkward if one imagines them performed, for the runners take a great deal of time to cover the limited distance from the stage’s side entrance to the place where they encounter those they seek.
The awkwardness is removed if we envision the running slave scene as a dance scene. The runner makes his way towards stage center in a series of stylized movements, done in time to the accompanying tibia. Given the stock nature of the scenes, there may have been a number of identifiable servus currens movements, which the runner varied and supplemented in response to the text.  

The threat-monologue of servus currens scenes, in which the runner tells everyone to get out of his way, also makes more sense if understood as a sequence of aggressive dancing. As Eric Csapo has pointed out, there is no evidence for a crowd of extras coming onstage during these scenes for the runner to actually push through, though they can be imagined as existing offstage. An actor could rely on exasperated gestures and antagonistic dance moves to imitate pushing through a crowd where a crowd does not exist. Still, since we cannot know for sure that such stylized movements were performed along with servus currens and similar running scenes, we cannot say that these were definitely dance scenes, but they are likely candidates for dance, as will be demonstrated in more detail below.

Running scenes in Greek comedy often (but not always) occur in iambic trimeters (as we will see below), while servus currens scenes in Roman comedy are exclusively in accompanied meters, as are the vast majority of other scenes involving running. Even so, such scenes share many similarities: in both Greek and Roman comedy, running scenes often involve the runner being in distress or particularly emotional, not knowing where to go, not wanting to stop running, fleeing an adversary, searching for something, and/or telling a narrative story or reporting a message. Consider the earlier discussion of the Scythian guard’s frantic running and searching

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6 Moore 2012: 122. Cf. Duckworth 1952: 196n43 on running slave or parasite scenes: “such speeches could be delivered with violent gestures and a frenzied pretense of haste.” Csapo 1987: 415 also describes running slaves who “have long monologues to deliver while traversing this relatively short distance” as performing a “halting stylized ‘run.’”


8 Moore 2012: 122.

9 Terence, Heauton 510-17 is an exception; see chart at end of chapter.
for Euripides at the end of Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazusae* (1210-25).\(^\text{10}\) The scene is written in iambic trimeters and there is no textual indication of musical accompaniment, but it is clear that there is significant movement across the stage as the chorus intentionally leads the Scythian in the wrong direction and he runs around in a confused panic. It is at least a dance-like scene, but it could be considered dance depending on how the actor chooses to move and how much rhythmic coordination he demonstrates. Consider also the running entrance of the bird-guard-messenger at *Birds* 1168-74, discussed above for its reference to pyrrhic dance—though with its unaccompanied meter it is more likely to be a dance-like scene than strictly dance. While such running passages written in iambic trimeters throughout Aristophanic comedy could have been performed as dance scenes, despite their lack of musical accompaniment, it is especially striking that running scenes in Roman comedy are nearly always accompanied. The pattern that emerges when analyzing running passages from Greek to Roman comedy suggests that Plautus and, later, Terence drew upon a history of lively comic running scenes while taking such scenes to the next level by adding musical accompaniment and amplifying the likelihood of dance.\(^\text{11}\) In what follows, I discuss key running scenes in Greek comedy in chronological order (even though most are unaccompanied and thus less likely to count as dance scenes) as precursors for the many accompanied running scenes in Roman comedy, which are very likely to have been realized as dance scenes.

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\(^\text{10}\) Introduction, pp. 36-38.

\(^\text{11}\) There has been much debate over the potential for Greek origins of *servus currens* scenes in Roman comedy, but most now accept Greek origins (following Csapo 1987 and 1989) or, at least, strong Greek influence with some Plautine expansions. For an overview of earlier debates on this issue, see Duckworth 1936: 93-102, Anderson 1970: 229-230, Guardi 1974: 5-15. For Terence’s innovations upon the stock scene, see Lowe 2009 and below.
Towards the beginning of Aristophanes’ *Acharnians*, in a passage of iambic trimeters, Dicaeopolis greets Amphitheus as he enters running, but Amphitheus refuses to stop and instead emphasizes his need to keep running as he flees the Acharnians (175-185):

175 ΔΙ.: ἀλλ’ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος γὰρ Ἀμφίθεος ὀδί.  
χαίρε, Ἀμφίθεε.  

ΑΜ.: μὴ ποι γε, πρὶν <γ’> ὁν στῶ τρέχον·  
δεῖ γὰρ με φεύγοντ’ ἐκφυγεῖν Αχαρνέας.  

ΔΙ.: τί δ’ ἐστίν;  

ΑΜ.: ἐγὼ μὲν δεύρο σοι σπονδάς φέρον  
ἐσπευδόν· οἱ δ’ ὄσφροντο πρεσβύτα τίνες  

180 Ἀχαρνικοὶ, στυπτο γέροντες, πρίνινοι,  
ἀλέργομοι, Μαραθονεμάχαι, σφενδάμνοι.  
ἐπειτ’ ἀνέκραγον πάντες, “ὄ μιαρῶτατε,  
σπονδάς φέρετι, τῶν ἀμπέλων τετμημένων;”  
κάς τοὺς τρίβονας ξυνελέγοντο τῶν λίθων;  

185 ἐγὼ δ’ ἐφευγόν· οἱ δ’ ἐδίωκον καβόων.  

Di.: But here comes Amphitheus, back from Sparta! Welcome, Amphitheus!  

Am.: No welcome yet, not till I’ve stopped running! I’ve got to run till I outrun the Acharnians!  

Di.: What’s up?  

Am.: I was hurrying back here with some treaties for you when some elders of Acharnae got wind of them, sturdy geezers, tough as hardwood, stubborn Marathon fighters, men of maple. Then they all started yelling, “Traitor! Are you bringing treaties when our vines are slashed?” And they began to fill their cloaks with stones. I ran away; they kept chasing me and shouting.  

While Amphitheus’ language does not require him to be dancing, it does emphasize his frantic movement across the stage, as he enters running and says that he cannot stop until he escapes the Acharnian elders (175-76). Of course, he would not be able to continue running indefinitely; even though he says that he cannot stop, he has to at least slow down at some point to converse with Dicaeopolis. It is possible that the actor used dance movements to convey Amphitheus’ distress alongside his running, or perhaps after he stops running. His running does not need to be

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12 See preface for citations of all texts, translations, and metrical identifications/abbreviations.
dance, but it could fit the definition of dance if performed in a way that emphasizes the rhythm of the spoken iambic trimeters. Still, the lack of a musical context makes this less likely. What is most likely, I suggest, is that this is a dance-like scene, which acts as a parody of a (typically choral) dance-chase scene. Shortly after Amphitheus’ running entrance, in which he explicitly flees the Acharnians, the chorus of Acharnian elders enters and runs around attempting to chase Dicaeopolis (who is now offstage) using trochaic tetrameters catalectic and cretics (ll. 204-33).  
Whereas earlier, Amphitheus ran in to escape the Acharnians, here they run in to chase Dicaeopolis, performing a choral search-song that is commonly recognized as a dance, even if it does not always contain clear dance language. Amphitheus’ flee-running prefigures the chorus’ chase-running, though Amphitheus’ running is unaccompanied. This could be an example of an unaccompanied dance-like scene (Amphitheus’ frantic running) parodying an accompanied dance scene (choral chase scenes, soon to be exemplified by the chorus of Acharnians themselves).

In an example of an accompanied running scene, Aristophanes’ Birds combines a mute, running slave with a potential beating dance: while the slave Manes runs around frantically gathering wings before visitors come to Cloudcuckooland, Peisetairos strikes him (1309-36). The chorus and Peisetairos switch off singing during this scene, but the possible dance elements are given to solo characters (Manes running back and forth and Peisetairos striking him):

ΠΕΙΣΕΤΑΙΡΟΣ:

ἀλλ’ ὡς τάχιστα σὺ μὲν ἰῶν τὰς ἄρριχους
καὶ τοὺς κορίνους ἀπαντᾶς ἐμπίμπλη πτερῶν·
Μανῆς δὲ φερέτῳ μοι θύραξε τὰ πτερά·
ἐγὼ δ` ἐκείνων τοὺς προσιόντας δέξομαι.

13 On the movement of the old men and the potential for gesture to convey their agitation, see Olson 2002: 135.
14 See references in n. 3 above.
15 See Lawler 1944: 60 on beating motifs as dance in Aristophanes.
ΧΟΡΟΣ:

(στρ) τάχα δὴ πολυάνορα τάνδε πόλιν καλεῖ τις ἀνθρώπων

1315 ΠΕ.: τύχη μόνον προσείη.

ΧΟ.: κατέχουσι δ’ ἐρωτες ἐμᾶς πόλεως.

ΠΕ.: θάττον φέρειν κελεύω.

ΧΟ.: τί γάρ οὐκ ἔνι ταύτῃ καλὸν ἀνδρὶ μετοικεῖν;

1320 Σοφία, Πόθος, ἀμβρόσιαι Χάριτες τὸ τε τῆς ἀγανόφρονος Ἡσυχίας εὐήμερον πρόσωπον.

ΠΕ.: ώς βλακικῶς διακονεῖς οὐ θάττον ἐγκονήσεις;

(ἀντ) ΧΟ.: φερέτω κάλαθον ταχὺ τις πτερύγων,

1326 σὺ δ’ αὐθίς εξόρμα—

ΠΕ.: τύπτων γε τούτον ὡδί.

ΧΟ.: πάνυ γὰρ βραδὺς ἔστι τις ἄσπερ ὅνος.

ΠΕ.: Μανής γὰρ ἐστὶ δειλός.

1330 ΧΟ.: σὺ δὲ τὰ πτερὰ πρῶτον διάθες τάδε κόσμῳ, τὰ τε μουσίξ’ ὦμοι τὰ τε μαντικὰ καὶ τὰ θαλάττ᾽. ἔπειτα δ’ ὥπως φρονίμως πρὸς ἄνδρ’ ὀρῶν πτερώσεις.

1335 ΠΕ.: οὐ τοι μὰ τὰς κερχυῆδας ἐπὶ σου σχῆσομαι, οὕτως ὀρῶν σε δειλὸν ὄντα καὶ βραδὺν.

Peisetairos: (to Xanthias) You go as quick as you can and fill all the hampers and baskets with wings, and have Manes bring the wings out here to me; I’ll greet the visitors as they arrive. (Xanthias and Manes go inside; during the following duet Manes brings out baskets full of wings.)

Chorus: Soon some human will be calling this city very well-manned.

Pe.: Just so our luck holds.
Chorus: Passion for my city grips the world.

Pe.: (to Manes) Faster with those wings, I say!

Chorus: For is anything missing here that’s good for a settler to have? We’ve Wisdom, Desire, immortal Graces, and the happy countenance of kindhearted Tranquility.

Pe.: (to Manes) That’s pretty lazy service! Speed it up there!

Chorus: Quickly, a basket of wings over here; tell him again to hurry.

Pe.: I will, by hitting him like this!

Chorus: Yes, he’s a slowpoke, slow as an ass.

Pe.: A good-for-nothing Manes!

Chorus: But first you must arrange these wings in proper order: musical wings here, prophetic there, and maritime, and then be sure you shrewdly size up the man when you wing him.

Pe.: (to Manes) By the kestrels I swear you’re in for it now; look how uselessly slow you are!

While the chorus and Peisetairos sing, the slave Manes evidently runs on and off stage carrying baskets of wings, following Peisetairos’ instructions. Throughout the song, there is an emphasis on speed: Peisetairos tells Manes to bring the wings faster during the strophe (1317), then interjects between the strophe and antistrophe complaining about his sluggish pace and again asking him to work more quickly (1323-24). The chorus joins in during the antistrophe, ordering Manes to bring the basket quickly (1325) and commenting on his slowness (1328) after Peisetairos strikes him (1327). After the antistrophe, Peisetairos ends by again complaining about Manes’ lack of speed (1335-36). The meter is a combination of dactylics and iambics, with Peisetairos’ practical interjections exclusively in iambics.16 The musical context through the use

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16 See Parker 1997: 336-41. Parker observes that Peisetairos’ iambic interjections are in “the less lyrical of the two metres used” (dactylics and iambics).
of lyric, combined with the repeated verbal focus on Manes’ speed, presents ample opportunity for the actor playing Manes to dance during this scene.

There are a number of possibilities for how this dance could play out. Manes could run and dance very quickly, creating dissonance between the way Peisetairos and the chorus describe him (as slow and lazy) and the hurried, fast-paced movements he performs. On the other hand, Manes could get distracted by dancing to the song and actually bring the baskets too slowly, making Peisetairos and the chorus justified in the way they describe him. If Peisetairos’ striking of Manes (1327) is indeed a type of beating dance as Lillian Lawler has suggested, it would only add to the role of dance in the passage: Manes performs a running dance when bringing out the baskets, and Peisetairos performs a beating dance to spur him on further.

There is also evidence for frantic run-entrances in Menander. Toward the beginning of Menander’s Dyskolos, the slave Pyrrhias frantically runs onstage trying to escape the grumpy senex, Knemon. The passage is written in iambic trimeters, like most of Menander. Pyrrhias’ dialogue makes it clear that he is quite distressed as he runs onstage (81-87):

ΠΥΡΡΙΑΣ: πάρες, φυλάττου, πᾶς ἀπελθ’ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου· ia trim μαίνεθ’ ὁ διώκων, μαίνεται.

ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ: τί τοῦτο, παῖ; ΠΥ.: φεύγετε.

ΣΩ.: τί ἔστι;

ΠΥ.: βάλλομαι βώλοις, λίθοις· ἀπόλολα.

18 Cf. discussion of aggressive dancing in the conclusion of ch. 1.
19 On the dramatic effect of this entrance, see Frost 1988: 42-43.
ΣΩ.: βάλλει; ποί, κακόδαιμον;
ΠΥ.: οὐκέτι
85 ἰσως διώκεις;
ΣΩ.: μὰ Δία.
ΠΥ.: ἐγὼ δ’ ὄμην.
ΣΩ.: τί δαι λέγεις;
ΠΥ.: ἀπαλλαγόμεν, ἰκετεύω σε.
ΣΩ.: ποί;
ΠΥ.: ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας ἐντεῦθεν ὡς πορρωτάτω.
Pyrrhias: Let me pass, look out, everybody get out of my way. He’s mad, the man who’s chasing me, mad.
Sostratos: What’s this, boy?
Py.: Run!
So.: What’s the matter?
Py.: Earth and stones being thrown at me. I’m all in.
So.: Thrown? You wretch, where are you off to?
Py.: He’s not chasing me perhaps now?
So.: No, by Zeus.
Py.: I thought he was.
So.: What do you mean?
Py.: Let’s go from here, please.
So.: Where?
Py.: As far as we can from that door there!
The passage is strikingly similar to Amphitheus’ running entrance in *Acharnians*: both passages are written in iambic trimeter, and the runner in both passages runs onstage to flee from an offstage aggressor (for Amphitheus, the chorus of Acharnian elders, and for Pyrrhias, Knemon) who apparently pelts the runner with stones.\(^{21}\) Again, the lack of musical accompaniment makes this running passage less likely to be treated as dance, but it could fit the definition of dance if performed in a way that emphasizes the rhythm of the spoken iambic trimeters. At the very least, it is a dance-like scene. If the actor playing Pyrrhias decided to dance as he ran onstage, he might have continued to dance as Pyrrhias tells the story of his interaction with Knemon (97-123).

Several points in Pyrrhias’ narrative could be emphasized through mimetic movement, especially when Pyrrhias describes Knemon throwing a clod of earth in his face (110-11) and beating him with a pointed stake (113-14). Whether or not this scene was treated as dance, it acts as a precursor for the running slave scenes of Roman comedy that are much more musical and much more likely to function as dance scenes.

Pinacium in Plautus’ *Stichus* performs “one of Roman comedy’s most elaborate running slave monodies” as he runs to tell his mistress, Panegyris, that her husband has returned after being away for years to gain fortune as a merchant.\(^{22}\) Before the *servus currens* scene begins, the parasite Gelasimus introduces Pinacium in a way that subtly frames him as a dancer (270-273):

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270    sed eccum Pinacium eius puerum. hoc uide,
       satin ut facete, atque ex pictura astitit?
ne iste edepol uinum poculo pauxillulo
saepe exanclauit submerum scitissume.
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But look: Pinacium, her slave boy. Look at this: **hasn’t he taken a charming stance, like in a painting?** Really, he’s often ladled out nearly undiluted wine with his tiny cup in a very delightful way.

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\(^{21}\) Cf. Handley 1965: 143 for Amphitheus’ running entrance as a “prototype” of Pyrrhias’ entrance here.

\(^{22}\) Moore 2012: 127.
At first glance, Panegyris’ comment appears simply to be a pun on the name Pinacium: as de Melo notes, πινάκιον in Greek can refer to a picture or a tablet used for painting.\(^{23}\) However, Pinacium is also coded as dancing in this description. Gelasimus describes Pinacium as standing in a “charming” way (facete, 271). This adverb is used in two of Plautus’ definite dance scenes: Toxilus uses it to describe Paegnium’s dancing in Persa (806), and Pseudolus uses it to describe his own dancing in Pseudolus (1274). The fact that Pinacium is described as standing, rather than moving, does not disqualify him as a dancer, for two reasons. First, Pinacium might not have started his dance yet, as his monody does not begin until 274. Second, Gelasimus’ description is influenced by a desire to frame Pinacium as an object in a painting, for which a static pose feels more appropriate than movement. Still, static poses can be an important component of dance choreography: recall Plutarch’s Quaestiones Convivales 9.15, discussed above in the introduction, which defines σχήματα as the positions in which dance movements end, explicitly comparing dancers in these poses to painted figures.\(^{24}\) While Plutarch’s dance theory postdates Plautus, it is possible that the theories of dance and painting in Quaestiones Convivales stem from an earlier, lost treatise on dance. If such ideas were already circulating in Plautus’ time, then comparing Pinacium to a figure in a painting – especially when combined with the use of the dance-related adjective facete – would prep the audience for a dance scene to come.

Pinacium’s ensuing servus currens monody plays with this expectation: Pinacium brings us a dance scene, I argue, but instead of forming poses like a figure in a painting, he dances energetically as he runs across the stage (274-307):

Pinacium:
Mercurius, Iouis qui nuntius perhibetur, numquam aeque patri
suo nuntium lepidum attulit quam ego nunc meae erae nuntiabo:

\(^{23}\) de Melo 2013: 45n20 See LSJ s.v. πινάκιον II.
\(^{24}\) On the role of analogies between dance, poetry, music, and painting in this passage, see Schlapbach 2011: 152-158.
itaque onustum pectus porto laetitia lubentiaque
nec lubet nisi gloriose quicquam proloqui profecto.
amoenitates omnium uenerum et uenustatum affero
ripisque superat mi atque abundat pectus Laetitia meum.

280 **propera, Pinacium, pedes hortare,** honesta dicta factis—
nunc tibi potestas adipiscendi est gloriam, laudem, decus—
eraque egent subueni [—benefacta maiorum tuom—]
quae misera in expectatione est Epignomi aduentum uiri.

proinde ut decet amat uirum suom, cupide expetit. nunc, Pinacium,
age ut placet, **curre ut lubet,** caue quemquam flocci feceris,
cubitis depulsa de uia, tranquillam concinna uiam;
si rex opstabit obuim, regem ipsum prius peruortito.

Gelasimus:
**quidnam dicam Pinacium**

288a **lasciuiubundum tam lubentem currere?**

harundinem fert sportulamque et hamulum piscarium.

290 Pin.: sed tandem, opinor, aequis tuam mihi esse supplicem
atque oratores mittere ad me donaque ex auro et quadrigas
qui ueniat, **nam pedibus ire non quo. ergo iam reuortar.**
ad me adiri et supplicari egomet mihi aequum censeo.
an uero nugas censeas, nihil esse quod ego nunc scio?

295 tantum a portu apporto bonum, tam gaudium grande affero,
uix ipsa domina hoc, ut scias, exoptare ab dis audeat.
nunc ulro id deportem? hau placet neque id uiri officium arbitror.
sic hoc uidetur mihi magis meon conuenire huic nuntio:
advorsum ueniat, opsecret se ut nuntio hoc impertiam;

300 secundas fortunas decent superbiae.

sed tandem quom recogito, qui potuit scire haec scire me?
**non enim possum quin reuortar, quin loquar, quin edissertem**
eramque ex maerore eximam, bene facta maiorum meum
exaugeam atque illam augeam

305 contundam facta Talthybi contemnamque omnis nuntios;
simulque [ad] cursuram meditabor [me] ad ludos Olympios.
**sed spatium hoc occidit: breue est curriculo; quam me paenitet!**

Pinacium:
Mercury, who is said to be Jupiter’s messenger, never brought his father a message as
delightful as the one I’ll now announce to my mistress: so laden with happiness and
pleasure is the breast I’m carrying; indeed I don’t want to say anything except in a
boastful manner. I’m bringing the delights of all charms and graces, and my breast
overflows its banks with joy. **Hurry, Pinacium, urge on your feet,** do credit to your
words by your actions—now you have the chance to gain glory, laud, and honor—and
bring help to your poor mistress in need, [—the good deeds of your ancestors—] who is
waiting for the arrival of her husband Epignomus. Just as she ought to, she loves her
husband and eagerly longs for him. Now, Pinacium, go on as you like, run as you like, and make sure you don’t care a straw about anyone. Push them off the street with your elbows, render the street calm. If a king stands in your way, knock down the king himself first.

Gelasimus:  
(aside) Why on earth should I say Pinacium is running so friskily and so eagerly? He’s carrying his fishing rod, a basket, and a fishhook.

Pin.: But in the end I think it’s more appropriate for my mistress to entreat me and to send envoys to me, gifts of gold, and a chariot for me to drive in: I can’t walk on foot. So now I’ll go back. I think it’s fair that I should be approached and entreated. Or would you really consider it nonsense and believe that what I know now amounts to nothing? I’m bringing such a great good from the harbor and such great joy, my mistress herself, just so that you know, would hardly dare to wish for it from the gods. Should I now bring it to her of my own accord? I don’t like it and I don’t consider it the way to behave for a man. This seems to me to be more appropriate for this message of mine: let her come toward me and beg me to share this news with her. Displays of pride suit good fortunes. (turns toward the harbor again) But in the end, when I think about it, how could she have known that I know this? I really can’t help returning, speaking, explaining, freeing my mistress from her misery, increasing the good deeds of my ancestors, and providing her with unhopèd-for, timely good news. (turns again and runs) I’ll outdo the deeds of Talthybius and despise all messengers; and at the same time I’ll practice running for the Olympic games. (reaches the house of Panegyris) But this distance has come to an end. It’s too short for a run; how sad!

Pinacium enters in a state of joy, overly excited to convey his message to Panegyris. Exuberant, celebratory dance movements would help convey these emotions to the audience as he begins to make his way across the stage. Pinacium’s order to himself to hurry (propera, Pinacium, pedes hortare, 280) would be especially funny if his joyful dancing has kept him from making much progress across the stage. He could then mime knocking people down as he sings about removing imagined adversaries from his path (286-287). At the end of this first part of Pinacium’s monody, Gelasimus as a spectator comments on the “lascivious” quality of Pinacium’s running, suggesting that Pinacium is doing more than simply running across the stage. As Pinacium continues his song, he changes his mind and decides to let Panegyris come to him, at which point he could start hesitantly dance-running in the opposite direction as he
continues to debate the merits of his decision. When he changes his mind yet again and turns back around, sudden, unsure movements could help convey the humor in his continuous flip-flopping. The end of this passage suggests that Pinacium breaks into an all-out run, only to find that he is out of room and has already reached Panegyris’ door (306-307).

As Moore suggests (quoted above), imagining the *servus currens* scene as a dance scene helps remove the awkwardness of having so much time to cross such little space: even after turning around and traveling in the opposite direction for ten lines, Pinacium quickly finds himself very close to Panegyris’ door. Stylized dancing would help slow him down so that he does not cross the stage too quickly, and performing joyful or aggressive movements would help accentuate various aspects of his monody.25

Curculio’s running entrance in *Curculio* is a variation of a stock *servus currens* scene, even though Curculio is a parasite. His monody again raises a strong likelihood of dancing (277-303):

Palinurus:  
parasitum tuom  
uido *currentem* ellum usque in platea ultuma.  
hinc auscultemus quid agat.

Phaedromus:  
sane censeo.

Curculio:  
**date uiam mihi**, noti [atque] ignoti, dum ego hic officium meum facio: fugite omnes, abite et de uia secedite,  
**ne quem in cursu capite aut cubito aut pectore offendam aut genu.**  
ita nunc subito, propere et celere obiectum est mihi negotium,  
<nusquam> quisquam est tam opulentus, qui mi opsistat in uia,  
**nec strategus nec tyrannus quisquam neque agoranomus**  
**nec demarchus nec comarchus nec cum tanta gloria,**  
quin cadat, quin capite sistat in uia de semita.  
tum isti Graeci palliati, capite operto qui **ambulant,**

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25 Moore 2012: 127 further raises the possibility that competitive dance between Pinacium and Gelasimus follows this scene as they take turns sweeping (347ff.), implicitly competing to capture Panegyris’ attention.
qui **incidunt** suffarcinati cum libris, cum sportulis,
constant, conferunt sermones inter se sese drapetae,
opstant, opsistunt, **incidunt** cum suis sententiis,
quos semper uideas bibentes esse in thermopolio,
ubi quid surrupuere: operto capitulo calidum bibunt,
tristes atque ebrioli **incidunt**: eos ego si offendero,
ex unoquoque eorum crepitum exciam polentarum.
tum isti qui ludunt datatim serui scurrarum in uia,
et datores et factores omnis subdam sub solum.
proin sese domi contineant, uitent infortunio.

Phae.: recte hic monstrat, si imperare possit. nam ita nunc mos uiget,
ita nunc seruitium est: profecto modus haberi non potest.

Cur.: ecquis est qui mihi commonstret Phaedromum genium meum?
ita res subita est, celeriter mi hoc homine conuento est opus.

Pal.: te ille quaerit.

Palinurus:
Look there, I can see your parasite **running** at the farthest end of the street. Let’s listen from here what he’s up to.

Phaedromus:
Yes, good idea.

Curculio:
**Make way for me**, known and unknown, while I’m doing my duty here: flee, all of you, go away and get off the streets, **so that while running I don’t hit anyone with my head, my elbow, my chest, or my knee**. So suddenly, fast, and quickly has this business now been thrown my way, that there’s no one anywhere so rich that he could afford to block my way, not a general, not a despot, not a market inspector, not a district magistrate, not a village superintendent, not anyone with such great fame: no, he’ll fall, drop from the sidewalk and stand on his head in the street. Then those Greeks in their cloaks, who **wander around** with their heads covered, who **move along** stuffed with books and food baskets, who stop and converse among each other, those runaway slaves, who stand in your way and block your path, who **move along** with their clever sayings, whom you can always see drinking in the tavern when they’ve stolen something; with their heads covered they drink mulled wine and **move along** with a grave expression and drunk. If I meet them, I’ll drive the barley-fed farts out of every single one of them. Then those slaves of the men-about-town, who play ball in the street, I’ll put all the throwers and players under the ground. So let them stay at home and avoid a thrashing.
Phae.: He gives good orders, if only he had authority. Yes, nowadays this is the custom, nowadays this is what the slave class is like: it is indeed impossible to keep them under control.

Cur.: Is there anyone who can show me Phaedromus, my good spirit? It’s an emergency, I need to meet him quickly.

Pal.: He’s looking for you.  

Moore has made convincing suggestions for the types of movements that could be performed here, especially a “get out of the way movement” that we also saw as a possibility in Pinacium’s entrance (Stichus 286-87). The opening of this monody seems especially fitting for dance as Curculio orders everyone to get out of his way so that he has room to run (280-82). The list of body parts with which he might hit people if they do not move suggests that Curculio is doing much more than just running: it seems reasonable that a runner might hit a passerby with his elbow or knee as they jut out, but he would have to be moving very oddly to hit someone with his head or chest (ne quem in cursu capite aut cubito aut pectore offendam aut genu, 282). As Moore suggests, imitative dancing is likely as the monody continues and Curculio describes the movements of his theoretical opponents. His song places striking emphasis on the way these opponents move (bolded above), and the actor could create a good deal of humor by imitating these opponents in a ridiculous way before mime-knocking them down.

_Aulularia_ includes a running scene that is especially fitting for dance but is not a stock _servus currens_ scene. When Euclio runs around in a panic about his stolen gold, the meter changes from unaccompanied iambic trimeters to anapests at his entrance (713-27a):

Euclio:

peri, interi, occidi. quon curram? quon non curram? tene, tene. quem? quis?

nescio, nil uideo, caecus eo atque equidem quo eam aut ubi sim aut qui sim

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26 Translation slightly modified.
28 See the previous chapter and the conclusion on the relationship between likely dance scenes and references to dance in _Aulularia._
nequeo cum animo certum inuestigare. opsecro ego uos, mi auxilio, 
or, optestor, sitis et hominem demonstretis, quis eam apstulerit.
quid ais tu? tibi credere certum est, nam esse bonum ex uoltu cognosco.
quid est? quid ridetis? noui omnis, scio fures esse hic compluris,
qui uestitu et creta occultant se se atque sedent quasi sint frugi.
heu me miserum, misere perii, 
am quid mi opust uita, [qui] tantum auri
perdidi, quod concustodiui
sedulo? egomet me defrudaui
animunque meum geniumque meum;
nunc eo alii laetificantur
meo malo et damno. pati nequeo.

Lyconides:
quinam homo hic ante aedis nostras

eiulans conqueritur maerens?

Euclio:
I’m done for, I’m killed, I’m murdered. Where should I run? Where shouldn’t I run?
Stop him, stop him! Whom? And who? I don’t know, I can’t see, I go blindly. I can’t
find any certainty in my mind as to where I’m going or where I am or who I am. (to the
audience) I beg you, I entreat you, I beseech you: help me and show me the man who’s
taken it away. (turning to someone in the audience) What do you say? I’ve decided to
believe you, because I can see from your face that you’re a good man. (addressing the
whole audience) What is it? What are you laughing for? I know you all; I know there are
plenty of thieves here who are hiding under smart clothes and sitting still as if they were
decent. (returning to the previous person) What, none of them has it? You’ve ruined me.
Tell me, then, who has it? You don’t know? O, I’m wretched, I’ve perished wretchedly, I
move, destroyed wickedly and rigged out awfully. This day’s brought me so much
groaning and trouble and sadness, hunger and poverty. Of all men on earth I’m the most
experienced in suffering. What point is there in life? I’ve lost so much gold, which I
guarded carefully. I denied myself, heart and soul, any joy. Now others are having a good
time with it, while I am having a bad time and loss. I can’t handle it.

Lyconides:
Who on earth is lamenting here in front of our house, with wailing and sadness?
The scene clearly involves a good deal of frantic movement. As Euclio enters in a dejected, panicked state (*perii, interii, occidi*, 713) and debates where to run (*quo curram? quo non curram*?), exaggerated hand movements and changes in direction would visually exemplify his mental state. The actor could stumble around with confused movements in imitation of running blindly (714) before gesturing to the audience (715-716) and moving forward to pick out someone in the audience to interrogate (717-19). More emotional gestures would convey Euclio’s defeat as he laments the loss of the gold and communicates how much this loss has affected him (721-26). Euclio’s panicked running is an example of the likelihood of dance in a running scene that is *not* a stock running slave scene.

**Emotional entrances**

There are still more scenes that do not explicitly include verbs of running but share similarities with running scenes and are strong candidates for dance: I call these “emotional entrances.” In such scenes, a character enters in an emotional frenzy, often worried or scared or angry about something (though sometimes joyful). While the text of each scene does not clearly specify that the character is running, nevertheless movement is required as the character comes onstage, and running is often implied, thus creating some thematic overlap between running scenes and emotional entrances. In practice, many of these emotional entrances were probably also running scenes, but I hesitate to group them together without clear running language. Regardless, the heightened emotional state that characters express in these entrances, combined with musical context and the need to travel onstage, makes dance a strong possibility. Depending on the actor’s choices, such scenes could easily be experienced as emotional dance scenes.

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29 On movement and meter in this scene, see Moore 2012: 120-121; 2022: 171; and forthcoming.
Again there is some indication that the emotional entrances which became lively accompanied scenes in Plautus and Terence were often unaccompanied in Aristophanes. *Clouds* and *Wasps* contain examples of this: in both plays, a character comes onstage fleeing someone who has been beating them (Strepsiades fleeing Phidippides in *Clouds* 1321-25 and Xanthias fleeing Philocleon in *Wasps* 1292-1325). Strepsiades’ cries of woe and exclamations about his hurt head and jaw would be fitting for gesture:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{iōū iōū.} \\
\text{ὦ γείτωνες καὶ ξυγγενεῖς καὶ δημόται,} \\
\text{ἀμανάδετε μοι τυπτομένο πάση τέχη.} \\
\text{οἴμοι κακοδαίμων τής κεφαλῆς καὶ τῆς γνάθου.}
\end{align*}\]

1325 \text{ὦ μιαρέ, τύπτεις τὸν πατέρα;}

Help! Help! Neighbors, kinsmen, fellow demesmen, rescue me any way you can! I’m being beaten! Oh dear, my unlucky head! My jaw! *(to Phidippides)* You scum, you’d beat your father?

While gesture might add to the effect of this scene, it is not as likely to be considered dance given the unaccompanied meter. However, as will be seen below, the connection between performing a frantic entrance and having been beaten inside can be found again in Plautus in a musical scene (*Aulularia* 406-15).

Still, there is one example in *Wasps* of an emotional entrance that is accompanied and likely includes dance. After attending a symposium, Philocleon drunkenly enters singing trochaics (and, later, iambics) while expressing his anger at being followed by those he attacked on the way home (1326-31):

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ἄνεχε, πάρεχε.} \\
\text{κλαίσεται τις τῶν ὀπίσθεν} \\
\text{ἐπακολουθοῦντων ἐμοῖ·} \\
\text{ὄνο, εἰ μὴ ἵππησθ' ὑμᾶς,} \\
\end{align*}\]

1330 \text{ὦ πόνηροι, ταυτὶ τῇ} \\
\text{δαδὶ φρυκτοὺς σκευάσω.}\]

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30 Line divisions based on Parker 1997.
Give way! Make way! Some of those people back there following me are going to be very sorry! You scoundrels, if you don’t scatter off, oh how I’ll make fried fish of you with this torch!

Philocleon’s entrance pre-figures some features of what will later become the stock servus currens scene of Roman comedy: he orders people to make way for him (ἄνεχε, πάρεχε) and then makes physical threats of how he will punish his pursuers if they do not leave (ταυτηὶ τῇ / δῷ θρησκοῦσι σκευάσμα). Exaggerated, menacing movements would help convey his anger, perhaps starting with a “get out of the way” movement and continuing with an aggressive imitation of how he would use the torch to roast his enemies. The use of a demonstrative when referring to the torch suggests that Philocleon at least gestures with the torch or emphasizes it in some way (ταυτηὶ τῇ δῷ). Some solo dancing here would complement the monody and foreshadow Philocleon’s upcoming performance as a “competitive” dancer (1474-1537).

Although emotional entrances are not always accompanied in Aristophanes, Philocleon’s entrance provides a useful example of how such a passage could likely be experienced as a dance scene. Plautus and Terence will later take this type of passage and run with it.

Menander similarly includes frantic entrances that are sometimes unaccompanied and sometimes accompanied. Dyskolos includes two such unaccompanied scenes, both involving the slave Simiche. First, Simiche enters in a state of distress, lamenting because she dropped a mattock down Knemon’s well while trying to get a bucket out (574-96), and shortly afterwards she enters once again in a similar panic because Knemon himself has fallen down the well (620-38):

ΣΙΜΙΧΗ:
ο δυστυχής, ο δυστυχής, ο δυστυχής,

ΓΕΤΑΣ:
575 ἀπαγ‘ εἰς τὸ βάραθρον· τοῦ γέροντος τις γυνὴ

See Frost 1988: 54-56 on the dramatic function of these emotional entrances.
προελήλυθεν.

ΣΙΜ.: τί πείσομαι; τὸν γὰρ κάδον ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος βουλομένη τοῦ δεσπότου, εἰ πας δυναίμην, ἐξελεῖν αὐτὴ λάθρα, ἀνήψα τὴν δίκελλαν ἄσθενεὶ τινι καλωδίω σαπρῷ, διεράγη τὲ μοι τοῦτ’ εὐθὺς.

ΓΕ.: ὅρθως.

ΣΙΜ.: ἐνσέσεικά θ’ ἀθλία καὶ τὴν δίκελλαν εἰς τὸ φρέαρ μετὰ τοῦ κάδου.

ΓΕ.: ῥίψαι τὸ λοιπὸν σοι σεαυτὴν ἐστ’ ἐτι.

ΣΙΜ.: ὁ δ’, ἀπὸ τύχης κόπρον τὴν’ ἐνδον κειμένην μέλλον μεταφέρειν, περιτρέχον ταῦτην πάλαι ζητεῖ βοή τε—καὶ ψοφεῖ γε τὴν θύραν.

ΓΕ.: φεῦγ’ ὦ πονηρά, φεῦγ’. ἀποκτενεὶ σε, γραῦ.

Simiche: O tragedy! O tragedy! O tragedy!

Getas: To hell with her! Look who’s come out—the old man’s woman.

Sim.: What will happen to me? I hoped to fish the bucket up out of the well myself, if possible, without my master knowing, so I tied the mattock to a flimsy, rotten bit of rope, and it snapped on me right away…

Ge.: Good!

Sim.: …and, oh dear, I’ve dropped the mattock in the well now, with the bucket!...

Ge.: Still one thing to do—jump in yourself!

Sim.: …and master wants to shift some dung that’s lying in the yard, as luck would have it, and for ages he’s been searching for it, bawling and rushing around, and…he’s rattling the latch!

Ge.: Poor thing, run, run! He’ll murder you, old woman! (574-86)

—

ΣΙΜΙΧΗ:

620 τίς ἂν βοηθήσειεν; ὦ τάλαιν’ ἐγώ. ia trim
τίς ἂν βοηθήσειν;

ΣΙΚΩΝ:

Ἡράκλεις ἄναξ.

ἐάσαθ’ ἡμᾶς, πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαμόνων

σπονδάς ποήσαι. λοιδορεῖσθε, τύπτετε

οἶμώζετ’ ὦ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐκτόπου.

625 ΣΙΜ.: ὁ δεσπότης ἐν τῷ φρέατι.

ΣΙΚ.: πῶς;

ΣΙΜ.: ὅπως;

ίνα τὴν δίκελλαν ἐξέλοι καὶ τὸν κάδον,

κατέβαινε, κατ’ ὀλισθ’ ἁνωθὲν, ὡστε καὶ

πέπτωκεν.

ΣΙΚ.: οὐ γὰρ ὁ χαλεπὸς γέρων σφόνδρα;

ΣΙΜ.: σοῦτος.

ΣΙΚ.: καλά γ’ ἐπόησε, νῆ τὸν Ὄυρανόν.32

630 ὃ φιλτάτη γραῖ, νῦν σὸν ἔργον ἔστι.

ΣΙΜ.: πῶς;

ΣΙΚ.: ὅλμον τιν’ ἢ λίθον τιν’ ἢ τοιοῦτό τι

ἀνωθὲν ἐνσείσον λαβοῦσα.

ΣΙΜ.: φιλτάτε

κατάβα.

Simiche:  
Who’ll come and bring assistance? Oh dear me! Who’ll come and bring assistance?  

(Sikon comes angrily out of the shrine.)  

Sikon:  
O Lord Heracles! By all the gods and spirits, do let us get on with our libations! You insult and clout us, you— may go to hell! What an incredible house!

Sim.: Master’s in the well!

Sik.: How did that happen?

32 Speaker divisions in 628-29 based on Arnott 1979.
Sim.: How? He was going down to fish the mattock out and the bucket, then he slipped while at the top, and so he’s fallen in.

Sik.: Not that crabby old terror?

Sim.: Yes.

Sik.: By Heaven, he’s done himself justice! And now it’s up to you, my dear old girl!

Sim.: How?

Sik.: Take a mortar or a rock, or something of the sort, and drop it on him from above!

Sim.: Dear fellow, do go down! (620-33)

Both frantic entrances are characterized by repetition (ὁ δυστυχής, 574; τίς ἄν βοηθήσει, 621-21), which heightens the emotional register of the scene and suggests tragic parody. The actor playing Simiche could use exaggerated hand motions or dance steps to convey Simiche’s panic. Both entrances also involve Simiche telling the story of what happened offstage, for which the actor could use miming as a visual aid. Several aspects of Simiche’s narrative are physical, making good candidates for miming (e.g., tying rope on the mattock and dropping it down the well). Given that both passages are written in iambic trimeter, it would take especially stylized, intentionally rhythmic movement interacting with the rhythm of the spoken lines for these passages to be considered dance. However, this is the type of scene that Plautus would later turn into a musically accompanied (and, likely, dance) scene.

Menander seems to have played with emotional entrances as dance in Samia by staging a series of rapid entrances and exits, all involving heightened emotions and all in trochaic tetrameters (421-573). The plot is coming to its climactic crisis at this point in the play: 

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34 See ch. 2 on the interplay between a dance reference (strobilos) and these likely dance scenes.
35 On “crisis/resolution” dances in Roman comedy, in which dance likely occurs “in close proximity to the event that brings or resolves the climactic crisis of the plot,” see Moore 2022: 170-76 and passim.
Demeas has kicked out his girlfriend, Chrysis (the eponymous girl from Samos) because he thinks she has had a baby by his adopted son Moschion, when in actuality Chrysis has been nursing Plangon’s baby, who was born after Moschion raped Plangon. A series of confusions and miscommunications have led Demeas to believe that Moschion and Chrysis had an affair (resulting in the baby), and all the while Plangon’s father, Nikeratos, does not know that the baby is actually Plangon’s. As these miscommunications unravel, each entrance increases in its emotional frenzy. First, coinciding with the introduction of trochaic tetrameters, Nikeratos enters expressing his annoyance with Demeas and his intention to attack him after Demeas kicked out Chrysis and the baby (βαδίζω νόν ἐκείνῳ προσβάλον… / νῇ τόν Ποσειδῶ καὶ θεοὺς, οἴμωζεται / σκαῖρός ὤν, 421, 427-8). Some exaggerated movements could convey Nikeratos’ annoyance, but any dancing should be relatively controlled at this point: Nikeratos is not happy with Demeas, but he is not yet completely enraged.

Demeas then enters expressing his annoyance at the slaves inside the house, threatening to beat them for crying over Chrysis’ departure (ἂν λάβω ξύλον, ποῆσω τὰ δάκρυα ὑμῶν ταῦτ’ ἐγώ / ἐκκεκόφθαι. τίς ὁ φλιγαρος; 440-41). It is perhaps relevant here that both Pollux (4.105) and Athenaeus (14.629f) include xylou paralēpsis in their lists of dances. Lawler translates this phrase as “using a club” and interprets the dance as a “mimetic enactment of beating or threatened violence.” Lawler further explores possible examples of this dance in Greek theater (comedy, tragedy, and satyr play), although she does not mention this passage of Menander. A mimetic gesture in which Demeas swings the club to threaten his slaves would fit Lawler’s

36 “Now I’ll go and attack him… By Poseidon and the gods, he will pay for his mischief.”
37 “If I grab a stick, I’ll see that all those tears are beaten out of you. What’s this nonsense?”
38 Lawler 1944: 59-61.
understanding of the dance called xylou paralēpsis and represent the extent of Demeas’ annoyance.

When Nikeratos enters again, he is in a total frenzy after seeing his daughter, Plangon, breastfeeding the baby (532-34):

ὦ τάλας ἐγὼ, τάλας·
oıl enisidów thémía diá thuróν épeíforai
eµmánìs áprosóqéktiā karðiaν πληγείµes áchei.

Alas, alas—What a sight befell my gaze! In frenzy through my doors I hasten out, with my heart stricken by an unexpected woe!

At this point, his movements should be panicked and frantic, a clear escalation of his previous entrance. Nikeratos is now starting to symbolize the strobilos leading up to Demeas’ dance reference (555), after which Nikeratos again enters and expresses his anger towards Chrysis before threatening to murder her (556-63). The final frantic entrance comes when Chrysis seeks a place to escape, entering in a panic while being chased by Nikeratos (ὦ τάλαιν’ ἐγὼ, τί δράσω; ποĩ φύγω; 568).39 After some likely aggressive dancing between Demeas and Nikeratos (on which see more below), Demeas is finally able to resolve the situation. The whole sequence is incredibly lively and even farcical in its dramatic entrances and exits, all in a typically accompanied meter.40 Dance would not only add to the physical humor of the scene but would also convey the wide range of emotions expressed throughout (annoyance, anger, rage, fear) and the elevation of these emotions as the plot comes closer to unraveling.

While emotional entrances in Greek comedy were sometimes accompanied and sometimes not, in Roman comedy these scenes are nearly always accompanied.41 An example of

39 “Oh, dear me! What can I do? Where can I find asylum?”
40 On this second half of Act IV as a mixture of farce and tragedy, see Sommerstein 2013: 232, with reference to Arnott 1997a: 74-75.
41 This is due in part to the strong correlation between character entrances and musical accompaniment in general; see Moore 1998a.
a frantic entrance in Plautus’ *Cistellaria* is reminiscent of the choral search dances of Greek theater, as Halisca desperately searches for the basket that will prove Selenium’s heritage. The role of movement, meter, and emotions in this scene makes it a strong candidate for dancing (671-704):

Halisca:

nisi quid mi opis di dant, disperii, neque unde auxilium expetam habeo.  
itaque <et> petulantia mea animi miseram habet <et nequitia angit>.  
qua in tegum meum ne ueniant male formido,  
si era mea <me> sciat tam socordem esse quam sum.  

675  quannte in manibus tenui atque accepi hic ante aedis cistellam, ubi ea sit nescio, nisi ut opinor  
loca haec circiter mi excidit.  
mei homines, mei spectatores, facite indicium, si quis uidit,  
quis eam astulerit quis’ sustulerit et utrum hac an illac iter institerit.  

680  non sum scitior quae hos rogem aut quae fatigem,  
qui semper malo muliebri sunt lubentes.  
nunc uuestigia hic si qua sunt noscitabo.  
nam si nemo hac praeter iit, postquam intro abii,  
cistella hic iaceret. quid hic? perii, opinor,  

685  actum est, ilicit me infelicit et scelestam!  
nulla est, neque ego sum usquam. perdita perdidit me.  
sed pergam ut coepi tamen, quaeritabo.  
nam et intus pauo et foris formido,  

688a  ita nunc utrubique metus me agitat,  
ita sunt homines misere miseri.  

690  ille nunc laetus est, ququis est, qui illam habet,  
qua neque illa illi quicquam usui et mi [esse] potest:  
sed memet moror quom hoc ago setius.  

Halisca, hoc age, ad terram aspice et despice,  
ociulis inuestiges, astute augura.  

695  Lampadio:  
era.  

Phanostrata:  
hem! quid est?  

698 Lam.: haec est.  

Phan.: quis <est>?  

699 Lam.: quoi haec excidit cistella.
Phan.: certe eccam; locum signat, ubi ea excidit: apparet.

Hal.: sed is hac iit, hac soci uideo
uestigium in puluere, persequar hac.
in hoc iam loco cum altero constitit. hic
meis turba oculis modo se obiecit:
nec prorsum iit hac: hic stetit, hinc illo
exiit. hic concilium fuit.
ad duos attinet, liquidum est. attat!
singulum uuestigium uideo.
sed is hac abiit. contemplabor. hinc huc iit, hinc nusquam abiit.
actam rem ago. quod periit, periit: meum corium <cum> cistella.
redeo intro.

Halisca:
Unless the gods give me their help, I’m dead, and I don’t have anyone to seek help from: my own heedlessness makes me wretched in my heart and my uselessness distresses me. I’m terribly afraid that this might have consequences for my back, if my mistress finds out that I’m as careless as I am. I don’t know where the casket is which I held in my hands and received here in front of the house, but I believe it got lost around this area. (to the audience) My dear people, my dear spectators, if anyone has seen it, disclose to me who picked it up or who took it away and whether he went this way or that. (to herself again) I’m none the wiser for asking or pestering these people, who always take pleasure in the misfortune of women. Now I’ll find out if there are any footprints here. Well, if nobody had passed this way after I went in, the casket would still lie here. What’s here? I’m ruined, I think, it’s over, it’s all up with me, unhappy and wretched me! It’s nowhere, and I’m nowhere too. The girl who got lost has made me get lost. But still, I’ll continue as I began, I’ll search. Yes, inside I’m afraid and outside I’m scared, seeing how fear is driving me mad on both sides and seeing how terribly wretched human beings are. That man who has it is happy now, whoever he is, though it can’t be of any use to him and it can be to me. But I’m delaying myself because I’m doing this so slowly. Halisca, pay attention, look at the ground and look down, examine the street with your eyes, practice augury cleverly. (stoops down)

Lampadio: Mistress.

Phanostrata: Yes, what is it?

Lam.: This is her.

Phan.: Who is it?

Lam.: The one who dropped the casket.
Phan.: Look at her, it certainly is! She’s marking the place where she dropped it: it’s obvious.

Hal.: _**(examining the ground)**_ But he went this way, along here I can see the mark of a shoe in the dust; I’ll follow this way. In this place now he stopped with another person. Here my eyes met with a disturbance a moment ago. He didn’t continue on this way: he stood here, from here he went there. Here there was a gathering. It concerns two, that’s obvious. Aha! I can see a single footprint. But he went away this way. I’ll examine it. From here he went here, from here he never went away. _**(pauses)**_ I’m doing something that’s already done. What’s gone is gone: my back along with the casket. I’m going back inside.

The strong emotions that Halisca expresses as she comes on stage would be fitting to be conveyed through dance: she is feeling dejected, desperate, and full of fear, and exaggerated movements could communicate these feelings to the audience. During the _canticum_ that follows, Halisca frantically moves around the stage searching for the basket and the people who took it (i.e., Phanostrata and Lampadio). She could gesture to the audience as she begs them to help (678-679), similarly to Euclio’s address when he runs around looking for his lost gold in _Aulularia_. Moore has recently demonstrated the strong potential for dance to respond to changes in meter throughout this scene, with anapests in particular driving the search forward.⁴² Bernhard Zimmermann also sees a pantomimic dance in this scene, with Halisca both singing and dancing.⁴³ The presence of Phanostrata and Lampadio as “spectators” adds to the sense of Halisca’s search for the basket as a performance. As Moore suggests, their presence also adds a good deal of humor: Halisca is searching for the very people who are right there. While this aspect of Halisca’s search seems intentionally ridiculous, re-framing the search as a dance scene could explain why Halisca is so unobservant: she is in such distress that she cannot help but dance out her emotions, and she is so caught up in her dancing that she misses the two spectators for whom she searches.

⁴³ Zimmermann 2016: 322.
At the beginning of the final act of *Amphitryo*, Bromia enters in a panic after the strange events surrounding the birth of Hercules. The emotional register of Bromia’s entrance, combined with the role of narrative as she tells the story of the birth and the use of meter throughout, makes this scene a likely candidate for dance (1053-71):

My hopes and chances of keeping my life lie buried in my breast. There’s not a bit of courage left in my heart, I’ve lost it all: everything, sea, earth, and heaven, seem to pursue me in order that I should be crushed and killed. Dear me, I don’t know what to do. Such strange things have happened in the house. Poor me, poor me! I’m feeling sick, I’d like some water. I’m destroyed and I’m ruined. My head’s in pain, I can’t hear, I can’t see well with my eyes, and there isn’t a more wretched woman than me, nor could there seem to be one. The experience my mistress had today! Well, when her labor began, she implored the gods. There’s crashing and smashing, rumbling and grumbling: how sudden, how close, how strong that thunder was! Everybody fell down at the peal where he stood. Then someone called out very loudly: “Alcumena, help is at hand, stop being afraid. The one who dwells in heaven is coming, well-disposed toward you and your family. Rise,” he said, “you who have fallen down in terror of me, out of fear.” Lying as I was, I stood up. The house was so bright at the time that I thought it was on fire. Then Alcumena called for me. The previous events were already filling me with terror, but the fear of my mistress prevailed. I ran to her to find out what she wanted. I could see that she’d given birth to twin sons. When she gave birth none of us noticed or foresaw it.
Bromia’s intense panic as she enters would be fitting for dance; the actor could use exaggerated movements to express how fearful Bromia is, especially as she says that her head hurts and she cannot hear or see. Her *canticum* makes clear that she is experiencing an overlap between emotional panic and physiological pain: dance would be a fruitful way for the actor to convey Bromia’s emotional and physical turmoil. Then, as the *canticum* continues and Bromia begins to describe what happened when Alcumena gave birth (1061ff.), mimic dance could help the actor tell the story (e.g., falling down in terror, standing up at the god’s request, running to Alcumena). Moore has further suggested that dance in this scene could respond to the meter, with Bromia performing erratic, unpredictable dance moves with a short burst of steadier movement at the anapastic “pop” of 1062 (*streitus, crepitus, sonitus, tonitus*: *ut subito, ut prope, ut ualide tonuit!*). The repetitive sound patterns of the first half of this line in particular (underlined and bolded above) further reinforce the sense of steadiness and cohesion. This line comes at a turning point in the *canticum* as Bromia transitions from expressing her internal panic to telling the audience what happened inside. If Moore is correct about anapests encouraging a steadier or more rhythmically predictable style of dance than other meters do, then the anapastic “pop” could help capture or re-focus the audience’s attention as Bromia transitions to an important narrative. It would also set up a contrast with the following lines: the audience gets a brief moment of predictability, then erratic rhythms suddenly return, and possibly erratic movements as well, especially if Bromia falls down as part of her dance while narrating how those attending Alcumena’s birth fell down (*concidit*, 1063). The structure of this monody is similar to Simiche’s frantic entrances in Menander’s *Dyskolos*: in each instance, the character suddenly enters in an

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emotional panic and then tells the story of what happened offstage to cause that panic. The biggest structural difference between these scenes is that Simiche’s scenes consist of iambic trimeters, while Bromia’s scene is a polymetric song with metrical complexity, as Moore demonstrates.

In a passage of *Aulularia* surrounded by references to dance, as seen above, the cook Congrio runs onstage in a panic, exclaiming about being beaten inside Euclio’s house (406-415):

Congrio:
attatae! ciues, populares, incolae, accolae, aduenae omnes, date uiam qua fugere liceat, facite totae plateae pateant. neque ego umquam nisi hodie ad Bacchas ueni in bacchanal coquinatum, ita me miserum et meos discipulos fustibus male contuderunt.

totus doleo atque oppido perii, ita me iste habuit senex gymnasium; attat, perii hercle ego miser, an8
410
411a aperit bacchanal, adest, sequitur. scio quam rem geram: hoc
412a ipsus magister me docuit.

Euclio: 415 redi. quo fugis nunc? tene, tene. versreiz

Con.: Ah! Ah! Ah! Citizens, compatriots, inhabitants, neighbors, immigrants, all of you, make way for me to flee, clear all the streets! I’ve never visited Bacchants at a Bacchanalian festival to cook, except for today: poor me, they pounded away at me and my disciples with their clubs. I’m all in pain and have perished completely, because that old man treated me like a gymnasium. (spotting Euclio in the door) Oh no! I’m as good as dead, poor me! The shrine’s opening, here he is, he’s following me. I know what I’ll do: he himself has taught me as my teacher. I’ve never seen firewood being given out so freely anywhere: he drove us all out, me and them, laden with clubs.

Euc.: **Come back! Where are you fleeing now?** Stop him, stop him!

Congrio’s opening lines demanding that everyone get out of the way (*date uiam qua fugere liceat*, 407) are remarkably similar to Curculio’s (*date uiam mihi*, *Curculio* 280) and reflect a stock feature of the *servus currens* routine, although the text does not make clear whether Congrio is running (*fugere* is used instead) and Congrio does not go on to perform the other
stock features of such scenes, such as reporting a message or performing a delayed recognition scene. The motivation for Congrio’s entrance is more akin to the frantic entrances of Strepsiades in *Clouds* and Xanthias in *Wasps*, who come onstage fleeing whoever has been beating them inside the house. Plautus combines these elements to humorous effect: Congrio could perform a “get out of the way” movement that sets the expectation for a *servus currens* routine and then transition to imitative dance, perhaps mimicking frenzied bacchic dancing (408) and being pounded with clubs (409). Given the association we have seen in the previous chapter between *cinaedi* and being pounded, the actor could productively perform cinaedic dancing to emphasize his experience inside Euclio’s house. When Euclio enters, his question suggests that Congrio continues to move away from him, which probably reflects more movement across the stage (*redi. quo fugis nunc? tene, tene*, 415). A frantic mixture of bacchic dancing, cinaedic dancing, and running would capitalize on the various references in this scene.

While we have seen that Terence was far less inclined to write explicit dance scenes than Plautus, nevertheless Terence in *Eunuchus* includes seven emotional entrance scenes that are strong candidates for dance, all with musical accompaniment. The first occurs when Chaerea enters desperately searching for Pamphila, the girl living in the prostitute Thais’s house, whom Chaerea briefly saw in the street before he was interrupted and lost track of her. Chaerea’s entrance shares similarities with Halisca’s search for the basket in *Cistellaria*, as both characters express not knowing where to look and being lost themselves, alongside the lost “object” for which they search (289-304):

Parmeno:

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290 sed video erilem filium minorem huc advenire.
    miror quid ex Piraeo abierit; nam ibi custos publice est nunc.
    non temere est, et properans venit: nescioquid circumspectat.
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Chaerea:
But I see the master’s younger son approaching. I wonder why he’s left the Piraeus; he’s on guard duty there. There must be a reason. And he’s in a hurry: he’s looking around for something.

(Enter Chaerea left from the harbor.)

Chaerea:
(to himself) Damnation! The girl’s lost; and so am I, now I’ve lost sight of her. I just don’t know where to look, where to search, whom to question, which way to take. There’s only one hope: wherever she is, she can’t be hidden for long. What gorgeous looks! From now on I banish all other women from my mind. I’ve had enough of these everyday beauties.

Par.: (aside) Now look, here’s the other one, muttering something about love! The poor old master! If this one gets going, you’ll say the other (i.e., Phaedria) was only fun and games, compared with the effects of this one’s passions.

Chae.: (to himself) May all the gods and goddesses destroy the old fool who delayed me today, and me too for stopping and taking any notice of him! (catching sight of Parmeno) But there’s Parmeno. Good day.

Parmeno’s narration of Chaerea’s approach prepares the audience for a likely dance scene: he describes Chaerea as moving quickly (properans, 291) and looking for something. Chaerea’s extrametric occidi sets the tone for his state of frustration upon losing sight of the girl. As he enters to iambic octonarii, he expresses frustration and desperation at not knowing where the girl
is, and he could express this through dance by performing, for example, searching movements signifying his hunt for Pamphila. Parmeno’s role as a spectator and commentator again helps to frame Chaerea’s entrance as a sort of performance. After Parmeno’s intervening comments, Chaerea returns to iambic octonarii to express his wish that the old man who blocked him be destroyed, then he transitions to trochaics to begin the business with Parmeno. Frantic dancing during this scene would underscore Chaerea’s intense lust for Pamphila and visually represent his state of desperation, perhaps foreshadowing that he would do anything to get access to her.

After Chaerea has disguised himself as a eunuch and raped Pamphila, he comes out of Thais’s house still dressed in the eunuch costume and performs a joyful entrance celebrating his success (549-56):

550 iamne erumpere hoc licet mi gaudium? pro Iuppiter, 
nunc est profecto interfici quom perpeti me possum, 
ne hoc gaudium contaminet vita aegritudine aliqua. 
sed neminemne curiosum intervenire nunc mihi 
qu qui sequatur quoquo eam, rogitando obtundat enicit 
vestitum hunc nactu’, quid mi quaeram, sanu’ sim anne insaniam!

Is there anyone here? Nobody. Anyone following me? Not a soul. Can I now let my joy burst out? By Jupiter, at this moment without a doubt I’d rather face death than have this joy spoiled by any of life’s sorrows. But fancy there being no busybody here to intrude upon me, pursuing me wherever I go, battering my ears and plaguing me to death with questions—why I’m excited and happy, where I’m going, where I’ve come from, where I got this clothing, what I’m up to, whether I’m sane or insane!

After opening with trochaic septenarii as he looks around to see if anyone is nearby (he does not notice that his friend Antipho is watching from afar), Chaerea transitions to the iambics of his earlier entrance, expressing the extent of his joy. His earlier panicked entrance at not knowing how to find Pamphila has now been replaced by this joyful entrance as Chaerea has carried out his plan and gotten what he wanted. This entrance also marks the beginning of a conversation.
that is unique in Roman comedy, in which Chaerea narrates to Antipho the events leading up to
his rape of Pamphila, ending with the disturbing detail that he bolted the door once she fell
asleep so that no one would walk in as he raped her (601-3).

When Chaerea and Antipho exit, Terence kicks off another series of emotional entrances,
this time featuring female slaves, displaying the way that the actions of male characters have
impacted the women in the play. The first comes when Dorias enters expressing her fear that
Thraso will hurt Thais because she invited Chremes, Pamphila’s brother, to dinner, in the hopes
of telling him the truth about Pamphila’s identity (615-28).\[45\] The meter changes from
accompanied iambo-trochaics to unaccompanied senarii when Phaedria enters explaining why he
came back from the farm— not an emotional entrance (629-41). Phaedria then notices Pythias
rushing onstage from Thais’s house as the meter changes from iambic senarii to a polymetric
section for her emotional entrance (642-50):

Phaedria:
sed quid hoc quod timida subito egereditur Pythias? \[ia6\]

Pythias:
ubi ego illum scelerum misera atque impium inveniam? aut ubi quaeram? \[tr8\]
hocin tam audax facinu’ facere esse ausum!

Phae.:
perii! hoc quid sit vereor. \[tr8\]

645 Pyth.: quin etiam insuper scelu’, postquam ludificatust virginem,
vestem omnem miserae discidit, tum ipsam capillo conscidit. \[ia8\]

Phae.: hem.

Pyth.: qui nunc si detur mihi, \[ia4\]
**ut ego unguibus facile illi in oculos involem venefico!** \[ia8\]

Phae.: nes cioquid profecto absente nobis turbatumst domi. \[tr7\]

\[45\] Dorias opens with a fearful entrance before going on to tell the story of what happened inside: *ita me di ament, quantum ego illum vidi, non nil timeo misera / ne quam ille hodie insanus turbam faciat aut vim Thaidi* (615-16): “Oh dear, may the gods help me, from what I’ve seen of him I’m very much afraid that madman will stir up trouble or commit violence against Thais today.”
Phaedria:
But why on earth is Pythias rushing out all of a sudden looking so upset?

(Enter Pythias from Thais’ house.)

Pythias:
(to herself) Oh dear, where can I find that god-forsaken criminal? Where can I look? To think that he dared do such a brazen deed!

Phae.: (aside) Damn it! I’m afraid to think what this is about.

Pyth.: Why, on top of it all, after he’d had his fun and games with the poor girl, the villain ripped her whole dress and tore her hair.

Phae.: (aside) What!

Pyth.: If I get my hands on him, I can’t wait to fly at his face with my nails, the poisonous wretch!

Phae.: (aside) There’s obviously been some sort of trouble at home in my absence. I’ll go up to her. (to Pythias) What’s the matter? What’s the panic? Who are you looking for, Pythias?

In this passage, Pythias rushes in clearly emotional, with Phaedria describing her as timida (fearful or afraid), although her own language makes her come across more angry than fearful.46 The text suggests that she looks around and perhaps turns a few different ways, as she asks herself where she might look for the eunuch responsible for the rape (ubi ego illum scelerosum misera atque impium inveniam? aut ubi quaeram?, 643). These questions mirror Chaerea’s earlier (indirect) questions as he was looking for Pamphila (ubi quaeram, ubi investigem, quem perconter, quam insistam viam, / incertus sum, 294-95). Phaedria acts as a spectator from the beginning of Pythias’ entrance (643) until he decides to approach her (650). In the meantime, Pythias graphically describes what Chaerea has done to Pamphila (ripped her dress and torn her

46 On Pythias’ outrage, see James 1998: 42-43.
hair, 646) and what Pythias herself wants to do to Chaerea in return (attack his face with her
nails, 648). Both of these verbal descriptions could be aided by an intensely emotional dance,
with Pythias miming these actions as part of her frantic entrance, until Phaedria confronts her.

Imitative movement here would underscore an already memorable moment: as Sharon
James argues, the way that Terence presents rape in *Eunuchus* is drastically different from
typical rape plots in Roman comedy, not least because Terence chooses to share intimate details
of the rape that characterize it as exceedingly violent. An audience who is used to plots in
which rape occurs before the play— and also used to language that refers to rape
euphemistically— would be shocked to hear Pythias describe the damaging effects on the victim.

Using an emotional dance or gesture to imitate the ripped dress and torn hair would add to the
shock value and bring Chaerea’s violence to the forefront, as Terence seems to want to do.

Dance could then aid in turning Pythias’ anger at Chaerea’s violence into retribution as she
mimes tearing him apart with her nails. If both Chaerea’s and Pythias’ entrances were realized as
dance, which seems likely, then the audience might make a clearer connection between
Chaerea’s danced representation of his desperation for Pamphila (and joy upon having raped her)
and Pythias’ danced representation of the disastrous consequences of Chaerea’s actions. To build
on James’s arguments about Terence presenting rape in the “worst possible light” and using
female characters to voice this criticism: the juxtaposition of these frantic entrances as dance
scenes represents another way that Terence draws attention to the violence of Chaerea’s actions
and centers female responses. Pythias’ frantic, angry dancing becomes a totally justified reaction

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47 James 1998: 40 and passim. On the rape plot in comedy, see also Fantham 1975: 53 and passim; Pierce 1997;
to Chaerea’s actions, while Chaerea’s frantic, lovesick dancing (after only seeing Pamphila once!) becomes a silly overreaction at best and incredibly dangerous at worst.

Three more entrances solidify these points and add to the picture of how Terence uses emotional entrance dances in *Eunuchus*. After Pythias and Phaedria figure out what happened with the real eunuch (668-724), and Chremes drunkenly talks with Pythias after leaving Thais’s house (725-37), the meter briefly changes from iambic octonarii to an iambic senarius as Chremes announces Thais’s arrival. If the music briefly stopped here as well, Thais’s emotional entrance in trochaic octonarii would stand out even more, as she enters expressing her worry and preemptive anger that Thraso will take Pamphila from her before promising to dig his eyes out of his head if he so much as touches the girl (739-42). Exasperated, threatening gestures would complement her words well: she could throw her hands up, for example, when she exclaims *sine veniat* (739, “let him come!”) and then imitate gouging his eyes out (740, *oculi ilico effodientur*).

Although Thais does not yet know what Chaerea did to Pamphila, her emotional entrance foregrounds the precarious state of women in the play (e.g., Thais and Pamphila) compared to men: the soldier Thraso, in his anger over Thais’s competing affections, could take back Pamphila (with whom he “gifted” Thais) at any point, which would no doubt subject Pamphila to more ill-treatment as well as deprive Thais of the chance to reunite Pamphila with her brother (and gain Chremes’ protection in the process).

When Pythias later decides to get revenge on Parmeno for orchestrating Chaerea’s rape plot, she does so in the form of a mock-frantic entrance. Pythias probably comes onstage in

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48 *credo equidem illum iam adfuturum esse ut illam a me eripiat. sine veniat. / atqui si illam digito attigerit uno, oculi ilico effodientur. / usque adeo ego illius ferre possum ineptiam et magnifica verba, / verba dum sint. verum enim si ad rem conferentur vapulabit; “I suppose he’ll be here in a minute to steal the girl from me. Let him come! If he lays a finger on her, I’ll gouge out his eyes on the spot. I can put up with his stupidity and boastful words so long as they are just words. But if they turn into actions, he’ll get a thrashing.”*
secret at some point and hears the end of Parmeno’s speech railing against meretrices, because she mutters about it under her breath (or, at least, unheard by Parmeno) before changing the meter from iambic senarii to trochaic septenarii for her mock-frenzy (941-50):

Pythias:
ego pol te pro istis dictis et factis, scelus, ulciscar, ut ne impune in nos illuseris.
pro deum fidem, facinus’ foedum! o infelicem adulescentulum!
o scelestum Parmenonem qui istum huc adduxit!

Parmeno: quid est?

945 Pyth.: miseret me: itaque ut ne viderem. misera huc effugi foras quae futura exempla dicunt in illum indigna!

Par.: o Iuppiter,
quae illaec turbast? numnam ego perii? adibo. quid istuc, Pythias? quid ais? in quem exempla fient?

Pyth.: rogitas, audacissume?

Pythias:
(aside) I’ll punish you, by heaven, you villain, for those words and deeds of yours; you won’t get away with making fools of us. (aloud) Heaven help us! What a foul deed! Oh the ill-fated young man! Oh that wicked Parmeno who brought him here!

Parmeno:
What’s this?

Pyth.: I’m sorry for him, and so I rushed out here in misery so as not to see the shocking punishment they say’s coming to him.

Par.: By Jupiter, what’s this commotion? Is this the end of me? I’ll go up to her. (approaching Pythias) What is all this about, Pythias? What are you saying? Who’s going to be punished?

Pyth: You ask, you brazen creature?

Pythias goes on to trick Parmeno into thinking that Chaerea is being tied up and severely punished inside, when in reality Thais has reconciled with Chaerea. Over-the-top gestures of despair would add to the humor of the scene and convey Pythias’ mock-panic. An actor might
choose to perform the same sort of movements as in Pythias’ earlier, genuinely emotional entrance (thus visually linking the two scenes even further) or perform more ridiculous movements that convey the parodic nature of the scene. Regardless, Pythias’ earlier anger lingers in the background: last time she performed this type of scene, she very much wanted to punish Chaerea, and her false narrative of Chaerea’s intense punishment inside is almost a fantasy of what Pythias wishes were actually happening. This mock-entrance restores some humor to Pythias’ character – her earlier entrance was not funny at all – while still subtly reminding the audience of Pythias’ intense but righteous anger, likely exemplified through dance. When Chaerea performs the final emotional entrance at the end of the play, expressing his joy at his engagement to the newly-revealed citizen Pamphila in iambic octonarii (1031-33), it is exceptionally difficult to feel happy for him.49

One year after the debut of the (wildly successful) Eunuchus, Geta’s monody in Adelphoe is a variation on the theme of a frantic entrance that threatens to physically punish a male character who has wronged (or is perceived to have wronged) a female character.50 Before the play begins, Aeschinus has raped and impregnated the widow Sostrata’s daughter, Pamphila, who is about to go into labor. Sostrata believes that Aeschinus is devoted to Pamphila and will marry her, until Geta, Sostrata’s slave, enters lamenting the women’s situation (299-304) and reacting to the news of Aeschinus abducting the music-girl (305-320):

Sostrata: 305 me miseram, quidnam est quod sic video timidum et properantem Getam? ia8

Geta:

49 Technically, 1031 rounds out a section of trochaic septenarii before Chaerea transitions to iambic octonarii for the remainder of his entrance and his exchange with Parmeno (1032-49). Chae.: o populares, ecquis me vivit hodie fortunatior? / nemo hercle quisquam. nam in me plane di potestatem suam / omnem ostendere, quoit tam subito tot congruerint commoda. Par.: quid hic laetus est?: “Chae.: Fellow countrymen, is there anyone alive today more fortunate than me? Nobody at all. The gods have clearly manifested all their powers in my case; so many blessings have been heaped upon me so unexpectedly. Par.: What’s he so joyful about?”

50 On the success of Eunuchus cf. Suetonius, Vita Terenti II.
quem neque fides neque iusiurandum neque illum misericordia
repressit neque reflexit neque quod partus instabat prope
quo miserae indigne per vim vitium obtulerat.

Sos.: non intellego
satis quae loquatur.

Canthara: propius obseco accedamu’, Sostrata.

Get.: ah
me miserum, vix sum compositus animi, ita ardeo iracundia.
il est quod malim quam illum totam familiae dari mi obviam,
ut ego iram hanc in eos evomam omnem, dum aegritudo haec est recens.
satis mihi id habeam supplici dum illos ulciscar modo.

Sos.:

Seni animam primum extinguerem ipsi qui illud produxit scelus;
tum autem Syrum impulsorem, vah, quibus illum lacerarem modis!
sublime[m] medium primum arripere et capite in terra statuerem,
ut cerebro dispergat viam.

Can.:

adulescenti ipsi eriperem oculos, post haec praecipitem darem;
ceteros — ruerem agerem raperem tunderem et prosternerem.

Sostrata:
(aside) There’s Geta! Oh dear! Why on earth is he so upset and in such a hurry?

Geta:
His sense of honor didn’t hold him back or make him think twice, nor his oath, nor pity,
nor the fact that the poor girl he’d so shockingly violated was about to go into labor.

Sos.: (to Canthara) I can’t quite make out what he’s saying.

Can.: (to Sostrata) For goodness’ sake, Sostrata, let’s go up closer.

Get.: Oh misery! I can scarcely control myself, I’m so on fire with anger. There’s
nothing I’d like better than for the whole household to be put in front of me, so that I
could disgorge all my fury on them while I’m still in this distressed state. I’d be happy
with their punishment if I could take revenge in my own way. First I’d choke out the
life of the old man who reared this monster. Then Syrus, who put him up to this: oh,
how I’d tear him to pieces! I’d grab him round the waist, lift him off his feet and put
him down on his head, so as to spatter the street with his brains. As for the young man
himself, I’d gouge out his eyes and then fling him flat on his face. And the rest—I’d
hunt them down, round them up, strip them bare, beat them, and throw them to the
ground. But I must hurry up and tell my mistress this dreadful news.
The meters in this passage suggest musical accompaniment, creating a fruitful context for dancing. Sostrata’s commentary at the beginning of this passage suggests that Geta has been frantically and emotionally rushing onstage (305). Geta’s lines in turn make clear that he is furious (306-308), at which point Sostrata and Canthara, as internal spectators, move closer so that they can hear Geta better. He expresses intense anger in his monody (vix sum compos animi, ita ardeo iracundia, 310), which could be conveyed by vigorous, exaggerated gestures. The next lines contain a series of actions as Geta imagines taking vengeance on those who have wronged Pamphila. Each description of what Geta would do is highly physical, and the actor could use imitative dance to mime each threat (e.g., extinguishing Micio, mutilating Syrus, grabbing Syrus and throwing him down on his head, ripping out Aeschinus’ eyes and hurling him down). The similarities between Geta’s angry entrance here and Pythias’ above suggests that Terence was uniquely interested in using emotional entrances to demonstrate the disastrous effects that the actions of a young male “lover” can have upon vulnerable young women. If both of these scenes were indeed dance scenes, then we have strong examples of Terence using dance in a much more complex way than has previously been assumed.

**Threats and aggression**

The prevalence of threats and aggression in likely dance scenes has already been seen throughout the discussion of running and frantic entrances (e.g., Ar., Wasps 1326-40; Men., Samia 556-63; Plautus, Aulularia 406-15; Ter., Eunuchus 642-50). Characters often run because they are fleeing an aggressor (e.g., Ar., Acharnians 175-85; Men., Dyskolos 81-87), or they themselves threaten others as they run (e.g., the famous threat-monologues of servus currens).

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51 For this suggestion, see also Moore 2012: 125.
As seen in chapter one, the threat of aggression through dance is present in the dance finales of Aristophanes’ *Wasps*, Menander’s *Dyskolos*, and Plautus’ *Persa*. Competition is also implicit in some of this aggressive dancing, as in *Wasps*. This section argues for the likelihood of aggressive dancing in other scenes throughout Greek and Roman comedy. As illustrated in the chart at the end of this chapter, scenes of possible aggressive or threatening dance are often but not always accompanied in Greek comedy, while they are nearly always accompanied in Roman comedy.

*Aristophanes’ Knights* includes several candidates for aggressive dancing between Paphlagon and the Sausage-Seller. One comes when the meter quickens from trochaic tetrameters to dimeters as the two rapidly exchange insults, many of which include physical threats (284-301):

53

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ΠΑΦΛΑΓΩΝ:} & \quad \text{ἀποθανεῖσθον αὐτίκα μάλα.} \\
\text{ΑΛΛΑΝΤΟΠΩΛΗΣ:} & \quad \text{τριπλάσιον κεκράξομαι σου.} \\
\text{ΠΑΦ.:} & \quad \text{καταβοσομαι βοῶν σε.} \\
\text{ΑΛΛ.:} & \quad \text{κατακεκράξομαι σε κράζων.} \\
\text{ΠΑΦ.:} & \quad \text{διαβαλῶ σ’ ἐὰν στρατηγῆς.} \\
\text{ΑΛΛ.:} & \quad \text{κυνοκοπῆσω σου τὸ νῦτον.} \\
\text{ΠΑΦ.:} & \quad \text{περιελῶ σ’ ἀλαζονεῖας.} \\
\text{ΑΛΛ.:} & \quad \text{ὑποτεμοῦμαι τὰς ὁδοὺς σου.} \\
\text{ΠΑΦ.:} & \quad \text{βλέψων εἰς μ’ ἀσκαρδᾶμυκτον.} \\
\text{ΑΛΛ.:} & \quad \text{ἐν ἀγορᾷ κάγῳ τέθραμμαι.} \\
\text{ΠΑΦ.:} & \quad \text{διαφορῆσω σ’ εἴ τι γρῦξει.}
\end{align*}
\]

53 See Parker 1997: 162 on the “rapid-fire exchange of dimeters” in this scene.
ΑΛΛ.: κοπροφορήσω σ’ εἰ λαλήσεις.\textsuperscript{54}

ΠΑΦ.: όμολογώ κλέπτειν· σὺ δ’ οὐχί.

ΑΛΛ.: νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν Ἀγοραῖον, κάπωρκῷ γε βλεπόντων.

ΠΑΦ.: ἀλλότρια τοῖνυν σοφίζει.
καὶ σε φαινῷ τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν
ἀδεκατεύτους τὸν θεῶν ἱερὰς ἔχοντα κοιλίας.

Paphlagon:
You two are dead meat now!

Sausage-Seller:
I’ll shout three times as loud as you!

Paph.: I’ll outbellow you with my bellowing!

S.S.: I’ll shout you down with my shouting!

Paph.: I’ll slander you if you become a general!

S.S.: I’ll beat your back like a dog’s!

Paph.: I’ll harass you with quackeries!

S.S.: I’ll cut off your escape routes!

Paph.: Look at me without blinking.

S.S.: I was raised in the markets too!

Paph.: One peep from you and I’ll rip you apart!

S.S.: Any blather from you and I’ll cart you off like a load of dung!

Paph.: I admit I’m a thief; you don’t.

S.S.: I do so, by Hermes of the Markets! And even when people see me do it, I swear I didn’t!

Paph.: Then you’re stealing someone else’s tricks! And I expose you to the police for possession of sacred tripe belonging to the gods, and with failure to pay the tithe on it.

\textsuperscript{54} λαλήσεις: following Henderson 1998 instead of Wilson.
The text suggests that they first have a shouting match (285-87) that devolves into something more physical. When the Sausage-Seller yells that he will “beat [Paphlagon’s] back like a dog” (κυνοκοπήσω σου τὸ νῶτον, 295), he could use imitative dance to represent the threat, as Paphlagon could mime tearing him apart (διαφορήσω, 294) and the Sausage-Seller could again mime covering Paphlagon with dung (κοπροφορήσω, 295). A danced exchange of threats between actors would complement the role of the chorus in surrounding scenes: shortly before this passage, the chorus entered striking Paphlagon to trochaic tetrameters catalectic (242ff.), and immediately following this passage, the chorus begins its first ode, insulting Paphlagon in cretics (303-13). If the Sausage-Seller in particular used dance to exemplify his threats to Paphlagon, it would visually assimilate him to the chorus and their dance-striking of Paphlagon during the parodos.

Another interplay between aggressive solo and choral dance likely occurs in Wasps when Bdelycleon tells Xanthias to strike the chorus of wasps as they attempt to defend Philocleon (456-60):

ΒΔΕΛΥΚΛΕΩΝ:
παίε, παί’, ὦ Ξανθία, τοῦς σφήκας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας.  

ΞΑΝΘΙΑΣ:
άλλα δρῶ τοῦτ’. ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ τὰφε πολλῷ τῷ καπνῷ.

ΒΔ.: οὐχὶ σοῦσθ’; οὐκ ἐς κόρακας; οὐκ ἀπίτε; παίε τῷ ξύλῳ. 56
ΞΑ.: καὶ σὺ προσθεῖς Αἰσχίνην ἐντυφε τὸν Σελλαρτίου.

460 ΒΔ.: ἄρ’ ἐμέλλομέν ποθ’ ὕμᾶς ἀποσοβήσειν τῷ χρόνῳ.

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55 παίε παίε τὸν πανοδρόμον (247); ἀλλὰ παίε καὶ δίωκε καὶ τάραττε καὶ κόκα / καὶ βδελύκτου, καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς, καπηκέμνον βόα (251-52). Cf. Anderson and Dix 2020: 101-2 on choral dance here: “The chorus enters, singing and dancing… The repeated imperative (i.e., παίε παίε) both marks the speaker’s agitation and functions as a kind of war cry, suggesting a threatening motion of some sort on the part of the chorus.”

56 Here I follow the speaker divisions of Henderson 1998 (457-58).
Bdelycleon:
Xanthias, **beat** the wasps, **beat them** away from the house!

Xanthias:
That’s what I’m doing! But you help too: blow lots of smoke on them!

Bd.: Shoo! Get the hell away! Go! **Lay on with your club!**

Xa.: And you, suffocate them with a billow of Aeschines, son of Hotair! (*The Chorus retreats.*)

Bd.: I knew we’d eventually shoo you away.

The chorus of wasps has previously given themselves orders to take out their stingers and run to find Cleon (403-414) before using their stingers to attack Bdelycleon and Xanthias (422-32). Bdelycleon calls slaves out of the house to help hold Philocleon down (433-36) before the pair reenters with supplies to attack the chorus back. Whereas aggressive dancing would have first been performed by the chorus at the expense of Bdelycleon and Xanthias, here the two likely reclaim the chorus’ aggressive dancing for themselves as they drive the wasps away.\(^{57}\) It is perhaps intentional that Xanthias is more likely to be dancing than Bdelycleon is: Xanthias is the one to physically strike the chorus of wasps with a club (456, 458),\(^{58}\) while Bdelycleon blows smoke on them. The slave Xanthias does the “dirty work,” so to speak, while Bdelycleon engages in a less physical method of attacking (and one less likely to be conveyed through dancing).

The ending of Menander’s *Dyskolos*, as we have seen, provides a clear example of aggressive dancing, and there is a strong possibility of such dancing in *Samia* as well. Immediately following *Samia*’s rapid succession of frantic, emotional entrances discussed above,

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\(^{57}\) Note that Bdelycleon’s orders to Xanthias at 456 (παῖ ἐ, παῖ ε) are identical to the chorus’ language when striking Paphlagon at *Knights* 247 (παῖ χ παῖ χ).

\(^{58}\) Cf. Lawler 1944: 59-61 on xylou paralēpsis as a beating dance with a club, discussed above.
Nikeratos and Demeas strike each other, finally coming to blows over the situation with Chrysis and the baby (570-85):

570  ΔΗΜΕΑΣ:  
    Δημέα, μονομαχήσω τήμερον, ὡς ἔοικ’, ἐγώ. τί βούλει; τίνα διώκεις;  
    ΔΗΜ.: μηθαμ’.

    ΝΙΚΗΡΑΤΟΣ:  
    Δημέα, ἐκποδὼν ἀπελθ’ ἔα με γενόμενον τοῦ παιδίου ἐγκρατῇ τὸ πράγμ’ ἀκούσαι τῶν γυναικῶν.  
    ΔΗΜ.: μηθαμ’.

    ΝΙΚ.: ἄλλα τυπτήσεις με;  
    ΔΗΜ.: ἐγγογε.—θάττον εἰσφάρῃ σύ.

575  ΝΙΚ.: ἄλλα μὴν κάγω σε.  
    ΔΗΜ.: φεῦγε, Χρυσί’ κρεῖττον ἔστι μου.  
    ΝΙΚ.: πρῶτερος ἀπετε μοι σὺ νυνί’ ταύτ’ ἐγὼ μαρτύρομαι.  
    ΔΗΜ.: σὺ δ’ ἐπ’ ἐλευθέραν γυναίκα λαμβάνεις βακτηρίαν καὶ διώκεις.  
    ΝΙΚ.: συκοφαντεῖς.  
    ΔΗΜ.: καὶ σὺ γάρ.  
    ΝΙΚ.: τὸ παιδίον ἐξένεγκέ μοι.  
    ΔΗΜ.: γελοῖον· τοῦμόν.  
    ΝΙΚ.: ἄλλ’ σὺκ ἔστι σόν.  
580  ΔΗΜ.: ἐμόν.  
    ΝΙΚ.: ἰὼ ’νθρωποί.  
    ΔΗΜ.: κέκραχθι.  
    ΝΙΚ.: τὴν γυναῖκ’ ἀποκτενῶ ἐισιῶν· τί γάρ ποίησον;
ΔΗΜ.: τοῦτο μοχθηρὸν πάλιν.
οὐκ ἐάσω. ποὶ σὺ; μένε δή.

ΝΙΚ.: μὴ πρόσαγε τὴν χεῖρά μοι.

ΔΗΜ.: κάτεχε δὴ σεαυτόν.

ΝΙΚ.: ἀδικεῖς Δημέα μὲ, δῆλος εἰ,
καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα πᾶν σύνοισθα.

ΔΗΜ.: τοιγαροῦν ἐμοὶ πυθοῦ,
585 τῇ γυναικὶ μὴ ῥοχλήσας μηδὲν.

Demeas:
O God, I’ll fight a duel, it seems, today. What do you want? Who are you chasing?

Nikeratos: Demeas, move out of my way! Let me first take possession of the child, and then hear the women’s version of what’s happened.

Dem.: Never!

Nik.: Then will you strike me first?

Dem.: I will! (To Chrysis) You get to hell inside, and quick!

Nik.: But I’ll wallop you!

Dem.: Run, Chrysis! He’s a stronger man than me.

Nik.: You have struck me first today—I testify to that.

Dem.: And you too have raised a stick against a woman of free birth, and chased her!

Nik.: You’re lying!59

Dem.: And the same applies to you!

Nik.: Just bring the child out to me.

Dem.: You must be joking—it is mine!

Nik.: It’s not yours, though!

Dem.: It is mine!

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59 Cf. Sommerstein 2013: 278: “you’re making a trumped-up accusation,” which Sommerstein says implies a false accusation elsewhere in Menander, but here it is clear that the accusation is accurate.
Nik.: Oh, help me, anybody!

Dem.: Bawl away!

Nik.: I’ll go in and kill your partner. What else can I do?

Dem.: That’s wicked, too! I shan’t let you. Where are you now going? Stop!

Nik.: Don’t lay your hand on me!

Dem.: Now control yourself!

Nik.: It’s clear that you’re ill-treating me, Demeas, and you know all the facts in league with them!

Dem.: Well then, question me, and don’t disturb at all my partner.

The accompanied meter and frequent physical fighting between the men makes this a likely candidate for dancing. Both Nikeratos and Demeas could perform threatening movements and imitate striking each other before they actually do so, leading to a rhythmic fight. Only after their fighting is Demeas able to explain the situation to Nikeratos, leading to the resolution of the issue. A bout of aggressive dancing between Nikeratos and Demeas would be a fitting conclusion to the farcical series of frantic entrances that mark Act IV.

Plautus includes numerous opportunities for threatening or aggressive dancing. The frequency of threat-monologues in likely danced servant scenes suggests a connection between running and aggressive dancing, but in some instances aggressive dancing seems to occur on its own. Such is the case for Mercury’s parody of the threat-monologue in Amphitryon (984-93):

concedite atque apscedite omnes, de uia decedite,
985 nec quisquam tam au<x>dax fuat homo qui obuiam opsistat mihi.
nam mihi quidem hercle qui minus liceat deo minitarier populo, ni decedat mihi, quam seruolo in comoediis?

Cf. Sommerstein 2013: 276 on l. 573: “Demeas stands firm against Nikeratos, who will have been trying to get past him; he probably raises his stick in a threatening manner, though as yet there is no physical contact.”
ill’ nauem saluam nuntiat aut irati adventum senis:
ego sum Ioui dicto audiens, eius iussu nunc huc me afferro.

Get away and get out, all of you, get off the street; let no one be so bold as to stand in my way. Why should I, a god, not be allowed to threaten people if they don’t get out of my way just as much as some paltry slave in comedies? He announces that the ship’s safe or that the angry old man’s coming. But I obey Jupiter, I’m now bringing myself here on his command. For this reason it’s more appropriate to get off the street for me and to get out of my way. My father calls me; I follow him and obey his word and command. I behave toward my father as a good son ought to. I play the hanger-on for him while he’s in love, I encourage him, stand by him, advise him, rejoice with him.

Although Mercury is performing his take on a *servus currens* scene, the text does not indicate that he is running or in any sort of hurry. He could still parody the “get out of the way” movement and other exaggerated, menacing dance moves. The more over-the-top movement, the better the humor of the scene would be conveyed: Mercury in fact has no message to report to anyone but the audience, and he is not in a rush, but he still insists on knocking anyone and everyone out of his way just as “slaves in comedies” do. The role of meter in this scene would have made Mercury’s parody stand out: the meter changes from unaccompanied senarii to iambic octonarii at Mercury’s entrance (984) then briefly changes back to senarii when the parody is over (1006-8), right after Mercury spots Amphitryo and decides to go inside before heading up to the roof to antagonize him.

Plautus’ *Pseudolus* contains what was probably the most spectacular example of aggressive dancing in Roman comedy: Ballio’s entrance-*canticum* (133-229). Ballio first enters chastising his slaves, whipping them and complaining about how they do not follow his orders (133-56), then singles a few of them out with orders he wants them to fulfill (157-71), then calls

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for his female slaves to come out of the house for further orders (172-229), with Pseudolus and Calidorus intermittently commenting on Ballio’s cruelty as hidden spectators. The strongest potential for dance comes at the opening of the canticum with several demonstrative references to Ballio’s whip, which he could brandish as part of his choreography (133-39, 148-55):

Ballio:

exite, agite exite, ignaui, male habiti et male conciliati,
quorum numquam quicquam quoiquam uenit in mentem ut recte faciant,
quibus, nisi ad hoc exemplum experior, non potest usura usurpari.
neque ego homines magis asinos numquam uidi, ita plagis costae callent:
quos quom ferias, tibi plus noceas. eo enim ingenio hi sunt flagritribe,
qui haec habent consilia, ubi data occasio est, rape, clepe, tene,
harpaga, bible, es, fuge…

Come out, will you? Come out, you good-for-nothings, whom I am a fool to keep and was a fool to buy! It never occurs to any of you to do anything right; no possible use can be made of you, unless I treat you in this fashion! (beats them) I’ve never seen human beings who were such asses, to judge from how their ribs have grown hard from blows. When you hit them, you hurt yourself more. That’s the nature of these whip-spoilers, who have these plans: when they’re given an opportunity, it’s rob, filch, grab, steal, drink, eat, flee.

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atque heriem edixeram omnibus dederamque eas prouincias,
uerum ita uos estis praediti callenti ingenio improbi,
officium uostrum ut uos malo cogatis commonerier;
nempe ita animati estis uos: uincitis duritia hoc atque me.
hoc sis uide, ut alias res agunt! hoc agite, hoc animum aduortite,
huc adhibete auris quae ego loquor, plagigera genera hominum.
numquam edepol uostrum durius tergum erit quam tergnum hoc meum.

And I’d already told you all yesterday and given you your tasks, but you crooks have such callous brains that you have to be reminded of your duty with a thrashing. That’s what your attitude is like: with your hardness you get the better of this here (cracks his whip) and of myself. Just look at how they don’t pay attention! Pay attention to this, mind this, apply your ears here to what I’m saying, you stripe-bearing specimens of humanity! Your hides will never be tougher than this rawhide whip of mine. (beats them again) Well then? Does it hurt? There, that’s how I like it if any slave despises his master.
In addition to the strong potential for whipping movements throughout this opening, Ballio could perform gestures summoning his slaves onstage (with the repetitive anapestic opening *exite, agite exite*, 133) and imitate his accusations against his slaves (*rape, clepe, tene, harpaga, bibe, es, fuge*, 138-39). There is some potential for continued dancing as Ballio points out each of his slaves to give them individual orders (e.g., *tu qui urnam habes aquam ingere*, 157; *tibi hoc praecipio ut niteant aedes*, 161). In addition to gesturing towards each slave, the actor could physically imitate the orders he gives or use exasperated or harsh movements to convey Ballio’s character. A plethora of aggressive dancing throughout the *canticum* would not only match the tone of Ballio’s song and create a memorable visual spectacle but also reinforce the cruelty of the pimp’s character. Pseudolus and Calidorus’ role as “spectators” further frames Ballio’s performance as a spectacle. It is perhaps notable here that the star actor Roscius (ca. 126-62 BC) is known to have played Ballio, despite this being a smaller role than that of Pseudolus. As Elaine Fantham shows, Roscius was particularly distinguished for his skill in comedic gestures and movements. Further, Aristides Quintilianus refers to Roscius as a dancer. Ballio’s entrance-*canticum* would have presented an extraordinary opportunity for an actor to display such virtuosity.

**Sex and seduction**

As demonstrated in chapter one, sex and seduction are recurring themes of definite solo dance scenes in Greek and Roman comedy: examples of this include Elaphion’s lap dance in Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazusae* and cinaedic dancing as a stand-in for sex at the end of

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62 “You there, you have a bucket, put water into it” (157); “Your job is to make the house shine” (161).
65 *On Music* 2.6.73.
Plautus’ *Persa*, *Pseudolus*, and *Stichus*. Thanks to these examples, we know that sexually suggestive dancing was performed in both Greek and Roman comedy. Lyrics involving sex or seduction often make strong candidates for dance scenes because of the physicality and playfulness involved.

Aristophanic comedy, with its lewd humor and phallic costumes, includes ample opportunity for sexual dance moves. Jeffrey Henderson suggests as much in his study of obscenities in Attic comedy:

> We must keep in mind that the very spectacle of Attic Comedy was, at least until well into the fourth century, thoroughly obscene: the male actors were grotesquely padded in the rump and belly and wore the phallus; the female parts (even if played by men) usually involved nudity and much sexual byplay; the dancing was often highly suggestive; the abusive, parodic, and satirical thrust of the comedies relied heavily on obscenity for its impact.66

Dicaeopolis’ phallic monody in *Acharnians* is an example of this. After the chorus performs a search song, Dicaeopolis enters performing a procession and sacrifice for Dionysus, which he calls a phallic song (*τὸ φαλλικόν*, 261).67 The procession includes Dicaeopolis’ daughter, who carries a basket, two slaves (including Xanthias), who carry a phallus, and Dicaeopolis’ wife, whom he tells to watch rather than participate (262). Dicaeopolis uses iambic trimeters as he gives instructions to the participants, begins the sacrifices, and prays to Dionysus (242-62). Throughout this section, Dicaeopolis’ language frequently emphasizes forward movement (*πρότθ’ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ὀλίγον*, 242; *πρόβατον*, 257; *πρόβατο*, 262). It is unclear whether the rhythmic procession starts during this passage in trimeters or if the trimeters only set the scene, with the procession proper beginning at the transition to accompanied meters.68 At line 263,

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67 On ritual elements in this scene and Dicaeopolis as a soloist standing in for choral ritual, see Bierl 2009: 314-25.
68 The latter is more likely, as Bierl 2009: 319, 322 suggests.
Dicaeopolis switches to lyric iambics for a comic monody (263-79). There is some physical language in the monody that could be especially fitting for Dicaeopolis to imitate with rhythmic movement. He sings of “deflowering” a young woman using repetitive visual language that could be accompanied by aggressive sexual movements:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{πολλῷ γάρ ἐσθ’ ἡδίων, ὦ Φαλῆς Φαλῆς}, & \quad \text{ia trim} \\
\text{κλέπτουσαν εὔρόνθ’ ὕρικὴν ὕληφόρον}, & \quad \text{ia trim} \\
\text{τὴν Σπρυμοδώρου Ἐράκταν ἐκ τοῦ φελλέως}, & \quad \text{ia trim} \\
275 \text{μέσην λαβόντ’, ἄραντα, καταβαλόντα καταγιγαρτίσαι.} & \quad \text{ia tetram}
\end{align*}
\]

Yes, it’s far more pleasant, Phales, Phales, to catch a budding maid with pilfered wood—Strymodorus’ Thratta from the Rocky Bottom—and **grab her waist, lift her up, throw her down and take her cherry**.

The string of participles builds in physical intensity (λαβόντ’, ἄραντα, καταβαλόντα) culminating in sex, using metaphorical language that refers to squeezing the seed or kernel out of a grape (καταγιγαρτίσαι). Rhythmic, imitative movement could complement this language as the actor mimes the actions he describes, perhaps ending with a big sexual movement or a smaller one that plays to the subtlety of the grape metaphor. While the first three lines of the above passage are in iambic trimeter, these trimeters are sung as part of an iambic monody. Still, the use of trimeters makes the tetrameter line stand out just as Dicaeopolis’ language becomes rough and explicit. It is possible that dancing in this scene responded to the metrical pattern: Dicaeopolis could first perform softer, more delicate movements to an expected rhythm and then suddenly break into aggressive, sexually explicit movements along with the tetrameter line (275).

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69 Parker 1997: 123, 126-28 notes that these lyric iambics are very simple and probably based on popular forms (possibly solo hymns).


Assemblywomen includes several scenes with strong potential for seductive solo dancing.

The first occurs when Praxagora is trying to convince her husband Blepyros and their neighbor of how the citizens will benefit from following the women’s plan, namely free dinners and open sex (689-709):

ΠΡΑΞΑΓΟΡΑ: 
ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔσται τοῦτο παρ’ ἡμῖν.
πάσι γὰρ ἄφθονα πάντα παρέξομεν, ὡςτε μεθυσθεῖς αὐτῷ στεφάνῳ πᾶς τις ἀπεισών τὴν δᾶδα λαβῶν. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες κατὰ τὰς διόδους προσπίπτουσαι τοῖς ἀπὸ δεῖπνου

Τάδε λέξουσιν: “δεῖρο παρ’ ἡμᾶς• ἐνθάδε μείραξ ἐσθ’ ὑφαῖα.” “παρ’ ἐμοί δ’ ἑτέρα” φήσει τις ἀνωθ’ ἐξ ὑπερφού, “καὶ καλλίστη καὶ λευκοτάτη·

πρότερον μέντοι δέε σε καθεῦδειν αὐτῆς παρ’ ἐμοί.”

τοῖς εὐπρεπέσιν δ’ ἀκολουθοῦντες καὶ μειρακίους οἱ φαυλότεροι τοιάδ’ ἐρωτόσιν: “ποί θεῖς οὔτος; πάντως οὐδὲν δράσεις ἐλθὼν.

τοῖς γὰρ σιμοῖς καὶ τοῖς αἰσχροῖς ἐγκήρυσται προτέροις βινεῖν, ὑμᾶς δὲ τέως θρία λαβόντας διφόρου συκῆς ἐν τοῖς προθύροισι δέφεσθαι.”

φέρε νυν φράσον μοι, ταῦτ’ ἄρέσκει σφῶν;

ΒΛΕΠΥΡΟΣ: πάνω.

Praxagora:
That won’t happen with us; we’ll provide everything for everyone unstintingly. Every single man will leave drunk, garland still on and torch in hand, and along the streets as they come from dinner the ladies will accost them like this: “Come here to our place; there’s a lovely girl in here.” “And over here,” another one will cry from a second story window, “is a very fine and exquisitely pale girl. Of course, you’ll have to sleep with me before her.” And the inferior men will chase after the handsome lads, saying “Hey you, where do you think you’re off to? You’re going to get nothing anyway: the law says that the pug-nosed and the ugly get first fuck, while you grab the petals of your double-hung fig branch and jerk off in the doorway!” So tell me, does my plan meet with your approval?
Blepyros: Very much so!

Praxagora plays a few “roles” in this passage: first the women seducing men in the street, then a woman seducing a man from her window, then uglier men telling young men to abandon their pursuit and go masturbate. The scene would be much more effective if Praxagora modulated her voice and performed seductive dance moves to accentuate each quotation. Not only would this add humor, it would also demonstrate to Blepyros and their neighbor just what they will get if they decide to comply with Praxagora and the women. By dancing seductively in imitation of these imaginary figures, Praxagora can seduce her audience into accepting her plan. When the meter changes back to iambic trimeters, musical accompaniment stops, and Praxagora asks if the plan is suitable to them, it is no surprise that Blepyros answers with an enthusiastic yes.

The potential for seductive dance returns with alternating songs between an old woman and young girl competing for the same young man. The scenario that Praxagora mimicked in the previous passage essentially comes to fruition here, again with a strong possibility for rhythmic movement. The struggle between the old woman and young girl would be fitting for competitive dance in addition to seductive dance.\(^{72}\) Iambic trimeters frame the competing monodies (877-925):

\[
\text{ΓΡΑΥΣ Α:} \\
\text{τί ποθ’ ἀνδρες οὐχ ἦκουσιν; ὡρα δ’ ἤν πάλαι} \\
\text{ἐγὼ δὲ καταπέπλασμένη ψυμβίω} \\
\text{ἔστηκα καὶ κροκωτόν ἠμφιεσμένη} \\
\text{ἀργός, μινυρομένη τι πρός ἐμαυτήν μέλος,} \\
\text{παὐζοντο ὅπως}^{73}\ \text{ἀν περιλάβομι αὐτόν} \\
\text{παρόντα. Μοῦσαι, δεῦρ’ ἵτ’ ἐπὶ τούμον στόμα,} \\
\text{μελύδριον εὐροῦσαί} \ \text{τι τῶν Ἰονικῶν.}
\]

\(^{72}\) For the possibility of dance in this scene to evoke parallels with female celebrations of the Adonia, see Bowie 1993: 266-67.
\(^{73}\) I follow Henderson 2002 here.
NEANÍS:  

885 ὃν μὲν με παρακύψασα προῦφθης, ὦ σαπρά.  

890 ΓΡ.: τοῦτο διαλέγω καποχώρησον' σὺ δὲ,  

φιλοττάριον αὐλητά, τοὺς αὐλοὺς λαβὼν  

άξιον ἐμοὺ καὶ σοῦ προσαύλησον μέλος.  

893-4 εἰ τις ἀγαθὸν βούλεται παιδεῖν τι, παρ’ ἐμοὶ χρή καθεύδειν.  

895-6 οὐ γὰρ ἐν νέαις τὸ σοφὸν ἐνεστιν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ταῖς πεπείροις.  

οὔδε τὰν στέργειν τις ἐθέλαι μᾶλλον ἢ 'γὼ  

tón φίλον ὑπερ ἔννειν,  

ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ ἐτερὸν ἄν πέτοιτο—  

900 NE.: μὴ φθόνει ταῖσιν νέαισιν  

tὸ τρυφερὸν γὰρ ἐμπέφυκε  

tοῖς ἀπαλοίς μηροῖς,  

καὶ τοῖς μήλοις ἐπαν-  

θεὶ· σὺ δ’, ὦ γραῦ, παραλέξηζαι κάντετρψαι  

905 τῷ Θανάτῳ μέλημα.  

900 ΓΡΑ.: ἐκπέποι σου τὸ τρῆμα  

tὸ τ’ ἐπικλείντρον ἀποβάλοιο  

βουλομένη σποδεῖσθαι.  

καὶ τῆς κλῖνης ὅριν προσεκύσαι74  

910 βουλομένη φιλήσαι.  

NE.: αἰαὶ, τὶ ποτε πείσομαι;  

οὐχ ἦκεί μοῦταῖρος·  

μόνη δ’ αὐτὸν λείποι’ ἢ  

γὰρ μοι μήπερ ἀλλή βέβηκε.  

καὶ τάλα <μ’> οὖδὲν <τά> μετὰ ταῦτα δεῖ λέγειν.  

915 ἀλλ’, ὦ μαί’, ἱκετεύομαι,  

κάλει τὸν Ὄρθαγόραν,  

917a ὅπως σαυτής ἂν κατόναι’,  

917b ἀντιβολὸς σε.  

920 ΓΡ.: ἡδὴ τὸν ἅπ’ Ἰονίας  

τρόπον, τάλαινα, κνησίς·  

δοκεῖς δὲ μοι καὶ λάβδα κατὰ τοὺς Λεσβίους.  

74 I follow Henderson 2002 here and at 917.
First old woman:  
What can be keeping the men? They’re long overdue. Here I am, all plastered with makeup and wearing a party dress, just standing around, whistling myself a song, and my trap all set to snag one of them as he passes. Ye Muses, come sit on my lips, and find me some spicy Ionian tune.

Girl:  
This time you’re on lookout ahead of me, old moldy. You thought you’d strip an unwatched vineyard when I wasn’t around, and entice some guy with your singing. If you try it, I’ll sing a song of my own. And even if the audience finds this boring, there’s still something pleasantly comic about it.

Old woman: (presenting her rump) **Put your complaints in here, and get lost!** (to the piper) You, my dear little piper, pick up your pipes and blow a tune that’ll do us both proud.

Whoever wants to have a good time should sleep with me. For finesse dwells not in girls but in ripe women. You can bet she’s no readier than I to cherish the boyfriend I’m with, but more likely to flit to another.

Girl: Don’t despise the girls, for softness resides in their tender thighs and blossoms on their boobs. But you, old bag, are tweezed and plastered, the Grim Reaper’s heartthrob.

Old woman: I hope your twat falls off, and when you hanker for humping you can’t find your back seat. And in bed when you hanker for smooching I hope you take a snake in your arms.

Girl: Ah, what will become of me? My boyfriend hasn’t come, and I’m left here alone, for my mother’s out somewhere, and I needn’t say what comes next. Well, nanny, I beg you, call Doctor Dildo so you can enjoy yourself. Pretty please!

Old woman: Poor thing, you’re already itching for the Ionian toy, and I think you also want to do the L, like the Lesbians.

Girl: But you’ll never snatch my boytoys away, never spoil my youth or poach a share.

Old woman: Well, sing any tune you like, and peer out like a cat, because no man’s going to visit you before me.
The way that the old woman sets the scene makes dance likely: not only does she call for an Ionian song, but she also says that she is “playing” while she waits for the men to come, using a term (παίζουσα, 881) that can also refer to dancing. Her request of an Ionian tune is reminiscent of Euripides telling the piper to play a Persian tune while Elaphion dances in Thesmophoriazusae. While we do not know what type of music the piper actually played during that scene, the scholiast suggests that Elaphion performs a Persian dance, the oklasma, to the Persian tune, suggesting that the scholiast believes there was a congruence between music and dance. In the Assemblywomen passage, what makes the old woman’s request odd, as L. P. E. Parker observes, is that the old woman’s song is largely trochaic, despite the woman’s request for an “Ionian” tune. Perhaps the woman calls for Ionian music to set the expectation for seductive dancing, even if the actual musical accompaniment that follows is not quite what she asked for. As the old woman and young girl switch off singing, each could use dance moves to showcase why she would be the better lover than her competitor, thus making this a scene of both seductive and competitive dancing. Moves such as gesturing to body parts, grinding, shaking the hips, and thrusting would all accentuate the women’s song and add physical humor to the scene. The passage continues with a strong likelihood for rhythmic movement. After a return to unaccompanied iambic trimeters (924-937), there could be some confrontational dancing between Epigenes (the young man in question) and the old woman, as Epigenes laments not being able to sleep with the girl (938-941) before the old woman confronts him (942-45), both using rhythms found in sympotic songs. There is again new potential for dancing as the old woman leaves and the girl re-enters, exchanging songs of longing with Epigenes (952-75).

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75 On the link between παίζω and χορεύω, see Bierl 2009: 72-75. Cf. Frogs 409, Thesmo. 1227; LSJ s.v. παίζω A.2; Naerebout 1997: 280.
77 Parker 1997: 544-45.
The two could emphasize their desire by reaching for each other or miming the effects of this desire: the girl says that desire for Epigenes shakes her (πάνω γάρ τις ἐρως με δονεῖ, 954b), and Epigenes says he will fall down if the girl does not run to his door (καταπεσών κείσομαι, 962).

The exchanges between the old woman, the girl, and Epigenes would have created a hilarious, memorable spectacle, with over 60 lines of alternating monodies. It is very likely that solo dance accompanied solo song to add to the spectacle of this scene.

In Roman comedy, stock characters of meretrices and those enslaved by pimps are often strong candidates for seductive movement. The bacchiac song of pseudomeretrices Adelphasium and Anterastilis in Plautus’ *Poenulus* offers much potential for dancing and is even framed as a visual spectacle (203-52):

Milphio: 
sed Adelphasium eccam exit atque Anterastilis.  
haec est prior quae meum erum dementem facit. 
205  
**si uis uidere ludos iucundissimus.**

Agorastocles:  
quid istuc tumulti est, Milphio?  
em amores tuos,  
**si uis spectare.**

Ago.:  
o multa tibi di dent bona,  
quom hoc mi optulisti **tam lepidum spectaculum!**

Adelphasium:  
210  
negoti sibi qui uolet uim parare,  
nauem et mulierem, haec duo comparato.  
nam nullae magis res duae plus negoti  
habent, forte si occeperis exornare,  
[neque umquam sat istae duae res ornantur]  
215  
neque is ulla ornandi satis satietas est.  
atque haec, ut loquor, nunc domo docta dico.  
nam nos usque ab aurora ad hoc quod diei est,  
[postquam aurora illuxit, numquam concessamus.]  
ex industria ambae numquam concessamus
lauari aut fricari aut tergeri aut ornari,
poliri, expoliri, pingi, fingi; et una
binae singulis quae datae ancillae nobis,
eae nos lauando, eluendo operam dederunt,
aggerundaque aqua sunt uiri duo defessi.
apage sis, negoti quantum in muliere una est.
sed uero duae, sat scio, maxumo uni
populo quoilubet plus satis dare potis sunt,
quae noctes diesque omni in aetate semper
ornantur, lauantur, terguntur, poliuntur.
postremo modus muliebris nullus est.
neque umquam lauando et fricando
scimus facere neniam.
nam quae lauta est nisi percula est, meo quidem animo quasi illa est.
Anterastilis:
miror equidem, soror, te istaec sic fabulari
quae tam callida et docta sis et faceta.
nam quom sedulo munditer nos habemus,
ux aegreque amatorcules inuenimus.
Ade.: ita est. uerum hoc unum tamen cogitato:
modus omnibus rebus, soror, optumus est habitu.
nimia omnia nimium exhibent negoti hominibus ex se.
Ante.: soror, cogita, amabo, item nos perhiberi
quam si salsa muriatica esse autumantur,
sine omni lepore et sine suavitate:
nisi multa aqua usque et diu macerantur,
olent, salsa sunt, tangere ut non uelis.
item nos sumus,
eius seminis mulieres sunt,
insulsae admodum atque inuenustae
sine munditia et sumptu.
Mil.: coqua est haec quidem, Agorastocles, ut ego opinor:
scit muriatica ut maceret.
Ago.: quid molestus?

Ade.: soror, parce, amabo: sat est istuc alios
dicere nobis, ne nosmet in nostra etiam uittia loquamur.
Ante.: quiesco.
Milphio:
But look, Adelphasium is coming out, and Anterastilis, too. It’s this first one that’s
driving my master crazy. But I’ll call him out. (into the house) Hey, come out,
Agorastocles, if you want to see a gorgeous show.

(Enter Agorastocles from his house.)

Agorastocles:
What’s that uproar, Milphio?

Mil.: There, your sweetheart, if you want to watch her.

Ago.: Oh! May the gods give you many good things for bringing me such a lovely sight!

(Enter Adelphasium and Anterastilis from the pimp’s house.)

Adelphasium:
A man who wants to create a lot of trouble for himself should get himself a ship and a
woman, these two: no two things are more troublesome if you happen to start fitting them
out, [nor are those two things ever sufficiently fitted out.] nor do they ever have a
sufficient sufficiency of fitting out. And in saying this, I speak from my own experience:
from dawn to this time of day, [ever since the crack of dawn we’ve never ceased,] both
of us have diligently never ceased to wash or scrub or dry or dress, smooth, polish,
paint ourselves, and do up our hair; and with us we had two slave girls each that we
were given—they took care of washing and bathing us; and from bringing us water two
men got exhausted. Away with the amount of trouble that’s in a single woman! But two, I
know that well enough, can keep any one enormous people you please busy; night and
day at all times they always make themselves up, wash, dry, and polish themselves. In
short, there is no such thing as female moderation. We never know how to put an end to
washing and rubbing. Yes, a woman that’s washed is, to my mind, unwashed as it were,
unless she’s highly polished.

Anterastilis:
I really am surprised, my sister, that you say that like this, even though you’re so clever
and smart and witty. After all, even though we eagerly keep ourselves tidy, we barely
and with difficulty find lovers.

Ade.: Yes. But think of this one thing nonetheless: moderation is the best thing to have in
all situations, my sister. An excess of everything creates from it an excess of trouble for
man.

Ante.: My sister, please consider that we’re talked about in the same way as salted fish is
said to be too salty, without any attraction and without sweetness; unless they’re soaked
with a lot of water throughout and for a long time, they stink, they’re too salty, so that
you don’t want to touch them. We are like that, women are of that stock, quite
unappetizing and unattractive without neatness and expense.
Milphio: Agorastocles, she’s a cook, I think: she knows how to soak salted fish.

Ago.: Why are you being a nuisance?

Ade.: My sister, please stop: it’s enough that others say that to us, without us talking against ourselves as well.

Ante.: I’m quiet.

Milphio and Agorastocles are framed as audience members watching a performance. When Milphio entices Agorastocles to come back onstage, he does so by saying that he will see a very pleasing show (si uis uidere ludos iucundissumos, 206). Ludi in this context suggests a public spectacle or exhibition, which often implies at least some dancing, though dance is not the only act that could be performed.78 Plautus continues to emphasize the visual aspect of the women’s upcoming performance: Milphio uses the verb spectare to describe Agorastocles watching the women (si uis spectare, 208), and Agorastocles praises Milphio for bringing him such an attractive sight (tam lepidum spectaculum, 209). Both spectare and spectaculum often carry the connotation of a visual spectacle: spectare is used of watching a play or an actor as a spectator, and spectaculum often refers to a public show such as a play.79 This introduction clearly preps the audience for not just an entertaining song, but a full visual spectacle, and dance is the most compelling way to create such a spectacle here.

As the meter changes to bacchiacs and Adelphasium starts her song, there are several opportunities for rhythmic movement. The song begins with one of the longest strings of bacchiac tetrameters in Roman comedy.80 As has been suggested in discussions of dance at the end of Pseudolus and Persa, bacchiacs – the slowest meter found in Roman comedy – seem

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78 On ludus as a dance term, see Alonso Fernández 2011: 134-141, who calculated that the term refers to dance in at least 13% of our corpus. Cf. TLL ludus 1789.48-66 (luditur corpore movendo; de saltatione).
79 Cf. Lewis & Short, spectare 1B and spectaculum IIA
80 The only passage that rivals this one is Plautus’ Amphitryo with 21 lines of bacchiac tetrameters.
particularly fitting for slow, sensuous grinding movements.\textsuperscript{81} Perhaps some of the humor in this scene could come from a disconnect between the types of movements the audience might expect to be performed (e.g., well-executed, sensual hip motions) and the movements that Adelphasium and Anterastilis perform, especially since Anterastilis constantly insists that they are not particularly skilled \textit{meretrices}. Aside from adding humor, this approach would underscore their status as \textit{pseudomeretrices}: they were kidnapped and are soon to be reunited with their father, and it is possible that their dancing could reflect this dissonance between their current status and status at birth.

Regardless of how they might have danced, there are several aspects of their lyrics that create strong potential for dancing. To give a few examples, when Adelphasium sings a string of infinitives about all the ways she and her sister have (reluctantly) primped themselves, she could gesture to her body and mime each action (\textit{lauari aut fricari aut tergeri aut ornari, / poliri, expoliri, pingi, fingi}, 220-221). Perhaps the slowness of the bacchiacs here could reflect the sense of the women begrudgingly being dragged along as they spend more time getting ready than they would like. Anterastilis could perform unattractive movements when making the salty fish metaphor (\textit{olent, salsa sunt, tangere ut non uelis}, 244) and then suddenly stop those movements or hold up her hands in acquiescence when she agrees to stop (\textit{quiesco}, 252). Their dancing would certainly add to the spectacle in the very first accompanied scene of the play.

Plautus’ \textit{Bacchides} ends with a lively exchange between the Bacchis sisters (\textit{meretrices}) and Nicobulus and Philoxenus (\textit{senes}), who are trying to retrieve their sons from the sisters’ house. Throughout the scene, the sisters successfully seduce the men into joining them inside along with their sons, rather than making their sons leave. We have already seen that dance

\textsuperscript{81} See discussion in ch. 1 and Moore 2021: 174-175.
finales are a trend throughout Greek and Roman comedy. The positioning of this seduction scene at the end of the play, along with its use of meter, strongly suggests a dance finale.\textsuperscript{82} The full scene is quite long (1120-1206),\textsuperscript{83} but a selection will illustrate the potential for dancing (1149-1178):

Bacchis:
soror, est quod te uolo secreto.

Soror: eho, amabo.

Nic.: quo illaece abeunt?

Bac.: senem illum tibi dedo uteriores, lepide ut lenitum reddas;
ego ad hunc iratum aggrediar, <si> possimus nos intro illicere huc.

Sor.: meum pensum ego lepide accurabo, quam<quam> odio est mortem amplexari!

Bac.: facito ut facias.

Sor.: taceas. tu tui facito: ego quod dixi hau mutabo.

--

Bac.: sequere hac.

Nic: eunt eccas tandem
probripellecebrae et persuastrices.

Phil.: abin hinc?
non homo tuquidem es, qui istoc pacto tam lepidam illepide appelles.

Bac.: senex optume quantum est in terra, sine <me> hoc exorare aps te,
ut istuc delictum desistas tanto opere ire oppugnatum.

Nic.: ni abeas, quamquam tu bella es,
malum tibi magnum dabo iam.
Bacchis: My sister, there’s something I’d like to talk to you about in secret.

Sister: Over there, please. *(they move away)*

Nicobulus: Where are they going?

Bac.: *(to her sister)* I’m handing that old chap over to you, the one further away *(points to Philoxenus)*, so that you soften him up beautifully; I will go up to this angry one *(points to Nicobulus)* to see if we can entice them in here.

Sis.: I’ll take care of my task beautifully, although it’s tedious to embrace a corpse!

Bac.: Do do it.

Sis.: Be quiet. You do your part; I won’t change what I said.

--

Bacchis: *(to her sister)* Follow me this way.

Nicobulus: *(to Philoxenus)* Look, at last these persuasive seductresses are coming. *(to the girls)* What now? Are you giving us back our sons and my slave? Or am I to try more forceful measures with you?
Philoxenus: Won’t you go away from here? You aren’t a human being, addressing such a lovely girl in that way, the opposite of lovely.

Bac.: (to Nicobulus) Best of all old men on earth, let me persuade you to give up opposing your son’s naughtiness so much.

Nic.: If you don’t go away, I’ll give you a good thrashing this instant, even though you’re pretty.

Bac.: I’ll bear it, I’m not afraid that your spanking will hurt me.

Nic.: (aside) How coaxing she is! Dear me, I’m scared.

Sis.: (to Bacchis, pointing to Philoxenus) This one’s more peaceful.

Bac.: (to Nicobulus) Come inside with me this way and scold your son there if you wish.

Nic.: Won’t you go away from me, you criminal?

Bac.: Let me persuade you, my little saint.

Nic.: You persuade me?

Sis.: I for one will definitely persuade this man. (points to Philoxenus)

Phil.: Yes, I beg you to take me inside.

As the sisters talk privately and come up with the plan to seduce the men (illicere, 1151), the meter changes from trochaic septenarii to anapests, which remain for the rest of the scene, suggesting a determined liveliness as the Bacchis sisters take control of the scene. Philoxenus clearly finds the sisters alluring, and Nicobulus will soon be persuaded as well, despite repeatedly professing his opposition to the women’s charms. Seductive dancing would be fitting here as the sisters attempt to persuade the men both through their dialogue and their actions. There is also potential for competitive dancing as Nicobulus continually tries to resist the sisters’ advances and is ultimately unsuccessful. As the final scene of the play, such dancing would be a
way to showcase the triumph of the Bacchis sisters while creating a memorable final spectacle for the audience.

**Conclusions**

Solo dancing by actors was likely much more common throughout both Greek and Roman comedy than has been appreciated. Scenes of significant running, emotional entrances, threats or aggression, and sex or seduction are especially apt for dancing, and the language found in such scenes emphasizes movement and/or features vivid, physical language that an actor could represent mimetically through dance. There is a tendency in each category for relevant scenes to be sometimes accompanied and sometimes unaccompanied in Greek comedy, while they are almost always accompanied in Roman comedy. If these passages did in fact include dancing, which I have argued is very likely, then the metrical trends suggest that there is some precedent in Greek comedy for solo dance scenes that took off in Roman comedy. A wider-ranging discussion of the role of solo dancing from Greek to Roman comedy will be tackled in the concluding chapter.

**Table 3. Passage lists for categories of likely dance**

A. Running scenes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author, play, lines</th>
<th>Meter</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Key verbs / phrases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Acharnians 175-85</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Amphitheus runs onstage fleeing the Acharnians</td>
<td>τρέχων; ἐκφυγεῖν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Birds 1121-63</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Bird-messenger (#1) runs in to tell Peisetairos that the wall has been built</td>
<td>ἄλλ᾽ οὔτοι τρέχει τις Ἀλφειόν πνέων [Peisetairos]; ποῦ ποῦ ἔστι, ποῦ ποῦ ποῦ ἔστι, ποῦ ποῦ ποῦ ἔστι, ποῦ, ποῦ Πεισείταρος ἔστιν ἄρχων; [Messenger]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author, Title</td>
<td>Meter</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Greek</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, <em>Birds</em> 1168-74</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Bird-guard messenger (#2) runs in to tell Peisetairos that the gods have infiltrated Cloudcuckooland</td>
<td>ἀλλ’ ὀδε φύλαξ γάρ τῶν ἐκείθεν ἄγγελος / εἰσθεὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς δεῦρο πυρρήθην βλέπων [Peisetairos]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, <em>Birds</em> 1309-36</td>
<td>Dactylic and iambic</td>
<td>Manes runs around gathering wings before Peisetairos strikes him</td>
<td>ὡς τάχιστα σὺ μὲν ιὸν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, <em>Thesmo. 1210-25</em></td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Scythian guard runs around looking for “Artamuxia” (Euripides)</td>
<td>παὸς ἄπλοθ’ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου; φεύγετε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, <em>Frogs</em> 1089-98</td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Dionysus tells the story of someone struggling to run at the Panathenaea and then farting when people smacked him—both of which could be imitated via dance</td>
<td>ὁτε δὴ ραδύς ἀνθρωπός τις ἔθει κύκας λευκός, πῖον, ὑπολειπόμενος καὶ δεινὰ ποιών</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menander, <em>Dyskolos 81-87</em></td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Pyrrhias runs onstage fleeing Knemon</td>
<td>παὸς ἀπλοθ’ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου; φεύγετε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Asinaria 265-69</em></td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Libanus comments that Leonida is out of breath while running in, and Leonida enters expressing joy (cf. emotional entrances)</td>
<td>sed quid illuc quod exanimatus currit huc Leonida? [Libanus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Aulularia 713-27a</em></td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Euclio runs in a panic searching for his stolen gold</td>
<td>quo curram? quo non curram?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Captivi 768-828</em></td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius, iambic octonarius, and bacchiacs</td>
<td>Ergasilus enters expressing joy over the good news he has to share with Hegio (celebratory dance) and then performs a running slave scene with an extensive threat monologue</td>
<td>nunc ad senem cursum capessam hunc Hegionem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Curculio 277-303</em></td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic</td>
<td>Curculio (parasite) runs in looking for Phaedromus</td>
<td>currentem; in cursu; ambulant; incedunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Epidicus 1-16</em>85</td>
<td>Trochaic, iambic, and cretic</td>
<td>Epidicus has to run onstage to catch Thesprio, who has been moving very quickly</td>
<td>quis properantem me reprehendit pallio? [Thesprio]; ut tu es gradibus grandibus! … curriculo occepi sequi [Epidicus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Epidicus 192-205</em></td>
<td>Trochaic and iambic</td>
<td>Epidicus fakes a servus currens scene to give Periphanes the “news” that his son, Stratippocles, is planning to purchase a music-girl</td>
<td>paene in cursu concidi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Mercator 111-28</em></td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic</td>
<td>Acanthio (slave) runs onstage out of breath and performs a threat monologue before going up to his master Charinus’ door to tell him that his father has seen the slave-girl Pasicompsa, whom Charinus had wanted to keep secret</td>
<td>sed quid currentem seruom a portu conspicor [Charinus]; et currendum et pugnandum et autem iurigandum est in uia [Acanthio]; cursuram [Charinus]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

85 Cf. Questa 2006: 17, 25-27
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plautus, Stichus 270-307</strong></td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic</td>
<td>Pinacium (slave) runs to tell Panegyris that her husband has returned <em>(servus currens)</em></td>
<td>propera, Pinacium, pedes hortare; curre ut lubet; Pinacium lasciuiubundtam lubentem currere [Gelasimus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Trinummus</em> 1008-27</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Stasimus (slave) runs onstage in a hurry after losing his ring in a tavern.</td>
<td>sed quis hic est qui huc in plateam cursuram incipit? [Charmides]; Stasime, fac te propere celerem… ne destiteris currere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Terence, Heauton Tim. 510-17</strong></td>
<td>Iambic senarius</td>
<td>Syrus (slave) enters running and exclaims about his plan to trick the senex, not realizing that Chremes is there and can hear him (ironic reversal: running slave typically runs onstage intentionally to share information)</td>
<td>hac illac circumcursa [Syrus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Terence, Phormio 178-96</strong></td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic</td>
<td>Geta (slave) runs onstage to tell Antipho that his father has returned.</td>
<td>videon ego Getam currentem huc advenire? [Antipho]; nullus es, Geta, nisi iam aliquod tibi consilium celere reperis [Geta]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B. Emotional entrances (anger, distress, frenzy, joy)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author, play, lines</th>
<th>Meter</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, <em>Clouds</em> 1321-25</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Strepsiades rushes onstage fleeing his son Philipppides, who has apparently been beating him inside.</td>
<td>οἴμοι κακοδαίμόνιον τής κεφαλῆς καὶ τῆς γνάθου</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, <em>Wasps</em> 1292-1325</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Xanthias enters exclaiming about being beaten inside the house and proceeds to report Philocleon’s drunken actions at the symposium</td>
<td>ἐγὼ δ’ ἀπόλειλα στιζόμενος βακτηρίας</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, <em>Wasps</em> 1326-40</td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic (1326-31; 1335-40); Iambic trimeter (1332-34)</td>
<td>Philocleon enters combatively, telling everyone to get out of his way and threatening the victims following him; potential for aggressive dancing as well</td>
<td>ἄνεξε, πάρεξε; ὁ πόνηροι, ταυτή τῇ ὀδῷ φρυκτοῖς σκευάσω.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, <em>Peace</em> 114-18</td>
<td>Dactylic</td>
<td>As Trygaeus is about to fly away on the beetle, his daughters come onstage and sing lyric dactyls pleading with him to say whether he is really leaving. The sudden burst of lyric combined with the emotional context could lend itself to movement as the girls plead with their father</td>
<td>ὁ πάτερ, ὁ πάτερ… ἔστι τι τῶν ἐπόμοις; εἰπ’, ὁ πάτερ, εἶ τι φιλέες με.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Meter Type</td>
<td>Narrative Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aristophanes,</td>
<td>Frogs 549-55</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>An innkeeper enters angry at Dionysus (dressed as Heracles) for eating too much bread and stew at her inn without paying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menander,</td>
<td>Dyskolos 574-96</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Simiche (slave) enters in distress over dropping a mattock down Knemon’s well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menander,</td>
<td>Dyskolos 620-38</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Simiche (slave) enters in distress over Knemon falling in the well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menander,</td>
<td>Samia 421-28</td>
<td>Trochaic tetrameter</td>
<td>Nikeratos enters expressing his anger towards Demeas about the situation with Chrysis and the baby in his household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menander,</td>
<td>Samia 440-51</td>
<td>Trochaic tetrameter</td>
<td>Demeas enters expressing his rage at the chaos inside his house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menander,</td>
<td>Samia 532-36</td>
<td>Trochaic tetrameter</td>
<td>Nikeratos enters in a frenzy after seeing his daughter breastfeeding the baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menander,</td>
<td>Samia 556-63</td>
<td>Trochaic tetrameter</td>
<td>Nikeratos enters and threatens to kill Chrysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menander,</td>
<td>Samia 568-73</td>
<td>Trochaic tetrameter</td>
<td>Chrysis enters frantically seeking a place to escape, as she is being chased by Nikeratos, who comes in pursuing her at 570.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menander,</td>
<td>Aspis 399-403</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Daos enters in a mock frantic entrance, pretending to be quite upset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus,</td>
<td>Amphitryyo 633-53</td>
<td>Bacchiacs and cola reiziana</td>
<td>Alcumena enters expressing her grief after Jupiter (disguised as Amphitryyo) left her again (meter changes from tr7 and back to tr7 after)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus,</td>
<td>Amphitryyo 1009-20</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarii</td>
<td>Amphitryyo enters in a rush after unsuccessfully searching everywhere for Naucrates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus,</td>
<td>Amphitryyo 1053-71</td>
<td>Iambic, anapestic, and trochaic</td>
<td>Bromia enters in a panic to tell the story of Hercules’ birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus,</td>
<td>Asinaria 127-50</td>
<td>Cretic, choriambic, and trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Meter changes from ia6 as Diabolus enters expressing his anger at Cleareta and Philaeunim after being thrown out of Cleareta’s house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Play</td>
<td>Meter</td>
<td>Scene Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus</td>
<td><em>Aulularia</em></td>
<td>Trochaic, anapestic, and iambic</td>
<td>Congrio (cook) rushes onstage after being beaten inside Euclio’s house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus</td>
<td><em>Bacchides</em></td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Meter changes from ia6 as Lydus enters expressing annoyance at the Bacchis sisters and Pistocerus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus</td>
<td><em>Bacchides</em></td>
<td>Trochaic, anapestic, iambic, bacchiac, cretic</td>
<td>Meter changes from ia6 as Mnesilochus enters harshly criticizing himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus</td>
<td><em>Bacchides</em></td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Nicobulus enters expressing his anger at having been duped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus</td>
<td><em>Captivi</em></td>
<td>Anapestic, bacchiac, trochaic, and iambic</td>
<td>Hegio enters expressing his joy because he thinks he is getting his son back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus</td>
<td><em>Captivi</em></td>
<td>Iambic, trochaic</td>
<td>Tyndarus enters in distress because he sees no escape from being caught in his deception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus</td>
<td><em>Casina</em></td>
<td>Cretic, choriambic</td>
<td>Pardalisca enters in a mock-frantic entrance expressing panic and fear at Casina’s (fabricated) use of a sword inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus</td>
<td><em>Casina</em></td>
<td>Anapestic septenarius</td>
<td>Olympio (slave) enters in distress and not knowing where to go after being beaten inside the house by Chalinus (slave), who was dressed as Casina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus</td>
<td><em>Casina</em></td>
<td>Trochaic, cretic, iambic</td>
<td>Lysidamus (senex) enters expressing his shame and not knowing what to do after being caught by his wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus</td>
<td><em>Cistellaria</em></td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Alcesimarchus enters lamenting how love is destroying him, in melodramatic fashion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Cistellaria</em> 671-704</td>
<td>Anapestic, bacchiac, and cretic</td>
<td>Halisca enters searching for the basket that will prove Selenium’s heritage</td>
<td>petulantia mea me animi miseram habet; sed is hac iit… persequar hac</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Epidicus</em> 666-74</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Periphanes enters angry at Epidicus and moving at a fast pace</td>
<td>ita, dum te sequor, lassitudine inuaserunt misero in genua flemina… nam ille quidem Volcani irati est filius [Apoeides]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Epidicus</em> 675-78</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Epidicus enters expressing his joy after discovering Telestis’ identity</td>
<td>duodecim dis plus quam in caelo deorum est immortaliure mih nunc auxilio adiutores sunt et mecum militant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Mercator</em> 842-50</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Eutychus enters expressing his joy at the good news he wants to share with Charinus (celebratory dancing)</td>
<td>ecquisam deus est qui mea nunc laetus laetitia fut?… ex sodalis repperi, uitam, amicitiam, ciuatem, laetitiam, ludum, iocum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Menaechmi</em> 110-24</td>
<td>Choriambic, ithyphallic, cretic, trochaic, iambic</td>
<td>The meter changes from ia6 to a polymetric section as Menaechmus I enters expressing anger at his wife</td>
<td>ni mala, ni stulta sies, ni indomita imposque animi… malo caebis si sapis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Mostellaria</em> 348-62</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Tranio enters expressing hopelessness before reporting the news that Philolaches’ father has returned</td>
<td>occidit spes nostra, nusquam stabulum est confidentiae, nec Salus nobis saluti iam esse, si cupiat, potest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Persa</em> 251-71a</td>
<td>Cretic, bacchiac, iambic, trochaic</td>
<td>Sagaristio enters expressing his joy at having received money from his master</td>
<td>Ioui opulento, incluto, Ope gnato, supremo, ualido, uripotent, opes, spes bonas, copias commodanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Persa</em> 777-90</td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Dordalus enters expressing his misery after being duped by Toxilus</td>
<td>qui sunt, qui erunt quiue fuerunt quie futuri sunt posthac, solus ego omnibus antideo facile, miserrum hominem ut uiuam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Rudens</em> 185-219</td>
<td>Bacchiac, anapestic, iambic, cretic, <em>versus reiziani</em></td>
<td>Palaestra enters lamenting her fate, expressing fear and despair</td>
<td>pal nimio hominum fortuane minus miserae memorantur quam in usu, experiundo is datur acerbum… quae mihi est spes qua me uiuere uelim?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Rudens</em> 220-28</td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Ampelisca enters expressing hopelessness after searching for Palaestra</td>
<td>quid mi meliust, quid magis in rem est, quam a corpore uitam ut secludam?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Plautus,</td>
<td>Trinummus</td>
<td>Anapestic tetrameter</td>
<td>The meter changes from ia6 to anapests as Lysiteles enters expressing his joy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence,</td>
<td>Andria</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Davus enters joyfully as he looks for Pamphilus to tell him about the plan to trick his father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence,</td>
<td>Hecyra</td>
<td>Trochaic octonarius and septenarius</td>
<td>Pamphilus enters lamenting his situation and expressing the torment of a man in love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence,</td>
<td>Hecyra</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Pamphilus enters in distress, saying that he came outside quickly and out of breath, before recounting how he found his wife unexpectedly in childbirth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence,</td>
<td>Hecyra</td>
<td>Trochaic</td>
<td>Myrrhina enters in a panic after her husband has found out about their daughter Philumenas baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence,</td>
<td>Heauton Tim.</td>
<td>Iambic septenarius</td>
<td>Clinia enters expressing his joy that he can marry Antiphila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence,</td>
<td>Eunuchus</td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic</td>
<td>Chaerea enters desperately searching for Pamphila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence,</td>
<td>Eunuchus</td>
<td>Trochaic and iambic</td>
<td>Chaerea enters expressing his joy that his plan to rape Pamphila has worked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence,</td>
<td>Eunuchus</td>
<td>Trochaic and iambic</td>
<td>Dorias enters expressing her fear that Thraso will hurt Thais because she invited Chremes (Pamphila’s brother) to dinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence,</td>
<td>Eunuchus</td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic</td>
<td>Pythias enters furious over Chaerea raping Pamphila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Description</td>
<td>Key verbs / phrases</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence, Eunuchus 739-42</td>
<td>Trochaic octonarius</td>
<td>Thais enters expressing worry that Thraso will take Pamphila from her and leverages a few physical threats against him (aggressive dancing)</td>
<td>atqui si illam digito attigerit uno, oculi ilico effodientur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence, Eunuchus 941-50</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter (941-2); trochaic septenarius (943ff.)</td>
<td>Pythias performs a mock-frantic entrance to trick Parmeno into thinking that Chaerea is being tied up and punished inside</td>
<td>pro deum fidel! facinus foedum! o infelicem audescentulum!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence, Eunuchus 1031-33</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius and iambic octonarius</td>
<td>Chaerea enters expressing his joy at being able to marry Pamphila, who has been revealed as a citizen</td>
<td>ecquis me vivit hodie fortunatior? … scis me in quibus sim gaudiis?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence, Phormio 728-31</td>
<td>Trochaic</td>
<td>Sophrona enters in a panic after learning that Antipho’s father does not approve of his marriage to Phanium</td>
<td>quid agam? quem mi amicum inveniam misera? aut quoi consilia haec referam? aut unde auxilium petam?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence, Phormio 841-45</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Geta enters exclaiming about his luck before putting his cloak over his shoulder to rush and tell Antipho the news (celebratory dancing)</td>
<td>o Fortuna, o Fors Fortuna… sed ego nunc mihi cesso qui non umerum hunc onero pallio atque hominem propero invenire, ut haec quae contigerint sciatis?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence, Adelphoe 305-20</td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic</td>
<td>Geta enters furious over Aeschinus abducting the music-girl when he should be devoted to Pamphila (whom he raped and promised to marry)</td>
<td>quidnamst quod sic video timidum et properantem Getam? [Sostrata]; ita ardeo iracundia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Threats / aggression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author, play, lines</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Knights 284-302</td>
<td>Trochaic dimer</td>
<td>Paphlagon and the Sausage-Seller rapidly exchange insults, many of which include physical threats</td>
<td>κυνοκοπήσο σου τό νότον [Sausage-Seller]; διαφορήσω σ’, ε’ τι γρύζει [Paphlagon]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Knights 361-81</td>
<td>Iambic tetrameter and dimer</td>
<td>Paphlagon and the Sausage-Seller again rapidly exchange physical threats, using food metaphors and a term that Lawler argues is connected to the beating dance schema</td>
<td>ἐγὼ δὲ βουνήσω γέ σου τόν πρωκτόν ἀντί φύσικης [Sausage-Seller]; οἶνον σὲ δήσω &lt;ν&gt; τό ξύλω [Paphlagon]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Knights 696-701</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>After the Sausage-Seller uses dance terminology to describe his reaction to Paphlagon’s threats (see ch. 2), both use physical and visual language to describe how they will hurt each other</td>
<td>σ’ ἐκφάγας; σ´ ἐκπίω; κἀν ἐκροήσῃς αὐτός ἐπιδιορραγῶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes, Clouds 1297-1302</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Strepsiades threatens to attack one of his creditors with a goad if he does not leave</td>
<td>ἄξεις; ἐπιπλῶ λευκτόν ύπό τόν πρωκτόν σε τόν σειραφόρον.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Aristophanes, *Wasps* 397-99 | Anapestic tetrameter | Bdelycleon tells Xanthias to strike Philocleon as he tries to escape | ταῖςιν φυλλάσσι παίε
| Aristophanes, *Wasps* 456-60 | Trochaic tetrameter | Bdelycleon tells Xanthias to strike the chorus of wasps to get them to leave, using a term that Lawler argues is connected to the beating dance schēma | οὐκ ἐς κόρακας; οὐκ ἅπτε; παίε τῷ ξύλῳ
| Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1326-40 | Iambic and trochaic (1326-31; 1335-40); Iambic trimeter (1332-34) | Philocleon enters combatively, telling everyone to get out of his way and threatening the victims following him; potential for a frantic/emotional entrance as well | ἀνεχε, πάρχε; ὁ πόνηροι, ταυτὴ τῇ δαδὸ φρυκτοῦς σκευάσο.
| Aristophanes, *Peace* 255-63 | Iambic trimeter | “War” (Πόλεμος) calls out “Battle Din” (Κυδοιμός) and beats him up | οὕτωςι σοι κόνδυλος [War]; οἴμοι μοι τάλας, ὁ δέσποτα [Battle Din]
| Aristophanes, *Thesmo. 551-70* | Iambic tetrameter | Mica responds to Kinsman’s slander of women by making repeated physical threats | ἐπιτριβεῖς; ἀλλ’. ἔκποκιο σου τὰς ποκάδας
| Aristophanes, *Frogs* 571-78 | Iambic trimeter | The innkeeper and her maid levy several graphic threats against Dionysus | ἄν σου λίθω τοῖς γομφίοις κόπτοιμ· ἄν…
| Aristophanes, *Frogs* 605-673 | Iambic trimeter | This is an extended argumentative scene between Aeacus, Dionysus, and Xanthias that involves much beating and other physical language (607-9, 615-28, 644-64) | χορεῖτε δειρί καὶ μάχεσθε τούτῳ [Aeacus]; δήσας, κρεμάσας, ὑστριχίδι μαστίγιων, δέρων… [Xanthias]
| Menander, *Samia* 574-82 | Trochaic tetrameter | Nikeratos and Demeas strike each other, fighting over the situation with Chrysis, Plangon, and the baby | ἄλλα τυπῆσες μ’; [Nikeratos]; πρότερος ἀπεῖ μοι σὺ νυνί [Nikeratos]; μὴ πρόσαγε τὴν χείρά μοι [Nikeratos]
| Plautus, *Amphitryo* 308-28 | Trochaic septenarii | Mercury continually threatens / prepares to strike Sosia before eventually beating him up | non feret quin uapulet; pugnos edet; gestiunt pugni mihi; nam pugin usu fecisti tuum [Sosia, 375]
| Plautus, *Amphitryo* 984-1005 | Iambic octonarius | Mercury enters parodying the threat monologues of servus currens scenes. The text does not clearly indicate that Mercury is running, but it does suggest that he performs aggressive “get out of the way” movements | concedite atque apscedite omnes, de uia decedite…
| Plautus, *Asinaria* 371-77 | Trochaic septenarii | Libanus and Leonida joke about getting into a fist fight when Leonida plays the role of Saurea as part of their scheming | pugno malam si tibi percussero, mox quom imitabor Sauream, caueto ne suscenseas
| Plautus, *Aulularia* 628-33 | Trochaic septenarii | Euclio drags the slave out of the shrine and beats him | quid me afflictas? quid me raptas? qua me causa uerberas? [slave]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Period</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Summary</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Casina</em></td>
<td>404-12</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Olympio and Chalinus hit each other, on Lysidamus’ and Cleostrata’s orders</td>
<td>compressan palma an porrecta ferio?... em tibi [Olympio]; feri malam, ut ille, rursum [Cleostrata]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Casina</em></td>
<td>843-53</td>
<td>Colon reizianum and iambic (incl. i6 from 847-54 after Chalinus’ stomping)</td>
<td>Chalinus, dressed as Casina, elbows and steps on Olympio</td>
<td>institit plantam quasi luca bos; pectus mi icit non cubito, uerum ariete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Curculio</em></td>
<td>689-707</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Therapontigonus and Curculio exchange physical threats with the pimp Cappadox before he is tied up and dragged</td>
<td>quia ego ex te hodie faciam pilum catapultariam atque ita te neruo torquobo... collum opstringe, abduce istum in malam crucem [Therapontigonus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Menaechmi</em></td>
<td>1009-20</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Messenio beats back the slaves who have been trying to capture Menaechmus</td>
<td>pugnos opseram [Messenio]; pecte pugnis [Menaechmus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Miles Gloriosus</em></td>
<td>1394-1425</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Pyrgopolinices is forced onstage, threatened, and beaten for being an adulterer</td>
<td>immo etiam prius uerberetur fistibus [Periplectomenus]; oie! satis sum uerberatus. opsecre [Pyrgopolinices]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Persa</em></td>
<td>844-56</td>
<td>Anapestic, trochaic, bacchiac</td>
<td>Toxilus and crew repeatedly hit Dordalus</td>
<td>quae haec res est? ei! colapho me icit [Dordalus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Pseudolus</em></td>
<td>133-229</td>
<td>Anapestic, trochaic, iambic</td>
<td>Ballio enters whipping his slaves in exceptionally cruel fashion and giving them extensive orders</td>
<td>nisi ad hoc exemplum experior; rape, clepe, tene, harpaga, bibe, es, fuge; numquam edepol uostrum durius tergum erit quam terginum hoc meum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Pseudolus</em></td>
<td>357-69</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Pseudolus and Calidorus rapidly hurl insults at Ballio (flagitatio); they could gesture or dance aggressively to punctuate their insults</td>
<td>iam ego te differam dictis meis [Pseudolus]; cantores probos! [Ballio]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Rudens</em></td>
<td>1004-15</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Gripus and Trachalio exchange physical threats and nearly beat each other up over the trunk, while holding the rope</td>
<td>tange: affligam ad terram te itidem ut piscem soleo polypum. uis pugnare? [Gripus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus, <em>Stichus</em></td>
<td>725-34</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Sangarinus and Stichus compete against each other as rivals sharing a girlfriend</td>
<td>em tibi hoc primum omnium [Stichus]; ohe, iam satis! nolo optaedescat; alium ludum nunc uolo [Sangarinus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence, <em>Andria</em></td>
<td>860-65</td>
<td>Iambic octonarius and trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Simo orders Dromo (slave) to bind up Davos (slave) and bring him inside</td>
<td>rape, inquam… ego iam te commotum reddam… cura asservandum vincum atque (audin?) quadrupedem constringito [Simo]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### D. Sex / seduction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aristophanes, Acharnians 242-79</strong></td>
<td>Iambic trimeter (242-62); Lyric iambics (263-79)</td>
<td>Dicaeopolis leads a procession and sings a phallic song with graphic sexual language</td>
<td>πρόβανε, πρόβα; μέσην λαβόντα, ἄραντα, καταβαλόντα καταγγαρτίσαι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aristophanes, Lysistrata 209-237</strong></td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Lysistrata leads the women in an oath that contains much visual language, and it is possible that the women mimed as well as spoke the oath, especially during the section that details sexual positions (229-32).</td>
<td>οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνατενί τῷ Περσικᾷ… οὐ στήσομαι λέαν’ ἐπὶ τυροκνήστιδος.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aristophanes, Thesmo. 59-62</strong></td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Kinsman jokes about being the dominant partner in sex with Agathon and his slave, using graphic language that could be represented through dance (e.g., spinning).</td>
<td>κυνήγγυλας καὶ συστρέψας τοιτί τὸ πέος χανείδαι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aristophanes, Frogs 542-48</strong></td>
<td>Trochaic</td>
<td>Dionysus sings about Xanthias having sex with a dancing-girl while he himself masturbates.</td>
<td>κυνῖκος ἄρχηστρίδ᾿, τοῦρεβλίνθῳ ὅρατόμην</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aristophanes, Assemblywomen 689-709</strong></td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Praxagora imitates how women will seduce men under her plan for the polis</td>
<td>τάδε λέξουσιν “δεῦρο παρ’ ἡμᾶς· ἔνθαδε μελίραξ ἐσθ’ φώρα.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aristophanes, Assemblywomen 877-925</strong></td>
<td>Iambic trimeter (877-892); Mostly trochaic (893-910); Iambic and aeolo-choriambic (911-23)</td>
<td>An old woman and young girl sing competing monodies, each arguing that the young man should have sex with her</td>
<td>παίζωσι’ [old woman]; μελόδρομον εἴροθειαί τι τῶν Ἰονίκων [old woman]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aristophanes, Assemblywomen 952-75</strong></td>
<td>Cretic, iambic, trochaic, iambochoriambic</td>
<td>The young girl and Epigenes sing monodies about their desire for each other</td>
<td>πάνω γὰρ τις ἕρως μὲ δοκεῖ [girl]; καταστεοῦν κησίσοιμαι [Epigenes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plautus, Bacchides 1120-1206</strong></td>
<td>Mostly anapestic and bacchic with some cretic and trochaic</td>
<td>The Bacchis sisters (meretrices) seduce Nicobulus and Philoxenus (senes) into joining them inside</td>
<td>non metuo ne quid mi dolet quod ferias; ego quidem ab hoc certe exorabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plautus, Poenulus 203-52</strong></td>
<td>Bacchic</td>
<td>Adelphasia and Anterastilis (pseudomeretrices) sing of their disdain for living the lives of meretrices, with Milphio and Agorastocles watching</td>
<td>si uis uidere ludos iuncissimus [Milphio]; tam lepidum spectaculum [Agorastocles]; lauari aut fricari aut tergeri aut ornari, poliri, expoliri, pungi, fingi [Adelphasium]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plautus, Truculentus 917-34</strong></td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Phronesium flirts with Strabax in front of Stratophanes</td>
<td>at ego ad te ibam, mea Delicia… uin te amplectar, sauium dem?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion

Throughout this study, I have argued for the significance of solo dance in both Greek and Roman comedy. In the introduction, “Defining and Finding Dance,” I laid out my reasoning for focusing on comic solo dance and integrating the study of dance in Greek and Roman comedy. I discussed my criteria for identifying dance passages based on Naerebout’s definition of dance: the “toolkit” consisting of dance vocabulary, narration, meter, and patterned sound. I also considered how later textual sources (namely, Lucian’s *Peri Orcheseos* 65-67 and Plutarch’s *Quaestiones Convivales* 9.15) as well as visual sources can contribute to our knowledge of solo dance in comedy. A survey of nonliterary comic performance genres explored influences on dance in Roman comedy (and, to a lesser extent, Greek comedy).

Chapter one, “Definite Solo Dance: Showcasing the Individual,” made the case for twelve definite solo dance scenes across Greek and Roman comedy: six in Aristophanes, two in Menander (one of which is attested only through mosaics rather than text), and four in Plautus. For each passage, I demonstrated why we can be sure that solo dancing occurs and discussed the significance of the scene in context. The chapter concluded with an in-depth discussion of shared traits across these scenes, including the role of meter and musical accompaniment, dance finales, recurring themes (sex and seduction, aggressive dancing, competition, imitation), and gender and status. The chapter as a whole finds many commonalities between explicit solo dance in Greek and Roman comedy: all are accompanied, most occur at the end of the play, and most demonstrate the bold audacity and individualistic mindset of the character who dances alone. At the same time, there are meaningful differences, especially in what type of dancing occurs as part of the finale (largely choral in Aristophanes vs. exclusively solo in Plautus) and the status of
characters who dance alone (often citizen men in Aristophanes vs. enslaved men in Menander and Plautus).

Chapter two, “Dance References: Movement, Metaphor, and Mockery,” tracked instances throughout the comedies in which the playwright refers to dance metaphorically, rather than as part of a staged dance scene. I found that references in Greek comedy (both Aristophanes and what survives of Menander) tend to be to dancing, while references in Roman comedy tend to be to dancers. I argued that the most frequent use of dance references is to criticize or poke fun at an opponent. Given what we know about the pervasive transgression found in solo dance scenes, it makes sense that characters would use the language of solo dance to negatively characterize or satirize their antagonists – being associated with solo dancing is rarely coded in a positive way. The only instance in which solo dancing appears to be framed as a positive pursuit is in the context of theatrical performance, where more license is given to activities that would be seen as improper in everyday life.

Chapter three, “Likely Solo Dance: Choreographic Potential,” laid out criteria for identifying scenes that very likely featured solo dancing: running; emotional entrances (anger, frenzy, fear, joy/celebration, etc.); threats and aggression; and sex and seduction. For running scenes, I built upon arguments that Roman comedy’s servus currens scenes make most sense as dance scenes. I argued that running scenes throughout Roman comedy, which tend to be accompanied, were frequently staged as dance scenes, while in Greek comedy they were usually unaccompanied, dance-like scenes. Emotional entrances also involve movement across the stage, though these passages do not usually specify that the character is running in particular. I argued that the inherent movement of these scenes combined with the (often exaggerated) expression of emotions make strong candidates for dance. Metrical patterns suggest that such scenes were
sometimes accompanied and sometimes unaccompanied in Greek comedy but nearly always accompanied in Roman comedy. I further argued that scenes involving physical threats and aggression were often staged as dance scenes, which could have involved competitive dancing. Finally, I argued that scenes involving sex or seduction were fitting for mimetic, graphic dancing. While my conclusions in this chapter necessarily involve speculation, the chapter as a whole suggests that solo dancing was likely more common in Greek and (especially) Roman comedy than has previously been explored.

Main functions of comic solo dance

This study, I argue, has revealed five main functions of comic solo dance, most of which overlap: transgression, characterization, communication of emotions, virtuosity, and entertainment.

Transgression is the overarching umbrella encompassing the idea of solo dance in Greek and Roman comedy. Sarah Olsen has already demonstrated the productivity of considering solo dance in archaic and classical Greek literature through the lens of transgression. This study has added nuance to Olsen’s findings by discussing many instances of solo dance that engage with transgression alongside others where transgression is not particularly relevant (so, instances where the well-attested idea of solo dance as transgressive does not quite play out that way in practice). In several instances throughout Aristophanes’ extant corpus, dancing alone as opposed to dancing as part of a group is framed as especially dangerous to social structures (e.g., Philocleon in *Wasps*; the magistrate’s references to dancing wives in *Lysistrata*). While transgression remains an important lens for understanding solo dance, several other scenes in Aristophanes are not quite so transgressive, or even transgressive at all (e.g., Cinesias’ dance in *Birds*, which is framed as annoying but not dangerous; Elaphion’s plot-resolving dance in...
*Thesmophoriazusae*, which is both a positive use of solo dancing and one that does not cross the boundaries of acceptability. It is worth noting that, outside of the examples above, other places where actor’s dance is not transgressive are places where the label of “solo” dance is most contested: Peisetairos’ ritual dance with Basileia at the end of *Birds* and Blepyros’ dance alongside the chorus at the end of *Assemblywomen*. When it comes to dance in Aristophanes, the closer we get to solo dance on the spectrum from group dance to solo dance, the more likely it is that the dance includes elements of transgression.

To move past Aristophanes, this study further expands upon Olsen’s by showing that transgression remains an important lens for solo dancing in Menander, Plautus, and Terence. The use of dance references as insults or points of criticism in each of these playwrights, as in Aristophanes, hints at this transgressive strain. Many of the definite dance scenes in Menander and Plautus exemplify the “slave on top” motif of New Comedy: Sikon and Getas in *Dyskolos*; Paegnium, Toxilus, and Sagaristio in *Persa*; Pseudolus in *Pseudolus*; and Stichus and Sangarinus in *Stichus*. Dancing in each of these scenes highlights the success of enslaved characters in the play and represents the ultimate comic reversal: in real life, slaves do not have the license to behave as they do in comedy. Their dancing is transgressive in that it transgresses the bounds of typically acceptable behavior.

When a character dances, or interacts with an allusion to solo dance, it says something about that character. Viewing solo dance as a characterization tool adds to our understanding of why playwrights would employ it, whether through staged dance scenes or references to dance. To give several examples from throughout Greek and Roman comedy: the Sausage-Seller’s use of dance terminology to mock and criticize Paphlagon in *Knights* suggests that the Cleon-figure is particularly ineffective and cruel. Strepsiades’ dance-kicking at the door in *Clouds*
characterizes him as a provincial idiot. Philocleon’s dancing in *Wasps* exemplifies his character as a man driven to excess across all of his pursuits. The reference to Lampito’s butt-kicking in *Lysistrata* subtly distances the athletic Spartan woman from Lysistrata and the other female delegates, conveying that Lampito is part of the group for the sex-strike but is fundamentally different. To move to Menander, Nikeratos’ frequent angry and frantic entrances in *Samia*, combined with the reference to Nikeratos as a *strobilos* (“whirlwind”/twirling dance step), characterizes him as dangerous and quick to anger, and thus a threat to the play’s potential for a happy ending. Knemon’s reluctance to dance at the end of *Dyskolos* symbolizes his character’s grumpy, isolated ways. In Plautus’ *Aulularia*, Euclio’s use of dancing (through a reference to his heart jumping and a likely dance-search scene) contributes to his characterization as being prone to anxiousness and relentlessly protective over his gold. The Bacchis sisters’ likely dancing in *Bacchides* demonstrates their knowledge of how to use flirtation to get the upper hand.

Alcesimarchus’ emotional entrance in Plautus’ *Cistellaria* immediately frames him as the young amator. Peniculus’ dancing in *Menaechmi* further characterizes him as someone who would do anything to stay in Menaechmus’ good graces (and get a good meal). Ballio’s likely aggressive dancing in *Pseudolus* conveys his exceptionally cruel and self-important character. In Terence’s *Eunuchus*, Chaerea’s likely dance-entrance as he desperately searches for Pamphila suggests that he is dangerously prone to overreacting as the adolescens in “love.” Micio’s humorous agreement to Demea’s ironic rope-dance suggestion in *Adelphoe* represents his character’s light-hearted, laissez-faire attitude, as opposed to his brother. Dance throughout these scenes becomes another tool for illustrating the essence of a character – their identity, desires, goals, emotions, and fears.
Related to characterization, another important role of comic solo dance is the expression of emotions. As discussed in the introduction, the connection between dance and emotions goes back to Aristotle (Poetics 1447a26-28; 1455a29-32) and is further developed in Plutarch (Quaestiones Convivales 9.15) and Lucian (Peri Orcheseos 67). My study has shown that solo dance in comedy often expressed anger or aggression (some emotional entrances and aggressive dancing), joy (celebratory dancing) and fear or panic (frantic entrances). It is not difficult to imagine how dance and gesture would contribute to the expression of such emotions, whether through forceful, hard-hitting movements (anger); exuberant, cheerful movements (joy); or frantic, wild movements (panic). Dance would have been a crucial tool for communicating such emotions to the audience.

Solo dance also creates the opportunity for virtuosity, and this often works on a metatheatrical level: characters who dance, especially in competitive contexts, express their interest in demonstrating their skill above others’ (e.g., Philocleon in Wasps; Stichus and Sangarinus in Stichus), while dance scenes give the actors themselves a chance to demonstrate their own talent. All actors had to have some skill in gesture and movement, but some must have been more skilled dancers than others. Even performing dance poorly takes talent: it is hard to imagine Philocleon dancing skillfully, for example, but the actor playing him would still have to be skilled in how to exaggerate or fumble movements to comic effect, portraying Philocleon’s particular brand of dance-mania. Especially as acting became increasingly professionalized, there was strong potential for actor specialization: someone who is good at comic imitations of cinaedic dancing, for example, would have a leg up for playing any of the characters who perform such dances at the ends of Persa, Pseudolus, and Stichus. Solo dancing offers opportunities to display virtuosity in ways that choral dancing fundamentally does not: rather
than moving with a group as one, the very goal of solo dancing is for the individual to command attention.

This leads to the final role of comic solo dance: the creation of a memorable, entertaining spectacle. Dance in most of the scenes I have discussed is just plain funny and entertaining, and this is a big part of what makes comedy, comedy. Of course, as I have argued throughout, the thematic significance of such scenes goes deeper than mere entertainment, but nevertheless entertainment must have been a driving force in why playwrights would include dance scenes. Funny, ridiculous, exaggerated dancing is memorable, and the prevalence of dance finales in particular suggests a desire to create a memorable spectacle at the end of the play. Such scenes are likely to linger in the audience’s minds and increase their enjoyment of the performance, hopefully leading to continued success for the playwright.

**Solo dance-dramas**

Taking into consideration definite solo dance scenes, likely solo dance scenes, and references to dance, I argue that a few plays emerge as “solo dance-dramas,” or plays in which solo dance is instrumental throughout, whether through performance or imagery: Aristophanes’ *Wasps*, Plautus’ *Aulularia*, and Terence’s *Eunuchus*.¹ Timothy Moore, in his work on dance in Roman comedy, has made a strong case for Plautus’ *Rudens* as a dance-drama, on the grounds that the play “could be a tour de force of dance scenes in performance” through a series of likely solo dance scenes as well as a chorus of fisherman.² While I agree with Moore on this, I am also

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¹ The thematic importance of dancing to Menander’s *Theophoroumene*, as attested through mosaics, suggests that it could have been a solo dance-drama, but it is hard to say for sure without knowing the role of dance in the play as a whole (as opposed to just act II/III).
² Moore 2012: 131-34.
considering references to dance when identifying potential solo dance-dramas, and my process has brought a few other plays to the forefront.

Aristophanes’ *Wasps*, with Philocleon’s famous solo dancing, is perhaps an obvious choice for a solo dance-drama, but a study of likely dancing and references to dance has revealed that solo dance plays a more thematically significant role throughout the play than previously has been appreciated. To synthesize the discussions of *Wasps* across each chapter: the play opens with Xanthias referencing Corybantic dance-madness to ask Sosia why he is thrashing around in his sleep (l. 8), before Xanthias explains how Philocleon himself nearly became a Corybant, brought the *tympanon* to court, and escaped from the house as if performing dance steps (119-30). These opening references probably did not involve actual dancing, as the meter is unaccompanied iambic trimeters, but some dance-like imitation of Corybantic dancing, or the stomping and jumping dance steps alluded to in Xanthias’ description of Philocleon’s escape, could be fitting here. Regardless, the repeated imagery of dance-mania at the beginning of the play suggests that Aristophanes was intentional in framing Philocleon as a character with potential to become a transgressive solo dancer—and framing the play as one in which the imagery of crazed solo dance will be important. Aggressive dance-fighting likely occurs later with Xanthias striking Philocleon to anapestic tetrameters (397-99) and then the chorus to trochaic tetrameters (456-60), as discussed in the “threats and aggression” section of chapter three. Philocleon probably starts dancing when he comes onstage to iambics and trochaics on his way back from the symposium, as he tells everyone to get out of the way and threatens the victims following him (1326-31). This represents a further escalation in Philocleon as a solo dancer: the references at the beginning of the play imagined Philocleon as a dancer, and here he very likely dances aggressively, but the text does not call attention to his dancing. All of this
culminates in the final scene, when Philocleon at last becomes a fully transgressive, competitive solo dancer, an image that continues to linger long after the play ends (1474-1537).

Plautus’ *Aulularia*, despite not having a definite solo dance scene, is a strong candidate for a solo-dance drama because of the interplay of dance imagery and likely dance scenes. The employment of three dance references, more than any other of Plautus’ plays, suggests that dance imagery was on Plautus’ mind perhaps more than normal when constructing this play. The play further demonstrates a pattern of references to dancers interacting with scenes that very likely included dance. The reference to “plucked” festival dancers (402) comes immediately before Congrio’s frantic polymetric entrance, consisting of trochaic, anapestic, and iambic meters (406-14). Congrio then compares himself to a *cinaedus* (422), thanks to the way Euclio beat him inside. This reference comes during an argument between Euclio and Congrio that is written in an unusually long string of *versus reiziani* (415-46), which could have been included for the sake of erratic dancing. Later, the reference to Euclio’s heart jumping up and down as if practicing the “performer’s art” (626-27) comes before two likely dance scenes for Euclio himself: one in which Euclio drags a slave from the shrine and beats him (628-33, to trochaic septenarii) and the other in which Euclio enters in a panic and searches for the gold he lost (713-27a, to anapests). Euclio’s (likely) frantic dancing over his lost gold is the humorous culmination of his over-the-top obsession with the gold throughout the play.

The seven likely dance scenes in Terence’s *Eunuchus* were all discussed together in the emotional entrances section of chapter three, where I argued that Terence uses these likely dance scenes to bring to the forefront the negative impact of male characters’ actions upon female characters. When considering *Eunuchus* as a potential dance-drama, it is important to emphasize that these scenes span the course of the play: Chaerea’s desperate searching for Pamphila (289-
304), Chaerea’s joy over his plan to rape Pamphila working (549-56), Doria’s fear of Thraso
hurting Thais (615-28), Pythias’ anger over Chaerea raping Pamphila (642-50), Thais’s worry
that Thraso will take Pamphila from her (739-42), Pythias’ mock-frantic entrance to trick
Parmeno (941-50), and, finally, Chaerea’s joy at his impending marriage to Pamphila (1031-33).
Compare this to Menander’s *Samia*, which contains almost as many emotional entrances as
*Eunuchus*, in addition to a passage with strong potential for aggressive dancing, but all of these
likely dance scenes are concentrated to one section of the play (421-582). Perhaps the role of
dancing throughout the play was part of what made *Eunuchus* so successful: of all of Terence’s
plays, *Eunuchus* is the one with the strongest potential for memorable dance scenes throughout,
and Terence’s coordination of these scenes suggests that he used them to great effect.³

**Comic solo dance over time: continuities and changes**

Given the centuries between Aristophanes and Plautus, it is striking that Plautine dance
scenes share a number of structural and thematic similarities with Aristophanic solo dance, as
discussed in detail in the conclusion to chapter one. Similarities between solo dance in Menander
and in Roman comedy are perhaps more expected, but Plautus and Terence were also free to
expand upon any dance scenes in their originals or create their own anew. Ultimately, I suggest
that both Aristophanes and Menander influenced the depiction of solo dancing in Plautus’ and
Terence’s comedies, but many of the differences in these bodies of work can likely be explained
by other types of performances that strongly influenced Roman comedy (i.e., mime and Atellan
farce). It seems likely that mime, farce, or both played a role in the increased potential for music

³ Donatus considers *Eunuchus* primarily a *fabula motoria*, which might suggest a heightened role of dancing. See
Demetriou 2014 on Donatus’ commentaries on Terence, esp. p. 783 on his use of the terms *stataria, motoria*, and
*mixta* to categorize the plays. See also Moore 2012: 125n33 on the extent to which Donatus’ categorization might
reflect dance in Terence’s time.
and dance found in Roman comedy’s running scenes and emotional entrances, which have precedent in Greek comedy but do not take off as (very likely) dance scenes until Roman comedy. As discussed in the introduction, song and dance appear to have been central to early Italian dramatic culture, and this might explain the increased potential for likely dance scenes in Roman comedy.

As for Aristophanic influence, we know that Aristophanes’ comedies were re-performed in Southern Italy. We do not know many details about the nature of these re-performances, but the South Italian production of vase paintings with scenes from Attic comedy suggests that these re-performances were at least somewhat popular. While the heyday of these re-performances (mid-4th c. BC) pre-dated Plautus, aspects of Aristophanic comedy could have been incorporated into other Italian performance genres. It is perhaps notable that the one Aristophanic play we know for certain was re-performed in Southern Italy (Thesmophoriazusae) includes Elaphion’s solo dancing. Old Attic comedy, as part of the theatrical milieu in Southern Italy, becomes part of the web of potential influences in Roman comedy, along with Greek New Comedy, the Atellanae, and mime.

Structurally, one element that Roman comedy seems to have taken from its Greek predecessors is the dance finale, though this element changes from Greek to Roman comedy and is found in a wide range of performance traditions even up to the present day. As I discussed in the conclusion to chapter one, Aristophanic comedy tends to include dance finales with primarily choral dance or coordination between choral and solo dance. The dances of Philocleon and Elaphion stand out in this corpus, but solo dancing as a finale will later become the norm. Not enough of Menander survives to determine the prevalence of dance finales in his plays, let alone whether they primarily consisted of solo or group dance. However, the surviving dance at the
end of *Dyskolos* confirms that Menander did stage at least one solo dance finale, and the likely solo dance scenes in Act Four of *Samia* probably serve as quasi-finales near the end of the play. Group dance might be somewhat surprising given the reduction of the chorus’ role to interludes in Menander. The dance finales of Roman comedy (both definite and likely) exclusively feature solo dancing.

While the extant plays of Aristophanes contain more definite solo dance scenes than the extant plays of Plautus (or Terence or Menander, for that matter), nevertheless Plautine comedy in general, with its increased role of music and decreased role of the chorus, has a higher potential for likely solo dance scenes throughout. Several explanations coexist for the increased role of solo dancing in Plautus. First, Aristophanes is full of dance scenes in general, but many of them are choral dance scenes. The detachment of the chorus from the action of the play in later Greek and Roman comedy left a vacuum ready to be filled by solo dancing. Second, Plautus engaged heavily with the dance traditions of mime and Atellan farce, which appear to have included a good deal of solo dancing. Third, increased professionalization and traveling performers in the Hellenistic period probably led to increased popularity of solo dancing among the masses.

**Opportunities for further research**

There remain many opportunities for research on solo dancing in particular. A deeper dive into the relationship between solo and choral dance in Greek theater would be welcome. More recent scholarship on theatrical solo dance might shed new light on the role of the chorus.

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4 This makes the *Samia* scenes Greek examples of the crisis-resolution dances that Moore 2022: 170-76 traces in Roman comedy; see note in discussion of *Samia* in chapter three.
leader, for example. Scenes in which actors interact with a dancing chorus are also fertile ground for considerations of solo vs. choral dance.

My study of solo dancing in extant Greek and Roman comedy creates a useful framework for studying comic fragments. Dance in comic fragments remains underexplored, and a study of dance language in the fragments would be welcome. Findings could be integrated with my work on definite dance scenes, likely dance scenes, and references to dance.

The methods used in this study could be tweaked for a similar study of solo dance in both Greek and Roman tragedy, expanding on Sarah Olsen’s findings as well. Can some categories of likely dancing in the comedies, for example, be applied to tragedy, such as running scenes and emotional entrances? In particular, a study of dance in early Roman tragedy would help us better understand the theatrical culture of Plautus’ time.

Essentially, in this study I have laid out what we can know, and what we can reasonably surmise, about solo dance (or dance by actors) in Greek and Roman comedy, and I have made a case for why such dancing mattered and what it added to the plays. This study as a whole contributes to our understanding of comic solo dance by revealing how playwrights and actors used dance to create meaning in comic plays. For playwrights, as I have argued above, solo dance was a tool for creating standout moments in a play, for emphasizing individual characters, and for highlighting transgressive behavior. It has long been acknowledged that gesture and dance were important components of an actor’s performance in both ancient Greek and Roman theater, but the evidence of the plays themselves had not been sufficiently explored to better understand how and where and to what effect actors utilized dance. Of course, the answers to

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5 See Olsen 2021: esp. 52-72 on Io in Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound* and 73-99 on Euripides’ *Ion.*
these questions are not fully knowable. However, I hope that my study has demonstrated just how much we can know – and, from there, how much we can productively infer – about this aspect of ancient Greco-Roman theatrical performance.
## Appendix: Solo dance, play-by-play

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Play, lines</th>
<th>Meter</th>
<th>Definite, likely, or reference?</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes / categorization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aristophanes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Acharnians</em> 175-85</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>Amphitheus runs onstage fleeing the Acharnians</td>
<td>Running scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Acharnians</em> 242-79</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter (242-62); Lyric iambics (263-79)</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Dicaeopolis leads a procession and sings a phallic song with graphic sexual language</td>
<td>Sex / seduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Knights</em> 20</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>First Slave pleads with second slave to think of an ἀποκινος (dance step as a metaphor for a way to escape)</td>
<td>Dance step (unknown, comic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Knights</em> 284-302</td>
<td>Trochaic dimeter</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Paphlagon and the Sausage-Seller rapidly exchange insults, many of which include physical threats</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Knights</em> 361-81</td>
<td>Iambic tetrameter and dimeter</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Paphlagon and the Sausage-Seller again rapidly exchange physical threats</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Knights</em> 697</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Sausage-Seller uses dance terminology to describe his reaction to Paphlagon’s threats (thus mocking him)</td>
<td>Dance step (unknown, vulgar) Critical / mocking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Knights</em> 696-701</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>Paphlagon and the Sausage-Seller use physical and visual language to describe how they will hurt each other</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Knights</em> 796</td>
<td>Anapestic tetrameter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Sausage-Seller uses dance terminology (butt-kicking dance) to criticize Paphlagon for rejecting peace treaties</td>
<td>Dance step (butt-kicking) Critical / mocking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Clouds</em> 136</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Student at the Thinkery associates Strepsiades’ kicking at the door with a rustic lack of learning, using dance terminology</td>
<td>Dance step (kicking) Critical / mocking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play</td>
<td>Meter</td>
<td>Line(s)</td>
<td>Stage Action</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clouds 540</td>
<td>Eupolidean tetrameter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Chorus leader, on behalf of Aristophanes, lists the lack of the kordax as one reason why this play is better than others</td>
<td>Theatrical dance (comic, kordax)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clouds 555</td>
<td>Eupolidean tetrameter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Chorus leader criticizes the comic playwright Eupolis for adding a drunk old woman to his play just to perform the kordax</td>
<td>Theatrical dance (comic, kordax)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clouds 1297-1302</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>Strepsiades threatens to attack one of his creditors with a goad if he does not leave</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clouds 1321-25</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>Strepsiades rushes onstage fleeing his son Phidippides, who has apparently been beating him inside</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasps 8</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Xanthias references the wild dances of the Corybantes to ask Sosias why he is thrashing in his sleep</td>
<td>Non-theatrical dance (ritual, Corybantes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasps 119</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Xanthias says that Bdelycleon attempted to put Philocleon through Corybantic rites but Philocleon went to court with a tympanon</td>
<td>Non-theatrical dance (ritual, Corybantes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasps 130</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Xanthias uses dance language to describe the way that Philocleon tried to escape their house and go back to court</td>
<td>Dance step (stomping, leaping)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasps 397-99</td>
<td>Anaplectic tetrameter</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Bdelycleon tells Xanthias to strike Philocleon as he tries to escape</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasps 456-60</td>
<td>Trochaic tetrameter</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Bdelycleon tells Xanthias to strike the chorus of wasps to get them to leave</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasps 1292-1325</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>Xanthias enters exclaiming about being beaten inside the house</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasps 1326-40</td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic (1326-31; 1335-40); Iambic trimeter (1332-34)</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Philocleon enters combatively, telling everyone to get out of his way and threatening the victims following him</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Wasps</strong> 1474-1537</th>
<th>1474-81: iambic trimeters (Xanthias setting up Philocleon’s dance)</th>
<th>Definite</th>
<th>Philocleon performs an unruly dance, then institutes a dance contest with the sons of Carcinus</th>
<th>Competitive dancing</th>
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<td>1482-96: anapests (Philocleon’s dance)</td>
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<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
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<td>1497-1515: iambic trimeters (Philocleon sets up the dance contest)</td>
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<td>Parodic dancing; tragedy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1516-37: anapestic tetrameters catalectic (1516-17); Archilochean dicola (choral song; dance contest between Philocleon and sons of Carcinus)</td>
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<td>Finale</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Wasps</strong> 1503</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Philocleon uses the language of tragic dance to describe the way that he will beat the middle son of Carcinus (in between Philocleon’s dance and the contest)</td>
<td>Theatrical dance (tragic, <em>emmeleia</em>)</td>
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<td>Critical / mocking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peace</strong> 114-18</td>
<td>Dactylic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>As Trygaeus is about to fly away on the beetle, his daughters come onstage and sing lyric dactyls pleading with him to say whether he is really leaving</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peace</strong> 255-63</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>“War” (Πόλεμος) calls out “Battle Din” (Κωδομός) and beats him up</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peace</strong> 864</td>
<td>Iambic tetrameter catalectic</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>The chorus compares Trygaeus’ fortune to Carcinus’ dancing</td>
<td>Dance step (whirling); theatrical dance (tragic, Carcinus)</td>
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<td>Critical / mocking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peace</strong> 788-789</td>
<td>Dactylic hexameter catalectic</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>The chorus mocks the dancing ability of Carcinus’ sons</td>
<td>Dancers (tragic, sons of Carcinus)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Critical / mocking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Birds</strong> 1121-63</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>Bird-messenger (#1) runs in to tell Peisetairos that the wall has been built</td>
<td>Running scene</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Birds</strong> 1168-74</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>Bird-guard messenger (#2) runs in to tell Peisetairos that the gods have infiltrated Cloudcuckooland</td>
<td>Running scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Birds</strong> 1169</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Peisetairos compares messenger #2 to a dancer of the pyrrhiche</td>
<td>εἰσθεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς δεῦρο πυρρήθην βλέπων non-theatrical dance (ritual, pyrrhic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Birds</strong> 1309-36</td>
<td>Dactylic and iambic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Manes runs around gathering wings before Peisetairos strikes him</td>
<td>Running scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Birds</strong> 1373-1409</td>
<td>Alternating iambic trimeter (Peisetairos and some Cinesias: 1375, 1378-79, 1382-92, 1397) with iambo-choriambics, iambics, aeolo-choriambics, and anapests (Cinesias: 1373-74, 1376-77, 1380-81, 1393-94, 1395b-96, 1398-1400)</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Cinesias (dithyrambic poet) dances onstage and likely continues to dance as he sings a mock-dithyramb, with Peisetairos as spectator / commentator</td>
<td>Parodic dancing: dithyramb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Birds</strong> 1755-62</td>
<td>Iambic dicola</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Peisetairos lifts up Basileia (symbolic, mute female character) to dance with her</td>
<td>Celebratory dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lysistrata</strong> 82</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Lampito explains her physique by saying that she performs butt-kicking dances</td>
<td>Dance step (butt-kicking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lysistrata</strong> 209-237</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>Lysistrata leads the women in an oath that contains much visual language and details sexual positions (229-32).</td>
<td>Sex / seduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lysistrata</strong> 392-93</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Magistrate compares the old women’s behavior to the lone dancing of a women worshipping Adonis</td>
<td>Non-theatrical dance (ritual, Adonia) Critical / mocking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lysistrata</strong> 409</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Magistrate tells story of a foolish husband giving his wife the opportunity to have sex with a goldsmith after she breaks her necklace while dancing</td>
<td>Non-theatrical dance (possible pannychis, euphemism) Critical / mocking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lysistrata</strong> 982</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Cinesias compares a Spartan herald to an ithyphallic god / dance move because of his erection</td>
<td>Non-theatrical dance (ritual, ithyphallic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thesmo. 59-62</strong></td>
<td>Anapastic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Kinsman jokes about being the dominant partner in sex with Agathon and his slave, using graphic language that could be represented through dance (e.g., spinning).</td>
<td>Sex / seduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thesmo. 551-70</td>
<td>Iambic tetrameter</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Mica responds to Kinsman’s slander of women by making repeated physical threats</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thesmo. 1172-1206</td>
<td>Iambic trimeters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note that piper plays despite the unaccompanied meter; piper is addressed at l. 1175, 1186</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Elaphion (dancing-girl, mute female character) performs a lap dance to distract the Scythian guard so that the Kinsman can escape</td>
<td>Sensual/lewd dancing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Finale</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thesmo. 1210-25</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>Scythian guard runs around looking for “Artamuxia” (Euripides)</td>
<td>Running scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frogs 153</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Dionysus says that anyone who learned Cinesias’ pyrrhic dance should be counted amongst the list of monsters in the underworld</td>
<td>Non-theatrical dance (pyrrhic, dithyrambic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frogs 542-48</td>
<td>Trochaic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Dionysus sings about Xanthias having sex with a dancing-girl while he himself masturbates</td>
<td>Sex / seduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frogs 549-55</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>An innkeeper enters angry at Dionysus (dressed as Heracles) for eating too much bread and stew at her inn without paying</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frogs 571-78</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>The innkeeper and her maid levy several graphic threats against Dionysus</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frogs 605-673</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>Extended argumentative scene between Aeacus, Dionysus, and Xanthias that involves much beating and other physical language (607-9, 615-28, 644-64)</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frogs 775</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>A slave tells Xanthias that Euripides’ “twistings” (metaphor: rhetoric and dance) are responsible for his popularity</td>
<td>Dance step (twisting, bending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frogs 1089-98</td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Dionysus tells the story of someone struggling to run at the Panathenaea and then farting when people smacked him</td>
<td>Running scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assembly-women 689-709</td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Praxagora imitates how women will seduce men under her plan for the polis</td>
<td>Sex / seduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assembly-women 877-925</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter (877-892); Mostly trochaic (893-910); Iambic and aeolo-choriambic (911-23)</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>An old woman and young girl sing competing monodies, each arguing that the young man should have sex with her</td>
<td>Sex / seduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assembly- women 952- 75</td>
<td>Cretic, iambic, trochaic, iamb-choriambic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>The young girl and Epigenes sing monodies about their desire for each other</td>
<td>Sex / seduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assembly-women 1163- 67</td>
<td>Trochaic tetrameters catalectic</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Blepyros (male citizen) dances with the chorus and two mute female attendants</td>
<td>Celebratory dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth 279</td>
<td>Iambic tetramer</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Chorus leader calls Cario the name of a dance step as a derogatory term</td>
<td>Dance step (unknown, vulgar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth 290- 321</td>
<td>Iambics (iambic tetrameters catalectic and iambic dimeters)</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Cario (slave) dances as part of a dithyrambic parody with the chorus of poor farmers</td>
<td>Parodic dancing: dithyramb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Menander

<p>| Dyskolos 81- 87 | Iambic trimeter | Likely / dance-like | Pyrrhias runs onstage fleeing Knemon | Running scene |
| Dyskolos 574-96 | Iambic trimeter | Likely / dance-like | Simiche (female slave) enters in distress over dropping a mattock down Knemon’s well | Emotional entrance |
| Dyskolos 620-38 | Iambic trimeter | Likely / dance-like | Simiche (female slave) enters in distress over Knemon falling in the well | Emotional entrance |
| Dyskolos 946-64 | Iambic tetrameters catalectic | Definite | After Sikon mimics the dances of the women celebrating the girl’s engagement, Sikon and Getas dance to annoy Knemon and try to get him to dance | Parodic dancing: female wedding dances |
| Samia 46 | Iambic trimeter | Reference | Moschion names the dancing of women celebrating the Adonia as the context for raping and impregnating Plangon | Non-theatrical dance (ritual, Adonia) |
| Samia 421- 28 | Trochaic tetramer | Likely | Nikeratos enters expressing his anger towards Demeas about the situation with Chrysis and the baby in his household | Emotional entrance |
| Samia 440- 51 | Trochaic tetramer | Likely | Demeas enters expressing his rage at the chaos inside his house | Emotional entrance |
| Samia 532- 36 | Trochaic tetramer | Likely | Nikeratos enters in a frenzy after seeing his daughter breastfeeding the baby | Emotional entrance |</p>
<table>
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<th>Reference</th>
<th>Dancing note</th>
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<tr>
<td>555</td>
<td>Trochaic tetrameter catalectic</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Demeas calls Nikeratos a <em>strobilos</em> (whirling dance step / hurricane)</td>
<td>Dance step (whirling)</td>
<td>Critical / mocking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>556-63</td>
<td>Trochaic tetrameter</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Nikeratos enters and threatens to kill Chrysis</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>568-73</td>
<td>Trochaic tetrameter</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Chrysis enters frantically seeking a place to escape, as she is being chased by Nikeratos, who comes in pursuing her at 570</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>574-82</td>
<td>Trochaic tetrameter</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Nikeratos and Demeas strike each other, fighting over the situation with Chrysis, Plangon, and the baby</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>399-403</td>
<td>Iambic trimeter</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>Daos enters in a mock frantic entrance, pretending to be quite upset</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
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**Theophoroumena, act II or III (mosaic)**

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<th>Reference</th>
<th>Dancing note</th>
<th>Dance style</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/a, but presence of instruments on mosaic (<em>tibia, tympanon, krotala</em>) suggests musical accompaniment</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Kleinias and Lysias perform ecstatic dancing to entice the girl out of the house; the girl performs her own ecstatic dancing as well, either genuinely or as part of an act</td>
<td>Parodic dancing: ecstatic worship</td>
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**Plautus**

**Amphitryo**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>308-28</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarii</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Mercury continually threatens / prepares to strike Sosia before eventually beating him up</td>
<td>Aggressive dancings</td>
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<tr>
<td>633-53</td>
<td>Bacchiacs and <em>cola reiziana</em></td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Alcumena enters expressing her grief after Jupiter (disguised as Amphitryo) left her again (meter changes from tr7 and back to tr7 after)</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>984-1005</td>
<td>Iambic octonarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Mercury enters parodying the threat monologues of <em>servus currens</em> scenes</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
<td>Parodic dancing: <em>servus currens</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1009-20</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarii</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Amphitryo enters in a rush after unsuccessfully searching everywhere for Naucrates</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
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<tr>
<td>1053-71</td>
<td>Iambic, anapestic, and trochaic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Bromia enters in a panic to tell the story of Hercules’ birth</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
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<tr>
<td>127-50</td>
<td>Cretic, choriambic, and trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Meter changes from ia6 as Diabolus enters expressing his anger at Cleareta and Philaenium after being thrown out of Cleareta’s house</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Play</td>
<td>Meter</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Scene Description</td>
<td>Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asinaria 265-69</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Libanus comments that Leonida is out of breath while running in, and Leonida enters expressing joy (cf. emotional entrances)</td>
<td>Running scene</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Asinaria 371-77</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Libanus and Leonida joke about getting into a fist fight when Leonida plays the role of Saurea as part of their scheming</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Asinaria 627</td>
<td>Iambic septenarius</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Leonida calls Libanus a <em>cinaedus</em> and connects him with being beaten</td>
<td>Dancer (<em>cinaedus</em>)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aulularia 402</td>
<td>Iambic senarius</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Anthrax (cook) tells a servant to pluck the feathers off a rooster so that it is smoother than a hairless dancer</td>
<td>Dancer (public festival)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aulularia 406-15</td>
<td>Trochaic, anapestic, and iambic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Congrio (cook) runs onstage after being beaten inside Euclio’s house</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aulularia 422</td>
<td>versus reizianus</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Congrio compares himself to a <em>cinaedus</em> because of the way he has been beaten inside</td>
<td>Dancer (<em>cinaedus</em>)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aulularia 626-7</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Euclio describes his fear at the threat of his gold being stolen by comparing his heart to a jumping dance</td>
<td>Dance step (jumping, public festival)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aulularia 628-33</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Euclio drags the slave out of the shrine and beats him</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aulularia 713-27a</td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Euclio runs in a panic searching for his stolen gold</td>
<td>Running scene</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bacchides 368-84</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Meter changes from iα6 as Lydus enters expressing annoyance at the Bacchis sisters and Pistoclerus</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bacchides 612-26</td>
<td>Trochaic, anapestic, iambic, bacchiac, cretic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Meter changes from iα6 as Mnesilochus enters harshly criticizing himself</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacchides 1087-1103</td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Nicobulus enters expressing his anger at having been duped</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bacchides 1120-1206</td>
<td>Mostly anapestic and bacchiac with some cretic and trochaic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>The Bacchis sisters (<em>meretrices</em>) seduce Nicobulus and Philoxenus (<em>senes</em>) into joining them inside</td>
<td>Sex / seduction</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Captivi 498-515</td>
<td>Anapestic, bacchiac, trochaic, and iambic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Hegio enters expressing his joy because he thinks he is getting his son back</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Play</th>
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<th>Meter and Mode</th>
<th>Likely Scene</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Captivi</td>
<td>516-32</td>
<td>Iambic, trochaic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Tyndarus enters in distress because he sees no escape from being caught in his deception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captivi</td>
<td>768-828</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius, iambic octonarius, and bacchiacs</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Ergasilus enters expressing joy over the good news he has to share with Hegio and then performs a running slave scene with an extensive threat monologue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casina</td>
<td>404-12</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Olympio and Chalinus hit each other, on Lysidamus’ and Cleostrata’s orders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casina</td>
<td>621-29a</td>
<td>Cretic, choriambic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Pardalisca enters in a mock-frantic entrance expressing panic and fear at Casina’s (fabricated) use of a sword inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casina</td>
<td>843-53</td>
<td>Colon reizianum and iambic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Chalinus, dressed as Casina, elbows and steps on Olympio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casina</td>
<td>875-78</td>
<td>Anapestic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Olympio (slave) enters in distress and not knowing where to go after being beaten inside the house by Chalinus (slave), who was dressed as Casina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casina</td>
<td>937-60</td>
<td>Trochaic, cretic, iambic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Lysidamus (senex) enters expressing his shame and not knowing what to do after being caught by his wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cistellaria</td>
<td>203-29</td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Alcesimarchus enters lamenting how love is destroying him, in melodramatic fashion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cistellaria</td>
<td>671-704</td>
<td>Anapestic, bacchiac, and cretic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Halisca enters searching for the basket that will prove Selenium’s heritage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curculio</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>Cretic tetrameter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Phaedromus asks the bolts of Planesium’s door to jump up like barbarian performers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curculio</td>
<td>277-303</td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Curculio (parasite) runs in looking for Phaedromus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curculio</td>
<td>689-707</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Therapontigonus and Curculio exchange physical threats with the pimp Cappadox before he is tied up and dragged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epidicus</td>
<td>1-16</td>
<td>Trochaic, iambic, and cretic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Epidicus has to run onstage to catch Thesprio, who has been moving very quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Meter</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Epicticus</td>
<td>Trochaic and iambic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Epidicus fakes a <em>servus currens</em> scene to give Periphanes the “news” that his son, Stratippocles, is planning to purchase a music-girl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epicticus</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Periphanes enters angry at Epidicus and moving at a fast pace.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epicticus</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Epidicus enters expressing his joy after discovering Telestis’ identity.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menaechmi</td>
<td>Choriambic, ithyphallic, cretic, trochaic, iambic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>The meter changes from ia6 to a polymetric section as Menaechmus I enters expressing anger at his wife.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menaechmi</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Peniculus dances with the <em>palla</em>, and Menaechmus refuses to dance.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menaechmi</td>
<td>Iambic senarius</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Menaechmus calls Peniculus a <em>cinaedus</em> and distances himself from the term after he thinks Peniculus accuses him of cross-dressing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menaechmi</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Messenio beats back the slaves who have been trying to capture Menaechmus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercator</td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Acanthio (slave) runs onstage out of breath and performs a threat monologue before going up to his master Charinus’ door.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercator</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Eutychus enters expressing his joy at the good news he wants to share with Charinus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miles Gloriosus</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Periplectomenus (<em>senex</em>) convinces Palaestrio and Pleusicles that he is skilled enough to help them pull off a deception plot, citing his skill as a <em>cinaedus</em>.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miles Gloriosus</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Pyrgopolinices is forced onstage, threatened, and beaten for being an adulterer.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostellaria</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Tranio enters expressing hopelessness before reporting the news that Philolaches’ father has returned.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Page Range</td>
<td>Metre(s)</td>
<td>Type</td>
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<td>Action</td>
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<tr>
<td>Persa 251-71a</td>
<td>Cretic, bacchiac, iambic, trochaic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Sagaristio enters expressing his joy at having received money from his master</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persa 777-90</td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Dordalus enters expressing his misery after being duped by Toxilus</td>
<td>Celebratory dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persa 804-31</td>
<td>Paegnium’s dance mocking Dordalus: 797-802: anapests; 803-6: cretics; 807-10: bacchiacs; 811-12: iambic tetrameters; 813-18: bacchiacs; 819-20: trochaics.</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Paegnium dances to annoy Dordalus before Toxilus and Sagaristio show off in an implied competition, further annoying Dordalus</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Persa 844-56</td>
<td>Anapestic, trochaic, bacchiac</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Toxilus and crew repeatedly hit Dordalus</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poenulus 203-52</td>
<td>Bacchiac</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Adelphasium and Anterastilis (pseudomeretrices) sing of their disdain for living the lives of mretices, with Milphio and Agorostocles watching</td>
<td>Sex / seduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poenulus 1318-20</td>
<td>Iambic senarius</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Antamynides accuses Agorostocles of being a cinaedus, which Agorostocles comically reverses by ordering slaves to bring out clubs (i.e. to beat rather than be beaten)</td>
<td>Dancer (cinaedus)</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudolus 133-229</td>
<td>Anapestic, trochaic, iambic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Ballio enters whipping his slaves in exceptionally cruel fashion and giving them extensive orders</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudolus 357-69</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Pseudolus and Calidorus rapidly hurl insults at Ballio (flagitatio); they could gesture or dance aggressively to punctuate their insults</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudolus 1268-84</td>
<td>1268-70: cretics; 1270a: trochaic; 1270b: ithyphallic; 1271-3: bacchiacs; 1274-5: iambics; 1276: bacchiac; 1277-8: cretics; 1279: anapests; 1279a: trochaic; 1280: cretic; 1281-2: bacchiacs; 1283-4: trochaics</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Pseudolus re-performs for the audience the dances he performed at a party inside</td>
<td>Celebratory dancing</td>
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<td>Meter</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Rudens</em> 185-219</td>
<td>Bacchic, anapestic, iambic, cretic, <em>versus reiziani</em></td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Palaestra enters lamenting her fate, expressing fear and despair</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rudens</em> 220-28</td>
<td>Anapestic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Ampelisca enters expressing hopelessness after searching for Palaestra</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rudens</em> 1004-15</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Gripus and Trachalio exchange physical threats and nearly beat each other up over the trunk, while holding the rope</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Stichus</em> 270-307</td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Pinacium (slave) runs to tell Panegyris that her husband has returned</td>
<td>Running scene</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Stichus</em> 725-34</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Sangarius and Stichus compete against each other as rivals sharing a girlfriend</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Stichus</em> 767-75</td>
<td>767-8: iambic senarii (Sangarius tells the piper to start playing again); 769: iambic octonarius; 770: iambic septenarius; 771-3: <em>versus reiziani</em>; 774-5: iambic septenarii</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Stichus and Sangarius compete against each other by performing dance moves at a party</td>
<td>Competitive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Trinummus</em> 1008-27</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Stasimus (slave) runs onstage in a hurry after losing his ring in a tavern</td>
<td>Running scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Trinummus</em> 1115-19</td>
<td>Anapestic tetrameter</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>The meter changes from iambic senarii to anapests as Lysiteles enters expressing his joy</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Truculentus</em> 917-34</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Phronesium flirts with Strabax in front of Stratophanes</td>
<td>Near-finale</td>
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<td><strong>Terence</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Andria</em> 338-45</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Davus enters joyfully as he looks for Pamphilus to tell him about the plan to trick his father</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Andria</em> 860-65</td>
<td>Iambic octonarius and trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Simo orders Dromo (slave) to bind up Davos (slave) and bring him inside</td>
<td>Aggressive dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hecyra</em> 281-87</td>
<td>Trochaic octonarius and septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Pamphilus enters lamenting his situation and expressing the torment of a man in love</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Meter</td>
<td>Likely Type</td>
<td>Scene Description</td>
<td>Entrance Type</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Hecyra</em> 361-64</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Pamphilus enters in distress, saying that he came outside quickly and out of breath, before recounting how he found his wife unexpectedly in childbirth</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hecyra</em> 516-21</td>
<td>Trochaic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Myrrhina enters in a panic after her husband has found out about their daughter Philumena’s baby</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Heauton Tim.</em> 510-17</td>
<td>Iambic senarius</td>
<td>Likely / dance-like</td>
<td>Syrus (slave) enters running and exclaims about his plan to trick the senex, not realizing that Chremes is there and can hear him</td>
<td>Running scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Heauton Tim.</em> 679-81</td>
<td>Iambic septenarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Clinia enters expressing his joy that he can marry Antiphila</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Eunuchus</em> 289-304</td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Chaerea enters desperately searching for Pamphila</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Eunuchus</em> 549-56</td>
<td>Trochaic and iambic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Chaerea enters expressing his joy that his plan to rape Pamphila has worked</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Eunuchus</em> 615-28</td>
<td>Trochaic and iambic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Dorias enters expressing her fear that Thraso will hurt Thais because she invited Chremes (Pamphila’s brother) to dinner</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Eunuchus</em> 642-50</td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Pythias enters furious over Chaerea raping Pamphila</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Eunuchus</em> 739-42</td>
<td>Trochaic octonarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Thais enters expressing worry that Thraso will take Pamphila from her and leverages a few physical threats against him</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Eunuchus</em> 941-50</td>
<td>Iambic senarius (941-2); trochaic septenarius (943ff.)</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Pythias performs a mock-frantic entrance to trick Parmeno into thinking that Chaerea is being tied up and punished inside</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Eunuchus</em> 1031-33</td>
<td>Trochaic septenarius and iambic octonarius</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Chaerea enters expressing his joy at being able to marry Pamphila, who has been revealed as a citizen</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Phormio</em> 178-96</td>
<td>Iambic and trochaic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Geta (slave) runs onstage to tell Antipho that his father has returned</td>
<td>Running scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Phormio</em> 728-31</td>
<td>Trochaic</td>
<td>Likely</td>
<td>Sophrona enters in a panic after learning that Antipho’s father does not approve of his marriage to Phanium</td>
<td>Emotional entrance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Phormio** 841-45 | Trochaic septenarius | Likely | Geta enters exclaiming about his luck before putting his cloak over his shoulder to rush and tell Antipho the news | Emotional entrance  
Celebratory dancing |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Adelphoe** 305-20 | Iambic and trochaic | Likely | Geta enters furious over Aeschinus abducting the music-girl when he should be devoted to Pamphila (whom he raped and promised to marry) | Emotional entrance  
Aggressive dancing |
| **Adelphoe** 752 | Iambic senarius | Reference | Demea ironically suggests that Micio perform a rope dance with Aeschinus, his new wife, and the music-girl | Non-theatrical dance (possible ritual, rope dance)  
Critical / mocking |
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