

## V.—Διπλῇ, διποδία, διποδισμός in the Greek Dance

LILLIAN B. LAWLER

HUNTER COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

## I

The words διπλῇ, διποδία, διποδισμός, and several words related to them, all used as technical terms in the Greek dance, have never been completely clarified. It is the purpose of this paper to assemble what is known of the words, and if possible to determine the significance of each in the terminology of the dance.

## II

For διπλῇ the *locus classicus* is Aristophanes, *Thesmo.* 982. The line occurs in a choral ode of great interest (947–1000). Before considering line 982, we might scrutinize the earlier portion of this ode, for the light which it may shed upon the general nature of the dance involved.

The Athenian women, having discovered the male intruder at their secret festival, and placed him under guard, take their positions for a dance (947). "Come, now," they chant, "let us dance the steps which are customary for the women here, when we devote ourselves at the sacred season to the solemn rites of the two goddesses." To take these words seriously, and to seek to learn from the ensuing lines factual information on the secret dances of the Thesmophoria, would seem to me absurd. Even granting that Aristophanes himself was familiar with those dances (and one wonders how he could be!), he would hardly dare reproduce them in the theater — with a male chorus at that. If the charge of impiety leveled at Aeschylus was really brought because he had in one of his plays divulged the mysteries of Demeter (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 5.19; Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* 3.2.1111a), Aristophanes had before him at least one precedent which would probably have deterred him from hazarding a similar revelation. Later, in the *Frogs*, as we know, he carefully avoided revealing any of the secrets of the Eleusinian mysteries. If, with his characteristic boldness, he had defied public opinion, and reproduced in the *Thesmophoriazusae* the secret dances as they really were, surely there would have been

exciting repercussions, some echo of which would very probably be evident in the writings of his contemporaries. The obvious thing for the poet to do under the circumstances would be to contrive a dignified, graceful, solemn dance, one which would give an illusion of secret ritual, even while not actually reproducing it. (One might here adduce by way of analogy certain scenes in motion pictures where religious services are suggested, but are not actually reproduced.) However, if it were a matter of common knowledge that a certain motif was featured in the Thesmophorian dances, he could use that motif with no fear of recriminations.

After a hit at the poverty-stricken painter, Pauson, the chorus resumes: "Begin, advance! Come with light foot into a circle; join hand to hand. Let each one keep the rhythm of the dance. Step with swift feet. And it is necessary for the choral group (*χοροῦ κατάστασιν*), causing the eye to move in a circle, to look on all sides" (953-959).

These lines have called forth widely varying interpretations. In line 954, e.g., commentators have repeatedly translated "whirl," implying individual spinning and turning — cf. Rogers in the Loeb translation,<sup>1</sup> "Now advance, In the whirling, twirling dance." However, the Greek words are quite definite: ἄγ' ἐς κύκλον. We are dealing with a simple circle dance, in which all the dancers join hands and move around with great rapidity (cf. *καρπαλίμουν ποδοῖν* 957).

Lines 958 and 959 have troubled translators greatly. The Greek reads ἐπισκοπεῖν δὲ πανταχῇ κυκλοῦσαν ὄμμα χρῆ χοροῦ κατάστασιν. But why should a group of dancers "look on all sides" as they dance? It seems to me that the lines are to be connected closely with another choral ode in the same play — lines 655-687. There the women, having heard that a man has intruded into their mysteries, light torches, gird up their garments, and begin a systematic search for the culprit. The wording is very similar, in several lines:

εἶα δὴ πρῶτιστα μὲν χρῆ κοῦφον ἐξορμᾶν πόδα. (659)

καὶ διασκοπεῖν σιωπῇ πανταχῇ.

ἀλλὰ τὴν πρώτην τρέχειν χρῆν ὡς τάχιστ' ἤδη κύκλῳ. (662)

<sup>1</sup> *Aristophanes, with the English Translation of Benjamin Bickley Rogers* (London and New York, 1927) 3.217. Similar interpretations are found in *Aristophanes, The Eleven Comedies*, Anon. (New York, 1930) 2.323; C. A. Wheelwright, *The Comedies of Aristophanes* (Oxford, 1837) 2.275; and Coriolano di Bagnolo, *Commedie di Aristofane* (Turin, 1850) 2.299.

πανταχῇ δὲ ῥίψον ὄμμα, (665)  
καὶ τὰ τῆδε, καὶ τὰ δεύρο,  
πάντ' ἀνασκόπει καλῶς.

Elsewhere<sup>2</sup> I have adduced evidence that a "seeking, searching" motif is a common one in the dramatic dances — especially in the satyr-play, but in comedy also. Incidentally, in line 663 of the *Thesmophoriazusae*, the word ἰχνεὺς is reminiscent of the satyr-play *Ichneutae*, in which the motif is certainly of great importance. We know (Hesychius, *s.v.* δῶγμα) that a characteristic feature of the ritual of the Thesmophoria was a "chasing away" of somebody — the δῶγμα or ἀποδῶγμα. Although the exact nature of this "chase" is unknown, it seems reasonable to suppose that in it the women sought out any men who were in the vicinity of their dancing-place, and drove them away. Also, it has generally been conjectured that in the Thesmophorian ritual, as in the Eleusinian mysteries, there may have been a ceremonial search for Persephone.

I believe that in both of the odes which we are considering Aristophanes is suggesting a ritual search. In the earlier ode the formation seems to be an open one, with the dancers moving, as they say (658), among the festival booths and passageways, with more freedom than is the case in the later ode. The holding of hands in the later dance would naturally restrict the peering and searching to some extent.

There is one other factor which may enter into the interpretation of lines 958-959 of our play. Most peoples of the earth, in their primitive stages, have dances in which there is a distinct consciousness of direction — i.e., of the points of the compass. In some dances, for example, the eyes of the dancer must remain turned to the East, or to the North, no matter what the movement of the dance may be.<sup>3</sup> Obviously, in a circle dance, even if the individual dancers do not turn their heads, their eyes sweep the whole horizon in the course of the dance and behold all the points of the compass. Such "direction dances" are all very old, and they often have in them some hint of magic.

It is my opinion, then, that Aristophanes has chosen for the first part of his "imitation" Thesmophorian dance a rapid circle dance which is probably as ancient as the Greek race itself. (Inci-

<sup>2</sup> Lillian B. Lawler, "The Dance of the Owl," *TAPA* 70 (1939) 500-502; "Blinding Radiance and the Greek Dance," *CJ* 37 (Nov. 1941) 94-96.

<sup>3</sup> Curt Sachs, *World History of the Dance* (New York, 1937) 156.

dentially, it is still very common in Greece today.) Now, it is well known that the earliest literary reference to the Greek circle dance is the famous passage in the *Iliad*: "And now they ran around with skilled feet, very lightly, as when a potter, sitting by his wheel, which fits in his hands, tries it to see if it runs" (18.599-601). We note here the emphasis upon speed and lightness, as well as upon circular motion. I believe that Aristophanes had this passage in mind, and consciously imitated it. His audience, too, would be familiar with it, and would probably recognize it as Aristophanes' source in this case. Earlier, the epic poet had mentioned the fact that his dancers hold hands — "having their hands on one another's wrists" (18.594). This, also, Aristophanes follows (955). The outstanding difference between the two descriptions is that in the *Iliad* the dancers are youths and maidens, in the *Thesmophoriazusae* all matrons. Aristophanes may have chosen deliberately a dance associated in his hearers' minds with a famous dance of both sexes' so as to avoid any charge of revelation of the mysteries of the Thesmophoria.

By an odd coincidence, there has been preserved a representation of a Greek dance which must have looked very like this circular dance in our play. On a black-figured cylix painted by an unknown artist and found in Corneto,<sup>4</sup> seventeen young men in women's garb (their skins are black, not white, as would be the case if they were intended for women) run rapidly in a circle dance, their hands joined. The varied decoration of the garments is suggestive of reality, as if the artist had actually seen just such a dance.

The chorus resumes its chant. It will sing in honor of the Olympian gods, it says, and dance at the same time (960-963). This combination of a song and a dance, incidentally, is labelled by some of the editors as a hyporcheme; however, there is a considerable body of evidence<sup>5</sup> showing that the hyporcheme, as created by the Cretans and borrowed by the Greeks, was a dance performed by one group while another group or an individual sang a song.

After stating that it will not resort to abusive attacks on men, the chorus then says, "It is necessary first to set the graceful step

<sup>4</sup> J. E. Harrison and D. S. MacColl, *Greek Vase Paintings* (London, 1894) Plate v. Also, *Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.* xi, Plate 41.

<sup>5</sup> Kurt Latte, "De saltationibus graecorum capita quinque," *Religionsgesch. Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 13.3 (1913) 14-15.

of the fair circle dance so as to fit the work of the ode" (966-968). At this point the meter changes; we may conclude not that there is a change in the nature of the dance, but perhaps that there is a change in the tempo — a slowing-down, probably, to suit the greater dignity of the new theme. True to their word, the members of the chorus proceed to chant the praises of the gods as they dance, still in circle formation. This is no small tax upon the breath, be it remarked. However, the effort is not too long sustained. In twelve lines (969-980) they mention Apollo, Hera, Hermes, Pan, and the Nymphs, and pray for their favor.

And now again the dancers seem to pause, this time, apparently, to prepare for a new figure in the dance (981-984). In the manuscripts, their words are:

ἔξαιρε δὴ προθύμως  
διπλὴν χαίρειν χορείας.  
παίσσωμεν, ὦ γυναῖκες, οἷάπερ νόμος·  
νηστεύωμεν δὲ πάντως.

This is the most vexed passage in the whole of the choral ode. Meursius<sup>6</sup> rendered the first two lines "Exime autem alacriter Duplam gaudere choreae." Zanettus emended the second line to διπλὴν χερσὶν χορείαν. This gave rise to translations which implied a "double dance of the hands," or clapping of the hands. More convincingly, Biset emended the line to διπλὴν χάριν χορείας, and he has been followed by practically every editor since. So far as interpretation is concerned, however, there has been no general agreement.

The word διπλὴν literally means "double," of course, and many translators take it here as a modifier of χάριν. Hence, Van Leeuwen<sup>7</sup> translated "Duplicem choreae gratiam," and explained it as meaning the combination of song and dance which we have in the ode. The "Black and Gold" Aristophanes<sup>8</sup> has an entirely different interpretation: "Let us lead off anew, let us double our zeal during our solemn days, and especially let us observe a close fast." Some translators take "double" in the sense of "ambiguous," "mystic" — as, e.g., Way:<sup>9</sup> "O sisters, upraise the mystic grace Of the dance

<sup>6</sup> Joannes Meursius, "Orchestra," in Vol. viii of Jacobus Gronovius' *Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum* (Venice, 1732-37) s.v. διπλῇ.

<sup>7</sup> J. van Leeuwen, *Aristophanis Thesmophoriazusae* (Leyden, 1904), on line 982.

<sup>8</sup> *Aristophanes, The Eleven Comedies* (see note 1) 2.323.

<sup>9</sup> Arthur S. Way, *Aristophanes in English Verse* (London, 1934) 2.97.

whose coilings sway Wildering-gleaming, twofold-seeming, A triumph-passion, in olden fashion; So keep we the feast today."

The word *διπλῆ* is well attested as a technical term in the dance. Hesychius (s.v.) glosses it: *ὀρχήσεως εἶδος, ἢ κρούματος*. (The latter half of the gloss probably refers to a "double beat" in music or metrics.) Pollux (4.105) names the *διπλῆ* in a list of the figures of the dance of tragedy. We have no description of it by name, or even a real definition of it. Students of the dance<sup>10</sup> usually say that we simply do not know what it was like. Van Leeuwen (*op. cit.*), in his note on the passage, says that *διπλῆ* is the name of a dance in Hesychius and Pollux, but that that meaning does not fit in this play, or else the word is an error! Nevertheless, I believe that the word does denote a figure of the dance here, and that it is possible to determine its meaning.

We have considered the possibility that Aristophanes is in the preceding circle-dance consciously imitating a dance in the *Iliad*. If we return to the passage in the epic, we note that immediately after the description of the circle formation the poet says (602): "And then again they would run in lines to meet one another." I believe that in lines 981-984 of the *Thesmophoriazusae*, Aristophanes is merely continuing his imitation of the dance in the epic; and that *διπλῆ* denotes a figure in which the dancers form two lines and dance in opposition to one another. If *χάρυν* is the correct reading for the following word, it would be in apposition with *διπλῆν*, and would imply that the figure is a stately, beautiful, harmonious one. Such a conclusion would accord with the statement in Pollux (4.105) that the *διπλῆ* was used in the dance of tragedy.

Dances of two opposing lines are found among all peoples. They range from simple advancing and retreating movements to the complicated "country dances" and "figure dances" of the nineteenth century, and include our own Virginia Reel. In them, the dancers may go forward and backward, or may go towards one another, then turn abruptly and go in opposite directions; they may change places "back to back," or cross through each other's lines; they may coalesce their lines momentarily; they may move sidewise in opposing lines; they may face one another, and, standing still, make use of harmonizing or contrasting arm and hand movements. Any or all of these may properly have appeared in a figure called *διπλῆ*. The "charm" of the figure would have consisted

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Latte, *op. cit.* (see note 5) 26.

largely in the rapidity, grace, and subtlety with which the two lines approached, passed, or mingled with each other, or went forward and back, towards and away from each other.

Striking confirmation of this interpretation of the διπλῇ may be found in Plato's *Euthydemus*. In a passage singularly rich in metaphors drawn from the dance (276D–294E), Socrates says that the two eristics whose antics he is describing “danced around” their victim (277E); and that one of them, Euthydemus himself, by leading the youth to one conclusion and then abruptly twisting his words so as to prove the direct opposite to what he had demonstrated before, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ὀρχησται, διπλᾷ ἔστρεφε τὰ ἐρωτήματα περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ (276D). Editors of the dialogue, following Winckelmann, generally point out that in the διπλᾷ of this passage there is an allusion to the dance term διπλῇ; but they vary greatly in their interpretation of the word, one of them<sup>11</sup> even saying: “Perhaps it was something like the modern waltz!” We note the use of the plural (ὀρχησται) in the figure, although the subject of the comparison is singular (Euthydemus); also, that the sentence does not imply a single dancer turning upon his own axis. It seems fairly clear that Plato is referring to a dance figure like the one we have seen in the *Thesmophoriazusae* — a choral formation, in which the dancers advance, turn suddenly, then proceed in exactly the opposite direction.<sup>12</sup>

There are in Greek art many representations of dancers performing in two lines. One of the surest of these, on a Dipylon urn of the seventh century B.C.,<sup>13</sup> shows a group of male dancers in a long line, their hands clasped, following a musician with a lyre; while towards them, their hands similarly clasped, moves a line of women in costumes suggesting the Cretan-Mycenaean style. The painting might actually be an illustration for the passage in the *Iliad* (cf. 18.602).

A dance of this sort in comedy would be, in effect, a temporary division into two half-choruses. Such a διχορία (cf. ἡμιχόριον, ἀντιχορία) was, of course, common in the Greek theater (Pollux 4.107). A few editors of Aristophanes have interpreted διπλῇ as a

<sup>11</sup> George Burdes, *The Works of Plato* (London, 1871) 3.58.

<sup>12</sup> My attention was first called by Professor Clyde Murley to the references in the *Euthydemus* to the dance.

<sup>13</sup> *Jahrb. des arch. Inst.*, 1887, Taf. 3; Fritz Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike* (Halle, 1926) 56, and Abb. 73; Louis Séchan, *La danse grecque antique* (Paris, 1930) 49, and Fig. 3.

"double chorus"; but none of these, so far as I know, has made a suggestion as to the nature of the dance figure involved.

Presumably, in the *Thesmophoriazusae* the διπλή was not too long sustained, for the chorus in line 985 turns to a new figure: ἀλλ' εἴ' ἐπ' ἄλλ' ἀνάστρεφ' εὐρύθμῳ ποδί. It should be noted that in the "country dances" of modern times the formation of two opposing lines almost invariably changes into a circle; and that in line 986 of our play, where the manuscripts have τόρνευε πᾶσαν ῥόδην, Bentley's emendation to τόρνευε, followed by many editors, is probably correct.

The διπλή finished, Aristophanes abandons his epic model, and gracefully turns the dance into a Bacchic κῶμος, in restrained and classic vein (lines 987-1000). The formation is evidently an open circle, with the dancers moving independently. There is no hint of excess, fond as the poet is of hitting at feminine drunkenness (cf. lines 630-633 and 733-738 in the same play); the whole atmosphere is one of dignity and lyric beauty. I believe Aristophanes has chosen the κῶμος as the concluding figure of the "imitation" Thesmophorian dance not in sly ridicule of the mysteries, but rather as a formal tribute to Dionysus, in whose theater and at whose festival the play is being produced. The use of the Dionysiac dance also serves effectively to exonerate Aristophanes from any suspicion of having reproduced the secret dances of the Thesmophoria.

### III

We come now to another of our vexed terms — διποδία. Pollux says (4.101): καὶ διποδία δ' ὄρχημα Λακωνικόν. A fragment of Cratinus (*Plut.* 5, Meineke) reads: ἄρξει γὰρ αὐτὸς διποδίας καλῶς. (It has been noted frequently that this line is incomplete; most commentators believe that καλῆς is to be supplied before καλῶς.) Suidas, s.v. διποδία, has εἶδος ὀρχήσεως; and he then quotes Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1243-1244:

ἵν' ἐγὼ διποδιάξω τε καίεισω καλὸν  
ἐς τῶς Ἀσαναίως τε ἡμᾶς ἄμα.

Meursius (*op. cit.*, s.v. διποδία) says "Inde διποδιάζειν, saltationem istam saltare."

The passage in the *Lysistrata* is a scene of rejoicing. Peace has been made, a great feast has been consumed, and both Athenians and Spartans are lining up for a joyous dance. One of the Spartans



addresses a musician (1242–1244): “Take your pipes, my dear,” he says, “so that I may dance the διποδία, and sing a pretty song for the Athenians and for us, at the same time.” An Athenian expresses approval, and says that he enjoys watching the Spartan dance (1245–1246). The Spartan then obliges, with a dance and song in praise of the great deeds of both Athenians and Lacedaemonians in the Persian War, and in invocation of Artemis as virgin huntress (1247–1272). Lysistrata arranges the whole company in couples, a man and a woman side by side, and bids them dance in that formation (1273–1277). They comply, praising the gods and goddesses, first in Attic Greek (1279–1295), and finally in the Laconian dialect (1296–1322).

The scholiast (*Lys.* 1243) says: διποδιάξω τοῖς δύο ποσὶν χορεύσω. εἶδος ὀρχήσεως ἢ διποδία, ἧς μέμνηται καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν Πλούτοις — and he proceeds to quote the fragment of Cratinus.

From the passage in the *Lysistrata*, it would seem that the διποδία, although used here in comedy, was a dignified Spartan dance, suitable for a joyous occasion but yet elevated in style. If the portion of the ode after Lysistrata’s speech is still part of the διποδία, then it is that not too common type of dance, the ἀναμίξις, in which both men and women dance, together.

Editors and translators of the *Lysistrata* display a variety of interpretations of the passage. Rogers<sup>14</sup> translates the verb merely “dance,” and the editor of the Loeb edition remarks, in a note, “Dance a reel. διποδία, a stately Spartan dance.” Later (118 and note) the same editor comments upon the fact that the songs with which the play concludes are representative of “two widely differing styles of minstrelsy: the light and airy measures of the Ionians, and the ‘Dorian movement, bold or grave.’” Several other editors translate the verb “dance” or “dance the Dipodia.” Way<sup>15</sup> gives “I’ll dance the two-step.” Voss<sup>16</sup> has “Dass i den Zweitritt hopf,” and has the Athenian call the dance a “Reigentanz.” Droysen<sup>17</sup> renders the line “Mer wollen den Kukuk hopsa.” Collins<sup>18</sup> is a little surprised at the grace and beauty implied in the dance and its accompanying song: “And so, with

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.* (see note 1) 3.117.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.* (see note 9) 2.54.

<sup>16</sup> Johann H. Voss, *Aristophanes* (Brunswick, 1821) 2.321.

<sup>17</sup> Johann G. Droysen, *Des Aristophanes Werken* (Leipzig, 1869) 2.183.

<sup>18</sup> Rev. Canon Collins, *Aristophanes* (Edinburgh and London, 1880) 74.

two choric hymns, chanted by Spartans and Athenians in turn — so bright and graceful that they would seem out of place in such wild company, but that we know the poet meant to herald the joy with which a real Peace would be welcomed — this broad extravaganza ends."

So far, there would seem to be no obvious explanation of the term *διποδία*. The translation "two-step" is a little too modern in connotation, certainly; but the prefix *di-* must have had a specific significance, at least originally. The problem is, just what sort of "two-foot" dance is this characteristic Spartan *διποδία*?

And now we turn to Hesychius. The lexicographer complicates things greatly by glossing: *διποδία· ὀρχήσεως εἶδος, οἱ δὲ διποδισμός*. In other words, Hesychius equates *διποδία* with still another dance term, *διποδισμός*.

Meursius (*op. cit.*, *s.v.* *διποδία*) says, "Erat saltatio Laconica." He quotes and translates Pollux (4.101); then continues, "Lacon quidam apud Aristophanem," and quotes and translates *Lys.* 1242–1243. He goes on: "Etiam *διποδισμός* dicebatur." He quotes and translates Hesychius' gloss on *διποδία*, then adds, "Et ita ab Athenaeo indigetatur." The reference is to Athenaeus, 14.630a, where *διποδισμός* is merely named in a list of *schemata*, or figures, of the dance.

But this is not all. In Hesychius there is a lemma *διαποδισμός*, glossed *εἶδος ὀρχήσεως, ἢ ἀλμοῦ*. Meursius has an entry *διαποδισμός*, under which he quotes and translates this gloss of Hesychius. He continues: "Eandem fuisse plane existimo, quae *διποδία* quoque, et *διποδισμός* nuncupabatur." He then cites Hesychius on *διποδία*, and also Athenaeus on *διποδισμός*.

Then, to round out the picture, there is a word *διπόλεια*, which Hesychius glosses: *ἐορτὴ Ἀθηνησιν· οἱ δὲ Διπόλ(ε)ια, ὡς προδεδήλωται. καὶ εἶδος Λακωνικῆς ὀρχήσεως*. Meursius comments, *s.v.*, "Erat etiam Laconica saltatio; ac puto saltari solitam fuisse Diipoliorum festo, atque inde ei nomen inditum."

To clarify the terms *διποδισμός* and *διαποδισμός*, scholars, especially those who have worked on the *κόρδαξ*, the dance of comedy, usually cite Pollux (4.99), who, after listing several dances performed in armor, says: *ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τι καὶ ξιφισμός καὶ ποδισμός, καὶ διαρρικνουσθαι, ὅπερ ἦν τὸ τὴν ὀσφὺν φορτικῶς περιάγειν*. Meursius quotes this passage, *s.v.* *ποδισμός*, and adds: "Et *ποδίζειν* dicebatur ipse actus." He then quotes from the *Etymologicum Magnum*, which

gives, *s.v.* διαρρικνοῦσθαι· τὸ τὴν ὀσφὺν φορτικῶς περιάγειν. Κράτης Τροφονίῳ — ξιφίζει καὶ σπώδιζε καὶ διαρρίκνου. Zonaras has the same entry, but gives σπάδιζε for σπώδιζε. In the light of the passage in Pollux, the verb is generally taken as a corruption of πώδιζε. In the citation, obviously Crates is an error for Cratinus, for Crates did not write a play called *Trophonius*.

Finally, there is a dance term ποδίκρα, glossed by Hesychius as ὄρχησις πρὸς πόδα γινομένη. Λάκωνες. For this dance we have no further information whatsoever. Schmidt, in his note on the passage, suggests that it may be identical with the ποδισμός.

To disentangle the snarl, we might begin with the word ποδισμός. Some scholars have considered it a dance done in armor, because of the passage in Pollux. However, if we examine that section, we find that each sentence deals with a different group of dances. The first sentence lists the dances of the drama. The second deals with dances in armor. The third is our sentence. The fourth deals with the κῶμος and the τετράκωμος. In the sentence with which we are concerned, Pollux speaks of three *schemata* — ξιφισμός, ποδισμός, διαρρικνοῦσθαι. Of these the last-named, called ῥικνοῦσθαι by Photius (*s.v.*) and other writers, is a lascivious *schema* of rotating the hips, the distinctive feature of the κόρδαξ (Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 540). The first figure, ξιφισμός, is a gesture of the hand, a strong extension, in the manner of a sword-thrust, often with the hand held under a cloak (Photius, *s.v.* ξιφισμός; Suidas, *s.v.* ξιφίζειν; Hesychius, *s.v.*; *Et. Mag.* 611.10; Athenaeus 14.629 f.). It, too, is a characteristic feature of the κόρδαξ,<sup>19</sup> and seems to be obscene in implication, rather than military. These two figures give us a pretty definite context for the ποδισμός. The verb from which it comes, ποδίζω, means "to bind or tie the feet"; it is often used of "hobbling" horses. I believe, then, that Schnabel, Séchan,<sup>20</sup> and others are correct in interpreting the ποδισμός as a hop, with both feet held closely together as if tied, and with the body bent far forward. It would be closely associated with the figure ῥικνοῦσθαι, διαρρικνοῦσθαι. It would hardly be called graceful, but rather lewd, violent, and noisy. I believe that it is well represented by the figure on the left in Schnabel's Plate I, and Séchan's Figure 44 — a red-figured amphora in Tarquinia.

<sup>19</sup> Heinz Schnabel, *Kordax* (Munich, 1910) 3–5, 20, and Plate I.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.* (see note 13) 196.

The *schema* is, I believe, well described by Scaliger: <sup>21</sup> “. . . in qua iunctis pedibus, labore plurimo, et conatu Picos imitabantur.” It is pretty well established that one of the constituent elements in the developed *κόρδαξ*, and in Athenian comedy in general, is a primitive animal dance.<sup>22</sup> It may well be that the ultimate origin of the *ποδισμός* is to be found in such a dance, imitative of a hopping bird.

One interesting fact, however, is that Scaliger, in the passage just cited, is not speaking of the *ποδισμός*, but of the *διποδία*! His comment on the *ποδισμός* (1533D) — probably purely etymologizing — is that it is so named from the motion of the feet in it. I believe that he confused the two terms, and that his description of the *διποδία* really belongs to the *ποδισμός*.

Clearly the *διποδία*, as portrayed in the *Lysistrata* and in the fragment of Cratinus (*Plut.* 5, Meineke), is not a lewd, violent, grotesque dance. In both cases, we have emphasis upon beauty (*καλόν*, *καλῶς*); and in the *Lysistrata* the dance accompanies a dignified song in honor of war-heroes and divinities. It may be that the *διποδία* ends with line 1273. At that point, *Lysistrata* rearranges the dancers, and Spartan and Athenian songs alternate for the rest of the play. If the Spartans continue with the *διποδία* we must conclude that it was such a dance as men and their wives could dance together (1274–1275). It is true that the tempo seems to grow more rapid towards the close of the play (1304–1322), but there is no hint of lasciviousness. Some writers see in lines 1310 and 1317 a suggestion of the *βίβασις*, a form of dance contest in which Spartan women kicked their own backs; even if such a suggestion is present (and it would be difficult to demonstrate that it is), there is still no hint that *διποδία* has anything in common with the lewd *ποδισμός*. On the contrary, the comparison of the dancer to a deer (1318) would imply lightness and grace, and at the same time rule out a roistering hop on two feet. Accordingly, I do not agree with Schnabel (62) that the *ποδισμός* is a characteristic step which developed into a complete dance called *διποδία*.

Nor does the *διποδία* appear to have anything to do with the *κόρδαξ*, either, although the latter was the dance most often associated with Old Comedy. Aristophanes himself (*Nub.* 540) prides

<sup>21</sup> Julius Caesar Scaliger, “De Comoedia et Tragoedia,” in Vol. VIII of Gronovius’ *Thesaurus* (see note 6) columns 1533F, 1534A.

<sup>22</sup> A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (Oxford, 1927) 244–250; Schnabel, *op. cit.* (see note 19) 40–53; Lillian B. Lawler, “Ichthyes Choreutai,” *CPh* 36 (1941) 143–144.

himself upon having repudiated the *κόρδαξ* and other vulgarities of his predecessors; and the exodos of the *Wasps* (1482–1537) is the only passage in Aristophanes for which any kind of case for the *κόρδαξ* can be made out — and even that dance is regarded by many scholars as being a parody of a tragic dance in a play of Phrynichus, and not the *κόρδαξ* at all.

We recall that Hesychius has a lemma *διπόλια*, defined as a festival of the Athenians, and a Laconian dance. I believe that the gloss represents a confusion of the *Diipolia*, the festival of Zeus, and the *διποδία*, the Laconian dance. So far as I know, there is no other mention of a dance called *διπόλια*, and I am inclined to think that one did not exist. If, as Meursius thought, the dance in question was performed at the festival of Zeus, and yet was a Laconian dance, presumably the festival was not the Athenian *Diipolia*, but a Spartan one. The *διποδία*, as we have seen in the *Lysistrata*, was dignified and graceful, and hence eminently fitting for a religious festival, even in rigorous Sparta.

We return now to the *διαποδισμός*. As we have seen, Meursius regarded it as the same thing as the *ποδισμός*. I am inclined to believe that he was right. It may have arisen as a variant of *ποδισμός* by analogy with *διαρρικνοῦσθαι*, *ῥικνοῦσθαι*, variant terms for the figure closely associated with the *ποδισμός*. In that case the prefix would be purely intensive.

For the *διποδισμός* the case is not so simple. We have noted that Hesychius regards this *schema* as identical with the *διποδία*, and that, among modern scholars, Meursius regarded all three — *διποδία*, *διαποδισμός*, and *διποδισμός* — as the same. The situation is further clouded by the fact that manuscript readings sometimes shift between *διαποδισμός* and *διποδισμός*. The context in Athenaeus is not helpful; *διποδισμός* merely appears there in a list of *schemata*, some of which belong to the dramatic dance, and some of which do not. Latte believes that Tryphon was the author from whom Athenaeus, Pollux, and Diogenianus (the source of Hesychius) all draw their information on the dance; and that sometimes Tryphon gave two terms for the same dance, of which Pollux selects one, Athenaeus another, Diogenianus both. As an example he cites *διποδισμός* in Athenaeus, *διποδία* in Pollux, and both in Hesychius. Latte himself equates the two words with *διαποδισμός*, and expresses his belief that they all refer to the kicking-contest of the Spartan women, the

βίβασις.<sup>23</sup> Séchan (196) regards the ποδισμός and the διποδισμός as identical — “sauts sur les deux pieds.”

It is highly unusual to have three different terms for the same figure, even though the figure be very popular. I am inclined to conjecture that originally the διποδισμός may have been something quite different — a “two-foot” dance of some sort, perhaps with lively kicks of one leg and then the other, as in the dance in the exodos of the *Wasps* (1482–1537). The similarity of the terms διποδισμός and διαποδισμός, and the usage of both *schemata* in Old Comedy, may have led ultimately to the use of both words for one *schema*, presumably the hopping figure.

And now we come back to the διποδία, to see if by any chance we can discover the implication of its name. The scholiast's statement that διποδιάξω means τοῖς δύο ποσὶν χορεύσω is hardly illuminating. Müller<sup>24</sup> suggested that the word was “perhaps connected with the trochaic *dipodia*, which seems to have been the common metre in these choral songs, though mixed with cretics, spondees, dactyls, and logaoedic verses.” I am inclined to believe that this interpretation may be correct. I believe also that some corroboration for the theory may be found in the Roman dance known variously as *tripodatio*, *tripudatio*, or *tripudium*. This dance, performed by the *Fratres Arvales* in honor of the *Dea Dia*, and also by the *Salii*, is often spoken of by modern commentators as a “three-step.” The song which accompanied the dance of the Arval Brethren is extant (*CIL* 1.28), although in corrupted form. The significant thing about it, from our point of view, is that each line is recited three times. The *tripodatio*, then, may be the “dance to the triple lines”; and the διποδία may be the “dance to the dimeter.” It is interesting to recall that among the Romans the verb *tripudiare* came to mean “to dance,” in general (Catull. 63.26; Liv. 25.17.5; Petron. *Cena* 36; Sen. *Q.N.* 7.32.3); διποδιάζειν may have had a similar extension of meaning among the Spartans.

#### IV

We may summarize briefly the conclusions to which this discussion has led:

The διπλῇ was probably a dance figure in which the dancers

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.* (see note 5) 8, 20.

<sup>24</sup> K. O. Müller, *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, translated from the German by Henry Tufnell and George C. Lewis (Oxford, 1830) 2.352 and note 9.

formed two lines and danced in opposition to one another. It was dignified and beautiful.

The ποδισμός was a hop, with both feet held closely together as if tied, and with the body bent far forward. It may have originated in a primitive bird dance. It came to be associated with lascivious *schemata* in the κόρδαξ.

The διαποδισμός seems to have been a variant of the ποδισμός.

The διποδισμός may originally have been a separate *schema* (perhaps a kicking-figure), but it seems to have fused with the διαποδισμός.

The nature of the ποδίκρα is unknown.

The word διπόλια as a dance-term may be an error for διποδία.

The διποδία was a dignified, graceful Spartan dance, suitable for a joyous occasion, yet elevated in style. It was apparently performed by both men and women. It may have been originally a "dance to the dimeter" of Laconian choral songs.