

# The Versification of the New Stesichorus (*P.Lille 76abc*)

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UNTIL THE POPYRI reincarnated him, Stesichorus, like Menander, was but the shadow of a great name in the history of Greek literature. Wearing the label ‘choral lyric poet’, he was a forerunner, no doubt, of Pindar and Bacchylides, but about his poetry itself there was really nothing to say, except to repeat what had been said about it in antiquity. We learnt that ps.-Longinus called him ‘Ὀμηρικώτατος (*De subl.* 13.3), and that Quintilian described him as *epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem* (10.1.62), but no one could say what these imprecise phrases precisely meant. Now we can see him for ourselves. We now have appreciable fragments of several of his poems, so that we are incomparably better placed both for appraising Stesichorus as a poet and for understanding his place in literary history. The present paper has a more modest aim than either of these, though I hope it may contribute to both.

Certainly an enquiry into the formal poetics of Stesichorus’ verse well illustrates what I think is the most important thing to be learned from our recent *ἔρμια*—Stesichorus’ mediating rôle between epic and choral lyric. There is an important mythological aspect to this, but what I am concerned with here is the formal aspect. Stesichorus speaks just about like Homer (Homer with a Doric accent, to be sure), only the vehicle of his speech, instead of the recurrent *stichos*, is the AAB pattern of stanzas known as the triad, an elaborately complex structure fashioned anew for every song. And if Stesichorus sang his songs to the lyre, to the accompaniment of dancers, that is a mode of performance midway between Homer’s and the choral poets’.<sup>1</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> Demodocus was accompanied by dancers at *Od.* 8.260–65. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913) 238; M. L. West, *CQ* 21 (1971) 309; Carlo O. Pavese, *Tradizioni e generi poetici della Grecia arcaica* (Rome 1972) 231, 239–42; M. W. Haslam, “Stesichorean Metre,” *QuadUrbCC* 17 (1974) 7–57 [hereafter, “SM”], at 31f. There is I think little doubt that the singing was done by Stesichorus himself rather than by a chorus. Certainly to be rejected is the compromise notion that while the narrative was sung chorally the parts in direct speech were sung solo (F. R. Adrados, *Orígenes de la lírica griega* [Madrid 1976] 142).

true that the poetic tradition out of which Stesichorus grew comprised more than the Ionian epic, and it is also true that Stesichorus' influence on later poetry was not confined to choral lyric (his importance for tragedy, both in its nascent and in its developed stages, is great and multifarious), but still our truest view of Stesichorus is to see him standing at the crossroads of the two types of universal poetry of ancient Greece.

The new fragments at Lille concern the division of Oedipus' estate between his sons, Eteocles and Polynices. In the absence of a title, the poem will be known as the Lille Stesichorus.<sup>2</sup> It is represented by three fragments of a papyrus roll recovered from the cartonnage of an Egyptian mummy; the manuscript was written in the second half of the third century B.C.—as early as could be hoped. The evidence for the date is part archaeological, part palaeographical; I would argue that the second-century date that has been assigned is decidedly too late.<sup>3</sup> These three fragments, *P.Lille* 76a+73,<sup>4</sup> 76b, 76c, combine to give remains of four successive columns, which were cols. vi–ix of the roll. The first editors disbelieved this reconstruction, but it is correct beyond all doubt.<sup>5</sup> There are 21 lines to the triad (7, 7, 7) and about 34 lines to the column (76a.ii, 34; 76c.i, 35; 76c.ii=76b, 34). A stichometrical  $\Gamma$  (300) stands by the sixth line of a strophe in 76c, four lines from the foot of the 34-line column: the strophe will be the fifteenth of the poem ( $300=[21 \times 14]+6$ ), and the column will be the ninth

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This is no more plausible for Stesichorus than it is for Alcman (or would be for Homer), since (among other reasons) it interferes with the poem's formal structure as defined by the metre. Contrast e.g. Bacchylides' amoeban *Theseus* (Bacchyl. 18).

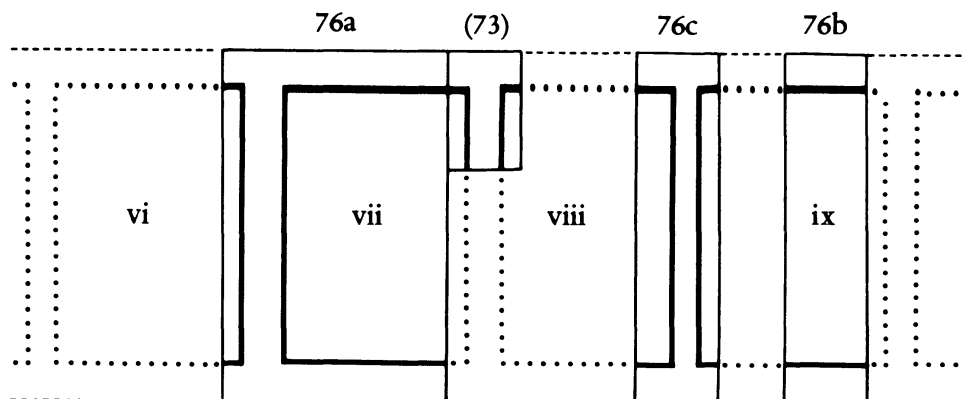
<sup>2</sup> The *editio princeps* is Claude Meillier, *Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille [CRIPEL]* 4 (1976) 287–360; edited by G. Ancher, B. Boyaval and C. Meillier [hereafter, *ed.pr.*]. We know the titles of about half Stesichorus' poems. The only Theban ones are the *Europeia* and the *Eriphyle*; see p.37 below, with n.15.

<sup>3</sup> Mr Peter Parsons, to whom I am most grateful for reading this paper and offering a number of improvements, allows me to say that he would agree with the earlier dating. He also wishes to retract the inference which he drew from the prosody (see p.50 below).

<sup>4</sup> After the *ed.pr.* had gone to press, *P.Lille* 73 was found to belong to fr.76a (as reported in a 'complement' inserted in *ed.pr.* and now in *ZPE* 26 [1977] 1–5). And since then M. Ancher has identified *P.Lille* 111c as part of the same manuscript, as he will report in *CRIPPEL* 5 (1978). It apparently has the line-beginnings of the foot of col.viii, vv.265–69 of the poem.

<sup>5</sup> See P. J. Parsons, *ZPE* 26 (1977) 7–36 [hereafter, PARSONS], at 8–11, for a final refutation of the first editors' objections.

( $303 \div 9 = 33.7$ ). This fixes the position of 76c, and 76a and 76b fall into place at either side. Here is the reconstruction in diagrammatic form.



Simplified and not perfectly to scale. For photographs see *ed.pr.*, for the dimensions see Parsons, *ZPE* 26 (1977) 8.

<i>P.Lille</i> FR.NO.	COL.	LINES/COL.	vv.	
	i } ii } iii } iv } v } vi }	str.1.1–ant.10.4	av.33.3	1–200
76a.i	vii	ant.10.5–str.12.3	34	201–234
76a.ii (+73.i)	viii	str.12.4–ep.13.3	35	235–269
76a.iii (+73.ii) + 76c.i	ix	ep.13.4–ant.15.2	34	270–303 (Γ in marg.)
76c.ii + 76b				

The first line of which anything survives is v.176, the first verse of antistrophe 9. It may be assumed that the roll contained this poem and no other. We do not know how long it was: perhaps 2000 lines or so.

The *ed.pr.* presented the fragments as non-consecutive. The proper continuous text was given by P. J. Parsons in a paper which will form the basis for all future work on the constitution on the text.<sup>6</sup> I print

<sup>6</sup> A continuous text is offered also by J. Bollack, P. Judet de la Combe and H. Wisman in the "Supplément" (April 1977) to *Cahiers de Philologie* 2 (1977), but they commence the numeration at v.176 (so that v.300 becomes v.125), and their text, for the most part extremely austere, incorporates one or two quite unacceptable restorations.

below the best preserved portion, vv.201–34 of the poem, but for the full text of the fragments reference should be made to Parsons' article.<sup>7</sup> The colometry is that of the papyrus, but the indentations are mine.

Oedipus' wife, addressing Teiresias (-210) and Eteocles and Poly-  
nices (218–31):

201 ἐπ' ἄλγεσι μὴ χαλεπὰς ποιεῖ μερίμνας,  
μηδέ μοι ἐξοπίσω  
πρόφαινε ἐλπίδας βαρείας.

οὔτε γὰρ αἰὲν ὁμῶς  
205 θεοὶ θέσαν ἀθάνατοι κατ' αἴαν ἱρὰν  
νεῖκος ἔμπεδον βροτοῖσιν  
οὐδέ γα μὰν φιλότατ', ἐπὶ δ' ἀμέρῃ ἐν νόον ἄλλον  
θεοὶ τιθεῖσι.  
μαντοσύνας δὲ τεὰς ἀναξ' ἐκάργος Ἀπόλλων  
210 μὴ πάσας τελέσσαι.

STR.11

αἱ δέ με παῖδας ἰδέσθαι ὑπ' ἀλλάλοισι δαμέντας  
μόρσιμόν ἐστιν, ἐπεκλώσαν δὲ Μοῖρα[ι],  
αὐτίκα μοι θανάτου τέλος στυγερο[ῖο] γέγ[οιτο],  
πρὶν ποκα ταῦτ' ἐσιδεῖν  
215 ἄλγεσ<<ι πολύστονα δακρυόεντα[— —,  
παῖδας ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν  
θανόντας ἢ πόλιν ἀλοίσαν.

ἀλλ' ἄγε παῖδες ἐμοῖς μύθοις, φίλα [τέκνα, πίθεσθε·  
τῶν γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐγὼν τέλος προφα[ίνω].<sup>5</sup>  
220 τὸν μὲν ἔχοντα δόμους ναίειν πα[ρὰ νάμασι Δίρκας,  
τὸν δ' ἀπίμεν κτεάνη  
καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχοντα φίλου σύμπαντα [πατρός,  
κλαροπαληδὸν ὅς ἂν  
πρῶτος λάχῃ ἕκατι Μοιρῶν.

<sup>7</sup> My text differs from Parsons' in a few particulars (mainly in repunctuating 209, not altering 219, and admitting certain or plausible restorations). I follow his accentuation, though perhaps we should doricize more.

- 225 τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν δοκέω  
 λυτήριον ὕμμι κακοῦ γένοιτο πότμο[υ,  
 μάντιος φραδαῖσι θείου,  
 αἶ γε νέον Κρονίδας γένος τε καὶ ἄστυ [αῶσει  
 Κάδμου ἄνακτος,  
 230 ἀμβάλλων κακότητα πολὺν χρόνον [ἄ βασιλείαι  
 πέπρωται γενε[θ]λαί.”

STR.12

ὡς φάτ[ο] δὲ γυνὰ μύθοις ἀγ[α]γροῖς ἐνεποίεα,  
 νεΐκεος ἐν μεγάροις π[αύο]μεα παῖδας,  
 σὺν δ' ἄμα Τειρ[ε]ρ[ε]ας τε[ρασπό]λος· οἱ δ' [ἐ]πίθο[ντο  
 κτλ.

207 *spatium aptum* ἀμερᾶνοογ, *vix* ἀμερᾶ[ι]εῖνοογ, *test.* Parsons 211 *dispexit*  
 Parsons (*post* Haslam) 214 ποκα *coni.* West: τοκα 216 ἐνιμμεγαροῖς 218  
*suppl.* West 220 τομμεν *fin. suppl.* Barrett 228 τενεον (τ non γ, *ut vid.*):  
 γ' ἐτεόν *coni.* Lloyd-Jones, Barrett *fin. e.g. suppl.* Barrett (*cf.* *Il.* 17.144)  
 230 *suppl.* Lloyd-Jones 231 γενεσθαι *vestigiis non quadrat* 233 ἐμμεγαροῖς  
 π[αύο]μεα Barrett; *fort.* ε[ιργ] *sscr.* 234 Barrett

For once, no ingenuity is required to elicit the metrical scheme.  
 Only a few responsional details are in doubt.

STR./ANT.	1	— υ υ — υ υ —	⋮	⊘ — υ υ — υ υ — σ
	2	— υ υ — υ υ —	⋮	υ — υ — υ — σ
	3	— υ υ — υ υ —		υ — υ υ — υ υ — σ
	4	— υ υ — υ υ —		
	5	υ — υ υ — υ υ —	⋮	⊘ — υ — υ — σ
	6	— υ υ — υ υ —		
	7	υ — υ — υ — υ —		υ — υ — υ — σ
EP.	1	— υ υ — υ υ —		
	2	⊘ — υ υ — υ υ —		υ — υ — υ —
	3	— υ — υ — υ — υ —	⊘	
	4	— υ υ — υ υ —	⋮	⊘ — υ υ — υ υ — σ
	5	υ — υ — υ — υ —		
	6	— υ υ — υ υ —	⋮	υ — υ υ — υ υ — σ
	7	— υ — υ — υ —		

- υ short and long syllables each attested; similarly ⊘, υυ  
 ⊘ presumed anceps element, short in all attested instances  
 | (⊘) word-end in all (most) attested instances  
 ( ) zeugma (no word-end)

### 1. Colometry

The colometry of the papyrus combines metrical good sense with practical convenience. Line-end coincides with constant word-end, and no line has greater length than the hexameter. These are straightforward and familiar principles. Colometrization is conventionally attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium;<sup>8</sup> non-stichic poetry had formerly been written 'as prose', that is to say the metrical structure was accorded no graphic recognition.<sup>9</sup> Whether all lyric texts reached Alexandria in such a state we cannot certainly know; but it is incredible that Aristophanes colometrized *ab ovo* all the hundreds of thousands of lines of lyric (including tragic and comic) gathered in the Library. However this may be, there is no reason to think<sup>10</sup> that the colometry of the Lille papyrus is not Alexandrian in the conventional sense. But it is interesting that the date of the papyrus may well be anterior to scholarly activity on the part of Aristophanes. If the early dating is accepted, the Lille papyrus is a valuable specimen of the sort of texts that Aristophanes had at his disposal. Colometrization, together with the complementary use of *paragraphos* and *coronis* to mark respectively stanza-end and triad-end, was already in service. Lacking altogether, however, is the apparatus of lectional aids, accents, apostrophes, breathings, etc.

The determination of the periods (or verses, in the continental European terminology) is for the most part a simple matter.<sup>11</sup> In the strophe, line 4 is clearly to be conjoined with line 5, and line 6 with line 7. The nature of the junction is identical with that between the two parts of line 3; similarly with lines 1–2 of the epode.

A problem arises only with the 'epitrite' lines of the epode, ep.3 and ep.5. It is natural to take these as independent verses, with pendant endings like all the others. But there is something rather

<sup>8</sup> On the vague evidence of Dion.Hal. *De Comp.* 22 and 26.

<sup>9</sup> I take this opportunity to record my apparently unique belief that both the third-cent. B.C. texts of Euripidean lyric accompanied by musical notation (*P.Vindob.* G2315, *Orestes*; E. G. Turner, *JHS* 76 [1956] 95f; E. Pöhlmann, *Denkmäler altgriechischer Musik* [Nürnberg 1970] 78–82; E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* [Oxford-Princeton 1971] no.35; Jon Solomon, *GRBS* 18 [1977] 71–83; and *P.Leid.* inv. 510, *Eur. IA*, ed. Mme Jourdan-Hemmerdinger, *CRAI* 1973, 292–302; G. Comotti, *MusLondPhil* 2 [1977] 69–84) are not colometrized, but written as prose. I hope to write about this elsewhere.

<sup>10</sup> As do the first editors (*ed.pr.* 322, *cf.* 315; so too B. M. Palumbo *ap. ed.pr.* 350).

<sup>11</sup> I may refer in general to the principles outlined in "SM" (see n.1 *supra*).

curious here. The final syllable of ep.3, if it is taken as being in synaphea with the following line, is either always or nearly always short; and the same is true of ep.5. The attestations are as follows: ep.3/4 βροτοῖσιν | οὐδέ 206/07, θείου | αἶ γε 227/28, -τοισιν | ὡς 290/91; ep.5/6 τιθεῖσι | μαντοσύνας 208/09, ἄνακτος | ἀμβάλλων 229/30, -γος |.[ 271/72, ] | ᾗχετο 292/92.<sup>12</sup> Four short, one short if corrected,<sup>13</sup> two undetermined, none long. Contrast str.2/3 and str.5/6, which have the same junction (x—υ—x | —υυ—υυ—). The quantity of the final syllable of str.2 and str.5, if it were to be taken in synaphea, is ascertainable eleven times: long every time.<sup>14</sup> It looks, then, as if the final syllable of ep.3 and of ep.5 is regularly short, while the final syllable of str.2 and of str.5 is regularly long. We cannot be sure that the differential incidence is not the result of mere chance, but we must at least reckon with the evidentially stronger possibility that it is not. I first wondered whether explanation was to be sought in a supposition that ep.3 and 4 together formed a single verse, and ep.5 and 6 likewise. The final element of ep.3 and ep.5 would then be anceps, not verse-final. Such a supposition, however, falls foul of several objections: (i) long anceps (anceps regularly occupied by a long syllable) is a familiar enough phenomenon, especially frequent in Bacchylides, but short anceps is another matter; (ii) a break after the anceps would run diametrically counter to the rest of the composition and to Stesichorean practice generally; and (iii) the text, whose syntactical structure is closely coincident with the metre, divides naturally after 3 and 5 (esp. *n.b.* 208/09, and 290/91, where a speech ends). To (i), it could perhaps be replied that we ought not to form prescriptions for Stesichorean praxis on the basis of post-Stesichorean, to (ii), that verses which begin with epitrites cannot be expected to show the same features as the dactylic verses, and to (iii), that such tension between the metrical and syntactical structure is deliberately effected. But none of these replies will be made with much conviction.

<sup>12</sup> .[ at 272: Parsons *ad loc.* reports “λ or μ likely”; α?

<sup>13</sup> θείου | αἶ γε 227/28. Correption in non-dactylic rhythm would be abnormal, but it may be rash to exclude the possibility of it from a poem showing innovative integration of iambo-trochaic with prevailing dactylic. If the syllable is long, the hiatus guarantees period-end. On the establishment of the period boundaries *cf.* R. Pretagostini, *QuadUrbCC* in press.

<sup>14</sup> 201, 212, 222, 233, 236, 243, 254, 257, 282, 285, 299; short probably at 240; Μοίραι | αὐτίκα 212/3 not counted (*cf.* n.13).

We must, I think, recognize ep.3 and ep.5 as independent verses. But we still seek an explanation for their final syllables' being regularly short. Are we to think of a pause-less period-end? A somewhat whimsical notion, perhaps, and some would say a contradiction in terms. What I would tentatively hypothesize is something recognizable as 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 the reflexion of a performance factor. Clearly, it would be futile to press this, but in the absence of any obvious reason why the final syllables of ep.3 and ep.5 should be so different from those of str.2 or str.5 in their long-short ratio, I feel constrained to devise some such speculation.

This is the scheme arrived at:

STR./ANT.	a	— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —	D x̄ D —    D x e —
	b	— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — —	
	c	— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — —	D x D —    D x D x̄ e —
	d	— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — —	
	e	— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — x̄ — ∪ — —	D x e x e —
EP.	a	— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — x̄ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — —	D x D x e —    e x e —
	b	— ∪ — x̄ — ∪ — —	
	c	— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — —	D x̄ D —    x e —
	d	∪ — ∪ — —	
	e	— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — —	D x̄ D —    — — e —
	f	— — — ∪ — —	

Several of these verses are already known from other Stesichorean poems.

## 2. Stanzaic Structure

The verses of the strophe count themselves off, one two three four five; they have a metrical distinctness not always found in lyric. They all begin with the hemiepes, and they all end pendant. The variety lies in what comes after the hemiepes, the epitrite clausula of the second verse initiating a departure from dactylic rhythm. Epitrites are confined to clausular rôle: single ones in *b* and *d*, a double one to finish the stanza. This is an easily apprehended pattern: one and two; three and (longer) four; five (extended epitrite to conclude). *Stropha est omnis divisa in partes tres*. The strophe of Stesichorus' *Nosti* both



begins and ends in the same fashion (see “SM” 46). With the end, cf. too the end of strophe and epode of Bacchylides 13.

The epode is a little more variegated. The part played by the epitrites is expanded, and in *d*, for the first and only time, a period begins rising (taking off from the anceps) instead of falling. The alternation of dactylic and epitrite verses gives the stanza a tripartite structure, like the strophe. *a* is followed by the epitrite *b*; *c* and *d* make another such pair, a shorter one; and *e* and *f* another, the latter heavily drawing the triad to its close.

Two things are foreign to conventional dactylo-epitrite. One is the clausula, the other is that in place of link-anceps we sometimes find two shorts. Each of these merits separate discussion.

### 3. The Clausula — — — ◡ — —

This intense plonking coda has an unmistakable air of finality about it: in this metrical context it could hardly be anything but terminal. The self-same verse closes the epode of the *Eriphyle*, another poem of the Theban saga.<sup>15</sup> As Page had said of it there, it is a surprising verse,<sup>16</sup> and finding it here too makes it no less of one. The *Eriphyle* papyrus (*P.Oxy.* XXXII 2618) provides only one attestation of the first three syllables. Supposing that the second long syllable could not be true *longum*, I suggested that it was contracted biceps, though I expressed unease over its failure to take the lighter, disyllabic form (“SM” 37f). Now that we have two or three more examples (210, 231, 294 Θηβαί.[]), the second syllable being every time long, this suggestion loses whatever plausibility it may have had. The verse is just — — — ◡ — —, scarcely to be ‘analysed’ at all.<sup>17</sup> It is a peculiarly dragging line, I dare

<sup>15</sup> The partially extant scheme of the *Eriphyle* (“SM” 35–40 [owing to a misprint, there is a surplus *longum* in the printed scheme of str.4]) cannot be made to fit that of the Lille poem. But in view of both the mythological and the metrical filiation, we might well regard the Lille poem and the *Eriphyle* as Stesichorus’ Post-Oedipus Saga, parts I and II.

<sup>16</sup> *ProcCambPhilSoc* 17 (1971) 96. It surprises in context, being neither dactylo-anapaestic nor dactylo-epitrite, and in itself, having left no legacy in later lyric. Verses which may be compared with it, however, are Bacchyl. 13 str.3 (— — ◡ ◡ — x; so too R. Führer, *GGA* 229 [1977] 24 n.238) and Pind. *Pyth.* 1 str.3, — — e — e. Also, the verse is reminiscent of the ithyphallic (— ◡ — ◡ — —), which often serves as a dactylo-epitrite clausula in tragedy (and cf. Simonides *PMG* 76.7).

<sup>17</sup> I certainly cannot accept Gentili’s molossus+bacchiac (*ap. ed.pr.* 350) as a meaningful analysis—does Stesichorus deal in such entities? Gentili actually takes the first part as molossus or bacchiac, a curious echo of Dionysius’ scanning *καὶ πᾶσι* at Dem. *DeCor.* 225.7

say devised by Stesichorus himself for its weightiness: an authentic Stesichorean curiosity.

Since the verse must owe its place in the poem to its aesthetic effectiveness, I will allow myself the subjective suggestion that its slow, irregular rhythm has the effect of somehow intensifying the tone, of making entreaty more entreating, pathos more pathetic. The force of the Queen's wish, *μαντοσύνας δὲ τεὰς ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων | μὴ πάσας τελέσσαι* (209f), owes much to the disposition of the words, but it owes something too to the metre. And I would say the same is true, to a properly lesser extent, of the epitrite ending of the strophe and antistrophe: *παίδα· ἐνὶ μεγάροις | θανόντας ἢ πόλιν ἀλοίσαν* (216f), *μηδέ μοι ἐξοπίσω | πρόφαινε ἐλπίδας βαρείας* (202f).

#### 4. A Peculiarity of Responion: $\asymp \sim \asymp$

We come now to the most remarkable metrical feature of the new text. In dactylo-epitrite the link-element is *anceps*:<sup>18</sup> the syllable is free to be either long or short. The dactylic hexameter, which can be envisaged as  $D\asymp D-$  (with spondaic substitution admissible in D), employs *biceps*: either long or double-short.<sup>19</sup> In the new poem of Stesichorus we encounter something unique in Greek poetry—the responion of anceps with biceps. In my previous paper I discussed the transition of biceps to anceps evidenced in the *Iliupersis*. At that time

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as *μολοττός ἢ βακχεῖος· ἐγχωρεῖ γὰρ ἑκατέρως αὐτὸν διαιρεῖν*, “molossus or bacchiac—for it's possible to scan it either way” (*De comp. verb.* p.78.12f Us.-Rad.). It should be unnecessary to say that in Stesichorus' metrical world molossi and bacchiacs do not consort in mutual responion.

<sup>18</sup> To call it a 'link-element' is regrettably question-begging (see pp.55f below). I use the term merely for convenience of reference.

<sup>19</sup> The concepts of 'anceps' and 'biceps' have recently come under fire from A. M. Devine and L. D. Stephens (“Anceps,” *GRBS* 16 [1975] 197–215; “The Abstractness of Metrical Patterns: Generative Metrics and Explicit Traditional Metrics,” *Poetics* 4 [1975] 411–30; “The Homeric Hexameter and a Basic Principle of Metrical Theory,” *CP* 71 [1976] 141–63; and I understand there is more to come) in a welcome if tendentious attempt to put Greek metrics on a sound theoretical footing. They 'explain' the anceps by applying a 'transformation rule',  $\vee \rightarrow -$  (“odd-numbered feet, optional”!), and similarly with the biceps ( $\vee \vee \rightarrow -$ ; this is what traditionally has been called spondaic substitution); they perhaps exaggerate the novelty of what they say. They rightly insist that the anceps does not have a durational value of its own (the biceps is a less simple matter, however). We should persist in referring to the anceps and biceps as metrical elements, however, if only to be able to make the proper distinction between verse design ( $\times$ ,  $\asymp$ ) and verse instance ( $\vee$  or  $-$ ,  $\vee \vee$  or  $-$ ).

there was no reason to think that the two were ever actually in mutual responsion. But in the Lille poem they certainly are, and this opens up the possibility that they were in the *Iliupersis* too.<sup>20</sup>

The responsion is attested in str.1, str.5, ep.4 and ep.6. The number of attestations is so small that we cannot be sure that it did not occur in other lines as well, and in fact I would postulate it in str.3. We may be confident that it is allowed only after a D unit; in fact if it were not for the one attestation in str.5, we might infer that the responsion was exclusively the property of the ‘hexameters’. Let us look first at that odd man out, and then at the D  $\asymp$  D— verses.

Str./ant.5 takes the following forms:

- ∪ D— e— thrice (201, 222, 278)
- ∪ D∪ e— once (285)
- ∪ D∪∪ e— once: ἄλγεσ<ς>ι πολύστονα δακρυόεντα[— — (215)

*non liquet*: ].ιρας ἵππους (243), where either εὐέθειρας or καλλιέθειρας seems probable; and ].δ’ ἴκοντο Ἴσθμόν (299).

Other verses in which xe— follows D are str.2 and ep.2. In these verses only ∪ and — are attested in the link position (ten attestations altogether), never ∪∪. The attestation of v.215, the one and only instance of double-short before an e unit, becomes in these circumstances suspect. And suspicion is compounded by the textual intractability of this particular line (see Parsons *ad loc.*). This is hardly enough to justify dismissing it, however. We are in no position to say it is metrically intolerable. But we may reasonably leave a cloud hanging over it, while awaiting further evidence to resolve the matter.<sup>21</sup>

The four ‘hexameter’ verses take the following form:

- STR.1: D | —D— four times (218, 232, 239, 295)
- D | ∪D— twice: —∪∪—∪∪ ].οι τὸ μόριμόν ἐστι γεν[έσθαι (274)
- ∪∪—∪∪ ]ω διαμπερέως Ἐτεο[κλ- (281)
- D∪ | ∪D— once: αἰ δέ με παῖδας ιδέσθαι ὑπ’ ἀλλήλοισι δαμέντας (211)
- non liquet*: e.g. either ἐπι] or ἐπ’] ἄστεα καλὰ Κορίνθου 302.
- STR.3: D | —D— twice (220, 276)
- D | ∪D— once (twice?): αὐτίκα μοι θανάτου τέλος στυγερο[ῖο] γέμ[οιτο (213)
- ?<ς>ὸν δ’ ἄμα Τειρεξίας τ[ερασπό]λος, οἱ δ’ [ἐ]πίθρο[ντο (234, *suppl.* Barrett)

<sup>20</sup> “SM” esp. 33f, 52; now see R. Führer, GGA 229 (1977) 12.

<sup>21</sup> In order to eliminate the metrical anomaly Barrett suggests scanning δακρυόεντα (Parsons *ad loc.*, misreported). This may be the answer.

*non liquet*: — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ (— ?) ]. ∪ ἔχεν Πολυνείκεος [— — (283), either  
D ∪ | ∪ D — or D | ∪ D —.

- EP.4: D | — D — once (270)  
D | ∪ D — once: αἶ γε νέον Κρονίδας γένος τε καὶ ἄστν [∪ — — (228)  
D | ∪ ∪ D — twice: οὐδέ γα μὰν φιλότατ', ἐπὶ δ' ἀμέρα ἐν νόον ἄλλογ (207)  
ὡς φάτ[ο Τειρεσίας ὀνυμάκλυτος, ἀἴψα δ' ἀ[ — — (291)
- EP.6: D | — D — not attested  
D | ∪ D — once: μαντοσύνας δὲ τεὰς ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων (209)  
D | ∪ ∪ D — once: — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ ]. εν ἔλικας βόας ἠδὲ καὶ ἱπ[πους (272)  
D ∪ | ∪ D — twice: ἀμβάλλων κακότατα πολὺν χρόνον [— ∪ ∪ — — (230)  
ᾤχετ[ο, σὺν δ' ἄρ ἔπο]γτο φίλω Πολυνείκει τ[ — — (293)

Taking all these 21 verse-instances together, as no doubt we should, we find 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 masc. or fem.) also about seven times—a very even distribution.

At the beginning of str.5 and ep.2 only longs and single shorts are attested (10 attestations altogether),<sup>22</sup> and it may well be that double-short never occurred—the colometry would be a problem. This does not vitiate the presumption that str.4+5 and ep.1+2 are single verses, but it may be an indication that the biceps link was confined (v.215 notwithstanding) to the hexameters.

∪ is never found in *direct* responson with ∪ ∪. ∪ in the strophe will not respond with ∪ ∪ in the antistrophe (or *vice versa*); *n.b.* str./ant.1 of triad 14 (vv.274, 281), where the link is short in both strophe and antistrophe. —, having ambiguous status, responds with both ∪ and with ∪ ∪. On the other hand, there is no inhibition against having, say, biceps in str.1 and anceps in str.3 of the same stanza: in 213 (str.3) Stesichorus could easily have said *θανάτοιο* instead of *θανάτου*, to get the echo with str.1, but apparently he did not.

How will this state of affairs best be formulated? To speak of 'resolved anceps' would be nonsensical in itself and would wrongly imply an affinity with the stichic metres of comedy. I have spoken of the mutual responson of anceps and biceps, and I think this is a significant formulation. Biceps is proper to dactylo-anapaestic verse (including the dactylic hexameter), anceps to iambo-trochaic. Some of

<sup>22</sup> Str.2: — four times, ∪ twice; ep.2: — once, ∪ thrice.

Stesichorus' poems are dactylo-anapaestic, others incorporate iambotrochaic segments. As part of the process of assimilation, dactylo-anapaestic undergoes an adjustment of its metrical mechanics. The anceps is an immigrant, which first shares and will ultimately usurp the position of the native biceps—at which point dactylo-epitrite is autonomous.<sup>23</sup>

It is in fledgling dactylo-epitrite, then, that biceps and anceps meet. The genetics are taken up in the final section of this paper. Here a less technical remark may be in order. The ancipitation of the biceps (to coin a term) encapsulates Stesichorus' position as a poet between the two worlds of epic and lyric. Henceforward biceps and anceps will resume their discrete identities as metrical elements,<sup>24</sup> just as epic and lyric will resume their discrete identities as literary genres. In Stesichorus both pairs merge.

## 5. Inner Metric

By 'inner metric' I refer to the structure that the verses tend to assume when linguistically realised. We must try to uncover the system of cuts and bridges, as determined by the incidence of word-end, that gives the verses their characteristic shape. The phenomena may be described as follows.

- I i. Link-element is invariable;
- ii. it is invariably ligatured to what follows,
- iii. never to what precedes, except that
  - (a) it may be spanned in order to accommodate a non-dactylic polysyllable (— ∨ — or — — — minimum), and that
  - (b) in the case of double-short link, the shorts may be split.

Further features are discernible in the dactylic parts. A significant corner-cutting formulation might be:

- II i. Metrical sequences in common with the epic hexameter share the hexameter's structural features.

<sup>23</sup> The metre of the Lille poem should not be viewed as dactylo-epitrite which fails to resist the contaminating pull of the epic hexameter (*cf.* Parsons 13) so much as inchoate dactylo-epitrite in the process of emerging *out of* dactylic. *Cf.* pp.56f below.

<sup>24</sup> The anceps/biceps respension is licensed nowhere but in Stesichorus (though assertions to the contrary will doubtless be made).

Exercise of the option of 'spondaic substitution', however, is circumscribed:

- II ii. The first dactyl of a D unit, but not the second, admits spondaic substitution ( $---\cup\cup-\sim-\cup\cup-\cup\cup-$ );  
 iii. when such substitution occurs, the biceps is invariably ligatured to the following *longum* ( $-\widehat{---}\cup\cup-$ ).

These 'laws' are derived from the new poem, but they receive confirmation from, and with certain specific modifications are applicable to, the rest of the extant Stesichorean corpus.

Word-end never occurs immediately after the link-element, regardless whether that element is long, short or double-short, and regardless whether it is a D or an e unit that succeeds or precedes (I ii, cf. II iii). In symbolic form:

$$\begin{array}{l} (\dots)-\cup\cup-\cup\cup- \} \widehat{\cup\cup} \{ -\cup\cup-\cup\cup-(\dots) \\ (\dots)-\cup- \} \cup\cup \{ -\cup-(\dots) \end{array}$$

This is one manifestation of the bridge principle, as explored in my previous article ("SM", esp. 49–51). Its motivation seems obvious enough. Periods are in the habit of ending pendant; the clausular sequence must be avoided within the verse. Or in positive terms, the zeugma has a propulsive function: the verse is propelled onward, swept smoothly past any false suggestion of period end. Incidentally, there is no evidence that a short anceps produced a weaker zeugmatic impulse than a long one. This is in contrast with later dactylo-epitrite, and indeed with Greek verse generally (e.g. Porson's law).<sup>25</sup>

The same bridge-principle operates in the case of spondaic substitution: contracted biceps is always bridged to the succeeding *longum*.  $\dots-\cup\cup | -\cup\cup-- ||$  (e.g. is not offensive,  $\star\dots-- | -\cup\cup-- ||$  is (II iii; cf. "SM" 15f). This principle is familiar from the epic hexameter; there it is stringently applied to the penultimate biceps (the above example), but somewhat less so to the others. In Stesichorus word-end after contracted biceps is rigorously avoided: there is nothing of the sort of  $|| \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota \delta\grave{\epsilon} \mu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omega\nu \eta\rho\chi\epsilon$  (*Od.* 1.28). No doubt this is a matter of rhythmical aesthetics. Since Page continues to reprint Stesichorean quotations in a form which violates this principle, it will

<sup>25</sup> Cf. L. P. E. Parker, *CQ* 16 (1966) 24.

be as well to repeat that the versions he offers of two *Geryoneis* citations, *SLG* 7 (=LGS 184=JHS 93 [1973] 143) and *SLG* 17 (=LGS 185=JHS *ib.*), are both wrong, as all those who have studied the matter acknowledge.<sup>26</sup> It is additionally regrettable that Page's version of the first of these eliminates what has hitherto been the sole attestation of the Doric -ᾶc fem.acc.pl. in Stesichorus (see *infra* p.49).

Spondaic substitution is relatively infrequent. The Lille fragments show only three instances: ὕπ' ἀλλήλοισι √ — — || 211 (str.1) and ἐ]μι κτήθεσσι √ — — || 249 (ep.4), and || ἀμβάλλων κακότητα κτλ. 230 (ep.6). All three cases are in hexameters: is it exclusive to such lines? And in none of the three lines is the link-element long: is there an embargo on more than one succession of three long syllables in a single verse?

Stesichorus' dactylic lines have a higher proportion of 'pure' dactyls than do epic hexameters, but show the same structural habits. Hermann's bridge is observed, *i.e.* penultimate disyllabic biceps is not split (. . . — √ — √ — — ||). 228, αἶ γε νέον Κρονίδας γένος τε καὶ ἄστν [αῶσει, is at most a venial infringement, for monosyllabic post-positives somehow mitigate the breach; *cf.* ἐμόν τιν μαζόν in the *Geryoneis* ("SM" 15 n.15). Lines with masculine caesura have also a secondary caesura, either before or after the penultimate biceps: D | √ — | √ — √ — — || or D | √ — √ | — √ — — ||.<sup>27</sup> Understandably, this applies only to true hexameters: lines which resume after D with a single short have the freedom of lines having feminine caesura, as is only natural (228 D | γένος τε καὶ ἄστν not γένος καὶ ἄστν; 281 D | διαμπερέως Ἐτεοκλ-, especially noteworthy in view of Homer's exclusive use of διαμπερές before the adonic section).

In 220 (and *cf.* 222) both the first two bicipitia are split: τὸν μὲν ἔχοντα δόμους κτλ. This is a violation against Meyer's first law as traditionally formulated. But Homer's observance rate is only about 96%, and since 220 (like *Il.* 1.1) has masculine not feminine caesura, it is doubtful whether in fact it should be reckoned an infringement at all.<sup>28</sup> In general the 'laws' applicable to Homer are not only applicable to Stesichorus, they are applicable to him more rigorously and in extended form.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. "SM" 16, and now see R. Führer's review of *SLG* in *GGA* 229 (1977) 6–7.

<sup>27</sup> This has textual implication for 207: ἐπὶ δ' ἀμέρα is confirmed against ἐπὶ δ' ἀλλοίαν.

<sup>28</sup> See G. S. Kirk, *YCS* 20 (1966) 97–103, for an attempt to clarify the nature and scope of the inhibition.

If bridges mean continuity, cuts mean discontinuity. (By 'cut', *τομή*, I refer to incidence of word-end. The terms caesura and diaeresis, if used differentially, are applicable only to verse built *kata metron*, which the Lille poem, being basically dactylo-epitrite, is not.) There is a clear tendency for the verses to be articulated at the link-element point: ... | ⚡ — ... This is rule I iii. The only real exception to it is that given as (a), but let us clear (b) out of the way first, for verses with double-short link are a special case. In such lines word-end need not precede the two shorts but may equally well intervene between them—which is to say, we have either masculine or feminine caesura, as in the epic hexameter: either ... ◡ — | ◡ ◡ — ◡ (masc.) or ... ◡ — ◡ | ◡ — ◡ ... (fem.). This is just a case of rule II. Lines so far hexametric as to have not aniceps but biceps naturally partake of the hexameter's caesural pattern. Indeed, if it were not for 215 (str.5, normally xDxe but here apparently — D◡◡ — ◡ [— ; see p.39 above), it would be possible to say that all lines with double-short link are hexameters pure and simple.

The tendency to have word-end before the link aniceps is more marked in the dactylic than in the epitrite parts. In fact, in the fragments of the Lille poem the cut is never overrun before a D unit. This will not have been absolute, however; the *Iliupersis* has one or two instances of run-over—always to accommodate an otherwise intractable word (see "SM" 29 n.40). The cut is normal also before xe—. When it is spanned, it is always by a polysyllabic word: ... ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — . In (...)Dxe— lines (str.2, str.5, ep.2) we find word-end certainly 12 times; run-over is certain twice, possible or probable another twice, as follows (215 is not counted): μόρσιμόν ἐστιν ἐπεκλώσαν δὲ Μοίραι 212; x—◡◡—◡◡? εὐέθ]ειρας ἵππους 243;<sup>29</sup> —◡◡— δό]μον Ἀδράστοι' ἀνακτος 275; —◡◡—◡◡]. ἐν στήθεσιν αἰνώ[ε 282 (probable). The words involved are words which could be accommodated only by one of two means: bridging the cut (as here) or contracting the biceps (spondaic substitution). It is significant that all the words involved in spondaic substitution (see above) are of the same kind. Compare Hermann Fränkel's category of 'heavy' words, which disturb the normal structure of the Homeric hexameter.<sup>30</sup> The category

<sup>29</sup> To Parsons' references *ad loc.* add Bacchyl. fr.20A.26.

<sup>30</sup> H. Fränkel, "Der homerische und der kallimachische Hexameter," in *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens* (Munich 1955<sup>1</sup>, 1960<sup>2</sup>) 100–56, esp. 106f.



needs modification here only in that we may add to it words with the shape  $- \upsilon -$ , which do not come into question for the hexameter.

In wholly epitrite lines,  $(\times)e \times e -$  (str.7, ep.3), the important thing is clearly the bridge rather than the cut. Words which span are  $- \upsilon \text{ ἔμπροσθεν } \upsilon - -$  (206) and  $\upsilon - \upsilon \text{ ἐλπίδα } \upsilon - -$  (203): see *infra* p.53. These take cretic form only 'by position'; such words would not be allowed to violate the cut in lines in which they would be metrically free to take dactylic form; *i.e.* it is only in wholly epitrite lines that the cut may be spanned by words which do not *have* to scan  $(\dots) - \upsilon - (\dots)$  or  $(\dots) - - - (\dots)$ .

The following, then, are norms: (1) bridge, (2) cut, (3) light dactyls (*i.e.* non-contracted bicipitia). (1) is virtually absolute. It is a general (and insufficiently recognized) principle that bridges occupy a higher place in the structural hierarchy than cuts.<sup>31</sup> (2) and (3) are on a par and may be overridden: they yield to make provision for non-dactylic polysyllables.

## 6. Metre and Syntax

A text *qua* text has its own structure, independent of the metre; and *vice versa*. In Stesichorus the textual structure and the metrical structure move in parallel. Stanza-end regularly coincides with sentence-end, periods are regularly end-stopped, and so on. The degree of correspondence is higher than in any other classical author known to me. If we were to conduct with Stesichorus the experiment performed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Simonides and write out the poem as if it were prose, articulated according to its grammatical-rhetorical structure,<sup>32</sup> the result would be quite different.

The triad junctions are the most important. It is worth noting how they correlate with the text.

<sup>31</sup> In the hexameter, 4th ft.  $- \curvearrowright$  is absolute, while the main caesura is movable and occasionally overrun. In the iambic trimeter, 5th ft.  $- \curvearrowright$  is absolute (*pace* those who believe in Eur. *Ion* 1), while again the main caesura is movable and occasionally overrun.

<sup>32</sup> Dion.Hal. *De Comp.* c.26: *κατὰ διαστολὰς οὐχ ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἢ ἄλλος τις κατεσκεύαζε κώλων ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ περὶ λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ* (p.140.19f Usener-Radermacher), and *ἀναγίνωσκε κατὰ διαστολὰς, καὶ εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι λήσεται σε ὁ ῥυθμὸς τῆς ψῆδης καὶ οὐχ ἕξεις συμβαλεῖν οὔτε στροφὴν οὔτε ἀντίστροφον οὔτ' ἐπὶ δόν, ἀλλὰ φανήσεται σοι λόγος εἰς εἰρόμενος* (p.140.21–p.141.3 Us.–Rad.).

- str.11 (v.211) Mid-speech: end of Queen's address to  
Teiresias
- str.12 (v.232) Switch from speech to narrative
- str.13 (v.253) One-line introduction to Teiresias'  
speech<sup>33</sup>
- str.14 (v.274) Mid-speech: Teiresias commences prophecy
- str.15 (v.295) Commencement of Polynices' journey to  
Argos

It is as if the beginning of each triad was the beginning of a new paragraph. And indeed, the metre is literally a form of punctuation. Though extra-textual, it has semantic value. It articulates the text. To put a full stop at the end of a stanza is in a sense superfluous, hyperdeterministic; stanza-end does the job itself.

The triad leads the hierarchy, followed by the stanza. And unless I deceive myself, each stanza is divided into three major periods: str.1-2, 3-5, 6-7, ep.1-3, 4-5, 6-7. The poignant punch of *οὐδέ γα μὰν φιλότατα* (207) is enhanced not only by its position in the sentence (all the adverbial qualifiers—*αἰὲν ὁμῶς, κατ' αἴαν ἰράν, βροτοῦσιν*—have been got out of the way, so that nothing remains to come but the polar opposite of *νεῖκος*) but also by its metrical isolation (the stanza falls into three main metrical parts, and there are three sentences; *οὐδέ γα μὰν φιλότατα*, the end of the first sentence, overruns into the second metrical part).

Coincidence of metre and syntax is apt to be boring.<sup>34</sup> Without enjambment, Homer would be monotonous. But then the stichic epic does not have the metrical variety of Stesichorus' triads. The built-in tension between one verse and another, the elaborate *metrical* interplay inherent in the external form, relieves Stesichorus of the need for the modulated friction that is so important in Homer (cf. "SM" 22 with n.27). In fact for Stesichorus it is clearly proper that text and metre complement each other rather than running counter. Enjambment would compromise the *σεμνότης* of the poetry.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. R. Führer, *Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in der frühgriechischen Lyrik* (Munich 1967) 66-74, esp. 73.

<sup>34</sup> This is the view taken by Dionysius in his chapter on this subject (*περὶ τῆς ἐμμελοῦς* [textually inherent: grammatical-syntactical-rhetorical] *τε καὶ ἐμμέτρου* [metrical] *συνθέσεως*, c.26 *init.* p.135.20 Us.-Rad.); e.g. he prescribes *μὴ συναπαρτίζοντα τοῖς στίχοις ἀλλὰ διατέμνοντα τὸν μέτρον* (p.136.7f Us.-Rad.).

Simonides or Pindar can do it, of course; but literary proprieties do not stand still.<sup>35</sup>

At the bottom of the scale is the internal verse-articulation; here we enter the territory of the ‘inner metric’, §5 above. The caesura of the ‘hexameters’ (D | xD— or D<sup>1</sup>∪<sup>1</sup>∪D—) may be strong or weak. The grammatical break may be even more important than that at the verse-end (οὐδέ γα μὰν φιλότατ’, {ἐπὶ δ’ ἀμέρα ἐν νόον ἄλλον | θεοὶ τιθεῖσι 207f), or it may be minimal (ἀλλ’ ἄγε παῖδες ἐμοῖς {μύθοις φίλα [τέκνα πίθεσθε· 218).<sup>36</sup> These are the two extremes. The middle position, where the syntactical articulation perfectly matches the metrical, may be exemplified by 220: τὸν μὲν ἔχοντα δόμους {ναίειν πα[ρὰ νόμασι Δίρκας] | τὸν δ’ ἀπίμεν κτλ. (cf. 209, 211, 220, 232, 272, 276, 281, 283, 295, 302). The metrical bipartition is put to good use in a sentence such as μαντοσύνας-δὲ-τεὰς ἄναξ-ἐκάεργος-Ἀπόλλων | μὴ πάσας τελέσσαι (209f).

All this is just as in Homer. The Dxe— lines are comparable. This shorter line seems to have two main types. The second part may be a single self-contained phrase (e.g. θεοὶ θέσαν ἀθάνατοι κατ’ αἶαν ἱράν 205; μάλιστα παντῶν 289, πόλει τε πάσα 285, χρησμοὺς ἀκάμους 247; Ἄδράστοι’ ἄνακτος 275; cf. εὐέθ]ειρας ἵππους 243), or it may itself contain the verb and carry the main semantic weight (ἴκοντο Ἴσθμόν 299, Κλεωνὰς ἦνθον 303, ποίει μερίμνας 201, δωκοῦντι δᾶμος 278, τέλος προφαίνω 219, cf. 212, 226, 233, 257; 208).

## 7. Language

The language of Stesichorus is practically the language of Homer. Anyone coming from the world of Ionian epic finds only two things persistently compromising his sense of familiarity: the metre and the dialect. The metrical difference is obvious enough, and fundamental—and with it we may bracket the mode of performance and the accompaniment, of which the metre is the formal correlate, textually inherent. The dialectal difference is more superficial. The dialect features are of high philological interest and no doubt carry significant information for the background of Stesichorus’ poetry as well as for the linguistic texture of later choral lyric, but few of them make any

<sup>35</sup> The same movement towards enjambment may be traced in the history of the verse literature of modern European countries (at least in English, Italian, French and Spanish, and no doubt in others). The syntax gets progressively out of phase with the metre.

<sup>36</sup> When it is weak there tends to be a stronger split at the secondary caesura, after the 4th *longum* or 4th dactyl (e.g. σὺν δ’ ἄμα Τειρεσίας {τερασπόλος· {οἱ δ’ ἐπίθοντο 234; cf. 230, 291).

difference to the potentiality of the language considered as material for verse. A paper on Stesichorus' versification must confine itself to things that prosodically differentiate Stesichorus' language from Homer's.<sup>37</sup>

We have, then, two levels of differentiation. If I labour the point it is because philologists too often ignore it. (1) Metrically identical: e.g. 'You say tomaytoes and I say tomahtoos', *μηλα* ('flocks') vs. *μαλα* ('flocks'). (2) Metrically distinct: e.g. *Tráfalgar* vs. *Trafálgar*, *γαμεῖν* vs. *γαμέν*. The first category is the larger one. It contains, *inter alia*, 'Doric' *α* vs. *η*, *-οικα* vs. *-ουκα*, *-οντι* vs. *-ουσι* 3 pl. and *-ουντι* vs. *-ουσι* fut., *αι* vs. *ει/αι*, *οκα* vs. *οτε*, *γα* vs. *γε*, *πεδά* vs. *μετά*, *πρᾶτος* vs. *πρῶτος*, 'Doric' vs. Ionic-Attic accentuation, sometimes *-αις* vs. *-ας* aor.part., sporadically *ω* vs. *ου*, the occasional hyperdoricism (*χηρσίνδε Geryoneis*),<sup>38</sup> *μαλα* Lille poem), the occasional hyperionicism (*κρέσσον[ Geryoneis]*),<sup>39</sup> the occasional epichoricism (*πέποσχα* test.). Here belong *ύμίν* and *άμίν* (—υ) vs. their Epic equivalents *ὔμμιν* and *ἄμμιν* (better styled Epic than Aeolic in this context).<sup>40</sup> Here too is to be put enclitic *τιν* (dat. *κύ*) vs. *τοι*, for their metrical behaviour will be the same. All such as these are surface differences, and we must close our eyes to them. However much of a philological gain it might be if we could know whether it is *Μοῦσαι* or *Μούσαι* or *Μῶσαι* or *Μώσαι* that is Stesichorean for 'Muses', the difference for compositional purposes is nil.

If we turn our attention to the second category, then, we find the following features.

(a) *-εν* (*-έν*) vs. *-ειν* (*-εῖν*) IN THEMATIC INFINITIVE.<sup>41</sup> The indirect tradition regularly offers *-ειν*, the direct usually *-εν*—only the Lille papyrus, by

<sup>37</sup> My approach here differs therefore from that of E. Risch in his paper on the language of Alcman ("Die Sprache Alkmans," *MusHelv* 11 [1954] 20–37). Stesichorus' language, in common with Alcman's, has features which Risch would identify as Cyrenean (see esp. p.31 of his article). The effect of Risch's discussion is to play down the fact that Alcman's language, like Stesichorus' (or Homer's, or Sappho's), is a mixed literary dialect with no existence outside of the poetry for which it was considered appropriate.

<sup>38</sup> *χηρσί* for *χερσί* is remarkable. M. Nöthiger, *Die Sprache des Stesichorus und des Ibycus* (Zürich 1971) 77, comments that *χηρσί*/*\*χειρσί* (> *χηρσί*) is analogous to *χερί*/*χειρί*. Philologically, that may be so, but the metrical motivation for the coexistence of the singular forms is lacking for that of the plural.

<sup>39</sup> But cf. M. L. West, *CQ* 21 (1971) p.304 n.3.

<sup>40</sup> The Lille papyrus offers *υμιν* at v.219, where —υ is metrically requisite. There is no reason to change this to *ὔμμιν*, as *ed.pr.* and Parsons do. Cf. *άμίν* (so Page) at *Nosti* (PMG 209) i 3 (though —υ not there metrically guaranteed, cf. "SM" 46).

<sup>41</sup> See M. Nöthiger, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.38) 98, for documentation.

far the earliest, seems to vacillate. *-ειν* is written at 180 (*ενθειν*, i.e. *ἐλθεῖν*), 214 (*εσιδειν*) and 220 (*ναιειν*). *-εν* forms need a context to disambiguate them, and none is attested in an undamaged section; but *εχεν* at 283 is almost certainly inf. not impf. (speech of Teiresias foretelling future), and *αγεεν* at 268 (*P.Lille* fr.111c, see n.4 above) is probably another. Neither scribal practice nor Alexandrian precept is ever a safe guide to the original form. There is only one sure way to determine what form Stesichorus uses, and that is simply by seeing what form he avails himself of. The questions to ask are, is *-εν*, and is *-ειν*, ever metrically guaranteed?<sup>42</sup> The answer to both questions is yes. The vocalic quantity of the termination is apparent when a vowel follows, within the verse. There are two such cases: *ὑπερφιάλου γαμὲν ἔκγονον* SLG 148 ii 9, *Eriphyle*, in a dactylo-anapaestic run (str.2); *πρίν ποκα ταῦτ' ἐσιδεῖν ἄλγεσσι κτλ.* *P.Lille* 214 (str.4). So Stesichorus used both forms. This should not surprise us.

(b) *-ᾶς* vs. *-ᾱς* 1ST DECL. FEM. PL. ACC.<sup>43</sup> Before the Lille poem turned up, the fragments of Stesichorus provided only one instance of *-ᾶς* (none of verifiable *-ᾱς*).<sup>44</sup> This was eliminated by Page.<sup>45</sup> The matter is put beyond possibility of continued error by the new poem: *Κλεωνᾶς ἦνθον* 303 (ant.2 *fin.*). Here unhomeric prosody coincides with unhomeric metre. We still have no verifiable instance of *-ᾱς*, but it would be surprising if Stesichorus failed to avail himself of the epic scansion. The corresponding *-ος* for *-ους* is not attested and is not likely to be, despite its formally analogous status.

(c) MUTE+LIQUID.<sup>46</sup> In Homer, mute+liquid regularly ‘makes position’, i.e. (to use another convenient imprecision) lengthens a preceding short vowel. So it usually does in Stesichorus, but less consistently. The inhibition against a short syllable before mute+liquid is less heavily operative in Stesichorus than in Homer. In this area where the dividing line between long and short is at its thinnest, neither Homeric nor Stesichorean practice is easy to define more precisely. Homer once has *ἐπιφράσσετο*, twice *προεῖκλινε*, once ῥ

<sup>42</sup> *-ειν* vs. *-ην* (*-ην* is attested once, as a *v.l.* to *-ειν*) cannot be so guaranteed, of course.

<sup>43</sup> See in general H. Troxler, *Sprache und Wortschatz Hesiods* (Zurich 1964) 73ff; A. Morpurgo Davies, *Glotta* 42 (1964) 152ff.

<sup>44</sup> PMG 184.2, *Ταρτήσσου ποταμοῦ παρὰ παγὰς ἀπείρονας ἀργυρορίζους*. Upheld at “SM” 16.

<sup>45</sup> LGS 184, SLG 7: *παρὰ παγὰς <τίκτεν> ἀπείρονας*; cf. Lobel at *P.Oxy.* XLV 3212.3. See p.43 above, with n.26.

<sup>46</sup> Documentation is offered by Nöthiger, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.38) 112ff.

χρέος, once ὄ κράτος; such prosody is abnormal, though not quite sufficiently abnormal for it to be excluded. Stesichorus has κατ᾽ἔφραζετο, ἀπέκλινε, ὄ χρή, ὄ κρατός (all in *Geryoneis*); in him such prosody is less abnormal. The most unhomeric examples to be found in Stesichorus are these: ἐν κευθμῶνι πέτρας (*Geryoneis*, *SLG* 7.5; cf. *Il.* 8.323 ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν φαρέτρης); φίλου πατρός υἱόν (*Nosti*, *PMG* 209.11); -οντα λάθρα πολεμεῖν (*Geryoneis*, *SLG* 15 i 8); οὐδ' ἔκειο πέργαμα Τροίας (*Helen palinode*, *PMG* 192.3). Any of these scansion would have been useful to Homer (how serviceable a verse-ending that last one could have been), but he does not admit them: Stesichorus does.

The *Iliupersis* (*P.Oxy.* XXXII 2619 and 2803; *SLG* 88–147), like the Lille poem, is in embryonic dactylo-epitrite. The treatment of mute+liquid in that poem, which evidently appeared too late for inclusion in Nöthiger's survey, may be documented as follows—long as in Homer: *SLG* 88 ii 6 ἀκρόπολιν, ii 21 ἀνέκραγον, 89.8 μέτρα, 104.6 Κυπρογενής, 108.3 θέ]μεθλα, 123.3 ]όκριτογ(?), 138.4 ]. .ἔβαν ὄπλ[; short as in Homer: 105a.11 Ἀφροδίτα, 115.4 ὤσκ]αμάνδριον; short, not paralleled in Homer: 88 i 19 πυκινάς τ᾽ φρένας str.4 (πυκινὰς φρένας twice *H. Ven.*), 105b.7 — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ]πίτνη πυ.[(?) str.7. In sum: nine Homeric scansion, one or (more probably) two unhomeric shortenings.

The fragments of the Lille poem show *no* instances of a short syllable before mute+ liquid, as against nine or ten lengthenings (see Parsons' list, p.12). Parsons, adducing Nöthiger's survey, says that the conformity with Homeric prosody is "quite contrary to Stesichorean practice as the fragments show it"; and this for him constitutes "the chief evidence against Stesichorean authorship" (Parsons 12, cf. 7). I would suggest that the effect of Nöthiger's discussion is to exaggerate the difference between Homer and Stesichorus in this matter. Stesichorus avails himself of the short scansion when it is useful. With words such as δακρυόεντα (215), Ἔτεοκλ- (281), ὄνυμάκλυτος (291) and ἀκροτερ- (? , 297), it would hardly have been useful. And that the incidence of the short scansion should be higher in the *Geryoneis* than in the *Iliupersis* or the Lille poem is quite understandable. I dare say that ἐν κευθμῶνι πέτρας, necessarily scanning πέτρας in the wholly dactylo-anapaestic *Geryoneis*, would scan πέτρας in the Lille poem. It is not different authorship that is responsible, but different metre. The *Geryoneis* has need of a higher frequency of double-shorts than the dactylo-epitrite poems do (and than Homer does, too, because of Stesichorus' more circumscribed use of spondees). It is a matter of

expediency. A reasonable formulation of Stesichorus' practice overall would be that he uses the long scansion except where it suits him to use the short (and in this, after all, he is only behaving like Homer). If the main plank in an argument against Stesichorean authorship of the Lille poem is to be the absence of unhomeric scansions from our fragments of it, Stesichorean authorship may be taken as assured.<sup>47</sup>

(d) DIGAMMA. Stesichorus' use of the *digamma* (non-use and misuse included) is much like Homer's, but it does rather look as if original *digamma* is less consistently operative. In the Lille fragments note (i) γένος τε καὶ ἄστνυ υ— — | (228), as against Homer's invariable (*Il.* 18.274 apart) *Ἰάστνυ* (n.b. πόλιν καὶ ἄστνυ καώσῃς | *Il.* 17.144), and (ii) | — υυ παιδᾶς ἰδέσθαι κτλ. (211), as against Homer's regular *Ἰδέσθαι*.

(e) MISCELLANEOUS FORMS. All I can find to put here are two by-forms of εἶναι.

(i) πολὺ κέρδιον εἶν | [υυ — κτλ., *Geryoneis*, SLG 15 i 7, str.8. Syllabification rules prohibit εἶν|[αι (and discourage, as do other considerations, elided εἶν(αι)). εἶν is otherwise known only from Euboean inscriptions (see Nöthiger 16f). It is not matched by any equivalent form in epic.

(ii) ]γον εἶμεν *Il.pers.*, SLG 102.5, ep.8 *fin.* (period-end). εἶμεν is attested for another Sicilian, Epicharmus (cf. πέποςχα, PMG 261). The occurrence in Stesichorus does not strictly belong in this section, for at period-end Stesichorus was free to use either of the Homeric εἶναι or εἶμεν. I include it here because of its non-epic potential, epic knowing no infinitive 'to be' scanning—and consonant-closed. It is interesting but not immediately relevant that Alcman has εἶμεν or ἦμεν and Bacchylides εἶμεν.<sup>48</sup>

There seems to have been nothing in the Homeric repertory that was not available to Stesichorus. He shares the entire range of epic's dialectally heterogeneous mix, *plus* a number of extra forms: -εν

<sup>47</sup> Parsons also puts forward a subjective consideration against Stesichorean authorship, the "drab repetitious flaccidity of the composition" (Parsons 7). It is true that the Queen's speech (for example) does not compare with Geryon's ante-mortem speech to Heracles (LGS 56d, SLG 11); but while a monster may be endowed with a hero's nobility, a royal mother offers less scope for revisionist portrayal. It is also true that the verse does not dazzle like Pindar's, say; but Stesichorus' canvas is the bigger one of epic. And as for comparison with Homer, Quintilian had already warned, *redundat atque effunditur* (10.1.62). And if the poem is not Stesichorus', whose is it? We would know the name.

<sup>48</sup> εἶμεν (εἶμεν inf.) is now found in the new poem of (?ps.-) Epicharmus published in WS 10 (1976) 52.

alongside  $-\epsilon\nu$ ,  $-\tilde{\alpha}c$  alongside  $-\tilde{\alpha}c$ , greater use (in proportion to greater metrical exigency?) of short syllable before mute+liquid, freer neglect of *digamma*. It will be no accident that these features all entail one thing in common—a short syllable. Dactylo-anapaestic verse, which undoubtedly goes back well beyond Stesichorus, is more restricted in its use of spondaic substitution than the stichic epic. The greater availability of short syllables in Stesichorus' poetic language as compared with Homer's matches his greater need of them.

### 8. Metre and Diction

The diction is very similar to Homer's. It will be enough to mention |  $-\cup\cup$  *ἐν μεγάροις* and |  $-\cup$  *ἐνὶ μεγάροις* (233, 216), *πολὺν χρόνον* after the trochaic caesura (230), *ἐ]γὶ στήθεσσι φίλοις* | (249, cf. *ἐν στήθεσσι* 282), *ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων* | (209; surely to be taken together, *pace* Parsons), the speech formulae *μῦθον ἔειπε* | to introduce and | *ὡς φάτο* to close (253, 291 and 232), and *οἱ δ' ἐπίθοντο* | expressing acquiescence to a proposal for action (234). But not everything is so perfectly familiar. The diction, like the language and so much else about Stesichorus, may best be described as not-quite-like-Homer. The following may be singled out.

*ὡς φάτο δῖα γυνὰ μύθοις ἀγανοῖς ἐνεποίκα* (232). A Homeric lady may be (at line end) *δῖα γυναικῶν*, but *δῖα γυνή* never.

Stesichorus, like Hesiod, knows a plurality of Fates, who spin (212; cf. Callinus 1.9, and Hes. *Theog.* 904f). In Homer it is the gods who spin (*Od.* 1.17, 3.208, 4.208, 8.579, 11.139, 16.64, 20.196, *Il.* 24.525), and there is only one *Μοῖρα*.<sup>49</sup>

*κατ' αἶαν ἱράν* 205: *αἶα* is confined to line-end in Homer, and *ἰ(ε)ρός* not so applied.

*πρόφαινε ἐλπίδας βαρείας* 203, cf. 219: *προφαίνω* is used only of physical manifestations in Homer.

*ἄμέρα* (207) would be more likely to be *ἡματι* in Homer (*ἡμέρη* not in Homer; *ἡματι* prevocalic *Il.* 6.422, *H.Merc.* 17; *ἐπ' ἡματι Il.* 10.48, 13.234, 19.110, 229, *Od.* 2.284, 12.105, 14.105).<sup>50</sup>

Homer does not use *δοκέω* as Stesichorus does (225).

Nor would he say *γένος τε καὶ ἄστυ* (228), but *γένος καὶ ἄστυ*.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The *κλώθεσ* of *Od.* 7.197 are anomalous.

<sup>50</sup> I take *ἐπ' ἄμέρα* to mean not 'each day' (Parsons *ad loc.*) so much as 'in the space of a single day' (cf. Leaf on Iliadic *ἐπ' ἡματι ad loc.*).

<sup>51</sup> But there may be special force in *τε καὶ*, if survival of the *γένος* entailed destruction of the *ἄστυ*, and *vice versa*: cf. 216f, with Aesch. *Sept.* 791–831.



Nor does he use the expression εἴ γ' ἔτεόν (conjectured at 228).<sup>52</sup>

Stesichorus has some words foreign to Homer:

τερασπόλος (234 probably, a new word): Homer has *ὄνειροπόλος*, and *τέρας*.  
*κλαροπαληδόν* (223, another new word; see Schwyzer, *Gr.Gr.* I 626 for such new formations; *μοίρας* | *κληροπαλεῖς* *H.Merc.* 129). Cf. *ἐπικλοπάδαν* in the *Geryoneis* (*LGS* 56E 23, *SLG* 15 ii 6): it is interesting to have both these *hapaax* adverbs in Stesichorus, and both apparently formed from the corresponding adjective (*κληροπαλής*, *ἐπίκλοπος*).

*λυτήριον* (226).

*χρη]σμὸν ἀάμους* (248), neither in Homer—the self-same phrase at [Aesch.] *PV* 662, probably taken from here; Aeschylus too knew this poem, as the *Septem* shows.

*ὑμῖν* (219), against Homer's *ὑμμιν*: see p.48 above.

*διαμπερέως* (281) is the most striking of all. Homer very often has *διαμπερές*, but never *διαμπερέως*; and *διαμπερές* is rigidly confined to the position that *διαμπερέως* has here, i.e. following the feminine caesura.

The metre of the Lille poem is partly dactylic, partly non-dactylic. Is there a corresponding linguistic (*sprachlich*) differentiation? The epitrite parts inevitably house non-homeric collocations, and occasionally they provide accommodation for words metrically excluded from Homer—but remarkably few. There is *πρόφαινε* and *προφαίνω* (203, 219), and *φραδαῖσι* (227); these words were certainly known to Homer (he uses e.g. *προύφαινε* and *φράζετο*), but it would have strained the metre to employ them. Probably there is also *εὐέθ]ειρας* (243), though the restoration is not quite certain. That is all. It is noteworthy that so little use is made of words which have or incorporate or otherwise entail the shape — ∪ —, despite the metrical provision for them (see p.45 above). Metre apart, the epitrite parts are hardly less Homeric than the dactylic parts. The suggestion is that Stesichorus took the non-dactylic metre from non-dactylic genres (or perhaps, as in the case of the clausula, devised it himself) but applied to it the language

<sup>52</sup> αἴ γ' ἔτεόν *coni.* Lloyd-Jones, Barrett: *αἴφενεον pap.* Parsons calls the conjecture certain (*ad loc.*), but I wonder whether *νέον* might be retained? (1) *νέον* will mean 'young', and Cadmus' *νέον γένος* will be Eteocles and Polynices. Perhaps Zeus will save *them*, even if he failed to save the older members of the line, Oedipus or Laius (cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 742ff). We do not know the present age of the brothers: they are old enough to quarrel and to assent to a proposed course of action, but they are curiously quiet throughout, and they could even be children. (2) αἴ γ' ἔτεόν (i) implies that Teiresias has foretold that the race of Cadmus will survive and the evil day be long put off, and (ii) is unhomeric. Both these tell against it, I think. So I would read αἴ γε νέον κτλ. (*γα* not *γε* is written at 207; but orthographical consistency is not to be expected, and probably not to be imposed either.)

appropriate to epic, thereby maintaining the ethos at the elevation proper to the wars and heroes that he sang. Not that the phraseology in the epitrites is a crude adaptation of the traditional epic diction: on the contrary, it seems highly developed, the treatment of the epitrite ending of dactylic lines in particular having a thoroughly smooth and practised air (see p.47 above). Phrases such as *κατ' αἶαν ἱράν* (205), *μάλιςτα παντῶν* (289), *πόλει τε πάρα* (285), give almost a formulaic impression.<sup>53</sup>

### 9. Analysis of Stesichorean Dactylo-epitrite

In the *editio princeps* of the Lille poem are to be found two metrical analyses. The French editors present their own, in attempted conformity with the principles laid down by Jean Irigoien in his book *Recherches sur les mètres de la lyrique chorale grecque* (Paris 1953) and canonised in A. Dain's *Traité de métrique grecque* (Paris 1965), but they hospitably subjoin "une interprétation totalement différente, proposée par B. Gentili et plusieurs de nos correspondants italiens."<sup>54</sup> The difference between the two analyses is a real one, not just a matter of terms; in fact it is central to our understanding of the very nature of Stesichorean verse.

In my previous paper I discussed the articulation of Stesichorus' dactylo-anapaestic verses, and remarked by the way, and evidently with more optimism than truth, "It will be noted that Stesichorus is seriously if not fatally damaging to Irigoien's theory" ("SM" 31 n.47). This doctrine is that diaeresis—i.e. word-end between the metrical units of composition—tends to be avoided in dactylo-epitrite. If we find a verse — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — | x — ∪ — —, we are to analyse it *not* as compounded of — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — and x — ∪ — —, as might seem obvious, but as compounded of — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — x and — ∪ — —. It is the *avoidance* of word-end that reveals the true compositional units; synaphea conceals the junctures. This is ingenious, if not perverse. It is not necessarily absurd. One can compare the familiar aeolic clausula

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{xx} - \cup \cup - \text{x} - \frown \\ \text{x} | \text{x} - \cup \cup - - . \end{array}$$

<sup>53</sup> But note that *κατ' αἶαν ἱράν* cannot be as old as Homer, if I am right in taking *αἶα* (confined to line-end in Homer) to be an epic neologism (*Glotta* 54 [1976] 201–11).

<sup>54</sup> *Ed.pr.* 311–23 ("Etude métrique," by G. P. Ancher), and "Addenda," 350f.

The difference is that in that aeolic sequence the cola metrically define themselves. If the articulation were  $xx-\ddot{v}-x- \mid xx-\ddot{v}-$ , it would be absurd to postulate that colon-end does not coincide with word-end. Only when cola are metrically unambiguous can tension between the metrical and the lexical components come into play, for only then is conflict perceptually feasible. This is not the place, however, for a full-scale critique.<sup>55</sup> For Stesichorus the theory is plainly wrong. I limit myself to three considerations:

(1) The affinity between Stesichorean dactylo-epitrite and the epic hexameter is clearly established by the aniceps/biceps equivocation of the Lille poem and the *Iliupersis*.  $-\ddot{v}-\ddot{v}- \mid x-\ddot{v}-\ddot{v}-$  (and hence  $-\ddot{v}-\ddot{v}- \mid x-\ddot{v}-$ , etc.) in Stesichorus must be analysed 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 (indeed, it is now clear that the former grew out of the latter: see next section). It makes no sense to analyse them on contrary principles.

(3) The postulated synaphea runs counter to Stesichorus' poetic practice, for enjambment in Stesichorus is virtually unknown. There is regularly concord, not conflict, between the metrical and the grammatical components (see §6 above). If the points of major metrical division (triad-, stanza- and verse-junction) coincide in gradated fashion with the points of major grammatical division (sentence-end, clause-end), it is reasonable to expect the same correlation to obtain lower down the scale; we shall predict that any minor metrical divisions (colon-junctions) will tend to be marked by minor grammatical divisions (word-ends, possibly phrase-ends). And so they are.

A coherent view of the compositional mechanics of early dactylo-epitrite is achieved if we assign functional reality to the Maasian notation and take **D** ( $-\ddot{v}-\ddot{v}-$ , hemiepes) and **e** ( $-\ddot{v}-$ ) as true structural components, the metrical blocks out of which the verse is built. A misrepresentation implicit in this notation (one which I have continued to perpetrate throughout this paper, especially in speaking of the 'link-element') is that the sequence  $x-\ddot{v}-\ddot{v}-$  (*e.g.*,  $x\mathbf{D}-$ ), is liable to be taken for a **D** unit with a syllable tacked on at either

<sup>55</sup> For a critical appraisal of Irigoin's thesis from a rather different standpoint see L. P. E. Parker, *BICS* 5 (1958) 13–24.

side, rather than an entity with quite as much claim to independence as D; and this is more serious for e, where the simple e probably has less claim than ex and xex to be considered a unit in its own right. As the next section will I hope show, 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'. But when the alternative is a hotch-potch of nomenclature which serves only to conceal real affinities while suggesting false ones ('reizianum' for xe— is a particularly vicious example), there can be no doubt as to superiority of the Maasian system for analytical purposes as well as descriptive—so long as the above reservation is borne in mind.

The mechanics are for the most part perfectly straightforward. e (xe, xe—) can behave like D (xD, xD—). Verses more often than not begin falling (D, e), regularly continue rising (xD, xe), and regularly end pendant (xD—, xe—). This makes analysis child's play.

### 10. The Genesis of Dactylo-epitrite

Stesichorean dactylo-epitrite is clearly primitive. The vacillation between anceps and biceps, the restricted rôle of the epitrites, the unsubtle delineation of the verses—we may well take these as signs of the infant stage of autonomous dactylo-epitrite. A reconstruction of the metre's birth is now easy. The parents are the two types of stabilised Greek rhythm, long/double-short alternation (dactylo-anapaestic) and long/single-short alternation (iambo-trochaic). The 'dactylo-' component was already latent in the citharoedic tradition of dactylo-anapaestic verse, a prestigious member of which was the dactylic hexameter (a more purely dactylic version than the stichic Ionian had become). The 'epitrite' component came from iambic and trochaic. Sequences such as — ∨ — x — ∨ — x (trochaic dimeter) and x — ∨ — x (pentad: iambic trimeter segmented at caesura point) were translocated—lifted from their homogeneous homes and interspersed with dactylic verses (*n.b.* ep.3, ep.5). Not that Stesichorus was the first to do this: we need think only of Archilochus or Alcman; what distinguishes the Stesichorean line of development is the kind of interaction that then takes place.

For the epitrites brought with them the responson of — to ∨, and this responson extended itself to the dactylic parts, D ∞ D— (often D | — D—) becoming DxD— (often D | — D—) by architectural analogy

with the imported  $e\bar{x}e-$ . This metamorphosis of biceps into anceps would not have happened without the epitrite presence (there is no evidence for  $D\bar{\cup}D-$  prior to Stesichorus' dactylo-epitrite), but the ground was already prepared by the articulatory habits of Stesichorus' dactylic verse. Dactylo-anapaestic runs were broken at certain points, and when the cut came after the *longum*, the following biceps tended to take monosyllabic form (see "SM" 21f, 32f). What in dactylic context was perceived as  $D | \bar{\cup}D-$  is now liable, in an environment shared by the anceps, to be perceived as  $D | \bar{x}D-$ ; which of course licenses  $D | \bar{\cup}D-$ .  $-$ , being neutral, mediates the merger, for the difference between  $D | \bar{\cup}D-$  and  $D | \bar{x}D-$  is non-existent unless there is contextual disambiguation. In epic hexameters, no one would take a medial long syllable for anceps: in Bacchylidean dactylo-epitrite, no one would take it for biceps: in Stesichorus, the ambivalence of the metrical context nullifies the distinction.<sup>56</sup> It is this ancipitation of the biceps that entitles Stesichorus to be called the 'inventor' or *πρῶτος εὑρετής* of dactylo-epitrite.

The process of birth is now complete: the anceps has severed the umbilical cord: dactylic has become dactylo-. Coordination of parts can then begin. The epitrites do not stay segregated. Given  $D | \bar{x}D-$  and  $\bar{x}e-$ , it is a small step to  $D | \bar{x}e-$ , or to  $D | \bar{x}D | \bar{x}e-$ ; which is practically as far as epitrite assimilation goes in Stesichorus. This is as far as we need chart progress. Further developments—more thoroughgoing epitrite integration, more flexible fusion of metrical parts, more sophisticated rapport of metre and syntax—these are left to Stesichorus' successors, the choral lyric poets and the tragedians.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES

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<sup>56</sup> The element is neither biceps nor anceps: we could call it 'free'. The difference between  $D \bar{\cup} D-$  and  $D \bar{x} D-$  is not an acoustic but a conceptual and (therefore) perceptual one (cf. *Glotta* 54 [1976] 202). The line *Κάκτορα θ' ἰππόδαμον καὶ πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα* (Il. 3.237, Od. 11.300, cf. *SLG* 166.17), heard by someone expecting a hexameter, would *be* for him a hexameter; for someone else, hearing the same delivery but expecting a choerilean ( $D \bar{x} D-$ ), it would *be* a choerilean. In the Lille poem, however, the distinction simply does not obtain.