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Beyond *Choreia*: Dance in Ancient Greek Literature and Culture

by

Sarah Elizabeth Olsen

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

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University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:

Professor Leslie Kurke, Chair

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Beyond *Choreia*: Dance in Ancient Greek Literature and Culture

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ABSTRACT

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by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Classics

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Leslie Kurke, Chair

The chorus of Euripides' *Bacchae* heralds the arrival of the god Dionysus by promising that “right away, the whole world will dance in a chorus” (αὐτίκα γὰρ πᾶσα χορεύσει, 114). Their exuberant claim reflects the enthusiasm for dance generally expressed in early Greek sources. Indeed, it has been well established that dance – specifically *choreia* (communal song-dance) – played a significant role in archaic and classical Greek social life and was thus accorded a high level of value and esteem in art and literature. My dissertation argues that this esteemed status does not extend to the performance of solo and individualized dance, and demonstrates that Greek literary discourse betrays a deep ambivalence towards dance (*orchēsis*) when isolated from the multimedia art of *choreia*.

This project thus approaches Greek dance, which has hitherto been studied almost exclusively in the context of the chorus, from a fresh angle. I establish that singular dancing often signifies disruption, violation, and vulnerability within the social and political order. At the same time, I show that the representation of individualized dance constitutes a distinctive mechanism adopted by poets, playwrights, historians and philosophers to foreground and explore the complex relationship between verbal and somatic expression. As a result, the representation of individualized dance in Greek literature offers insight into the place of dance in Greek thought, while also enabling us to identify the particular biases and agendas at work in the literary description of dance performance.

My dissertation develops a distinctive methodology for analyzing the relationship between dance and literature. I begin from a basic conviction, grounded in the scholarship of dance studies, that verbal descriptions and literary representations of dance are not neutral reflections of embodied practices, but rather ideological and interpretive forms that work to frame and define our perception of dance. I argue that *choreia*, as a synthesis of vocal, instrumental, and kinetic expression, becomes an efficient image for poets, philosophers, and historians seeking to harness dance to the power of language. My work thus demonstrates that *orchēsis*, as individual kinetic expression and kinesthetic experience, not only signifies social and political disruption, but is also imagined as an expressive mode that may resist or re-figure the forces of language and verbal description.

My first chapter argues that individual dancers provide a critically engaged alternative to the prevailing model of communal, choral performance, which tends to be logocentric. This chapter lays out a dominant paradigm of choral dance as constructed in early Greek literature, offers a typology of solo and individualized dance forms, and previews the insights to be gained through the consideration of dance “beyond *choreia*.” Chapter Two addresses the descriptions of both choral and individualized dance in *Odyssey* 8, demonstrating that singular and virtuosic dance is particularly emblematic of Phaeacian culture and that its description operates as a means by which Odysseus and Alcinous competitively negotiate their relative positions of status and authority within the poem. Chapters Three and Four examine individual male and female dancers respectively in epic, lyric, and drama, identifying a complex network of political and artistic concerns that coalesce around literary representations of each type of performer. I argue that solo male dancers tend to be depicted as disruptive and anti-social political actors (e.g., Pericles in Ion of Chios fr. 109 Leurini, Philocleon in Arist. *Wasps* 1474ff), while individual and outstanding female dancers are marked by their sexual appeal and consequent vulnerability (e.g., the maiden *chorēgoi* of Alcman 1 *PMG*, Cassandra in Eur. *Troades* 308ff). These chapters also focus on the performance contexts of specific songs and their ability to frame and define closely related instances of dance. My fifth and final chapter explores how Herodotus, Plato, and Xenophon deploy the various models of individual dance discussed in the preceding chapters in the service of their own historical and philosophical projects. While my primary focus throughout is on literary description, I also discuss the visual and material evidence for solo dance, particularly in cases where it contrasts with the textual tradition.

The project as a whole makes two major contributions to the study of Greek literature, culture, and performance. First, it brings together the surviving representations of solo and individualized dance and considers them as evidence for the cultural discourse surrounding both *orchēsis* and *choreia*. Second, it develops a theoretical framework for articulating the complex relationship between literary descriptions and historical performance, bringing the scholarly insights of dance studies to bear upon the ancient world.

for Emily

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Introduction

In a recent volume on the importance of the solo form in the development of 20th century European and American dance, Claudia Gitelman observes that “soloists ignited the modern dance movement and they have been a source of its constant renewal, inhabiting space between the new and the not-yet-known” (2012: 1). Karl Toepfer, in the same volume, supports Gitelman’s claim by tracing how European female choreographers in the early 20th century used solo performance to construct distinctive personalities and “critique mythic images of femininity” (2012: 73-74).¹

But while many modern dance pioneers framed their own work as firmly within the “Greek tradition,” the dance world of the 20th century was obviously quite different from the performance culture of archaic and classical Greece.² This is especially evident in the treatment of dance as a mode of individual expression. Whereas modern English has a clear category for this type of performance, archaic and classical Greek has no word or phrase that specifically and exclusively denotes “solo dance.”³

There is, of course, an important set of terms for group dance in ancient Greece: *choreia*, or choral song-and-dance, marked also by the noun *choros* and the verb *choreuein*. These words reference a sophisticated and complex conceptual framework for group musical and kinetic performance. Other words or phrases can signify some combination of music and dance (*molpē*, *mousikē*), while broader terms for movement (*bainō*, *steichō*, *paizō*) can also be marked as dance by specific contextual clues.⁴ *Orchēsis* (verb *orcheomai*) is the word used most frequently in Greek for dance alone, although it has no inherent implications for the number of performers – we find it used to describe the dancing of groups as well as individuals.⁵ We might expect, then, a close analogue to the English phrase “solo dance,” wherein *orchēsis* or *orcheomai* is combined with a word meaning “alone” or “individually” (e.g., *monos*). But in fact, this type of construction occurs only once in extant archaic and classical literature. In *Odyssey* 8, the Phaeacian princes Halios and Laodamas “dance singly” (μουνὰξ ὀρχήσασθαι, 8.371),⁶ a remarkable performance that will be addressed in Chapter 2.

Ancient Greek, then, has a whole set of words for the idea of “performing within a chorus,” yet we find no consistent term or phrase for dancing alone. While this is significant, it does not mean that Greek culture had no concept of dance beyond the chorus. To the contrary, solo dance regularly occurred at the symposium, performed by both symposiasts themselves and

¹ Toepfer further demonstrates that it would be a mistake to understand modern dance solos only in simplistic contrast to the established institution of ballet, as he also discusses the individual style of Anna Pavlova (2012: 83-88).

² On the complexities of the relationship between ancient performance practices and modern dance, see Macintosh, ed. 2010 and Preston 2011.

³ Once pantomime emerges as a distinct solo dance form in the imperial period, the term παντόμιμος is used to refer to that specific kind of artist (see Lucian, *On the Dance* 67), although *orchēsis* is also used freely in the description of pantomime performance.

⁴ For a detailed survey of vocabulary associated with dance in ancient Greek sources, see Naerebout 1997: 274-289.

⁵ E.g., the archetypal choral performance of the Muses described in the opening lines of Hesiod’s *Theogony* includes *orchēsis* (ὀρχεῦνται, *Theogony* 4), but Herodotus uses the same verb to describe the performance of Hippocleides, who clearly dances alone at Cleisthenes’ banquet (ὀρχήσατο, *Histories* 6.129).

⁶ Translations, where not otherwise indicated, are my own.

hired entertainers.⁷ Individualized dance and movement may also have been involved in certain other kinds of festive celebration – as, for example, in the Attic practice of jumping or dancing on wineskins in honor of Dionysus.⁸ Singular kinetic performance seems to have been particularly at home at the intersection of dance, athletics, and military training.⁹ Finally, *choreia* itself sometimes involved the performance of dancing soloists or took forms that allowed for a wider range of individualized expression.¹⁰ Solo and individualized dancing was thus an undeniable part of archaic and classical Greek social life.

Archaic and classical Greek literary sources, however, are far more attentive to choral dance than they are to individualized forms.¹¹ In the ancient Greek cultural imagination, the idea of dance is closely bound up in the idea of *choreia* – the choral performance of music and dance taken as a whole. Dancing apart from the chorus is, in extant Greek literature, a comparatively rare occurrence. I mention the literary tradition specifically, because, as the examples mentioned above suggest (e.g., sympotic dance, *askoliasmos*, *cheironomia*), the historical

⁷ On dancing at archaic and classical symposia, see Fehr 1990, Pellizer 1990, Arnott 1996: 271, Schäfer 1997, and Catoni 2010: 3-109. Robb 1994: 26-28 posits a private symposium as the event commemorated by the Dipylon graffito (*oinochoe* inscribed with the phrase “he who now, of all the dancers, sports most gracefully,” *IG* 12 919, *IG* 1 Suppl. 492a; on this object, see M. Langdon 1975, Annibaldis and Vox 1976, Marcovich 1969: 217-218, and Powell 1988: 65-86), and thus suggests that 8th century sympotic participants engaged in dance competition. It seems quite clear that symposiasts often engaged in dance and revelry as part of the *kōmos* (for further discussion of which see Chapter 1.1), and given the clear role of both wine and music in the symposium, its participants surely danced within the *andron* as well.

⁸ On this practice, called *askoliasmos*, see Latte 1957. For ancient references, see Plato, *Symposium* 190d and scholia, Aristophanes, *Wealth* 1129 and scholia, Eubulus fr. 8, Pollux 9.121, and Vergil, *Georgics* 2.382-384. Games in general could also be included within a broad survey of individualized but structured movement in ancient Greece. For example, we might consider the case of the game called *ephedrismos*, which involved throwing balls or pebbles at a stone in order to overturn it. When a player failed to do so, he or she had to run to touch the stone while blindfolded and carrying the winner on his or her back. The game is described by Pollux (9.119) and attested by earlier visual evidence (vase painting: Attic red figure *lekaneis*, in the style of the Meidias painter, c. 425-400 BCE, National Archaeological Museum (Athens 17533); figurines: two late 4th or early 3rd century BCE figurines, one in the National Archaeological Museum (Athens 17311), the other in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York 7.286.4). All three visual representations feature young girls as the players, although Pollux employs masculine nouns and pronouns (ὁ δ’ ἐφεδρισμός, λίθον καταστησάμενοι πόρρωθεν αὐτοῦ στοχάζονται σφαίραις ἢ λίθοις· ὁ δ’ οὐκ ἀνατρέψας τὸν ἀνατρέψαντα φέρει, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπιλημμένος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἀπλανῶς ἔλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον, ὃς καλεῖται δίορος, 9.119) – this would not exclude female players, but does suggest the game was not an exclusively female pastime. All the same, we might see games like *ephedrismos* as related to the spontaneous and playful actions, including song-and-dance, typically performed by young women in Greek literature (see, e.g., *Odyssey* 6.99-109, discussed further in Chapter 2.2b and Chapter 4.2-3). Within this realm, we might also consider work-songs (especially those performed by women) and the kinds of motion that typically accompany them (e.g., moving in time with stirring or grinding) – on the work-song as a way of ritualizing ordinary action, see Karanika 2007.

⁹ E.g., the practice of *cheironomia*, or “hand-dancing,” seems to have occupied a complicated position between dance, play, and athletic training (Plutarch, *Moralia* 997b-c and Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 14.30). Consider also the *pyrrichē*, which could be performed solo as well as choral (Lonsdale 1993: 140-141; see Chapter 1.1 for further discussion of this particular form).

¹⁰ See Chapter 1.2.

¹¹ On terminology: I use the word “literature” inclusively to describe our textual, or perhaps better verbal, sources: prose and poetry of varying genres. I generally avoid the term “textual” because, given my attention to archaic oral poetry (particularly epic, but also lyric, elegy, etc.), it has the potential to become seriously misleading (I do not mean to suggest the audiences relevant to my analysis thought of Homeric poetry as a “text” in anything like the modern sense). While I use both “song” and “poetry” to refer to epic and lyric, I do want to stress the original performance quality of these genres, and I am careful to use “song” and “singing” when that element is particularly important.

practice of performance must have been more varied, dynamic, and complicated than the depictions emphasized in our extant sources. The testimony of archaic and classical epic, lyric, history, and philosophy, however, is choro-centric. The surviving discussions and descriptions of individualized dance are valuable in part because they are unusual. But I want to further suggest that these passages offer ways of thinking about dance, kinetic expression, and corporeality that differ from the models contained in the more prominent and thus widely studied depictions of *choreia*.

A close study of the literary representation of non-choral dance in archaic and classical Greece thus has much to offer.¹² My project, however, is not a history of dance, choral or otherwise, in ancient Greece – the brief survey above is the limit of my attention to the evidence for historical instances of solo dance performance as such. Rather, this is a study of the representation of dance in literature, with a particular view to how systems and hierarchies of performance become associated with political, social, and aesthetic values. Yet the relationship between dance, language, and literature itself is hardly straightforward or uncomplicated. I will first, therefore, reflect on dance description and its implications on a theoretical level; a more thorough discussion of dance and verbal expression as conceptualized in archaic and classical Greece will follow in Chapter 1.

Dance and Language

Dancer and choreographer Steve Paxton suggests that dance, particularly in improvisatory modes, continually endeavors to escape the bonds and frameworks of language. He remarks that “improvisation is a word for something which can’t keep a name; if it does stick around long enough to acquire a name, it has begun to move towards fixity.” While Paxton ultimately sees this process of improvising, labeling, and beginning again as a productive one, he begins his discussion with a suspicious attitude towards language and its application to dance. Specifically, he claims:

I would bet no dancer ever reviewed, however positively, has felt their dance captured in print. Yet language, used to describe other arts, forms a very important part of what we think about a work of art. It can certainly influence our point of view and may even suggest what *can* be thought about – that is, limit our perception or experience to the form encompassed by language. It does seem to me that if we spend much time communicating with others via language about a painting, music, or dance, we accustom our minds to the language version of the

¹² Solo dance in ancient Greece has not, to my knowledge, been studied in any extensive or systematic way (with the following exceptions: a brief but illuminating survey of acrobats and choral leaders in Greek poetry by Mullen 1982: 12-21, with whose observations I generally concur, discussions of specific instances of individualized performance of *mousikē* in drama, and imperial pantomime, on which see the Conclusion). Naerebout 1997 suggests that “number of participants” might be a valid category for analyzing dance (172), yet he also asserts that “obviously, the exact number of people involved is of no consequence; the dance itself can be performed as a solo, together with a partner, or in a group, and the audience can be any size. The essential communality of dance is not contradicted by the fact that dance can be solo dance, performed without any audience at all: such a solo dance derives from communal dance (or, if performed in rehearsal, is intended to become communal).” (162). I disagree, and intend to demonstrate here that the number of participants and nature of the audience are, in fact, highly significant factors in the conceptualization of dance in ancient Greece. A full survey of the evidence for the historical practice of solo, non-choral dance forms (like the ones mentioned above), would be a different, but also desirable, project.

experience. (2001: 422, emphasis in original)

Paxton further observes that in our evaluation of non-verbal art forms “language is not only prominent, but it can be coercive. We may opt to disregard experiences which don’t work in language” (2001: 423).

The interference of language is an unavoidable problem for dance history scholars, for whom verbal descriptions and evaluations of dance, supplemented to varying degrees by images, films, and archival material, constitute crucial primary sources. There are, however, more optimistic ways to view the relationship between such sources and the act of dancing itself. In an essay on Paul Sanasardo and Donya Feuer’s *Laughter After All*, Mark Franko interweaves his critical scholarly commentary with a verbal description of the dance, positioning himself as the viewer (1996). Gay Morris describes Franko’s project thus: “drawing on the post-Marxian theory of Georg Lukács, Franko suggests that only when experience is mediated, that is, attached to ‘the net of social relations,’ is it given life. Immediate (unmediated) experience is reified or abstract because it is disconnected from interpretation” (1996: 5). For Franko, the work of describing, theorizing, and interpreting does not flatten or limit dance, but rather enriches and expands upon it. Recent work on dance and *choreia* in archaic and classical Greek literature operates from a comparable vantage point, stressing the mutually illuminating nature of dance and song when combined in choral performance and demonstrating that early Greek thought itself seems to conceive of reflection and imagination, at least partially verbalized, as integral to the enjoyment of dance.¹³

In a similar vein, Susan Foster’s analysis of late 20th century American dance explicitly employs “reading” and “writing” as metaphors for describing dance. Foster aims to chart a course of dance study that “does not, on the one hand, reductively explain [dance], or, on the other, despair of ever re-creating its transient meaning” (1986: xxi). She sees the notion of dance as fundamentally and vitally “beyond words” – a perspective in which “dance remains an ephemeral event whose immediate appeal can never be captured in words” – as old-fashioned and characteristic of a worldview particular to the early 20th century West (1986: xvi). She rejects the idea that dance might be “too fragile and fleeting for words” and instead explores the ways in which the terms, images, and metaphors of language (e.g., syntax and vocabulary) can enrich our understanding of dance.

Finally, Susan Manning sees the ephemerality of performance as a positive force in dance scholarship, observing,

the simple fact is that the dance scholar never has the luxury of starting from a New Critical text, from a text that appears complete and self-sufficient. The dance scholar has no choice except to pursue the elusive and uncertain text of performance. An event bound in space and time, a performance can be read only through its traces—on the page, in memory, on film, in the archive. Each of these traces marks, indeed distorts, the event of performance, and so the scholar pursues what remains elusive as if moving through an endless series of distorting reflections. But this pursuit leaves its own sort of illumination, and that

¹³ See Weiss, who in her analysis of *mousikē* in late Euripides demonstrates how choral song can deploy a process of “aesthetic suggestion” to affect an audience’s experience of a performance (2014: 12-13 and *passim*). Peponi 2004a likewise reveals how the language of song structures and guides the audience’s perception of dance in Alcman 1. I discuss these specific approaches at greater length in Chapter 1.4.

illumination is what the scholar records, in effect penning a journal of the process of inquiry” (2006: 12).

Accordingly, she suggests that dance studies, while “always ... marginal within the New Critical academy,” may “become more central within the post-structural academy” (2006: 12). Manning’s convictions are evident in the new introduction to the revised edition of her monograph, wherein she reflects on how contemporary culture and events shaped her inquiry into the dances of Mary Wigman, noting that “it is more than coincidental that I wrote this story of how Wigman’s choreography negotiated the sociopolitical transitions of her time during a later period of significant transition, the years surrounding 1989” (2006: xiv).

These approaches are not without their critics. Marcia Siegel, for example, strongly objects to “the idea of ‘reading dancing’ as Foster defines it” (1988: 30). She suggests that such analysis “gives no account of the actual process of looking at dance, which is fundamentally intuitive, visceral, and preverbal. Only later do we bring words, categories, systems to rationalize what we’ve experienced” (1988: 30). If we take Siegel’s claims too far, however, dance ceases to be a potential object of academic study – sealed off from historical and cultural studies as a foreign field, too fundamentally visceral, ephemeral, and pre-verbal to be analyzed by our existing scholarly tools. If we are to study dance through written sources (I will return to visual ones later), Paxton and Manning in particular offer productive and complementary approaches.

On the one hand, Paxton acknowledges the coercive and limiting force of language, reserving for dance an intrinsically non-verbal mode of expression and experience (2001: 422-423). At the same time, he encourages an “appreciation of the feeling of being lost,” and observes that “getting lost” [sc. in the act of improvising] is possibly the first step toward finding new systems. Finding parts of new systems can be one of the rewards for getting lost. With a few new systems, we discover where we are oriented again, and can begin to use the cross pollination of one system with another to construct new ways to move on” (2001: 425). That is, Paxton does not despair of the attempt to describe dance in words, but rather suggests that the inherent difficulties of doing so – and the process of temporarily succeeding, then “improvising” other forms and systems – are actually rewarding and illuminating in their own right. Manning likewise views the instability of performance and the tensions between dance and language as fertile ground, contending that the “pursuit” of dance history, even as it remains “elusive” and viewed only through “an endless series of distorting reflections,” creates “its own sort of illumination” (2006: 12). Manning and Paxton share an emphasis on the process of inquiry, rather than a finite set of results. They see the description of dance as its own complex creative and intellectual project, rather than a straightforward “translation” of dance into words.

In the course of my analysis here, I will not gloss over the verbal nature of my primary sources. Rather, I aim to investigate the ways in which Greek poets, philosophers, and historians are already invested in particular systems governing the relationship between dance and language as they work to describe movement, posture, and kinesthetic experience. Drawing on the theoretical scholarship outlined above, I want to suggest that the various attempts made by Greek texts to capture dance with words do not offer a clear window into historical practices of dance, but that instead, such descriptions are creative acts of cultural and social negotiation in their own right. My goal here is to illuminate the social, political, philosophical, and creative issues that get caught up in the description of dance in archaic and classical Greek literature.

Modern scholars, moreover, are not the only ones whose minds are at risk of becoming

too accustomed to the “language version” of ancient performance (Paxton 2001: 422). Ancient audiences might too have filtered their visual and kinesthetic experiences of dancing through the verbal descriptions of movement that either accompanied the dance itself (in the case of choral performance), or that they had heard or read earlier (in, e.g., epic poetry or historical narrative). That is, descriptions of dance can spotlight certain elements of a performance, construct hierarchies of beauty, excitement, or interest, and encourage specific forms of aesthetic response. Language thus mediates between embodied expression and perception, telling us how to think and feel about our own acts of performance and spectatorship. My work thus additionally aims to consider how the social, political, and aesthetic values encoded in archaic and classical Greek descriptions of dance may have affected their ancient audiences.

The ways in which verbal discourse relates to embodied experience has long been of interest to scholars of anthropology, sociology, ritual, and performance. While Pierre Bourdieu is not the only scholar to have analyzed the motions and stances of the individual body in relation to larger social and cultural forces, his observations will here serve as exemplary of a specific approach to these issues.¹⁴ Bourdieu uses the term *hexis* to describe how cultural meanings and values become situated in the motions and positions of the body, remarking that “bodily *hexis* is political mythology realized, a durable manner of standing, speaking, and thereby of *feeling* and *thinking*” (1977: 93-94, emphasis in original).

Leslie Kurke notes that scholars of antiquity do not have the same access to embodied practices as anthropologists of contemporary cultures. With Bourdieu, she finds that games are particularly useful in allowing us “to see ideology as it is forged through everyday practice” (1999: 247).¹⁵ She additionally remarks, however, that in the study of the ancient world and its sources, we must always view such quotidian practices “at one remove, refracted and mediated through literary and visual representations” (1999: 248). This is, of course, the same problem we face in investigating ancient dance. But again, literary and visual representations are not completely without value. Using the testimony of dramatic fragments, anonymous verse, and late prose, Kurke demonstrates that the sympotic game of *kottabos*, wherein the player attempts to toss wine lees from his own cup toward a designated target, encodes the somatic values of archaic Greek society (1999: 278-283). For example, Kurke highlights a fragment of the comic playwright Antiphanes (fr. 57 K-A., 5-13), which reveals how “each game of *kottabos* was a lesson in proper social hierarchy, in which the physical relations of up and down, striking and struck, encode the domination of West over East, Greek over barbarian, and master over slave” (1999: 281).

But while Kurke reminds us that “games do their cultural work as practice, prior to verbalization and theory” (1999: 248), I would add that the literary sources we rely upon for evidence could have had a related force within their original contexts. The values embodied by the game of *kottabos*, for example, may well have been viscerally felt by the player and his fellow symposiasts prior to their articulation in words. But a symposiast might also recall having heard a verbal description of *kottabos*, like that found in the fragment of Antiphanes, that makes explicit the game’s ideological force. That recollection might then serve to intensify the player’s embodied experience of cultural conditioning, as he can now layer the verbal articulation of the social system atop his visceral experience of it. As Paxton observes, language can be “coercive,”

¹⁴ For related understandings of the cultural construction of motion and embodied experience, see Goffmann 1959, Bloch 1974 (as discussed below), and Mauss 1979.

¹⁵ For Bourdieu’s framework as useful in articulating the embodied social practices of ancient Greek culture (specifically that of classical Athens), see also Griffith 2001: 119 and n. 7.

telling us precisely what to make of our embodied and non-verbal experiences (2001: 423).

To bring this discussion of embodiment and discourse back to dance specifically, I want to highlight the work of Maurice Bloch, who conducts an anthropological investigation into the role of song and dance as ritual practices. He specifically observes that “in a song...no argument or reasoning can be communicated, no adaptation to the reality of the situation is possible. *You cannot argue with a song*” (1974: 27, emphasis in original). He extends this argument to dance as well, arguing that “bodily movements are a kind of language and that symbolic signals are communicated through a variety of movements from one person to another” (1974: 37). He thus suggests that, like song,

messages carried by the language of the body also become ossified, predictable, and repeated from one action to the next, rather than recombined as in everyday situations when they can convey a great variety of messages. As with speech, the formalization of body movement implies ever-growing control of choice of sequences of movement, and when this has occurred completely we have dance (1974: 38).

For Bloch, choreographed dance represents complete control over the human body. Whereas ordinary life affords individuals opportunities to select meaningful gestures and postures with which to express and communicate emotions, attitudes, and social positions, dance tells the dancer to move *this* way, hold her arms *that* way, and thus, forces its participants to cede control over the messages communicated by their bodies and join in a spectacle with pre-existing and predictable significance.

Bloch’s conceptualization is strong, even totalizing. He defines dance as the end-point of a social process in which human movement becomes increasingly fixed and controlled. Catherine Bell provides a useful corrective to Bloch’s fairly rigid understanding of how choreography and dance operate specifically within ritual and religious contexts, arguing that ritualized practices, including song and dance, “will not work as social control if [they are] perceived as not amenable to some degree of individual appropriation. If practices negate all forms of individual choice, or all forms of resistance, they would take a form other than ritualization (1992: 221-22). Bell’s model has proved itself particularly useful in the study of ancient Greek *choreia*, a dynamic multimedia art that offers a good example of the ways in which song and dance exercise a subtle and flexible kind of social control, rather than the rigid coercion imagined by Bloch.¹⁶ Likewise, we might see Paxton’s understanding of improvisation as a means by which dance attempts to escape from Bloch’s process of ossification through repetition. Insofar as Bloch’s analysis of dance is hampered by a forced analogy between (verbal) song and (non-verbal) movement, Paxton’s suspicion towards language, and its ability to limit our experience and perception of dance, seems again to be justified.

Carrie Noland offers another approach to movement as resistant to ideological cultural discourse, whether explicitly verbalized or not. Noland positions her project as an investigation into the role of motility in the expression of human agency, and she understands gesture as a vital site for both the “embodiment” and “testing” of “cultural conditioning” (2009: 2). The former point (gesture embodies cultural conditioning) points back to Bourdieu; Noland’s own theoretical intervention lies in the articulation and exploration of the latter possibility: gesture

¹⁶ On the utility of Bell’s model for the study of ancient Greek ritual practices, especially *choreia*, see Kurke 2005, Kowalzig 2007b: 32-43, and Mackil 2013: 152-156.

and movement as ways of challenging or undoing the work of cultural constructions upon the body. In developing her argument, she draws explicitly upon Deirdre Sklar's analysis of interoceptive awareness.

Sklar, critiquing Bourdieu, argues that "the hold of the habitus is not absolute, and we do sometimes transcend its automatic and efficient grip" (2008: 91). She offers examples from both everyday life and dance, suggesting that:

Pressing the brakes for the tenth time in the middle of a traffic jam, we may question the reason we own cars, calculating the cost and effort of maintaining them, envisioning the natural resources mined to make and run them, seeing the socioeconomic system that requires getting places quickly, and bringing to mind the millions of people in nonindustrial circumstances who don't require them. Performing a plié in the studio, perhaps dancers, too, have lucid moments of seeing themselves, as if from a distance, lined up among the others, holding onto a wooden pole in order to "gracefully" drop and rise over and over again, all agreeing to the perceptual, ideological, and aesthetic conventions of a sociocultural system that values "ballet." Perhaps the lucid moments occur in the opposite direction, consciousness diving inward and immersing in the minute sensations of toes gripping, quads clenching, spine extending, wrist softening, breath suspending. In the first kind of lucidity, one calls on visual imagination to project across distances to "see" the larger system, one's own body bobbing up and down at the barre to keep the system going; in the second, one calls on proprioception, turning awareness inward to "feel" one's body as a continuum of kinetic sensations. In either case, the hold of the habitus is broken, inviting opening beyond routine." (Sklar 2008: 91)

Sklar elegantly captures the dynamic process of acquiescence and resistance involved in both ordinary action and choreographed movement. Moreover, her identification of two distinct modes of departure from routine, *habitus*, and *hexis* can help to expand the scope of Noland's work, a point that I will return to shortly.

First, however, I want to note that Noland is primarily interested in Sklar's first claim, as she explores the ways in which turning inward, toward the kinesthetic sensations of one's own body, enables us to "'unbraid' movement practices from ideological ends and open up the possibility of no longer perpetuating 'social structures at the level of the body'" (Noland 2009: 210, partially quoting Sklar 2008: 91). She then further observes that "such a critical sensitivity to our acts, however, demands isolation, a willed disconnection from the purposive, instrumental, or communicative contexts into which we, as cultural beings, are almost always being thrust" (2009: 210). Thus, while interoceptive awareness offers a potentially rich source of agency for subjects as they experience and engage corporeally with the world, the discursive construction of the body in culture and society remains a powerful force.

Noland's observations resonate with literary descriptions of ancient Greek dance, which tend to stress the social dimension of performance. In Greek thought, very act of dancing, particularly within a chorus but also, for example, within a symposium, accomplishes the process Noland describes as "thrusting" the "cultural being" into a "purposive, instrumental, or communicative context" (2009: 210). As I have cautioned before, we have no direct access to the embodied experiences of ancient Greek performers and spectators. Greek literary

representations of dance, however, demonstrate an active engagement with the possibility of corporeal agency and its likely ramifications, and I will demonstrate that this engagement is particularly active in the description of individual dancers, as opposed to the choral group. Yet given the nature of the ancient Greek literary evidence, which includes more attention to descriptions of dance than to descriptions of the kinesthetic experiences of dancers, it is necessary to expand a bit upon Noland's theoretical framework.

The individual kinesthetic subject is the heart of Noland's analysis. She opens by remarking that "subjects...make *motor* decisions that challenge cultural meanings in profound ways" (2009: 3, emphasis in original), and she remains primarily focused throughout on the ways in which a single body feels itself move in relation and resistance to the forces of somatic cultural conditioning. She concludes by re-asserting the "mindful agency of a body listening to itself" (2009: 213), positing that it is precisely such a "motor body" that "possesses a variety of agency that can help renovate the paradigms of construction and resistance, interpellation and identity, with which we normally conduct theoretical work" (2009: 214).

I believe, however, that Noland's analysis can account for both the experience of embodied agency (as she most explicitly argues) and the perceived expression of such agency. This is evident in the anecdote with which she begins her book. There, she remarks that:

It was while watching a graffiti writer that I first began to perceive how agency might work. As I observed the writer, his gestures revealed themselves to be simultaneously a repetitive routine and an improvisational dance; a script was obviously at the root of the performance and a script was its ultimate, durable product, but in between, I could plainly see, a body was afforded a chance to feel itself moving through space. (Noland 2009: 1)

Noland's autobiographical anecdote reflects her explicit interest in the kinesthetic experience of the individual subject, and the ramifications of allowing "a body...to feel itself moving through space" (2009: 1). But it also reveals how observing the movement of another allows the spectator, as well as the performer, to reflect upon the cultural construction of the body and its value as a source of individual agency. Pushing further, we might ask whether the process of watching the graffiti writer led Noland *herself* into an experience of kinesthetic, embodied agency.

In the excerpt of Sklar's essay on kinesthesia cited above, we find two possible modes of resistance to the cultural construction of embodied action and experience. Noland, as I have noted, focuses on the process of turning inward and explores the ways in which the kinesthesia of the individual subject offers a meaningful form of embodied agency. Yet Sklar also posits a more externally-oriented point of departure from *hexis* and *habitus*, as she imagines a ballet dancer in a "lucid [moment] of seeing [herself], as if from a distance, lined up among the others, holding onto a wooden pole" (2008: 91). This dancer is able to envision, and perhaps resist, the work of cultural construction upon her own body in part through the imaginative viewing of the group in motion (and given the prominence of mirrors in ballet studios, perhaps actual viewing as well). Her experience is roughly parallel to that of Noland observing the graffiti writer. They both become aware of the possibility of embodied agency through the process of watching other bodies in action.

Noland and Sklar are not immediately concerned with the question of dance description, but their insights are nonetheless relevant. If the individual kinesthetic subject can resist,

through gesture, the acculturating force of *hexis* and non-verbal somatic conditioning, I want to suggest that the subject can also resist the more concentrated acculturating force of conditioned movement reinforced by language. That is, while I will here attempt to uncover the social and political ideologies latent in our textual descriptions of dance, I do not mean to suggest that ancient performers, audience members, or readers inevitably acquiesced to the values, hierarchies, and systems promoted in those descriptions.

The theoretical approaches I have outlined here enrich one another. Different texts can and do relate to historical experiences of embodiment in varying ways. In a general sense, ways of speaking, singing, and writing about dance and movement reflect authors' and audiences' daily experiences of corporeality and kinetic expression. As Ann Cooper Albright contends, "there is a connection between how we think about the world and how we move through it" (2011: 17).¹⁷ Albright further identifies a connection "between individual responsiveness and communal resonance" (2011: 17). The "communal resonance" of specific postures and movement vocabulary need not be as strongly coercive as Bloch's model demands; it might carry the softer ideological force of Bourdieu's *hexis* or Bell's ritualization, and it may leave room for the kind of kinesthetic resistance described by Noland and Sklar. I suggest that we understand the discursive construction of dance and movement in literary sources as a form of "communal resonance," one which can both reflect and work (consciously or not) to affect the embodied experiences and kinetic expressions of its audience.¹⁸

To further clarify the potential relationships between literary or textual description and individual embodied experience, I want to juxtapose Albright's analysis of falling with the work of Alex Purves, who examines the same somatic patterns in a very different context.¹⁹ Purves observes that "the movement of falling – of feeling one's center of balance slip, one's limbs give way, and, eventually, of hitting the ground – is central to the experience of mortality in the *Iliad*" (2006: 179). She develops the further claim that "the significance of falling in the *Iliad* resonates beyond the act of dying [...] to encompass a complex interplay between different temporal registers at work in the poem (2006: 180). She reveals how divine falls in Homer complicate the categories of mortality and temporality that are central to the *Iliad* and, presumably, its earliest audiences. I would add that, while modern readers can certainly appreciate the imagery of falling and descent traced by Purves, its significance must have been felt differently – more viscerally – by audiences who actually engaged in hand-to-hand warfare and Olympian worship.

Albright locates her own study of falling in a very different historical moment, reflecting that:

I've been thinking a lot about falling these days: falling buildings, falling planes, falling economies, falling governments... but most of all, falling bodies. Over the course of the first decade of the twenty-first century, we have witnessed a series of spectacular and horrible falls that have had both global and local repercussions. From the sudden and horrific collapse of the World Trade Center towers to the

¹⁷ Cf. also Sklar, who notes that that "movement knowledge is a kind of cultural knowledge" (2001 [1991]: 1), a belief that informs her study of the annual festival of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Tortugas, New Mexico.

¹⁸ In a way, this reverses the fruitful practice of "kinesthetic" or "embodied" ethnography, employed in various ways by current dance scholars (see, e.g., Ness 1992: 10-15, Hammergren 1996, Frosch 1999, Sklar 2001, Kwan 2013: 6, 127-128), which suggests how we might use patterns of individual response to access the communal resonance of particular motions and positions.

¹⁹ I focus here on Purves' work on falling and epic, but cf. also Purves 2013 on tactile language and sensory perception in Herodotus.

economic recession and its resulting slippages and in employment, from the cyclical plunges in housing values to the periodic crashes of the stock market (not to mention the latest ‘fiscal cliff’), we live in a state of almost constant anxiety about things falling apart and our bodies reflect that. (2013: 36)

Having thus identified the cultural discourse surrounding falling and descent in early 21st century America, Albright goes on to contend that the physical practice of dance – specifically, of contact improvisation – might teach us how to fall, and thereby help us develop the resilience (physical, emotional, even economic) to “survive” in this particular historical moment (2013: 26). While her primary evidence for early 21st century cultural discourse is not literary in a strict sense, her analysis focuses on verbal metaphor and imagery (collapse, crash, “fiscal cliff”).

The anatomy of the human body and its relationship to gravity did not, of course, change between the 8th century BCE and the 21st century CE. The basic act of falling is the same, whether performed by a Homeric warrior or a modern dancer. Yet, as Purves and Albright reveal, the same somatic motion has different implications for different authors and audiences. For a contemporary American audience, falling is caught up in the metaphors widely used to describe economic and political change, while in Homer, falling is an act intimately associated with the constraints of mortality and time. These links are certainly not mutually exclusive. They may even suggest some enduring conceptual connections between individual somatic instability (slipping, falling, striking the ground) and a sense of powerlessness on a global scale. The stock market and the Olympian gods might well represent equally inscrutable and yet totally powerful forces.

But focusing solely on continuity elides the value of corporeal imagery as a marker of culturally and historically specific discourses about embodiment and kinetic expression. My attention to corporeal imagery and somatic metaphor in Greek literature draws upon a basic conviction that such specific ideologies of movement leave their traces in literature. *Hexis* and somatic acculturation can partially account for this correspondence, but those models tend to focus attention on only one direction of influence: the ways in which non- or pre-verbal somatic patterns and conditioning find their way into verbal expression. I want to place equal emphasis on the reverse: the ways in which verbal expression, description, and modeling can influence subsequent experiences of corporeality. Paxton’s concern for the “coercive” and “limiting” force of language over the experience and perception of dance is valid, yet it runs the risk of denying the ability of dance, and movement more generally, to encode cultural and social values – and thus act coercively – all on its own. Dance and its description are thus reciprocally illuminating and often engage, on a social and cultural level, in a kind of feedback loop, whereby the experience of one affects the other, but also vice versa. In ancient Greece, where dancing and spectatorship were both frequent and widespread, literary descriptions of how performers and viewers experience both *choreia* and more individualized dance forms cannot have functioned merely as abstract poetic devices. Rather, authors and audiences must have drawn upon their lived experience in creating and understanding these depictions. Likewise, prior apprehension of literary representations of dance, with their implicit models and hierarchies, could have influenced how spectators and performers alike experienced actual performance.

This general sense of engagement between historical practice and literary representation is particularly important for my analysis, in Chapter 1, of *choreia* as a dominant paradigm for organizing and depicting dance in early Greek literature. It also guides my reading, in Chapter 2, of performance modes and competitive negotiation in *Odyssey* 8.

But I will also suggest that individual authors sometimes used language in strategic attempts to contextualize, direct, and organize kinetic experience and expression. More than simply reflecting lived experience or even preserving subtle processes of somatic cultural conditioning, these authors consistently and programmatically deploy somatic imagery and metaphor in order to affect the embodied experiences of their audiences in specific ways. For example, Chapter 3 includes an analysis of dance and motion in sympotic song, which places a marked emphasis on choral imagery. I will argue that the paucity of literary depictions of dancing, especially by elite men, at the symposium proper (as opposed to in the *kōmos*, and even that is hardly abundant) is no mere accident of preservation. Rather, it marks a deep ambivalence about, and at times outright hostility to, solo male dance performance and constitutes a serious attempt to control its disruptive political and artistic ramifications. Likewise, Chapter 4 will demonstrate that poets deploy representations of singular female dancers as means of discursive control over the expressive and sexual agency of women. In these cases, the critique of *hexis* and somatic acculturation developed by Sklar and Noland offers a productive “way out” of the strong ideological positions enforced by our surviving texts.

Studying ancient dance through textual sources demands caution – neither the literary nor the visual evidence allow us to reconstruct Greek performance precisely. But these sources can offer us a different kind of insight. They can reveal common cultural attitudes towards dance, its value, and its role in society. They can also mark the positions on those questions taken by specific authors or social groups, and the contestation of differing perspectives between or within texts. All of this equally true for the representation of choral and solo dance, but my focus here will be on the latter – not only because it has been relatively neglected, but also because it occasionally illuminates the issues at stake in the representation and performance of dance in ancient Greece in different ways than its choral counterpart. Where and how I draw the line between “choral” and “solo” dance will be further clarified in Chapter 1, but I will make a few additional comments here on my choice of focus and its implications for my source material.

Sources and Scope

I have, by now, made it clear that my primary attention will be to the literary discourse surrounding dance and movement in archaic and classical Greece. In Chapter 1, I will demonstrate how an important strand of such literary discourse constructs *choreia* as a fundamentally logocentric mode of expression, wherein sung language guides both the performers’ kinetic expression and the audience’s perception of it. I will further contend that literary depictions of solo and individualized dance are often specifically engaged with this particular paradigm of dance, and that they depart from the chorus not only in presenting dancers who perform alone, but also in exploring the possibility of dance not guided by verbal song. It is, of course, certainly possible for a chorus to dance without singing, in literature, art, and historical practice.²⁰ My aim here, however, is to examine the specific confluence of non-verbal *and* solo/individualized dance in Greek literature. In doing so, I will reveal that the representation of individualized *orchēsis* often constitutes a distinctive mechanism adopted by poets, playwrights, historians and philosophers to foreground and explore the complex relationship between verbal and somatic expression.

My interest in the relationship between dance and language thus leads to a primary focus on literary representation. The testimony of art will not, however, be neglected, for both archaic

²⁰ See examples in Chapter 1.1, as well as Griffith *forthcoming*.

and classical Greek vase painting and sculpture feature many images of dance and performance.²¹ While these representations are also predominately choral, I do not mean to suggest that their interests, ideologies, and creative programs always correspond with the discursive patterns evident in literary models of dance. Throughout, I will offer selective discussions of Greek art and iconography, with both exemplary objects and summaries of relevant scholarship. These discussions will highlight places where the visual imagery of dance engages with and contributes to the specific issues I trace at greater length in literature, but they will also call attention to objects and iconographic patterns that seem to deal with dance in different ways.

I also operate on the basic premise that non-dramatic poetry is the most immediately useful source for establishing the dominant cultural models for the performance of solo and individualized dance. Hexameter poetry has long been understood as containing important paradigms for performance in general, and while descriptions of solo dance are less common than descriptions of *choreia*, the same principle applies.²² Symptotic song and choral lyric were both performed in close connection with individualized forms of dance, and their references to it thus respond to, engage with, and frame the direct experience of dance. The same may be said for Athenian drama, of course, but I believe that these representations and references are further complicated by their ongoing engagement with and use of non-dramatic lyric models.²³ For that reason, I generally begin by surveying the depiction of various types of solo dancers in epic, hymn, symptotic song, and choral lyric, developing from these sources a preliminary sense of the different ways in which these figures are used as literary tropes and how they engage with and contribute to the broader cultural discourse on dance and performance. I then consider how the same themes and concerns surface within drama, paying close attention to how theatrical context may condition and affect the representation and performance of individualized dance. I likewise analyze the description of solo dance in prose works of history and philosophy in light of the patterns revealed by poetry and song. I proceed in this order for two reasons: first, because the prose texts I consider generally postdate the poetic ones, and second, because I will argue for an important distinction between the acts of singing and writing, with the latter constituting a way of reflecting upon dance that foregrounds the distance between verbal representation and embodied expression in crucial ways.

As I mentioned above, “solo dance in ancient Greece” may, for some, most immediately call to mind imperial pantomime, a genre and time period I have largely omitted from this study. While pantomime seems to have had some relationship to the modes of solo performance prevalent in the archaic and classical periods, that relationship is distant and somewhat opaque.²⁴ My goal here is to illuminate the cultural discourse surrounding solo and individualized dancing in archaic and classical Greece. This may be relevant to the study of pantomime insofar as the imperial authors who discuss pantomime (e.g., Lucian and Libanius) are thoroughly engaged

²¹ On dance in Greek art, see, e.g., Lissarrague 1992, Naerebout 1997, Kleine 2005, Smith 2010, and Marconi 2010 and 2013: 426-427, 432. Catoni 2010 explores the possibility of both continuity and difference between the iconography of the symposium on Greek vases and the construction of it in contemporary symptotic song, explaining that: “cercheremo soprattutto di capire se sia possibile stringere in un rapporto concreto le immagini che decorano i vasi e la poesia simposiale; l'ipotesi è che esse non solo accompagnassero e ispirassero discorsi, canti, giochi, riflessioni, approci amorosi e corteggiamenti, ma aprissero ai simposiasti la possibilità di riflettere e parlare secondo linee diverse da quelle della poesia” (2010: xvii).

²² See, e.g., Lonsdale 1995b, Peponi 2007, Richardson 2011, and Kurke 2012 and 2013a.

²³ See Swift 2010 and Weiss 2014.

²⁴ See Lada-Richards 2007: 18-22.

with earlier sources and models, and my discussion may offer some points of comparison and contrast with the discourse on pantomime in the imperial period. But while I will offer occasional examples from later sources to corroborate or nuance my discussion of the archaic and classical evidence, I will address pantomime dance as such only in the conclusion.

Finally, “dance” itself is a term that often requires definition. One option is to conceive it, at least initially, quite broadly. For example, in a talk quoted by Gay Morris, Norman Bryson suggests:

Opening the viewfinder to maximum and moving the definition of dance from “ballet” to “socially structured human movement” may be vertiginous as an opening move, but it has heuristic advantages in showing how local and limited our sense of dance tends to be. Furthermore, the maximally capacious definition is typically found to lose its amorphous character the moment it is actually put into practice, and the potentially infinite space of analysis it opens up (the study of *any* human movement?) fills with remarkably finite objects (Bryson 1992, in Morris 1996: 2).

Analyses of processional movement in the ancient world, which seems in some cases to fall under the umbrella of “dance” and/or *choreia*, could be said to operate within such a capacious definition.²⁵ Given the lack of a discrete term for “solo dance” in ancient Greek, and the tendency in Greek to use a fairly wide range of movement vocabulary in describing dance in general, my readings will begin by casting a wide net. But as Bryson observes, this initial broadness will ultimately lead to a set of finite objects (passages, texts, individuals) to be studied. While I will strive to be attentive to even subtle or oblique references to dance, I will also endeavor to make the presence of dance imagery and/or vocabulary clear in each instance.

As I mention above, my first chapter will argue that literary representations of individual dancers often provide a critically engaged alternative to the prevailing model of communal, choral performance, which tends to be logocentric. This chapter lays out a dominant paradigm of choral dance as constructed in early Greek literature, offers a typology of solo and individualized dance forms, and previews the insights to be gained through the consideration of dance “beyond *choreia*.” Chapter 2 will address the descriptions of both choral and individualized dance in *Odyssey* 8, demonstrating that singular and virtuosic dance is particularly emblematic of Phaeacian culture and that its description operates as a means by which Odysseus and Alcinous competitively negotiate their relative positions of status and authority within the poem. I will further suggest that the representation of dance as an expressive mode on Scheria can be linked with the experimental and exploratory narrative poetics of the *Odyssey* as a whole. Chapters 3 and 4 examine male and female dancers respectively in epic, lyric, and drama, identifying a complex network of political and artistic concerns that coalesce around literary representations of each type of performer. I will specifically argue that solo male dancers tend to be depicted as disruptive and anti-social political actors, while individual and outstanding female dancers are marked by their sexual appeal and consequent vulnerability. These chapters will also focus on the performance contexts of specific songs and their ability to frame and define closely related instances of dance. My fifth and final chapter will explain how Herodotus, Plato, and Xenophon deploy the various models of individual dance discussed in the preceding chapters in the service of their own historical and philosophical projects. I will conclude by reflecting

²⁵ See, e.g., Dougherty 1994.

critically on the very possibility of moving “beyond *choreia*” in imagining, performing, viewing, and describing dance within the constraints of archaic and classical Greek thought, and briefly offering Lucian’s 2nd century CE treatise on dance as an example of the persistence of those models even into the imperial period.

Defining Dance in Ancient Greece: A Choral Paradigm

In order to look “beyond *choreia*,” I should first be clear about what *choreia* itself actually means. In a frequently cited passage of the *Laws*, Plato calls it “song and dance as a whole” (χορεία γε μὴν ὄρχησις τε καὶ ᾠδὴ τὸ σύνολόν ἐστιν, *Laws* 654b). Drawing on Plato’s claim, some scholars highlight the centrality of musical and kinetic fusion in conceptions of *choreia* dating back to the archaic period.¹ Others have emphasized the importance of performance context for Greek song in general and chorality in particular, suggesting that *choreia* must be understood as part of a complex system of civic and ritual display.² It also seems that the multiplicity of choral performers was a crucial condition for the specific aesthetic impact and social force of *choreia*.³

I could offer a strict definition of *choreia*: an institutionalized dance form choreographed for an age- and gender-specific group that sings and dances in unison to the accompaniment of a single musician.⁴ But such a “strict” definition does not accurately convey the range and role of the term in early Greek discourse, nor does it accommodate the evidence for diverse and varied forms of actual choral practice.⁵ Plurality of performers does seem to be an immutable condition: an individual dancing utterly alone is, by definition, not a choreut.⁶

¹ Ladianou 2005, Peponi 2009. The abstract noun *choreia* itself is first attested in Pratinas 708.16 *PMG* – if we accept a late 6th or early 5th century date for that composition (as favored by, e.g., Seaford 1977-8, West 1992: 343, Ieranò 1997: 281-226, Napolitano 2000, Barker 2002: 56, Cipolla 2003, Power 2010: 397-398, Prauscello 2012: 73-74, Griffith 2013: 273-274, LeVen 2014: 85). Others, however, prefer a late 5th century date for 708 *PMG* (e.g., Pickard-Cambridge 1962: 17-20, Lloyd-Jones 1966, Zimmermann 1986 and 1989: 29-30, Hamilton 1990, Wallace 2003: 85, Csapo 2004: 214, and Franklin 2013: 216 and n. 16), in which case we might first find the term *choreia* in Attic drama (e.g., Euripides *Phoenissae* 1265 and Aristophanes, *Ranae* 267 and 1303). Regardless, I use the term here to refer to the *idea* of choral performance in all periods, which is clearly an operative concept even in cases where the term *choreia* itself is not used.

² E.g., Nagy 1990, Calame 1997, Naerebout 1997, Stehle 1997, Kowalzig 2007b, Kurke 2007.

³ Kurke 2012 and 2013a, Kowalzig 2013a.

⁴ For my purposes here, I define “choreography” as movement that has been planned and set prior to the performance. I recognize that more expansive and complicated definitions of this term are also possible – for its evolution over time (and utility as a way of indexing culturally and historically specific attitudes towards dance, much like the term *choreia*), see Foster 2008, esp. 15-72.

⁵ I am likewise hesitant to devote much time to classifying archaic *choreia* according to specific generic categories. While such an approach is clearly useful and appropriate in many cases (see, e.g., Rutherford 2001 on Pindar’s paians, Rotstein 2012 on the relationship between musical competition and the conceptualization of genre, and the essays in Kowalzig and Wilson 2013a on dithyramb), it can also be more confusing than illuminating (see, e.g., attempts to define and deploy the elusive term *hyporchema*, as discussed by Peponi 2009 n. 51, with further bibliography). Specifically, I have not found that generic categories of *choreia* have much significance for understanding solo and individualized performance, which is the phenomenon central to my investigation here.

⁶ Two representative exceptions are the opening speech of Aesychlus’ *Agamemnon*, wherein the watchman says that he “will dance a prelude” (αὐτός τ’ ἔγωγε φροῖμιον χορεύσομαι, 31), and the aforementioned song of Pratinas, which exhorts “let the *aulos* dance after” (ὁ δ’ αὐλὸς / ὕστερον χορευέτω, 708.5-7 *PMG*). The latter should be contextualized within a poem that valorizes *choreia* and makes clear that, even if this particular *aulos* is singular, the image is one of fantastic choral participation (for bibliography on this poem, see n. 1 above) In the former case, I would suggest that the watchman’s claim essentially condenses the plural performance of the chorus into the singular body of the speaker – he figures his own action as preparatory to the dramatic *choreia* to come, and his word choice highlights the inevitability of that transition from singular action to communal dance (a variation,

There is some flexibility, however, regarding every other element of the “strict” definition offered above. *Choreia*, in early Greek literary representations, thus possesses a kind of centripetal force, functioning as a paradigm of performance capable of drawing fairly diverse modes of expression into its own orbit.

In this chapter, I will argue that the inclusion of solo and paired dance within a larger choral framework is part of this generally expansive conceptualization of choral performance. *Choreia* is not inherently opposed to solo dance, for the chorus itself offers varied opportunities for individual kinetic expression. I will then complicate this harmonious and expansive view of *choreia* by identifying subtle points of tension in certain depictions of solo and paired dance within a choral context. That is, the performance of individualized choreography can become a threat to the ideal cohesion of the chorus. Creating space for solo performance within *choreia* only partially ameliorates this problem. I will turn next to a set of particularly problematic models of individual dance performance, observing that solo performers tend to be distinguished from the chorus not only by their performance of unique choreography, but also by their lack of participation in choral song. I will connect this phenomenon with an overarching logocentricity identifiable in many idealized representations of choral performance, which I attribute to the predominately literary quality of our sources.⁷ I thus want to suggest that performers of solo dance threaten the chorus both through the individualized quality of their expression (in contrast to choral cohesion), and through their tendency to perform without words (in contrast to the conventional sonic force of *choreia*). Harmony and synthesis, therefore, can only partially account for the diversity of choral representations in Greek literature. The expansiveness of *choreia* is also an effective rhetorical strategy for suppressing the potentialities of dance as a fully expressive form in its own right.

1. *Choreia*: An Expansive and Inclusive Paradigm

As I mentioned above, a “strict” definition of *choreia* might insist upon the presence of rehearsed and planned choreography, given the prominent role of the chorus as an element of organized and structured ritual observance in the ancient Greek world. Such choreography, however, is not necessarily an absolute requirement for *choreia*, a feature that has a number of interesting implications. I will first illustrate the complex relationship between *choreia*, choreography, and spontaneity here via the consideration of two passages from archaic epic. I will then turn to a consideration of the archaic and classical *kōmos* as the most important form of spontaneous group dance – a mode of expression that is certainly beyond a strict definition of *choreia*, yet is nonetheless persistently coded as a kind of chorus. Finally, I will briefly consider the various roles played by music in the representation of choral performance. I will demonstrate that a wide range of communal dance forms, some more organized than others, can be described as choral, and that this attests to a basically expansive sense of *choreia* in archaic and classical Greek thought.

The Shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* features several descriptions of *mousikē*, each of which

perhaps, of the “creative *chorēgos*” model discussed in section 2a below). For further discussion of choral and individual dance in drama, see Chapters 3 and 4.

⁷ See Introduction. Visual representations of dance, particularly those found in vase painting, do not always correspond with the dominant literary ideology, and I will discuss selected examples of this phenomenon throughout.

may be read as some sort of paradigmatic performance.⁸ I will return to these descriptions at various points, but I focus now on a moment of exuberant urban festivity, specifically linked with the celebration of “weddings and festivals” (γάμοι τ’ ἔσαν εἰλαπῖναι τε, *Iliad* 18.491):

ἐν τῇ μὲν ῥά γάμοι τ’ ἔσαν εἰλαπῖναι τε,
νύμφας δ’ ἐκ θαλάμων δαΐδων ὑπο λαμπομενάων
ἠγίνεον ἀνὰ ἄστῳ, πολὺς δ’ ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει·
κοῦροι δ’ ὀρχηστῆρες ἐδίνεον, ἐν δ’ ἄρα τοῖσιν
αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοῆν ἔχον· αἶ δὲ γυναῖκες
ιστάμεναι θαύμαζον ἐπὶ προθύροισιν ἐκάστη.

And in the [first city] there were weddings and festivals,
and brides were led from their chambers with the accompaniment of blazing torches
through the town, and much bridal-song arose.
And young men, dancers, were whirling, and among them
auloi and lyres sounded. And the women
standing, each on her threshold, marveled. (*Iliad* 18.491-496)

Nowhere does the poet explicitly encourage us to view this celebration as a form of *choreia*. It seems to feature a mixture of choreographed – or at least planned – movement (as the brides are led in procession through the city, ἠγίνεον ἀνὰ ἄστῳ, 18.493) and more spontaneous forms of expression (“the young men whirled,” κοῦροι δ’ ὀρχηστῆρες ἐδίνεον, 494). The verb used to describe the movement of the young men here matches the description of the two acrobatic dancers – depicted as distinct from the chorus – in the final dance scene of the Shield (“and two tumblers... whirled in their midst,” δοῖω δὲ κυβιστητῆρε ... ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσοις, 18.604-605). That final scene offers an explicit meditation on the aesthetics and appeal of *choreia*.⁹ The earlier instances of performance on the Shield might better be described as sub-choral: featuring both music and dance in various combinations, employing multiple performers, but often spontaneous and not explicitly marked by words like *choros*, *choreuein*, or *choreia*.¹⁰

Yet something curious happens in a parallel passage. The pseudo-Hesiodic “Shield of Heracles” overlaps significantly with the Shield of Achilles in the *Iliad*, even if it possesses its own aesthetic and narrative interests.¹¹ I follow Richard Martin in seeing these two instances of shield description as examples of a “traditional, separable subgenre” within epic poetry (2005: 172), and I am thus more interested in exploring their respective constructions of performance than in establishing the primacy (aesthetic or temporal) of one over the other. On the Shield of Heracles, we find a scene of urban *mousikē* similar to that featured on the Shield of Achilles:

[...] παρὰ δ’ εὐπυργος πόλις ἀνδρῶν·
χρῦσαι δέ μιν εἶχον ὑπερθυρίοις ἀραρυῖαι
ἐπὶ πύλαι· τοὶ δ’ ἄνδρες ἐν ἀγλαΐῃς τε χοροῖς τε

⁸ Following Taplin 1980 in reading the Shield as a representation of human life beyond the battlefield, I take each of the performance scenes as an idealized version of its particular type: urban festivity and bridal procession, harvest celebration, and quasi-mythic *choreia* (on the last scene, see also Kurke 2012 and 2013a).

⁹ Kurke 2012: 183-184.

¹⁰ In addition to the urban scene discussed here, the Shield features a description of song and dance in the countryside at 18.569-572, which I discuss in greater detail below.

¹¹ On this poem generally, see Martin 2005.

τέρψιν ἔχον· τοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐυσσώτρου ἐπ' ἀπήνης
 ἦγοντ' ἀνδρὶ γυναιῖκα, πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει·
 τῆλε δ' ἀπ' αἰθομένων δαΐδων σέλας εἰλύφαζε
 χερσὶν ἔνι δμοῶν· ταὶ δ' ἀγλαΐη τεθαλυῖαι
 πρόσθ' ἔκιον· τῆσιν δὲ χοροὶ παίζοντες ἔποντο.
 τοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ λιγυρῶν συρίγγων ἴεσαν αὐδὴν
 ἐξ ἀπαλῶν στομάτων, περὶ δὲ σφισιν ἄγνυτο ἠχώ.
 αἱ δ' ὑπὸ φορμίγγων ἄναγον χορὸν ἱμερόεντα.
 ἔνθεν δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθε νέοι κώμαζον ὑπ' αὐλοῦ,
 τοί γε μὲν αὖ παίζοντες ὑπ' ὀρχηθμῶ καὶ ἀοιδῆ
 τοί γε μὲν αὖ γελῶντες ὑπ' αὐλητῆρι ἕκαστος
 πρόσθ' ἔκιον· πᾶσαν δὲ πόλιν θαλίαι τε χοροὶ τε
 ἀγλαΐαι τ' εἶχον.

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And there was a well-walled city of men,
 and seven golden gates, well-joined upon the lintels,
 held it, and the men, in choruses and festivities
 took their delight, for they, on a well-wheeled wagon,
 were leading a woman to her husband, and a great bridal-song arose.
 And from a distance the light from blazing torches whirled about
 in the hands of maidservants. And the women blossoming in the festivities,
 went ahead, and playfully-dancing choruses followed them.
 And the men raised their voices to the accompaniment of clear *auloi*,
 from their tender mouths, and the echo shivered around them.
 And the women led the attractive chorus to the sound of lyres.
 And from the other side young men reveled to the sound of the *aulos*,
 some frolicking in dance and song,
 others laughing, each to the sound of the *aulos*, went forth
 and merriment and choruses
 and festivities held the whole city. ([Hesiod], “Shield of Heracles” 270-285)

Note the proliferation of *choreia* in the pseudo-Hesiodic passage: in the space of fifteen lines, the noun *choros* occurs four times (272, 277, 280, 284). The hallmarks of *choreia* present in this passage include the synthesis of song and dance and the participation of many – even the leadership of the choruses is conceived as plural (the women lead the choruses, 277 and 280). While the poet of the *Iliad* seems to reserve the term “chorus” for a particular sub-category of musical and kinetic expression, the poet of the “Shield of Heracles” has a more capacious model. I do not mean, of course, that the poet actually describes every performance element in this passage as part of a chorus. Rather, the mixed musical and kinetic festivity of the city is here drawn into the orbit of *choreia*, even when much of it clearly lacks the organization and cohesion typically associated with choral performance.

Moreover, while only the final dance on the Shield of Achilles is clearly marked as *choreia*, the other two instances of musical festivity possess certain choral yearnings. The ps-Hesiodic poet, in his “Shield of Heracles,” thus draws out a chorality already latent in the *Iliad*'s comparable depiction of urban festivity. For example, consider the final lines of that description in the *Iliad*: “and the women / standing each upon her threshold, marveled” (αἱ δὲ γυναιῖκες /

ιστάμεναι θαύμαζον ἐπὶ προθύροισιν ἐκάστη, 18.507-508). These women possess the characteristic somatic position of choreuts (ιστάμεναι), and their experience of *thauma* corresponds with typical archaic descriptions of the aesthetic effect of choral performance.¹² They are, therefore, quite appropriately positioned on the threshold, for the poet neither fully transforms them into choral dancers, nor explicitly marks the spectacle that they are watching as a chorus. Yet in these final lines, there is an undeniable pull towards *choreia*.

Likewise, the harvest celebration subsequently depicted upon the Shield is not explicitly described as *choreia*:

παρθενικαὶ δὲ καὶ ἡῖθεοι ἄταλά φρονέοντες
πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροισι φέρον μελιηδέα καρπὸν.
τοῖσιν δ' ἐν μέσσοισι πάϊς φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ
ἱμερόεν κιθάριζε, λίνον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδε
λεπταλέῃ φωνῇ· τοὶ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἀμαρτῆ
μολπῆ τ' ἰυγμῶ τε ποσὶ σκαίροντες ἔποντο.

Young girls and young men, in all their light-hearted innocence,
carried the kind, sweet fruit away in their woven baskets,
and in their midst a youth with a signing lyre played charmingly
upon it for them, and sang the beautiful song for Linos
in a light voice, and they followed him and with singing and whistling
and light dance-steps of their feet kept time to the music. (*Iliad* 18.567-572, trans.
Lattimore)

This dance must be somewhat spontaneous, which sets it apart from *choreia* as a choreographed and institutional form. But it otherwise looks much like a chorus: the *kithara* player leads off the performance with his song (569-571), and the description of the dance focuses primarily on the motion and rhythm of the performers' feet (571-572).¹³ Collective motion follows (ἔποντο, 572) the lead of the song. Even if this performance does not receive the label of *choreia*, it exemplifies several hallmark elements of the form.

I offer one final example of the expansiveness of *choreia* on Achilles' Shield. The realm of the divine is frequently, from the archaic period onward, imagined as a world of pleasurable and inclusive *choreia*.¹⁴ Yet there is one god excluded from kinetic festivity by virtue of his physical disability: Hephaestus. I would suggest that the remarkable emphasis on Hephaestus as a maker of *choreia* in the *Iliad*, evident in the complex allusions to crafting and creation in the final lines describing the Shield of Achilles, is meant to remedy this intractable problem.¹⁵ Through the process of crafting, even the limping god finds his place within the world of cosmic *choreia*.

The representation of *mousikē* in the *Iliad* and the *Shield of Heracles* demonstrates that even spontaneous, properly “sub-choral” performance can be aligned with the aesthetics and values of *choreia*. The poet of the *Iliad*, moreover, further extends the reach of chorality by

¹² On *histēmi*, see Peponi 2004a: 314-15, Calame 1997: 88-89, 94, Nagy 1990: 361-62; on *thauma*, see Power 2011 and Kurke 2012 and 2013a.

¹³ On the importance of the feet in descriptions of *choreia*, see Power 2011 and Kurke 2012 and 2013a.

¹⁴ Cf., e.g., *Iliad* 601-604; [Hesiod], *Shield of Heracles* 201-206; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 186-206.

¹⁵ Consider also Hephaestus' more general ability to craft *automata*, as noted by Power 2011: 63-64.

deploying its imagery in the representation of divine crafting. These passages thus attest to the centripetal pull of *choreia* – its fundamental appeal as a way of capturing the synthesis of song and dance in performance. I do not mean to deny that the word “chorus” can be used in very specific and marked ways. But I do want to suggest that the idea of *choreia*, whether flagged by the term itself or suggested by certain crucial elements, is also used in a more flexible and expansive fashion.

I will turn now to a specific and important form of spontaneous group dance: the *kōmos*, or festive celebration in the streets of the *polis* that follows, or perhaps in a sense continues, the symposium. Komastic celebration is a complicated category of kinetic expression, for it would seem to occupy a liminal space between individualized performance and choral dance. The spontaneity of the *kōmos* properly contrasts with the choreographed nature of choral procession, and it is essentially an extension of the symposium, rather than an instance of the organized and staged civic ritual of choral performance.¹⁶ At the same time, it is a plural form of expression, generally involving both music and dance, that functions in a basic way to affirm and assert group identity: qualities that certainly correspond with a broad conception of *choreia*.¹⁷

Scholars disagree, however, on the extent and even existence of a conceptual connection between the *kōmos* and the chorus in early Greek thought. Malcolm Heath argues that, while the two forms are often connected in archaic and early classical sources as forms of festivity, “the association does not amount to identification” (1988: 185).¹⁸ Gregory Nagy, on the other hand, draws upon the language of lyric monody to point to a persistent association of the *kōmos* with Dionysos and suggest that, given this religious valence, the *kōmos* “can be considered a subcategory of the *choros*” (2007: 212). I concur with Nagy that there is a valid way of understanding komastic activity, in Greek literature, as part of a flexible and expansive network of choral practices.

I do not, however, challenge Heath’s basic claim that there are places where a clear distinction is drawn between a chorus and a *kōmos*.¹⁹ Rather, I would stress again the possibility of meaningful difference between historical practice and literary representation. As I posited

¹⁶ On the choreography of processions, see Dougherty 1994 and Connor 2000.

¹⁷ Naerebout remarks “I would say that in general the *kōmos* is as ‘song-dance,’ but that not every *kōmos* need be danced” (1997: 184 n. 398). I concur with Naerebout that we should think about the *kōmos* in general as a musically and kinetically expressive event, even if the precise elements involved in any given *kōmos* – literary, artistic, or historical – varied significantly. On the sense of community and group identity fostered by the *kōmos*, see Murray, who suggests that in the fifth century the “*komos*, the ritual drunken riot at the end of the *symposion*, [was] performed in public with the intention of demonstrating the lawlessness of drinking group” (1990b: 150). On the destructive potential of the *kōmos*, see also Gilhuly 2009: 138 n. 81. At the same time, Neer notes that “in elite milieux, the *kōmos* was by no means a disreputable orgy. Rather, it was a key element of the sympotic revel, and thus a definitive, normalizing social ritual” (2002: 150). These observations are not contradictory – whatever chaotic, destructive, and lawless elements the *kōmos* may have involved, it still remained an expression of the shared experiences and values of the sympotic group as they traveled out into the *polis*. As Gentili puts it, the *kōmos* was an event in which “members of a single confraternity bound together by a particular set of social and political interests” participated (1988: 108). On the latter point, see also Cole 1992: 11-23 (particularly his suggestion that: “it is unlikely...that an exclusively ‘recreational’ *komos* ever existed: organizers and participants would always have been involved in some sort of effort to influence the course of events or opinion in specific ways outside the private sphere in which the movement originated,” 1992: 31).

¹⁸ This distinction is important for Heath’s larger argument, which maintains that epinician song was performed solo, not by a chorus. As I explain at greater length below, I follow Morgan 1993 in understanding the preference for the term *kōmos* (rather than *choros* and related words) in epinician as a rhetorical strategy, rather than a clear marker of historical performance practices.

¹⁹ See Heath 1988: 185-186.

above, the *kōmos* may well have taken a wide variety of forms, some more similar to *choreia* than others.²⁰ On a basic level, the *kōmos* is a mode of performance that crosses the line between the *andron* and the *polis*. It is hardly a stretch to think it can overwhelm other distinctions as well. But however actual Greek symposiasts may have experienced the act of komastic celebration, there is an important strand of literary discourse that frames the *kōmos* as a kind of chorus.

The classical and post-classical reception of Anacreon offers a particularly striking example of the ways in which the *kōmos* can become aligned with *choreia*. Whether or not Anacreon ever composed choral poetry, his extant songs are clearly of the sympotic sort.²¹ Yet Lucian, in the 2nd century CE, depicts Anacreon as a chorus leader alongside other poets more typically associated with *choreia* (*True Histories*, 2.15.3-6). Likewise, the *Anacreontea*, a corpus of later poems written in deliberate imitation of and creative engagement with Anacreon,²² displays a remarkable amount of choral language and imagery. Katerina Ladianou considers both Lucian and the *Anacreontea*, along with the visual testimony of the Anacreontic vases, and identifies in them a literary and iconographic tradition focused on the “choral persona” of Anacreon (2005: 48, 51-57). Ladianou thus demonstrates how the reception of Anacreon, clearly an important monodic composer, consistently connects him with *choreia*.²³

Moreover, Ladianou explains how this identification occurs primarily via the conflation of *kōmos* and chorus: Anacreon, as a musical leader of komastic celebration, is frequently figured as a *choregos*, or choral leader (Ladianou 2005: 50-51). Rather than focusing on the world of the symposium, in which we have evidence for only individualized dance forms, the visual and literary reception of Anacreon emphasizes his role in the *kōmos*, which is then assimilated to *choreia*. Ladianou’s treatment of late archaic vase painting suggests that this choralizing process may have begun in a fairly early period, although it becomes most obvious in the post-classical testimony.

A literary tradition that tends to assimilate the *kōmos* to *choreia* can also help account for Bacchylides’ and Pindar’s famous and enigmatic references to their own choral art as a *kōmos*. Kathryn Morgan explains the use of the term in epinician poetry by noting that “[the references to multiple voices in epinician] express a [...] complicated dynamic wherein the poet’s voice is imposed upon a chorus of multiple voices that in turn draws the *kōmos* into its orbit” (1993: 2). Morgan reveals how epinician *choreia* functions as an inclusive framework for a variety of performance elements and modes – again, a way of organizing the *kōmos* under a broad umbrella of *choreia*.²⁴

²⁰ Heath notes the various activities called *kōmoi* in Greek literature, suggesting that the basic unifying concept is one of “mobile celebration” (1988: 182). I think this description is basically correct, but would point out that it already complicates an understanding of *choreia* and *kōmos* as mutually exclusive activities, for choral dance is, almost by definition, an act of “mobile celebration.”

²¹ Campbell summarizes Anacreon’s corpus thus: “most of his poems were short pieces in lyric metres, especially the slight and graceful anacreontics and glyconics linked with pherecrateans, but the *Suda* mentions also his elegiacs and iambics; a dozen elegiac pieces, not all authentic, are preserved under his name in the Palatine Anthology, and his iambics are represented by the poem on Artemon (388). He may also have written Partheneia” (1982: 314).

²² On this corpus, see Rosenmeyer 1992.

²³ On a similar note, Nagy demonstrates how Archilochus, as a solo composer, also acquires a “choral personality” (1990: 363-364). While Archilochean choral leadership is not linked with the *kōmos*, it further attests to the appeal of *choreia* as an image of creative authority. I return to this issue at greater length in Chapter 3.

²⁴ On the chorality of epinician and for a different account of its characteristic use of *kōmos* over *choros* (i.e., that composers of secular praise-song might have refrained from applying the term chorus, with its sacred and ritual implications, to their own medium), see also Bremer 1990: 50-57.

In the classical period, comedy was sometimes said to have developed out of the *kōmos*.²⁵ While this relationship, like the murky origins of tragedy, was undoubtedly quite complex, it is a conceptualization that serves to associate the *kōmos* with dramatic chorality. Komastic celebration is thus persistently aligned with the communal kinetic art of *choreia*, rather than the more individual acts of dance and movement occurring within the symposium proper. The impulse to align the *kōmos* with *choreia* – evident in a variety of sources – testifies to the allure of the chorus as an image of group cohesion and communal expression.

Up until this point, I have traced an expansive understanding of *choreia* that likely corresponds with the embodied experiences of historical performers and audiences. The diversity of activities cast as choral within Greek literature probably reflects the diversity and flexibility of actual practice. I suggest, however, that the rhetoric surrounding the chorality of the *kōmos* – in the reception of Anacreon, in the self-presentation of epinician, and in the imagined genealogy of comedy – may constitute a more strategic representational strategy: one which attempts to define and affect embodied experience.

As Ladianou’s analysis suggests, vase painting can certainly promote models of dance and expression consistent with the apparent messages of literature. But, while I will not attempt to survey the vast and varied representation of sympotic dance in Greek art, I want to show that certain aspects of *kōmos* iconography reveal how visual representation may differ from literary discourse.²⁶ For example, we find a wide range of postures and gestures represented within the corpus of archaic komast vases.²⁷ A Middle Corinthian phiale (Fig. 1) features a series of dancers bending, arching, and twisting their bodies into highly individualized poses.²⁸ They encircle, however, another image of a female chorus – the posture and orientation of the dancers’ bodies in the latter case are completely uniform, emblematic of an organized choral dance.²⁹ The idiosyncratic and individualized dancing of komasts is thus placed in direct visual contrast with the coordinated dance of a chorus. At the same time, the two modes of dance harmoniously co-exist, as they share the visual field of the phiale. The komast image is significantly larger, but the female chorus occupies the central position. Rather than enforcing a clear hierarchy of dance forms, this phiale presents an inclusive image of variation within the realm of “group dance.”

Similarly, François Lissarrague demonstrates how archaic and classical vase painting generally captures the ambiguities and conceptual flexibility of the symposium. He begins by

²⁵ See Aristotle *Poetics* 1448a-b. The actual relationship between *kōmos* and comedy is beyond the scope of this project. On this topic, see Adrados 1975: 37-39, Ghiron-Bistagne 1976:2 07–297, Pütz 2003: 156-191, and Bierl 2010, especially Chapter 2.

²⁶ On this subject, cf. Seeberg 1971, Ghiron-Bistagne 1976: 207-297, Lissarrague 1990a and 1990b, Schäfer 1997, Smith 2010.

²⁷ On these, see most recently Green 2007, Isler-Kerényi 2007, and Smith 2007 and 2010. A major question pertaining to these vases has been their relationship with the emergence of drama. Isler-Kerényi 2007 argues that these scenes primarily allude to ritual performance, and while a relationship with drama cannot be excluded, there’s not enough evidence to make that clear. Greene is more inclined to see some relationship to the emergence of drama, insofar as these vases provide “evidence for public performance in the seventh and earlier sixth centuries” (2007: 205). Smith 2007 and 2010 (the latter being the most complete survey of archaic black figure komast vases since Greifenhagen 1929) stresses the regional diversity of these vases and discourages taking one totalizing approach to their interpretation.

²⁸ Some komast vases, however, feature fairly uniform and coordinated movement – see the images in Smith 2010 for the full range of possibilities.

²⁹ Smith 2007 discusses a similar image (East Greek, possibly Chian, black figure plate from Naukratis, c. 550-540 BCE, British Museum, London, 1965.09-30.704), which juxtaposes a sedate, male chorus, holding hands, with more typical representation of komast dancers. The hand-holding posture of the male chorus in this case is unusual (as noted by Smith 2007: 66).

noting the perhaps unexpected presence of *kraters* in images of the *kōmos*, rather than exclusively at the banquet itself (1990b). Specifically, he highlights “a series of images composed around a *krater* thus placed in the centre of the decorated space: the komasts, even as they dance, are coming to draw wine from the *krater* and distribute it among themselves” (1990b: 200).³⁰ He explains that:

In general, through considering the place that the *krater* occupies when it is set on the ground in the centre of the dancers, one may observe that the *komos* is a group on the move, yet fixed spatially around the *krater*. It is also a collectivity in which each individual circulates on his own, beside others, but without any sort of co-ordination with them; he is both alone and in a group, in a space both mobile and fixed, the focal point of which is often established by the *krater* (1990b: 201).

Iconography, in the examples considered by Lissarrague, thus captures and displays the ambiguous status of the *kōmos* as a venue for dance: spontaneous, but contained by certain norms and expectations; communal, yet individualized; inclusive of music, but lacking the specifically structured organization of song, instrumental music, and dance that often marks *choreia*.

A late 6th century cup by Oltos (Fig. 2), analyzed by Richard Neer, offers another comparable image of dance within the *kōmos*. Around the sides of this cup, we find six dancing figures: three bearded men (Molmis, Thallinos, and Xanthos) and three nude, dancing youths (Nikon, Khilon, and Solon). As Neer notes, the last two (Khilon and Solon) are among the famous Seven Sages, depicted here as young men enjoying a *kōmos* (2002: 150). Neer argues that:

it is significant that Oltos depicts Khilon and Solon as komasts and not as reclining banqueters. For one thing, the *kōmos* is the moment at which the drinking-group leaves the privacy of the *andrōn* to dance in the streets: it is a public display. The cup’s intertwining of public and private is thus embedded in the dance itself. By the same token, the *kōmos* is the ideal culminating of every drinking party, following on the actual consumption of wine. In the course of an actual symposium, therefore, the images on the London kylix would be *prospective*, insofar as they would remind the beholder of what was in store for him at the end of the evening. Such images depict drinking parties that have come off well, and they encourage the guests to get up and enjoy themselves in like fashion. If all goes well, the cup suggests, the symposiast will find himself behaving like Solon, Khilon, and the others. In this sense, the figures on the cup are exemplars: they provide models of sympotic behavior. (2002: 153)

I quote Neer at length to demonstrate how his understanding of the exemplary function of vase-painting corresponds with my own interpretation of sympotic song: both media aim to affect their audiences’ own embodied and expressive experiences, providing them with models and frameworks for their subsequent behavior and perception.³¹ But note that, for Neer’s analysis, it is important that the *kōmos* retain its liminal and mediating quality: it is an expressive form that enacts an engagement between, or “intertwining” of, public and private. It is thus an appropriate

³⁰ Examples cited in Lissarrague 1990b: 200 n. 24, with some figures and plates included.

³¹ See Introduction.

image for “symposium-ware,” which, in Neer’s conceptualization, is “characterized by ambiguity and uncertainty” and thus offers an excellent venue for “ideological negotiation” (2002: 153).

In this light, I would also observe that the figures on the Oltos cup can be organized into a few distinct, but overlapping, categories: bearded men (Molmis, Thallinus, and Xanthos), youths (Nikon, Khilon, and Solon), sages (Khilon, Solon), and komasts (all the figures). Communal identity is an important theme on the cup, but it is refracted through several different groups. Likewise, dancing in the *kōmos* is a basically communal activity, but as this cup also suggests, it accommodates the performance of individualized somatic positions and creative actions. This is again a form of ambiguity and flexibility that suits Neer’s overarching understanding of the iconography of late archaic and early classical vase-painting in its sympotic context.

The literary discourse I have analyzed above engages with the *kōmos* in a different way, for it focuses less on the basically flexible and ambiguous nature of komastic behavior as actual practice and instead, by emphasizing its essentially communal nature, constructs it as part of a larger choral system.³² Given the presence of a different conception of the *kōmos* in some examples of the iconographic tradition, I would posit that the literary tradition aligning the celebration of the *kōmos* with the performance of *choreia* is a distinct and ideologically charged discourse, which deploys the imagery of the chorus to reinforce the communal and cohesive aspects of komastic celebration over and above its opportunities for individual expression or violence.³³

Returning to the realm of literary representation, I want to further note that the three typical performance components of choral performance (song, dance, and instrumental music) can fit together in a variety of different ways, a fact which again affirms an expansive conception of *choreia*. Claude Calame, for example, proposes two distinct models of archaic choral performance: the “Apollonian,” wherein the leader plays an instrument while the chorus sings and dances, and the “citharodic,” wherein the musician provides both instrumentation and song, while the chorus dances.³⁴ Whether or not ancient Greek performers and spectators themselves would have made a strict distinction between these two modes, they do account for many of the performances we find described in early Greek literature as choral.

Dionysiac dance is perhaps the best example of the broad and flexible conceptualization of *choreia* in archaic and classical Greece. Literary descriptions of maenads, satyrs, and Dionysus himself tend to foreground spontaneity, individual action, and even chaos, yet Bacchic groups are also consistently described as choruses.³⁵ In vase-painting, Dionysus, satyrs and

³² Again, I do not mean to suggest that art and literature offer universally different visions of dance and the *kōmos*. In addition to the work of Ladianou discussed above, note that Lissarrague also observes how “the collective character of the *symposion* is often explicit on very large vases” (1990a: 27), and in an analysis of a specific pot depicting an active komast, suggests that “in seeing him pass, it is as if the viewer is invited to follow him and enter into the dance” (1990a: 26). Vase painting, then, can also stress the communal nature of sympotic and komastic celebration, consistent with the literary representations I consider briefly here and at greater length in Chapter 3. The objects and related scholarly analyses I highlight here, however, are meant to demonstrate how iconographical interests *can* diverge from literary ones, choosing to emphasize other aspects of the *kōmos* specifically and perhaps engaging differently with dance more generally.

³³ On the latter conceptualization (*kōmos* as violent and destructive event), see n. 7 above and the bibliography cited therein. I will return to this larger claim in Chapter 3.

³⁴ 1997: 49-53, 71. On variations in choral configurations, see also Danielewicz 1990 and Kurke 2012: 184 n. 1.

³⁵ For the argument that the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* [7] includes choral dance as part of the god’s *timai*, see Csapo 2003: 90-91 (who stresses that Homeric Hymn offers a brief version of the myth, and later sources make a

maenads tend to appear engaged in a form of dance that allows individual performers to vary dramatically in their postures and gestures (see Fig. 3). Again, the relationship between these images and lived experience of performance is complicated, and my focus here remains on the somatic imaginary, rather than historical choreography.³⁶ To that end, I highlight here (Fig. 3) a vase that shows female figures bending, twisting, dancing, and playing instruments in highly individualized and varied ways. Yet, Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux argues that vases such as this ultimately emphasize a communal experience of worship, balancing the movement of the individual with a sense of participation in a collective performance.³⁷ Conceptually, *choreia* does not demand fully choreographed and totally synchronized movement, and it actually admits a high level of variation within the broad framework of communal dancing.³⁸

Within the inclusive framework I have outlined here, the term *choros* may also be applied to groups that perform without singing, but there is always some element of music involved.³⁹ On one level, this type of performance can be understood as simply another variation along the broad spectrum of choral *mousikē*. At the same time, I will argue below that there is a strong tradition, in Greek literature, of emphasizing verbal song as the primary organizational and explanatory element of *choreia*. Depictions of individual dancers, who generally do not sing and often explicitly reject the authority of the voice and language, can therefore offer alternative discourses about dance, performance, and expression. A close analysis of non-verbal music and its relationship to dance, while beyond the scope of this project, would probably be illuminating

more explicit connection between the pirates, dolphins, Dionysus, and dance), Calame 2011: 355-356, and Herrero de Jáuregui 2013: 240-241. The *Bacchae*, discussed further in Chapter 4.4, is another important example. See also the self-presentation of satyr choruses in drama (e.g., Pratinas 708 *PMG*, Euripides' *Cyclops*, on which see Chapter 3.4a, and Lämmle 2007) and Pausanias' description of the Thyiades, a female maenadic troupe, as engaged in *choreia* (10.4.3). On that final example, see Budelmann and Power 2015.

³⁶ On this point, see Henrichs 1984 and Osborne 2010.

³⁷ I leave aside, here, the question of whether the vase in Fig. 3 should be counted among the corpus of so-called "Lenaia vases" (on which see Peirce 1998 and Bundrick 2005: 229 n. 85), as I would argue that Frontisi-Ducroux's observations are relevant for the representation of Dionysiac dance in general. Note also that her analysis of these images emphasizes the role of music (not necessarily verbal) in creating cohesion among differently-moving dancers ("Et lorsqu'il s'agit de danse, on constate également une opposition entre l'individuel et le collectif: dans une danse dionysiaque chacun danse pour soi, au milieu du groupe, et la musique, d'ailleurs, est collective: le – ou la – flûtiste joue pour tous." 1986: 172). She also draws a parallel between the simultaneous sense of chaos and cohesion present in the male *kōmos* with that evident in the representation of female maenadic performance (1986: 172).

³⁸ We find this flexibility in visual representations of organized and orderly choral performance as well. The Theseus frieze of the François vase, for example, carefully balances the individuality of the performers with the formal cohesion of the dancing group (see Olsen 2015). At the same time, we might reasonably wonder about the fairly common visual depiction of Dionysus or Dionysiac figures (maenads, satyrs) as solo or individualized dancers (see, e.g., fig. 4). A useful analogy here is the depiction of Dionysus in archaic black figure vase painting as a "solitary banqueter" – the only figure reclined on a *klinē* on a vase (see Díez-Platas 2013: 514-516). Díez-Platas suggests that one way to understand such an image is as a "kind of abbreviation or metonymy," wherein the solitary figure still implies communal festivity (2013: 515). I would suggest that this is often true for dance scenes, as well. At the same time, Díez-Platas also suggests that such solitary reclined figures (Dionysos as well as mortal figures) may represent an attempt to "embody an individual expression" and to stress "personal pleasure" rather than communal consciousness (2013: 515, in agreement with Fehr 2003). This dynamic may also be at work in the depiction of individual Dionysiac dancers – and if so, it offers a compelling contrast with the literary testimony, wherein community is generally emphasized over individual expression and certainly pleasure.

³⁹ Rouget suggests that Corybantes performed dance to the accompaniment of instrumental music alone (1985: 75). Most forms of the *pyrrichē*, which I discuss further below, also seem to have involved only dance and instrumental music (on weapon dances generally, see especially Lonsdale 1993: 140-148, Stehle 1997: 121-122, and Ceccarelli 1998).

in similar ways.⁴⁰ But for now, I mention such non-singing choruses primarily to illustrate the wide variation in the types of performance that could be described as choral in Greek literature.

2. A Choral Continuum: Solo and Paired Dance within *Choreia*

Archaic and classical Greek literature offers a variety of representations of solo and paired dancers, who are all essentially linked with the chorus. Individual dancers, therefore, can also be drawn into the orbit of *choreia*. Here, I will propose two distinct models for solo kinetic display within a choral context. I will then demonstrate how our major representations of dancing pairs basically conform to the same models. These representations reinforce the preeminence and centrality of *choreia*, for they encourage us to see solo and individualized dance not as a generic form in its own right, but as a component of a larger choral system. There are important exceptions to the models I propose here, and those exceptions will be the focus of the chapters to come. Here, I will outline the primary ways of representing solos and duets in connection with the chorus.

a. *The Creative Chorēgos*

The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (3) has long been understood as a source for paradigmatic representations of choral performance.⁴¹ As a whole, the hymn emphatically promotes *choreia* and valorizes its practice on both social and aesthetic grounds. It portrays Apollo himself as the archetypal *choregos*, generating and leading choral festivity wherever he goes.⁴² He displays his generative powers soon after his birth on Delos, as:

[...] ἐβίβασκεν ἐπὶ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης
Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης, ἑκατηβόλος· αἶ δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι
θάμβεον ἀθάναται· χρυσῶ δ' ἄρα Δῆλος ἄπασα
ἤνθησ', ὡς ὅτε τε ρίον οὖρεος ἄνθεσιν ὕλης.

Phoebus, the long-haired far-shooter, walked upon
the earth with its wide ways, and all the
goddesses were amazed. And all of Delos blossomed
with gold, like the peak of a mountain [blossoms] with flowers. (*Homeric Hymn to
Apollo* 133-139)⁴³

Apollo causes the island to “blossom” merely by moving upon it: he has not yet taken up his kithara. The word ἐβίβασκεν is suggestive, however, for *bainō* is used elsewhere to describe Apollo’s dancing, as he plays his instrument and “steps high and fine” (καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς,

⁴⁰ The role of music “beyond the voice,” including its relationship to dance, is addressed by Griffith *forthcoming*.

⁴¹ Herington 1985: 6, Lonsdale 1995a, Peponi 2009.

⁴² On Apollo as *chorēgos*, in this hymn and elsewhere, see Mullen 1982: 9-16, 196-200, Lonsdale 1993: 48-75, 111-121, Calame 1997: 19-53 and 90, and Nagy 2009.

⁴³ I omit lines 136-138 (βεβρίθει, καθορῶσα Διὸς Λητοῦς τε γενέθλην, / γηθοσύνη, ὅτι μιν θεὸς εἴλετο οἰκία θέσθαι / νήσων ἠπείρου τε, φίλησε δὲ κηρόθι μᾶλλον), which are contested, although their presence would not significantly alter my argument. For various critical approaches to these lines, see the discussion and further bibliography in Clay 1989: 45 n. 88.

Homeric Hymn to Apollo 201 and 516).⁴⁴ While ἐβίβασκεν here is probably best translated as “walked,” it foreshadows the god’s future role as leader of song and dance. Delos “blossoms with gold” in response to this latent potential for choral leadership, just as gods and mortals will soon perform *choreia* in response to Apollo’s appearance.⁴⁵

The subsequent description of Olympian *choreia* offers an extended example of Apollo’s generative performance patterns, which are described throughout early Greek poetry:⁴⁶

ἔνθεν δὲ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀπὸ χθονός, ὥστε νόημα,
 εἴσι Διὸς πρὸς δῶμα θεῶν μεθ’ ὀμήγουριν ἄλλων.
 αὐτίκα δ’ ἀθανάτοισι μέλει κίθαρις καὶ αἰοιδή·
 Μοῦσαι μὲν θ’ ἅμα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὅπι καλῇ
 ὑμνεῦσιν ῥα θεῶν δῶρ’ ἄμβροτα ἠδ’ ἀνθρώπων
 τλημοσύνας, ὅσ’ ἔχοντες ὑπ’ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
 ζώουσ’ ἀφραδέες καὶ ἀμήχανοι, οὐδὲ δύνανται
 εὐρέμεναι θανάτοιο τ’ ἄκος καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ·
 αὐτὰρ εὐπλόκαμοι Χάριτες καὶ εὐφρονες Ὕραι
 Ἀρμονίη θ’ Ἥβη τε Διὸς θυγάτηρ τ’ Ἀφροδίτη
 ὀρχεῦντ’ ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῶ χειρᾶς ἔχουσαι·
 τῆσι μὲν οὔτ’ αἰσχρὴ μεταμέλεται οὔτ’ ἐλάχεια,
 ἀλλὰ μάλα μεγάλη τε ἰδεῖν καὶ εἶδος ἀγητή,
 Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα ὀμότροφος Ἀπόλλωνι.
 ἐν δ’ αὖ τῆσιν Ἄρης καὶ εὐσκοπος Ἀργειφόντης
 παίζουσ’· αὐτὰρ ὁ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ἐγκιθαρίζει
 καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάζ· αἴγλη δέ μιν ἀμφιφαείνει
 μαρμαρυγαί τε ποδῶν καὶ ἐνκλώστοιο χιτῶνος.
 οἱ δ’ ἐπιτέρπονται θυμὸν μέγαν εἰσορόωντες
 Λητώ τε χρυσοπλόκαμος καὶ μητίετα Ζεὺς
 υἷα φίλον παίζοντα μετ’ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.

Thence, fleet as thought, he leaves the earth for Olympos
 and goes to the palace of Zeus and the company of the other gods.
 Forthwith the immortals take interest in his song and lyre,
 and all the Muses, answering with beautiful voices,
 hymn the divine gifts of the gods and the hardships
 brought upon men by the immortal gods.
 Men live an unresourceful and thoughtless life, unable
 to find a cure for death and a charm to repel old age.
 And the fair-tressed Graces and the kindly Seasons
 and Harmonia and Hebe and Aphrodite, the daughter of Zeus,
 dance, each holding the other’s wrist.
 Among them sings one, neither ugly nor slight of stature
 but truly of great size and marvelous aspect,

⁴⁴ This position is also found in the iconography of Apollo, for examples of which see LIMC s.v. Apollon.

⁴⁵ Clay 1989: 33-46 reads Apollo’s effects upon Delos in general as consistent with the effects of his epiphanies elsewhere in the hymn.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Iliad* 601-604; [Hesiod], *Shield of Heracles* 201-206; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 135-139 and 514-519.

arrow-pouring Artemis, Apollon's twin sister.
 And with them play Ares and keen-eyed Argeiphontes;
 Phoibos Apollon, his step high and stately,
 plays the lyre, enveloped in the brilliance
 from his glittering feet and well-woven garment.
 And Leto of the golden tresses and Zeus the counselor
 rejoice in their great souls as they look upon
 their dear son playing among the immortals. (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 186-206, trans.
 Athanassakis)

Apollo's own *mousikē* here remains individualized: he alone plays the kithara and "steps high and fine" (καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάζς, 202). Yet he is also integrated within the divine chorus, positioned "among the immortal gods" (μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι, 206). In a sense, he also embraces the chorus, as the poet begins and ends his description of divine *choreia* with the kithara-playing god. Moreover, the "gleaming of his feet" (μαρμαρυγαί τε ποδῶν, 203) as he moves among the gods points to a choral aesthetic, rather than solo virtuosity or dynamism.⁴⁷ Apollo, then, is the perfect *choregos*: a singular leader in complete harmony with the *mousikē* of the group.

In the Pythian portion of the hymn, Apollo is endowed with a similar ability to generate *choreia* among mortals. Having transported a group of Cretan sailors to Delphi to be his priests, Apollo leads them in musical procession to the site. The poet describes how:

ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων
 φόρμιγγ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων
 καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάζς· οἱ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἔποντο
 Κρηῆτες πρὸς Πυθῶ καὶ ἠπαιήον' ἄειδον,
 οἳοῖ τε Κρητῶν παιήονες οἳοῖ τε Μοῦσα
 ἐν στήθεσσιν ἔθηκε θεὰ μελίγηρυν ἀοιδίην

And the lord Apollo, the son of Zeus, led them,
 having in his hands a lovely lyre, playing it,
 his steps high and fine; and the Cretans followed [him]
 toward Pythos, stamping their feet, and they sang a paian,
 such as were the paian-songs of the Cretans, and the Muse,
 the goddess, in their breasts placed sweet song. (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 514-
 519)

This display is not explicitly marked as *choreia*, but I think that the description of the songs as paians (a choral genre) and the communal quality of the men's action identifies this as a choral procession.⁴⁸ Note that again, Apollo's movement and sound is distinguished from that of the group: he "steps high and fine" (καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάζς, 517), while the mortal men "stamp their feet" (ῥήσσοντες, 517) and perform characteristically Cretan-like paians (οἳοῖ τε Κρητῶν παιήονες, 518). But his creative expression clearly generates the subsequent performance

⁴⁷ On the choral implications of this phrase, see Power 2011: 69-70 and Kurke 2013: 30-32.

⁴⁸ In a discussion of this passage, Nagy contends that it displays Apollo as "the ultimate model for the choral leader of the paean" (2009: 38).

(Apollo “led,” ἦρχε, 514; the Cretans “follow,” ἔποντο, 516). Apollo does not dance alone on his way to Delphi – he inaugurates the archetypal performance of his followers.⁴⁹

Apollo’s solo performances, therefore, are creative: they generate *choreia* and group festivity, such that the god never dances alone for long. If, as I will argue in the chapters to come, solo dance is often imagined as a disruptive, unruly, or destructive form of expression, then Apollo’s characteristic and individualized movement (*kala kai hupsi bibas*) offers a reassuring alternative to anti-choral solo dance. The god provides a model of individualized movement that creates, rather than dismantles, *choreia*.

This model of solo performance as generating *choreia* can also help contextualize the varied forms of armed dance attested in our sources. Scholars have remarked that the *pyrrichē* could be either a solo or a choral dance, but I think we can be even more precise.⁵⁰ The majority of the aetiological myths associated with pyrrhic dance describe the movement of an individual. Euripides, for example, alludes to an aetiology of the dance (δεινὰς . . . πυρρίχας, *Andromache* 1135) that links it with the triumphant “Trojan leap” (τὸ Τρωικὸν πῆδημα, *Andromache* 1139) of Neoptolemos.⁵¹ The actual performance of armed dance in the archaic and classical world, however, seems to have occurred primarily in choral form.⁵² For example, in classical Athens, pyrrhic choruses of boys, youths, and men competed at the Panathenaea.⁵³ The evidence for choral performance of armed dance is also fairly secure, as it is confirmed by material sources like inscribed victory monuments.⁵⁴ Non-aetiological descriptions and depictions of solo armed dance, by contrast, tend to be framed as either training exercises (more akin to athletics than dance), or as sympotic entertainment.⁵⁵ The latter in particular must be understood within their specific literary and iconographic contexts, and I will return to them in one of my discussions of dance as sympotic entertainment.⁵⁶ I suggest, therefore, that the *pyrrichē* is generally figured as solo in origin but choral in performance. As a result, the original individual expression is separated from present reality by time and space, and the dance is validated by its transformation

⁴⁹ Compared to its Delian counterpart, this passage has received little attention as a model of choral performance. I believe, however, that it exemplifies the flexible and dynamic social force of *choreia* quite well, as the Cretan men’s performance enables them to both follow Apollo and still maintain their specifically Cretan identity and modes of expression.

⁵⁰ E.g., Lonsdale 1993: 140-141. On armed dance generally, see, *inter alia*, Lonsdale 1993: 140-148, Stehle 1997: 121-122, Ceccarelli 1998.

⁵¹ On the Euripides passage, see Borthwick 1967, Lonsdale 1993: 140, and Ceccarelli 1998: 27, 195-196, 202-203. The aetiology of the dance is alternately linked with the birth of Athena (Lonsdale 1993: 148-149, Pinney 1988), the motion of Achilles around the pyre of Patrocles ([Aristotle] F519) or the performances of other mythic figures, like the Curetes and Dioscouroi (Lucian, *On the Dance* 9, Lonsdale 1993: 148). Only the latter set of cases are plural in form.

⁵² See Ceccarelli 1998: 27-158 for a survey of the evidence for armed dance at various times and in various places. On choral performance of the *pyrrichē* in classical Athens, see Lysias 21.1-4 and Ceccarelli 1998: 27-90, with further bibliography.

⁵³ Lonsdale 1993: 142-143.

⁵⁴ Lonsdale 1993: 143.

⁵⁵ On the former distinction, see Introduction.

⁵⁶ Chapter 5.3a. My argument attends to the literary evidence, but cf., e.g., Bérard 1989: 91-93 and Topper 2012: 105-135 on the complicated relationship between images of women’s activities and performances and the historical reality. Bérard notes of one vase depicting a female pyrrhicist: “a picture of a young woman preparing to dance plays on the formal ambiguity between adept and goddess. In this case, the dancer also imitates the city goddess, who first established this choreography to which philosophers ascribed educational value. Thanks to the accessories and the dance itself, the young woman becomes, in fact is, Athena, whose epithet Pallas refers directly to the dance” (92). *Contra* Bérard, see Osborne 1991: 261.

into a standard choral form. The idiosyncratic soloist again becomes the choreographer or source of choral dance.⁵⁷

Assorted other representations of solo dance in Greek sources can be linked with this model. Depictions of Theseus, in both art and literature, establish the Athenian hero as a *chorēgos* and choreographer similar to Apollo.⁵⁸ Apollo's sister Artemis provides a comparable female image of choral leadership.⁵⁹ By figuring individual kinetic creativity as ultimately generative of *choreia*, these representations closely connect the individual dancer with the chorus.⁶⁰

b. A Solo Addition

A second mode of individualized dance performance is exemplified by the *Homeric Hymn to Pan* (19), which describes the coordination of idiosyncratic or solo motion with a larger choral spectacle.⁶¹ While the hymn purports to celebrate the life and habits of Pan, it also devotes much attention to the characteristic activities of his companions: the nymphs. Pan is linked with the nymphs from the third line of the hymn, when the poet remarks that he “wanders with the chorus-dancing nymphs” (φοιτᾷ χοροήθεσι νύμφαις, 3). A relative clause offers further information on the kinetic (στειβουσι, 4) and vocal (ἀνακεκλόμεναι, 5) expression of the nymphs. The opening lines of the hymn set a clear agenda: throughout, descriptions of Pan will be balanced with descriptions of the nymphs, who are clearly and evocatively connected with *choreia*.

The hymn begins with the narration of Pan's characteristic daytime activities. The god is depicted as moving actively through the world, but his kinetic expression is not yet marked as dance. His motion has a frenetic, even chaotic quality, as he darts one way and then another (φοιτᾷ δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, 8; ἄλλοτε... ἄλλοτε, 9-10). The language of the hymn also emphasizes how he traverses the landscape and moves through and among the thickets and mountains, repeatedly employing the prefix *dia* (διοιχνεῖ, 10; διέδραμεν, 12; δηήλασε, 13).⁶² In the evening (ἔσπερος, 14), Pan turns to *mousikē* and “plays a sweet song on his reed-pipes” (δονάκων ὕπο μουσαν ἀθύρων / νήδυμον, 15-16). The nymphs are now dancing with him (19) and “and on

⁵⁷ It is perhaps important that, in its Athenian choral form, the *pyrrhichē* seems to have been performed without vocal accompaniment. Again, this attests to the diversity of actual choral practices and the ability, of Greek thought and language, to deploy the idea of *choreia* in a fairly expansive way.

⁵⁸ Cf., e.g., the Theseus frieze of the François vase, especially as analyzed by Hedreen 2011 and Olsen 2015, and Bacchylides 17. I discuss the image of Theseus as a choral leader again in Chapter 3.1.

⁵⁹ Cf. the *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* (27) and *Odyssey* 6.99-109.

⁶⁰ My survey here is intended to be illustrative, not comprehensive. I will return to some of these examples in subsequent chapters (e.g., Theseus and male choral leadership in Chapter 3.1 and Artemis and female choral leadership in Chapter 4.2). There is also an analogy to be drawn here with the conceptualization of the classical Athenian dramatic *chorēgos*. In this period and context, a *chorēgos* is not a dancer himself, but rather a wealthy citizen who financed the performance of a chorus at an Athenian festival (on the *choregia*, see P. Wilson 2000). At the same time, P. Wilson argues the individual Athenian *chorēgos* “put great energies into representing himself as a ‘performer’ intimately associated with – indeed, scarcely to be distinguished from – his *choros*, even though in fact he may frequently have been little more than a ‘financier’ who had nothing to do with the practical training and equipping of his *choros*” (2000: 108). For P. Wilson's full analysis of the classical Athenian *chorēgos* and the negotiation between individual and collective identities via the institution of the *choregia* see 2000: 109-262).

⁶¹ This analysis probably moves us into the late archaic/early classical period, for while the *Hymn to Pan* cannot be securely dated, most scholars accept Janko's dating to the hymn to sometime between the late 6th and mid 5th centuries (1982: 85).

⁶² On Pan's movement here, see also O. Thomas 2011.

either side of the choruses, and at times moving in their midst, / the god [= Pan] moves nimbly on his feet” (δαίμων δ’ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα χορῶν, τοτὲ δ’ ἐς μέσον ἔρπων, / πυκνὰ ποσὶν διέπει [...], 22-23).

Like Apollo, Pan dances and plays an instrument simultaneously, performing with a chorus but employing individualized forms of expression. But Apollo is consistently marked as a leader, the archetypal *chorēgos* of both divine and human *choreia*.⁶³ Pan, however, does not seem to function as a choral leader. The poet simply says that “at that time [that is, in the evening], [the nymphs] are with him” (σὺν δὲ σφιν τότε, 19) at a “dark-watered spring” (ἐπὶ κρήνῃ μελανύδρῳ). His presence does not have a causal or instigating force upon the *choreia* of the nymphs.

The dance of the Nymphs is described in some detail: Νύμφαι ὄρεστιάδες λιγύμολποι / φοιτῶσαι πύκα ποσσὶν ἐπὶ κρήνῃ μελανύδρῳ / μέλπονται (“the mountain Nymphs, clear-voiced, moving back and forth, nimbly, on their feet, sing-and-dance at the black-watered spring,” 19-21). The language of this description points back to Pan’s movement in the earlier portion of the hymn: the Nymphs “move back and forth” (φοιτῶσαι, 20) like Pan did (φοιτᾷ, 8), and Pan “moves through” them as he moved through the landscape (διέπει, 23; cf. *dia* compounds at 10-13). Pan’s dancing, like that of the Nymphs, is marked by the close and nimble motion of the feet ([Nymphs] πύκα ποσσὶν, 20; [Pan] πυκνὰ ποσὶν, 23). There is a strong sense of kinetic correspondence and reciprocity in this hymn, but Pan’s motion does not generate the choreography of the Nymphs.⁶⁴ When he does dance with them, he first moves on either side of the dancers, and only then moves into their midst (δαίμων δ’ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα χορῶν, τοτὲ δ’ ἐς μέσον ἔρπων, / πυκνὰ ποσὶν διέπει, 22-23). His movement, moreover, is described by a verb (ἔρπω) not typically associated with dance.⁶⁵ Pan is thus depicted as spatially and choreographically distinct from the chorus. His performance adds to, but does not inherently comprise, *choreia*. The model exemplified by Pan thus makes space within and around the chorus for individual dancers who do not function as leaders.

c. Paired Dance

I turn now to the consideration of danced duets, which, as I have already suggested, can also be organized according to the two models of solo performance outlined immediately above. In Alcman’s first *partheneion* (1 *PMG*), for example, two female figures appear as coordinated choral leaders, each outstanding in her own right.⁶⁶ The preeminence of Hagesichora and Agido, like that of Apollo and Artemis, is closely connected with the associated choral spectacle. In Alcman’s second *partheneion*, Astymeloisa takes on a similar leadership role – given the

⁶³ Likewise, Apollo’s interaction with his typical female choreuts, the Muses, is described as *amoibē*, or exchange (*Iliad* 1.604, *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 189). We do not find any comparable description here of creative interaction between Pan and the nymphs.

⁶⁴ O. Thomas 2011: 158 notes the various correspondences between lines 20-26 and the earlier portion of the hymn. Germany 2005 analyzes the hymn’s use of repetition more generally.

⁶⁵ Pindar uses the same verb to describe how “in the past the song of dithyrambs came forth / stretched like a measuring line” (Πρὶν μὲν ἔρπε σχοινοτένεια τ’ ἀοιδὰ / διθυράμβων, fr. 70b 1-2, trans. Race). In that song, however, the speaker celebrates the performance of circular dithyramb, contrasting that present form with the songs “of old” (πρὶν). The use of the verb *erpō* may well be a further form of disparagement, or at least dismissal, of the older, alternative forms. On this song, see D’Angour 2013 and Lavecchia 2013.

⁶⁶ I will return to the representation of outstanding and/or singular female dancers in Chapter 4.

fragmentary state of the poem, it is quite possible that it, too, actually featured a leading pair.⁶⁷ The female soloists of the *partheneia* are, to be sure, not quite creative *chorēgoi* – the generative authority here lies with the poet and choreographer.⁶⁸ But their individualized motion is still figured in positive relation to the chorus.

There are also a set of passages in archaic hexameter poetry that feature a dancing pair. These dancers, all characterized as acrobatic or playful, should be understood as a variation upon the “additional soloist” model exemplified by Pan. In essence, they offer an appealing addition to the choral spectacle, but are not presented as truly creative or generative of *choreia*.

I have already mentioned the various models of *mousikē* offered by the Shield of Achilles in the *Iliad*. I turn now to the final description of choral dance (18.590-606), wherein, in addition to the chorus of youths and maidens, we find that “two tumblers among them, leading off the song-and-dance, whirled through their midst” (δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ’ αὐτοὺς / μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσοις, 18.604-605). There is, indeed, a hint of choral leadership here, as the two figures are cast as *exarchontes* of the performance.⁶⁹ At the same time, their choreography is distinguished from that of the youths and maidens. The poet's description of the group dance calls attention to the rapid movement of the dancers' “knowing feet” (θρέξασκον ἐπισταμένοισι πόδεσσι, 18.599), then focuses on the shapes created by the dance as a whole (both circular: 18.600-601, and linear: ἐπὶ στίχας, 18.602). The two *kubistētēres*, by contrast, weave through the crowd with a whirling motion (ἐδίνεον, 18.605). The form of performance leadership implied by their role as ἐξάρχοντες is thus not specifically choreographic: like Pan in his hymn, the two tumblers exhibit a quality of movement distinct from that of the choral group.

The fourth book of the *Odyssey* also includes a brief description of non-choral dance. When Telemachus first arrives in Sparta, he finds Menelaus and Helen celebrating the marriages of their children. In the course of these festivities, a “divine singer performed among them, playing the lyre. And two tumblers among them, leading off the song-and-dance, whirled in their midst” (μετὰ δὲ σφιν ἐμέλλετο θεῖος ἀοιδὸς / φορμίζων· δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ’ αὐτοὺς / μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσοις, *Odyssey* 4.17-19).⁷⁰ Lines 18-19, of course, correspond with *Iliad* 18.604-605.⁷¹

A final pair of non-choral dancers is found on Mt. Olympus. In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, the poet offers an elaborate description of divine musical and kinetic festivity occasioned by Apollo's arrival upon Olympus (188-206). We first hear of the *kitharis kai aoidē* of Apollo (188), then the responsive song of the Muses (189-190). Various female divinities join in the dance, with a culminating description of Artemis' outstanding presence (194-199). At this point, the poet mentions that “among them, Ares and sharp-eyed Hermes play” (ἐν δ’ αὖ τῆσιν Ἄρης καὶ εὖσκοπος Ἀργειφόντης / παίζουσ’, 200-201). He then returns to Apollo's performance and its positive effects upon Zeus and Leto (201-206).

Initially, these different forms of vocal and kinetic expression seem to be organized temporally: Apollo plays, the Muses respond, and then the other deities join in. Apollo's musical

⁶⁷ On this poem, see Peponi 2007.

⁶⁸ On Alcman as both poet and choreographer of the first *partheneion*, see Peponi 2004: 313-316.

⁶⁹ For *exarchō* and related verbal forms as a term for choral leadership, see Archilochus fr. 120W, [Hesiod] *Shield of Heracles* 205-206, *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* (27) 14-18, *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 197-199, 514, and Pindar, *Nemean* 2.25.

⁷⁰ My translation of ἐμέλλετο as “perform” sidesteps the exact nature of the singer's performance. I suggest that we understand this figure as a dancing kithara player, the role typified by Apollo (cf. *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 201-202, 516-517, as discussed above).

⁷¹ I comment further on the relationship between these two passages below.

impact ripples through Olympus, drawing other gods and goddesses into the dance. Yet Ares' and Hermes' movement must be understood as simultaneous: like the *kubistētēres* on Achilles' shield, they move among the others (ἐν δ' αὖ τῆσιν, 200). The temporal sequencing is restored by the poet's return to Apollo and subsequent attention to the audience (Zeus and Leto). The depiction of the dancing pair thus disrupts the smooth progression from choral leader (Apollo) to chorus (Muses, goddesses) to audience.⁷²

Moreover, Ares and Hermes interrupt at a natural point of reference to Apollo. The poet concludes his description of Artemis by calling her the “twin sister of Apollo” (ὁμότροφος Ἀπόλλωνι, 199). While this language works to direct the listener's attention back to the subject of the hymn, Apollo does not actually come into focus until two lines later, after Hermes and Ares “play.” The kinetic contribution of these two deities is both disruptive and distinct. They are not part of the feminine choral festivity, nor do they offer musical and kinetic leadership, like Apollo. I thus interpret the dance of the two male deities as a form of playful, perhaps even acrobatic, solo performance.⁷³

I do not mean to suggest that the categories of “creative” and “additional” soloist or pair reflect how Greek poets, performers, and audiences actually thought about their own expression and experience. Rather, these are descriptive labels intended simply to help organize the kinds of representations we find in literary sources. Both the models that I have proposed here, in their divine and mortal instantiations, create a relationship between the individual dancer or individualized pair and the chorus. When poets deploy these kinds of images, they encourage their audiences to view solo dance as a precursor or adjunct to a larger group spectacle, rather than a creative form in its own right. *Choreia* is thus conceived as capable of including individual kinetic expression within its own overarching performance paradigm.

We might think about these diverse modes of kinetic expression as existing within a broadly-conceived “choral continuum.” That continuum is sometimes a temporal one, wherein the movement of an individual dancer develops into an expansive chorus over time. But it can also be conceived spatially, placing the chorus at the center of a larger spectacle, with other forms of expression organized around it. The notion of continuity along a spectrum accounts for other kinds of expansiveness as well. As I demonstrated above, choruses can have varying degrees of choreographic organization and different configurations of vocal and instrumental accompaniment. Representations of such broadly-conceived *choreia* do not always fit a strict definition of the term, but they do feature two abiding characteristics: multiple dancers and the accompaniment of music (vocal and/or instrumental). These are the qualities, then, that are most pervasively linked with chorality.

⁷² For a more general discussion of the spatial and choreographic structure of the Delian and Olympian performances in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, cf. Peponi 2004b.

⁷³ As suggested by Lonsdale 1993: 53, 67. Lonsdale also connects the role of Ares and Hermes here with Homer's *kubistētēres* and interprets their performance “as interludes or as capricious challenges to the symmetry and order implied by the ring dance [of Artemis, Aphrodite, and the other female deities]” (1993: 53). Cf. also Hall 2010, who describes Ares and Hermes “larking around” and contends that the “only real dancers [in this scene] are female” (155). A. Miller interprets the image in slightly different way, suggesting that the image of “even” Ares and Hermes dancing attests to the power of Apollo's lyre (1986: 68 n. 173, cf. also Regenbogen 1956: 52). At this point, I stress only the clear difference between the motion of Ares and Hermes and the larger choral spectacle. But, as I will explain in greater detail below, I agree with Lonsdale and Hall that this playful pair is clearly marked as secondary to the dance of the chorus.

3. Trouble in the Chorus: Another Look at Solos and Duets

I have not yet, however, addressed some key differences between the two models of individualized performance described above. While the relationship between the creative *chorēgos* and the chorus is generally figured in positive and enriching terms,⁷⁴ “additional” soloists and pairs are not always so easily accommodated within a choral framework. While there are certainly important ways in which these performers enhance and complement the overarching choral spectacle,⁷⁵ I will focus now on places where they seem to be in tension with the performance of the chorus proper.

Let us return to the depiction of paired dancers in archaic hexameter poetry. As I noted above, both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* figure *kubistētēres* as leaders (*exarchontes*, *Iliad* 18.605, *Odyssey* 4.19) of a larger choral spectacle. While Ares and Hermes seem to play a similar role in relation to the divine *choreia* of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (200-201), there is no sense of leadership or authority in the poet’s depiction of their motion. I suggest that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* likewise fail to grant true choral leadership to their acrobatic pairs, casting them instead as essentially subordinated to the chorus.

I will begin with the more extensive description in the *Iliad*. While the verb ἐξάρχω clearly signifies leadership, the progression of the poet’s description marginalizes and de-emphasizes the role of the *kubistētēres*. The poet describes the space of the performance (18.590-592), the dance of the youths and maidens (18.593-602), and, finally, the reaction of the audience (18.603-604). It is only after this that we learn about the presence of these two additional dancers (18.604-605). Of course, all of the actions described in the passage must be understood as happening simultaneously: the young people dance, the audience delights, and the tumblers whirl about. The organization of the poet’s description thus creates a subtle hierarchy: he attends first and foremost to the beauty and appeal of choral motion, then reinforces that depiction via the reaction of the audience, and finally – almost as an afterthought – mentions the two additional tumblers.

Furthermore, the poet does not attach any evaluative or descriptive markers to the performance of the *kubistētēres*. His description of the choral dance, by contrast, features a rich nexus of terms emphasizing beauty and aesthetic pleasure. For example, the poet tells us that the young women are “worthy of many cows in marriage” (ἀλφεισίβοιαι, 18.593) and wear “beautiful diadems” (καλὰς στεφάνας, 18.597) upon their heads. His subsequent description of the audience’s delight (τερπόμενοι, 18.504) at the “desirable chorus” (ἱμερόεντα χορὸν, 18.503) further emphasizes the special beauty and pleasure of this particular spectacle.⁷⁶ The *kubistētēres*, however, simply “spin” (ἐδίευνον, 18.605) – we have no adjectives or adverbs to qualify their movement, nor an internal audience to model an appropriate aesthetic response.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ To be sure, the image of the soloist can enrich a choral spectacle even when there is also tension between the singularity of the soloist and the communal action of the chorus (cf. Peponi 2007: 359-362). I am interested, however, in better understanding the sources of that tension in the first place, and considering places where the relationship between the individual and the chorus remains unresolved or problematic.

⁷⁵ For example, Pan, in his *Hymn*, clearly performs in a way distinct from the coordinated chorus of nymphs. Rather than functioning as a leader, however, Pan might be understood as a kind of ideal, embedded spectator, for the poet describes how he “delights his wits in clear-pitched song-dances” (λιγυρήσιν ἀγαλλόμενος φρένα μολπαῖς, 24), even as he himself moves among the chorus.

⁷⁶ For further discussion of these lines, see Kurke 2012: 178, 183-184.

⁷⁷ We might also note the seemingly pejorative sense of *κυβιστάω* elsewhere in the *Iliad*, as Patroclus mocks Kebriones for his “easy tumbling” (ὡς ῥεῖα κυβιστᾷ, 16.745). On male dancers in the *Iliad* generally, see Muellner

The comparable description of paired dance in the *Odyssey* offers few evaluative markers and no strong contrast with simultaneous choral performance,⁷⁸ but it does suggest something about the place of *kubistētēres* in early Greek conceptions of dance and festivity. In his analysis of the *Odyssey*, Pierre Vidal-Naquet initially locates Sparta firmly within the “human world” of “land and sacrifice,” but then goes on to connect it with the “world of myth,” and, specifically, Scheria (Vidal-Naquet 1986: 25). The final *choros* on Achilles' shield is, in a different way, also associated with divinity and legend: while the other dance scenes on the shield of Achilles seem fairly mundane (wedding procession, harvest festivity), the final *choros* is endowed with a special artistry and appeal via reference to the legendary craftsmanship of Daedalus and the mythic figure Ariadne. While wedding processions and harvest celebrations were, presumably, forms of song and dance commonly practiced in archaic Greece, we have no evidence that young men and women actually danced together in the manner described in the *Iliad*.⁷⁹ Of course, my argument here does not rely upon the complete absence of such dance in early Greece⁸⁰ – I simply observe that the faint sense of “otherworldliness” in the depiction of the final dance on the shield of Achilles' corresponds remarkably well with the depiction of paired dance in the *Odyssey*. Acrobatic duets belong to the lands of myth and legend.⁸¹ Ordinary human kinetic expression, in these poems, is properly limited to the communal art of *choreia*.

This claim is corroborated by the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, for the Olympian festivity in the *Hymn* does not stand alone. It is immediately preceded by the paradigmatic performance of the Delian maidens, an ideal human model of *choreia* paired with the divine one.⁸² In this mortal realm, however, we find only female choral performers (156-164) and a male kitharist (165-174): there is no space for acrobatic paired performance here. This distinction further segregates individualized acrobatic dance from the human realm of kinetic expression, and from the ideal model of *choreia*. Even if pairs of tumblers did perform for real audiences in archaic and classical Greece, the poetic paradigms I have considered here endeavor to marginalize their particular kind of dance and subordinate it to an overarching choral structure.⁸³

Moreover, my argument here is in full agreement with a survey of the same passages conducted by William Mullen, who asserts that this “kind of mute medium [sc: the performance of acrobatic solo dance by *kubistētēres*] was clearly subordinated, in the great age of choral lyric, to *choreia* itself, the medium to which language was essential” (1982: 16). Gregory Nagy makes a similar point about the relevant Homeric passages (*Odyssey* 8.256-265, *Odyssey* 4.17-19, and *Iliad* 18.603-606), suggesting that “the application of *exarkhōn* ‘leader’ could be legitimately reassigned to a lead dancer so long as the singer/lyre player continued to be the real leader, in that his singing or lyre playing controlled the enactment performed center stage, as it were, by the dancers” (1990: 352, emphasis in original). Mullen and Nagy both identify another crucial difference between the choral dancers in these passages and their affiliated *kubistētēres*: while

1990: 77-90 and Hall 2010: 156-163, as well as my longer discussion in Chapter 3.2. For now, I focus narrowly on the role of the *kubistētēres* relative to the choral group.

⁷⁸ Although we could, perhaps, imagine group dance as part of the generalized festivity referenced in the lines immediately prior (*Odyssey* 4.15-17), similar to the description of the (pretend) celebrations at *Odyssey* 23.144-151.

⁷⁹ Hall 2010: 163

⁸⁰ As Lonsdale 1995: 283 n. 7 suggests, this apparent absence could be accidental.

⁸¹ See also Mullen 1982: 13, who describes the Phaeacian performances in the *Odyssey* as “a kind of *choreia* one glimpses only in magical high civilizations on inaccessible islands.”

⁸² Miller 1986: 68-69, Clay 1989: 54-56, Lonsdale 1993: 51-75 and 1995b, Peponi 2004b and 2009.

⁸³ I have omitted one very relevant pair: Halius and Laodamas, the dancing Phaeacian princes, in *Odyssey* 8. That episode is treated at length in Chapter 2, and I will recall some of the claims I have made here then.

choreia is intimately linked with song, the paired dancers do not sing, nor does their movement seem to closely follow upon the song of others.

The force of this distinction is made even more clear in the *Homeric Hymn to Pan*, wherein, as I have already noted, the solo dancing figure (Pan) is cast as choreographically and spatially marginal to the chorus. While Pan's dancing is not marked as especially pleasing or beautiful, his distinctive *mousikē* – the performance of panpipes – is clearly superlative. The poet describes how Pan plays sweet music on his instrument, a sound that surpasses even lovely birdsong (δονάκων ὕπο μοῦσαν ἀθύρων / νήδυμον· οὐκ ἂν τόν γε παραδράμοι ἐν μελέεσσιν / ὄρνις, ἦτ' ἔαρος πολυανθέος ἐν πετάλοισι / θρήνον ἐπιπροχέουσ' ἀχέει μελίγηρυν ἀοιδήν, 15-18). His sonic preeminence, however, is almost immediately usurped by the nymphs, for the poet not only describes their *choreia* and Pan's place within it (19-26), but goes on to describe the actual content of the nymphs' choral song. In fact, a large portion of the hymn (28-47) is then given over to the song of the nymphs, which narrates the birth of Pan. The Nymphs' *choreia* thus produces Pan, recounting his origins and bringing them to life in performance. This narrative turn completes the inversion of the creative *chorēgos* model exemplified by Apollo. Whereas Apollo's individualized *mousikē* generates *choreia*, Pan's solo expression is subordinated to the chorus, for it is through their communal *mousikē* that he “comes into being.”⁸⁴

Solo and paired forms of dance can certainly be included within an expansive and basically harmonious view of *choreia*. But some crucial passages depicting such individualized movement in a choral context also betray a basic anxiety about the value of individualized dance. If communal motion is a crucial element of *choreia*, an “unruly” individual breaking off to dance on his or her own is clearly a kind of threat to the integrity and cohesion of the chorus. This problem may be largely ameliorated by the conceptualization of individual dancers as creators of or complements to *choreia*. The passages I consider immediately above choose instead to cast solo and paired dance as secondary or subordinate to choral performance. In those passages, there is an additional and important distinction between the actions of the choral group and the performance of individuals: the latter does not include song.

I suggested above that, within the largely flexible framework of choral performance in archaic and classical Greek thought, the presence of multiple performers and a sonic element (usually verbal song) seem to be the most pervasive and defining elements of *choreia*. I now elaborate upon that second element, demonstrating how there is a strong discursive pattern in early Greek literature that casts *choreia* as basically a logocentric form. I will subsequently return to the issue of individualized dance, which is often distinguished from *choreia* not only in terms of number, but also by its independence from song.

4. Song, Dance, and the Chorus

As I have already mentioned, Plato defines *choreia* as “song and dance as an integrated whole” (χορεία γε μὴν ὄρχησις τε καὶ ᾠδὴ τὸ σύνολόν ἐστιν, *Laws* 654b). There is, to be sure, a kind of idealized fusion in many literary representations of *choreia*, which feature vocal song, instrumentation, and dance combined into a cohesive performance mode that surpasses any of its

⁸⁴ Pan's relationship to the nymphs here also suggests a more sinister image – male intrusion upon female choruses for the express purpose of rape or seduction (cf. Rosenmeyer 2004 and Bathrellou 2012). While such male figures, with the exception of Pan, are not usually depicted as dancing themselves, they do disrupt *choreia*. In Chapter 4, I consider the representations of the girls who are thus singled out and separated from the chorus.

individual constituent parts. The Olympian dance in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* exudes such musical-kinetic harmony, as the poet switches seamlessly from descriptions of sound (κίθαρις καὶ αἰοιδή, 188; ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπι καλῆ / ὕμνεῦσιν, 189-200) to dance (ὄρχευντ', 206) to classic combinations thereof (μεταμέλπεται, 207; ἐγκιθαρίζει / καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβιάς, 211-212).

At the same time, the relationship between the different acoustic dimensions of *mousikē* (singing and instrumental music, the latter including wind, stringed, and percussive instruments) was continuously contested in archaic and classical Greece. Scholars have identified important connections between different musical modes and specific political and social values. The establishment of the “correct” hierarchy of performance forms, in ancient Greece, is not a purely aesthetic issue – such systems were intended to reflect and reinforce certain images of society.⁸⁵

Dance is no exception to this system. Pratinas 708 *PMG*, a song often discussed in the context of various musical hierarchies and conflicts, exhorts: “the Pierian muse made song the queen, let the *aulos* dance after, for it is indeed the servant” (τὰν αἰοιδὰν κατέστασε Πιερίσ βασιλείαν· ὁ δ' αὐλός / ὕστερον χορευέτω, καὶ γάρ ἐσθ' ὑπηρετάς, 6-7).⁸⁶ For Pratinas' chorus, verbal and vocal expression (“song,” τὰν αἰοιδὰν) is clearly preeminent. Instrumental music, represented here by the *aulos*, is explicitly subordinated to song. But dance is also firmly located in a secondary position, for it is represented as the activity which the instrument must perform as the servant of song (ὕστερον χορευέτω, 7). Moreover, the song also includes a command to “listen, listen, to my Dorian *choreia*” (<ἄκου> ἄκουε τὰν ἐμὰν Δώριον χορείαν, *PMG* 708.16).⁸⁷ By casting *choreia* as an expressive form that can be simply heard, Pratinas effectively marginalizes its kinetic dimension. I would suggest that Pratinas' song is not an exceptional case. Rather, several important archaic and classical Greek representations of *choreia* display a similar logocentricity, whereby the expressive force of the voice is emphasized over that of the body.⁸⁸

The relationship between sound and motion, in *choreia*, has been persuasively analyzed by Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi. In her reading of the performance of the Delian maidens in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, she observes that “in the complex act and art of *choreia*, comprising both vocal and kinetic activity, bodily movement is essentially conceived as the physical projection of the voice itself” (Peponi 2009: 57-58).⁸⁹ I would make the even stronger claim that bodily movement, or dance, is frequently cast as secondary to or dependent upon vocal and/or instrumental music.

The opening lines of Hesiod's *Theogony* offer an important example of this discursive pattern:

Μουσάων Ἐλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' αἰεῖδεν,
αἴθ' Ἐλικῶνος ἔχουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεόν τε

⁸⁵ See Introduction.

⁸⁶ E.g., LeVen 2010 and Griffith 2013: 273-274. On the controversy over the date of this composition, see n. 1 above.

⁸⁷ Ladianou cites this passage as an example of sonic-kinetic fusion in *choreia*, suggesting that the meaning of *akouō* is here expanded “to reflect the reception of a complex activity perceived in a complex way that is activating both hearing and vision equally” (2007: 48). As I explain here, I think the use of the verb *akouō* quite explicitly privileges one form of perception over the other – Pratinas' song as a whole expresses musical hierarchy in quite forceful terms, and I think this line is a continuation of, not a departure from, that pattern.

⁸⁸ I defend this claim here, but see also Mullen and Nagy, as cited above.

⁸⁹ Peponi's full discussion, with illustrative examples from Aristophanes and Plato, may be found at 2009: 57-60. See also Ladianou 2005: 48-49.

καί τε περι κρήνην ἰοειδέα πόσσ' ἀπαλοῖσιν
 ὀρχεῦνται καὶ βωμὸν ἔρισθενέος Κρονίωνος,
 καί τε λοεσσάμεναι τέρενα χροά Περμησσοῖο
 ἢ Ἴππου κρήνης ἢ Ὀλμειοῦ ζαθέοιο
 ἀκροτάτῳ Ἑλικῶνι χοροὺς ἐνεποιήσαντο
 καλοῦς, ἡμερόεντας· ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν.
 ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμεναι, κεκαλυμμέναι ἠέρι πολλῇ,
 ἐννύχια στεῖχον περικαλλέα ὄσσαν ἰεῖσαι,
 ὑμνεῦσαι Δία τ' αἰγίοχον καὶ πότνιαν Ἥρην
 Ἀργεῖην, χρυσέοισι πεδίλοις ἐμβεβαυῖαν,

Let us begin to sing from the Heliconian Muses,
 who possess the great and holy mountain of Helicon
 and dance on their soft feet around the violet-dark fountain
 and the altar of Cronus' mighty son.
 And after they have washed their tender skin in Permessus
 or Hippocrene or holy Olmeius, they perform in beautiful, lovely
 choruses on highest Helicon, shrouded in thick mist,
 by night they proceed, sending forth their surpassingly beautiful voice,
 singing of aegis-holding Zeus, and queenly Hera of Argos,
 who walks in golden sandals, [...] (*Theogony* 1-12, trans. Most, modified)

Hesiod here describes the activities of the Muses, an obvious paradigm of choral performance at its divine best. This idealized image of *choreia*, moreover, features a subtle subordination of the kinetic to the verbal. The first mention of performance here occurs at line 4, when the poet remarks that the Muses “dance” (ὀρχεῦνται) about the spring on Mt. Helicon and the altar of Zeus. The term *orchēsis* does not explicitly reference the vocal dimension. Moreover, this description is placed between two other non-performative elements of the Muses' character: they dwell on Helicon (Ἑλικῶνος ἔχουσιν ὄρος, 2) and they wash (λοεσσάμεναι, 5) in mountain springs. This initial *orchēsis* is thus part of the poet's preliminary description of the Muses' location and lifestyle. Dance alone is not particularly spotlighted or praised.

Shortly thereafter, however, Hesiod says that the Muses “perform in beautiful, lovely / choruses on highest Helicon” (ἀκροτάτῳ Ἑλικῶνι χοροὺς ἐνεποιήσαντο / καλοῦς, ἡμερόεντας: ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν, 7-8). Dance here receives special attention, as the poet describes how the Muses move nimbly or actively with their feet (ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν, 8). This motion recalls their earlier *orchēsis*, which was also described with a particular focus on the motion of their “delicate feet” (πόσσ' ἀπαλοῖσιν, 3). But this kinetic element has now found its home within the multimedia art of *choreia*, and it is the totality of the performance that is described as “beautiful” and “lovely” (χοροὺς ἐνεποιήσαντο / καλοῦς, ἡμερόεντας, 7-8).

Hesiod further suggests that the beauty of *choreia* resides primarily in the voice when he goes on to say that “by night [the Muses] proceed, sending forth their surpassingly beautiful voice” (ἐννύχια στεῖχον περικαλλέα ὄσσαν ἰεῖσαι, 10). Given the overarching choral imagery of this passage, it seems sensible to understand the word στεῖχον here as indicating a kind of dance – certainly, organized movement coordinated with song. At the same time, *steichō* does not foreground dance in the same way that verbs like *orchēomai* or descriptions of the feet do. It is specifically the vocal expression of the Muses (ὄσσαν, 10) that receives an appreciative adjective

– it is not only beautiful, like the chorus as a whole (χορούς ... καλούς, 7-8), but “surpassingly beautiful” (περικαλλέα, 10). Moreover, at this point, the Muses are performing by night (ἐννόχια, 10) and they are “shrouded in thick mist” (κεκαλυμμένοι ἤερι πολλῇ, 9). The poet thereby downplays the visual element of the performance, suggested that the dance itself would not even be perceptible to someone present at the scene. The descriptive focus of the passage thus moves from dance (ὀρχεῦνται, 4) to choral synthesis (χορούς, 7) to vocalization (ᾄσαν, 10). These shifts are accompanied by increasingly positive evaluation – from the Muses’ implicitly pretty “soft feet” (πόσσ’ ἀπαλοῖσιν, 3), to their “beautiful and lovely” choruses (χορούς ἐνεποιήσαντο / καλούς, ἱμερόεντας, 7-8), to their “surpassingly beautiful” vocal song (περικαλλέα, 10). Hesiod’s idealized representation of the Muses’ choral performance thus promotes the role of the voice in *choreia* over and above that of the body.

The poet’s stake in this system is fairly transparent: Hesiod begins with emphatic reference to his own verbal medium (“let us begin to sing,” ἀρχώμεθ’ ἀείδειν, 1) and goes on to explain that the Muses “taught him beautiful song” (καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδίην, 22). He enacts verbal control over *choreia* by describing the Muses’ song-dance in his own song. He further naturalizes that move by depicting the voice as the central and dominant component of choral performance: the element whose addition transforms mere *orchēsis* into beautiful *choreia*. Given the position of the Muses as archetypal choral performers, this hierarchy of forms should be understood as a programmatic, rather than an idiosyncratic, one.

Art, too, is capable of articulating a specific relationship between language and movement. An archaic Corinthian aryballos (Fig. 5) depicts an aulos-player and seven-member chorus. The figure closest to the aulos-player is executing a high jump, with his legs tucked up beneath him. The pot is inscribed with the words: πολυτερπος πυρρίας προχορευομενος αυτο δε φοι ολπα (“Polyterpos. Pyrrhias leading the chorus; and to him, himself, an olpos,” transcribed and translated Roebuck and Roebuck, 1955: 160).⁹⁰ The context of this object, while an intriguing question, is not my major concern here.⁹¹ Note that, while the image clearly showcases and celebrates an individual dancer, it also links him with the chorus: he is a leader of choral action (προχορευόμενος, “leading the chorus”). Moreover, the decoration of this object endows the language of the inscription with two significant powers. First, the inscription functions to link the various performers on the aryballos, as the words weave their way around the figures. Even more importantly, the inscription acts as a motor for the dance in the hands of the viewer. The aryballos is quite small: while “flattened” images (like Fig. 3) enable us to more easily view the entirety of the image for analytic purposes, they obscure the essential character of the three-dimensional object, which does not actually allow a viewer to take in the entirety of the inscription at once.⁹² Rather, he is forced to turn the pot around, putting the dancers into motion along with the object itself. Language, in the form of the inscription, thus energizes and drives the dance.⁹³ Certainly, visual representations of dance in ancient Greece do not universally

⁹⁰ Boegehold 1965 proposes a significant emendation of the inscription, suggesting that, edited, it should read: Πολύτερπος. Πυρρίας προχορευόμενος. αὐτῷ δεφοῖ <μ>ολπα (“Polyterpos. Pyrrhias leading the chorus. Here a dance for Devo [=Demeter, in Boegehold’s analysis]”). For my purposes here, the designation of the leaping figure as a choral leader (προχορευόμενος) and the presentation of the figures as engaged in a dance are the most relevant details.

⁹¹ On these questions, see Roebuck and Roebuck 1955, Boegehold 1965: 261, and Lonsdale 1993: 2.

⁹² See Fig. 6 for a photograph of the pot that better displays its three-dimensional shape.

⁹³ I am indebted to François Lissarrague for bringing this aryballos to my attention. On the relationship between writing and iconography in Greek vase painting more generally, see Lissarrague 1985. Cf. also Day’s analysis of

foreground the power of verbal expression over the motion of the body. But the use of language and image on this aryballos suggests that art was meaningfully engaged with some of the same hierarchies and systems of performance articulated and promoted by a range of literary sources.

Returning, then, to literature, the opening lines of Pindar's Pythian 1 offer another striking example of the ways in which a song can articulate hierarchies of musical performance:

χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Απόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων
σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον: τᾶς ἀκούει μὲν βάσις, ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά,
πείθονται δ' αἰοῖδοι σάμασιν,
ἀγχιχόρων ὅποταν προοιμίων ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς ἐλελιζομένα.

Golden lyre, joint possession of Apollo and
the violet-haired Muses, to whom the dance-step listens, the beginning of festivity,
and singers are obedient to your cues,
whenever you cause your quivering strings to strike up preludes to lead the
chorus. (Pindar, Pythian 1, 1-4).

In Pindar's conceptualization, dance is subordinate to instrumental music, following upon the cues of the lyre (τᾶς ἀκούει μὲν βάσις, 2). These opening lines might also seem to marginalize the verbal realm, as the "singers" (the verbal) must also follow the music (πείθονται δ' αἰοῖδοι σάμασιν, 3). But it is important, I believe, that it is not abstract song (*aoidē*) but singers (*aoidoi*) who obey the lyre here. As Boris Maslov has demonstrated, the term *aoidos*, here and elsewhere in archaic poetry, is best understood as "member of the chorus."⁹⁴ These singers are obedient to the lyre in the moment of performance, but the words of the song are, like the notes of the lyre, the creative products of the poet, which pre-exist their realization by the chorus. The lyre, then, is symbolic of the composer and his song. It represents broadly the sonic element of performance, which is conceived as guiding and directing the movement (*basis*).

Moreover, while we can identify significant variations in the value assigned to song and instrumentation in different sources and at different times, dance is persistently placed in a subordinate role relative to sonic expression.⁹⁵ Pythian 1 is an important example of this phenomenon, figuring dance as an activity obedient to the lyre, which is itself "quivering" with motion (ἐλελιζομένα, 4). The potential for dance is thus already latent in the lyre, but its musical expression is amplified through the voices and bodies of the choreuts. In Pratinas, Hesiod, and Pindar, dance is not endowed with the same generative capacity as vocal and instrumental music. Rather, it achieves its greatest beauty only when joined with song in the performance of *choreia*.

Even when musical hierarchies are not explicitly at stake, the composers of choral lyric often deploy language to shape the perception of dance. Naomi Weiss, for example, analyzes the use of "aesthetic suggestion" in the choral odes of Euripides' later plays and contends that, in these songs, "a complex interaction between described and performed *mousikē* encourages the

Mantiklos' epigram (CEG 326) for the ways in which inscribed writing might operate on the body of a crafted object (2010: 33-46).

⁹⁴ Maslov 2009: 10-16.

⁹⁵ Consider, for example, the way in which choral *amoibē* (exchange, response) can occur between groups performing vocally or between singers and an instrumentalist: cf. the examples compiled and analyzed by Peponi (2007: 357): *Iliad* 1.604, *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 189 and *Odyssey* 24.60. Kinetic *amoibē* is found in the performance of Halius and Laodamas in *Odyssey* 8, but as I will argue in Chapter 2, this is an exceptional case.

audience to see and hear a performance in a particular way” (2014: 2).⁹⁶ Similarly, Peponi’s discussion of deixis and metaphor in Alcman 1 highlights the ways in which choral song can structure the audience’s experience of choral dance. Peponi demonstrates how the language of song guides the audience’s visual perception of dance, contending that the chorus of Alcman’s first *Partheneion* “invite[s] [the audience] into a world that can be seen, understood, and enjoyed only through their own singing words” (Peponi 2004a: 313).⁹⁷ In *choreia*, the movement of the body can thus be contextualized by the explanatory and interpretive power of language.

While Weiss and Peponi reveal how such verbal suggestion enriches the audience’s perception of the performance as a whole, I suggest that it also interferes, on a very basic level, with their immediate visual and auditory experience. Alcman, Euripides, and other poets use language to mediate between the audience and the dance. The spectator’s understanding of the motion unfolding before him is prompted and conditioned by the poet’s aesthetic and interpretive suggestions. The song enables, even enforces, what Weiss describes as “[seeing] and [hearing] a performance in a particular way” (2014: 2).

It is likely, of course, that this relationship also worked in reverse: the motion of the chorus may, at times, have affected how the audience reacted to the coordinated vocal or instrumental music.⁹⁸ Likewise, as I have mentioned, idealized depictions of *choreia* can emphasize harmonious synesthesia as well as vocal-sonic-kinetic hierarchy. I do not mean to deny the historical reality of dance as a social and expressive force,⁹⁹ nor to suggest that movement is never a focal point of choral descriptions. To the contrary, the Shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* offers us an image of highly idealized *choreia* that foregrounds the appearance and motion of the dancers’ bodies.

I have discussed this passage before, but I cite it in full here:

ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις,
 τῷ ἴκελον οἶόν ποτ’ ἐνὶ Κνωσῷ εὐρείῃ
 Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.
 ἔνθα μὲν ἠΐθεοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβιοιαι
 ὀρχεῦντ’ ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χειρᾶς ἔχοντες.
 τῶν δ’ αἶ μὲν λεπτὰς ὀθόνας ἔχον, οἱ δὲ χιτῶνας
 εἶατ’ ἐϋννήτους, ἦκα στίλβοντας ἐλαίῳ·
 καὶ ῥ’ αἶ μὲν καλὰς στεφάνας ἔχον, οἱ δὲ μαχαίρας
 εἶχον χρυσεῖας ἐξ ἀργυρέων τελαμώνων.
 οἱ δ’ ὅτε μὲν θρέξασκον ἐπισταμένοισι πόδεσσι
 ῥεῖα μάλ’, ὡς ὅτε τις τροχὸν ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμησιν
 ἐζόμενος κεραμεὺς πειρήσεται, αἶ κε θέησιν·
 ἄλλοτε δ’ αὖ θρέξασκον ἐπὶ στίχας ἀλλήλοισι.
 πολλὸς δ’ ἱμερόεντα χορὸν περίσταθ’ ὄμιλος
 τερπόμενοι, δοιῶ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ’ αὐτοὺς

⁹⁶ On the theoretical framework of this approach, see Weiss 2014: 12-13. For one example of how such aesthetic suggestion operates in a play with a particularly interesting tension between absence and presence – and real and imagined *mousikē* – see Weiss 2014: 86-87 on *Troades*.

⁹⁷ Note also Peponi’s claim, on Alcman 1, that “through the chorus’s guidance and educated vision, the most familiar entities are seen to be the most magnificent wonders” (Peponi 2004: 313).

⁹⁸ For an example of this mode of analysis and its potential insight, see Mullen 1982 on Pindar.

⁹⁹ Cf. e.g., Naerebout, who emphasizes the communicative force of dance (at public events) in Greek society (1997: 375-406).

μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσοις.

And the renowned smith of the strong arms made elaborate on it
a dancing floor, like that which once in the wide spaces of Knosos
Daidalos built for Ariadne of the lovely tresses.
And there were young men on it and young girls, sought for their beauty
with gifts of oxen, dancing, and holding hands at the wrist.
The maidens wore long light robes, and the men wore tunics
of finespun work and shining softly, touched with olive oil.
And the girls wore fair diadems on their heads, while the young men
carried golden knives that hung from sword-belts of silver.
At times they would run very lightly on their knowing feet,
as when a potter crouching makes trial of his wheel, holding
it close in his hands, to see if it will run smooth. At another
time they would form rows and run, rows crossing each other.
And around the lovely chorus of dancers stood a great multitude
happily watching, while among the dancers two tumblers
led the measures of song and dance revolving around them. (*Iliad* 18.590-606,
trans. Lattimore, modified)

This passage certainly displays the evocative power of descriptive and comparative language, especially as it generates a complex network of connections between crafting and *choreia*.¹⁰⁰ We might compare this description with the patterns of aesthetic suggestion in choral lyric identified by Weiss and Peponi and discussed briefly above. Just as choral songs use language to structure their audiences' perception of (actual) dance, this *Iliad* passage embeds a vivid description of choreographic shape and motion within a nexus of figurative and evocative language.

At the same time, dance remains the focal point of this description. It features vivid and detailed attention to both somatic positions (ἐνθα μὲν ἦιθεοὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι / ὀρχεῦντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χειρᾶς ἔχοντες, "And there were young men on it and young girls, sought for their beauty / with gifts of oxen, dancing, and holding hands at the wrist" 593-594) and choreographic shape and structure (θρέξασκον ἐπὶ στίχας ἀλλήλοισι, "they ran in rows towards one another," 603). Aside from the characterization of the young men and women as a chorus (χορὸν, 590, 604), which implies some form of music, there is no mention of sound or song at all. The Homeric poet's descriptive interests, in this passage, stand in stark contrast to the logocentric vision of *choreia* I have identified elsewhere in early Greek sources.

There is, however, a very relevant textual question pertaining to this passage. Lines 604-606 are generally printed as follows by modern editors:

πολλὸς δ' ἱμερόεντα χορὸν περίσταθ' ὄμιλος
τερπόμενοι· δοιῶ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοῦς
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσοις.

And around the lovely chorus of dancers stood a great multitude
happily watching, while among the dancers two tumblers

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Frontisi-Ducroux 2002 and Kurke 2012: 183-184.

led the measures of song and dance revolving among them (*Iliad* 18. 604-606, trans. Lattimore, modified).

But Athenaeus, in his *Deipnosophistae* (180c-181f), proposes another version, claiming that Aristarchus transposed lines from this passage to *Odyssey* 4.17-19.¹⁰¹ He suggests that the *Iliad* passage should instead read:

πολλὸς δ' ἱμερόεντα χορὸν περίσταθ' ὄμιλος
τερπόμενοι· μετὰ δέ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδὸς
φορμίζων· δοιῶ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοῦς
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντος ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσοις,

And around the lovely chorus of dancers stood a great multitude happily watching, and among them a divine singer performed playing the lyre, and two acrobats, with [the singer] among them leading off the song and dance, whirled among them.

Athenaeus thus transfers the lyre-playing *theios aoidos* from the *Odyssey* to the *Iliad*, but he also transforms the nominative plural participle *exarchontes* into the genitive singular *exarchontos*, on the grounds that the singer, not the acrobatic dancers, ought to be the leader of the performance (οὐ γὰρ ἐξάρχοντες οἱ κυβιστητῆρες, ἀλλ' ἐξάρχοντος τοῦ ᾠδοῦ πάντως ὠρχοῦντο. τὸ γὰρ ἐξάρχειν τῆς φόρμιγγος ἴδιον, “because it was not the tumblers who led, but they danced while the singer, of course, led. For leading is an action peculiar to the lyre,” *Deipnosophistae* 180e, trans. Olson). Athenaeus goes on to cite a series of archaic images of the lyre as leading the chorus.

Norman Postlethwaite analyzes Athenaeus’ proposal at length, acknowledging that his version is preserved in none of the existing manuscripts, papyri, or quotations (1998: 95).¹⁰² Nonetheless, Postlethwaite suggests that Athenaeus’ suggestion merits serious consideration, linking the possible presence of a lyre-playing singer on Achilles’ Shield with the depiction of Theseus and the dancing youths on the early 6th century François Vase.¹⁰³ After surveying the links between lyre-playing, Crete, and dance in early Greek art and literature, he concludes with the possibility that:

[...] Athenaeus’ instincts were correct, that the θεῖος ἀοιδὸς is more firmly embedded within the *Iliad* as a literary whole than his counterpart within the *Odyssey*. I do not thereby attempt to assign priority to the *Iliad* passage; but, if we were to wonder when the controversial figure first appeared on Hephaistos’ shield accompanying the Cretan dance, I would venture a date not far removed from 570 BC, when the lyre-playing Theseus appeared on another monumental work of art leading the dance of the ἡῖθεοι καὶ παρθένοι (Postlethwaite 1998:

¹⁰¹ Which reads, as cited above: μετὰ δέ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδὸς / φορμίζων· δοιῶ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοῦς / μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσοις, *Odyssey* 4.17-19).

¹⁰² It is also difficult to defend on grammatical grounds, for as Leaf points out, this type of genitive absolute with an unexpressed subject is unusual, though not impossible, for Homer (1902: 315). For further bibliography on the modern scholarly debate surrounding these lines, see Postlethwaite 1998: 94-98.

¹⁰³ I address the depiction of Theseus as a dancer, both on the François Vase and in later literature, in Chapter 3.1.

104).

I believe there is another reason to believe that a singer may have entered into some versions of the *Iliad* at a comparatively early stage. In this case, Athenaeus again seems to have been an astute reader of earlier Greek literature, for as I mentioned above, he questions the “leading” role of the *kubistētēres* in the choral scene on Achilles’ Shield by citing a strong tradition linking choral leadership with the lyre and its performers. Unlike Athenaeus, however, I do not want to suggest that the *Iliad* passage as preserved by the majority of our sources is impossible or even improbable. As I have explained, we can certainly understand it as an ideal model of *choreia* featuring a somewhat unusual, but not completely unparalleled,¹⁰⁴ focus on dance and motion.

Yet, as I have argued above, there is also a strong tradition that places music, and often specifically verbal song, at the very heart of *choreia*. Within this tradition, the idea of dancers or acrobats as true “leaders” of the chorus is indeed, as Athenaeus observes, problematic. A version of the archetypal choral scene in *Iliad* 18 that figures a *theios aoidos*, rather than two *kubistētēres*, as the *exarchon* of *choreia* certainly remedies that problem. The version of these lines proposed by Athenaeus thus transforms this dance-oriented spectacle into another example of firmly logocentric *choreia*, wherein both choral dancers and an additional acrobatic pair follow the lead of a lyre-playing singer. Without the further testimony of an independent textual tradition, my proposal must be speculative. It remains possible that the *theios aoidos* of the *Iliad* originates with Athenaeus. But like Postlethwaite, I suggest that there are compelling reasons for this version to have entered the tradition, and been performed in some contexts by some rhapsodes at an earlier stage.

Moreover, while the final dance scene on Achilles’ Shield may offer an unusually dance-centric vision of *choreia*, it is highly traditional in another important respect. The description of motion in this passage is fully communal. It attends, as I have already observed, to the somatic links among the many dancers’ bodies (ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χειράς ἔχοντες, 594) and overarching choreographic shape (θρέξασκον ἐπὶ στίχας ἀλλήλοισι, 603), and it describes individual beauty and adornment only in collective terms (e.g., ἀλφεσίβοιαι, 593, applied to all the maidens; καὶ ῥ’ αἱ μὲν καλὰς στεφάνας ἔχον, οἱ δὲ μαχαίρας / εἶχον χρυσείας ἐξ ἀργυρέων τελαμώνων, 597-598, describing all the young men). Aside from the two *kubistētēres* – who are, as I have already argued, actually marginalized in some striking ways – the description of this dance does not showcase individual kinetic or corporeal expression.

While it might seem unnecessary, by this point, to say that *choreia* was a communal form of dance, I want to again underscore the importance of this element. Choruses, as I discuss above, appear in Greek literature in a fairly wide variety of forms, displaying different musical structures and levels of organization. But *choreuein* is, in a very basic sense, the action of dancing within a group. The choral paradigm I have presented here, while flexible in many respects, persistently emphasizes the communal quality of dance.

In the *Oeconomicus*, Xenophon highlights this crucial aspect of *choreia* through the speech of Ischomachus. I do not deny, of course, that Xenophon has his own interests and

¹⁰⁴ The Phaeacian choral dance at *Odyssey* 8.250-265, for example, has some striking similarities – both passages focus on the kinetic element rather than musical accompaniment. The *Odyssey*, however, does ultimately include a very important singer: Demodocus. In essence, I suggest that the *Iliad*’s dance-focused description of *choreia* here should certainly be contrasted with more singer- and logo-centric models (examples of which are discussed at length above), but that there is surely room in the Greek cultural and literary imagination for both versions to co-exist.

theoretical conceptions pertaining to the representation of dance.¹⁰⁵ In this instance, however, he articulates an understanding of the chorus that is already implied by the persistently collective quality of much earlier choral archetypes. In this passage, Ischomachus reports having told his wife:

ἔστι δ' οὐδὲν οὕτως, ὃ γύναι, οὐτ' εὐχρηστον οὔτε καλὸν ἀνθρώποις ὡς τάξις.
καὶ γὰρ χορὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων συγκείμενός ἐστιν· ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν ποιῶσιν ὅ τι ἂν
τύχη ἕκαστος, ταραχὴ τις φαίνεται καὶ θεᾶσθαι ἀτερπές, ὅταν δὲ τεταγμένως
ποιῶσι καὶ φθέγγωνται, ἅμα οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ
ἀξιόκουστοι.

My dear, there is nothing so convenient or so good for human beings as order. Thus, a chorus is a combination of human beings; but when the members of it act randomly, it becomes mere confusion, and there is no pleasure in watching it; but when they act and give voice in an orderly fashion, then those same people at once seem most worth seeing and most worth hearing (*Oeconomicus* 8.3, trans. Marchant, modified)

Ischomachus here deploys the chorus as an image of human cooperation and cohesion. He specifically claims that, “when the members of it act randomly” (ὅταν μὲν ποιῶσιν ὅ τι ἂν τύχη ἕκαστος), the chorus not only becomes disorganized (ταραχὴ τις) but also ceases to be a source of pleasure to its audience (θεᾶσθαι ἀτερπές). Ideal and paradigmatic choruses are frequently described as pleasing, often with a form of the term *terpsis*.¹⁰⁶ Ischomachus suggests that, when choreuts act as individuals (ὅ τι ἂν τύχη ἕκαστος) rather than in accordance with an overarching collective plan, the chorus loses its definitive allure. Xenophon thus captures the importance of communal action and identity in ancient Greek conceptions of the chorus.

In the Introduction, I posited a meaningful and sustained engagement between literary discourse and embodied experience. While I maintain that we cannot determine with any degree of certainty how Greek performers and audiences actually felt and sensed, as opposed to spoke about, the corporeal experience of dance, I believe that song and text can offer us some important hints. On a very basic level, the expansive and flexible representation of *choreia* in early Greek sources probably reflects the wide variety of historical practices surrounding dance and music. The persistent depiction of dance, in Greek literature, as a properly communal activity must also reflect lived experience, but it has an additional ideological charge. Ischomachus’ claim that the pleasure (*terpsis*) of watching *choreia* relies upon unity and cohesion does not merely reflect the prominence of choral performance in archaic and classical Greek culture, it validates the primacy of the chorus and informs the listener or reader that he ought not to find pleasure in more individualized or less synchronized forms of kinetic expression.

Finally, the logocentric tradition I have identified here, which figures the voice as the leading and controlling element of *choreia*, essentially relies upon the ability of literary representation to affect its audiences’ experiences, both in the moment of performance (as in the case of “aesthetic suggestion”) and beyond (as in the case of paradigmatic choral performances in non-choral songs and texts). That is, I posit that a listener accustomed to the “language

¹⁰⁵ I address Xenophon’s treatment of dance more fully in Chapter 5

¹⁰⁶ E.g., in the *Iliad* passage discussed immediately above: *τερπόμενοι*, 18.605. On *terpsis* as a response, in archaic literature, to the aural experience of *mousikē* in general (not just *choreia*), see Peponi 2012: 8-9, 98.

version” of *choreia* exemplified by the opening lines of Hesiod’s *Theogony* might, for example, sense his or her body as being viscerally and fundamentally subordinated to song and music in his or her own subsequent performance of *choreia*, rather than imagining that his somatic positions and gestures can function as expressive forces in their own right. Such effects need not be complete or universal in order to be meaningful. However the models of dance and expression offered by Greek literature actually impacted their audiences, we can identify an important set of ways in which they endeavor to do so.

5. Conclusion

As the version of the *Iliad* 18 passage *sans* singer demonstrates, logocentricity is not an inherent element of every archaic and classical Greek representation of *choreia*. But there is a powerful discourse, which can be detected in a variety of sources, that promotes song as the dominant medium for guiding both the chorus itself and the audience’s perception of it. Likewise, we certainly find representations of solo dance existing in harmony with more communal forms, accommodated within an expansive and inclusive understanding of choral spectacle. But dancing alone and dancing without words are both activities that hover at the margins of *choreia*, always in danger of slipping beyond even its most encompassing framework. It is no coincidence, then, that solo dancers often appear as emphatically non-verbal performers.

Representations of dance “beyond *choreia*” in archaic and classical Greek literature are thus somewhat sparse. The tendency to accommodate a wide variety of performance forms within the paradigm of the chorus reinforces, above all, the centrality of choral performance in early Greek culture. As a major mode of celebration, artistic expression, and religious observation, *choreia* must have been omnipresent in the lives of early Greeks. It further provides poets with a ready source of images and metaphors, a way of connecting immediately and viscerally with the experiences of their audiences. As I have suggested before, literary representation reflects embodied practice. The importance of the chorus for poets composing in all genres is both obvious and, in a sense, completely unremarkable.

Susan Foster, discussing primarily modern, Western dance forms, argues that “choreography” is a term and concept that indexes culturally and historically specific ideas about movement, identity, and agency. She specifically considers how “choreography, whether as notation or as composition, functions to privilege certain kinds of dancing while rejecting or repressing others” (2011: 6). I would suggest that the concept of *choreia* in ancient Greek thought functions much like Foster’s “choreography.” That is, it serves to define dance as part of a tripartite, hierarchal performance system, wherein verbal and instrumental music typically take the leading role. Individual dance, especially in non-verbal forms, is comparatively repressed – not because it did not occur in early Greek life (there is ample testimony to the contrary), but because its disruptive, insistent corporeality does not fit the ideal of dance as marked by the term *choreia*.

For that reason, I aim here to look closely at those rare but valuable passages – the representations of solo and individualized dance in archaic and classical Greek literature that do not fit comfortably within even the expansive choral paradigm I have outlined here. In many cases, such representations reveal how the positive promotion of the chorus works to constrain and affect the embodied experiences of audiences by constructing certain somatic positions and corporeal sensations as more pleasurable than others. In my analysis of these passages, I will further defend and nuance my basic claim that the representation of non-choral dance is

frequently a way of exploring expression and creative engagement “beyond words.” The images of individual dancers I address in the remainder of this project are thus to be understood in the context of, and often in explicit contrast to, the specifically logocentric and collective model of dance generated by many idealized depictions of *choreia*.

The Fantastic Phaeacians: Dance in *Odyssey* 8

In the eighth book of the *Odyssey*, the Phaeacian king Alcinous commands two of his own sons to “dance alone” (μουνὰξ ὀρχήσασθαι, 8.371). This is the only attested use of *mounax* or *monos* with the verb *orcheomai* in archaic Greek, and it seems to describe an unusual form of kinetic expression. Halios and Laodamas perform as a pair – so their dance is, properly speaking, a duet. But while there are some continuities between this dance and the paired performances of *kubistētēres* found elsewhere in early Greek hexameter, there are also some crucial differences.¹ In particular, the description of the Phaeacian duet, as I discuss at greater length below, is highly attentive to individual motion and choreography. The term *mounax*, accordingly, must mean “alone,” “individually,” or “singly.”

A parallel construction in *Odyssey* 11 is illuminating. There, the ghost of Agamemnon contrasts his own fate with those who died “while fighting in single combat” (μουνὰξ κτεινομένων, 11.417). This phrase does not imply that the warrior fights completely “alone,” for he is obviously engaging with an opponent. Rather, *mounax* here means something like “singly” or “individually:” it denotes a form of combat where a man goes forth on his own, to fight one-on-one with another man. The motions executed by the two fighters are thus unavoidably coordinated and engaged with one another, but they each attack and react as single actors, fighting “individually” rather than within a larger combat formation.

This understanding of the term *mounax* also fits with the danced action in *Odyssey* 8. There, Halios and Laodamas perform together, but their dance foregrounds their individuality and singularity. In Homer’s description of their performance, each dancer displays unique choreography: their movement is coordinated, but not synchronized. Compared with the emphatically communal choral performance that immediately precedes it (8.260-265), Halios’ and Laodamas’ dance provides a striking example of the pitfalls and possibilities of individualized dance in early Greek thought.

It is no coincidence that this remarkable display of “solo” virtuosity occurs in the fantastic and exceptional space of Scheria.² As many scholars have observed, the land of the Phaeacians is poised between the fantasy worlds of Odysseus’ travels and the real world of Ithaca. As such, it contains both truly super-human elements and remarkably ordinary and familiar ones.³ Dance on Scheria is no exception to this overall pattern: Phaeacian performance is, in some respects, quite similar to the ideal models of human *choreia* found elsewhere in archaic and classical Greek literature. At the same time, there are some truly unique and unusual aspects to the role of dance in this episode and within this particular space.

I will begin this chapter by comparing the formal features and effects of the two performances that are described as occurring on Scheria. I will demonstrate first how these dances correspond with the choro-centric dance paradigm outlined in Chapter 1, then highlight a

¹ On these performances, see Chapter 1.2c. Note that Mullen 1982: 12-21, Nagy 1990: 352, and Bierl 2012: 129 connect Halios and Laodamas with these other instances of acrobatic paired performance.

² I will use the terms “solo” and “individualized” interchangeably to describe the movement of Halios and Laodamas, for while the dance is, clearly, a duet, it does feature a remarkable emphasis on the performance of each dancer as an individual.

³ For this characterization of Scheria, see Vidal-Naquet 1986, Segal 1994: 12-84, Dougherty 2001: 81-160, Purves 2010b: 335-341.

few crucial points of tension and difference. Next, I will consider how the choreography of these two distinct dances corresponds with the overarching imagery of motion and space deployed during Odysseus' time among the Phaeacians (*Odyssey* 6-8, 13), demonstrating that the poem generally reinforces a choro-centric hierarchy of performance modes. I will further suggest, however, that the performance of Halius and Laodamas has a special connection with the narrative poetics of the *Odyssey*, which accounts for the poet's unusual and striking exploration of such non-choral kinetic expression. Finally, I will turn to Plato's reception of the Phaeacian episode, which reinforces a conception of individualized dance as competitive and unruly, and brings into sharper relief some of the unique elements of Homer's description.

1. Two Phaeacian Dances

The Phaeacian festivities in *Odyssey* 8 feature two distinct forms of dance performance. Alcinous initially calls for “all the best dancers of the Phaeacians” (Φαίηκων βητάρμονες ὄσοι ἄριστοι, 8.250), leaving the precise number of performers unspecified. Once the dancing space has been prepared (8.259-263), the “youthful boys” (κοῦροι πρωθῆβαι, 8.262-3) with “sparkling feet” (μαρμαρυγὰς ... ποδῶν, 8.265) perform their “divine dance” (χορὸν θεῖον, 8.265). The bard Demodocus then sings a tale of Ares and Aphrodite, accompanying himself on the lyre. I suggest that we should read Demodocus' performance as the musical component of the young men's *choreia*.⁴ Finally, the audience enjoys Halius and Laodamas' acrobatic *pas de deux*:

Ἀλκίνοος δ' Ἄλιον καὶ Λαοδάμαντα κέλευσε
 μουνᾶξ ὀρχήσασθαι, ἐπεὶ σφισιν οὐ τις ἔριζεν.
 οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν σφαῖραν καλὴν μετὰ χερσὶν ἔλοντο,
 πορφυρέην, τὴν σφιν Πόλυβος ποίησε δαΐφρων,
 τὴν ἕτερος ρίπτασκε ποτὶ νέφεα σκιδόντα
 ἰδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω· ὁ δ' ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑπόσ' ἀερθεὶς
 ῥηϊδίως μεθέλεσκε, πάρος ποσὶν οὐδ' ἀκέσθαι.
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σφαῖρη ἄν' ἰθὺν πειρήσαντο,
 ὀρχεῖσθην δὴ ἔπειτα ποτὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρη
 ταρφέ' ἀμειβομένω· κοῦροι δ' ἐπελήκεον ἄλλοι
 ἔσταότες κατ' ἀγῶνα, πολὺς δ' ὑπὸ κόμπος ὀρώρει.

Then Alkinoos asked Halius and Laodamas to dance

⁴This reading is somewhat contested, but those who accept it include Lawler 1964: 48-49, Mullen 182: 13, Danielewicz 1990: 56-57 (with further bibliography), David 2006: 173-174 (we need not necessarily adopt David's more general ideas about the chorality of Homer), and Kurke 2012: 184 n.1. I would specifically point out (with Danielewicz 1990: 56) that Demodocus is located in the midst of the dancers *before* the dance begins (8.262), suggesting a fundamental integration of the three modes of performance (song, instrumental music, and dance). Power 2010: 210 n.58 notes, however, how unusual it is to find an apparently mute chorus, a feature I am inclined to attribute to the fantastic and irregular qualities of Phaeacian culture in general. Among those who separate the performance of the dancers from that of Demodocus, see especially D'Alfonso 1994: 42-44. Her observation that the poet focuses purely on aural, rather than visual, pleasure in the reception of Demodocus' performance is contextualized well, I think, by Power, whose claim that “the choral background is overshadowed by the foregrounded citharode” (2010: 210 n.59) highlights the poet's interest in performance hierarchies (that may or may not be sure signs as to how we should understand the logistics of the actual performance described). My argument in the pages to follow further explores how the evaluative responses of Odysseus and the Phaeacians are not neutral reflections of the events at hand, but strategic ways of organizing and framing different forms of performance.

all by themselves, since there was none to challenge them. These two, after they had taken up in their hands the ball, a beautiful thing, red, which Polybos the skilled craftsman had made them, one of them, bending far back, would throw it up to the shadowy clouds, and the other, going high off the ground, would easily catch it again, before his feet came back to the ground. Then after they had played their game with the ball thrown upward, these two performed a dance on the generous earth, with rapid interchange of position, and the rest of the young men standing about the field stamped out the time, and a great sound rose up. (*Odyssey* 8.370-380, trans. Lattimore)

As I have already noted, Halius and Laodamas “dance individually” (μονῶς ὀρχήσασθαι), in contrast with the preceding choral performance. Moreover, the young men of the first performance are not named individually or assigned solo choreography. Our knowledge of them is limited to their common characteristics: age, gender, and perhaps social status. In this second dance, however, Laodamas and Halius are specifically named, singled out by Alcinous for their virtuosity, “because no one competes with them” (ἐπεὶ σφισιν οὐ τις ἔριζεν, 8.371).⁵ The poet describes the unique choreography and acrobatics of each dancer in turn, focusing on the motion of individual bodies rather than the appearance of the dance as a whole.

The type of movement featured in the two performances also differs. The description of the first dance moves primarily along the horizontal plane, beginning with the preparation of the dancing floor (“and they smoothed the dancing floor and made wide the fine gathering place,” λείηναν δὲ χορόν, καλὸν δ’ εὖρυναν ἀγῶνα, 8.260). The poet locates Demodocus in the midst of the dancers (κί’ ἐς μέσον, 8.262), then focuses again on the floor and the dancers’ feet (8.264-5). Halius and Laodamas, on the other hand, move actively through the vertical plane: “leaping high off the ground” (ὁ δ’ ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψὸς’ ἀερθεῖς, 8.375) and tossing a ball “to the shadowy clouds” (ποτὶ νέφεα σκιάεντα, 8.374). While the young men seem to remain upright (ἴσταντο, 8.263) and dance primarily with their feet (πέπληγον δὲ χορόν θείον ποσίην, 8.264), Halius carves backward in space, employing his whole body in the dance (ιδνωθεῖς ὀπίσω, 8.375).

Finally, while the first dance features many participants, the poet focalizes its impact through the experience of Odysseus alone, describing how he “gazed at the twinkling of their feet, and he marveled in his heart” (μαρμαρυγὰς θηεῖτο ποδῶν, θαύμαζε δὲ θυμῶ, 8.265). At the end of Halius and Laodamas’ dance, however, the poet describes the young men responding kinetically to the soloists’ performance: “the other young men, standing around the gathering place, beat time” (κοῦροι δ’ ἐπελήκεον ἄλλοι ἐστεῶτες κατ’ ἀγῶνα, 8.379-380).⁶ The impact of

⁵ The imperfect ἔριζεν here is curious. I take it not as emphasizing past action (e.g., “no one used to compete with them,” *vel sim.*) but rather the progressive or continuous quality of the action (no one on Scheria habitually competes with the king’s sons). Monro highlights the use of the imperfect in such a progressive sense in Homeric Greek, particularly with verbs of motion (and movement – specifically dance – is clearly implicit in this particular use of ἔριζεν) (1891: 64). On a different note, I use the term “virtuosity” here to signify Halius and Laodamas’ technical excellence. As my discussion above suggests (and as I will explore in a different context below), the description of Halius’ and Laodamas’ dance focuses on the superlative abilities of individual bodies in a way that the choral dance does not. For a recent study of virtuosity as a concept in modern performance studies, cf. Howard 2008.

⁶ Admittedly, the verb ἐπελήκεον, occurring only here, is somewhat obscure. Scholars generally agree, however, that it refers to some kind of sonic/rhythmic contribution to the dance, either clapping hands or stamping feet in

each performance is thus illustrated via a different internal audience – first Odysseus alone, then the previously-dancing youths. The qualities of the two responses likewise differ: Odysseus' experience is personal and internal (watching, marveling), while the young men communicate their appreciation externally through sound and motion. These are all, I suggest, highly significant differences.

a. Phaeacian Performance within a Choral Paradigm

The first dance – the performance of the Phaeacian youths – is one of several important representations of the chorus in archaic poetry.⁷ As such, it has frequently been understood as a paradigm of *choreia*,⁸ and indeed, this dance exemplifies several of the key characteristics associated with *choreia* in early Greek thought. While I have discussed the conceptualization of choral performance more fully in Ch. 1, I return to these issues briefly here in order to highlight their relationship with this extended description of Phaeacian dance.

Choral dance is generally accompanied by song, which is often performed by the dancers themselves, but occasionally, as in the case of the young Phaeacian men, by others.⁹ This combination of vocal and kinetic activity is often, conceptually, essential, for choral dance can be constructed as the embodied or physical extension of choral song.¹⁰ In *choreia*, the movement of the body is often thought to be made legible by the explanatory and interpretive power of the voice – its meaning depends upon the accompanying song.¹¹ The seemingly mute performance of the Phaeacian youths is, in a sense, an extreme version of this abiding element of *choreia*. Their dance is a purely kinetic display organized around the musical expression of the bard.

Choral dance also features multiple performers moving in unison. The synchronicity of multiple dancers is vital, for as Leslie Kurke contends, such “inspired dance” functions to, among other things, accomplish a shift from “multiplicity to unity.”¹² The shared movement of many is also a powerful and dynamic social force, creating cohesion and structuring communal

time. See Stanford, 2003 [1947]: 341-2, who also suggests the ὑπὸ in line 380 could signify accompaniment, and Peponi 2012: 84.

⁷ Others include *Iliad* 18.590-605 and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 188-206.

⁸ E.g., Power 2011: 68-70 and Kurke 2012 and 2013a.

⁹ See, e.g., Naerebout: “I would maintain that as a general rule, choral performance, provided we can agree what performances were indeed choral, implies a performance which includes both song and dance (1997: 184). On the organization of the Phaeacian youths’ *choreia*, see Danielewicz 1990 and Kurke 2012: 171, 184 n. 1. Calame 1997 suggests two models for archaic choruses: one wherein the leader plays an instrument while the chorus sings and dances (“Apollonian”), and one wherein the leader plays an instrument and sings, while the chorus dances (“citharodic”) (49-53, 71).

¹⁰ As Peponi, in a reading of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, claims: “in the complex act and art of *choreia*, comprising both vocal and kinetic activity, bodily movement is essentially conceived as the physical projection of the voice itself” (Peponi 2009: 57-8). Cf. also Peponi’s analysis of deixis and metaphor in Alcman 1, which suggests the ways in which choral song structures the audience’s experience of choral dance. Specifically, she demonstrates how the language of song guides the audience’s visual perception of dance, contending that the chorus of Alcman’s first *Partheneion* “invite[s] [the audience] into a world that can be seen, understood, and enjoyed only through their own singing words” (Peponi 2004a: 313). Again, all the material on *choreia* cited briefly here is treated at greater length in the previous chapter.

¹¹ See Chapter 1.4.

¹² Kurke 2012: 183. See also Kurke 2013a.

identity through the ritual practice of *choreia*.¹³ The effect is enhanced by the frequent organization of choruses, in Greek society, by age, class, and gender. Individual performers are thus linked by external characteristics as well as by their shared movement within the chorus: choreography replicates and consolidates existing social categories.¹⁴

The young men of *Odyssey* 8 are, as I have already noted, united by age and gender. Likewise, the poet's description of their performance focuses purely upon the group: no individual is singled out for attention or derision. The emphasis on horizontal movement in the description of this dance further reinforces this sense of community cohesion by creating a visual metaphor for the links between members of the performing group.¹⁵ While dancing in the supernatural land of Scheria, these young men nonetheless exemplify the social force of *choreia* as conceptualized in cases of real archaic Greek practice.¹⁶

Finally, choral performance is a *thauma*, or “wonder.”¹⁷ Richard Neer, in his study of archaic sculpture, contends that *thauma* in archaic thought arises from a sense of “doubleness.” In Neer's conceptualization, a wonder “forms a hinge or joint linking the poles of 'this' and 'that'” (2010: 67).¹⁸ Kurke suggests that this understanding of *thauma* can be applied to dance performance as well, for “like statuary, the chorus is also significantly double or twofold, as, for the brief period of the dance, the dancers seem both human and divine, both living, breathing and mechanical—perfectly synchronized and put together of articulated parts that all work in unison” (2013a: 159). Kurke uses the young men of *Odyssey* 8 as an example of this phenomenon, calling attention particularly to the “gleaming” of the young men's feet (μαρμαρυγὰς, 8.265) and the “divine” quality (θεῖον, 8.265) of their dance, which represent “a remarkable fusion of elements—human and divine, natural and artificial” (2013a: 154). It is this doubleness or fusion that gives rise to *thauma*.¹⁹

¹³ See esp. Kowalzig 2007b for a study of choral ritual as way of articulating specific versions of communal history and identity. The multiplicity of choral performers is an implied condition for this role, a feature made more explicit in Kowalzig 2013a, which discusses how Plato, in the *Laws*, imagines *choreia* and *rhythmos* as working together to achieve both the “integration of the individual and collective” and create “political stability and [prevent] social change” (172).

¹⁴ Cf., e.g., Calame 1997 and Stehle 1997. Kurke 2007 shows how choral lyric can articulate group values and identity in flexible and dynamic ways – while my emphasis here is on the unifying social force of the chorus as compared with the effects of virtuoso solo dance, I do not mean to deny the subtlety and complexity of choral performance as a way of structuring community emphasized in recent scholarship (see also Kurke 2005, Kowalzig 2007b).

¹⁵ On *choreia* as a connecting force in archaic poetry and Plato, see especially Kurke 2013a.

¹⁶ By this, I mean the ideology evident in choral songs that we know to have actually been performed in ancient Greece – see specifically the analyses of Kurke 2005 and 2007 and Kowalzig 2007b.

¹⁷ See Kurke: “all the potent effects of *choreia* derive from a single source: the heightened aesthetic value or superlative beauty it conferred on bodies, whose impact on the audience the Greeks conceived as a heady fusion of *eros* (desire) and *thauma* (wonder)” (2012: 172). While *eros* and desire do not feature prominently in this episode, I discuss below how the poet structures spectator response in order to explore the sources of wonder (*thauma*) and awe (*sebas*).

¹⁸ Neer's argument draws on Prier's (1989) analysis of the phrase *thauma idesthai* (“a wonder to behold”) in archaic Greek. He specifically notes that an object that is a *thauma idesthai* “exists in grammatical middle even as it occupies a phenomenological middle between grasping sight and radiant light” (2010: 67). This grounding in language makes his theoretical framework all the more relevant to literary and textual sources.

¹⁹ See also Power 2011, who calls attention to a similar set of aesthetic issues (monumentality, statuary, and *thauma*) in the depiction of archaic choruses. One important effect of this nexus of imagery, for Power, is to confer a sense of permanence upon the performing chorus – especially in the case of “standing choruses,” it encourages “the fantasy that their members are eternal objects come to daedalic life in song and dance” (2010b: 98-99). This phenomenology of the chorus nicely complements Kowalzig's observations about the way in which Plato

Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi, in her analysis of Alcman's first *Partheneion*, discusses how choral performance invites the process of *theorein*, or "intensive" and "contemplative" viewing.²⁰ I believe that Peponi's conceptualization of choral spectatorship can help explain how viewers might interact with the "doubleness" of the chorus as identified by Kurke. Specifically, the language of choral song guides the audience's visual perception: Peponi observes that, in Alcman 1, "through the chorus's guidance and educated vision, the most familiar entities are seen to be the most magnificent wonders" (2004: 313). Again, *choreia* relies upon the primacy of verbal expression, as the sung portion of the performance cues the interpretive viewing that enables the audience to comprehend the *thauma* of dancing bodies.

In Kurke's reading, the dance of the Phaeacian youths evokes other images or associations (divinity, sculpture) even as the performers themselves remain physically and visually present (2013: 31-32). The majority of their dance is, as I have suggested, likely contextualized by the verbal expression of Demodocus, strumming his lyre and singing of Ares and Aphrodite. The prelude described at lines 250-265 is made subject to a different bard: the performer of the *Odyssey* itself. While this is also true, of course, for the description of Halius' and Laodamas' dance, I suggest that we pay careful attention to some important differences. In the description of the young men's dance, the communicative range and flexibility of poetry is on full display. For example, the wonderful polyvalence of the term *choros* in Greek enables the poet to give a single adjective a wide-ranging significance. While I interpret the phrase *πέπληγον δὲ χορὸν θεῖον ποσίην* (8.264) as primarily meaning that the young men "beat out a divine dance (*choros*) with their feet,"²¹ it does not exclude a secondary meaning: that they "stamped the holy dancing-space (*choros*) with their feet." Both the dance and the space share in the aura of divinity.

The poet's first reference to the dancers' bodies employs, surprisingly, a verb of stillness: "the young men stood around [Demodocus]" (*ἀμφὶ δὲ κοῦροι / πρωθῆβαι ἴσαντο*, 8.262-263). Yet their stance here already embodies *choreia*, for the verb *histēmi*, in early Greek usage, is persistently associated with the organization of choral performance.²² Again, this is a kind of double signification made possible by language. The poet describes standing bodies, but uses a term that previews their imminent motion. In the imagination of the listening audience, the young men are standing still, yet they are also already choreuts— an impossible condition for "real" bodies that is nonetheless a hallmark of ideal Greek conceptions of *choreia*. As Timothy Power has observed, "in this pregnant stillness the young men (*κοῦροι*) temporarily appear as fixed statues before their feet again propel them into motion" (2010b: 69). He locates this passage within a nexus of choral imagery that emphasizes the "thingliness" (2010b: 98) of the chorus and its simultaneous monumentality and mobility. This association, for the audience of *Odyssey*, is forged, not by a precise and physically plausible description of bodies, but by the complexity of the term *histēmi*, the implicit allusion to other paradigms of *choreia*,²³ and the pacing of the narration.

In fact, the poet's description of Phaeacian choral dance features remarkably little

specifically deploys rhythm as a mechanism of choral continuity and social stability (2013a). Both conceptions of the chorus rely on multiplicity and resist the differentiation of individual choreuts (whether in a single performance or across time).

²⁰ Peponi 2004a: 309.

²¹ With Stanford 2003 [1947]: 338 and Kurke 2012: 180.

²² Calame 1997: 88–89, 94, Nagy 1990: 361–62, Peponi 2004a: 314-315, Power 2010b: 69 n. 48, Alonge 2012.

²³ Most comparable passages are, of course, later, but cf. *Iliad* 18. 590-608, especially as discussed by Kurke 2012: 178, 183-184.

attention to choreography and direct corporeal description. Instead, it conjures up an image of the dance through the skillful use of marked terminology and figurative language. As I will demonstrate in the next section, these descriptive strategies stand in contrast to the poet's subsequent narration of Halius' and Laodamas' dance. They serve in part to over-determine the subordination of the young men's dance to the realm of verbal expression: they are subject both to Demodocus (within the storyworld of the poem) and ultimately to the narrating poet as well.²⁴ The Phaeacian youths are paradigmatic dancers who exemplify the ideal multiplicity, wonder, and social cohesion of the chorus. They are also a particularly powerful example of the ways in which the description of performance can work to reinforce the subordinate relationship of dance to song.

The subsequent paired performance of Halius and Laodamas may also be connected with a broadly-conceived choral paradigm. As I have already remarked, some scholars interpret this performance as an example of acrobatic paired performance embedded within a larger choral spectacle. In this reading, Phaeacian *mounax orchesis* exists in harmony with, rather than opposition to, *choreia*. The movement of the virtuoso Phaeacian princes enriches and supplements a Phaeacian kinetic extravaganza that basically promotes the beauty and wonder of the chorus.²⁵

We might even interpret this paired dance as *choreia* in miniature, for the performance of Halius and Laodamas exhibits some quintessentially choral characteristics. The final portion of their dance is described as a "rapid interchange of position" (ταρφέ' ἀμειβομένω, 8.379). The verb used here, *ameibō*, has a close association with choral performance. While it is otherwise used to describe sonic interchange, Peponi's reading of this passage, which is part of a larger analysis of the role of *amoibē* in conceptualizations of musical and emotional reciprocity in the chorus (2007: 357-361), suggests that the appearance of *amoibē* here demonstrates how "dance [...] is also considered a symbolic code subject to exchange, in a way similar to speech exchange" (2007: 358). In addition, the poet describes how Laodamas "having leapt off the ground, easily catches [the ball]" (ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψὸς' ἀερθεις / ῥῆιδίως μεθέλεσκε, 8.375-376). *Rēidiōs*, the adverb applied to Laodamas' simultaneous leap-and-catch, evokes the ease and lightness that often, in choral descriptions, characterizes the movement of the choreuts' feet.²⁶ Halius' and Laodamas' kinetic *amoibē* and easy movement thus aligns them with the realm of the chorus.

Odysseus' embedded response to this performance affirms such a harmonious and complementary understanding of the relationship between choral and individualized dance. As I mentioned above, the description of Halius' and Laodamas' dance concludes with the enthusiastic appreciation of the other Phaeacian youths:

ὠρχεῖσθην δὴ ἔπειτα ποτὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
 ταρφέ' ἀμειβομένω· κοῦροι δ' ἐπελήκεον ἄλλοι
 ἔστεῶτες κατ' ἀγῶνα, πολὺς δ' ὑπὸ κόμπος ὀρώρει.

These two [Halius and Laodamas] performed a dance on the generous earth, with

²⁴ The term "storyworld," in narratology, refers to the internal environment of a narrative – the "world" of characters and plot. On narratology as a lens for the study of Homeric poetry, see De Jong 2001.

²⁵ For an analysis along these lines, see Bierl 2012.

²⁶ E.g., the choreuts on Achilles' Shield "run quite easily on their knowing feet" (θρέξασκον ἐπισταμένοισι πόδεσσι / ῥεῖα μάλ', *Iliad* 18.599-600).

rapid interchange of position, and the rest of the young men standing about the field stamped out the time, and a great sound rose up. (*Odyssey* 8.378-380, trans. Lattimore)

In a sense, Halius and Laodamas inspire the *kouroi*, the previously-performing young men, to return to the dance. The young men, to be sure, remain spatially marginal, positioned around the edges of the dancing space (ἔστεῶτες κατ' ἀγῶνα, 8.380). They certainly do not seem to move in unison with Halius and Laodamas, even in this concluding moment. At the same time, their contribution is both sonic and rhythmic (ἐπελήκεον, 8.379).²⁷ No longer static spectators, the young men have become participants – if also simultaneously embedded observers – in the performance as a whole.²⁸ Anton Bierl thus characterizes them as analogous to Alcman's female *choregoi*: “they are the chorus leaders, the stars, while the group of young dancers stands around them to admire them” (2012: 128).

The choreographic structure of the performance reinforces the centrality and primacy of the chorus. As I have suggested, the young men's kinetic-sonic response to Halius' and Laodamas' performance facilitates their own return to the dance. The shift from the aorist (πεπήσαντο, 8.375) to the imperfect (ὠρχείσθην, 8.378) suggests, I believe, that Halius' and Laodamas' initial ball-playing dance should be understood as a discrete performance, while their subsequent movement (ὠρχείσθην) occurs in conjunction with the young men's clapping (or stamping). The young men are, for a time, both participants and spectators, integrating the virtuoso pair into their own form of expression. Halius' and Laodamas' dance is thus no longer an independent event, but part of the overarching choral choreography. The soloists emerge from, and ultimately return to, the chorus.

This structure also enables Odysseus to frame his appreciation of the performance quite broadly. Following the description of the earlier choral performance, the poet describes how Odysseus “wonders in his heart” when “he watches the glimmerings of the [young men's] feet” (αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς / μαρμαρυγὰς θηεῖτο ποδῶν, θαύμαζε δὲ θυμῷ, 8.265-266). But after Halius and Laodamas perform, we have no immediate poetic turn to Odysseus. It is only after the young men express their appreciation for the soloists that Odysseus remarks to Alcinoos: “you boasted that your people were the best dancers, and so it is: I am struck by awe beholding them” (ἡμὲν ἀπέλιπας βητάρμονας εἶναι ἀρίστους, / ἦδ' ἄρ' ἑτοῖμα τέτυκτο: σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα, 8.382-384).

Odysseus' two responses are quite similar. In both instances, the poet focuses on his hero's visual perception of the dance (θηεῖτο, εἰσορόωντα). This perception seems to consistently provoke a sense of amazement. While *thauma* and *sebas* are not completely synonymous, the terms are close enough to suggest that the reaction described here is fundamentally the same.²⁹

²⁷ Admittedly, the verb ἐπελήκεον, occurring only here, is somewhat obscure. Scholars generally agree, however, that it refers to some kind of sonic/rhythmic contribution to the dance, either clapping hands or stamping feet in time. See Stanford 2003 [1947]: 341-2, who also suggests the ὑπὸ in line 380 could signify accompaniment, and Peponi 2012: 84.

²⁸ For another example of the ways in which a chorus can be figured as the internal spectators of a soloist's performance, and thus poised between audience and action, see Peponi's 2007 analysis of Alcman's second *partheneion*.

²⁹ There can be important distinctions in these terms and each one is worthy of careful study in its own right (Rudhardt 2000 aligns *sebas* specifically with divinity and religious value; Hunzinger 1994 argues that *thauma* has different connotations in Homer and Hesiod, but notes its relationship to both visibility (7) and multiplicity (13) and

Moreover, Odysseus' remark to Alcinous emphasizes the entirety of the group, not the recently-showcased virtuoso soloists. He tells the Phaeacian king that his *bētarmones* are indeed the best (8.382), repeating the term used previously by Alcinous to initiate the young men's performance (ἀλλ' ἄγε, Φαιήκων βητάρμονες ὅσσοι ἄριστοι, "but come, all who are the best *bētarmones* of the Phaeacians," 8.250). The term *bētarmones* itself also implicitly references the choral performance, for while the word is rare, its etymology is relatively clear: it derives from *bainō* (step, walk) and *arariskō* (fit, join), a pair of concepts well-suited to the coordinated quality of choral dance.³⁰ To be sure, the term does not specifically exclude Halius and Laodamas, whose motion is also clearly coordinated. But Odysseus' invocation of the specific word used by Alcinous to inaugurate the entirety of the performance does have an important evaluative force. He frames his appreciation broadly, citing the superlative quality of all the Phaeacian dancers and, implicitly, the awe-inspiring (*sebas*) nature of the performance as a whole.

Odysseus' response thus affirms an understanding of *Odyssey* 8.250-380 as a holistic spectacle. The choral prelude of the Phaeacian youths, the performance of Demodocus' song, and the virtuoso finale of Halius and Laodamas are distinct elements of a single dance, which spotlights various forms of kinetic and sonic expression at different times. Phaeacian dancers and the singing bard work together to produce a wholly pleasing and harmonious performance. When Odysseus turns to Alcinous and says "your dancers are indeed the best" (ἡμὲν ἀπειλήσας βητάρμονας εἶναι ἀρίστους, 8.382), he invokes an expansive choral paradigm that includes both solo song and individualized dance.

b. Phaeacian Dance beyond Choreia

Alcinous, however, goes to some trouble to single out his own dancing sons. As I mentioned above, he calls upon Halius and Laodamas to "dance individually" because they are the best of the best, men with whom "no one competes" (Ἀλκίνοος δ' Ἄλιον καὶ Λαοδάμαντα κέλευσε / μουνᾶξ ὀρχήσασθαι, ἐπεὶ σφισιν οὐ τις ἔριζεν, 8.370-371). Odysseus' appreciative emphasis on the totality of the spectacle is not, I suggest, a neutral reflection of the events at hand. Rather, his words constitute a strategic effort to frame the performance in a very specific way: one which resists Alcinous' emphasis upon the individualized performance of his two virtuoso sons. I will offer some possible reasons for Odysseus' response below. First, I want to highlight how Halius' and Laodamas' dance differs from the typical paradigm of *choreia*. In doing so, I deliberately complicate the harmonious reading I have offered immediately above, and call attention to an underlying tension in the depiction of the paired dancers in contrast to the preceding choral performance.

In the preceding section and, at greater length, in Chapter 1, I outlined some crucial characteristics of *choreia* in archaic and classical Greek thought: the unified motion of multiple dancers; the consolidation of social categories through the act of shared performance; the

relates it closely with the experience of aesthetic contemplation). But there is undoubtedly some common ground covered by the two terms: note, for example, the presence of both *thauma* and *sebas* in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, lines 8-11: [the flower] ὄν φῦσε δόλον καλυκώπιδι κούρη / Γαῖα Διὸς βουλῆσι χαρίζομένη πολυδέκτη / θαυμαστὸν γανόωντα, σέβας τότε πᾶσιν ιδέσθαι / ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖς ἠδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις – we even find *sebas idesthai* in place of the more usual *thauma idesthai* (cf. Prier 1989). I think we can thus understand *sebas* in *Odyssey* 8.384 as marking an experience of amazement/awe/wonder comparable to the *thauma* at 8.266.

³⁰ Barker 1989: 27 n. 26. See also Power 2011: 68 n. 45, who connects this term with the conceptual relationship between *choreia* and skilled crafting.

synthesis of sound and movement, often with a particular emphasis on the primacy of song; an abiding “doubleness” that generates an experience of *thauma*. Homer’s description of Halius’ and Laodamas’ dance stands in contrast to all of these basic qualities of *choreia*.

Most simply, it focuses on the movements and gestures of two discrete dancers. This is, obviously, a way of encountering dance that diverges from the emphasis, in *choreia*, on the unified beauty of many bodies in motion. Likewise, Halius and Laodamas are outstanding and special individuals: rather than uniting a community in corporeal expression, their dance displays their own unique status. On the one hand, the young men's enthusiasm for Alcinous' sons performance (8.379-380) does help define and consolidate Phaeacian community. But note that it is a return to communal sound and movement (ἐπελήκεον) that ultimately accomplishes that effect. The aesthetic and social value of choral multiplicity is not to be found in the *mounax orchesis* of Halius and Laodamas.

Halius' and Laodamas' dance is also not a *thauma*, nor does it invite the interpretive or comparative process of *theorein*. The paratactic quality of their choreography excludes the kind of simultaneity and doubleness typically associated with *choreia*. The poet describes the movement of the one dancer, then the other (ἕτερος...ὁ δέ, 8.374-375). The focus of the dance begins with the “shadowy clouds” (νέφεα σκιόεντα, 8.374) and concludes with the “fertile earth” (χθονὶ πολυβοτείρη, 8.378). The transitions from one body or space to another are clearly marked, leaving no room for a sense of likeness or simultaneous representation.

The poet's description of Halius' and Laodamas' dance also contains no analogies, similes, or otherwise figurative language. Even the ball that the men use for their performance is not compared to another art object, but is instead described literally: “the fine purple ball, the one which skillful Polybos [actually] made for them.” We might contrast this with a description found in the 18th book of the *Iliad*, wherein the dancing space on the shield of Achilles is likened to one made by Daedalus: ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις, / τῷ ἴκελον οἶόν ποτ’ ἐνὶ Κνωσῷ εὐρείῃ / Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ (*Iliad* 18.590-592). In fact, the choral performance at the end of the poet's description of the shield of Achilles is full of doubling and likeness, particularly focused on the comparison of one craftsman and his work to another.³¹ In this context, the simplicity and lack of deeper signification in the description of Halius and Laodamas' ball is especially striking. The poet's description, therefore, avoids ascribing the qualities associated with *thauma* elsewhere in archaic poetry to the solo performance of Alcinous' sons.

But the description of Halius’ and Laodamas’ dance surpasses the parallel description of *choreia* in its attention to somatic position and action. As I remarked above, the poet’s description of the young men’s dance features little attention to the actual bodies of the performers: their bodies are upright (8.263) and their feet stamp the earth (8.265). Beyond that, the poet gives us very little ability to envision the choreography of the dance. Halius’ and Laodamas’ performance, by contrast, could almost be re-constructed from the poet’s narration. If, as I argued above, the description of the young men’s dance foregrounds the subordination of the kinetic to the verbal by emphasizing the allusive and polyvalent powers of language, the description of this second dance displays a different poetic strategy. The dance is still, to be sure, constructed and conjured by language: the audience, ancient or modern, does not encounter it directly or visually. Yet the poet here strives for a kind of descriptive transparency, putting aside figurative language and the doubleness of *thauma* in order to draw a vivid and more fully embodied picture of the dance for the listener.

³¹ Cf. Frontisi-Ducroux 2002 and Kurke 2012: 183-184.

The dance of Halius and Laodamas thus differs from ideal paradigms of choral performance in some crucial ways: it emphasizes singularity instead of multiplicity, it functions as a display of individual status rather than group cohesion, and it is described in a way that employs straight choreographic narration rather than figurative imagery and the verbal evocation of *thauma*.³² As I outline above, there is certainly a way of understanding this dance in harmony with its larger choral context. Odysseus' response, I suggest, is intended partially to encourage this interpretation. But Alcinous' emphasis on this particular element of the performance – the paired dance of his superlative sons – opens up another way of viewing the show. As I have highlighted here, Halius and Laodamas offer a performance that is, in some important ways, beyond the choral paradigm. In order to understand why this dance functions in such strikingly unique ways – and why Homer, via Odysseus, also provides us with a more traditional way of viewing it – it is helpful to consider the entire performance within its larger narrative context.

2. Dance, Song, and Narrative in the *Odyssey*

As I mention above, the dynamic virtuosity of Halius and Laodamas has been linked with a set of other hexameter references to acrobatic pairs performing in conjunction with a chorus.³³ Such *kubistētēres*, however, are generally granted only a line or two of attention within a longer description of ideal or paradigmatic *choreia*. In *Odyssey* 8, the poet draws out the model of “chorus plus two” to offer an extended, and unparalleled, account of individualized and virtuosic dance. In the section to come, I account for this choice on several levels. I consider the function of these dances and their differing choreographies and descriptive modes, both within the poem and on a more conceptual level. I contend that the description of these two dances, within its narrative context, largely promotes the value of *choreia* over and above more individualized dance forms. That hierarchy has an important and meaningful connection to the plot of *Odyssey* 6-8. At the same time, I suggest that the poet makes a significant choice in narrating Halius' and Laodamas' dance in the ways discussed above. I argue that the narrative poetics of the *Odyssey* allow for the possibility of other – non-epic, even non-verbal – modes of expression,³⁴ a poetic perspective that is uniquely suited to the exploration of dance.

a. Choreography and Competition

These two Phaeacian dances play an important role within the plot of *Odyssey* 8, which offers one way of accounting for their formal differences. Near the beginning of the book, Alcinous notices that Odysseus weeps when Demodocus sings of Trojan exploits (8.94-95).

³² On the other hand, the description of the young men's performance at 8.250-265 foregrounds dance in a very striking way (it is, in this respect, much more like the description of *choreia* in *Iliad* 18 than the logocentric vision of the Muses' *choreia* in the opening lines of the *Theogony*. On these performances, see Chapter 1.4). See Peponi 2013c for a set of important connections between the Phaeacian choral dance and its paired counterpart. But the description of the Phaeacian youths' performance is also, as I have argued here, linked with other idealized images of the chorus, most of which are much less dance-centric. Likewise, if we read their dance as continuing in accompaniment to Demodocus' song, their movement then becomes coordinated with, in a sense even subordinated to, song. All the same, we could certainly say that there are ways in which this dance – like Halius' and Laodamas' performance – vacillates between a fairly traditional model of *choreia* and something distinctly different.

³³ *Iliad* 18.604-605, *Odyssey* 4.16-19, and *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 2001-201, on which cf. Mullen 1982: 12-21, Nagy 1990: 352, and Lonsdale 1993: 53. These passages are discussed at further in Chapter 1.2c.

³⁴ In making this claim, I build upon the work of Purves 2010a, discussed in greater detail below.

Troubled by his guest's distress, he invites his people to go out from the palace and turn their attention to athletic pursuits (8.100-110), so that Odysseus, “returning home, can tell his friends how far we [the Phaeacians] surpass other men in boxing, wrestling, leaping, and with their feet” (ἐνίσπη οἴσι φίλοισιν / οἴκαδε νοστήσας, ὅσσον περιγιγνόμεθ’ ἄλλων / πύξ τε παλαιμοσύνη τε καὶ ἄλμασιν ἠδὲ πόδεσσιν, 8.101-103). Implicitly, Alcinous inaugurates the games because he notices that the song is causing pain to his guest and seeks distraction in a new activity. Explicitly, he frames them as a display of Phaeacian skill. The competition arguably fails on both counts.³⁵

After the poet describes the prowess of the Phaeacian men in superlative terms (8.121-130), Laodamas invites Odysseus to participate (8.145-151). Odysseus demurs, citing weariness and sorrow (8.153-157), but then decides to join in the discus throw after being taunted by Euryalus (8.181-193). The poet describes Odysseus' throw thus:

τόν ῥα περιστρέψας ἤκε στιβαρῆς ἀπὸ χειρός,
 βόμβησεν δὲ λίθος· κατὰ δ’ ἔπτηξαν ποτὶ γαίῃ
 Φαίηκες δολιχῆρετμοὶ, ναυσίκλυτοὶ ἄνδρες,
 λαῶς ὑπὸ ριπῆς· ὁ δ’ ὑπέρπτατο σήματα πάντων
 ῥίμφα θεῶν ἀπὸ χειρός...

He spun, and let this fly from his ponderous hand. The stone hummed in the air, and the Phaiakians, men of long oars and famed for seafaring, shrank down against the ground, ducking under the flight of the stone which, speeding from his hand lightly, overflowed the marks of all others... (*Odyssey* 8.189-193, trans. Lattimore)

Athene then appears in the guise of a Phaeacian man to further congratulate Odysseus and expound upon his victory (8.195-198).³⁶ While Alcinous initially framed these contests as a stage for Phaeacian athletic prowess and excellence, Odysseus has surpassed “the marks of all” (σήματα πάντων) with a single throw.³⁷ Moreover, his victory is not a product of willing participation in the Phaeacian games, but rather a continuation of his sharp rebuke to Euryalus. Like his earlier tears, Odysseus' discus throw and accompanying boasts (8.202-233) disrupt the happy festivities and contrast with the good cheer of the Phaeacians.³⁸

Alcinous again responds with a quick diversion, calling upon his people to conclude the games and turn instead to dancing. He amends his earlier claims, now saying:

οὐ γὰρ πυγμάχοι εἰμὲν ἀμύμονες οὐδὲ παλαισταί,
 ἀλλὰ ποσὶ κραιπνῶς θέομεν καὶ νηυσὶν ἄριστοι,

³⁵ On the role of these games in the *Odyssey*, cf., among others, Segal 1962, Visa 1994, Broeniman 1996, Rabel 2002. For my purposes here, it matters only that Alcinous both seems interested in allaying Odysseus' distress and expresses an explicit desire to display Phaeacian athletic and orchestric prowess.

³⁶ As Martin 1984 argues, “his 'sign' that has 'surpassed all others,' then, is iconic for Odysseus' status as surpassing speaker, athlete, and king” (1984: 47). Athena's comments help to further explain the meaning of this *sēma* (45-47).

³⁷ For another way in which the discus throw signifies Odysseus' particular forms of corporeal ability and expression, see Purves 2011: 545-548, who discusses the role of the language of racing and running, as deployed elsewhere in Homeric epic, here.

³⁸ For more detailed discussion of language, competition, and insult in this episode, cf. esp. Martin 1984 and Rosen 1990.

αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαίς τε φίλη κίθαρις τε χοροὶ τε
εἵματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐναί.

For we are not perfect in our boxing, nor yet as wrestlers,
but we do run lightly on our feet, and are excellent seamen,
and always the feast is dear to us, and the lyre and the dances
and changes of clothing and our hot baths and beds. (*Odyssey* 8.246-249, trans.
Lattimore)

The performances discussed above now follow, demonstrations of the Phaeacians' love for κίθαρις τε χοροὶ τε (“lyre-playing and dances”). On one hand, Alcinous deftly re-directs his people's attention and forestalls any further conflict between Odysseus and Euryalus. The poet narrates how nine men, leaders in the city, come forward to “make flat the soft dance floor and lovely gathering place (λείψαν δὲ χορόν, καλὸν δ' εὐρυαν ἀγῶνα, 8.261). This transformation of space helps “wipe away” the fraught and combative athletic games, marking a transition to a new and happier pursuit.

But at the same time, there is a competitive edge to Alcinous' proposal. He says: “but come, all the best dancers of the Phaeacians, dance, so that the stranger, upon returning home, can tell his friends how far we surpass other men in sailing and footraces and dance and song” (ἀλλ' ἄγε, Φαιήκων βητάρμονες ὅσσοι ἄριστοι, / παίσατε, ὡς χ' ὁ ξεῖνος ἐνίσπη οἴσι φίλοισιν, / οἴκαδε νοστήσας, ὅσσον περιγινόμεθ' ἄλλων / ναυτιλίη καὶ ποσσὶ καὶ ὀρχηστῷ καὶ ἀοιδῇ, 8.250-254). While Odysseus has boasted that he is “the best by far” at nearly all athletic and combative activities (ἐμέ φημι πολὺ προφερέστερον εἶναι, 8.221), Alcinous reminds him that the Phaeacians still excel at a particular set of pursuits. Moreover, the Phaeacian king's language here closely recalls his earlier boast, when he inaugurated the athletic games by saying that his people should compete, so that Odysseus “returning home, can tell his friends how far we surpass other men in boxing, wrestling, leaping, and with our feet” (ἐνίσπη οἴσι φίλοισιν / οἴκαδε νοστήσας, ὅσσον περιγινόμεθ' ἄλλων / πύξ τε παλαιμοσύνη τε καὶ ἄλμασιν ἠδὲ πόδεσσιν, 8.101-103).³⁹ Alcinous thus amends his boast, but does not yield in his desire to give Odysseus a display of Phaeacian skill and excellence to “write home about.”

Alcinous then claims an even greater status for Halius and Laodamas, remarking that “no one competes with them” (σφισιν οὐ τις ἔριζεν, 8.371). This declaration works on two levels. First, Alcinous singles out his two best dancers, suggesting that not even the other Phaeacians,

³⁹ Note also that while Alcinous initially makes the more mild claim, also discussed above, that “dance is dear” (φίλη ... χοροί, 8.248) to the Phaeacians, he now says that they “surpass others in dance” (περιγινόμεθ' ἄλλων... ὀρχηστῷ, 8. 253-254). Now, I argue that the competitive strain within these performances is located specifically in Alcinous' framing of and the choreographic qualities attributed to Halius and Laodamas' dance. In this context, the two different words used for dance in the lines above might be significant: if Alcinous had said that the Phaeacians surpass others in the *chorus*, the implied emphasis would be on the group performance of young men (the ones who dance a χορὸν θεῖον, 8.265). By using the word *orchestus* in speaking competitively of the Phaeacians' superlative skill, however, Alcinous may in fact be directing attention to Halius and Laodamas' dance specifically, as their movement is characterized by the related verb *orcheomai* (ὀρχήσασθαι, 8.371). But the young men are also described as “masters of the dance” (δαήμονες ὀρχηθμοῖο, 8.264), so perhaps the significance here should not be overstated. Dale 1969 [1960] contends that *orchestus*, in Homer, always refers to dance that is “a show-piece for its own sake, a performance of professional skill” (158). I am not convinced, however, that “professional” is a useful category for the Phaeacian performers (especially the king's own sons).

excellent dancers in their own right, can compete against these men.⁴⁰ But note that Odysseus has previously claimed that he will compete with any one of the Phaeacians, “except for Laodamas” (πλήν γ’ αὐτοῦ Λαοδάμαντος, 8.207), explaining that he is loathe to compete with the son of his host. In one sense, then, “no one” (οὐ τις) refers specifically to Odysseus: he cannot compete with these men both because he is not a Phaeacian dancer (and so lacks the requisite skill) and because he has already sworn not to challenge Laodamas specifically.⁴¹ Alcinous' staging of Halius and Laodamas' dance thus represents an attempt to conclude the competitive sequence of *Odyssey* 8 with a virtuoso Phaeacian performance that Odysseus cannot hope to answer.

The choreography and kinetic qualities of Halius and Laodamas' dance also challenge Odysseus' athletic supremacy. In order to demonstrate this, I return briefly to the poet's description of Odysseus' discus throw. Buchan argues that Odysseus' use of the discus symbolizes, on several levels, his dangerous and disruptive relationship to Phaeacian society. He notes that Odysseus' victory threatens the Phaeacians' claim to excellence as both hosts and athletes (2004: 40-42) and aligns the discus itself with Poseidon's later transformation of the Phaeacians' ship to stone (13.160-164; Buchan 2004: 82-83). He also compares the imagery of the discus throw with Nausicaa's ball game (6.112-117) and the dance of Halius and Laodamas, noting:

The Phaeacians are perfect dancers who never drop the ball. Yet Odysseus' arrival on Phaeacia coincides with a Phaeacian game of catch in which a ball is dropped. But it is dropped in a particular manner. Nausicaa's throw misses its target, and the ball disappears into the sea, out of her reach. The ball escapes from the limits of Phaeacian society and points toward a realm beyond their boundaries, out of reach of Nausicaa. This not only contrasts with the perfection of the later throws during the Phaeacian dance; it also parallels Odysseus' discus throw. In the games with the Phaeacian men, he too, makes a throw that travels beyond the frame of reference of the Phaeacian competitors. That throw opened up the possibility of loss for the Phaeacians, as does the missed throw of Nausicaa. The loss of the ball makes Nausicaa aware of a limit on Phaeacia, and this awareness coincides with the appearance of Odysseus. (2004: 196)

But if Odysseus' discus throw symbolizes his disruption of the Phaeacians' idyllic existence, the choreography of Halius and Laodamas' dance exhibits mastery of both object and space, crafting a kinetic “answer” to Odysseus' prior mastery of the Phaeacian tool (discus) and boundaries (markers).⁴² The competitive role of the dance thus helps to account for the poet's attention to

⁴⁰ Robb 1994: 31-32 reads this entire scene as one of inter-Phaeacian dance competition. I believe, however, that Alcinous' competitive language is better understood as directed towards Odysseus (Halius and Laodamas are certainly not presented as competing with each other, and the young men's dance is a formally distinct kind of expression).

⁴¹ Of course, οὐ τις is also a name that Odysseus claims for himself during his encounter with Polyphemus (cf. *Odyssey* 9, lines 366, 369, 408, 455, and 460). This revelation might lead us to look back on Alcinous' claim in a different light, for in fact, οὐ τις (= Odysseus) *does* challenge Halius and Laodamas – and all the other Phaeacians – via the evaluative comments I discuss in great detail below. For two different readings connecting the imagery of Odysseus' discus throw with his escape from Polyphemus, cf. Buchan 2004: 82-86 and Purves 2011: 543-545.

⁴² On a related note, I also read the preparation of the dancing floor (8.261), arranged by Alcinous, as a symbolic attempt to assert control over Phaeacian space and re-draw the boundaries of the competition.

the bodies and choreography of Halius and Laodamas, for through their movement, Alcinous' sons "tell" Odysseus that his actions have not succeeded in permanently disrupting and displacing the kinetic virtuosity of the Phaeacians.

When Odysseus cast his discus, for example, the Phaeacians were forced to crouch low to the ground (8.190-191). Richard Martin observes how this action "literally lowers the status of the Phaeacians as it reveals Odysseus' own" (1984: 46). Halius and Laodamas reverse the image, leaping high off the ground (ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψὸς ἄερθεις, 8.375) while Odysseus watches. Buchan interprets the imagery of the discus even more forcefully, asserting that "Odysseus' discus throw is a symbolic decapitation" (2004: 83). This understanding of the throw as a threat to the bodily integrity of the Phaeacian men further contrasts with Halius' and Laodamas' skillful use of their bodies in the dance.⁴³ While Odysseus' discus throw forced the Phaeacians to move and crouch collectively, the description of Halius' and Laodamas' dance foregrounds the individuality of the soloists' choreography.

Likewise, Buchan aligns Odysseus' arrival with the permanent loss of Nausicaa's ball in the sea (2004: 196). In symbolic "answer," Halius and Laodamas send their ball flying "towards the shadowy clouds" (ποτὶ νέφεα σκιάοντα, 8.374), then recover it again with an easy leap (ὁ δ' ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψὸς ἄερθεις / ῥηιδίως μεθέλεσκε, 8.375-376).⁴⁴ The lightness of Odysseus' toss (ρίμφα θέων, 8.193) finds a counterpart in the ease of Laodamas' leap (ῥηιδίως μεθέλεσκε, 8.376). The kinetic symbolism of Halius' and Laodamas' solo performance thus forms a competitive response to Odysseus' discus throw. The individual dancing bodies of Halius and Laodamas assert Phaeacian mastery of space and object: leaping through the air previously sliced by Odysseus' discus and catching a ball like the one lost just before his arrival.

This leaping and catching largely "speaks" in context: the corporeal symbolism of the dance becomes legible within the already-existing symbolic system established by Odysseus' discus throw and articulated verbally by Athena's commentary.⁴⁵ At the same time, Phaeacian solo dance is truly remarkable for its ability to challenge, through the imagery of movement alone, Odysseus' and Athena's verbal claims. By reserving this role for Halius and Laodamas rather than the preceding choral performance, the poet ascribes a particular expressive quality to individualized dance. Without the help of either an accompanying song or highly figurative language on the part of the narrating poet, Halius and Laodamas communicate a clear, if muted, message: Phaeacian bodies, spaces, and objects are not under Odysseus' control.

The Phaeacians themselves express deep appreciation for these solo acrobatics. In addition to Alcinous' introduction, which frames Halius and Laodamas as the "best of the best" (8.371), I have already noted that the young men themselves respond enthusiastically to the performance (8.378-380), a reaction that affirms Alcinous' claim that Halius and Laodamas are dancers of special, superlative status. Now, Halius and Laodamas are Phaeacian princes, sons of

⁴³ The nature of the Homeric body has been much debated (cf., e.g., Snell 1953a: 1-22, Renehan 1979, and Holmes 2010: 6-9, 41-83). My argument here, however, is concerned with specific bodies and actions, rather than absolute and abstract conceptions of *sōma* and *psuchē* – a mode of inquiry more aligned with the recent and ongoing work of Purves (2006, 2010b, and 2011)).

⁴⁴ I do not mean to suggest that, within the storyworld of the poem, we are to understand Halius' and Laodamas' use of the ball as a conscious or intentional healing of their sister's loss (of which they are probably completely unaware). Rather, this is a correspondence crafted by the narrating poet and intelligible to the audience, which works to explore the possibilities of dance as a form of active response and engagement with other kinds of action (whether that function is fully intentional here or not). The ways in which the dance responds to the kinetic symbolism of Odysseus' athletic pursuits should, of course, be understood as even more pointed and significant.

⁴⁵ Martin 1984: 46.

the king Alcinous. As such, their virtuosity has a political valence. The poet certainly portrays them as superlative dancers, but their social status suggests that, even if they were not so technically proficient, they would still be the sort of men with whom “no one competes.”⁴⁶ The young men’s response thus signals their agreement to Alcinous’ authority, both aesthetic and political. But that response also re-affirms the structural distinctions between the two forms of dance at hand. For while the young men offer a kinetic and sonic contribution to the dance, the quality of Halius’ and Laodamas’ performance remains unique. The young men’s engagement here is marked by the choreographic language of their earlier performance – they are described as standing upright (ἑστέωτες, 8.380) and making a rhythmic sound, perhaps even with their feet (ἔπελήκεον, 8.379). The competitive valence of the performance thus remains firmly located in the choreography and spatial dynamics of Halius and Laodamas’ dance.

Odysseus, I suggest, ultimately refuses to engage with the competitive challenge implicit in Alcinous’ staging of the performance. As I mentioned above, there is a subtle strategy to Odysseus’ comment to Alcinous that “you boasted that your people were the best dancers, and so it is: I am struck by awe beholding them” (ἤμὲν ἀπειλήσας βητάρμονας εἶναι ἀρίστους, / ἦδ’ ἄρ’ ἔτοῖμα τέτυκτο: σέβας μ’ ἔχει εἰσορόωντα, 8.382-384). Odysseus, here, stresses the superlative quality of all the dancers, choreuts and soloists alike. While he does not denigrate Halius and Laodamas, he also does not affirm Alcinous’ emphasis on their paired performance. Odysseus thus makes no specific reference to the apparently superlative skill of Halius and Laodamas, despite Alcinous’ efforts to single them out and call attention to their abilities (8.370-371). He thereby refuses to acknowledge the competitive valence of the solo performance and simply expresses broad appreciation for the kinetic skill of the Phaeacians in general. The structure of the performance, as narrated by the poet, enables this verbal sleight-of-hand: the young men return to the stage, and Odysseus directs his evaluative comments towards the entirety of the show.

The formal differences and distinct models of audience response associated with the two dances thus serve an important function within the storyworld of the *Odyssey*. The solo virtuosity of Halius and Laodamas works as a competitive answer to Odysseus’ discus throw, yet Odysseus’ stated reaction to the entirety of the performance reflects a refusal to engage with Alcinous’ competition. On a more conceptual level, the overarching structure of the various coordinated performances and the expansiveness of Odysseus’ praise allow for an understanding of the spectacle that draws the virtuosic pair back into the orbit of the chorus. Halius’ and Laodamas’ dance expresses Phaeacian corporeal independence and integrity in a remarkable way, but that function is at least partially eclipsed by the presentation of the performance as a whole and the primary focalization of aesthetic response through Odysseus.

b. Space and Motion on Scheria

The *Odyssey*’s attention to dance, somatic expression, and the meaning of movement extends beyond the performances contained in Book 8. I contend that Odysseus’ refusal to explicitly acknowledge the superlative qualities of Halius’ and Laodamas’ dance is located within a broader poetic program that works to suppress Phaeacian kinetic and corporeal expression. To illustrate this, I turn to another occurrence of *sebas* as a form of aesthetic response to a Phaeacian body.

⁴⁶ Cf. the preeminence of the choral leaders Hagischora and Agido in Alcman’s first *partheneion*, which, scholars suggest, is likewise linked with political status (Calame 1997, Nagy 1990: 345-370, Kurke 2012: 179).

When Odysseus first encounters and addresses the Phaeacian princess Nausicaa, he likens her to Artemis (6.151-2) and remarks that it must “warm the hearts” of her parents and brothers (μάλα πού σφισι θυμός / αἰὲν εὐφροσύνησιν ἰαίνεται, 6.155-6) to “see such a child entering the chorus” (λευσσόντων τοιόνδε θάλος χορὸν εἰσοιχνεῦσαν, 6.157). He then uses a simile to clarify his use of *thalos* (child, but also young shoot or branch), as he tells Nausicaa:

οὐ γάρ πω τοιοῦτον ἴδον βροτὸν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,
οὔτ' ἄνδρ' οὔτε γυναῖκα· σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα.
Δήλω δὴ ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμῶ
φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα·
ἦλθον γὰρ καὶ κείσε, πολὺς δέ μοι ἔσπετο λαός,
τὴν ὁδόν, ἧ δὴ μέλλεν ἐμοὶ κακὰ κήδε' ἔσσεσθαι·
ὥς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ κείνο ἰδὼν ἐτεθήπεα θυμῶ
δήν, ἐπεὶ οὐ πω τοῖον ἀνήλυθεν ἐκ δόρυ γαίης,
ὡς σέ, γύναι, ἄγαμαί τε τέθηπά τε, δεΐδια δ' αἰνῶς
γούνων ἄψασθαι· χαλεπὸν δέ με πένθος ἰκάνει.

I have never with these eyes seen anything like you,
neither man or woman. Wonder takes me as I look on you.
Yet in Delos once I saw such a thing, by Apollo's altar.
I saw the stalk of a young palm shooting up. I had gone there
once, and with a following of a great many people,
on that journey that was to mean hard suffering for me.
And as, when I looked upon that tree, my heart admired it
long, since such a tree had never yet sprung from the earth, so
now, lady, I admire you and wonder, and am terribly
afraid to clasp you by the knees. The hard sorrow is on me. (*Odyssey* 6.160-169,
trans. Lattimore)

Odysseus' experience of awe is explicitly linked with choral dance: he imagines Nausicaa “entering the chorus” (χορὸν εἰσοιχνεῦσαν, 6.157) just before he tells her that “*sebas* takes hold of me when I look upon you” (σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα, 6.161). This response echoes the poet's description of Nausicaa and her maidens just before she encounters Odysseus:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σίτου τάρφθεν δμῶαί τε καὶ αὐτή,
σφαίρη ται δ' ἄρ' ἔπαιζον, ἀπὸ κρήδεμνα βαλοῦσαι,
τῆσι δὲ Ναυσικάα λευκώλενος ἤρχετο μολπῆς.
οἴη δ' Ἄρτεμις εἴσι κατ' οὔρεα ἰοχέαιρα,
ἢ κατὰ Τηϋγέτον περιμήκετον ἢ Ἐρύμανθον,
τερπομένη κάπροισι καὶ ὠκείησ' ἐλάφοισι·
τῆ δέ θ' ἅμα Νύμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
ἀγρονόμοι παίζουσι· γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ·
πασάων δ' ὑπὲρ ἧ γε κάρη ἔχει ἠδὲ μέτωπα,
ῥεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι·
ὥς ἢ γ' ἀμφιπόλοισι μετέπρεπε παρθένος ἀδμῆς.

But when she and her maids had taken their pleasure in eating,
they all threw off their veils for a game of ball, and among them
it was Nausikaa of the white arms who led in the dancing;
and as Artemis, who showers arrows, moves on the mountains
either along Taygetos or on high-towering
Eurymanthos, delighting in boars and deer in their running,
and along with her the nymphs, daughters of Zeus of the aegis,
range in the wilds and play, and the heart of Leto is gladdened,
for the head and the brows of Artemis are above all the others,
and she is easily marked among them, though all are lovely,
so this one shone among her handmaidens, a virgin unwedded. (*Odyssey* 6.99-
109, trans. Lattimore)

Nausicaa's choral persona is marked by the poet even before Odysseus makes the comparison himself. And while Odysseus only imagines the experience of watching Nausicaa take her place in the chorus, the audience has enjoyed a vivid description of maidenly song and dance immediately prior to Odysseus' arrival. The pleasure associated with this spectacle is focalized through Leto, whose "heart is gladdened" as she watches her daughter (γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ, 6.106).

The movement of Nausicaa and her maidens here also prefigures the choreography of Halios' and Laodamas' dance. In both descriptions, we find an emphasis on vertical motion and height: Laodamas "leaps high off the ground" (ὁ δ' ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψόσ' ἀερεθεις, 8.375), while Artemis ranges over "high-towering" mountains (οὔρεα, 6.102; περιμήκετον, 6.103) and, like Nausicaa, stands "head and brows above" her companions (πασάων δ' ὑπὲρ ἥ γε κάρη ἔχει ἠδὲ μέτωπα, 6.107). Both events combine the tossing of a ball (σφαίρη ται δ' ἄρ' ἔπαιζον, 6.100; σφαῖραν καλήν μετὰ χερσίν ἔλοντο, 8.372) with more ordinary forms of dance (μολπῆς 6.101; ὠρχεῖσθην 8.378) – again calling attention to the vertical plane.

Nausicaa, however, is not a virtuoso dancer. She is outstanding because of her beauty (Ναυσικάα λευκώλενος, 6.101) and her status as an unwed, but eligible, maiden (παρθένος ἀδμής).⁴⁷ The poet does not suggest that she possesses any special kinetic or choreographic skill. Nausicaa and her handmaidens engage in a spontaneous form of choral dance:⁴⁸ while the Phaeacian princess, like Artemis in various related depictions,⁴⁹ acts as a kind of *choregos* or *exarchousa*, she is not a soloist in the same sense as her brothers.⁵⁰

When Odysseus actually appears, however, Nausicaa's choral leadership dissipates as her companions and fellow dancers scatter in fear. The poet describes how, when the other girls saw Odysseus, "they ran one way and another along the jutting beaches" (τρέσσαν δ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλη ἐπ' ἠϊόνας προῦχούσας, 6.138). Nausicaa, emboldened by Athena (6.139-40), "remained alone," (οἷη δ' Ἀλκινόου θυγάτηρ μένε, 6.139), and "stood facing him, holding her ground" (στῆ δ' ἄντα σχομένη, 6.141). It is at this point that Odysseus addresses her and compares her to the Delian palm. Yet Nausicaa is still not a solo dancer. For while she now remains alone (οἷη 6.139), she

⁴⁷ On the particular beauty of girls on the cusp of marriage, cf. Calame 1997: 98-104, Stehle 1997: 73-93, Peponi 2004a: 354. Indeed, Athena's 'choreography' of this entire episode (6.24-41) depends on Nausicaa's special, just-ready-to-be-wed status. Nausicaa is, of course, made additionally "outstanding" by her position as the daughter of the king Alcinoos.

⁴⁸ I address the relationship between *choreia*, choreography, and improvisation in Chapter 1.1.

⁴⁹ On Artemis as a choral leader, cf. *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* (27) 14-18 and *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 197-199.

⁵⁰ On female choral leadership, with specific reference to Alcman's *partheneia*, see Chapter 4.2a

stands perfectly still (μένε, 6.139; στῆ, σχομένη 6.141), in contrast to the rapid movement of her fleeing companions (τρέσσαν, 6.138). The comparison to a palm shoot is apt: like a tree, Nausicaa has become rooted to the ground, firmly planted opposite Odysseus.

Odysseus, however, still interprets Nausicaa as a dancer. In the passage quoted in full above, he describes her as a “young shoot’ entering the chorus” (6.157), then likens her to the Delian palm (6.162-3). His sense of *sebas* at Nausicaa (6.161) is thereby located within the familiar nexus of doubleness, interpretive viewing, and chorality. When he describes her as a “young shoot entering the chorus” (θάλος χορὸν εἰσοιχνεῦσαν, 6.157), he imagines her as engaged in *choreia* and, perhaps for that very reason, fundamentally “double” – a girl and a tree. Odysseus then goes on to model the process of interpretive and comparative viewing by comparing Nausicaa to a specific Delian palm (6.160-9). As I have already argued, Nausicaa's preeminence in the dance should be understood as a very different kind of solo expression than that of Halios and Laodamas. Nausicaa's relationship to *choreia* makes her “wondrous” to Odysseus, a response that her virtuoso brothers do not, on their own, elicit.

Yet, paradoxically, choral performance is here aligned with a kind of stillness or rigidity. While Nausicaa moves within the (imagined) chorus, her body itself is like a tree: stiff and upright. This quality of movement prefigures the choreography of the Phaeacian youths, who are twice described as standing upright (ἴσταντο, 8.263, ἐστεῶτες, 8.380).⁵¹ It also contrasts with the dynamic and acrobatic quality of Halios and Laodamas' dance (ὁ δ' ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψὸς' ἀερθεῖς, 8.375; ἰδνωθεῖς ὀπίσω, 8.375). Odysseus' description of Nausicaa forces her into a rigid kind of choral mold. While her prior participation in group dance (6.101) featured spontaneity and exuberance, she is here reduced to stillness and silence, subject to Odysseus' interpretive force and cast merely as a “moving tree.”

The stilling effect of Odysseus' arrival upon Nausicaa is echoed by the effect of his departure upon the Phaeacians as a whole.⁵² Poseidon, enraged that the Phaeacians have conveyed Odysseus home, turns their ship into stone as it returns from Ithaca: “and the Earthshaker came close to [the ship], / and he turned it to stone and rooted it to the bottom, / striking [it] with the flat of his hand” (τῆς δὲ σχεδὸν ἦλθ' ἐνοσίχθων, / ὅς μιν λᾶαν ἔθηκε καὶ ἐρρίζωσεν ἔνερθε / χειρὶ καταπρηνεῖ ἐλάσας 13.162-4). Before its transformation, the ship is characterized by an abundance of movement-related terminology (ποντοπόρος, 13.161; ῥίμφα διωκομένη, 13.162; νῆα θοήν, 13.168).⁵³ When Poseidon turns it into stone, he ends its travels forever. Poseidon also “roots” the ship to the bottom of the sea (ἐρρίζωσεν) – like a plant or tree rooted in the earth, incapable of horizontal movement.

When the Phaeacians on Scheria see their ship, in the distance, turned to stone, Alcinous laments:

ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ με παλαίφατα θέσφαθ' ἰκάνει
πατρὸς ἐμοῦ, ὃς ἔφασκε Ποσειδάων' ἀγάσασθαι
ἡμῖν, οὐνεκα πομποὶ ἀπήμονές εἰμεν ἀπάντων.
φῆ ποτε Φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν περικαλλέα νῆα
ἐκ πομπῆς ἀνιοῦσαν ἐν ἠεροειδέϊ πόντῳ

⁵¹ This characterization also corresponds well with the more general depiction of choral dancers as “moving statues,” on which see Power 2011 and Kurke 2012 and 2013a.

⁵² On extreme “stillness” as the final fate of the Phaeacians (and a defining feature of Scheria more generally), see Purves 2010b: 337-339.

⁵³ Cf. also the description of the ship en route to Ithaca (13.81-88)

ῥαϊσέμεναι, μέγα δ' ἤμιν ὄρος πόλει ἀμφικαλύψειν.

Ah now, the prophecy of old is come to completion,
that my father spoke, when he said Poseidon someday would be angry
with us, because we are convoy without hurt to all men,
He said that one day, as a well-made ship of Phaiakian
men came back from a convoy on the misty face of the water,
he would stun it, and pile a great mountain over our city, to hide it. (*Odyssey*
13.168-173, trans. Lattimore)

He then urges his people to perform sacrifices to Poseidon in hopes of preventing the second part of the prophecy (13.180-3). The narrative of the *Odyssey* moves on, without definitively resolving the fate of the Phaeacians.

By characterizing the Phaeacians' still and rooted ship as a *thauma*, the poet subtly continues to marginalize the virtuosity of Halius and Laodamas. When Zeus gives Poseidon permission to exact his punishment upon the Phaeacians, he tells him to “place a stone, like to the swift ship, near the land, so that all men might marvel, and conceal their city with a great mountain” (θεῖναι λίθον ἐγγύθι γαίης / νηὶ θεῆ ἵκελον, ἵνα θαυμάζωσιν ἅπαντες / ἄνθρωποι, μέγα δέ σφιν ὄρος πόλει ἀμφικαλύψει, 13.156-8). As I discussed at length above, Halius' and Laodamas' dynamic and technically accomplished choreography does not receive the praise of “awe” and “wonder” as an independent event. While the poet emphatically foregrounds the “wondrous” qualities of the specifically choral component of the performance, the paired performance generates *sebas* for Odysseus only insofar as the entire spectacle is awe-inspiring. Yet here, the stone ship is described as having the same effect as (ideal) choral dance (θαυμάζωσιν).⁵⁴ This is the final insult to Alcinous' sons' virtuosity: the divine intervention that “freezes” their society forever possesses the heightened aesthetic effect never directly applied to their own performance.

Nausicaa's stillness before Odysseus thus foreshadows the ultimate stillness and cessation of Phaeacian seafaring. The image of being “rooted in the ground,” whether figured through Nausicaa as palm tree or made literal by Poseidon's transformation of the Phaeacian ship, is strongly opposed to the lofty and leaping choreography of Halius' and Laodamas' dance. If we imagine that Poseidon completes his threat and buries the Phaeacian city beneath a mountain, Scheria will have been utterly “flattened.” Initially, then, Halius' and Laodamas' solo virtuosity resists the kinetic and corporeal impact of Odysseus' arrival upon Scheria: his “freezing” of Nausicaa and “flattening” of his Phaeacian discus competitors. The consequences of Odysseus' departure, however, work to complete the stilling and leveling of Phaeacian society – the final suppression of Alcinous' sons' dynamic dancing.

c. *Beyond Words: Epic, Dance, and Expression*

I have now traced how the *Odyssey* works to suppress and marginalize solo virtuosity, both as compared with the conceptual paradigm of *choreia* and as a way of acting and moving

⁵⁴ For further discussion of the relationship between choral wonder and monumentality, see Power 2011. I find especially convincing Power's observation, on the transformation the Phaeacian ship, that “it is as if the gods were wondrously revealing the coincident opposite of the ship's lively quickness, its static monumentality” (69 n.47). This momentary “doubleness” is a further link between the Phaeacian ship and a choral aesthetic.

within the poem. Yet, as I have noted before, the *Odyssey's* account of Halius and Laodamas offers something unusual and unparalleled in early Greek literature: an extended description of solo dance.⁵⁵ These ten lines are surely not included in the narrative only to be completely suppressed and discarded. I contend that the dance of Halius and Laodamas has a close relationship with the narrative poetics of the *Odyssey*, which I read as a poem that is especially open to alternative means of expression, even those beyond the verbal medium.

My understanding of Odyssean poetics draws on the work of Alex Purves, who considers how the narrative style of the *Odyssey* differs from that of the *Iliad*.⁵⁶ For Purves, the perspective of the *Odyssey* is intimately connected with the importance of the human narrator within the poem, as the narrative is imagined as a path along which the narrator, and his audience, travel (2010a: 66-68). Her analysis focuses on a narrative moment that exists beyond the *Odyssey* itself: Odysseus' "inland journey," prophesied to him by Teiresias (11.121-131) and later reported to Penelope (23.267-277). In this projected journey, Odysseus is to travel inland, carrying an oar, until he reaches a place where people are so unfamiliar with the sea that they mistake his oar for a winnowing fan. There, he is to offer sacrifice to Poseidon and finally conclude his travels. Purves contends that "the prophecy concerning the oar meditates on the idea of the end of epic. It also opens up a path for a movement into new modes of expression (2010a: 89). For Purves, this "opening up" is specifically about looking forward to the development of prose and the countercartographic perspective that, in her analysis, is particularly characteristic of Herodotus (2010a: 66, 118-158).

I would suggest that the performance of Halius and Laodamas in *Odyssey* 8 is also a kind of meditation or exploration – one which opens up the possibility of a decidedly non-epic form of expression: mute and individualized dance.⁵⁷ Through the description of that dance, the poet imagines a way of expressing oneself purely through the motions of the body, an art form that is not only beyond *choreia*, it is fundamentally beyond words. Even if this form is ultimately marginalized and suppressed, it exists – like other magical elements⁵⁸ – for the brief period of Odysseus' sojourn among the fantastic Phaeacians.

Let us return to the description of Halius' and Laodamas' dance:

οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν σφαῖραν καλὴν μετὰ χερσὶν ἔλοντο,
 πορφυρέην, τὴν σφιν Πόλυβος ποίησε δαΐφρων,
 τὴν ἕτερος ρίπτασκε ποτὶ νέφεα σκιόεντα
 ἰδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω· ὁ δ' ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψὸς ἄερθεὶς
 ῥηϊδίως μεθέλεσκε, πάρος ποσὶν οὐδ' ἀκέσθαι.
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σφαῖρην ἄν' ἰθὺν πειρήσαντο,

⁵⁵ Chronologically speaking, the next extant description of a solo dance truly distinct from a choral context (I exclude, on these grounds, the self-referentiality of Alcman's *partheneia*, which showcase outstanding individual dancers within *choreia*) is Herodotus' account of Hippocleides (*Histories* 6.129), which I discuss in Chapter 5.

⁵⁶ Purves specifically contends that the *Odyssey* "calls into question epic's synoptic viewpoint," which is on full display in the *Iliad* (2010a: 66).

⁵⁷ This corresponds well with Purves' suggestion that the narrative viewpoint of the *Odyssey* is linked with a particular focus on the body of Odysseus, as "it is the movement of this body [Odysseus] through space that animates and energizes the thread of the poem as a whole" (2010a: 67). The poet's attention to Halius' and Laodamas' dancing likewise reflects upon the motion of bodies through space and their ability to motivate narrative and generate meaning. Note that the fate of the Phaeacians also has special significance for Purves, since, like Odysseus' oar in his inland journey, they are ultimately frozen and separated from the sea (2010a: 89-96).

⁵⁸ E.g., plants that blossom year-round without cultivation (*Odyssey* 7.114-121).

ὄρχείσθην δὴ ἔπειτα ποτὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
ταφρέ' ἀμειβομένω· κοῦροι δ' ἐπελήκεον ἄλλοι
ἔσταότες κατ' ἀγῶνα, πολὺς δ' ὑπὸ κόμπος ὀρώρει.

[...] These two,
after they had taken up in their hands the ball, a beautiful
thing, red, which Polybos the skilled craftsman had made them,
one of them, bending far back, would throw it up to the shadowy
clouds, and the other, going high off the ground, would easily
catch it again, before his feet came back to the ground. Then
after they had played their game with the ball thrown upward,
these two performed a dance on the generous earth, with rapid
interchange of position, and the rest of the young men standing
about the field stamped out the time, and a great sound rose up. (*Odyssey* 8.372-
380, trans. Lattimore)

I have already called attention to the ways in which the poet differentiates this description from comparable representations of *choreia*: it is an individualized and non-verbal dance, narrated without appeal to figurative language or the experience of *thauma*. In addition, by offering a vivid and precise description of the choreography itself, the poet enables this dance to perform an extraordinary function within the poem. Halios takes the ball and throws it towards the clouds, echoing the motion of Nausicaa's ball beyond the bounds of Scheria and towards a permanent loss in the sea. Laodamas leaps into the air, reversing Odysseus' prior suppression of Phaeacian bodies, and recovers the ball, regaining control of that peculiarly Phaeacian object. While they are thus responding to prior acts of symbolic motion, those earlier instances – the loss of Nausicaa's ball and the force of Odysseus' discus toss – benefit from extensive narrative contextualizing. The subsequent exchange between Odysseus and Nausicaa clarifies his potential relationship to her and Scheria, while the discus throw is followed by an explication from Athena in disguise. Halios' and Laodamas' dance stands alone. The choreography is narrated but not further explained, left for audiences internal and external to decode and consider. The expressive, nearly communicative force of this dance is unparalleled in early Greek literary descriptions of performance.

The poet also marks Halios' and Laodamas' dance as a characteristically Phaeacian form of artistic expression. In various ways, the poet suggests that Alcinous' sons habitually engage in this form of dance: the imperfect ἔριζεν (8.171), which highlights how no one ever competes with them; the ball made specifically for them and their dancing (8.372-372); the young men's immediate and cohesive enthusiasm (8.379-380). But the dance itself is further linked with the peculiar qualities of Scheria. For example, Halios tosses the ball “up into the shadowy clouds” (8.374), an extraordinary feat with significant implications. The realm of the gods is often located, in early Greek thought, up in the clouds, on the peak of Mount Olympus.⁵⁹ The Phaeacians represent themselves as especially close to the gods, who, according to Alcinous, always appear to them without disguise (αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ πάρος γε θεοὶ φαίνονται ἔναργεῖς / ἡμῖν, 7.202-202). Halios and Laodamas are able to send their ball off to the realm of the gods, then

⁵⁹ Within the *Odyssey*, cf. Telemachus' remark that Athena and Zeus “dwell high in the clouds” (ὑψι περ ἐν νεφέεσσι καθημένω, 16.264) and Zeus' ability to send thunder from Olympus, high in the clouds (αὐτίκα δ' ἐβρόντησεν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου, / ὑψόθεν ἐκ νεφέων, 20.104-105).

recover it again easily, symbolizing the proximity of the Phaeacians to the divine. Similarly, Laodamas hovers briefly in mid-air, having caught the ball before his feet return to the ground (ὁ δ' ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψὸς' ἀερθεῖς / ῥηϊδίως μεθέλεσκε, πάρος ποσὶν οὐδ' ἀς ἰκέσθαι, 8.375-376). His somatic position parallels the narrative role of Scheria within the *Odyssey* – poised between the lands of pure fantasy and the real world of Ithaca, suspended in both time and space.⁶⁰ The choreographic style of this dance is thus marked as particularly Phaeacian, matched to the unique qualities of Scheria and lifestyle of its inhabitants.

In addition, I have highlighted a pair of ways in which Homer depicts this paired dance in continuity with choral aesthetics: it includes *amoibē* and is composed of light or easy motion. But on closer examination, the description of both of these elements works to significantly re-figure their usual role within *choreia*.

As I noted above, the final portion of Halius' and Laodamas' performance is described as a “rapid interchange of position” (ταρφέ' ἀμειβομένω, 8.379). Again, the verb *ameibō* has a close association with choral performance, as discussed in the context of this passage by Peponi (2007: 357-361). Yet, as Peponi has also observed, *amoibē*, in descriptions of *choreia*, otherwise refers to vocalization and its engagement with either instruments or other voices.⁶¹ She notes that, in this *Odyssey* 8 passage, it is applied in an unusual way to purely kinetic expression.⁶²

There are, in fact, some crucial ways in which Halius' and Laodamas' kinetic exchange differs from choral *amoibē*. The latter essentially reinforces the hierarchies inherent in *choreia*, giving the voice a flexible (leading or responding) but indispensable role. It reproduces non-musical speech patterns, wherein communication occurs through the use of language in statement and response. The formulaic phrase ἀμειβόμενοι ὀπί καλῆ specifies the medium of exchange and emphasizes its aesthetic value: “responding *with lovely voice*.”⁶³ The exchanges of the chorus, moreover, are not about the reciprocity between two discrete individuals – that formulaic phrase is used either of a group responding to an individual (e.g., Apollo and the Muses in the *Iliad*, 1.604 and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 189) or another group (Muses and Nereids, *Odyssey* 24.60).

Halius and Laodamas perform in amoebian relationship to one another: one body intuitively and easily responding to the motion and action of the other. They are set apart from the other Phaeacian youths by their political status and kinetic virtuosity, characteristics that, as I have already suggested, are closely intertwined. Whereas choral reciprocity works to cohere the performing group and even the audience,⁶⁴ Halius' and Laodamas' close connection further reinforces their distance from the others. Likewise, the transformation of the formula ἀμειβόμενοι ὀπί καλῆ into the unparalleled and even puzzling ταρφέ' ἀμειβομένω has two important effects. The plural participle becomes a finite dual: the former references the action of

⁶⁰ For this characterization of Scheria, see Vidal-Naquet 1986, Segal 1994: 12-64, Purves 2010: 335-341.

⁶¹ Peponi 2007: 357, citing *Iliad* 1.604 (αἱ (Μούσες) ἄειδον ἀμειβόμενοι ὀπί καλῆ), *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 189 (ἀμειβόμενοι ὀπί καλῆ, again describing the performances of the Muses relative to Apollo), and *Odyssey* 24.60 (ἀμειβόμενοι ὀπί καλῆ, Muses and Nereids).

⁶² And thus often puzzling to scholars, see Peponi 351 n. 29, with further bibliography. As I remark above, I understand the sequencing of Halius' and Laodamas' dance thus: an acrobatic display with the ball, followed by a performance of a slightly different quality (marked by rapid *amoibē*), all of which should be understood as “dance,” for it is introduced by Alcinous' command to “dance alone” (μουνῶξ ὀρχήσασθαι, 8.371). Peponi contrasts this description of Halius and Laodamas with the depiction of the soloist Astymeloisa in Alcman's second *partheneion*, which suggests that solo dance is lacking in *amoibē* (2007: 257-258).

⁶³ See passages cited in n. 61 above.

⁶⁴ E.g., Peponi 2007 considers not only the relationship between Astymeloisa and her fellow choreuts, but also the relationship of the performing group to the city.

a group that still requires the addition of another verb (generally one of vocalization, e.g., ἄειδον, *Iliad* 6.104) to complete the meaning; the latter turns “exchange” into the main action of the sentence and emphasizes that it is the action of two discrete individuals – no more, no less. I have also suggested that the words ὀπί κἀλλῆ reinforce the focus, in *choreia*, on the expression of the voice. By replacing that modifier with a kinetically-charged adverb (ταρφέ’, “quickly”), the Homeric poet makes a remarkable turn towards movement and dance.

As also discussed above, in this dance, Laodamas, “having leapt off the ground, easily catches [the ball]” (ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψὸς ἀερθεῖς / ῥηϊδίως μεθέλεσκε, 8.375-376). This description employs an adverb (*rēidiōs*) evocative of typical depictions of choreuts’ feet engaging in dance.⁶⁵ But here, that quality is transferred to the entire body of the soloist, as he loses contact with the earth and reaches through the air.

Halius’ and Laodamas’ dance is not, then, merely an alternative to *choreia*, differentiated from it in form, style, and effect. The poet’s description endows this performance with an expressive power, purely kinetic *amoibē*, and full-bodied ease: he thereby hints at the possibility of the mute soloists replacing the coordinated chorus, as the dancers take on the attributes of the singer and assert their own kind of embodied expression and *amoibē*.⁶⁶ To be sure, the poet and performer of the *Odyssey* still asserts a kind of verbal control over the description. Yet, as I have suggested above, he chooses a narrative style that foregrounds the dance and creates an illusion, at least, of direct access to the kinetic medium. This choice is motivated, I contend, by a broader interest in alternative modes of expression and communication: the style of a poem that, in Purves’ reading, is always looking to something beyond itself.

In this light, Odysseus’ lack of direct and pointed appreciation for the individualized performance of Halius and Laodamas takes on a slightly different character. Within the poem, the only response we find to this particular dance is a kinetic one: the young men stamp or clap (κοῦροι δ’ ἐπελήκεον ἄλλοι / ἔσταότες κατ’ ἀγῶνα, πολὺς δ’ ὑπὸ κόμπος ὀρώρει, 8.379-380). Its appeal is never translated into words and described through the direct speech of a character. Halius and Laodamas remain beyond words. Their dance offers a glimpse of what expressive bodies might do if freed from the constraints of *choreia*. While the *Odyssey* generally upholds the choral paradigm and stresses the strangeness – and eventual suppression – of Scheria, the very existence of this dance, in this descriptive form, is a testament to the exploratory and experimental quality of Odyssean narration.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ See n. 26 above.

⁶⁶ The third element of *choreia* – instrumental music – seems to fade into the background here. While my primary interest is in the relationship between verbal and kinetic modes of expression, I address dance and instrumental music briefly in Chapter 1.1.

⁶⁷ Another word for this quality might be “improvisatory.” For example, Dougherty 2015 traces the poem’s presentation of Odysseus as an “improviser of self,” a figure whose identity is inherently unstable and a man who is constantly experimenting, improvising, and re-inventing himself. This reading complements Purves’ understanding of Odyssean narrative as driven, in a sense, by exploration, particularly in the form of the motion of Odysseus’ own body (2010a: 67, as mentioned above). I suggest that dance and movement in the Phaeacian books might be read as similarly driven by improvisation and experimentation: Alcinous tries to offer Odysseus the entertainment of the bard Demodocus, but Odysseus weeps. Alcinous turns his people toward athletic competition, but Odysseus gets drawn in to a heated conflict with Euryalus. The Phaeacian king finally tries out a different form of artistic entertainment (song *and* dance), but now inserts a subtle competitive jab: the explicit promotion of his two virtuoso-dancer sons. Those sons go on to improvise a dance that asserts Phaeacian corporeal integrity and somatic expression, while Odysseus comes up with a verbal response that shifts the external audiences’ understanding of the spectacle away from Alcinous’ competitive framing and towards a more holistic and harmonious image. The give-and-take between Odysseus and Alcinous is its own kind of improvisatory *amoibē*. Dougherty’s sense of the

3. The Ancient Reception of Phaeacian Dance: Plato's *Euthydemus*

Before I conclude, I want to consider one illuminating example of the ancient reception of *Odyssey* 8: Plato's adaptation of Homeric performance paradigms in the *Euthydemus*. First, Plato's engagement attests to the place of the Phaeacian episode as a cultural touchstone for varying modes of artistic expression.⁶⁸ In addition, I would suggest that Plato senses the tension between chorality and solo virtuosity in the *Odyssey*, and identifies its relationship to questions of narrative and verbal communication. At the same time, he ultimately reinforces the standard hierarchy of performance forms and again brings kinetic imagery fully into the service of verbal expression

In the *Euthydemus*, Socrates describes a lively debate between two brothers, Euthydemus and Dionysodorus, and a young man named Cleinias. Kurke notes the high level of verbal aggression in this dialogue, and observes that the imagery of verbal competition applied to the two brothers here evokes the virtuosic kinetic display of Halios and Laodamas in the *Odyssey* (Kurke 2013b).⁶⁹ Building on that reading, my goal is to demonstrate how Socrates attempts to strategically transform the virtuosic singularity of Euthydemus and Dionysodorus into a choral display. I will then discuss how Plato reinforces the subordination of kinetic expression to spoken and written communication via the use of corporeal imagery in the service of a fundamentally verbal debate. By organizing the entire dialogue through Socrates' narration, Plato corrals and constrains dance in a potent way.

I will begin by tracing the imagery of dance in *Euthydemus* 276b-277e, as this is the portion of the dialogue that most explicitly engages with Halios' and Laodamas' kinetic model. At this point, Euthydemus has forced Cleinias to concede that “it is not the wise who learn, but the foolish” (οἱ ἀμαθεῖς ἄρα μανθάνουσιν, ὦ Κλεινία, ἀλλ’ οὐχ οἱ σοφοί, ὡς σὺ οἶεῖ, 276b). Socrates then mentions that, “when Euthydemus said these things, all those followers of Euthydemus and Dionysodorus at once made a great outcry and laughed, just like a chorus at the sign of its director” (ταῦτ’ οὖν εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ διδασκάλου χορὸς ἀποσημήναντος, ἅμα ἀνεθορύβησάν τε καὶ ἐγέλασαν οἱ ἐπόμενοι ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ τοῦ Διονυσσοδώρου τε καὶ Εὐθυδήμου, 276b-c). The brothers' followers are described in similar terms shortly thereafter, when Socrates recounts a more general pattern of response to a clever comment by Euthydemus:

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ πάνυ μέγα ἐγέλασάν τε καὶ ἐθορύβησαν οἱ ἐρασταὶ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν,
ἀγασθέντες τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῖν· οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ἡμεῖς ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἐσιωπῶμεν.
γνοὺς δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ Εὐθύδημος ἐκπεπληγμένους, ἴν’ ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάζοιμεν αὐτόν,
οὐκ ἀνίει τὸ μειράκιον, ἀλλ’ ἠρώτα, καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ὀρχησταί, διπλᾶ
ἔστρεφε τὰ ἔρωτήματα περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔφη· [...]

Then indeed the devotees of the two men [sc. Euthydemus and Dionysodorus]

poem's overarching interests thus also helps to explain why this episode displays a basically exploratory and experimental attitude towards the possibilities of dance and performance. Of course, it remains relevant that, within the storyworld of the *Odyssey*, this “experiment” is left on Scheria.

⁶⁸ See Conclusion for another example of significant literary reception of this episode (Lucian, *On the Dance* 63). In the material realm, Pausanias 3.18.11 tells us that an image of Phaeacian dance adorned the Throne of Apollo at Amyklai, on which see Faustoferri 1996: 100-101, 211-264 and Marconi 2013: 427, 432.

⁶⁹ Hawtrey 1981: 63-70 and Schultz 2013: 112-115 both note the imagery of dance and physicality in this portion the *Euthydemus*, but do not connect it with the *Odyssey*. For other analyses of sport and body in this dialogue, cf. Benkendorff 1966: 32-46 and Hawhee 2004: 127.

laughed a lot and made a great outcry, admiring their cleverness. But all the rest of us were silent, having been struck dumb. And Euthydemus, recognizing that we were stunned, in order that we might marvel at him all the more, did not let the young man [sc. Cleinias] go, but asked, and just like good dancers, he made a double spin about his questions on this same point, and he said: [...] (*Euthydemus* 276d)

As Kurke notes, Euthydemus and Dionysodorus are aligned with Halius and Laodamas through their fraternal relationship and their characterization as ball-players (cf. 277b) and virtuoso dancers (e.g., Euthydemus' "double turn," διπλᾶ ἔστρεφε) (2013b). I would like to highlight two additional points of connection. Like Halius and Laodamas, Euthydemus and Dionysodorus perform as a pair. But just as the Homeric poet showcases the individual choreography and bodily movements of each dancer in turn, Socrates describes one Sophist, then the other, switching back and forth as each one responds to and builds upon the speech of his brother (cf. 276c-d, 277b). Moreover, like Alcinous' sons, Euthydemus and Dionysodorus provoke an enthusiastic sonic response from their own associates (ἀνεθορύβησάν τε καὶ ἐγέλασαν, 276b; πάνυ μέγα ἐγέλασάν τε καὶ ἐθορύβησαν, 276d), while Socrates and the others, like Odysseus among the Phaeacians, remain silent and still (ἔσιωπῶμεν, 276d).

The Homeric poet, however, stops short of describing Halius and Laodamas as choral leaders. While Alcinous' sons do facilitate a brief return to group expression, their unique choreography and superlative status sequesters them from the group and marks their performance as a solo interlude, rather than an act of choreographic leadership. When Socrates characterizes Euthydemus as a *chorodidaskalos* (ὥσπερ ὑπὸ διδασκάλου χορὸς ἀποσημῆναντος, 276b), he points to an underlying tension in the archaic descriptions of solo dancers: to what extent can a virtuoso figure, distinguished by technical ability (e.g., acrobatics), function as a *choregos*?

As I have discussed in greater detail in Chapter 1, *Iliad* 18 describes its two *kubistētēres* as *exarchontes* (*Iliad* 18.605), yet deploys imagery and narrative structure to marginalize their role within the performance.⁷⁰ In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (188-206), Ares' and Hermes' solo stylings are clearly distinguished from the proper kinetic and sonic leadership of Apollo.⁷¹ In the acrobatic paired performances of archaic hexameter, individualized dance does not fit comfortably within a choral model. Socrates draws upon this abiding discomfort to mark Euthydemus and Dionysodorus as unruly and problematic dancers: virtuoso soloists attempting to direct a "chorus" of followers.⁷²

Accordingly, Socrates goes on to re-position Euthydemus and Dionysodorus relative to *choreia*: not as virtuosos, nor as *chorēgoi*, but as ordinary participants. When he observes that Cleinias is becoming distressed, he encourages the young man by saying:

⁷⁰ Chapter 1.4.

⁷¹ Chapter 1.4. See also Chapter 3 on the male *chorēgos* as contrasted with the anti-choral male soloist.

⁷² It is also interesting that Socrates attributes to Euthydemus a desire to inspire *thauma* in his audience (ἴν' ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάζοιμεν αὐτόν, 276c). If, as I suggested above, *thauma* is properly reserved (in archaic thought) for choral dance, this might be another way in which Euthydemus and Dionysodorus reach for choral status (and are, potentially, denied it by Socrates: μὴ θαύμαζε, 277d). Yet, as I observe below, Socrates seems more interested in assigning a choral model to the two brothers than denying it. I would suggest that *thauma* and *thaumazō* simply possess a rather wide range in Plato (and Xenophon, whose use of *thauma* for solo acrobatics at *Symposium* 7.2. will be discussed at greater length in a subsequent chapter), and may be used for quite specific forms of wonder (cf. Kurke 2012 and 2013) as well as more generalized expressions of astonishment or surprise. On a different note, cf. *Protagoras* 315 for another example of the philosopher-as-choral-leader (as noted by Schultz 2013: 84).

ἽΩ Κλεινία, μὴ θαύμαζε εἴ σοι φαίνονται ἀήθεις οἱ λόγοι. ἴσως γὰρ οὐκ αἰσθάνη οἷον ποιεῖτον τῷ ξένῳ περὶ σέ· ποιεῖτον δὲ ταῦτόν ὄπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν Κορυβάντων, ὅταν τὴν θρόνῳσιν ποιῶσιν περὶ τοῦτον ὃν ἂν μέλλωσι τελεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ χορεία τίς ἐστι καὶ παιδιὰ, εἰ ἄρα καὶ τετέλεσαι· καὶ νῦν τούτῳ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ χορεύετον περὶ σέ καὶ οἷον ὀρχεῖσθον παίζοντε, ὡς μετὰ τοῦτο τελοῦντε. νῦν οὖν νόμισον τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἱερῶν ἀκούειν τῶν σοφιστικῶν.

Cleinias, do not be surprised that these arguments seem strange to you; for perhaps you do not discern what our two visitors are doing to you. They are acting just like the celebrants of the Corybantic rites, when they perform the enthronement of the person whom they are about to initiate. There, as you know, if you have been through it, they have dancing and merrymaking: so here these two are merely dancing about you and performing their sportive gambols with a view to your subsequent initiation. You must now, accordingly, suppose you are listening to the first part of the professorial mysteries. (*Euthydemus* 277d-e, trans. Jowett)

Socrates re-interprets Euthydemus' and Dionysodorus' individualized and virtuosic “performance” as a fundamentally choral one. He tells Cleinias that the brothers are Corybantic celebrants (οἱ ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν Κορυβάντων) and, as such, two of many. As Corybantes, Euthydemus and Dionysodorus are not marked off as leaders or soloists. In fact, it is Cleinias who becomes the singular figure (the initiate) in Socrates' image of Corybantic dance.⁷³

In order to further understand Socrates' “choralizing” move, it will helpful to speak briefly about Corybantes and *choreia* in Plato more generally. In the seventh book of the *Laws*, the Athenian stranger discusses the origins of dance and the value of motion at some length. Specifically, he notes that both the nurses of small children and the practitioners of Corybantic rites understand the importance of rocking and moving (τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ χρῆ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶνδε, ὡς ἐξ ἐμπειρίας αὐτὸ εἰλήφασιν καὶ ἐγνώκασιν ὃν χρήσιμον αἱ τε τροφοὶ τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων ἰάματα τελοῦσαι, *Laws* 790d). Human beings, in the Athenian's conceptualization, are drawn to the soothing and curative effects of sound and motion. Corybantes represent a natural impulse towards kinetic expression that, the Athenian goes on to argue, may be productively harnessed and directed by *gymnastikē* and *orchesis* (*Laws* 791c-798e, esp. 795d-e).⁷⁴ Existing outside of the formal performance system of Magnesia,⁷⁵ Corybantic dancers represent *choreia* in a raw and malleable state. Back in the *Euthydemus*, Socrates reinforces the relationship between Corybantes and chorality by referring to the *choreia* and *paidia* (γὰρ ἐκεῖ χορεία τίς ἐστι καὶ παιδιὰ) of Corybantic initiation, invoking two of the *Laws'* crucial terms.⁷⁶

⁷³ On Corybantic rites in classical Athens and their relationship to this passage, cf. Linforth 1946: 123-125 and R. Edmonds 2006. This might provide another way of understanding Socrates' admonishment to Cleinias: μὴ θαύμαζε (“don't wonder,” 277d). Rather than denying *thauma* to Euthydemus and Dionysodorus entirely, Socrates is telling Cleinias specifically to avoid the spectator's experience of wonder, and instead imagine himself as a participant in the performance.

⁷⁴ Cf. Belfiore 2006: 206, Kowalzig 2013b: 196.

⁷⁵ Prauscello 2011, with further bibliography.

⁷⁶ See, e.g., Lonsdale 1993: 21-43. Of course, the *Laws* being later than the *Euthydemus*, I am not arguing for a specific intertextual relationship, but rather a fairly consistent Platonic conception (in this respect, at least) of

By transforming Euthydemus and Dionysodorus from solo virtuosos (in the mold of Halius and Laodamas) to choral dancers (Corybantes), Socrates undermines their display of Sophistic skill and argumentation. Instead of allowing the brothers to simply dazzle the still and silent spectators with their rapid exchange and aggressive language, Socrates installs Cleinias as a participant in the performance by recasting the interaction as a choreographed initiation rite. Virtuoso solo dance is aligned with the rhetorical displays of the Sophists. Socrates introduces a Corybantic choral model that suppresses the starring role of the brothers and allows for a more expansive vision of participation in the philosophical “dance.”

This strategic verbal choreography is, however, only partially successful. Socrates signals this himself by choosing the Corybantes as his choral model: while they are generally aligned with *choreia* and standard performance hierarchies in Plato, they represent a raw kind of choreut. As Plato’s depiction of Corybantes in the *Laws* (791c-798e) suggests, they are dancers who could still benefit from further discipline and education.⁷⁷

Likewise, Dionysodorus and Euthydemus never completely shed their association with solo dance. Later in the dialogue, Socrates asks Euthydemus whether “Dionysodorus knows how to dance” (καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι ἐπίσταιτο ὁ Διονυσόδωρος, 294e). Euthydemus affirms as much, and Socrates presses him further, asking whether he knows how to practice sword-dancing or to be whirled about on a wheel (οὐ δῆπου, ἦν δ’ ἐγώ, καὶ ἐς μαχαίρας γε κυβιστᾶν καὶ ἐπὶ τροχοῦ δινεῖσθαι τηλικούτος ὄν, οὕτω πόρρω σοφίας ἤκεις, 294e). Euthydemus says that he can. The latter activities have clear links with the solo performances of sympotic entertainers,⁷⁸ while the verbs *kubistaō* and *dineō* evoke the individualized acrobatics of Homeric soloists.⁷⁹ Socrates’ account endeavors to incorporate the brothers into a choral framework, but their style of motion, as metaphor for their style of argumentation, is never completely brought into line.⁸⁰

Yet even if Dionysodorus and Euthydemus resist transformation into choreuts, Plato does accomplish a more general suppression of dance as an expressive form. That is, Socrates, in his narration, uses the imagery of solo kinetic virtuosity to describe fundamentally verbal action.⁸¹ The [actual] leaping and twisting of Halius and Laodamas becomes the “rough and tumble” philosophical “wrestling” of the Sophistic pair. Euthydemus and Dionysodorus, in Socrates’ account, are not actually moving: they sit still and speak (*Euthydemus* 271a-b). The kinetic

choreia and Corybantes. We might also consider a related passage in the *Ion* (536c), wherein Socrates asserts that “Corybantic worshippers perceive keenly only that tune which belongs to the god by whom they are possessed, and they have gestures and phrases at the ready for that tune, but they are not concerned with others” (οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες ἐκεῖνου μόνου αισθάνονται τοῦ μέλους ὁξέως ὃ ἂν ἦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξ ὅτου ἂν κατέχωνται, καὶ εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέλος καὶ σχημάτων καὶ ῥημάτων εὐποροῦσι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐ φροντίζουσιν). In addition to again associating Corybantes with dance (σχημάτων), Plato here offers them as a model of correct performance hierarchy: bodies and motion subordinated to music (*melos*). On this passage, see also Kurke 2013a: 151-152.

⁷⁷ On a different but related note, Harte suggests that Corybantes, in Plato, are associated with arguments that “one would not, or should not, endorse” (2005: 230). We should also consider Socrates’ later comic rendering of Corybantic initiates within the *Euthydemus* itself (278b2-c5), as discussed by Kurke 2013b. By casting the brothers as Corybantes, Socrates is already suggesting that they will fail to become true choreuts.

⁷⁸ Cf. Xenophon, *Symposium* 7.2. As Leslie Kurke has pointed out to me, there is also a class-based insult implied in Socrates’ linking the Sophistic brothers with the performances of hired entertainers.

⁷⁹ Chapter 1.4.

⁸⁰ This is consistent with the way in which Socrates does not completely devalue Euthydemus’ and Dionysodorus’ “virtuosic” argumentative style (as Kurke 2013b, with Mann 2006: 122-123, notes).

⁸¹ Kurke 2013b traces the use of corporeal imagery in this dialogue more fully. I would call attention particularly to her discussion of “images of bodily abuse and mutilation” in Plato’s characterization of Euthydemus’ and Dionysodorus’ argumentative style: this is yet another way in which the dialogue explores the boundaries of words and bodies, and flirts with the possibility of the former having a vividly tangible effect upon the latter.

virtuosity attributed to them is thus located exclusively in their words. Their “double twist” (διπλᾶ ἔστρεφε, 276d) and ball-playing “catch” (ὥσπερ σφαῖραν ἐκδεξάμενος τὸν λόγον, 277b) are evacuated of significance as embodied practices and become mere metaphors for ways of speaking and arguing.⁸² The moving body is thus made subject to the voice – just, as I have argued, occurs frequently in ideal archaic conceptions of *choreia*. When Halius and Laodamas express freedom and defiance through the dynamic motion of their individual bodies, they violate the ideal system of *choreia*, wherein vocalization explains and contextualizes dance. By using corporeal imagery to characterize verbal communication, Plato restores the choral hierarchy in an alternate form.

4. Conclusion

Plato's allusions to *Odyssey* 8 make explicit the latent anxieties about the disruptiveness of dance that underlie earlier representations of communal, logocentric *choreia*. Already in *Odyssey* 8, Halius and Laodamas represent the ability of technically superlative solo dancers to use their bodies in competitive and expressive ways. Their dance succeeds – for a brief moment – in putting aside the verbal realm, appropriating some crucial elements of *choreia*, and foregrounding dance as an expressive medium in its own right.

But if, as I have argued, literary depictions of dance function in part to frame and affect their audiences' experiences of performance in their own lives, then Homer's localization of extraordinarily non-choral dance on Scheria is an important element of the narrative. Within the *Odyssey*, narrative context works to largely suppress and seal off the unruly and disruptive possibilities of this form of expression.

Elsewhere in early Greek literature, *choreia* is emphatically promoted as the primary means of embodied, kinetic expression in Greek culture. Greek audiences are frequently encouraged to understand the performance and reception of the chorus as controlled by the verbal-auditory element and think about dance as an activity that is fundamentally communal. This conceptualization, I have posited, must have affected the ways in which performers sensed the work of their own bodies within the chorus, and perceived the action of others.⁸³ While the *Odyssey* offers us an extensive and nuanced representation of expressive, yet non-verbal, individualized dance, this mode of performance is enjoyed only by the fantastic Phaeacians – it is not explicitly appreciated by Odysseus and it is ultimately sealed off from the mortal realm. But on another level, Homer's description of Halius' and Laodamas' dance offers – but does not enforce – an alternative way of experiencing dance, attentive first and foremost to the meaning generated by individual movement, rather than that implied by the synchronized action of many dancers guided by the explanatory power of the voice. While, as I stress throughout, we cannot access ancient Greek performers' and audiences' actual experiences of embodied expression and perception, it seems plausible that some listeners may have taken Homer's alternative model with them into the enactment or viewing of *choreia*, and subsequently felt and looked at bodies in motion in a slightly different way.

⁸² This aligns well with Hawtrey's reading of this passage, which interprets Socrates' reference to Corybantic dance as an analogy for the preliminary discussion of philosophical terminology: “as the dancing and so on are a necessary prelude to the Corybantic rites, so the problems of language and expression must be worked out before more serious questions can be attacked” (1981: 69).

⁸³ See Introduction and Chapter 1.4.

Dancing Kings: Politics, Masculinity, and Performance in Greek Song

ἐν συνόδῳ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων πίθηκος ὀρχησάμενος καὶ εὐδοκιμήσας βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐχειροτονήθη. ἀλώπηξ δὲ αὐτῷ φθονήσασα ὡς ἐθεάσατο ἐν τινὶ πάγῃ κρέας κείμενον, ἀγαγοῦσα αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ἔλεγεν, ὡς εὐροῦσα θησαυρὸν, αὐτὴ μὲν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο, γέρας δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας τετήρηκε καὶ παρήνει αὐτῷ λαμβάνειν. τοῦ δὲ ἀμελήτως ἐπελθόντος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πάγης συλληφθέντος, αἰτιωμένου τε τὴν ἀλώπεκα ὡς ἐνεδρεύσασαν αὐτῷ, ἐκείνη ἔφη· “ὦ πίθηκε, σὺ δὲ τοιαύτην πυγὴν ἔχων τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων βασιλεύεις;”

At an assembly of the dumb beasts, the monkey did a dance. The performance was a great success and the animals elected the monkey to be their king. But the fox was jealous of the monkey, so when she saw some meat lying in a trap, she led the monkey there and told him that she had found a treasure. The fox explained that she had not taken it for herself because of the king's prerogative. Instead, she had guarded this royal prize just for him. She then told the monkey to go ahead and take it. The monkey recklessly put his hand in the trap and was caught. When he accused the fox of tricking him, the fox replied, 'O you monkey! How can you, having such an ass, rule over the dumb beasts?' (Perry *Fabulae Graecae* 81 with modifications, trans. Gibbs, modified)¹

The fable above mocks the use of dancing skill as a metric for the ability to rule, casting the solo performer as an easily deceived and incompetent king. While we cannot securely assign a date to this particular fable, it has been linked with a fragmentary poem of Archilochus, which mentions a fable (αἶνον, 1), about a monkey (πίθηκος, 3) deceived by a fox (fr. 185 West).² If some version of this story did exist in the 7th century BCE, it would provide a clear and early example of Greek discomfort with solo and virtuosic dance, especially when performed by men and linked with the possession of political leadership and power.

Given that we can identify such discomfort in a variety of other sources, I am inclined to think that this fable may well have circulated in some form from a fairly early period. It vividly and comically captures a theme evident from Homer onward: put bluntly, dancers do not make

¹ I have restored the words ὀρχησάμενος καὶ to the first sentence of the main text. Perry relegates them to the app. crit., linking them with the dancing monkeys of fable 83 and noting that they only occur in one of the manuscripts. This variant is, however, preferred by other editors (Chambray 1927: 20, fable 38 and Hausrath 1940: 109, fable 83) and translated by Gibbs. The existence of another fable about (many) dancing monkeys does not seem to me a convincing reason to remove the element of dance from this fable, where it seems to serve a different function. It is likely, of course, that these fables circulated in multiple versions even during the same historical time period. I have made one other significant modification to Perry: with West (1989: 71, based on Buchholtz 1873: 178) I read πυγὴν rather than ψυχὴν in the final sentence. On the possible implications of this change, see Chapter 5.1.

² Gibbs (2008: 15-16) and Steiner (2014: 8-10) connect this poem specifically with the fable cited above (Perry 81), while other scholars link it with the Aesopic tradition more generally (Lenz 1945: 42-43, West 1978: 3). Archilochus fr. 187 W, also referencing a monkey with “such an ass” (τοιαύτην πυγὴν, on which see Buchholtz 1873 and West 1989: 71-72) and Pindar, Pythian 2.71-78, which also features a monkey and fox, might further support a relatively early date for this fable.

good leaders. In this chapter, I trace this trope through archaic and classical song, highlighting a persistent association between individualized dance and political misrule.³

In a study of the ancient representation of male dancing and its reception, Edith Hall suggests that:

Dance has been associated with decadent pleasure-seeking, unmanliness, and the arousal of sexual desire from its very first appearance in western cultural history. These associations resulted from an early symbolic opposition between dancing and fighting, an opposition which paradoxically may have been partly a result of the intimate relationship and parallelism between dancing and drill-training in educational practice. The result, in any case, was that dancing for pleasure, especially for men, was an activity under a moral question mark from the moment that discourse on the dance begins. (Hall 2010: 168).

In Hall's conceptualization, it seems that male dancing may be portrayed positively, or at least neutrally, so long as it remains purposeful – performed, for example, in the service of military training or ritual action. It is “dancing for pleasure, especially for men” (2010: 168) that acquires a problematic status.

While I fully concur with Hall's identification of a basic tension in many early Greek literary depictions of dancing men, I would locate the primary source of those tensions, or anxieties, elsewhere. Communal male performance, broadly understood, was clearly a widespread and generally positive phenomenon in the archaic and classical Greek world. The sight of men dancing in a chorus could clearly be conceived as pleasing to an audience,⁴ and it seems that men would also have performed more individualized dance forms within the larger communal framework of the symposium, the *kōmos*, or the gymnasium.⁵ I suggest, then, that it is specifically men who dance truly alone – often, as Hall suggests, for their own exclusive benefit or pleasure – who are frequently constructed in archaic and classical Greek literature in negative terms.

On the face of it, this might seem a bit strange. Men distinguished themselves in a variety of ways in early Greek culture and society, and displays of personal excellence in athletics, music, and military victory were certainly celebrated.⁶ At the same time, Greek literature devises various strategies for bringing outstanding individuals into a positive

³ See Chapter 5 for the discussion of similar themes in classical prose.

⁴ E.g., in *Iliad* 18 the audience “delights” in the sight of a mixed-gender chorus (18.605), and Plato in the *Laws* clearly promotes the effects of youthful male performance upon aged spectators (567d). The importance and widespread practice of choral dance by men of varying ages and statuses in the early Greek world (see Stehle 1997: 119-169) would seem to undermine Hall's claim that men whose dancing pleases their audience (2010: 168) are consistently emasculated or rendered otherwise problematic. As I will explain shortly, however, I am in complete agreement with Hall that there can be a real problem with men who dance primarily for their *own* pleasure (and/or in the pursuit of individual gain).

⁵ See again Stehle 1997: 119-169, as well as Lonsdale 1993: 137-168 and *passim*, Ceccarelli 1998, Chapter 1.1 (on the *kōmos*) and Introduction (for bibliography on sympotic dance).

⁶ Note, for example, that Greek athletic events were mostly individual (e.g., “it is not quite true that [the Greeks] competed only as individuals; but what team sports there were – the ball games, [...], regattas, torch races – were generally the preserve of ephebes, young men moving from childhood toward social maturity *via* a period of military training,” Golden 1998: 25, emphasis in original). Likewise, musical competitions in the archaic and classical periods featured both choral and solo forms, but the latter did not include dance (see Rotstein 2012, with further bibliography).

relationship with the larger community, and dance is no exception to this basic pattern.⁷ Choral dance is a powerful and almost uniformly positive practice in archaic and classical literature, one which, as I have already suggested, allows for the presentation of preeminent individuals within its largely inclusive framework. Male dancers become problematic when their motion becomes truly “solo” and no longer engages with or contributes to a larger community.

Gender is an important factor here. As Eva Stehle has demonstrated, female choreuts symbolize their community effectively in part because the identities of individual women were so insignificant on a social level. A female chorus can thus efface the subjectivity of its constituent members and coalesce as a cohesive, representative whole.⁸ Following Stehle, I suggest that male dancers, by contrast, may be more resistant to such corporate unification and thus function less effectively as choral voices for the entirety of a community, as their individual identities, familial connections, and social positions are more enduring and prominent.⁹ When poets depict men as individual dancers, they make explicit this underlying tension in the male choral group. For a man to dance alone is, almost inevitably, a political act – one which asserts the agency of the individual’s body and its desires in contrast with the communal action and expression of the group. In this chapter, I will explore how a diverse range of literary texts endeavor to frame, constrain, and control the unruly social and political ramifications of male solo dance.

Finally, I have claimed that the representation of dance can often illuminate important aspects of a particular poet’s literary program. In this chapter, I will thus also examine how depictions of individual male dancers, whether in connection or contrast with larger choral groups, reflect the creative interests of the texts in which they are embedded. I will begin by reiterating the importance of the *chorēgos* as a positive image of individual expression within the chorus, building on the models established in Ch. 1 and offering Theseus as an archetype of the male dancer as productive political leader. I will then proceed with an investigation into the complex attitudes towards dance found in the *Iliad*, then turn to patterns of representation surrounding both choral and solo dance in the sympotic songs of Alcaeus and Ion of Chios. Finally, I will reflect on two instances of individualized male dance on the dramatic stage: Euripides’ *Cyclops* and Aristophanes’ *Wasps*.

⁷ E.g., epinician poetry can be understood as working, in part, to re-integrate the outstanding individual athlete into his community, as observed by Crotty 1982: 121 and more fully explored by Kurke 1991.

⁸ E.g., Stehle reads Alcman’s extant *partheneia* as scripting “a process of deauthorization” (1997: 88) for their female singers, with the result that “the chorus is staged in such a way that the chorus-members can fulfill their role of offering reflection and model to the community while presenting themselves as proper *parthenoi*, that is, as lacking authority and subjectivity” (1997: 93, analysis of these poems found at 73-93). I omit here further explanation of the important role of female corporeality and sexuality in Stehle’s reading, but I return to those questions in Chapter 4.1.

⁹ Male choruses certainly did perform on behalf of their communities, as discussed fully by Stehle (1997: 119-169). But she also observes a fundamental difference in the ways that female and male choreuts call attention to themselves and their bodies, contrasting the self-effacing qualities of female self-reference with the “aggressive self-confidence” (1997: 120) identifiable in male choral song. She further highlights how male performers “may add female identity to their self-presentation in situations when the community is under stress or is presenting a united front to outsiders” (1997: 149), a phenomenon which she attributes to the superior ability of female identity to “sum up the community more comprehensively (that is, represent both men and women) and also [symbolize] ideal unity” (1997: 150).

1. A Dancing Democrat: Theseus as *Chorēgos* and Choreographer

Given the prominent role of choral performance in archaic and classical society, it seems certain that most men, including prominent citizens and political leaders, would have habitually engaged in dance of some variety. As I mentioned above, this historical reality is well-represented in both literary and artistic sources, which feature multiple positive depictions of male choreuts.¹⁰ Moreover, we have seen that male singularity in dance may have a decidedly positive valence when it takes the form of choral choreography and leadership – we might think here of Apollo, who generates *choreia* and community in literary sources from Homer onwards.¹¹ Male dance within the chorus is generally valued, and accordingly, male leadership of the chorus acquires an association with effective leadership in other spheres as well. This link between outstanding dance and social and political authority becomes especially clear in the literary and visual depiction of one important and exemplary male dancer: the legendary Athenian king Theseus.

Theseus famously secures his place as an Athenian hero by defeating the minotaur and freeing his people from their oppressive obligation to the Cretan king Minos. After his victory on Crete, Plutarch tells us that:

ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ἀποπλέων εἰς Δῆλον κατέσχε: καὶ τῷ θεῷ θύσας καὶ ἀναθείς τὸ ἀφροδίσιον ὃ παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἔλαβεν, ἐχόρευσε μετὰ τῶν ἡϊθέων χορείαν ἣν ἔτι νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν Δηλίους λέγουσι, μίμημα τῶν ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ περιόδων καὶ διεξόδων, ἐν τινὶ ῥυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις ἔχοντι γιγνομένην. καλεῖται δὲ τὸ γένος τοῦτο τῆς χορείας ὑπὸ Δηλίων γέρανος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος. ἐχόρευσε δὲ περὶ τὸν Κερατῶνα βωμόν, ἐκ κεράτων συνηρμοσμένον εὐωνύμων ἀπάντων.

On his voyage from Crete, Theseus put in at Delos, and having sacrificed to the god and dedicated in his temple the image of Aphrodite which he had received from Ariadne, he danced with his youths a dance which they say is still performed by the Delians, being an imitation of the circling passages in the Labyrinth and consisting of certain rhythmic involutions and evolutions. This kind of dance, as Dicaearchus tells us, is called by the Delians The Crane, and Theseus danced it round the altar called Keraton, which is constructed for horns (“kerata”) taken entirely from the left side of the head. (*Life of Theseus*. 21.1-2, trans. Perrin)¹²

This narrative firmly establishes Theseus both as a *chorēgos* – an internal leader of this particular choral song-and-dance, and as a choreographer – the creator of dance in a broader sense. Plutarch emphasizes Theseus’ singularity, twice applying the verb *choreuō* (to dance in a chorus) to Theseus as a singular actor (ἐχόρευσε). He is clearly performing together with the other Athenian youths, but as the creative leader of the dance, he is singled out for special attention. It

¹⁰ See, e.g., Stehle 1997: 119-169, Ceccarelli 1998, P. Wilson 2003, and Kowalzig 2013b.

¹¹ Cf. *Iliad* 601-604; [Hesiod], *Shield of Heracles* 201-206; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 135-139, 186-206, and 514-519. On these passages and Apollo’s role as *chorēgos* more generally, see Mullen 1982: 9-16, 196-200, Lonsdale 1993: 48-75, 111-121, Calame 1997: 19-53 and 90, Nagy 2003, and Chapter 1.2b.

¹² On this dance, see also Pollux 4.101 and Hesychius s.v. *geranoukos*. Lawler 1946 assembles the various textual references, both secure and speculative.

is additionally significant that Theseus is linked with Apollo, both here (τῷ θεῷ ἠέσας) and elsewhere.¹³ Like Apollo, Theseus is a “good” dancer – one whose outstanding performance ultimately consolidates, rather than divides, the community.

Plutarch is, to be sure, a problematic source for late archaic and early classical culture and discourse. But in this instance, he preserves an account of Theseus that was also in circulation during a much earlier period.¹⁴ The François vase, which dates to the early 6th century, clearly depicts Theseus as a leader of choral dance (Fig. 7). On the uppermost frieze of side B of the vase, painted labels clearly identify the key actors: on the far right side of the frieze, Theseus stands facing two female figures: Ariadne and her nurse (τροφός). Fourteen additional figures, depicted one after another along the frieze, represent the fourteen Athenian youths with whom Theseus travelled to Crete and defeated the minotaur. On the far left of the frieze, a ship full of variously-positioned figures occupies a more ambiguous position relative to the main action of the image.

Whether or not this image is directly related to the choral form later called the *geranos*, it clearly positions Theseus as a choral leader. Theseus stands with his back to the fourteen dancers, his body turned towards Ariadne. His stance recalls that of the other dancers – left foot forward, body twisted. Yet he is also clearly distinguished by his long garment and lyre. This instrument is a particularly important symbol of Theseus' role in the dance, marking his role as both *chorēgos*, the internal leader of the dance, and choreographer, the external creative author of the choral production.

As *chorēgos*, Theseus is both a participant in and leader of the chorus. On the François vase, his position at the head of the line of dancers marks him as a leader, while his stance and physical orientation, like that of the other fourteen youths, marks him as a dancer. The representation of choral leadership in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, discussed more fully in Chapter 1, helps to further illuminate Theseus' position here.¹⁵ In the final episode of the hymn, Apollo leads a group of Cretan sailors in a choral procession to Delphi, intending to install them as priests of his newly-founded shrine (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 453-547). The poet describes Apollo thus:

ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων,
φόρμιγγ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων
καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάζ: [...]

And lord Apollo, son of Zeus, led them,
holding a lovely lyre in his hands, playing
well and stepping high (515-517).

¹³ On connections between Theseus and Apollo beyond this specific narrative, see Calame 1996: 126-127, 150-153, 308-324, and 364-369.

¹⁴ Plutarch also attributes at least some of his information to Dicaearchus, presumably the 4th-3rd century geographer, philosopher, and historian.

¹⁵ While various dates and occasions have been proposed and debated for the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (for a summary and bibliography of the existing scholarship, see Richardson 2010: 13-15), I am inclined to follow those who locate it sometime in the 6th century, with an undoubted debt to even more ancient traditions and concepts. It is thus potentially more useful for illuminating the dynamics of dance on the François vase than significantly later sources like Plutarch.

Like Theseus on the François vase, Apollo is marked by a combination of lyre-playing and performance leadership. His high steps (ὑψη βιβιάς) do not suggest ordinary movement – he is certainly dancing in some sense of the word. Yet he also holds an instrument in his hands, thus providing both the choreography *and* the musical accompaniment required for the procession. For the Athenian youths depicted on this frieze, Theseus plays a similar role. The orientation of the dancers' bodies implies that they are following his physical lead, while his lyre presumably offers the aural component of their performance.¹⁶

Moreover, Apollo is more than just an internal *chorēgos*. He is also a choreographer – a producer of choral performance who brings his own vision to life through the bodies of the dancers.¹⁷ He leads the Cretans to Delphi for a specific purpose, and uses his choral leadership to orient them towards the shrine and generate a model for future ritual procession. Theseus' leadership and lyre indicate that he too is more than an internal *chorēgos* of some previously established choreography. His leadership extends to the creation of the dance itself, a process that unfolds visually if we follow the frieze from right to left: Theseus strums the lyre and initiates the dance, while the subsequent thirteen dancers display consistent and organized choreography and corporeality. Phaidimos, as the final dancer, is only just becoming a choral participant, for his body not yet like the others, but nearly there. The sailors, on the far left, remain as spectators, still engaged in the disordered and varied motions of ordinary life. On the François Vase, Theseus is thus depicted as an engaged and productive *chorēgos*, differentiated from the larger dancing group by his unique clothing and musical role, yet clearly marked as their creative and strategic leader.¹⁸

Theseus is similarly depicted in Bacchylides 17, an early 5th century choral song that has resisted straightforward generic categorization.¹⁹ I concur with recent scholarship interpreting this ambiguity as a crucial element of Bacchylides' poetic strategy, rather than a side-effect of modern ignorance.²⁰ In particular, I want to build on a reading developed by Deborah Steiner, which demonstrates how Bacchylides 17 presents Theseus as a choral leader of both the dithyramb and the paean.²¹

In Bacchylides 17, Theseus leaps from the ship en route to Crete in order to retrieve a ring tossed overboard by Minos (74-85). Thereafter, we hear how “the sea-dwelling dolphins quickly carried great Theseus to the home of his father, the horse-lord” (φέρων δὲ δελφῖνες ἀλι- / ναιέται μέγαν θοῶς / Θησέα πατρὸς ἱπι- / ου δόμον, 97-100). Steiner contends that the image of Theseus carried by dolphins evokes the general dithyrambic connotations of dolphin-riders in contemporary vase-painting as well as the archetypal dolphin-ride of Arion, legendary inventor

¹⁶ Pironti highlights Theseus' role as *chorēgos* in the process of explicating the name of the *geranos* (“crane-dance”), claiming: “en outre, on peut relever une analogie entre le rôle du chorège qui conduit la danse au son de la lyre et celui du chef des grues qui, au moyen de signaux sonores, conduit les évolutions de la troupe des oiseaux” (2007: 201). She also notes Theseus' likeness to Apollo, although her main focus is on his relationship to Aphrodite.

¹⁷ For a fuller discussion of Apollo's relationship to dance, see Chapter 1.2b.

¹⁸ I further explore the conceptualization of choral dance as a process of ritualization on the François Vase in Olsen 2015. Here, I highlight only the relevant elements of Theseus' representation. For further discussion of choral performance on this frieze of the François vase, see also von den Hoff 2013 and Hedreen 2011.

¹⁹ See Pavlou 2012: 510 and nn. 1 and 2, with earlier bibliography.

²⁰ E.g., Tsagalis 2007, Pavlou 2012, and Steiner 2012b. These scholars offer different interpretations of the significance of poem's generic ambiguity and its complex relationship to both Dionysus and Apollo, but these larger debates are not immediately relevant to my discussion here.

²¹ As presented by Steiner in a talk entitled “Diving at Delos: Generic Syncretism, Musicology and Choral Politics in Bacchylides 17,” given at UC-Berkeley on May 2nd, 2012 (as Steiner 2012b in bibliography).

of the dithyramb.²² Theseus' maritime travels thus foreshadow his upcoming role as the *chorēgos* of choral celebration following his defeat of the minotaur, an element of the story that must have been available to Bacchylides, as it was attested by the imagery of the François vase roughly a century earlier.

Steiner further identifies a set of dithyrambic elements included in the description of the Nereids' dance beneath the sea, which Theseus views upon his arrival at the home of Poseidon (17.101-108).²³ She interprets these references as an instance of choral projection that links the performing Cean chorus with the imagined chorus of the underwater Nereids. I want to suggest that this scene also casts Theseus as a leader with privileged knowledge of divine *choreia*. When he eventually returns to his Athenian companions and takes up a position of choral leadership, he does so having experienced the awesome sight of the Nereids' dance.²⁴ The language and imagery of Bacchylides 17 thus figures Theseus as a *chorēgos*, even if it does not actually depict the choral dance portion of his legendary Cretan journey.

But the celebratory dance of Theseus and the Athenian youths, eventually localized on Delos and called the *geranos*, is consistently linked with Apollo, not Dionysus and his dithyrambic dolphins.²⁵ Steiner, however, also suggests that Bacchylides 17 casts Theseus as a leader of more typically Apolline *choreia*. She supports this claim with a reading of the action in Bacchylides 17 as designed to call to mind the aetiology of the paian offered by the final episode of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (399-519).²⁶ There, Apollo is linked with the dolphin, in which form he ushers a group of Cretan sailors to Crisa and leads them in paianic procession to Delphi. Steiner observes several parallels in imagery and language between Bacchylides 17 and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, and suggests that the song places Theseus in the position of Apollo as a choral leader of the paian.

Regardless of the larger political and aesthetic ramifications of Bacchylides' musical imagery in this particular song, I find Steiner's analysis of Theseus as a choral leader convincing. I thus suggest that, in addition to Bacchylides' undoubtedly complex engagement with Athenian

²² On dolphin imagery and dithyramb, see Csapo 2003.

²³ Steiner highlights specifically the "whirling ribbons" of the Nereids' hair (δίνηντο ταυνία, 107) and their usual number (50), which gesture to the typical use of *dineō* and others words for "whirling" and "spinning" in descriptions of dithyrambic movement and the fifty members of the dithyrambic chorus (Steiner cites Borthwick 1968 on the former claim, and for both associations, see also Weiss 2014: 34-40 with further bibliography).

²⁴ Bacchylides says that Theseus "feared" (ἐδείσε, 103) the Nereids. On the importance of Nereid *choreia* in the song, see also Fearn 2013: 142-143.

²⁵ See above, with relevant bibliography. Note also that the dithyramb itself tends not to feature an internal *chorēgos* or leading dancer (the *chorēgos* of a dithyramb, in classical Athens and beyond, refers to the man who finances and organizes the performance, see e.g., Kowalzig and Wilson 2013b). Bacchylides' figuration of Theseus as a leader of dithyramb is thus all the more abstracted – more about positioning the Athenian king as a rightful leader than as an actual dancer implicated in any one specific performance.

²⁶ I discuss this passage as a choral paradigm in Chapter 1.2b, and briefly again immediately above. Pavlou 2012: 518-521 also traces a set of correspondences between the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and Bacchylides 17, but suggests that "Bacchylides models his song on the *Hymn.Hom.Ap.* only to polemically refigure it" (2012: 526-527). She argues that Bacchylides presents his song (which she takes to be a paean, 2012: 511), not as a counterpart to the *Homeric Hymn*, but as a rival: one which replaces Cretan musical authority in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* with Athenian hegemony (2012: 536-539). While Steiner likewise understands Bacchylides 17 as significantly invested in the promotion of Athenian imperial authority, she interprets its use of the paean-aetiology from the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* as an attempt to draw Delphic lore and choral practices into the orbit of Athenian power on Delos. The precise workings of these intertextual allusions and relationships are beyond the scope of my project here. The connections drawn by Steiner and, less explicitly, by Pavlou, are important for this analysis only insofar as they work to present Theseus as a choral leader as well as an effective and stabilizing political agent.

imperial ambition, the relationship between Ceos and Athens, and practice of choric *theoria* to Delos, this presentation of Theseus has a simpler, less specific, but nonetheless important political force.²⁷ Theseus-*chorēgos* offers a positive image of the male dancer as a political leader, a compelling alternative to the more disruptive images of male dancing considered in the following sections of this chapter. It is, moreover, no coincidence that this image of the Athenian hero is expressed so vividly in a choral song. By aligning choral leadership with political leadership, Bacchylides reinforces the power of choral *mousikē* as a social institution. His presentation of Theseus here promotes *choreia*: while men dancing truly alone are anti-social, destructive, and unsuited for political power, participation in and leadership of choral dance is the mark of an effective and even archetypal leader. The male dancer's relationship to the chorus makes a fundamental difference. When Bacchylides sets a chorus of Cean men singing and dancing to this narrative, he thus asserts a specific vision of the political, social, and artistic value of *choreia*.

We can be even more specific, however, about the kind of political leadership signified by Theseus in the late 6th and early 5th centuries.. Scholars have long noted the emergence of Theseus as an important figure in Athenian art and literature during this period, although the significance of this phenomenon is still debated.²⁸ I want to call attention here to some elements of the iconographic tradition surrounding Theseus, as analyzed by Richard Neer. This is an instance where, I believe, visual and literary interests intersect and overlap in illuminating ways, for both art, as discussed by Neer, and literature, as represented here by Bacchylides, employ Theseus as a basically flexible and polyvalent image of political authority.

Neer contends that “the iconography of Theseus deploys a poetics of reconciliation, providing models of behavior by which Athenian elites could negotiate a place for themselves in the City of *isonomia*” (2002: 155). He cautions us that his analysis is not a comprehensive iconographic survey, and likewise, my own reading of Theseus is not meant to be exclusive or totalizing. Rather, I highlight how certain images of the Athenian hero exemplify, in Neer's terms, “a certain malleability, an adaptability” (2002: 155). Neer traces the diverse and varied iconography of Theseus in the late 6th and 5th centuries, demonstrating that the hero could appear in different roles even on the same object.²⁹ He shows how Theseus, as a “democratic king,”³⁰ is able to negotiate and mediate between multiple categories of identity and meaning. He claims that “not only is it too simple to label [Theseus] a hero of democracy or, conversely, a hero of reaction, but it misses a key point – which is that he could be both at the same time, and nowhere more so than red-figure” (2002: 168).

While Neer is probably correct that this adaptable image of Theseus is especially prominent in red-figure vase painting, it can also be identified within the literary tradition exemplified by Bacchylides 17. Unlike more negative images of individual male dancers, whose separation from the chorus, we will see, symbolizes their more generally anti-social qualities, Bacchylides renders Theseus both a special and outstanding performer, and at the same time a fully integrated member of his social group. He departs from the ship to be carried on a dolphin

²⁷ These questions are, as mentioned immediately above, addressed differently by Steiner 2012 and Pavlou 2012, but for other approaches, see, e.g. Fearn 2007: 242-256 and Calame 2009.

²⁸ E.g., Brommer 1982, Neils 1987, Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, Walker 1995, Calame 1996, Mills 1997, Neer 2002: 154-168, Flashar, von den Hoff, and Kreuzer 2003, and Servadei 2005.

²⁹ Neer 2002: 154-168. He begins with a kylix painted by Onesimos that displays a striking example of “pictorial tension,” offering four different images of Theseus around the exterior of a single cup (2002: 155-156).

³⁰ This term is applied to Theseus by Walker 1995, but also invoked explicitly by Neer, who titles his analysis of Theseus in art “The Democratic Monarch” (2002: 154).

and, alone among the Athenian youths, experience the awesome sight of the Nereids' divine *choreia*.³¹ But he ultimately returns to take up his position of both strategic and choral leadership. He is, as I have suggested before, a creative *chorēgos* in the mold of Apollo – an outstanding figure, but one who creates, rather than disrupts, *choreia*.

This reading helps account for Bacchylides' presentation of Theseus as a leader of both dithyrambic and paeanic *choreia*. By casting Theseus as a model *chorēgos* of two distinct choral forms as well as a viewer of divine *choreia*, the song preserves a flexible image of the Athenian king as a suitable leader for a variety of groups – social, political, and performative. Bacchylides 17 is not a story about Theseus' role in any one particular choral dance, although the visual evidence strongly suggests that such a story would have been available for inclusion by the poet. By instead infusing Theseus' legendary dive with diverse elements of choral imagery, Bacchylides contributes to an understanding of the democratic monarch as a basically flexible figure in 5th century cultural discourse, able to be adapted to a variety of contexts and ideological programs. In the process, he also presents a model of individualized male dancing that aligns with positive political leadership.

Yet such authoritative masculine chorality does not tell the full story of male dance in archaic and classical Greek thought. In the remainder of this chapter, I will demonstrate that dancing men are frequently depicted as disruptive and destructive in both political and artistic terms. From a very early period, dancing does not possess an inherent value, but rather acquires relatively positive connotations when embedded within the multimedia and socially cohesive art of *choreia*. In epic, lyric, and drama, men who dance beyond the chorus are persistently associated with anti-social behavior and political misrule.

2. Snatching Paris from the Chorus: Dance and Leadership in the *Iliad*

Following the death of Hector, Priam disparages his remaining sons by saying:

[...] ἂ δ' ἐλέγχεα πάντα λέλειπται,
ψεῦσταί τ' ὄρχησταί τε, χοροϊτυπήσιν ἄριστοι,
ἀρνῶν ἠδ' ἐρίφων ἐπιδήμιοι ἀρπακτῆρες.

And all these disgraces are left behind,
liars and dancers, best at beating out the rhythm on the dance floor,
men who snatch lambs and kids from their own kinsmen. (*Iliad* 24.260-262)

While this comment has been taken to reflect a pervasive hostility to dance in the *Iliad*, the picture is really more complicated.³² Leonard Muellner, for example, observes a standing contrast between dancing and fighting in epic and demonstrates that dance is often pejoratively cast as an activity for ineffective warriors (Muellner 1990: 83-85). Yet he further suggests that the apparent conflict between the figure of the warrior and the figure of the dancer can be “neutralized” by “reducing one member of the contrastive pair to metaphoric status” (1990: 85-86). He offers the male dancers on the Shield of Achilles as an example and emphasizes how

³¹ Theseus' unique vision of Nereid *choreia* also pre-figures his choreography of the *geranos*/Delian dance, insofar as the latter is a representation of his “solo” experiences in the labyrinth (see Plutarch *Life of Theseus* 21.1-2, as cited above). Theseus is a capable *chorēgos* who is able to translate his individual experiences into choral dance.

³² See, e.g., Hall 2010: 167-168.

they are represented as warriors: they are (decoratively) armed, they move in *stichas* (used elsewhere for battle ranks), and their dance “exalts” battle (1990: 86).

Slightly reframing Muellner’s formulation, I would say that war and dance operate in the *Iliad* as mirrors of one another – distinct spheres that can nevertheless interpenetrate each other on a metaphoric or symbolic level. The parallels between the two are made especially clear on the Shield of Achilles, whereupon the sounds and motions of battle pervade the city at war as vividly and thoroughly as song and dance permeate the city at peace.³³ Likewise, as Muellner observes, martial imagery figures prominently in the representation of the final idealized chorus upon the Shield. Those dancers are not actually warriors, but their coordinated and structured dancing is positively compared with military action.

Achilles himself offers a revealing counterpart to these dancers. While his return to the Trojan plain after receiving his divine armor begins with single combat (*Iliad* 20.153-352), Poseidon then rescues his opponent Aeneas from battle (*Iliad* 20.320-340). When Achilles realizes what has occurred, he says “but come now, calling to the war-loving Danaans, / I will make trial of the other Trojans, going out against them” (ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ Δαναοῖσι φιλοπτολέμοισι κελεύσας / τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων πειρήσομαι ἀντίος ἐλθῶν, *Iliad* 20.351-352). The poet then describes how:

ἦ, καὶ ἐπὶ στίχας ἄλτο, κέλευε δὲ φωτὶ ἐκάστῳ:
μηκέτι νῦν Τρώων ἐκὰς ἕστατε δῖοι Ἀχαιοί,
ἀλλ’ ἄγ’ ἀνήρ ἄντ’ ἀνδρὸς ἴτω, μεμάτω δὲ μάχεσθαι.

He spoke, and leapt toward the ranks, and called to each man:
“no longer stand apart from the Trojans, god-like Achaians,
but let each man go out against a man, eager to fight him.” (*Iliad* 20.353-355)

Achilles’ actions here recall the choral choreography upon his shield. The poet’s description of Achilles “leaping toward the ranks” (ἐπὶ στίχας ἄλτο, 353) recalls the movement of the dancers in the final scene of the Shield (θρέξασκον ἐπὶ στίχας ἀλλήλοισι, *Iliad* 18.603). The military imagery in the poet’s description of the dance colors his subsequent description of Achilles’ action – while it is completely ordinary for a commander to move along the battle lines, the use of *stichae* as a choreographic term to describe the action on the Shield re-frames the movement of the Achaeans here. Those troops are, moreover, described as standing (ἕστατε, *Iliad* 20.354), admittedly a common verb and position but also one which typically previews choral action.³⁴ The dancers upon Achilles’ shield are primarily performers, but they are similar to warriors in certain crucial respects. Likewise, Achilles is truly a fighter and commander, but his actions are subtly reminiscent of dance.³⁵

Dance becomes a problem in the *Iliad* when it transgresses its appropriate role vis-à-vis battle. As Muellner notes, Priam castigates his surviving sons because they are primarily dancers (χοροῖτυπήσιν ἄριστοι, 24.261) when they ought to be fighters (Muellner 1990: 86-87). The

³³ *Iliad* 18.49-541. See Chapter 1.4 for further discussion of the role of song and dance on the Shield of Achilles.

³⁴ Chapter 2.1a with further bibliography, but see especially Power 2011: 69.

³⁵ For a later example of the same phenomenon, cf. Xenophon *Oeconomicus* 8.3-8, where the Ischomachus first praises good order as represented by the chorus (8.3, see further discussion in Chapter 1.4), then applies the same values to the order and organization of an army and a trireme. Dance, in the form of the chorus, provides a model for military action – the implication is not that warriors are themselves always dancers.

term *kubistēter*, or “tumbler,” is likewise used pejoratively in the *Iliad* to refer to actual fighters, while possessing no obviously negative charge in its application to performers on the Shield of Achilles.³⁶ Dance in the *Iliad* is a positive action when performed in a non-martial context or deployed as a metaphor or model for battle.³⁷

The relationship between dance and war is partially shaped by the ways in which both require a complex negotiation between individual and communal action. Choral dancing and waging war are both social enterprises. While Homeric battle may be particularly individualized, the single fighter is still acting on behalf of and in concert with his larger community. Achilles’ leadership upon his return to battle exemplifies this, for he remains a unique and singular champion while also displaying the ability to lead and organize his troops (20.153-355).³⁸ Hector provides an even more consistent model of the individual leader who coordinates his actions with the needs of the larger community.³⁹ Likewise, I demonstrated in Ch. 1 and discussed above how choral dance, for all its communality and social force, also creates space for soloists, particularly in the role of the *chorēgos*. The battlefield commander might be understood as an analogue for the choral leader: a positive masculine role of leadership and authority within a community. Finally, I have also suggested that singular male dancing, in Greek thought, acquires a more negative charge when it occurs outside of a choral framework and coincides with attempts at political leadership. The *Iliad* supports this model through its characterization of Paris, who offers us an early example of the individual and isolated male dancer as an anti-social and disruptive political actor.

In the third book of the *Iliad*, Aphrodite rescues Paris from battle and returns him to Troy (3.380-382). Having disguised herself as a slave woman, the goddess then goes to Helen and tells her:

δεῦρ’ ἴθ’· Ἀλέξανδρός σε καλεῖ οἴκόνδε νέεσθαι.
 κείνος ὃ γ’ ἐν θαλάμῳ καὶ δινωτοῖσι λέχεσσι,
 κάλλει τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν· οὐδέ κε φαίης
 ἀνδρὶ μαχεσσάμενον τόν γ’ ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ χορόνδε
 ἔρχεσθ’, ἢ ἐ χοροῖο νέον λήγοντα καθίζειν.

³⁶ See *Iliad* 16.745, when Patrocles mocks Kebriones: ὦ πόποι ἦ μάλ’ ἐλαφρὸς ἀνὴρ, ὡς ῥεῖα κυβιστᾷ (“oh for shame, the very light-footed man, how easily he tumbles!”), then extends the insult to the Trojans as a whole (ἦ ῥα καὶ ἐν Τρώεσσι κυβιστητῆρες ἔασιν, “truly, there are tumblers among the Trojans as well, 16.749). On the *kubistēteres* of Achilles’ Shield, see Chapter 1.4. For other hints of a basic opposition between dancing and fighting in the *Iliad*, see 13.729-732 and 15.506-510). Moreover, this sense of war and dance as mutually exclusive on a literal level persists in Greek thought: cf. Euripides’ *Electra*, when Electra longs for a husband who is possessed of “a masculine manner” (τἀνδρείου τρόπου, 949), rather than a “maidenly face” (παρθενωπός, 949), remarking that the children of the former are distinguished in war (Ἄρεος ἐκκρεμάννυται, 950), while the children of the latter are fit only to be “an adornment in the chorus” (κόσμος ἐν χοροῖς μόνον, 951).

³⁷ On the former point (dance as positive within the correct context), cf. not only the examples from Achilles’ Shield, but also the paean performed by the Achaeans in supplication of Apollo at the end of Book 1 (οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο / καλὸν ἀεῖδοντες παιήονα κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν / μέλποντες ἐκάεργον: ὃ δὲ φρένα τέρπει’ ἀκούων, *Iliad* 1.473-475).

³⁸ Achilles’ leadership here is in contrast with Redfield’s contention that, in general, “on the battlefield, Achilles appears not as a leader of men but as an isolated destroyer – a kind of natural force, like fire or flood” (1994: 107). I follow Purves in understanding the possession and viewing of the Shield as transformative for Achilles, enabling him to display a type of leadership and foresight he previously lacked (Purves 2010a: 54).

³⁹ On Hector as leader and individual, see Schein 1984: 168-196 and Redfield 1994.

Come here. Alexandros calls you to come home.
He is in his chamber and on the bed with its circled pattern,
shining in his beauty and his clothing; you would not think
that he had come from fighting against a man, but that he was going
to the chorus, or having just left the chorus, was sitting down. (*Iliad* 3.390-394)

This image reinforces the distinction between literal and metaphoric dancing that I, drawing on Muellner, have already emphasized. Paris looks like a dancer when he ought to be a warrior. A few books later, Hector will arrive to chide him for his failure to fulfill the latter role, as he remains ensconced in his chamber (*Iliad* 6.325-331). But I want to highlight another important dimension of Paris' representation here: he is not described as a dancer actively participating in the chorus, but rather an individual who "is going to the chorus or, having just left the chorus, is sitting down" (ἀλλὰ χορόνδε / ἔρχεσθ', ἢ ἐ χοροῖο νέον λήγοντα καθίζειν, 393-394). The force of this singularity and isolation becomes more clear when read within its larger narrative context.

At the beginning of Book 3, Paris is also figured as an individual, standing out among the Trojans as a champion (Τρωσὶν μὲν προμάχιζεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδῆς, *Iliad* 3.16). But when Menelaus advances against him, Paris shrinks back among the Trojan ranks in fear (*Iliad* 3.30-37). Paris subsequently faces Menelaus in single combat, but Aphrodite snatches him away and transports him safely back to Troy (τὸν δ' ἐξήραξ' Ἀφροδίτη / ῥεῖα μάλ' ὥς τε θεός, ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἠέρι πολλῆ, / καὶ δ' εἶσ' ἐν θαλάμῳ εὐώδεϊ κηώντι, *Iliad* 3.380-382). Paris thus twice fails to fulfill his initial promise as a champion and leader. It is after these two aborted fights with Menelaus that Aphrodite describes Paris to Helen as "not like a man who has just come from fighting against a man, but like one who is going to a chorus, or who is sitting down, having just left a chorus" (3.393-394). As I suggested above, this description positions Paris as a singular figure. While he is not actually figured as a solo dancer, he is also not a choreut in action, moving in concert with others. Rather, he is simply a single dancer – alone and apart from the space and community of performance. Moreover, his individuality is not the positive kind of singularity associated with commanders and choral leaders, who possess the ability to oversee and act on behalf of a larger community.

Paris' inability to act as a true leader on the battlefield, which coincides with his characterization as a chorus-less choreut, mirrors his lack of political vision on a larger stage. Paris' relationship with Helen represents a destructive inversion of the proper role of marriage as a mechanism of political and social connection. Hector articulates this when he chides Paris for his theft of Helen, suggesting that his individual act of self-interest has done great damage to Trojans as a whole (*Iliad* 3.50-51). In abducting Helen, Paris behaves as a singular figure motivated by personal desire, rather than an outstanding leader fully engaged with the needs and actions of a larger community.⁴⁰ Aphrodite's actions further confirm the link between Paris' position as a dancer, his lack of political discretion, and his inability to fulfill the role of a true leader. Muellner, for example, demonstrates that the poet's diction surrounding Paris' rescue echoes the language associated with the snatching of young girls from the chorus.⁴¹ Paris, therefore, is taken from the battlefield like a maiden from a chorus, an image that recalls his own rape of Helen and its destructive aftermath. On a different level, Laura Slatkin observes that Aphrodite's ability to conceal and rescue her mortal favorites is not without consequence, for while "Aphrodite's beneficiaries do escape destruction and survive the *Iliad*, their individual

⁴⁰ On Paris as an anti-social figure, see Collins 1988: 29-36.

⁴¹ *Iliad* 3.381-383; Muellner 1990: 80-82, drawing from Boedeker 1974.

heroism, from an epic standpoint, has been permanently compromised.”⁴² In *Iliad* 3, Paris is represented both as a singular dancer, doubly expressed by Aphrodite’s description of him and by his likeness to a maiden “snatched from the chorus,” and as a would-be warrior lacking in political foresight, leadership, and authority. His dancer-like nature is thus linked with his inability to act as an effective leader.

This negative attitude towards singular action unmoored from any sense of communal interest is consistent with recent analyses of the poetics of the *Iliad*. Alex Purves describes the narrative perspective of the *Iliad* as “eusynoptic.” Drawing upon Aristotle, she defines this viewpoint as that of “an observer standing at a distance:” it is a way of seeing that allows a place or a literary plot to “be easily comprehended as a unit” (2010a: 26).⁴³ While human characters in the *Iliad* can have some experience of this perspective, it is especially characteristic of the divine vantage point in the poem: the heights from which the gods enjoy a synoptic view of the Trojan plain (Purves 2010a: 32-35.)⁴⁴ Jenny Strauss Clay also develops an illuminating interpretation of space and vision in the *Iliad*, paying particular attention to often-neglected battlefield scenes and exploring how “the poet of the *Iliad* ‘saw’ in his mind’s eye and made visible to his audience the complex actions of characters within a spatial and temporal framework” (2011: 96). In suggesting that spatial organization might operate within the *Iliad* as a mnemonic device, Clay reveals how the ability to “envision Troy,” both for the poet and his audience, is crucial to understanding the poetic and narrative style of the poem.

Clay and Purves both demonstrate the importance of “encompassing vision” within the *Iliad*. This perspective has special relevance for the poem’s representation of dance, for a thorough and encompassing “overview” is also the characteristic perspective of the choreographer, who is able to imagine and oversee the entirety of his kinetic creation.⁴⁵ The Homeric poet demonstrates as much in his description of *choreia* on the Shield of Achilles, wherein he references the entirety of the chorus (at once both the dancers and their space, *Iliad* 18.590, cf. Frontisi-Ducroux 2002: 482) and draws a picture of the performance that is attentive, above all, to choreographic shape and structure:

οἱ δ’ ὅτε μὲν θρέξασκον ἐπισταμένοισι πόδεςσι
 ῥεῖα μάλ’, ὡς ὅτε τις τροχὸν ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμησιν
 ἐζόμενος κεραμεὺς πειρήσεται, αἶ κε θέησιν:
 ἄλλοτε δ’ αὖ θρέξασκον ἐπὶ στίχας ἀλλήλοισι.

And sometimes they were running on their knowing feet,
 very lightly, as when a potter, sitting at his wheel and holding it
 in his hands, tries it out, to see if it will run.

At another time they would run rows towards one another. (*Iliad* 18.599-602)⁴⁶

⁴² Slatkin 2011: 46 n. 30, discussing Aeneas as well as Paris.

⁴³ See Purves 2010a: 1-10, 24-64 for further bibliography on Homeric visual and narrative perspectives.

⁴⁴ Purves suggests that it is a “Homeric narrative paradox” that human narrators and audiences cannot fully capture or experience this divine perspective (2010a: 35, cf. *Iliad* 2.485-493). She further calls attention, however, to specific “eusynoptic” moments and gestures in the *Iliad* (e.g., the *teichoscopyia* at *Iliad* 3.121-244) and observes that “the epic narrator *is* able to remember and present a ‘view’ of the Muses’ *eusynoptic* vision, but only by spooling it through the thread of language” (2010a: 38, emphasis in original).

⁴⁵ For a relevant discussion of choreographic imagination and visualization as conceptualized in Alcman, see Peponi 2004: 313-316.

⁴⁶ On this passage, see also Chapter 1.4, with further bibliography.

In this passage, the poet does not explore the motion of individual dancers, but instead describes the shapes and patterns generated by the dance as a whole. The audience of the *Iliad* is invited to peer over Hephaestus' shoulder as he adorns the Shield, enjoying the perspective of the creator rather than that of the internal audience (*Iliad* 18.603).

Achilles, when he receives the object, likewise enjoys a synoptic overview of the dance, rather than a selective and close-up vantage point. While a choreographer or *chorodidaskalos* must certainly be able to attend to individual performers, his creative authority relies upon an ability to take the entirety of his dance into view and to imagine and craft the spectacle as a whole.⁴⁷ When the poet recalls the dance on the Shield in his description of Achilles as “leaping back into the ranks” (ἐπὶ στίχας ἄλτο, 353), he marks the transfer of that choreographic perspective onto the battlefield. Achilles, still holding that image in his hands, directs the motion of his troops just as the choreographer directs the motion of his choreuts. On the one hand, Achilles encourages the Achaeans to act as individuals, moving forward into hand-to-hand combat (ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἀνήρ ἄντ' ἀνδρὸς ἴτω, 20.355). This kind of action is aligned, in the *Odyssey*, with more individualized dance forms. Agamemnon, in the underworld, recalls how some men perished in single combat (μουνᾶξ κτεινομένων καὶ ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ, *Odyssey* 11.417), employing an adverb, *mounax*, that appears only one other time in Homeric poetry – to describe the individualized and virtuosic dance of Halius and Laodamas (μουνᾶξ ὀρχήσασθαι, *Odyssey* 8.371).⁴⁸ Like the Phaeacian princes, warriors in single combat move in distinct but closely connected ways. But the various acts of individual combat that comprise a Homeric battle are also united in Achilles' field of vision. As a commander moving along the battle lines, he is able to visualize and direct both the entirety of the Achaean force (δοῖοι Ἀχαιοί, 20.354) and the motions of individual men (ἀνήρ ἄντ' ἀνδρὸς ἴτω, 20.355).⁴⁹ Since the *Iliad* possesses a

⁴⁷ This sense of *choreia* as a holistic spectacle, rather than one which focuses attention upon individual dancers, is fairly pervasive in archaic hexameter (cf., e.g., *Theogony* 1-25 and *Odyssey* 8.250-260). Outside of Hephaestus' choreographic crafting here, we do not really have representations of the process of choreography as distinct from choral leadership (although see again n. 46 above on Alcman). But when Apollo and Theseus (both archetypal *chorēgoi*) are described in Greek literature as creating choral spectacle, the emphasis is on the leadership of group movement through space and the coordination of many bodies in action, comparable to the description of choral choreography on the Shield of Achilles (cf. *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 514-519 and Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* 21.1-2). It is on this basis that I argue that early Greek conceptions of choreographic action stress the organization of group movement in space, rather than (or at least more than) the invention of individual steps and gestural sequences (the latter conception of choreography is emphasized in the final scenes of Aristophanes' *Wasps*, but those scenes, I will argue, are deliberately subverting standard models of dance – see section 4b below).

⁴⁸ See Chapter 2 for my discussion of individualized and choral dance in *Odyssey* 8.

⁴⁹ As Purves notes, Achilles, with his Shield and his divine heritage, is represented as uniquely capable of enjoying this god-like perspective (Purves 2010a: 54). Both Priam and Hector, however, strive for similar perspectives within human constraints. In the *teichoscopia* of *Iliad* 3, for example, Priam surveys the Trojan plain and converses with Helen about the figures found there (*Iliad* 3.161-260, see Purves 2010a: 5 and Clay 2011: 31-32). Hector's leadership is likewise displayed prominently in *Iliad* 3. After Paris' failed foray against Menelaus, the poet describes how Hector, “going out into the midst of the Trojans kept back their ranks / holding his spear in the middle. And they all took their seats” (καὶ ῥ' ἐς μέσσον ἰὼν Τρώων ἀνέργε φάλαγγας / μέσσου δουρὸς ἐλὼν: τοὶ δ' ἰδρύνθησαν ἅπαντες, *Iliad* 3.77-78). Like the pair of tumblers later depicted on Achilles' Shield, Hector moves “into the midst” of the others (ἐς μέσσον, 3.77, cf. δοῖω δὲ κυβιστητῆρε ... κατὰ μέσσου, 18.604-605).⁴⁹ But unlike those *kubistētēres*, Hector is a true leader, controlling the motion of his men (τοὶ δ' ἰδρύνθησαν ἅπαντες, 3.78) and setting out to negotiate with the enemy commander (3.81-95). The poet does not endow Hector with an eusynoptic visual perspective – like the Myrmidons, he is frightened by Achilles' Shield (*Iliad* 22.134-137, Purves 2010a: 53). He does, however, display an all-encompassing military and political perspective. Hector here reminds Paris of his responsibility for the present war, suggesting that his short-sighted and selfish actions have made him “a

particular interest in visualizing the disparate actions of the battlefield in a coherent fashion, dance, particularly in the form of *choreia*, becomes useful vehicle for articulating the complex relationships between individual actors and moving communities.

Paris, by contrast, is isolated from the chorus (ἀλλὰ χορόνδε / ἔρχεσθ', ἠὲ χοροῖο νέον λήγοντα καθίζειν, 393-394), just as he is out-of-step with the needs and actions of his larger Trojan community. To be a singular male dancer is to be an anti-social figure, unwilling to operate effectively within a group. Paris' literal isolation from battle and figurative idiosyncrasy in dance also mark him as generically inappropriate – outside the bounds of epic itself. His actions do not display the encompassing viewpoint valued by the poem for its military and poetic implications alike. In addition, as Slatkin argues, for a hero to be concealed and preserved by the gods ultimately amounts to “the extinction of heroic subject matter, the negation of epic” (2011: 45). Aphrodite removes Paris from danger, but also from epic heroism. He becomes instead a singular dancer, at home neither in epic itself nor fully integrated into another genre (e.g., choral performance). He sits alone in his chamber, “standing out” from others in only a negative sense.

3. The Politics and Poetics of Individualized Dance in Symptotic Song

I turn now to the representation of male movement and dance in symptotic song, represented here by Alcaeus and Ion of Chios. While these two poets composed and performed at different times and in different places, I will argue that their use of dance as a literary trope is remarkably consistent. In addition, returning to the claims I developed in the Introduction, I want to stress again the ways in which language and description can work to frame and affect the perception of closely related instances of dance.⁵⁰ There, I argued that there is an underlying connection between the language used to discuss and describe dance and our corresponding experience of it. I suggested that somatic and kinetic imagery and metaphor in archaic and classical Greek literature can both reflect historical experiences of embodiment and corporeality, and also attempt to frame, direct, and control them.

My discussion of symptotic song here is primarily concerned with the latter half of that claim, for I will demonstrate that symptotic poets deploy language to define and control individual embodied expression, a strategy that becomes more intelligible if we return again to the performance context of these particular forms of song. Archaic and classical symposia were brimming with various forms of corporeal experience and somatic expression. In addition to the ubiquitous dancing girls and acrobats, it seems likely that symposiasts themselves danced spontaneously both within and beyond the *andron*.⁵¹ Symptotic games, like kottabos and knucklebones, would also have engaged, challenged, and make a spectacle of symposiasts' bodies.⁵² The singers and audiences of these songs would have also participated, as performers

great calamity to his father, city, and whole country, / a delight to his enemies, but a source for misery for himself” (πατρί τε σὺ μέγα πῆμα πόλῃ τε παντί τε δήμῳ, / δυσμενέσιν μὲν χάριμα, κατηφείην δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ, *Iliad* 3.50-51). Hector himself, by contrast, takes the needs of all into his view and deploys political and military strategy for the benefit of the Trojans as a whole. As Redfield observes, “as battlefield commander, Hector is both king and warrior; he must be cautious and reckless at once, act well himself and direct the action of others” (1994: 124). In Redfield's reading, Hector's inability to fully foresee the future (to take all things into his view) is a necessary component of his tragedy (1994: 128-159, esp. 153).

⁵⁰ See Introduction.

⁵¹ See Chapter 1.1.

⁵² On the iconography of symptotic play, see Lissarrague 1990a: 68-86. See also Kurke 1999: 276-295, whose insights are discussed on a more theoretical level in the Introduction.

and/or viewers, in those physical activities. Let us envision, then, an elite male symposiast reclining on his *klinē* and listening to a song that valorizes communal movement and aligns individual somatic expression with tyranny and destruction. Let us imagine that this song is followed by a performance of acrobatic or comic dance, solo in form and practiced by someone other than a male aristocrat.⁵³

How might such a symposiast feel the distance between his own body – reclining among a group of companions arrayed in a orderly, circular-chorus-like pattern about the *andron* – and the body of the individual performer?⁵⁴ How might such a song affect his reaction to an impromptu dance performed by another symposiast, perhaps under the influence of excessive drink? When he leaves the *andron* with his companions to celebrate the *kōmos*, how might a discursive emphasis on collective action affect his perception of this spontaneous, yet communal, form of kinetic expression? None of these questions can be answered with any certainty; I make no claims to know how archaic Greek symposiasts actually felt and thought. Rather, I contend that the ways in which archaic poets represent movement and embodied experience reflect an ideological effort to affect how their audiences might answer the questions posed above. Symptotic song provided a “soundtrack for the symposium,” intended to frame its action and influence its audience as much as a modern film soundtrack might.⁵⁵

I turn now to several close readings of symptotic song, paying particular attention to the construction of collective and individual kinetic expression. These readings focus on the critique, in symptotic poetry, of the solo dancer as a political actor. While I do not deny that there may have been completely unproblematic and uncomplicated instances of elite male dance in a symptotic setting at some times and places in early Greece, I contend that a particular strand of symptotic discourse works to marginalize and suppress this particular form of individualized kinetic expression. That is, the valorization of collective action and motion in Alcaeus and Ion carefully constrains the inherent corporeality of the symposium and subtly but strategically discourages elite male symposiasts from showcasing individual kinetic virtuosity. One major effect of this discursive pattern is to construct the dance performance of individuals as incompatible with the possession of “good” or “effective” political power and authority, a theme I have already identified within the *Iliad*. The concurrent emphasis on the symposium and its attendant *kōmos* as a kind of chorus further supports this ideological program, framing elite male symptotic dance and play as cohesive chorality, rather than disruptive solo expression.⁵⁶

a. The Trampling Tyrant: Corporeality and Dance in Alcaeus

According to Diogenes Laertius, Alcaeus describes Pittacus, the Mytilenean tyrant and sage, as “splay-footed” (σαράποδα, σάραπον), “chapped-footed” (χειροπόδη), “haughty”

⁵³ I am being deliberately vague here in order to encompass the wide range of potential symptotic entertainment: this might be an acrobatic dancing girl, an erotic display, or a buffoonish *akletos* (Fehr 1990) – any kind of kinetic performance, so long as it is (for the moment) *not* danced by a symposiast himself.

⁵⁴ On the archaeological evidence for the organization of the *andrōn*, see Bergquist 1990 and Cooper and Morris 1990. On the abiding links between circularity and chorality in archaic and classical Greece (often but not exclusively associated with dithyramb), see Steiner 2011: 303-305, 308-309.

⁵⁵ On the “discursive dimension of film music” and its role as a “fully dynamic and reciprocal element” of cinematic production” (3), see Goldmark, Kramer, and Leppert 2007. Power 2007: 182 refers to the instrumental dimension of symptotic music as a “soundtrack.”

⁵⁶ On this conception of the *kōmos*, see Chapter 1.1.

(γαύρηκα), “pot-belly” (φύσκωνα), “big-belly” (γάστρωνα), “one who dines in the dark” (ζοφοδορπίδαν), and “well-swept” (ἀγάσυρτον) (*Vitae Philosophorum* 1.81 = Alcaeus fr. 429 L-P). With the exception of “pot-belly,” found in fr. 129 L-P, these epithets have been passed down to us completely without context. For that reason, I do not wish to overstate their significance in my reading of Alcaeus’ depiction of Pittacus.

At the same time, while the consistent attention to the body of the tyrant in these epithets may simply reflect the interests of Diogenes Laertius, the specific focus on two elements of Pittacus’ anatomy – his feet and his belly – replicates a pattern within the better-preserved fragments of Alcaeus.⁵⁷ My analysis here examines Alcaeus’ attention to corporeality and somatic expression, contrasting the destructive habits of Pittacus with more appropriate forms of sympotic behavior. I contend that Alcaeus’ poetry aligns solo kinetic expression with the destruction of the tyrant and encourages symposiasts to connect their own experiences of embodied expression with the collective movement of the chorus. My readings here thus serve as examples of my claim that sympotic song provides a “soundtrack for the symposium:” constructing, framing, and constraining its audiences’ experience of dance.

Alcaeus fr. 129 L-P is generally understood as alluding to a conspiracy against the Mytilenean tyrant Myrsilus, which failed as a result of Pittacus’ betrayal and forced Alcaeus and his faction into exile.⁵⁸ Near the middle of the poem, the speaker turns from a description of a Lesbian *temenos* and invocation of the gods to a more specific prayer: “let the Erinys of those men [sc: those killed in the conspiracy] pursue the son of Hyrrhas [= Pittacus]” (τὸν Ὑρραῖον δὲ πα[ῖ]δα πεδεληθέτω / κήνων Ἐ[ρ]ίννυς, 13-14). Up until this point, the imagery of the poem is marked by collectivity and multiplicity:⁵⁹ the physical setting of the “holy precinct, held in common” (τέμενος ... ξῦνον, 2-3), the invocation of multiple gods (ἀθανάτων μακάρων, 4; ἀντίαον Δία ... Αἰολήϊαν [κ]υδαλίμαν θεόν πάντων γενέθλαν ... τόνδε κεμήλιον ... Ζόννυσσον ὠμήσταν, 5-9), and the prayers, hardships, and exile of a collective “us” (ἀμμετέρα[ς] ἄρας... τῶν[δ]ε μόχθων ἀργαλέας τε φύγας, 10-12). Likewise, the speaker follows his reference to Pittacus with a reminder of the oath shared by the conspirators:

[...] ὥς ποτ’ ἀπώμνυμεν
τόμοντες ἄ..[.]ν.
μηδάμα μηδ’ ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων

ἀλλ’ ἢ θάνοντες γᾶν ἐπιέμμενοι
κείσεσθ’ ὑπ’ ἀνδρῶν οἱ τότε ἐπικέην
ἤπειτα κακκτάνοντες αὐτοῖς
δᾶμον ὑπέξ ἀχέων ῥύεσθαι.

[...] since once we swore, cutting [...], never (to abandon?) any of our comrades,
but either to die at the hands of men who at that time came against us and to lie

⁵⁷ As noted and discussed by Burnett 1983: 162 and Kurke 1994: 86-87.

⁵⁸ Hutchinson 2001: 192-204. On the political and performance context of Alcaeus’ poetry, cf. especially Rösler 1980 and Kurke 1994.

⁵⁹ Hutchinson: “in 129, the narrator speaks as one of a plurality present in the *temenos*, and advertises no separate individuality” (2001: 193-194). Kurke 1994 (esp. 87-90) also attends to Alcaeus’ use of collective language in this fragment.

clothed in earth, or else to kill them and rescue the people from their woes. (fr. 129 L-P, lines 14-20, trans. Campbell)

If the posited ῥύεσθε at the end of line 12 is correct ([speaker to the gods:] “and rescue us from hard exile,” ἀργαλέας τε φύγας ῥ[ύεσθε]), the repetition of the same word at the end of the third and fifth stanzas establishes a clear continuity between the collective action asked of the gods (“rescue us”) and the collective action undertaken by Alcaeus’ faction (“to rescue the people from their woes,” δᾶμον ὑπὲξ ἀχέων ῥύεσθαι, 20).

When the speaker turns to Pittacus, however, he identifies him as a singular object of wrath and resentment, contrasting the common oaths, prayers, and suffering of the group with the individual action of the traitor. The opening lines of the poem reference the Lesbian people as a whole (Λέσβιοι, 1) and a group of three distinct deities (5-9). The final four stanzas focus on the shared sufferings, pleas, and promises of the conspiratorial group. Pittacus (13) and Myrsilus (28) are the only human figures referred to by name, and Pittacus is further marked off as a distinct individual by a pejorative nickname (“potbelly,” ὀ φύσγων, 21) and the extended description of his actions (21-24).

Collective motion, in this poem, is planned and organized. The Lesbian people “established” (κά[τε]σσαν, 3) the *temenos* and “set up” (ἔθηκον, 4) the altars of the gods.⁶⁰ The gods are called upon to act as a group in response to the prayers of the speaker (ἀκούσατ’, 11; ῥ[ύεσθε, 12). The speaker depicts the actions of his group as sealed with an oath (ἀπώμνυμεν, 14), the possible outcomes foreseen (17-20). The speaker also represents the imagined outcomes of the conspiracy as a strong binary: they will either die at the hands of their enemies and lie buried (17-18), or they will be victorious and rescue the *demos* (18-20). Implicitly, each outcome affects the whole group. The poem’s either/or construction does not admit the possibility of some men dying while others succeed (or any other number of possible outcomes). The movement and action of groups, in fr. 129, is totally cohesive and fully organized. Ironically, the conspirators’ oath does not imagine the actual outcome of the plot: Pittacus’ betrayal and the exile of the others. The renegade actions of one thus undermine collective action, subverting the group’s ability to even foresee, let alone control, possible outcomes.

The motion ascribed to Pittacus is also striking. The speaker claims that Pittacus “having recklessly trampled the oaths with his feet, consumes the city” (βραϊδίως πόσιν / ἔ]μβαις ἐπ’ ὀρκίοισι δάπτει / τὰν πόλιν, 22-24). The adverb βραϊδίως, Aeolic for ῥαδίως, generally refers to ease and lightness, but can, in a more pejorative sense, denote thoughtlessness or recklessness. Given the speaker’s hostile attitude towards Pittacus, this is how the word has generally been understood here.⁶¹ Hutchinson cites several parallels for the imagery of trampled oaths.⁶² Yet the language of the poem also suggests a seemingly incongruous image: the light and easy movement of the dancer.

While each of three key words in this phrase (βραϊδίως, πόσιν, ἔ]μβαις) is found in a variety of different contexts and with varying connotations throughout Greek literature, they are

⁶⁰ And, as noted in Chapter 1.1, the verb *histēmi* is particularly associated with the establishment of choruses (Peponi 2004a: 314-15, Calame 1997 [1977]: 88-89, 94, Nagy 1990: 361-62). Of course, *histēmi* can mean many different things and occurs frequently in Greek, so I do not mean to overstate the significance of its appearance in this particular context (where it clearly refers to architectural and spatial establishment).

⁶¹ E.g., Campbell 1982: 299.

⁶² *Iliad* 4.157, Hipponax fr. 115.15 West, Sophocles fr. 683.2-3 Radt (Hutchinson 2007: 203).

all terms used at times for dance.⁶³ The appearance of these three terms in immediate succession here intensifies that association. But while this line could technically mean that “Pittacus steps lightly with his feet,” a description befitting a dancer, Alcaeus ultimately negates any positive understanding of Pittacus as a performer.

As I have already noted, Alcaeus stresses that Pittacus acts alone, in contrast to the unified and socially cohesive motion of the elite faction or, in another realm, the chorus. Moreover, the initial sense of lightness and ease in Pittacus’ movement (βραϊδίως, 22) is undermined by the subsequent weight and destruction of his actions, as it becomes clear that *embainō* here must be taken more violently (“trampling the oaths,” ἔ]μβαίς ἐπ’ ὀρκίοισι, 23), to match the tyrant’s “consumption” of the city (δάπτει / τὰν πόλιν, 23-34).⁶⁴ The poem thereby links the feet with the belly, motion with consumption. As I mentioned above, this link confirms a pattern within the epithets preserved by Diogenes Laertius, which are largely interested in the tyrant’s clumsy and heavy modes of movement (σάραποδα, σάραπον, χειροπόδη) and often-excessive consumption (φύσκωνα, γάστρωνα, ζοφοδορπίδα). Moving (in dance and play) and consuming (wine) are also, of course, two of the main activities of the symposium. Pittacus, then, is a renegade symposiast: while the drinking and dancing of the symposium and *kōmos* work to consolidate group identity (often as distinct from the *polis* as a whole), Pittacus’ movement and consumption tramples the group and overtakes the city.⁶⁵

Fr. 129 L-P is not the only song that attends to Pittacus’ sympotic habits. In fr. 70 L-P, the speaker locates Pittacus at a symposium (συμποσίω, 3) populated by “empty braggarts” (φιλώνων πεδ’ ἀλεμάτων, 4).⁶⁶ This song again characterizes Pittacus as “devouring the city” (δαπτέτω πόλιν, 7).⁶⁷ In fr. 72 L-P, Alcaeus describes Pittacus’ father Hyrrhas as a similarly destructive and disruptive figure (7-10).

The effects of Alcaeus’ construction of Pittacus as a badly behaved symposiast become clearer when contrasted with his depictions of himself and his own companions. To that end, I turn now to fr. 130 L-P, whose speaker is generally aligned with the exiled Alcaeus.⁶⁸ This song thus pairs well with fr. 129: while the latter pleads with the gods for a rescue from exile and blames Pittacus for his treachery, the former describes the isolating experience of exile.⁶⁹

In fr. 130, the speaker presents himself as a singular figure: “I am driven away, living in exile on the borderlands, and like Onomacles, I have settled there, alone, in the wolf-thickets,”

⁶³ For ease (βραϊδίως/ῥάδιος/ῥεῖα) as a quality of dance, cf. *Iliad* 18.599-600 (θρέξασκον ἐπισταμένοισι πόδεςσι / ῥεῖα μάλ’, along with, more pejoratively, *Iliad* 16.745: ὡς ῥεῖα κυβιστᾶ); for the focus on feet in early Greek descriptions of dance, cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 70, *Odyssey* 8.264-265, *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 201-203, Bacchylides 17.108, Power 2010b: 69-70, and Kurke 2013a: 31-32; for *embainō* (in addition to the more common *bainō*) as a dance term, cf. Euripides, *Electra* 113 (ἔμβα ἔμβα κατακλαίουσα, on the choreographic valence here see Weiss 2014: 19), [Plato], Alcibiades I 108c (εἰπέ πρῶτον τίς ἢ τέχνη ἧς τὸ καθαρίζειν καὶ τὸ ἄδειν καὶ τὸ ἐμβαίνειν ὀρθῶς), and Lucian, *On the Dance* 10 (πρὸς ῥυθμὸν ἐμβαίνοντες). These words do, of course, have many other meanings and implications, but I believe that their combination here is suggestive.

⁶⁴ Violent trampling might not be inherently opposed to dance, however: cf. the seemingly self-referential repetition of the lines μάλα γὰρ οὖν ἀλομένα / ἀνέκαθεν βαρυπεσῆ / καταφέρω ποδὸς ἀκμάν (“for making a great leap, / from above I bear down / the heavy-falling force of my foot,” *Eumenides* 372-374 and again thereafter) by the chorus of Furies in Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*.

⁶⁵ For this understanding of the symposium and *komōs*, see Murray 1982, 1983, and 1990, Stehle 1997: 232-227, and Kurke 2000: 65-67.

⁶⁶ For further discussion of fr. 70, see Kurke 1994: 81-83.

⁶⁷ On the “devouring tyrant” more generally, including an analysis of Alcaeus fr. 70 and 129, see Fileni 1983.

⁶⁸ Kurke 1994: 75; Hutchinson 2001: 192-194, 205-214.

⁶⁹ Hutchinson 2001: 192-194 examines the close connection between these two fragments (including their proximity on their original papyrus). Cf. also Edmunds 2012.

ἀπελήλαμαι / φεύγων ἐσχατίαισ', ὡς δ' Ὀνομακλῆς / ἔνθα [δ'] οἶος εἰοίκησα λυκαίμιας, 23-25).⁷⁰ The sense of common purpose and action that pervades fr. 129 has vanished, and the speaker now places himself firmly beyond the sympotic space. But while Pittacus' extra-sympotic action is characterized by the destructive trampling of his feet, the exile of fr. 130 "keeps his feet out of trouble" (κ[ά]κων ἔκτος ἔχων πόδας, 31). This is clearly a metaphor for avoiding conflict or danger in a more general sense, yet the corporeality of the image is striking, especially when compared with Alcaeus' attention elsewhere to the feet of the tyrant. The speaker's stillness is further emphasized by contrast to the motion of the women in the final lines of the song (πώλεντ', 33). While not explicitly described as a chorus, these women are linked with the values of *choreia* by the speaker's reference to their beauty ("being judged for their beauty," κρινόμεναι φύαν, 32) and their use of voice in a ritual context ("and all around the divine echo of the women's voices resounds in holy shouts," περὶ δὲ βρέμει / ἄχω θεσπεσία γυναικῶν / ἴρα[ς] ὀλολύγας ἐνιαυσίας, 33-35).⁷¹ Unlike these women, the speaker of fr. 130 is alone (οἶος, 25) and, implicitly, still.

While scholars have emphasized the negativity or irony of the speaker's self-portrait in fr. 130, I detect a more positive self-presentation marked by the phrase "keeping my feet out of trouble" (κ[ά]κων ἔκτος ἔχων πόδας 31).⁷² Pittacus, the trampling tyrant, asserts his corporeality forcefully and beyond the space of the symposium. Alcaeus' speaker-in-exile, by contrast, keeps his feet still and restrained. Moreover, Anne Carson identifies a contrast between the "urbane and orderly" sounds of the assembly earlier in the poem (ἡμέρων ἀγόρας ἄκουσαι / καρυ[ζο]μένας, Alcaeus 130.18-19) and the "otherworldly echo of women" near its end (Carson 1995: 125).⁷³ The speaker thus longs for the sound, and perhaps implicitly motion, of men engaged in communal and civic deliberation. He stresses that now, when alone (οἶος, 25), he "keeps his feet out of trouble" (κ[ά]κων ἔκτος ἔχων πόδας, 31), in contrast to the active motion of Pittacus in fr. 129. As Carson demonstrates, this song encourages its listeners to conceptualize sound as gender-specific (1995: 122-127). I suggest that it also attempts to shape their sense of appropriate movement and expression. While the extant fragments of Alcaeus make few references to the activities of symposiasts within the symposium, it was surely a lively and active space.⁷⁴ Alcaeus suggests, however, that male expression *outside* the symposium should be orderly and restrained (ἡμέρων ἀγόρας ἄκουσαι / καρυ[ζο]μένας, 18-19; κ[ά]κων ἔκτος ἔχων πόδας, 31). Pittacus, traitor and tyrant, is marked by his singular movement and destruction.

⁷⁰ These lines, specifically the word λυκαίμιας, have been much debated (cf. Lloyd-Jones and Lefkowitz 1987, West 1990: 1-8, Porro 1992, Stehle 1997: 231), but for my reading, only the speaker's isolation and physical position are strictly relevant.

⁷¹ Robert 1960: 285-315 identifies this sanctuary as Messon. On the significance of that identification for this poem, see Nagy 2007: 213 and Caciagli 2010.

⁷² E.g., Rösler 1980: 283-284, Burnett 1983: 180, Stehle 1997: 232-234 (although I agree with Stehle's suggestion (233) that the song allows for the possibility of multiple interpretations by different audiences, some more flattering to the speaker than others).

⁷³ Carson specifically suggests that the women's cries recall the noise and play of maidens in the wild (1995: 124-126, citing Nausicaa (*Odyssey* 6.122) and Artemis (*Odyssey* 6.105-106) as examples). I discuss this particular mode of female performance further in Chapter 4.2. For now, I simply note that while Carson does not discuss dance explicitly in her own argument (which focuses on relationships between gender and sound), her examples tend to include it.

⁷⁴ This may be merely an accident of preservation (cf. references to drinking and companionship in fr. 58, 73 332, and 335, and a likely mention of the game of *kottabos* in fr. 322), but it might also indicate a hesitance to fully identify and describe the somatic actions of the symposium, particularly those performed by elite men.

A work-song preserved by Plutarch also aligns Pittacus with peculiar and anti-elite patterns of movement. In Plutarch's *Banquet of the Seven Sages*, Thales reports that he once heard a woman singing:

ἄλει, μύλα, ἄλει·
καὶ γὰρ Πιττακὸς ἄλει
μεγάλας Μυτιλάνας βασιλεύων

Grind, mill, grind.
For even Pittacus used to grind,
When he was ruling great Mytilene.

(Plutarch, *Septem Sapientium Convivium* 157e = *Carmina Popularia* 43 PMG)

Diogenes Laertius also claims that Pittacus used “to grind grain for exercise” (τούτῳ γυμνασία ἦν σῖτον ἀλεῖν, *Lives of the Philosophers* 81).⁷⁵ Sara Forsdyke suggests that this song, and its attendant tradition, is an example of early Greek popular culture, a humorous attempt to “debase” a great figure by associating him with a “lowly occupation” (2012: 96).⁷⁶ This song, of course, may well have origins and performance contexts quite unlike those of Alcaeus’ sympotic lyric. Yet both employ the same basic approach to critiquing Pittacus: calling attention to the tyrant’s use of his body in inappropriate ways. In the grinding song, the humor lies in the image of the powerful tyrant engaging in an ordinary, even lowly, form of physical labor.⁷⁷ In Alcaeus’ monody, Pittacus “tramples” upon the oaths sworn by his fellow symposiasts and thereby damages both the elite male community and the city as a whole.

I have claimed that the depiction of corporeality and embodied expression in sympotic song is an important clue to the value assigned to various forms of dance in archaic Greek culture. The patterns of representation in Alcaeus’ poetry support this claim: by associating the dynamic movement of the body outside of the symposium with the aspirations and destruction of the tyrant, the songs of Alcaeus encourage their listeners to keep their own feet “out of trouble.” Symposiasts are cautioned to remain in control of their limbs, even as they engage with the dynamic and individualized movement of the symposium. Displays of solo and acrobatic dance, whether performed by entertainers or symposiasts themselves, are thus contextualized within a system that values collective action and denigrates expressive, individual corporeality. Likewise, Alcaeus’ emphasis on the collective action of the group might be viewed as a strategic effort to frame the *kōmos*: symposiasts should move out into the city as a chorus-like body, not as individual dancers. To dance alone beyond the symposium is to risk becoming Pittacus, “stepping easily upon the oaths and consuming the city” (βραϊδίως πόσιν / ἔ]μβαίς ἐπ’ ὀρκίοισι δάπτει / τὰν πόλιν, fr. 129.22-24).

⁷⁵ This is the same passage in which Diogenes Laertius reports Alcaeus’ string of epithets for Pittacus.

⁷⁶ Forsdyke considers various depictions of Cleisthenes as a more extended example of this phenomenon (90-116), with Pittacus introduced occasionally as a comparandum (96, 101). She reads Alcaeus’ attention to Pittacus’ corporeality (and especially patterns of consumption) as “elite appropriation” of more popular forms of discourse (10).

⁷⁷ Campbell 2003: 449 and Forsdyke 2012: 101 both suggest that *alei* might have an additional, crudely sexual meaning (Forsdyke translates “screw”). This only further compounds the song’s emphasis on transgressive corporeality.

b. *Ion of Chios and the Politics of Dance*

In a song partially preserved by Athenaeus, the 5th century poet Ion of Chios vividly evokes *choreia* in the imaginative construction of the symposium:

τῷ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ χορῶ οἶνος φίλος ἶον
θυρσοφόρος, μέγα, πρεσβέων Διόνυσος,
φησὶν Ἴων ὁ Χῖος ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις.⁷⁸
αὕτη γὰρ πρόφασις παντοδαπῶν λογίων,
αἱ τε Πανελλήνων ἀγοραὶ θαλῖαι τε ἀνάκτων,
ἐξ οὗ βοτρύεσσ' οἴνας ὑπο χθονίων
πτόρθον ἀνασχομένη θαλερῶ ἐπτύξατο πήχει
αἰθέρος· ὀφθαλμῶν δ' ἐξέθορον πυκινοὶ
παῖδες, φωνήεντες ὅταν πέση ἄλλος ἐ' ἄλλῳ,
πρὶν δὲ σιωπῶσιν· παυσάμενοι δὲ βοῆς
νέκταρ ἀμέλγονται πόνον ὄλβιον ἀνθρώποισιν
ξυνόν τοῦ χαίρειν φάρμακον αὐτοφύες.
τοῦ θαλῖαι φίλα τέκνα φιλοφροσύναι τε χοροὶ τε
τῶν ἀγαθῶν <

.....
> βασιλεὺς οἶνος ἔδειξε φύσιν.
τῷ σὺ πάτερ Διόνυσε, φιλοστεφάνοισιν ἀρέσκων
ἀνδράσιν, εὐθύμων συμποσίων πρύτανι,
χαῖρε· δίδου δ' αἰῶνα καλῶν ἐπιήρανε ἔργων
πίνειν καὶ παίζειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια φρονεῖν.

But to our chorus wine is dear, the wine which the thyrsus-bearer, greatly honored Dionysus, (provided?), says Ion of Chios in his elegiacs: for it has been the theme of chroniclers from all lands where there have been gatherings of all Greeks and feasts of princes, ever since the vine with her clusters extended her stem from under the earth and stretched out for the sky with her luxuriant arm; and from her eyes there jumped a crowd of children, noisy when they fall on top of each other, but silent till then. When they stop their shouting, they are milked of their nectar, a blessed toil for mankind, a self-grown remedy, common to all men, for the bringing of joy. Its dear children are feasts and jollities and choruses. King wine shows up the nature of good men. And so, father Dionysus, you who give pleasure to garlanded banqueters and preside over cheerful feasts, my greetings to you! Helper in noble works, grant me a lifetime of drinking, playing, and thinking just thoughts. (Ion of Chios fr. 26 West = Ath. 447d, trans. Campbell, modified)

⁷⁸ It is unclear if the very first line here is to be attributed to Ion (the line φησὶν Ἴων ὁ Χῖος ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις is obviously Athenaeus). The word χορῶ is an emendation (preferred by some, in addition to West see, e.g., Campbell 1992: 360, but not printed by others, see, e.g., Gentili-Prato 1988: 64) for the ms χρόνω. While I treat it here as part of the original poem, the aura of chorality exists without it (and, in fact, might provide support for the emendation).

Of course, the imagery of this poem is clearly sympotic, featuring the praise of wine (1-12), an address to Dionysus (13-17), a reference to symposia (15), and desire for characteristic sympotic activities (17). Timothy Power, focusing on a different poem, offers a compelling account of Ion as a poet of the symposium (2007: 183-185).

At the same time, this poem features a cascade of choral language. Our fragment may begin by describing the poet's notional group as a chorus (ἡμετέρῳ δὲ χορῷ, 1), thereby organizing the subsequent sympotic allusions within a broadly-conceived system of chorality.⁷⁹ The speaker goes on to invoke two distinct groups: (united) Greeks (Πανελλήνων, 4) and rulers (ἀνάκτων, 4), continuing his emphasis on collectivity and group identities. The extended description of the vine is particularly powerful: while the vine shoot is singular (5-7), her "offspring" are emphatically plural (πυκτινοὶ / παῖδες, 7-8). Like a chorus, these anthropomorphized grapes find their vocal expression by moving together (ὅταν πέση ἄλλος ἐ' ἄλλῳ, / πρὶν δὲ σιωπῶσιν 8-9). They are in turn transformed into wine and further knit together as something "common to all men" (ἀνθρώποισιν / ξυνόν, 10-11), which enables them to become the parents of communal, including choral, festivity (τοῦ θαλῖαι φίλα τέκνα φιλοφροσύνην τε χοροὶ τε, 12). The poet thus integrates his sympotic imagery within a tight nexus of *choreia* and community.

In another poem celebrating and showcasing sympotic conviviality, Ion's speaker exhorts his audience thus: "let us drink, let us play, let song go out through the night, / let someone dance, and you, willingly lead off the fellowship" (πίνωμεν, παίζωμεν, ἴτω διὰ νυκτὸς ἀοιδή, / ὀρχείσθω τις, ἐκὼν δ' ἄρχε φιλοφροσύνης, 7-8). Somewhat unusually, these lines do accommodate and reference sympotic dance and play (παίζωμεν, ὀρχείσθω τις). In the latter case, however, the switch to the third-person imperative (ὀρχείσθω τις, "let someone dance," 8) is striking. Perhaps the force of *tis* here is "let someone *else* dance" – a servant or hired entertainer.⁸⁰ If so, the song segregates the performance of individualized dance from the other sympotic activities more explicitly urged upon the symposiasts themselves through the use of inclusive hortatory subjunctives (πίνωμεν, παίζωμεν, 7). The poet then goes on to more explicitly position the symposiasts as a choral group when he commands one man to "lead off the fellowship," echoing the common use of the verb (*ex*)*archō* in describing choral leadership.⁸¹ Finally, poet personifies song (*aoidē*) in a striking way. The subjects of all the other verbs here are human beings, presumably symposiasts (we, someone, you). Song, however, is encouraged, like one of the poet's sympotic companions, to "go out through the night" (ἴτω διὰ νυκτὸς ἀοιδή). The poet thus depicts song as endowed with personal agency and capable of extending beyond the symposium, characteristics not attributed to the other sympotic elements in the poem.

Ion's construction of the symposium as a choral endeavor would complement an understanding of the *kōmos* as a fundamentally communal undertaking, rather than an opportunity for individualized dancing or action. His songs, like those of Alcaeus, encourage their audiences to view and perform dance in a particular way. I will now further clarify the

⁷⁹ While Power is probably right to understand much of the choral language in this poem as explicitly referencing Ion's dithyrambic output (2007: 182 n. 12), I would note that it also has the effect of implicitly privileging *choreia*, even within the confines of the symposium.

⁸⁰ Cf. LSJ s.v. τις II.3 for someone who the speaker wishes to avoid naming (for any number of reasons) and II.6 as used pejoratively or with contempt.

⁸¹ For *exarchō* and related verbal forms as a term for choral leadership, see Archilochus fr. 120W, [Hesiod] *Shield of Heracles* 205-206, *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* (27) 14-18, *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 197-199, 514, and Pindar, *Nemean* 2.25.

political charge of Ion’s kinetic imagery by considering his alleged depiction of Pericles as an individual and debased dancer.

According to Plutarch’s *Life of Pericles*:

ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς Ἴων μοθωνικὴν φησι τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ ὑπότυπον εἶναι τοῦ Περικλέους καὶ ταῖς μεγαλαυχίαις αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ὑπεροψίαν ἀναμεμεῖχθαι καὶ περιφρόνησιν τῶν ἄλλων· ἐπαινεῖ δὲ τὸ Κίμωνος ἐμμελὲς καὶ ὕγρον καὶ μεμουςώμενον ἐν ταῖς συμπεριφοραῖς.

The poet Ion, however, says that Pericles had a presumptuous [“mothonic”] and somewhat arrogant manner of address, and that into his haughtiness there entered a good deal of disdain and contempt for others; he praises, on the other hand, the tact, complaisance, and elegant address which Cimon showed in his social intercourse. (Plutarch, *Life of Pericles* 5.3, trans. Perrin)

Timothy Power has identified Ion’s interest in the politics of performance, and he shows how this passage echoes a pervasive distinction, in Ion’s songs, between elite, conservative musicality and demotic modes of entertainment.⁸² The latter is represented here by the term *mothonikos*. The word *mothon*, as Power demonstrates, has a double significance – it characterizes Pericles as both a low-class Spartan and as a dancer, for the term refers not only to helots, but also to a dance form described by Pollux as “vulgar and associated with sailors.”⁸³ It also seems to have been an individualized form, with no claim at all to the elevated category of *choreia*.⁸⁴

Cimon appears here as possessed of good taste, good temper, and well-versed in society (*Life of Pericles* 5.3). Power has already noted the musical connotations of these attributes as expressed in Greek.⁸⁵ This description also recalls the choral imagery of some of Ion’s other songs, as it stresses Cimon’s sense of harmony (ἐμμελὲς) and good relationships with his associates (ἐν ταῖς συμπεριφοραῖς). Finally, there may also be a hint of appropriate choral motion in the characterization of Cimon, as the adjective *hugros* is also employed by Bacchylides to describe the easy motion of the Nereids’ feet in the dance (ὕγροισιν . . . ποσίν, Bacchylides 17.108).⁸⁶ Pericles, by contrast, sets himself apart and feels “contempt for others” (περιφρόνησιν τῶν ἄλλων). Whereas Ion elsewhere emphasizes the chorus-like coherence, musicality, and motion of the sympotic group, he here encourages his listeners to imagine Pericles as “out of step” with the community – dancing the *mothon* all on his own.

This imagery recalls Alcaeus’ depiction of Pittacus as a renegade symposiast who “tramples the *demos*.” Ion disassociates Pericles from the elite symposium and its performance practices, marking him instead as a debased and idiosyncratic performer. He thereby undermines

⁸² Power 2007: 184-185.

⁸³ LSJ s.v. μόθων, Pollux 4.101 (φορτικὸν ὄρχημα καὶ ναυτικόν), Power 2007: 185. It is also important, for Power’s analysis of musical politics and instrumental hierarchies, that this dance is accompanied by the *aulos* (Athenaeus 618c).

⁸⁴ Cf. Aristophanes, *Knights* 697 (ἀπεπυδάρισα μόθωνα).

⁸⁵ “We hear Ion again praising Cimon’s character in terms that recall his sympotic musicality, his ‘harmonious temper (*emmeles*) . . . and cultivated (*memousomenon*) performance in good society (*sumperiphorais*)” (Power 2007: 184). I follow Power in assuming that Plutarch has preserved at least some of Ion’s original vocabulary and style, although we regrettably lack the song itself.

⁸⁶ See my discussion of this song in section 1 above. Pollux also lists *hugros* among the adjectives applied to dance, along with more common (among our extant texts) terms like *kouphos* and *elaphros* (*Onomasticon* 96).

Pericles' political position and authority.⁸⁷ He also reminds his own sympotic audience to emulate Cimon's harmonious musicality, rather than Pericles' buffoonish manner. Like Alcaeus, Ion of Chios identifies certain forms of movement and expression as inappropriate for male leaders, deploying dance as a marker of status and potential for political leadership.

In my analysis here, I have generally focused on the impact of these songs within their likely sites of composition: the symposia of archaic Mytilene and classical Athens. Yet my observations apply to their rich afterlife in sympotic re-performance as well.⁸⁸ Anywhere that a group of men gathered to drink, sing songs, and shore up their own social and political affiliations, the rhetoric of embodiment as political marker contained within these songs would have resonated. My argument here is less about specific historical contexts, and more about a broader discourse surrounding ways of moving, acting, and possessing power in archaic and classical Greece.

But I do want to stress one additional, rather obvious, similarity between these two poets: they both composed songs for performance at elite symposia. As singers,⁸⁹ they emphasize choral harmony and express disdain for dance alone. As I have explained at greater length above, they valorize *choreia* as a fundamentally verbal art, avoiding reference to the dynamic motion of the symposium as a self-promoting discursive strategy. I hope to have shown here how that strategy may have worked, in its immediate context, to frame and affect the embodied experience and expression of its audience. On a more conceptual level, I suggest that it also contributes to a distinct political model of dance performance: one which constructs the individual male dancer as unsuitable for the possession of leadership or authority.

4. Male Soloists on Stage

I have argued that men who dance alone are opposed to collective interests and action and are figured, in both epic and sympotic lyric, as fundamentally anti-social, selfish, or destructive. Their impulses threaten the cohesion of both larger communities and specific sub-groups, whose sense of shared purpose is symbolized by the organized and unified motion of the chorus. I will now demonstrate that this characterization persists on the Athenian dramatic stage, where individualized male dancing continues to signify disruption and disorder. In this section, I will first offer a reading of Polyphemus' final performance in Euripides' *Cyclops*, which affirms a wholly negative image of the actively dancing male symposiast. I will then turn to the final scene of Aristophanes' *Wasps*, which offers a sophisticated reflection on hierarchies of dance and their implicit value. As Aristophanes quite vividly explores the relationship between dance and description in the process of staging male solo dance, the relevant passages of *Wasps* provide a fitting conclusion to the chapter.

⁸⁷ As noted by Power (2007: 184-185). My reading here meant to emphasize the kinetic dimension of the insult and connect this passage with larger patterns of representation vis-à-vis sympotic corporeality, politics, and performance.

⁸⁸ On re-performance and transmission of sympotic song, with a particular focus on the example of Alcaeus, see Nagy 2004.

⁸⁹ And "songwriters," although that term seems a bit unnatural for an early Greek context. My point here is that Alcaeus and Ion composed and performed within a fundamentally verbal medium.

a. Another Trampling Tyrant: Polyphemos as Renegade Komast in Euripides' Cyclops

Euripides' satyr-play version of Odysseus' blinding of the Cyclops has a distinctly sympotic flavor. After getting drunk on Odysseus' wine, Polyphemos bursts out of his cave and sings in Anacreontic rhythm:

παπαπαῖ· πλέως μὲν οἴνου,
γάνυμαι <δὲ> δαιτὸς ἦβαι,
σκάφος ὀλκὰς ὧς γεμισθεῖς
ποτὶ σέλμα γαστρὸς ἄκρας.
ὑπάγει μ' ὁ φόρτος εὐφρων
ἐπὶ κῶμον ἦρος ὦραις
ἐπὶ Κύκλωπας ἀδελφούς.
φέρε μοι, ξεῖνε, φέρ', ἄσκὸν ἔνδος μοι.

Ooh la la! I'm loaded up with wine, my heart skips with the cheer of the feast. My hull is full right up to the top deck of my belly. This cheerful cargo brings me out to revel, in the springtime, to [the houses of] my brother Cyclopes. Come now, my friend, come now, give me the wineskin (*Cyclops* 503-510, trans. Kovacs).

Polyphemos explicitly frames his own performance as a *kōmos* (κῶμον, 508).⁹⁰ But while his singing formally comprises the second stanza of a three-stanza (repeated monostrophic) ode sung alternatively by actor and chorus, the chorus itself views Polyphemos' actions as entirely distinct from its own.⁹¹ Prior to his entrance, the satyrs sing of their own komastic undertaking, describing Polyphemos as an "inept singer" (σκαῖος ἀπωιδὸς, 490) and threatening "let us with our revels impart some culture to this lout" (φέρε νιν κώμοις παιδεύσωμεν / τὸν ἀπαίδευτον, 492-493, trans. Kovacs, modified). Thus, while Polyphemos sees himself as an exuberant komast seeking the companionship of his fellow Cyclopes, the chorus frames him as an isolated figure who lacks the "education" to sing and move properly within the *kōmos*.⁹² As Rossi notes,

⁹⁰ On the various sympotic elements within this portion of the play, see Rossi 1971, Seaford, 1984, and O'Sullivan and Collard 2013: 192-208.

⁹¹ O'Sullivan and Collard note "the sequence of three identical strophes is very rare in drama, and even more striking is that the central strophe is the one sung by the monster," suggesting that "the metre of Polyphemos' song is the same probably because it maintained the symposiastic/erotic tone" (2013: 192). At first glance, then, the exchange here looks like a cohesive revel, but subsequent developments reveal that Polyphemos is seriously "out of step" with the chorus.

⁹² Seaford understands the force of these lines thus: "Pol. is to be dissuaded from going out on a κῶμος (451). The chorus will educate him instead with κῶμος-songs at home" (1984: 196). Kovacs' translation implies a similar understanding ("reveling songs" for κώμοις at line 492), but with O'Sullivan and Collard, I see no reason to reject the broader meaning of "revels." I thus differ from Seaford and take these lines as emphasizing a contrast between Polyphemos' own komastic aspirations (which are doomed to failure, as he is both an inept performer and a fundamentally anti-social figure, cf. Rossi 1971) and the satyr chorus' own superior ability to employ the *kōmos*-mode in its "education" of the Cyclops, rather than a contrast between an "actual" *kōmos* abroad and "*kōmos*-songs" at home.

the humor of the scene lies partially in the absurdity of imagining the anti-social Polyphemus participating in the hyper-social celebration of the *kōmos*.⁹³

Moreover, while this initial presentation of Cyclops-as-komast focuses primarily on song, the kinetic dimension of Polyphemus' performance subsequently becomes more prominent. Encouraged by Odysseus, Silenus, and the satyrs, the Cyclops continues to drink and eventually, declaring Silenus to be his "Ganymede," carries him back into his cave (519-589). He re-emerges only after he has been blinded by Odysseus (663). Euripides then stages the escape of Odysseus and his men, departing markedly from the Homeric version of the story. Whereas the *Odyssey* features Odysseus and his companions making their eventual escape hidden beneath the bodies of Polyphemus' flocks (*Odyssey* 9.435-446), Euripides uses the directions of the satyr chorus to comically choreograph the escape.

In the final scene of the play, the satyrs pretend to "help" Polyphemus find his would-be victims. They first tell him that the men are "to his right" (ἐν δεξιᾷ σου, 682) and "under the cliff" (πρὸς αὐτῆι τῆι / πέτραι, 682), leading the monster to collide with the rocks ("I broke my head when I hit it," τὸ κρανίον / παίσας κατέαγα, 683-684, trans. Kovacs). The chorus then directs Polyphemus elsewhere ("no, I mean there," οὐ· ταύτηι λέγω, 685) and tells him to "turn around this way, toward the left" (περιάγου κεῖσε, πρὸς τὰριστερά, 686). Polyphemus laments that he is being mocked (οἴμοι γελῶμαι, 687), but the chorus reassures him that Odysseus is "right in front of him" (ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν οὗτός ἐστι σοῦ, 688). The action then proceeds to revelation of Odysseus' name. Over the course of these lines, however, Polyphemus' movement is clearly choreographed by the chorus, as he stumbles and reaches in response to their directions. His attempts at komastic celebration thus culminate in this comic display of solo "dancing," which enables Odysseus and his men to escape. Polyphemus is neither an integrated member of a chorus nor a capable *chorēgos*. His renegade and idiosyncratic performance reflects his general lack of connection to community and human society.

Satyrs themselves are certainly ambiguous and liminal figures, appropriately "ambivalent creatures for an ambivalent genre."⁹⁴ Yet the satyrs of *Cyclops* remain a cohesive choral group, capable even of acting collectively to choreograph the movement of a clumsy "soloist." Euripides establishes the limits of *choreia*, placing Polyphemus – an archetype of anti-social behavior from Homer onward – firmly beyond its bounds. The play thus reinforces a conception of the individual male dancer (or "dancer") as a destructive actor. In Euripides' *Cyclops*, however, satyr *choreia* remains firmly intact, offering a crucial counterpoint to the inept and individualized performance of the Cyclops. I will now demonstrate that Aristophanes, in *Wasps*, pushes the dangers of singular male performance further by staging a more direct conflict between solo and choral dancing.

⁹³ See Rossi 1971, who comments on the significance of Polyphemus' "failed" *kōmos* for the play as a whole. He specifically suggests that the audience would have been amused by the Cyclops' attempted participation in the social and civic ritual of the *kōmos* ("va notato, tra parentesi, che gli spettatori si saranno divertiti un mondo a vedere il Ciclope così perfettamente integrato in un uso che essi dovevano sentire non solo civile, ma anche particolarmente loro," 1971: 29). He concludes that "la comicità sta nel presentare al Ciclope una cosa così importante della vita quotidiana che ancora non conosce, il vino, e nell'insegnargli il modo di farne uso con una faticosamente grottesca παιδεία, ma nell'insegnarglielo solo a metà: le regole per il simposio gli vengono trasmesse in comico travisamento, col colmo di farlo sdraiare in terra" (1979: 31).

⁹⁴ O'Sullivan and Collard 2013: 8-22. See also Griffith on the playful and experimental qualities of the genre (e.g., satyr choruses are "good to argue and experiment with," 2013: 276) and Lämmle 2013 on satyr play as comedic reflection upon its tragic counterparts.

b. *Crabs and Kings: Solo Dance in Aristophanes' Wasps*

Aristophanes offers the audience an early hint that Philocleon, one of the play's central characters, might pose a problem for *choreia*. Philocleon is enamored with jury service, an enthusiasm that vexes his son, Bdelycleon, and leads him to try a whole series of "remedies" for his father's proclivity. The slave Xanthias, in an early speech that sets up the action of the play, explains that "he [Bdelycleon] tried Corybantic rites; but the old man rushed off, drum and all, burst into the New Court and joined the jury" (ἐκορυβάντιζ', ὁ δ' αὐτῷ τυμπάνῳ / ἄξας ἐδίκαζεν ἐς τὸ καινὸν ἐμπροσθόν, *Wasps* 119-120, trans. Sommerstein). I have previously argued that Corybantes, for Plato, represent *choreia* in a raw and malleable stage: potential choreuts in need of further refinement.⁹⁵ While Plato's work post-dates Aristophanes, this particular conceptualization may be somewhat traditional. Ecstatic rites offer a kind of flexible choral experience, which might allow for more chaos, individual expression, and spatial range than a stricter version of institutional *choreia*.⁹⁶ By attempting to transform his father into a Corybant, Bdelycleon is nudging him in the direction of choral participation. But Philocleon cannot even manage to participate properly in Corybantic rites, for he "runs off with the drum" (ὁ δ' αὐτῷ τυμπάνῳ / ἄξας, 119-120) and returns to the court. Of course, there is no reason, at this point, to understand Philocleon as specifically resistant to *choreia* in any form. But given the later developments in the play that I will now discuss, I suggest that this rejection of Corybantic performance foreshadows Philocleon's ultimately antagonistic relationship with the chorus.

Philocleon eventually forsakes jury service in favor of exploring the pleasures of the elite symposium. Near the end of the play, Xanthias bemoans his master's newfound interests:

νῆ τὸν Διόνυσον ἄπορά γ' ἡμῖν πράγματα
δαίμων τις ἐσκεκύκληκεν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν.
ὁ γὰρ γέρων ὡς ἔπιδε διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου
ἤκουσέ τ' αὐλοῦ, περιχαρῆς τῷ πράγματι
ὄρχούμενος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν παύεται
τάρχαϊ ἐκεῖν' οἷς Θέσπις ἠγωνίζετο:
καὶ τοὺς τραγωδοὺς φησὶν ἀποδείξειν κρόνους
τοὺς νῦν διορχησάμενος ὀλίγον ὕστερον.

By Dionysos, these are impossible goings-on that some god has wheeled into our house. The old man, having drunk after a long lay-off and hear the sound of the *aulos*, is so exhilarated by the whole thing that all night he hasn't stopped dancing these old-fashioned dances which Thespis used to perform in the contests; and he says that very soon he's going to have a dancing competition against the modern tragic performers, and show them up as old Cronuses. (*Wasps* 1474-1482, trans. Sommerstein, modified)

While Philocleon's alleged activities here may be normal within a sympotic context, he threatens to bring his drunken and individualized dancing back to a public stage, engaging contemporary

⁹⁵ Chapter 2.3.

⁹⁶ On Corybantes and maenads as choruses, see Chapter 1.1.

tragedians in a contest. Moreover, when he subsequently emerges on stage and continues his performance, he does so not as part of a collective *kōmos*, but as an individual dancing alone:

Φιλοκλέων: κλῆθρα χαλάσθω τάδε. καὶ δὴ γὰρ
σχήματος ἀρχὴ —
Ξανθίας: μᾶλλον δέ γ' ἴσως μανίας ἀρχή.
Φ: πλευρὰν λυγίσαντος ὑπὸ ῥώμης:
οἶον μυκτῆρ μυκᾶται καὶ
σφόνδυλος ἀχεῖ.
Ξ: πῖθ' ἐλλέβορον.
Φ: πτήσσει Φρύνιχος ὥς τις ἀλέκτωρ —
Ξ: τάχα βαλλήσει.
Φ: σκέλος οὐράνιον γ' ἐκλακτίζων.
προκτὸς χάσκει.
Ξ: κατὰ σαυτὸν ὄρα.
Φ: νῦν γὰρ ἐν ἄρθροις τοῖς ἡμετέροις
στρέφεται χαλαρὰ κοτυληδῶν.
οὐκ εὖ;
Ξ: μὰ Δί' οὐ δῆτ', ἀλλὰ μανικὰ πράγματα.

Philocleon: Let these doors be unbarred!
Behold the opening of the figure –
Xanthias: More like the onset of madness, if you ask me.
Ph: - of bending the torso with a swing!
How the nostril snorts,
how the vertebrae crack!
Xa: Go and drink hellebore!
Ph: Phrynichus cowers like a cock –
Xa: They'll be stoning you soon.
Ph: - and kicks out a leg sky-high.
The arse doth split –
Xa: Look out for yourself!
Ph: - for now in my limbs
the supple socket-joints rotate.
Wasn't that good?
Xa: No, by Zeus, it wasn't, it was a madman's behaviour. (*Wasps* 1484-1496,
trans. Sommerstein)

While Philocleon characterizes his own dance as drawing upon the choreography developed by Phrynichus, the latter engaged his creative energies in choral, tragic composition.⁹⁷ Philocleon seems interested only in dance for its own sake – he is not choreographing for subsequent performance by others within a dramatic context. Here again, somatic self-referentiality should probably not be taken at face-value. Philocleon may be describing virtuosic dance steps (a high kick, 1491; flexible turning of the limbs, 1494-1495), but Xanthias' reactions, alternately shocked and annoyed, suggest that his master may just be stumbling around the stage as he

⁹⁷ On Phrynichus and dance, see Plutarch, *Moralia* 732f, Eustathius on *Iliad* 13.637, and Sommerstein 1983: 245.

speaks. But regardless of the precise degree of kinetic-verbal correspondence and the original distribution of the lines preserved, one of the basic jokes here is surely that Philocleon is no Thespis or Phrynichus.⁹⁸ Despite his claims, his own dancing is neither an extension of venerable choral tradition nor an instance of creative musical innovation – he is a drunken old man dancing with glee at escaping, yet again, the clutches of his son.

Philocleon’s dance-mania turns aggressively competitive in the lines that immediately follow, when he exclaims:

θέρε νυν ἀνείπω κἀνταγωνιστὰς καλῶ.
εἴ τις τραγωδὸς φησιν ὀρχεῖσθαι καλῶς,
ἐμοὶ διορχησόμενος ἐνθάδ’ εἰσίτω.
φησὶν τις ἢ οὐδεὶς;

Come now, let me make a proclamation and call
for opposition. If any tragic performer claims to be a good dancer, let
him come on here and dance it out with me.
Does anyone say he will, or is there nobody? (*Wasps* 1497-1500, trans.
Sommerstein).

Three dancers, apparently costumed as crabs and described as the sons of the dramatist and naval commander Carcinus, subsequently appear on stage, and their dancing, along with that of Philocleon, finishes off the performance. I will discuss the final moments of the play in greater detail shortly, but first, it is illuminating to consider the role of competition and generic interplay in the *Wasps* more generally.

Matthew Wright argues that, while Aristophanes engages with tragedy throughout his corpus in a variety of ways, “the *Wasps* in particular can be read as embodying a *contest* between comedy and tragedy” (2013: 206, emphasis in original). Philocleon’s statement, quoted immediately above, invokes this thoroughgoing theme, as he literally challenges “tragedy” (represented by its creators and/or practitioners) to a dance-off with “comedy” (represented by his own performance).⁹⁹ This meta-theatrical play is undoubtedly an important aspect of the final scene of *Wasps*.¹⁰⁰ At the same time, I want to suggest that Philocleon’s challenge operates on another level as well. For while Wright illustrates the ways in which this final scene stages a

⁹⁸ Here, I differ from Slater, who claims that, in this final scene, “Philocleon must be weaned from pure spectatorship and made into a performer, but into a democratic performer, that is, into a rejuvenated choral performer. He returns to the stage in the finale as the reincarnation of Thespis and Phrynichus” (2002: 108). Slater is not alone in interpreting Philocleon’s dance as representative of tragic *choreia* (see also, e.g., Wright 2013), but I think we should be wary about taking Philocleon’s self-presentation at face value. The final scenes of *Wasps* certainly evoke tragedy in a variety of ways, but the solo quality of Philocleon’s performance is also significant. His transformation from spectator to performer is, as Slater emphasizes, important, but it is also somewhat incomplete. Philocleon never becomes a “rejuvenated choral performer:” in the final lines of the play, which I discuss at greater length below, he is still doing his own supposedly-Phrynichian dance, performing both alone and without song. In several important respects, then, he remains emphatically non-choral, in contrast to Slater’s claim that “the fact that Philocleon is dancing at all clearly identifies him as a chorister” (2002: 110).

⁹⁹ As Wright notes, *tragōidos* at line 1498 could mean either “tragic performer” or “tragedian” (2013: 223).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. also, e.g., Slater, who differs from Wright in reading this final scene as staging “a fusion of tragic with comic performance” (2002: 108). I am more inclined to follow Wright in seeing direct, and in some respects unresolved, conflict as an important element of the scene.

contest between comic and tragic elements (2013: 221-225), I will demonstrate here that it also stages a conflict between solo and choral dance.

Scholars have offered widely varying interpretations of and proposals for the staging, choreography, and casting of *Wasps* 1500-1537. I posit that some of the confusion generated by these lines arises from their deliberate thematization of a meaningful distinction between language and movement. Again, we have no way of knowing how closely the action described in the surviving lines of the play corresponded with the original choreography of the performance. Moreover, Aristophanes now eschews self-referentiality and self-description and instead casts the chorus as the narrator of the individual dancers' actions. This creative strategy effects a split between the work of singing and the work of dancing, offering us a clear verbal description of the dance that may or may not have matched the action seen by the original spectators, and, I will argue, could never have fully captured the dance anyway.

Once all three sons of Carcinus have entered, the chorus performs its final song:

φέρε νυν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὀλίγον ζυγωρήσωμεν ἅπαντες,
ἴν' ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἡμῶν πρόσθεν βεμβικίζωσιν ἑαυτούς.

ἄγ' ὃ μεγαλώνυμα τέκνα
τοῦ θαλασσίου θεοῦ,
πηδᾶτε παρὰ ψάμαθον
καὶ θῖν' ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτου,
καρίδων ἀδελφοί:
ταχὺν πόδα κυκλοσοβεῖτε,
καὶ τὸ Φρυνίχειον
ἐκλακτισάτω τις, ὅπως
ιδόντες ἄνω σκέλος ὥζωσιν
οἱ θεαταί.

στρόβει, παράβαινε κύκλω καὶ γάστρισον σεαυτόν,
ῥῖπτε σκέλος οὐράνιον: βέμβικες ἐγγενέσθων.
καὺτὸς γὰρ ὁ ποντομέδων ἄναξ πατήρ προσέρπει
ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἑαυτοῦ παισὶ τοῖς τριόρχοις.
ἀλλ' ἐξάγετ', εἴ τι φιλεῖτ' ὀρχούμενοι, θύραζε
ἡμᾶς ταχύ: τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεὶς πω πάρος δέδρακεν,
ὀρχούμενον ὅστις ἀπήλλαξεν χορὸν τρυγωδῶν.

Come now, let us all move together a little to help them,
so that they can spin themselves around in front of us without being interfered
with.

Come, renowned children
of the Lord of the Seas,
leap along the sands,
and the shore of the unharvested deep,
ye brothers of shrimps;
whirl a swift foot round in a circle,

and let one of you kick out
the Phrynichus kick,
so that seeing the leg go up
the audience will cry “Ooooooh!”

Twirl about, go round in a circle, and slap yourself in the belly;
throw a leg sky-high; let pirouettes come into it.
For your father crawls hither, the Lord and Master of the Seas himself,
delighted with his children, his three jiggin’ chickens.
And now, if you like, lead us quickly out,
dancing, for no one has ever done this before,
to send a comic chorus dancing off. (*Wasps* 1516-1537, trans. Sommerstein).

While I maintain that is impossible to recover the actual choreography here, I interpret this scene as involving predominantly individualized dance. Philocleon has quite clearly called for other dancers to compete with him (*Wasps* 1497-1500). He specifically says: ἐμοὶ διορχησόμενος ἐνθάδ’ εἰσῖτω (“let him [= anyone who claims to be a good dancer] come on here and dance it out with me,” *Wasps* 1499). While we do not have many parallels for the verb *diorcheomai* beyond its two appearances in this scene (1481 and 1499), the scholia on these lines define it as “to compete in dance.”¹⁰¹ I propose understanding the prefix *dia* here as signifying variance in motion, comparable to verbs like *diaphōneō* (“to be in discord”) and *diaphoreō* (“to disperse”).¹⁰² Moreover, the three sons of Carcinus appear on stage individually, as indicated by Xanthias’ comments. And in the remaining lines of the play, Philocleon gives no indication that the dance contest has not proceeded as he intended. I believe, therefore, it is unlikely that we are to imagine these four figures have been transformed, in the final moments of the play, into a coordinated *pas de quatre* – a four-person chorus performing in unison. Rather, I suggest that we trust in Aristophanes’ framing of the scene as one of individualized and even chaotic dance competition, even as we remain cautious about interpreting the chorus’ description of the dance as intended to correspond closely and directly with the choreography.

For even if the chorus’ narration hews as closely as possible to the actual dance performed, there is an unavoidable distance between language and embodied action. Steve Paxton, quoted more fully in the Introduction, expresses this distance with the observation that “[language] can certainly influence our point of view [*sc.*: of dance, as well as other non-verbal art forms] and may even suggest what *can* be thought about – that is, limit our perception or

¹⁰¹ Σ Aristophanes *Vespae* 1481b: διορχησόμενος] διορχήσασθαι τὸ ὀρχούμενον ἐρεῖσαι; Σ Aristophanes *Vespae* 1499: διορχησόμενος] ἀντὶ τοῦ VI εἰς ὄρχησιν ἀγωνισόμενος.

¹⁰² See LSJ s.v. διά, D II, as well as LSJ s.v. διαφωνέω and s.v. διαφορέω. Note also Oppian, *Halautica* 5.440: διορχεῦνται δ’ ἐνὶ πόντῳ, which the LSJ cites as an example of *diorcheomai* signifying motion through (“they dance across or along the sea”). But taking *diorcheomai* as signifying motion apart/in distinct ways would make better sense with the preposition *evi* here: “they dance in different directions in the sea.” This also works in the larger context of the passage, which describes how dolphins aid humans in fishing, and how the particular fish, in this example, are driven close to land by dolphins and cannot get away from the fishermen: τοῖσι δ’ ἄφυκτα κέλευθα, διορχεῦνται δ’ ἐνὶ πόντῳ, / καὶ πυρὶ καὶ δελφῖσιν ἐλαυνόμενοι βασιλευδῖν, *Halautica* 5.440-441, which I propose translating as: “and there is no way of escape for them, but they dance about [or: ‘dance here and there’] in the sea / driven by both fire and the king dolphins”). As a very late source, Oppian may not offer conclusive evidence for the meaning of words in Aristophanes, but I only want to suggest that this line does not really pose a problem for the interpretation of *diorcheomai* as meaning “to dance in different ways and directions” (as one might in the process of an individual dance competition).

experience to the forum encompassed by language” (2001: 422, emphasis in original). I have posited that this influence works in particularly complex ways when the language describing dance occurs, as song, in close coordination with the movement itself, rather than, as Paxton primarily considers, in a subsequently printed review. The concept of “aesthetic suggestion,” developed in recent scholarship to explain the effects of choral self-referentiality and projection, offers a compelling framework for understanding the interaction between language and live performance.¹⁰³ I contend that in this scene, however, the choral song’s relationship to the simultaneous dance of other performers is more fraught and complicated than when the chorus is both singing and dancing its own action.

In its final song, the chorus begins with a hortatory self-address: “let us move together a bit, for their sake” (αὐτοῖς ὀλίγον ξυγγωρήσωμεν, 1516). Taking, with Sommerstein, the word *autois* as a dative of advantage, this line implies that the chorus’ action is taken for the benefit of the central performers: Philocleon and the sons of Carcinus. Yet while the chorus does appear to make space, in a physical sense, for the other dancers (ἴν’ ἐφ’ ἡσυχίας ἡμῶν πρόσθεν βεμβικίζωσιν ἑαυτούς, 1517), it is debatable how much artistic space the subsequent description really yields to the dance. The chorus claims that their motion aside will leave the dancers “at peace” (ἐφ’ ἡσυχίας, 1517) to “whirl themselves around” (βεμβικίζωσιν ἑαυτούς, 1517), but the claim is at least partially disingenuous: the chorus will continue to narrate and comment upon the action of the dancers, never actually leaving them alone.

In fact, the chorus’ subsequent references to the dance come in the form of commands: *πηδᾶτε*, 1520; *κυκλοσοβεῖτε*, 1523; *ἐκλακτισάτω τις*, 1525; *στρόβει, παράβαινε, ρίπτε*, 1529-1530). They do not leave the dancers alone, either physically or verbally. They continue to interject their own instructions and guidelines for the performance, asserting their presence on the stage. Moreover, they project the sons of Carcinus into a marine setting, telling them to “leap along the sands” (*πηδᾶτε παρὰ ψάμαθον*, 1520). The gap between the reality of the theatrical setting and the watery home of the crabs conjured up by the words of the chorus might serve to stimulate the audience’s imagination, but given the comic setting, it might also be played for laughs.

Likewise, the chorus occasionally gives fairly specific commands to the dancers. They enjoin, for example: “and let one of you kick out / the Phrynichus kick, / so that seeing the leg go up / the audience will cry “Ooooooh!” (καὶ τὸ Φρυνίχειον / ἐκλακτισάτω τις, ὅπως / ἰδόντες ἄνω σκέλος ὦ- / ζωσιν οἱ θεαταί, 1524-1527). They not only attempt to inform the audience of the appropriate response to the projected dance (amazement, ὦ- / ζωσιν οἱ θεαταί, 1526-1527), but they also direct a single dancer to perform a specific move. By repeating a choreographic gesture previously claimed by Philocleon (Φ: πτήσσει Φρύνιχος ὡς τις ἀλέκτωρ — Ξ: τάχα βαλλήσεις. Φ: σκέλος οὐράνιον γ’ ἐκλακτίζων, 1490-1491), the chorus reinforces and encourages the competitive aspect of the performance. Yet, as I suggested before, we cannot know whether Philocleon – as he claims – actually executes a precise and proficient kick reminiscent, in its actual motion and shape, of Phrynichian choreography. It is also possible that, as Xanthias seems to suggest, he is speaking and moving like a man gone mad, and needs to be careful lest he get hurt (“they’ll be stoning you soon,” *τάχα βαλλήσει*, 1491; “watch yourself!” Ξ: κατὰ σαντὸν ὄρα, 1493). Likewise, it might be that the chorus’ commands here are strikingly different from the moves performed by the dancers, who thereby render the chorus an ineffective crowd of would-be *chorodidaskaloi*, attempting to corral the frenzied dancers into some semblance of organized and focused movement.

¹⁰³ See especially Weiss 2014, with further discussion at Chapter 1.4.

This interpretation is reinforced by the selective quality of the choral song. If the dancers are, as I suggest, all performing different gestures, postures, and moves, a single song cannot narrate the progression of each person’s choreography at the same time. The chorus highlights certain kinds of movement: leaps (πηδᾶτε, 1520), spins (ταχὺν πόδα κυκλοσοβεῖτε, 1523), and kicks (ἐκλακτισάτω). They thus direct the audience’s attention and distill a continuous sequence of action into a discrete set of choreographic elements. They model one view of the performance, and by expressing that viewpoint in their song, they fix it as the authoritative version of events. But it remains possible that the danced action was entirely different. And even if it corresponded in some respects, it is inevitable that some viewers, watching from a different angle or entranced by different body parts or gestural moments, could have offered an entirely different verbal “translation” of the dance.

The inevitability of difference between verbal description and danced action is even more vividly displayed towards the end of the choral song. Here, the chorus sings: “Twirl about, go round in a circle, and slap yourself in the belly; throw a leg sky-high; let pirouettes come into it” (στρόβει, παράβαινε κύκλω και γάστρισον σεαυτόν, ῥῖπτε σκέλος οὐράνιον: βέμβικες ἐγγενέσθων, 1529-1530). Their narration precedes rapidly through a series of motions and gestures. Even if one of the dancers is actually meant to be performing these actions in coordination with the chorus’ song, he would have had to move incredibly quickly, and probably quite clumsily, in order to keep time with the verbal description. Moreover, the frequent use of present tense imperatives throughout (πηδᾶτε, στρόβει, παράβαινε, ῥῖπτε) implies repeated or continuous motion – making it all the more implausible that the dancers’ action could correspond neatly with the words uttered by the chorus. It thus seems likely that this fast-paced verbal sequence is meant as a final dramatic display of uncoordinated song and dance, with the four dancers engaging in their own kinetic activities as the chorus commands and directs, potentially to no effect whatsoever. My sense of the relationship between dance and language here must, like any analysis of ancient performance filtered through the testimony of surviving song, remain speculative. But I hope to have highlighted some reasons to believe that the final scene of the *Wasps* would have staged a deliberate conflict between choral song, sidelined and here lacking its usual kinetic element, and the actions of non-singing solo dancers.

In the final lines of the play, the chorus calls attention to its own marginalization. It offers a final command to the dancers, saying:

ἀλλ’ ἐξάγετ’, εἴ τι φιλεῖτ’ ὀρχούμενοι, θύραζε
 ἡμᾶς ταχύ: τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεὶς πω πάρος δέδρακεν,
 ὀρχούμενον ὅστις ἀπήλλαξεν χορὸν τρυγῳδῶν.

And now, if you like, lead us quickly out,
 dancing, for no one has ever done this before,
 to send a comic chorus dancing off (*Wasps* 1535-1537, trans. Sommerstein)

They encourage Philocleon and the three sons of Carcinus to continue in their dancing as they exit, at which point the chorus will follow. This type of processional exit is fairly typical in Old Comedy – for example, in the ending of *Wealth*, the actors involved in the final scene depart, followed by a concluding song from the chorus (*Wealth* 1208-1209).¹⁰⁴ Why then, does the chorus appear to depict the action here as unusual and innovative, claiming, as these lines are

¹⁰⁴ See also *Acharnians* 1233-134, *Lysistrata* 1320-1321, and Sommerstein 2001: 217.

generally understood: “for no one has ever done this before, / to send a comic chorus dancing off” (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεὶς πω πάρος δέδρακεν, ὀρχούμενον ὅστις ἀπήλλαξεν χορὸν τρυγωδῶν)?¹⁰⁵

I suggest that the chorus of *Wasps* is contrasting its own complete marginalization with the more typically balanced interplay between choruses and individual performers.¹⁰⁶ The chorus specifically claims that no one has ever ἀπήλλαξεν χορὸν τρυγωδῶν.¹⁰⁷ The word ἀπήλλαξεν, from *apallassō*, most simply means to “get rid of, remove,” and can take an object in either the genitive or the accusative.¹⁰⁸ I propose, therefore, that one valid interpretation of these lines is that “no one has ever gotten rid of the dancing comic chorus.” At both the beginning and the end of their song, the chorus gestures pointedly to their own spatial position on the sidelines of the performance (φέρε νυν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὀλίγον συγχωρήσωμεν ἅπαντες, / ἴν’ ἐφ’ ἡσυχίας ἡμῶν πρόσθεν βεμβικίζωσιν ἑαυτούς, 1516-1517; ἀλλ’ ἐξάγετ’, εἴ τι φιλεῖτ’ ὀρχούμενοι, θύραζε / ταχύ, 1535-1536). In these final lines, they call attention to the strangeness of this position.

In Chapter 1, I discussed various ways in which solo dance can be harmoniously incorporated within a choral spectacle. Solo performance on the dramatic stage often functions in this way. For example, in the conclusion of *Acharnians*, Dicaeopolis calls upon the chorus to join with him in making an exit (ἔπεσθέ νυν ἄδοντες ὃ τήνελλα καλλίνικος, *Acharnians* 1231).¹⁰⁹ Here, however, Philocleon does not speak again after issuing his final challenge. The dancing characters do not invite the chorus to join them or even address the chorus at all. The chorus is left demanding that the actors help them to leave their position on the margins of the dance floor and lead them off the stage (ἀλλ’ ἐξάγετ’, εἴ τι φιλεῖτ’ ὀρχούμενοι, θύραζε / ἡμᾶς ταχύ, 1535-1536). It is as if the dancers, in their enthusiasm, have forgotten the chorus entirely, spinning and leaping all on their own. Their individualized and completely non-verbal expression has driven off the chorus and transformed them into static narrators of the action, standing aside as others dance.

¹⁰⁵ I offer Sommerstein’s translation here. Both he (1983: 248) and MacDowell (1971: 332) take the claim of innovation at face value, noting that we have only two comic endings pre-dating *Wasps* (*Acharnians* and *Knights*, since the version of *Clouds* we possess underwent later revision). But *Acharnians* does seem to conclude with the chorus following Dicaeopolis – explicitly singing, if not dancing (Δικαιοπόλις: ἔπεσθέ νυν ἄδοντες ὃ τήνελλα καλλίνικος. Χορός: ἀλλ’ ἐνόμισθα σὴν χάριν τήνελλα καλλίνικος ἄδοντες σὲ καὶ τὸν ἄσκόν, *Acharnians* 1231-1234). The difference hardly seems significant enough to justify a serious claim of innovation here. Other interpretations include those of Slater (the innovation lies in the fact that Philocleon joins in, 2002: 110-111) and Wright (“the real point of this claim is that no *comedian* had previously ended his play with a *tragic* style of dancing,” 2013: 224). My own analysis is not meant to exclude additional layers of meaning and metatheatrical allusion in these lines, see also Telò 2016.

¹⁰⁶ On the relative abundance of individualized dancing in comedy, see Lawler 1964: 63-102. At the same time, I would emphasize that *choreia* remains central to comedy – as the conflict between solo and choral expression here in *Wasps* demonstrates. On comic *choreia*, see Bierl 2013b, especially his claim that: “the choral thiasos is mirrored in the actual dramatic χορός which by reenactment the singers do reactualize. The chorus of citizens dancing for Dionysos represents a link to the spectators who thus become participants. Through reciprocal, oscillating fluctuations between inside and outside, cult and myth, the theater production becomes a comprehensive multimedia performance in the sign of Dionysos” (2013b: 367).

¹⁰⁷ The subtleties of the term τρυγωδῶν, and relevant textual variations in this line, are addressed by Wright 2013: 224.

¹⁰⁸ LSJ s.v. ἀπαλλάσσω. We find it in exactly this sense in Aristophanes at *Ecclesiazusae* 1046: τὴν γραῦν ἀπαλλάξασά μου “freeing me of the old woman.”

¹⁰⁹ Cf. also Cario’s performances of solo dance in *Wealth*, which take the form of repeated attempts at choral leadership (*Wealth* 253-321). The watchman who promises to “dance a prelude” at the beginning of Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* (αὐτός τ’ ἔγωγε φροῖμιον χορεύσομαι, 31) may be operating in the same mode – his gesture towards dance foreshadows the coming performance of the chorus (note the choral verb: χορεύσομαι).

But while the chorus seems to have some anxiety about their marginal role, indicated by their claim that this is an unprecedented occurrence and their desire to return to the action and be led off stage, Aristophanes leaves open the fundamental issue of verbal *vs.* kinetic preeminence. On the one hand, the scene suggests that exuberant soloists are indeed capable of driving off the chorus and taking their own position at center stage. By staging this possibility, Aristophanes makes explicit the anxieties and fears implicit in earlier literary attempts to construct *choreia* as an encompassing and flexible framework that prevents solo disruptions and asserts verbal control over dance. By enabling solo dance to literally, not just conceptually, disrupt *choreia*, Aristophanes validates a long tradition of marginalizing, suppressing, or subordinating individual dance in the service of promoting chorality. In this reading, the chorus becomes a mere narrator, describing and interpreting the central action.

This scene also, however, displays the confluence of performance, politics, and poetry that I have traced throughout this chapter. Within this nexus of associations, there is nothing “mere” or “marginal” about the ability to narrate and describe. The chorus, through their description, is able to offer their own “language version” of the dance, imposing an external framework upon the individual action of Philocleon and Carcinus’ sons. Moreover, the choral song refers to Carcinus as a “king of the deep” (τοῦ θαλασσίοιο, 1519; ὁ ποντομέδων ἄναξ, 1531). His sons implicitly share in his royal aura. But as I hope to have established by this point, dancing kings, princes, and leaders are not positive figures in the Greek cultural imagination. A *chorēgos*, like Theseus or Apollo, can be a good leader, but Philocleon and his fellow dancers, in this scene, are emphatically not trying to lead the chorus. The chorus thus deploys their song to depict the dancing sons of Carcinus as thoroughly comical figures – a strategy that is, to be sure, completely unsurprising in a comedy. At the same time, the mocking force of this characterization becomes much more clear in the context of earlier depictions of individual dancers as disruptors of choral and political harmony.¹¹⁰

The chorus’ final statement thus emphasizes the comic nature of the concluding dance extravaganza of *Wasps*. I concur with those scholars who see, in this scene, an un-reformed Philocleon, as manic for dance at the end of the play as he was for jury service at the start of the play.¹¹¹ The world has been turned upside-down for the duration of the drama, which culminates in the sidelining of the chorus and the placement of solo, non-singing dancers at center stage. Not coincidentally, three of those dancers are figured as crab-princes, competing willingly with Philocleon in a contest with no apparent purpose or prize. This spectacle affirms a logocentric choral paradigm by inversion: if these dancers are ridiculous and funny – unusual even in a comic context – then the singing-and-dancing chorus, here driven off by the more individualized and mute dancers, is all the more emphatically the standard and appropriate sphere for kinetic expression. Men who dance alone can destroy cities, or they can provide entertainment on the comic stage. Either way, their performances fall outside the norm of appropriate male dancing. The “correct” order of performance is restored only in the last, un-narrated moments of *Wasps*,

¹¹⁰ On Aristophanes’ artistic and political opposition to Carcinus and his sons, see Sommerstein 1983: 246.

¹¹¹ E.g., Vaio contends that Philocleon’s “final burst of manic energy motivates and inspires the last scene” – whereas he could previously be contained by Bdelycleon, his newfound enthusiasm for dance enables him to “[bring] the play from the fictional world of the drama to the actual world of the Theater of Dionysos” (1971: 351). I think this reading accounts well for the metatheatrical elements of the concluding scenes and enables us to see a meaningful development in the play (from a focus on the fictional world to an emphatic presentation of the actual theatrical setting) that does not require change or enlightenment on Philocleon’s part.

as the chorus presumably returns to its usual singing-and-dancing role and processes out of the theater altogether.¹¹²

Conclusion

I began this chapter with an Aesopic fable illustrating the alignment of solo dance performance with political failure. I hope to have shown how the basic anxieties evident in that fable resonate with the depictions of individual somatic action, specifically dance, elsewhere in archaic and classical song. Of course, Homer, Alcaeus, Ion, Bacchylides, Euripides, and Aristophanes conceive the relationship between their own poetic expression and the performances of both individuals and groups in different ways. But I maintain that, generally speaking, performance, politics, and poetry coalesce in striking and important ways around literary representations of men dancing alone. These depictions serve to establish a fairly consistent picture of the man who dances outside of a choral context as a destructive and dangerous force, opposed to his community and capable of doing real harm on the political stage. The counterpart to the anti-social male soloist is represented well by the traditions of dance and choral leadership surrounding Theseus in the late archaic and early classical periods, which are deployed in particularly effective and chorus-promoting ways by Bacchylides. I have called attention repeatedly to the poet's stake in creating these representations to demonstrate how the description of dance engages, not only with the historical realities of performance, but also with the overarching artistic programs evident within a given song or corpus. In the next chapter, I will consider how a different set of concerns emerges in the representation of individual female dancers, reinforcing a basic conception of dance as a gendered activity.

¹¹² Whatever form the actual choreography of the *exodos* may have taken (on the staging of the scene, see above), scholars are surely right in understanding the play to have concluded with the usual departure of the choral group (see, e.g., Sommerstein 2001: 217 on *Wealth* and other plays).

Parthenos and Prostitute: Outstanding Female Dance in Greek Song

Athenaeus attributes the following anecdote to the Hellenistic historian Theopompus:

Φαρσαλία τῆ Θεσσαλίδι ὀρχηστρίδι δάφνης στέφανον χρυσοῦν Φιλόμελος ἔδωκε, Λαμψακηνῶν ἀνάθημα. αὕτη ἡ Φαρσαλία ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ μάντεων, γενομένης φωνῆς ἐκ τῆς δάφνης τῆς χαλκῆς, ἦν ἔστησαν Μεταποντῖνοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστεά τοῦ Προκονησίου ἐπιδημίαν, ὅτ' ἔφησεν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων παραγεγονένα, ὡς τάχιστα ὤφθη εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβалоῦσα, ἐμμανῶν γενομένων τῶν μάντεων διεσπάσθη [ὑπ' αὐτῶν]. καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὕστερον ἀναζητούντων τὴν αἰτίαν εὗρέθη διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ στέφανον ἀνηρημένη.'

Philomelus gave a golden crown of laurel, which had been an offering made by Lampsacenes, to Pharsalia, a Thessalian dancing girl. This Pharsalia was torn apart in the marketplace in Metapontum by seers who had gone mad, as soon as she was seen entering the marketplace, as there was a voice coming out of the bronze laurel that the people of Metapontum had set up in the time when Aristeas of Proconnesus was sojourning among them, when, he said, he had returned from the Hyperboreans. And when people later asked about the reason [for this], she was found to have been killed on account of the garland of the god.

Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F248 = Athenaeus 605c-d

I am not concerned here with the historical veracity of this story or even its precise origins. Rather, I want to highlight how its representation of an individual female dancer is emblematic of an older cultural and literary discourse. To begin with, Pharsalia is an *orchēstris*, or sympotic dancing girl, apparently a favorite of the Phocian tyrant Philomelus. While such female performers were undoubtedly a common presence in Greek society, we find few traces of them in the literary record.

In her study of courtesans and prostitutes in Greek culture as represented by Athenaeus, Laura McClure compares Theopompus' story with several similar ones about the deaths of notable *hetairai*. She specifically observes that dedications to or by prostitutes function to “elevate individual women of low status to the level of the divine,” and that the consequent deaths of those women then “stained sacred spaces and objects with the pollution of their blood” (2003: 149). She concludes that the “hetaera ‘out of place’ ... transgresses religious norms, inciting madness and violence” (2003: 149). The elements of spatial and religious transgression emphasized by McClure are important for our understanding of this anecdote and enable us to relate the violent conditions of Pharsalia's death with her prior receipt of the tyrant's gift.

But attending to Pharsalia's specific identity as a *dancing* girl (ὀρχηστρίδι) can further help to clarify the details of the story. We do not know why Philomelus gave Pharsalia the crown, although the term *orchēstris* itself is certainly suggestive. As McClure explains, the sympotic dancing girl was part of a complex and flexible network of female sympotic entertainers attested from the archaic period onward (2003: 21). Although the *orchēstris* is often

understood as a *pornē*, or lower-class prostitute associated with the brothel, McClure identifies a number of *hetairai* who were allegedly known for their dancing (2003: 21), while a comic fragment preserved by Athenaeus and attributed alternately to Metagenes and Aristogoras refers to “dancing *hetaerae*” (ὄρχηστρίδας ἑταίρας, Metagenes fr. 4.1 PCG = Athenaeus 571b). Moreover, while we should not assume that female sympotic entertainers were always, in actuality, prostitutes, there is no doubt that the male authors of the majority of our existing sources tend to imagine them as sexually-available commodities.¹ When Theopompus identifies Pharsalia as an *orchēstris*, he thus implies that Philomelus appreciated her dancing, her sexual availability, or – most likely – both.

The violent physicality of Pharsalia’s death thus corresponds with the likely realities of her life, wherein she was apparently valued primarily for the pleasures offered by the motions and sexual potentialities of her body. In death, however, she is “torn apart” (διεσπάσθη), an act that not only ends her life but also disassembles the active and moving body integral to her identity as an *orchēstris*. How do we account for this striking and, in a sense, personal violence? As McClure notes, the story fits within a larger pattern of anecdotes about the fates of prostitutes who transgress specific religious and spatial boundaries. I concur with this broader reading, but I want additionally to highlight a feature specific to Theopompus’ narrative about the death of Pharsalia, who is the only *orchēstris* among McClure’s collected examples.

Theopompus tells us that Pharsalia “was found to have been killed on account of the garland of the god” (εὐρέθη διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ στέφανον ἀνηρημένη) – presumably the one given to her by Philomelus. Within the narrative, however, her death is more immediately prompted by a “voice coming out of the bronze laurel” (γενομένης φωνῆς ἐκ τῆς δάφνης τῆς χαλκῆς) in the marketplace at Metapontum, which is linked with the subsequent actions of the “mad seers” (ἔμμανῶν γενομένων τῶν μάντεων), who tear her apart.² Within the story, Pharsalia is a silent dancer adorned with a golden crown of laurel. Her destruction results from the disembodied vocalizations of a bronzed laurel. Voice is the very quality that Pharsalia lacks, defined as she is by her body’s appeal in life (ὄρχηστρίδι) and by its dismemberment in death (διεσπάσθη). This brief anecdote thus reveals a tension between Pharsalia’s own corporeality and her ultimate subjugation to an external “voice.”³ Her violent fate underscores her vulnerability as a performing female body.

This tension is central to many descriptions of individual dancing women, *orchēstrides* and otherwise, in archaic and Classical Greek literature.⁴ I will argue here that it arises from an underlying anxiety about female agency and sexuality. As I demonstrated in the preceding chapter, men who dance solo, without a positive link to chorus or *kōmos*, are conceived as politically and socially destructive. There is a gendered dimension to this conception insofar as men are imagined to be capable of affecting political and social structures in meaningful ways –

¹ Goldman *forthcoming* critiques the assumption that all sympotic female performers were also prostitutes, but for the same point, see also Dover 1968: 220, Starr 1978: 409, and Davidson 2006: 40.

² Theopompus here seems to reference a Metapontian dedication also discussed by Herodotus (*Histories* 4.15).

³ A basic opposition between a female body and a male voice (particularly one that utters intelligible speech, e.g., *logos*) is particularly evident in many representations and analyses of the Pythia, Apollo’s priestess at Delphi. While Maurizio demonstrates that the actual female priestess probably had more authority over her words and their organization than scholars have generally admitted, she acknowledges that male rhetoric about female expression – while likely an unreliable source for historical women’s lives (on this point see also Cohen 1989) – tends to emphasize this particular binary and its implicit hierarchy (Maurizio 1995, see also Padel 1983).

⁴ In this chapter, I focus on these themes in poetry and song, with particular attention to performance context. In Chapter 5, I address the depiction of individual dancing women in historical and philosophical prose.

their ability to lead a chorus reflects upon their ability to lead a faction, city, or army. Women, for the most part, do not occupy such positions of leadership, and their relationship to choral and individualized dance thus negotiates a fundamentally different set of social roles and concerns.

Specifically, while dancing is described in Greek literature as conferring beauty on participants of both sexes, this trope has a significant social force for women.⁵ Scholars have stressed, for example, how a preeminent dancer within a maiden chorus is typically being presented as eligible for marriage. Her outstanding and occasionally individualized dancing spotlights her sexual appeal and facilitates her transition from unwed girl to wife.⁶ The *orchēstris* is likewise defined by her sexual availability and appeal. Solo female dancers in Greek literature are most frequently *parthenoi* or prostitutes, categories that share in sexual potential and allure while remaining sharply differentiated in status and means of access. To be sure, married women also danced in ancient Greece, and they were occasionally singled out as solo performers.⁷ But I will demonstrate here that literary depictions of individual married or otherwise sexually experienced female dancers engage with the same basic concerns about the sexual appeal of dance and its ramifications for the status of an individual woman.

Moreover, the tensions and anxieties clustered around representations of individual female dancers in archaic and Classical Greek literature correspond with and reinforce broader social concerns surrounding the subjectivity and authority of women, particularly when they act as performers. I will begin this chapter, therefore, with a theoretical reflection on language, agency, and dance, particularly as those issues pertain to the representation of individual female dancers in early Greek song. I will proceed to a discussion of the archetypal maiden *chorēgos* and the ways in which this role both constructs and controls the vulnerable sexual body of the singular female dancer through the framing power of language and song. This discussion will culminate with readings of Alcman's *partheneia*. The following section will turn to the more elusive *orchēstris*, considering both the potential engagement with sympotic female dance in Anacreon 417 *PMG* and the more explicit staging of the dancing girl in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*. The final section will survey the varied representation of singular dancing women in Greek drama.

I have sorted individual female dancers according to social and sexual categories: the marriage-eligible maiden (*parthenos-chorēgos*), the possible-prostitute (*orchēstris*), and the wife. These categories reflect the very basic conception of dancing women, in Greek thought, as highly sexualized figures. To dance solo, for a woman, is fundamentally an act of sexual presentation – the distinction between maiden, prostitute, and wife is determined by the identity of a woman's real or potential partner and the terms upon which she engages with him.⁸ When male poets use verbal description to construct a woman as a particular kind of singular dancer, they thus exert control over her sexuality and constrain her ability to use movement as a form of

⁵ On the importance of *eros* in conceptions of *choreia*, see Kurke 2012 and 2013a.

⁶ See Lonsdale 1993: 170, 204-105, Calame 1997: 98-104, Stehle 1997: 36, and Peponi 2007: 354.

⁷ On choruses of married women in general, see Calame 1997: 26 [=1977 I: 63], Delavaud-Roux 1994: 31-33, and Stehle 1997: 107-113. On the literary and epigraphic evidence for both maiden and married leaders of Bacchic choruses, see Henrichs 1984: 71. On broader level, we might also consider the significant visual evidence for musical performance by women of high or "respectable" status, as surveyed by Bundrick 2005: 92-102.

⁸ I say him, because the possibility of a non-male partner for a female performer is largely absent from the majority of the sources considered here. In the conclusion, however, I will offer a brief and speculative reading of Sappho 16 in light of the themes and issues raised by the rest of this chapter. On female-female desire in these songs and some similar ones, see Williamson 1995. Note also that all not representations of such female performers are explicitly sexual – they are, however, generally *sensual*, and focused particularly on the beauty and allure of the female body.

self-expression or definition. I do not, however, mean to suggest that this discursive force was absolute or complete. To the contrary, a theoretical consideration of the relationship between description and dance, specifically as it pertains to issues of gender and agency, will suggest the opposite.

1. Agency and Authority: Understanding Male Descriptions of Female Dance

I have previously argued that literary description exerts a powerful force over dance, whether that dance occurs simultaneously or subsequently.⁹ The act of describing dance in words creates what Steve Paxton calls a “language version” of the performance, which works to “limit” the “perception or experience” of dance (2001: 422). That is, descriptions of dance spotlight certain elements of a performance, construct hierarchies of beauty, excitement, or interest, and encourage specific forms of aesthetic response. Language thus mediates between embodied expression and perception, telling us how to think and feel about our own acts of performance and spectatorship. While this phenomenon can certainly work to nuance and enrich a performance,¹⁰ it can also serve to delegitimize or suppress the expressive force of dance in its own right. The very act of describing movement thereby harnesses dance to the power of words.

The gendered power dynamic between male poets and female performers adds an additional layer to this phenomenon. That is, poets use the power of verbal description to exert control over the potential expressiveness of female bodies. This strategy repeats a well-studied pattern of representation pertaining to the construction of female sexuality, corporeality, and agency. For example, in her study of Alcman’s maiden songs, or *partheneia*, Eva Stehle observes that “male composition of the words [of the songs] is a form of control over women’s speech,” as the poet is able to route his own language through the voices of the singing maidens (1997: 100). She also demonstrates, however, that the language and imagery of the *partheneia* further endeavor to prevent the assertion of female control over female bodies, specifically by “alienating the *parthenoi* from their bodies through self-depreciation” (1997: 78). In Stehle’s reading, Alcman’s discursive suppression of women’s control over their own bodies is an enactment of social control over female sexuality and reproduction. I concur with Stehle, and I want to further investigate her implicit connection between the constructions of female expressive and sexual agency.

In the course of her analysis, Stehle asks a question that cogently expresses the “problem” of female corporeal agency: “how can *parthenoi* speak of other women [i.e., especially in positive and praising terms] without adopting a notion of their own value that might lead to assertion of control over their own bodies?” (1997: 78). Her answer to this question, as mentioned above, is to trace how Alcman scripts the depreciation of the female body and its desires in performance (1997: 78-93). This reflects Stehle’s particular interest in the ways in which Greek literary sources construct female desire and sexual attachments. When she speaks of a woman’s “control over her own body,” she means specifically a woman’s authority and control (or lack thereof) over her sexuality, her body as an erotic object. Stehle’s observations, however, are equally illuminating if we consider Alcman’s stake in the female body as an expressive object: a singing and dancing body whose creative agency is being explicitly subordinated to the artistic authority of the choral composer.

⁹ Introduction, as well as Chapter 3.3.

¹⁰ See Weiss 2014 *passim* and Peponi 2004 and 2013c, both discussed in Chapter 1.4.

I will return to the specific example of Alcman and his *partheneia* in the next section of this chapter. For now, I want to consider the relationship between a Greek choral “poet” – meaning a songwriter, composer, and choreographer rolled into one – and his performers.¹¹ As scholars have noted, the work of such an artist is to realize his own creative vision through the voices and bodies of his performers.¹² While the poet sometimes performed himself, he was still not the only performer. The act of creating art for performance by others demands both the assertion and the abnegation of authority: assertion, insofar as the poet must make clear to the singers, dancers, and instrumental musicians precisely how he intends them to execute his vision, and abnegation, in that he must ultimately step aside and allow others to bring his creative product into being.

The words of the song are arguably the element of *choreia* most directly subject to the poet’s control. Choreuts must learn these words precisely and perform them in the order intended by the poet. Intonation, inflection, music, and dance are all somewhat more flexible: the poet/composer/choreographer can certainly instruct his performers to pronounce, play, and move in very specific ways, but bodies, voices, and even instruments are infinitely variable and capable of making their own choices – ranging from a barely-noticeable flat note to a dramatic change in position – in the course of the performance. On one level, then, self-referential language in choral song, particularly that which has been described as “aesthetic suggestion,”¹³ endeavors to reclaim poetic control over sound and motion by using the more fixed and manageable medium of language to frame and define the more unruly aspects of performance. Moreover, while these strategies operate in direct and close connection with choreography in the case of female choral performance staged by male composer-choreographers, a comparable dynamic is at work in male sympotic song, which aims to direct, frame and define the embodied action of women performing within the shared temporal and spatial confines of the symposium, even if, in these instances, song is not directly linked with dance.

The ideological force of such framing and defining has particular relevance for the study of how male poets represent *individual* female dancers, whose bodies are a major source of anxiety. Stehle traces the anxieties surrounding female bodies as sexual entities in Greek song, and she demonstrates specifically how Alcman uses language to manage and suppress the potential erotic agency of the choral female performer. I want to suggest that is a parallel and closely-connected anxiety surrounding the expressive agency of the female solo performer’s body, and that here, too, the language of song is deployed in an effort to control and contain female corporeality. In order to demonstrate this and to clarify the concept of “expressive agency,” let us return briefly to some of the theoretical work presented previously.¹⁴

As I explained in the Introduction, dance studies scholar Noland develops a model of kinesthetic and gestural agency, observing that “*gestures*, the learned techniques of the body, are the means by which cultural conditioning is simultaneously embodied and put to the test” (Noland 2009: 2, emphasis in original). She suggests that movement, whether organized as dance or not, offers a crucial site of resistance to the forces of social and cultural conditioning codified in language. In my analysis, I will use the concepts of artistic and expressive agency in

¹¹ I use the male pronoun here because such artists were predominately male, although they clearly composed for choruses of both men and women.

¹² The tension implicit in this process is central to Stehle’s analysis, but see also Peponi (2004: 315-316) on the choreographic vision in Alcman 1 *PMG*.

¹³ See Weiss 2014: 12-13.

¹⁴ See Introduction.

rough parallel to the idea of erotic agency, which generally describes a subject's ability to control her engagement in sexual activities. That is, subjects are comparably capable of choosing their movements, gestures, and somatic positions in order to convey particular messages, roles, and meanings, and dance constitutes a specialized and complicated sphere for the use of the body in significant and meaningful ways. I draw upon Noland's framework in proposing that female dancers are, in theory, subjects endowed with embodied agency. It is possible that they felt their own bodies in performance in ways that resisted the acculturating force of *choreia* and that, for spectators, viewing dancers in motion could both reinforce and test the limits of embodiment as a social force.¹⁵ I suggest that poets composing songs for performance in relation to dance use the power of verbal description to exert control over such potentially expressive and kinesthetic agency.

Archaic and classical Greek literary descriptions of individual female dancers also intertwine female sexual and expressive agency. In both cases, discursive efforts to control female bodies reflect, even as they also manage, a basic anxiety about the possibilities of those bodies. On one level, male poets attempt to control female sexuality by defining and organizing women, thereby suppressing women's abilities to assert individualized and idiosyncratic identities. On another level, however, these patterns of representation work to frame and contextualize female motion, informing audiences and performers alike that *this* action signifies courtesan, *that* gesture befits the maiden. As Noland's work indicates, we should not assume that these poetic strategies necessarily succeeded in completely suppressing the embodied agency of women in ancient Greece. But as I proceed to a set of readings of singular female dancers in archaic and Classical Greek literature, I will highlight the ways in which these descriptions endeavor to control female expression and sexuality and reflect upon the effects of those techniques within specific performance contexts.

2. Managing Maidens: The Individual Dancing *Parthenos* in Greek Literature

I begin with the most well-represented, and thus well-studied, model of individualized female dance in Greek literature: the leader of the maiden chorus. Artemis provides a crucial divine archetype for this role, sharing in her brother Apollo's associations with *mousikē* and *choreia* while also possessing her own distinct spheres of influence. Most importantly for our purposes, she is a virgin goddess linked with influence over female rites of transition and integration.¹⁶ She is depicted as a chorus leader several times in surviving Greek literature, including an extensive description in the *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* (27).¹⁷ This hymn begins by establishing Artemis' identity as a *parthenos* ("chaste maiden," παρθένον αἰδοίην, 2), then locates her in the wild, traveling "over the shadowy mountains and windy peaks" (κατ' ὄρη σκιάοντα καὶ ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσας, 4) as she hunts. In the second part of the hymn, Artemis travels to Delphi and "puts in order the beautiful chorus of Muses and Graces" (Μουσῶν καὶ

¹⁵ In a separate project, I examine how a variety of early Greek sources deploy the concept of kinesthetic empathy to construct choral spectatorship as an acculturating force, rather than one with the potential to spark individual experiences of kinesthetic agency in the mode posited by Sklar and exemplified by Noland.

¹⁶ On Artemis, see Frontisi-Ducroux 1981, Vernant 1991: 195-219, Parker 2011: 90-91, and Kowalzig 2013c: 197.

¹⁷ Cf. *Odyssey* 6.99-109 and *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 194-199. Janko dates the *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* (27) to 585 BCE or thereafter, noting its similarities to the Pythian portion of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (1982: 11-112, 200). Regardless of this particular poem's actual date of composition, however, its presentation of Artemis and her relationship to dance are clearly traditional.

Χαρίτων καλὸν χορὸν ἀρτυνέουσα, 15). The speaker then elaborates further upon Artemis' role in this scene of divine *choreia*:

ἡγεῖται χαρίεντα περὶ χροῖ κόσμον ἔχουσα,
ἐξάρχουσα χορούς· αἱ δ' ἀμβροσίην ὄπ' ἰεῖσαι
ὕμνευσιν Λητώ καλλίσφυρον, ὡς τέκε παῖδας
ἀθανάτων βουλή τε καὶ ἔργμασιν ἔξοχ' ἀρίστους.

She leads, with her pleasing jewelry about her skin,
leading the choruses. And they all, uttering their ambrosial voice,
hymn Leto of the lovely ankles, how she bore children,
the best, outstanding among the immortals in both thought and deeds. (*Homeric Hymn to Artemis* (27) 17-20)

The language of the hymn stresses Artemis' position as *chorēgos* (ἡγεῖται, 17; ἐξάρχουσα 18). The description lingers over the adornment of her body, calling particular attention to its contact with her skin (περὶ χροῖ, 17). The final description of the content of the goddesses' song articulates Artemis' place within the chorus: choral song recounts her origins (ὕμνευσιν Λητώ καλλίσφυρον, ὡς τέκε παῖδας, 19) and thereby re-constitutes her within itself,¹⁸ but also preserves her outstanding (ἔξοχος, 20) and superlative (ἀρίστους, 20) position.

In the quasi-mortal realm, the Phaeacian princess Nausicaa provides a comparable model of maidenly choral leadership.¹⁹ Just before Odysseus appears, Homer describes the song, dance, and play of Nausicaa and her companions upon Scheria:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σίτου τάρφθεν δμῶαί τε καὶ αὐτή,
σφαίρη ται δ' ἄρ' ἐπαιζον, ἀπὸ κρήδεμνα βαλοῦσαι,
τῆσι δὲ Νausικᾶα λευκώλενος ἤρχετο μολπῆς.
οἷη δ' Ἄρτεμις εἶσι κατ' οὔρεα ἰοχέαιρα,
ἢ κατὰ Τηϋγέτον περιμήκετον ἢ Ἐρύμανθον,
τερπομένη κάπροισι καὶ ὠκείησ' ἐλάφοισι·
τῆ δέ θ' ἅμα Νύμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
ἀγρονόμοι παίζουσι· γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ·
πασάων δ' ὑπὲρ ἢ γε κάρη ἔχει ἠδὲ μέτωπα,
ῥεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι·
ὡς ἢ γ' ἀμφιπόλοισι μετέπρεπε παρθένος ἀδμῆς.

But when she and her maids had taken their pleasure in eating,
they all threw off their veils for a game of ball, and among them
it was Nausikaa of the white arms who led in the dancing;
and as Artemis, who showers arrows, moves on the mountains
either along Taygetos or on high-towering
Eurymanthos, delighting in boars and deer in their running,

¹⁸ Cf. the relationship between Pan and the nymphs' *choreia* in the *Homeric Hymn to Pan* (19), discussed in Chapter 1.2b.

¹⁹ For further discussion of Nausicaa as a dancer, see Chapter 2.2b. For this characterization of the Phaeacians more generally, see Vidal-Naquet 1986, Segal 1994: 12-64, and Purves 2010: 335-341.

and along with her the nymphs, daughters of Zeus of the aegis,
range in the wilds and play, and the heart of Leto is gladdened,
for the head and the brows of Artemis are above all the others,
and she is easily marked among them, though all are lovely,
so this one shone among her handmaidens, a virgin unwedded. (*Odyssey* 6.99-
109, trans. Lattimore)

Like Artemis, Nausicaa is an outstanding (μετέπρεπε, 109) leader of the dancing group (ἤρχετο μολπῆς, 101). The poet also stresses her status as a *parthenos* (παρθένος ἀδμής, 109). Moreover, Artemis' own pre-eminent position, with which Nausicaa is explicitly aligned, is figured somatically as height: "she stands head and brows above all others" (πασάων δ' ὑπὲρ ἣ γε κάρη ἔχει ἠδὲ μέτωπα, 107).²⁰ Again, the maiden leader is represented as an outstanding, yet fully integrated, member of the singing and dancing group.

The relationship between Artemis' wild haunts, mentioned at length in both passages cited here, and her role as the archetypal *parthenos-chorēgos* is also significant. Patricia Rosenmeyer, tracing the representation of girls at play in Greek literature, observes a connection between "Nausicaa's ball game by the seaside and Artemis' hunt in the mountains," explaining that "both groups enjoy themselves at leisure in a place removed from house and community, and without male presence" (2004: 169). Rosenmeyer stresses, however, the complex and polyvalent nature of female play in such liminal, outdoor spaces. While Artemis herself represents perpetual virginity, to dance and play in the chorus of Artemis is often figured as preparatory for sexual maturity and marriage.²¹

The latter association is made explicit by Aphrodite's (fictitious) claim, in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, that Hermes "took" (ἀνήρπαξε, 117; ἤρπαξε, 121) her from the "chorus of Artemis" (ἐκ χοροῦ Ἀρτέμιδος, 118), a performance in which "we many brides and maidens, worth many cows in marriage, dance, and a boundless crowd encircles [them]" (πολλαὶ δὲ νύμφαι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεισίβοιαι / παίζομεν, ἀμφὶ δ' ὄμιλος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωτο, 119-120). The notion that outstanding maidens are liable to be snatched from the chorus by their male admirers is found elsewhere in Greek literature,²² and basically reinforces the conception of the maiden chorus as a prelude to sexual maturity and marriage, a theme that is emphasized here through the application of the adjective *alphesiboiai* ("worth many cows [i.e., as a bride-price]," 119) to the *parthenoi*. The passage from the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* is also notable because it makes explicit the connection between girls' play, marked by the verb *paizō*, and the performance of dance specifically. We might also consider the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, wherein Persephone "frolics with the daughters of Oceanus and gathers flowers... in a soft meadow" (παίζουσιν κούρησι σὺν Ὠκεανοῦ βαθυκόλοισι / ἀνθεὰ τ' αἰνυμένην ... / λειμῶν' ἄμ μαλακὸν, 5-7). This image again links female play in outdoor spaces with the onset of sexual maturity and the threat of rape and/or marriage. Given the lack of reference to music or

²⁰ Cf. *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 197-198.

²¹ Rosenmeyer 2004: 169-177. I return to Rosenmeyer's reading of Anacreon 417 *PMG* below. On outdoor spaces and female sexual awakening, see also, e.g., Henderson 1976: 159-179, Stehle 1997: 94, and Calame 1999: 156.

²² See, e.g., Lawler 1964: 42-43, Boedeker 1974: 48-49, Calame 1977, Lonsdale 1993: 175, Stehle 1997: 73-93, Peponi 2004 and 2007, Kurke 2012: 178-179

specifically coordinated movement in this passage, “playing” (παίζουσαν, 5) here cannot, perhaps, be conclusively understood as dance, but it hardly excludes the possibility.²³

These passages are certainly not an exhaustive survey of the representation of the maiden *chorēgos*. But they do map out a persistent set of corporeal and kinetic images. Maiden dancers in general move playfully through outdoor spaces, like seashores and meadows. The leading *parthenos* stands out from the group, yet she is also intimately linked with *choreia*, functioning as a leader and guide to others. She is poised between the community of the chorus and the singularity that accompanies her ultimate departure from the group for marriage, a position that is precarious, even dangerous. She is outstanding, not only in social position or technique but also in beauty and body – especially attractive or tall.

The corporeal and motor patterns associated with maiden dancers in literature are evident in Greek art as well. We need not understand these images as depictions of historical choreography in order to suggest that they contribute to a kind of somatic imaginary, wherein certain types of dance and performance are associated with specific bodily positions and gestures.²⁴ Images of female choruses tend to showcase the upright alignment of the choreuts’ bodies and their common, if not completely identical, positions (figs. 8-11).²⁵ The bodies of the dancers tend to be mostly covered by loose garments. While their active engagement in the dance might entice the viewer’s imagination towards a fuller consideration of their bodies, only the face, hands, and feet are left uncovered. These are also the body parts most often highlighted in literary descriptions praising the beauty of maiden dancers.²⁶ The particular attention to the

²³ There may be another gesture towards dance in Hades’ intentional “choreography” of Persephone’s movement – his placement of the enticing flower, in concert with Gaia, causes her to move and reach in a specific direction (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 8-16).

²⁴ For another relevant analysis of the Athenian visual imaginary with respect to female dancers, see Neils 2007 on the visual evidence for girls’ ritual performance (including but not limited to dance) in classical Athens. She specifically discusses a 5th century red figure phiale (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1897.371, c. 440 BCE), which depicts, she argues, four stages in the development of a young *hetaira*: first, the girl appears dancing, seemingly before a female dancing-instructor; she later progresses to playing the *aulos*, making an offering, and seducing a male customer (2007: 70-74). Neils compares this with the presumably standard sequence of trainings and performances accomplished by aristocratic girls (referenced in Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 641-647; Neils 2007: 57-66 discusses the visual evidence for such practices), as well as male coming-of-age rites (Neils 2007: 73). I would additionally note that the aristocratic practices discussed by Neils – even if they are not fully-fledged choral dance – are conceived as communal practices (processions, group festivities), whereas the courtesan-in-training performs all of her activities solo.

²⁵ The images I have provided are generally understood as depicting choruses of young women in festive contexts (see, e.g., Fig. 8: Lawler 1964: 102 and Furley and Bremer 2001: 22; Fig. 9: Marconi 2013: 432; Fig. 10: Marconi 2010: 107, 128-133), although I would not push this so far as to suggest that they are all performing *partheneia* specifically (on the elusiveness of this genre as an historical phenomenon, see Swift 2010: 173-188). My point here is that we can productively compare these images with the literary testimony, and that we might also contrast the stately and organized depiction of young women’s *choreia* with both Dionysiac/ecstatic women’s dance (as noted by Marconi 2010: 130, who describes the dancers on the surviving friezes from the Hall of Choral Dancers on Samothrace, e.g., in Fig. 10, as “solemn and regular”) and the characteristic movements of prostitutes in Greek vase painting. In addition, while I focus here on late archaic and classical vases roughly contemporary with my literary sources, cf. also Langdon 2008: 158-210 on female choruses and the abduction of individual maidens from the dance in Geometric art.

²⁶ I noted the emphasis on the head and the face in the archetypal descriptions of maiden dancers (Artemis and Nausicaa) discussed above. The importance of the feet in descriptions of choreuts in general has been discussed more fully in Chapter 2.1a, but for positive attention to the feet of maiden dancers, cf., e.g., Alcman 2.70 *PMG* and Pindar *Paean* 6.17-18. Levine 2005 explores the erotic appeal of the feet throughout Greek art and literature, but fails to make the important connection between that the allure of the specific body part and its use in dance, which is

face and feet of *parthenoi* in performance, whether described in literature or depicted in art, constructs the maiden's body as a vertical line, which corresponds with the types of the movement generally ascribed to such performers.

But while there is a certain decorum and sense of corporeal control undergirding many artistic and literary representations of girls' choruses, the position of singular female choreut remains vulnerable and precarious. The sexual allure of female dancers in general, coupled with the sense of sexual awakening or "ripeness" associated with the position of outstanding dancer, renders such figures inherently unstable – no longer children at play in the wild, not yet wives "safely" ensconced within households. In the remainder of this section, I will consider how archaic and classical poets represent female dancers in relation to the archetypal *parthenos-chorēgos*, beginning with Alcman's *partheneia* and proceeding through a pair of examples from Athenian tragedy.

a. The Female Soloists of Alcman's Partheneia

Alcman's two partially-surviving *partheneia* are the most extensive representatives of their genre, and they also spotlights the dance performances of individual girls in crucial ways.²⁷ In this sub-section, I will first identify, in the depiction of Hagesichora in the first *partheneion*, a deliberate ambiguity concerning the status and fate of the outstanding maiden dancer. I will argue that behind this song lurks a basic anxiety surrounding the identity of the *parthenos-chorēgos*, whose virginal status is inherently precarious and liable to corruption. I will then suggest that the second *partheneion* more cautiously manages and controls the status of Astymeloisa, depicting her dance as a mechanism that prevents her from veering off the prescribed path from maidenhood to marriage. I will argue that both strategies ultimately reinforce the authority of the male *chorodidaskalos* over the embodied experience and perception of his dancers, and restrict female kinetic and corporeal expression to a prescribed set of roles.

While I begin with Alcman's first *partheneion* (Alcman fr. 1 *PMG*), I stress that I will not be offering an entirely new interpretation of this complex and enigmatic text. My overarching understanding of it is indebted primarily to Stehle (1997: 30-39, 74-88) and Peponi (2004). Instead, I pick up on a few elements of Alcman's distinctive imagery and descriptive strategies, arguing that we can identify in the song's representation of its two outstanding dancers a now-familiar ambiguity regarding the role and ultimate fate of the individual dancing girl.

Following a lengthy and unfortunately fragmentary mythic section, the language of the *partheneion* turns to a self-referential description of choral actors and action. The speaking voice proceeds:

[...] ἐγὼν δ' αἰίδω
Ἀγιδῶς τὸ φῶς ὀρῶ
F' ὅτ' ἄλιον, ὄνπερ ἄμιν
Ἀγιδῶ μαρτύρεται

itself typically conceived as an inherently appealing activity. On hands, or at least hand-holding, in maidenly *choreia*, see Peponi 2007: 361.

²⁷ Pindar and Bacchylides also composed *partheneia*, and portions of one of Pindar's maiden songs survives (fr. 94b). The extant lines of that song, however, do not feature the same attention to a singular dancer as Alcman's songs, so I will not offer an extensive reading of them here. On fr. 94b, see especially Stehle 1997: 93-100 and Kurke 2007.

φαίνην· [...]

[...] And I sing
the radiance of Agido. I see her
like the sun, which
Agido summons to bear witness
for us. [...] (39-43)

This formulation foregrounds the authority of verbal song over the expression and perception of the body. As Peponi observes, the chorus' claim "dematerializes" Agido, transforming her into pure light (2004: 299). The disembodiment of Agido has a complex and powerful aesthetic effect (Peponi 2004: 299-303), but I suggest that it also displays the power of language to manipulate and transform the bodies of performers. For while Agido herself remains corporeally present, the audience is encouraged to see her body through the filter of imagination, diffusing her into radiance and light.

While I will not repeat Peponi's close analysis of the song's language and imagery here, I note that she traces a comparable process of transformation and comparison in the chorus' subsequent description of Hagesichora, observing that "Hagesichora is, in fact, a construction, a spectrum of constant visual metamorphoses" (2004: 302). In Peponi's reading, these images and similes engage with the audiences' powers of imagination, stimulating a process of comparison and "imaginative visualization" (2004: 301). But as I have suggested before, while such aesthetic suggestion certainly enriches an audience's experience of the dance, it also exercises a controlling force: steering the viewer's imagination in certain directions, prompting specific comparisons, and preventing both viewers and performers from understanding the motion of the body (that is, dance) as a sign or source of meaning independent of language.

In essence, Alcman's descriptive strategies interfere with the cognitive action described by Sklar, wherein the individual ballerina might envision her own motion at the barre and consequently reflect upon the social conditioning and cultural norms being inscribed upon her body.²⁸ When Alcman gives his chorus words for describing and constructing both their own performance and the actions of their leaders, he anticipates the process of "visual imagination" proposed by Sklar and turns it to his own ends, preventing the "hold of habitus" from being broken by reinforcing it through language (Sklar 2008: 91).²⁹ By choreographing motion *and* scripting words, the *chorodidaskalos* exerts a powerful form of authority over the expression and experience of his choreuts. This does not mean that an individual Spartan choreut cannot have experienced the kind of kinesthetic resistance described by Sklar and further theorized by Noland, but rather that in order to do so, she would have had to distance herself not only from the motions being performed by her body, but also from the words about those motions coming out of her mouth.

²⁸ "Performing a plié in the studio, perhaps dancers, too, have lucid moments of seeing themselves, as if from a distance, lined up among the others, holding onto a wooden pole in order to 'gracefully' drop and rise over and over again, all agreeing to the perceptual, ideological, and aesthetic conventions of a sociocultural system that values 'ballet'" (Sklar 2008: 91, cited and discussed at greater length in the Introduction). I do not mean to suggest that such discursive strategies must have been entirely successful – as I have posited before and will discuss again below, Noland's understanding of embodied and kinesthetic agency allows us to imagine how female performers may have resisted the discursive control and cultural conditioning of language.

²⁹ E.g., by composing words that reinforce the specific social position of *parthenoi*, a position which would have also been displayed by their ritual performance of dance (e.g., Calame 1997 [1977], Stehle 1997: 30-39, 74-88).

Returning to the progression of the song itself, the collective voice of the chorus now turns away from Agido, remarking:

[...] ἐμὲ δ' οὐτ' ἐπαινῆν
οὔτε μωμήσθαι νιν ἄ κλεννά χοραγὸς
οὐδ' ἀμῶς ἐῆι, δοκεῖ γὰρ ἤμεν αὐτα
ἐκπρεπῆς [...]

[...] But the illustrious *chorēgos*
does not permit me to either praise
or blame her, for she herself appears
outstanding [...] (43-46)³⁰

Stehle reads this passage as an example of the chorus' self-effacing rhetoric, noting that the "chorus-leader's beauty silences [the chorus]" and that "the *parthenoi* direct the audience away from listening to them" (1997: 37).³¹ I add to this the observation that the chorus' claim also implicitly disempowers Hagesichora, whose beauty and authority has not *actually* prevented the chorus from "singing the radiance of Agido" (δ' ἀείδω Ἀγιδῶς τὸ φῶς, 39-40) – a description clearly meant as praise.³² In Stehle's words, "the *parthenoi* present themselves as trained to be compliant, to have no sense of authorization and power" (1997: 86). To flip the formulation, the poet (as "trainer," or *chorodidaskalos*) presents himself as the real authority behind the performance, the creative visionary with whom the *parthenoi*-performers comply.

I highlight these particular lines to signal my agreement with Peponi's and Stehle's approaches to them, and thus to the song as a whole. I also use these lines to demonstrate where I am pushing Peponi's and Stehle's conclusions even further: first, by stressing Alcman's use of language to frame and define bodies in motion, and second, by observing how that assertion of verbal authority over corporeal expression mirrors the assertion of male creative authority over actual female performance. The song thus sets up two parallel hierarchies: voice over body and male composition over female enactment. This constitutes a suppression of female expressive agency. Stehle, however, has already fully considered the ramifications of this suppression and deauthorization for the chorus as a whole (1997: 30-39, 74-88). My goal here is to illuminate how the poet's language and imagery constructs the individual dancer – specifically, Hagesichora.

The song's major description of Hagesichora as a singular figure follows immediately upon the lines I have discussed above. After dispensing with Agido, the chorus explains:

[...] δοκεῖ γὰρ ἤμεν αὐτα
ἐκπρεπῆς τῶς ὅπερ αἴτις

³⁰ Scholars debate the referents of the epithet and pronoun in this passage. For a summary of interpretations up to 1977, see Calame 1977 II: 176. Puelma (1977: 23) interprets Agido as the chorus leader (ἄ κλεννά χοραγὸς, 44), but most scholars since, myself included, follow Calame in understanding Hagesichora as the *chorēgos* (ἄ κλεννά χοραγὸς, 44), with the pronoun "her" (νιν, 44) referring to Agido (e.g., Stehle 1997: 37, Peponi 2004: 299-300, Tsantsanoglou 2012: 42-45). As Peponi notes, the issue would probably have been clarified in performance through choreography and gesture (2004: 299 n. 5, with Clark 1996: 157).

³¹ For Stehle's larger argument about the self-effacement and deauthorization of the performers in the *partheneia*, see Stehle 1997: 74-88, discussed above as well.

³² Tsantsanoglou notes as much (2012: 43) and further observes that "the poetic employment of the prohibition [...], after all, has been devised by Alcman" (2012: 45).

ἐν βοτοῖς στάσειεν ἵππον
 παγὸν ἀεθλοφόρον καναχάποδα
 τῶν ὑποπετριδίων ὄνειρων
 ἧ οὐχ ὀρήϊς; ὁ μὲν κέλης
 Ἐνετικός· ἀ δὲ χαίτα
 τᾶς ἐμᾶς ἀνεψιάς
 Ἀγησιχόρας ἐπανθεῖ
 χρυσὸς [ὦ]ς ἀκήρατος·
 τό τ' ἀργύριον πρόσωπον,
 διαφάδαν τί τοι λέγω;
 Ἀγησιχόρα μὲν αὐτά·
 ἀ δὲ δευτέρα πεδ' Ἀγιδῶ τὸ Φεῖδος
 ἵππος Ἰβηνῶι Κολαξαῖος δραμήται.

[...] For that one [Hagesikhora] appears radiantly to be
 outstanding, as when someone
 sets among grazing herds a horse,
 well-built, a prize-winner, with thundering hooves,
 something from out of those winged dreams.
 Don't you see? One is a racehorse
 from Paphlagonia. But the mane
 of the other one, my kinswoman
 Hagesikhora, blossoms on her head
 like imperishable gold.
 And the silver look of her face –
 what can I tell you openly?
 She is Hagesikhora.
 But whoever is second to Agido in beauty,
 let her be a Scythian horse running against a Lydian one (45-59, trans. Nagy,
 modified)

Peponi argues that the phrase “as if someone set up a horse among the grazing beasts” (ὥπερ αἴτις ἐν βοτοῖς στάσειεν ἵππον, 47) constitutes an oblique reference of the *chorodidaskalos*' creative vision and the process of choral production: the subject of *staseien* is Aleman, who “sets up” the dancer like a horse among the herds (Peponi 2004: 313-316). I find this analysis completely convincing. In addition, I think there is more to be gleaned from the poet's claim to “set up,” or choreograph, this particular horse “among the grazing beasts” (ἐν βοτοῖς, 47). In this way, Hagesikhora is depicted as an outstanding figure among a group of undifferentiated others, like a *chorēgos* among her choreuts.³³ This element of the image is hardly surprising, given the context. But grazing animals are also located outside – specifically, on the margins of settlements and societies.³⁴ By likening Hagesikhora to a horse among the herds, the poet places her in the traditional outdoor haunt of playful, dancing virgins.

³³ See Calame 1977 II: 68, Lonsdale 1993: 200-201, Hutchinson 2001: 87, and G. Ferrari 2008: 75.

³⁴ I do not, therefore, follow Tsantagalou in understanding the primary force of *bota* (ἐν βοτοῖς, 47) to be derogatory (“the disdainful term *bota*,” 2012: 47). Rather, I stress how the image works to position Hagesikhora and the chorus within a meaningful landscape.

Such spaces, however, have certain sinister overtones. While it is unlikely that a 7th century Spartan poet-choreographer would have known the Homeric poems and the *Homeric Hymns* in exactly the form we read them today, those texts do suggest that the “maiden in the meadow” (or at the seaside) was a kind of type-scene, an image active in the Greek cultural imagination from a fairly early period.³⁵ Nausicaa (*Odyssey* 6.99-109) and Persephone (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 1-20) represent the precarious position of the girl at play in the wild, whose preeminent position among her companions reflects her social status and readiness for marriage, yet also singles her out as a likely candidate for rape. When Alcman sets Hagesichora up in a field, “among the grazing beasts,” the listener may well wonder what fate awaits this particular dancing girl.

The series of adjectives attached to the horse further thematize ambiguity and polyvalence. As I have suggested, the initial phrase “a horse among the grazing beasts” (ἐν βοτοῖς ... ἵππων, 47) evokes the image of the frolicking horse as a dancing maiden, an outstanding and beautiful figure in a natural landscape. The next pair of adjectives, however, shift the image significantly. Hagesichora is not a frolicking filly, but a sturdy racehorse (παγὸν ἀεθλοφόρον, 48) – an animal with real utility.³⁶ Finally, the horse is described as possessed of “thundering hoofs” (καναχάποδα, 48), an adjective that returns us to the realm of musical performance while simultaneously evoking the clashing and clanging of war.³⁷ Is Hagesichora like a maiden filly, a prize-winning racehorse, or a warhorse? On one level, she is all of these things at once, as the primary significance of these adjectives is their evocation of rapid and light movement (Peponi 2004: 314). On another level, she is whatever the composer-choreographer wants, as he sets and frames her movement in accordance with his own creative vision. The multiplicity of the horse to which Hagesichora is compared reflects the basic uncertainty of the maiden’s status – on the boundaries of womanhood, she might yet become prostitute, priestess, or wife.³⁸

Finally, I want to reflect further on Alcman’s characterization of Hagesichora as being like a horse of “winged dreams” (στάσειεν ἵππων... τῶν ὑποπετριδίων ὀνείρων, 47-49). Peponi proposes, and I agree, that the image of the “horse of dreams” references Alcman’s own creative authority – as the *chorodidaskalos* of the *partheneion*, he is also its original spectator, the one who “dreamt it up and visualized it” (2004: 316). But why do these dreams have wings?³⁹ On one level, the motions of flying and fluttering correspond with the general characterization of the

³⁵ For a recent survey of this trope, see Reitzammer 2016: 85-88. See also section 3a below for further discussion of the “maiden in the meadow,” with relevant bibliography.

³⁶ On the meaning of these adjectives, see also Peponi 2004: 314.

³⁷ For *kanachē* as musical sound, see Pindar, Pythian 10.39 and Sophocles, *Antigone* 130. For its association with the clamor of war, see *Iliad* 16.105 and [Hesiod] *Shield of Heracles* 164.

³⁸ These three categories are an allusion to Gilhuly, who argues that the prostitute, the priestess/ritual agent, and the wife constituted a complex feminine matrix within Classical Athenian thought on gender and sexuality (2009, esp. 1-28). While Gilhuly’s own analysis involves a set of a case studies in Classical Athenian sources, she remarks that “although I have focused on only a small collection of texts in this book, I hope that readers will recognize the interplay of the categories of prostitute, wife, and ritual agent elsewhere as well” (2009: 180). I do not mean to suggest, here, that these three categories would have existed in the minds of Alcman and his audience in precisely the same forms as Gilhuly finds them in later Athenian texts. But I do believe that they effectively map out the roles available to women in ancient Greek society more generally, and that they are thus a useful shorthand for referencing the possibilities that yet remain for the unmarried maiden.

³⁹ I understand ὑποπετριδίων as meaning “winged,” a metathesis for ὑποπετριδίων (Page 1951: 87, supported by Calame 1977 II: 67). The alternative interpretation is “rock-sheltered” (West 1965: 195), although Hutchinson rejects both possibilities and concludes that the line is corrupt (2001: 88).

horse, and implicitly Hagesichora, as active and quick (Peponi 2004: 314). On another level, fluttering dreams are also fleeting dreams – other passages in Greek poetry emphasize the swift, winged, or insubstantial quality of dream-visions.⁴⁰ The mobility of dreams is perhaps also loosely linked with their potential for deception, for dreams, like dance, are highly unstable bearers of meaning, open to interpretation and transformation.⁴¹ By likening Hagesichora to a horse set up, choreographically, amid grazing beasts, Alcman establishes her firmly in her role as *parthenos-chorēgos*. The subsequent progression of the chorus’ description, however, goes on to subtly and slightly destabilize its leader’s position, suggesting that she might instead be or become a more vulnerable, sexualized, or deceptive dancer.

Alcman’s song thus plays upon the instability and precariousness of his leading dancer’s position as a preeminent performer. Within the song, she is a girl, then a horse. She is gold and silver. She becomes whatever the poet wants, as he encourages his audience to imagine and envision her as this or that. In reality, she is a *parthenos*, a position likewise emptied of agency and subjectivity. The *chorodidaskalos* “sets her up” (στάσειεν, 47) as the *chorēgos* of his production, a real-world ritual action that is echoed, within the song, by the representation – literally, “setting up” (στάσειεν, 47) – of the girl as a horse among herds. The metaphorical choreography of the horse matches the literal choreography of the girl, reinforcing the *chorodidaskalos*’ authority over her body and its significance. The enigmatic phrase “a horse ... of winged dreams” (ἵππον ... τῶν ὑποπετριδίων ὀνειρών, 47-49) reinforces the fleeting nature of her position – her time as lead dancer, like her virginal status, is finite. Her successful transition to marriage notionally relies upon her successful performance of ritual choral leadership, which is facilitated by the words and gestures set for her by the poet-choreographer. At the end of this extended metaphor, Hagesichora waits to move beyond the meadow – the dangerous site of maidenly transition – into her ultimate position as a wife.

Alcman’s second *partheneion*, while even more fragmentary than the first, engages in an arguably more explicit consideration of the transitional position of the maiden *chorēgos*. As Peponi has demonstrated, the remains of the song suggest a remarkable synthesis of choreography, descriptive imagery, and social reality (2007). The spatial and choreographic references within the *partheneion* imply that Astymeloisa performs a solo dance, apart from the rest of the chorus.⁴² The singing choral voice expresses a consequent longing for its leader and desire for reciprocation, specifically wishing: “if only she [Astymeloisa] came closer and took my tender hand” (ἄσσοῦν [ιο]ῖσ’ ἀπαλαῖς χηρὸς λάβοι, 80, see Peponi 2007: 357-362). Peponi identifies the choreographic and marital connotations of this gesture (2007: 359-362). The language and choreography of the *partheneion* thus appear to dramatize the social position of its *chorēgos* – suspended between the chorus (maidenhood) and the city (marriage).⁴³

⁴⁰ Cf. *Iliad* 2.17, *Odyssey* 11.207 and 11.222, and Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 571 and *Phoenissae* 1545.

⁴¹ See especially *Odyssey* 19.560-569, but also [Aeschylus], *Prometheus Bound* 448-450 and Aesop, Fable 385 Perry.

⁴² This *partheneion* may, like the first, have featured a second leading dancer as well, as suggested by Page 1959: 18. Peponi 2007: 356 n. 57 wonders if the mentions of a *pais* at lines 82 and 84, which Page takes as referencing a second dancer, might not also refer to Astymeloisa, although her analysis entertains and accommodates either possibility (one or two soloists). Given the state of the poem, I think Peponi is right to leave the question open.

⁴³ I here place somewhat more stress on social context than Peponi (although she begins by identifying the likely ritual context of the song, 2007: 354, and attends throughout to the evocation of the city/*asty/stratos/dēmos*), and I omit summary of her important arguments on the emotional and aesthetic significance of the song’s imagery (see, e.g., her concluding observation: “before her bridal engagement, Astymeloisa, the *melēma* of the Spartan *dēmos*, half real and half imaginary, may embody for awhile the city’s aesthetic engagement,” 2007: 362).

Stehle offers a largely complementary reading of the second *partheneion* as a example of community poetry (1997: 88-93) But she specifically remarks that “it is...true that Astymeloisa (or the young woman who played her role) has presence and actions independent of the chorus’s description of her. However, while the chorus is singing, at least, its words intervene between the audience and Astymeloisa, guiding what the audience sees – a ravishingly beautiful Astymeloisa, an interplay of looks – and so defining Astymeloisa” (Stehle 1997: 93). Stehle’s reading anticipates the point I have been developing here, which is that the language of song works to structure and define the expression and perception of dance and its performers. I am, therefore, in basic agreement with her interpretation of how the language of Alcman’s *partheneia* functions as a way of asserting male authority over female bodies. Yet I also believe that Peponi’s reading productively complicates the implied spatiality of Stehle’s conceptualization. For while the chorus and its song intervenes between the singular dancer and the audience’s perception of her, the choreographic language and imagery of that song encourage the audience to imagine the relationship between soloist, chorus, and audience quite differently.

Acknowledging the speculative nature of the reading given the state of the poem, Peponi wonders whether “the explicit reference to the holding of the hand [at line 80 of Alcman’s second *partheneion*], signaling the desired return of the *chorēgos* to the female choral ensemble, functions as an implicit female counter-act to the anticipation of the same gesture by a male, marking in a different ritual context the final stage of the young woman’s transition from the female chorus to the male *oikos*” (2007: 361-362). Astymeloisa’s imagined hand thus extends in two potential directions – back towards her fellow choreuts, and out towards her future husband, who is potentially contained within the civic audience. The song thus encourages us, and its original audience, to envision the soloist as poised between the chorus and the city of spectators, even as the choral song is, in fact, interfering with the direct engagement between Astymeloisa and the audience (Stehle 1997: 93).

Moreover, while the song dramatizes the “rupture” between Astymeloisa and the chorus (Peponi 2007: 355), it also offers a potent image of her connection to it – that of the dancing maidens joined hand-in-hand.⁴⁴ The same gesture also previews her future connection to her husband.⁴⁵ Although Astymeloisa’s position as *parthenos-chorēgos* suspends her precariously between maidenhood and marriage, the imagined hand-holding gesture sutures her to both the maiden chorus and her future *oikos*. Her transition is thereby managed and facilitated, as she is figuratively “handed off” from one role to the next. Whereas the imagery of Alcman’s first *partheneion* flirts with the possibility that Hagesichora’s dancing might make her into something other than a wife, the choreographic language of the second *partheneion* carefully steers Astymeloisa along the straight-and-narrow path from *parthenos* to wife.⁴⁶

Alcman’s language and imagery again works to frame and affect embodied experience and the perception thereof. We cannot know how Spartan maidens experienced the clasp of a hand in the dance – perhaps that visceral experience of corporeal intimacy offered an opportunity

⁴⁴ See Peponi 2007: 359-361 for the connotations of this gesture as a marker of choral collectivity and reciprocity.

⁴⁵ For hand-holding as a nuptial gesture, see Lonsdale 1993: 213-217, Oakley and Sinos 1993: 32, 45, and 137 n. 71 with further bibliography, and Peponi 2007: 361, as well as the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 117-121.

⁴⁶ In addition, given that we lack significant portions of these *partheneia*, I do not mean to preclude the possibility that both songs engaged in both strategies – e.g., that Alcman elsewhere might have significantly destabilized Astymeloisa’s position and implied that she could become a “object of concern to the city [as a whole]” in a very different sense.

for a kinesthetic experience of female bonds both beyond men and beyond words.⁴⁷ Alcman's descriptive language, however, strategically short-circuits such potential kinesthetic agency by scripting the maidens' own reflective process. This does not mean that *choreia*, as the synthesis of song and dance, ever completely occluded individual experience and agency, but rather that its multimedia nature renders it especially effective at taking over and controlling multiple expressive dimensions of its participants' bodies. Likewise, audience members remained free to direct their gazes and interpret their experiences as they wished, but the existence of descriptive and referential song overlaying the performance of dance strongly encouraged certain modes of viewing and comprehending.⁴⁸ Whether the poet plays upon the vulnerable and unstable position of the outstanding female dancer or carefully choreographs her position to facilitate her movement from one role to the next, he employs the power of song to frame and define bodies in motion.

b. Maiden Dancers on the Athenian Stage

Athenian drama features multiple references to, and likely a few actual performances of, individual female dance.⁴⁹ Of course, women themselves did not appear on stage in these roles, but were rather represented by male actors.⁵⁰ These descriptions are nevertheless valuable for their consistent construction of the individual female dancer, whether *chorēgos* or true soloist. In drama, the *parthenos* remains the normative model for the individual female performer, and I will here consider two examples of tragic female characters described with reference to the singular *parthenos*-dancer. I will return to additional dramatic passages in the sections to follow.

That Euripides' *Helen* figures Helen herself as a *chorēgos* is not a new scholarly observation, but recent work has offered new insight into the significance of this

⁴⁷ Noland captures the ways in which a gesture can be simultaneously an expression of cultural conditioning and a source of personal agency when she remarks: "the body we observe in the act of writing may indeed be communicating a message or completing a task, but it is simultaneously measuring space, monitoring pressure and friction, accommodating shifts of weight. These kinesthetic experiences that exceed communicative or instrumental projects affect the gestures that are made and the meanings they convey" (2009: 2). Likewise, the clasp of the maidens' hand in the dance may be codified choreography, an action serving to both support the coordination of the dance and express the coherence of the group. But the individual dancer would have additionally been able to wrap her fingers a bit tighter or direct her attention to the warm contact of skin with skin – thereby bringing individual intimacy or meaning to the experience of performing with the group.

⁴⁸ Peponi 2013c identifies what she terms a "meta-mimetic" mode of description in Alcman (fr. 2.64-70 *PMG*) and Pindar (fr. 107a), wherein the song offers multiple alternatives for the interpretation of the dance and thereby challenges the singularity of the viewers' perception, urging them towards a more complex act of contemplation (p. 18-19 in preliminary version). I cite this analysis to demonstrate that the use of language to frame movement is not a simplistic or reductive strategy on the poet's part, and that the multimedia quality of *choreia* must surely have provided viewers with a rich experience of spectatorship open to multiple interpretations. But I also point out that even such a meta-mimetic mode offers the listener a set of discrete possibilities, unavoidably suppressing the infinite number of other possibilities that are not explicitly verbalized.

⁴⁹ Delavaud-Roux lists possible instances of female solo dance in the three major Athenian playwrights (2004: 159, 163, 168-169).

⁵⁰ Some scholars suggest that mute female characters in Old Comedy were played by female prostitutes, a suggestion that others have vigorously rejected (for discussion and further bibliography, see Zweig 1992). If prostitutes did perform in this way, then their silence is surely significant – actual women would then have appeared on stage only as moving bodies, never as expressive voices, a state of affairs that neatly maps the split between embodied and vocal expression that I have been tracing throughout this project onto gender (as well as class) categories.

characterization.⁵¹ Given the abundance and quality of this work, I will not here conduct additional close readings of the relevant passages. Rather, I want to call attention to a few specific features of Helen's representation, and consider their relevance for our understanding of singular maiden dancers in the ancient Greek cultural imagination more generally.

To be sure, while Helen clearly sings solo, it is difficult to determine the extent to which her engagement with the chorus would have also included dance. But assuming that her performance involved at least some meaningful movement and gesture, it is perhaps permissible to consider her as an individual female dancer, if only in a broad and largely conceptual sense. Laura Swift and Naomi Weiss note the parthenaic quality of Helen's imagined choral leadership in the play's *parodos*.⁵² Helen, then, begins the play as a *parthenos-chorēgos*, the outstanding leader of maiden *choreia*. Yet Helen is, of course, already a married woman. Her status as this particular type of singular female leader is thus problematic from the very beginning. As the play progresses, Helen is figured in relation to diverse modes of choral song and dance, further complicating her actual status.⁵³

The play's initial presentation of Helen as *parthenos-chorēgos* affirms the importance of this model for individualized female performance. It is appropriate to the plot insofar as Helen's choral action helps to figure her reunion with Menelaus and return to Sparta as a reenactment of her original marriage. But the very need for reenactment underscores Helen's fundamentally double nature, which is central to Euripides' representation of her in this play. She is thus an ideal model for the instability of outstanding female performance. At first glance, she looks like a *parthenos-chorēgos*, the positive and appropriate image of solo female dancing. Upon further examination and exposition, she is so much more – a married woman, a mourning mother, a leader of choral ritual in a more generalized and mythic sense.⁵⁴ Helen exceeds the role of parthenaic choral leader.

At the same time, Helen's performance identity remains emphatically *choral*. Euripides' play thus contains a famously unruly and mobile woman within a specific narrative and performative framework. By highlighting Helen's choral connections at every turn, Euripides sutures her to specific groups and communities, preventing her from engaging in truly disruptive or dangerous movement. Helene Foley has described the conclusion of Euripides' *Helen* as accomplishing a "recommodification" of Helen-as-wife (Foley 2002: 331), remarking that:

Helen [...] becomes both bride and prize abducted from Egypt by her once more heroic husband. [She] voluntarily becomes the full and genuinely virtuous possession of her spouse; indeed, [she] would have preferred from the start the domestic obscurity and the traditional wifely role that [she] finally [obtains]. (Foley 2002: 330).⁵⁵

⁵¹ Padel 1974: 237-240 considers the significance of the connections between Helen and choral dance in the play's fourth stasimon (1451-1511). More recently, see Swift 2010: 218-238, Murnaghan 2013, and Weiss 2014: 88-133. Rehm 1993: 121-127 does not discuss Helen specifically in her role as a musical performer, but his analysis of her thoroughgoing likeness to Persephone in this play establishes the important *parthenos* model from a different angle.

⁵² Swift 2010: 218-238 and Weiss 2014: 91-102.

⁵³ Weiss 2014: 102-133.

⁵⁴ For readings that highlight these varied roles, see the bibliography in n. 51 above.

⁵⁵ Foley here compares Helen and Alcestis, I have modified the quote simply to highlight her reading of Helen (as I am not addressing Euripides' *Alcestis*).

The persistent representation of Helen on stage as *chorēgos*, rather than disconnected soloist, contributes to the process identified by Foley. Euripides presents his audience with a tame Helen, whose doubleness and movement are evoked but ultimately contained, in part, by her participation in specific modes of *choreia*. Helen, in this play and elsewhere, is thus an important model for the instability and latent mobility of the maiden performer, as well as an example of the ways in which such a figure can be limited and “commodified” by the social implications of her role as chorus leader.

The verbal description and probable staging of Io in [Aeschylus’] *Prometheus Bound* (561-608) offers a different twist on the *parthenos-chorēgos* model.⁵⁶ Several scholars have suggested that Io’s monody (*Prometheus Bound* 561-587, 593-608) may have been accompanied by solo dance.⁵⁷ While we can never know with absolute certainty how the play was originally staged, the language and meter of the passage imply frenzied motion and gesture, if not fully choreographed dancing. Io here is in dialogue with Prometheus, and she seems to enter immediately after the play’s third choral ode. Thus, while Io’s maiden status is made clear (τᾶς βούκερω παρθένου, 588; κόρης, 589; τᾶ δυσπλάνω παρθένω, 608), she does not explicitly engage the chorus as a *chorēgos*.⁵⁸

Rather, Io represents a tragic perversion of the *parthenos-chorēgos*. As she subsequently explains to Prometheus, she was initially tormented by dreams informing her of Zeus’ desire:

αἰεὶ γὰρ ὄψεις ἔννοχοι πωλεύμεναι
 ἐς παρθενῶνας τοὺς ἐμοὺς παρηγόρου
 λειοῖσι μύθοις· ὦ μέγ’ εὐδαιμον κόρη,
 τί παρθενεὺει δαρὸν, ἐξόν σοι γάμου
 τυχεῖν μεγίστου; Ζεὺς γὰρ ἡμέρου βέλει
 πρὸς σοῦ τέθαλπται καὶ συναίρεσθαι Κύπριν
 θέλει· σὺ δ’, ὦ παῖ, μὴ ἴπολακτίσης λέχος
 τὸ Ζηγός, ἀλλ’ ἔξελθε πρὸς Λέρνης βαθὺν
 λειμῶνα, ποιίμνας βουστάσεις τε πρὸς πατρός,
 ὡς ἂν τὸ Δῖον ὄμμα λωφήσῃ πόθου.’

In my maiden chamber I was persistently visited by nocturnal visions which coaxed me in smooth words: “Most greatly blessed maiden, why do you remain a virgin so long, when you could have the greatest of unions? Zeus has been struck by a dart of desire coming from you, and wishes to partake of Cypris with you. Do not, my child, spurn the bed of Zeus, but go out to the deep meadow of Lerna, among the flocks and cow-byres of your father, so that Zeus’ eye may be assuaged of its desire.” (*Prometheus Bound* 645-654, trans. Sommerstein)

⁵⁶ Along with most recent scholars (e.g., West 1990b: 67-72 and Sommerstein 2010: 229-232), I follow Griffith 1977 in not attributing this play to Aeschylus. See Podlecki 2005: 195-200 for a recent defense of Aeschylean authorship, with further bibliography on both sides of the question. But for the purposes of my argument here, neither the author nor the date of the play are strictly relevant.

⁵⁷ Taplin 1977: 265-266, Griffith 1983: 190, Delavaud-Roux 1994: 159, and Sommerstein 2008: 198-199.

⁵⁸ Contrast Helen’s engagement with the chorus in the *parodos* of Euripides’ *Helen* (discussed immediately above, with bibliography) as well as Iphigenia’s relationship to the chorus in the *parodos* of Euripides’ *Iphigenia in Tauris*, as noted by Weiss 2014: 22 and n. 18.

As I have already discussed, the “maiden in the meadow” (or other outdoor setting) is a model of sexual maturity and appeal, a figure closely connected with (and often acting as) the outstanding leader of choral dance. Such girls are typically imagined as entering their wild haunts under the pretense of girlish play or domestic obligation. Their innocence and unaffected charm is part of their allure. Here, however, Io is explicitly ordered into the meadow (ἀλλ’ ἔξελθε πρὸς Λέρνης βαθὺν / λειμῶνα, 652-653) to satisfy the desires of Zeus (ὡς ἂν τὸ Δῖον ὄμμα λωφήσῃ πόθου, 655). The standard narrative of maiden-rape, whether from chorus or meadow, maintains a fiction of spontaneity and chance – the individual girl at dance and play just happens to become so pretty and appealing that she catches the eye of a man, whether mortal or divine. The image of Artemis as the archetypal *parthenos-chorēgos* shores up the fiction, as it suggests that the outstanding maiden dancer can somehow “choose” to remain a virgin. That choice, however, is actually a divine privilege.⁵⁹ For Io, to acquiesce to the dream and enter the meadow to explicitly and unavoidably surrender her virginity. [Aeschylus’] description of Io’s dream thus exposes the inevitability of the individual maiden’s sexual initiation.

If Io had entered the “deep meadow of Lerna” (Λέρνης βαθὺν / λειμῶνα, 652-653), played and perhaps danced, then been taken by Zeus, she would have thus conformed to a standard narrative of maiden rape, possibly even one that included the common element of solo or outstanding dance. But this is not what happens. Instead, Io informs her father of her dreams. He consults a series of oracles, ultimately and unwillingly barring his daughter from his house. Io explains that:

εὐθὺς δὲ μορφή καὶ φρένες διάστροφοὶ
ἦσαν, κεραστὶς δ’, ὡς ὄρᾳτ’, ὄξυστόμῳ
νύωπι χρισθεῖσ’ ἐμμανεῖ σκιρτήματι
ἦσσαν πρὸς εὐποτόν τε Κερχναίας ῥέος
Λέρνης τε κρήνην [...]

Immediately my body and mind were twisted. I grew horns, as you now see, I was pricked by the sharp sting of a gadfly, and with maddened leaps I rushed off to the stream of Cerchnea, good to drink from, and the spring of Lerna (*Prometheus Bound* 673-677, trans. Sommerstein).

Io’s transformation includes an unceasing goad to motion: “touched by the gadfly” she moves with “mad leaping.” As a result of Hera’s anger, her movement became erratic and far-ranging, rather than choreographed and limited to the space of the chorus.⁶⁰ Io’s wanderings continue to bring her to the wild and liminal haunts of the maiden (“the sandy seashore,” τὰν παραλίαν

⁵⁹ And, as Persephone’s abduction in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* demonstrates, a divine privilege peculiar to Artemis (and, with slightly different conditions, a few others – e.g., Hestia and Athena).

⁶⁰ The daughters of Proteus suffer a similar fate at the hands of angry Hera, as recounted by Bacchylides (11.43-109). Their mad wanderings, however, remain collective (τρισκαίδεκα μὲν τελέους / μῆνας κατὰ δάσκιον ἡλύκταζον ὕλαν / φεῦγόν τε κατ’ Ἀρκαδίαν / μηλοτρόφον, 11.92-95), and are bought to end when their father appeals to Artemis (11.95-109). Hera herself is ultimately appeased by the establishment of sacrifices and female choruses in her honor (ταὶ δ’ αὐτίκα φοὶ τέμενος βωμόν τε τεύχον, / χραῖνόν τέ μιν αἵματι μῆλων / καὶ χοροῦς ἴσταν γυναικῶν, 110-112). While Bacchylides does not explicitly say that the daughters of Proteus themselves participate in these choruses, the contrast between aimless wandering and choral organization is nonetheless striking, and suggests that the poet is offering such structured, communal performance as a way of healing the devastation wrought by the wandering curse – again, such valorization of *choreia* is unsurprising in a choral song.

ψάμμαν, 578; “the stream of Cerchne, good to drink from, and the spring of Lerna,” εὔποτόν τε Κερχνείας ῥέος Λέρνης τε κρήνην, 678-679). But instead of pausing to dance and play with her companions, like Nausicaa or Artemis, she tormented and driven onwards, alone, by the gadfly. Her movement, which she repeatedly describes as “wandering” (τη- / λέπλαγκτοι πλάναι, 576-577; πολύπλανοι πλάναι, 585; δυσπλάνω, 608) is thus a perversion of the more typically playful and pleasing dancing action of the maiden.

Io is also a *parthenos* without a chorus. While the Oceanides might seem like an ideal group of young women to act as Io’s choral followers, the play maintains a sharp distinction between Io and the nymphs. Io begins her monody following the performance of the chorus, addressing herself explicitly to Prometheus (e.g., ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ, 578). She does not attempt to engage the chorus as a leader or choreographer. Likewise, when the Oceanides eventually interject, they express a desire to hear Io “telling the story of her fate, which is laden with destruction” (αὐτῆς λεγούσης τὰς πολυφθόρους τύχας, 633). They thus cast themselves as Io’s audience, a role reinforced by their claim, following Io’s narrative, to have “seen Io’s affair” (εἰσιδοῦσα πρᾶξιν Ἰοῦς, 695). The Oceanides watch Io move and listen to her speak, not as fellow maiden-performers but as a sympathetic audience that “looks on” (εἰσιδοῦσα, 695) as she suffers. By contrast, they twice address Prometheus as a teacher (“let her learn from you,” σοῦ διδαχθήτω πάρα, 634; “speak, teach [sc: Io], λέγ’, ἐκδίδασκε, 698), positioning Io as subordinate to his instruction, rather than a figure of leadership in her own right.

If we imagine Io twisting, leaping, and gesticulating as she performs her monody, then she becomes a solo dancer emphatically separated, by language and perhaps also staging and choreography, from the action of the choral group. Her isolation and pain expose the sinister undertones of outstanding maiden dancing. In ideal terms, the *parthenos-chorēgos* enjoys her playful dance amid her companions, then departs from the chorus, peacefully, for marriage. This idealized narrative naturalizes the process of sexual maturation and initiation, incorporating individualized dancing within a process of socialization and life-cycle transition. For Io, however, the process goes terribly awry, as she is implicated in the conflicts of the gods and suffers torment and deprivation. As a result, she becomes a single maiden dancer without the framework of a chorus, moving in ways that signify pain and struggle rather than highlighting her physical beauty and sexual appeal.⁶¹ The possible solo dance – and certainly individualized action – of Io in *Prometheus Bound* thus makes explicit the vulnerability of the *parthenos*, particular when she moves actively through the natural world. Ps-Aeschylus stages a frightening alternative to prescribed and pleasant *partheneia*, presenting a *parthenos* who is instead driven across wide swathes of earth and moves erratically in response to painful goading.

⁶¹ Based on metrical and contextual information, Taplin describes Io’s likely choreography as “wild” and “rushing” (1977: 266). Alternatively, given that we cannot know securely how ps-Aeschylus choreographed and staged the original performance of the play, we could imagine – in extreme contrast to my primary reading here – that Io stands utterly still as she performs. In that case, the audience might perceive a different, but ultimately comparable in effect, contrast between the actual dancing of the chorus and the stillness of Io. The effect would be similar insofar as Io would still be rendered a *parthenos-not-chorēgos* – a girl of the sort who ought to dance pleasantly as a leader amid companions, but instead stands still before an actual choral group of maidens, having wandered far from home and her expected social role. As my analysis indicates, I am more inclined to believe that Io’s performance did include dance, and thus to concur with Taplin’s observation that: “while Io’s plight takes the form of a far-ranging never-resting journey, which is captured in miniature by her dance in the theatre, Prometheus’ punishment takes contrary form of total immobility, and forms the visual background of Io’s motion. ... We see in vivid terms the variety and macabre ingenuity of Zeus’ cruelty” (1977: 267).

Heraclitus, who has preserved these lines for us, claims that Anacreon is here “abusing the meretricious spirit and arrogance of a haughty woman” (ἑταιρικὸν φρόνημα καὶ σοβαρᾶς γυναικὸς ὑπερηφανίαν ὀνειδίζων). Heraclitus’ diction aligns the woman with prostitution (“meretricious,” ἑταιρικὸν), and Kurke has highlighted two further internal reasons to understand the addressee as a courtesan: her foreign origin (“Thracian,” Θρηκική, 1) and the implication of sexual freedom in the image of the unbridled horse.⁶³ Others have rejected this reading and proposed an understanding of the addressee as a free, even noble, girl.⁶⁴ In a footnote, however, Kurke remarks that “Claude Calame suggests to [her] that the language of Anacreon’s poem is, in fact, deliberately ambiguous: a large part of its wit (and seductiveness) inhere in the rhetorical technique of praising a *hetaira* by assimilating her to a virgin. Thus, much of the poem’s diction would be equally appropriate to a virgin girl as yet ‘unyoked’” (1997: 114 n. 20). Calame’s reading accounts for the language and imagery of the poem and preserves Kurke’s subtle analysis of the poem’s ability to “[conjure] up the privileged space of the symposium, where the speaker (whose self-presentation as a skillful ‘rider’ marks him as an aristocrat) banter cheerfully with a female symposiast” (1997: 114).

Reading this poem as deliberately playing with the subject of its addressee’s social and sexual status also makes sense within its context of sympotic performance and re-performance. Regardless of the original singer-composer’s intentions, audience members and subsequent performers would have laid their own claims to the song, imagining any number of possible female (or even male) objects in the position of the addressee. As a sympotic artifact, the song is valuable in part because of its ambiguity: it allows each new performer to re-cast himself in the role of the masterful, if frustrated, rider, calibrating his address via gesture, glance, or contextual remarks to an addressee within or beyond the *andrōn*. The poem can thus be read *both* as “cheerful banter” between male and female symposiasts (Kurke 1997: 114) *and* as male singer’s imagined and wishful intrusion upon a liminal moment of female sexual awakening.⁶⁵ Intonation and gesture, elements of live performance now lost to us, could help clarify the implications of the words within a specific context, and the ambiguity and polyvalence of the imagery thus becomes a crucial element of Anacreon 417 when read as performed and re-performed song. Moreover, the ambiguity centers on two discrete possibilities, identified by Calame as *hetaira* and virgin girl.

One possible addressee, aligned with an expanded understanding of the former category (*hetaira*), would be a dancing girl – an entertainer-prostitute present alongside the singer at the symposium. Elements of the song’s diction and imagery anticipate this specific possibility. The “Thracian filly” is characterized, above all, by her distinctive gestures and movements: she “glances from the corner of her eye” (λοξὸν ὄμμασι βλέπουσα, 2), “flees stubbornly” (νηλέως φεύγεις, 3), “grazes in meadows” (λειμῶνάς τε βόσκειαι, 9) and “frisks lightly” (κουφά τε σκιρτῶσα, 10). The speaker then describes her “playing” (παίζεις, 10), employing a highly suggestive verb.

As I noted above, *paizō*, which most simply refers to child’s play, is a term used throughout Greek literature for dance, and it is specifically the verb of choice for the playful motion of maidens. We might return, for example, to the seaside scene of *Odyssey* 6, wherein Nausicaa “plays” with her friends (ἔπαιζον, 100) and “leads [them] in song-and-dance” (ἤρχετο μολπῆς, 101). Rosenmeyer connects the imagery of *Odyssey* 6 with Anacreon 417 *PMG*,

⁶³ Kurke 1997: 113-114. On horses and sexual availability, see also Gentili 1958: 186-187.

⁶⁴ See, e.g., Hutchinson 2001: 280 and Kennedy 2014: 70-71.

⁶⁵ Rosenmeyer 2004: 172-177 in explicit contrast to Kurke 1997.

although she focuses less on the implication of dancing in the verb *paizō* and more on its erotic connotations (2004: 168-177). Here, I mostly concur with her analysis and suggest that it may be enriched by further consideration of the maiden and prostitute as models of individualized female dance.⁶⁶

Rosenmeyer specifically uses the setting of *Odyssey* 6, supplemented by other examples, to reinforce a reading of Anacreon's meadows, here and elsewhere, as sites of "awakening sexual awareness" (2004: 176). She argues that the girl in the meadow symbolizes a transitional moment in female erotic development, wherein the maiden is "ripe" for sexual initiation, but not yet actively engaged in sex.⁶⁷ In addition to 417 *PMG*, she considers the language and imagery of Anacreon 346 *PMG*, which chronicles the movement of "much-trafficked Herotime" (λεωφόρ' Ἡρο[τ]ίμη, 346.13) from her mother's home, to the hyacinth-meadows of Aphrodite, to the streets to the city. With others, Rosenmeyer highlights how the song maps out various points in the sexual maturation of the addressee, concluding with the degrading epithet "much-trafficked," signifying her final position as *pornē*.⁶⁸ She concludes that Anacreon's songs addressed to maidens in meadows constitute "[strong statements] by a male observer of sudden and precipitous decline: very little separates the young virgin from a life of common prostitution once she begins to 'graze' with the horses of Aphrodite and exposes herself to the gaze of men" (2004: 176-177).

The image of the horse, while not treated at length by Rosenmeyer, supports this point. On one hand, Rosenmeyer highlights an important set of ways in which the imagery of Anacreon 417 *PMG* evokes the girl playing – I would say dancing – in the wild. Moreover, while there are no other girls or horses mentioned in the surviving lines of the song, the language hints at the aesthetics of maidenly *choreia*, describing the filly's playful motion as "light" (κοῦφα, 10).⁶⁹ Mark Griffith, however, notes the sexual voracity of horses in Greek thought and suggests that, if the addressee of this poem is understood as a courtesan, "then the 'filly's' prancing and playing could possibly be taken as a case of intense female sexual fever."⁷⁰ In fact, the somatic habits of

⁶⁶ As I mention above, I do not follow Rosenmeyer's suggestion that to reject a reading of the meadow as a "place of promiscuity" (2004: 172) necessarily precludes a reading of the song as an aristocrat's banter with a female symposiast (2004: 173, referencing Kurke 1997: 114). I think we can have it both ways: as Calame (via Kurke 1997: 114 n. 20) suggests, a male singer could conceivably address the song to a sexually-experienced courtesan in a strategic, and perhaps flattering (if also controlling), effort to recast her as the virginal maiden, poised in a highly-eroticized liminal state.

⁶⁷ Rosenmeyer is broadly in agreement with a variety of other scholars who emphasize the erotic overtones of maiden play in outdoor spaces (e.g., Gentili 1958: 182-190, Henderson 1976: 163-164, Stehle 1977: 94 and Calame 1999: 156 and 165). But she makes the more specific argument that "the meadow itself ... is best viewed as a liminal spot of potential erotic transgression, not a site of promiscuity" (2004: 176), in explicit contrast with Gentili. Her conception of sexual "ripeness" draws upon Carson 1990: 145-148.

⁶⁸ The implications of common prostitution in the adjective *leophoros* are established by Kurke 1999: 192-193. For variations on this basic reading of the song, cf. also Serrao 1968: 36-51 and Cavallini 1990: 213-215. Rosenmeyer, however, again stresses her departure from Gentili (1958: 182-190) and Kurke (1999: 193) in reading the "hyacinth meadows of Kypris" (τὰς ὑακιν[θίνας ἀρ]οῦρας / ἴ]να Κύπρις ἐκ λεπάδων /] [.α[ς κ]ατέδησεν ἴππους, 7-9), not as sites of sexual promiscuity and availability, but as liminal spaces of impending sexual initiation (2004: 175). While I would again stress the possibility of deliberate ambiguity in language clarified, in context, by deliberate gesture, intonation, or glance on the part of the performer, I find Rosenmeyer's arguments in favor of associating meadows with sexually-ripe virginity convincing (*contra* Gentili 1958: 187 who understands the equine and natural imagery in Anacreon *PMG* 346.7-9 as representing women who have already abandoned themselves to sensuality).

⁶⁹ On lightness and ease as a marker of choral dance in general, see Chapter 2.1a For the use of *kouphos* in this sense, see Bierl 2011: 430 n. 51.

⁷⁰ Griffith 2006b: 326 n. 59, for the larger point on the sexual appetites of horses, see 326-327.

horses are elsewhere aligned, implicitly or explicitly, with courtesans. Semonides, for example, does not directly call his “horse-woman” a whore, but he characterizes her as the kind of high-maintenance beauty best kept by a wealthy man, a description that carries a whiff of prostitution comparable to the modern epithet “trophy-wife.”⁷¹ Gentili, in his analysis of equine imagery in Anacreon, identifies multiple parallels for the female horse as an image of sexual freedom.⁷² And while courtesans’ names are often derived from the names of animals, McClure contends that the preponderance of horse-themed names “[alludes] to equestrian metaphors for sex” (2003: 72). Equids, to be sure, signify many things in Greek literature and culture.⁷³ But these examples suggest that describing a girl as a horse, especially in an erotic context, can carry some connotation of sexual availability, commodification, and prostitution.

Rosenmeyer proposes a subtle and highly significant understanding of the maiden at play – with “play” (*paizō*) often, as I have stressed, meaning specifically “dance” – in a meadow. Such singular *parthenoi* are typically understood as about to depart from their companions and *choroi* for marriage, yet Anacreon’s songs suggest that their sexual maturation can also come as a transformation into prostitutes. To be an outstanding dancer and performer is thus a precarious position for a girl in Greek literature and culture. At its best, it is a position that signifies social status and offers a path towards the coveted rite of marriage.⁷⁴ But women who dance solo are also called *orchēstrides*, part of a varied and internally-hierarchical network of female prostitutes and performers. The maiden who dances in the meadow is not yet a wedded wife, and may ultimately continue her dancing in the role of prostitute instead.

Returning to Alcman 417 *PMG* and its possible addressees, I want to reflect further on its ramifications as an address not just to a courtesan, but to an *orchēstris* specifically.⁷⁵ As I have demonstrated above, the image of the Thracian filly can evoke playful, virginal *choreia*. Accordingly, Calame observes (in Kurke 1997: 114 n. 20) that the song might thus be read as praise of the prostitute, flattering her by likening her to the archetypal beauty and allure of the maiden-*chorēgos*. This is, however, a back-handed compliment. If Anacreon’s speaker means to praise a courtesan, he does so by implying that she is not like the sexually-experienced dancer-for-hire she may, in fact, be, but rather an idealized image of the virginal dancing girl. The song effectively says “I like you, you’re not like ‘one of them’” – “them” in this case meaning other sympotic entertainers and prostitutes, with whom such an addressee may, in fact, have closely identified. Moreover, regardless of the specifically-intended addressee of any given performance of the song, the performing women present at its singing would have heard this message loud and clear. Playful maidens are attractive and alluring, sexually-experienced erotic performers are, by implied contrast, less appealing, and should be flattered by comparison to their maidenly counterparts. Reading this song as praise or flattery of a prostitute requires that we acquiesce to its strategies of control over female bodies and their value as determined by sexual and social status.

⁷¹ Semonides 7.57-70.

⁷² Gentili 1958: 186-187. These parallels remain compelling even if we accept Rosenmeyer’s critique of Gentili’s reading of Anacreon fr. 346 *PMG* specifically.

⁷³ See Griffith 2006a and 2006b.

⁷⁴ On the desirability of marriage, cf. *Odyssey* 6.

⁷⁵ As I mention above, I do not mean to suggest this is the only possible reading of the poem, but rather a specific way of understanding the language and imagery that could have been further emphasized in live performance. Likewise, I do not mean to imply here a strong contrast between courtesan and *orchēstris*, for it seems possible that the former could also have been, at various times, a dancer (see McClure 2003: 21).

Anacreon 417 *PMG* thus constitutes an elaborate and effective fantasy of male control over the expression of female sexual and social identity. If addressed directly or indirectly to an *orchēstris*, it devalues her own expressive choices and life experiences by recasting her as a more-desirable virgin. But the reverse is also true. If we read the Thracian filly instead as a maiden-addressee, figured in the mold of Artemis or Nausicaa, then, as Rosenmeyer suggests, the song serves to threaten her with the possibility of sexual initiation as a prostitute, rather than as a wife. The speaker’s desire for the girl is explicitly a desire for sexual mastery:

ἴσθι τοι, καλῶς μὲν ἄν τοι
 τὸν χαλινὸν ἐμβάλοιμι,
 ἠγίας δ’ ἔχων στρέφοιμί
 σ’ ἀμφὶ τέρματα δρόμου·

Let me tell you, I could neatly put the bridle on you and with the reins in my hand wheel you round the turnpost of the race-course; (Anacreon 417 *PMG*, trans. Campbell)

He describes vividly how he would take control of the girl’s body and use it for his own pleasure. In a sense, his narration itself serves to transform the maiden into a dancing prostitute: a body conjured up and put into motion for the imaginative pleasure of the singer and vicarious titillation of the audience.

In her discussion of this song, Rosenmeyer asks “to use a cliché, is this young girl a virgin or a whore?” (2004: 173). Rosenmeyer tends towards the former reading, but I argue that the collapse of those two categories is precisely the point. The girl who is cast as the Thracian filly, whether present *orchēstris*, absent maiden, or someone else entirely, loses her corporeal and sexual agency in the process of being constructed and described by the singer. Within the song, of course, the girl does not speak or self-identify at all. But somatic description functions as an even more insidious and far-ranging strategy of discursive control. By allowing the image of the dancing girl to signify either *parthenos* or prostitute, depending upon the framing and description of the poet and performer, Anacreon robs actual dancing girls of the ability to frame and define the significance of their own bodies in motion.

The significance of this literary strategy becomes clearer if we return to the discussion of kinesthetic and corporeal agency with which I began this chapter. If Noland and Sklar are correct that women in more modern contexts can feel their bodies and select their gestures in ways that might resist or exceed the acculturating force of verbal discourse, we might extend the same possibility of embodied agency to ancient performers.⁷⁶ I posit that individual female dancers, whether choreuts, *chorēgoi*, or *orchēstrides*, must have experienced their own movement and gesture in meaningful and complex ways. They surely did not always intend for their somatic positions and sexual actions to inscribe them within the boundaries of *parthenos* and prostitute established by the male-authored literary discourse of female corporeality traced at

⁷⁶ Cf. Winkler, in an analysis of Sappho that will be discussed further below: “if we were in a position to know more of the actual texture of ancient women’s lives and not merely the maxims and rules uttered by men, we could fairly expect to find that many women abided by these social rules or were forced to, and that they sometimes enforced obedience on other women; but, since all social codes can be manipulated and subverted as well as obeyed, we would also expect to find that many women had effective strategies of resistance and false compliance by which they attained a working degree of freedom for their lives” (1990: 163).

length here. Likewise, their own kinesthetic experience cannot always have conformed with the constraints placed upon their physicality and positioning by male description. Yet a song like Anacreon 417 *PMG*, particularly when performed in a sympotic context, forestalls the perception – and perhaps even experience – of such female corporeal and expressive agency.

Following Davidson, I would like to entertain the possibility that the sympotic dancing girl may have sometimes been a choreographer of her own movement.⁷⁷ We might imagine this creative female figure dancing in an *andrōn*, either before or after the performance of a song like Anacreon 417 *PMG*: one which features a male speaker evoking and emphasizing the characteristic gestures, habits, and haunts of maidens and prostitutes alike, thereby displaying his ability to use language to force both somatic positions and social roles upon female figures. The men who hear such a song acquire a lens with which to view female performance, both within and beyond the *andrōn*. They learn how to use body and position to categorize women and their degree of sexual availability – with a framework developed by male poets, not women performers themselves. The incidental female audiences of these songs, most probably prostitutes and performers themselves, learn that their own ability to use position and gesture to convey meaning and send messages is constrained by the terms and labels developed and reinforced by men.

This argument would be stronger if we had any more explicit descriptions of *orchēstrides* in surviving sympotic song. Nevertheless, I believe the strategies of discursive control evident in Anacreon 417 *PMG* can be detected elsewhere in sympotic song, although never any more obviously applied to dance or dancers.⁷⁸ But I suggest that such strategies are especially meaningful in the context of individualized female dance performance within the symposium, for the *orchēstris* was a woman who danced alone, submitting her body to the gaze of men without coordinating her movement with the language of men. In the gap between those two modes of submission lies an opportunity, however small, for personal agency. In Anacreon 417 *PMG*, that gap may open up at lines 9-10, wherein the speaker says “instead, you graze in the meadows and frisk and frolic lightly” (νῦν δὲ λειμῶνάς τε βόσκειαι / κοῦφά τε σκιρτῶσα παίζεις, 9-10) – before ending the song with a strong return to the speaker/rider’s authority (δεξιὸν γὰρ ἵπποπειρήν / οὐκ ἔχεις ἐπεμβάτην, 11-12), the speaker describes the girl with active, second-person verbs (βόσκειαι, παίζεις), a momentary acknowledgement of her own agency and will. Male sympotic song, by ascribing meaning to female motion and position, attempts to close that gap and bring the performing bodies of individual women back under the control of the male voice. These observations, unavoidably sketchy in their application to the limited remains of sympotic song, will hopefully be strengthened by my consideration of similar patterns in Aristophanes.

b. Staging the Orchēstris: Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazusae 1175-1200

Sympotic dancing girls appear several times in Old Comedy, although Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazusae* offers the only extended verbal description of such a figure.⁷⁹ In the

⁷⁷ Davidson 2006: 41-42. And even if *orchēstrides* did, in fact, exclusively perform dances designed by others, I invoke again Noland’s model of kinesthetic and embodied agency to suggest that an individual *orchēstris* would have had opportunities for subtle but meaningful acts of creative agency, even within the performance of established and codified steps.

⁷⁸ Cf., e.g. the vivid corporeality of the female figures described in Archilochus’ Cologne Epode (196A West) and Semonides 7 West.

⁷⁹ Other references to dancing girls in Old Comedy include Crates fr. 34 PCG, Metagenes (/Aristagoras) 4 PCG, and Aristophanes *Frogs* 519 and 545, *Acharnians* 1093, and *Clouds* 996.

relevant scene, Euripides employs a dancing girl to distract a Scythian archer guarding Mnesilochus, a male intruder at the women's festival. Euripides, disguised as an elderly madam, explains that the girl is practicing dances to be subsequently performed at a symposium (ἡ παῖς ἔμελλε προμελετᾶν, ὃ τοξότα. / ὀρχησομένη γὰρ ἔρχεθ' ὡς ἄνδρας τινάς, *Thesmophoriazusae* 1177-1178). The choreographic and appreciative commentary provided by Euripides and the Scythian call attention to a few key features of the dance. On the one hand, its "lightness" (ἐλαπρός, 1180) recalls the rapid and easy motion frequently ascribed to choral dance. But the girl also spends much of her performance seated upon the Scythian's lap (καθιζομένη δ' ἐπὶ τοῦσι γόνασι τοῦ Σκύθου, 1182), bending the line of her body sharply and creating a tactile link with the male spectator. Neither of these elements correspond with the ideal descriptions of maiden dance discussed in the second section of this chapter. For example, descriptions of performing *parthenoi* tend to spotlight the face and the feet, thereby fixing the two endpoints of the body's vertical line. Here, however, the speaking male characters crudely praise the girl's buttocks (καλό γε τὸ πυγῆ, 1187) and genitalia (καλὴ τὸ σκῆμα περὶ τὸ πόστιον, 1188), focusing attention on the center of the body while also reinforcing the explicitly sexual nature of the dance. We cannot know how well the male commentary preserved as part of the dramatic text actually corresponded with the dance originally performed on stage. This is precisely the point. The descriptions and comments issued by Euripides and the Scythian fix one particular view of the dance – in this case, a sexually-aroused male gaze. The girl's kinetic contribution to the performance is framed and filtered by the verbal description.

In addition, Aristophanes' focus on the girl's pelvis and seated position suggests something about the types of movement more generally associated with *orchēstrides*, as well as prostitutes and sympotic women more generally. Laura McClure surveys the ancient evidence for courtesans and sympotic women and makes a number of important observations about the movements of *hetairai*. She notes that "as foreigners and exotics, courtesans performed Ionic dances, 'notorious for their softness and lasciviousness,' and various figures involving the gyration of the pelvis" (McClure 2003: 121, quoting Lawler 1964: 133). Here, she builds upon and refines the observations of Lillian Lawler, who observes that "the steps and figures in which courtesans engage, as portrayed in Greek art and literature, look very much like those associated with comedy. The dancers leap and kick, they slap their own bodies, they whirl and turn dizzily" (1964: 133). For example, while Lawler briefly highlights the emphasis on hips and buttocks in descriptions of dancing courtesans (1964: 133-134), McClure traces the allure of female hip-shaking from Hesiod onwards (2003: 122-123). McClure's analysis as a whole stresses the gyrating, twisting, and thrusting actions of the dancing girl's performance. While McClure and Lawler employ primarily post-Classical sources, Aristophanes' attention to specific elements of the girl's anatomy and positioning in *Thesmophoriazusae* suggests that sympotic female dancing was similarly imagined in earlier periods.

Another way of conceiving the characteristic motion of women at the symposium is as a kind of hip-swaying walk, a posture and movement conveyed by the phrase *saula bainēin*. McClure explains that "to walk in a *saula* fashion is to walk with a hip-swaying swagger: only hetaeras and dissolute men move in this manner" (2003: 120). In an unpublished undergraduate thesis, Justin Boner further explores the significance of the phrase as a marker of the "swaggering and promiscuous gait" of the courtesan in archaic and classical sources.⁸⁰ Taken

⁸⁰ Boner 2009. Our understanding of this phrase owes a great deal to Clement of Alexandria's 2nd or 3rd century CE explanation of Anacreon fr. 458 *PMG*, which is cited by both McClure and Boner (for further discussion of this fragment and the distinctions between Clement's moralizing interpretation and the likely resonance of the phrase in

together with the more extensive depictions of dancing girls in later sources, the somatic action suggested by the phrase *saula bainein* contributes to a sense of the prostitute's characteristic motion as one which knocks the body out of straight vertical alignment, thrusting and swaying from the pelvis. We might contrast this attention to the center of the *orchēstris*' or *hetaira*'s body with the focus on the extremities (head, hands, and feet) of maiden dancers. As noted before, female dancers are generally conceived as sexually appealing. Focusing the attention, in literary description, upon a single female dancer raises the question of her availability – the terms upon which the spectator can act upon the performer's sexual allure. The *parthenos* and the prostitute share in that general sense of sexual appeal while remaining differentiated in terms of access and, apparently, the elements of their choreography.

But acknowledging that we have no direct access to the realities of ancient dance, I want to question whether this apparent difference in kinetic and corporeal style may, in fact, be an ideological and discursive distinction rather than (or in addition to) an actual choreographic one. In making this claim, I believe that a pair of examples from archaic art are illuminating. A late 6th century kylix features a single *orchēstris*, who is suggestively attired and twists around to face a male *aulos*-player (fig. 12). Her physical position is, in fact, very similar to that of the central dancer on the mid-5th century krater mentioned above (fig. 8): both women stand upright, feet apart, with torso and head twisted backward. The female choreut, however, wears a loosely draped garment that serves to conceal the actual twist of her midline and helps maintain an overall sense of coherence along the vertical plane. Likewise, the choreut's arms extend down and slightly away from the body, echoing the lines of her body. The *orchēstris*, by contrast, bends her arms sharply and away from her body, with one hand lifted above her head and the other pointed toward towards her waist. The choreut's clothing and use of her arms thus reinforce the image's overarching sense of symmetry and alignment, while the *orchēstris*' near-nudity and active limbs contribute to an entirely different understanding of the same basic somatic position. In the latter image, we can see clearly how the twist is centered at the dancer's waist and completed by the extension of the limbs in four different directions, allowing for the full-frontal display of the dancer's breasts. The effect is one of active, dynamic, and explicitly sexualized movement, in contrast to the placid and decorous quality of the choral figure.

The objects themselves (krater and kylix) further reinforce this distinction. The decorative framing of the krater featuring the choral dance (fig. 8) fixes the vertical image: the dancers' height is precisely matched to the space, such that their bodies provide a vertical link between the upper and lower borders of the cup's exterior. The upright position of the dancers' bodies thus becomes a crucial element of the image's geometric coherence. While a simple ground-line in fig. 12 serves to established the "correct" orientation of the image, a kylix can still be turned about freely in the hands of the drinker and viewer, and the placement of the image in the tondo of the cup allows, even forces, the bodies of the two figures to be twisted and turned, concealed and revealed, in the process of drinking.⁸¹

Yet, were clothing, framing and context to be stripped away, these women would be somatically similar. The same basic female form in motion – framed, defined, and contextualized differently – can thus be a *parthenos* or an *orchēstris*. These visual depictions reflect the ways in which corporeal positions and motions can become over-determined. In the *Thesmophoriazusae*, Aristophanes does not let the girl's dancing "speak" for itself. Although

the archaic period, see Kurke 1997: 115). Boner, however, identifies an important and illuminating pair of additional parallels: Semonides fr. 18 and the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 25.

⁸¹ On the objectification of female bodies on sympotic vessels, see Coccagna 2011 and Kurke 1999: 209-211.

she is already identified as a dancer hired for the symposium (ὀρχησομένη γὰρ ἔρχεθ' ὡς ἄνδρας τινάς, 1178), the lines assigned to the speaking male characters ensure that the audience pays attention to the elements of her anatomy and components of her dance that mark her as an *orchēstris*, not some sort of maidenly soloist. Were she described as standing out in height, or moving lightly with her feet, the effect would be quite different, and perhaps quite dissonant. Assigning distinct patterns of movement and corporeality to the *parthenos* and the *orchēstris* respectively enables poets to use language all the more effectively to mark and identify female dancers. We should, therefore, be cautious in assuming that these descriptions reflect historical choreographic styles, and attentive to the ways in which they construct and constrain female sexuality and performative agency.

4. The Singular Female Dancer as Maenad: Homer and Euripides

Dionysiac ritual offered a dynamic and flexible sphere of performance for women throughout the archaic and classical periods, constituting a kind of *choreia* that admitted more spontaneity and individuality than, for example, more rigidly organized *partheneia*.⁸² Albert Henrichs demonstrates that such performances also included female soloists in the form of choral leaders – not only maiden *chorēgoi*, but married women as well (Henrichs 1984: 71). My aim here is not to argue anew for the existence of singular female dancers in this context, but rather to consider the implications of describing an individual woman as a performing maenad. To that end, I will begin with a discussion of Andromache's maenadic movement in *Iliad* 22, then proceed to an analysis of two passages from the later plays of Euripides. I will argue that describing a woman as an individual maenad or bacchant tends to mark her social instability and sexual vulnerability or availability, corresponding with the broader patterns associated with the representation of solo female dancing in Greek literature while simultaneously extending their range beyond the *parthenos* and *orchēstris*.

In *Iliad* 22, Andromache hears the cries of Hecuba and suspects – correctly – that Hector has been killed. She expresses her fears to her attendants, and then “having spoken thus, rushed from the house, like a maenad, / quivering in her heart, and at once her attendants went with her” (ὦς φαμένη μεγάροιο διέσσυτο μαινάδι ἴση / παλλομένη κραδίην· ἅμα δ' ἀμφίπολοι κίον αὐτῆ, *Iliad* 22.460-461). Segal suggests that it is likely, although not absolutely certain, that μαινάδι

⁸² For this characterization of Dionysiac dance in general, see Chapter 1.1. On female maenadic performance in both cultural imagination and historical reality, see Henrichs 1978, Zeitlin 1982, Frontisi-Ducroux 1986, Goff 2004: 214-16, 271-288, and Osborne 2010: 368-404. On the difference between historical practice and literary and artistic representation, see especially Valdés Guía, who demonstrates that, in the case of the Athenian Lenaia festival in particular: “women played a major part in these rites [i.e., Attic festivals of Dionysos], but in this festival [i.e., the Lenaia] – susceptible to historical circumstances, vicissitudes and transformations – it is the men who are more visible and, at least in the written sources, play the leading role in the festival in the civic context of the classical city” (Valdés Guía 2013: 100). She further suggests that “it is perhaps the iconography ... that allows us a privileged glimpse, although always ‘through a glass, darkly,’ of that female world associated with the god of wine in Attic festival” (Valdés Guía 2013: 116). Of particular relevance to this section, see also Porres Caballero, who notes the paucity of evidence for actual Dionysiac ritual performance by women and surveys some of what gets caught up in the description of women as maenads (specifically, as opposed to *bacchantes* or other terms), ultimately concluding that such representations offer primarily male, literary attitudes towards Dionysos and/or female expression, rather than historical “realities” (2013).

here should be taken as maenad, rather than simply madwoman (1971: 47-48). Sean Signore lends further support to an understanding of the term as possessing a performative dimension via his analysis of Andromache's characterization here in comparison with formulaic descriptions of female lamentation (2010). Finally, Andromache is initially figured as a singular woman in motion – she alone “rushes” (διέσσυτο) out, “quivering” (παλλομένη) in her heart. But the poet then clarifies: “and at once her attendants went with her” (ἅμα δ’ ἀμφίπολοι κίον αὐτῆ). Like a *chorēgos*, Andromache is an individual mover (even performer, μαινάδι) accompanied by a crowd of undifferentiated others.

But Andromache is a married woman, not a maiden, and her kinetic leadership presages a transition to widowhood rather than a movement towards marriage. She is likened to a maenad in a moment of crisis for her social and sexual identity. As Segal demonstrates, this scene places special emphasis on Andromache's position as *alochos*, “wife” (1971: 38-39). He thus describes how:

As ἄλοχος, [Andromache] sees [Hector's] death as the collapse of her own life, the destruction of her identity, her social position in a highly formalized society. Hence later in the same passage she tears off her wedding gifts (468-472) and subsequently laments her son's loss of status (496-501). The two gestures complement one another. Hector's death blights both wifedom and motherhood, both past joy and future hope. The opening ἄλοχος quietly defines that secure life which, in the gestures of 468-472 and the subsequent speech, virtually dissolves before our eyes. (Segal 1971: 38).

If, as Segal posits, there is a suggestion of Bacchic performance in Andromache's likeness to a maenad (μαινάδι, 460), the corporeal dimensions of her expression here become all the more significant.⁸³ The poet likens Andromache to a maenad as she employs motion and gesture (along with speech) to convey her deep grief and fear arising from the death of Hector. Her singular motion, likened that of a Bacchic dancer, corresponds with her loss of status and consequent vulnerability.

A similar set of associations develop over the course of two separate descriptions of Agave in Euripides' *Bacchae*. My analysis here will not provide a full account of the *Bacchae* and its potential relationships to historical instances of female ritual performance or the imaginative construction of them.⁸⁴ Rather, I am interested in finding the limits of *choreia* as defined by Euripides in the *Bacchae* and showing what happens when a maenad moves away from her chorus, as opposed to moving individually or manically within the group. The latter mode, wherein dance may be individualized, spontaneous, or otherwise disorganized, but still emphatically communal, fits within the expansive and flexible choral framework outlined in Chapter 1. It is also the primary way in which Euripides depicts dance in the *Bacchae*, a play wherein *choreia* remains central.⁸⁵

The messenger's first report to Pentheus identifies individual female leaders but stresses the choral nature of the group (“and I saw three groups of female choruses / Autonoe led the first, your mother Agave / led the second, and Ino led the third chorus, ὅρῳ δὲ θιάσους τρεῖς γυναικείων χορῶν, / ὧν ἤρχ’ ἐνὸς μὲν Αὐτονόη, τοῦ δευτέρου / μήτηρ Ἀγαυή σή, τρίτου δ’ Ἰνώ

⁸³ For μαινόμεναι in a clearly Bacchic context elsewhere in Homer, cf. *Iliad* 6.132.

⁸⁴ For analyses more along these lines, see, e.g., Goff 2004, Osborne 2010, and Bierl 2013.

⁸⁵ On the central role of *choreia* in *Bacchae*, see Csapo 1999/2000, Zarifi 2007, Bierl 2013, and Weiss 2014: 173-175.

χοροῦ, 680-682). He goes to stress the orderliness (*eukosmia*) of the women's movement (θαῦμ' ἰδεῖν εὐκοσμίας, 693). The women's familial, sexual, and age-group identities remain intact as the messenger describes their actions, even if they are currently removed from their usual civic and household contexts (μήτηρ Ἀγαυή σή, 681; ἡ σὴ δὲ μήτηρ, 690; νέαι παλαιαὶ παρθένοι τ' ἔτ' ἄζυγες, 694).

This initial depiction stands in contrast to the messenger's subsequent report of Pentheus' death and dismemberment. There, he describes how:

[...] κρᾶτα δ' ἄθλιον,
 ὅπερ λαβοῦσα τυγχάνει μήτηρ χεροῖν,
 πῆξασ' ἐπ' ἄκρον θύρσον ὡς ὀρεστέρου
 φέρει λέοντος διὰ Κιθαιρῶνος μέσου,
 λιποῦσ' ἀδελφὰς ἐν χοροῖσι μαινάδων.

[...] as for [Pentheus'] wretched head,
 which his mother happened to take up in her hands,
 she [=Agave], having fixed it on the end of a thyrsus, bore it
 through the midst of Kithairon, like a lion of the mountains,
 leaving her sisters in the choruses of the maenads. (*Bacchae* 1139-1143)

Agave is here separated from the choral group in two distinct ways. First, she physically moves away from the choruses, leaving the other women behind (1143). Second, Euripides compares her to a "lion of the mountains" (ὡς ὀρεστέρου ... λέοντος, 1141-1142), a description evocative of Odysseus' appearance in *Odyssey* 6 ("like a mountain raised lion," ὡς ... λέων ὀρεσίτροφος, 6.132). In that passage, Odysseus provides a sharp and threatening contrast to the playful maiden chorus of Nausicaa and her attendants. On the one hand, Euripides' description of Agave as "like a lion" suits the wild and mountainous associations of Bacchic celebration. At the same time, the disastrous events at this point in the play, coupled with the Odyssean echo, render the image somewhat more sinister. Agave is no longer dancing with the chorus. Leaving her sisters behind, she has become a solo maenad made blind to the irreversible ramifications of her actions. She has even, perhaps, become a potential threat to the choral group – a predatory mountain lion.

Agave's move beyond *choreia* thus corresponds with the terrifying permanence, as opposed to ritual play or temporary inversion, of her Bacchic celebration. By participating in the slaughter of her own son and fixing his head on her thyrsus, Agave causes a lasting and irreparable change in the dynamics and power structures of her family and city. The messenger, whose commentary works to frame and contextualize the action on stage, marks the earlier maenadic dancing as choral, organized, and only temporarily disruptive to the identities of the women involved. When Agave leaves the choruses of maenads, however, she also leaves behind her identity as Pentheus' mother, becoming instead his mother *and* murderer. The solo female dancer is thus again a figure dangerously unmoored from her social ties, disrupting the very bonds that choral ritual tends to reinforce. She is also in a precarious and vulnerable position, even if she has not yet realized it herself: when Agave does emerge from her Bacchic frenzy and recognize the horror of her actions, the realization will be deeply destructive to her as well (*Bacchae* 1280-1329). Choral maenadism provides women with a flexible and rich venue for

individual and communal expression via song and dance.⁸⁶ But to be described as a maenad alone, like Andromache or Agave, is to be exposed and at-risk.

My final example for this section will highlight the confluence of maidenly and maenadic models of dance in Cassandra's "hymeneal" monody in Euripides' *Troades* (308-314), a scene that seems likely to have involved some degree of solo dancing.⁸⁷ At this point in the play, Cassandra rushes on stage, immediately following the Greek Talthybius' promise to send her off with Agamemnon. She proceeds to sing in exchange with her mother Hecuba and the chorus.⁸⁸ Her performance is partially a perversion of the *parthenos-chorēgos* model, for Cassandra's individualized dancing highlights her status as a victim of a rape and as a prisoner of war. The action of the play occurs after Ajax has raped Cassandra (referenced by Poseidon at the opening of the play: Αἴας εἶλκε Κασάνδραν βία, 70) and Agamemnon has taken her as a concubine (also mentioned by Poseidon: γαμεῖ βιαίως σκότιον Ἀγαμέμνων λέχος, 44). She cannot actually dance as a *parthenos*, for she is no longer a virgin, nor can she actually celebrate a *hymenaios*, as her status renders her at most a concubine, certainly not a true wife.

Cassandra's song is filled with choreographic commands. She specifically imagines herself leading a chorus (ἄναγε χορόν, 326; ὁ χορὸς ὄσιος, 329; χόρευε, 333) – not a completely fictitious one, but a potentially real combination of the play's actual chorus of Trojan women (ὦ καλλίπεπλοι Φρυγῶν / κόραι, 337-338) and her own mother Hecuba (χόρευε, μάτερ, 333). Thus, while the hymeneal genre is clearly most prominent in this passage, there is something of *partheneion* here too, as Cassandra attempts to take up the position of prominent dancer about to leave the chorus for marriage.⁸⁹ Yet, as Weiss notes, "despite the vivid intensity of these choreographic directions, which picture the chorus leaping (πάλλε, 325) in the air and Hecuba whirling (ἔλισσε, 333) her feet, using vocabulary that [...] tends to correspond with the actual dancing of the chorus in Euripides' later tragedies, here they go unanswered" (Weiss 2014: 66). Cassandra fails to instigate real choral action, conjuring only "absent *choreia*" in a way that, in Weiss' reading, is central to the dramatic action of the play as a whole.

Cassandra's song is followed by the chorus' exhortation to Hecuba: "Queen, won't you take hold of the Bacchic-dancing girl, / lest she rush with a nimble step to the camp of the Argives?" (βασίλεια, βακχεύουσας οὐ λήψη κόρη, / μὴ κοῦφον αἶρη βῆμ' ἐς Ἀργείων στρατόν; 342-343). Weiss stresses how this command works to silence Cassandra, decisively ending her attempt at choral leadership (2014: 65-66). While she is undoubtedly right that *choreia* thus remains emphatically absent here, the chorus' comment simultaneously acknowledges that Cassandra *is* performing a solo dance: apparently moving in the frenzied manner of a maenad (βακχεύουσας, 342) and in danger of directing her "nimble step" (κοῦφον ... βῆμ', 343) toward the Argive encampment.⁹⁰ This description, moreover, retains a hint of chorality – Bacchic dance is still generally choral dance, while the adjective κοῦφον is elsewhere employed of light

⁸⁶ See especially the example of the Attic Thyiades, as discussed by Power and Budelmann 2015.

⁸⁷ On the possibility of solo dancing on Cassandra's part here, see Taplin 1977: 266, Delavaud-Roux 1994: 168, and Sommerstein 2008: 198-199.

⁸⁸ Cassandra's monody features striking metrical variation, which contributes to the sense of generic mixing and active movement in this scene (on the meter and its effect, see Lee 1976: 125-127).

⁸⁹ For further discussion of the generic interplay of this scene and its significance, see Rehm 1994: 129-131, Swift 2010: 254-255, and Weiss 2014: 63-66.

⁹⁰ In addition, although we can never recover the original staging of a Greek drama with absolutely certainty, I think that the chorus' command secures an understanding of Cassandra's song as accompanied by movement and dance, so I will not here consider the possibility that Cassandra stands still to sing.

and easy choral motion.⁹¹ On the one hand, neither the language of Cassandra's song nor her apparent choreography preclude *choreia* or mark her as intentionally engaged in solo or anti-choral dance. Rather, her performance deliberately gestures and even strains towards *choreia*, even as she actually performs utterly alone.

Like Io in *Prometheus Bound*, whose solo dancing I discussed above, Cassandra is in a sexually vulnerable and socially unstable position. The individual dance performances of both these women thus serve to underscore their distance from the role of *parthenos-chorēgos*, foregrounding the ways in which they are vulnerable young women whose solo dancing lacks the positive framework of the chorus. Unlike Hagesichora, for example, Io and Cassandra are not destined for mortal marriage and ordinary social integration. Thus, while individualized female dance as performed by these two figures retains its essential character as a mark of sexual availability, Io and Cassandra are being made available for divine or mortal rape, not legitimate marriage. Given that rape and marriage are not mutually exclusive alternatives in earlier depictions of outstanding maiden dance and its typical consequences, these two dramatic performances are not forging a new understanding of female solo dance, but rather making explicit the sinister undertones of the maiden-dancer model in general.

The chorus' description of Cassandra as a bacchant (342) is additionally significant. As the examples of Andromache and Agave establish, the singular maenad or Bacchic dancer is, like the *parthenos*, a vulnerable figure. But while the maiden dancer is at risk of failing to secure an appropriate marriage (a sexual relationship that creates crucial social ties), the solo maenad is typically imagined a woman who has lost, or severed herself from, family, household, and/or city. But whether we imagine Cassandra as a maiden or a maenad – Euripides' language opens up both possibilities – her dancing itself enacts desperation and pain. In the end, it is primarily her isolation from the chorus that signifies her precarious and sexually vulnerable position.

At the same time, Thalia Papadapoulou highlights what she terms Cassandra's "radiant vigour" in *Troades*, arguing that her subversive and even wild performance "penetrates the whole play, breaks through the human ignorance and delusion, reverses the conditions of victors and vanquished, annihilates the enemies by appropriating their victory" (Papadapoulou 2000: 527). Ruth Scodel similarly stresses the power of Cassandra's prophetic knowledge and interprets her "hymeneal" performance as an act of resistance, observing that Cassandra's "apparent excess of sexual acquiescence conceals an attitude completely opposite to that of the 'normal' captive" (Scodel 1998: 147).⁹² Cassandra knows that Agamemnon is destined for death at the hands of his true wife, and her performance "celebrates" her sexual captivity because it will enable her to witness the ultimate destruction of her captor and her people's enemy.

Cassandra thus revels in her possession of subjective knowledge as she dances alone. Her assertion of kinetic agency is surely significant, since Cassandra is a figure for whom verbal expression perpetually fails. She can "speak" the future, but no one listens. Dance is no more efficacious for her than words, of course, as both her mother and the chorus fail to comprehend

⁹¹ See n. 69 above.

⁹² See also Goff 2007, who highlights moments in Athenian drama where women "improvise ritual" – matching what we know of historical practice, wherein ritual performance provided women with a unique and important sphere of personal expression, yet one which was ultimately constrained and controlled by the dominant patriarchal society (on this point, see also Reitzammer 2016 and Budelmann and Power 2015). On this passage in *Trojan Women*, Goff remarks that "in her wedding dances and songs, Cassandra presents a compelling example of a woman using ritual forms to manage the abject situation into which she is thrust" (2007: 89).

the full force of her performance.⁹³ But she still chooses to move, calling upon the chorus to join in her dancing even as she recognizes her distance from real practices of *partheneion*, *hymenaios* or Dionysiac dance. If, as Scodel argues, Euripides' *Troades* is fundamentally a play about the "difficult choices of survivors" (2000: 154), Cassandra's performance offers a glimpse of how and why a woman might choose to dance alone as a way of asserting individual subjectivity in the face of a complete loss of personal and sexual agency.

My survey of *parthenoi*, *orchēstrides*, and maenads here is not meant to be completely exhaustive, but I hope to have highlighted the distinct yet overlapping ways in which singular female dance performance could be imagined and described in archaic and classical Greek literature. These three models all emphasize the sexualized vulnerability of the female performer and stress the tenuous nature of her social ties. Figuring female dance in this way enables male poets to exercise significant authority over female expression, rendering it a marker of a woman's identity and value within a patriarchal system rather than a source of personal agency. My analysis of Cassandra's performance in Euripides' *Troades*, however, is meant to balance that rather pessimistic view, suggesting that even a male playwright can present a more nuanced and complex view of dance and its expressive possibilities. In the next and final section, I will examine the engagement between solo and choral dance in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, building upon the models of female solo performance and definitions of agency and authority established by the earlier portions of this chapter. I will conclude with an analysis of Sappho 16 that returns more explicitly to the theoretical interventions of Noland and the possibilities of individual gestural agency.

5. Female *Choreia* and Solo Dance in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*

As I have noted before, comedy seems to have included many more instances of actual solo dancing than tragedy. In the third section of this chapter, I considered passage describing the performance of an *orchēstris* in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, arguing that it displays the playwright's use of descriptive language and choreographic direction to frame, and thereby control the perception of, actual female dancing. Now, however, I turn to an example of individualized female dancing that is reported, rather than actually performed, in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*. I will argue that the contrast between solo dance and *choreia* in the play affirms a hierarchy wherein choral performance is valued over individualized dancing, and I will demonstrate how that hierarchy again corresponds with the promotion of the verbal over the corporeal as a strategy of male control over female bodies.

Laurialan Reitzammer traces the allusions to the Athenian Adonis festival scattered throughout *Lysistrata*, demonstrating that Aristophanes frames the women's protest as an *Adonia* on the Acropolis. She observes that, while the play ends with a "normative" return to masculine authority over the body of Diallage, "it is, after all, an Adonis festival that led to the ceasefire" (Reitzammer 2008: 326). She thus argues that "what is *socially* peripheral [i.e., the Adonia] is, in the end, *symbolically* central in *Lysistrata*, as the Adonis festival takes center stage on the Acropolis, the heart of the Athenian *polis*, and even as a focus for the whole of Hellas. ... The Adonia is not simply opposed to marriage and reproduction but in *Lysistrata* at least the festival leads to a return to proper intercourse between men and women" (Reitzammer 2008: 327,

⁹³ See Scodel 1998: 153 (on Hecuba's failure to comprehend Cassandra) and Papadopoulou 2000: 515 n. 1 (on the audience's superior understanding of the events to come).

emphasis in original). Reitzammer stresses the ways in which *Lysistrata* should complicate our understanding of women's ritual performance and its role in Athenian religion.

Reitzammer also observes that a basic contrast between solo dancing and choral ritual helps to structure the play. During an exchange with the play's hemi-chorus of old men, the Magistrate, who is attempting to curtail the women's protest, describes another act of female performance:

ἄρ' ἐξέλαμψε τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ τρυφή
χῶ τυμπανισμὸς χοῖ πυκνοὶ Σαβάζιοι,
ὅ τ' Ἀδωνιασμὸς οὗτος οὐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν,
οὗ γ' ἴω ποτ' ὦν ἤκουον ἐν τῆκκλησίᾳ;
ἔλεγε δ' ὁ μὴ ὥρασι μὲν Δημόστρατος
πλεῖν ἐς Σικελίαν, ἡ γυνὴ δ' ὀρχουμένη
'αἰαῖ Ἀδωνιν' φησὶν, ὁ δὲ Δημόστρατος
ἔλεγεν ὀπλίτας καταλέγειν Ζακυνθίων:
ἡ δ' ὑποπεπωκυῖ ἡ γυνὴ 'πὶ τοῦ τέγους
'κόπτεσθ' Ἀδωνιν' φησὶν: ὁ δ' ἐβιάζετο
ὁ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς καὶ μιαρὸς Χολοζύγης.
τοιαῦτ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἀκόλαστ' ἄσματα.

So the women's profligacy has flared up again, has it, the tomtoms, the steady chants of "Sabazios," this worship of Adonis on the rooftops? I heard it all once before while sitting in Assembly. Demonstratus (bad luck to him!) was moving that we send an armada to Sicily, while his wife was dancing and yelling "Poor young Adonis!" Then Demonstratus 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 godforsake, disgusting Baron Bluster! From women, I say, you get this kind of riotous extravagance. (*Lysistrata* 387-398, trans. Henderson)

The Magistrate likens the actions of the women onstage to those of women celebrating the Adonis festival, or *Adonia*. Yet, as Reitzammer observes, he diverges from other representations of the festival in one important respect. Reitzammer demonstrates that choral lament, explicitly song but perhaps including dance or coordinated movement, was a central component of the Adonis festival, acknowledged even by those seeking to disparage it.⁹⁴ In this case, however, Demonstratus' wife is depicted as dancing alone (ὀρχουμένη, 392). To the Magistrate, she represents the danger of the "out of control" wife (Henderson 2002: 120). Her solo dancing and lamenting is further imagined as a failed attempt to prevent the disastrous Sicilian expedition, as the Magistrate puts her in dialogue with Demonstratus himself, who urges the Athenians to "sail to Sicily" (πλεῖν ἐς Σικελίαν, 392).⁹⁵ The wife's words and motions are, however, ultimately ineffective, in contrast to the actions of Lysistrata and her comrades. As Reitzammer concludes, "while the earlier solo performance by Demonstratos' wife, though unsettling to the assembly,

⁹⁴ See Reitzammer 2008: 322-323.

⁹⁵ Plutarch twice locates the departure of the Sicilian expedition in the midst of female lament for Adonis (*Life of Alcibiades* 18.2 and *Life of Nicias* 13.7), although his descriptions are emphatically communal. The Magistrate's description here is significant for my analysis because it foregrounds the singularity of a female dancer.

failed to halt the expedition, the Adonia that Lysistrata convenes puts an end to the Peloponnesian War” (Reitzammer 2008: 328).

In Reitzammer’s analysis, the failure of Demostratus’ wife’s *Adonia* and the success of Lysistrata’s reflects Aristophanes’ complex presentation of the festival itself – at once both marginal and central, frivolous and serious, private and public. The Magistrate’s description of the dancing and lamenting wife constitutes an interpretation of the *Adonia* as trivial and incapable of affecting the actual politics of the *polis*, while the thoroughgoing construction of Lysistrata’s protests as an *Adonia* belies a facile distinction between center and periphery as markers of efficacious vs. inconsequential action.⁹⁶ But I think there is more to be said about how and why specific modes of performance and ritual action are marked as “successful,” particularly as those performance modes relate to a larger cultural discourse on female dance and performance.

Unlike the *orchēstris* of *Thesmophoriazousae*, Demostratus’ wife does not actually dance or even appear on stage. Her performance is reported and described by the Magistrate. She is thus an individual female dancer whose body and motion are entirely conjured and constrained by male verbal narration. Aristophanes neatly avoids any problem of female agency within individualized dance by rendering this character a disembodied and merely reported figure, rather than a woman who actually has an opportunity to express something with her body. By contrast, as Reitzammer notes, real *choreia* and communality are central to the successful conclusion of both the war and the play:

As the play ends, the two choruses join together. The women clearly dominate and the men join up reluctantly, all the while muttering and complaining. The defeated men are subsumed into *Adōniazousai* (even Lysistrata disappears eventually) leaving a unified collective that sings of abundance and plenty [...]
(Reitzammer 2008: 326-327)

I question, however, the extent of female “dominance” here. The play concludes with a set of “Athenian” and “Spartan” choral songs, in which we find now-familiar attempts to inscribe performing female bodies with particular meanings and constrain them within specific roles. Moreover, the actual dancing on stage at the end of *Lysistrata*, as opposed to the reported dancing of Demostratus’ wife, is emphatically choral. As Reitzammer notes, “even Lysistrata disappears eventually” (2008: 327). Lysistrata, as an *actual* individual female performer, vanishes as the chorus sings about *mythic* female performance models, both individual and collective.

Before considering the final “Spartan” song, however, I want to highlight the events that immediately precede Lysistrata’s withdrawal from “center stage.” As Kate Gilhuly notes, “after the apportionment of Diallage, the women, even Lysistrata, recede from the stage” (2009: 176). Diallage, the mute female figure whose body, representing Greece itself, is divided up by the Spartans and Athenians, is certainly not a dancer. Her muteness is matched by her stillness, as her body is made wholly subject to the use of others, rather than her own intentional action.⁹⁷ But her role in the play vividly displays male power over female bodies in a broader sense. Gilhuly demonstrates how the negotiation over Diallage’s body amounts to the “brutish reassertion of male dominance over the prostitute” (Gilhuly 2009: 169), as Diallage’s position as

⁹⁶ See especially Reitzammer 2008: 327-328.

⁹⁷ See especially lines 1162-1175.

“mute, nude female” and “sexual and topographical commodity” renders her a *pornē*, in contrast to the earlier construction of the play’s various speaking female characters as *hetairai* (Gilhuly 2009: 168).⁹⁸ Gilhuly also notes, however, that the assertion of male authority over female bodies reflected in the division of Diallage is further implicated in a complex ritual equation, wherein Diallage’s position as “land” and “sacrificial victim” reaffirms the authority of humans (men) over the beasts and the land (Gilhuly 2009: 169). In Gilhuly’s reading, Aristophanes deploys these hierarchies to subtly assert “Athens’ dominance over her enemies,” even in the course of apparent reconciliation with Sparta.⁹⁹ For my purposes, the ritual valence of the division is not central, but Gilhuly’s analysis as a whole demonstrates how the Diallage episode makes instrumental use of the female body, both within the plot of the play itself and on the level of the larger political and social concerns with which Aristophanes is engaged. It seems significant, then, that the speaking and moving bodies of the play’s other female characters fade into the background immediately following this vivid display of masculine authority over the female body.

In the case of Demonstratus’ wife, the Magistrate frames an individual female dancer as disruptive but ultimately impotent. The dancing wife is further disempowered by her absence from the play itself, as Aristophanes scripts her as wholly subject to the Magistrate’s verbal narration, thus forestalling any possibility of female creative or kinesthetic agency. At the same time, the Magistrate himself is not presented as an accurate or astute interpreter of events. He criticizes Demonstratus’ wife while failing to acknowledge that her lament was, ultimately, prophetic – a fully reasonable response to the disaster of the Sicilian expedition.

In a 2014 Sather lecture, Richard Martin drew a parallel between the Magistrate of *Lysistrata* and the Creon of Sophocles’ *Antigone*.¹⁰⁰ He then drew a contrast between Antigone’s solitary action and fate (abandoned even by her own sister) and the successful, communal, and community-oriented action of Lysistrata and her comrades. Martin’s reading of “comic community” in *Lysistrata* helps to highlight the problems with the Magistrate’s interpretation of events. Like the proverbial “man with a hammer,” to whom everything looks a nail, the Magistrate is a Creon-figure, to whom every woman looks like Antigone. He thus incorrectly characterizes the communal feminine festivity of the Adonia as the solo dancing and lament of a single, deranged woman. The nature of his misreading is, however, illuminating for our understanding of singular female dance in Greek thought. In the Magistrate’s misguided interpretation, Demonstratus’ wife is cast in opposition to female chorality and communality. This characterization is fundamentally wrong: Demonstratus’ wife would not actually have danced alone, for the Adonia was a communal, even choral, female event, and her “crazed lament” was, in any case, a prescient foreshadowing of the disaster to come. But the way in which he goes wrong underscores the larger point about the relative value placed on different modes of female performance. Female solo dance is destructive and deranged, but communal female performance (whether at the Adonis festival itself or Lysistrata’s “Adonia” upon the Acropolis in Aristophanes’ play) is a civic good.

⁹⁸ A full consideration of prostitution in *Lysistrata* is beyond the scope of my investigation here, but see Stroup 2003, Faraone 2006, and Gilhuly 2009: 140-179.

⁹⁹ Gilhuly 2009: 169. Specifically, Gilhuly uses the representation of women as prostitutes, wives, and ritual agents in *Lysistrata* to help identify and analyze “an underlying current of hostility toward Sparta and its allies” (2009: 141) in the play, concluding that “Aristophanes can imagine reconciliation between Athens and Sparta, just as long as the peace process declares Athens the victor” (2009: 179).

¹⁰⁰ “Act Democratic,” Nov. 4th, 2014, Berkeley, CA.

Moreover, the Magistrate’s description of Demostratus’ wife is embedded within a larger complaint about female performance and ritual observance. He compares the women involved in Lysistrata’s current protest to Demostratus’ dancing wife (*Lysistrata* 387-390), thereby figuring them all as potential solo performers and disruptive agents, and he calls for them to be arrested and contained (of Lysistrata specifically: “take hold of her and bind her hands behind her,” ξυλλάμβαν’ αὐτήν κώπισω τῷ χειρὲ δεῖ, 434). At the end of the play, Aristophanes ameliorates the fear of female performance and agency latent in the Magistrate’s complaint by sidelining the women themselves and giving the male chorus a song that celebrates a far more normative model of individualized female dance.

While the entire choral segment at the end of *Lysistrata* is a rich source for considering the construction and constraint of femininity, I will focus here on the explicit images of female dance in the very last “Spartan” song:¹⁰¹

Ταῦγετον αὖτ’ ἔραννὸν ἐκλιπῶα
Μῶα μόλε Λάκαινα πρεπτὸν ἄμιν
κλέωα τὸν Ἀμύκλαις σιὸν
καὶ χαλκίοικον Ἀσάναν,
Τυνδαρίδας τ’ ἀγασώς,
τοὶ δὴ παρ Εὐρώταν ψιάδδοντι.
εἶα μάλ’ ἔμβη
ὦ εἶα κοῦφα πάλλων,
ὡς Σπάρταν ὑμνίωμες,
τᾶ σιῶν χοροὶ μέλοντι
καὶ ποδῶν κτύπος,
ἧ̃ τε πῶλοι ταὶ κόραι
παρ τὸν Εὐρωταν
ἀμπάλλοντι πυκνὰ ποδοῖν
ἀγκονίωαι,
ταὶ δὲ κόμαι σείονθ’ ἄπερ Βακχᾶν
θυρσαδδῶαν καὶ παιδδῶαν.
ἀγεῖται δ’ ἅ Λήδας παῖς
ἀγνὰ χοραγὸς εὐπρεπῆς.
ἀλλ’ ἄγε κόμαν παραμπύκιδδε χερὶ, ποδοῖν τε πάδη
ἧ̃ τις ἔλαφος: κρότον δ’ ἀμᾶ ποίει χοροφελήταν.
καὶ τὰν σιὰν δ’ αὖ τὰν κρατίστην Χαλκίοικον ὕμνει τὰν πάμμαχον.

Come back again from fair Taygetus,
Spartan Muse, come and distinguish this occasion
with a hymn to the God of Amyclae
and Athena of the Brazen House
and Tyndareos’ fine sons,
who gallop beside the Eurotas.
Ho there, hop!

¹⁰¹ I follow Bierl 2011: 427-433 in understanding the conclusion of *Lysistrata* as *choreia* (*contra* Zimmermann 1985: 45-46) and in believing the final Spartan song to be authentic (*contra* Taplin 1993: 58 n. 7 and Revermann 2006: 254-260).

Hey there, jump sprightly!
 Let's sing a hymn to Sparta,
 home of dances for the gods
 and of stomping feet,
 where by the Eurotas' banks
 young girls frisk like fillies,
 raising underfoot
 dust clouds,
 and tossing their tresses
 like maenads waving their wands and playing,
 led by Leda's daughter,
 their chorus leader pure and pretty.
 Come now, band your hair with your hand, with your feet start hopping like a
 deer, and start making some noise to spur the dance! And sing for the goddess
 who's won a total victory, Athena of the Brazen House! (*Lysistrata*, 1296-1320,
 trans. Henderson)

Anton Bierl highlights the echoes of Alcman's *partheneia* in this song, arguing that the "ritual interchorality" of the play's conclusion "notionally enacts the remarriage of the couples," employing the parthenaic mode as an amelioration of the women's disruptive sex strike (Bierl 2011: 419).¹⁰² This reading complements Reitzammer's observation about the structuring role of dance performance in the play – whereas the solo dancing of Demostratus' wife represents disruptive female action, the concluding *choreia* imagines song and dance as mechanisms of unity and healing. A single woman dancing of her own volition, as described by Aristophanes' Magistrate, is annoying and impotent. Women dancing together, within the social and choreographic constraints of the chorus, have returned to their proper place within the city and society. Significantly, neither Demostratus' wife nor the maidens (κόραι, 1310) evoked in the final song are actually present performers. Aristophanes thus avoids any hint of female kinetic or kinesthetic agency, rendering his female performers abstractions conjured by male-authored and performed verbal descriptions, which serve to re-inscribe a specifically gendered hierarchy of dance forms: the maiden *chorēgos* over and above the woman dancing beyond the constraints of the chorus.

At the same time, I want to reflect briefly on Helen's appearance as *chorēgos* in this final song (ἀγείται δ' ἅ Λήδαυ παῖς / ἄγνὰ χοραγὸς εὐπρεπῆς, 1316-1317). Bierl remarks that "fair-haired Helen is the goddess of the young women on the verge of marriage; she is the ideal choral leader to lead the dance; she is the symbol of all girls, chaste, and not the legendary unfaithful wife" (Bierl 2011: 431). While Bierl reasonably points to the cultic celebration of Helen in those two distinct modes,¹⁰³ I wonder whether it would have been possible for Aristophanes to strategically evoke only one dimension of the famously complex Helen. Euripides' *Helen*, which foregrounds its main character's role as a choral leader and thematizes her complexity and

¹⁰² Bierl also argues that an Athenian audience would have been at least somewhat familiar with Alcman's *partheneia* (2011: 418-419). I would also point out that the tropes present in this final song (maidens as horses, Helen as *chorēgos*, dance as preparatory for marriage) are not specific to Alcman, and might have been additionally intelligible to the audience as markers of maiden dance as a result of familiarity with Homer, the *Hymn to Artemis* (27), sympotic lyric, and/or other dramatic representations.

¹⁰³ Bierl 2011: 431-432 n. 60, drawing on Larson 1995: 80-81 and Calame 1997: 191-202.

doubleness, was likely performed in 412 BCE, just one year prior to *Lysistrata*.¹⁰⁴ If the audience had Euripides' Helen in mind, or even Homer's, Aristophanes' final song may have taken on a slightly different character. Helen is an inherently problematic *parthenos-chorēgos*, for the wedding fails to transform her from dancing maiden into a stable and stationary wife – she remains dangerously mobile, even after marriage. Her movement, moreover, instigates war, rather than facilitating peace. By making Helen the final singular female performer described in *Lysistrata*, Aristophanes allows the specter of Demostratus' wife to linger over the production.¹⁰⁵ He suggests, perhaps, that female dancing, as a potential marker of female sexual and expressive agency, is a force that must continue to be contained and constrained.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that the maiden choral leader constitutes the normative and positive model of individualized female dancing in archaic and Classical Greek literature, corresponding with the generally positive evaluation of the male *chorēgos* as a model of social and political leadership. Solo female dancers are thus constructed in relation to this paradigm: the “proper” *parthenos-chorēgos* (whose position is still inherently unstable), the *orchēstris* as “fallen” *parthenos*, the maiden dancing without a chorus, and so on. The very existence of this model enables male poets to employ language and description to frame and constrain female movement. Female dancing is intimately bound up with female sexuality and its expression, and the patterns of representation I have traced here are thus the strategic constructs of a patriarchal performance culture.

But while the songs we possess overwhelmingly preserve a male perspective on female performance, we should not assume that female performers fully acquiesced to the roles imagined for them by literary archetypes and choral lyrics. In the analysis of Alcman's second *partheneion* above, for example, I posited that the clasping of hands in dance could have offered a meaningful opportunity for kinesthetic agency, even within the confining framework of *choreia*. Likewise Euripides, in *Troades*, stages Cassandra's dancing as an expression of subjectivity, if not true agency. By way of conclusion, I now hope to illuminate a brief gesture towards embodied agency, as defined and explored by Noland, in one of Sappho's oblique references to individual female performance.

In an influential analysis, John Winkler explores traces of “double consciousness” in Sappho's songs: the acknowledgment of masculine norms and expectations alongside allusions to woman-centered spaces and sexual subjectivity (1990: 162-187). He especially highlights the multiplicity of meaning in Sappho's lyrics, whereby she is able both to re-state dominant cultural messages while also inserting her own interpretive perspective.¹⁰⁶ As an example of his argument, he offers a brief but insightful analysis of fr. 16, the first 12 lines of which run as follows:¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ On the dates of *Helen* and *Lysistrata* respectively, see Allan 2008: 4 and Henderson 2002: xv-xvi, both with further bibliography.

¹⁰⁵ The description of the maidens' motion as maenadic (ταὶ δὲ κόμαι σείονθ' ἄπερ Βακχᾶν / θυρσαδδῶν καὶ παιδδῶν, 1314-1315) might also contribute to this effect by recalling more unruly forms of female dance.

¹⁰⁶ See especially Winkler's analysis of Sappho fr. 1 (1990: 166-176).

¹⁰⁷ The text I print here includes the additions and modifications suggested by Burris, Fish, and Obbink 2014, in light of a newly-published papyrus fragment. I have adapted Campbell's translation accordingly. For these initial 12 lines, the new evidence does not significantly alter our reading of the poem, although it is interesting to note that

ο]ι μὲν ἰππῶν στρότον οἱ δὲ πέσδων
οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖς' ἐπ[ι] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν
ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄτ-
[] τω τις ἔραται·

πά]γγυ δ' εὔμαρες κύνετον πόησαι 5
π]άντι τ[ο]ῦτ', ἃ γὰρ πόλυ περκεθέοισα
κάλλος [ἀνθ]ρώπων Ἑλένα[ι] [τ]ὸν ἄνδρα
τὸν [] στον

καλλ[ίποι]ς ἔβα ἔ Τροῖαν πλέοισα·
κωὺδ[ὲ πα]ῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων τοκήων 10
πά[μπαν] ἐμνάσθη, ἀλλὰ παράγαγ' αὐτ[ο]ῖ' ἄν[τ]
[....] σαν

Some say a host of cavalry, others of infantry, and others of ships, is the most beautiful thing on the black earth, but I say it is whatsoever a person loves. It is perfectly easy to make this understood by everyone: for she who far surpassed mankind in beauty, Helen, left her most noble husband and went sailing off to Troy with no thought at all for her child or dear parents, but (love) led her (alt: him) astray... (Sappho fr. 16.1-12, trans. Campbell, modified)

Winkler stresses how Sappho's claim that "the most beautiful" (κάλλιστον, 3) is "whatever one desires" (ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄτ- / τω τις ἔραται, 3-4) "amounts to a re-interpretation of the kind of meaning the previous claims had, rather than a mere contest of claimants for supremacy in a category whose meaning is agreed upon" (Winkler 1990: 177).¹⁰⁸ Sappho thus displays her fluency in the masculine discourse of war and battle, then dramatically re-frames that discourse with the revelation that "all valuation is an act of desire," whether male poets acknowledge it or not (Winkler 1990: 177).

Winkler's analysis of fr. 16 focuses exclusively on lines 1-12, but the song's double consciousness extends into the subsequent stanzas:¹⁰⁹

.... γν]αμπτον γὰρ [...] νόημα
() κούφως τ[...] νοήσῃ·
κά]με νῦν Ἀνακτορί[ας] ἀνέμνα ἰ'- 15
ς' οὐ] παρεοίσας,

τᾶ]ς (κ)ε βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα
κάμάρυγμα λάμπρον ἴδην προσώπω.
ἦ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα κὰν ὄπλοισι

in the new papyrus, an original αὐτον (line 11) has been changed to αὐταν, suggesting some controversy over who was misled (παράγαγ', line 11) – Paris or Helen. On this, see further Burris, Fish, and Obbink 2014: 5.

¹⁰⁸ Winkler here builds upon the readings of Wills 1967 and duBois 1996 [= 1978, slightly revised].

¹⁰⁹ An additional insight gained from the new papyrus published by Burris, Fish, and Obbink is the likelihood that these next two stanzas concluded the song (2014: 5), as first suggested by Milne 1933.

... thought ... lightly ... (and she?) has reminded me now of Anactoria who is not here; I would rather see her lovely walk and the bright sparkle of her face than the Lydians' chariots and armed infantry (Sappho fr. 16.13-20, trans. Campbell, modified)

Sappho, in these lines, presents Anactoria as both *parthenos* and not-*parthenos*, with the latter category again constituting a kind of sexual “other” explicitly embodied by the prostitute elsewhere in Greek literature. Like many of the male poets I considered above, she thus stresses the precarious identity of the individual woman in motion. Is the speaker recalling Anactoria’s “lovely step” (ἔρατον ... βᾶμα, 17) in the maiden chorus, a typical prelude to marriage? Or does her movement signal another future entirely? What role does Anactoria, currently absent (οὐ] παρειόσας, 16), now inhabit?¹¹⁰ At the same time, I would argue that Sappho carves out a space for female identity and motion beyond the confining roles of *parthenos* and prostitute, contrasting the force of male framing of the present female body with that of female recollection of the absent female body.

There are a few reasons to believe that Sappho’s speaker, in this song, imagines Anactoria specifically as a dancer. Anne Pippin Burnett observes that “the word βᾶμα might refer to Anactoria’s manner of dancing” (1983: 280 n.5), but it is not the only hint of dance here. The suggestive adverb “lightly” (κούφως, 14) is unfortunately without context, but it is used elsewhere in Greek song of both military and choral motion.¹¹¹ It may, therefore, be a striking example of what Winkler terms Sappho’s “bilingualism” (1990: 174-175): her talent for choosing language that resonates in different ways for different groups. But even if she does not apply this adverb directly to Anactoria’s motion, Sappho’s speaker gives us a subsequent somatic description evocative of the maiden *chorēgos*. She calls attention to the allure of Anactoria’s gait (ἔρατον ... βᾶμα, 17) and face (κάμαρυγμα λάμπρον ... προσώπω, 18), a mode of praise standard for the performing *parthenos*. Moreover, she recalls Anactoria as an individual, contrasting her singular beauty with plural military objects (ἦ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα κὰν ὄπλοισι / πεοδομάχεντ[ε] ἄς, 19-20). Anactoria thus stands out from the mass of chariots and infantry like a *parthenos-chorēgos* among her companions.

But Sappho’s construction of Anactoria’s motion gestures in another direction as well. Within the larger structure of the poem, there is a parallel between Anactoria’s “lovely step” (ἔρατόν ... βᾶμα, 17) and Helen’s travel (“she went,” ἔβα, 9) to Troy, established by the common use of *bainō/basis*. Helen’s movement, however, is the act of a disloyal and transgressive woman, who rejects her role as wife and mother to assert her own sexual agency. Moreover, while Helen can certainly be conceived as a *parthenos*, Sappho here locates her at an emphatically non-parthenaic moment in the narrative, marking her as woman who has veered off the path from maiden to wife, “stepping” (ἔβα, 9) instead to Troy.¹¹² Without explicit surviving

¹¹⁰ The negative in this line (οὐ] παρειόσας, 16) is, admittedly, a supplement, albeit one that seems to be universally accepted. Given that only one syllable is missing and the progression of the preceding lines is relatively clear, it seems like a fairly secure reconstruction. But given the importance of Anactoria’s absence for my argument here, I want to acknowledge the state of the text.

¹¹¹ Cf. *Iliad* 13.158, [Hesiod], *Shield of Heracles* 323, Pindar *Olympian* 14.17 and *Nemean* 8.19, Euripides, *Alcestis* 584, Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousae* 954, and (on the choral valence) Bierl 2011: 430 n. 51.

¹¹² On Helen as *parthenos*, see section 2b above.

references to Anactoria's future, the song leaves us wondering where her "lovely step" will bring her, with Helen's travels in the opening lines offering an implicit alternative to the allusions to maidenly corporeality and dance in lines 17-20.

But as many scholars have stressed, Sappho's depiction of Helen constitutes a positive rehabilitation of the Homeric Helen.¹¹³ As Winkler demonstrates, Sappho's speaker both references this dominant understanding of Helen and profoundly refigures it (1990: 156-158). She similarly presents Anactoria, on one level, in a way comparable to the descriptive strategies employed by male poets representing female dancers: she is a pre-eminent *parthenos* – or maybe not. Her step is *eraton*, meaning lovely, desirable, erotic. Her outstanding sexual appeal, and its relationship to the motion of her body, is made clear. Where that appeal will lead is left open and unstable. Yet Sappho also complicates this binary interpretation (*parthenos/not-parthenos*) of Anactoria by foregrounding her absence.

Unlike the masculine compositions considered in the prior portions of this chapter, Sappho's song is not directly attempting to frame the motion of a girl at hand. Sappho fr. 16 may have originally been performed by a chorus, or it may have always been sung solo for a smaller audience.¹¹⁴ If understood as a choral song, fr. 16 might be directly contrasted with Alcman's choral *partheneia*, which engage in rich and complex reference to the movement of their own present performers. Anactoria is not presented as the *chorēgos* of this particular performance, like Agido, Hagesichora, or Astymeloisa in Alcman's songs. If we focus instead on a solo sympotic performance of fr. 16, we are still faced with the marked absence of the girl recalled, who is not being directly addressed as though present.

As I have mentioned before, Noland argues that the "critical sensitivity to our acts" required for the experience of embodied and kinesthetic agency "demand[s] isolation, a willed disconnection from the purposive, instrumental, or communicative contexts into which we, as cultural beings, are almost always being thrust" (2009: 210). Anactoria's absence, I suggest, creates such isolation and intentional disconnection. Homer, Alcman, Anacreon, Euripides, and Aristophanes craft specific contexts and locations for their individual female figures, thereby thrusting them into social roles and types. Sappho, by contrast, causes Anactoria to vanish, constructing her as a marked absence (οὐ] παρρείσας, 16), whose somatic features emerge only in the context of the speaker's desire (βολλοίμαν, 17).¹¹⁵ In the bilingual mode identified by

¹¹³ Cf., e.g., Winkler 1990: 176-178, duBois 1996, Stehle 1996: 221-223, and Williamson 1996: 261-262. To be sure, Helen is a complex and controversial figure from Homer onwards (see, e.g., Bergren 1983, Hutchinson 2001: 160, and Blondell 2013), but reading Sappho's song as a subtle shifting of other perspectives on Helen need not imply that those other perspectives were straightforward or without nuance.

¹¹⁴ Sappho's songs have traditionally been understood as monody, but Lardinois 1996 makes a compelling case for considering the possibility that some of our surviving songs (including fr. 16) may have actually been choral compositions (on that point for fr. 16, see also Hallett 1996: 41). On the other hand, the likely brevity of this song (as suggested by the recent papyrus evidence) would seem to support a solo sympotic, rather than choral, context.

¹¹⁵ Stehle also stresses the significance of Anactoria's absence and further notes that "even in imagination the narrator does not offer simply an objectified Anactoria to the audience. By referring to Anactoria's way of walking and the spark of her face, she creates rather an image of light and movement" (1996: 223). I hope to have complicated this reading slightly by suggesting that the commonalities between Sappho's construction of Anactoria and other images of maiden dancers do hint at objectification, and that we in fact find a comparable transformation of the female performer into pure radiance and light at Alcman fr. 1.39-43 *PMG*. In that instance, however, this imaginative disembodiment is performed upon a present dancer (Agido) by the language of a male poet, and is therefore attached to a structural hierarchy of gender and performance. Here, the female poet, and presumably speaker, employ absence as a means of removing Anactoria from the system of female performance roles implied by her own description.

Winkler, Sappho acknowledges the discursive construction of the individual female dancer as an embodiment of sexual appeal and availability. But she simultaneously undermines that construction by rendering her singular female dancer, Anactoria, absent and unavailable.

Noland and Sklar suggest that embodied agency arises in moments of dissonance and disconnection, wherein the agentive subject can separate herself from the workings of cultural and social conditioning upon her body. Sappho, in fr. 16, creates an absent Anactoria, separated in time and space from the corporeal qualities conjured up by the speaker's description. In her image of Anactoria, she thus accomplishes a removal of the woman's actual self from the restrictive connotations of her "lovely step" (ἔρατον ... βᾶμα, 17). She imagines the possibility of being suspended outside of the discursive structures that reduce the individual female dancer to her erotic appeal and define her by the degree and terms of her sexual availability. She places her beyond the confines of *parthenos* and prostitute.

I have argued that male poets use the power of language to exert control over the experience, expression, and perception of female dancers. Sappho fr. 16, by contrast, models an alternative process of representation – one which both repeats certain elements of masculine discourse while simultaneously removing its central figure, Anactoria, from full implication in those terms. In either case, the representation of Anactoria as "not present" (οὐ] παρούσας, 16), is significant. On one hand, the references to maidenly corporeality and the construction of two female roles – beautiful *parthenos* (Anactoria's "lovely step" and "shining face") and treacherous Helen ("stepping" to Troy) could still work to frame and define any women who were actually present and moving at the time of the performance.¹¹⁶ At the same time, Anactoria's absence charts a way out of the restrictive roles for female dancers made available by male discourse, enabling even present performers to imagine a different way of experiencing and expressing their own dance.¹¹⁷ As I have also said before, I do not mean to suggest that the male songs analyzed here would have completely prevented such processes of "stepping outside," dissonance, reflection, and kinesthetic agency. Rather, I suggest that, while the various poets considered above work to define and confine individual female corporeal expression via a complex network of connections to the normative model of *parthenos-chorēgos*, Sappho composes a song that suspends the single female body outside of those systems of signification.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ As I have argued more fully in the cases of male song about female actors analyzed above. In this case, I imagine the possible "present" women as being either current choreuts (if the song was originally performed by a chorus) or past and future choreuts (if sung for an exclusively female audience on Lesbos), but also potentially *orchēstrides*, when the song was re-performed at male symposia in later periods.

¹¹⁷ As I note briefly above, Noland concludes her analysis by observing that the conscious and self-reflexive agentive experiences of the individual nonetheless "demand isolation, a willed disconnection [...]" (2009: 210). She suggests that her proposed form of gestural agency "paradoxically" requires that "we... become estranged momentarily from the practice in which we are engaged and recognize the presence of not only sensation but also cultural conditioning as it has been inscribed on our muscles and bones" (2009: 212). I am suggesting that the image of Anactoria as absent dancer provides a way for other female performers to reflect critically upon their experiences.

¹¹⁸ I focus here on fr. 16 because I believe its language and imagery relate most directly to larger patterns of representation surrounding female dancers. One might, however, trace similar modes of resistance elsewhere in Sappho's lyrics (as, e.g., in Winkler 1990). Sappho fr. 31, for example, seems like a particularly rich site for further exploring the relevance of Sklar's and Noland's conception of an interoceptive kinesthetic turn for our understanding of Greek song.

Writing Dance: Prose Reflections on Performance

While the prior chapters featured occasional discussion of relevant prose sources, primarily in the form of brief anecdotes about individual dancers, I have reserved full consideration of prose authors for this concluding chapter. I particularly want to position my readings here in contrast to the work done in the two immediately preceding chapters. There, I considered the representation of singular dancing figures, both male and female, in archaic and classical poetry. I observed that those texts were often performed in close proximity to – and sometimes full coordination with – dance. Their embedded representations could thus work to frame and affect a live audience’s perception of kinetic performance occurring within the same time and space. As I now turn to lengthier prose narratives, the relationship between verbal description and live performance becomes a bit more distant.

I would thus like to return, one last time, to the theoretical claims developed in the Introduction. By investigating ancient historical and philosophical reflections on dance, we come closer to the reviews and academic treatises typically analyzed by scholars of more modern dance forms. Their thoughts about the relationship between dance and writing become, therefore, more immediately relevant. We might again contrast Steve Paxton’s concerns about the “coercive” force of language and its inability to “capture” dance with Mark Franko’s conviction that engaging in (verbal) interpretation and theoretical reflection can bring dance to life.¹ Throughout this project, I have attempted to balance those two perspectives, acknowledging places where description and narration might serve to enrich the experience of dance while also tracking the ways in which verbal framing might work to “limit our point of view and even suggest what *can* be thought about [dance]” (Paxton 2011: 422, emphasis in original).

In this final chapter, I will continue to keep both theoretical perspectives in play as I explore how Herodotus, Plato, and Xenophon themselves foreground issues of authorial and/or narratorial control over described dance. The historical and philosophical texts considered in this chapter operate at an obvious remove from dance as live art – these texts either claim to report earlier performances, or else conjure up fictional or mythical ones. These descriptions also emphasize the voice and power of the author. Whether we view such authorial intervention positively or not depends in part on our pre-existing theoretical allegiances (e.g., Paxton vs. Franko), but also on the dynamics at work in a given text. Does a written description of dance expand or enrich the reader’s ability to engage with future experiences of live performance, or does it limit and control? On a different, more self-reflexive, level, how can a verbal account of non-verbal dance, gesture, or motion nuance our understanding of the written text itself? These questions lurk, more or less obviously, within the works of Herodotus, Plato, and Xenophon.

These concerns about the relationship between language and embodiment come to the fore particularly in the description of solo or individualized dance. This does not mean that they are absent from representations of *choreia* in the same or similar texts, but rather that attending closely to passages dealing with non-choral dance forms, both in relation to the cultural models of solo dance established by the preceding chapters and in the context of the narratives and

¹ See Introduction for further discussion of these approaches.

reflections within which they are embedded, will help elucidate these authors' distinctive attitudes to writing, dance, language, and expression.

My survey of Greek prose writing on dance in this chapter is selective. Herodotus and Xenophon produced two of the most well-known and extensive descriptions of individualized dancing in classical Greek literature, and this study would not be complete without them. The insights to be drawn from Herodotus' account of Hippocleides' dance and Xenophon's meditation on solo sympotic performance in his *Symposium* will support and enrich the claims made in earlier chapters about broader Greek attitudes towards singular dancing, while also offering the kinds of rich engagement with issues of language and embodiment previewed immediately above. Plato's references to solo dance are more subtle and oblique, but they provide a crucial contrast to Xenophon, and they can also help to nuance our understanding of his far more extensive reflections on the chorus. I do not mean to suggest that there is nothing of interest or relevance on individualized dance in Aristotle, the orators, or Hellenistic writers like Polybius. The three authors I have chosen to highlight here, however, offer three distinct perspectives and represent both historical and philosophical prose; they are therefore illustrative if not fully comprehensive. I will begin with Herodotus, focusing first on his description of Hippocleides' disruptive dancing in Book 6 but ultimately expanding my view to encompass the historian's treatment of performance within a larger narrative arc. I will then turn to Plato, focusing primarily on references to solo dance in the *Menexenus* and *Protagoras*. I will conclude with Xenophon, whose attention to individualized dance in both historical (*Anabasis*) and philosophical (*Symposium*) prose is unparalleled, and whose exploration of individualized dance both beyond and within a choral paradigm in his *Symposium* will offer a fitting conclusion to the project as a whole.

1. Herodotus and Hippocleides: History, Dance, and the Unruly Body

One of the most famous instances of solo dance in early Greek literature is surely the story of Hippocleides in Herodotus (6.129). Here, the historian narrates how the tyrant Cleisthenes established a contest for the hand of his daughter Agariste, gathering a group of thirteen suitors at his home on Sicyon for an entire year (6.126-128). As the year comes to a close, the Athenians Hippocleides and Megacles enjoy Cleisthenes' particular favor (6.128). But a final evening of sympotic festivity (music, speech, and drinking) undoes Hippocleides' preeminence:

Ὡς δὲ ἡ κυρὴ ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς τε κατακλίσιος τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ Κλεισθένης τὸν κρίνει ἐκ πάντων, θύσας βοῦς ἑκατὸν ὁ Κλεισθένης εὐώχεε αὐτούς τε τοὺς μνηστῆρας καὶ Σικωνίους πάντας. Ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, οἱ μνηστῆρες ἔριν εἶχον ἀμφὶ τε μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. Προϊούσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης ἐκέλευσέ οἱ τὸν ἀγλήτην ἀγλήσαι ἐμμελεῖν· πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀγλήτεω ὀρχήσατο. Καί κως ἐωυτῷ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὀρχέετο, ὁ Κλεισθένης δὲ ὀρέων ὅλον τὸ πῆγμα ὑπώπτεε. Μετὰ δὲ ἐπισχῶν ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης χρόνον ἐκέλευσέ τινα τράπεζαν ἐσενεῖκαι· ἐσελθούσης δὲ τῆς τραπέζης πρῶτα μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὀρχήσατο Λακωνικὰ σχημάτια, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλα Ἀττικά, τὸ τρίτον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρείσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῖσι σκέλεσι ἐχειρονόμησε. Κλεισθένης δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ

δεύτερα ὀρχεομένου ἀποστυγέων γαμβρὸν ἄν οἱ ἔτι γενέσθαι Ἴπποκλείδην διὰ τὴν τε ὀρχησιν καὶ τὴν ἀναιδείην κατεῖχε ἑαυτόν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγῆναι ἐς αὐτόν· ὡς δὲ εἶδε τοῖσι σκέλεσι χειρονομήσαντα, οὐκέτι κατέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε· Ὡ παῖ Τεισάνδρου, ἀπορχήσαό γε μὲν τὸν γάμον. Ὁ δὲ Ἴπποκλείδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε· Οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδη. Ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται·

When the appointed day came for the marriage feast and for Cleisthenes' declaration of whom he had chosen out of them all, Cleisthenes sacrificed a hundred oxen and gave a feast to the suitors and to the whole of Sicyon. After dinner the suitors vied with each other in music and in anecdotes for all to hear. As they sat late drinking, Hippocleides, now far outdoing the rest, ordered the flute-player to play him a dance-tune; the flute-player obeyed and he began to dance. I suppose he pleased himself with his dancing, but Cleisthenes saw the whole business with much disfavor. Hippocleides then stopped for a while and ordered a table to be brought in; when the table arrived, he danced Laconian figures on it first, and then Attic; last of all he rested his head on the table and made gestures with his legs in the air. Now Cleisthenes at the first and the second bout of dancing could no more bear to think of Hippocleides as his son-in-law, because of his dancing and his shamelessness, but he had held himself in check, not wanting to explode at Hippocleides; but when he saw him making gestures with his legs, he could no longer keep silence and said, "son of Tisandrus, you have danced away your marriage." Hippocleides said in answer, "It does not matter to Hippocleides!" Since then this is proverbial. (Herodotus 6.129, trans. Godley)

While dance appears at significant moments throughout Herodotus' *Histories*, the majority of these representations are choral. Hippocleides' dance, when analyzed as such in modern scholarship, has often been read in light of *choreia*.² I will demonstrate, however, that this episode becomes more meaningful when considered in relation to the larger cultural discourse surrounding male *solo* dance. I will argue that Herodotus evokes the specter of the disruptive and anti-social male soloist but ultimately subverts it, offering an image of individualized dancing as potent source of personal and political agency. The force of this subversion becomes especially clear if we read the Hippocleides narrative within the broader context of the *Histories* and attend closely to the ways in which the description of Hippocleides' dance reflects the historian's own creative project.

Hippocleides' performance is structurally opposed to *choreia* in several important ways. In addition to dancing alone, he provokes the disapproval of his audience by defying the expectations of his social situation. Cleisthenes has already provided an appropriate sphere for the practice of *mousikē*, when the "suitors vied with each other in music and in anecdotes for all to hear" (οἱ μνηστῆρες ἔριν εἶχον ἀμφὶ τε μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον).³ Hippocleides'

² For example, while Kinzl (1980: 180-184) makes a number of important observations about the relationship between Hippocleides' dance and the representation of performance elsewhere in Herodotus, I think that his failure to fully consider the significance of Hippocleides' performance as a *solo* dance leads to a misplaced emphasis on Dionysiac ritual (as discussed more fully below).

³ I follow Kurke 2011: 421 n. 58 in suggesting that Cleisthenes' *mousikē* need not include dance (*contra* Catoni 2005: 149-151).

dance, however, is clearly not part of that realm of competition and expression. Herodotus' account reveals that, while Hippocleides' performance “may have pleased [Hippocleides] himself” (κως ἑωυτῷ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὀρχέετο), it was clearly not a spectacle that brought pleasure or joy to his fellow suitors or to Cleisthenes. *Choreia*, by contrast, is a form of dance performance firmly embedded within its social, religious, and/or civic context and characterized as both beautiful and pleasing. Moreover, while choral dance was generally choreographed for a particular occasion and subject to various types of formal organization, Hippocleides' dance is spontaneous, performed, in its later phases, atop a table (ἐκέλευσέ τινα τράπεζαν ἐσενεῖκαι), and features a mix of genres (ἔμμελείην, ὀρχήσατο Λακωνικὰ σχημάτια, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλα Ἀττικά). Herodotus further suggests that the most shocking part of the performance is when Hippocleides stands on his head and gestures with his legs (ὡς δὲ εἶδε [subj. = Cleisthenes] τοῖσι σκέλεσι χειρονομήσαντα, οὐκέτι κατέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε· Ὡ παῖ Τεισάνδρου, ἀπορχήσαό γε μὲν τὸν γάμον). This choreographic move symbolically inverts the standard aesthetic of *choreia*: the fleet feet beating time upon the earth, as the dancers remain upright and move in harmony with one another.⁴ Finally, there is no verbal or vocal element to Hippocleides' performance. The dancer explicitly directs the musician (ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης ἐκέλευσέ οἱ τὸν αὐλητὴν), rather than the other way around.⁵ Herodotus' description of Hippocleides' performance centers on corporeal, rather than vocal or instrumental, expression.⁶

At first glance, then, Hippocleides looks like a typically disruptive male solo dancer. He rejects social norms and moves his body inappropriately and idiosyncratically. Aesop's fable about the dancing monkey king, with which I began Chapter 3, may also be lurking in the background here. In at least one version of that fable, the fox concludes the story by mocking the monkey for “having such an ass” (τοιαύτην πυγὴν ἔχων, Perry *Fabulae Graecae* 81).⁷ While this element of the monkey's anatomy is not explicitly linked with his earlier dance, the specific mention of it offers a suggestive parallel to Hippocleides' performance, which seems to feature “shameful” (τὴν ἀναιδείην) self-exposure.⁸ As I have already discussed, the monkey king fable exemplifies a larger cultural discomfort with the individual male dancer as a potential leader or authority figure. Hippocleides can also be linked with that tradition insofar as his use of the table for dancing seems to align with the performances of sympotic entertainers (specifically dwarves) depicted on later Greek vases.⁹ By dancing in this manner, Hippocleides debases himself and

⁴ See Chapter 1.1 and Chapter 2.1a. Lonsdale suggests that Hippocleides' dance is a deliberate perversion of the sympotic practice of “hand-dancing” or *cheironomia* (Lonsdale 1993: 221). These readings need not be mutually exclusive: Hippocleides' choreography is clearly transgressive on multiple levels.

⁵ For sonic leadership as characteristic of *choreia*, see Chapter 1.1 and 1.4.

⁶ Thus Kurke 2011: 421: “we are told that Hippocleides, who ‘enthralled all the rest’ with his skill in song and speech shifts the register from vocal performance to bodily movement.”

⁷ See the opening pages of Chapter 3. Note that this is West's text (following Buchholtz) rather than Perry's.

⁸ Kurke explores a more sustained parallel to an Indian fable about a dancing peacock (2011: 414-426). My intention here is not to contest the significance of that parallel, but rather to suggest another possible layer of fable-tradition in Herodotus' presentation of this story.

⁹ See Lippold 1937, Beazley 1939, Dasen 1993: 230-240 (with good images of the relevant objects), Ogden 1997: 118, Catoni 2005: 154-161, and Kurke 2011: 422 n. 61. Kinzl, whose readings are discussed further below, offers a different interpretation of Hippocleides' table, linking it with a tradition referenced by Pollux wherein, prior to the time of Thespis, someone stood on a table to judge choral dancing (*TrGF* 1 T16 = Pollux 4.123; Kinzl 1980: 183). For Kinzl, this is important because it shows that Herodotus' account of Hippocleides' dance is referencing early or “primitive” modes of dance (1980: 183). This is an intriguing suggestion, although I do not follow Kinzl's argument that this parallel would align Hippocleides' with “primitive” forms of dance. Rather, I suggest that it would again place Hippocleides in opposition to *choreia*, since he dances on the table (where the judge belongs) rather than in the appropriate space for the chorus. I also think that sympotic table-dancing is probably a more likely

incurs significant personal and political consequences: previously a front-runner in Cleisthenes' contest, he "dances away" his chance at marrying Agariste and thus joining the ruling family of Sicyon. Herodotus' narrative, therefore, might seem to affirm an understanding of male solo dance as an activity that marks a man as anti-social, disruptive, or otherwise unsuited for the possession of political power.

But scholars have also stressed Herodotus' generally positive portrayal of Hippocleides, who seems less like a hapless drinker who "dances away his marriage" than like a sly jokester rejecting Cleisthenes' authority. Robert Fowler, for example, suggests that "Hippocleides, not Megakles who wins the bride, is the true hero of the story; the man who beats all those would-be tyrants at their own game, and shows he doesn't give a fig for the prize" (2003: 313).¹⁰ Herodotus' account of Hippocleides, therefore, engages with a tradition that casts male dancers as unsuitable for political rule, but re-figures it in significant ways.

The festivities described in this passage, including Hippocleides' final dance, are the culmination of Cleisthenes' "contest" for the hand of his daughter. For the duration of the preceding year in Sicyon, Cleisthenes has exercised remarkable control over the physical and expressive activities of his daughter's suitors. They have responded to his questions and engaged their bodies in exercise under his direction.¹¹ After a year of thus participating in activities and competitions choreographed – in a broad sense of the word – by the powerful tyrant, Hippocleides creates a dance that forcefully asserts his control over his own body and socio-political destiny.

A few chapters prior to this, Herodotus tells another revealing story about authority, ambition, and bodily distortion. Specifically, he explains how the family of Megacles – Hippocleides' chief competitor in the marriage contest – became wealthy and powerful:

τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμέων ὁ Μεγακλέος τοῖσι ἐκ Σαρδίων Λυδοῖσι παρὰ Κροῖσου ἀπικνεομένοισι ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι συμπρήκτωρ τε ἐγένετο καὶ συνελάμβανε προθύμως, καὶ μιν Κροῖσος πυθόμενος τῶν Λυδῶν τῶν ἐς τὰ χρηστήρια φοιτεόντων ἐωυτὸν εὖ ποιεῖν μεταπέμπεται ἐς Σάρδις, ἀπικόμενον δὲ δωρέεται χρυσῶ τὸν ἂν δύνηται τῷ ἐωυτοῦ σώματι ἐξενείκασθαι ἐσάπαξ. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμέων πρὸς τὴν δωρεὴν ἐοῦσαν τοιαύτην τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας προσέφερε: ἐνδὺς κιθῶνα μέγαν καὶ κόλπον βαθὺν καταλιπόμενος τοῦ κιθῶνος, κοθόρνους τε τοὺς εὗρισκε εὐρυτάτους ἐόντας ὑποδησάμενος, ἦτε ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τὸν οἶ

parallel for this dimension of Hippocleides' performance, although I would not dismiss Kinzl's interpretation completely. Ogden likewise mentions Pollux and considers the possibility that Hippocleides' dance evokes some form of dramatic performance, although he devotes more attention to the parallels in comedic sympotic entertainment (1997: 117-188). Note also that Pickard-Cambridge casts doubt on the historical value of Pollux's claim (1968: 131 n. 3)

¹⁰ Fowler also detects an Aristophanic dimension to the story and specifically compares Hippocleides, as "the buffoon with whom the audience identifies," to Philocleon (2003: 313-314) – recall that Philocleon is also an enthusiastic and unrepentant solo dancer. On this point, see also Strasburger 1965: 596, R. Thomas 1989: 269, Griffiths 1995: 43-44, and Kurke 2011: 421. *Contra* Ogden, who remarks that "it is appropriately then to the great tyrant [Cleisthenes, in his response to Hippocleides' dance] that the true wit of the exchange belongs" (1997: 117).

¹¹ See 6.126.3 (τοῖσι Κλεισθένης καὶ δρόμον καὶ παλαιστὴρην ποιησάμενος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ εἶχε) and 6.128.1 (ἀπικομένων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέρην, ὁ Κλεισθένης πρῶτα μὲν τὰς πάτρας τε αὐτῶν ἀνετύθετο καὶ γένος ἐκάστου, μετὰ δὲ κατέχων ἐνιαυτὸν διεπειρᾶτο αὐτῶν τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίης καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ παιδευσίος τε καὶ τρόπου, καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ἰὼν ἐς συνουσίην καὶ συνάπασιν, καὶ ἐς γυμνάσιάν τε ἐξαγινέων ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν νεώτεροι, καὶ τό γε μέγιστον, ἐν τῇ συνεστίῃ διεπειρᾶτο· ὅσον γὰρ κατεῖχε χρόνον αὐτοῦς, τοῦτον πάντα ἐποίεε καὶ ἅμα ἐξείνιζε μεγαλοπρεπέως).

κατηγέοντο. ἐσπεσὼν δὲ ἐς σωρὸν ψήγματος πρῶτα μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς κνήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅσον ἐχώρειν οἱ κόθορνοι, μετὰ δὲ τὸν κόλπον πάντα πλησάμενος τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπάσας τοῦ ψήγματος καὶ ἄλλο λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα, ἐξήιτε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔλκων μὲν μόγις τοὺς κοθόρνους, παντὶ δὲ τεῶ οἰκῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ: τοῦ τό τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγκωτο. ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον γέλωσ ἐσῆλθε, καὶ οἱ πάντα τε ἐκεῖνα διδοῖ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερα δωρέεται οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκείνων.

When the Lydians from Sardis came from Croesus to the Delphic oracle, Alcmeon son of Megacles worked with them and zealously aided them; when Croesus heard from the Lydians who visited the oracle of Alcmeon's benefits to him, he summoned Alcmeon to Sardis, and there made him a gift of as much gold as he could carry away at one time on his person. Considering the nature of the gift, Alcmeon planned and employed this device: he donned a wide tunic, leaving a deep fold in it, and put on the most spacious boots that he could find, then went into the treasury to which they led him. Falling upon a heap of gold-dust, first he packed next to his legs as much gold as his boots would contain; then he filled all the fold of his tunic with gold and strewed the dust among the hair of his head, and took more of it into his mouth; when he came out of the treasury, hardly dragging the weight of his boots, he was like anything rather than a human being, with his mouth crammed full and all his body swollen. Croesus burst out laughing at the sight and gave him all the gold he already had and that much more again. Thus the family grew very rich; Alcmeon came to keep four-horse chariots and won with them at Olympia. (Herodotus 6.125, trans. Godley)

In his response to Croesus, Alcmeon defies both the ruler's specific expectations and a general sense of propriety. Rather than simply carrying some gold away in his hands, he distorts and transforms his own body in the pursuit of greater riches. The transgressive quality of his actions is indicated by their effect upon his person: with "his mouth stuffed full of gold and his whole body swollen" (τοῦ τό τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγκωτο), Alcmeon ceases to even look like a man (παντὶ δὲ τεῶ οἰκῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ). He thus displays his willingness to distort his body and debase himself for the sake of material gain. In his use of idiosyncratic and subversive corporeality, Alcmeon has something in common with Hippocleides.¹²

Cleisthenes displays a different attitude toward embodied expression. As a ruler, he has become invested in communal dance and music as mechanisms for asserting his own power and authority. Herodotus tells us as much, although not in the course of this specific anecdote. Konrad Kinzl argues that the Hippocleides episode needs to be read in close connection with the prior discussion of Cleisthenes in Book 5 (5.66-68; Kinzl 1980: 180-184). There, Herodotus draws a parallel between the reorganization and renaming of tribes conducted by the Athenian Cleisthenes and the prior tribal changes instituted in Sicyon by his maternal grandfather – the Cleisthenes of Book 6. In the process, the historian also recounts a few changes in performance traditions accomplished by the elder Cleisthenes.

¹² Kurke observes that the suitors, at the start of the Hippocleides narrative, are likewise described as "puffed up" (ἐξώγκωμένοι, 6.126.3) and thus contends that "the repetition effectively binds the two Alcmeonid tales together, associating both with the distended, grotesque body and the nonhuman" (2011: 418).

Herodotus tells us that Cleisthenes of Sicyon abolished rhapsodic contests due to the Homeric poems' focus upon the Argives, whom he regarded as enemies (5.67.1). He then sought to eliminate the existing hero cult of the Argive Adrastus, whom the Sicyonians traditionally celebrated with "sacrifices and festivals" (θυσίας τε καὶ ὄρτας Ἀδρήστον, 5.67.4), and "whose sufferings they honored with tragic choruses honoring, not Dionysus, but Adrastus" (τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμῶντες, τὸν δὲ Ἄδρηστον, 5.67.5). Cleisthenes instead established a cult for an enemy of Adrastus, the Theban Melanippus, and "returned the choruses (i.e., those previously employed in the celebration of Adrastus) to Dionysus, and the rest of the observance to Melanippus" (Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην Μελανίπῳ, 5.67.5). The same Cleisthenes who expresses horror at Hippocleides' individualized and self-motivated dancing is thus a ruler who has previously exerted his own control over choral dancing as a way of sending specific political messages.

According to Kinzl, Cleisthenes' actions as reported in Book 5 help to explain his reaction to Hippocleides' performance, whereby Hippocleides challenges something that is "especially dear to Cleisthenes:" the reformation of dance ("er verging sich gegen etwas, das dem Cleisthenes ganz besonders am Herzen gelegen hat," Kinzl 1980: 182). In Kinzl's reading, Cleisthenes changes the performance culture in Sicyon by "reining in" ("zügelte") Dionysian *choreia* and lending it a more solemn quality ("verlieh ihnen solennen Charakter"), with the result that "wild (or boisterous) dance and the like were, through his innovations, eliminated" ("wildes Tanzen und derlei war durch dieses Schöpfung abgestellt worden," Kinzl 1980: 184). Hippocleides, according to Kinzl, fails to understand this, and performs a boisterous dance that would have been pleasing elsewhere but violates specifically Sicyonian norms (1980: 184).¹³

While Kinzl perceptively calls attention to the relevance of Cleisthenes' prior engagement with performance as described in Book 5, I believe that his emphasis on Dionysiac cult is misplaced. Hippocleides' dance has tragic elements (*emmeleia*), but the description does not otherwise reference Dionysiac performance. Moreover, Herodotus stresses the generic mixing of the dance – Hippocleides starts out with an *emmeleia*, but moves on to other forms and gestures. I would suggest that Hippocleides does indeed threaten something very important to Cleisthenes: not the style of Dionysiac choruses specifically, but rather, *choreia* itself as an institution of social and political control. Cleisthenes' prior use of choruses to downplay the role of an Argive hero in Sicyon displayed his ability to use performance institutions as a way to control the bodies, and thereby hopefully the minds, of his subjects. His "choreography" of the suitors' activities constitutes an extension of that same authoritative impulse. Hippocleides, by moving his body outside of the bounds established by the tyrant, rejects and destabilizes Cleisthenes' authority.

Hippocleides' dancing rejects *choreia* (Cleisthenes' chosen mode of political manipulation), and thereby asserts the power of individualized and idiosyncratic corporeal expression. Herodotus' account of the Alcmaeonid rise to wealth and power likewise juxtaposes the playful corporeality of the ambitious trickster with the staid authority of the established ruler. To be sure, Croesus rewards Alcmeon's clever exploitation of the body, while Cleisthenes rejects

¹³ In agreement with Kinzl, see also Stahl: "Hippokleides' Affront gegenüber Kleisthenes bestand also darin, dass er diesen mit einem durchaus nicht ungewöhnlichen, aber den ureigensten Anstrengungen des Kleisthenes zuwiderlaufenden Schauspiel konfrontierte. In der Geschichte vom Tanz des Hippokleides sind im Kern demnach zwei unterschiedlichen Entwicklungsstufen des dionysischen Kultes und seiner künstlerischen Äusserungsformen repräsentiert" (Stahl 1987: 51).

and represses the somatic creativity of Hippocleides. But the latter's famous rejoinder, "Hippocleides doesn't care" (Οὐ φροντίζει Ἴπποκλείδη, 6.129), exuberantly affirms his personal and political autonomy. Hippocleides does not care about the potential consequences of male solo dance – by choreographing and performing his own idiosyncratic dance, he has already succeeded in undermining Cleisthenes' apparent authority over the bodies of suitors and subjects alike.

This attention to the possibilities of embodied, sometimes vulgar, expression is hardly surprising, as Herodotus himself, as author, also fluently incorporates multiple modes of written and verbal expression into his *Histories*.¹⁴ Unlike a poet committed to the valorization of his own particular medium, Herodotus' innovative generic project actively combines and contrasts multiple modes of expression.¹⁵ With Hippocleides' performance, the historian incorporates the description of non-verbal dance into his narrative repertoire and demonstrates that embodied action can operate both as a meaningful device within a larger historical account and as a source of personal agency for the performer himself.

2. Chorality, Philosophy, and Society in Plato

Individualized dancing is discussed only a few times in Plato's corpus, and I have already addressed one important instance. In Chapter 2, I explored how Plato, in the *Euthydemus*, figures Euthydemus' and Dionysodorus' sophistic argumentation as a kind of virtuoso and individualized dance. I argued that Plato's narration draws the brothers into a choral framework while simultaneously transforming the embodied practice of dance into a mere tool of verbal description. The *Euthydemus* thus displays two crucially intertwined elements of Plato's larger philosophical program: logocentrism and choro-centrism.

A full account of Plato's logocentrism is beyond the scope of this project.¹⁶ I want to make the more specific claim that *choreia* is important for Plato as a model of philosophical and social order and as a mode of kinetic expression susceptible to verbal manipulation. I will first support this claim by elucidating Plato's conceptualization of *choreia*, focusing primarily but not exclusively on the *Laws*.¹⁷ I will explain why Plato's understanding of the value and utility of the chorus leaves little room for more individualized dancing as a social phenomenon and as a descriptive mode. I will conclude by discussing how two brief references to solo dance performances in Plato's *Protagoras* and *Menexenus* affirm my reading of Plato's overarching attitudes towards dance.

¹⁴ E.g., Kurke describes the "bizarre, vertiginous shifts in style, genre, and level of decorum that pervade the *Histories*" and the tensions between *historiē* and *logopoia* in Herodotus (2011: 361; 361-397).

¹⁵ See Kurke 2011, esp. 423-431. We might link this narrative and generic complexity with Herodotus' equally complex relationship to ethnic identity and affiliation (see, e.g., Munson 2006).

¹⁶ Derrida 1981 famously critiqued (and complicated) the logocentric quality of Plato's thought. More recently, Staehler, exploring the relationship between Plato and Levinas, uncovers "something like a phenomenology of the body in Plato" (2010: 49, see esp. 44-55 and 151-163). These are, of course, but two approaches to a complex question.

¹⁷ I recognize that Plato's attitudes towards performance are not entirely uniform, and important variations may be detected in different texts (see, e.g., Peponi 2013b: 16-23 for a survey of chorality as employed in a range of Platonic works). I focus on the *Laws* here because, as Peponi notes, Plato's final dialogue takes a particular interest in cultural manipulation through performance, and therefore necessitates the philosopher's most expansive meditation on the value and utility of *choreia* (Peponi 2013b: 23, cf. also Kowalzig 2013a and Kurke 2013a, both discussed further below).

Socrates' assimilation of Euthydemus and Dionysodorus to choreuts is, as I argued in Chapter 2, incomplete. The sophistic brothers of the *Euthydemus* remain idiosyncratic and aggressive individuals. At the same time, I suggested that Plato's own act of transformation – the subordination of dance to words through the act of description itself – is fully successful. The nature of the text itself reassures the reader that no actual dancing took place in the production of the dialogue. Dance and movement are metaphors and images for the real work of verbal exchange and debate.

Plato's *Protagoras* features a slightly different image of philosophers-as-choreuts. There, Socrates describes an encounter with Protagoras, whom he sees “pacing around the portico” (Πρωταγόραν ἐν τῷ προστώ περιπατοῦντα, 314e), accompanied first by his most intimate associates (315a), then by a crowd of others, “mostly strangers” (πολὸν ξένοι, 315a). Socrates says that Protagoras “enchants them with his voice, just like Orpheus, and they follow, enchanted by his voice—and there were some of our countrymen in the chorus, too” (κηλῶν τῆ φωνῆ ὥσπερ Ὀρφεύς, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν ἔπονται κεκλημένοι— ἦσαν δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐν τῷ χορῷ, 315a-b). As a sophist, Protagoras is not a perfect model of philosophical leadership for Plato, and his choral leadership is likewise imperfect – his followers attend to the “sound of his voice” (*phōnē*) rather than its pure content (which might be expressed by *logos*), and Socrates explicitly compares him to Orpheus, a complicated musical role model, rather than an archetypal *chorēgos* like Apollo.¹⁸ Nonetheless, the description repeats the basic image of philosophical discussion as choral dance explored in greater detail in the *Euthydemus*. Even if it is not fully realized in every instance, *choreia* is thus a generally positive model of philosophical order.¹⁹

As I have already suggested, Plato also conceives of the chorus as a potent mechanism of social order. Leslie Kurke argues that Plato's image of humans as “divine puppets,” which appears explicitly twice in the *Laws* (1.644d7-45c6 and 7.803c2-04c1), “captures and distills certain deeply traditional Greek ways of conceiving chorality” while also illuminating Plato's specific understanding of choral education and its value (2013a: 127). Identifying echoes of puppet imagery in another passage of the *Laws* focused specifically on the value and pleasure of *choreia* (*Laws* 2.653c7-654a7), she observes that, “in this fleeting or half-formed image of a whole chorus of puppets “strung together” [at *Laws* 2.653c7-654a7] we get an intimation of how choral education serves its civic function; it forms ‘perfect citizens,’ for they all work in unison,

¹⁸ In a talk given at Princeton University in October 2013, Griffith mapped out a set of binary oppositions (in some cases nuanced by the presence of additional “middle” terms along a spectrum) in Greek thought on musical expression. He particularly notes a contrast between *logos* (linked with, e.g., the masculine, rational, and simple) and both *audē* and *phōnē* (linked with, e.g., the feminine, foreign, wild, and polychordic). In Griffith's analysis, Orpheus is an important and revealing figure, whose “queerness” reflects an understanding of music, its origins, and its value that differs from the more “straight-laced” musical values emphasizing, e.g., Apolline models, Dorian harmonies, and Greek (as opposed to Thracian) origins (this argument will be further developed in Griffith *forthcoming*). The effect of this characterization of Protagoras is comparable to that of the choral imagery in the *Euthydemus*. Protagoras and his followers are attempting to engage in philosophical discourse, but their execution of it is imperfect (as demonstrated by their subsequent engagement with Socrates). They are thus cast as “enchanted” (κεκλημένοι) choreuts, rather than fully rational participants in an orderly display of cohesion and reciprocity. To be sure, later traditions explicitly link Protagoras with Apollo (see Burkert 1972: 91, 141-143, 178 and Kurke 2011: 109), and the sophist's origins would seem to point in both directions at once – Protagoras hails from Abdera, a city near to the Thracian homeland of Orpheus, but also one whose patron deity was Apollo (Burkert 1972: 110 n.2). My interest here is in the force of the musical and kinetic imagery employed by Plato in this particular passage (which emphasizes the non-normativity and irrationally of Orphic enchantment), rather than in providing a full account of Protagoras and divine/musical associations more generally.

¹⁹ This claim is further supported by my discussion of choral community and cooperation as a positive image of cosmic order in Plato's work below.

in harmony with each other” (2013a: 132). Kurke’s reading explores the theological and ritual implications of Plato’s conceptualization of *choreia*, but she also highlights its sociological force, concluding: “Plato ... is interested in the long-term, permanent ordering effects that a lifetime of choral habituation installs within the soul of each dancer and among the dancers as a citizen group” (2013a: 160).

Barbara Kowalzig also clarifies how the act of “dancing together” operates as a means of social control in Plato’s conceptualization of community performance in the *Laws*. Like Kurke, she considers how Plato both reflects and refigures older Greek traditions, focusing specifically on his understanding of *rhythmos*. She argues that:

[...] rhythm, the social experience of the passage of time, is one of Plato’s principal concerns. The conceptualisation of *rhythmos* as a social force – in what I called the bodily social – allows him to materialise, virtually to embody, the ordered passage of time. Rhythm in the *Laws* becomes the point where individual and collective temporalities meet, in the motion of the communal dancing body physically and emotionally strung together in a shared set of moral and ethical attitudes and values. An understanding of the physicality of the individual body is key to this enterprise: in an intriguing set of links communal dancing turns into civic body management and the chorality into a practice where the biological and the culturally acquired converge. (2013c: 201-202).

Kurke and Kowalzig reveal why the embodied practice of *choreia* is crucial for Plato. In the *Laws*, dancing and singing together is conceived as a way to suture individual bodies to one another and to create links between performers, audience members, and the divine.²⁰ Choral dance thus becomes a force of communal embodiment, an act that lifts performers and spectators alike out of their individual bodies and into a powerful and ideologically-charged awareness of shared experience.²¹ Given this emphasis on *choreia* as a social force, we can see why solo and individualized dancing – motion that keeps the performer and spectator alike focused on the experience and expression of a single human body – is largely absent from the *Laws*.²²

²⁰ See Kurke 2012 and 2013a.

²¹ For the ways in which Plato imagines spectators as caught up in performance, see Book 2 of the *Laws*, wherein the Athenian remarks that old men organize performances of *choreia* by younger men in order that they may awaken (*epigerein*) their own memories of performance (657d). As Prauscello observes, this claim suggests that “to watch the dance and song *is* a way to participate in it” (2011: 154, emphasis in original).

²² Plato most explicitly examines the benefits of dance for the individual body in a passage where he closely aligns dance (*orchēsis*) with exercise (*gymnastikē*) and wrestling (*palē*), rather than considering it as part of a larger system of *mousikē* and *choreia* (which is his general tendency in the *Laws*). In this passage, the Athenian divides the lessons to be offered to children into two categories: “the gymnastic, which pertains to the body, and the ‘musical,’ which benefits the soul” (τὰ μὲν ὅσα περὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμναστικῆς, τὰ δ’ εὐψυχίας χάριν μουσικῆς, *Laws* 7.795d). He goes on to assign *orchēsis* (dance without any inherent implications for musical or vocal accompaniment), along with wrestling (*palē*) to the realm of *gymnastikē* (7.795d-e), and notes its salutary effects upon the “health, agility, and beauty” of the body (εὐεξίας ἐλαφρότητός τε ἔνεκα καὶ κάλλους, 7.795e). But *mousikē*, for Plato and in Greek usage more generally, also includes dance (cf., e.g., *Laws* 2.655a). I would suggest that this is the force of the Athenian’s division, here, of dance (*orchēsis*) into two further subcategories: the one mentioned above, which has particular benefits for the human body, and that which “imitates the style of the Muses” (perhaps an oblique reference to *mousikē*), thereby preserving “freedom and nobility” (τῆς ὀρχήσεως δὲ ἄλλη μὲν Μούσης λέξις μιμουμένων, τό τε μεγαλοπρεπὲς φυλάττοντας ἅμα καὶ ἐλεύθερον, 7.795e). The latter mode of dancing, involving *mousikē*, the Muses, and benefits for the soul, is Plato’s principal concern throughout the *Laws*, and it is thoroughly bound up in *choreia* and its corresponding vocal dimension (note here that this “loftier” or soul-benefiting form of

Plato's use of *choreia* as a descriptive or explanatory image reveals a similar set of values. Peponi notes that, in addition to the discussion of choral dance as cultural force in the *Laws*, Plato's *Republic* and *Phaedrus* employ *choreia* in the elucidation of the philosopher's metaphysics (*Republic* 616b-617d; *Phaedrus* 246-248; Peponi 2013b: 18-21). She observes that Plato's celestial imagery in those texts implicitly explores "the potential of a thoroughly reimagined and refashioned chorality," combining aspects of contemporary Athenian performance practice with utterly fantastic elements (Peponi 2013b: 21). I want to highlight one specific insight from Peponi's analysis: the importance of choral communality in Plato's imagery.

In both the *Republic* and the *Phaedrus*, the plurality of the group described (whether divine agents, as in the *Republic*, or souls, as in the *Phaedrus*) is crucial. In the *Republic*, the image of the chorus helps to illustrate divine *harmonia* (Peponi 2013b: 18-20). In the *Phaedrus*, the soul itself is imagined as a complex but ideally cooperative unit, consisting of a chariot, two winged horses, and a charioteer (*Phaedrus* 246a-b). Human souls, figured as choreuts, follow the leadership of the gods' souls.²³ Peponi also observes that "instead of actually dancing, the chorus of soul-chariots is in fact 'being danced,' for they are stationed on the rim of heavens, which itself rotates" (2013b: 21). Plato thereby transforms dance from an act of individual kinetic agency into a passive state of "being moved." Finally, Peponi contrasts Plato's conceptualization of access to the Forms in the *Phaedrus* with his conceptualization of the same in the *Symposium*, remarking that "unlike the *Symposion*, where the young man's gradual ascent towards the Forms appears in Diotima's doctrine to be quite solitary, the process of an orderly 'choral' viewing of the Forms in the *Phaedrus* might indeed represent an experiment on Plato's part to reimagine the potential of the chorus as an initiatory institution" (2013b: 21).²⁴ She thus interprets the fantastic conceptualization of *choreia* in the *Phaedrus* as consistent with the organization of *choreia* as cultural institution in the *Laws*. Here, I stress how those metaphysical

dance specifically imitates the *lexis* of the Muses – which can certainly mean "style" in a general sense, but also denotes speech or words more specifically). Thus, while Plato and the Athenian may leave some room for individualized dancing, or at least a focus on the individual body in dance, within the sub-category of *orchēsis* more closely aligned with *gymnastikē* and somatic benefits, choral dancing remains the central and most beneficial mode, and one which is bound up in both communality and language (e.g., *lexis*). In addition, Plato's use of language essentially erases the major model of solo, non-verbal, female dance performance – the *orchēstris* – from the realm of possibility. In the same section of Book 7 discussed immediately above, the Athenian also proposes that "it would be quite proper for boys to have male dancing instructors, and girls to have female dancing instructors (τοῖς μὲν τοῖων παισὶν ὄρχησταί, ταῖς δὲ ὄρχηστρίδες ἂν εἶεν πρὸς τὸ διαπνεῖν οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδείοτερον, 7.813b). In this context, *orchestai* and *orchēstrides* can only mean male and female instructors, yet the use of *orchēstris/orchēstrides* to mean "female dance teacher," rather than "dancing female sympotic entertainer," is unparalleled in archaic and classical Greek literature. By thus re-defining the term, Plato transforms the *orchēstris* into a functioning cog within the social choral system, rather than a paradigm of solo performance.

²³ Human souls as chorus: *Phaedrus* 247a and 250b; as choreuts: *Phaedrus* 252d; as following the gods: *Phaedrus* 248a and 250b. On Plato's position within a much larger tradition of choral cosmology, see esp. Miller 1986 and Csapo 2008.

²⁴ The most immediately relevant passage of the *Symposium* is 210a-212b. Note, however, that while the *Symposium* presents philosophical ascent as a solitary endeavor, Plato still conceives it as a process of disembodiment (see Gilhuly 2009: 86-91). Thus, while Peponi highlights an important distinction between the two models of access to the Forms, I would also point out that they share a conceptual framework that de-emphasizes or denies individual embodiment and kinetic agency – in the *Symposium*, this is accomplished by a more general move away from corporeality (see Gilhuly 2009: 58-97), whereas in the *Phaedrus*, it is accomplished by a move towards choral dancing constructed as an emphatically passive act (see Peponi 2013c: 21, "the chorus of soul chariots is in fact 'being danced'").

images of choral dancing, like their institutional counterparts in the *Laws*, work by lifting a person out of his or her individual body and forging a powerful sense of connection and continuity across time and space.

For Plato, the chorus is a vehicle of individual disembodiment, whether accomplished abstractly, for the purposes of illustrating a philosophical point, or put into practice through the establishment of choral institutions. Moreover, the fantastic choruses of the *Phaedrus* and the *Republic* are complex images constructed in language, descriptive tools of philosophical explanation and argumentation. Like the kinetic metaphors of the *Euthydemus*, they engage with dance as an abstraction rather than an embodied reality. In the *Laws*, the corporeality of choreuts is more immediately relevant, but choral dancing remains intimately bound up in choral singing.²⁵ Chorality, in Plato, is thus consistently linked with language and verbal expression.

Plato's understanding of the value of dance is further illuminated by two explicit references to non-choral forms. I have already observed that the *Protagoras* employs *choreia* as a basically positive, if imperfectly executed, model of philosophical leadership and discourse. It also features a pejorative mention of individualized dancing, as Socrates says to Protagoras:

καὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ μοι τὸ περὶ ποιήσεως διαλέγεσθαι ὁμοιότατον εἶναι τοῖς συμποσίοις τοῖς τῶν φαύλων καὶ ἀγοραίων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἀλλήλοις δι' ἑαυτῶν συνεῖναι ἐν τῷ πότῳ μηδὲ διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φωνῆς καὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν ἑαυτῶν ὑπὸ ἀπαιδευσίας, τιμίας ποιοῦσι τὰς ἀυλητρίδας, πολλοὺ μισθοῦμενοι ἀλλοτρίαν φωνὴν τὴν τῶν ἀυλῶν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων φωνῆς ἀλλήλοις σύνεισιν· ὅπου δὲ καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ συμπόται καὶ πεπαιδευμένοι εἰσίν, οὐκ ἂν ἴδοις οὔτ' ἀυλητρίδας οὔτε ὄρχηστρίδας οὔτε ψαλτρίδας, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὺς ὄντας συνεῖναι ἄνευ τῶν λήρων τε καὶ παιδιῶν τούτων διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν φωνῆς, λέγοντάς τε καὶ ἀκούοντας ἐν μέρει ἑαυτῶν κοσμίως, κἂν πάνυ πολλὸν οἶνον πίωσιν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ αἱ τοιαῖδε συνουσίαι, ἐὰν μὲν λάβωνται ἀνδρῶν οἰοίπερ ἡμῶν οἱ πολλοὶ φασιν εἶναι, οὐδὲν δέονται ἀλλοτρίας φωνῆς οὐδὲ ποιητῶν, οὐς οὔτε ἀνερέσθαι οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν, ἐπαγόμενοί τε αὐτοὺς οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οἱ μὲν ταῦτά φασιν τὸν ποιητὴν νοεῖν, οἱ δ' ἕτερα, περὶ πράγματος διαλεγόμενοι ὃ ἀδυνατοῦσι ἐξελέγξαι.

For it seems to me that arguing about poetry is comparable to the wine-parties of common market-folk. These people, owing to their inability to carry on a familiar conversation over their wine by means of their own voices and discussions— such is their lack of education—put a premium on *aulos*-girls by hiring the extraneous voice of the *aulos* at a high price, and carry on their intercourse by means of its utterance. But where the party consists of thorough gentlemen who have had a proper education, you will see neither *aulos*-girls nor dancing-girls nor harp-girls, but only the company contenting themselves with their own conversation, and none of these fooleries and frolics—each speaking and listening decently in his turn, even though they may drink a great deal of wine. And so a gathering like this of ours, when it includes such men as most of us claim to be, requires no extraneous voices, not even of the poets, whom one cannot question on the sense

²⁵ See, e.g., Kowalzig 2013a on the importance of the physical body for Plato's conceptualization of choral education in the *Laws*. Note also that *choreia* in the *Laws* signifies choral song and dance combined – *orchēsis* independent of singing belongs more to the realm of athletic training (see n. 22 above).

of what they say; when they are adduced in discussion we are generally told by some that the poet thought so and so, and by others, something different, and they go on arguing about a matter which they are powerless to determine. (Plato, *Protagoras* 347c-e. (trans. Lamb, modified).

Socrates contrasts the sympotic conversation of good and educated men (καλοὶ καγαθοὶ συμπόται καὶ πεπαιδευμένοι εἰσὶν) with the diversions common at the symposia of “base and vulgar people” (τοῖς συμποσίοις τοῖς τῶν φαύλων καὶ ἀγοραίων ἀνθρώπων). Dancing girls (ὄρχηστρίδας) are specifically included in the modes of entertainment excluded from the practice of real philosophical debate. Socrates’ distinctions here mirror the “exile of the body” from the symposium in Plato’s *Symposium*.²⁶ The passage thus sets forth a straightforward opposition between philosophical *logos* and activities like individualized sympotic dance. The kinetic imagery of the *Protagoras* as a whole thus implies that choral dancing might bear some relationship to philosophical discourse, but that more singular, sexualized, commercial, and non-verbal forms have no place among the discussions of educated men.²⁷

Plato’s *Menexenus* includes a more complicated reference to solo dance, but one that ultimately reinforces a similar set of values. The majority of the *Menexenus* is given over to Socrates’ recitation of a funeral speech, which he claims to have learned from Pericles’ mistress Aspasia. The dialogue is plagued by interpretive challenges, which often boil down to the basic question: is the speech serious or playful?²⁸ More recent scholarship rejects the need for a strict either/or distinction between seriousness and play, arguing that the comedic, parodic, and satiric qualities of the *Menexenus* have “serious philosophical implications.”²⁹ Franco Trivigno specifically argues that Socrates’ speech in the *Menexenus* is a parody of the funeral oration as a genre. He defines parody with reference to two specific techniques exemplified by Aristophanes: inversion (which “upsets or overturns the target text by distorting the original in a way that reverses the stylistic effect of semantic intention”) and amplification (which “hones in on one aspect of the target text and amplifies it to absurdity, often exposing its artificiality as a literary trope”) (Trivigno 2009: 30). He demonstrates that identifying these techniques within Socrates’ speech can help resolve several of the most persistent interpretive challenges of the *Menexenus*. He concludes that Plato, through Socrates’ parodic oration, exposes how funeral

²⁶ See Gilhuly, for whom the female *aulētris* “is, in a sense, consonant with the materiality of the symposium. ... Her banishment is a necessary precondition for the philosophical discussion that forms the bulk of the dialogue” (2009: 62). The hierarchy of sonic modes (e.g., speech over instrumental music) expressed here is also striking, and it seems to be part of a pervasive interest in sound, speech, and communication in the *Protagoras* (cf. also Plato’s mention of another sophist, Prodicus, whose quality of voice is so deep (διὰ τὴν βαρύτητα τῆς φωνῆς) that it creates “a certain buzzing” (βόμβος τις), making the content of the conversation itself difficult to discern, 316a). But a full investigation of sound and performance in the *Protagoras* is beyond the scope of this project; I confine myself here to the consideration of dance specifically.

²⁷ Cf. also Athenaeus 607a, wherein Myrtilus quotes the philosopher Persaeus on propriety at symposia, making the same contrast between drunkenness/dancing girls and philosophical discourse. It is notable that Plato here goes so far as to include even poets among the “extraneous voices” to be banished from the proper philosophical symposium (οὐδὲν δεόνται ἄλλοτρίας φωνῆς οὐδὲ ποιητῶν, 347e, cf. the ἄλλοτρίαν φωνὴν of *auloi* at 347a). I would suggest that the word οὐδὲ (“not even”) here is crucial, as it signals Socrates’ intention to push the limits of this argument and find out where the line between “extraneous” *phonē* and philosophical *logos* lies (see above for Griffith’s analysis of the relationship between *phonē* and *logos* in Greek thought more broadly).

²⁸ For “serious” readings, see, e.g., Huby 1957 and Kahn 1963. For “playful” or “parodic” ones, see, e.g., Bloedow 1975 and Loraux 1986.

²⁹ Trivigno 2009: 30. For this interpretive approach, see also Salkever 1993 and Long 2003.

speeches can “encourage self-ignorant complacency, an indifference to truth, and the pursuit of false goods” (Trivigno 2009: 46). At the same time, Trivigno suggests that the dialogue itself “invites its reader to respond critically and engage in the issues philosophically,” thereby creating an opportunity for the true investigation of virtue valued by Plato (2009: 44).

My reading here aims to enrich, rather than undermine, Trivigno’s analysis. In particular, I want to reflect further on the force of Socrates’ apparent willingness to “strip naked and dance” for Menexenus (ἀποδύντα ὀρχήσασθαι, 236d). This imagined dancing, I will argue, frames the entire speech in ways beyond those noted by Trivigno (2009: 34). It can also be meaningfully connected with the attribution of the entire speech to the courtesan Aspasia.

When Socrates agrees to recite the speech for Menexenus, he adds, “but indeed I must surely gratify you, such that I would almost oblige you, were you to command me to strip naked and dance, since we two are alone” (ἀλλὰ μέντοι σοί γε δεῖ χαρίζεσθαι, ὅστε κἂν ὀλίγου, εἴ με κελεύοις ἀποδύντα ὀρχήσασθαι, χαρισαίμην ἅν, ἐπειδὴ γε μόνω ἐσμέν, 236c-d). Trivigno suggests that “this declaration recalls the practice of the chorus in Old Comedy, which always cast off their cloaks before dancing and sometimes announced that they were doing so” (2009: 34). He argues that this reference to comedic custom helps signal the parodic nature of the dialogue. I do not contest that reading, but I would note that Socrates also stresses the fact that he is alone with Menexenus (ἐπειδὴ γε μόνω ἐσμέν, 236d). He has no chorus to accompany him in his dancing. For this reason, I would suggest that Socrates’ projected dancing is also meant to evoke sympotic performance practices – specifically, those of the hired dancer or musician.³⁰ His desire to gratify Menexenus thereby acquires a hint of sexual commodification.

While Menexenus himself continually ignores Socrates’ attribution of the speech to Aspasia, it is a detail that we ought to take seriously.³¹ Aspasia, a courtesan and mistress of Pericles, is the subject of a comparatively rich ancient biographical tradition. While she is not, in our extant sources, associated with dance specifically, she is marked by erotic appeal more generally.³² Lucian, praising Socrates’ interest in dance, includes his relationship with Aspasia among a set of other “low” and sympotic pursuits: enthusiasm for dancing (ἐμελλέν γε ἐκεῖνος περὶ ὀρχηστικὴν οὐ μετρίως σπουδάσασθαι, *On the Dance* 25), frequenting the “schools of *aulos*-girls” (εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα τῶν αὐλητρίδων ἐφοῖτα, 25), and a willingness to learn from the courtesan Aspasia (παρ’ ἐταίρας γυναικὸς οὐκ ἀπηξίου σπουδαῖόν τι ἀκούειν, τῆς Ἀσπασίας, 25).³³ In the *Menexenus*, Socrates thus likens himself to a dancing girl (ἀποδύντα ὀρχήσασθαι,

³⁰ On the nudity or near-nudity of such (female) performers, see Chapter 4: fig. 1, as well as Anacreon 399 *PMG*: ἐκδύσα κισθῶνα δωριάζειν (“taking off your chiton to play the Dorian,” subject is female). While Dillon and Garland suggest this might be an allusion to the scanty clothing typical of Spartan girls (2000: 438), given the performance context and dominant subject matter of Anacreon’s poetry, it seems at least as likely to reference the performance practices of a female symposiast or entertainer.

³¹ On Menexenus’ disregard for the origins of the speech, see Long 2003: 53 n. 11

³² See Henry 1995 on Aspasia and the various sources for her life. Henry sees a distinction between the base and sexualized representation of Aspasia in Attic comedy as “*porne* and *procuress*” (1995: 28) and her more elevated position in “philosophical discourse,” which “for a moment... allowed a woman to advocate that women and men, connected by eros, search together for the good” (1995: 56; for Henry, philosophical discourse represented by Plato and Xenophon). While I believe that Henry is right to stress the generic distinctions between comedy and philosophy, I would argue that Plato’s representation of Aspasia is hardly that of an authoritative female philosopher (that is, she differs in important respects from the wholly disembodied Diotima, whose utility for Plato is analyzed by Halperin 1990 and Gilhuly 2009: 58-97).

³³ In making this claim, Lucian (or his character Lycinus, who is actually speaking here) seems to draw primarily from Xenophon. In the final section of this chapter, however, I will discuss Xenophon’s portrayal of Socrates as a dancer and demonstrate that his enthusiasm for dancing is a bit more complicated than Lycinus suggests.

236d) as he prepares to recite the speech of a prostitute. His willingness to perform this kinetic and sexual role marks his readiness to take on the role of the courtesan in performing the speech.³⁴

When Socrates transforms himself into a sympotic entertainer in order to recite Aspasia's speech, he implies that the role of prostitute is somehow integral to the performance of the oration. This is an act of parody and undermining that exceeds that identified by Trivigno. Socrates is comparing the orator to a prostitute, constructing him as a figure who provides his audience with gratification and pleasure rather than instruction and enlightenment.³⁵ But as I suggested before, this is a reading that ultimately reinforces Trivigno's basic contention that "by following the epitaphios's logic of praise to absurdity, Socrates exposes its utter lack of concern for truth. The bewitching feeling of self-satisfaction...depends on deception. By making the audience feel good when being deceived, the funeral oration fosters an indifference to truth" (Trivigno 2009: 41). Plato again opposes solo dancing, particularly in the sexualized and commercialized mode of the *orchēstris*, to the productive and enlightening practice of philosophical discourse. In the broader context of Plato's thought on dance and performance traced here, we might further identify a system wherein monologic speech and individualized dancing are both negatively marked, while communal choreia and philosophical dialogue are categorized as positive and productive.

In addition, Socrates – in the *Menexenus* – does not actually dance. Rather, he qualifies his promise to Menexenus by saying that he would "almost" (ὀλίγου, 236c) be willing to "strip naked and dance" (ἀποδύντα ὀρχήσασθαι, 236d). Even if the subsequent recitation of the speech is, as I have argued, an act of entertainment and audience gratification comparable to the performance of a prostitute-entertainer, Socrates never delivers on his apparent, if qualified, desire to dance. With the important qualifying adverb "almost," Plato pulls back from fully transforming Socrates into a dancer and keeps his focus on verbal discourse, rather than embodied expression.³⁶ Xenophon, by contrast, displays a consistent willingness to explore and dwell upon the possibilities of dance and corporeality, although we will see that he, too, stops short of presenting the reader with an actively dancing Socrates.

3. Dance and Description: Xenophon's Performance Narratives

References to dance and performance are scattered throughout Xenophon's multi-generic corpus, and a full study of Xenophon as a theorist of dance would certainly be illuminating. Here, however, I embark upon a more modest project. I will consider the representation of solo dance in two very different texts: the historical *Anabasis* and philosophical *Symposium*. I will demonstrate that the use of dance in both works exemplifies Xenophon's general attitude towards the possibilities of performance. In the process, I will also reveal how Xenophon

³⁴ Note that Socrates also likens himself to a slave, claiming that he learned the speech from Aspasia as she went along, and that he "nearly got a beating whenever [he] forgot" (ὀλίγου πληγὰς ἔλαβον ὅτ' ἐπελανθανόμεν, 236c). However, this detail, like Socrates' imagined dancing, is qualified: just as he was "nearly" (ὀλίγου) flogged, he is "almost" (ὀλίγου) willing to dance for Menexenus. I will comment on the importance of this below.

³⁵ On praise as prostitution, cf. Pindar Isthmian 2.1-8, particularly as discussed by Kurke 1991 (Chapter 10) and 1996.

³⁶ Throughout this section, I have focused on Plato's investment in verbal discourse, sidestepping the larger question of Plato's attitudes towards written (as opposed to spoken) expression. For discussion of this issue (especially as it comes to the fore in Phaedrus, a dialogue not discussed here), see Reitzammer 2016: 214-215 and G.R.F. Ferrari 1987: 204-222, with further bibliography.

engages with earlier cultural models of both male and female solo dancing. I suggest that Xenophon displays a unique willingness to engage with individualized dancing, and that he thus provides a fitting conclusion to this chapter and this project.

a. Commander and Choreographer: Anabasis 5.8-6.1.14

The opening chapters of the fifth book of Xenophon's *Anabasis* feature rich and complex descriptions of both solo and choral dance performance. At this point, the Greek army has reached the Euxine Sea and paused near the city of Cotyora. Some of the Greeks have taken to pillaging the nearby Paphlogian territories, while the Paphlagonians have responded with kidnapping and a nighttime attack (6.1.1). The Paphlagonian king subsequently sends an embassy to the Greek camp, and the Greek generals invite the ambassadors to stay for an evening of feasting and entertainment, which includes a series of dance performances (6.1.2-14). While Xenophon's description of these performances includes intriguing hints about the choreographic qualities and geographic and ethnic origins of the various dances, I will argue here that we should be very cautious about taking this information at face value. As I will demonstrate, these dances accomplish several distinct purposes within the larger text, and are thus primarily useful as a way of examining Xenophon's narrative strategies and his understanding of dance itself.

The evening begins with sacrifices, feasting, reclining, and drinking (6.1.4). The entire group pours libations and sings a paean (ἐπεὶ δὲ σπονδαί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν, 6.1.5). Xenophon then describes an armed dance performed by two Thracian men (6.1.5-6), followed by a dance called the *Carpaea*, performed by the Aenianians and Magnesians (Αἰνιᾶνες καὶ Μάγνητες, 6.1.7). Both dances are described in choreographic detail: the first seems to mime a man-to-man battle with daggers (ταῖς μαχαίραις ἐχρῶντο, 6.1.5), while the second features an encounter between a farmer and a robber (6.1.8-9). Next, a single Mysian man performs a series of solo dances (6.1.9-10). This spectacle is then followed by another group performance, wherein Mantineans and Arcadians, "armed with the finest equipment they could find, accompanied by the *aulos* sang the paean and danced in time to the martial rhythm, just as they do in their processions for the gods" (ἐξοπλισάμενοι ὡς ἐδύναντο κάλλιστα ἦσαν τε ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον ῥυθμὸν ἀλούμενοι καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς προσόδοις, 6.1.11). The Paphlagonians remark upon the preponderance of armed dances (οἱ Παφλαγόνες δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο πάσας τὰς ὀρχήσεις ἐν ὅπλοις εἶναι, 6.1.11), and the Mysian man, in response, brings out an *orchēstris* (ὀρχηστρίδα εἰσάγει, 6.1.12) to perform an armed dance of her own (6.1.12). The Paphlagonians ask if "women fight alongside" the Greeks (οἱ Παφλαγόνες ἦροντο εἰ καὶ γυναῖκες συνεμάχοντο αὐτοῖς, 6.1.13), and the Greeks reply that indeed, "it was these very women who drove the [Persian] king from his camp" (ὅτι αὐταὶ καὶ αἱ τρεψάμεναι εἶεν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, 6.1.13). Thus ends the evening (τῇ μὲν νυκτὶ ταύτῃ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο, 6.1.13).

Within the larger narrative of the *Anabasis*, these dances are not part of a neutral display of Greek sympotic practices performed in the name of cultural exchange. Rather, they are strategic displays of Greek military readiness and enthusiasm intended to cow the troublesome Paphlagonian raiders. This encounter between the Greeks and the Paphlagonians is thus first and

foremost a diplomatic event.³⁷ Moreover, Xenophon’s description repeatedly calls attention to the reactions of the Paphlagonians. In the course of the Thracian dance, they “cry out” (ἀνέκραγον οἱ Παφλαγόνες, 6.1.6) when one of the performers “falls rather skillfully” (ὁ δ’ ἔπεσε τεχνικῶς πῶς, 6.1.5). They are struck by the fact that all of the dances are performed under arms, and even more amazed when a woman dances the *pyrrichē* (6.1.11-13). Xenophon is surely not suggesting that Greek sympotic and folk dances were exclusively armed – the claim made by the Mysian that Greek women were responsible for the defeat of the Persians (6.1.5) is likewise fictitious. That final claim, however, makes verbally explicit the message embodied by these dances: the Greeks are powerful and ever-ready warriors, who use weapons skillfully even in their leisure-time pursuit of dance. When the Greeks subsequently make peace with the Paphlagonians and depart from the region (ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις μήτε ἀδικεῖν Παφλαγόνας μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι, 6.1.14), the agreement is tinged by the prior evening’s display of Greek force and skill. Xenophon implies that the Greek army possesses the ability to defeat the Paphlagonians by force, but instead magnanimously agrees to leave them in peace.

In addition, Book 5 of the *Anabasis* ends with an episode foregrounding Xenophon’s own role as an actor within the narrative. At that point, Xenophon describes how the army goes about settling a series of disputes (5.8). He notes that “certain men made accusations against Xenophon [referring to himself, as usual, in the 3rd person], saying they had been beaten by him” (Ξενοφῶντος δὲ κατηγορήσαν τινες φάσκοντες παῖεσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, 5.8.1). The inquiry proceeds, with the men describing the conditions under which they were beaten and Xenophon defending his actions (5.8.2-26). The chapter and the book end pleasantly, for after Xenophon delivers a rousing speech on requirements of leadership (5.8.16-26), the group “gets up and recalls past events, and everything turns out well” (ἐκ τούτου μὲν δὴ ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἀνεμίμνησκον. καὶ περιεγένετο ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν, 5.8.26). At the same time, the men’s complaints raise important questions about the bodily autonomy of the individual soldier and the extent of the commander’s authority. Even if the book ends on a pleasant note, the authority of the character-Xenophon, specifically over the bodies and motions of his subordinates, has been challenged and slightly destabilized.³⁸

The dance performances at the beginning of Book 6, then, display the military prowess of the Greek army while also reinforcing the narrative authority of Xenophon himself. The episode as a whole does little to advance the military plot of the *Anabasis*, and the process of making peace with the Paphlagonians could certainly have been described without extensive reference to dance and choreography. But the description of dance enables Xenophon to emphasize his role as author and narrator, thereby reclaiming the authority called into question at the end of Book 5. Instead of reading about the internal character Xenophon defending his position as commander, we find the external author Xenophon displaying his control as “choreographer” of his dance descriptions. I have already demonstrated how both the staging and narrative framing of these dances display the power of the Greek army; I will now explain how they also foreground the authority of the descriptive narrator over his own written work.

³⁷ The Paphlagonian visitors are ambassadors sent by the Paphlagonian king Corylas (ὁ δὲ Κορύλας, ὃς ἐτύγγανε τότε Παφλαγονίας ἄρχων, πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρέσβεις, 1.2) and are received as such by the Greek generals (οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι περὶ μὲν τούτων σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ βουλευσονται, ἐπὶ ξένια δὲ ἐδέχοντο αὐτούς, 1.3).

³⁸ We might compare this interest in the relative power and authority of the individual and the group with concerns apparent in Xenophon’s *Hiero* – in an analysis of that text, Sevieri identifies parallels between Xenophon’s rhetoric and that of 5th century encomiastic poets (e.g., Pindar), and concludes that the poets and Xenophon have a common problem: “that of accommodating the ambitions and achievements of the successful individual to the needs of the community” (2004: 286).

Even if Xenophon's account of the Greek and Paphlagonian festivities reference actual historical events, the narration and description of them within the *Anabasis* involves significant artistry. The sequence of performances is highly structured: they commence with the singing of a group paeon (ἐπαιάνισαν, 6.1.5), continue with an armed dance (6.1.5-6), proceed to a more narrative sequence of dance, also involving weapons (the *Carpaea*, 6.1.7-9), return to a set of armed dances (6.1.9-10), and conclude with another group paeon, this time involving both song and dance (ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο, 6.1.11). The performance of the armed *orchēstris* is set off from the rest by Xenophon's description of the Paphlagonian response (6.1.11) and the consequent staging of the girl's performance (6.1.12). I have already commented on the significance of weaponry and martial elements in these dances, but they are also linked by a recurring emphasis on rhythmic movement to the accompaniment of the *aulos*, described by the narrator in gradually expanding terms (πρὸς αὐλὸν ὠρχήσαντο, 6.1.5; ταῦτ' ἐποίουν ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν, 6.1.8; ταῦτα πάντα ἐν ῥυθμῷ ἐποίει πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν, 6.1.10; ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον ῥυθμὸν αὐλούμενοι καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο, 6.1.11).

While the organizational scheme I describe here is certainly not the only way to trace correspondences and parallels among these dances, the sequencing of paeon-weapon dance-plow dance-weapon dance-paeon is striking. This structure also centers the extended description of the plow dance, or *Carpaea*, which is arguably the strangest component of the narrative. Moreover, the plow dance is the point where Xenophon most vividly destabilizes the act of dance description itself, thereby making visible his own narrative role.

The *Carpaea* is described as follows:

μετὰ τοῦτο Αἰνιᾶνες καὶ Μάγνητες ἀνέστησαν, οἱ ὠρχοῦντο τὴν καρπαίαν καλουμένην ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ὠρχήσεως ἦν, ὁ μὲν παραθέμενος τὰ ὅπλα σπεῖρει καὶ ζευγηλατεῖ, πυκνὰ δὲ στρεφόμενος ὡς φοβούμενος, ληστής δὲ προσέρχεται· ὁ δ' ἐπειδὴν προΐδηται, ἀπαντᾷ ἀρπάσας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ μάχεται πρὸ τοῦ ζεύγους· καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτ' ἐποίουν ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν· καὶ τέλος ὁ ληστής δήσας τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ζεύγος ἀπάγει· ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ὁ ζευγηλάτης τὸν ληστήν· εἶτα παρὰ τοὺς βοῦς ζεύξας ὀπίσω τὸ χεῖρε δεδεμένον ἐλαύνει.

After this, the Aenianians and Magnesians arose and danced a dance called the *Carpaea* with weapons. The manner of the dance was like this: a man who has put aside his weapons sows and drives oxen, frequently turning around as though in fear, and a robber approaches. And when the sower sees him coming, he snatches up his weapons and fights in front of his oxen. And they do all these things rhythmically to the music of the *aulos*. Finally, the robber binds the man and drives off the oxen; and sometimes the oxen-driver binds the robber, and then, having yoked him alongside the oxen, with his hands tied behind him, he drives [them]. (*Anabasis* 6.1.7-9)

On the one hand, this description features a high level of choreographic detail and clarity, such that the reader can mostly discern and imaginatively reconstruct the sequence and style of the dance. As I suggested above, this dance – along with the others – serves an intelligible role within the larger military narrative. The *Carpaea* is the most vividly mimetic dance performed, and it clearly relates to the surrounding historical events: the current conflict originated in the Greek practice of pillaging the Paphlagonian lands (6.1.1). The Aenianians and Magnesians thus

represent in dance the kinds of events that precipitated the present diplomatic engagement. On one level, their representation is tactfully and diplomatically balanced: sometimes the robber wins, sometimes the farmer prevails. At the same time, the dance is embedded within a heavy-handed sequence of armed dances, expertly performed by various members of the Greek army. For the Paphlagonian audience, the message seems to be that fighting and pillaging are matters of play for the Greeks – skillfully executed in artistic representation, and able to be carried out even more effectively in reality.

In additions, there a few problems with Xenophon’s narration of the performance. He begins by identifying a seemingly large group of dancers: (plural) Aenianians and (plural) Magnesians (Αἰνιᾶνες καὶ Μάγνητες). Yet the choreography he subsequently describes calls for only two performers: the sower and the robber. Then, at the end of the description, Xenophon offers two different versions of the dance, remarking that the robber binds the sower and drives off the oxen, then commenting that sometimes (ἐνίοτε), the sower actually gets the better of the robber.

In the absence of any further clarification, the reader is unable to imagine how the remaining Aenianians and Magnesians figure into the performance. He is also unable to decide which of the two possible conclusions to the dance were actually performed in this instance.³⁹ By making his description ambiguous on potentially crucial details, Xenophon foregrounds the difference between a spectator of live dance and the reader of a dance description, however vivid and detailed the latter may be. Our vision of the dance, as readers, is not comparable to the viewpoint of the original audience members, who would have been able to direct their attention freely and observe details omitted by the subsequent narration.

While I have structured the contrast here as being between a real historical audience and the readers of a subsequent description of a performance, the historical veracity of this dance as described is not really the central issue. Within Xenophon’s narrative, there are characters who view the *Carpaea*. While the vivid and detailed description of the dance invites the reader to imagine himself as sharing the perspective of those embedded viewers, the omission of information that would have been obvious to a live audience reminds the reader that there is, in fact, a great deal of distance between reading and viewing, or dance and description. Xenophon thus makes visible his own role in the narrative, occluding details of the dance to force the reader to recognize his own acquiescence to the control of the author.⁴⁰

The singular female dancer who concludes the sequence of performances raises a similar set of issues. She occupies a position of emphasis within the overarching structure that I have outlined here, as she performs last and falls outside of the sequence of male dances framed by the

³⁹ It is possible that Xenophon means to suggest that the dancers perform both versions, perhaps simultaneously, which would account for the presence of multiple performers. Alternatively (or in addition), we might imagine that dancers perform the role of the oxen as well. My point is that Xenophon leaves this unclear – the qualifier “sometimes” (ἐνίοτε) could refer to multiple variations within this singular performance, or it could have a much broader scope, and the available roles in the dance are not explicitly delineated.

⁴⁰ Harman demonstrates that a similar authorial dynamic is at play in Xenophon’s *Agesilaus*, arguing that, in that text, “the rhetorical appeal to the reader to look at and believe what is described makes the implicit claim that sight provides unmediated access to knowledge. However, in the text’s scenes of viewing, such a claim is revealed as coercive, as the manipulative nature of visual display is made clear: Agesilaus displays his army and his person as a means of acquiring power over his viewers. Further, scenes of viewing are involved in the construction of identity: how one responds to a sight is made dependent on and indicative of the viewer’s political relationship to the object of sight. How his viewers see Agesilaus and his displays is determined by and determines their identity” (2012: 450).

performance of communal paeans (ἐπαιάνισαν, 6.1.5; ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο, 6.1.11). Xenophon also provides some additional narrative framing for her dance, which serves to make its purpose explicit: the Mysian man conceives and stages her performance to drive home the martial readiness and prowess of the Greeks, building on the Paphlagonians' amazement at the earlier performances (6.1.11-12). Moreover, the framing and features of her dance reveal crucial aspects of Xenophon's use of dance more generally.

Xenophon's description of the *orchēstris* emphasizes her lack of subjectivity and agency. He explicitly subordinates her to three male actors in three distinct ways, while giving the reader no access to the girl's own thoughts or impulses. He first tells us that she belongs to one of the Arcadians (τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινὰ πεπαμένον ὀρχηστρίδα, 6.1.12), stressing her position as owned object. The Mysian then takes control of the girl's body and selects her costume (σκευάσας ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἀσπίδα δούς κούφην αὐτῆς, 6.1.12). On the one hand, the origins of her choreography are still left unspecified – we might well imagine that the girl exercises some degree of agency in selecting her positions and gestures.⁴¹ At the same time, the basic nature of her dance is pre-determined by the Mysian's costuming: once equipped with a shield, her dance can hardly be anything but a *pyrrichē*.⁴² Finally, Xenophon himself controls all aspects of the girl's presentation and performance, selecting each word used to describe her appearance, identity, and dancing. These three male figures (owner, character, and author, i.e., Arcadian, Mysian, and Xenophon) work together to exert a nearly absolute control over the character of the *orchēstris*.

The position of this dance within the narrative, moreover, makes clear the underlying reasons for this emphasis on the lack of agency on the part of the performer. The point of the girl's dance is to send an emphatic and explicit message about Greek power – a message which the subsequent exchange between the Paphlagonians and the Greeks translates into words for the reader (“the Paphlagonians asked if women also fought together with them, and they [the Greeks] said that these women were even the ones who turned the [Persian] king out of his camp,” οἱ Παφλαγόνες ἤροντο εἰ καὶ γυναῖκες συνεμάχοντο αὐτοῖς. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι αὐταὶ καὶ αἰ τρεψάμεναι εἶεν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, 6.1.13). This is, of course, the point of all the prior dances as well, but the framing of the girl's dance makes it explicit for the reader and the Paphlagonians alike. Likewise, Xenophon's description foregrounds the instrumentality of the *orchēstris* by stressing her position as a subordinate object rather than an active agent. He thus underscores the instrumental use of dance throughout this episode. None of these dances is described for its own sake; Xenophon is not writing a catalogue of ethnic dance styles or reflecting upon dance as such. Rather, dance operates within the narrative as a tool employed by the Greek army to communicate military readiness and skill to the hostile Paphlagonians. It is also used by Xenophon to display his own authorial “choreographic” control over both the Greeks and their opponents, thereby ameliorating the conflict over his internal authority as commander called into question at the end of the preceding book. The emphatic instrumentality

⁴¹ For further reflections on the potential kinesthetic agency of the *orchēstris*, see Chapter 4.3a.

⁴² It is striking that, within this extended sequence of armed dances, the solo dance of the *orchēstris* is the only one to be explicitly labeled *pyrrichē* (ἢ δὲ ὠρχήσατο πυρρίχην ἐλαφρῶς, 6.1.12). This is a significant choice, for it seems that the term *pyrrichē* in 4th century Athens could have been applied to everything from highly institutionalized choral ritual to sympotic entertainment. All of the dances here are potentially “pyrrhic” in this broad sense, but by applying the term to the girl's dance alone, Xenophon suggests that her performance is somehow especially representative of the form. As I argue here, her dance does make especially explicit the instrumental nature of dance within written narrative. For more detailed discussion of the *pyrrichē* and its complexities, including relevant bibliography, see Chapter 1.1.

of the *orchēstris* thus calls attention to the instrumental role of dance description throughout the narrative.

Could Xenophon have used the description of only choral dances to accomplish the same effects? In a general sense, yes. *Choreia* appears at significant moments elsewhere in Xenophon's corpus, and it is also used as a mechanism for communicating and representing ideas that are not centrally concerned with dance as such.⁴³ Yet it is striking that Xenophon chooses to use an extended and varied set of individualized dance descriptions in order to make visible the complex relationship between movement and language, and the ways in which rendering dance in language can be an act of selection, subordination, and control. I have highlighted throughout how those issues tend to coalesce around descriptions of individualized dancing, in contrast to the sense of harmony and acoustic-kinetic synthesis often emphasized by descriptions of *choreia*.⁴⁴ Xenophon, I suggest, displays a keen awareness of the tension inherent in representing and transmitting dance via language, and the opening of *Anabasis* 6 makes this especially clear. I turn now to Xenophon's *Symposium*, which more directly and explicitly examines the value of individualized dance in relation to *choreia*.

b. Beyond Choreia?: Xenophon's Symposium

Xenophon's *Symposium* offers more extensive descriptions of non-choral dancing than any surviving Greek text prior to the imperial period, and as such, it is a crucial text for my project as a whole. Indeed, Xenophon's *Symposium*, especially by way of contrast with Plato's, pays remarkable attention to issues of kinetic spectacle and corporeality in general.⁴⁵ At the same time, Xenophon's deep and sustained consideration of the possibilities of individualized dance is balanced by a concluding appeal to the value of *choreia*. In the section to follow, I will highlight the descriptions and discussions of dance scattered throughout the *Symposium*, tracking how the dialogue moves from exploring solo and sympotic dance in an unusual way to espousing a highly traditional view of dance and *choreia*.

From the beginning, Xenophon depicts hired entertainment as an integrated component of the symposium, describing how:

ὥς δ' ἀφηρέθησαν αἱ τράπεζαι καὶ ἔσπεισάν τε καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν, ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ κῶμον Συρακόσιός τις ἄνθρωπος, ἔχων τε αὐλητρίδα ἀγαθὴν καὶ ὄρχηστρίδα τῶν τὰ θαύματα δυναμένων ποιεῖν, καὶ παῖδα πάνυ γε ὠραῖον καὶ πάνυ καλῶς καθαρίζοντα καὶ ὀρχούμενον. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐπιδεικνὺς ὡς ἐν θαύματι ἀργύριον ἐλάμβανεν.

⁴³ See, e.g., Dillery: "perhaps the most illustrative model of order for [Xenophon] was the chorus" (2004: 260), who cites as examples *Oeconomicus* 8.3ff (on this passage, see also Chapter 1.4), *Memorabilia* 3.5.18, and *Hipparchicus* 3. *Contra* Dillery, cf. Brock 2004: 252.

I also discuss Xenophon's engagement with *choreia* in his *Symposium* in section 3b below.

⁴⁴ Chapter 1, esp. 1.1 and 1.4.

⁴⁵ On Plato and dance, see section 2 above. Comparing Plato and Xenophon, see Gilhuly: "if the *aulos*-player's banishment in Plato's *Symposium* is radically related to Socrates' notion of transcendence in that text, ... perhaps the presence of the hired entertainers throughout Xenophon's *Symposium* marks an effort to make Socrates seem more conventional and material than Plato's version. In this text Xenophon presents his most bodily and humanized Socrates [...]" (2009: 99) and Hobden: "[compared to Plato's], Xenophon's *Symposium* is a more vibrant and wide-ranging affair" (2013: 214).

When the tables had been removed and the guests had poured a libation and sung a hymn, a man from Syracuse joined them to supply some revelry. He had with him a fine piper girl, a dancing girl—one of those skilled in acrobatic tricks,—and a very handsome boy, who was very good at playing the kithara and at dancing; the Syracusan made money by exhibiting their performances as an amazement (2.1, trans. Marchant/Henderson).

The troupe arrives after the symposium has been formally begun (ἔσπεισάν τε καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν), in stark contrast to the pointed exile of the *aulos*-girl in Plato's *Symposium*. At the same time, Xenophon is clear about the economic status of these performers (ἀργύριον ἐλάμβανεν). As Kate Gilhuly remarks, “they are characterized by a marketplace transaction – the exchange of cold cash, ἀργύριον” (2009: 111).

The integration of philosophical reflection and commodified dance persists through the beginning portion of the dialogue. The dancing girl's performance of a hoop-tossing dance prompts Socrates to comment on the correct pedagogical relationship between a man and his wife (2.8-11). The girl then tumbles through a hoop studded with swords, leading the symposiasts to briefly discuss the ways in which performance might operate as a civic good by modeling and inspiring courage (2.11-14). When the boy dances, Socrates reflects on his beauty and the value of movement more generally (2.15-16). This leads to one of the most surprising moments in the narrative – Socrates' disclosure of his own dancing habits:

καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, πάνυ ἂν ἠδέως, ὦ Συρακόσιε, μάθοιμι τὰ σχήματα παρὰ σοῦ.
[17] καὶ ὅς, τί οὖν χρῆσις αὐτοῖς; ἔφη. ὀρχήσομαι νῆ Δία. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγέλασαν ἅπαντες. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης μάλα ἐσπουδακότι τῷ προσώπῳ, γελάτε, ἔφη, ἐπ' ἐμοί; πότερον ἐπὶ τούτῳ εἰ βούλομαι γυμναζόμενος μᾶλλον ὑγιαίνειν ἢ εἰ ἡδίων ἐσθίειν καὶ καθεύδειν ἢ εἰ τοιούτων γυμνασίων ἐπιθυμῶ, μὴ ὥσπερ οἱ δολιχοδρόμοι τὰ σκέλη μὲν παχύνονται, τοὺς ὠμούς δὲ λεπτύνονται, μηδ' ὥσπερ οἱ πύκται τοὺς μὲν ὠμούς παχύνονται, τὰ δὲ σκέλη λεπτύνονται, ἀλλὰ παντὶ διαπονῶν τῷ σώματι πᾶν ἰσόρροπον ποιεῖν; [18] ἢ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γελάτε, ὅτι οὐ δεήσει με συγγυμναστὴν ζητεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν ὄχλῳ πρεσβύτην ὄντα ἀποδύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀρκέσει μοι οἶκος ἐπτάκλινος, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν τῷδε τῷ παιδί ἦρκεσε τότε τὸ οἶκημα ἐνιδρῶσαι, καὶ χειμῶνος μὲν ἐν στέγῃ γυμνάσομαι, ὅταν δὲ ἄγαν καυῆμα ἦ, ἐν σκιᾷ; [19] ἢ τότε γελάτε, εἰ μείζω τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν γαστέρα ἔχων μετριωτέραν βούλομαι ποιῆσαι αὐτήν; ἢ οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι ἔναγχος ἔωθεν Χαρμίδης οὕτωσὶ κατέλαβέ με ὀρχούμενον; ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Χαρμίδης: καὶ τὸ μὲν γε πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγην καὶ ἔδεισα μὴ μαίνοιο: ἐπεὶ δὲ σου ἤκουσα ὅμοια οἷς νῦν λέγεις, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν οἶκαδε ὀρχούμενη μὲν οὐ, οὐ γὰρ πώποτε τοῦτ' ἔμαθον, ἐχειρονόμου δέ: ταῦτα γὰρ ἠπιστάμην.

“And for myself,” he continued, addressing the Syracusan, “I would gladly learn the figures from you.” “What will you do with them?” the other asked. “I’ll dance, of course.” [17] This raised a general laugh; but Socrates, with a perfectly grave expression on his face, said: “Laughing at me, are you? Is it because I want to exercise to better my health? Or because I want to take more pleasure in my food and my sleep? Or is it because I am eager for such exercises as these, not like the long-distance runners, who develop their legs at the expense of their

shoulders, nor like the prize-fighters, who develop their shoulders but become thin-legged, but rather with a view to giving my body a symmetrical development by exercising it in every part? [18] Or are you laughing because I won't need to hunt up an exercise partner, or to strip, old as I am, in a crowd, but will find a seven-couch room large enough for me, just as this room was large enough for the boy here to work up a sweat just now, and because in winter I'll exercise indoors, and when it is very hot, in the shade? [19] Or is this why you're laughing, that I have an unduly large paunch and wish to reduce it? Don't you know that just the other day Charmides here caught me dancing early in the morning?" "That I did," said Charmides; "and at first I was dumbfounded and feared that you were going mad; but when I heard you say more or less what you said just now, I myself went home, and though I didn't dance, for I never learned how, I did practice shadowboxing, for I knew how to do that." (2.16-19, trans. Marchant/Henderson).

While Plato, in the *Menexenus*, presents Socrates as “almost” willing to dance solo (236c-d), Xenophon’s Socrates claims to have already danced alone, and expresses a clear desire to continue doing so. But the value of this individualized and intentionally spectator-less dancing is limited.⁴⁶ While the dancing of sympotic entertainers is described as capable of stimulating conversation and reflection, Socrates claims no cognitive or intellectual benefits for his own solo dancing. Its purpose is purely physical, intended to improve his physique, appetite, and overall health. In the *Laws*, it is precisely this type of movement that Plato distinguishes from the social art of *choreia*, separating dance as performance from dance as exercise.⁴⁷ Xenophon makes the same distinction here, presenting Socrates’ solo dance as a purely physical activity with only physical benefits, rather than an integrated part of his philosophical practices. Moreover, Socrates still does not perform within the symposium itself. That activity is immediately displaced onto Philip, an uninvited buffoon also present at the symposium. Philip performs a dance that imitates the motions and postures of the hired dancers, but in a comically ridiculous fashion. (2.21-23). For example, Xenophon notes that “since the girl mimicked a wheel by bending backwards, he [Philip] tried to do the same, mimicking a wheel by bending forwards” (ὅτι δ’ ἡ παῖς εἰς τοῦπισθεν καμπτομένη τροχὸς ἐμιμεῖτο, ἐκεῖνος ταῦτ’ εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπικύπτων μιμεῖσθαι τροχὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, 2.22). Gilhuly observes, “Socrates is identified with Philip in this text because they both dance, but he is distinguished from him in that he does it in private. The effect is to produce a bodily Socrates only in the abstract, as distinguished from the vulgar embodiment elicited by Philip’s improper physicality” (2009: 118).

Philip’s performance also serves to elevate the sympotic dancers’ performance by means of contrast. He is simply comical, while they are beautiful (ὁ παῖς σὺν τοῖς σχήμασιν ἔτι καλλίων ἐφαίνετο, 2.22) and technically proficient (ἡ παῖς εἰς τοῦπισθεν καμπτομένη τροχὸς ἐμιμεῖτο, 2.22). His dancing inspires only laughter (νῆ Δί’, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ ἡμῖν γε, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς διψῶμεν ἐπὶ σοὶ γελῶντες, 2.23), whereas their performances prompt the symposiasts to discuss standard philosophical topics like education, beauty, and the city (2.8-16).⁴⁸ As Fiona

⁴⁶ Socrates notes that Charmides “caught” him dancing, presumably by accident (Χαρμίδης οὐτοσί κατέλαβέ με ὀρχούμενον, 2.19).

⁴⁷ See n. 22 above.

⁴⁸ From a different angle, however, we might see Philip (whose performances earn him food and a place at the symposium, a form of “reciprocal exchange,” Gilhuly 2009: 119) as elevated above the hired entertainers, who perform for money. See Gilhuly 2009, esp. 118-119, on this dynamic vis-à-vis the dialogue’s broader interests in

Hobden notes, “by turning attention to the dancers, Socrates uses these delightful sympotic spectacles to encourage more insightful, controlled, and fruitful examinations. The physical and the spoken contributions intertwine, as the reader observes Socrates’ demonstration of how to respond to sympotic performances.”⁴⁹ In this initial portion of the dialogue, Xenophon suggests that individualized and commodified sympotic entertainment might be fully integrated with and complementary to philosophical discussion, an attitude at odds with the ambivalent (at best) attitudes towards sympotic entertainment, particularly dancing, evident in many other archaic and classical sources.⁵⁰ At the same time, he shies away from presenting Socrates, or any other elite male symposiast, actually engaging in individualized, non-choral dance in public. This qualification will prove significant, for Socrates himself soon modulates his apparent enthusiasm for the value of sympotic and solo *orchēsis*.

In her analysis of the various performance scenes in Xenophon’s *Symposium*, Fiona Hobden argues that “as a symposiarch of sorts, Socrates’ ambitions for the symposium appear in constant competition with the sensual pleasures and underlying erotics that his companions embrace at every opportunity” (Hobden 2013: 221). She suggests that Socrates initially succeeds in elevating sympotic spectacle to support philosophical dialogue, but that “sensual experiences” are ultimately “sidelined,” as Socrates works “to divert the symposiasts away from [...] such entertainments and to embark upon his preferred activity [i.e., verbal philosophical discourse]” (Hobden 2013: 218).

As my readings above suggest, I am more inclined to take Socrates’ actions in the early portion of the dialogue at face value. In the second chapter of the *Symposium*, Xenophon moves seamlessly from the description of performance to Socratic comment and back again (2.2-16). Socrates does not seem to be actively moving his companions away from sympotic spectacle as much as weaving his comments and questions around it. In that first exchange, both Xenophon (as narrator) and Socrates (as internal character) engage earnestly with sympotic dances, reflecting on and interrogating them seriously. This does not ultimately constitute an unqualified endorsement of non-choral and individualized dance, as Socrates’ dance-for-exercise is presented somewhat ambivalently, and Philip’s dancing appears purely comedic. The standard sympotic performances of the hired entertainers, however, seem to have real value for both Socrates and Xenophon.

I concur with Hobden, however, that a subsequent performance marks an important turning point in the dialogue. Following Philip’s performance, the symposiasts turn away from dance and engage in a wide-ranging discussion centered on questions of beauty and exchange.⁵¹ They eventually return to dance, as Xenophon describes how “a potter’s wheel was brought in for the girl, upon which she was going to perform marvels” (εἰσεφέρετο τῇ ὀρχηστρίδι τροχὸς τῶν κεραμεικῶν, ἐφ’ οὗ ἔμελλε θαυματουργήσειν, 7.2). In dialogue with the Syracusan, Socrates appears to clarify the specific “marvels” about to be performed, for he says: “perhaps it is some kind of wonder to write and read out loud atop a spinning potter’s wheel, but I am unable to understand what pleasure these things would provide” (τό γε ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ ἅμα περιδινουμένου γράφειν τε καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν θαῦμα μὲν ἴσως τί ἐστίν, ἡδονὴν δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα

reciprocal giving, disembedded or monetary exchange, and the various issues of economics and status implicated therein.

⁴⁹ On this point, see also Baragwanath 2012: 637-645.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.3

⁵¹ While corporeality and physicality remain central in this section, it is ultimately beyond the bounds of my argument here. For readings that integrate the more typical “philosophical dialogue” portion of the *Symposium* with the descriptions of performance that surround it, see esp. Wohl 2004 and Gilhuly 2009: 98-139.

δύναμαι γνῶναι τίν' ἂν παράσχοι, 7.3). Since the other performances mentioned by Socrates in this passage have actually occurred at this particular symposium, and because he repeats the term *thauma* (cf. θαυματουργήσειν, 7.2), I would argue that we should understand such reading, writing, and spinning as the performance the girl is about to provide, not a hypothetical one described for the purposes of illustration.⁵²

As Hobden notes, this is the point where “Socrates intervenes... forcefully,” putting a stop to the very sympotic entertainments that he had previously “hijacked to more beneficial ends; the philosopher now rejects them” (Hobden 2013: 219). Specifically, it is the possibility of the *orchēstris* incorporating reading and writing into her acrobatic performance that prompts Socrates to eschew his earlier integration of sympotic dance and philosophical dialogue.⁵³ I believe that we can identify the features of this performance that prompt such a significant turning point in Socrates’ engagement with sympotic spectacle, and thus, in the dialogue as a whole.

The earlier representations of dance in the *Symposium* maintained a basic distinction between somatic and verbal expression: the hired entertainers move their bodies, the symposiasts comment with words. Xenophon’s written narration, in turn, governs the reader’s experience of the entirety of the event. When Xenophon evokes the possibility of a simultaneously reading, writing, and spinning *orchēstris*, he dissolves this ordered separation of expressive spheres. By writing and reading aloud while performing (γράφειν τε καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν), the dancing girl coopts the expressive actions previously reserved for Socrates, Xenophon (as both internal character and author), and the other symposiasts.⁵⁴

In my reading of the *Anabasis*, I demonstrated that Xenophon highlights his own instrumental use of dance. The movement of bodies is there made intelligible and meaningful within a larger narrative through the use of descriptive language and structure. Sympotic dance, in the early portion of the *Symposium*, is likewise instrumental (a means by which Socrates generates and articulates philosophical questions) and unavoidably subordinated to verbal framing and description (both via the symposiasts’ responses within the dialogue and through Xenophon’s own written description and presentation).

The girl’s projected performance threatens this underlying order by taking over the authorial acts of writing and reading. Given the sequence of Xenophon’s description (“[she was about] to write and read aloud,” γράφειν τε καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν), we might even imagine that the girl intends to read out the words she herself has written, not the writings of some external

⁵² Even if one does take this performance as purely hypothetical, my main argument (that the possibility of an *orchēstris* reading, writing or drawing in performance constitutes a “breaking point” for Socrates) still stands.

⁵³ I differ here from Hobden, who sees Socrates’ earlier engagement with sympotic dance as a “hijacking,” which was always intended to divert the symposiasts’ attention away from performance itself (2013: 218-219). Baragwanath offers a different approach to the issue, suggesting that Socrates’ critical questions at this point “may well be designed to prod symposiasts and readers to reflect more consciously on how very fruitful these *thaumata* have been” (2012: 640).

⁵⁴ Socrates’ description of the girl’s hypothetical dance may also allude to the paradigmatic choral description on the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad*, wherein the light running motion of the dancers (θρέξασκον ἐπισταμένοισι πόδεςσι / ῥεῖα μάλ’, *Iliad* 18.599-600) is likened to the movement of a potter testing out his wheel (ὡς ὅτε τις τροχὸν ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμησιν / ἐζόμενος κεραμεὺς περιήσεται, αἶ κε θέησιν, *Iliad* 18.600-601). That comparison, however, is closely connected with the imaginative construction of choreia and communal dancing in that passage (see Frontisi-Ducroux 200 and Kurke 2012 and 2013a). By appropriating the imagery of the *Iliad* in the description of the girl’s dance, Xenophon thus marks her performance as transgressive in a different way – incorporating the distinctive qualities of *choreia* into the performance of a single body.

authority.⁵⁵ The imagined performance of the *orchēstris* thus enacts the kind of subversion frequently associated, in decidedly negative terms, with solo dancing. She threatens to slip out from under the control of an established organizational framework and display her own idiosyncratic and perhaps creative expressive agency.

On the one hand, this performance puts a clever twist on *choreia*. It features the integration of speech and motion, albeit here concentrated in a single body. Indeed, Socrates' comment would seem to suggest that the “wonder” of the performance lies in the girl's ability to move and vocalize simultaneously (τό γε ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ ἅμα περιδινουμένου γράφειν τε καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν θαῦμα μὲν ἴσως τί ἐστίν). But the gender and status of the *orchēstris* are crucial. Socrates imagines, and reacts against, a performance that allows the commodified female body to take up the work of writing, scripting, reading, and choreographing. The female dancer of *Anabasis* 6 offers a revealing contrast, for she remains instrumental and lacking in personal subjectivity and agency. The dancing described by Socrates here is a far more disruptive and destabilizing act: a performance that enacts a latent fear of the female body invading the spaces and actions traditionally reserved for male voices and minds.

Yet, like Socrates in the *Menexenus*, the girl does not actually dance in this way within the *Symposium*. The possibility alone is enough to cause Socrates, and also Xenophon, to retreat back into a more traditional vision of dance, gender, and community. After critiquing the various modes of sympotic dancing previously performed (or projected for the near future – i.e., the spinning/reading/writing performance of the *orchēstris*), Socrates proposes: “but if they [the hired entertainers] were to dance, to the accompaniment of the *aulos*, the figures in which the Graces and the Horae and the Nymphs are depicted, I think it would be easier for them and the symposium would be far more pleasant” (εἰ δὲ ὀρχοῖντο πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν σχήματα ἐν οἷς Χάριτες τε καὶ Ἥραι καὶ Νύμφαι γράφονται, πολὺ ἂν οἶμαι αὐτούς γε ῥᾶον διάγειν καὶ τὸ συμπόσιον πολὺ ἐπιχαριτώτερον εἶναι, 7.5). The Graces, the Horai, and the Nymphs are all models of traditionally communal, female, and often maidenly dancing – decorous contrasts to the subversive solo performance imaginatively projected onto the *orchēstris*.⁵⁶ Socrates thus calls for a decidedly non-sympotic mode of performance, appealing to a traditional choral paradigm in order to ameliorate the notional threat of individual and idiosyncratic female dance.

The Syracusan agrees with Socrates and promises to deliver a pleasing spectacle (ὁ οὖν Συρακόσιος, ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ὃ Σώκρατες, καλῶς τε λέγεις καὶ ἐγὼ εἰσάξω θεάματα ἐφ' οἷς ὑμεῖς εὐφρανεῖσθε, 7.5). While some scholars have stressed the ways in which the final dance staged by the Syracusan and his troupe diverges from Socrates' stated aims, I would suggest that the dancing demanded by Socrates (εἰ δὲ ὀρχοῖντο πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν σχήματα ἐν οἷς Χάριτες τε καὶ Ἥραι καὶ Νύμφαι γράφονται, 7.5.) and the dance ultimately described by Xenophon (9.2-7) are fundamentally aligned in their aims and effects, even if they differ in form and style.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ There is also no indication that someone else will be dictating to the girl. To be sure, she is a hired performer, and we might reasonably assume that the Syracusan is ultimately responsible for her choreography. The mode of dancing described, however, would seem to leave at least some – and perhaps a great deal (if we imagine that the girl has latitude to write and read her own words) – of room for improvisation and self-choreography. For a more theoretical reflection on choreographic agency and the performances of *orchēstrides*, see Chapter 4.1 and 4.3a.

⁵⁶ Cf., e.g., *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 194-195 and *Homeric Hymn to Pan* 3.

⁵⁷ Hobden, for example, suggests that the “dissonance between the intentions of Socrates and his fellow symposiasts is most apparent in the closing pantomime” (2013: 220). She highlights the Syracusan's failure to deliver on the choral dance requested by Socrates, as “the Syracusan's raunchy rendition [i.e., of a divine scene] is far from the gentle tableau originally called for, and its effects on the party are cataclysmic: Socrates has done his best to curtail

Socrates, after all, proposes a mode of feminine chorality (the depiction of the Graces, Horae, and Nymphs) that is all but impossible in this particular context. The Syracusan’s troupe seems to include only two dancers. According to Xenophon’s description near the beginning of the dialogue, “he has a fine *aulētris*, and an *orchēstris*, one of those skilled in acrobatic tricks, and a very handsome boy, quite skilled in playing the *kithara* and dancing” (ἔχων τε αὐλητρίδα ἀγαθὴν καὶ ὄρχηστρίδα τῶν τὰ θαύματα δυναμένων ποιεῖν, καὶ παῖδα πάνυ γε ὠραῖον καὶ πάνυ καλῶς κιθαρίζοντα καὶ ὀρχούμενον, 2.1). In addition, only one of these dancers is female. It is difficult, though perhaps not impossible, to imagine how Socrates might want these two performers to enact the *schemata* of plural female choruses. The Syracusan, therefore, does not attempt to stage the actual dances requested by Socrates, but rather offers a male/female erotic *pas-de-deux* well-suited to his available performers. Nevertheless, his spectacle ultimately shares in Socrates’ underlying emphasis on chorality and communality. It also works to reinscribe the authority of descriptive language over the expressive motion of the body, a hierarchy that may be of particular interest to Xenophon as the narrating author.

The final dance is framed and described thus:

ἐκ δὲ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν θρόνος τις ἔνδον κατετέθη, ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ Συρακόσιος εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν· ὦ ἄνδρες, Ἀριάδνη εἴσεισιν εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῆς τε καὶ Διονύσου θάλαμον· μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ’ ἤξει Διόνυσος ὑποπεπωκῶς παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ εἴσεισι πρὸς αὐτήν, ἔπειτα παιξοῦνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους. [3] ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ἀριάδνη ὡς νύμφη κεκοσμημένη παρῆλθε καὶ ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. οὐπω δὲ φαινομένου τοῦ Διονύσου ἠύλειτο ὁ βακχεῖος ῥυθμός. ἔνθα δὲ ἠγάσθησαν τὸν ὄρχηστοδιδάσκαλον. εὐθύς μὲν γὰρ ἡ Ἀριάδνη ἀκούσασα τοιοῦτόν τι ἐποίησεν ὡς πᾶς ἂν ἔγνω ὅτι ἀσμένῃ ἤκουσε· καὶ ὑπήντησε μὲν οὐδὲ ἀνέστη, δῆλη δ’ ἦν μόλις ἠρεμοῦσα. [4] ἐπεὶ γε μὴν κατεῖδεν αὐτήν ὁ Διόνυσος, ἐπιχορεύσας ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις φιλικώτατα ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων, καὶ περιλαβὼν ἐφίλησεν αὐτήν. ἡ δ’ αἰδουμένη μὲν ἐφώκει, ὅμως δὲ φιλικῶς ἀντιπεριελάμβανεν. οἱ δὲ συμπόται ὀρῶντες ἅμα μὲν ἐκρότουν, ἅμα δὲ ἐβόων αὐτίς. [5] ὡς δὲ ὁ Διόνυσος ἀνιστάμενος συνανέστησε μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Ἀριάδνην, ἐκ τούτου δὲ φιλοῦντων τε

expressions of desire, and now sexual arousal breaks it up” (2013: 221). Gilhuly demonstrates, however, that Socrates’ goal in the *Symposium* is not to curtail desire, but to refigure it. Specifically, she argues that this “text depicts Socrates reconfiguring the relationship between the elite and the *polis*, advocating that the *demos* adopt the erotic and paedagogical practices of the elite and that the symposiasts embrace a distinctly civic form of heterosexual reciprocity” (2009: 98). In her reading, the audience’s response to the final dance is not a “cataclysmic” failure of Socrates’ efforts to limit sexual arousal wholesale (Hobden 2013: 221), but rather the success of his efforts to re-direct the symposiasts towards a form of “heterosexual *eros* that serves the city’s interests” (2009: 139). Hobden distinguishes throughout between Xenophon and Socrates, and while I am inclined to see the interests of author and philosopher-character as more closely aligned than she, the distinction itself is both important and productive. In evaluating the final scene, for example, she suggests that “the sexual realism of this dance is not what Socrates ordered [*contra* Gilhuly, for whom the dance accomplishes Socrates’ goals], but it does present an alternative vision of *erōs* to the harmonious blending of desire and education recommended by Socrates in his Platonic-style monologue” (2013: 227). I would say that the dance is, indeed, not precisely “what Socrates ordered,” but it does succeed in shifting the focus from solo sympotic acrobatics to choral values, which is an underlying goal shared by Socrates and Xenophon. On this general point, see also Wohl, who concludes that “Xenophon leaves the Syracusan and Sokrates dancing a *pas-de-deux* in which it is never clear who leads. Dance and philosophy are inextricably bound” (2004: 363). I would add, however, that the means by which dance and philosophy may be linked, and the types of dancing that are most deserving of philosophical discussion, shift over the course of this dialogue in the ways I am describing here.

καὶ ἀσπαζομένων ἀλλήλους σχήματα παρῆν θεάσασθαι. οἱ δ' ὀρῶντες ὄντως καλὸν μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον, ὡραίαν δὲ τὴν Ἀριάδνην, οὐ σκόπτοντας δὲ ἀλλ' ἀληθινῶς τοῖς στόμασι φιλοῦντας, πάντες ἀνεπτρωμένοι ἐθεῶντο. [6] καὶ γὰρ ἤκουον τοῦ Διονύσου μὲν ἐπερωτῶντος αὐτὴν εἰ φιλεῖ αὐτόν, τῆς δὲ οὕτως ἐπομνουύσης, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὸν Διόνυσον <...> ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἅπαντας συνομόσαι ἂν ἤ μὴν τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν παῖδα ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φιλεῖσθαι. ἐώκεσαν γὰρ οὐ δεδιδραγμένοι τὰ σχήματα ἀλλ' ἐφειμένοι πράττειν ἅ πάσαι ἐπεθύμουν. [7] τέλος δὲ οἱ συμπόται ἰδόντες περιβεβληκότας τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ὡς εἰς εὐνὴν ἀπιόντας, οἱ μὲν ἄγαμοι γαμεῖν ἐπώμνυσαν, οἱ δὲ γεγαμηκότες ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀπήλυνον πρὸς τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας, ὅπως τούτων τύχοιεν. Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ὑπομείναντες πρὸς Λύκωνα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν σὺν Καλλίᾳ περιπατήσοντες ἀπῆλθον. αὕτη τοῦ τότε συμποσίου κατάλυσις ἐγένετο.

After that, a chair of state, first of all, was set down in the room, and 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.” [3] 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 *aulos*. Then they truly admired the dancing master, for as soon as Ariadne heard the tune, her action was such that every one 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. [4] 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!” [5] Now Dionysus arose and gave his hand to Ariadne to rise also, and then there were the movements 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 [6] For they overheard Dionysus asking her if she loved him, and heard her vowing that she did, so earnestly that not only Dionysus <...> but all the bystanders as well would have 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. [7] At last, the banqueters, seeing them in each other's arms and obviously heading for the bridal bed, the bachelors swore that they would get married, and 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 in their walk. (9.2-7, trans. Marchant/Henderson).

Before the dancers even begin, the Syracusan announces the form and content of their dance to the symposiasts (9.2). Rather than allowing the audience to view and interpret the dancing for themselves, he steps up to identify the characters, describe the narrative sequence of the

performance, and translate into words the very qualities of the dance. Lest the symposiasts miss the erotic connotations of the performance, he specifically tells them that Dionysus and Ariadne “will play with each other” (παιξοῦνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους), employing a verb (*paizō*) that specifically marks the sexually-appealing (often choral) dance of maidens about to be married.⁵⁸

The subtle verbal presentation of the Ariadne-dancer as a marriageable maiden corresponds with another pattern within Xenophon’s description of the dance – and indeed, a significant representational movement in the dialogue as a whole. Noting that Xenophon’s description of the scene “lays heavy emphasis on mutuality,” Gilhuly suggests that, in this final dance, “the troupe has migrated from the realm of the short-term, artificial, moneyed transaction to the elite world of reciprocal exchange” (2000: 132). She specifically argues that this final dance helps Xenophon, via Socrates, to correct and resolve “the tense relationship between the city and the symposium that has troubled this banquet by introducing a transformed paradigm of exchange” (2009: 138). The paired dance thus acquires a distinct aura of chorality, insofar as Greek thought persistently conceives choral dancing as capable of ameliorating tensions and conflicts between groups and individuals, in contrast to the often anti-social implications of solo dance.⁵⁹

This shift is especially visible in the representation of the *orchēstris*, for as Gilhuly argues:

Earlier in the evening the girl was characterized as a hired worker who performed a service with immediate and short-lived consequences. Although she was never called a *porne*, she was associated with the marketplace and cash transactions. Now she is characterized by *charis*, and her sexuality is located on a longer-term temporal continuum. Significantly, the same move that elevates her to the status of *hetaira*, thus refashioning her in a way more appropriate to the elite sympotic context, casts her in a distinctly civic role. [The] enactment of the marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne certainly evokes the ritual marriage between Dionysos and the wife of the Archon *Basileus* ... that was performed at the Athenian Anthesteria, a fertility festival celebrating the arrival of spring. ... It was required that the woman who played this ritual role was a virgin of citizen birth at the time of her marriage. At the moment that Xenophon reconfigures the hired entertainer unambiguously as *hetaira*, she simultaneously is playing the role of chaste wife and goddess. By having the prostitute play the role of Ariadne, he locates her in an explicitly civic formation of the festival. The *agora* is evoked in Kallias’ *andron*. In this image there is a seamless superimposition of elite and civic discourse.” (Gilhuly 2009: 132-133).

To Gilhuly’s insightful analysis of the civic implications of Xenophon’s decision to cast the *orchēstris* as a ritual performer, I want to add a consideration of the performance dynamics in play here. While there is no indication that the ritual marriage rite at the Anthesteria involved dance of any sort, Ariadne herself is a figure securely associated with choral dancing.⁶⁰ The

⁵⁸ See Rosenmeyer 2004, discussed further in Chapter 4.3a.

⁵⁹ See, e.g., Kowalzig 2007b and Kurke 2007.

⁶⁰ On the Anthesteria and this particular ritual, see Burkert 1983: 213-243, Avagianou 1991: 192-194, Garelli-François 2002: 181, and Gilhuly 2009: 46-49.

archetypal chorus depicted on the Shield of Achilles in the *Iliad*, for example, is specifically “like that dance/dancing-space that Daedalus made for Ariadne” (περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις, τῷ ἴκελον οἶόν ποτ’ ἐνὶ Κνωσῷ εὐρείῃ / Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ, *Iliad* 18. 591-592).⁶¹ By casting the *orchēstris* as Ariadne and likening her to a virgin dancer (*paizō*), the Syracusan satisfies Socrates’ desire for maidenly *choreia* within the constraints of the sympotic dance troupe.⁶² Just as Xenophon’s narration transports the *orchēstris* from the explicitly commercial domain of the *pornē* to the elite/reciprocal realm of the *hetaira* (Gilhuly 2009: 132-133), his descriptions of dance move from the individualized and potentially disruptive to the choral-feminine.⁶³

Xenophon signals his authorial complicity in this process by describing the Dionysus-character as “dancing (chorally) on stage” (ἐπιχορεύσας, 9.4). The performer is clearly moving solo, and Xenophon could certainly have used a verb like *orcheomai* to describe him.⁶⁴ Instead, he chooses a term from the realm of choral performance (*epichoreuō*), thereby assimilating this decidedly individualized, sympotic spectacle to a choral paradigm.⁶⁵ He thus urges his reader to imagine and consider the performance described here within a choral framework, in marked contrast to the singularity of the earlier dances.

Moreover, as in many idealized descriptions of *choreia*, there is an abiding emphasis on verbal and external authority inherent in this description. While the dancers themselves perform without song, accompanied only by an *aulos* (ἠὺλεῖτο ὁ βακχεῖος ῥυθμός, 9.3), the Syracusan’s initial announcement and Xenophon’s own narration serve to frame and interpret the spectacle

⁶¹ On this passage, see Chapter 1.4. On Ariadne and choral dance in art as well as literature, see Hedreen 2011.

⁶² Moreover, I suggested above that the description of the girl’s reading/writing/spinning dance might represent a transgressive appropriation of the choral imagery in *Iliad* 18. Now, however, the girl has become Ariadne, a more appropriate choral model also central to the description of the final dance on the Shield of Achilles.

⁶³ Gilhuly also observes that “this symposium ends in a kind of anti-*komos*, where the chaotic destruction of the return homeward has been transformed into an affirmation of marriage.” (2009: 138). This constitutes another significant shift away from the unruly and disruptive possibilities of individualized dancing – instead of concluding the symposium with a *kōmos*, which requires its own careful discursive framing to transform a potential opportunity for individualized male kinetic expression into a performance of masculine community and “moving together” (see Chapter 1.1), Xenophon does away with the *kōmos* entirely and describes some men rushing home to their wives (as Gilhuly discusses), while Socrates and some others embark on a seemingly sedate and coordinated walk (Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ὑπομεινάντες πρὸς Λύκωνα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν σὺν Καλλίᾳ περιπατήσοντες ἀπῆλθον, 9.7).

⁶⁴ Garelli-François comments on the strangeness of this term (*epichoreuein*) in this context and wonders if it might not be a technical term – perhaps one in which we might detect some derision on the part of Xenophon (“faut-il y déceler une malicieuse subtilité de Xénophon, imperceptible and intraduisible pour un lecteur moderne?” 2002: 179). She notes that the parallels for the word cited by the LSJ are not necessarily illuminating: *καπιχορεύειν* at Aristophanes, *Peace* 1317 is an emendation found in one manuscript tradition, with *καπικελεύειν* available as a valid variant; two examples in the new comic poet Diphilus refer to dishes being brought out to a table (used likewise in the tragic poet Lycophron, fr. 2.9); the comparatively late Philostratus uses it to mean “to add a chorus.” This paucity of parallels, however, is perhaps not as meaningful as she suggests. We might compare the evidence for other compounds of *χορεύω*: e.g., *ἀναχορεύω* is attested seven times in classical literature (six times in Euripides, once in Aristophanes), *ἐκχορεύω* once (in Euripides), *περιχορεύω* once (in Euripides), *προχορεύω* once (in Euripides), *συγχορεύω* twice (in Aristophanes and Aristotle). There may be a larger project here – a remarkable number of these compounds, especially the very rare ones, occur in the *Phoenissae*. But I want to emphasize here that the comparative rarity of the word does not necessarily render its meaning particularly opaque, nor should its obvious relationship to *choreia* be understated.

⁶⁵ We find a similar phenomenon in Plutarch’s description of Theseus choreographing and leading the *geranos* (*Life of Theseus*. 21.1-2). There, the verb *choreuō* is twice used in the singular (*ἐχόρευσε*) to describe Theseus alone. The effect there is likewise to position a singular performance (in this case, Theseus’ leadership of the dance) within a choral framework (the larger performance of the dance by the Athenian youths following Theseus). On Theseus and dance, see Chapter 3.1.

for the internal audience and the reader, respectively. Xenophon also remarks that the performance of the dance causes the audience to especially appreciate the dance-master, presumably the Syracusan (ἐνθα δὴ ἠγάσθησαν τὸν ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλον, 9.3). The viewers are thus struck by the abilities of the man responsible for crafting the whole of the production, rather than the proficiency or artistry of the individual dancers. These two dancers and their unnamed *aulos*-player can hardly be said to constitute a proper chorus, yet Xenophon encourages us to understand this dance as a holistic spectacle indebted to the organization and descriptive framing of a choreographer and authorial narrator. Chorality thus exerts a powerful pull on both Socrates and Xenophon, leading them to shift and re-frame their engagement with sympotic dance and accommodate it to more traditional and orderly framework for dance – that of the chorus.

In his *Symposium*, Xenophon actively explores the possibilities of non-choral dance, allowing Socrates to articulate the physical advantages of solo performance while also modeling a way of engaging with individualized and sympotic dancing that supports philosophical reflection. He also reveals just how far “beyond *choreia*” he and his Socrates are willing to go. The possibility of the single *orchēstris* simultaneously reading, writing, and dancing constitutes an important boundary point – a place where the distinctions between external authority, verbal description and scripting, and embodied action collapse. It is telling that Socrates, the Syracusan, and Xenophon respond to this disruptive possibility by staging a performance that reinstates a specific set of performance values: virginal, feminine chorality, the imposition of verbal, descriptive, and external-choreographic authority over the dance, and the ability of dance performance to consolidate and direct the impulses of a community. The *Symposium* concludes with an individualized dance adapted and shaped to fit within a choral paradigm, thereby offering a powerful example of the difficulties inherent in moving “beyond *choreia*” in the discussion and depiction of dance in archaic and classical Greek literature. The treatment of dance in Xenophon’s *Symposium* thus affirms the centrality and centripetal force of the chorus and its associated values and paradigms.

4. Conclusion

While the progression of Xenophon’s *Symposium* makes the ultimate allure of *choreia* especially pronounced, it should be obvious by now that we have never ventured very far from the chorus. This does not mean that dance in archaic and classical Greece did not occur in non-choral contexts; it clearly did.⁶⁶ Likewise, I have now surveyed the surviving descriptions of individualized dance in archaic and classical Greek literature, and it is thus evident that some of these passages describe dancing figures who are not performing with a chorus. Yet the descriptions themselves persistently engage with *choreia* and choral paradigms. The discussion and representation of dance in Greek literature operate under the prevailing influence of the chorus, even when authors endeavor to depict a performance mode decidedly outside of it. Hippocleides’ solo dance, for example, finds its fullest transgressive force only when read in relation to specific choral forms, while the erotic appeal of the *orchēstris* can be heightened and spotlighted by way of comparison and contrast with her choral-leading, maidenly foil. The male solo dancer is disruptive and dangerous precisely because the chorus matters – the threat of his individualized and idiosyncratic movement is only intelligible in light of the institution from which he has separated himself. The dynamic and meaningful role of dance in *Odyssey* 8 arises from specific variations and tensions between choral and individualized performance; without an

⁶⁶ See Introduction.

associated chorus, Halius and Laodamas cannot stand out quite so vividly. And so I have returned to the guiding claim of my first chapter: *choreia*, in the archaic and classical Greek cultural imagination, exerts a powerful force upon all dance and movement, drawing even individualized, spontaneous, and otherwise marginal forms toward itself.

Conclusion

Choreia dominated the dance culture of archaic and classical Greece, both conceptually and in terms of actual historical practice. In the Roman imperial era, however, we find evidence for a great variety of individualized dance forms, including pantomime – a prominent, public mode of solo dance performance.¹ My aim here has been to illuminate archaic and classical Greek cultural attitudes towards dance, particularly as expressed in the literary record. For that reason, imperial pantomime has remained largely beyond the scope of this project.

I would like, however, to look briefly forward to pantomime – and consider the extent to which one of its most vocal defenders justified its value by looking back to archaic and classical models. In Lucian’s dialogue *On the Dance*, a character named Lycinus defends the art of pantomime dance against the criticisms of his interlocutor Crato. He does this in part by locating pantomime within a distinguished genealogy of earlier Greek dance forms – including choral ones. Silvia Montiglio, for example, discusses the comparisons drawn in many Roman sources between tragedy and pantomime, but particularly notes:

mais c’est surtout Lucien qui souligne la proximité entre les deux arts. Tout en insistant que les sujets des pantomimes et des tragedies étaient les mêmes (*Sur la danse* 31), Lucien nous renseigne que la pantomime était exposée à des attaques semblables à celles que Platon avait lancées contre le tragédie dans la *République* (3.395d-e) [...] (1999: 265).

Lycinus also likens the *orchēsis* of the pantomime to a variety of other choral models: the motion of the heavens (*On the Dance* 7), the dancing of the Curetes and Corybantes (*On the Dance* 8), and a wide variety of local cult dances and literary descriptions of dance (*On the Dance* 10-18).² To be sure, Lycinus also praises a series of outstanding individual dancers, from Neoptolemus to Proteus (*On the Dance* 8-9, 19). My point, however, is that solo dance is not distinguished in esteem or value from choral dance, a rhetorical move that ignores the choro-centric dance hierarchy espoused by the majority of archaic and classical Greek literary sources. Lucian’s defense thus draws heavily from earlier sources, but he does not fully inherit their performance paradigms.

At one point, Lycinus highlights the communicative potential of dance by describing an encounter between a pantomime dancer and the Cynic Demetrius:

Ὅ δὴ καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Κυνικὸν παθεῖν λέγουσιν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅμοιά σοι κατηγορεῖ τῆς ὀρχηστικῆς, λέγων τοῦ αὐλοῦ καὶ τῶν συρίγγων καὶ τῶν κτύπων πάρεργόν τι τὸν ὀρχηστὴν εἶναι, μηδὲν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ δρᾶμα συντελοῦντα, κινούμενον δὲ ἄλογον ἄλλως κίνησιν καὶ μάταιον, οὐδενὸς αὐτῇ νοῦ προσόντος, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων τοῖς περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα γοητευομένων, ἐσθῆτι σηρικῆ καὶ προσωπεῖω εὐπρεπεῖ, ἀλλῶ τε καὶ τερετίσμασι καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀδόντων εὐφωνία, οἷς κοσμεῖσθαι μηδὲν ὄν τὸ τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ πρᾶγμα, ὁ τότε κατὰ τὸν Νέρωνα

¹ See Alonso Fernández 2011 for a full survey of Roman dance forms. On pantomime, which has recently received a great deal of (long overdue) attention, see Montiglio 1999, Lada-Richards 2007, Hall and Wyles 2008, Webb 2008a (esp. 58-94), and Zanobi (2014, esp. 1-51).

² On the motion of the heavens as a familiar choral image, see Miller 1986 and Peponi 2013b and 2013c.

εὐδοκιμῶν ὀρχηστής, οὐκ ἀσύνητος, ὥς φασιν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ἔν τε ἱστορίας μνήμη καὶ κινήσεως κάλλει διενεγκών, ἐδεήθη τοῦ Δημητρίου εὐγνωμονεστάτην, οἶμαι, τὴν δέησιν, ἰδεῖν ὀρχούμενον, ἔπειτα κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὑπέσχετό γε ἄνευ αὐλοῦ καὶ ἀσμάτων ἐπιδείξεσθαι αὐτῷ. καὶ οὕτως ἐποίησεν· ἠσυχίαν γὰρ τοῖς τε κτυποῦσι καὶ τοῖς αὐλοῦσι καὶ αὐτῷ παραγγείλας τῷ χορῷ, αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὠρχήσατο τὴν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἄρεος μοιχείαν, Ἥλιον μηνύοντα καὶ Ἥφαιστον ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς ἀμφοτέρους, τὴν τε Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν Ἄρη, σαγηνεύοντα, καὶ τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας θεοὺς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, καὶ αἰδουμένην μὲν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ὑποδεδοικότα δὲ καὶ ἰκετεύοντα τὸν Ἄρη, καὶ ὅσα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ταύτῃ πρόσσεστιν, ὥστε τὸν Δημήτριον ὑπερησθέντα τοῖς γιγνομένοις τοῦτον ἔπαινον ἀποδοῦναι τὸν μέγιστον τῷ ὀρχηστῇ· ἀνέκραγε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ ἀνεφθέγγετο, “Ἀκούω, ἄνθρωπε, ἃ ποιεῖς· οὐχ ὀρῶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖς ταῖς χερσὶν αὐταῖς λαλεῖν.”

This is just what happened, they say, in the case of Demetrius the Cynic. He too was denouncing the dance just as you do, saying that the dancer was a mere adjunct to the *aulos* and the pipes and the stamping, himself contributing nothing to the presentation but making absolutely meaningless, idle movements with no sense to them at all; but that people were duped by the accessories of the business – the silk vestments, the beautiful mask, the *aulos* and its quavers, and the sweet voices of the singers, by all of which the dancer's business, itself amounting to nothing at all, was embellished. Thereupon the dancer at that time, under Nero, in high repute, who was no fool, they say, and excelled, if ever a man did, in remembrance of legends and beauty of movement, made a request of Demetrius that was very reasonable, I think – to see him dancing and then accuse him; he promised, indeed, to perform for him without the *aulos* or songs. That is what he did; enjoining silence upon the stampers and *aulos*-players and upon the chorus itself, quite unsupported, he danced the amours of Aphrodite and Ares, Helius tattling, Hephaestus laying his plot and trapping both of them with his entangling bonds, the gods who came in on them, portrayed individually, Aphrodite ashamed, Ares seeking cover and begging for mercy, and everything that belongs to this story, in such wise that Demetrius was delighted beyond measure with what was taking place and paid the highest tribute possible to the dancer; he raised his voice and shouted at the top of his lungs: “I hear the story that you are acting, man, I do not just see it; you seem to me to be talking with your very hands!” (Lucian, *On the Dance* 63, trans. Harmon, modified)

Ruth Webb observes that the narrative of Ares and Aphrodite recounted by Lycinus closely follows the song of Demodocus in *Odyssey* 8 (2008a: 80-81). I want to suggest here that Lucian can enhance our understanding of archaic and classical Greek attitudes about performance via his reception of those ideas.

To that end, let us recall the dance scenes of *Odyssey* 8 as discussed in Chapter 2. While these are some of our more extensive descriptions of dance in archaic poetry, they pale in comparison with the attention paid to song: Demodocus' performance is accorded far more narrative time (105 lines) than either of the attendant dances (4 and 10 lines respectively). Demodocus also receives a lengthy introduction and additional performance time prior to the

athletic games (8.46-95). For obvious reasons, the Homeric poet is particularly interested in the role of singers and narrative storytellers.³ For reasons less obvious but hopefully well-explored in Chapter 2, *Odyssey* 8 also presents a specific hierarchy of dance forms (choral above solo), both of which, I argue, should be understood as secondary to song.⁴ Lycinus, however, reverses this relationship by transforming Demodocus from seated singer to silent dancer. In his account, the solo pantomime is able to communicate all the narrative intricacy assigned to the bard by Homer.

Notably, Lycinus does not allude to Scheria's own virtuoso soloists. He describes how the pantomime “having commanded those beating time, the *aulos* players, and the very chorus itself to keep silent, danced the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite all by himself” (ἤσυχίαν γὰρ τοῖς τε κτυποῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἀυλοῦσι καὶ αὐτῷ παραγγείλας τῷ χορῷ, αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ ὄρχησατο τὴν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἄρεος μοιχείαν). In addition to stressing the singularity of the solo dancer, Lycinus’ description casts all other performers, both present and imagined, as superfluous. The pantomime alone (αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ) is sufficient to entertain the audience and convey the sense of the story.

Lycinus' pantomime is also a rather competitive figure. Dismissed by Demetrius as a mere “appendage” (πάρεργόν τι) to instrumental expression (τοῦ ἀυλοῦ καὶ τῶν συρίγγων καὶ τῶν κύπων), the pantomime proceeds to silence (παραγγείλας) not only instrumental accompaniment (τοῖς τε κτυποῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἀυλοῦσι), but also the chorus (αὐτῷ ... τῷ χορῷ). In addition to demonstrating his ability to perform without sound, he goes a step further and takes on the role of the singers. The dancer dramatically presents himself as the only artist necessary, able to subsume all others into his own kinetic expression.

Whereas archaic poetry consistently constructs *choreia* as a synesthetic art capable of integrating various forms of expression and beauty into itself, Lycinus attributes that particular ability to pantomime.⁵ His soloist is a virtuoso technical artist (ὁ τότε κατὰ τὸν Νέρωνα εὐδοκιμῶν ὄρχηστής, οὐκ ἀσύνετος, ὡς φασιν, ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ἔν τε ἱστορίας μνήμη καὶ κινήσεως κάλλει διενεγκῶν) with a strong impulse towards competition. The expressive potential of the soloist, suggested but largely suppressed by the Homeric poet's depiction of Halius and Laodamas, comes to full fruition in Lycinus' pantomime, whose body communicates so clearly that Demetrius is able to “hear” his actions (ἀκούω, ἄνθρωπε, ἃ ποιεῖς). Dance is no longer the “physical projection” of the voice (Peponi 2009: 58): instead, the audience can “listen” to a narrative generated purely through the motion of the body.⁶ Lycinus’ account of the virtuosic pantomime thus turns *choreia* on its head and enacts the triumph of the soloist who was constrained and suppressed by earlier sources. In Lucian's dialogue, solo dance has finally succeeded in fully disrupting and silencing *choreia*.

At the same time, Lucian largely affirms a logocentric engagement with dance. In Lycinus’ account, the “highest praise” (τοῦτον ἔπαινον ... τὸν μέγιστον, 63) available to a dancer is, apparently, to be thought equal to a singer and to be “heard” (ἀκούω, ἄνθρωπε, ἃ ποιεῖς, 63). By praising dance in aural, rather than tactile or kinesthetic terms, Lycinus relies on a paradigm

³ The bibliography on singers and bards in the *Odyssey* (leaving aside the *Iliad*) is enormous, but for a classic treatment, see Segal 1994: 113-186. On the semantics of the term *aoidos* and its use in Homer and beyond, see Maslov 2009.

⁴ Especially if the young men's choral performance adds a kinetic element to Demodocus' song (which could still stand alone as a communicative and creative force in its own right) – see Chapter 2.1a.

⁵ Cf. Ladianou 2005: 48-49 and Peponi 2013b, as well as my discussion in Chapter 1.4.

⁶ As Montiglio puts it, “les ‘paroles corporelles’ du danseur peuvent littéralement réduire au silence chant et musique” (1999: 267).

of communication that persistently centers the verbal, even when attempting to praise the corporeal. Montiglio demonstrates that this approach to dance is evident throughout imperial era sources, wherein dance is conceived as a kind of codified process of translation between words and actions: “la danseuse a transcrit paroles and actions dans son code gestuel: tout est devenu action. Le public, lui, transcrit cette action unifiante dans son code verbal: tout devient parole” (Montiglio 1999: 279).⁷ While Lucian subverts the choral paradigm by valorizing solo performance, he retains the essentially logocentric attitude towards dance evident throughout archaic and classical Greek literature.

Ismene Lada-Richards demonstrates that Lucian’s promotion of the “silent eloquence” of the pantomime dancer should be linked with a broader emphasis on rhetorical skill associated with the Second Sophistic, and that this is part of Lucian’s strategic defense of pantomime (2007: 79-134).⁸ She argues that Lycinus’ speech effects an “intellectualisation” of the dancer that enables viewers of high “social and intellectual standing” to “feel good” about watching and enjoying pantomime dance (2007: 134). At the same time, Lada-Richards suggests that this defense comes at a price, observing that “what never emerges from Lycinus’ construction is the pantomime’s dwelling in a zone of cultural ambivalence and contradiction” (2007: 134). In a related article, she explains that:

by turning pantomime into an upper-class man’s ideal spectacle, Lycinus launched a genetically modified version of the genre, that is to say substantially true to form but artificially enhanced, with wrinkles smoothed and shades toned up or down, as required by each occasion. Consequently, there is a real sense that, rather than empowering the dancer, Lycinus’ apology subtracted from his power [...] (Lada-Richards 2008: 300)

She concludes that, while Lucian’s text ostensibly sets out to defend dance, it primarily succeeds in valorizing the sophist’s verbal skill (2008: 300-304). She characterizes this as a remarkable act of “cultural conquest,” whereby “the top prize in the context over the right to entertain, the right to control the politics of a multi-coloured performance culture, does not belong to the dancer’s silent, corporeal eloquence but to the educated declaimer’s witty eloquence of words” (2008: 303-304). I would suggest that this same overarching interest in “justifying” dance to an educated audience guides Lucian’s decision to draw heavily from archaic and classical models

⁷ Montiglio also draws a distinction between the work of the tragic poet (specifically as conceived by Aristotle in the *Poetics*) and the work of the pantomime performer (as described by Lucian and Libanius), arguing that “le poète tragique, dans le mesure où il dit l’invisible, façonne des paroles visibles, à savoir, des paroles qui permettent de reconstruire des images absentes. Les spectateurs, en écoutant, voient. Le danseur au contraire façonne des images audibles, à savoir, des images qui permettent de reconstruire des paroles absentes. Les spectateurs, en voyant, entendent” (1999: 267). That is, the tragic audience uses their auditory faculties to reconstruct missing images and thus “see,” whereas the pantomime audience uses their visual faculties to reconstruct missing words, and thus “hear.” I am not convinced that Montiglio’s framework fully accounts for the role of dance and embodied performance in tragedy (see, e.g., Weiss 2014 on the complex interplay of viewing, listening, and imagining in tragic spectatorship), but I do think she gets at the heart of what Lucian (and some of his contemporaries) are interested in – the justification of dance as a “verbal” art.

⁸ On pantomime and oratory, see also Montiglio 1999: 268-270. The larger questions surrounding the use of gesture in oratory and the embodiment of public speech in Greek and Roman thought are beyond the scope of this project, although those topics are certainly related to the questions of logocentricity and somatic expression I have been considering here. On this subject, see especially Gunderson 2000.

and maintain a generally logocentric vision of dance, rather than crafting one that truly centers the body and its independent expressive potential.⁹

This is not to say that Lucian's paradigm accurately captures the realities of pantomime performance in the imperial world. To the contrary, Lada-Richards goes on to demonstrate that "even on the basis of our fragmentary evidence, pantomime begs to be envisaged as the vibrant, ever colourful terrain where competing models of individuality could be explored, cultural configurations (especially of gender and desire) fashioned and contested, and important negotiations between elite and popular culture played out" (2008: 313).¹⁰ In this sense, pantomime and its attendant discourses may be seen in continuity with the conceptualization of individualized dance in the archaic and classical periods. As I have demonstrated here, singular dancing appears in earlier literature as a distinctive mechanism for exploring the relationship between language and the body, foregrounding individual expression, and both re-instating and questioning established norms of corporeality. Pantomime, as a cultural phenomenon, is engaged in the work of social contestation and experimentation, but at the same time, as a subject of Lucian's dialogue *On the Dance*, can become a vehicle for re-inscribing a set of specifically logocentric values. We can see both dimensions of the art as largely parallel to the realities and representations of dance performance in the archaic and classical periods.

Indeed, I want to conclude by arguing that Homer ultimately pays greater tribute to the possibilities of dance than Lucian. Recall that the esteemed Phaeacian dancers Halius and Laodamas are never compared or translated – their performance receives no verbal evaluation or response. On one level, this lack of verbal engagement represents Odysseus' successful efforts to marginalize and deny the competitive messages embodied by the Phaeacian duet. At the same time, the poet's description of the dance features rich and distinctive attention to somatic expression, and it crafts a kind of corporeal meaning intelligible to the audience of the poem, even if it goes unacknowledged by Odysseus.¹¹ Through its representation of Halius' and

⁹ For a different perspective, see Schlapbach, who suggests that Lucian's use of rhetoric to explicate pantomime does not generate "a straightforward opposition or hierarchy" (2008: 315), and argues that "Lucian's dialogue makes conscious use of the fact that rhetorical discourse is indebted in various ways to the visual and dramatic arts, and thus subtly emphasizes the ambivalent position of pantomime between text and visuality, rather than giving preference to one over the other" (2008: 316). She further contends that "pantomime is productive of speech by making the spectator *hear* what is being represented by the silent pantomimist, but at the same time it could also be perceived as independent from speech, just as gestures, bodily features, and images were thought to disclose knowledge independently from spoken language" (2008: 331). Her latter point is well-taken, and I do not mean to suggest that Lucian's treatise should be understood as possessing a narrow and restrictive focus on the *logos* of dance. At the same time, while Schlapbach's analysis demonstrates that Lucian attends closely to the visual realm (and, in doing so, draws on earlier approaches to dance, 2008: 331-336), I would still maintain that it stops short of treating *embodied* expression on its own terms. Schlapbach's approach is grounded in a synesthetic, harmonious model of the arts in ancient thought ("this [Schlapbach's reading of Lucian's treatise *On the Dance*] contributes to the impression that in antiquity the literary and visual arts, music, and drama are tightly connected and conceptualized in similar ways. In fact it has been argued that the autonomy of different art forms is achieved only in the eighteenth century," 2008: 336). In part, my project here has been to illuminate the hierarchies and implicit values that undergird the promotion of artistic and sensory synthesis in archaic and classical thought (see Chapter 1.3-4). Lucian's promotion of the idea that one can "hear" dance privileges oral/aural communication and thus reinstates the normative archaic and classical paradigm (compare Pratinas 708.16 *PMG*: "listen, listen, to my Dorian *choreia*" (<ἄκου> ἄκουε τὰν ἐμὴν Δώριον χορείαν, see Chapter 1.4), even if his approach to dance is inventive and creative in other respects (e.g., moving beyond a conceptual distinction between solo and communal dance).

¹⁰ For this point, see also Lada-Richards 2007: 135-162. Webb 2008b explores pantomime from the potential perspective of the dancer, shedding light on corporeal experience and embodied knowledge as distinct from descriptions of viewing that center on verbal discourse.

¹¹ For the full version of this argument, see Chapter 2.

Laodamas' virtuosity, the *Odyssey* imagines how dance might exist, not just beyond *choreia*, but even beyond words. In that sense, Homer surpasses Lucian in his imaginative exploration of dance and its possibilities.

We may now reflect on the value of that kind of imaginative exploration, and review what we have gained by looking “beyond *choreia*.” I hope to have demonstrated that it is unproductive to think of “solo” and “choral” dance as an exclusive binary, at least insofar as literary representation is concerned. Rather, as I proposed in Chapter 1, we might imagine a variety of choral continuums – verbal to non-verbal, fully choreographed to wholly improvised, many to few participants, and so on. Within such a complex network, institutional, choreographed, communal, and song-centric choral performance would form a crucial, even central point, around which other forms might cluster, at varying degrees of distance.

We might, therefore, better speak of looking “toward the margins” of *choreia*, or toward the descriptions of dance that foreground the idiosyncratic, the unruly, the nonverbal, or otherwise “sub-choral” modes of movement. Rather than attempting to find the firm dividing line between the choral and the “not choral,” we might ask how and why certain forms come to be viewed as marginal or messy. We might consider what value lies in resisting or pulling away from *choreia*, not wholesale, but in specific ways or directions.

This dissertation has considered one significant point of departure from the chorus: the representation of the singular dancer. Even if the project has served in part to reaffirm the conceptual centrality of the chorus and thus moved only incrementally “beyond *choreia*,” I hope it has still succeeded in establishing that singular dancing in Greek literature tends to signify competition, disruption, violation, and vulnerability within the social and political order. In other words, dance alone – and on its own terms – exhibits a kind of messiness, excess, or unruliness. The hierarchical aspects of *choreia* function as a discursive system designed to constrain the potentially unruly dancing body within an organized system of song and sound. But by the same token, the representation of individualized *orchēsis* can become a distinctive mechanism adopted by poets, playwrights, historians and philosophers to foreground and explore the complex relationship between verbal and somatic expression. I thus maintain that the tension inherent in the attempt to “fix” dance in words is a productive one. Examining solo dance, especially in the places where its generally non-verbal nature is most problematic for a given author or text, allows us to see the choral system, and its particular investment in language, from a fresh angle.

I want to remain with the *Odyssey* for a moment longer. In Steve Paxton's estimation, “getting lost” may be “the first step toward finding new systems” – both performance systems, and larger cultural ones (2001: 425). The Odysseus of the *Odyssey* is, in one sense, a paradigm figure for the parallel processes of getting lost and improvising.¹² On Scheria, he encounters an unfamiliar mode of performance, but re-orientates both himself and the audience by verbally emphasizing and articulating a standard choral model. Yet when Odysseus sails away from the Phaeacians, or when the bard stops speaking, perhaps hero and audience alike have had their unconscious assumptions about dance and its possibilities shifted or changed, however slightly or subtly. As Paxton suggests, perhaps the “reward for getting lost,” for both Odysseus and the listener who travels along with him, is a brief glimpse of some part of a new system, one which expands the role of the individual dancer and enables movement to “speak” in unparalleled ways.

I began this project by drawing a sharp distinction between the limited and elusive role of solo dance in ancient Greece and its prominence in early 20th-century modern dance, whose

¹² See Chapter 2.2c and Dougherty 2015.

practitioners nonetheless tended to position themselves in continuity with Greek performance and mythology. But Claudia Gitelman's observations about soloists within the modern dance movement – namely, that they are “a source of [...] constant renewal” and “[inhabit] space between the new and the not-yet known” – may actually resonate with the ancient testimony on a different level. It is true that solo dancing in ancient Greece did not achieve widespread cultural influence prior to the emergence of pantomime, and so we cannot say that soloists impacted ancient performance culture in any way like that of modern dance pioneers and solo artists like Graham and Duncan. But describing, theorizing, and otherwise engaging with individualized and non-choral dance does seem to have served an exploratory and experimental function for ancient authors, and perhaps examining such representations has invigorated and re-figured our scholarly understanding of archaic and classical Greek performance culture in a more general sense.

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Figures

Figure 1: Middle Corinthian phiale, Patras painter, c. 590-570 BCE, © National Archaeological Museum, Athens (536)



Figure 2: RF kylix, attributed to Oltos, c. 510 BCE, © British Museum (E19)



Side A (Molmis, Thallinos, and Xanthos)



Side B (Nikon, Khilon, and Solon)

Figure 3: RF cup, signed by Hieron/attributed to Makron, 500-450 BCE, © Berlin Antikensammlung (F2290)



Figure 4: White tondo of kylix, c. 490 BCE, © Staatliche Antikensammlung, Munich



Figure 5: Middle Corinthian aryballos, c. 560 BCE, © Corinth Archaeological Museum (C.54.1), as published by M. Roebuck and C. Roebuck (1955).



Figure 6: Middle Corinthian aryballos, as above, photograph by Andrea Rotstein.



Figure 7: François Vase (Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale): Top Friezes (sides A & B). Drawing reproduced from A. Furtwängler (1900/1993), *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, plate 13.

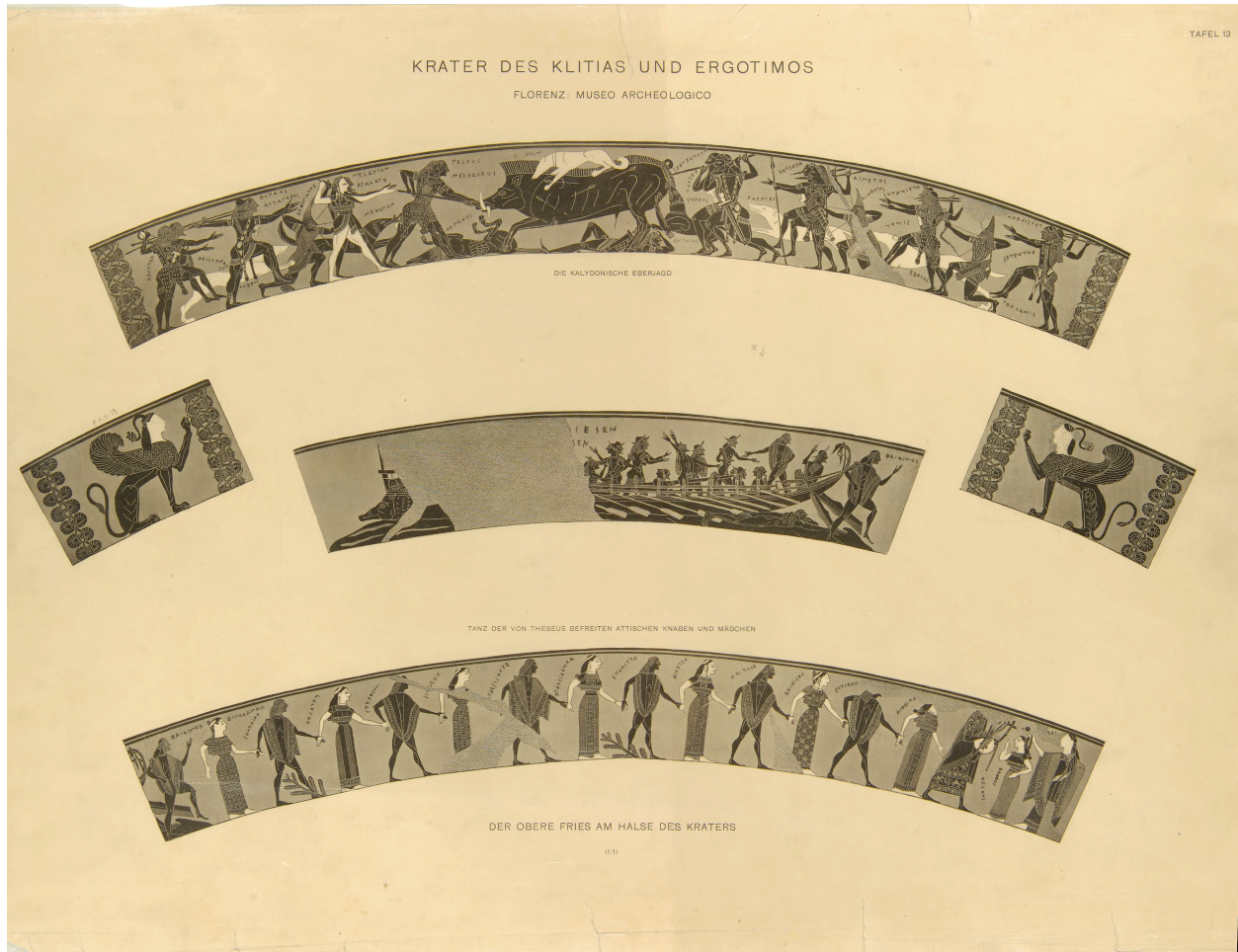


Figure 8: Red Figure krater by the Villa Giulia painter. c. 450 BCE. Rome, Villa Giulia 909. As printed in Furley and Bremer 2001: 22.



Figure 9: Foce del Sele, Temple of Hera II, restored by F. Krauss. 510-500 BCE. Image from Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1951-1954, vol. 1, pl. 31, as printed in Marconi 2013: 436.

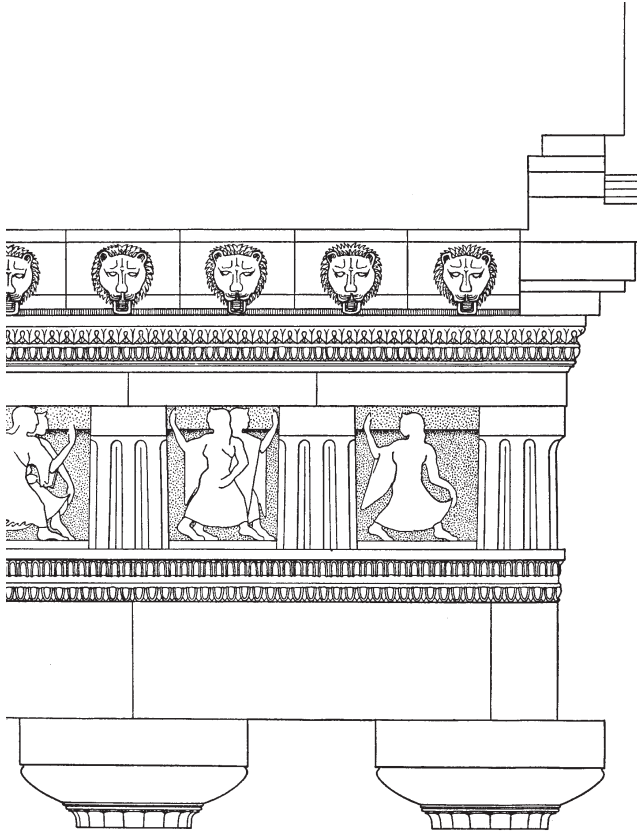


Figure 10: Samothrace, Hall of Choral Dancers, frieze depicting a chorus. 350-325 BCE. F(S) 1. Archaeological Museum of Samothrace. Photography by Clemente Marconi, as printed in Marconi 2013: 437.



Figure 11: White ground ceramic phiale by the painter of London D12, c. 450 BCE. Boston, MFA 65.908



Figure 12: Red Figure kylix signed by Epictetus. c. 520-510 BCE. London E 38, British Museum



