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Source: *Classical Philology*, Apr., 1941, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Apr., 1941), pp. 142-155

Published by: The University of Chicago Press

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ΙΧΘΥΕΣ ΧΟΡΕΤΤΑΙ

LILLIAN B. LAWLER

AMONG the comedies attributed to Archippus, a contemporary and probably an imitator of Aristophanes, was one entitled 'Ιχθυῖς, which apparently satirized the great fondness of the Athenians for sea food. The plot seems to have centered around a war declared by the fish against the Athenians, and the resultant treaty of peace, under which specific Athenians were handed over to the fish to be devoured.¹ Among the fragments of the play which have been preserved is one² which contains the words ἄνδρες ἰχθύες—evidently addressed to the chorus. Obviously the chorus would be composed of “fish,” in fantastic and ludicrous garb. Equally obviously, the chorus would in the course of the drama execute dances. It would seem fairly clear, then, that there is good evidence for the existence in fifth-century Athens of some sort of “fish dance,” or at least of a dance which could be associated with fish without too great a strain upon the imagination of the spectators. It is the purpose of this paper to endeavor to determine, in so far as possible, the nature of that “dance of the fish,” its ultimate origin, and the course of its development.

Archippus is believed to have been rather an imitative than a creative dramatist.³ Accordingly, it might be assumed that the dances appearing in his plays would hardly be strikingly new inventions. Rather, we should expect them to be of a type fairly familiar to the audiences of Old Comedy. Now, the characteristic dance of Old Comedy was the *kordax*, a dance noted in general for its lively and licentious nature.⁴ However, in such fantastic comedies as the *Birds* of

¹ Athenaeus vii. 322a; 329b, c; viii. 343c. See Augustus Meineke, *Fragmenta comicorum Graecorum* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1839), I, 205–7.

² Athenaeus vii. 331c; viii. 335a. See Meineke, *op. cit.*, II, 723.

³ Pauly-Wissowa, “Archippos” (Kaibel).

⁴ Pollux iv. 99; Athenaeus xiv. 629, 630–31; i. 20e; Aristophanes *Clouds* 540 and schol., 553; Demosthenes *Olynth.* ii. 18; Aristotle *Rhet.* viii. 1408b; Theophrastus *Char.* vi. 1; Hesychius, s.v. κόρδαξ; Suidas, s.v. κορδακιζέει; Joannes Meursius, “Orchestra,” in Vol. VIII of Jacobus Gronovius' *Thesaurus Graecarum antiquitatum* (Venice: Typis Bartholomaei Javarina, 1732–37), s.v. κόρδαξ.

Aristophanes and of Magnes, the *Beasts* of Crates, the *Nightingales* of Cantharus, the *Bees* of Diocles, and the *Swine* of Cephisodorus some of the choral dancing certainly was characterized by animal schemata of a highly mimetic, if highly burlesque, nature. When one considers the great number of titles which are animal names in the lists of early comedies, one is moved to wonder whether the animal dances were purely extraneous additions, fusing with and supplementing the *kordax* proper, or whether, on the other hand, they may not have formed an integral part of some primitive form of the *kordax*.⁵

Many scholars have discussed the *kordax* and have speculated on its origin.⁶ Of these, Schnabel is outstanding in his conviction that the Greek *kordax*, and ultimately the whole of Greek Old Comedy, developed in the Peloponnesus, as a part of the very early worship of Artemis in her capacity as a goddess of fertility. Few have followed Schnabel all the way in this theory. It seems to me that there can be no doubt that *one form* of the *kordax* was developed in the Peloponnesus, and in the manner Schnabel indicates. I believe, however, that there may have been originally several forms of fertility dance, many of which fell together into what was later known as the *kordax*; and that with them were combined dances which had originated simply as drunken revels.⁷ These latter would, of course, facilitate the transfer of the *kordax* from the cult of Artemis to that of Dionysus. In the course of their discussion of the subject most mod-

⁵ Cf., e.g., apparent traces of animal dances in Aristophanes *Wasps* 1476–1515. It should be borne in mind, however, that the “old dances” there described are not certainly forms of the *kordax*. A. B. Cook (“Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XIV [1894], 84–85) connects the primitive *kordax* with the ass; however, his theory has not met with general acceptance. For vase paintings depicting animal dances see Roy C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and Its Drama* (3d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), Figs. 12–16, pp. 32, 38, 39, 40.

⁶ Heinz Schnabel, *Kordax* (Munich: Beck, 1910); Marcelle A. Hincks, “Le Kordax dans le culte de Dionysos,” *Revue archéologique*, XVII (4th ser., 1911), 1–5; Pauly-Wissowa, “Kordax” (Warnecke); A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), pp. 253–65, 244–50; Lewis R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), II, 445; Louis Séchan, *La Danse grecque antique* (Paris: De Boccard, 1930), pp. 154–55, 178, 195–200; Fritz Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike* (Halle-Saale: Niemeyer, 1926), pp. 105–9; H. Flach, “Der Tanz bei den Griechen,” *Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge* (Berlin), XV, Heft 360 (1880), 23–24.

⁷ Cf. Alciphron *Epist.* iii. 18. 3; Julian *Misop.* 359d; Lucian *Ikarom.* 27, and schol. ad loc.

ern scholars have noted the passage in Pausanias (vi. 22. 1) which attests the fact that, at a shrine in Elis, Artemis was designated as Kordaka and that in her honor was performed the *kordax*, a dance brought to Elis from Sipylus in Lydia by followers of Pelops.⁸ Some scholars have commented also upon an alabastron (Louvre E 588) which depicts a dancer engaged in a *kordax*-like dance in close juxtaposition with a figure of Artemis as *πότνια θηρῶν*.⁹

The goddess Artemis is a divinity of complex and apparently contradictory functions. Perhaps originally a genuine Greek goddess, she becomes fused with various foreign divinities; and in some respects, at least, she shows signs of being an adaptation of the great Cretan goddess. In her worship one repeatedly finds emphasis upon animals—upon the stag, for instance, the fawn, the boar, the quail, the bear.¹⁰ A bear dance is definitely recorded¹¹ as an important part of her ritual. Again, she is associated with water; and we hear of fish as being sacred to her.¹² Accordingly, it is no surprise when we encounter in Pausanias (viii. 41. 4) a passage in which a goddess is identified as either Artemis or Eurynome, and in which the image of the goddess is described as being half-woman and half-fish. The Artemis-Eurynome divinity, according to Pausanias, was worshiped in Phigalia, in a cypress grove near the junction of two small streams. In this connection many writers have called attention to a geometric amphora from Thebes,¹³ depicting a divinity, probably Artemis as *πότνια θηρῶν*, accompanied by two lions and two birds, and having on the skirt of her garment a large fish.¹⁴

⁸ Cf. the story of the night revels of Artemis Alphaia and her nymphs at Letrini, a town founded by Letreus, son of Pelops, not far from a lake which never dries up (Paus. vi. 22. 9–11). Pelops was a favorite of Poseidon (Apollodorus *Epit.* ii. 3; Pindar *Olymp.* i. 37–39).

⁹ Schnabel, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁰ Farnell (*op. cit.*, II, 427) says that the cult of the primitive Artemis is "full of ideas of totemism and the clan-animal."

¹¹ Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 645 and schol.; Euripides, Frag. 767 (Nauck); Suidas, s.v. ἄρκτος; Hesychius, s.v. Βραυρωτίας; Eustathius, on *Iliad*, p. 331. 26.

¹² Diodorus Siculus v. 3; cf. Athenaeus vii. 325c; Apollonius Rhodius i. 569–70.

¹³ Farnell, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. XXIXA; see Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), pp. 437–38.

¹⁴ Nemesis of Rhamnus, originally a divinity akin to Artemis, assumes the shape of a fish, in *Cypria*, Frag. 8 (Loeb, l. 10); cf. Athenaeus viii. 334b. Hecate likewise, an associate of Artemis, is connected with fish: Hesiod *Theog.* 413, 440–43; Athenaeus vii. 325c. Cf. Farnell, *op. cit.*, II, 513.

In addition to this evidence of direct association with fish, we have numerous recorded cult epithets of Artemis as a divinity of the sea, of moisture, of streams—a “Lady of the Sea,” as Evans calls her Cretan counterpart. Many cults of Artemis center conspicuously around a lake or a stream. It would not seem too improbable that the fish may have been connected in some way with most of these cults, as well as with the cults in Phigalia and Thebes.¹⁵

We have noted the confusion, in the case of the half-fish goddess at Phigalia, of Artemis and Eurynome. Eurynome, one of the many Greek divinities of fertility and of moisture, was the daughter of Oceanus. According to one legend (Apollonius Rhodius i. 503–6), she with Ophion ruled over the Titans on Olympus, but was overcome by Cronus and Rhea, and fell into the sea. Eurynome, like the other Oceanides, was fond of the dance. She and Zeus were parents of the Graces. With the Graces, of course, the dance is closely linked; and we have at least one specific association of the Graces with fish (albeit a humorous one!).¹⁶ Artemis, too, is a lover of the dance. The Homeric Hymns speak of Artemis as actually dancing with the Graces; elsewhere she is said to dance with the Oceanides.¹⁷ Other sea-dwellers are likewise devotees of dancing—notably the Nereids.

Not infrequently we find Artemis fused with various Eastern divinities—a fact which seems to have some significance in view of the Pelops legend mentioned above. Notable among these Eastern divinities are Atargatis or Gatis, Derceto (or perhaps Ceto [Pliny *Hist. Nat.* v. 69]), the Dea Syria, and the Great Mother—themselves subject to a great deal of fusion and confusion. To all of these, fish were sacred;¹⁸ and so firm did the tradition prove to be that, in parts of Syria where their worship was especially strong, a marked reverence for, and protection of, so-called “holy” fish existed down to modern times.¹⁹ Moreover, many of these divinities were at times represented

¹⁵ On the garment of Despoina of Lycosura, who is often associated with Artemis, are depicted Nereids, sea monsters, and dolphins.

¹⁶ Eupolis, *ap.* Athenaeus vii. 301a.

¹⁷ Callimachus, Hymn 3, to Artemis, 13–14, 41–53.

¹⁸ Even the sea monster of the Andromeda story is believed by some scholars to represent a crocodile sacred to a Syrian fish goddess. See A. R. Burn, *Minoans, Philitines, and Greeks* (New York: Knopf, 1930), p. 153.

¹⁹ Otto Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1913), II, 344; Pauly-Wissowa, “Ichthys” (1) (Cumont).

as half-human in form, half-fish, a concept which in the Near East seems to go back to the Assyrians and the Babylonians. At Hierapolis, in Syria, sacred fish were kept in a pond adjacent to a temple of Atargatis, who was believed to have been saved from drowning on one occasion by a fish. At Sura and elsewhere there were fish oracles. Devotees of Cybele were forbidden to eat fish. The Dea Syria, mother of Semiramis, was believed to have leaped into the water and to have been changed into a fish (Diod. Sic. ii. 4. 2); at Askalon she was represented as half-human in form, half-fish (Lucian *Dea Syria* 14). Another story had it that the Dea Syria was born from a great egg found in the Euphrates River and brought to shore by fish; and that for this reason fish were venerated and were placed in the zodiac—a story later told of Aphrodite as well (Hyginus 197). Still another story makes Atargatis (or the Dea Syria) the mother of the Syrian hero Ichthys and tells how she was thrown into a lake at Askalon and devoured by a fish (Athenaeus viii. 346*d, e*).

The Eastern divinities most commonly associated with the Greek Artemis, then, are all connected in some way with fish. All of them were thought of as goddesses of fertility; and in their worship the fish was a symbol of fertility.²⁰ Furthermore, the rituals of all of them were characterized by orgiastic, lascivious dances.²¹ It would not seem too improbable that some of these dances, at least, may have been “fish dances” or may have contained fish schemata.

Now, animal dances are common among primitive peoples in all parts of the world.²² The ancient Peruvians had a fish dance.²³ In modern times fish dances are attested in eastern Asia,²⁴ the South

²⁰ Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 345–46; Curt Sachs, *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente* (Berlin: Reimer, 1929), p. 5.

²¹ Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 192; Pauly-Wissowa, “Dea Syria” (Cumont); cf. the dances to the Ephesian Artemis, Autocrates, Frag. 1, cited in Schnabel, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

²² Curt Sachs, *World History of the Dance* (New York: Norton, 1937), *passim*; Max von Böhn, *Der Tanz* (Berlin: Wegweiser Verlag, 1925), pp. 12–14; Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 244–45; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance* (New York: Macmillan, 1923), pp. 18, 24; Richard Wallaschek, *Primitive Music* (London and New York: Longmans, Green, 1893), pp. 216–20.

²³ Von Böhn, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Pacific,²⁵ Mexico,²⁶ and South America.²⁷ We have vague bits of testimony that may point to an early fish dance among the Greeks as well. On a Corinthian phiale²⁸ of the sixth century there appear several men engaged in a dance which looks as if it might be the *kordax*; opposite one of the figures is a large, dolphin-like fish. Pickard-Cambridge thinks that the fish "shows that this scene does not reproduce an actual performance." It might rather suggest that the dancers are performing a dance associated in some way with fish.²⁹ Again, in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes (ll. 1482–1537) we have frequent references to the sea and to crabs and shrimp as participants in a dance sometimes recognized as the *kordax*, sometimes as a burlesque of a dance of very early tragedy. Now and then we have mention of a form of the *kordax* done by an old woman, usually drunk³⁰—a dance definitely associated with the Peloponnesian Artemis by many scholars.³¹ This type of old woman is said to have been used by Eupolis and Phrynichus; and in a play by the latter she was associated with a sea monster (Aristophanes *Clouds* 553–54).

The question now arises as to whether the Greeks themselves, in remote prehistoric times, may have developed fish schemata independently or whether the development was rather the result of association with other peoples. Schnabel thinks the *kordax* was originally pre-Dorian; and he regards the names of schemata and variants of the *kordax* as non-Dorian (p. 62). It may be that he is right. It may be that, early as fish schemata seem to have been in the Peloponnesus, we must search for their ultimate origin elsewhere—perhaps among peoples more definitely seafaring than were the primitive Greeks.

We turn now to the Cretans. These versatile little people, builders

²⁵ Oesterley, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–79; James G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1918), I, 40–41.

²⁶ Von Böhn, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

²⁷ William Ridgeway, *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (Cambridge: University Press, 1915), pp. 357–58.

²⁸ It is Fig. 33 (p. 265), in Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.*

²⁹ Cf. the Naxian procession of young men carrying a fish, mentioned by Pickard-Cambridge (*ibid.*, p. 249, n. 2).

³⁰ Aristophanes *Clouds* 553–56 and schol. *ad loc.*

³¹ Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 254–61.

of a mighty sea power, were far famed for the originality and brilliance of their dances;³² in fact, the Greeks of later times customarily attributed to them the actual invention of the dance.³³ Such frescoes as remain confirm the impression of richness that Greek writers give us of the Cretan dance. The Cretans worshiped a great goddess of fertility, who appears also as a "Lady of the Sea," "Mistress of Sea Monsters," "Mistress of Animals," "Mother of Mountains," and "Despoina," even as does the later Artemis.³⁴ Among the legends of the Cretans seems to have been one of Britomartis or Dictynna, the "Lady of the Fish Nets," who leaped into the sea (even as did Atargatis and Eurynome) and was saved. Indeed, we sometimes find the Greek goddess being worshiped under the name Artemis Dictynna.

In Cretan script one of the symbols is a fish.³⁵ Furthermore, the fish appears frequently in Cretan art representations of all sorts. It may be that many of these representations are purely decorative; but it is possible that most of them may have a cult significance. The early art of a highly religious or superstitious race is likely to be much more symbolic than the casual observer would suppose. The fish is frequently found in close juxtaposition with a bird in Cretan art; and we know that the bird had religious implications in Crete. Furthermore, offerings of fayence fish, fayence or real seashells, and pebbles from the seashore are common in Cretan shrines.

In this connection one particular piece of Cretan art merits our attention. It is a portion of a Late Minoan I fresco (*ca.* 1500 B.C.) from the Queen's Megaron of the palace at Cnossus.³⁶ It represents the delicate figure of a charming lady, in the costume of the day. Her left arm is bent at the elbow, the forearm being apparently held

³² Lucian *Orch.* 8; Sophocles *Ajax* 699; *Iliad* xvi. 617, xiii. 249; Sappho, *Frag.* 54f, No. 114, in J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* (London: Heinemann, 1922), I, 264-65.

³³ Athenaeus v. 181b; Diodorus Siculus v. 65; Euripides *Bacch.* 120-34; Proclus 246; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 127; Strabo x. 481. 18; 480. 16.

³⁴ Sir Arthur J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos* (London: Macmillan, 1921-35), *passim*; Nilsson, *op. cit.*, *passim*, and esp. pp. 432-38. Weege (*op. cit.*, p. 125) has suggested that the animal-headed figures on the drapery of the Lycosura Despoina are masked women dancers.

³⁵ Evans, *op. cit.*, I, 643, No. 57; p. 652, No. 33.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, frontispiece; Pl. XXV (facing p. 370); Fig. 40 (p. 71); pp. 70-73; H. R. Hall, *Aegean Archaeology* (London: Warner; New York: Putnam, 1915), p. 239; James Baikie, *The Sea-Kings of Crete* (London: Black, 1913), pp. 220-21.

across or close to the breast; her right arm curves out, low from the shoulder. Her long hair is depicted as curving up from her shoulders on either side in a most distinctive way, forming an arc of a circle. It seems fairly certain that the figure is a dancer, whirling so rapidly that her hair flies out and up from her shoulders.

Not far from this fresco was found another, of Middle Minoan III—a magnificent underwater scene, with innumerable fish swimming rhythmically in infinite variety.³⁷ The association of fish and dancer does not seem to be fortuitous. It is just possible that the swimming fish and the whirling lady may both be “dancing” in honor of the great Cretan goddess.³⁸ The Greeks, at least, thought of all rhythmic motion as “dancing” and indeed often spoke of “dancing fish” (see below). It is not impossible that they may even have borrowed this concept from the Cretans. Our little lady and her companions, then (Evans thinks there must have been several plaques containing figures of the same sort in the room), may have been votaries or priestesses dancing as “holy fishes” in honor of the goddess;³⁹ and their dances may have been a refined adaptation of a primitive ritual, with totemistic implications, to the needs of an advanced, sophisticated civilization.

The little dancing lady of the Queen’s Megaron presents an additional possibility of great interest. Her left arm, as we have noted, is bent, and the hand approaches the decorously veiled breast. In view of the nature of the Cretan goddess, I should like to suggest that

³⁷ Evans, *op. cit.*, III, 364–79, Fig. 251, and frontispiece; I, 543–44; Arthur J. Evans, “The Palace of Knossos: The Campaign of 1902,” *Annual of the British School at Athens*, VIII (1901–2), 58–59.

³⁸ By a curious coincidence, Evans (*The Palace of Minos*, III, 378) comments on the “vivid sense of motion” given by the wreaths of spray in the fish fresco and says that they “may be compared with the similar use of flowing tresses by the Minoan artist in the portraying of leaping figures or of descended divinities.” He does not mention the more obvious parallel—the tresses of the little dancing lady. One is reminded here of Adolf Erman’s comment (*Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1923], p. 280) on the hair of a group of Egyptian dancing girls: “In Troddeln ausgehende lange Flechten tanzen bei ihren lebhaften Bewegungen lustig um sie herum.” It is noteworthy that in both the fish fresco and the dancing lady the outstanding colors are the same—yellow and blue on a white field. Evans has pointed out (III, 67) that saffron yellow may have had religious associations in Crete.

³⁹ For the identification in a ritual or ritual dance of a priestess with an animal sacred to the divinity involved see Lillian B. Lawler, “The Dancing Figures from Palaikastro,” abstracted in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLIV (January–March, 1940), 106–7.

in this figure we have the elegant stylization, in an era of great refinement, of the primitive gesture of fertility so common in the East—the touching of the breast with the hand.

The paintings in the Queen's Megaron at Cnossus, then, may attest a sort of sea dance or fish dance, or at least a dance in honor of the great Cretan goddess as the Lady of the Sea. If this interpretation is correct, then the famous flying-fish fresco from Phylakopi in Melos⁴⁰ (of the same period as the Cnossus painting, and possibly an importation from Crete) may also have ritualistic significance. The markedly rhythmical motion of the flying fish, which has been noted by many observers, would seem to be of some importance in this connection.

However, the Cnossus and Phylakopi frescoes are not the only evidence which has come to light in Cretan lands for dances of this type. In a cave at Psychro there was found a bronze votive tablet of Middle Minoan III which is of deep interest and possibly great significance. Scratched upon the surface of the tablet, together with such objects as sacral horns, an altar, a dove-like bird, a tree, the sun, and the moon, appears the figure of a man who, according to Evans, is performing an ecstatic dance. With his right arm swung back and his left hand raised, palm out, he is obviously deferring to some divine power. Below his right hand are two linear symbols, one of which Evans recognizes as a derivative of the sign for "dolphin's head." He suggests that the two signs together may be the name of the dancer. Would it not be interesting if the second sign, instead of being a part of the name proper, were rather an indication that the dancer is "The Dolphin" or "The Fish"—in other words, that he is a fish dancer, or at least is engaged in a dance to the Lady of the Sea? Here one is reminded of the painted clay larnax found in a tomb at Milato, in Crete.⁴¹ It bears the representation of a shield-bearing male figure, from whose shoulders curve lines suggestive of the whirling locks of the dancer in the Queen's Megaron; and below the figure is a swimming fish. This, too, might possibly be a male fish dancer.

Close to the horns on the Psychro tablet Evans recognizes a "flying-

⁴⁰ T. D. Atkinson *et al.*, *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos* (London: Macmillan, 1904), chap. iii, pp. 70–72, and Pl. III; Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, I, 542–49, and Fig. 394.

⁴¹ Arthur J. Evans, "The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXI (1901), 174, and Fig. 50.

bird" character in duplicate. He believes it may represent a reiterated "orgiastic cry," and suggests (I, 634) that it may be similar to the *ὄλολυγή* or *ἀλαλά* of the "old Anatolian cult," the ritual of which was taken over for the cult of Rhea. It would be most interesting if Evans is correct in this view, for *ὄλολυγή* is specifically attested for the worship of Artemis in Greece.⁴²

It is just possible, then, that there were fish dances in Cretan lands. If this is true, nothing could be more natural than that the dances would pass easily into the Greek cult of a divinity similar in functions to the Cretan goddess; and, even if there were in Greece native fish dances, independently developed, they would probably have been influenced by those of the Cretans. It is interesting in this connection to note a mention of a *kordax* to Apollo in an inscription from Minoa, on the island of Amorgos (*IG*, XII, i, 246). Although the inscription is of the second century of the Christian Era and somewhat corrupt, yet the closeness of the Greek Apollo and Artemis to the ancient Cretan goddess makes the mention of the *kordax* in a city called Minoa very significant indeed.

We come now to the East. We have, it will be recalled, the express tradition of the introduction of orgiastic dances to Artemis from Sipylus by the followers of Pelops (Pausanias vi. 22. 1). Several writers think this story a later invention to explain the presence of fertility dances in the ritual of a divinity who had by that time come to be thought of as a pure maiden; nevertheless, the Asiatic influences on the cult of Artemis are indisputable. In any case, there would have been much similarity between the dances to such deities as the Dea Syria and any Cretan dances to the Lady of the Sea. Evans himself points out the likeness of the dance in the Queen's Megaron to various whirling dances in honor of Eastern divinities.⁴³ The Anatolian connections of Cretan civilization, and the many signs of Syrian and Asiatic influence in general upon Crete from Late Minoan I on, are well known. It seems to me entirely possible, then, that Pausanias is telling the truth and that dances to a goddess of the sea, originating in Asia Minor in remote prehistoric antiquity, may have made a two-fold entry into Greece—once via Crete, after a period of softening

⁴² *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (Loeb) v. 19.

⁴³ *The Palace of Minos*, III, 72.

and refinement, and again directly from Asia Minor, in a form perhaps closer to that of the original dances. Arrived in Greece, they probably fused with other fertility dances and became a part of the *kordax* group. That the whole transmission was complete at a very early date I think we cannot doubt, for in the historical period the origins and purposes of the *kordax* of Artemis were already veiled in deepest mystery.

What was the nature, then, of the dances performed by the chorus of the Ἰχθύς of Archippus? It would be considerably easier for us to attempt to solve this problem if we had some idea of the costume worn by the chorus. On a pre-Aristophanic scyphus in Boston⁴⁴ there is a portrayal of a chorus of cloaked and helmeted men riding upon mechanical "fish"; however, in the light of such fragments as we have of Archippus' play, it would seem exceedingly unlikely that the members of his chorus were so costumed and mounted. Meineke (I, 205) says there is no doubt but that they actually represented fish. In Roman times we have specific evidence (Velleius Paterculus ii. 83) for a pantomimic dance in which the dancer, portraying the sea divinity Glaucus, had his feet covered with an artificial fishtail, and danced upon his knees. It is possible that one or two of Archippus' chorus may have been so costumed for hilarious effect. However, in view of the great amount of ground to be covered by a comic chorus during the action of an entire play, it would seem much more plausible that the legs of most of the dancers were left free. On the Choregic Monument of Lysicrates, figures with human bodies, dolphins' heads, and no arms are portrayed as leaping into the sea; and some writers⁴⁵ see in them actual dithyrambic choreutes, enacting the story of Dionysus and the Tyrrhenian pirates. Archippus may have used some such costume as this; or he may have copied the representations of "fish men" so common in Eastern art⁴⁶—with the head of the "fish" atop the human head, and with the scales and tail extending down the dancer's back. Granted one or the other of these types of costume,

⁴⁴ See Flickinger, *op. cit.*, p. 40, Fig. 15.

⁴⁵ Cf. Maurice Emmanuel, *Essai sur l'orchestrique grecque* (Paris: Hachette, 1895), pp. 259-60.

⁴⁶ Keller, *op. cit.*, II, 344, and Fig. 119b; Charles W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems* (2d ed.; London: Bell, 1885), Pl. IV, 2; Pauly-Wissowa, "Ichthys" (1). Cf. Philostratus *Vit. Apoll.* iii. 55.

we may conjecture that the dance of the comedy was very like the *kordax* of Artemis. And what sort of dance must that have been? Upon a foundation of very old fertility schemata such as violent whirling, stamping, kicking, leaping, swaying of the hips, and shaking of the fleshy parts of the body—schemata common to fertility dances among peoples in all parts of the world and in all epochs and attested for the Greek *kordax*—there were probably superposed what we may call specific fish schemata. To understand these we must turn to Greek poetry.

The idea of “dancing fish” is a common one in Greek verse. “Beasts of the sea” dance around the god of the deep in Arion’s *Hymn to Poseidon*, 4–9. In one of the *Anacreontea* (Hiller, 55, l. 24) appear the words ἐπὶ δελφίσι χορευταῖς, and, in line 27, χορὸς ἰχθύων. In a disputed line of Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* (299) the most recent editor⁴⁷ reads ἰχθῦς χορευτάς. A lost play of Sophocles (Frag. 691 [Nauck]; cf. Athenaeus vii. 277b) contains the words χορὸς . . . ἰχθύων. Euripides, in *Helen* 1454–55, has χοραγὲ τῶν καλλιχόρων δελφίνων.

And how, specifically, do these fish dance? Their movement, according to Greek poets, is commonly in a circle.⁴⁸ They glide swiftly (Arion *Hymn. ad Pos.* 6). They leap⁴⁹ and tumble (*Anacr.* 55, Hiller, l. 28)—especially dolphins. They sport⁵⁰ and wag their tails (Sophocles, Frag. 691 [Nauck]). Flying fish, of course, swoop and glide and skim.

An interesting supplement to these details is furnished by the use of the word ὑγρός and its compounds in the terminology of the dance in general. Originally meaning “moist, fluid,” it comes to denote “supple, lithe.” In some passages (e.g., in Bacchylides *Thes.* 35, where

⁴⁷ George Thomson, *The Oresteia of Aeschylus* (Cambridge: University Press, 1938), I, 115; II, 36–37. See the discussion of the passage in Herbert W. Smyth, *Aeschylus* (London: Heinemann; New York: Putnam [Loeb ed.], 1930), II, 28–29, where the line is numbered 287.

⁴⁸ Arion *Hymn. ad Pos.* 5; cf. the same movement in a dance of nymphs to Artemis (Callimachus, *Hymn* 3, to Artemis, 170, 237–47, 267), in a dance of Nereids (Bacchylides *Thes.* 34), in the dances of the Graces (Aristophanes *Thesmo.* 122), and in the dance of Aristophanes’ *Wasps*, 1482–1537, which some writers call a *kordax*.

⁴⁹ Arion, *Hymn. ad Pos.* 7; Diocles 5; Aristophanes *Wasps*, 1520–21.

⁵⁰ *Anacreontea* 55, Hiller, l. 29; Athenaeus vii. 329d; the same verb, παίζω, is often used of human and divine dancers—to Artemis, in *Hom. Hymn. ad Aph.* (Loeb) v. 120; also in *Od.* viii. 251, xxiii. 147; Hesiod *Sc.* 277; Pindar *Ol.* i. 24, etc.

a dance of Nereids is described) *ὕγροῖσι ποσσίν* is capable of either the literal or the figurative interpretation. Pollux, in *Onomasticon* iv, includes among technical terms used in the dance not only *ὕγρός* and *ὕγρῶς* but also *ὕγρομελήῃ*, *ἔξυγραινόμενος*, *ὕγρότητα*, and *ἔξυγραινουσα*.

To summarize, then, the choreography of the fish dance in religious rituals and in the drama must have been essentially that of a circle dance. Distinctive schemata must have involved leaps suggesting those of the dolphin and quick, sinuous, supple turns, darts, and glides. It is probable that on occasion the arms and garments of the dancer were used in movements to suggest the motion of fins or the flight of flying fish. Our evidence would seem to show that the dancers could be either men or women and that they could have danced either alone or in a group; in the latter case, they must have performed as individuals.

Music for the dances was probably furnished primarily by the double flute, inasmuch as that instrument is usually mentioned in connection with dances to Artemis⁵¹ and to her kindred deities in the East;⁵² and it is regularly used to accompany the chorus of comedy.⁵³ On occasion the flute might be replaced or supplemented by the lyre.⁵⁴ Cymbals, also, may have been used in some of the ritual fish dances, for in the shrine of Artemis Limnatis, "Lady of the Lake," there were dedications of those instruments.⁵⁵

We have seen that a "dance of the fish" was probably used in rituals to Artemis and that it was almost certainly used in at least one case in Old Comedy; also, that a form of it survived down to the days of the Roman pantomime. It is interesting to speculate upon further uses to which it may have been put. It may, for instance, have been extended to the worship of other sea and river divinities, and it might appropriately have been used in such plays as the *Nereids* of Anaxandrides and in the numerous dramatic versions of the story of Glaucus Pontius. It is possible also that the dance may be referred to in the *Oenomaus* or *Pelops* of Eubulus (Meineke, III, 241).

⁵¹ Athenaeus xiv. 629e.

⁵² *Ibid.* 626a.

⁵³ Evans (*The Palace of Minos*, III, 69) thinks the flute accompanied ecstatic Cretan dances similar to that of the little lady of the Queen's Megaron.

⁵⁴ Athenaeus xiv. 626a.

⁵⁵ Cf. Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

It may have been used in the *Marriage of Hebe*, by Epicharmus; fragments of that play show many references to fish, and there are introduced seven "Muses" of lakes and rivers. *Earth and Sea*, by the same writer, likewise contains numerous allusions to fish and may have used the dance. In tragedy some form of the dance may have been used in all plays the choruses of which represent dwellers in the sea. These would include, for example, the *Prometheus*, *Nereids*, and *Memnon* of Aeschylus and perhaps also the *Peleus* of Sophocles. In the satyr drama a variant of the dance may have appeared in such plays as the *Proteus*,⁵⁶ the *Glaucus Pontius*, and the *Net-Draggers* of Aeschylus. Incidentally, there has been much discussion of the expression *σκόμβρος ἐν τοῖς σατύροις*.⁵⁷ If the reference here is really to "mackerel in a satyr play" of Timocles (presumably the *Icarians*), we have another play in which a fish dance could have functioned.

There is a paucity of specific references to fish dances in the works of ancient writers. It is possible that the explanation is to be sought in the fact that no fish dance could ever be so highly mimetic as could, for instance, a lion dance; and that the somewhat subtle schemata found in a fish dance might easily pass into other soft, sinuous dances, and lose their identity. Besides, if the dance was really used in such widely different settings as the *emmeleia* of tragedy, the *kordax* of comedy, and the *sikinnis* of the satyr play, it is probable that it became rather a series of distinctive schemata than a dance proper. It is possible also that the fish dance is of most importance in the earlier period of Greek civilization, when the Greeks are closer to theriomorphism and totemism, and becomes less common as time goes on, surviving chiefly in half-forgotten ritual dances to fertility deities and as a tour de force in spectacles of one sort or another in the period of the Roman Empire.

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⁵⁶ Cf. Lucian *Orch.* 19. The *Proteus* was produced with the *Agamemnon*, in which dancing fish are apparently mentioned. See above.

⁵⁷ Athenaeus iii. 119f (see discussion in the Loeb ed.). Cf. Meineke, *op. cit.*, III, 413-14.