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'Closing Up' on Animal Metamorphosis:

Ovid's Micro-choreographies in the *Metamorphoses* and the

Corporeal Idioms of Pantomime Dancing

ABSTRACT: This article reads Ovid's *Metamorphoses* through the lens of its contemporary art of pantomime dancing. With a focus restricted to narratives of animalization, it argues that the dancer's exquisite bodily expressiveness has been co-opted and re-calibrated for the demands of the poetic medium, as Ovid's sequences of animal metamorphosis have amalgamated aesthetic strategies borrowed from the pantomime stage. Far from having been shaped exclusively within the literary mainstream, Ovid's idiosyncratic look, astonishingly perceptive and concentrated on the movements, gestures as well as the minutest parts of his characters' bodies, was the product of a bold, intermedial cross-over between poetry and dance.

> 'Cadme, quid hoc? ubi pes, ubi sunt umerique manusque
>
> et color et facies et, dum loquor, omnia?'
>
> (Ovid, *Met*. 4.592-593)
>
> 'Cadmus, what now? Your feet, your shoulders, hands
>
> Where are they? And your color and your shape,
>
> And, while I'm speaking, everything?'[1]

Harmonia's cry of incomprehending disbelief as she witnesses her husband Cadmus' gradual shedding of his human form parallels our own sense of wonder as readers of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. It gives voice to our own astonishment in the face of body-matter changing *as we watch*, growing harder or softer by the minute, arresting our gaze at mid-point, becoming at variance with its own essence before crystallizing into

noua . . . corpora (*Met*.1.1-2), new configurations. The changes detailed in Ovid's epic do not 'just happen'—they are, on the whole, lengthy, protracted affairs, the chronicling of a wave of movement as it flows through a body's physical articulations. His predilection for the showcasing of a slow consecutive infection of adjacent body parts has not escaped scholarly attention. In a study entirely devoted to ancient texts and images concerning transformation, Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux drew a sharp dividing line between the Greek literary tradition and Ovid's epic:

> Herein lies a 'constant' of the Greek texts. The metamorphosis itself is merely mentioned in them and the dryness of what is enunciated constitutes its dominant trait. There is nothing, ever, similar to the descriptions of Ovid who, obligingly, deploys a tansformation in all its stages by verbal procedures that are almost cinematic.[2]

While Greek metamorphosis happens "at the bat of an eyelid," "at the moment vision is obstructed,"[3] Ovid's verse offers to the reader's eyes a spectacle which had never previously existed, except perhaps in the hidden depths of poetic imagination. How can we best account for the incredible proximity of Ovid's viewing lens to the transforming body, the slow zooming-in that ultimately produces what Glenn Most (1992: 401) has aptly called "a comprehensive cartography of every feature of the human anatomy—in the modes of loss and pain"?

All the while acknowledging the impossibility of pinpointing a single model for the cinematic specificity of Ovid's metamorphic narratives, this article shifts the focus from Rome's literary to its subliterary culture, more particularly to the art-form wherein metamorphic bodies hold the most privileged position, namely pantomime dancing. A multi-media entertainment reliant on a solo dancer impersonating a range of mythical characters to the accompaniment of verbal narrative, choral singing and

instrumental music,[4] pantomime was the site *par excellence* where the human body could experiment with innumerable ways of becoming 'other.' Most importantly, in addition to the 'otherness' intrinsically inherent in all manner of artistic playing of a role onstage, this supremely self-reflexive genre's thematic core revolved around mythical narratives of actual transformation,[5] coinciding thus with the thematic lifeblood of Ovid's own poem.[6] For centuries a mere 'bit player' in the history of Greek and Roman culture, pantomime has recently experienced a full-scale renaissance, with work offering a radical reassessment of the genre's importance in the symbolic economy of imperial and later antiquity.[7] Moreover, although pantomime is still all but invisible in histories of Roman literature, there is increasing recognition of the fact that its chronological co-ordinates make it fully relevant to the poetry of the Augustan period. By the time Ovid started composing the *Metamorphoses* (around 2 C.E.), for example, pantomime had already taken the Augustan world by storm. Following the dance revolution of the 20s B.C.E. credited to Pylades from Cilicia and Bathyllus from Alexandria,[8] mimetic dancing moved from a mere "fringe" entertainment on the margin of public festival days (Jory 2004:148) to a fixture at the very heart of the Roman theatrical experience. Although nobody now believes in the (largely late-antique) myth of pantomime's 'virginal' entrance into Roman life in 23 or 22 B.C.E. (see Jory 1981), we can at least be certain that the last few years of the second decade B.C.E. represented a landmark moment (cf. Lucian, *Salt*. 34) during which the multiple traditions of aesthetic dancing already in existence in the capital crystallized into a self-conscious and flamboyant art, a genre of immeasurable artistic power. Ovid in particular has fared exceptionally well as a result of rekindled scholarly interest in popular theatrical genres. Following early work by Fantham (1983) on the *Fasti*, pantomime-oriented readings of the *Metamorphoses* have been

heralded by Galinsky's pioneering remarks in the 70s[9] and are now gathering pace, the poem having been variously understood as a springboard for *libretto* compositions, as a literary response to the pantomime explosion or both.[10] In a systematic attempt to read the embodied narrative of Ovid's poem side by side with the public discouse of pantomime dancing, I myself have recently suggested (Lada-Richards 2013) that Ovid's obsessive attention to his characters' bodies is heavily indebted to the pantomime mode, which expresses "character" and "passion" (Lucian, *Salt*. 35, 67) in visual, bodily terms, dramatized as movement, posture, attitude and gesture.

The present article drives the inquiry deeper by restricting its focus to Ovidian narratives centering on transformation from human to animal nature. Whether enjoyed by the solitary reader or heard in the context of a recitation[11] or watched in adapted form as *fabulae salticae*,[12] this subset of metamorphic stories presents an exceptional challenge to the addressee's ability to suspend her disbelief and succumb to willing, pleasurable deception.[13] Confronted with the task of describing the implausible and indescribable, does Ovid turn for inspiration to the pantomime genre, a representational medium put equally under strain by the exorbitant demands placed by animal metamorphosis on the human body as an instrument of artistic expression and creator of aesthetic verisimilitude[14] on stage? Section **§1** sets the scene by reading the typology of animal metamorphosis in Ovid's epic side by side with the thematic clustering which undergrids the performative logic of pantomime dancing. Section **§2** compares Ovid's distinctive way of looking at the human body at the moment of transition into animal nature with a handful of potentially pantomime-inflected descriptions of animal metamorphosis in literary texts. Section **§3** probes the kinetic vocabulary of Ovidian bodies morphing into animals by means of a comparative look at constitutive elements of the dancer's acrobatic brilliance. Using the dancer's

corporeal toolkit as a lens through which to re-examine narratives of corporeal change in the *Metamorphoses,* the piece will argue that Ovid's sequences of animal metamorphosis seem to have amalgamated aesthetic strategies borrowed directly from the pantomime stage.[15] Far from having been shaped exclusively within the literary mainstream, Ovid's idiosyncratic look, astonishingly perceptive and concentrated on the movements, gestures as well as the minutest parts of his characters' bodies, was the product of a bold, intermedial cross-over between poetry and dance.

The importance of such a reading can hardly be exaggerated. We tend to imagine élite literary production anxious to fend off incursions from below the "great divide"[16] by thickening its textures and making its boundaries less porous. Yet, Ovid's hybrid text, saturated with the ebb and flow of pantomime's throbbing energy, defies expectation: untouched by what Andreas Huyssen (1986: vii) calls "the anxiety of contamination," this poet rather seems to derive sheer pleasure from encounters with subliterary cultural matter.[17] Until we acknowledge both the reality of Ovid's debt to the aesthetic modalities of his contemporary popular stage and the magnitude of pantomime's gravitational pull, we are unable to fully grasp the entire network of cultural forces at play in the Augustan literary field. Unless we accept Ovid's raids, as it were, across the border, we are looking at one half of the picture only. For the manifold entanglements between stories narrated in the linguistic medium and stories enacted in the flesh that played a role in the shaping of the *Metamorphoses* were not isolated moments in the trajectory of a unique alliance; in a Rome where pantomime performances were becoming increasingly a show business of formidable proportions, they may have been much closer to the cultural norm than the exception.

I. Of birds and mammals, fish and snakes: literary and stage-typologies of animal metamorphosis

Despite the broadness of the 'becoming animal' range in Ovid's poem, with bestialization narratives comprising transformations into quadripeds but also reptiles, aquatic creatures, birds, insects and bats,[18] a recognizable typology does nevertheless emerge. In the most elaborately described cases the reader is able to savor "step by slow step" (Richlin 1992:165) the morphing subject's gradual estrangement[19] from the generic body-structures that define a human mode of locomotion or, better still, humanity itself. In story after story human neck and arms extend, becoming long and slender;[20] arms drop to the ground to become an animal's front legs or shrink away and disappear or give place to fins;[21] hands change into feet;[22] feet and legs taper together to form a long, pointed tail;[23] elbows curve into wings;[24] fingers and toes gather up to form hooves or bend and curve, nails and all, into a set of claws or congeal into a web.[25] As for human hair, its most congenial mutations seem to be an animal's mane or a bird's feathers and plumage.[26] A relatively constant element throughout the poem is the disfigurement of bodily parts (as they widen or shrink, become squashed or enlarged, form a beak or a snout)[27] coupled with the subject's unnerving experience of changed sensations: existing limbs grow rough and prickly with bristly hairs; skin changes into a hide or pelt or coarsens and hardens with scales.[28] The solidity of a core set of corporeal conventions associated with the trope of 'becoming animal' can be tested in the two instances of inverse transformation from animal to human that we are offered in Ovid's poem: Io (*Met*.1.738-746) and the companions of Odysseus (*Met*.14.302-305), enacting the happy journey back from a bovine and swinelike body-structure to the corporeal mode associated with the human condition. In their case, movements and micro-movements are played in reverse: acquired bodily hair

falls (*Met*.1.739, 14.303), previously enlarged facial features, such as eyes and nose, contract (*Met*.1.740-741), cloven hooves return to the five-fold division of the human foot (*Met*.1.742, 14.303-304), vanished shoulders and elbows, arms and forearms reappear (*Met*.1.741, 14.304-305) to facilitate the gradual lengthening and upward movement of the spine (*Met*.14.302-303), the vertical extension of the trunk and the supporting of the body's weight by two, instead of four, legs and feet.

A similar oscillation between the uniformity concomitant with broad thematic clustering on the one hand, and the variation attending individual species on the other, seems to have been a general *modus operandi* in pantomime performances, where codification of gestural vocabulary was crucial for providing easily identifiable visual cues for the orientation of the viewers. As can be easily inferred from Lucian's *On the Dance*, the general choreographic blueprint identifying large mythical themes, such as tecnophagy or conflagration, needs to be meticulously diversified and individuated further, in accordance with the detailed demands of a specific *fabula* (*Salt*. 80). The danced representation of Cronus' eating of his children, for example, must be similar enough to the representation of Thyestes' cannibalistic banquet in order to ensure an audience's recognition of both as instances of mythical tecnophagy; simultaneously, however, it must be sufficiently *distinctive* to prevent the random morphing of one myth into another. Given the overarching similarities underpinning the core gestural coding of large thematic blocks, the tiniest lapse in corporeal memory may cause the dancer to slip from one thematic sub-division to another, so that, to continue using Lucian's examples, Semele's death by Zeus' thunderbolt modulates inadvertently to a different gestural key, configuring Glauce's conflagration instead. In the case of animal metamorphosis, which is the focus of the present piece, a dancer's lapse in choreographic accuracy could result in the depiction of Callisto turning into a bear

instead of the intended transformation of, say, Actaeon into a stag. Both Ovid's poem and the pantomime enterprise rely on a physical vocabulary delineated with the utmost sense of gestural logic and precision.[29]

The deepest area of intersection between Ovid's 'written,' literary bodies and real, staged bodies executing choreographies of animalization would have been the subtle invitation to the reader/viewer to scrutinize them in their anatomical constituents, not only in their broad, whole-frame skeletal gestures but also in the minute, micro-movements of muscles and fibers, the smallest of ligaments and joints. Cadmus' slow-motion change into a snake is an excellent example:

> dixit et, ut serpens, in longam tenditur aluum
>
> durataeque cuti squamas increscere sentit
>
> nigraque caeruleis variari corpora guttis;
>
> in pectusque cadit pronus, commissaque in unum
>
> paulatim tereti tenuantur acumine crura.
>
> bracchia iam restant; quae restant bracchia tendit,
>
> et lacrimis per adhuc humana fluentibus ora
>
> 'accede, o coniunx, accede, miserrima' dixit,
>
> 'dumque aliquid superest de me, me tange manumque
>
> accipe, dum manus est, dum non totum occupat anguis.'
>
> ille quidem uult plura loqui, sed lingua repente
>
> in partes est fissa duas, nec uerba uolenti
>
> sufficiunt, quotiensque aliquos parat edere questus,
>
> sibilat; hanc illi uocem natura reliquit.

(*Met*.4.576-589)

Even as he spoke he was a snake that stretched

Along the ground. Over his coarsened skin

He felt scales form and bluish markings spot

His blackened body. Prone upon his breast

He fell; his legs were joined, and gradually

They tapered to a long smooth pointed tail.

He still had arms; the arms he had he stretched,

And, as his tears poured down still human cheeks,

'Come, darling wife!' he cried, 'my poor, poor wife!

Touch me, while something still is left of me,

And take my hand while there's a hand to take,

Before the whole of me becomes a snake.'

More he had meant to say, but suddenly

His tongue was split in two; words failed his will;

And every time he struggled to protest

He hissed; that was the voice that nature left.

Just as Ovid registers poetically how a morphing body's limbs are pervaded inch by inch by the currents of change traveling through them, so pantomime turns its viewer into a scopophiliac voyeur, soliciting his eyes to rest admiringly on "the position of the feet, the direction of the hands, the fine harmony of the gestures" (θέσιν ποδῶν, φορὰν χειρῶν, νευμάτων . . . εὐαρμοστίαν, Libanius, *Or.* 64.57).[30] If Ovid's descriptions leave nothing unrecorded, including the most imperceptible changes, the twitching of a muscle, the flicker of an eyelid, nails turning blue or pale, the

pantomime's body too was thought to be expressive from head to toe, with every single part, down to "the clenched fingers of the hand and the nerves and veins which are affected along with them" (οἶον χειρὸς τὰ συνθλιβόμενα καὶ νέβρα καὶ φλέβες συμπαθοῦντα, Plot. *Enn.*4.4.34),[31] contributing to the spectacle's overall effect.[32]

A comparative, inter-medial look across the dance/literature divide, then, reveals that micro-movements carrying a special semantic import are not only integral to the kinetic vocabulary of pantomime but also a particular, distinctive feature of Ovid's metamorphic verse. Has the pantomime's exquisite bodily expressiveness been co-opted into and re-calibrated for the demands of the poetic medium? Has Ovid's pantomime-friendly eye taught epic to speak a physical, corporeal language? No piece of extant evidence can prove that the cultural debris left by pantomime's explosive ascendancy found a receptive host in literary genres or colonized the cultural subconscious of Augustan poets. Moreover, as the subliterary has seldom been considered part of the "matrix of possibilities"[33] pre-approved by scholarly tradition as relevant to the reading of Augustan texts, classicists have naturally tended to *not* see it there, never having expected to encounter it in the first place.[34] It is, nevertheless, imperative that we 'un-learn' the limiting, debilitating assumption that texts are the sole conceivable sources of a poet's inspiration or, speaking more broadly, the tendency to seek formative influences in an artist's own expressive medium. In the same way that, according to Debussy's contemporaries, the "most powerful influence" on his music was "that of writers, not of composers";[35] in the same way that Dickens found an aesthetic template in "the custom on the stage, in all good, murderous melodramas,"[36] Ovid found a fertile source of inspiration in the treasure trove of bodily choreographies, vocabularies, kinetic patterns of the pantomime stage. Reading an Augustan text with Rome's subliterary culture in mind ensures that, at the very

least, whenever the shadow of real, pantomime bodies is reasonably suspected to have melded with a poet's literary idiom, it does not run the risk of being "ignored or pushed aside as mere 'background noise'" (Freudenburg 2001: 35).

II. Probing the micro-choreography of Ovid's 'becoming animal' sequences

No lengthy narrative of animalization that could be securely identified as pantomime-inflected exists to provide tangible literary ground for comparisons with the *Metamorphoses*. However, as I have shown in Lada-Richards 2013: 131-34, there does exist a handful of later narratives of bestialization that clamor to be read side by side with Ovid in a comparative vein, namely the (painfully short) snapshot of a pantomime choreography included in Sidonius Apollinaris' poem 23;[37] Apuleius' description of Lucius' accidental transformation into a donkey in his *Metamorphoses* (second century C.E.);[38] and Nonnus' description of Actaeon turning into a stag in the fifth book of his *Dionysiaca* (mid-fifth century C.E.),[39] a forty-eight book epic where the possibility of cross-fertilization with the pantomime stage is simply far too high to ignore.[40] In these cases pantomime is either an openly avowed presence (Sidonius) or a palpable aesthetic influence in the broader context of a pantomime-sensitive work (Apuleius and Nonnus). The boar's roughening of his head and back with bristles (*Carm*. 23.291-292); Lucius' incremental alienation from his familiar corporeal modalities, as his fingers become compressed into hooves and his face becomes misshapen; and the late epic Actaeon's thinning legs and branching antlers (*Dion*. 5.319-320) may all be different as far as individual details at micro-level are concerned, yet have one important element in common. As they belong to texts in circumstantial closeness to pantomime, they are most likely to have captured and distilled something of the performing body's gradual struggle to free itself from its

own limitations and align itself with the physical demands of an animal part. In this respect, the fact that Sidonius', Apuleius' and Nonnus' descriptions of the animal transformation sequence, markedly replete with gestural and bodily notation, are fully of a piece with Ovid's narrative is crucially important in the context of the present article. Instead of being brought into relief as 'closed,' finished shapes and fully drawn corporeal outlines, Ovid's *noua corpora* just as much as Sidonius' boar, Apuleius' ass and Nonnus' stag are exhibited *in medias res*, while the vestiges of their old forms are gradually being put under erasure. And while they reach out for the space beyond their physical contours, beyond their range of familiar sensations of 'being in-the-world,' they all invite the reader to look with the eyes of the pantomime viewer, the privileged, first-hand participant in the creation of a shape or form onstage. No less than an enthralled pantomime fan, Ovid's reader derives the utmost pleasure from lending his or her complicity to the drama of the 'written' bodies as they 'choreograph' the very spectacle of their mutation into animals on the poetic page.

Moving away from literary works in relatively accepted converse with the cultural experience of pantomime dancing, my last example, albeit more conjectural, takes us closer chronologically to Ovid's world. To the extent that one is prepared to acquiesce to the possibility that Seneca composed his tragedies "with pantomime in mind,"[41] a lively choral ode in his *Oedipus* acquires particular significance. Not only does it focalise the precise moment of transition from human to animal nature, but it can also be paired with Ovid's metamorphic sequences more closely than later texts. Thematically, it relates to the same cluster of Dionysiac miracles visited by Ovid in *Metamorphoses* 3, including the miraculous turning of a bunch of Tyrrhenian pirates

into dolphins, in retribution for their attempt to kidnap the young god aboard their ship:

Tum pirata freto pauidus natat,

et noua demersos facies habet:

bracchia prima cadunt praedonibus

inlisumque utero pectus coit,

paruula dependet lateri manus,

et dorso fluctum curuo subit,

lunata scindit cauda mare:

et sequitur curuus fugientia

carbasa delphin.

(Seneca, *Oed.* 459-466)[42]

Then the frightened pirates swim in the sea,

and as they sink take on new forms:

first the robbers' arms fall away,

their chests are squashed to join their bellies,

little hands hang down at their sides,

they dive in the waves with curving backs,

cut through the sea with crescent tails:

and the sails of the fleeing ship are chased

by humpbacked dolphins.

Seneca's graphic picture is strikingly similar to Ovid's zooming in on this same mythical metamorphosis, in a scene remarkable for its kinetic vibrancy, its detailed portrayal of a sequential morphing of the human body[43] and, most importantly, its culmination in a clear, unequivocal linguistic marker of chorality (*inque chori ludunt*, "playing in the manner of choral dancers") that enables us to talk of a "poétique chorégraphique de la métamorphose" (Vial 2013:122), a "choreographic poetics of metamorphosis":

> exsiluere uiri, siue hoc insania fecit
>
> siue timor, primusque Medon nigrescere toto
>
> corpore et expresso spinae curuamine flecti
>
> incipit; huic Lycabas 'in quae miracula' dixit
>
> 'uerteris?' et lati rictus et panda loquenti
>
> naris erat squamamque cutis durata trahebat.
>
> at Libys, obstantes dum uult obuertere remos,
>
> in spatium resilire manus breue uidit et illas
>
> iam non posse manus, iam pennas posse uocari.
>
> alter ad intortos cupiens dare bracchia funes
>
> bracchia non habuit truncoque repandus in undas
>
> corpore desiluit; falcata nouissima cauda est,
>
> qualia diuiduae sinuantur cornua lunae.
>
> undique dant saltus multaque aspergine rorant
>
> emerguntque iterum redeuntque sub aequora rursus
>
> inque chori ludunt speciem lasciuaque iactant
>
> corpora[44] et acceptum patulis mare naribus efflant.

(*Met*. 3.670-686)

The men leapt overboard, all driven mad

Or panic-stricken. Medon's body first

Began to blacken and his spine was arched

Into a curve. 'What magic shape is this?'

Cried Lycabas, but, even as he spoke,

His mouth widened, his nose curved out, his skin

Turned hard and scaly. Libys, trying to pull

The thwarting oars, saw his hands suddenly

Shrink—hands no longer—fins they might be called.

Another, when he meant to clasp his arms

Around a hawser, had no arms and jumped

Limbless and bending backwards into the waves.

His tail forked to a sickle-shape and curved

Like a half moon. All round the ship they leapt

In showers of splashing spray. Time after time

They surfaced and fell back into the sea,

Playing like dancers, frolicking about

In fun, wide nostrils taking in the sea

To blow it out again.

Seneca's much-discussed, multi-stranded appropriation of Ovidian models

notwithstanding,[45] literary intertextuality[46] alone can only partially account for the

tragic and the epic poet's almost identical take on bodily metamorphosis. We need to

look more closely at the protagonists of both versions, nature's most powerful leapers, the dolphins—in Nonnus' words "dancing fish" (ἰχθύες ὀρχηστῆρες, *Dion*. 47.632) *tout court*.

Circling around ships and leaping in and out of the water in the jumping motion so inherently constitutive of human dancing, "fair-" or "beautifully-dancing" dolphins (cf. τῶν καλλιχόρων | δελφίνων, Eur. *Hel*. 1454-1455)[47] are exceptionally privileged in their power to evoke images of human dance and dancers. The strongest example of a programmatic conceptual analogy between marine and human dancers we find in archaic and early classical Greek art (*ca*. between 600 and 480 B.C.E.), in the meticulously arranged iconography of a series of cup-kraters, whose pictorial logic enables precisely the kind of double or parallel vision suggested by Ovid's literary version. One "choros-line" of dancing men and one of leaping dolphins run in parallel along the cup's inner and outer rim; when the vessel is tipped to facilitate the drinker's sipping of the wine, the "arrangement of the decoration seems to establish a metaphorical relationship between the musical men and the dolphins" (Hedreen 2013: 184).[48] The ritual frame welding together human and dolphin choruses and celebrating their interchangeability is none other than the archetypal Dionysiac cultic form, the dithyramb, a "multi-media" performance genre that "drew much of its force from the combination of poetic word with co-ordinated song, dance and distinctive musical forms."[49] Adept at choreographing their watery pathways in unison and in concentric circles, dolphins came to be understood not only as an eloquent "symbol for choral dance" in the cult of Dionysus (Csapo 2003: 78) but, more specifically, an inextricable part of the aetiology for the invention of the dithyrambic mode, itself interlaced both with Dionysus' own maritime adventure [50] and the similar story of the proto-dithyrambic singer Arion's rescue in the open sea.[51] In either case the dolphins

are the irreducible element of the dithyramb's cultural *imaginaire*,[52] functioning as

"model dithyrambic performers" (Hedreen 2013: 187), the original dithyrambic

chorus.[53] Indeed, the co-option of the dolphin's way of locomotion, namely the

circular, winding path, into the dithyrambic form marks out one of the most

fundamental changes in the genre's history, the transition from a straight-lined and

processional to a circular spatial deployment, as celebrated at the beginning of

Pindar's second dithyrambic fragment (fr. 70b.1-5).[54] Moving in a dense encircling

line (ἀθρόοι πέριξ κυκλοῦντες, Plut. *Mor*.160F), dolphins are the mythical archetype

of the dithyramb's cultic κύκλιοι χοροί.[55]

   With its primary signifiers firmly embedded into broader cultural discourses, then,

Ovid's marine transformation appears to be infinitely more sophisticated than one

would have initially imagined. As Rutherford (2013) has recently shown, Roman

writers tended to reproduce "[m]uch of the pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic rhetorical

and scholarly discourse about the dithyramb" (414), so much so that the dithyramb

carved its own way into the Roman empire "to a great extent as part of intellectual

discourse" (413)—a discourse, one might add, from which there is no reason to

imagine Ovid excluded. Is our poet self-consciously transposing the close-knit

cultural matrix of Dionysus, choral dancing and dolphins from the dithyramb to

pantomime dancing, the dance-form his contemporaries knew best?[56] The question is

valid, especially as Dionysus' victory over the Tyrrhenian sailors is, afterall, explicitly

mentioned in Lucian's *On the Dance* as one of the mythical moments testifying to the

overwhelming power of Dionysiac dance: καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ τέχνῃ χρώμενος ὁ

Διόνυσος, φασίν, Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Λυδοὺς ἐχειρώσατο καὶ φῦλον οὕτω

μάχιμον τοῖς αὐτοῦ θιάσοις κατωρχήσατο ("and it was by the exercise of this art

[sc. dancing], they say, that Dionysus subdued the Tyrrhenians, the Indians, and the

Lydians, dancing into subjection with his bands of revellers a multitude so warlike,"
Salt. 22).[57] And while in Pindar's time the dithyramb and its cognate form of the
ὑπόρχημα were prime examples of the "full association and *symbiosis*" (κοινωνία
πᾶσα καὶ μέθεξις ἀλλήλων) of ὀρχηστική and ποιητική that Plutarch longingly
writes about (*Mor.* 748a-b), by Ovid's (and, *a fortiori*, Seneca's) time the close
alliance of poetry and dance had been transferred to pantomime, where the two arts
were meant to exist and unfold side by side.[58] Moreover, the absence of a dancing
chorus notwithstanding, the dithyramb's well-entrenched and self-reflexively mimetic
nature might well have served as a model for the self-proclaimed and overwhelmingly
mimetic mode of pantomime dancing.[59] Exemplary for its close merging of myth and
ritual[60] and its ability to draw the viewer into a world wherein human choreuts re-
create the experience of Dionysus in his multiple sufferings (πάθη) and struggles,[61]
the dithyramb is an excellent correlative to pantomime's re-enactment of innumerable
legends from the vast repository of Greek and Roman myth and cult.[62]

   Once the latent chorality and programmatic nature of the Tyrrhenian pirates'
metamorphosis are flipped into prominence,[63] the essential similarity in the epic and
the tragic 'slow motion' versions of 'becoming dolphin' acquires a different
dimension and points to a *tertium comparationis*, a third element external to either
text. Helen Slaney (2013:109) reads the Senecan ode to Bacchus, with its linear
narrative centered on a single figure and its embedded, "cameo" style "Ovidian
transformation of pirates into dolphins," as "unproblematic" for a soloist's pantomime
enactment. It is a good illustration of the kind of Senecan choral lyric that seems to
"respond to the cult of the soloist" by "lending" itself to pantomime performance.[64] In
the case of the *Metamorphoses*, the Augustan pantomime-attuned reader was quite
likely to process the heightened physical expressiveness of Ovid's verse as consonant

with the kind of descriptive narrative a libretto might have used to accompany and guide the *saltator*'s execution. Like Seneca's choral ode, Ovid's description of the pirates' transition into creatures of the deep would easily have lent itself to a pantomime rendition. Each in their own way, Seneca's and Ovid's versions of the Dionysiac miracle may well have been a self-conscious transposition of the pantomimic style onto the literary register.

No convergence of details can constitute hard proof that such metamorphic texts respond to real-life narratives of transformation on their contemporary stage. However, the analogies between literary matter that is reasonably suspected of pantomime contamination and Ovid's poem, with its 'signature' fascination with the moment of transition and the long-drawn out details of bodily changes recorded *as they are happening*, increase significantly the likelihood of pantomime interference in the Augustan epic. With a pantomime-centered aesthetic very much in the air at the time of the poem's gestation, Ovid's creative imagination may well have been exceptionally alert to the immediacy and the corporeality of live performance, where metamorphic narratives were, all too literally, stories of the human body. From Ovid to Seneca, from Apuleius to Sidonius to Nonnus literature has preserved echoes of real-life stage representations of the passage from humanity to animality; some totally 'un-marked', submerged, barely visible, others more clearly signalled, lively and vibrant, they are all vestiges of bodily enactments that, throughout the centuries, set audiences aflame.

III. Acrobatic brilliance from the stage to the page

Pantomime's primary illusion-making power was the dancer's own marvelously ductile body which, contracting, expanding and endlessly mutating, carried along the

fabula's dramatic action. It was the subtle or radical dislocation of its balance center, the speed or slowness of its motion, the direction of its movement in the stage area, the weightiness or lightness of its "effort"[65] that conveyed the essential pantomime ingredients of *ethos* and *pathos*, character and passion, as Lycinus explains in Lucian's *On the Dance* (*Salt*. 67). With the absence not only of modern recording media but also the merest shred of dance notation or dancing manual from antiquity,[66] pantomime choreographies are irrevocably lost to us. We do nevertheless know enough to state that the dancer's corporeal dramaturgy was not exhausted at the level of restrained, sedate movement.

A primary dimension of the spectacle, most highly prized and lavishly rewarded, was its rigorous athleticism and the extraordinary demands it made on the dancer's equilibrium.[67] The impression the genre left on Galen, the second-century C.E. doctor and polymath who thought of pantomimic bodies as emblematically healthy, can be encapsulated in "the dancers' jerky movements" (τῶν ὀρχηστῶν αἱ σύντονοι κινήσεις), "during which they perform the greatest leaps and whirl around as they rotate with the greatest speed and after sinking down with bent knees they rise up again and sweep their legs forward and to the side and cleave them asunder as much as possible and, in a word, move extremely quickly" (ἐν αἷς ἅλλονται μέγιστα, καὶ περιδινοῦνται στρεφόμενοι τάχιστα, καὶ ὀκλάσαντες ἐξανίστανται, καὶ προσσύρουσι, καὶ διασύρουσι καὶ διασχίζουσιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ σκέλη, καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἐν αἷς ὀξύτατα κινοῦνται).[68] St. John Chrysostom for his part, the ardent denouncer of the genre who captured nevertheless the pulse and throb of pantomime performances more accurately than pantomime's admirers did, poses rhetorically the question: "What could possibly be more difficult, tell me, than when a young man, having handed himself over to those willing to soften him all up and bend

his limbs, is fired by ambitious zeal to bend his whole body with the precision of a potter's wheel and set himself rolling on the ground. . . . ” (τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο δυσκολώτερον, εἰπέ μοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ ὅταν τις νέος τοῖς βουλομένοις καταμαλάττειν αὐτὸν καὶ λυγίζειν αὐτοῦ τὰ μέλη παραδοὺς ἑαυτόν, φιλονεικοίη πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν τροχοῦ δίκην τὸ σῶμα ἅπαν κάμπτειν καὶ στρέφεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους. . . ., *Ad Populum Antiochenum, Hom.*19, *PG* 49.196).

The same impression of the dancing body as a storehouse of monumental energy and power emerges from literary texts, for example Nonnus' verbalization of Silenus' *choreia* in the course of a dancing competition umpired by Bacchus himself in the nineteenth book of the *Dionysiaca*. After an unmistakably pantomimic rendition of an episode from the life of Cyrene's son Aristaeus (*Dion.* 19.225-262), Silenus launches into a display of acrobatic dance moves (19.264-284) culminating in an all too real, irreversible transformation into a river (καὶ ποταμὸς μορφοῦτο, *Dion.* 19.287). We can recognize the physical language of pantomime sources in Nonnus' description of Silenus' sky-high tumbling, twirling and clapping of feet together to one side only to part them subsequently asunder,[69] a bold and assertive spatial vocabulary, “unrelentingly strong, earthbound, percussive,” as has been said of the early choreography of Martha Graham's dances.[70] The reference to modern dance is hardly out of place. For pantomime appears to have been a melding of classical ballet's “flexibility, lightness, power, brilliance *off the floor*”[71] with the more dynamic, convulsive, contorted expression of *pathos* and action that is the hallmark of modern(ist) forms of dancing, where one can feel “the dancing shuddering along in huge jerks, propelled by the violently contracting and expanding bodies.”[72]

Read against the pantomime genre's kinetic idioms, some among the narratives of animalization in the *Metamorphoses* seem to acquire a different hue. In them

reverberate the distant echoes of the dancer's technical virtuosity, from his eye-catching "turns and twirls and jumps and back-flung poses" (καὶ στροφὰς. . . καὶ περιαγωγὰς καὶ πηδήματα καὶ ὑπτιασμούς, *Salt*. 71) to the earth-bound, sweeping fall which would have marked many a pantomime Io's transformation into a cow or a Cadmus' into a snake. Displaced from the perpendicular that passes through a human being's familiar center of gravity, Ovid's mutating characters sink headlong to the ground,[73] arms extended to become forelegs or disappearing altogether.[74] Granted that no human dancer in a Roman theater would ever have 'become' an animal—neither Ovid nor his readers could have seen anything even remotely approaching a real-life transformation. However, what Ovid has transposed into his verse is what Plutarch's dance-informed sources call φορά, the directional pull, the spatial pathway of an action[75]—in the case of animal metamorphosis that φορά would be the dancing body's downward thrust and forward motion, in direct response to the body's change of dynamic balance: "their whole weight goes to their chest" (*in pectora totum | pondus abit*, 10.700-701), the narrator comments on Hippomenes and Atalanta as they mutate into lions. The force that brings a dancer down to his knees or lands him to the ground is still palpable in the throbbing vibrancy of Ovid's descriptions.

The effort to reconstruct to the best of our ability the 'corporeal technologies' of pantomime dancing is far from irrelevant to the task of reading the *Metamorphoses* as a literary text, especially if we are in any way minded to re-open as many of the original, Augustan entry-points into the Ovidian work as possible. The more we understand the physical language of pantomime bodies, the better placed we may be to appreciate that for those original, Augustan readers coming to Ovid's poem fresh from the theater, with pantomime on their mind, reading could have been a rewarding 'palimpsestic' experience. Medon's verterbral column, which curves and arches in the

shape of a bow (*Met*.3.672-673) as he dives, a dolphin now, with gravity-defying

leaps into the deep (3.683-684), may bear the traces of the distinctive grammar of

acrobatic dance routines, whose technical fire would set audiences debating "what

dancer can best whirl quivering limbs in agile saumersaults" (*quis melius uibrata*

puer uertigine molli | membra rotet), "who can most twist his flanks into a boneless

arch" (*quis magis enodes laterum detorqueat arcus*)?[76] Or take Corone's account of

her transformation into a crow:

> currebam, nec ut ante pedes retinebat harena,
>
> sed summa tollebar humo; mox alta per auras
>
> euehor. . . .
>
> <div align="center">(Met. 2.586-588)</div>

> <div align="center">And then I ran,</div>
>
> And found the sand no longer clogged my feet;
>
> I skimmed the surface; in a trice I soared
>
> High up into the air.

The Ovidian girl's fast running on the beach, followed by her skimming of the

topmost grains of sand before her sudden elevation, would have been laced with

memories of the dancing floor, where dancers would traverse the stage in rapid,

gliding motions, "using their limbs as if they were wings" (καθάπερ πτεροῖς τοῖς

κώλοις κεχρημένους τοῦ σώματος) and offering a "stunning spectacle" in the

process (τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁρῶν ἐκπλαγείη;),[77] their pirouetting velocity and nimbleness of

feet giving them the advantage over Perseus himself, the legendary runner (Libanius, *Or*. 64.117).

Pantomime sources, however, are not our only witnesses to the perceptual blending of fast feet and wings. The mode of viewing they refract is qualitatively similar with Ovid's 'look,' for Ovid too loves taking us to that twilight zone of perception where no secure cognitive wedge can be placed between 'seeming' and 'being': is the speed we witness the outcome of running or flying, an earthly or aerial mode of locomotion? Impossible to tell—and this is precisely the point. Ovid's well-known story of Tereus, Procne and Philomela ends with the tyrant pursuing Pandion's daughters with his naked sword. As they flee, "you would think they were suspended from wings" (*pennis pendere putares*, 6.667). Are they? Are they not? What if what you *think* you see is what there really *is*? In book 11 Ovid gives us a similar encouraging wink, as he zooms-in on a swift-footed human runner moments before his transformation into a hawk: "His speed seemed even then | Faster than man could run, and you'd believe | His feet had wings" (*iam tum mihi currere uisus | plus homine est, alasque pedes sumpsisse putares*, *Met*.11.336-337). Libanius' impression that dancers "whirl around as if borne on wings" (ὡς μὲν γὰρ ὑπόπτεροι περιάγονται, *Or*. 64.118) lingers like a haunting memory over these verses, while, once again, Ovid's choice of the second person subjunctive, *putares*, guides the reader's eye, preparing it for what it is about to see[78] or, better still, soliciting its consent to the imminent change, the incredible form of a predatory bird about to appear.[79]

In book 6, the confirmation of the narrator's first impression communicated by *putares* (667) is swift to come, as the immediately ensuing line (668) dispels all uncertainty: "Yes, they *were* suspended on wings!" (*pendebant pennis!*). In book 11, however, the reader's cognitive blur is allowed to deepen further before becoming

finally dissolved, as the miracle of transformation happens not on land but in mid-air: when the runner, Daedalion, throws himself off a cliff (*Met.* 11.340), Apollo, pitying him, "made him a bird, and held him hovering on sudden wings" (*fecit auem et subitis pendentem sustulit alis*, *Met.*11.341). Reading Ovid in the twenty-first century, with our own mental vision untainted by pantomime-related images, we are unlikely to attach any particular significance to the special 'close-up' moment of *stasis* incubating motion that the Ovidian lens foregrounds. For the pantomime fan of Ovid's time, however, the entire final act of Daedalion's transformation is thick with images that can evoke the memory of pantomime sequences. Libanius and his projection of wings on the dancer's dazzlingly swift feet is immensely helpful here, except that this time we have to look at his simile in context. "What would someone admire more?" (πότερον δὲ ἄν τις ἀγασθείη μειζόνως), Libanius wonders, before laying out possible alternatives:

> . . . τὴν τῆς περιφορᾶς ἐν πλήθει συνέχειαν ἢ τὴν ἐξαίφνης ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάγιον στάσιν ἢ τὸν ἐν τῇ στάσει τηρούμενον τύπον; ὡς μὲν γὰρ ὑπόπτεροι περιάγονται, τελευτῶσι δὲ εἰς ἀκίνητον στάσιν ὥσπερ κεκολλημένοι, μετὰ δὲ τῆς στάσεως ἡ εἰκὼν ἀπαντᾷ.
>
> (*Or.* 64.118)

. . . The continuity of their many pirouettes or, after this, their suddenly crystallized posture or the figure held fixed in this position? For they whirl round as if borne on wings, but conclude their movement in a static pose, as if glued to the spot; and with the stillness of the pose, the image presents itself (i.e. takes shape, emerges)

Libanius puts his finger on what seems to have been pantomime's most recognizable stylistic hallmark, namely its artful blending of the statuesqueness of the plastic arts with the unfolding narrative of the dramatic stage: a seemingly unceasing flow of movement is periodically interrupted by statue-like poses pregnant with the possibility of imminent action. If we do decide to look in pantomime's direction, we may find the distant traces of such a choreographic sequence sedimented in Ovid's verse. Immediately before that magical *punctum temporis* which, corresponding to Libanius' *pagios stasis*, frame-freezes Daedalion's body in mid-flight, clenching his movement into stillness, the character about to morph is focalized in throbbingly vivid lines. Mad with grief at the loss of his daughter, Daedalion becomes a firebrand of passion,[80] his emotional turmoil bursting out kinetically as soon as he sees the girl upon the pyre:

> quater impetus illi
> in medios fuit ire rogos; quater inde repulsus
> concita membra fugae mandat similisque iuuenco
> spicula crabronum pressa ceruice gerenti,
> qua uia nulla, ruit.
>
> (*Met.* 11.332-336)

> four times an impulse came
> To rush into the flames; four times forced back,
> He fled away in frenzy; like an ox,
> Its bowed neck stung by hornets, so he charged
> Where no way was.

As on the dancing floor, so in Ovid's imagination, a human figure journeys from frenzied movement (332-336) to statuesque rigidity, where a body seems all but suspended in mid-flight (341). Held in precarious equilibrium while his features play out the transition from the human to the avian (342-343), Daedalion tightropes between fluidity and *stasis* just as much as the performer does, whose twirling and whirling comes to a sudden stop, as he struggles to repress the merest quiver of a nerve or vein. Once a hawk, Daedalion resumes lightning-swift movement, swooping murderously upon his prey (344-345), not unlike the dancer, whose momentary immobility gives way to further action, as he continues his transition in and out of striking poses. Are our reading strategies sufficiently attuned to the residual presence of a pantomime dancer's movement sequences in Ovid's memory and verse?

I will close with a brief look in the direction of clothing, a relatively underestimated dimension of dance spectacles which nevertheless played a large part in the creation of pantomime magic.[81] For a start, the image of swift flight on the ground must have been enhanced by the dancer's diaphanous, ankle or even sole-length silk robe.[82] Flowing, trailing and sweeping the floor,[83] it would have contributed to the audience's impression of watching the dancers "dragged" (ἐπισυρομένους) across the orchestra, as St John Chrysostom put it.[84] Moreover, the dancer's distinctive stole or cloak would have proved indispensable in stories of animal metamorphosis, as it could have been evocative of newly appearing or appended bodily parts, such as a tail or wings, a coat of fur or layer of feathers. Fronto, in a much quoted passage (*De Orat*. 5, p. 154 Van den Hout), refers to the pantomimes who, thanks to their skilful manipulation of a single piece of clothing, their mantle (*pallium*), are able to represent "a swan's tail, the tresses of Venus, a Fury's scourge"

(*caudam cycni, capillum Veneris, Furiae flagellum*). It is perhaps not insignificant that Ovid will often single out a part of the morphing character's clothing as the mutating element, so that in Lycaon's case, for example, we read that "his clothes changed to coarse hair" (*in uillos abeunt uestes*, *Met*.1.236), while in the case of Ocyrhoe her "trailing dress became a tail" (*longae pars maxima pallae | cauda fit*, *Met*.2.672-673). One may also feel the presence of the dancer, dragging his clothes across the stage, in the Ovidian picture of Hippomenes and Atalanta. Their newly acquired leonine shape is conveniently epitomized in their long, "sweeping" tail: "the topmost surface of the sandy ground is being swept by their tail" (*summae cauda uerruntur harenae*, *Met*.10.701). We are not far from the pantomime dancers of Clement of Alexandria's writings, lambasted for allowing their floor-length garment to sweep the surface dirt of the ground "like a broom" (καλλύντρου δίκην).[85] More expansively, Ovid describes the moment Corone realises her skin is covered with avian plumage:

> tendebam bracchia caelo:
>
> bracchia coeperunt leuibus nigrescere pennis;
>
> reicere ex umeris uestem molibar: at illa
>
> pluma erat inque cutem radices egerat imas;
>
> (*Met*. 2.580-583)

> I raised my arms
>
> To heaven; along my arms a sable down
>
> Of feathers spread. I strove to throw my cloak
>
> Back from my shoulders: that was feathers too,
>
> Deep-rooted in my skin.

Are these verses redolent with memories of the dancer's ubiquitous prop, mutating spectacularly, in expert hands, into a range of signifiers?

Tapping into such dormant layers of theatricality is exceedingly difficult for us today, but pantomime-informed Augustan addressees would have been able to appreciate the artful slippage between literary and stage-inflected codes by visualizing similar scenes as danced. Even the role played by human hair in Ovid's metamorphic narratives may have been rich in pantomime references, as long hair seems to have been (in late antiquity at least) a trademark of professional *pantomimi*.[86] In Ocyrhoe's flowing locks, morphing into a mane as they cascade down her right-hand side (*Met*.2.673-674), Ovid's contemporary reader might have been able to detect the imprint of many a "long-haired youth"[87] "sweeping" the floor with his drooping locks.[88] Failure on our part to hear the resonances of pantomime's dancing bodies impoverishes the experience of reading a text as lavishly suffused with "theatrical dynamic" as Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is.[89]

Conclusion

Angular, enfolding arms giving way to wings; contracted torsos forming an animal's downward looking chest; legs and feet curling in and tangled, on the way to morphing into a tail: the stress experienced by Ovidian bodies, either violently stretched outwards or convulsed and turned inwards, folded-in upon themselves, is almost palpable. Once we decide to actively dislodge our well-entrenched assumptions about what can and what cannot act as a poem's dialogic partner, the recurrent picture one takes away from Ovid's sequences of animalization appears to be fully consonant with the memory pantomime lovers would have taken along with them upon leaving the theater in Augustan Rome: the mental image of a body-architecture assaulted from all

sides, embattled, pushed to extremes, compelled to transgress its boundaries and go against its limitations. Much like the tortured, "twisted", "fragmented" [90] pantomime body on the dancing floor, the bodies of Ovid's animal-morphing characters, set upon impossible trajectories, are also captured at breaking point, routinely tugging at the seams of and ultimately rupturing their own form. "Scorched" by the memory of dancing bodies,[91] Ovid's imagination spawns the palpable vividness of the *Metamorphoses*. One of the many *loci* of this epic's gestation may well have been, this article has argued, the "mental space where imagination and memory converge" (Roach 1996: 27). Ovid thinks the logically unthinkable, that is to say animalization, "through movements," "at once remembered and reinvented," his memory operating as "both quotation and invention."[92]

Quite apart from having colored the poem's production, however, the pantomime model would also have colored its immediate reception, a dimension that has been consistently considered throughout this piece. For the reader approaching Ovid's text after having physically witnessed a dancer's animal metamorphosis on the stage, the poet's sharply defined level of detail supplies the precious cinematic 'close up' that the 'long shot,' the only focalization available to the long-distance viewer in antiquity, cannot provide. Ovid's descriptions dilate the narrative moment or even bring it on occasion to a total standstill, offering an almost fetishistic access to the dancer's morphing body. Refracted through Ovid's theater-friendly lens, pantomime's images of transformation into animal life have been transcribed as anatomical narratives to be savored on page at will. This same model of reception obtains in the case of the pantomime-informed addressee getting to know Ovid's work via recitation. An "obsessive visualiser" (Hardie 2002: 6), Ovid writes in a "quasi-ecphrastic" mode,[93] providing descriptions of such overwhelming vividness (*enargeia/evidentia*)

that images (*phantasiai*/*visiones*) of the described elements themeselves (sentient

creatures, actions, landscapes, cityscapes) are effortlessly conjured up and put before

the listener's eyes.[94] When such images of human bodies journeying into the animal

condition become suffused with memories from the dance floor stored up in the

listener's mind, an "illusion of presence"[95] follows, the conjured image of the

morphing body acting as a surrogate for the 'absent presence' of the pantomime

dancer obsessively desired by his fans.[96] Magnified to extraordinary detail and near-

unbearable intensity, animal metamorphoses in Ovid's poem work best when

conceptualized in tandem with choreographic transformations.

    It makes ultimately no difference to this discussion that no pantomime dancer ever

actually 'became' a snake or boar or cow on the stage. For dance is a kinaesthetic art

[97] *par excellence*, not merely viewed and cognitively processed but rather lived, felt,

replicated in and by the beholder's very body.[98] Even at its most representational,

"pictorial" moments, dance solicits our belief not by its photographic replication of

nature but by purely affective means. As influential early twentieth-century dance

critic John Martin (1983 [1946]: 22) put it in one of the first discussions of

kinaesthesia in dance, it "makes the onlooker feel sympathetically in his own

musculature the exertions he sees in somebody else's musculature," so that "[w]e shall

cease to be mere spectators and become participants in the movement that is presented

to us. . . ." (Martin 1939: 53). If the viewer's mind balks at the cognitive leap required

to assent to the miracle of bestialization, his body does not, his muscles 'believe' and

his imagination is busy filling in the 'gaps'; pantomime's mythical stories become

etched on the performer's as well as the receiver's bones and flesh, engravings deep

enough to provoke the anxious condemnation of the Christian Church.[99] Even though

the pantomime's Io would always stop short of acquiring bovine shape, his virtuosity

would nevertheless ensure that he cross the impermissible divide in the spectator's 'eye of the mind,' rendering the illusion complete and the 'deception'[100] sweet and pleasing.

I close by returning to the caveat offered at various points in this piece. Dance being what we might call an 'undisclosed' presence in the *Metamorphoses,* no foolproof method exists to establish beyond doubt that somewhere at the root of Ovid's inspiration lies a flesh and blood human body executing a choreographic sequence of 'human turning into animal.' Nevertheless, the onus of proof falls squarely on those who would rather argue that Ovid's literary bodies were thoroughly 'ignorant' of pantomime's stage bodies, unsullied by their choreographies, untainted by their metamorphic exhibitions. Ovid's narratives of animal metamorphosis are a wonderful example of a true artistic synergy, one of the best creative partnerships between poetry and dance.[101]

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[1] Throughout this piece the Latin text used for Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is Tarrant 2004. The translation given for all block quotations from the *Metamorphoses* is from Melville 1986. Unless indicated otherwise, remaining translations are my own.

[2] "Et c'est là une constante des textes grecs. La métamorphose proprement dite n'y est que mentionnée et la sécheresse de l'énoncé en constitue un trait dominant. Rien, jamais, de semblable aux descriptions d' Ovide qui déploie complaisamment une transformation dans toutes ses étapes par des procédures verbales quasi cinétiques" (Frontisi-Ducroux 2003: 86; my translation). Cf. Viarre 1964: 100, who also speaks of a profound point of contact between Ovid's metamorphic sequences and the unfolding of cinematic images.

[3] Frontisi-Ducroux 2003: 91 and 92.

[4] The most important ancient narratives discussing the pantomime genre and its artist are Lucian's *De saltatione* (mid-2nd century C.E.) and Libanius' *Pro saltatoribus* (4th century C.E.). For the former, see Lada-Richards 2007, for the latter Molloy 1996. For a very short compendium of pantomime related sources (with translation), see Hall and Wyles 2008: 378-419; for an older collection, see Bonaria 1955-56.

[5] See primarily Luc. *Salt*. 57, emphasizing τὰς μυθικὰς μεταμορφώσεις ἁπάσας, the entire corpus of mythical transformations (into tree, animal, bird or trans-gender), as the most important 'must have' in a pantomime's repertoire. To the end of pagan antiquity plots of transformation were enduring favorites of danced dramas (cf. e.g.

Arnob. *Adv. nat*.4.35, 7.33; August. *De civ.D*.7.26, 18.10; Sid. Apoll. *Carm*. 23.281-97; Prudent. *Perist*.10.221-227), attracting the ire of the Christian Church (see, e.g. Jacob of Sarugh, *Homily* 5, folio 22 verso b).

[6] Ovid himself refers (in retrospect) to his *Metamorphoses* as the poem of changed forms; see, e.g. *Tr*.1.1.117-122, 1.7.13; 2.555-556; 3.14.19. For Feeney 2004: xxii transformation is the "dynamic that permeates every level and facet of the poem."

[7] See primarily Garelli 2007; Lada-Richards 2007; Webb 2008; Hall and Wyles 2008.

[8] Ath.20d; Jer.*Chron*. on the year 22 B.C.E; Zosim.1.6.1; entries in the Suda under "Athenodorus," "pantomime dancing," and "Pylades."

[9] See primarily Galinsky 1975: 68; cf. id.1996:265; 1999:104. For brief subsequent pointers in the same direction, see Hardie 2000: 429; Habinek 2002: 47, 52, 53; Garelli 2007: 313; Lada-Richards 2007: 54.

[10] For pantomime-oriented approaches see, most importantly, Richlin 1992; Ingleheart 2008; Lada-Richards 2013; Garelli 2013. Crucial in all such readings is Ovid's own reference to danced renditions of his poems "in a full house" (*pleno. . . theatro*, *Tr*.5.7.25). "My poems too have often been danced in public" (*et mea sunt populo saltata poemata saepe*, *Tr*.2.519), he declares, though he also takes pains to clarify that danced versions of his poetry were not the product of his own pen: "Nothing, indeed, have I composed. . . for the theaters" (*nil equidem feci. . . theatris*, *Tr*.5.7.27).

[11] Hardie 2000: 429 rightly thinks that "long dramatic monologues" in the *Metamorphoses* "would lend themselves well to recitation."

[12] See above n10, in particular Ingleheart 2008. Beyond the case of Ovid, adaptation of an existing literary text for the pantomime stage can be safely inferred from Suet. *Ner*. 54; Macrob. *Sat*. 5.17.5; August. *Serm*. 241.5, all concerning episodes from the *Aeneid* (see Panayotakis 2008).

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[13] A successful, aesthetically pleasing pantomime performance enables the spectator's succumbing to the illusion offered by the dancer: see, e.g. Columella, *Rust*.1, *praef.* 15.

[14] On 'verisimilitude' as a highly prized pantomime goal, see most importantly Lib. *Or*. 64.62 and Choricius, *Or*. 21.1, 248 (Foerster-Richtsteig). Naturally, in the case of animalization there will always be a limit to the performer's ability to elide the gap between *mimesis* and reality.

[15] The present article is confined to the physical, corporeal dimension of animal metamorphosis and consequently does not consider the complex issues arising from the disparity between 'inner' and 'outer', the morphing character's 'selfhood' and the newly acquired bodily form. On such questions see the fascinating work of Payne 2010 and Feldherr 2010.

[16] I borrow the notion of the "great divide" from Andreas Huyssen's work on modernism, postmodernism and mass culture.

[17] For Ovid's copious drawing "directly on the Adultery Mime" in his Love Elegy and the *Fasti*, see primarily McKeown 1979 (quote from 74) and Fantham 1983. For direct Ovidian references to the mime/pantomime stage, see *Rem. am*. 751-755; *Tr*.2.497-514; *Fast*.4.326.

[18] Quadriped animals: *Met*.1.232-239 (Lycaon), 2.476-488 (Callisto), 2.661-675 (Ocyrhoe), 3.193-203 (Actaeon), 10.698-704 (Atalanta and Hippomenes), 14.91-100 (Cercopes), 14.277-284 (Macareus); reptiles: 4.576-601 (Cadmus and Harmonia); aquatic creatures: 3.671-686 (Tyrrhenian pirates); birds: 2.373-380 (Cycnus), 2.572-588 (Corone), 5.543-550 (Ascalaphus), 5.670-676 (Pierides), 14.497-503 (Acmon); insects: 6.139-145 (Arachne); bats: 4.405-415 (daughters of Minyas). Numerous other transformations belong to this thematic cluster but without extended narrative

describing bodily change. In fact, some of the most famous stories of bestialization

(Io in book 1, Procne and Philomela in book 6) do not dwell on the moment of

transition.

[19] The sense of self-alienation is well conveyed in *Met*. 5.546, where the unlucky

Ascalaphus, just turned into a screech-owl, is said to be "removed," "wrenched,"

ablatus, from his own self": *ille sibi ablatus*.

[20] *Met*. 2.374-375 (Cycnus), 2.671-672 (Ocyrhoe), 3.195 (Actaeon).

[21] *Met*. 2.669 (Ocyrhoe), 2.585 (Corone), 3.678 (Tyrrhenian pirates). Cf. *Met*.1.236

(Lycaon), 3.196-197 (Actaeon); less graphically, arms (*bracchia*) give way to legs

(*crura*) in 5.455-456 (a newt) or forelegs (*pedes . . . primos*, 9.319) (Galanthis).

[22] *Met*. 2.479-480 (Callisto), 3.196 (Actaeon), 14.283-284 (Macareus). An interesting

variant we have in the case of Arachne (6.143), whose legs give way to long, slim

fingers on both sides, the spider's many legs.

[23] *Met*.4.579-580 (Cadmus); cf. 3.681-682 (Tyrrhenian pirates).

[24] *Met*.14.501 (Acmon).

[25] hooves: *Met*.2.670-671 (Ocyrhoe); claws: 5.547 (Ascalaphus), 10.699 (Atalanta and

Hippomenes); web: 2.375 (Cycnus), 14.502 (Acmon).

[26] mane: *Met*. 2.673-674 (Ocyrhoe), 10.698-699 (Atalanta and Hippomenes); feathers

/ plumage: Cycnus 2.373-374, Pierides 5.671-672, Acmon 14.498-499.

[27] nose and mouth widening (2.671, Ocyrhoe) and hardening to form a snout (14.282,

Macareus); facial features lengthening to form a beak: 2.376 (Cycnus), 5.673-674

(Pierides), 14.503 (Acmon); neck lengthening (2.374-375, Cycnus; 2.671-672,

Ocyrhoe; 3.195, Actaeon) or bulging in layers of thickness (14.283, Macareus); head

sprouting antlers (3.194, Actaeon); flanks sprouting wings (Acmon). In the case of

Arachne, disfigurement entails not only the loss of hair, ears, nose but also the

shrinking of her head and her entire body (6.141-142); for Ascalaphus, conversely,

"reshaping" means a head swollen "huge" (5.547) and for the Cercopes

metamorphosis signifies the shriveling of all their limbs and wrinkling of their faces

(14.95-96).

[28] bristles: 2.478 (Callisto), 14.279 (Macareus); pelt: 3.198 (Actaeon), 14.97

(Cercopes); scales: 4.577 (Cadmus); 3.675 (Tyrrhenian pirates).

[29] Precision is a prized quality of pantomime performances. See, e.g. Luc. *Salt*. 81,

with Garelli 2007: 362-65.

[30] Libanius' *Pro Saltatoribus* (*Or*. 64) is cited from Foerster 1908.

[31] Plotinus' text and translation cited from Armstrong 1984.

[22] Cf. Automedon *AP* 5.129 and the so-called Barcelona *Alcestis,* an excellent

candidate for a pantomime *libretto* (see Hall 2008), zooming in on the dying Alcestis'

nails (118-120).

[33] I use the notion of a "matrix of possibilities" as understood by Fowler 1997, not

only as the matrix created by pre-existing texts but as the broader cultural "matrix into

which any literary text is born and against which it must be read" (18).

[34] Cf. Freudenburg 2001, who also goes back to Fowler 1997 to explain that, when we

read a text with reference to what exists outside a notional "checklist" of texts

"preapproved as relevant," we are likely to overlook important matter simply because

we were not expecting to encounter it, "and so we don't".

[35] Botstein 2001: 143, drawing on the opinion of Debussy's contemporary composer

and critic Paul Dukas.

[36] The famous opening of Chapter 17 of *Oliver Twist* makes explicit as well as

defends Dickens' reliance on the popular melodramatic stage as a prototype for his

novel writing. For Ovid's openess to popular culture cf. Hardie 2000: 429: "More

generally one might point to an Ovidian interest in widening the scope of literary imitation to include more popular forms within traditionally 'high' literature."

[37] See *Carm*. 23.290-295, transformation into a boar in the course of the pantomime enactment of the story of Adonis being killed by Mars in the shape of a boar; the poem contains an invaluable conspectus (267-299) of pantomime themes danced in the theaters of fifth-century C.E. Gaul, the names of Caramallus and Phabaton (268), typical for pantomime dancers, adding to the authentic pantomime coloring.

[38] See *Metamorphoses* 3.24.10-16. Book 10 of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* contains an elaborate description of a pantomime-style performance of the "Judgment of Paris," a standard pantomime topic (see, e.g, Luc. *Salt*.45; Tert. *Apol*.15.2); irrespective of the precise nature of the event envisaged here, Apuleius' narrative is brimming with the corporeal and gestural eloquence, grace and intense eroticism that constituted the distinct brand of pantomime dancing throughout the centuries. See May 2008. Apuleius himself, in addition, is thoroughly conversant with pantomime (see, e.g. Apul. *Flor*.18.4) and its attendant discourses, upon which he draws in order to blacken his enemy Rufinus (e.g. in *Apol*.74 and 78).

[39] See *Dion*.5.316-323, with "stunning similarities" (Vian 1992: 103) with Ovid's Actaeon narrative (*Met*.3.193-199).

[40] Not only was Nonnus born and bred in the Egyptian Panopolis, near Alexandria, a hotspot of pantomime performances throughout antiquity (cf. Lib. *Or*. 64.80 on Egypt as a cradle of the pantomime genre; Malalas, *Chron*.17.12 on Alexandria's frequent exemption from empire-wide bans on pantomimes). As a partner in his enterprise Nonnus asks the Muse to grant him Πρωτῆα πολύτροπον, "Proteus of many turns" (*Dion*. 1.14), Proteus' sensational transfigurations being considered in late antique theatrical discourses paradigmatic for the dancer's shape-shifting on the stage,

so much so that Libanius asserts that each and every pantomime "is almost Proteus the Egyptian" (*Or*. 64.117; cf. Luc. *Salt*.19 and Aristaenetus, *Ep*.1.26). Most importantly, Nonnus' epic is a veritable storehouse of pantomime vocabulary and imagery (e.g. *Dion*. 5.104-106, 7.19-21, 19.136-296, 30.108-125; see Miguélez Cavero 2009), possibly due to Nonnus' frequent exposure to pantomime exhibitions in his contemporary Egypt (see Vian 1992: 87).

[41] Zanobi 2008: 252 and 2014; cf. Zimmermann 2008. One step further in this direction is taken by Slaney 2013: 100, who argues that "the works that have come down to us identified by medieval scholars as Seneca's 'tragedies' may represent the verbal component of this otherwise ephemeral theatrical form."

[42] The Latin text used is Zwierlein 1986; the translation is Fitch 2004: 57.

[43] As opposed to the 'instant' transformation motif in the Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus* (7) where, as soon as the ungodly bunch jumped collectively into the sea, "they turned into dolphins" (δελφῖνες δ᾽ ἐγένοντο, 52-53). Cf. Frontisi-Ducroux 2003: 87.

[44] A marker of chorality we also find in Sen.*Ag*.454, where *Met*. 3.685 has been remolded as *lasciuit chorus*.

[45] Jakobi 1988 is seminal (for Seneca's debt to Ovid in *Oed*. 459-466, see 105-108); for newer discussions see Schiesaro 2003: esp.70-85 and Hinds 2011, emphasizing "the intensity of self-awareness which Seneca is capable of bringing. . . to his conversations with Ovid" (7).

[46] As one of the journal's reviewers points out, Seneca's dolphin imagery is also mediated by early Roman tragedy, Livius Andronicus in particular.

[47] See Steiner 2011. Dancing seems to be a 'signature' activity for dolphins in both Greek and Roman literature. See, e.g. dolphins dancing amid the *choroi* of the Nereids (Eur. *El*. 434-437); "dancing (χορεύων) to the tune of the pierced reed" (*AP*.

7.214 [Archias], 3); dancing round (ἀμφεχόρευον) a ship (*AP* 9.83 [Philippus], 1-2); dancing round (περιχορεύειν) Poseidon's chariot (Aelian, *NA*14.28); dancing in a ring (χορεύουσι κύκλῳ, 5) around Poseidon himself (Aelian, *NA*12.45, in a hymn attributed to Arion); they are "dance-playful" (χοροπαίγμονες) in the Orphic *Hymn to the Nereids* (24 Quandt, 3). See further Csapo 2003, with more examples at 78 n20.

[48] For the connection of such artefacts with the dithyramb (as opposed to the pre-history of Old Comedy), see primarily Csapo 2003; Kowalzig 2013; Hedreen 2013. Important thoughts in this direction in Rusten 2006: 52-54. The expression "choros-line" is used by Kowalzig 2013.

[49] Kowalzig and Wilson 2013a: 3-4.

[50] Understood by Hedreen 2013: 187 as an "important mythological guide to the semantics of dithyrambic dance," the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* being its earliest extant literary version.

[51] See Kowalzig 2013: 32-37; Lavecchia 2013: 64-65; Hedreen 2013: 182-83; D'Alessio 2013: 113-16. On Arion, the dolphin and the dithyramb, see Ieranò 1992; Ieranò 1997: 187-94 and testimonia 47-53b. Primary aetiological narratives are Hdt.1.23-24; Plut. *Mor*.160e-162b; Ael. *NA* 12.45 (=*PMG* 939).

[52] For dolphins in literary evocations of primordial dithyramb and as an inextricable part of what Csapo calls the dithyramb's "cultural *imaginaire*," see Csapo 2003; Kowalzig 2013.

[53] Cf. Lavecchia 2013: 64.

[54] See D'Angour 1997.

[55] See Lavecchia 2013:64. As Csapo 2003: 92 deciphers the logic of Plutarch's version, "Arion learned the form and character of dithyrambic dance from the movements of the dolphins which rescued him." In an extremely valuable paper,

Bowra (1963) suggested that the hymn preserved by Aelian (*NA* 12.45), allegedly composed by Arion and commemorating his rescue by dolphins, was in fact a solo in the "new dithyramb" style, sung by a professional and danced by a chorus acting the part of dolphins. This also explains the poem's attribution of feet to the marine creatures: "What the poet means is that the dancers who enact the dolphins leap into the air and throw their feet about, no doubt imitating the way in which dolphins leap out of the sea. The singer has his eye more on the actors than on any actual fish, and this determines his language" (128-129).

[56] Cf. Peponi 2013: 26-34, an elegant discussion of the transferral of dance discourses from the Platonic notion of *choreia* to the new art of pantomime dancing.

[57] Lucian's *De Saltatione* is cited from Harmon 1936; the translation here is also Harmon 1936: 234. Equally significant in the present context as an indication of the adaptability / transferrability of "dolphin imagery" as a prototypical sign of *choreia* is its clear "trademark" value in the comprehensive Dionysiac revival that shaped the cultural and musical profile of the "New Music" (cf. n59 below) in the late fifth-century B.C.E.; see primarily Csapo 2003, 2009.

[58] With disastrous results, in Plutarch's disparaging view, as the dancing of his time has chosen to "accost the kind of poetry appealing to the masses" (πάνδημόν τινα ποιητικὴν προσεταιρισαμένη) and holds sway over mindless audiences in the theaters (*Mor*.748d).

[59] *Mimesis* is constitutive of pantomime (μιμητική τίς ἐστιν ἐπιστήμη, Luc. *Salt*. 36) and the dancer (μιμητικός ἐστι, *Salt*. 62). The dithyramb's mimeticism reached a notorious peak at the time of the so-called "New Music" revolution, when excessively pronounced bodily *mimesis* became a hallmark of the dithyrambic piper's performance (see, e.g. Arist. *Poet*. 1461b30-32; *Pol*.1341b 15-18) and the ever-

changing dithyrambic mode was moving in the direction of "fast-clip operatic drama" (Csapo 2011:75; cf. Csapo 2004). For the relevance of this mimetic phase to the history of pantomime, see very briefly Lada-Richards 2007:34.

[60] See, e.g. Kowalzig 2007; Lavecchia 2013.

[61] Plutarch, *Mor*. 389a-b speaks of "dithyrambic strains (διθυραμβικὰ μέλη) full of sufferings (παθῶν μεστά) and transformation (καὶ μεταβολῆς)." It was quite early on, however, that the dithyramb lost its uniquely Dionysiac focus.

[62] For pantomime's immense thematic range, see Lucian, *Salt*. 37-61.

[63] The Ovidian dolphins' *choreia* is not the sole linguistic marker of the episode's anchoring in a long continuum of literature on song, movement and dance. One must be equally alive to the full range of connotations of *ludere*, which include, *inter alia,* dance: wild animals and Fauns "dance" (*ludere*) to measure in response to the neoterically tinged song of Silenus in Vergil's sixth *Eclogue* (28).

[64] See Slaney 2013: 98 and 115.

[65] I borrow the concept of "effort" from movement theorist and choreographer Rudolf von Laban, for whom "effort" is one of the irreducible properties of movement and can be measured on a bipolar scale of opposites, such as "quick" or "sustained," "heavy" or "light", etc.

[66] There is no trace of the treatise on pantomime attributed by Athenaeus (*Deipn*. 20e) to Pylades.

[67] Acrobatic play with gravity seems to have been built into Greek dancing exhibitions from very early on. See, e.g. Hom. *Od*. 4.17-19, *Il*.18.605-606.

[68] Gal. *De sanitate tuenda* 2.11 (Kühn vol. 6, p. 155, 4-8). In Galen's view, such a body, coursing round the stage in successive spins and turns or launched into the air

in virtuosic jumps, becomes "thin" (λεπτόν), "muscular" (μυῶδες), "hard"

(σκληρόν) and "firm" (πυκνόν).

⁶⁹ See especially *Dion*.19.264-269, in comparison with Galen (above n68).

⁷⁰ Cohen 1992: 120.

⁷¹ Kirstein 1983: 243.

⁷² See Jowitt 1983: 458 on Martha Graham, and *ibid*.: "When I first saw Graham in 1955, I was stunned by the whiplash of her spine."

⁷³ See, e.g. Cadmus in *Met*. 4.579 (quoted above in text); Odysseus' companions in *Met*. 14.281 (*in terram toto procumbere uultu*).

⁷⁴ See above, n21.

⁷⁵ Plut. *Mor*. 747e: οὕτως ἐν ὀρχήσει . . . ἡ φορὰ πάθους τινὸς ἐμφαντικὸν ἢ πράξεως ἢ δυνάμεως ("so then in the dance ... φορὰ is expressive of some emotional state or some action or potentiality"). In this notoriously difficult passage, Plutarch's φορὰ denotes much less the physical action contained in a dancing step or movement than the arc, the "pathway" or "trace-form of movement" itself, the itinerary through space along which a movement travels. The concepts of "spatial paths" or "pathways in space" and "trace forms of motion" are ubiquitous in the theoretical work of Rudolph von Laban. See, e.g. Laban 1984: 37; 1988: 27, 85, 115, 127 and *passim*.

⁷⁶ Claud. *In Eutrop.* 2.359-360 and 361.

⁷⁷ St. John Chrysostom, *Ad Populum Antiochenum*, *Hom*. xix (*PG* 49.196); cf. Lib. *Or*. 64.118 (see below in the text).

⁷⁸ Cf. Apul. *Met*.10.32, a similar exhortation to the reader to treat resemblance and reality as interchangeable: "You would have said (*diceres*) that those soft and milky looking babies were real Cupids," comments the narrator on the danced spectacle of

the "Judgment of Paris". Is this gentle nudge in the direction of representational verisimilitude literature's way of expressing the psychology of "imagining, believing, *seeing* a picture" that seems to underpin pantomime's illusionistic mode?

[79] Cf. Ovid's own retrospective assessment of the *Metamorphoses* as the work of "bodies changed" (*corpora uersa*) "in incredible ways" (*in non credendos . . . modos*) (*Tr*. 2.64).

[80] Of the kind pantomime is exceptionally famous for portraying: see Luc. *Salt*. 67 on the genre's hallmark presentation of "character" and "passion," showcasing "now someone in the grip of love (ἐρῶντα) now someone in the grip of anger (ὀργιζόμενον)," "now a man afflicted with madness (μεμηνότα) and now someone tormented by grief (λελυπημένον)."

[81] See primarily Wyles 2008.

[82] On the dancer's dress, see Luc. *Salt*. 2 (soft), 63 (silk fabric); Lib. *Or*. 64.52 (ankle-length tunics embroidered with gold). Both literary and material evidence point to very long, flimsy, delicate, transparent silk robes. Gold embroidery on stiffer, more voluminous matter was also occasionally in use. See Jory 1996, esp. 5 and 19.

[83] As in Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*. 2.10.70-74.

[84] *Ad Populum Antiochenum, Hom*. xix = *PG* 49.196.

[85] Clement, *Paedagogus* 2.10.70-74.

[86] See Lib. *Or*. 64.50; cf. Claudian (nn87-88 below). Theonoe's mask-like face in the so-called "Theonoe Mosaic" discovered in the *triclinium* of a Roman house in Zeugma wears hair "hanging down in exceptionally long and straight locks down the side of the face and onto the shoulders." See Dunbabin 2010: 418-19.

[87] Claud. *In Eutrop*. 2.404: *crinitus ephebus*, as a shorthand designation of pantomimes in general.

[88] Claud. *In Eutrop.* 2.360, on fourth century C.E. pantomime fans wondering what boy can best "sweep the marble floor with his drooping locks" (*verrat quis marmora crine supino*).

[89] Cf. Viarre 1964: 98, seeing in the *Metamorphoses* "un dynamisme théâtrale."

[90] A particularly intriguing cluster of Greek and Roman verbalizations of the pantomime's art present the dancer's body as "fractured," "broken into bits," "fragmented," "snapped off," "twisted" and "bent"—in all cases with obvious connotations of effeminacy (cf. Lada-Richards 2008: 289-90). See, e.g. Luc. *Salt*. 5; Tatian, *Ad.Gr*. 22.7; Lib. *Or*. 64.60; Cyprian, *Don*. 8, *Ep*.2.2.1; Novatian, *Spect*. 3.2, 6.6; Jer. *Ep*. 43.2, 79.9. Despite the thick layers of prejudice regarding the pantomime's sexual inclination that need copious peeling back, this rhetoric of "fragmentation" is by no means irrelevant to the "corporeal technologies" of the ancient pantomime's body, which, by flouting the "cult" of the straight line, *did* present a provocative alternative to and a serious assault on élite notions of corporeal propriety and manliness.

[91] Brook 1968: 152 writes on the ability of powerful performances to "scorch" pictures on the viewer's memory.

[92] Roach 1996: 27 and 33.

[93] See Hardie 2002: 173, quoting Rosati 1983: 140.

[94] For the most comprehensive treatment of *enargeia*/*phantasia*, their ability to turn absence into presence and the psychological processes involved, see Webb 2009.

[95] For the notion see Hardie 2002, *passim*.

[96] Cf. Juv. *Sat*. 6.70 on stage-struck ladies who pine for their beloved performer (it is unclear whether the reference is to tragedy or pantomime) throughout the long winter months by clutching his mask, thyrsus or tights.

[97] Bibliography on kinaesthesia is now immense. On dance as a kinaesthetic art, see, very selectively, Foster 2008 and 2011.

[98] For ancient conceptualizations of pantomime spectatorship as entailing first and foremost a bodily response, cf. Tatian, *Ad.Gr.* 22.2; Aristaenetus, *Ep.* 1.26.13-18; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 32.55; Lib. *Or.*64.117. See further Lada-Richards 2007: 131 and Webb 2008: 86-7.

[99] See, e.g. Lada-Richards 2013: 114; Webb 2008: 176-79.

[100] In the tradition of Graeco-Roman appreciation of theater and art "deception" (ἀπάτη) in the sense of illusionism and aesthetic beguilement goes at least as far back as Simonides (Plutarch, *Mor.* 15d) and Gorgias (fr. 23 B-K); it lies at the core of imperial and late antique conceptions of the aesthetic value of the visual arts (see primarily Elsner 1995: 15-39); for the "deception" offered by pantomime spectacles, see Lada-Richards 2003: 61-62.

[101] I am most grateful to the journal's anonymous referees who offered a rare mix of sensitive and learned suggestions on both matters of detail and broader vision.