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Greek Dance

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## GREEK DANCE<sup>1</sup>

MANY books have been written on Greek dance. The fault which bedevils a large number of them is that their authors have tried to recreate the movements of the dances from the artistic evidence without taking into account the conventions of Greek vase-painting and sculpture.<sup>2</sup> Other books, and they are the most useful, set out the literary and the artistic evidence without attempting to reconstruct the dances.<sup>3</sup> Rarely, however, are the wider implications considered, and it is these which I wish to discuss here. More analysis and discussion of the evidence for many of my statements is no doubt required, but the place for that is a book rather than an article which ranges over a comparatively large field. In the first two sections I discuss the origin and nature of Greek dance, and in the following three the effects of dance on the function, form, and rhythm of Greek poetry.

### I. THE ORIGIN OF GREEK DANCE

The question 'Why did the Greeks dance?' might seem to be superfluous and to invite the glib but not entirely convincing reply 'Why not?'. The reply is unconvincing because the way in which a practice becomes natural varies from one historical period to another.

Historical analysis of Greek dance leads us to assume an early connection with cult or ritual. Born in a later age, with different ideas of religion, we are almost automatically involved in a prejudice about this. Dance is a pastime; religion means duty and devotion. What possible connection could there be between them? The answer is that cult in a primitive phase involves both prescribed and also playful behaviour. The two sides are shown by the Latin word *ludus* which means both rite and play; unfortunately Roman religion for the most part failed to live up to this etymology.

The serious side of early ritual is concerned with the problems of the continuation of existence and of social solidarity. These problems are worked out in a kind of play, and the group dance is a way in which the group can feel itself working them out together. Hunting communities centre their attentions on the particular wild animals they chase. Dressing up in the skins of these animals, they dance a perfect hunt, or, alternatively, help to propagate the animal species by miming their sexual union. The animal masquerade<sup>4</sup> is frequently depicted on ancient Greek vases, and an animal disguise may lie

<sup>1</sup> This article originated as a lecture delivered to the South-West Branch of the Classical Association at Exeter by the late J. W. Fitton in 1963. The scrupulous scholarship of Mr. J. H. Cowell, a former pupil of the author, who has revised the text, incorporated parts of later drafts, and added the notes, has made publication possible.—J. G. Griffith, F. D. Harvey.

<sup>2</sup> These books are, however, often valuable for their reproductions of the attitudes of Greek dancers. Thus G. Prudhommeau (*La danse grecque antique*, 2 vols., 1965) provides a valuable record of the postures on

vases, but his approach is vitiated by its interpretation of them in terms of modern dancing.

<sup>3</sup> Of special importance now is L. B. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece* (1964); see also her monograph *The Dance of the Ancient Greek Theatre* (1964). Fitton would have welcomed T. B. L. Webster's approach in *The Greek Chorus* (1970).

<sup>4</sup> For animal dances see L. B. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece*, ch. 4, and A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy*<sup>2</sup> (1962), 151-7.

behind the theriomorphic affinities of many Greek gods and goddesses. The myth of Io in the form of a cow chased by Zeus in the form of a bull<sup>1</sup> is an almost transparent relic of an erotic dance in animal disguise such as we see in primitive cave drawings. Agricultural communities link their rituals with the death and revival of the seasons, and hold dance festivals at various special times of year, especially at harvest time when the work is over. Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* 8. 1160<sup>a</sup>25) mentions that in early times sacrifices and assemblies took place chiefly after the ingathering of the harvest, when there was more leisure. And this was also presumably the time for dancing. Dancing frequently involved a kind of communion with the living powers of nature through the handling and carrying of foliage, fruit, and crops. Many Greek female cult-processions are of this type. A particular dance movement connected with this kind of seasonal festival is the fertility leap. In the *Hymn* of the Kouretes a band of young men call upon their god to leap, and there is no doubt that they leapt with him. The leap, they say, is for the wine-vats, the fleecy flocks, the fruit crops, and the fulfilment of the soil.<sup>2</sup>

Another type of ritual, which is often blended with masquerade and seasonal festivals, is the initiation ceremony. Originally this marked the passing from one age-group or status to another, including passing away altogether to the world of one's ancestors. The direct representatives of this tradition in ancient Greece, as in modern Europe, are the rites of marriage and death, and in Greece they were accompanied by dancing. The case of the Greek wedding<sup>3</sup> is clear, and Catullus' poem<sup>4</sup> gives the most vivid picture of it. An epithalamium was a dance as well as a song. The case of the Greek funeral is more debatable, but the rhythmical use of the hands in lamentation, which, as can be seen from vase-paintings, became a stylized mime representing the beating of the head and the rending of the cheeks, can without much apology be called a dance.<sup>5</sup> The more indirect, though flourishing, representatives of the tradition of initiation are the rites of secret societies (the *μυστήρια*). According to Lucian (*Salt.* 15), all *μυστήρια* included dancing. We are reminded of the Auin bushman who was asked what really happened at puberty ceremonies and gave the short and sweet answer, 'We dance'.<sup>6</sup>

Characteristic of the mystery rite was the maze-dance. One example is the wanderings of torch-bearing initiates at Eleusis who were supposed to represent the wanderings of Demeter in her search for Persephone.<sup>7</sup> The maze-dance perhaps gives us the clue to the puzzle of the labyrinth. The labyrinth has been traced in many parts of the world, and is associated with caves, temples, palaces, and open floors. The explanation is that it was a dance consisting of intricate maze-like movements. Its original function was probably to produce amazement in the initiates and to prepare them for the mystic realities of their

<sup>1</sup> On Io see A. B. Cook, *Zeus* i (1914), 438-41.

<sup>2</sup> For the fertility aspect of the hymn see M. L. West, *J.H.S.* lxxxv (1965), 149-59, who offers a new text, with commentary.

<sup>3</sup> The wedding-dance is found as early as Homer, *Od.* 4. 17-19 and 23. 131-49.

<sup>4</sup> Catull. 61. Hymenaeus is bidden to perform: *pelle humum pedibus, manu / pineam quate taedam* (14-15).

<sup>5</sup> For funeral dances see Lawler, *op. cit.*

(above, p. 254 n. 4), 54-6, 82-3. For the importance of hand-movements in Greek dancing see below, p. 261.

<sup>6</sup> Curt Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, Eng. trs. (1937), 68.

<sup>7</sup> For the wandering see L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* iii (1907), 181. For the maze-like character of the dancing at Eleusis, W. F. Jackson Knight, *Vergil: Epic and Anthropology* (1967), 226-7.

new status. The Greek mysteries were a preparation for the after-life. Modern scepticism about Orphic and Eleusinian traditions does not seem to have seriously shaken this view. The mystics took care to carry on their dancing in the other world. This, I believe, is the reason for the meadows and throngs of dancers in the realm of the blessed.<sup>1</sup> The procedure of the mystery was projected into the after-life.

Another dance was the weapon dance. This seems to have been originally part of an initiation ceremony in which mature youths danced round the initiate, scaring him and scaring away evil spirits with the noise of their weapons.<sup>2</sup> The rite was, however, combined with a seasonal celebration aimed at fertility, as can be seen from the *Hymn* of the Kouretes. In neither of its two functions—initiation or the securing of fertility—is there any intrinsic connection with the war-dance. A similar dance involving the brandishing of sticks or swords was the ancestor of our Morris dance and the many others which are related to it throughout Europe, and a comparison of the different forms of Morris leaves no doubt that it was a seasonal mime of fertility.

The cult dance is frequently dramatic: it involves impersonation and a myth. The relation of myth to cult is a vexed question.<sup>3</sup> There is the degenerate myth which comes long after a practice has dwindled to senselessness, but there is also the more dynamic myth which accompanies the cult act and makes it something like drama. The cult dramas of the ancient New East and of Egypt were provided with mythological commentaries explaining what was going on, and these are often extant.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, in the case of Greek cult the evidence is not so accessible. It also appears that in two cases at least—the Crane dance at Delos and the Kouretic dance in Crete—the mythical plot was a reinterpretation of the original dance.<sup>5</sup> The cult dance has within it the embryo of drama; but a mythical plot is the mark of a change of function.

When a Greek god has an important role in what is evidently a cult drama, and is also seen as the leader of a dance group, there is a good case for supposing that originally the dance group and its leader were enacting the cult drama. Thus Apollo, as leader of the choir of Muses or Graces, is the main antagonist

<sup>1</sup> Themistius, *περὶ ψυχῆς* ap. Stob. 4. 52. 49 = Plut. fr. 178 Sandbach, discussed by G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (1961), 264–9.

<sup>2</sup> The initiatory aspect of the *Hymn* of the Kouretes and related myths forms the basis of J. E. Harrison's *Themis* (1912, 1927).

<sup>3</sup> The point at issue is whether the action of a myth reflects the action of the ritual. This line of interpretation has been developed by British scholars: see *Myth and Ritual*, ed. S. H. Hooke (1933). Unfortunately this book is as much concerned with proving the existence of a certain type of ritual as with exploring the general relationship between myth and ritual. The theory has aroused violent criticism, often aimed at the particular ritual proposed rather than the general question (see the criticisms listed by Hooke in 'Myth and Ritual: Past and Present' in *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, ed. S. H. Hooke [1958], 1–21). In fact the

relationship between myth and ritual is very variable, and generalizations are unsafe. See now, however, W. Burkert in *C.Q.* n.s. xx (1970), 1–16, and most recently *Homo Necans* (1972), as well as the discussion of the whole question by G. S. Kirk in *Myth: its meaning and functions* (1970), esp. 12–31.

<sup>4</sup> See the texts in T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (1950, 1961).

<sup>5</sup> That is, the Crane dance, like other maze-dances, was part of an initiation ceremony, but was said to commemorate Theseus' escape from the Cretan labyrinth (Dicæarchus fr. 85 Wehrli ap. Plut. *Thes.* 21; cf. the François vase, Arias–Hirmer–Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (1962), pl. 43 with p. 288). In the mythical explanation of the dance of the Kouretes, Zeus was a new-born babe, not a youth approaching puberty and the age of initiation.

in the battle with the Python at Delphi.<sup>1</sup> Dionysus, leader of the Bacchae, is the main participant in the drama of Pentheus' destruction. And we may add Orpheus, the leader of the Muses, who is killed by the Maenads in what is clearly a ritual act.<sup>2</sup>

In early communities, dance is song-and-dance. At a folk or primitive level, voice, music, and body-rhythm are inextricably connected. The development of artistic culture lies in the gradual differentiation of the parts from this whole. The practical result is that in the study of the origins of Greek poetry we frequently find traces of dance in the development of non-dance forms. Thus the epic poet is at first sight a reciter; then when we see him, as in Homer, with a lyre, he is a singer; and then when we see him operating amid dancing youths, or leading a chorus of dancing maidens at the Delian festival, we see him as the leader of the song-and-dance.<sup>3</sup> Similarly we quite rightly stress the personal quality of Sappho's poetry, yet on closer inspection her Ode to Aphrodite (fr. 1 LP) reveals itself as nothing other than a hymn. We have no clear evidence for the way in which such a hymn would have been performed, but we may arrive at some idea of the tradition lying behind it through the imagination of a poet in the Palatine Anthology (9. 189, anon.):

Ἔλθετε πρὸς τέμενος ταυρώπιδος ἀγλαὸν Ἥρης,  
 Λεσβίδες, ἄβρὰ ποδῶν βήμαθ' ἐλισσόμεναι.  
 ἔνθα καλὸν στήσασθε θεῆ χορόν· ὕμμι δ' ἀπάρξει  
 Σαπφῶ χρυσεῖην χερσὶν ἔχουσα λύρην.  
 ἄλβιαι ὄρχηθμοῦ πολυγηθέος· ἦ γλυκὺν ὕμνον  
 εἰσαΐειν αὐτῆς δόξετε Καλλιόπης.

It is difficult to infer what the Greeks in historical times did from the evidence, such as it is, for the mythical dance. For instance, when Pindar represents all the gods as taking part in a Bacchic revel in Zeus' house (*Dith.* 2, fr. 70b Snell<sup>3</sup>), the picture is clearly not a replica of something that happened in real life. That the Greek imagination was caught up in the dance is of course an indirect testimony to its power. For example, the depiction of Ares as a dancer,<sup>4</sup> the warrior as a dancer of war,<sup>5</sup> and the elaborate contrast in Euripides' *Phoenissae* (226–49) between the revel throng of Ares and that of Dionysus, all hang together as a tradition in which battle was seen imaginatively as a sort of dance. And we can see a certain appropriateness in this when we realize that the form of warfare depicted by Homer resolves itself into tournaments of agility between rival champions.

<sup>1</sup> Apollo and the Muses: Hom. *Il.* 1. 603–4; *Hymn. Hom.* 3. 182–206; Paus. 5. 18. 4 (the chest of Cypselus). On a sixth-century Attic amphora in Copenhagen (N.M. Inv. 3241 = *CVA* Copenhagen 3, pl. 102. 2), four Muses (if they are Muses and not Graces) walk playing castanets behind Apollo who is playing the kithara as he leads them to Zeus.

<sup>2</sup> The classic exposition of Pentheus' death is of course in Euripides' *Bacchae*. For Orpheus' death see W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*<sup>2</sup> (1952), 32–3; the longest account is Ovid, *Met.* 11. 1–84.

<sup>3</sup> The *αἰοῖδοί* *par excellence* in Homer are

Phemius and Demodocus. For the *αἰοῖδός* among dancing youths see *Od.* 8. 261–4, and leading the Delian maidens, *Hymn. Hom.* 3. 166–73.

<sup>4</sup> According to a Bithynian story Ares was a dancer before he became a warrior (Lucian, *Salt.* 21).

<sup>5</sup> A warrior could be called *ὄρχηστήρ* *πολέμοιο*, Nonnus, *Dion.* 28. 304; cf. 275, where the Corybantes are called *ὄρχηστήρες Ἐννοῦς*. The Thessalians called their front-rank men and champions *προορχηστήρες* (Lucian, *Salt.* 14). Athenaeus (14. 628F) quotes a verse of Socrates: οἱ δὲ χοροῖς κάλλιστα θεοὺς τιμῶσιν, ἄριστοι ἐν πολέμῳ.

Myth leads away from the actual local practice to the world of story-telling and allegory. Sometimes an incongruity arises. When we see Heracles as a leader of the Muses with a lyre in his hand,<sup>1</sup> we see not the hard-headed philistine of popular tradition, but the leader of a group-dance in honour of victory. Allegory may develop from actual practice. The god of Love and the goddess of Victory are shown in art as dancers.<sup>2</sup> The Muses exhibit many oddities if they are considered simply as fictions devised to emphasize the poet's debt to tradition; they are in the first instance a band of women who sing and dance on the hillside, as is evident from Hesiod (*Theog.* 68–70):

αἱ τότε ἴσαν πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀγαλλόμεναι ὅπι καλῆ,  
ἀμβροσίῃ μολπῆ· περι δ' ἴαχε γαῖα μέλαινα  
ὑμνεύσαις, ἔρατος δὲ ποδῶν ὑπο δούπος ὀρύρει.

In the case of the dances of Pan, and of Satyrs and Bacchants, there is no doubt about their historical existence. Plato, in distinguishing desirable from undesirable dances, firmly labels these as undesirable,<sup>3</sup> and he is clearly legislating about actual practice, not fantasies. When a modern scholar, commenting on the head-jerking described by Pindar in a Bacchic dance, says 'Pindar may have drawn the epithet *ῥιψαύχενι* from contemporary representations of the Maenads on Attic vases',<sup>4</sup> it is reasonable to say that academic blinkers have prevented him from seeing that Pindar did not have to consult vases in order to recognize a characteristic motion in an actual dance. The ecstatic hillside dance of Dionysiac cult, in which nervous exhaustion led to a state of trance and the sensation of perfect peace, was real, and analogies to it exist in other cults.

ἀνεμόεντι δ' ἐπ' ὄχθῳ  
ὀλολύγματα παννυχίους ὑπὸ παρ-  
θένων ἰαχεῖ ποδῶν κρότοισιν.

Euripides is describing not the cult of the oriental upstart Dionysus, but the festival of the sober goddess Athene (*Heracl.* 781–3).

## II. THE NATURE OF GREEK DANCE

The two most frequent terms for 'dance' are *χορός* and *ὄρχησις*. *χορός*, according to Hesychius,<sup>5</sup> originally meant a round dance. It tends to mean the dance of the group as opposed to the individual, the formation dance as opposed to the improvised. *ὄρχησις* shows the opposite tendency: this, not *χορός*, is what tumblers do.<sup>6</sup> *χορός*, the set-dance, is distinguished from preliminary movements. For example, in Callimachus (*Hymn* 3. 240–3), the Amazons first dance

<sup>1</sup> For Heracles' connection with the Muses and lyre-playing see F. Boehm in *R.E.* viii. 574–8, esp. 576–7, and R. Peter in Roscher i. 2, 2970–6, esp. 2975–6. Like Apollo he was called *Μουσαγέτας* (*I.G.* xiv. 101\*). He was taught to play the lyre by Linos (*Apollod. Bibl.* 2. 4. 9).

<sup>2</sup> M. Emmanuel, *The Antique Greek Dance*, Eng. trs. (1927), 248–51.

<sup>3</sup> *Laws* 7. 815 b–c; cf. G. R. Morrow, *Plato's Cretan City* (1960), 362–5.

<sup>4</sup> L. R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar* ii (1932), 423, discussing *Dith.* 2 fr. 70b. 13 Snell<sup>3</sup>; for a more open-eyed view, see E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951), 273 f., and his note on Eur. *Bacchae*, 862–5.

<sup>5</sup> He glosses *χορός*· *κύκλος*, *στέφανος*.

<sup>6</sup> Thus Athenaeus (5. 180D) uses *ὄρχεῖσθαι* of the tumblers in *Od.* 4. 18–19 and *Il.* 18. 604–6; cf. *Hdt.* 6. 129, of Hippocleides.

the weapon-dance and then set up the broad *χορός*; in the description of a performance of Sappho's hymn in the Anthology (p. 257 above), the girls first do a processional and then set up the *χορός* for the hymn; in tragedy, there is first a march into the orchestra and then the chorus sets up its formation-dance or *στάσιμον*. The formation aspect is also seen in the extension of the word *χορός* to mean 'dancing-place' and even 'curving row', as, for example, a row of teeth.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand *ὄρχησις*, according to Athenaeus (1. 21A), was used metaphorically for all sorts of motion. This agrees with the extant evidence, for it is also used, for example, of hearts beating with fear and of an earthquake.<sup>2</sup> The distinction between *χορός* and *ὄρχησις* is not always clear-cut, however, especially since *ὄρχησις* was always the more general term. A similar distinction exists in Medieval Latin and European languages: Medieval Latin: *chorea/ballatio*; Italian: *carola/danza*; Provençal: *carola/dansa*; Old French: *carole/danse*; German: *reigen/tanz*. Similarly the English word 'carol' originally meant a dance in a ring to the accompaniment of song.<sup>3</sup>

The protoplasm of Greek lyric poetry was a song-and-dance. The integrated nature of the performance is reflected in the word *μολπή* which exhibits a basic ambiguity. Sometimes, as with the acts of a warrior or tumbler, the reference is clearly to action without song;<sup>4</sup> sometimes just as clearly it means song;<sup>5</sup> and in many cases the word is coupled with other terms for song-and-dance and must therefore refer to a song-and-dance performance.<sup>6</sup>

The Greek scholarly and philosophical tradition recognized the importance of dance in Greek culture. 'What is *μουσική*?' asks Plato. The answer that immediately suggests itself is 'Harp-playing, singing, and *moving* properly' (*Alcib.* 1 108 c-d). This is only natural, since *μουσική* comes from the Muses who were dancers as well as singers. The distinction between *μουσική*, in its widest sense of 'culture', and *γυμναστική* is not a simple distinction between mind and body. Plato, for example, in his analysis of *μουσική* refers to the bodily expression of rhythm,<sup>7</sup> and derives the rhythmical nature of poetry from the random exploratory movements of children (*Laws* 2. 653 d-e). Dance was a thing of the soul as well as of the body.<sup>8</sup> Soul is the difference between a live man and a dead man, and dancing is clearly a good symptom of the difference.

Dancing enjoyed high prestige from the period reflected in the Homeric poems. In Homer nobles dance as an exhibition of skill (*Od.* 8. 250-65, 370-80), and King Priam's sons were best at dancing if nothing else (*Il.* 24. 261). We hear that the early tragedians were called dancers not only because of their 'dancy' plays but also because they gave dancing lessons (*Athen.* 1. 22A).

<sup>1</sup> *χορός ὀδόντων*, Galen, *De Usu Part.* 11. 8 Helmreich; cf. *πρόσθιοι χοροί* of the front teeth, Aristoph. *Ran.* 548.

<sup>2</sup> Of fear: Aesch. *Choeph.* 167; Ion fr. 50N<sup>2</sup> and Snell; of an earthquake: Callim. *Hymn* 4. 139.

<sup>3</sup> Curt Sachs, op. cit. (above, p. 255 n. 6), 269-75; P. Dearmer in *The Oxford Book of Carols* (ed. Dearmer and others, 1928), v-ix; *Oxford English Dictionary* s.v. Carol.

<sup>4</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7. 241: *μέλπεσθαι Ἄρηϊ*.

<sup>5</sup> Eur. *Ion* 881-2: *μέλπων τᾶς κιθάρας ἐνοπᾶν*.

<sup>6</sup> *μολπή* and song: Eur. *Heracl.* 780; *μολπή* and dance: Hom. *Il.* 13. 637; *Od.* 1.

152, 23. 145.

<sup>7</sup> *Laws* 2. 664 e; cf. 672 e: the branch of *μουσική* known as *χορεία* combines rhythm, defined as the ordering of motion, and *ἁρμονία*, the ordering of voice. Conversely, *γυμναστική* affects the soul (*Rep.* 3. 410 b-d).

<sup>8</sup> This is because, according to Plato (*Laws* 10. 896 a), the soul is the source of movement. For emotional processes considered as movements of the soul see Athen. 14. 628c (= Damon fr. 37 B6 DK), where οἱ περὶ *Δάμωνα* are quoted for the opinion that *τὰς ὠδὰς καὶ τὰς ὄρχησεις ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι κινουμένης πῶς τῆς ψυχῆς*; ps.-Ar. *Probl.* 919<sup>b</sup>26-37, 920<sup>a</sup>3-7.

Sophocles danced in the nude to lyre accompaniment to celebrate the victory at Salamis, and appeared in his play *Nausicaa* dancing and playing ball (id. 1. 20F). The tragedians were not only writing great odes; they were also active in organizing the dance of the chorus. Aeschylus invented many new dance figures (id. 1. 21 E-F), Sophocles wrote a book about the chorus (*Suda* s.v. Σοφοκλήης), and Aristophanes tells us that the tragic poet Phrynichus derived his wonderful displays from the dance-pieces of the Mother Goddess (*Aves* 746-50).<sup>1</sup> Dance was an important part of the song-and-dance that we call choral lyric. Pindar refers proudly to his dancers (*Ol.* 14. 15-17), and, more subtly, invests his poetry with the glamour of the dance (*Pyth.* 1. 2: βάσις ἀγλαίας ἀρχά).

After the fifth century, dance underwent a steady decline in prestige. It became an ungentlemanly thing, suitable only for the socially inferior, or, as Cicero said, for drunkards: *nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit* (*Pro Mur.* 13). For Greece with its wealth of dance forms was not peculiar: Italy also had a great song-and-dance tradition,<sup>2</sup> but found only Plautus to raise it to the level of art. Greece was, however, peculiar, in this as in other ways, in the use that it made of its tradition.

The Greek dance was frequently vigorous and closer to folk-dance than to the stylized motions of ballet or ball-room. Vase-paintings show the whirling turn, in which full use was made of feminine clothing, the backward and forward bending of the body in the Bacchic dance, and the crouching upon the haunches that is now known as the Cossack dance.<sup>3</sup> Drawing the rough distinction used by Curt Sachs<sup>4</sup> between 'expanded' dance, a rebellion against gravity, and 'close' dance, in which the dancers are more restricted in their movements, we see that the Greeks were masters of both styles. This distinction is often correlated with a sex difference: the woman is more restricted than the man in dance movements. Plato is very anxious that men should not move like women, or women like men.<sup>5</sup> Leaping, striding, kicking, and skipping in 'expanded' dance are, if the Greek evidence is any guide, male rather than female activities. Bending, stretching, whirling, hand-gestures, and the carrying of baskets and suchlike in procession<sup>6</sup> are 'closer' motions and as such more feminine. But we must not press the distinction too hard, especially since Greek women did not by any means always observe the decorum required by Plato.

Greek dance was not always poised or, to use the modern term, 'eurhythmic'. The Maenad on vases who looks as if she is having a nervous breakdown is, to use a recently fashionable catchword, 'sent'.<sup>7</sup> The satyr-dance involved the mimicry of drunkenness (*Pl. Laws* 7. 815 c), and when Pentheus is told to lift his right hand along with his right leg, he is being instructed to make an

<sup>1</sup> In this context Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1498 is particularly revealing: εἴ τις τραγωδός φησιν ὀρχεῖσθαι καλῶς . . .

<sup>2</sup> See the references to specifically Italian dancing s.v. *Tanzkunst* in *R.E.* ser. 2. iv. 2233-47, esp. 2239 and 2247, and in general G. Wille, *Musica Romana* (1967).

<sup>3</sup> M. Emmanuel, op. cit. (above, p. 258 n. 2), 140-2, 171-4, 170-1 respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. (above, p. 255 n. 6), 24-37.

<sup>5</sup> The lawgiver must see that suitable songs are allotted to men and to women

(*Laws* 7. 802 d-e); feminine gestures should not be assigned to verses composed for men (2. 669 c).

<sup>6</sup> For basket-carrying in processional dances see L. B. Lawler, op. cit. (above, p. 254 n. 4), 108-10.

<sup>7</sup> For representations of Maenads on vases, and the interpretation of their movements, see L. B. Lawler, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome* vi (1927), 69-112; M. W. Edwards, *J.H.S.* lxxx (1960), 78-87.



arrhythmical movement like the capering of the typical drunken satyr on vase-paintings.<sup>1</sup>

Greek dance made an expressive use of arms and legs that would be unthinkable in traditional ballet. Hand-movement was clearly important; Aristoxenus considered that the Mantinean dance was the best of all on this account.<sup>2</sup> Arm-movements were trained by ball-throwing, which frequently accompanied the dance in ancient Greece.<sup>3</sup> Whether the Greeks had anything like the Hindu *Natya*, a science of dance and drama concerned with torso- and arm-movements,<sup>4</sup> is a difficult question to answer. Plutarch's dialogue on dancing (*Quaest. Conv.* 9. 15 = *Mor.* 747A-748D) implies a tradition of gesture but not necessarily a science. Gesture passed from the dance to the tragic actor and thence to the public speaker: hence *τραγωδεῖν* and *χειρονομεῖν* of orators.

Greek dance was 'mimetic'.<sup>5</sup> But what is *mimesis*? A recent inquiry<sup>6</sup> suggests, after an exhaustive survey, that it was a dance word, and that the dance involved was originally the cult dance of Dionysiac worship. It has not, however, by any means been proved that Dionysus was originally involved. What is rather clearer is that the sense of mechanical copying was brought in by Plato for his own philosophical ends.<sup>7</sup> When the word is used of cult-acts, then clearly this is not imitation, for the worshipper did not imitate the god but impersonated or acted the role of the god. As the word often occurs in ancient discussions of *μουσική*, it is interesting that Koller's inquiry shows a notable emphasis on the bodily expression of behaviour. This must surely be the point of Plato's application of the word *mimesis* to the parts of Homer that were in direct speech (*Rep.* 3. 392 e-393 c). It was not that Plato had some abstract objection to direct speech, but that the epic reciter acted out the speeches of his characters with mime and gesture. That *mimesis* involved bodily behaviour is indicated by Plato's use of this and kindred terms in the *Laws* to refer to the dance. For example he says casually, as if it were generally accepted, that dances are the expression of character (*μιμήματα τρόπων*), both good and bad (*Laws* 2. 655 d).

The view that dance is 'expression' (*mimesis*) is developed further in Plutarch's discussion (cited above). Here, however, there is a shift in terminology. Dance is made up of movements (*φοραί*), holds or attitudes (*σχήματα*), and gestures (*δείξεις*). Movements 'indicate' like metaphors in poetry; attitudes 'express' like onomatopoeia; gestures 'demonstrate' as proper names do in poetry. In this analysis, the term *mimesis*, 'expression', is reserved for attitudes, and is not applied to movements or gestures. It is clear, however, that in a wider

<sup>1</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 943-4. A satyr on the Pronomos vase is executing such a step, and it has been suggested that he is performing the *σίκωνις*, the dance typical of the satyr-play (A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*<sup>2</sup> [1968], 254 with fig. 49).

<sup>2</sup> Athen. 1. 22B. On *χειρονομία* see Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. (above, n. 1), 248-9.

<sup>3</sup> For ball-games and ball-dancing see Athen. 1. 14D-15C.

<sup>4</sup> See G. P. Kurath in Funk and Wagnall's *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* ii (1950), 786.

<sup>5</sup> The dance itself, says Aristotle (*Poet.* 1447<sup>a</sup>28), can imitate character, emotion, and action.

<sup>6</sup> H. Koller, *Die Mimesis in der Antike* (1954); the book has been severely criticized: see, for example, G. F. Else in *C.Ph.* liii (1958), 73-90.

<sup>7</sup> On Plato's use of *mimesis* and kindred terms see, briefly, D. W. Lucas, *Aristotle: Poetics* (1968), 260-1; at greater length, R. McKeon, *Modern Philology* xxxiv (1936-7), 3-16; W. J. Verdenius in G. Vlastos (ed.), *Plato: a collection of critical essays* ii (1971), 259-73.

sense all three components are thought to be expressive. It is interesting that the only purely stylistic criterion used in the passage is that of gracefulness, which is applied to gestures; the main emphasis is on the expressive power of the dance.

How expressive, then, was Greek dance? Showing-off dances, such as the leaping of young men between the points of swords, referred to by Democritus (68 B 228 DK), tend towards a circus act. Processionals seem to involve less expressive movements,<sup>1</sup> but of course carriage could express high or low, manly or womanly character. Curt Sachs<sup>2</sup> uses a distinction between image-dance and imageless dance, and it is clear that the imageless dance which, according to Sachs, is mainly circular, was practised by the Greeks. The imageless dance, however, while not expressive in the way that an animal masquerade is, very frequently uses the formation of a circle as a symbol of something like possession or incorporation. Thus the circle-dance of the Furies around Orestes (Aesch. *Eum.* 307-96) is intended to bind and dominate him. It is difficult to form a full picture of the expressive powers of Greek dance, but apart from the general argument from *mimesis*, it can be surmised that the influences of cult on the one hand, and of drama and choral lyric on the other, tended to pull the dance in the direction of impersonation or symbolism, and make it very different from the dancing with which we are familiar.

### III. DANCE AND THE FUNCTION OF GREEK POETRY

The Greeks felt keenly the magical quality of poetry and, more generally, its power of affecting the personality. In discussing the tradition that poetry is magical, one of its aspects will be ignored, namely what may be called the *carmen*-tradition of magical effects which goes back to the sacred words and formulae of ritual; we will concentrate instead on its more physical aspect.

The power of music to move objects is exemplified by the stories of Orpheus, of Apollo at Troy, and of Amphion at Thebes.<sup>3</sup> The two last were both lyre-players who played the stones into position for the building of the city. A possible echo of this mythical business is the use of music by Epaminondas of Thebes at the founding of Messene, and contrariwise by Lysander at the demolition of the walls of Athens.<sup>4</sup> Euripides suggests a rationalization, by saying that the music of Amphion at Thebes was to give facility to the hands of the builders (Page, *Gk. Lit. Pap.* no. 10. 84-9 [*Antiope*]). This tradition of magic, then, may well derive from the use of music to lighten and regulate labour.

The power of music over animals, illustrated by the stories of Orpheus, is an extension of the role of the song-leader in leading and inspiring the group dance. It is represented as an ability to organize animals into a band of followers, and is really the power by which participants in the dance feel themselves possessed. In Pindar's dithyramb to Thebes (*Dith.* 2. fr. 70b Snell<sup>3</sup>, 19-23) the beasts that form the train of Artemis are said to dance, and to beguile Zeus with their performance. In the Palatine Anthology<sup>5</sup> there is an anecdote about a priest of Cybele who escaped from a nasty situation by the magical

<sup>1</sup> L. B. Lawler, *op. cit.* (above, p. 254 n. 4), 99-100.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* (above, p. 255 n. 6), 62-77.

<sup>3</sup> See W. F. Jackson Knight, *op. cit.* (above, p. 255 n. 7), 118-19 with the notes.

<sup>4</sup> Epaminondas: Paus. 4. 27. 7; Lysander: Xen. *Hell.* 2. 2. 23; Plut. *Lys.* 15. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 6. 217, imitated in 218 and 219.

power of his drum-playing. When he met a ravening lion, he beat his holy drum in fright, and the beast was filled with the goddess and rolled its head in ecstasy. The priest dedicated to the goddess the lion that had taught itself to dance.

The power of music over human beings is also the power to inspire the dance. This can be seen from the cult of the Corybantes, who danced round a person to cure him of his malady. Soon he was possessed by the all-pervading rhythm and, after passing through a trance-like state, emerged cured.<sup>1</sup>

Dance involved a religious as well as a magical experience. To dance in a chorus was to devote oneself to a god; hence the meaning 'devotee' or 'pupil' which attached itself to the word *χορευτής*.<sup>2</sup> Sophocles makes his chorus say:

*εἰ γὰρ αἱ τοιαῖδε πράξεις τίμαι,  
τί δεῖ με χορεύειν;* (O.T. 895-6)

Since the dance was a way of rejoicing and giving thanks, the implication is that there is no occasion for rejoicing and thanksgiving, and therefore no occasion for dancing. The religious dance strengthens the feeling of unity in the group by overwhelming the newcomer and making him feel at home with gods and men. A vivid example of this effect is seen in the case of a modern observer of the dance ceremonies of Haiti. Though experiencing a culture quite alien to her own, she was drawn to participate and to feel that the Voodoo religion was somehow true.<sup>3</sup> In sixth-century Attica the aliens and wanderers sought for a 'togetherness' which would compensate for their alienation from official cults and brotherhoods. In choosing Dionysus, the dance god *par excellence*, as the patron of their gathering, they chose wisely.<sup>4</sup>

It is these magical and religious effects of the dance that we should bear in mind when we consider the attack of Plato on the enchantments engendered by music and poetry.<sup>5</sup> He is thinking not of words on a page, or even the words of a reciter, but the infectious atmosphere of a popular festival. The magic was embodied in the music and the dance; the audience felt it working upon them. And in the dramatic festivals of Athens there was participation in a real sense, in that the dancers of the choruses were ordinary citizens.

The effect on character which the Greeks attributed to poetry was not merely a matter of the content, but also of the style; and this included the *ἁρμονία*, or musical form. Some account therefore of these 'modes' is necessary.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the healing effect of Corybantic dancing see Pl. *Laws* 7. 790 d; for the cult in general, E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951), 77-9.

<sup>2</sup> *χορευτής* of a devotee of a god: Pl. *Phaedr.* 252 d; of a devotee of a philosopher: Julian, *Or.* 6. 197D; of a pupil: Libanius, *Or.* 54. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Maya Deren, *Divine Horsemen: the Voodoo Gods of Haiti* (1953).

<sup>4</sup> L. Gernet and A. Boulanger, *Le génie grec dans la religion* (1932), 124-5; E. R. Dodds, *Euripides: Bacchae* (1944, 1960), note on lines 421-3.

<sup>5</sup> Pl. *Rep.* 10. 605 c-608 b. The poets in his other ideal state had to compose, and therefore the citizens could hear, only those

poetic genres that produced the right kind of enchantments (*ἐπιψαδί*) (*Laws* 2. 659 d-e; 7. 812 b-c). The acceptable types of musical enchantments are listed in *Laws* 3. 700 b.

<sup>6</sup> There are many accounts of the Greek scales. R. P. Winnington-Ingram provides a sound survey of recent work (*Lustrum* iii [1958], 31-7), and the literature there mentioned provides copious references to earlier discussions. Unless the 'gapped' scales described by Aristides Quintilianus (1. 9, p. 22 Meibom) are accepted as the fifth-century *ἁρμονίαι*, and scholars disagree about their authenticity, the structure of the *ἁρμονίαι* is unknown. The later application of the term *ἁρμονία* to octave-species is in this respect misleading. In fact, the relationship between

There were different ethnic traditions of song, indicated by ethnic names such as Dorian, Phrygian, Ionian, and Lydian.<sup>1</sup> Some of these traditions fell away or were absorbed in others.<sup>2</sup> The ethnic provenance was indicated by an adverb ending in *-ιστί*, a rough-and-ready terminology in as much as the same words were used in non-musical contexts.<sup>3</sup> These adverbs referred to a *ἄρμονία*, primarily a way of setting strings on a lyre. The mode was a melodic pattern of notes. Gradually it was analysed, and its basic elements, such as fourths and fifths, detected. We then have a system of keys (*τόνοι*), which frequently retain the old modal names, sometimes with the prefix *ὑπο-* (below) or *ὑπερ-* (above) to indicate the relative pitch.<sup>4</sup> But gradually the old modal style was lost, either because it was not based on an exact pitch or because it was too fragmentary for a developed musical style. Thus Plato deals with the modes in the *Republic* (3. 398 d–399 a), though elsewhere he frequently mentions scales, intervals, and so forth. Aristoxenus is concerned mainly with keys, not modes.<sup>5</sup> The author of the *De Musica* attributed to Plutarch, an archaizer, is still interested in the modes, but he frequently uses the term *τρόπος*, ‘manner’, instead of *ἄρμονία*, to refer to them.<sup>6</sup> This is what we would expect if, as I have suggested, the terminology was originally non-technical.

Greek music was the offspring of native folk-song wedded to an Eastern instrumental tradition.<sup>7</sup> The Eastern tradition, as far as the evidence allows us to judge, was also modal. The difficulty in giving precise pitch-values and evolving a system of scales for Greek music also arises in the study of folk-song. Folk-melody is frequently very restricted in its range. We read that ‘the scale of a folk tune is nothing more nor less than the series of tones which it employs’; ‘flexibility and variability characterize the tune as well as the text of a folk song . . . Singers in the same community give a different form to the melody’; and ‘many details of melody, intonation and rhythm, often quite subtle, make up a special phase of folk song, its manner of rendition’.<sup>8</sup> The song combines melody, timbre, and rhythm: alter any one of these, and the whole character of the performance is changed.

*ἄρμονία*, octave-species, and *τόνοι* is much disputed, the height of scepticism being reached by M. I. Henderson, who believed that there was a complete break in the musical tradition at the end of the fifth century (see her chapter ‘Ancient Greek Music’ in *The New Oxford History of Music* i (1957), 336–403). The clearest statement of Professor Winnington-Ingram’s own views is now to be found in *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1954)<sup>5</sup>, s.v. Greek Music (Ancient).

<sup>1</sup> Other styles of less importance were the Cretan, Carian, and Mixolydian.

<sup>2</sup> Terpander wrote music in the Boeotian style ([Plut.] *de Mus.* 4. 1132b; *Suda* s.v. *Μόσχος*). It was known to Sophocles (fr. 966 P), but does not occur in later writings on music. Composers wrote in the Locrian style in the time of Simonides and Pindar, but it later fell out of favour (Athen. 14. 625E). The Aeolian seems for practical purposes to have been absorbed in the Hypo-

dorian (Heracl. Pont. fr. 163 Wehrli, ap. Athen. 14. 624 E–F).

<sup>3</sup> For example, *αἰολιστί* also means ‘in Aeolic dialect’. The related verbs ending in *-ίζω* often have an even more general sense, e.g. *Λακωνίζεω* ‘to behave like a Spartan’ or ‘to be (politically) pro-Spartan’.

<sup>4</sup> The *τόνοι* are arranged in the most developed scheme in the system of Alypius (C. von Jan, *Musici Scriptores Graeci* [1895], 367–406).

<sup>5</sup> For Aristoxenus’ *τόνοι* see his *Harm.* 1. 37 and [Cleonides] *Isagoge* 12.

<sup>6</sup> He uses *ἐπὶ τοῦ Δωριίου τρόπου* for *Δωριστί* (*de Mus.* 17. 1136F). The usage is as old as Pindar (*Ol.* 14. 17), who speaks of music *ἐν Λυδῶν τρόπῳ*.

<sup>7</sup> Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (1940), 128, says ‘no instrument originated in Greece’.

<sup>8</sup> G. Herzog in Funk and Wagnall’s *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* ii. 1041, 1037, 1041 respectively.

Likewise the style of Greek music involved more than melody. The tunes (*νόμοι*) said to have been 'discovered' (more probably reorganized) by Terpander have ethnic and rhythmic names,<sup>1</sup> and a tune of Olympus has a cult-name (*ἐπιτυμβίδιος*, Pollux 4. 79). The terms 'tense' (*σύντονος*) and 'relaxed' (*ἀνειμένος*) were first assigned by scholars to high and low pitch, but this led to certain contradictions. I suggest that the terms were concerned with timbre, with the distinction between rich and thin voices. For example, negro voices have a characteristically rich tone by comparison with the thin voices of orientals. Primarily the Greek terms indicate the bodily state of the performer, and for this reason rhythms too could be classified as 'tense' or 'relaxed'. Presumably Ionics were 'relaxed' because it was the style of the Ionian to let his body go, whereas Dorian and Cretan rhythms were 'tense' in that a muscular, perhaps even rigid, style of performance was required.<sup>2</sup> Thus the musical modes could not be very easily separated from the rhythms. The author of the *De Musica* attributed to Plutarch says: 'Neither musical expertise nor the knowledge of various rhythms will decide the appropriateness of the elements. The right character (*ethos*) is produced by a combination of music and rhythm. He who knows the Dorian mode without being able to distinguish the fitness of its use will not know what he is doing—in fact he will not preserve the character' (ch. 33, 1143A–C, summarized). An analogy might help here. Terms like 'Irish jig', 'Highland fling', and 'Latin-American samba' convey an impression, have character in as much as they combine music and rhythm, and both are needed for the over-all effect. The *ethos* of the modes has often been discussed,<sup>3</sup> but not so much attention has been given to the rhythms.<sup>4</sup> This is odd, because there is far more evidence from ancient scholars on the significance of rhythm, and it is quite wrong to dismiss it as no more than an idea dreamt up by Walter Headlam.<sup>5</sup> Moreover the extant body of poetry, which tells us next to nothing about the music, still presents us with a rhythmical form.

Rhythmical character (*ethos*) is made visible in the movements of the dance. When Plato and others grumbled about the musical revolution which had been

<sup>1</sup> The list of his nomes in [Plut.] *De Mus.* 4. 1132D includes the Boeotian and Aeolian and the Trochaic.

<sup>2</sup> Cretics were *σύντονοι*, Strabo 10. 4. 16. The tenseness of Dorian rhythm depends on the assumption that the dactylic hexameter, which according to Eustathius (*Od.* p. 1899. 58–64) could go with tense movements, had a Dorian *ethos*: Aristotle (*Poet.* 1459<sup>b</sup>34) uses the adjective *στάσιμος* of the hexameter and (*Pol.* 1342<sup>b</sup>13) of Dorian music. [I have not tried to quote further evidence for the statements about *σύντονος* and *ἀνειμένος*. The point made is basically sound: the primary meaning of the former is 'tense' and of the latter 'relaxed', and when this is realized there is no contradiction between *σύντονος* *Λυδιστί* and *διάτονος* *σύντονος* (which I assume is the 'contradiction' referred to by the author), since both involve tense notes. But the evidence for the *ethos* of the *ἀρμονία* shows that in this scheme at least, *σύντονος* was applied to high-pitched music and *ἀνειμένος* to low-

pitched. The author seems to assume a similarity in character between the melody and rhythm associated with a *ἀρμονία* ('if the melody is tense, then the rhythm is also'). But of what *ἀρμονία* is this true? Dorian rhythms might be tense, but there is no evidence that the melody was any more than solemn. Nor is it always true of Ionian music, since Ionian melody could be tense but the rhythm relaxed.—J. H. C.]

<sup>3</sup> The basis for all discussion is still H. Abert, *Die Lehre vom Ethos in der griechischen Musik* (1899), where the evidence is collected. The most recent treatment is W. D. Anderson, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music* (1966).

<sup>4</sup> The only comprehensive collection of the evidence is G. Amsel, *De vi atque indole rhythmorum* (*Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen*, Band 1 Heft 3, 1887).

<sup>5</sup> 'Greek Lyric Metre', *J.H.S.* xxii (1902), 209–27. His views on this, as on so much else, have been expanded by George Thomson, *Greek Lyric Metre* (1929, 1961).

taking place towards the end of the fifth century in Athens, it is clear from a close analysis of texts that they had in mind the forms of dance that went with the new music as well as the music itself. Similarly the early fifth-century poet Pratinas in his attack on the new style of his day (fr. 1 = Page, *P.M.G.* no. 708)<sup>1</sup> is objecting to the turbulent dance-movements as much as the aulos-playing. He wants a simple beat in the Dorian style, and points to the correct movements of his own hand and foot. It is perhaps significant that when Aristophanes parodies Euripides' style, and turns *εἰλίσσετε* into *εἶ-εἶ-εἶ-εἰλίσσετε* (*Ran.* 1314, cf. 1348), the word he chooses for musical perversion is a word meaning 'whirl'—in other words, his criticism may have been directed just as much at the whirling dance-movements of the singer.

The Pythagorean view that music had a great effect on character is well known. What is interesting in the present context is that the Pythagorean Damon traced this effect to a dance performance. In one fragment (37 B 6 DK, ap. Athen. 14. 628c) his point is that in moving the body in a certain way the soul is moved as well. Hence gentlemanly motions produce a gentleman, and so on. Another fragment (37 A 8, ap. Galen, *De Plac. Hippocr. et Plat.* 5. 453 Müller) relates that when Damon saw some young men acting wildly, he told the flute-girl to strike up the Dorian tune, and they 'ceased forthwith from their crazy movements'. Again, when Aristotle is talking about the effect of the Phrygian mode upon the character, he argues from the Bacchic cult-dance and similar types of movement (*Pol.* 1342<sup>b</sup>1-12).

#### IV. THE EFFECT OF DANCE ON GREEK POETIC FORM

The multiplicity of rhythms which we find in Greek lyric poetry is a reflection of the defining power of the dance. Multiplicity of rhythm, according to the author of the *De Musica* (21. 1138B), was a characteristic of the old lyric. Later poets (by which he probably means those who wrote after the fifth century) achieved a sense of variety by music rather than rhythm. Multiplicity of rhythm was traditional. Aristotle has a shrewd crack at those who want to regiment culture: *ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ἔσται προιοῦσα πόλις . . . ὥσπερ κὰν εἴ τις τὴν συμφωνίαν ποιήσειεν ὁμοφωνίαν ἢ τὸν ῥυθμὸν βάσιν μίαν* (*Pol.* 1263<sup>b</sup>33-5). If this is read in the light of Plato's attack on the variety and change of rhythm in poetry, and his espousal of simple, stately rhythms (*Rep.* 3. 399e-401a), we will see that Aristotle has his former tutor in mind. Such simplicity is quite different from the indeterminateness in English blank verse and, to a lesser extent, in Greek spoken iambics.

Choral lyric is more complex in rhythm than solo song, and the choral lyric of drama exhibits more variety of rhythmical combination than choral lyric outside drama. This is because dance meant greater complexity, and the dramatic role of the dancers in Greek drama resulted in changing rhythmic patterns.

One very important stylistic development, which spreads to all kinds of non-dance poetry, is the balancing of two lines of roughly similar length. Poetry composed in this way is usually said to exhibit 'parallelism of members'. The form arises from the set-up of the group dance in which one chorus answers

<sup>1</sup> Hugh Lloyd-Jones has plausibly suggested (*Estudios sobre la tragedia griega* [1966], 18) that there was more than one Pratinas

and that the author of our fragment was a lyric poet of the late fifth century.

another, or a leader answers and is answered by a chorus. 'Parallelism of members' finds its formal expression in the metrical line divided into two parts. In fact, this balancing and combination of two parallel 'members' into one unified phrase is an extremely widespread practice in all kinds of ancient and primitive poetry. Examples are the Greek dactylic hexameter, the Latin Saturnian, the division of Sanskrit verse into two and four parts, the balancing parts of the Old Persian Avesta line, the symmetrically two-part eight-syllable line of Slavic lyric, and the two-part ten-syllable line of Slavic and Russian epic. Of course in the study of metrical form there is so much room for juggling with numbers that more detailed study is necessary before definite conclusions can be reached.

Clearer and more persuasive are those examples of parallelism where there is not merely metrical balance but also a balance of content. This sounds abstract, but is admirably demonstrated by the Hebrew Song of the Well:

Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it;  
The princes digged the well, the nobles of the people digged it,  
By the direction of the lawgiver, with their staves. (Num. 21: 17-18)

This is not in any way peculiar to Hebrew poetry: it is also found, for instance, in ancient Egyptian liturgies.<sup>1</sup> Nor does it seem to be peculiarly liturgical, though naturally it has a splendid dignity when so used:

From the blood of the slain: from the fat of the mighty  
The bow of Jonathan turned not back: and the sword of Saul returned  
not empty. (2 Sam. 1: 22; cf. the whole passage, 19-27)

Parallelism, then, is a form in which metre and content coincide. The hexameter became more sophisticated: the words often overrun the metrical division, and lines which divide neatly into two sense-wholes, though not so infrequent in Hesiod as in other poets, are censured by the Greek commentators.<sup>2</sup> However, we can see the hexameter in its more primitive shape in one of Sappho's wedding dance-songs:

ἦφοι δὴ τὸ μέλαθρον· ἀέρρετε τέκτονες ἄνδρες·  
γάμβρος εἰς ἴσ' Ἄρενι· ἄνδρος μεγάλω πόλυ μέζων·  
πέροχος ὡς ὄτ' αἰοῖδος· ὁ Λέσβιος ἀλλοδαποῖσιν.  
(frs. 111 + 106 LP, refrain omitted)

<sup>1</sup> Discussed by A. Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians: a sourcebook* (Eng. trs. 1966 = *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*<sup>2</sup>), 1x-1xi; T. E. Peet, *A Comparative Study of the Literatures of Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia* (1931), 54-5, 63. Examples in J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*<sup>2</sup> (1955), 365-81.

<sup>2</sup> That is, lines divided by sense into two parts, and separated by sense from the preceding and following lines. For example:

ὄλμον μὲν τριπόδην τάμνειν, ὕπερον δὲ  
τριπήχυν,

ἄξονα δ' ἐπταπόδην· μάλα γὰρ νύ τοι  
ἄρμενον οὖτω.  
εἰ δέ κεν ὀκταπόδην, ἀπὸ καὶ σφύραν κε  
τάμιοι.

(Hesiod, *Works and Days* 423-5).

ῥηίδιον γὰρ ἔπος εἰπεῖν "βόε δὸς καὶ  
ἄμαξαν".  
ῥηίδιον δ' ἀπανήρασθαι "πᾶρα ἔργα  
βόεσσιν".

(ibid. 453-4). Such lines are criticized by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Comp. Verb.* ch. 26.

Sense and metre go together in the traditional Swallow song from Rhodes:

ἦλθ' ἦλθε χελιδὼν  
καλὰς ἄρας ἄγουσα· καλοὺς ἐνιαυτούς,  
ἐπὶ γαστέρα λευκά· ἐπὶ νῶτα μέλαινα.  
παλάθαν συ προκύκλει· ἐκ πίονος οἴκου  
οἴνου τε δέπαστρον· τυροῦ τε κάνυστρον.<sup>1</sup>

The larger form of the choral ode must have been related to the general set-up and evolutions of the dance. On the smaller scale there is the correlation of dance-step with metrical foot. This can never be entirely certain, but at least we can try to relate the two by considering the rhythmical pattern of the poetry as an accompaniment to dancing. The first question is whether there was a one-to-one correlation between metrical foot and dance step. Where the metre allows plenty of substitution, it is unlikely that one syllable corresponded with one foot movement. When the metrical feet go in twos, there is a presumption that alternate feet are being used. Anapaests were marched to (see e.g. *Carm. Pop.* 10 and 11 = Page, *P.M.G.* 856 and 857), and it seems that the feet made a step with the strong beat of each anapaest. Lyric dactyls, which went in ones, not twos, avoided substitution, and seem to embody a quicker motion than anapaests; so presumably they had a one-to-one relationship with the dance-step. This means that they went

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪  
L r l R l r L r l R l r

The effect would resemble a waltz, though the music would not be in waltz time.

Among other types of poetic organization which seem to come from the set-up of the dance-song is the cadence. The musical *rallentando*, marked in Greek poetry by the use of long syllables,<sup>2</sup> corresponds to the graceful slowing down of the dancers. Of similar origin is the refrain, which was originally the chorus' response to the soloist, but degenerated into nonsense syllables.<sup>3</sup> It comes in with an accentuation of the main dance-rhythm after the performance of the soloist, which may have been irregular in time, especially when improvised. We may compare Irish usage, where 'lilt' means 'to sing nonsense syllables, especially as accompaniment for dancing'.<sup>4</sup> In the work-song the refrain accentuates the concentrated effort, as for example the 'Yo-heave-ho' of British sailors and the *ῥυππαπαῖ* of Athenian (Aristoph. *Ran.* 1073).

The connection between poetic form and dance is particularly evident in Greek metrical terminology. Ancient scholars were always ready to use an analogy—'iambic is like walking'<sup>5</sup>—but in such cases as trochaic (literally the 'running' metre) and dochmiac ('zigzag') the name itself referred to movement.

<sup>1</sup> *Carm. Pop.* 2 = Page, *P.M.G.* no. 848, 1–9. The first line falls outside the pattern. Note the rhyme between the last two phrases.

<sup>2</sup> Note the term *σῦρμα*. Used by Dante (*De vulgari eloquentia* 2. 10. 4) in the sense of 'coda', i.e. cadence, it also meant 'trailing movements' (Mesomedes, *Hymn. in Solem* 23) and 'lengthened musical sounds' (Ptolemy, *Harm.* 2. 12). In the Swallow Song, quoted above (n. 1), we have οὐκ

*ἀπωθεῖται* (line 12), and then some improvised patter equivalent to an epode stuck on to the dance-song.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot suppress a suspicion that \**Ἰακχος* was about as significant as 'Whacko!'

<sup>4</sup> Funk and Wagnall's *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* ii. 623.

<sup>5</sup> Marius Victorinus (*Grammatici Latini*, ed. Keil, vi. p. 44, 28) derives the term 'iambic' ἀπό τοῦ ἰέναι βᾶδην.



The smallest analytical terms are 'foot' (πούς) and 'step' (βάσις). The foot goes 'up' and 'down' and consequently has a 'rising' (ἄρσις) and a 'putting' (θέσις). The feet were organized into κῶλα, literally 'limbs', and the κῶλα were organized into a περίοδος or 'going-round'. (A modern parallel is the term *rondo* which now denotes a musical form, but was originally a type of dance.) Finally the περίοδος were organized into strophe and antistrophe, literally 'turn' and 'counter-turn'.<sup>1</sup>

The Greeks recognized the connection between dance and the form of song. Pindar, contrasting his dithyramb with that of old (*Dith.* 2. fr. 70b Snell<sup>3</sup>, 1-5), refers to the old sort as 'strung out like a rope' (σχοινοτενής), and when he says that his is set up properly (the allusion is to a set- or formation-dance) and provided with strophes, it is clear that he associates the old form with a straggling dance, perhaps a maze-dance.

The view that dance gave definiteness to music is often expressed by musicologists. In the study of folksong the distinction between songs sung in *parlando* style or with *rubato* and those in *tempo giusto* led to the conclusion that the regular, strict style is especially characteristic of dance-songs.<sup>2</sup>

#### V. DANCE AND THE RHYTHM OF GREEK POETRY

In ancient Greek usage, rhythm is a property of both dance and poetry. Thus Aristotle (*Poet.* 1447<sup>a</sup>21-2) says that poetry works through rhythm, word (or sense), and tune; dancing, if unaccompanied, achieves expression by rhythm alone. Aristides Quintilianus (I. 13, p. 32 Meibom) says that the things that are 'rhythimized' are the movements of the body, the tune, and the words.

The Greek theorists realized that rhythm was different from metre. The distinction is at least as old as the fifth century (Aristoph. *Nub.* 638-54). The later Greek analysts were divided into two schools, one distinguishing metre and rhythm, the other treating them together. Much of our theory of metre comes from grammarians such as Hephaestion who were concerned with longs and shorts and little else: with metre, not with rhythm.<sup>3</sup> Modern theorists who assume that Greek poetry is simply a matter of longs and shorts are thus at a disadvantage from the start in that they have to ignore the opinions of the ancients.<sup>4</sup> Great reliance is put on the definition of Aristoxenus (*Rhythmica* fr. 1

<sup>1</sup> Definitions of these terms can be found in any handbook on Greek metre, e.g. D. S. Raven, *Greek Metre* (1962), 18-19, 24-5. For a full discussion of the problem of terminology, see L. P. E. Parker, *Lustrum* xv (1970), 48-58 ff.

<sup>2</sup> G. Herzog in Funk and Wagnall's *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* ii. 1041.

<sup>3</sup> Hephaestion (ed. Consbruch, 1906) is probably the most important metrical theorist. Lists of metrical feet occur in most of the Greek and Roman grammarians in discussions that make no reference to rhythm. For the metrico-rhythmical approach see especially *P. Oxy.* no. 9 (vol. i. pp. 14-21), republished as no. 2687 (vol. xxxiv. pp. 15-25) with considerable additions which clarify certain points but make others

more obscure than ever. Some believe that it is part of a treatise by Aristoxenus.

<sup>4</sup> Work on the 'rhythmical' structure of Greek lyric poetry at the present time is concentrated on the analysis of patterns of long and short syllables and the occurrence of word-breaks, caesuras, etc. See the writings of A. M. Dale (e.g. *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*<sup>2</sup>, 1968) and Paul Maas (*Greek Metre*, Eng. trs. 1962) and, on a more popular level, D. S. Raven (*Greek Metre*). An exception to the trend is H. D. F. Kitto, who argues for the doctrine of Aristoxenus and the *rhythmici* ('Rhythm, metre and black magic', *C.R.* lvi [1942], 99-108). [The difficulty is that while we know some of the rhythmical 'rules', we do not know how extensively they were employed, and modern rhythmical interpretations are often heavily

Westphal) that rhythm is an arrangement of times. But Aristoxenus did not say *what* is being arranged into times: a clock might be said to be an arrangement of times, but it is also a set of moving wheels and springs in a case. A dance consists of times (quick and slow), but it is also the movement of muscles.

Plato is concerned with providing a general point of view of poetic form, not with examining the length of syllables. His use of *ῥυθμός* is less technical and as such more likely to be the ordinary usage. In the *Laws* (2. 653 d–e) he traces *ῥυθμός* to two origins: the chatter of children, which leads to song, and their ceaseless movement, which leads to dancing. Later in his argument (660 a–b) he is dealing with three things—words, music, and dance. He then (664 e–665 a) reverts to two—*ῥυθμός* (defined as the arrangement of movement) and music (the high and low of a voice). I am not concerned with Plato's inconsistency, but with its origin in the fact that *ῥυθμός* means both body-rhythm and the rhythm of poetry. A similar confusion is found in Aristotle's *Poetics*. At first poetry is divided into rhythm, word, and tune (1447<sup>a</sup>21–2: *ῥυθμός, λόγος, ἄρμονία*), then into rhythm, song, and metre (1447<sup>b</sup>25: *ῥυθμός, μέλος, μέτρον*). In the first definition, rhythm is considered abstractly, in itself, as opposed to the sense of words or the order of notes. Then, in a less abstract way, we have the division into rhythm (i.e. body-rhythm as shown in the dance), metre, in which rhythm is combined with words, and song, in which rhythm is combined with musical notes.

In the *Philebus* (17 c–d) Plato is discussing musical training. The two essentials are of course melody and rhythm. The sentence runs:

ἐπειδὴν λάβης . . . ἐν τε ταῖς κινήσειν αὐ τοῦ σώματος . . . ἐνόητα πάθη γιγνόμενα, ἃ δὴ δι' ἀριθμῶν μετρηθέντα δεῖν αὐ φασι ῥυθμοὺς καὶ μέτρα ἐπονομάζειν . . . —ὅταν γὰρ αὐτὰ τε λάβης οὕτω, τότε ἐγένου σοφός.

Rhythm then is primarily body-movement and only secondarily the reflex of body-movement on the words of Greek poetry. The Greeks, unlike modern theorists, were able to see this because of the vigour of their song-and-dance tradition.

This definition of rhythm is supported by two general considerations. First there is the development of the sense of rhythm in the ordinary child. From games and songs, which are inseparable from bodily activity, he learns to participate in a sing-song in which the syllables correspond with a vigorous muscular effort. The abstract sense of rise and fall which allows him to scan Shakespeare or Keats comes at a much later stage. Secondly, we have in corroboration the results of investigations into the psychology of music which show the clear, though complex, relationship between rhythm and body-effects.<sup>1</sup> Rhythm has a biological value in that it lessens the expenditure of energy and produces more effective action and a feeling of satisfaction. The feeling of power produced by rhythm, as by a dream of flying, is part of a motor attitude: 'rhythm is never rhythm unless one feels that he himself is acting it'.<sup>2</sup> Rhythm is not mere periodicity, for that would never make dancing beautiful.

dependent on the bar-structure of western European classical music. Thus Miss Dale, for example, realized that rhythm was more than a cold analysis of longs and shorts, but felt that the lack of evidence did not allow

her to construct rhythmical patterns—  
J. H. C.]

<sup>1</sup> C. E. Seashore, *The Psychology of Music* (1938), ch. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

The argument against the bodily basis of rhythm has recently fastened on the Greek word *ῥυθμός*. The old derivation was from *ῥέω*, 'flow'. I am not competent to judge whether this is correct, and in any case the new theorists have not argued about its etymology. They provide us with a number of uses of the word *ῥυθμός* and its compounds where the notion of movement is not present. Hence, they say, *ῥυθμός* means pattern, not motion.<sup>1</sup> The weakness of this argument is obvious. That *ιδέα*, 'form', was originally a visual form is quite clear from its etymology; that it came to be applied to abstract concepts does not invalidate that etymology. Moreover, the few usages that have been quoted do not in fact tell against the overwhelming majority of uses of *ῥυθμός*. In the case of *μεταρρυθμίζειν* 'transform', and *μεταρρυσμοῦν*, 'reform', where there is no question of body-motion, we have simply an extension of meaning from bodily effects to mental effects. Souls could have their rhythm changed,<sup>2</sup> and the change would result in a different style of action.

The practical result of this new interpretation of *ῥυθμός* is that Greek lyric poetry, unlike any other, becomes static. But the very application of the word 'static' to the free and flexible forms of Greek lyric surely indicates a fundamental misunderstanding.

Part of the trouble is the failure to see Greek poetry for what it is—not a mere set of words on a printed page, but a real-life performance involving the whole personality. To a Greek, actions without dance were often pervaded by the same 'rhythm' as the dance. Ordinary life had its rhythms, in the way that a gentleman walked and the way that a slave walked, for example (Alexis fr. 263 K 1–3, ap. Athen. 1. 21D). Oratory depended considerably on the acting powers of the speaker, his gestures and bodily emphasis.<sup>3</sup> The epic poem, in the hands of the rhapsodist, was as much a drama as a narrative.<sup>4</sup> All this was usually taken for granted by Greek authors, though occasionally we have a hint of it, as when the author of the Aristotelian *Problems* says (919<sup>b</sup>26–37) that what is heard has character (*ethos*) because it has movement.

If this view of rhythm is correct, much modern analysis of poetical form can be seen to be operating with terms that imply a traditional but only dimly understood metaphor. We hear of the movement of poetry, its grandeur, its quickness, its stateliness, and so forth. We talk as if there were a person acting out the lines. Clearly the words on the printed page do not possess these qualities. Nor should it be thought that rhythmical effects reside solely in the voice of the reciter. The quickness of rhythm is the quickness of movement, and this can be hinted at by the voice of the reciter; but it is not the same as quickness of utterance.

To turn from the modern aesthetics of rhythm to ancient scholarship might seem to be a descent. On the contrary, although the grammarians and writers

<sup>1</sup> See esp. Arist. *Met. A* 4. 985<sup>b</sup>16; E. Harrison in *P.C.P.S.* 1937, 11, and W. Jaeger, *Paideia* i<sup>2</sup> (1947), 126. It contradicts, however, ancient definitions of rhythm, for example that of Plato, who defines it as *ἡ τῆς κινήσεως τάξις* (*Laws* 2. 664 e–665 a). For the older interpretation which was in keeping with the ancient definitions, see E. A. Sonnenschein, *What is Rhythm?* (1925), 15–16; and for the many meanings of *ῥυθμός*, E. Wolf, *Wiener St.* lxxviii (1955), 99–119.

<sup>2</sup> Because, according to Greek doctrine, the rhythmical movements of the music were paralleled by the movements of the soul (see the fragment of Damon cited above, p. 259 n. 8), and the movements of the soul changed as the character of the music changed.

<sup>3</sup> R. G. Austin, *Cicero: Pro Caelio*<sup>3</sup> (1960), p. 58. For the physical side of oratory see Quintilian 11. 3. 65–136.

<sup>4</sup> G. F. Else, *Hermes* lxxxv (1957), 34–5.

on music did not always understand what they were saying, they do show a fair grasp of rhythmical matters. For example, they thought spondees stately because they went with a lengthy and stately movement, and short syllables nimble because they went with nimble movements.<sup>1</sup>

Another approach was that of nineteenth-century writers on Greek lyric poetry who tried to reduce the words to the bar-structures of modern music. Typical examples are the metrical analyses in Jebb's editions of the tragedies of Sophocles. This attempt is largely rejected nowadays. However, the dynamic beat is something which can hardly be left out of any musical analysis. Of course the nature of this beat is much disputed. It appears that we often imagine a beat where objectively there is none. But the imaginary beat is derived from experience of actual beats in a similar position. It is indeed very difficult for any musical person to think of music entirely without beat. We would therefore assume that Greek lyric poetry, considered not as marks on a page but as a performance with music, must have had a beat.

Yet this is a point most strenuously contested.<sup>2</sup> The main argument against the beat is the classification of the Greek language as a language without stress. The language, we are told, knew nothing but longs and shorts and high and low tones; there was no strong/weak pattern of the kind that is to be found in English and modern Greek. What are we to make of this dilemma? We may admit that it is very probable that ancient Greek was predominantly without stress. What is insecure is the inference drawn from this. A stress language like English clearly makes use of quantity when poetry is set to music, since the syllables are given quantity and fitted into a bar structure. Conversely, non-stress languages use a beat in lyrics. Modern Welsh uses tone and quantity more often than stress, yet undoubtedly many Welsh songs, for example 'Men of Harlech', have a strong beat. French too is said to be mainly a non-stress language, but in French songs, especially dance-songs, a prominent beat makes itself felt.

What is the evidence for beating time in ancient Greece? It was done by feet and hands, by instruments, and by other objects, including a wooden clapper.

First, feet and hands. In Homer we find a singer surrounded by a throng of people who beat time with their feet. Thus the boy sings the Linos song while the throng stamps together to keep time (*Il.* 18. 569–72). The Greeks noticed the satisfying effect of the beat as the dancer's foot hit the ground. Thus in Hesiod a 'lovely thud' (*ἐπαρός δοῦπος*) arose in accompaniment as the Muses sang (*Theog.* 70). Callimachus (*Hymn* 3. 246–7) describes a female chorus making a noise like castanets with their feet. After their victory over the Persians the Greeks sent up a hymn to Paean, and they made the beat in time with high-hitting dance-measures (*σύμμετροι δ' ἐπε-κτύπεον ποδῶν / ὑψικρότοις χορείαις* [Timotheus fr. 15 (= Page *P.M.G.* no. 791), 197–201]). Callimachus,

<sup>1</sup> Thus spondaic songs accompanied solemn libations and proceleusmatics formed the rhythm of lively pyrrhic dances (Aristides Quintilianus 1. 15, p. 37 Meibom).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, A. M. Dale, *op. cit.* (above, p. 269 n. 4), 5: 'There is no vestige of evidence that dynamic stress had any structural significance in Greek verse rhythm before the imperial period'; and again in *Lustrum* ii (1956), 20: 'There should

be no theory of "ictus" in the sense of purely metrical stresses, since there is no evidence whatever for its existence in Greek.' The opposite view is taken by L. Laurand, 'Sur quelques questions fondamentales de la métrique', *Rev. de Phil.* ser. 3, xi (1937), 287–9, who gives as one reason for believing in 'ictus' the louder tone which is physiologically inseparable from the *thesis* of the dance.

in a description of a festival, says that there are two groups—the men sing a song of Olen while the maidens beat the ground with their feet (*Hymn* 4. 304–7). Or again, there is the invitation to the dance in Aristophanes:

ἀλλ' ἄγε κόμαν παραμπύκιδδε χερί, ποδοῖν τε πάδη  
ᾗ τις ἔλαφος· κρότον δ' ἀμᾶ ποίει χορωφελήταν. (*Lys.* 1316–19)

When we find an obscure phrase in Theocritus (18. 7–8) describing dancers as (literally) beating-in with interwoven feet into one tune (ἄειδον δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι ἐς ἓν μέλος ἐγκροτέοισαι / ποσσὶ περιπλέκτοισ), the reference may again be to the regularizing effect of the beat on the tune.

The use of hands as a rhythmical accompaniment to dancing is referred to in a passage of Euripides (*Suppl.* 72–3), where the hands of the serving-maidens are resounding and the beat is in time with (literally combined with) the song. As in Callimachus, there are two choruses, one beating time for the other.

Some other ways of providing the beat are worthy of notice. Nausicaa leads the song as her band of maidens throw a ball about (*Od.* 6. 100–1). The exhibition dance of two young men at the court of Alcinous is accompanied by the snap of forefingers from other youths standing by, according to Athenaeus (1. 15 C–D, referring to *Od.* 8. 379). Vase-paintings give evidence of clapping, stamping, and the rhythmical use of hands in the dirge.<sup>1</sup> Work songs, such as the wine-press songs sung to the treading of the grapes, marching songs, and the songs of children's games also seem to have had a beat.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, the beat was sometimes provided by instruments. It appears from Pindar (*Pyth.* 1. 1–4) that the lyre was used for controlling the dance-step. It gave the cue to the singer with its strumming. This effect is presumably referred to in Horace's direction to the dancers: *Lesbium servate pedem meique / pollicis ictum* (*Odes* 4. 6. 35–6). The strumming is rendered by the word *τοφλαττοθρατ* in Aristophanes (*Ran.* 1285–95). A character asks whether Aeschylus got the *φλαττοθρατ* from the songs of the well-drawer (loc. cit. 1296–7). I take this to be a reference to the strenuous rhythm of a work-song in which the beat would have been heavier and more monotonous than in the normal lyric.

Of wind instruments, the aulos was especially used to set the dance in motion. According to Longinus,<sup>3</sup> it is a more 'dancy' instrument than the lyre, and it forces men to move in rhythm. It was, however, accused by musical conservatives in fifth-century Athens of jazzing up and ruining the tune and the rhythm (Pratinas, fr. 1 = Page, *P.M.G.* no. 708). The panpipe is similarly mentioned by Callimachus (*Hymn* 3. 242–3) as being played to keep the feet of the dancers in time.

The drum was used extensively in the ecstatic dances of Dionysus and Cybele.<sup>4</sup> The priest of Cybele, as we saw (pp. 9–10 above), made the lion dance with the drum. Cymbals too were used in the rites of these two gods. Lest the magical word 'oriental' be hurled at this instrument, we may call attention to

<sup>1</sup> M. Emmanuel, op. cit. (above, p. 258 n. 2), 255 (clapping, stamping); L. B. Lawler, op. cit. (above, p. 254 n. 4), 54–6 (dirges).

<sup>2</sup> For wine-press songs see Callixenus of Rhodes ap. Athen. 5. 199A; cf. Longus 2. 36. The feet of marchers obviously provided a beat to regularize their songs. For the beat (*κρότος* = ? clapping of hands) accompanying a game-song see Pollux 9. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *De Subl.* 39. 2; cf. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 202–4: the aulos was useful *adspirare et adesse choris*.

<sup>4</sup> The drum as the invention of Dionysus and Cybele: Eur. *Bacch.* 59 with Dodds ad loc. In fr. 586 N<sup>2</sup> Euripides speaks of Dionysus *ὅς ἀν' Ἴδαν / τέρπεται σὺν ματρὶ φίλα / τυμπάνων ἐπ' ἰαχαῖς*. See also Diogenes trag. fr. 1 N<sup>2</sup> (= fr. 1 Snell) 3.

the evidence of the rites of Zagreus in Crete and the worship of Demeter Achaëa, in both of which cymbals were used.<sup>1</sup> Castanets, by contrast, were distinctively Greek. According to Dicaearchus (fr. 60 Wehrli, ap. Athen. 14. 636 c-d) the instrument was adopted and used very extensively by Greek women to accompany dance and song. They were used in the worship of Dionysus and Demeter.<sup>2</sup> In the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, the handmaidens of the great god of the lyre are described as imitating a castanet-player giving time to the dance (*Hymn. Hom.* 3. 162-3). They also seem to have been connected with Artemis (*frag. lyr. adesp.* 37 = Page, *P.M.G.* no. 955). A cruder form of castanets were the bits of pot used to give the beat to the dance of the Muse of Euripides in Aristophanes' parody,<sup>3</sup> and Didymus tells us (ap. Athen. 14. 636ε) that pots and shells were actually used to provide a rhythmical sound for dancers. It sounds like a custom of poorer folk.

The use of other objects to make a steady jingling or banging noise is a regular practice in folk-song, and the weapon-dances of the Greeks involved the rhythmical clashing of shields or quivers.<sup>4</sup> A wooden clapper (*κρούπεζα*), strapped to the aulos-player's foot, was used to give the beat for dramatic choruses.<sup>5</sup> Pickard-Cambridge absurdly says that it was used to give the first note of the choral song.<sup>6</sup> It is rather unlikely that anyone would strap a piece of wood to his foot in order to stamp once, and once only. The function of the clapper was surely linked to the need for organized movement in the chorus. Finally, there is the *σανίδιον*, a wooden board or plank. In a papyrus dating from the third century B.C. there is an attack on musical theoreticians who are described as performing a musical experiment.<sup>7</sup> They hit the plank in time with the sounds of a stringed instrument. They are, in other words, beating time. The author says that they are excited and off the beat (*παρὰ τὸν ῥυθμόν*).

The evidence I have quoted is, I am well aware, inadequate as a full picture of musical procedure. But it does show that the Greeks did beat time, that foot, hand, instrument, armour, and clapper were used to impart a dynamic pattern to song and dance. It is of course possible to draw theoretical distinctions between what was done in the music and what was done in the poetry. If, however, we believe that the song-and-dance which we call Greek choral lyric was an integrated performance (and many pay lip-service to this without seeing the consequences), then it is not too bold to say that rhythm in the ordinary English and Greek sense of the word—the regular throb and pulsation of bodily movement—permeated it throughout.

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<sup>1</sup> For cymbals in the rites of Dionysus see Aesch. fr. 57 N<sup>2</sup> 6; in the rites of Cybele, Diogenes trag. fr. 1 N<sup>2</sup> (= fr. 1 Snell) 4; in the rites of Zagreus, Firmicus Maternus, *De Err. Prof. Rel.* 6. 5 (Liber = Zagreus); in the rites of Demeter Achaëa, scholiast to Aristoph. *Acharn.* 708.

<sup>2</sup> For castanets in the worship of Dionysus see Eur. *Cycl.* 204-5; in the worship of Demeter, Pind. *Isthm.* 7. 3-4 with the scholiast. Cf. also above, p. 257 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ran.* 1304-7. In Euripides' *Hyppolyte* the heroine accompanied the song to her child with *κρόταλα* (fr. 1. ii. 8-14 Bond).

<sup>4</sup> Shields were clashed in the Persian dance (Xen. *Anab.* 6. 1. 10; cf. the whole passage 6. 1. 5-13); for clashing of quivers, Callim. *Hymn.* 3. 246-7.

<sup>5</sup> The evidence on the *κρούπεζα* is conveniently assembled in Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. (above, p. 261 n. 1), 262 n. 4. For the aulos-player beating time with his foot in non-dramatic choruses see Lucian, *Salt.* 10; cf. 63 and 83.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit. (above, p. 261 n. 1), 262.

<sup>7</sup> *P. Hibeh* 13. 27-31 (vol. i. pp. 45-8), discussed by W. D. Anderson, op. cit. (above, p. 265 n. 3), 147-52.