The Meter of the Lille Stesichorus

Evanthia Tsitsibakou-Vasalos

S TESICHORUS' POSITION in the literary tradition—until recently a matter of guesswork based on indirect references from later periods—has become appreciably clearer thanks to the papyri. The discovery of the Lille papyrus attests to Stesichorus' importance in the history of metrics in particular, for the use of an early form of the dactylo-trochaic verse offers some insight into the puzzling issues of ancient lyric rhythm and perhaps its corollary, ancient Greek music.¹

Attempts to analyze the meter of *P.Lille* 76 have nevertheless exposed once more the limitations of our knowledge, due mainly to the fragmentary nature of the direct evidence. Metrical sequences attested also in other Stesichorean fragments have been characterized in different ways, and differing inferences have been drawn regarding both the technique of the poet and his significance in the development of metrics and music. As this controversy is not restricted to terminology but, more significantly, affects our understanding of the very nature of the Stesichorean verse,² my purpose here is first to describe and characterize the *P.Lille* meter and second to review and evaluate the three major analyses it has received. Emphasis will be placed on the structure presented in the *editio princeps*, both because its underlying principles remain controversial and because its implications for the questions of rhythm and music are far-reaching.³

¹ The following will be cited in abbreviated form: G. P. ANCHER, "Étude métrique des P.L. 76 a,b, et c," *Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Egyptologie de Lille* 4 (1976) 311-23 and 350f (the *editio princeps*); A. DAIN, *Traité de métrique grecque* (Paris 1965); A. M. DALE, "Greek Metric 1936-1957," *Lustrum* 2 (1957), and *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*² (Cambridge 1968); M. HASLAM, "The Versification of the New Stesichorus (*P.Lille* 76abc)," *GRBS* 19 (1978) 29-57, and "Stesichorean Metre," QUCC 17 (1974) 7-57; J. IRIGOIN, Recherches sur les metres de la lyrique chorale grecque. La structure du vers (Paris 1953); W. J. W. KOSTER, *Traité de métrique grecque suivi d'un précis de métrique latine* (Leiden 1966); B. M. PA-LUMBO-STRACCA, "Osservazioni metriche al nuovo Stesicoro (Pap. Lille 76 a,b,c)," *Boll.d.class.* 25 (1977) 31-43.

² See especially Haslam, GRBS 54.

³ This paper is an abbreviated version of my dissertation, *Stesichorus and His Poetry* (Chicago 1985) 150–227.

The metrical scheme of the Lille poem, in strict relation to the colometry presented on the papyrus, is the following:⁴



The structure consists of units of dactylo-length and epitrites, the association of which has been made possible with the help of certain metrical rules that apply with distinct regularity. The most important are the strict observance of word-end at the end of the colon $-\cdots - \cdots -$ (D in Maas' notation), with a few but justifiable exceptions, as we shall see: the chaining of the anceps element (×) with the metrical unit that follows it; and the indifference of the medial anceps, which can be bisyllabic (biceps), long or short. These characteristics (especially the employment of an indifferent anceps \preceq which provides a salient difference from later dactylo-epitrites) suggest that we are dealing with an early attempt to compose in the dactylo-epitrite meter. These innovations had been observed already in the *Geryoneis* and *Iliou Persis*, among other poems of Stesichorus, and thus provided an essential criterion for attributing the Lille poem to him.

The first important metrical analysis was that presented by Ancher in the *editio princeps*, based on the principles laid down by Irigoin. For a better understanding of Ancher's structures, it will therefore be helpful to summarize and evaluate the main features of Irigoin's theory.

Irigoin observed in Pindar and Bacchylides certain metrical phe-

⁴ This is Haslam's tabulation (*GRBS* 33). \leq indicates short and long syllables each attested; $\check{\times}$, presumed anceps element, short in all attested instances; |(:), word-end in all (most) attested instances; \frown zeugma (no word-end).

nomena whose recurrence, statistically confirmed, he raised to the status of a virtual law, although he refrained from using the term.⁵ Essential for understanding these postulates is his preliminary definition of two terms: (a) synapheia, which designates the chaining together, or liaison, of rhythmical elements grouped in cola, and (b) generalized caesura, which signifies the caesura produced at the same point in the verse each time this verse is repeated in a poem with responsion.⁶ Within the lyric verse, the poets avoid coincidence of word-end and end of a rhythmical element. This entails the absence of diaeresis, which is almost always replaced by liaison, or zeugma, between two consecutive rhythmical elements within the verse. The contacts, *i.e.*, the points where two cola meet, are concealed by being bridged together in synapheia.⁷ This procedure is frequently emphasized through the use of a "coupe" (caesura, in this context), shifted one syllable before or after the point of contact, or "suture," of two rhythmical elements within the verse. In the lyric verses there is, consequently, neither diaeresis nor a generalized caesura, but only this flexible and mobile non-generalized caesura. This tendency reveals the poet's desire to assure the unity of the verse by avoiding the dislocation of its elements.8

Regarding the dactylo-trochaic (*i.e.*, dactylo-epitrite) verses, Irigoin repeats and emphasizes the same conclusions: the diaeresis appears only rarely and exceptionally between the rhythmical elements that constitute the dactylo-trochaic verses. The appearance of the caesura moving one syllable "en avant ou en arrière" the point of "suture" of two consecutive rhythmical elements is irregular and rarely generalized. The mere fact that it is flexible and movable proves that it is only a secondary feature.⁹

The contention that there is neither diaeresis nor word-end between two consecutive metrical elements but, on the contrary, a metrical enjambment (synapheia), leads to consequences that may be seen in the analysis of the same sequence of long and short syllables in two or more different ways. Verses of identical appearance, such as --------, are analyzed as either ---- (*i.e.*, trochaic dipody, hemiepes feminine, catalectic trochaic dipody under

⁷ Koster 18; see also Dain 34.

⁵ Irigoin 16; cf. Dale, Lustrum 25.

⁶ Irigoin 12 with n.2, where he quotes the definitions of L. Havet and L. Duvau, Cours élémentaire de métrique grecque et latine⁴ (Paris 1896) §5.

⁸ Irigoin 16.

⁹ Irigoin 40.4: Les conséquences de la synaphie.

the form of cretic) or $-\underbrace{-}_{-}\underbrace{-}$

This aspect of Irigoin's theory has produced some controversy. The main point of disagreement has been the doctrine of synapheia,¹¹ which, according to critics, is undermined by two shortcomings. First, the anceps is denied the status of a link-unit; as a result, dactyloepitrites are analyzed into trochees, enoplians, prosodiacs, and so on. Second, there is a lack of conclusive evidence for Irigoin's thesis that the alternative metrical analysis of identical verses depends on the pattern of word-division, quite simply because he has not proved sufficiently that word-division is avoided between metrical elements. The assumption cannot be proved from dactylo-epitrites because it is seldom certain where element-end occurs. Thus Irigoin's argument tends, as Dale and Parker conclude, to be circular, for it would have been necessary for Irigoin to identify the metrical units before he could pass judgment on the pattern of word-division; but the identification of metrical units in the dactylo-epitrites is close to impossible because the anceps functions as a link-element that cannot be detached from the one unit and attached to the other. It belongs to both simultaneously, and this makes it difficult to mark the end and the beginning of two consecutive metrical units; as a consequence, it defies every effort to distinguish the pattern of word-division between the units. Both Dale and Parker deny that word-division can be regulated by a law, and believe that the avoidance of diaeresis between the longs in $\ldots -, -, -, \ldots$, for example, is due either to "the

¹⁰ Irigoin 22f.

¹¹ Dale, Lustrum 25f; L. P. E. Parker, "Some Recent Researches on the Versification of Pindar and Bacchylides," *BICS* 5 (1958) 13–24, and "Greek Metric 1957–1979," Lustrum 15 (1970) 91f.

necessity of fitting in words containing consecutive long syllables in this, the only available place in certain types of metre" (Dale, *Lustrum* 26) or to "the poet's taste and his aesthetic sense."¹²

The most impressive aspect of Irigoin's theory, however, concerns reversal of rhythms. Although it is passed over completely by Parker and only fleetingly mentioned by Dale, this theory is of great importance for us, for it provides the basis for Ancher's notion of Stesichorus as a melodic innovator. Irigoin illustrates his theory of the rising and falling rhythmic movement and rhythmic reversal (41-44) with two verses: $___\cup__\cup_____$ and $_____\cup__\cup______$. The first type can be analyzed as prosodiac and iambic dipody $(--\circ)$ - - -), in which case it is of ascending rhythm. But if this very sequence is analyzed as enoplies and catalectic trochaic dipody $(--\cdots)$ $\rightarrow - - -$), the rhythm reverses: while in the beginning it is ascending (enoplios), it is then transformed, thanks to the enoplios, to descending rhythm; the other type one might expect-namely, the prosodiac and rufulianum (of ascending rhythm)-is not found (Irigoin 41). This is of importance for our analysis of the Lille poem because this specific sequence is found there (str./ant.5, ep.2) and is characterized by Ancher as enoplios and trochaic dipody.¹³

A second type of verse (_______) that Irigoin (20f) finds common in Pindar can be divided as: (a) trochaic dipody, hemiepes feminine, trochaic dipody catalectic under the form of cretic, in which case the rhythm is dactylo-trochaic with catalexis, and therefore descending; (b) cretic (an acephalous iambic dipody), prosodiac, iambic dipody, in which case the rhythm is anapaesto-iambic with acephaly, therefore ascending; (c) more rarely cretic, enoplios, cretic, in which case there is a reversal of rhythm: from ascending with acephaly it becomes descending with catalexis.

Although the sequence of *longa* and *brevia* is identical for all three types, the produced verses are distinct from the viewpoint of rhythm, Irigoin maintains, and their *raison d'être* is to be sought in the poetmetrician's desire to create a rhythmical variety, compensating thus for the monotony of the dactylo-trochaic series. The reversal of rhythm is accomplished with the aid of the cretic, enoplios, rufulianum, and hemiepes. The mechanism of the rhythmical reversal is apparently activated by the presence of a central common value (Irigoin 42-44) in the first two metrical units (*i.e.*, the cretic and enoplios),

¹² Parker (*supra* n.11), *BICS* 24, *Lustrum* 92.

¹³ Italian analyses (see 421f *infra* and n.57) present these as prosodiac and reizianum ($\leq - \leq - \leq$), which, externally at least, seems to be the equivalent of rufulianum.

while it is outside the meter in the last two (*i.e.*, the rufulianum and hemiepes). An example of the first type of reversal with central common value is to be found in the verse_______ \sim - from Pindar Pyth. 4.18 (ep.1), $dv a \tau' dv \tau' e \rho \epsilon \tau \mu \hat{\omega} v \delta (\phi \rho o v s \tau \epsilon)$ νωμάσοισιν ἀελλόποδας: hemiepes feminine (descending rhythm), cretic (element producing the reversal), prosodiac (ascending rhythm). It is the short \sim of the cretic that makes the reversal of the rhythm possible because it is common to both halves of the verse, which are symmetrical in relation to this central value. From the beginning of the verse up to the central value (the short \sim of the cretic) included, the rhythm is descending. From this central value to the end of the verse, the rhythm is ascending, and we find the same metrical sequence (*i.e.*, the same alternation of short and long syllables, but reversed, according to Irigoin 42). The common central value, consequently, functions as a pivotal point around which the reversal of rhythm takes place:



A similar phenomenon is noticed by Irigoin (43) in the enoplios:



The central value belongs to both halves and reverses the rhythm. The pivot in this mechanism of ascent and descent is the central common value, because it enables the cretic to hold the place of a trochee and iambus, and the enoplios that of an anapaestic dipody and dactylic dipody.

A comparable procedure is claimed to be at work in the case of rufulianum and hemiepes, with one difference; the central value is not common, not included in both halves, but is isolated in the middle, excluded from them. Its isolation allows the ambivalence of the surrounding metrical elements to emerge. The reversal of rhythm occurs, therefore, at either side of this central value:



This allows the rufulianum to hold the place of an iambus and a trochee, and the hemiepes that of a dactyl and an anapaest. The

ambivalent rhythmical value of these four elements, obtained through the artifice of the central value (either "commune" or "hors mètre," according to Irigoin 44), assures rhythmical reversal in all the verses where these four elements are inserted, whether placed at the beginning or at the end of the verse.

To the extent that they apply to the Lille poem, it must be noted that certain of Irigoin's theories are obscure. It is not immediately clear, for example, why the prosodiac is an ascending rhythm, when he maintains (42) that the type (b) of the verse -0--00-00-00--00(cretic, prosodiac, iambic dipody) is anapaesto-iambic with acephaly, of ascending rhythm. There are several possibilities here. First, Irigoin views the initial cretic as an acephalous iambic dipody ($[\simeq] = --$), in which case the initial rhythm is ascending and, for unspecified reasons, extends to the following prosodiac; or he regards it as one of the four elements that produce a rhythmic reversal, in which case the ascending rhythm starts from its pivotal point, the medial short, and affects the rhythm of the prosodiac, which becomes ascending. Alternatively, Irigoin takes the prosodiac itself to be of ascending rhythm that continues the ascent already begun with the initial cretic. The latter seems to be true, since he considers the prosodiac "souvent, équivalent à une tripodie anapestique," and thus, independently of its environment, an ascending element equivalent to <u>u</u>_u_u_. Irigoin also regards the hemiepes, $-\cdots -$, under certain circumstances, not as an element in rhythmical reversal, but as an acephalous prosodiac, that is, as an acephalous anapaestic tripody of hidden rising movement.14

The origin and rhythm of the prosodiac—a prominent metrical sequence in Italian analyses of the *P.Lille* poem—remain uncertain. Genetically the prosodiac is consistently associated with the dactylic metron.¹⁵ Its rhythm is seldom discussed explicitly with the exception of Dain (who, like Irigoin, takes it to be ascending) and of Dale (who defends its descending rhythm).¹⁶ Koster compares the prosodiac the first syllable of which is long, with a catalectic anapaestic dimeter, or paroemiac, the first foot of which is a spondee, -|---------

¹⁴ Irigoin 18 n.3; cf. Dale's criticism (Lustrum 25f): "when there are further hints of 'acephalism' which disguises rising as falling movement, so that $-\cdots - \cdots -$ can be 'anapestique, avec acephalie' (what have anapaests to do with dactylo-epitrites?), realities seem to have evaporated in tenuous subtleties."

¹⁵ D. S. Raven, *Greek Metre* (London 1962) Index A, 91; Dain 37 §41 and 39 §43; cf. 113f §§175f regarding Irigoin's thesis; Koster 57f; cf. B. Snell, *Griechische Metrik* (Goettingen 1962) 31 n.1, on its origin in an "Urvers."

¹⁶ Dale, LM 17 and ch.10 passim, esp. 158f, and Lustrum 25; cf. M. L. West, Greek Metre (Oxford 1982) 199.

 $1 \leq 2 \leq --$; but he does not specify if this resemblance in meter entails a resemblance in rhythm as well. It is not immediately clear if what is characterized as "dactylic" in origin and, implicitly, as descending in rhythm, becomes automatically ascending if characterized as anapaestic. This phenomenon appears in the case of $\bigcirc \bigcirc \bigcirc \bigcirc \bigcirc$, which can be analyzed as acephalous hemiepes.¹⁷ although it is identical with an anapaestic metron (or dipody). It is undeniable that the fluctuation in terminology may affect the characterization of a rhythm; the form Y of a hypothesized rhythm can be analyzed as Z of an antithetical rhythm, depending on the presence or absence of the initial or final anceps. What appears to be an anapaestic meter becomes, with acephaly, dactylic, and vice versa; a dactylic meter with procephaly or anacrusis¹⁸ appears as anapaestic, while their rhythms change respectively. The analysis depends, in each case, on what each analyst considers to be the basic unit.¹⁹ In general, rising meters are considered those that begin with \times - or $\underline{\smile}$ -.²⁰

¹⁹ It is incomprehensible, *e.g.*, why Dale characterizes the enoplios $(\times D \times)$ as ascending, and the prosodiac $(\times D)$ as descending. She admits, nonetheless, the arbitrary character of the terms.

²⁰ West (supra n.16) 199; Dale, LM 23 n.1.

408

¹⁷ So Dain 37.

¹⁸ For anacrusis see Koster 21; Dale, Lustrum 23. Cf., however, the plea of Haslam, QUCC 15f n.16, "against the current term 'rising' or 'lyric dactyls', 'steigende Daktylen', as applied to such structures [*i.e.*, the dactylo-anapaestic runs of the Geryoneis and the Suotherae]. The name is question-begging, insofar as it carries the implication that the basic unit of composition is $-\infty$ (or a compound thereof), so that such lines as $\infty - \infty - \infty - \cdots - (Ger. str.1)$ are conceived of as being docked of an element at the beginning—the ancient concept of acephalea—or as having in some way an introductory biceps that does not really count—the modern concept of metrical anacrusis."

to a greater extent the succeeding, *longa* to produce the claimed reversal of rhythm.

Finally, one may ask why the internal rhythmical reversal that Irigoin discerns within the four elements referred to above, along with the internal rhythmical tension created by the successive ascent and descent (which is a domestic affair, so to speak), should be transferred outside its colon-limits and influence the rhythm of the adjacent cola and, eventually, the rhythm of the entire verse.²¹ Acceptance of this theory produces in practice a complicated situation. If we deal with a ody, in the terminology of Irigoin and Ancher), we should expect-if we decide to apply their theories to the letter and take into consideration both the rhythmic reversal of the four elements and that produced in the entire verse-to find a successive breaking and reversal of rhythm, since both hemiepes masculine and enoplios display a dual action: they reverse the rhythm of the verse while at the same time incorporating in themselves their own internal rhythmic reversal. The verse $D \times D \times e$ may then look like this:



It is a confusing picture rendered more so by inconsistent use of the notations for ascent and descent.²²

To conclude, Irigoin's theory of reversal of rhythms rests on a tenuous presupposition that the alleged rule of absence of diaeresis (existence of synapheia, avoidance of a generalized caesura and use of a movable non-generalized caesura instead) is operative and valid. The effort to accommodate this theory and prove its applicability results in a fluidity in the metrical structures as well as in the proposed rhythmical tendencies. The cretic $-\circ$ -, for example, is analyzed either as iambic dipody with acephaly, of ascending rhythm by necessity, or

²¹ For the terminology see Irigoin 12; for the use of 'period' and 'verse' interchangeably, see Haslam, *QUCC* 10; *cf. GRBS* 34: "periods (or verses, in the continental European terminology)"; Parker, *BICS* (*supra* n.11) 13: "Verse, the 'minor period' in lyric (as French 'vers', German 'Vers')."

²² In the form $-\stackrel{\frown}{-}$ the symbol marks the descent (trochee) and the ascent (iambus), while in $\stackrel{\frown}{-}$ marks ascent (anapaestic dipody) and descent (dactylic dipody). Similarly in $\stackrel{\frown}{-}$ location.

as trochaic dipody with catalexis, of descending rhythm in this case. In one instance, type (c) of -----, it is said to be both in the same verse: acephalous iambic in the beginning (ascending) and catalectic trochaic at the end (descending). The rufulianum xex or \simeq \sim \simeq \simeq is subjected to the same arbitrary treatment: depending on how the preceding colon is analyzed, it becomes either trochaic dipody, with its initial \times adjunct to the previous metrical colon, or iambic tripody catalectic. A characteristic example appears in the enoplios and trochaic dipody (xDxe_), $\leq - \cdots \leq - \cdots \leq - \cdots = - (a \text{ verse})$ also found in the *P.Lille* poem), which displays the alleged reversal of rhythm: ascending in the beginning becomes descending after the middle long of the enoplios up to the end. If however we analyze this verse as prosodiac and rufulianum, as the Italian scholars do, the rhythm must be ascending, according to Irigoin, because the meter is anapaesto-iambic. Clearly this theory has no permanent and stable basis, for its structures and rhythms are dependent on too many variables, above all on the metrician's divisions into cola. But these very cola are in dactylo-epitrites indistinguishable because of the nature and function of the link element. There is a pervasive subjectivity and arbitrariness in the colon-division and the criteria on which it is based, as well as in the interrelated and interdependent reversal of rhythms. Moreover, two unknowns undermine the theory: first, our uncertainties regarding the pronunciation of ancient Greek, which render us unable to verify whether or not a given metrical pattern corresponded to an analogous sound-pattern that would have carried through the feeling of ascent and descent; and second, our ignorance of ancient Greek music. We are therefore in no position to confirm the claim that reversal of rhythm within a verse is important, because the possibility (on the performance level) of interpreting differently the same metrical sequences introduces an important element of variety.²³

Keeping in mind these difficulties in Irigoin's theories, we may turn to Ancher's analysis (312) of the *P.Lille* meter, which is based on the papyrus colometry and time values:

Str./ant.:	1. hemiepes feminine+hemiepes feminine (3+3)	6
	2. hemiepes feminine+trochaic dipody (3+2)	5
	3. hemiepes feminine+hemiepes feminine (3+3)	6
	4. hemiepes masculine	3
	5. enoplios+trochaic dipody (4+2)	6
	6. hemiepes masculine	3
	7. rufulianum+trochaic dipody (3+2)	5

EVANTHIA TSITSIBAKOU-VASALOS

1. hemiepes masculine	3
2. enoplios+trochaic dipody (4+2)	6
3. trochaic dipody+trochaic dipody (2+2)	4
4. hemiepes feminine+hemiepes feminine (3+3)	6
5. rufulianum	3
6. hemiepes feminine+hemiepes feminine (3+3)	6
7. spondaic measure+trochaic dipody (2+2)	4
	32

Regarding the status of str./ant.4f, 6f, ep.1f and 4f, Ancher considers various alternatives—for instance, whether or not these lines can be conjoined. If we conjoin them, he maintains (313), we may avoid the "'trou' rythmique" that is created when a catalectic element (the D is taken as the catalectic form of the hemiepes feminine) is followed within a period by an acephalous element, namely, the enoplios or rufulianum. Consideration of the above metrical sequences as complete forms eventually makes this alternative unnecessary (316).

Ancher also explores the implications of the contact of two anceps syllables in ep.4f, namely, the final anceps of the second hemiepes feminine (4) and the initial of the rufulianum (5).²⁴ Taking the semantic continuity into consideration, he tentatively conjoins ep.4+5 into a single verse with one anceps, the final of ep.4, although he recognizes the value of *anceps iuxta anceps* as indicative of period end.²⁵ The nongeneralized caesura allows the final anceps of ep.4, if it is long or single short, to move to the head of ep.5; but if it is double short, the anceps splits: its first short goes with the preceding, its second short with the succeeding line (in my scheme, ep.4: \neg | \neg :ep.5).

Ep.4f is analyzed as two hemiepes feminine and a trochaic dipody (314), while ep.5 retains the appearance of the rufulianum.²⁶ This supposition introduces enjambment into the poem and creates the need for supplements capable of accommodating the postulated dislocation or split of anceps. Ancher (298) in fact supplements 207 (ep.4) with $\dot{\alpha}\mu\dot{\epsilon}\rho a[\iota \ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda \sigma \kappa a\dot{\iota} \ddot{\alpha}\lambda\sigma$, thus creating a bisyllabic anceps $\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\sigma/\theta\epsilon\sigma i$, in contrast to the restorations by Parsons and Haslam $\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\sigma\nu/\theta\epsilon\sigma i$, in which the last syllable of $\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\sigma\nu$ becomes long by position. The same

- ²⁴ What the French metricians designate "rufulianum," *i.e.*, catalectic iambic tripody, is termed "reizianum" by the Italians, "pentad: iambic trimeter segmented at caesura point" by Haslam, *GRBS* 56, "penthemimer" by West (*supra* n.16) 198.
- ²⁵ B. Snell and H. Maehler, *Bacchylidis carmina* (Leipzig 1970) xxx: "est autem finis periodi certus . . . cum duo ancipitia interposita se excipiunt."

²⁶ Cf. the criticism of R. Pretagostini, "Sticometria del Pap. Lille 76 a, b, c (Il nuovo Stesicoro)," QUCC 26 (1977) 56, and Palumbo-Stracca 41.

procedure is observed in 228 (ep.4); the supplements $\sigma a \omega \sigma \epsilon i$, $\phi v \lambda \delta \xi \epsilon i$, form \sim — and thus in conflict with his theory of enjambment, which requires for ep.4 final $\sim -$, $a\sigma\tau v \epsilon_{\chi\epsilon \iota}/Ka\delta\mu ov$, so that the final long anceps for ep.4 can move to the head of ep.5. The connection of str./ant.4+5, 6+7, ep.1+2, 4+5 by means of enjambment led Ancher to a new scheme (314f), which he nevertheless deems unsatisfactory for two reasons: (a) it supposes generalized caesurae, which can be taken as verse-ends, and (b) it produces a total occurrence of 32+32+30=94, as opposed to 100 occurrences derived from the colometry. The latter has a greater chance of being exact, he maintains, for it corresponds to an old formula attested in Pindar. Faced with these inadequacies Ancher ventures one more proposal (315f). Taking into account the number of marked times, he associates ep.5+6 on the suggestion of Irigoin.²⁷ This structure is soon deserted on the grounds that it violates the colometry and semantic continuity (318).

Ancher also examines these verses from the rhythmical point of view. In his effort to explain the short final syllables of ep.3 and 5, he considers the rufulianum and the enoplios to be neither catalectic nor acephalous, but full, complete forms capable of reversing the rhythm of a verse.²⁸ As such he integrates them in the context of *P.Lille* by arguing that their ascending beginnings and descending ends are compatible in an environment shared with a descending rhythm. With respect to the hemiepes masculine, however, he departs from Irigoin because the colometry shows that the change of rhythm takes place at the end of D, which is thus not an element of "emploi metabolique" but a catalectic dactylic tripody with an overlengthened final long (duration of four units?). Both D and ×e× are, consequently, viewed as independent lines with a generalized caesura (317).

Taking into consideration all three determinants—(a) the time value (ancient formula of 100), (b) the colometry, and (c) the syntactico-semantic coherence—Ancher's final analysis is this (318f):

Str./ant.: $D \times D - |D \times e - |D \times D - ||$ $D | \times D \times e - |D| \times E - |||$ Epode.: $D | \times D \times e - |E - ||$ $D \times D - ||$ $\times e \times |D \times D - | - - e - |||$

²⁷ Regarding this combination, Palumbo-Stracca criticizes the theory of rhythmic reversal and the inconsistent use of the cretic.

²⁸ Haslam, *GRBS* 34f, offers, and rejects, the combination of 3+4, 5+6 in his effort to account for the final short of ep.3 and 5.

In Ancher's view of the architectural design of the triad, the strophe/ antistrophe is divided into two periods: 1-3 and 4-7. The latter contains the two new elements, the enoplies and the rufulianum. The epode is divided into three periods, 1-3, 4 (which is a sort of "mesode"), and 5-7. Ep.7, with its rhythmical effect (*allargando* or *rallentando*), marks the verse as the clausula of the triad.²⁹

It is clear that Ancher applies the principle of synapheia in the P. *Lille* poem, although the text itself defies such an approach by presenting word-end at the end of D in thirty-five instances. We can hardly consider this a non-generalized caesura placed "une syllabe en arrière par rapport à la fin de l'élément rythmique"³⁰ merely to salvage Irigoin's thesis,³¹ for we find diaeresis at D, which thus occupies the place of a colon. The principle of synapheia is, moreover, undermined by the creation of two impossible forms: an enoplios (ep.6 v.230, str.5 v.215) and a hemiepes feminine (ep.4 v.207, str.1 v.211) with final double short.³² This double short must belong to the following unit, in which case we must define the cola not as $D \times \widehat{\ldots}$ or $\times D \times \widehat{\ldots}$ but as $D|\hat{x}$... and $\times D|\hat{x}$... with the exception of 205 kat', 207 $\hat{\epsilon}\pi i$, and 211 $b\pi$, which involve words connected syntactically with what follows them.³³ In two cases, 218 and 232, we have what recalls the Homeric hephthemimeral caesura, which, according to Irigoin and Ancher, should be a "césure placée une syllabe en avant." This interpretation is unacceptable because the poem displays not only a heavy linguistic indebtedness to Homer, but a metrical affinity as well: the rules of Homeric meter must apply in the *P.Lille* poem.³⁴

Further, the dilemma of combining D, a catalectic form of the hemiepes feminine,³⁵ with the acephalous enoplios $(\times D \times)^{36}$ is not a real one. If we apply similar definitions (dactylic origin, acephaly, procephaly, *etc.*), we can consider the enoplios as a procephalous dactylic tripody, which, in association with D, yields a lyric dactylic hexameter (D×D×), a type of verse common elsewhere in Stesichorus and in the *P.Lille* poem in particular (str.3).³⁷

²⁹ Cf. Haslam, GRBS 36f: "Stropha est omnis divisa in partes tres."

³⁰ Ancher 314; cf. Irigoin 39f.

³¹ So also Palumbo-Stracca 38f.

³² See Palumbo-Stracca 39 n.12; B. Gentili and P. Giannini, "Preistoria e formazione dell' esametro," QUCC 26 (1977) 17f.

³³ See P. Maas, *Greek Metre*² (Oxford 1962) 84, 135f.

³⁴ So also Palumbo-Stracca 39; Haslam, GRBS 55.

³⁵ So Ancher and Irigoin 60. This is disputed by Palumbo-Stracca 39 n.13.

³⁶ Dain 37; enoplios is an acephalous double dactylic dipody (or dactylic tetrapody). Cf. the criticism by Palumbo-Stracca 41.

³⁷ Palumbo-Stracca 39: this sequence "è l'equivalente lirico dell'esametro normalizzato dell'epica."

414 THE METER OF THE LILLE STESICHORUS

Since the inadequacies of the general metrical rules applied by Ancher have already been pointed out by others, I need only discuss his final analysis as it affects his theory of Stesichorus the melodic innovator. On the one hand, Ancher respects the papyrus colometry and takes the D (ep.1, str.4, 6) as an independent colon, even though he considers it a catalectic element deprived of self-sufficiency, and the outcome of an irregular, secondary, and non-generalized caesura dislocated one syllable "en arrière." In compensation he supposes that it has an overlengthened final long (316). On the other hand, the principle of the non-generalized caesura is bypassed eventually, since a generalized caesura is assumed (ep.1, 5, str.4, 6) with respect to D and ×ex,³⁸ which are taken as verse-end=line-end.³⁹ Ancher refrains from conjoining str.4+5, 6+7, ep.1+2, invoking the ancient formula of 100 "temps" witnessed in Pindar (Isthm. 2, 34+34+32=100, and Ol. 6, 48+48+54=150; only the first yields the number 100)—and in view of such limited evidence one can hardly consider the formula "bien attestée."

The result of the above choices—admission of the D unit as a colon, emphasis on the rising rhythm of the enoplios and the rufulianum, and the operation of the formula of 100 times-has led Ancher to the following hypothesis (321): the hemiepes feminine (the "demistique") and the trochaic dipodies represent the elementary dactylo-trochaic inherited by Stesichorus. However, the colometry of the *P.Lille* poem rests on the hemiepes masculine, the enoplios, and the rufulianum, and herein we witness the creation of Stesichorus, who chose elements capable of producing a new musical rhythm. The thesis that makes Stesichorus the inventor of the short anceps⁴⁰ is viewed with skepticism by Ancher (321f), who suggests instead that Stesichorus must have been the first to exploit musically the effect of the rhythmical reversal produced by the short anceps at the end of the hemiepes masculine when preceded by word-end. Stesichorus, being a lover of modulation (cf. Dion. Hal. Comp. 19: $\tau \hat{\eta} s \mu \epsilon \tau a \beta o \lambda \hat{\eta} s \check{\epsilon} \rho \omega \tau \iota$), must have recognized this particular effect of the short anceps, and may have generalized, whatever the form of the anceps, by transforming the caesura at the end of the verse. Stesichorus' innovations must have consisted,

³⁸ Cf. the objections of Palumbo-Stracca 42.

³⁹ Cf. Irigoin 25, 27: the existence of a generalized caesura would mark end of verse; 40: the diaeresis appears only exceptionally between the rhythmical elements of dactylo-trochaics. Only the encomiologus ($D \times e$), because of its stichic use, is said to have been crystallized under a regular form in which the caesura placed "une syllabe en arrière a été généralisée"; see also 52-56.

⁴⁰ Haslam, QUCC 52f, GRBS 56f.

therefore, of the introduction of rhythmical reversals in an elementary dactylo-trochaic, and of the invention of musical sequences capable of conveying this rhythmical reversal (enoplios and rufulianum). Stesichorus' inventions would be properly musical and the poet would represent an intermediate stage between primitive dactylo-trochaics, formed essentially of descending elements, and the elaborate dactylotrochaics of Pindar in which Stesichorus' musical formulae, although they preserve their effect ("rétrogradation rythmique et équilibre périodologique"), have become true metrical elements treated as such by means of synapheia, and assure the identity of the metrical rhythm and musical, melodic rhythm. Ancher thinks that the line-disposition of the *P.Lille* poem rests on the new musical rhythm.

Although this thesis makes a serious attempt to account for the colometry of the *P.Lille* poem, its premises are question-begging.

(1) There is a biased treatment of the sequences involved, *i.e.*, the D, $\times D\times$, and $\times e\times$. Whereas the novelty of D in this kind of metrics is left in suspense, the newness, fullness, and the rising rhythm of the enoplios and the rufulianum have become a major issue; even the period division depends on their presence.

(2) We may discern an inconsistency in the division of metrical and musical sequences. If we agree with Ancher that the *P.Lille* colometry rests on the musical rhythm, we may risk an equally precarious hypothesis: since music and meter are interdependent and interrelated, we may expect that sequences like D should have as much claim to self-sufficiency as the specific melody in which they are transposed. But the division of the poem into cola is a matter of dispute: we have the apparent $Dix \ldots$, on the one hand, and the $Dx \ldots$ of the French metricians, on the other. This difference, which extends necessarily to music and acoustics, Ancher tries to settle by assuming that when the hemiepes coincided with word-end it gave the impression of a sort of clausula, and the short anceps "se trouvait liée, pour l'oreille, à l'élément rythmique suivant, auquel elle imprimait un mouvement ascendant: l'effet était donc celui d'un énoplios ou d'un rufulianum" (322). Despite the cautious phrasing ("pour l'oreille"), the conflict between $D(x_{\cdot})$ and $D(x_{\cdot})$ from both the metrical and musical points of view cannot be resolved satisfactorily.

A related issue is the way the enoplios and rufulianum were performed musically. Ancher assumes that some of their interior long syllables (which are never resolved) were overlengthened (316f). This supposition, though tempting, is as unprovable as that of Haslam (*GRBS* 36), who tentatively hypothesizes a "period-end, whether by virtue of vocal intonation or musical accompaniment or metrical structure or all three, but with no empty time ('pause') intervening between the one period and the next. We would then have here [in the final short of ep.3 and 5] the reflexion of a performance factor." But lack of evidence for the phonetics and music renders such theories unsafe.

(3) The date of the *P.Lille* colometry and the inferences drawn from it constitute a controversial issue in itself. Ancher considers the colometry pre-Alexandrian, because it is neither as analytic as the Alexandrian nor accompanied by the musical partitions that figure in the Leiden papyrus (first half of the third century B.C.). Text and music were written together until the fourth century B.C., when they became two independent entities. According to Ancher the P.Lille poem, whose line-ends seem to correspond to ends of verses or of rhythmical modulation, may point towards the new method of transcription and thus represent an important intermediate stage in the transmission of our lyric texts (322f). Palumbo-Stracca also considers the P.Lille colometry pre-Alexandrian, but suggests that the arrangement is a result of the scribe's need to present in two lines a verse that otherwise would surpass the normal width of a column.⁴¹ Finally, Haslam disagrees with both in regarding the *P.Lille* colometry as Alexandrian in the conventional sense, but prior to the *floruit* of Aristophanes.⁴²

I will not focus here on the question of chronology, despite its great interest, but on the reasons for the colometry adopted in the poem: accommodation of space (provided that there were conventions to that effect) on the one hand, and reproduction of rhythmico-musical practices on the other. While the former derives from the practical need of a scribe, the latter depends on certain assumptions involving the manner of transmission of lyric poetry. Unfortunately there is no way of demonstrating that the scribe copied the text according to a contemporary technique of which no other testimony or example has survived. Even if we assume that the scribe did colometrize the poem with a melodic factor in mind, there is no evidence whatsoever that this alleged melodic or musical division originated with Stesichorus. We know too little of Greek music to press this point further and claim that the *P.Lille* colometry has any relation to the way the poem was originally sung and performed over three centuries before it was copied by the Hellenistic scribe. Nor is there any way of telling whether the scribe's feeling of rhythm and music was identical to that of Stesichorus. In effect, we cannot tell whether the alleged new

⁴¹ Palumbo-Stracca ap. ed. princ. 350.

⁴² Haslam, GRBS 34.

musical rhythm or simply convenience and conformity with current conventions for column width or length underlay and determined the *P.Lille* colometry.

(4) An important parameter for the theory of Stesichorus the melodic innovator is whether and to what degree the enoplios and rufulianum were capable of influencing the rhythm of their dactylic, descending environment. The problem was cited earlier à propos of Irigoin's discussion; the main question asked there was whether the enoplios can be considered of ascending rhythm by virtue of its alleged hidden anapaestic affiliations. It seems that there is no conclusive answer, for there are those who consider that "the system of articulation in Stesichorus' dactylo-epitrite is comparable with that in his dactylo-anapaestic," and that "the former grew out of the latter."⁴³ The issue is admittedly confusing and is relevant to the enoplios regardless of its position, *i.e.*, whether it is initial, occupying the first half of a verse, as in the French analysis, or, for example, occupies the second half of a verse (×)D ×D×.

Some light may be shed on the problem by Haslam's comment in evaluating the work of A. M. Devine and L. D. Stephens: "They rightly insist that the anceps does not have a durational value of its own (the biceps is a less simple matter, however)."44 If this is true, it may provide us with another reason for skepticism regarding the alleged reversal of rhythm, whether in the beginning or in the middle of a verse. If the anceps syllable was, in recitation or musical performance, given a value less than that of the other syllables—if its execution was a fleeting intonation or musical note-how consequential was its presence in the determination of rhythm, and how valid is the postulated reversal from descending to ascending, and vice versa? It is noteworthy that if we isolate the medial \leq , we arrive at two halves of almost identical length, appearance, and rhythmical tendencies $(D|\times|D\overline{\times}, \text{ for instance})$. The dactylic metrical pattern is broken at a certain point, just before the momentarily interfering anceps \leq (x), and is resumed again following the indifferent syllable, as in str.1, 3 or ep.4: $- \cdots - |x| - \cdots - |x|$. In our ignorance of ancient music⁴⁵ and modes of performance, it would be wise, consequently, to abstain from sweeping statements concerning the rôle of anceps, in particular its ability to affect the rhythmical direction of the following unit.

⁴³ Haslam, GRBS 55.

⁴⁴ Haslam, GRBS 38 n.19.

⁴⁵ See also Gentili and Giannini (supra n.32) 19 n.25.

418

This message is conveyed by the *P.Lille* poem as well. The preserved fragments show that the initial anceps of the enoplios (str./ant.5, ep.2) of the French analysis is four times short and four times long. There is no instance of an enoplios starting with double short. For the rufulianum (str./ant.7, ep.5) the ratio is five short and three long. The rising beginnings altogether amount to nine, versus seven falling ones. As for the medial anceps, whether it leads to an epitrite or a dactylolength ($\times e \times, \times D_{-}$), the statistics yield thirteen (or fourteen) instances of long, fourteen (or fifteen) of single short, and seven bisyllabic (\sim).⁴⁶ The uncertainty about the exact number of long or short syllables is due to the uncertain quantity of the initial syllable of $i\kappa_{0}\nu\tau_{0}$ (299). The ratio of the initial rising rhythm of the enoplios in ep. 2 (short in all three preserved instances) is impressive but counteracted by the enoplios of str./ant.5 (four longs versus one short). The statistics show a well-balanced situation with an almost equal number of long and short ancipitia, a noteworthy regularity not, in my view, casual or accidental. To conclude, despite Ancher's claim (322) that Stesichorus, on recognizing the rhythmic and musical potential of the short anceps, may have generalized regardless of the form of the anceps, I think the image of Stesichorus the melodic innovator cannot be sustained unreservedly, for we cannot distinguish what is verse-design and what verse-instance. The poet, moreover, is not likely to have worked out a metrical scheme on paper and then written a poem to fit the scheme. In creating a lyric stanza Greek poets surely were moved by consideration of what 'sounded right' to their ears. It is the metrician's task to explain why it 'sounded right', and the music was presumably relevant.47

For these four reasons it is clear that we should refrain from generalizations; Stesichorus may well have been a melodic innovator, but the evidence at our disposal is not conclusive enough to allow the formulation of a solid thesis.

In reaction to the analysis that accompanied the *editio princeps*, Haslam and Parsons offered quite different schemes:⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Haslam (*GRBS* 40) takes into account only the twenty-one instances of "hexameter" verses (*i.e.*, $D \simeq D \times$) and finds "the link-position occupied by a long syllable seven times, by a short syllable about seven times, and by two short syllables (whether the caesura is masculine or feminine) also about seven times—a very even distribution."

⁴⁷ I owe this observation to Professor A. W. H. Adkins.

Haslam		Parsons
DĴD_∥D×e_∥	str./ant.:	D×D–
		Dxe
		D
D×e×e–Ⅲ		×D×e–
DxDxe_llexe_ll	ep.:	D
~		×e×e—
DJJD-IIxe-II		D
		×D×e–
DD_ e_		e×e—
		DxD-
		×e—
		D×D
		——e—

Haslam employs the word 'cut' $(\tau \circ \mu \eta)$ to signify word-end. He is reluctant to use "the terms caesura and diaeresis, because they are applicable only to verse built $\kappa a \tau a \mu \epsilon \tau \rho o \nu$, which the *P.Lille* poem, being basically dactylo-epitrite, is not." He uses them, however, since the *P.Lille* poem has 'hexametric' verses $(D \stackrel{\times}{\cup} D)$ and must conform to the laws of that meter. The cut is regularly masculine, *i.e.*, penthemimeral caesura with word-end at $Di\times \ldots$, and exceptionally feminine of the type $D \le 1$... or $D \le 1 \le 3$. The link-element (x) is always ligatured to what follows, and may be spanned to accommodate a non-dactylic polysyllable $(-\circ - \text{ or} - -)$, in which case we have a run-over (twice certain and twice probable: vv.212, 243, 275, 282), or it may split, if double short.⁴⁹ For three reasons Haslam does not accept the applicability here of Irigoin's (and by necessity, Ancher's) theory of avoidance of diaeresis between the metrical units of composition or the claim that avoidance of word-end reveals the true compositional units, while synapheia conceals the juncture:⁵⁰ (1) "The affinity between Stesichorean dactylo-epitrite and the epic hexameter is clearly established by the anceps/biceps equivocation of the P.Lille poem and the *Iliou Persis*, $D|\times D$ and $D|\times e$ in Stesichorus must be analyzed on the same principles as the epic hexameter, which is to say, the cut defines the structure." (2) "The system of articulation in Stesichorus' dactylo-epitrite is comparable with that in his dactylo-anapaestic. It

⁴⁹ Haslam, GRBS 39-41, 47.

⁵⁰ Haslam, QUCC 31 n.47: "It will be noted that Stesichorus is seriously if not fatally damaging to Irigoin's theory that recurrent word-end at a given point in a dactylo-epitrite verse does not effectively mark the junction of two units of composition." Cf. Haslam, GRBS 54: Irigoin's theory is criticized as "ingenious, if not perverse. It is not necessarily absurd." Haslam presents counter-arguments.

makes no sense to analyze them on contrary principles." (3) "The postulated synapheia runs counter to Stesichorus' poetic practice, for enjambment in Stesichorus is virtually unknown. There is regularly concord, not conflict, between the metrical and grammatical components."

Since many of the problems Haslam touches on have been discussed already, I shall confine myself to one important aspect of his exposition: its effect on Ancher's theory of reversal of rhythms and, consequently, on that of Stesichorus the melodic innovator. Haslam conjoins str.4+5, str.6+7, and ep. 1+2, and regards the nature of junction as identical with that between the two parts of str./ant.3.⁵¹ He analyzes these lines as $D \times D \times e$ or $D \times e \times e$, in contrast to Ancher's final choice (318), $D \times D \times e_{-}$ or $D \times E_{-}$, and thus arrives at basically descending dactylic rhythms although he acknowledges a rising rhythm in epode 5 ($\leq - \leq -$): "for the first and only time, a period begins rising (taking off from the anceps) instead of falling" (37). Subsequently (56) he includes the $\times D$ in the rising movement: "Verses more often than not begin falling (D, e), regularly continue rising ($\times D$, \times e)." Haslam's reconstruction, in which str.4 is conjoined with str.5, and ep.1 with 2, is significant because it forces the initial enoplios of the French school to undergo two fundamental changes: first, its connection with the preceding metrical unit (D) makes the enoplios not the first colon of str.5, and ep.2, but the second colon of a unified $D \times D \times e \times period$ (str.4+5, ep.1+2). The result of this procedure is that it does not allow the enoplies to stand emphatically as a rising element at the head of the verse and thus suggest a new musical rhythm. Second, the cut at D curtails the $\times D \times$ of the French metricians into $\times D$, and thus turns the enoplies into the prosodiac of the Italian analysts. With this transformation, the enoplios loses its internal symmetry, so indispensable a quality in the theory of rhythmical reversal, and thus its ability to accomplish the reversal of rhythm proposed by Irigoin and elaborated by Ancher. Haslam's proposals appear to undermine the French theory of reversal of rhythms and, consequently, the theory of Stesichorus as inventor of melodic phrases capable of conveying musically the rising rhythms of the verses analyzed as enoplios or rufulianum.

Haslam offers an alternative hypothesis, that of Stesichorus as the "inventor' or $\pi\rho\hat{\omega}\tau os \epsilon \partial\rho\epsilon \tau \eta s$ of dactylo-epitrite." The interspersion of iambo-trochaic elements with dactylic verses (ep.3, ep.5) has, he says, a precedent in Archilochus and Alcman:⁵²

⁵¹ Haslam, GRBS 34ff.

⁵² Haslam, GRBS 56f.

What distinguishes the Stesichorean line of development is the kind of interaction that then takes place. For the epitrites brought with them the responsion of - to \smile , and this responsion extended itself to the dactylic parts $D \simeq D$ (often $D \mid -D$), becoming $D \times D$ (often D|-D-) by architectural analogy with the imported exe-. This metamorphosis of biceps into anceps would not have happened without the epitrite presence (there is no evidence of $D \cup D$ – prior to Stesichorus' dactylo-epitrite), but the ground was already prepared by the articulatory habits of Stesichorus' dactylic verse. Dactyloanapaestic runs were broken at certain points, and when the cut came after the longum, the following biceps tended to take monosyllabic form. What in a dactylic context was perceived as DI-D- is now liable, in an environment shared by the anceps, to be perceived as $D|\overline{\times}D-$; which of course licenses $D|\overline{\vee}D-$. –, being neutral, mediates the merger, for the difference between $D \mapsto D = and D \mid \overline{X} D = is$ nonexistent unless there is contextual disambiguation. . . . In Stesichorus, the ambivalence of the metrical context nullifies the distinction. It is this ancipitation of the biceps that entitles Stesichorus to be called the 'inventor' or $\pi\rho\hat{\omega}\tau_{0s}$ every's of dactylo-epitrite. The process of birth is now complete; the anceps has severed the umbilical cord: dactylic has become dactylo-. Co-ordination of parts can then begin. The epitrites do not stay segregated. Given DI×D- and $\times e_{-}$, it is a small step to D $\times e_{-}$ or to D $\times D$ $\times e_{-}$; which is practically as far as epitrite assimilation goes in Stesichorus.⁵³

The metrical analysis of the Italian correspondents appeared in the *addenda* to the *editio princeps* (350f) and has since been elaborated in a number of articles.⁵⁴ The schemes proposed by (a) Gentili and Gostoli (*ed. princ.* 350) and (b) Palumbo-Stracca (42) are as follows:

b

Str./ant.:1. hemiepes+enoplios	hemiepes enoplios
2. hemiepes feminine+epitr.	hemiepes reizianum
3. hemiepes+enoplios	hemiepes enoplios
4. hemiepes	hemiepes
5. prosodiac+reizianum	prosodiac reizianum
6. hemiepes	hemiepes
7. iambic dipody+reizianum	reizianum 🖍 reizianum

a

⁵³ For the diachronic development from biceps to anceps, see also Ancher 321 and Palumbo-Stracca 37.

⁵⁴ Gentili and Giannini (*supra* n.32) 7-37, and Gentili, "Molossus+Bacchius in the New Stesichorus Fragment (*P.Lille* 76*abc*)," *GRBS* 20 (1979) 127-31; Palumbo-Stracca 31-43; T. Gargiulo, "Sul nuovo Stesicoro (P. Lille 76 A, B, C)," *Boll.d.Class.* 24 (1976) 55f; Pretagostini (*supra* n.26) 53-58. For the historical and ethnic background of the dactylo-epitrite verse see C. Gallavotti, "Un poemetto citarodico di Stesicoro nel quadro della cultura Siceliota," *Boll.d.Class.* 25 (1977) 16-21. For the prosody of the poem, see G. Comotti, "Muta cum Liquida nel nuovo Stesicoro (Pap. Lille 76 a, b, c)," *QUCC* 26 (1977) 59-61.

422 THE METER OF THE LILLE STESICHORUS

Epode:	1. hemiepes	hemiepes	
	2. prosodiac+reizianum	prosodiac	reizianum
	3. trochaic dimeter	2 epitrites	
	4. hemiepes+enoplios	hemiepes	enoplios
	5. reizianum	reizianum	
	6. hemiepes+enoplios	hemiepes	enoplios
	7. molossus+baccheus (or baccheus+baccheus)	molossus	baccheus

Their main feature is the observance of word-end at D and, inevitably, the rejection of Irigoin's theories of avoidance of diaeresis between two consecutive cola in the dactylo-epitrites and of the synapheia he proposed. Two specific points of Ancher's structures are criticized in particular, the colon-division and the period-division. The Italian metricians argue that the enoplios and hemiepes feminine ending in double short (e.g. ep.4, ep.6, str.5) are impossible. They consider the double short at the end of the enoplios or hemiepes feminine to be not the final anceps of the first colon but the initial anceps of the second colon, whether a dactylo-length or epitrite (cf. Iliou Persis, SLG frr.88-132, str.3).55 This rejection of Ancher's period-division is based on what is considered to be violation of the sure indications of periodend: hiatus (str.2/3 vv.212f, ep.3 vv.227 and 277, and after str.3 if the supplement in 234 is correct), brevis in longo (end of str.1 vv.232 and 239, str.2 v.240, ep.3 vv.206 and 290, ep.5 vv.208 and 229), and wordend.⁵⁶ Ancher divides the strophe into two periods, as mentioned above: the first consists of vv.1-3, verse 3 being the clausula composed of hem, fem.+hem, fem.; thus he disregards the hiatus at str.2, Moloai/ $a\dot{v}\tau$ ika. He apparently considers str.4-7 as the second period and discerns a repetition of the pattern D, ×De× (str.4, 5, str.6-7), with one variation in the clausula: in the penultimate position instead of $\times D \times$ and ex, we have substitution of the rufulianum for the enoplios, *i.e.*, $\times e \times$ and $e \times .57$ The validity of the ancient critics, on whose testimony Gentili has based his objections, is disputed by Ancher on the grounds that they are late and very likely remote from the feeling for rhythm characteristic of Stesichorus' age. Ancher maintains that in a very ancient age, that of the great creators of form, rhythm was a musical element: Irigoin's theory is the only one that provides answers

⁵⁵ Gentili and Giannini (supra n.32) 17-19.

⁵⁶ Gentili and Giannini (supra n.32) 13.

⁵⁷ Cf. Haslam, GRBS 36f: all the epitrites are confined to a clausular rôle: single ones close the first and second periods (str.1 and 2 [a+b], 3-5 [c+d]), and a double one closes the third period and the stanza (str.6 and 7 [e]). The epode is also divided in three parts: ep.1-3 (a+b), 4 and 5 (c+d), and 6 and 7 (e+f).

to the metrical variations: and "ce que nous trouvons ici, avec un anceps final parfois bisyllabique, ce sont les formes primitives des éléments qui seront déscrits plus tard sous les noms d'hémiépès féminin et d'énoplios."⁵⁸

This argument is obviously subjective and motivated by his desire to salvage the principles of avoidance of diaeresis and of synapheia. I nevertheless share Ancher's skepticism about the ancient critical testimony, for it is known that a great part of ancient music, the old nomes in particular, was lost after being relegated to the background during the artistic revolution of the late fifth and fourth centuries. Later writers knew these matters only from books.⁵⁹ The inevitable question, then, is on what evidence can we safely claim to discern and to recreate the melodic or musical element through the lines of a written text—through the colometry of the *P.Lille* poem in this case? Can we formulate a valid argument about the way these poems were performed musically? It is undeniable that we cannot.

The term 'reizianum' used by the Italians for the sequence $\leq - \leq - \leq (\times e \times)$, on the other hand, has been the subject of Haslam's objections. Haslam, who defends "the superiority of the Maasian system for analytical purposes as well as descriptive . . . when the alternative is a hotch-potch of nomenclature which serves only to conceal real affinities while suggesting false ones," believes that the "'reizianum' for $\times e$ -is a particularly vicious example."⁶⁰ Haslam does not elaborate, but appears to refer to the association of the reizianum with the aeolic meter⁶¹ and the possible drawing of incorrect and confusing conclusions regarding the nature of the *P.Lille* meter, which is composed of dactylo-lengths and iambo-trochaic segments.

Finally, epode 7 has been a crux. Ancher admits that the interpretation of this line is delicate, because if all its longs have the same duration, such a sequence makes no sense. We may think of an ithyphallic (---), but this never appears in the form of epode 7

⁵⁸ Ancher 351.

⁵⁹ M. L. West, "Stesichorus," CQ N.S. 21 (1971) 314.

⁶⁰ Haslam, GRBS 56.

⁶¹ This was suggested to me by Professor A. Kapsomenos of the University of Salonica; cf. Raven (supra n.15) 93: "Reizianum: this name is most commonly given to the length $\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}|_{-\sqrt{2}}|_{-}$, usually an *aeolic length*. The term is more loosely applied by some metricians to any variant of the scheme $\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}-\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}-$, so that it covers the common $\sqrt{2}-\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}$ and the rarer $\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}-\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}$." The last two forms are found in the *P.Lille* poem, although Barrett has eliminated the initial double short ($\sqrt{2}-\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}-\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}$, v.215), by scanning with synizesis $\delta a \kappa \rho v \delta \epsilon v \tau a$. Cf. Gentili and Giannini (supra n.32) 11 n.8: "uso il termine vulgato de 'reiziano' per designare il colon $\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}-\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}-\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}$, denominato dagli antichi ora pentemimere giambico nella sua forma minima $\times -\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}$."

(---). Moreover, epode 7 cannot be an ithyphallic, for the ithyphallic, trochaic tripody (and as such of descending rhythm) "ne peut comporter d'accident à son premier pied, qui est le pied marqué: un spondée y est donc exclu." To account for the initial two long syllables, he attributes to them "une valeur de trois unités de durée chacune," and sees in them the elements of a spondaic measure, counting two times of value for it, and two for the following trochaic dipody (312). Gentili and Gostoli consider the epode as molossus+baccheus (or baccheus+baccheus).⁶² Haslam had discussed this very metrical sequence before the discovery of the *P.Lille* poem.⁶³ in analyzing the meter of the *Eriphvle*, the epode of which ends in --- - (SLG 148)col. ii.7 [z in Haslam's metrical analysis]), as does the *P.Lille* epode. After a minute examination of examples and options, Haslam concluded at that time that the verse must be ---, i.e. $-\underline{\circ}$, aristophanean, like the strophe clausula of Pindar *Paean* 6. When the *P.Lille* fragments were published, however, and the metrical coincidence of the epodes was noticed. Haslam modified his opinion in light of several verses (210, 231, 294 $\Theta n\beta a i$) with the second syllable consistently long (rather than contracted double short, \doteq or \simeq), which undermined his suggestion of an aristophanean. He therefore argues that "the verse is just ---, scarcely to be analyzed at all. It is a peculiarly dragging line. I dare say devised by Stesichorus himself for its weightiness: an authentic Stesichorean curiosity."64 He thus rejects Gentili's proposal of a "molossus and a bacchiac as a meaningful analysis-does Stesichorus deal in such entities?... It should be unnecessary to say that in Stesichorus' metrical world molossi and bacchiacs do not consort in mutual responsion."

Gentili's answer appeared soon, with a list of examples from later poets (Simonides, Timotheus, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Pindar) where the molossus is found among cretics, bacchii or iambi, offering testimony to the rhythmical ambivalence of the molossus and the function of the dimeter mol.+ba~dim.+ia $^{.65}$ As for Stesichorus, "if we take into account the structure of the strophic clausula in the poem of the

65 Gentili (supra n.54) 129 n.9, 130.

⁶² Ap. ed. princ. 350.

⁶³ Haslam, QUCC 37f.

⁶⁴ Haslam, GRBS 37f with n.16: "the verse is reminiscent of the ithyphallic $(-v_-v_-)$," and n.17 (criticism of Gentili's analysis). Cf. Palumbo-Stracca 43: the ithyphallic is excluded; the sequence must be molossus+baccheus. West (supra n.16) 49f: the colon is a curiosity, and a dragged form of the ithyphallic, not a contracted aristophanean.

Lille papyrus: $\times - \circ - \circ - \times ia + reiz$ (~dim. ia hypercat.), we are justified in maintaining that in the epodic clausula the molossus must be understood as a contracted form of the iambic epitrite and that the whole verse is the equivalent of the iambic dimeter catalectic—a structure which fulfils the function of the clausula suited to a dactyloepitrite context, just as in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. . . . The nexus molossus+bacchius is not just a Stesichorean curiosity but a rhythmic figure well attested in Greek poetry—and a very ancient one, as is proved by the new poems of Stesichorus."

It should be emphasized that all the examples given by Gentili are taken from poets later than Stesichorus. One should exercise caution in reading into the metrics of our poet elements that may belong to later practice. In defining the verse -----, for example, as the equivalent of a catalectic iambic dimeter, one implies that the first element is anceps and that Stesichorus deals in syncopated iambics, both notions being unwarranted.

From this survey of the three major schools of analysis it is obvious that the French diverge widely from their American/British counterparts, who have much in common as a result of mutual consultation in developing their approaches. This difference originates in a different underlying philosophy, neatly expressed by Palumbo-Stracca.⁶⁶ The individualization of cola, she observes, is a delicate task and strictly bound to our understanding of the nature of the dactylo-epitrites. The polemics of the last century were replaced by the pure "descrittivismo" of Paul Maas, whose symbolism, though widely used, is devoid of any pretense to interpretation. While this may serve to minimize arbitrary interpretation, it becomes hazardous when Maas' descriptive symbols acquire an autonomous value and become the point of departure for interpretation. Palumbo-Stracca observes that the English school considers Maas' symbols as a "cellule" of real existence, and the anceps interpositum a "link belonging no more to one element than to the other."67 The result is a tendency to treat the indifferent syllable (anceps) apart from the context of actual rhythm in ancient poetry. Irigoin's theories, on the other hand, must be seen as an effort to go beyond Maas' symbolism, but his conclusions on the positive value of synapheia should be seen to apply only in a circumscribed area, the dactylo-epitrites of Pindar and Bacchylides.

Parsons contents himself with a purely descriptive notation, while Gentili is committed to a somewhat anachronistic terminology. Has-

⁶⁶ Palumbo-Stracca 37f nn.8 and 10

⁶⁷ So Parker, BICS 14f.

lam believes that Maas' notation permits a coherent view of the compositional mechanics, and thus he takes $D(-\cdots -)$ and $e(-\cdots -)$ as the structural components, the metrical blocks, out of which the verse is built. He acknowledges that there is a trap lurking behind the use of the term 'link-element', for it may lead, e.g., to a misrepresentation of the sequence $\times - \bigcirc - \bigcirc - (\times D)$, which is liable to be taken for a D unit with a syllable tacked on at either side, rather than an entity with quite as much claim to independence as D (the same fear is expressed also by Palumbo-Stracca); and this is more serious for e, where the simple e probably has less claim than ex or xe to be considered a unit in its own right. It distorts metrical history as well as metrical function to use a notation carrying the implication that D and e are primary and that the anceps is "interpositum."⁶⁸ Consequently Haslam adheres to the Maasian notation while recognizing its implicit misrepresentation with regard to anceps. Both Haslam and Palumbo-Stracca have tried to go beyond mere description while at the same time avoiding the arbitrariness and subjectivity that have characterized most previous analyses. Their main difference is terminological: Palumbo-Stracca retains the "hotch-potch nomenclature" that Haslam has tried to avoid by using the Maasian symbolism.

In the application of fundamentally conflicting metrical principles, the *P.Lille* meter became a complicated, confused, and confusing game; the rules of the game differ from player to player. But the text itself must have the last and decisive word. The overwhelming incidence of word-end at D (*i.e.*, penthemimeral or masculine caesura) and the synapheia of the anceps element with the following unit tip the balance in favor of the analyses of the American-English and the Italian group, despite their difference of opinion over specific verses. Their approach has the added advantage of being more economical, depending on fewer and simpler rules to clarify the metrics of the poem. As a result, they produce a clear picture that makes sense and brings Stesichorus out of the shadows and assigns him his proper place in the history of verse-making.

APPENDIX 1: APPELLATION OF METRICAL UNITS

For convenience I tabulate here the divergent terminology of Ancher (318), Gentili and Gostoli (350 of the *ed. princ.*), and Palumbo-Stracca (42). Haslam (*cf. GRBS* 36) avoids any characterization of the various meters

⁶⁸ Haslam, *GRBS* 55f and 38 n.18: "to call it [the anceps] a 'link-element' is regrettably question-begging. I use the term merely for convenience of reference."

EVANTHIA TSITSIBAKOU-VASALOS

produced by the interplay of the two basic units D, e; he rarely uses the names enoplios, prosodiac, etc.

Ancher	Gentili/Gostoli	Palumbo-Stracca
hem.fem.+hem.fem.	hem.+enoplios	hem. enoplios
hem.fem.+troch.dip.	hem.fem.+epitrite ⁶⁹	hem. reiz.
hem.fem.+hem.fem.	hem.+enoplios	hem. enoplios
hem.masc.	hemiepes	hemiepes
enoplios+troch.dip.	prosodiac+reiz.	prosodiac reiz.
hem.masc.	hemiepes	hemiepes
rufulianum+troch.dip.	iambic dip.+reiz.	reiz. r eiz.
hem.masc.	hemiepes	hemiepes
enoplios+troch.dip.	prosodiac+reiz.	prosodiac reiz.
troch.dip.+troch.dip.	troch. dimeter	2 epitrites
hem.fem.+hem.fem.	hem.+enoplios	hem. enoplios
rufulianum	reizianum	reizianum
hem.fem.+hem.fem. spondaic meas.+troch.dip.	hem.+enoplios molossus+baccheus	hem. enoplios molossus baccheus
	(or baccheus+baccheus)	

APPENDIX 2: METRICAL ANALYSIS

I give here an analysis of the meter of the Lille Stesichorus. The text is based on Parsons' edition (*supra* n.48: 14–19), with Haslam's supplements (*GRBS* 32f).

Strophe/Antistrophe

Verse 1:

211: aỉ δέ με παίδο	as ἰδέσθαι ὑπ' ἀλλάλοισι δαμένταs
218: ἀλλ' ἄγε παί	δες ἐμοῖς μύθοις φίλα [τέκνα, πίθεσθε
232: ὥς φατ[0] δια	ι γυνά, μύθοις ἀγ[α]νοῖς ἐνεποίσα
239: τον[χρ]υσόν τ' ἐρίτιμον ἔχοντα
253:	μ]ῦθον ἔειπε
260:]ε πολλά χάρ ύμιν
274:] οι τὸ μόρσιμόν εστι γεν[έσθαι
281:]ωΙδιαμπερέως Ἐτεο[κλέους
295: ερχομεν[]νΙστεῖχεν μέγα τεῖχ[os ~
302: avr [] ἄστεα καλὰ Κορίνθου
Meter in Maas' n	otation: D $\stackrel{\times}{\longrightarrow}$ D×
Word-end after	D: 5 certain, 1 probable (v.239)
Word-end after >	:: twice (ὑπ', το)
Trochaic caesura	$(D \cup \cup)$: once (v.211)
Medial anceps: b	isyllabic: 1; short: 2; long: 4.

⁶⁹ Cf. Gentili and Giannini (supra n.32) 10: "hemiepes+reiziano."

428 THE METER OF THE LILLE STESICHORUS

Verse 2:

212: μόρσιμόν έστιν, έπεκλώσαν δε Μοίρα[ι 219: ταιδε γαρ ύμιν έγων Ι τέλος προφα[ίνω 233: νείκεος έμ μεγάροις π[αύο]ισα παίδας 240: πa [] σθένησαν 254: λως 275: [] ον 'Αδράστοι' άνακτος 282:]. εν | στήθεσσιν αίνῶ[ς 296: [] αυτῶι 303: ρίμφα δ' [έϋκτιμένας] Κλεωνας ήνθον Meter in Maas' notation: Dxex Word-end after D: 4 (219, 233, 282, 303) Word-end after \times : none (synapheia of \times with following unit) Run-over: 2 (212, 275) Medial anceps: bisyllabic: 0; short: 2 (219, 303); long: 4 (212, 233, 275, 282)

Verse 3:

Meter in Maas' notation: $D \times D \times$ Word-end after D: 5 Word-end after \times : 0 ($\times -$. . .) Medial anceps: bisyllabic: 0; short: 3; long: 2

Verse 4:

214: πρὶν πόκα ταῦτ' ἐσιδεῖν 221: τὸν δ' ἀπίμεν κτεάνη 298: ἄνδρε.[Meter in Maas' notation: D Word-end: 2

Verse 5:

201: ἐπ' ἄλγεσι μὴ χαλεπὰς Ι ποίει μερίμνας 215: ἄλγεσ<σ>ι πολύστονα δακρυόεντα [---222: καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχοντα φίλου Ι σύμπαντα [πατρὸς 236: το [] ηβαν 243: μ[] ιρας ἵππους 257:] ς πιθήσας 278: []]τον Ιδωσοῦντι δᾶμος

EVANTHIA TSITSIBAKOU-VASALOS

285: $\tau \epsilon \dot{\psi} \xi$ [] $\tau av | \pi \dot{o} \lambda \epsilon \iota \tau \epsilon \pi \dot{a} \sigma a \iota$ 299: $\pi o \mu \pi$ [], δ' | ὕκοντο ' Ισθμον Meter in Maas' notation: ×D×e× Run-over: 1 Word-end after D: 5 Word-end after X: 0 Initial anceps: bisyllabic: 0; short: 1; long: 4 Medial anceps: bisyllabic: 1 (v.215)⁷⁰; short: 1 (or 2, v.299 $\breve{\iota} \kappa o \nu \tau o$); long: 3 (or 4, v.299)

Verse 6:

202: μηδέ μοι ἐξοπίσω 216: παίδας ἐνὶ μμεγάροις 223: κλαροπαληδὸν ὃς ἂν 237: γαια []] 286: μα [] ν 300: ποντιο []]

Meter in Maas' notation: D Word-end after D: 3

Verse 7:

203: πρόφαινε ἐλπίδας βαρείας 217: θανόντας ἢ πόλιν ἁλοίσαν 224: πρᾶτος λάχηι ἕκατι Μοιρᾶν 280:]οι' ἄνακτος 287: ἀεὶ π.[]ε πένθος 301: κραι..[]. υχαις

Meter in Maas' notation: ×e×e× The anceps is always in synapheia (ligatured) with what follows Initial anceps: short: 3; long: 2

Epode

Verse 1:

204: οὔτε γὰρ αἰἐν ὁμῶs 225: τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν δοκέω

Meter in Maas' notation: D Word-end after D: 2

Verse 2:

205: θεοὶ θέσαν ἀθάνατοι | κατ' αἶαν ἱρὰν 226: λυτήριον ὔμμι κακοῦ | γένοιτο πότμο[υ

⁷⁰ Taken with synizesis and thus eliminated by Barrett.

430 THE METER OF THE LILLE STESICHORUS

247:]..ους ἀσάμους 289: θεω[] σηι Ιμάλιστα παντῶν

Meter in Maas' notation: ×D×e– Word-end after D: 3 Word-end after ×: 1 (κατ', see Maas, Greek Metre 84) Initial anceps: bisyllabic: 0; short: 3; long: 0 Medial anceps: bisyllabic: 0; short: 3; long: 0

Verse 3

206: νεῖκος ἔμπεδον βροτοῖσιν
227: μάντιος φραδαῖσι θείου
290: []τοισιν
Meter in Maas' notation: e×e×
The anceps is always ligatured to what follows.

Verse 4

207: οὐδέ γα μὰν φιλότατ' ἰ ἐπὶ δ' ἀμέραι ἐν νόον ἀνδρῶν 228: αἰ γε νέον Κρονίδας Ι γένος τε καὶ ἄστυ [\checkmark ---249: ε]νι στήθεσσι φίλοισι 270: []νσιν Ι θέντες μεγάλαις ε.[\checkmark ---291: ώς φατ[ο Τειρεσίας ὀ]νυμάκλυτος, αἶψα δ' a[---Meter in Maas' notation: D \precsim D× Word-end after D: 4 certain, 1 probable (249) Word-end after anceps: 1 (ἐπί, see Maas, Greek Metre 84) Medial anceps: bisyllabic: 2; short: 2; long: 1

Verse 5

208: θεοὶ τιθεῖσι 229: Κάδμου ἄνακτος 271: []γος 292: δομω []

Meter in Maas' notation: ×e× Initial anceps: short: 2; long: 1

Verse 6

```
209: μαντοσύνας δὲ τεὰς l ἄναξ ἑκάεργος 'Απόλλων
230: ἀμβάλλων κακότατα πολὺν χρόνον [-----
251: ] os, ἂν δ' ἔθορ' ἀὐτὸς
272: ] εν l ἕλικας βόας ἦδὲ καὶ ὅπ[πους
293: ωιχετ[] .το φίλωι Πολυνείκεῦ τ[---
Meter in Maas' notation: D \precsim D×
Word-end after D: 2
Trochaic caesura: 2
Medial anceps: bisyllabic: 3; short: 1; long: 0
```

EVANTHIA TSITSIBAKOU-VASALOS

Verse 7

210: μὴ πάσας τελέσσαι 231: πέπρωται γεν.[]..ι. 273:.[].αισαν 294: Θηβαι.[]] Meter in Maas' notation: --e-

University of Thessaloniki March, 1987