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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE DANCE OF THE MUSES

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THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL THOUGHT

BY
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For David Grene and Arthur W. H. Adkins

αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί

In days to come when man is young and all the stones are scattered
I shall walk the Sacred Way, come pilgrim to Parnassus

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To Arthur Adkins and David Grene: as I live and breathe and walk the earth, I shall honour thee. μάλιστα δέ τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοί.

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ARGUMENT

The four chapters following seek to develop a musical analysis of Homeric and classical Greek poetry, which shall be seen to entail a thoroughgoing new approach to the poetics of ancient verse. Canons derived from both the ancient world and the modern—in particular, the poetics of "oral theory" as it has been recently applied to Homer—must come in for revision or rejection. In large part this is because they neglect the original context of ancient poetic performance in the *χορεία Μουσῶν*: the dance of the Muses.

The proposed analysis departs from the abstract metrics of the past in that it conceives the rhythmic and harmonic elements of poetry as integral to the whole expression, and decisive in the interpretation of its meaning. In the light of modern classical traditions the method of analysis may seem suspect in its novelty, but it is grounded in the unimpeachable work of W. Sidney Allen in ancient prosody, and in the most authoritative of pre-Hellenistic sources. It serves at last to bring the interpretation of ancient verse into step with the sorts of analyses customarily enjoyed by works in all the more recent poetical and musical traditions.

Such an approach is now possible for the first time, because of the new theory of the Greek tonic accent set out in the first part of the thesis, and its application to Greek poetry understood as *χορεία*; this is the proper name for the art and art work of the great Hellenic poets, described by an ancient commentator as a synthesis of dance rhythm and vocal harmony, in disagreement moving toward agreement. The second chapter introduces a

poetics of χορεία, and argues for its priority, at least in the context of Greek verse, over the prevailing poetics of imitation. "Choral theory" takes its cues from certain passages in Plato, and seeks, among other things, to correct the too precipitate reduction of the problem of poetics to that of imitation, which occurs almost immediately in Aristotle's treatise. To be sure, the modern interest in issues of composition and performance can seem excessive at times, almost an attempt to avoid the question of poetic meaning to which Aristotle rather points. And yet, poetry is "making," first of all, and a sense of the form and the dynamic in the art of composition must inform the larger criticism—as to life and to nature, and as to truthful representation. In particular, the argument is concerned to expose the choral (rather than oral) nature of Homer's poetry. The dissertation proceeds to a treatment of Homeric poetics—in this area the approach may be said to be approaching maturity—and in the fourth chapter offers a foretaste of the fruits to be harvested in lyric.

Metrical or rhythmic analysis by and large has been divorced from the interpretation of the meaning of an ancient poem. It is often treated as a footnote or appendix to criticism. (George Thomson's *Greek Lyric Metre*, and now Paolo Vivante's *Homeric Rhythm*, are exceptions to prove the rule.) Conversely, the analysis of meaning has largely been lexical, and considerable genius and effort of inference has been spent on the subtleties of usage and thematic context. There is sometimes practised in the classroom a kind of fusion of the metrical and the lexical, resulting in a recital of verse which may be described as "lexical scansion". Syllables of Greek words are stressed, in a manner native to the student, according as they fall upon the ictus of the metrical foot. Although the practice depends upon a more-or-less genuine sequence of syllables, and upon authoritative metrical knowledge, scansion

nevertheless gives no stylistic insight into the actual sound-substance of Greek poetry. There can be no such insight while the native prosody or stress pattern remains a mystery. Only consider what scansion of Shakespeare would produce—"To bé or nót to bé, that ís the quéstion"—and compare the result with the most amateurish of actor's renderings, where both accent and ictus come into play. Classical scholars are not shy about commenting on style, in poetry or prose; yet no-one would listen to a critic of Shakespeare who could not recite Shakespeare's English, or had not witnessed a performance. It is therefore a prudent response to Matthew Arnold, and to the translators of Homer who quote his prescriptions in the manner of a native guide, to ask: what did he know about it? Who in the modern world can claim to have heard the tempo and the resonance of Homer's surging lilt?

What has been missing between the metrical and the lexical is the harmonic: *ἁρμονία*, literally the artful 'joining' of significant word to rhythmic foot. Knowledge of the harmonic stress points native to the words creates a music, through the interplay of harmonic accent and metrical ictus in counterpoint and reinforcement, and so turns the text of an ancient poem into a musical score. What cannot be promised here is the definitve reconstruction of a performance. Definitive performance in relation to any written text, even in the contemporary, must remain an inherently doubtful proposition. Beethoven himself was already deaf when he conducted the premiere of his Ninth Symphony. The story has it that he continued to conduct from his score after the orchestra was finished and was receiving its ovation. Perhaps he took an extra repeat; or perhaps he wasn't as serious about his quick metronome markings as some latterday purists believe. In any case, it would seem that even the living presence of the author cannot

protect a written work from its dependence upon the act of interpretation in performance.

What *can* be promised here, however, is a new level of objective insight into the poetics of ancient poetry. In modern musical texts, rhythmic modulations, key changes, melodic patterns, and the like, constitute a body of objective data yielded immediately in the interpretation of a musical score. Similarly, the stress patterns of a Shakespearean soliloquy are largely a matter of objective record, where a linguistic inheritance is supplemented by linguistic scholarship. These stress patterns in a speech form the objective component in the critical analysis of *emphasis*, a concept which bridges sound and meaning. The emphases are the "significant stresses". These data then in turn beome the fodder for deeper or more idiosyncratic interpretation, in performer and critic alike. It has been thought heretofore that such data were unrecoverable from Greek choral poems. The dance and the dancers had vanished; and the accent marks, which indicate pitch contours, appeared to bear no patterned relation to the metrical scheme, in the manner characteristic of living music and verse. Insight into emphasis had to come from scansion and word order alone; and while these are not insignificant components, and classicists tend not to be shy about proceeding with interpretations of emphasis on these lines, it must be conceded that the root and original of broader emphasis in speech lies in phonological stress, or prosody. In poetry *or* prose, stress is the key to emphasis and style; and while a critic ignores or is ignorant of prosody, he must remain functionally deaf to both.

The new theory of the accent supplies the missing link: it claims to reveal the natural prosody of Greek speech, based on a new interpretation of the accent marks of the written tradition. When the most prosodically

prominent syllables are identified according to the theory, and their positions then compared to the sequence of metrical ictus in a poem, a pattern is for the first time revealed which has the unmistakable sense of music. The harmonic tie between word and foot is therefore established, without ever a dancer dancing or singer singing, directly from the written text.

The emergence of such a pattern is an important confirmation of the theory itself, which is developed in the first chapter solely on historical and comparative grounds. The Hellenic anomaly, of a language whose prosody had appeared to have little or no relation to its poetry, would be solved if the new theory is correct. On a practical level, it is hoped that the schema introduced here in the third chapter, where the location of the prosodic prominences is overlaid on the quantitative sequence for passages in Homer, will prove to be an exportable prototype. A schema which displayed the *quality* of the prominent syllables (*i.e.*, rising pitch or falling), in addition to their location, would reveal even more. At the very least, harmonic analysis can begin to supplement the traditional methods of interpretation. (Indeed, while it is in its infancy, the harmonic analysis can only win credence by tending to corroborate the textual emphases pointed to by the traditional, "lexical" criticism.) But it can fairly be hoped that harmony will one day be a guide to meaning, or perhaps become fused in a synthetic approach.

In rhetoric as well as poetics, paying attention to the prosodic and other aural qualities of speech may yet serve as a key or a corrective to the interpretation of ancient practice. Consider chiasmus. Students meet with this figure early in their exposure to classical rhetoric; it is taught as a feature of classical style. Whereas the logical or associational grouping of ideas could be represented as a : b :: c : d, the rhetorical order of the terms in a chiastic figure is a, b, d, c. The "chi" refers to an X-shape which emerges when the

four terms of a chiastic sequence are represented graphically with the first two (a, b) on top of the second two (d, c), and the related terms are joined by lines (the first to the fourth and the second to the third). "Chiasmus" is therefore a concept which arises out of a schoolroom exercise, worked upon the written terms of a rhetorical sequence.

What is the aural reality of the chiastic sequence? It is a sequence. There is no X, and no reason to suppose that an X occurs in the consciousness, whether in the production or the reception of speech. The value of the term "chiasmus" for the science of rhetoric may fairly, therefore, be doubted. When one considers chiastic order as an aural phenomenon, however, the reality "behind" the style becomes a palpable thing. There is an immediate musicality to the reversal: Smyth quotes Milton ("Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet").[1] Music sweetening and even imposing on the order of logic, is the reality of rhetoric; no X's are involved. Reversing the *logical* sense of proportion or association, so as to make the last term recall the first, can create a sense of *aural* proportion, balance and symmetry (δουλεύειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι...ἄρχειν καὶ δεσπόζειν, Plato's *Phaedo* 80a).[2] This is to produce a sensation of stasis and transitory equilibrium in the listener, in the course of the ongoing flow of words.

In the case of longer chiastic structures—and they can be extravagant—an additional factor may come into play. In the linearity of aural composition, in the presentation of a series of interrelated terms, it makes sense that the last should refer to the first, so as to bring a sense of closure to the whole grouping. In the poetics of epic narrative, as in the linear

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[1]Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1920, pg. 677

[2]*Ibid.*

progressions of modern classical music, we refer to "ring composition". Chiastic order may in some cases be understood as a rhetorical version of the ring, imposed to elicit a sense of aural closure. The X pertains to schoolroom geometry and the manipulation of dead letters. But the ring is substantive, and all-pervasive as Homer: it is more likely to pertain to the truth of Greek rhetoric in composition and reception.

In poetics, our focus, metrical analysis has given us mere quantity and mechanical ictus. To the extent that critical schemata have abstracted and mathematised the quantities into formulæ, as in the prevailing representations of dactylo-epitrite metres, for example, even the ictus can be overlooked. But when we can write the positions of the verbal accents into our metrical charts, and demonstrate their relation to the strong parts of the feet (*i.e.*, to the ictus), we have, in effect, introduced bar lines into the score. Genuine rhythm can be read from the text. And to the extent that we can identify the quality of the accents in their direction of pitch, we have introduced a staff as well, and pointed to a sketch for a singer's melody, or a guide to an actor's intonation. As we approach the meaning of the text of a Bach oratorio, or a Shakespearean drama, in the totality of their μουσική, so should we begin to interpret the λόγος of Homeric epic, Pindaric lyric, and Sophoclean tragedy.

CHAPTER I

THE VOICE OF THE DANCER

A New Theory of the Greek Accent

A fresh interpretation of the words ὀξύς and βαρύς is the basis for a new theory of the Greek accentual system, a theory which promises new vistas for the study and the performance of ancient texts. Knowledge of the relation between rhythm and harmony, as the Ancients understood them, can reawaken the Muse of Greek verse and the syncopation and cadence of her song. In contests, says Aristotle,[1] the actors have become more powerful than the poets, because they know the three elements of delivery (ὑπόκρισις): μέγεθος ἁρμονία ῥυθμός ("magnitude harmony rhythm"). To the first of these we latecomers have no access; modulation of volume will have to remain the province of a reader's imagination, and an actor's intent, as it does in English verse. But this new interpretation, humble as it may at first sound, opens up a printed page of Greek in an unprecedented way, so that the aural harmonies and rhythms of the best Greek prose and verse, which have always been embedded in the texts, may at last be recovered for analysis, and restored to some part of their sensuality and vigour. The promise of the new theory of the accent is to render ancient texts as musical scores, open even today to the objectivity of harmonic analysis; and perhaps to discover the

[1] *Rhetoric* 1403b31 ff.

genuine rhythm and feel of Greek, so far that our texts may become scripts, we their actors, and the music of the ancient world sound in full voice.

Aristophanes of Byzantium is said to have invented the prototype of the written accentual system found in our texts. There are three signs in this system: acute (´), circumflex (ˆ), and grave (`). Words are classified in terms of accent according to the syllabic position of the first two signs: oxytone, paroxytone, and proparoxytone, as the acute occurs on the ultima, penult, or antepenult; perispomenon and properispomenon as the circumflex appears on the ultima or penult. There has also been passed down the descriptive term "barytone," which one might expect to be contrasted in some way with "oxytone," and to refer in some way to words containing the grave accent; but which serves instead to denote any word with no type of accent mark on the ultima. In the tradition, therefore, paroxytones, proparoxytones, and properispomena are also for some reason called barytones.

No part of this new approach will quarrel with the received phonetic interpretation of Aristophanes' signs: they are a perfectly economical way of marking the point in the vocalising of an accented vowel at which the voice rose in pitch. This rising accent was described as *ὀξύς*, a term usually taken in prosodic or musical contexts to refer to high pitch. A *βαρύς* accent appears not to be marked, however; the grave sign we inherit does not indicate a distinct feature, but seems rather to imply some kind of suppression or modification of the *ὀξύς* accent in oxytone, non-prepausal words. It is important to note that Aristophanes' circumflex also does not denote a structurally distinct phenomenon: it is simply a way to mark the rising pitch as occurring on the first mora of a long vowel or diphthong, where the simple acute in such a case would mark accent on the second mora. (A mora is an element of vowel measurement, two of which are in a long vowel or diphthong, one in a

short.) It should therefore be apparent that despite the three kinds of accent mark, the five types of word classified according to the written location of these marks, and the presence of a further traditional term "barytone," which may seem to imply at least a binary distinction in the real phonetic phenomena, the system of Aristophanes depends upon the location of only a single feature: high or rising pitch.

As to whether the first mora accent involved a recognisably unique sound, the evidence is difficult to weigh. Plato and Aristotle did not know of a third accent called circumflex; they had *ὀξύς* and *βαρύς*, while Aristotle also had a *μέσος*,[2] which despite disagreement about its true nature, was clearly not what came to be called circumflex (*i.e.*, a combination of the other two). The circumflex' alternate names among the grammarians (such as *δίτονος*, *ὀξύβαρυς*) imply that it registered as a discrete conjunction of the other two, and not as some new hybrid. Perhaps, then, as early a commentator as Dionysius Thrax may have been wrongly interpreting Aristophanes' choice of a distinctive sign as an indication of a distinctive feature—for which, after all, no name had come down from classical times, and which was referred to by its written shape (*περισπωμένη τάσις*) and not its aural quality.

On the other hand, the way in which Dionysius describes the sound with which the circumflex is pronounced, *κατὰ περίκλασιν* "by breaking round," has an ancient pedigree. Glaucus of Samos, who is mentioned in Plato, and whose opinions we have through Varro through Sergius (?),[3] attests to no less than six different voice modulations, the last three of which

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[2]see, *e.g.*, Plato's *Cratylus* 399a, *Timaeus* 67b; Aristotle's *Rhetoric* 1403b29, *Poetics* 1456b33

[3]see E. H. Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920, pp. 199-201

(κεκλασμένη, <ἀνακλωμένη,> ἀντανακλωμένη "broken, bent, reflected") Sergius (?) takes as describing three species of circumflex. Clearly, some kind of voice modulation characterised by "breaking" (κλάω) is envisioned. J. P. Postgate has suggested that these three species correspond to the pitch patterns in, respectively, πᾶν (páàn), Πᾶν (Pàán) and ναῦς (nàáùs—he compares νᾶός, νηύς).[4] The last two examples, however, assume without warrant a down-glide rather than level pitch on the unaccented first mora of the vowel or diphthong. Perhaps, instead, the "bent" and "reflected" species refer to accentual shapes in enclitic environments, where the doubling of word-level accent can produce sharp turns in the sense of the pitch on adjacent syllables (for example, δῶρόν τι, ἔλαβέ τις).

Glaucus' first three species are ἀνειμένη "relaxed" (describing the βαρύς), μέση "middle," and ἐπιτεταμένη "tensed" (describing the ὀξύς). There is reason to believe that μέση meant "level" here: since all the other words suggest motion (*i.e.*, change of pitch), the contrast with level pitch would be more to the point than with "middle" pitch; further, Sergius (?) cites Athenodorus as calling a certain accent μονότονος "single pitch," which he then identifies as the μέση. The emphasis is therefore on the levelness of tone and not on the middleness of relative pitch.

Some two millennia after this the exemplary scholarship of Sidney Allen has afforded us an analysis of the Greek tonal phenomena based on the analogous Vedic. Of particular importance is his recognition of the place of the *svarita* in ancient Greek: this was an automatic leveling of the voice from high to low that followed the primarily accented syllable, a feature

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[4]J. P. Postgate, *A Short Guide to the Accentuation of Ancient Greek*, London: University of Liverpool Ltd., Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1924, pgs. 14-5

described by ancient Indian phoneticians.[5] On his reading, ὀξύς and βαρύς meant high and low respectively, and the Greeks did not explicitly recognise the down-glide. But he argues from its automatic nature that the *svarita* is merely a structural variant on the low pitch, just indeed as the Indians saw it, and the fact "that it is not specially indicated in Greek does not rule out the likelihood of its existence in this language also." He goes on to cite the evidence of musical fragments. The circumflex thus becomes ὀξύς plus *svarita* in one syllable; again by comparing with the Vedic, Allen draws the following conclusion about its sound:

> Phonetically the two elements probably fused, so that the 'compound' accent was probably identical with the falling glide which occurred on a long vowel or diphthong in the syllable following a high pitch, and the Indian writers use the same term *svarita* for both (cf. also the musical treatment of λυπού, ζῆν, ἀπαιτεῖ in the Aidin inscription).[6]

In all fairness, however, the inscription does not quite bear him out (almost, but not quite). In the modern transcription,[7] the circumflected syllables bear a grace-note before the down-glide which the merely post-acute syllables do not. This may be taken, with obvious dependence on the modern transcriber's methods, as a musical hint of the "break" in the voice that some of the grammarians saw as uniquely characteristic of the sound of the circumflex. The question of the phonetic similarity of the compound accent (circumflex) and the simple down-glide (the unmarked, post-acute *svarita*), ought therefore to be left open.

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[5]W. Sidney Allen, *Vox Graeca*, 3rd edn., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pg. 121

[6]*Ibid.*, pg. 122

[7]*Ibid.*, pg. 119

Once granted, the *svarita* allows Allen a felicitous formulation that includes the uniquely Greek restrictions (absent in the Vedic) placed upon the location of the accent:

> ...the Greek accent may be considered essentially as a 'contonation', comprising the high pitch and the falling pitch which immediately follows it; this contonation may be either monosyllabic (in the case of the compound accent) or disyllabic; but in either case *not more than one vowel-mora* (=short vowel) *may follow the contonation.*[8]

Allen graciously credits C. Lancelot, a 17th century Frenchman, for spotting the essentials of this formula, as well as other parts of his own theory, in Lancelot's *Nouvelle Methode pour apprendre facilement la langue grecque* (1655).

We may well ask how the economy of this "contonation" escaped the analysis of ancient thinkers and grammarians, while it graces that of modern linguists? The answer is that the contonation was not described directly in the ancient world, but the fact of its ancestral presence is indicated by the conscious apprehension of its peculiar elements. The point of departure for the new theory is to identify the *svarita*, the post-acute down-glide, with the feature the Greeks called *βαρύς*, and to recognise that this *βαρύς* was apprehended by them as a positive accent in its own right. The rise and the fall in pitch over the contonation came to be perceived by the Greeks as two different kinds of accent, *ὀξύς* and *βαρύς*, not accent and automatic down-glide, as in Vedic, and certainly not accent and lack of accent, as in the prevailing high pitch/low pitch interpretation of these words (in a recent treatment we find: "*βαρύς* means 'unaccented' phonologically and 'Low toned,' as opposed

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[8]*Ibid.*, pg. 124

to Mid toned, phonetically."[9]) Certain words came to be characterised as more one than the other, as a passage from Dionysius of Halicarnassus will later indicate. The art of ἁρμονία as it applied to speech would therefore have consisted in joining together words characterised by the ὀξύς and βαρύς—two kinds of thing, not opposites—in euphonious rhythm. (This could be seen as an aesthetic re-joining, at the level of the line and phrase, of what is in its nature a fractured contonation within and between syllables.)

One must first recognise that the terms ὀξύς and βαρύς are not negatives of each other; their opposition is temporal and qualitative, which is why harmonising them produces something rhythmic and euphonic, and not something neutral. The opposite of ὀξύς (sharp, coming to a point) is ἀμβλύς (blunt, dull), and these words are opposed both literally and figuratively (see, for example, Plato's *Republic* 596a), while the opposite of βαρύς (heavy, tending to fall) is κοῦφος (light, see *Republic* 438c). ὀξύς is not high, but sharply rising; βαρύς is not low, but heavily falling. The adjectives of themselves indicate the curious situation in Greek of a contonation heard and appreciated in the separation of its adjacent parts.

The strictly musical usage, however, where ὀξύς and βαρύς describe high and low regions or "pitches" in the scale, is old and must be accounted for; its development can be traced first from the application to tuning strings:

> ...τάσις or τόνος (lit. 'stretching') may be taken to derive their meaning from the string-tension whereby the pitch of a musical instrument is varied, the 'sharp' accent being commonly associated with ἐπίτασις 'tightening', and the 'heavy' with ἄνεσις 'slackening'—terms which are in fact also applied to stringed instruments (*e.g.* Plato, *Rep.*, 349e).[10]

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[9]A. M. Devine and L. D. Stephens, *The Prosody of Greek Speech*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, pg. 172

[10]Allen, *Vox Graeca*, pg. 116

Following on this, the terms came to cover the *result* of tensing or relaxing a stretched string, the fixed pitch at the end, rather than the tonal glide during tuning. In Plato's *Phaedrus*,[11] Socrates says a truly musical man would not rebuke someone harshly who thought he was a ἁρμονικός just because he knew how to make the "most ὀξύς" and "most βαρύς" string. The *Republic* passage cited by Allen implies that the skill of a μουσικός consisted in accurately tuning the lyre by stretching and slackening strings; thus the most sharp string is the most tightened, the most heavy is the most loosened or fallen. Socrates suggests that knowing how to set these two strings is only the necessary preliminary to harmony, presumably because the pitches they produce when most tightened and most slack serve as proportional extremes, of melodic high and low, to the pitches produced by the intermediately tightened strings in any particular mode.

Pitches in general were denoted by the periphrasis ὅροι τῶν διαστημάτων, or "boundary marks of the intervals,"[12] while their individual names came from the position on the lyre of the respective strings that produced them, for example νεάτη ὑπάτη μέση (low, high, and middle). Plato's phrase, ὅροι νεάτης τε καὶ ὑπάτης καὶ μέσης (*Republic*, 443d), should be retained with genitives, for it shows the origin of Aristoxenus' and the later harmonicists' technical terms: the notes of a harmonised lyre (compared by Socrates to a just soul) are the boundary points, single pitches at the extremes of continuous intervals, that sound *from* the low, high and middle strings. We have a notion here as to why the modern metaphor of

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[11]268d ff.

[12]see Aristoxenus, *Harmonics*, I.49; Plato, *Philebus*, 17d

spatial opposites (high and low) was precluded for the Greeks from musical description: the high string on the lyre, which gave the name "high" (ὑπάτη) to its note, produced the lowest tone (*i.e.*, the βαρύτατος ὅρος). To describe the notes themselves as high or low would have introduced a terminological confusion at the very least, whether or not the metaphor could otherwise have suited the Greeks. It is easy enough to see how ὀξύς and βαρύς, originally suggesting the sharp and falling modulations of speech, were also deployed to describe the sounds of tightening and slackening strings, of moving through an interval, and then came to stand for the result of tuning, the limit of an interval, what we now call high or low pitch.

In confirmation of these speculations, we find in Aristoxenus' *Harmonics* what is likely to be the precise point and passage where the words ὀξύς and βαρύς were first applied to fixed instead of changing pitch. Here is Henry Macran's translation, with Greek added for clarity:

> **Tension** (ἐπίτασις) is the continuous transition of the voice from a lower position (ἐκ βαρυτέρου τόπου) to a higher (εἰς ὀξύτερον), **relaxation** (ἄνεσις) that from a higher to a lower. **Height of pitch** (ὀξύτης) is the result of tension (διὰ τῆς ἐπιτάσεως), **depth** (βαρύτης) the result of relaxation (διὰ τῆς ἀνέσεως). On a superficial consideration of these questions it might appear surprising that we distinguish four phenomena here instead of two, and in fact it is usual to identify height of pitch with tension, and depth with relaxation. Hence we may perhaps with advantage observe that the usual view implies a confusion of thought. In doing so we must endeavour to understand, by observing the phenomenon itself, what precisely takes place when in tuning we tighten a string or relax it. All who possess even a slight acquaintance with instruments are aware that in producing tension we raise the string to a higher pitch, and that in relaxing it we lower a pitch. Now, while we are thus raising the pitch of the string, it is obvious that the height of pitch which is to result from the process cannot yet be in existence. Height of pitch will only result when the string becomes stationary and ceases to change, after having been brought by the process of tension to the point of pitch required; in other words when the tension has ceased and no longer exists. For it is impossible that a string should be at the same moment in motion and at rest; and as we have seen, tension takes place when the string is in motion, height of pitch when it is quiescent and stationary. The same

> remarks will apply to relaxation and depth of pitch, except that these are concerned with change in the opposite direction and its result. It is evident, then, that relaxation and depth of pitch, tension and height of pitch, must not be identified, but stand to one another in the relation of cause and effect.[13]

Note that Aristoxenus is consciously innovating when he distinguishes between *ὀξύτης-βαρύτης* and tightening-relaxing as stationary versus moving pitches. He does this in part to be true to the facts of tuning, but also to produce a set of terms that suits Aristotle's stricture of non-contradiction: a string cannot be in motion and rest at the same time (*pace* Heraclitus).[14] Hence *ὀξύς* and *βαρύς* take on their new colours.

While Aristoxenus (4th century BC) had distinguished between continuous change (*συνεχής*) in the voice tone and change by intervals (*διαστηματική*), the former being characteristic of speaking and the latter of singing,[15] Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st century BC) appears to apply the descriptive terms of song to the phenomena of speech; he speaks of the "melody of speech," and of its being measured by a musical interval (the fifth). *τὸ ὀξύ* and *τὸ βαρύ* are "tone regions" or pitches *to* which the voice respectively rises or lowers while pronouncing syllables, rather than characteristics of the rising and lowering themselves.[16] While the information he gives about the size of the supposed speech interval might seem useful as descriptive data, his ignorance of the original meaning of *ὀξύς* and *βαρύς* as it applied to speech leads to inconsistencies in his account. It

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[13]Aristoxenus, *Harmonics*, I.10-11

[14]see Plato, *Symposium*, 187a

[15]Aristoxenus, I.8 ff.

[16]see Dionysius, *De Compositione Verborum*, 40.17 ff.

may even discredit the descriptive insight, at least as far as it applied to classical practice. I shall discuss the incoherencies in the sequel. The old notion, meanwhile, of sharp and heavy accents characterised by raising and lowering, is still preserved in the Thracian Dionysius (2nd century BC), whom we see emerging as a crucial transitional figure:

> τόνος ἐστὶ οωνῆς ἀπήχησις ἐναρμονίου. ἡ κατὰ ἀνάτασιν ἐν τῇ ὀξείᾳ. ἡ κατὰ ὁμαλισμὸν ἐν τῇ βαρείᾳ. ἡ κατὰ περίκλασιν ἐν τῇ περισπωμένῃ.
>
> Accent is a sounding of the tuned voice, by tightening upward in the sharp one, by leveling in the heavy one, by breaking round in the bent-over one.[17]

What precise phenomenon Dionysius means to denote by the circumflex (the "bent-over one") it is hard to say. But we can be gratified by his use of *ἀνάτασις* and *ὁμαλισμός*, both conveying kinds of movement and not fixed pitch; in particular his use of "leveling" must be seen to corroborate my identification of the *βαρύς* with the Vedic *svarita*. Its unique kind of emphasis in Greek, however, must be marked as something new under the Indo-European sun.

To begin to see the importance of this emphasis, we first must show that the Greeks saw individual words as characterised by either the *ὀξύς*, the *βαρύς*, or by both accents. This would imply that something about Greek syllable relations drew out one or the other aspect of the contonation in particular contexts. The following passage from Dionysius of Halicarnassus begins by making such a threefold distinction among Greek words; it then also serves to point up the incoherencies which follow upon interpreting

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[17]Dionysius Thrax, Τέχνη Γραμματική, 6.15-7.2

ὀξύς and βαρύς exclusively as high and low pitch. Here it is with Allen's translation:

> οὐ μὴν ἅπασα λέξις ἡ καθ' ἓν μόριον λόγου ταττομένη ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς λέγεται τάσεως, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀξείας, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς βαρείας, ἡ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν. τῶν δὲ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς τάσεις ἐχουσῶν αἱ μὲν κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν συνεσθαρμένον ἔχουσι τῷ ὀξεῖ τὸ βαρύ, ἃς δὴ περισπωμένας καλοῦμεν· αἱ δὲ ἐν ἑτέρᾳ τε καὶ ἑτέρᾳ χωρὶς ἑκάτερον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν οἰκείαν συλάττον φύσιν. καὶ ταῖς μὲν δισυλλάβοις οὐδὲν τὸ διὰ μέσου χωρίον βαρύτητός τε καὶ ὀξύτητος· ταῖς δὲ πολυσυλλάβοις, ἡλίκαι ποτ' ἂν ὦσιν, ἡ τὸν ὀξὺν τόνον ἔχουσα μία ἐν πολλαῖς ταῖς ἄλλαις βαρείαις ἔνεστιν.
>
> Of course, not every word is spoken with the same pitch-pattern, but one on the high pitch, another on the low, and another on both. Of those which have both, some have the low combined with the high in one syllable, and these we call circumflex; whereas others have each of them on different syllables and maintaining their own quality. In disyllables there is no intermediate position between low and high; but in polysyllables, of whatever length, there is a single syllable containing the high pitch amongst a plurality of low pitches.[18]

Allen is surely right in taking λέξις ἡ καθ' ἓν μόριον λόγου ταττομένη as a periphrasis for "word," based on the Thracian Dionysius' definition of that complex phenomenon. Sturtevant's rendering, "the entire utterance during one word,"[19] implies that each word has all the accents, which is directly contradicted by the rest of the sentence. The internal contradictions in Dionysius' account are more subtle than that. As I read the passage, the first statement is one of received truth (thus the formal periphrasis); this is the point of the μήν; each word has long since been known to have been spoken with one accent, the other accent, or with both. The rest of the passage is an attempt to explain this fact. The failure of the attempt may be discovered by a simple question: What sort of word, ὦ Διονύσιε, is pronounced ἐπὶ βαρείας,

[18]Dionysius, 40.17 ff.

[19]Sturtevant, pg. 194

with the heavy accent? By your admission, disyllables and polysyllables carry both accents (or pitches, as you conceive them). Did the first two categories in the received statement (*ἐπὶ τῆς ὀξείας, ἐπὶ τῆς βαρείας*) mean to distinguish only between monosyllables? And did the scholar who said it mean by the second category to exalt the prodigious class of unaccented (low-pitch) monosyllables? The explanation that there was one high or highest pitch per word, which may actually have been the case in a musical setting of verse, does not make sense of or shed light on the distinction made in the first statement, that there are three kinds of word defined by the permutations of two accents; that statement was included of necessity as received knowledge, but Dionysius for one reason or another was inadequate to gloss it, without recourse to a tradition of the musical settings of speech. By the time of Dionysius, the extended *musical* meaning of *ὀξύς* and *βαρύς*, high and low pitch, would seem to be the only one available, and he must therefore apply it in an attempt to make sense of the received terms for the accents of *speech*. A legacy of Dionysius' inadequacy is the descriptive pointlessness of the term "barytone," which has been dutifully preserved in the grammars.[20]

How, then, might a word's contonation have come sometimes to sound *ὀξύς*, sometimes *βαρύς*, and sometimes both? (Note that the last category did *not* necessarily refer to the circumflex, as even Dionysius of Halicarnassus feels he must qualify it to cover this phenomenon; if Allen is right the circumflex would be phonetically identical with the *svarita*.) The key to this problem is that in Greek, quantity was an independent variable. Depending on which combination of longs and shorts the contonation fell upon, different effects would have resulted. If the down-glide fell on a long

[20]see, *e.g.*, Smyth, pg. 38

vowel, for example, it would have occupied the whole of it (as in Vedic), whereas the preceding acute only occupied one mora. The length of the down-glide would therefore have brought it into prominence in relation to the rise, and such words as ἄνθρωπος, ἥβη, and λέγω were βαρύς, accent on the second syllable. On the basis of the analogy with Vedic, circumflected vowels containing the whole of the contonation's rise and fall were dominated phonetically by the down-glide. Hence circumflected words were also βαρύς, with accent on the same syllable as the sign: δῶρον, ζῆν. It is likely that if the vowel following an acute was long by position, this would also have made the contonation sound βαρύς, though to a degree that might have depended on the sonant quality of the surrounding consonants (φέρόντες more, μάχὲσθαι less). The possibility that in some contexts these distinctions of perceived prosodic quality were relative rather than absolute may be indicated by the frequent use of comparatives rather than positives to describe the accents (see *e.g.*, Plato's *Cratylus* 399b). The importance of the sonant (nasal or liquid) can be seen in a word like ἄνδρα, where the formants of -νδρ- would likely have carried the glide, so that this word is actually βαρύς with accent on the first syllable (in effect, ἂνδρα).

If the following syllable were short, however, it probably could not have taken the glide. The result would have been a step-wise descent from the ὀξύς, thereby emphasising the ὀξύς as such: it rose to a point and broke off. Words like σοφώτατος, βουλόμενος, μάχομαι, δέκατος, ἥκομεν would have fitted this category; all are ὀξύς on the antepenult. Despite the sonant in some of the immediately following syllables, quickness of pronunciation (brought on by the vowel quantities) would have de-emphasised the *svarita*. The resulting effect would have been a sharp stress on the acutely accented syllable.

All so-called oxytone words (*i.e.*, with the acute on the ultima) were somewhat suppressed on the accented syllable, except before pauses and enclitics, if we accept the testimony of the grave sign (Allen's argument for this depends on the fact that the contonation could not cross word boundaries in Greek).[21] Pauses and enclitics, however, even when the latter are elided, apparently released this ὀξύς, and indeed, this must be seen as the most important way that pauses and enclitics each added emphasis to their neighbouring words (their own presence or silence is of course another). Indeed, if the marking of an acute on the ultima rather than a grave before a pause was a reflection of actual performance practice, the released ὀξύς in such a case must have been a significant aural mark of a period in sense. Long enclitics (*e.g.* που, μοι) would meanwhile complete the contonation of oxytone words, and so at times receive the weight of the βαρύς, and hence perhaps also a certain emphasis in context.

Disyllables (both short), or in general any double-short paroxytones, are the primary candidates for words that took both accents. Words like πόλις, λόγος, τόκος, are likely to have been pronounced in a "balanced" way, up and down. Standing alone they are primarily ὀξύς as marked; but in context, any following consonant or pause may have helped to sound the *svarita* on the second syllable, while enclitics positively turned them into βαρύς words (λόγόν γε, πόλίς τε). The tendency towards the βαρύς may be indicated by the historical contraction and circumflection in disyllables of this type which lacked an "arresting" consonant: *e.g.*, νόος→νοῦς, φάος→φῶς.

Such is the scheme, then: the ὀξύς accent is the acute when followed by a short syllable, the βαρύς accent is the *svarita*, most prominent when falling

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[21]see Allen, *Accent and Rhythm*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973, pp. 244 ff., esp. 246-7

on a long syllable after the acute or on a circumflected vowel or diphthong. The traditional word-level distinction between oxytone and barytone can now be made with some descriptive utility. In the tradition, this distinction has been understood to derive solely from the quality of a word's final syllable, so that the term "barytone" functions as a kind of catch-all, overlapping with several of the descriptive terms derived from the location of the written marks (*e.g.*, proparoxytone, properispomenon). The new theory produces a new, exhaustive list of five possible prosodic shapes, specified by the relative prominence of ὀξύς or βαρύς. The list would include words that could be described as oxytone not only on the ultima, but also on the penult and the antepenult; and words that could be described as barytone on the ultima or the penult. (Note that the class of double-short, "pyrrhic" paroxytones, in the traditional parlance, can be in context either oxytone on the penult *or* barytone on the ultima in the new parlance.) It must be remembered, however, that in barytone words, the ὀξύς never completely lost its force, at least as an anticipatory raising of the voice pitch. Aristophanes could otherwise never have been able to mark the accents as he did; he would not have distinguished, for example, between his circumflected vowels and post-acute long vowels, if the βαρύς had become the sole accentual feature of the words containing it. Possibly under the influence of Pāṇini (who knows what was available at Alexandria?), whose imposing achievement would no doubt have impressed a fledgling Greek scholar trying to describe his own language, Aristophanes marked up his words by analogy with the *udatta*, which denoted the syllable where the voice rose in a Sanskrit word. The descriptive acuity of this move—or perhaps even its direct effect on the spoken language, through the influence of written texts—may be seen to be demonstrated by the later development of Greek, where the syllable

containing the *ὀξύς-udatta* marked by Aristophanes became the modern stressed syllable. Yet the confusion it caused in the interpretation of classical Greek prosody, where the *βαρύς-svarita* was still a prominent player, has not been resolved until now.

If one considers the persistence and efficacy of the *ὀξύς-udatta* in the history of Greek, one may be inclined to ask, was there some factor unique to classical Greece that "drew out" the *svarita* in that milieu, so that the *βαρύς* for a time was intuitively perceived as an equally powerful feature? The central and fundamental role of poetry and the Muses' arts in Greek society—all that may be subsumed under the purview of Greek *μουσική*—is well known. That Greek poetic performance often involved dancing is also well known. In the case of the genre known as choral lyric, this is especially clear. Thrasybulos Georgiades, the musicologist, in his eloquent but largely unread *Greek Music, Verse and Dance*,[22] and William Mullen in his ground-breaking *Choreia: Pindar and Dance*,[23] have already gone a long way towards establishing the physical aspects of dance as a primary factor in the criticism of Pindar. In the case of epic Georgiades has also pointed the way; a close look at the Demodocus passage in *Odyssey* 8 would complete the argument. In their state of rhythmic and semantic development, Homer's works might bear the same relation to the Phaeacian round dance as Mozart's to European dances of folk and court, or Chopin's mazurkas to their rustic originals; yet the musical and rhythmic patterning of the latter is in each of these instances crucial to the understanding, and even the enjoyment, of the former. Greek metres were dance measures. Their arsis and thesis belonged to dancers' feet.

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[22]New York: Merlin Press

[23]Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982

The linguistic, prosodic effects of this fact have never been properly considered.

Whereas in the case of the hexameter, as I shall some time argue, the measure came first, and the rhythm of the words originally kept time to the thud and pulse of dancing feet, in choral lyric there was no external measure; the longs and shorts that inhered in the words did of themselves supply the rhythm. It must be remembered that external factors, such as musical settings that altered natural word dynamics and rhythms, were an innovation ascribed to Euripides. Though this is a commonplace, the implication for all poets before Euripides, with respect to whom the innovation was observed, has not been exploited. The music was in the words; lyres and flutes did not create but rather accompanied this music, and must at most have drawn out the inherent melodic and dynamic patterns of the speech; the dancer's feet were moved from within, by the texture and feel of the very words that came out of his mouth—no doubt a marvelous thing to behold. Since in a Greek chorus the dancer was also a singer, the accentual features of syllables must have had a direct relation to the rhythmic dance patterns of the poetic metres. The feet accompanied the voice, after all, and it is on the face of it absurd, for all that it has been noised abroad these many centuries, that uniquely in ancient Greek was there no connection whatsoever between accent and ictus, between the prosodic modifications of the voice and the arsis and thesis of the feet. In particular, as a matter of humanly practical performance, a connection must have existed between a long syllable with the heavy accent (a falling glide), and the thesis, the down-beat of the foot against the dance floor. This connection must extend to the ictus of the so-called spoken metres, such as the iambic trimeter, if we are at all to flatter the presumption in linguistics that poetic rhythms are a natural offspring of the prosodic

properties and qualities of their mother tongue. We must therefore look for a direct relation between the ὀξύς and βαρύς accents and the shape of Greek metres; we note that the recognition of the βαρύς as a genuine and distinct element of ἁρμονία may have come from its power as tonic thesis, the linguistic feature around which Greek verse was composed and choreographed as reinforcement and counterpoint.

Proof of this contention, and, in a sense, most of the foregoing, is to be had from Sidney Allen's study of stress in ancient Greek.[24] The reasoning behind the study went as follows:

> Since Greek metrical patterns, unlike those of classical Latin, were, so far as we know, evolved specifically for Greek, it is likely that they represent, in Meillet's terms, 'a stylization or normalization of the natural rhythm of language'. So it is probable that any such patterns of metrical reinforcement would tend to agree rather than conflict with any similar patterns in speech. If this were so, then one might expect that particular syllabic word-patterns would tend to be placed in particular relationships to the strong/weak positions of the verse, even though their purely quantitative structure might qualify them for other placings. And conversely, if one were to discover a strong tendency of this type, it would suggest the presence, in both verse and speech, of some factor additional to quantity—whatever the nature of that factor might be.[25]

Allen chose as his data-base serious spoken verse, meaning epic hexameters and tragic iambics and trochaics, and studied only the ends of lines (sections following the main caesura, or the diaeresis in trochaics, and excluding the "doubtful" final position). The beginnings of these lines characteristically admit of more variation in the metrical pattern. Allen's justifications for these choices may be found on pages 133-4 of *Vox Graeca* for the first, and on

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[24]see Allen, *Accent and Rhythm*, pp. 274-334, and *Vox Graeca*, pp. 131-9

[25]Allen, *Vox Graeca.*, pg. 132

Accent and Rhythm page 106 for the second. The study generates a remarkable formula which neatly reveals the "preponderant tendencies" of correspondence between particular syllables and the strong positions of feet; he claims that these tendencies "approach complete regularity". We assume, as is reasonable, that if certain parts of the quantitative structure of a word are favoured for the strong positions of feet, then these parts (*i.e.*, syllables) must have "some kind of inherent phonetic 'prominence'." The following rules are deduced from the formula to describe the occurrence of this prominence in ordinary Greek words (Allen adopts the terms "heavy" and "light" to describe the syllable structures traditionally called "long" and "short"):

> 1. Prominence applies to an element constituted by either (a) one heavy syllable or (b) two light syllables.
>
> 2. Words (or word-like sequences) longer than an element have internal contrasts of prominence/non-prominence.
>
> 3. If the final syllable of a word is heavy it is prominent.
>
> 4. If the final syllable is light, the next preceding element is prominent.
>
> 5. A preceding element separated from the prominent element is also (secondarily) prominent.[26]

As to the nature of this prominence, Allen is obliged to rule out both high pitch and length; on his understanding, the former belongs to the accent, while the latter is an independent phonemic variable. He concludes: "of the three common prosodic parameters...this then leaves only the dynamic, *i.e.* stress." Certain indicative facts about Greek metrics are cited by Allen[27]: that "the difference between the invariable ('strong') part of the foot

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[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 135-6

[27] Allen, *Accent and Rhythm*, pp. 277-8

and the variable ('weak') part, in all metres where the distinction applies, involves basically a *heavy* syllable as the invariant" (as against biceps and anceps in the weak part of the foot); and that "a spondee may function both in a 'rising' and in a 'falling' verse pattern" (so that in an all-spondaic line, there would be no rhythm without ictus of some kind). These are now seen to cohere in the notion of an integral stress pattern (prominence/non-prominence) in Greek words, which corresponds at line end to the strong and weak parts of the various feet.

A. M. Devine and L. D. Stephens have described Allen's *Accent and Rhythm* as "the first work in the field of Greek metre that can truly be said to understand the requirements of scientific method and theory construction."[28] Yet for all its elegance, Allen's theory of word-level stress prominence has left Greek prosody in a highly, not to say completely anomalous state. The problem lies in Allen's interpretation of the discovered syllable prominence as non-accentual stress. Word-level stress without an accentual function is apparently unexampled in the world's languages. At the same time, accentual stress independent of a word's accentual pitch—the only alternative interpretation of Allen's discovered prominence—would be an equally unique phenomenon. Consider the analysis of Devine and Stephens:

> The rules of [Allen's] stress theory are quite definitely word-level rules, and in word-prosodic systems, where stress occurs, it either implements the word accent by itself or in conjunction with a pitch accent: but in the latter case, its location has not been found to be independent of that of the pitch accent in those languages so far examined. Thus word-level stress, unlike pitch, is never non-accentual. Consequently, to find typological support, stress theory would have to show that there are languages in which words have two independent

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[28]A. M. Devine and L. D. Stephens, *Language and Metre*, Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984, pg. 26

> 'accents,' one pitch and one stress. While we know of no clear cases of such double accent systems, they are conceivable as unstable, transitional stages associated with the loss of lexical tone contrasts; cf. a language such as Luganda. Such types, however, provide no typological support for stress theory. Diachronically, Greek is moving from pitch to stress implementation of accent with the position of the accent remaining unchanged, so that a transitional stage with a double accent is precluded.[29]

Tradition has bequeathed us a system of pitch accents for Greek words; modern analysis has discovered a feature in the harmonising of Greek words to metre that looks very much like a predictable stress pattern in those words, apparently independent of their pitch pattern. But a modern typological survey can find "no clear cases" of languages with a double accent, and the presence of such a double accent, even as a transitional phenomenon, is in any case impossible to square with the known historical development of Greek. Devine and Stephens suggest a way out of the quandary:

> The problem seems to lie in the choice of the term 'stress.' The hypothetical Greek stress does not have two important properties that are characteristically associated with what the typological literature identifies as stress, namely accentual function and correlation with a pitch accent if there is one.[30]

Yet it would seem that the problem lies more in the phenomena themselves than in any choice of terms. Allen has discovered a prosody for Greek, in his word-level prominence, that is apparently independent of the received prosody, with its word-level pitch accent, and which, moreover, is married naturally to the metrical structure of Greek verse in a way that has never been observed in the case of the received prosody. If we accept both the

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[29] *Ibid.*, pg. 30

[30] *Ibid.*

traditional and the modern accounts, Greek appears to have had two independent prosodies at once, a condition quite as impossible in performance, as it is unexampled. But beyond the riddle of its independence, what is the actual nature of Allen's prominence, if non-accentual stress is ruled out? What did it sound like? A word-level prominence marked neither by quantity, by pitch, nor by stress, is a prosodic phantom.

It turns out, however, that the first four of Allen's prominence rules constitute the rules for locating either the *ὀξύς* or the *βαρύς* accent, as I have explained them, in all classes of Greek word with the characteristic recessive pitch accent, as well as two other types (in the traditional nomenclature, long-final oxytones and perispomena). In all of these cases, the syllable primarily stressed according to Allen's rules is also the primarily accented syllable, whether *ὀξύς* or *βαρύς*. The only exceptions to this correlation—the only cases in which the stress rules do not predict the location of the *ὀξύς* accent in an *ὀξύς* word, or the *βαρύς* accent in a *βαρύς* word—also involve exceptions to the recessive accent rule. The true nature of Allen's prominence is thus revealed. There appears to be a direct connection between the hypothetical stress and the traditional pitch system. But the biggest prize may be reserved for students of Greek verse: we have found, for the first time, a link between accent and metre in Greek, through a study of what Allen calls the "coda" of lines in Greek verse, where one might precisely have thought that accent would be likely to reinforce rather than stand in counterpoint or syncopation to the metre. The result could hardly be more gratifying. All that Allen lacked to see this was the notion that there might be two different kinds of prominence; he was well aware, for example, of the tendency for strong positions of the feet to correspond either with the circumflex or the post-acute down-glide (our *βαρύς* accent), and goes so far as to demonstrate the

correspondence statistically.[31] He would then only need to recognise, with respect to the rules of prominence which he later derives, that where they did not locate the falling glide, they tended to locate the acute followed by a short syllable (our ὀξύς accent, with a deemphasised *svarita*). Instead he dismissed the demonstrated correlation as "probably only an incidental effect of the accentual rules, which in themselves are probably not based on any predilections regarding the incidence of falling pitch (but rather on limitations in terms of morae)."[32] This despite his own formulation of the accent placement rule in terms of the contonation, where the incidence of falling pitch is critical.

At several points, the rules of stress theory do not correspond with the new account of the accent. The new account has little immediately to say, for example, about secondary stress (rule 5), except that it seems to have nothing to do with the system of pitch marks. Perhaps it is a phantom. But it may indicate that longer words could have had more than one pitch contonation, while only the culminative one was marked in written texts. A double contonation is clearly indicated in the case of some word+enclitic combinations (*e.g.*, βαρύτητός τε); perhaps the same rules of secondary accentuation applied backwards in polysyllables as they do forward with enclitics. I must leave it to others to decide the merits of the case.

As I have indicated, the only exceptions to the correspondence between stress theory and the new theory of accent are some (but not all) types of word which do not have the recessive accent. (In the case of the Aeolic dialect, where the pitch accent was always recessive, there is therefore a complete

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[31] Allen, *Accent and Rhythm.*, pgs. 262–4

[32] *Ibid.*, pg. 264

correspondence.) The ubiquitous short-final oxytones, for example, constitute distinct exceptions, along with paroxytones (in the traditional sense) of more than two syllables, whose last two syllables are short ("pyrrhic" paroxytones). In each of these cases, the syllable predicted for stress is not the same as the accented syllable. Perhaps it is cases like these that precluded the complete regularity of Allen's stress rules. In final oxytones, the accent is in any case weak or suppressed, except prepausally. Hence their accent placement could not be predicted by prominence rules derived from a data-base that excluded verse-final position. The pyrrhic paroxytones display a characteristically Doric shape in accentual melody (in contrast with the recessive Aeolic type).[33] Some of these are examples of words that were able to preserve their Indo-European accent placement within the recessive strictures of later Greek (*e.g.*, μητέρα). Certain forms of the perfect participle (*e.g.*, λελυμένος) distinctively display the Doric accent.

There is also a class of pyrrhic paroxytones of dactylic shape (*e.g.*, ποικίλος). In their case, a poetic pressure may have come into play: such words were originally oxytone (on the ultima), and hence accentually weak or even featureless in context (the more so because they could not stand in the hexameter's final position, which calls for a spondaic or trochaic measure). These dull dactyls, unmusical as they were, may have been too precious to be lost to poetic use; to make them paroxytone would have been the most economical way (by shifting the contonation over one syllable—or more precisely, over one vowel mora) to render them rhythmically interesting inside a dactylic or anapæstic line. Precisely this shift occurs normally in disyllabic prepositions (*e.g.*, μετά, περί) when they are used post-positively, to

[33]see Smyth, pg. 39

mark the fact that they govern the previous and not the following words; this marking is to be seen as given not so much by a shift of accent, as by the change from what is in context a word with a relatively suppressed syllable-final accent, to one with a full contonation. In terms of the logic of Allen's rules, this is still to assign prominence, in the case of polysyllabic pyrrhic paroxytones, to an eligible element—of shape (b) (see rule 1)—but in violation of rule 4; this account would apply to all three cases of "anomalous" Doric accent.

With watchful confidence, then, we can say that the correspondence is real. The syllable which receives the primary stress is also the syllable which contains the most prominent change of pitch. (Note that the "most prominent change of pitch" is an absolute value, which can be either rising or falling.) This stress would seem to be an automatic, predictable consequence of the relation between pitch and quantity in Greek—that is to say, between the position of the contonation within a given word, and the quantities of the word's syllables. Where the climax of the contonation, the down-glide or *svarita*, occurs on a heavy syllable, it is prominent and stressed (*βαρύς*); where the *svarita* occurs on a light syllable, and is thereby de-emphasised, the preceding syllable containing the rise in pitch, the beginning of the contonation, is prominent and stressed (*ὀξύς*). There is therefore a direct correlation between the hypothetical stress and the traditional pitch accent. There is no double accent; the typological difficulties of stress theory have been removed. But the significance of this analysis goes far beyond the solution of a typological problem. It amounts to a dovetailing and a vindication of ancient and modern approaches.

Sidney Allen's stress theory, which had appeared to be a new discovery in Greek prosody, turns out to be directly related to Aristophanes' system of

prosodic marks, the legacy of Alexandria and Byzantium. Indeed, the link with Allen's theory may be the first direct evidence that Aristophanes' accent marks—long ignored by teachers and students because of their apparent irrelevance in composition, and their apparent disconnection with the rhythm of verse and prose—*are* in fact representative of the phonetic reality. Aristophanes' system can be justly admired for its principle of descriptive economy: he marks the vowel mora where the voice rose in pitch. But this is not to do the same thing as to mark the phonologically accented syllable, as has been assumed until now; for the accented syllable is often the one where the voice fell. Aristophanes gives a *phonetically* economical description of the position of the contonation in a word; but word-level accent, I have argued, arises out of the interaction between the contonation and the quantities of a word's syllables.

The true significance of Aristophanes' system is therefore as a system of pitch contours, but not as a system of accent marks. Such a phonetic description may well have been employed for the sake of non-native speakers, at the time of the first international dissemination of Greek. Perhaps Aristophanes himself was a foreigner, who quite innocently, and quite naturally, *perceived* high pitch as the accentual feature in Greek speech. Or perhaps, as I suggested earlier, his descriptive principle was borrowed from Sanskrit theoreticians.

In either case, native speakers had never had need of marks to teach them where to stress, any more than native English speakers do now. The evidence from ancient authors and grammarians all suggests that the Greeks recognised at least two distinct prosodic features in their language; yet Aristophanes marked his vowels only in terms of one—giving the mistaken impression that only one feature was significant. Evidently, native Greeks

described a whole class of words as accented ἐπὶ τῆς βαρείας, despite the fact that every accented word was later marked in terms of the vowel mora of the rising pitch. To explain this apparent disparity between Aristophanes' accent marks and the native, classical descriptions of word-level prosody, we have adduced yet a third description, Allen's reconstruction in terms of the contonation, and have argued that the native, binary description reflects the different effects produced by the placement of the contonation in a range of syllabic environments. The place and the nature of the truly accented syllable which results are predictable, given Aristophanes' high-pitch mark; and Allen's stress theory gives confirmation, by assigning primary prominence to the very same syllable places, through his study of metrical Greek. My solution therefore depends on the accuracy of both the ancient and the modern descriptions; its success would serve to bring ancient and modern linguistics and linguists into complementarity, in terms of methodology and results, in a way that is rarely met with in other fields.

My argument that the ὀξύς and βαρύς as the Ancients knew them were two different kinds of accent has so far been a historical one. I am therefore delighted to adduce the arguments of Alan Sommerstein, who in his *The Sound Pattern of Ancient Greek* reinforces this claim with a theory based on purely structural considerations. His analysis depends on the use of two binary features, called sharp and falling ("sharp" only because "high" is already a segmental feature[34]), to render the most elegant solutions to two problems in Greek accentuation; he shows how analysis assuming a single feature (either high pitch, or simply accent with the variable assignations "tonic" and "falling glide") yields "unnecessary extra phonetic detail rules" in

[34]Alan H. Sommerstein, *The Sound Pattern of Ancient Greek*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973, pg. 127

one case and an arbitrary, independent rule (Vendryes' Law) in the other. The first problem is the Rule of Enclisis, or accent involving enclitics. Acknowledging the *svarita* as a separate feature allows for the simplest statement of the rule:

> Accent the last mora of the word when an enclitic follows, provided that that mora does not have a falling glide on it.[35]

The second problem lies in words like ἕτοιμος and ἄνθρωπος, where the normal "tri-morically recessive" rule would have predicted ἑτοῖμος and ἀνθρῶπος. The *svarita* considered as an accentual feature removes the difficulty and obviates the need for any new law. Two binary features generate four classes of vowel. Here is Sommerstein's table,[36] supplemented by the new interpretation:

a)	+sharp +falling	circumflex	βαρύς (ὀξύβαρυς)
b)	+sharp -falling	acute	ὀξύς
c)	-sharp +falling	post-acute	βαρύς
d)	-sharp -falling	all other	μέσος

The ὀξύς and βαρύς accents might best be classified as two kinds of stress. A variety of evidence supports such an unconventional analysis.

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[35]*Ibid.*, pg. 123

[36]*Ibid.*, pg. 127

Consider this modern observation:

> While pitch remains the general acoustic signal for what we refer to as tone (or tones), it has been established that pitch is the most reliable perceptual cue for stress (the most common kind of accent). Studies by Fry (1955, 1958), Mol and Uhlenbeck (1956), Bolinger (1958) and others have established that the most effective means by which speakers realize and detect stress in English are, respectively, *changing pitch*, duration, and intensity.[37]

There is therefore no *prima facie* case against the idea that the Greek usage describes two kinds of stress accent by their characteristic changes in pitch. It must be acknowledged that in non-melodic contexts, "stress" is a more suitable translation than "pitch" for τόνος and τάσις, both of which share the verb root in "tension"; we have observed how the musical meaning of ὀξύς and βαρύς (predicates of τόνος and τάσις), as stationary sound or pitch, is a derivative one. We have already demonstrated the direct association of both accents with ictus. There must have been intensity in them as well as changing pitch, suggestive of stress. Furthermore, certain aspects of the theory of vowel gradation (ablaut) might be more easily explained if the ὀξύς and βαρύς accents were stress features in Greek; currently the stress needed to explain this gradation is projected into the mysterious early history of Indo-European. The location of the accent was clearly not the same in Greek as in the parent tongue, but perhaps its nature—a "stress-contonation"—is similar to that of the original Indo-European accent. (In Vedic, the location of the IE accent was preserved, but the stress component is commonly supposed to have been lost, leaving an accent implemented purely by changing pitch.) The transition to the Modern Greek stress accent might also be more easily

[37]Larry Hyman, "Tone And/Or Accent," in Napoli, Donna Jo, ed., *Elements of Tone, Stress and Intonation*, Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1978, pg. 2 (emphasis added)

explained on these terms.

With some degree of assurance, then, we adopt a heuristic hypothesis: the ὀξύς and βαρύς were two kinds of stress, one sharp and rising, like that in the English word bítter; the other heavy and falling, like that in blùnt. Of course in English we do not distinguish between types of stress; the pitch patterns in bitter and blunt are fortuitous, and probably reflect patterns of formants, harmonic overtones that inhere in the respective vowels and sonants. All I mean to suggest is that the Greek prosodies were not alien, lofty, and too delicate for our ears, as some thinkers would have us believe; the sounds and rhythms of Greek verse are such as we can make and feel, and immediately respond to. The reader must first apprise himself of the quantities in a Greek word; he must then locate the accent, as he has learned to do from this essay, and stress the correct syllable in the correct way. Admittedly, our univalent stress habits in English are a liability; but the reader may find that in general, when he stresses a long vowel (εἰπεῖν, δῶρον, ὅμως, ἔλειπε), his voice will drop in pitch; whereas when he stresses a short vowel (θύγατερ) or a long followed by two shorts (ἥκομεν, αἴλινον), his voice will rise and break off. The ὀξύς is an arrested stress, a pre-empted contonation, while the βαρύς is a culminative down-beat.

A simple set of rules can be drawn up for the practical implementation of stress in relation to the written accent marks, so that ancient Greek verse and prose can be performed dynamically on the basis of our present texts. The following directives for each of the accent marks require little qualification:

1) *Circumflex*: stress strongly in relation to unmarked syllables in the word with heavy, falling pitch.

2) *Grave*: leave unstressed, or lightly stressed in relation to unmarked syllables with slight rise in pitch.

3) *Acute*: examine the following syllable; if it is
    a) heavy, stress it with falling pitch.
    b) light, or non-existent, stress the acute itself with rising pitch.

The iambic/trochaic and dactylic/anapæstic metres have always carried some weight for our ears, because long syllables so often correspond with metrical down-beats. But now we have freed the rhythm from the metre; independent knowledge of the sharp and heavy stress points in Greek words allows us to speak the rhythm in full syncopation, at times in unison, at other times in counterpoint with the tendency to rise or fall inherent in the metres. Nowhere is this knowledge more important than in the performance of choral lyrics. The remarkable discoveries already made must be reserved for the sequel. But the reader can begin to reconstruct these pieces for himself: the values of vowels and consonants are scrupulously rendered by Allen in *Vox Graeca*; the quantities are given; now the stresses are given as well. A little prompting from the metrical schematisations often provided in editions will prove helpful. One possible hazard comes with the pyrrhic paroxytones (*e.g.*, λόγος); these can be either ὀξύς (λόγον ἀκούω) or βαρύς (λόγὸς τε) depending on their environment. They are probably also βαρύς at pauses or ends of lines. Grave accents are left lightly sharp or unaccented in accordance with their apparent treatment in musical settings. Oxytones before a pause are probably sharp (εἰπέ), but possibly the pause allowed for a full contonation.

Hardest of all to come to terms with as a matter of performance is the question of the rise in the voice before the βαρύς. We have already argued that there must have been some audible signal to allow Aristophanes to

mark the circumflex, and we have adduced testimony from the grammarians as to its nature; yet the prosodic evidence (as well as Vedic) suggests equal value for the circumflex and post-acute accents. As we shall shortly see, a comparison of passages from Plato and Aristotle supports both verdicts at once.

The questions of metrical indifference and synapheia at line end are also difficult. Music is as much in the silence as in the sound, in the pause as in the movement; what is required of metrical theory is a sensitivity to the aural nature of the line (or period), to its distinguishing marks, and to the organic rhythmic relations between periods and broader sense groups. There seems to be no compelling reason to read the variation in quantities at line end as anything but actual and intentional. As to acute or grave at line end, we must use our own judgement of sense and rhythm, or accept an editor's choices. Διόρθωσις or "correction" of a text, with regard to accentuation in particular, has been an editor's (and a performer's) prerogative at least since the time of Aristotle.[38] Stephen Daitz' practice with regard to pauses in the middle of hexameter lines, which entails "corrections" to the latest printed texts of Homer in the case of some oxytones, earns him a place, perhaps, as the latest in an antique series of scholar-performers.[39] We should not be surprised, at all events, if it turns out that what is doubtful to a metrician is decisive for a poet, and that the particular accentual cadence at the end of a line, whose nature can depend entirely on the quantity of the "doubtful" final syllable, is in fact the line's true rhythmic resolution, the musical goal of

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[38]Gregory Nagy, *Poetry as Performance: Homer and Beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pgs. 149-50 and 115-50 *passim*

[39]Stephen Daitz, "On Reading Homer Aloud: To Pause or Not to Pause," *American Journal of Philology*, 112,2:150-60, 1991

singer and dancer alike.

Do the relevant *loci antiqui* bear interpretations consistent with these findings? Or do they rather support the conventional reading of ὀξύτης-βαρύτης as accented-unaccented? At *Cratylus* 399a-b, Socrates describes two principal changes that need to be made in phrases to turn them into names: the insertion or removal of letters, and the exchanging (μεταβάλλειν) of "sharp [accents]" (ὀξύτητας). As an example, the phrase Διὶ φίλος becomes a proper name (presumably Δίφιλος) by the removing from its place of one iota, and by the speaking of the middle syllable "heavy instead of sharp" (ἀντὶ ὀξείας τῆς μέσης συλλαβῆς βαρεῖαν). Now it is true that under the new system we should call Δίφιλος an oxytone word (on the antepenult), not a barytone on the penult, but Plato is not describing the accentuation of the word as a whole; in showing how the phrase becomes a name, his unit of analysis is the syllable, and he points to the syllables which undergo the greatest change. In the phrase Διὶ φίλος, the syllable -φι- contains the rise in pitch of the voice; in the name Δίφιλος, it contains the beginning of the down-glide. It is striking that he finds this change of more note than that indicated in print by the change from grave to acute in the syllable Δι-. Under the conventional interpretation, where unmarked and grave syllables are thought to be unaccented, the changes in Δι- and -φι- are essentially equivalent in their absolute value: unaccented to accented in one case, and accented to unaccented in the other. The new theory, however, sees the change in Δι- as at most a change in degree, while the change in -φι- is seen as a change in both direction and kind. Hence it is better able to make sense of Plato's selection of this syllable in the analysis.

A second example seems to describe the transformation of ἀναθρῶν (in the phrase ἀναθρῶν ἃ ὄπωπεν, 399c) into the noun ἄνθρωπος, by means of an

alpha being removed, and the last syllable becoming "heavier" (βαρυτέρας τῆς τελευτῆς). The conventional analysis appears to make good sense of this: if βαρυτέρας means "less accented," an unmarked omega could be so described in relation to a circumflected one. The new theory, on the other hand, describes both a post-acute long and a circumflected long as prominent (*i.e.*, accented) and βαρύς. Plato's use of the comparative may be instructive, however. The circumflex contains both the rise and the fall, whereas the post-acute long contains only a stressed fall. It therefore makes sense for Plato to call the syllable only containing the fall "heavier" in relation to that bearing the circumflex.

This interpretation appears to be complemented by a passage in Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations* (166b), which is designed to confound the traditional theory. A certain expression of Homer's, printed here without diacritics: το μεν ου καταπυθεται ομβρω, makes poor sense when ου is read off as the relative pronoun οὗ. The solution, of course, is to read it as οὐ, which solution is described as "speaking the ου sharper" (λέγοντες τὸ ου ὀξύτερον). To begin with, the conventional analysis can do little with the comparative, which would have to mean "more accented". But more critically, the tradition sees οὐ as unaccented, while οὗ is accented. The only solution on this line is to emend Aristotle. The new theory can make sense of the comparative, however. If the circumflex is heard as βαρύς, with the *svarita* predominating, an unaccented or μέσος syllable should straightforwardly be described in relation to it as "sharper". The comparatives would seem to be critical. The second example in the *Cratylus* suggests that a post-acute long is heavier than a circumflex, probably because the circumflex contains the rise in the voice. Despite the presence of this rise, however, the passage from Aristotle suggests that in comparison, a completely unaccented syllable is

sharper than a circumflex. This would fit with the notion that a circumflex and a post-acute long are both βαρύς in comparison with unaccented or ὀξύς syllables, because of the dominant sounding of the *svarita*, but would also vindicate the choice of a distinctive circumflected sign for those long vowels and diphthongs bearing the down-glide, where a rise occurs in pitch within the first mora. The following gradation in terms of "sharpness" in the designated syllable would make sense of the positives and comparatives in these passages: post-acute < circumflex < unmarked non-post-acute < grave < acute. Of course the sequence is to be read with the signs reversed for the quality of "heaviness".

Two particular *loci*, neglected in accounts of prosody, are of peculiar interest. At *Timaeus* 67b Plato takes up the phenomena of sound and hearing, describing sound as a "stroke" (πλήγη) passing through the ears, and hearing as the resultant internal motion; he observes,

> ὅση δ' αὐτῆς ταχεῖα, ὀξεῖαν, ὅση δὲ βραδυτέρα, βαρυτέραν
>
> Every [motion] that is quick [makes] a sharp [sound], every motion that is slower, a heavier [sound].

Contrasting elements of rhythm, quick and slow, are linked explicitly to the ὀξύς and βαρύς, the elements of harmony. It will not take long for my reader, as he takes up Greek verse with his new tools, to feel intuitively the association made here; it is borne out in theory by the fact that the ὀξύς accent is usually followed by one or two short syllables, which give it a propulsive quality in the line, while the βαρύς word is always cadenced on a long syllable, lending it weight and measure.

We have always understood the elements of metre (long and short);

we now know the elements of harmony, which are themselves the key to Greek rhythm. In a revelatory passage later on in the *Timaeus*,[40] Plato appears to describe the experience of such harmony and rhythm as lines of Greek verse, and perhaps epic verse in particular would manifest them:

> καὶ ὅσοι ὀθόγγοι ταχεῖς τε καὶ βραδεῖς ὀξεῖς τε καὶ βαρεῖς φαίνονται, τοτὲ μὲν ἀνάρμοστοι φερόμενοι δι' ἀνομοιότητα τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν κινήσεως, τοτὲ δὲ ξύμφωνοι δι' ὁμοιότητα. τὰς γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ θαττόνων οἱ βραδύτεροι κινήσεις, ἀποπαυομένας ἤδη τε εἰς ὅμοιον ἐληλυθυίας αἷς ὕστερον αὐτοὶ προσοφερόμενοι κινοῦσιν ἐκείνας, καταλαμβάνουσι, καταλαμβάνοντες δὲ οὐκ ἄλλην ἐπεμβάλλοντες ἀνεταράξαν κίνησιν, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν βραδυτέρας φορᾶς κατὰ τὴν τῆς θάττονος ἀπολῃγούσης δὲ ὁμοιότητα προσάψαντες μίαν ἐξ ὀξείας καὶ βαρείας ξυνεκεράσαντο πάθην, ὅθεν ἡδονὴν μὲν τοῖς ἄφροσιν, εὐφροσύνην δὲ τοῖς ἔμφροσι διὰ τὴν τῆς θείας ἁρμονίας μίμησιν ἐν θνηταῖς γενομένην φοραῖς παρέσχον.
>
> (We must pursue) also those sounds which appear quick and slow, sharp and heavy, at one time borne in discord because of the disagreement of the motion caused by them in us, but at another in concord because of agreement. For the slower sounds overtake the movements of those earlier and quicker ones, when these are already ceasing and have come into agreement with those motions with which afterwards, when they are brought to bear, the slow sounds themselves move them; and in overtaking they did not cause a disturbance, imposing another motion, but by attaching the beginning of a slower passage, in accord with the agreement of the quicker one, which is fading, they mixed together a single experience out of sharp and heavy sound (ὀξείας καὶ βαρείας), whence they furnished pleasure to the mindless, but peace of mind to the thoughtful, because of the imitation of the divine harmony in mortal orbits.

To begin with, sounds, or perhaps "utterances," are described as quick and slow, sharp and heavy. In light of 67b above, and the non-chiastic order of the sentence, it is natural to read "agreement" here (ὁμοιότης, like to like) as a correspondence of quick to sharp, and of slow to heavy. "Disagreement" would arise out of the opposite collocations. While all four qualities are equally qualities of sound, they are grouped in two pairs, and it is tempting to see the first pair as belonging to the metrical component of prosody, and the

[40] 80a ff.

second pair to the tonic. In particular, in the context of the motile internal dynamism of a rhythmic foot, quick would most naturally refer to the arsis, which contains one or two shorts, while slow refers to the long thesis. As one considers the dominating influence of the slow and heavy sounds in the process described, a special weight may be given to the disagreement arising out of the conjunction of heavy and quick, where a heavy sound occurs in the arsis, as also to the sense of agreement produced by a heavy sound where it is supposed to be, in the thesis. Such disagreement and agreement is understood as belonging not to the sounds themselves, but to motions produced by the sounds "within us". Later in the passage sounds are said to "move motions" (*κινοῦσιν κινήσεις*). It is not clear whether these motions are understood to be entirely internal, or whether a literal reference is being made to orchestic performance. In a heightened state of poetic transport, perhaps the distinction becomes moot.

There appear to be two points of dynamic moment in this description: the first when the slower sounds "overtake the movements of those earlier and quicker ones"; the second when they attach "the beginning of a slower passage". The interaction of harmony and rhythm begins at a trot in disagreement; then subtly turns, as at the cadence of the caesura, where slow sounds first overtake the motion and come to a point of agreement. Then comes a new beginning, as at the diaeresis, leading to euphonic agreement in the coda (the fortuitous fact which made Allen's pivotal stress study possible). It is emphasised that the overtaking and the new beginning do not introduce a disturbance; rather, the new passage is "on the terms" of the agreement (*κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα*) reached in the earlier quicker passage. It would seem, therefore, that an agreement reached at the caesura becomes fully confirmed in the coda.

This is a remarkable attempt, by a native speaker without recourse to technical terms from a dead language, at describing the syncopation and the accentual cadence of verse, both the phenomena themselves and their physical effects. We note that the unity of harmony in Greek is a thing extended in time, an experiential unity, produced by the peaceable ranging of tensed forces (peaceable at least as Plato enjoyed them). Our vertical sense of harmony in music draws a different kind of unity out of sound and time; but the horizontal, rhythmic sense of a melodic cadence, of disagreement seeking agreement in cycles of accent and rhythm, is still vital in Western musical discourse. English poets knew well this ancient sense until recently. The psychological implication of Plato's account is simple and powerful: the different accents and rhythms impinge physically on the ear to produce correlated motions inside us; the experience of harmony in these motions of ὀξύς and βαρύς is therefore a uniting of the internal and the external. We recall the dancer whose feet follow his voice; the correspondence of harmony and rhythm is none other than that of voice and foot. As he dances in the round, pushing forward, slowing down, turning and returning to the modulations of his voice, he imitates the motions of the Same and the Other in a harmonious universe.

The vistas are now open · πάντ᾽ ἔχεις λόγον.

CHAPTER II

IMITATION, *XOPEI'A*, AND THE MUSICAL TEXT

The practical expectation of a new theory of the Greek accent should have been a new way to read ancient Greek aloud. One could get the stresses right, at long last; who could know beforehand what afternoon pleasures to expect from a long-studied text, when it was intoned as living speech? It shall become clear, however, that the application of the theory to our texts entails a thoroughgoing new approach to Homeric and lyric poetics. The restoration of the harmony to the rhythm of Greek promises a critical appreciation of the composition of Greek verse, from a proximity to the source which rivals that of Aristotle.

The substance of this composition is rooted in the physicality of dance. Ancient verse will be seen to emerge in the strophic interconnection between the rhythm felt in the measured vigour of dancing feet, on the one hand, and that harmony whose instrument is the human voice, and whose material is the accentual melody of Greek words in the flexibility of their order. Many of the clues to an understanding of this essentially Greek form of composition come from the older Plato; indeed, the explication I shall attempt can be seen as a resurrection of a kind of Platonist poetics. Such a poetics has its fullest expression in the *Laws*, and hence is esoteric even for students of Plato. For those who do approach this book, the translation "laws" has already obliterated in English a shade of meaning that is hardly subtle in Greek,

where νόμος can signify a kind of traditional melody or progression for the harp (see, *e.g.*, 800a). The sort of student who is attracted by "laws" will find diversion, at best, in "lays"—in music theory and harp song. Even if one makes an effort to articulate Plato's poetics in the *Laws*, it becomes hard to distinguish from his politics, and can tend to be seen as subservient to a broader political agenda. It is this agenda which attracts attention, at the expense of its choric inspiration. But however one finally interprets the relation between poetics and politics in the *Laws*, it is at least clear that the conception of the best governance of human political life as a kind of *orchestration*, is taken in this book to its furthest extreme.

It was the visceral moral dimension of musical performance, its power literally to mould the character of a man, that led Plato at times to sound a warning call about the dangers of poetic pedagogy, and at other times to harness the captivating λόγος of Greek poesy in the train of his own vision. Any ambivalence of sentiment in Plato about the power of verse must have stemmed from the intimacy of his acquaintance, perhaps from a felt ambivalence about the meaning of his own powers as a poet. In one sense, he understood poetry to be a kind of imitation, thrice removed from the truth; a good deal of Plato's concern in the *Laws*, as it had been in the *Republic*, is with the moral inadequacy, even the bestiality, of the heroic models, and the inappropriateness of the imitative techniques which poets use (see, *e.g.*, 669b ff.). But in another sense, poetry is music: it has the power of harmony, of bringing unity and agreement to things in motion, out of disparity and discord. Plato celebrates this harmonising power—as, for example, at *Timaeus* 80c—in a way that is, as it were, unsolicited; his rapture is gratuitous and genuine, and must originate in his experience of the actual performance of exemplary verse. It is only in performance, after all, that this

harmony has any reality.

The kind of harmony described by Plato extends in its range of application, like the notoriously untranslatable word μουσικη, over both what we call poetry and what we are now accustomed to call "music". It is well to remember this in connection with that principle of ancient poetics, that "art is imitation". What exactly is music supposed to be imitating? The elements of rhythm and harmony resist direct attachment to external referents. A Pythagorean might be expected to respond that music "imitates" number; but these rhythmic and harmonic elements *are* numbers—they defy further reduction—and poetry *is* a measurement, of sound, thought, and space, and not some copy or mime of such measurement. Numbers are things you dance, and dancing is counting. It is not often clear that when people dance, they are imitating anything at all, unless it be other dancing things. Dance is of course the root movement of all traditional and classical verse and music, as well as of Greek drama. The term χορεία, which refers to the Greek combination of dance and verse, ought to apply to any poetry, music, or speech in general, whose movement can be analysed into "feet". Lyric poetry, epic poetry, dramatic verse, classical music and popular song, are all in this sense arts of the dance. What insight can we expect the concept of imitation to grant us in the study of these forms of art, whether ancient or modern? What insight can this concept have, in other words, for poetics?

It was of course Aristotle who forever fixed the notion of imitation into the critical canon. I imagine he thought he was rescuing the word, perfectly innocent in itself, from the fire of Plato's calumny[1]—much in the way that he restores the word "rhetoric" to some of its pre-Platonic

[1]see James M. Redfield, *Nature and Culture in the* Iliad, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975, pg. 52

respectability. The sinister duplicity of Platonic μίμησις is forgotten in the innocent playfulness of imitation; the naive joy one takes in the experience of an imitation is at least in some part the joy of learning, learning what each element in a work of art represents (*Poetics*, 1448b). Aristotle must be thanked for removing us, at the beginning of his *Poetics*, to a state of childlike curiosity.

As a basis for poetics, however, the premiss that "art is imitation" can lead to serious distortions in the analysis of the artifact. Rhythm and movement become merely "modes" of imitation, and lose their intrinsic interest. Music in general becomes separated from the other arts, only because it is hardly compassed as a type of imitation. This separation may be artificial in any context, but it is especially hurtful in the context of Greek μουσική. If our aim is to understand the techniques of Greek poetry and versification, we had best leave aside the notion of imitation for awhile, and try to come to clarity about danced verse—surely one of the clumsiest "modes" of imitation yet thought of—on its own terms. We might then stand a chance of coming to grips with the very material of a Greek poet's art, and gain some insight into the act of making and its intentions—into poetics, in other words.

Plato can discuss dance and imitation without doing violence to either. In the passage from the *Timaeus* (80c), he speaks of the salutary effects of harmony and rhythm as due to the imitation (μίμησις) of the divine harmony in our mortal motions. This usage is welcome, for it expands and deepens the meaning of imitation in a way that applies to all forms of music and verse. When we dance, we feel a connection to the divine; when sounds dance, when words dance, they also intimate such a connection. The planet-gods, with their forward runs and retrogressions in the heavenly round, may

well have been the direct objects of imitation in the traditional Greek round dance, that humble, ubiquitous original of epic verse and drama. It is certainly striking that Plato uses χορεία in the sense of "planetary orbit" (*Timaeus* 40c). When it comes to the dancer, in relation to his object, we should perhaps express what Plato intends by the "imitation" of the divine, as the experience of a kind of sympathetic resonance. Perhaps it is this resonance which all acts of imitation, whether of child or poet, ultimately seek.

Aristotle, by contrast, seems to be immune to any intrinsic pleasures of the dance. Unless it be in his statement that rhetoric is the ἀντίστροφος of dialectic—a metaphor of considerable subtlety if there is a spatial and directional sense to be taken—Aristotle is singularly unresponsive to the visual and choric dynamism of Greek poetry. Anyone so prejudiced against the spectacular in theatre—and the source of all such later prejudice in criticism—can have no real feeling for the staging, or the diction for that matter, of an Aeschylus or an Aristophanes. The intense artistic investiture of choral poetry, perhaps the greatest and certainly the most unique achievement in the field of Greek poetics, does not have its ideal expositor in Aristotle.

To be sure, it was a momentous day for the choral rendition of myth, when a dancer stepped out from the chorus to perform solo in metre, pretending actually to *be* one of the protagonists in the story. (Compare a parallel development in the choral settings of the Christian Passion story, culminating in Bach.) The poetic sensibility of a Pindar, with its fluidity of identity between poet and chorus, its mesmeric evocation of myth, was instantly antiquated; the dramatist emerged; the actor entered upon the stage of history. The histrionic presence of the actor, the dramatic representation of

life, the impetus toward realism in the artistic ideal, these were developments that were bound to transform consciousness in arenas far beyond the theatre. It is no wonder that in the fourth century, philosophical reflection on art should have been fixated on this new and miraculous power, concentrated by the poet-dramatist through the actor; it is no wonder that imitation should have been at the focus of the philosophical lens. The actor and his story became the central facts of Greek poetry, dimming by comparison the centuries-long tradition of danced verse from which he emerged.

The original of this actor may well have been the αὐλός player of the dithyramb. By rights, this reed player should have been one of the improvising ἐξάρχοντες of the dithyramb, mentioned by Aristotle as the originators of the tragic form (*Poetics*, 1449a10 ff.). Indeed, the distinction emerging here between art as imitation and art as controlled or harmonic movement can be traced to an ancient quarrel between the flute and the lyre. While the pure tones of the κιθάρα and the lyric chorus can stand for the independent significance of musical numbers and measures in their consonances and rhythms—the Platonic rapture—the αὐλός stands for the visceral imitation of human emotion and suffering. The power of this reed instrument to imitate the cry of human grief was a matter of emphasis already in Pindar's *Pythian XII*, his tribute to Midas the flutist, composed as early as 490. Here was the original virtuoso, the improvising reed player and his wail of mortality. He was the first mime separate from the dancers in the midst of the ring. The imitation later accomplished through the actor and through rhythmic speech was no doubt more subtle, and broader in its range of human feeling; but the ἰοὺ ἰού, and the other stylised cries of wordless recognition at the climaxes of Greek tragedy, may well be imitations of the

mesmerising strains of the αὐλός player, before they are imitations of any human sound. Perhaps art imitates art more than it does life in this case; and no wonder, for the cry of the αὐλός song was larger than life.

It is no secret that with the development of the actor and the drama, the traditional chorus was set adrift of its moorings, and grew increasingly marginal and independent. So it is that imitation, in the phenomenon of the dramatic personation and representation of myth, became the obsessive concern of philosophical approaches to poetry and poetics. But the fact remains that Aristotle's conception of tragedy as a kind of mimetic or representational art, combined with his conspicuous neglect of its roots in Greece as a species of χορεία, is symptomatic of a distortion of the poetic facts as they are found in the whole train of poets from Homer to Euripides. Consider, for example, his famous list of the parts of tragedy: plot (μῦθος), character (ἤθη), diction (λέξις), thought (διάνοια), spectacle (ὄψις) and song (μελοποιία) (1450a). Of these, the first four are emphasised as ἀρχαί (principles), while the last two are accorded a secondary status as the chief among tragedy's "remaining pleasantries" (1450b); whereas it is the last two in particular that have a bearing on the orchestral reality that was rendered on stage. The very abstractness of Aristotle's principles has allowed them, for better or for worse, a life of their own in Western criticism; but it is a mistake to confuse critical principles with poetical principles, as Aristotle's occasionally prescriptive turns of phrase intend to do, and it is a grosser mistake to take Aristotle's critical abstractions for the principles of a specifically Greek poetics. Compare, for example, his Chapter 12, where these same parts of tragedy which he has classified as species are distinguished from the number of segments into which tragedy is *actually* divided (such as prologue, episode, exode, *etc.*). It is apparent that even in Aristotle's day, the entire sequence of events in a

tragedy was defined and determined not in terms of the represented actions but in terms of the movements of the dance group, or chorus—as though the performance was more like a Bach suite with movements, rendering an autonomous and intrinsic musical structure, than it was like a play, with acts. We no longer step the steps, nor dance the dances if we want to understand Bach's music; but the situation was different for Bach and his audience. The division of a drama into choric movements may have been something of a traditionalism in Aristotle's time, but it was surely not always so.

Whatever one thinks of Euripides, no serious reader can feel that the choruses of Aeschylus or Sophocles are in any sense interludes, or marginal compositions, or vestigial survivors. They are among the masterpieces of the choral genre, or any poetic genre; they are often climactic in the poetic and dramatic movement of a play. The fact is that all three of the great tragedians cut their teeth on the poetry of choral lyric; composing round dances simply *was* the poetic act, as they would have met with it in their youth. This point of origin in music and dance sets them off from all other later kinds of playwright, except, perhaps, the composers of modern opera; although from an Aristotelian point of view, as imitators of action in drama, they are all one.

It stands to reason that there may be some subtle and some not so subtle ways in which the highly stylised medium within which Greek poets worked might have affected their various representations of reality. The medium is the direct object of an artist's work. It would therefore seem to be somewhat unphilosophical of Aristotle to be dismissive or neglectful of the choral medium, and yet to attempt to be critical about the nature of the effected imitation. It is the truly philosophical approach—indeed, the truly Aristotelian approach—as well as the way of common sense—to suppose that

if one wishes to investigate the nature of a poetic artifact, one needs to investigate the artist and his medium, as being among its principal efficient and material causes. Whether or not imitation is the formal or final cause of an artist's effort, it must first be recognised that ποίησις itself is not μίμησις, it is ποίησις: poetry is *making*. If a philosopher is interested in finding out what a poet actually *knows*, he might pay some attention to the material medium in which he works. Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides knew drama as an outgrowth of the choral presentation of myth. *We don't*. An over-infatuation with the theory that art is imitation can lead at the very least to errors of fact, about what sort of thing Greek *poets* thought their art was, and quite possibly to misjudgements of intention, or "mis-feelings" of pathos.

Even Aristotle can suffer misinterpretation at the hands of this theory. Consider his famous remark, that the iambic is the most speakable of metres (1449a). We most often speak iambs in conversation, says Aristotle, rarely hexameters, and then only with a harmonic affectation. Students tend to interpret him as saying that the tragedians chose the iambic trimeter for the conversational parts of tragedy because they wanted most accurately to imitate the natural speech rhythms of daily Greek. This is just the sort of thing that is spoon-fed to students of Shakespeare. If dramatists want to imitate natural speech, why do they write verse at all? When Aristotle says that tragic poetry used to be more orchestic, so that it was expressed in tetrameter, but that when speech arose in it "nature herself" discovered the metre appropriate to speech,—for the iambic is the most speakable of metres—our interpretation ought to be that when lyric poets came to choose among the various dance measures with which they might render dialogue, they lighted on the iambic. The trochaic tetrameter only made sense, only sounded natural, when a speaker stepped in rhythm with the words, as is the

case with a marching song or military cadence. The iambic trimeter, on the other hand, could be rendered intelligibly with the voice alone, without supporting movement, and so on this point at least it could have been considered more suitable for dramatic dialogue.

But it must be remembered that the tragic trimeter when written by an Aeschylus, was written by a composer of choral lyric; this was his native and his professional skill. The fact that his dialogue verse was speakable, does not mean that it was speech-like. Whether or not Aristotle meant to make this leap, his students are wont to frolic. Consider this remark from a metrical manual: "According to Aristotle...the iambic trimeter is of all meters the closest approximation to ordinary speech. Hence it was used in contexts where poetic elevation or embellishment was not a desideratum, as in the conversational passages of Attic drama."[2] Is it possible that the influence of this interpretation might actually blind a reader to the magnificence and the artifice of tragic dialogue? Where are these conversational passages? In point of fact, the tragic trimeter is a highly stylised medium, in terms of its diction and in terms of its rhythmic constraints (such as its observation of Porson's Bridge). It can be evoked, imitated and satirised on both these grounds, as, for example, by Aristophanes and Houseman. *Nothing* about the trimeter in the hands of the great tragedians, whether its sound, its diction, its rhythm, tends toward realism. I do not speak of its meaning or its effects, but of the verse itself.

Perhaps the sensibility was different in the tragedy of Aristotle's day. The case for realistic imitation would certainly have been more interesting for the comic trimeter, which does not display all the rhythmic constraints of

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[2]James W. Halporn, Martin Ostwald, and Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, *The Meters of Greek and Latin Poetry*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980, pg. 14

the tragic version, and may never have been orchestic; Aristotle traces comic iambics to an earlier invective style of poetry, perhaps a kind of ancient stand-up comedy (1449a). But it is more likely that what is called a metre in ancient Greek was always, to begin with, a dance measure; and in any case, one ought not to be careless in one's estimate of the rhythmic artifice of a comic dramatist like Aristophanes. This man was a poet's poet, before he was any kind of realist.

Our only excuse for a continuing disinterest in the choral medium would have been our continuing ignorance of the details of its nature. The lamenting of our lack of information is now one of a classicist's improvisatory stock themes. A knowledge of the true quality and function of the Greek word accent should prove a watershed and a revelation in our understanding of the ancient art of *χορεία*. A hidden order stands ready to be revealed, in phenomena that have long since been interpreted as to their order and form. In recovering an original beauty, I shall heighten interest; and this is certainly one of the aims of this work. But I should like this reconstruction to be seen in a larger context, in the service of a truer and more philosophical poetics, whose principle is that art begins as a kind of harmonised movement, and that the artist is a composer, as against a poetics of imitation or representation, and an artist who is an imitator. Such a poetics of movement would claim priority over a poetics of imitation; a philosophical poetics should look for the meaning and significance of a work of art *through* the medium which an artist actually knows and works. This poetics would have the advantage of welcoming the art of Music back into the fold, restored to her rightful place in the philosopher's gallery: she would become his archetype of art, his kind of kinds, for in music more than elsewhere, the medium *is* the representation. This is not to say that the

object of poetics should be the sound, or the marble, or the paint; an understanding of the finished representation or narrative is still our goal; but the μίμησις must be approached *through* the act of making, through the ποίησις.

In this way a philosopher might hold himself accountable to the real activity of a poet. At the very least, he would avoid the embarrassment of generating categories that have little or no bearing on the reality that is manufactured by the poet, performed by the players, and experienced by the spectator. It is only his readers' vast expansion of his single technical use of the word κάθαρσις (1449b), that has given Aristotle's approach to poetics any credibility with respect to this experienced reality. But the prospect of a poetics of movement is far more than corrective: the critic is promised a view of the whole through the internal movement of a work; he may glimpse the unity of the big picture from the perspective of the brush stroke, and the harmonic resolution from the unstable equilibrium of the caesura, the plagal cadence, and the unresolved chord.

It is only when we have paid attention to the artifact in its native harmonic structure that we might begin to assess its larger connotation, or aspiration, towards the imitation of reality. The autonomous form of the artifact is a key to the mimetic process; the experience of sympathetic resonance in μίμησις depends on the relation between two independent and heterogeneous things, the miming artifact and its real object, and is actuated by this autonomous form of the artifact. Outside the *Poetics*, Aristotle's usage can seem to imply such a view. In his discussion of the concept "quality" in the *Metaphysics*, Aristotle speaks of numbers (that is to say, quantities) which display certain qualities, such as those numbers which have as μίμημα the plane and the solid (1020b). To understand how it is that a geometrical figure

can function as the imitation of a number, one first needs to understand something of geometrical figures themselves, on their own terms as pure qualities. Only when one has perceived the quality of a square, for example, as an equal-sided figure, can one apprehend it as a paradigm for certain kinds of number, which have equal factors. It is then that one can begin to speak intelligibly and usefully of "square numbers". As one explores the world of figures as an imitative medium, and compares it with its objects, certain other paradigms come to light, such as triangles, rectangles, and cubes, and others are rejected, such as open figures and curves. In this way one begins to see numbers themselves as possessing certain paradigmatic qualities, as being "triangular numbers," "cubic numbers," and so on; it may be said that the imitations, purely in their own nature as figures, have become revelatory of their objects.

There is a similar connotation in Aristotle's statement at the end of the *Politics*, that in "melodies themselves there are imitations of character (*ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μιμήματα τῶν ἠθῶν*, 1340a39-40)." The *μέλος* itself is an ordering of pure relations in sound and time, a melody played out of a particular scale of tones in a particular rhythm. Yet Aristotle testifies to the intensely mimetic power of Greek music in relation to emotional states of the soul, to the extent that exposure to appropriate scales and rhythms can serve to habituate the listener to politically desirable dispositions and states of feeling (see, *e.g.*, 1340a8-25). Plato speaks of good rhythm and grace of form in the dance as *ἀδελφά τε καὶ μιμήματα* of good character, not just imitations but "siblings" or "kin" (*Republic* 401a). It would seem that there are two kinds of education in music: for the students of Olympus, composers and performers, there is the theoretical study in the varieties of scales and rhythms, combined with the perfecting of technique in performance; for the students of

performance, the audience, there is an education in character, of learning moderation through the strains of the Dorian mode. Neither Aristotle nor Plato here appear to be interested in *how* it is that the motions of music in rhythm and harmony can imitate our passionate nature; both seem more interested in the political and pedagogic utility of the fact of this imitation, and its corresponding power of evocation.

The process of imitation seems to require both a performer and an audience; it appears to be something that occurs between the theory and practice of the one, and the sympathy of the other, and to be dependent on the inevitable feedback between these two within the conventions of a tradition of performance. Such a relationship had clearly developed in the real melodic tradition of Greece, which is of such importance to the theoretical ethics and politics of the philosophers. It is therefore a serious (and apparently a conscious) abdication of philosophical responsibility for Socrates simply to assert his ignorance about harmonic practice (*Republic* 399a), if Plato is also serious in endorsing Damon the expert's view, that innovations in such practices inevitably entail revolutions in politics (424c). The fact is that music gives shape to character and passion, as surely as figure gives shape to number; and it must be a central principle of the philosophical exploration of this mystery, the mystery of μίμησις—not to say, the mysteries of character and passion—that one must explore the nature of the imitative medium, music, for its own sake and on its own terms.

In a similar way, we must pay attention to dance as the imitative medium of Greek poetry. As figure to number, the round dance of the Greeks informs the Muses' utterance, to create the genres of epic, lyric, and drama. It is to be remembered that Aristotle grew up in the age of invented plots, which are ascribed to the tragedian Agathon as his innovation (*Poetics*

1451b21). This may be why μῦθος acquires the sense "plot" for him, and comes mistakenly to be emphasised in the *Poetics* only as a part of the constructed imitation. To be sure, performance can elicit invention; and even without the component of invention, it may be that μῦθος before Aristotle demands to be understood in the context of performance.[3] But Aristotle himself speaks of the "received myths" (τῶν παραδεδομένων μύθων, 1452b24). At least in part, therefore, the μῦθος is the *object* of the imitation, the story which may be passed on from generation to generation and which is *given* to the artist, who attempts to conceive it and localise it in his peculiar orchestra—whether in hexameter phrasing and ring composition, or in strophe and antistrophe, or as a drama shaped around and through a sequence of choral odes.

Myth is linear narrative, and dance is circling, speechless rhythm. Yet the highly stylised and independent medium of the round dance—where the human animal may come to feel, in his erratic sinews, as he joins hands with his community, his measure of participation in the awesome circling of divinity—the dance becomes revelatory of its object. The choral form gives shape to myth. μῦθος itself is revealed, as story and as word: in a great composition the story is illuminated by the choral structure, and the word comes to be experienced in its musical substance. That these are revelations of the μῦθος, rather than impositions upon the story by the constraints of the dance, can be seen in a general way by the survival of choral forms in poetry and story-telling beyond the demise of the dance in its living presence. Ring composition is now a technique of narrative simply; responsion in rhythm (and rhyme) is still definitive in lyric verse; while the structural function and the dramatic and psychological illumination of the chorus are still the envy

[3]see Nagy, *Homeric Questions*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996, pgs. 113-46

and the experiment of the modern dramatist, who misses most of all, perhaps, the orchestic, communal origins of his medium.

In the Greek context, the context of μουσική, we must therefore move backwards and outwards, so to speak, from the too precipitate view of poetry as imitation, to the view of poetry as χορεία. It is of no small import to the success of this study that Plato himself made at least a partial move of this kind in the course of his life. In his later years, he seems to have become entranced by the dance of the Muses, in a last renaissance of the spirits of Hesiod and Pindar. Imitation was still a doubtful thing; but in the *Timaeus* and the *Laws* (and the *Epinomis* as well), χορεία is a divine thing. One is hard put to understand whether this view represents a change of heart. Whatever his motive, we must be thankful that Plato cared enough about χορεία for its own sake that he left us, in passing, the material for a truly useful analysis of its technical nature.

The great age of the choral lyric medium, possibly as old as the Greek language, came to an end in Plato's lifetime. Since his younger days, he had been obsessed with the representations of this medium, in particular with the dangerous untruths of histrionic μίμησις, and its effects on an impressionable audience. His criticism on these grounds was as much directed toward the reverend Homer as it was to the modern Euripides. But from the perspective of the poetic medium itself, Euripides was the occasion of a far more sinister portent for the arts of the West. When he sundered rhythm and harmony from their tether in the syllable, so that the syllable was no longer the measure of time and melody, but could instead occupy several units of time, if need be, and bear several "notes" of the melody—producing the effect that was lampooned by Aristophanes, the effect that is now characteristic of Western song—Euripides destroyed the unity of χορεία. This unity was

grounded in the dominance of the word, which bore in Greek not only the meaning, but also the rhythm—for Greek syllables are given in quantity—and the melodic pattern, for Greek words are given in pitch contour. The unity of χορεία grew out of the aesthetic richness of the Greek language itself, where the unit of meaning was also a fixed rhythmic substance and a melodic unit. Words suitably arranged were also dances in the round, with no equivocation; this is the significance of a "period" or a "strophe" in Greek verse. When Euripides wrote his choral extravaganzas, the word and the syllable were no longer the measure of all: the melody and rhythm grew to have an independent pattern and significance. So in all the later traditions of the West, music has been one thing, dance another, and poetry still another. Banished forever to a cultural dream-time are the days of civic sunshine, when words were things you could dance, as an integral part of their expression.

It is likely that no one felt the measure of such a loss, of the corruption of a living tradition, as the aging Plato felt it. If one sees Plato's final political project as an attempt to "re-tune" or re-harmonise an increasingly discordant culture, to put together again what he knew to have been broken, I think one has seen at least an outline of the truth. Perhaps his interest in the poetics of χορεία stemmed from a realisation that corruption in works of imitation need not only arise from the imitator's lack of a philosophical approach to reality, but could arise on purely poetical grounds, from a corruption in the medium. As for the implications of a restoration of the true form of this poetic medium—if the choral lyric νόμος is metaphorical of a self-subsistent legal order, if there is a more than playful analogy between the lawgiver and a composer—these are areas that cannot be pursued here. We should have to distinguish the poet-lawgiver from the philosopher-king, and identify the

true poetics with the true politics, and become distracted in such reveries.

As Plato describes it, a lyric μέλος was made up of three things: speech, harmony, and rhythm (*Republic*, 398d). But after its composition, a lyric was preserved only as speech, as a sequence of words (or strictly, letters) in a written text. In this form it could be quoted and interpreted, in the manner of the discussion of Simonides' poem in Plato's *Protagoras* (339a ff.). (In this case the poem is called an ᾆσμα, or song.) It ought to be recognised, however, that according to the linguistic profile of Greek, to preserve a sequence of words is also to preserve a certain accentual harmony and a quantitative rhythm; and that before Euripides' innovations, this harmony and rhythm were the originals, the constituents of the μέλος. As Plato says, the melic harmony and rhythm "follow" (ἀκολουθεῖν) the melic word (λόγος) (*Republic*, 398d); and in the Laws, the μέλος "suggests and awakens" the rhythm (τοῦ δὲ μέλους ὑπομιμνήσκοντος καὶ ἐγείροντος τὸν ῥυθμόν, 673d). The rhythmic pattern is of course fully given in the syllabic quantities; while the contours of a word's accentual contonation would guide the tunesmith's hand, as he drew out the notes of the melody in a suitable harmonic mode. (The "Song of Seikilos" in the Aydin inscription, although a late source, appears to confirm this correspondence between accentual and melodic patterns, as Allen observed; a correspondence is also claimed for the Delphic hymns.[4]) It is only after the New Music of Euripides that one could no longer derive the total μέλος from the written word, because the syllable could then be broken up for effect, rhythmically and melodically, in performance. From that generation on, words have had to be *set* to music; in the age of choral lyric and μουσική, they *were* music. One can hardly complain about all the results

[4]see Devine and Stephens, *The Prosody of Greek Speech*, pgs. 172-3

of this change; the sublime development of musical settings of the written text of the mass, for instance, from Gregorian chant to Beethoven and beyond, is no more nor less than a guide to the spiritual history of the West. But it is important for students of the Greek poets to realise, that there has been an apparently irreversible transformation in the relation between written speech and music, which lies between us and our interpretive habits, and their remaining texts.

It was apparently fashionable in the revivals of the time of Plato's *Laws* for the traditional melic texts, and possibly the fifth century tragic choruses as well, to be treated by arrangers and performers in the new way, as if the words were music-less abstractions that could be set to a variety of rhythms and melodies. This is why, when he wants to introduce some of the traditional poems and dances into his city (802a), the Athenian says his lawgiver must himself prescribe the harmonies and rhythms to which the *μέλη* will be set; for "it is a terrible thing to sing "off" with the whole harmony, or to "unrhythm" to the rhythm, having assigned unsuitable ones to each of the songs (*δεινὸν γὰρ ὅλῃ γε ἁρμονίᾳ ἀπᾴδειν ἢ ῥυθμῷ ἀῤῥυθμεῖν, μηδὲν προσήκοντα τούτων ἑκάστοις ἀποδιδόντα τοῖς μέλεσιν*)." (802e)

The written word so treated, abstracted from the tonal nature of real words, and capable of being re-set to music, has had a profound impact on the development of criticism and linguistic scholarship. To begin with, the written text has altered literate speakers' perception of the reality of language. When we look at writing, we think we are looking at words, rather than at suggestions or reminders (*ὑπομνήματα*) of what Plato in the *Phaedrus* calls "living" words. Such written words appear to be made up of letters—again, most literate people in and outside of academia would say that words are made up of letters—and the written letters appear to be nothing else than

arbitrary signs. It quietly follows that words are nothing else than signs. The empirical fact, however, is that words are *things*, accentual and rhythmic as well as phonemic substances. There can be nothing arbitrary about substantial things, and hence nothing merely symbolic about words. Poets, in whose speech there are no synonyms, have always known this about words. For Homer, who was least infected among poets by the σήματα λυγρά, words were winged things, that flew between the lungs and minds of men. The notion of "winged words" is in a sense less metaphorical than that of "written" words; in the time between utterance and audition, a word is potentially any number of things, but it *is* actually a moving disturbance of air. Of course the written imitation does reflect a part of the reality; but it is surely a distinction of some moment to say not that words *are* signs, but that words can *function* in abstraction as signs, much in the way of any other substantive thing which can function as a sign or symbol.

In linguistics, alphabetic writing has prejudiced the analysis of *langue* in favour of the phoneme. While the accentual and rhythmic features are an integral and even a dominant part of the experience of actual speech, since the days of the ancient grammarians, the letter-mongers, they have been called elements of προσῳδία, or elements literally of the "added song". Prosody as an epiphenomenon is entirely a prejudice of the letter-mongers and their diacritical marks. I trust that it is not only in the case of ancient Greek that the neglect or thoughtless treatment of prosodic features might have masked an elegant reconstruction, or even distorted the phonological analysis. A discovery as surprising and groundbreaking as Verner's Law, which links a well-known consonant shift in proto-German to accentual position, ought long since to have suggested that prosody is an over-arching, rather than an epi-phenomenon, and a foundation for analyses. John

Goldsmith's autosegmental phonology represents a new beginning in this direction.[5] For students of the Greek language in particular, as its speakers understood it until Plato's time, let it at least be remembered that it was prose that was bare (ψιλόν), not poetry that was embellished.

In the generation after Plato, Aristoxenus the Peripatetic wrote separate treatises on harmony and rhythm. No treatise has come to us from the ancient world on χορεία. It is only in that critical time between Euripides and the Aristotelians, Plato's time, that harmony and rhythm were seen as distinct elements, and yet still subordinate to a greater unity. From the perspective of χορεία, the distinction between harmony and rhythm has only an analytical reality; whereas afterwards and ever since, they have comprised separate subject matters and demanded separate treatments. Music nowadays is an art of putting these two things together; but in ancient Greece, harmony and rhythm came together already united in the word. It is this musical word which the Greek poet composed with, whether in epic or elegiac, lyric or dramatic metres; it is the aesthetic fullness of the word, a sensible substance determined in pitch and rhythm as well as the bearer of meaning, a word that can be *performed*, which makes Greek poems unique kinds of composition, demanding a unique critical approach.

The discovery of a tenable theory of the Greek accent has at last made this possible: we can now approach Greek verse as χορεία. "*Choreia*, of course, is dance and song, taken as a whole (Χορεία γε μὴν ὄρχησίς τε καὶ ᾠδὴ τὸ ξύνολόν ἐστιν, 654b)," says Plato in the Laws; and in a passage that will serve as our guide from now on,

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[5]see, *e.g.*, John A. Goldsmith, *Autosegmental and Metrical Phonology*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990

> τῇ δὴ τῆς κινήσεως τάξει ῥυθμὸς ὄνομα εἴη, τῇ δ' αὖ τῆς φωνῆς. τοῦ τε ὀξέος ἅμα καὶ βαρέος συγκερανυμένων, ἁρμονία ὄνομα προσαγορεύοιτο. χορεία δὲ τὸ ξυναμοότερον κληθείη.. (665a)
>
> As for the arrangement of motion, its name is "rhythm"; while the arrangement of the voice, of the sharp (ὀξύς) and the heavy (βαρύς) mixed together, is given the name "harmony"; and "choreia" is what the combination is called.

We shall attempt to examine the varieties of Greek poetic composition under each of these heads, in terms of their rhythm, in terms of their harmony, and finally in terms of the total effect of the combination, of the effect of the words as *χορεία*. In one sense this attempt is a work of restoration in the artifact, like the cleaning of a painting; in another it aspires to ground the arts of poetics and criticism with respect to ancient verse on a new, or at least forgotten footing.

Rhythm in Aristoxenus is an abstract notion, a division and ordering of time (or "times") (*Elements of Rhythm*, II.2). One should note that Plato rather emphasises the physicality of rhythm: it is a measurement and ordering of motion, of the body in dance. This should be clear from the fact that he can analyse *χορεία* into dance and song in one passage, or into rhythm and harmony in another. Emile Benveniste writes that before Plato, rhythm meant "form" more broadly, in the usage of the Ionian philosophers, for example, or in Herodotus, who speaks of the rhythm of written letters; he credits Plato with the first extant use of the word in the musical sense it has kept until today.[6] As Plato describes them in the *Philebus*, rhythms and metres are names for the numerical measurement of the experience of bodily motions (17d).

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[6]Emile Benveniste, "The Notion of 'Rhythm' in its Linguistic Expression", *Problems in General Linguistics*, Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1971, pgs. 281-8

It is probably difficult for students of the Greek poets to imagine that metres are anything at all, apart from dissociated abstractions in the appendices of texts. For all that the lyric metrical schemes of Greek are by-products, as it were, of the words themselves, it is not commonly suggested that the metre might have some relevance to the matter, that metre can be significant. Metres, we are likely to be told, are systems of formal constraints. But think about the nature of a foot: there is nothing formal about it; it is, in fact, the most pedestrian thing there is. A poetic foot in Greece was a dance step; it consisted of an ἄρσις and a θέσις, literally a raising and lowering of the foot in the air, as Bacchius the Elder describes it,[7] or as I rather think, an up-beat and a down-beat, light passing steps and a heavy step that carried the ictus. Iamb or anapæst, trochee or dactyl, a foot was something you could *step out* (βαίνω). If a dance began ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, on the right foot for luck, and ended on the right foot as well, in the final antistrophe or epode, we have a hypothesis for reconstructing the steps of an ode. One need only remember, as a general maxim, to put one foot after another; or to put it another way, the left foot must come between successive steps of the right. If my reader can walk, or has seen people walk, he will quickly grasp the *real* constraints inherent in metre.

Devine and Stephens write a chapter on rhythm in their comprehensive *The Prosody of Greek Speech* which makes no mention of dance. A certain line of scholarship eschews extra-linguistic forces in its accounts of metre.[8] Plato is explicit, however, that rhythms and metres are measures not of speech but of bodily motion. Whatever the merits of the

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[7]Bacchius, *Isagoge* 98, quoted in editor's introduction to Aristoxenus, *Elementa Rhythmica*, ed. Lionel Pearson, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, pg. xxiv

[8]Devine and Stephens, *The Prosody of Greek Speech*, pgs. 100-1

case in other language contexts, that verse is "merely the language itself, running in its natural grooves,"[9] the position is untenable with respect to the poetry of Homer and ancient Greece. There is an overwhelming *prima facie* case for the influence of dance upon metrical form in ancient Greek verse, whereas only a portion of the corpus can be seen to reflect the iambic "grooves" of normal speech referred to by Aristotle. The entire list of descriptive terms generated by poets and grammarians, such as arsis, thesis, the foot itself, period, strophe and chorus—not to mention the use of the verb *βαίνειν* (or *ἐμβαίνειν* —see, *e.g.*, Plato's *Alcibiades* 108a, c) and the noun *βάσις* (*Republic* 399e, 400a) to describe the performance of a foot—must either be ignored on this line, or understood to participate in some extended metaphor of societal and cultural compass.

The future may hold a new synthesis, however. David McNeill's pioneering work on gesture makes a powerful case for an integrative analysis of speech with respect to phenomena traditionally thought to be extralinguistic. Although gestures are implemented primarily by the hands and arms, and the metrical aspect of these movements is relatively minor,[10] dance and verse which is sung and danced in the round can be understood as large-scale, public species of formalised gesture, and certain of the theses developed by McNeill seem to apply in illuminating ways. The one-gesture-per-clause rule,[11] for example, can be seen to reflect the general linkage between rhythmic periods—segments of the dance—and semantic units. The phenomenon of agreement at period end can be understood as an accentual

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[9]E. Sapir in *Ibid.*, pg. 101

[10]David McNeill, *Psycholinguistics: A New Approach*, New York: Harper and Row, 1987, pgs. 221-5

[11]*Ibid.*, pgs. 19-20

formalisation of this rule, while the exclusively poetic phenomenon of *enjambement* can be seen as the emphatic transgression of a clause over stylised gestural boundaries. The notion of periodic reinforcement would seem to link footstep, gesture, voice and meaning; it is a shaft driven through and beyond the tiers of a segmental analysis, linking bodily ictus with accent, phone, word and clause.

The genre of danced verse was in no sense unique to the Greeks among the Indo-European cultures. There exists to this day a tradition of dancing heroic ballads in the round, in the far-flung Faroe Islands. Jonathan Wylie and David Margolin have made a recent study of Faroese culture, for which the heroic round dance served as an appropriately complex metaphor:

> In writing these pieces we have kept in mind the image of the *dansiringur*—the "ring" of dancers singing ballads of wars and loves of heroic times. This kind of ballad dancing is not a Faroese custom (almost nothing is); it is the last survival of a dancing style once common throughout Europe. Late mediæval woodcuts and drawings show dancers forming a real circle in the open air, arms linked as the Faroese still link arms, moving round with a step that looks very much like the Faroese step.[12]

On a later page:

> The mood is high; the turning circle fills the room; the floor resounds to the beat as the dancers, backs straight and heads turned, "tread the measure underfoot," two steps forward and one, with a slight kick, back.[13]

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[12]Jonathan Wylie and David Margolin, *The Ring of Dancers: Images of Faroese Culture*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981, pg. 12

[13]*Ibid.*, pg. 99

There is a dactylic round dance still performed in Greece, a remnant of the ancient world, which will play a role later in this study. But how is it that the traditional round dances, which were a prevalent social institution across Europe, and which served as the compositional framework for European classical music, have been forgotten in the transition to modernity? Has there been an irreversible process at work here, where the inheritance of ages, in the form of traditional patterns of motion that circled at the centre of Western man's social being, a memory preserved in the foot, has been forever erased?

There does seem to be a kind of progressive amnesia, certainly in schools but possibly in societies as well, about the orchestic origins of their poetic and musical structures. The original auditors of the modern seated "orchestra" were dancers, at whose pleasure the music flowed; while the first audiences of classical music would probably have been familiar with the peasant and courtly dances that composers drew on. For them, seated and silent, the experience of "art" rhythm in classical music might have been a sublimation of the familiar pulse and step. But it is hard to imagine that today's seated orchestra and its rigid listeners can have anything but the most abstract perception of the phenomenon of rhythm, even as they experience the music of centuries past, for they have no direct memory in their feet and in their spines of the dance movements which inspired its composition. This process of development in musical culture seems to me to be in need of exploration: it begins in the sublimation of physical dance and participatory song in a transcendent "art" rhythm and harmony, which demand to be listened to in silence; the aesthetic rapture of such silent listening leads to amnesia and ignorance about the original movements, perhaps even to their obsolescence, while it leads at the very same time to the recognition of the

derived "art" versions as fixed canons of classical or popular form.

This process is exemplified by the history of the epic hexameter. The evidence that epic verse is danced verse is neither hidden nor ambiguous, within and outside the poems themselves. We shall examine some of this evidence in due course; for now one need only remind oneself that a metre was a measure of bodily motion, and that Greeks understood the epic hexameter to be made up of what they called "feet," or dance steps. No one is known to have been dancing to Homer in Plato's or Aristotle's time, however, and none may have done so in their living memory; a talented rhapsode would have commanded the attention of a still and silent audience. The original vigour of the feet had been sublimated in a rhythmic pattern of speech, which served in the hands of Greek versifiers as the classical vehicle, from Cadmean times onwards (see Herodotus V.58-9), for epigrams, for prophecy, for moral didactics and theology, later for philosophy and natural science, as well, of course, for the songs of heroes. I do not propose that we reverse this process, that we stop reading Homer and start dancing him. Roger Norrington, a leader in the "authentic performance practice" movement, has pointed out that you can dance your way through the whole *St. Matthew Passion* of Bach. In one way, this fact is a vital clue to an understanding of the emergent structure of the work. But actually to dance to Bach would be to miss the point. There is something going on in the artist's rendition that transcends dance, or at least leaves it behind. Similarly, to dance to Homer would likely get in the way of listening to him. (There ought to be an experiment done.) What begins as folk dance is transformed, somehow, into a classical form and a narrative. What we can look for, in the part of our analysis that deals with rhythm, are patterns and structures that are native to the original dance, which leave their mark on the emergent

structures of the poetic narrative. In this way, our poetics will pay attention to both the materials and the transformative act of ποίησις.

The round dance, as an origin, is a deeply evocative medium in gesture and form. Consider this description of the Faroese ballad dance, constrained as it is by having to be performed inside:

> ...the Faroese ring is only formally a circle; the Faroese dance indoors, in rooms almost too small to hold all the people, and the "ring" is a great convoluted affair, with loops and eddies and whorls, so that as you dance around you seem everywhere to be passing a line parallel to your own, instead of the open ground and the whole circle of the continental dance. The people pass close before you; individuals are brought face to face for a moment in the stream, to return again familiarly on another verse, or perhaps to disappear, if for some reason they drop out of the dance.[14]

The exquisite sense of the recurrence of the familiar, of the rightness and inevitability of this recurrence and closure, without a sense of monotony or repetition, is apparently a part of the ethos of this movement. One can only get this sense by paying attention to the actual experience of the dancer, as he moves ever onwards to the right, but always finally circles. It is remarkable that Homerists have not sought for clues to the structure of epic composition in the structure of the ring dance, the attested medium of Hesiod's circling Muses, but have instead looked for such clues in a hypothetical, unattested oral tradition. Perhaps it has been too pedestrian an identification to make: but the phenomenon of ring composition in epic narrative, however small or large the compass of these rings, is a reflex of the emergence of such narrative out of dance in the round. If the song of epic narrative was or could have served as an accompaniment to a round dance, if the very rhythm of

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[14] *Ibid.*, pg.12

the dancers' step and motion was one with the rhythm of the words, it stands to reason that the ethos of the dance, with its progression and recurrence, would lend its shape to the narrative which accompanied it—or more than accompanied it, moved with its very same rhythm. These are the first fruits of the new analysis: solely on the basis of its rhythm, we have discovered a physical substantiation for the scholarly discussions which take place in the abstract, about a distinctive feature of epic narrative, the phenomenon of ring composition. This is in the first place a discovery of fact; but it demands a corresponding change in critical feeling. For the alien observer, who is used to distinguishing between narrative and music, ring composition might seem repetitive and monotonous, and a feature in need of an explanation as a traditionalism; but for the participant in the round, whether as poet or as dancer, ring composition in story telling would seem to be as natural and as artless as the return of the dawn, with her fingertips of rose.

My analysis of rhythm will by and large proceed as an interpretation of a poem's metrical scheme, in terms of the constraints of dance. It will be complemented by an analysis of the poem's harmony. It is at this stage that we apply, and confirm, the new theory of the accent. Just as the quantities, the elements of rhythm, are contained in the words themselves, so do the elements of harmony, ὀξύς and βαρύς, emerge from the word. ὀξύς and βαρύς, or sharp and heavy, rising and falling, were the words the Greeks themselves used to describe the prosodic features of their language (sometimes along with the level tone or μονότονος—see, *e.g.*, Plato's *Philebus* 17c). I have argued that these were features of "tonal stress", which arose out of the possible placements of the total accentual contonation, rising plus falling, over different combinations of syllabic quantities, given that a word's syllabic quantities were determined independently of prosody in Greek. I have

presented a way to ascertain whether a word's contonation appears in a given environment as ὀξύς or βαρύς ; I have shown how to locate these features, given the marks of pitch contour bequeathed us by the Alexandrians.

It has been passed from generation to generation of student, that against all intuition and example, there is no relation in Greek verse between ictus and word accent. We shall examine this relation anew: analysis of the rhythm will supply the pattern of ictus; a reading of the harmony, based on the new theory, may provide us for the first time with the true location of the accents. The combination of these, in syncopation, counterpoint, and reinforcement, should prove to be recognisable as the unique musical and poetic epiphany known as χορεία. The stream of words will be seen itself to produce the harmony and rhythm, which vie with each other until they find resolution and concord, again, *through* the words. The practical effect on the dancer of the combination of ictus, accent, and word, is marked in the case of the Faroese ballad (the internal quotation is from a 1906 description):

> Faroese dancing is an exercise in continuity and self-control. It links the dancers with their legendary past, mingles all members of the community and focuses their activity. It removes conflicts from the realm of everyday life to a story realm, while the dancers coordinate their voices and movements. "What, moreover, should be well looked after in the ballad singing is to 'get the word under the foot,' as the old ones used to say. One gets the word under the foot when one stresses one word or syllable at the same time that one steps along with the foot."[15]

"Getting the word under the foot" is an extant modern prescription for the experience in danced verse which Plato describes as "agreement," between harmony and rhythm, accent and ictus, stress and step. If one could just

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[15] *Ibid.*, pg. 115

imagine getting Pindar's word "under one's foot," one could begin to grasp the astonishing dimensions of the unity of χορεία, in the physical projection of the word: for the dancer, the word begins in the rhythm of his foot beneath him, finds harmonic expression through the voice, and seeks its meaning in his highest contemplation, about mortality, the gods, and his community.

What we shall discover, as we apply the terms of χορεία to Greek verse, is the substance of the Platonic rapture: harmony and rhythm, as expressed in accent and ictus, beginning in disagreement, and ending in agreement at the cadence of a period. Some of the most remarkable revelations occur in the lyric genre; the new theory of accent may have essentially "solved" the Greek chorus. The movement from disagreement to cadence is common to all forms of Greek verse, however; and it is fitting that we begin at the beginning, with Homer. I shall then introduce a theory of lyric composition, with some speculation as to its historical genesis. The study of the relation between verse and dance rhythm leads to a fundamental distinction between the stichic metres, on the one hand, such as the hexameter, the elegiac couplet, and the tragic iambic trimeter; and on the other, all the lyric forms. This distinction has been made on other grounds, as one between "speech" and "song" forms, by Gregory Nagy.[16] The substantial empirical basis of this distinction can be expressed as a formula: whereas the epic, elegiac, and spoken tragic verses were such as could *accompany* dance, lyric verses were *danced*.

There are many obstacles to a new Homeric poetics. On any side of the current debates, there is a deep-rooted neglect of the possible significance of

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[16]Gregory Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990, pgs. 19 ff.

word accents. Consider this remark on the hexameter from Bernard Knox's otherwise exemplary introduction to a recent translation of the *Iliad*:

> ...though it is always metrically regular, it never becomes monotonous; its internal variety guarantees that. This regularity imposed on variety is Homer's great metrical secret, the strongest weapon in his poetic arsenal. The long line which no matter how it varies in the opening and middle always ends in the same way, builds up its hypnotic effect in book after book, imposing on things and men and gods the same pattern, presenting in a rhythmic microcosm the wandering course to a fixed end which is the pattern of the rage of Achilles and the travels of Odysseus, of all natural phenomena and all human destinies.[17]

Here at last is an attempt to see an organic connection between the metrical pattern and the broader intentions of the verse. But does Homer's long line really always end rhythmically in the same way? The fact is, this idea is not justified even by the metre. It is only the metrician's formulation, — x, which makes the last foot always look the same. In any given line, that last syllable is *either* long or short; in real life, there are no doubtful syllables. But what is more, neither Homer nor anyone else ever sang a metre; he sang words, with harmonic as well as rhythmic properties. Consider these words found at the ends of lines near the beginning of the *Iliad*: Ἀχιλῆος, ἔθηκε, βουλή, Ἀχαιῶν, χολωθείς. On any reading of the accent marks, it must be allowed that each of these words has a different prosodic pattern. There is none of Knox's hypnotic sameness. It is highly unlikely that the rhapsodes, who recited unaccompanied, recited in a monotone; or that they used a prosody unrelated to the natural one. (The ἁρμονία of epic is, however, said by Aristotle to be somehow different from the everyday version; we shall

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[17]Bernard Knox, Introduction, in Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Robert Fagles, Introduction and Notes by Bernard Knox, New York: Penguin Books, 1991, pg. 12

discuss this in the sequel.) The role of the prose accent would seem to be crucial in the Cyclops episode (*Odyssey* IX. 408-14), where one needs to distinguish between Οὖτις and οὔ τις, μή τις and μῆτις, to savour the full wit; and Greek audiences are known to have been ruthless with performers who got their accents wrong.[18] There is therefore a compounding of errors in this description by Knox. In the analysis to come, we shall see examples like the first two words as giving a feminine cadence to the line, on the first element of the final foot; examples like the second two, as giving a masculine cadence on the second "doubtful" element of the foot; and examples like χολωθείς, as either leaving the line unresolved, or giving only a partial cadence.

The differences here between falling, rising, and transitional rhythms, would seem to indicate a pleasing variety in the resolutions of Homer's line. This is the opposite of Knox's imposed regularity (which may reflect a habituation to the ethos and the accentual pattern of the Latin version of the hexameter). In general, the motion from disagreement to agreement in Greek verse cannot be characterised simply as one from variety to sameness. One should also note that we are dealing here not just with an error, but with the romanticisation of an error. How many students will be drawn to Homer, with the promise of a wandering course to a fixed end, in a rhythmic microcosm? So also, following another star, have generations been drawn to the romantic anonymity of an oral tradition, and found themselves a Homer.

A safeguard against these academic siren songs is the text itself, if it is properly interpreted. We must no longer mistake the written text for the poem, the written word for the living word, the imitation for the reality. Greek texts, whether in metre or prose, ought to be seen for what they are:

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[18]see W. B. Stanford, *The Sound of Greek*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967, pg. 31

notational instructions for the production of sound by the voice. They are *musical scores*. The separation of words and the addition of accent marks in Alexandrian times (or perhaps earlier—see Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations*, 177b) can be seen as refinements on these instructions, intended, perhaps, for the benefit of non-native speakers. The comparison with musical notation involves some compelling corollaries. Today's audience for the music of tonal harmony is highly sophisticated; listeners will respond to the subtlest rhythmic and harmonic gestures of the composer. Yet this audience is almost completely illiterate; the vast majority could not usefully read a piece of music, and still less could compose in the tonal language. We have literate performers, illiterate listeners, and yet one shared level of sophistication in language and genre. The history of modern classical music is therefore the history of an "oral literature".

It has been suggested before that Phoenician letters were imported into Greece to write down Homer; I think it likely that the poets themselves had a significant and peculiar interest in a phonetic notation for their aural compositions.[19] It should be remembered that the examples of Phoenician letters which Herodotus had seen were all used to preserve hexameters—Herodotus seems to stress the metre—in dedicatory epigrams that had survived since the time of the descendants of Cadmus (V.58-9). The sequence of letters was a reminder of the stream of sound, in which the words were preserved; the accents of the words were known to native speakers, and so the harmony was preserved; and the syllabic quantities preserved the rhythmic feet. The written text was for the poet an extremely efficient recording, which served to recall his words, his harmony, and his

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[19]see Barry B. Powell, *Homer and the origin of the Greek alphabet*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, pgs. 185-6 and *passim*

choreography. (There was the possibility of confusion for other readers of the written version, before the assignation of accent marks; mistakes that arose out of the identity of certain words in their written form, which were different words when pronounced, comprise a category of fallacy in Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations*.) It must be stressed that on this model of writing as a professional notation, the literacy of the poets (as also the literacy of modern musical composers) has no implications for the literacy of their communities, and no necessary implications for the "literary" nature of their genres.

Literateness and literacy are synonymous with the ethos of classics. It is only if one sees the written text of Homer as identical with the narrative, or even as a version of the narrative, that one might view the repetition of phrases as problematic; that one might view the recurrence of phrases as repetition at all. Natives of literate cultures are conditioned by the conveniences of silent reading; writers need not repeat themselves: what can be re-read, need not be re-said. Aristotle speaks for all literate culture when he says that some of the qualities of effective oratory, such as repetitions and asyndeta, look amateurish as written speech (literally, when "in the hands," ἰδιωτικοὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν; *Rhetoric* 1413b). But for oral, or more strictly, aural cultures, words are more likely to be perceived as sensible, musical phenomena. To name something is not simply to employ its sign, but also to sing its melody, and melodies when sung take on an aesthetic life of their own. They can recur, but they can never simply be repeated. While repetition in a written text is profoundly meaningless, almost the very type of meaninglessness, singers and composers (and orators, in their fashion) have always understood the musical cogency of echoing and repetition; that in the semantic purity of music, repetition is the principal way to *create* context and

meaning. Living speech is a musical phenomenon: and one would as soon explain repetition in music, as wetness in water.

It is therefore remarkable that Homer's memorable phrases, echoes of the Muse that etch themselves in the rapt consciousness—the poetic inheritance and legacy of Greece—have been interpreted as mnemonic place holders for an improvising oral bard. The members of an oral culture are supposed to have measurably better memories than the literate type of native, who is used to writing's crutch; they are the last people in the world, as poets *or* listeners, to stand in need of *aides de mémoire*. When we sift the extant evidence and perform our analysis of the dance to which the ἔπος was originally sung, we shall see why Homer, Hesiod and the other hexameter poets composed their lines in phrases of certain lengths, roughly determined by the dynamic pause called the caesura. The recurrence of these phrases in their poetry can be understood as a response to the pervasive ambience of the round dance, and as a natural outgrowth of the musical quality of the phrases themselves. We shall have explained the peculiarities of Homer's verse through its genesis in the choral medium, and through the musical nature of the Greek language: why there is a tendency toward phrases of a certain length, and why these phrases are repeated. Explanations of these phenomena on other grounds will thereafter be redundant.

For more than half a century, Milman Parry's theory of Homeric composition has influenced many fields of study. The modern study of oral traditions owes its impetus, in some measure, to Parry's work. In the context of Homer, however, it shall be shown to be redundant. The phenomena it seeks to explain can be better explained on other grounds, in a way which is solidly based in ancient testimony.

It is simply a mystery how twentieth-century scholars, who are the

inheritors of perhaps the greatest of all musical traditions, that of the modern West, should have become so transfixed by repetition in the unambiguously musical medium of Homer's verse. The ancient world seems not to have noticed that Homer was repetitive. Modern readers for their part seem to find the song-like recurrence, even in translation, to be one of the most pleasing features of Homer's style as a story-teller. In a passage discussing the rhetorical effects of repetition, Aristotle only mentions Homer to observe the repetition of the name of the otherwise obscure Nireus, three times at the beginning of successive lines in the *Iliad* (*Rhetoric*, 1414a; *Iliad* II.671-3). Aristotle is bemused by what is in his view a poet's conscious use of a powerful auditory effect to memorialise a man whom he never mentions again. We should mark the fact that it is only in these lines that Aristotle anywhere actually *hears* and responds to repetition in Homer; and the fact that he chooses a passage out of the Catalogue of Ships, where, from the perspective of the written text, there is repetition all around. Clearly, Homer knew how to sound like he was repeating himself; and he did not sound like he was doing this, when he used recurrent combinations of names and epithets.

Modern opera audiences are familiar with signature lines. These are distinctive melodies which serve to identify and to evoke the different characters in the play; they are a seemingly spontaneous compositional reflex in the modern development of the musical representation of drama. The epithet and name combinations in Homer also represent such a reflex, in musical narration. *πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς* and *πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς* are nothing else than signature lines, melodic and rhythmic evocations of the protagonists, which serve to bring them to the foreground in the course of the narrative. More generally in Homer, a noun can be seen as the minimal

form of a signature melody, which becomes fully realised and evocative of its object when sung out with its epithets. This melodic aspect of signification is, in my view, the substantial musical basis for Paolo Vivante's brilliant theories of the aesthetic effects of the epithet.[20] Again, the finished aesthetic effect is seen to be rooted in the choral, musical rendition of the word.

Let us turn to our analysis of Homer's dance, the dance of the Muses. We shall prepare a way to begin to understand the transformative act of Homeric ποίησις. We shall never again ask, why had Homer to construct a narrative out of repeated formulæ; we now must ask how, in the context of a choral medium, with its hypnotic orchestic rhythm, its ambience of ritual circularity, did Homer manage to tell a sequential story at all? How did the constraints of this medium, more naturally suited, perhaps, to the catalogue form, become in Homer's hands the strengths of an immortal story teller? *This* is the Homeric question.

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[20]Paolo Vivante, *The Epithets in Homer: a study in poetic values*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982, *passim*

CHAPTER III

THE AURAL BARD

Homer and the Round Dance

In a passage which celebrates the ubiquitous power of "the double," the ratio 2:1, the author of Plato's *Epinomis* concludes, in the sweep of his exuberance, by drawing a connection between the numbers implicit in the relation of doubleness and the "blessed dance of the Muses (*εὐδαίμονι χορείᾳ Μουσῶν*, 991b)." The writer has just introduced the numbers nine and eight in such a way as to mark them, respectively, as the arithmetic and harmonic means between six and twelve; the ratio 12:6 is a version of the ratio 2:1, or "the double". The numbers nine and eight are seen to link the all-encompassing ratio of doubleness with the Muses' dance, which is itself said to be granted concordance and commensurability in harmony and rhythm, by "turning between them." There is a remarkable amount of information here, if one sifts it out of the numerology, for an analysis of the *ἔπος* as dance. First of all, we have explicit evidence that the seventeen elements of the dactylic hexameter catalectic, nine plus eight, *were* in fact elements of a dance. (Without any further qualification, the phrase "dance of the Muses" was apparently sufficient to refer to the epic hexameter.) What is more, this dance had a significant division in the sense of its steps, between the first nine and the following eight. Only if this were so, could the writer have linked the double ratio and the Muses' dance through the mysteries of nine and eight, and the reader have taken his allusion.

At the end of his *Metaphysics*, Aristotle also makes an explicit reference to some details of the epic dance. He likens certain current thinkers to the ancient Homericists (*οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Ὁμηρικοί*), in that they observe small similarities (*ὁμοιότητες*) but overlook large ones. What this deficiency might mean with reference to the Homericists—together with the question of who they were, and whether they were ancient or merely quaint—is not entirely clear; David Ross in his commentary suggests that they were allegorising interpreters of Homer, and lists some possible suspects as Pherecydes of Syros (*c.* 600-525), Theagenes of Rhegium (*fl.* 525), Metrodorus of Lampsacus (d. 464), Anaxagoras (*c.* 500-427), and Democritus (*fl.* 420).[1] Among his contemporary targets, however, the author of the *Epinomis* is surely one, as Aristotle's example makes clear:

> *λέγουσι δέ τινες ὅτι πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, οἷον αἵ τε μέσαι ἡ μὲν ἐννέα ἡ δὲ ὀκτώ, καὶ τὸ ἔπος δεκαεπτά, ἰσάριθμον τούτοις, βαίνεται δ' ἐν μὲν τῷ δεξιῷ ἐννέα συλλαβαῖς, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ὀκτώ.*
>
> (1093a29-b1)

> Some of them say there are many such [correspondences]; for example, of the means [in the "double" interval 12:6], one is nine, one is eight, and the *epos* is seventeen—equal to them in number—and it is stepped on the right with nine syllables, and on the left with eight.

We see once more the division of the hexameter into parts of nine and eight syllables. It is apparent from the citations in a note by Samuel Basset that scholars of the nineteenth century noticed this passage, and a majority of them, following Bonitz, had interpreted the spatial description in terms of the written composition of verse.[2] Since the left hand side comes first in

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[1]W. D. Ross, *Aristotle's* Metaphysics: *A Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary*, 2 Vols., London: Oxford University Press, 1958, vol. 2, pg. 498

[2]Samuel E. Basset, "'Right' and 'left' in the Homeric Hexameter," *Journal of Classical*

Greek writing, Aristotle really means to say that the true division of the syllables is into eight plus nine, and he can be seen to be referring to the trochaic caesura, which divides the epic line at this point. Such a reference, if genuine, would have been invaluable to such scholars, who could not otherwise find anyone who noticed the caesura before Aristides Quintilianus in the third century of the Christian era. Bassett refutes this reading of the passage, however, citing Herodotus on battle formations (see VI.111), Aristotle himself on the physical analysis of motion (*Historia Animalium* 498b, *De incessu animalium* 705b, *De caelo* 285b), and the universal opinion of Greek and Latin metricians, that movement begins on the right. The order of the words straightforwardly asserts that nine on the right are followed by eight on the left; and this is explicitly the way that the scholiast on the passage understands the mechanism with respect to the stichic hexameter line. Neither text appears to refer to the caesura.

βαίνεται (or *ἐμβαίνεται*) in this passage is usually translated by "scanned"; this is to import the usage of Aristides back across half a millenium, and to suggest an Aristotle and a world of his time which read written verse in the manner of modern classical scholars. *ἐμβαίνειν* is used by Bacchius in its most literal sense, to signify the stepping out of a metrical foot, and there is no reason to think that Aristotle meant anything different. For a more contemporary parallel, see Plato's *Alcibiades I*, where Socrates says that when one sings, sometimes one needs to play the harp and step to the song (*κιθαρίζειν ποτὲ πρὸς τὴν ᾠδὴν καὶ βαίνειν*, 108a); he later describes the art of the Muses, which Alcibiades calles *μουσικὴ*, as the art of harping and singing and stepping (*ἐμβαίνειν*) correctly (108c). It is therefore reasonable to suppose

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Philology, 11:458-60, 1916

that ἐμβαίνεται means "is stepped out" or "footed" here in Aristotle; and that right and left do not refer to areas of a written page, nor even necessarily to spatial regions, but most obviously and literally to our physical feet. This is not to say that the hexameter was danced on one foot for nine beats and the other for eight; the epic round was not an epic hop. The sense, I would suggest, is that the first part of the movement was led off on the right foot, while the second was led off on the left. A quick calculation in the binary arithmetic of human feet shows that if the first nine steps begin on the right foot, the next eight will begin on the left; while the whole movement comes to its cadence, or καταλήξις, on the right foot.

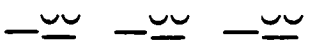
Note and note well that Aristotle speaks of the syllable as a thing one treads. This usage, where a syllable is a measure of a dance, is a welcome and long-missing complement to the notion of a "foot" as a measure of poetic speech. The syllable as the unit of dance provides the essential link between movement and word in choral lyric; the formula "one syllable one step" is a possible key to Greek choral structure. But it is important also to note that this formula does not hold for epic. It is an unusual epic line which has seventeen syllables. Whereas in lyric the dancer and the poet were integrated, the sequence of syllable lengths of itself supplying the dance pattern, in epic the poet was apparently an accompanist, whose speech rhythm was syncopated with the independent rhythm of the dance. There had always to be a long syllable to coincide with the strong step of the foot; but in the weak part of the dactylic foot, the epic bard could sing a single long syllable, if he wanted, while the dancers made two steps. Both of these passages would seem to demand that the epic dance was essentially δεκαεπτά, a thing of seventeen parts; but it is something of a mistake to call these parts syllables. Aristotle was probably influenced by the usage of choral lyric, where

the identity of syllable and step is complete. His mistake is instructive, however, in pointing up the distinction between epic and lyric, and in the analysis of epic itself. It suggests that there is in epic an essential relation between syllable and step, but also that there is an independence of status between the two, and therefore between the poet's verses and the dance of the Muses. The passages require that an epic line was in some sense a seventeen-part thing, danced in nine and eight; but both authors must have been aware that an epic line can have as few as twelve syllables. It is apparent that one could not simply dance Homer's syllables, as perhaps one could Pindar's, but that one could dance *to* them; and that if one considers the ἔπος as dance and the ἔπος as verse, in their proper compositional rank, in the order of ποίησις, the basal material is in fact the dance, to which the syllables are sung as an accompaniment. It is the dance in nine and eight which is the invariant element, by which one characterises the ἔπος, and against which the poet, with freedom under metrical law, composes his verses.

The antiquity and the authority of these passages, from the *Epinomis* and the *Metaphysics*, must carry their weight with future Homerists. By themselves they establish that epic verse was, in some direct sense, dance verse; and this is enough to establish Homer as a very peculiar poet, even among his successors in the so-called "epic" genre. Only Dante, whose *Commedia* is an extravagant journey in the round, exhibits in his architecture the self-referential recurrence of ring composition; although I am unaware if the influence of dance form is felt at the level of Dante's line, as it is in Homer's. Metre for Homer was not a primarily stylistic, linguistic phenomenon, as it was for Virgil, or Apollonius of Rhodes; Homer's epic metre was a concrete reality expressed through the feet, performed by dancers in the round, with a distinctive rhythmic structure of its own (in nine and

eight). On the face of it, on the basis of these two passages, and without a necessity of recourse to modern parallels or a new theory of accent, what are nowadays perceived as peculiarities in Homer's style must be interpreted and understood in terms of the peculiar orchestic origins of his verse, in dactylic foot and ring-dance form. This would be to base an approach to Homeric criticism, almost for the first time in the modern era, on the solidity of ancient testimony.

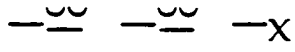
More can yet be said of nine and eight. Consider the metrical structure of the first nine steps:



If this group of dactylic feet was experienced in some sense as a unit within the danced ἔπος there must have been some feeling of closure or cadence in the third foot, which set off the group from the following feet. This cadence would naturally have fallen on the strong part, or thesis, of the third foot. (By thesis I shall always mean the strong part of a foot, whether the foot is rising or falling, in the sense that this is the downbeat which bears the ictus of the rhythm; arsis will refer to the weak part of the foot.) Such a cadence, at the beginning of the third foot, on the seventh step of the dance, would be a cadence on the right leg; hence this section of the dance would not only lead off, but also cadence on the right foot. When we come to our analysis of the prosody of the epic line, we should therefore expect to find a significant accentual prominence placed upon the beginning of the third foot, if in fact the ictus and divisions of the dance had some influence on the shape of the bard's phrases, and if, conversely, the accentual harmony of these phrases

came to agreement with the rhythmic ictus at points of cadence. This expectation amounts to a testable prediction.

The next eight steps, "on the left," have the following metrical shape:



Again, we should expect a sense of closure in the last foot to mark off the phrase, not to say the whole line; if the cadence falls on the thesis of the foot, this second group would begin and also cadence on the left foot. The doubtfulness of the quantity of the last syllable suggests the presence of an intriguing rhythmic ambiguity, however. The last step of the line, on the right leg, may be the catalectic step. Even though this step is in the weak part of the final foot, it might gain some emphasis from being the last step in the dance, and from being on the right foot. We might therefore expect a variability in the scheme of accentual agreement for the last foot of the epic line, and the doubtfulness of the final syllable is a preliminary confirmation. The poet could stress either the first or the second element of the final foot, without violating any rhythmic logic; he would therefore be free to end his line in either a falling or a rising rhythm. Such an intrinsic rhythmic variety may have been a key to the survival of the epic line as a euphonic form of expression, long after it was dissociated from the epic dance.

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If epic verse and dance did in fact go their separate ways, what happened to the dance? Did the practice of solo recitals of Homer signal the

obsolescence of the dance of the Muses? Or did the epic dance submerge again into folk tradition, and continue to survive? If there were some modern parallel for the epic dance, or even some modern descendant, that has survived independently of the long-dead poetic tradition, it should prove invaluable in our analysis of epic rhythm. Here is Thrasybulos Georgiades in *Greek Music, Verse and Dance*:

> ...the ancient rhythm inherent in *musike* seems to have been so deeply engraved on the human soul that it was able to survive in its own right even after the unity, *musike*, had disintegrated. When the ancient, solid body of old Greek, of *musike*, shrank and transformed itself into western language, it left behind a husk, which began to lead its own life, as it were, and became "music" and purely musical rhythm, independent of language. That is the explanation why a stratum of folk music, built according to the old Greek principle of juxtaposition of longs and shorts, is found in modern Greece. It is scarcely necessary to emphasize the importance of this music for the investigation and reconstruction of the ancient Greek rhythm and *musike*: in vain does the philologist seek access to the rhythm of Greek verse...To the musician familiar with modern Greek folk music, however, a pathway is suddenly opened to ancient Greek language—access from this area naturally could never have been expected by philologists.

It is perhaps now unusual even in musicology to speak in terms of the soul, but an empirical account of the continued use of uniquely complex quantitative dance rhythms in Grecian lands requires the presence—perhaps even apart from the direct descent of populations—of some kind of substrate, tied to the land, endowed with the capacity of memory. Georgiades proceeds to identify the living descendant of the epic rhythm:

> ...in modern Greece this rhythm not only exists but is a regular and everyday phenomenon. It is the rhythm of the most popular Greek folk dance even today, of the typical Greek round dance, the *syrtós kalamatianós*. Here we find not only the rhythm as described in detail by the ancient rhythmic theorists, but we find it as the rhythm of the

round dance, exactly as the ancients tell us.[3]

Unfortunately the time relation between long and short in the *kalamatianós* is 3:2. While Georgiades is intrigued as a musicologist in the possibility of this ratio in Homer's rhythm—and Dionysius of Halicarnassus testifies that the ancient rhythmicians used to describe the long in a dactyl as shorter than a "perfect" long (*De Compositione Verborum* 17)—Plato himself seems to imply that the "up and down" segments (perhaps the arsis and the thesis?) in a dactyl are equal in length (*Republic* 400b). In any case, a 3:2 ratio would make something of a chaos out of the rules of Homer's regularity: a substituted long in the weak part of the foot would be longer, on this scheme, than a long syllable in the strong, tonic position. The name *syrtós* seems to be used all over Greece for local ring dances; there is a dance, called simply *syrtós*, which is identical in form to the *kalamatianós*, but which is stepped in the ratio 2:1 of long to short. Binary rhythm is apparently characteristic of folk dance in insular Greece, which is supposed to have been Homer's Greece, and hence the seat of the Ionic ἔπος; while ternary and 7/8 rhythms, such as that of the *kalamatianós*, are characteristic of the continent.[4] The *syrtós* in binary rhythm is therefore the best candidate for identification with the epic dance. (The *kalamatianós* rhythm, meanwhile, was identified by the pioneering ethnomusicologist, Samuel Baud-Bovy, with the ancient epitrite.) The name itself, συρτός, carries the stamp of antiquity; a Boeotian inscription from the 1st century A.D. refers to the dance of the συρτοί. While this is a late

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[3]Thrasybulos Georgiades, *Greek Music, Verse and Dance*, tr. Erwin Benedikt and Marie Louise Martinez, New York: Merlin Press, pgs. 129-31

[4]Notes to sound recording, "Grèce: Chansons et danses populaires, Collection Samuel Baud-Bovy," by Lámbros Liávas, VDE-GALLO, 1984, pg. 33

date in relation to Homeric or classical times, the dance has apparently survived for nearly two millenia since then, and what is more, it is referred to, even in the first century inscription, as the πάτριος ὄρχησις: the dance of the forefathers. This dactylic round dance of the twentieth century clearly has a prodigious history.

The survival of the συρτός rhythm, a memory preserved in the dancing feet of the Greeks, independent of its poetic and musical accompaniments, is a tale unto itself:

> The modern melodies of the *syrtós* are certainly not as old as its rhythm. They correspond to different stages of history. The rhythm itself, however, is like the original casting mold from which all these melodies have been shaped. It is like a fixed formula, deeply engraved upon the soul of the Greek folk and therefore protected against any caprices of weather and influence of time—in this respect it differs from more labile melodies. The indestructible nature of this rhythm, in the first instance, stems from its relation to the human body as dance; one is tempted, however, to explain it through the original relation of the rhythm to the word, to derive it from the time when this totality was rooted in the soul through the epos. The rhythm was given through the round dance and through the word, it was an unequivocal and immutable *gestalt*. The melodic superstructure, on the other hand, was alterable and not as capable of resistance. We do not believe that one could find a parallel phenomenon in western history, a rhythm which lies outside of the melodic-harmonic development, that is, a rhythm which remained untouched by it.[5]

It would seem that the epic bard was but the earliest known accompanist to this seemingly immortal dance; and that the rhythm and divisions of this dance are what served for him as the "casting mould" for the rhythm and length of his poetic phrases. It was this mould, and not the word, which had the sovereignty; in the phenomenon of "metrical lengthening" of a syllable in the strong part of the foot, and a corresponding phenomenon of "metrical

[5]Georgiades, pgs. 138-9

shortening" in the arsis, we see a demonstration of this subservience of the word to the rhythm, even at the level of the syllable. Before one can make critical claims about the peculiar structure of Homeric phraseology and narrative, therefore, one must first gain a critical appreciation of the fine structure of its casting mould; one must understand metrical constraints, not as opaque linguistic stylisations, but in their literal reality, as the constraints imposed upon speech by dance. Of course we can never be sure that the modern Greek συρτός is the dance of the Muses, or even that it is the same as the ancient συρτός; but if we want to advance beyond the formula, "nine and eight on right and left, with cadence in the third foot, and a choice of cadence in the sixth," in our attempt to reconstruct the epic round dance, we must move beyond the ancient testimony, and seek some clues in the surviving modern tradition of folk dancing in Greece. Such a tradition, based as it still is on the juxtaposition of longs and shorts, on a quantitative structure, may well represent the survival into modern times, independent of language, of the ancient metrical reality. Georgiades is a witness to inspire some confidence in this approach:

> The two phenomena, the old and the new, the rhythm of Homer and that of the round dance of modern Greece, testify to identical attitudes and have common roots. Here we deal with a similarity founded within, with a relationship anchored in physically experienced movement. Watching this *syrtós kalamatianós*, or taking part in the dancing (in the open air, of course), one feels the ancient tradition in the attitude of the dancers. They exhibit a dignity otherwise foreign to them; their faces become masklike. It is as though an otherwise buried level of consciousness is revealed. In this round dance a force is at work which actually holds the people together and joins them as though under one cupola. The dancers convey a primeval tradition which has been deeply stamped, as it were, upon their very souls; their reverence for their forefathers and their unity with them become manifest. What a concentration of meaning and of vigor this dance must have possessed in the time of its blossoming to persist with such tenacity to this day, to exercise such

power over millenia![6]

This persistence of Greek metres must not be understood as the survival of the conventional stylisations of a language, without the language, like the smile without the Cheshire cat; rather, metres have survived in Greece because in their origin they are extra-linguistic—expressions of the foot, not of the voice. It is only in the ancient world and the ancient tongue that one saw the intimate conjunction of metre and language, dance and vocal harmony, in the art form known as *χορεία*. With the emergence of the lyric genre, for the only time in the long history of Greek metre, did the word take over a limited sovereignty; the sequence of words in their rhythm and meaning became itself the casting mould for the dancing steps and the gestures of the imitative *σχήματα*. Each lyric *μέλος* created its own, unique rhythmic context through the words of the opening round, or strophe. Even here, however, the sequence of fixed syllabic quantities had to make sense as a circle dance, had to be interpretable as a succession of feet; in the composition of the antistrophe, this sequence of feet was once again an independent reality, with which the words had to be harmonised, with all the skill of the lyric genius. In lyric as well, therefore, a sequence of feet comes to have a life of its own, and must be comprehensible as dance, independent of the word. The difference in epic, as a species of *χορεία*, is one of compositional hierarchy: the sequence of feet is given to the poet by the dancers in the traditional round, while in lyric, the sequence is first taught the dancers by the poet, through his words.

On the relation between dance and verse in epic, Georgiades makes the

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[6]*Ibid.*, pgs. 139-40

following observations:

> Tracing the hexameter to the rhythm of the *kalamatianós* poses the question as to what extent the epos was originally related to dance. This rhythm comes to us today as the rhythm of the round dance, designated as such by the ancients and used for the performance of the Homeric epos. It is indeed possible that the original manner of performance was conceived in relation to the dance, and that it persisted as a popular practice alongside merely recited performances adopted in later centuries. (A remnant of this would be the modern Greek *syrtós kalamatianós*.) Thus we can imagine the dancing of the Phaeaces to the chant of Demodokos in the *Odyssey*, 8th song, in epic hexameter. It would mean that it was possible to sing the epos and at the same time to dance it. At all events, even if the Homeric epos itself was no longer danced, it is clear from what has been discussed that its rhythm, and therewith its connection with the human being in his entirety, originated from the round dance. The one direction of development, the intellectualization of a corporeally bound rhythm into a purely musical or merely recited rhythm of presentation, is a plausible process which is confirmed historically, whereas the reverse procedure is scarcely conceivable. Thus we find in the very beginning of Greek "poetry"—that is, *musike*—in the time of Homer, and quite possibly even earlier, the impressive unity of music, verse and dance.[7]

The remarkable fact is that the process of intellectualisation, if that is what it should be called, had already taken place in the world of Demodocus as Homer depicts it. The blind bard of Phaeacia sings in solo recital accompanying himself on the harp, as he entertains Alcinous' lunch guests with the story of the quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles. (Homer appears to "quote" a proemium to this tale at *Odyssey* 8.75-82.) It is only when Alcinous wants to impress his mysterious guest with the skill of the Phaeacians' dancing, after they have embarrassed him somewhat with their showing against Odysseus in athletics, that the community puts on the full, epic display: the appointed officials smooth out the dancing space, Demodocus proceeds to the centre, and the nine young bachelors, male

[7] *Ibid.*, pgs. 140-2

Muses' surrogates, in their first maturity and practised at the steps, circle him and beat the divine dance ground with their feet (8.258-264). Two modes of performance are also depicted at the opening of the story in Ithaca: when they finish their dinner, the suitors turn to dancing and song, the crowning delights (*ἀναθήματα*) of a feast, and Phemius is their accompanist (1.150-5); whereas later, when the disguised Athena has left and Telemachus rejoins the company, the suitors sit and listen in silence to the singing of the bard (1.325-6).

Homer appears to be fascinated by the representation of his medium within his work. Such an interest is probably intrinsic, although there may also be a sense in the artist, as he reveals his canvas, of transcendence over his competitors and predecessors, or over the limits of the medium ("O for a muse of fire!"). In the episode in Phaeacia, Homer looks back over the development of his medium, the process which Georgiades calls "the intellectualisation of a corporeally bound rhythm." This rhythm begins in the tread of the citizens in their community's traditional round dance. In this communal, participatory expression, the role of the lyric bard is that of an accompanist. If the situation in Phaeacia is strictly paradigmatic, then perhaps the songs that told directly about the movements of the gods, such as Demodocus' story about the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite, were always reserved for communal expression in the civic round. Of a different order are the songs about the exploits of men, the *κλέα ἀνδρῶν*, such as Phemius' song in *Odyssey* 1 about the heroes' returns from Troy, or Demodocus' song about the heroes' quarrel, or the songs Achilles is singing to Patroclus in *Iliad* IX—accompanying himself on the innocent, silver-bridged lyre which he had stolen from amongst the ruin of the city of Eëtion, Andromache's city. Here is a first stage in the abstraction of the epic rhythm from dance, as the

medium for a virtuoso's expression. The bard and his lyre are listened to in seated silence.

There is a second stage depicted in Phaeacia, which represents a significant expansion of the expressive possibilities of the rhythmic medium. This stage is exemplified by what came to be known as the "Tale of Alcinous," told over four books of the *Odyssey* by Odysseus. Homer here takes on the persona of the hero, who tells his own story and articulates his own κλέος. Odysseus seems to mark this transition at the beginning of Book 9, when he observes what a wonderful thing it is to listen to a singer such as Demodocus, his voice like unto the gods', with a full feast hard by; but the θυμός of Alcinous has bid Odysseus intrude on this festal reverie, to recount to his own sorrow the tale of his sufferings. The story is a spoken narrative; Odysseus is not accompanied on the harp. The epic rhythm has come into its own as the rhythm of poetry.

In classical times, the "Tale of Alcinous" was proverbial for a long story; its very length might imply that Homer depended on a form of written recording. The use of a written record in composition does not, of course, imply that the *Odyssey* is a work of literature, any more than it implies that a Beethoven symphony is a work of literature. Odysseus' story, and both Homer's epics, bear all the hallmarks of roundel composition. The three manifestations of epic rhythm in Phaeacia, in dance, solo song, and narrative, seem to stress a continuity as well as a development. The fourth stage in this rhythm's history, however, where the hexameter is merely a stylised rhythm of language, without ring composition and recurrent phrases, belongs to post-Homeric art; it is a literate stage. I speculate on Homer's use of a written notation, as others have, only to account for the sheer scale of Odysseus' story, legendary in Plato's time, not to say the even greater scale of the *Odyssey* and

the *Iliad*. Compare G.S. Kirk's account of the development of the gigantic pottery of the geometric age (8th century B.C.), possibly contemporary with Homer and with the introduction of Phoenician letters into Greece:

> The evidence of archaeology does not suggest that pots became systematically larger and larger until eventually one was made that was seven feet tall, but rather that there was a leap from the largeish pot to the perfectly colossal one, a leap which must have been made for the first time by a particular potter who suddenly had a flash of ambition and the inspiration of sheer size, and at the same time realized that he possessed the necessary materials and technique.[8]

Ambition and inspiration are of course the forming energies, but they are harnessed to technique. The use of a written notation was at least as necessary, materially and technically, for a development of the scale of epic out of roundel song, as it was for the development, from similar origins, of the modern symphony.

An artist likes to play tricks with his medium, so that it seems to disappear, and the representation becomes something taken for real. Homer sings the *Odyssey*, in which Demodocus sings Odysseus and the Trojan horse. Odysseus is in the audience: "[i]t is as if Octavius, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, should attend a performance of *Julius Caesar*."[9] Then Odysseus himself, the fable in flesh, steps forward in Phaeacia and removes his mask, as it were, to take over the story. Hamlet himself interrupts a performance of *Hamlet*. Homer playing Demodocus is tricksy enough; but when the hero comes into the room, we look away from Homer entirely, and see only Odysseus. (The extraordinary disguised amongst the ordinary seems to be a favourite theme

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[8]G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962, pg. 281

[9]Redfield, pg. 37

for Homer in the *Odyssey*; to name just one example, consider the way in which Athena's mighty bronze-tipped spear [1.99], with which she breaks the ranks of men, becomes, within thirty lines, one of the many neglected spears in Odysseus' spear rack at Ithaca.) In general, the presentation of the various phenotypes of the epic rhythm in Phaeacia can be seen to be in the service of Homer's mimetic intentions; he embellishes the mask, by which I mean the ritual and festive trappings of Demodocus' performance, in order to heighten the effect of its removal, in a new, more intimate form of discourse. As an audience, we have already identified with Odysseus; we who already know the stories of the Trojan war, feel a peculiar sympathy for the private sorrow of Odysseus as he listens to them recounted in alien song. His tears represent a level of involvement with the story which is contrasted with that of the members of the Phaeacian audience, who are merely entertained. Where we also have come for entertainment, Homer has got us involved; he has made of us an audience with a peculiar sympathy and interest in his story and his hero, deeper than any that Demodocus' local audience can have for their bard's song. When Odysseus steps forward to take up the story himself, we are filled with anticipation of his disclosure. Having identified with him, among strangers, as a listener, we now identify with him as a poet, revealing himself in story.

At this stage, the epic rhythm becomes the medium for an unprecedented level of sympathy and intimacy between poet and audience. Homer has been supplanted: Odysseus stands before us. In the Tale of Alcinous, we feel the presence of the man. At some level, this conjuring of a presence is the dream of all artists. Homer's similes, so different in their deployment in the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, are uniquely powerful in this regard. In Phaeacia, Homer is the master of a technique that is also seen in

other forms of art; one is purposefully made to become aware of the medium, a kind of grimy window through which reality peeks. To my mind, Homer has had no equal in the ability to evoke a presence, even among the dramatists whose theatre emerged in later ages and climes.

But aside from this mimetic function, the presentation of the history of epic rhythm in Phaeacia seems to have an intrinsic interest for Homer; he has the eye of an anthropologist, or a cultural historian. In the tale of the gods, we see the artist in his social function, as a kind of religious medium, the musician at the centre of the civic round. In the songs of the heroes, we see the artist as a virtuoso performer, himself an object of attention. In the Tale of Alcinous, we see something like the artist as hero, making a work of art out of his own story. Those who draw inspiration from typologies like "the development of the artist as individual in the history of western society," or "the emergence of the self as hero, in its social context," should find a rich paradigm here, and a possible compatriot in Homer.

It should be noted, however, that the artist as an object of representation yields in Homer to the artist as a medium. Even in the case of Odysseus in Phaeacia, no sooner does he emerge from the epic narrative into a vivid, histrionic presence, than he submerges again as a story-teller passive to his unfolding story, so that at times during the long tale one can find oneself forgetting and then being reminded that indeed, it is Odysseus himself who is speaking. The face of the story-teller vanishes as one enters into the world and the events of the myth. This disappearance of the story-teller behind the mask of the story, as it begins to entrance and to captivate with its own transporting power, is a feature common to all the stages of the development of epic depicted by Homer. But there is a heightening of complexity and resonance in the Tale of Alcinous, in part precisely because of

the psychological dimension introduced by the union of the hero and the story-teller. The story as an expression and expansion of the self, and the self-containment of the artistic project, which can be seen to be reflected in this union, are all to the taste of the modern artist; but Homer allows that his surrogate artist-hero recede into the background, so that the tale of the wandering hero moves again under its own power, susceptible of interpretation and disclosive of meaning directly on the literal and the allegorical level. This is not to say that there isn't a psychological or at least a self-reflective sense to these levels of meaning. But the story is not a mirror held up to the teller, it does not depend entirely on the artist for its life; it has an independent power and substance, and can be told a number of ways. When Odysseus finally tells his story to Penelope, Homer lists the essential details of the long tale in a space of barely thirty lines (23.310 ff.). What we have here is, as it were, the raw material of epic: the essential details of myth, rendered into a sequence of dactylic hexameter lines, each of which can serve rhythmically and semantically as a springboard for expansions, perhaps as the beginning of a narrative ring which finally loops back to its place before proceeding to the next event in the sequence. The epic minstrel or story-teller must "work up" this material into a tale, selecting and expanding on the illuminating detail in a variety of stock and innovative ways. The depicting of the crafting or in-forming of raw material is a constant theme of the *Odyssey*. It might therefore be a feature of Homer's design to expose the process of his own craft as well. The Tale of Alcinous would thus represent a finished version, but alas we are not privy to the version worked up for Penelope on the famously crafted marriage bed. What sort of story would do for *her*? The pathos of our exclusion, which drips from every line of the skeletal tale,—but is softened somewhat by our knowledge of the sort of story

Odysseus *could* tell with this same material—may well be the achieved intention. This is again a masterstroke of mimetic affect through the exposure of the mimetic framework.

At the end of the story-telling in Phaeacia Odysseus refers to his activity with the verb μυθολογεύειν (12.450, 453). Odysseus may well mean simply "telling stories" by it, but the word has come to have a long intellectual history. Perhaps Homer coins it with reference to the totality of his achievement in the Tale of Alcinous, which is a miniature of his achievement in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: a gathering, a reckoning, an accounting of the human and the divine, the cosmic and the natural reality through the medium of heroic myth—in myth, by means of myth, and in part, *about* myth and the mythological mode of kenning. So much and no less can fairly be said about the aspiration and the achievement of epic craft in Homer, where a mythic inheritance bound up with a mesmerising rhythm becomes a work of art in music and story, which in turn can serve as the matrix of an inquiry into the dialectic of myth and reason and craft. Perhaps the whole progress of a Greek culture to come—Homer's legacy—can in a sense be seen as the intellectualisation of a corporeally bound rhythm?

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Two aspects of Homer's presentation of Demodocus and the Phaeacian dancers require special emphasis, before we proceed to an analysis of the modern συρτός. The first is Demodocus' position at the centre of the dance. The centre of a ring dance is a potent, magical place; it is a place of conjuration. Ritual circle dances, as they are depicted on Minoan and Mycenæan artifacts, were occasions for the god's epiphany, descending into

the very midst of the dancers.[10] The possessed motion, the hypnotic rhythm, the mask-like faces, serve to turn the circle into a kind of lens, at whose focus sits the bard. Under such conditions, his invocation to the Muse is no literary conceit; it is an invitation to the palpable, living presence of the goddess of poesy. In Walter Burkert's words, "the experience of the dance merges with the experience of the deity."[11]

Danced verse intends to conjure a presence. This is the peculiar aim and native power of the art form *χορεία*, as the poet's vehicle for bringing to life in the present the stories of his community's past. The dancing ground is a "...movable locus with the magnetic power to attract a divinity or lover, to experience union, to dismember, to reconstitute, in short a *theatron* for revealing and manipulating the natural and supernatural worlds."[12] The dramatic actor, and his evocation through impersonation, represents the choral poet's ultimate innovation in the art of conjuring a presence. In the same stroke, however, this innovation transformed the original power of the chorus of dancers—it turned them at some level into actors as well—and so involved a move from what may be called a poetics of evocation, towards a poetics of imitation. This development may have depended in part on an increasing virtuosity in both the verbal and the orchestic aspects of choral lyric, so that the experience of performance was already less participatory for an audience, and more theatrical. Earlier poets in epic and lyric, on the other hand, had occasion to exploit the more intrinsic aspects of dance ritual to

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[10]Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985; see, *e.g.*, pg. 40

[11]*Ibid.*, pg. 103

[12]Steven H. Lonsdale, "A Dancing Floor for Ariadne (Iliad 18.590-592): Aspects of Ritual Movement in Homer and Minoan Religion," in Jane B. Carter and Sarah P. Morris, eds., *The Ages of Homer*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995, pg. 281

achieve their epiphanies.

It has long been recognised that the combinations of noun and epithet one finds in epic verse are, as it were, metrical "building blocks" of the hexameter line. It was a rather myopic interpretation of this fact which led to a theory of these phrases as oral "formulas," by means of which a bardic tradition improvised its strings of hexameters. What *is* a metrical building block? It is a unit of dance. What does it mean to "dance out" the name of an object, flush with its native epithets? It is to conjure, or at least to evoke, the presence of the referent, whether human or otherwise, in the presence of the ring, through the choral expression of movement and song. We have mentioned others of Homer's techniques for impressing the minds of his audience with the presence of something, but the noun-and-epithet phrases are a unique resource of the dactylic hexameter, for a poet who was still close to its dance origins: these phrases are the true names of things, their summoning names, their names in dance.

Catalogue poetry is surely, from a literary point of view, the most boring portion of the Greeks' poetic legacy. But consider what the effect of this poetry must have been like in performance. What begins as a self-subsistent, harmonised movement in the round, takes on a semantic force, as the song strikes up, and the rhythm and harmony of the ancestral names interweave with and, as it were, re-harmonise the rhythm of the steps. And conversely, just as the dance becomes meaningful, so also does the word in dance take on the power of circle magic, so that it not only points, but summons. As one danced to the florid chant of names in their rhythmic ideality, one felt the very presence of one's ancestors gracing the communal circle: the storied warriors and their well-balanced ships on the expedition to Troy, or the noble women of the past in the matriarchal line. The effect of

the noun-epithet phrases was felt on all three of the levels of χορεία. In its semantic aspect, or its lexical sense, the noun and epithet are together significant of a certain independent reality; but in its aspect as rhythm, its orchestic sense, the phrase is made evocative of that reality in performance, and in its prosodic aspect, its musical sense, it becomes memorable in itself.

It is only in the first of these aspects that these phrases have recently been discussed. The question has been, do the epithets mean anything? Is ουσίζοος αἶα merely a metrical formula for the earth, or is the earth really "life-giving" (or perhaps "grain-bearing", "fertile") when, unbeknownst to Helen, it hides her brothers from the sight of the living (*Iliad* III.243)? John Ruskin's romantic view of this passage has come in for some hard ribbing, from the likes of Matthew Arnold and Milman Parry.[13] What I should like to inject into this very real debate is some sense of the order of the problem. ουσίζοος αἶα is both a physical rhythm and an aural melody, as well as a phrase composed of epithet and noun. A parallel to the question, "does the epithet in Homer's phrase mean anything?"—parallel because the same elements of rhythm, harmony, and semantics are required for an analysis of the artifact—is the question, "does the libretto of a Mozart opera mean anything?" This is a snub-nosed sort of a question, the more it offends with its lack of taste, the more it dogs the mind for an answer. Of course the words are essential to the full meaning and expression of an aria. On the other hand, of course they are not. An exploration of the nature of musical semantics, or melodic signification, would appear to serve both students of Homer and students of Mozart. On the face of it, few would accept that such a question of Mozart belongs within the purview of anthropology. On the

[13]Quotations from all three can be found together in Paolo Vivante's *The Epithets in Homer*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982, pgs. 137-8

other hand, if there is a sense here in which one can speak of the traditional, in relation to either Homer or Mozart, on the evidence of their texts, it is in the sense of a musical tradition. Modern insights into ethnomusicology, on the question of the transmission of such traditions, for example, or on the very practical question of the effects of dance on prosody, may well serve to illuminate the musical texts of both these authors, not to say the whole library of modern classical music, and the texts of ancient *χορεία* across the whole span of its history in epic, lyric, and drama.

The elegance of a choral analysis for the criticism of Greek poetry lies in its non-reductive nature: it cannot be reduced to an analysis in terms of one of its three elements. However appropriate and plangent the meaning of a word, if it disjoints the rhythm, or if it is diseuphonious in context, it cannot make for good poetry. Conversely, however felicitous the sound and the rhythm, if a word should somehow mar the sense, it makes for falsity in the verse. In all poetry, one looks for a perfect consummation of word and rhythm.

What is peculiar to ancient epic is the prominence of the musical component of language in its composition. The recurrence of lines and phrases, essential to the accompaniment of a round dance, tends to emphasise their accentual patterns, so that they begin to register upon the ear as melodies. They become, as it were, signature lines, which evoke their objects and referents with all the directness and immediacy of music. *πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης*, is forever the crash and seethe of the sea—in Derek Walcott's recent invocation, "...the white surf as it crashes/and spreads its sibilant collar on a lace shore." When one considers the grounding of these signature lines as unitary rhythmical components of the circling dance, one is in a position to take the full measure of their extraordinary evocative power,

the power to evoke a presence, quite beyond the mediacy of lexical signification.

Such power survives in the transition from bardic round dance to solo rhapsodic recitation, because the rhythmic pulse of its declamation still governs a noun-and-epithet phrase, and so propels and infuses its capacity to name. Consider ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη. ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς, the *Odyssey*'s characteristic evocation of daybreak, "when she, the early-born one appeared, rose fingers, the dawn." This verse and other Homeric recurrences have been well described as "brief incantations".[14] The epithets become proper names, transporting a single feminine subject through the line. In their rhythmic progression, coming to rest in the balanced modulation from falling to rising of ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς, we feel forever the spread and fall of morning rays, and their consummation in the emergent reality of risen dawn.

It is small wonder that as the dactylic hexameter became a medium for narrative, Homer the story-teller should continue to exploit this power of recurrent phrases to arrest a presence; and that the conjuring enumeration of the catalogue form should continue to impress him in its own right. For all that the very meaninglessness of repetition dulls the semantic power of a phrase, it must be stressed that rhythmic repetition is the *only way* to draw out a phrase's musical quality; the prize is a choral signifier, a word fully realised in its evocative, musical potency. Here is the solid empirical reason for repetition in the literary text of Homer. Here is also why the recurrence of phrases in Homer's epics, or Mozart's arias, in ancient times or ours, has never been *heard* as repetition.

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[14]Robert Fitzgerald, "Postscript," in Homer, *The Odyssey*, tr. Robert Fitzgerald, New York: Vintage Classics, 1990, pg. 492

Such "choral signifiers" are still words, however, and they must at some level retain their semantic force. The lexical element is the original signifier, the foundation of any poetic or musical expansion. The question, of course, is to what extent the meaning is still felt in a recurrent phrase that has begun to cast a musical spell. (Recent theorists have approached this issue in terms of a distinction between "ornamental" and "functional" epithets.) A choral analysis can of itself offer some guidelines. If one epithet is substituted for another, for example, the musical effects of recurrence should be destroyed; the spell would be broken, so to speak, and light should be cast onto the semantic intention of the replacement, and perhaps back onto the original epithet as well. Richard Sacks cites a case where *πολύορονος* (*Odyssey* 8.297) is substituted for *περικλυτοῦ* (8.287) as an epithet of Hephaestus, within a space of ten lines in Demodocus' choral song about Ares and Aphrodite.[15] The rhythm of the two words is the same in context, and so we have a case here of the violation of what the Parry school calls "economy". Since Homer repeats the new epithet in thirty lines, variety is not his motive for the substitution. Sacks sees here a teasing identification of the cuckolded Hephaestus and the hero Odysseus, who also attracts, exclusively with Hephaestus, the epithet *πολύφρων* in the *Odyssey*. At the very least, attention has been called to the epithet as a name, which serves to link the god and the hero; quite possibly Homer is also trading on the meaning of the word, to draw out the comical irony of the husband's position. Hephaestus' intelligence and quick-wittedness in capturing Ares and Aphrodite in the act, only serves to point up his impotence. (I would myself always see Odysseus' *πολύφρων* in light of Penelope's *περίφρων*; while his "many" may be ever so

[15]Richard Sacks, *The Traditional Phrase in Homer*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987, pgs.13–4

many, it is still not as much as her "more".)

Rhythmical transposition should also serve to dislodge an epithet from its musical containment, so that its meaning once again comes to the forefront of the receptive consciousness. A noun-and-epithet phrase appearing in an uncharacteristic position in the rhythmic movement of the line, ought to call attention to itself; so also should an epithet used in isolation. For the first case, consider Homer's use of *ἄνακ ἀνδρῶν* in the seventh verse of the *Iliad*, its stresses straddling the rhythmic division of the line, as compared with his later usage of this phrase always in the second part of the line, as an almost titular epithet of royalty (often with Agamemnon's name). Does not the first use call special attention to the sense, setting off Agamemnon in the line as a king of men, in conflict with a hero whose innate power has a more divine origin? For the second case, consider the marvelously vivid effect created by Athena's use of her epithet as a very personal kind of proper name: when she complains in the *Iliad* about Zeus' preferment of Thetis over her, she insists that there will come a day when the cloud-gatherer will call her his "dear *γλαυκῶπις*" again (VIII.373). In other cases, the epithet in isolation moves in the opposite direction: rather than a proper name, it becomes an adjective, an attributive predicate. Paolo Vivante cites a number of examples, such as *θοός, ἀγήνωρ, λυγρός, λευγαλέος, στονόεις*, and others, where an epithet when used in rhythmic isolation as a predicate takes on a peculiar and focussed sense, sometimes contrasting with its apparent meaning inside the noun-epithet phrase.[16] It is as though the lexical signification of these epithets is thrown into peculiarly sharp relief, when they are removed from their more aural and evocative role within the

[16]Vivante, pgs. 105-6

dance phrase. The capacity for an epithet to register in Homer as both the most proper of proper names, as well as the most finely adjectival of predicates, is entirely comprehensible in terms of the choral origins of Homer's verse.

In general, Vivante's theory of Homeric aesthetics, presented in *The Epithets in Homer*, is thoroughly vindicated by a choral approach—or, I should say, by a restoration of the choral element in epic. From a purely literary point of view, he is led to distinguish between narrative and representation, between the intentional and relational use of things in speech on the one hand, and the pure representation of objects on the other.[17] It is in this last category that the noun-epithet phrases work their magic. In one of his most stimulating chapters, Vivante accounts for the relative dearth of epithets in Homer's dialogue and speeches:

> The pure representation of things...tends to be submerged in certain instances of direct speech. When we speak to another person we usually have some purpose in view: to ask a question or give news, to approve or reproach, to warn or encourage. In such cases we make an issue, we drive a point. Any thing we mention subserves some other interest. There is no dwelling on things for their own sake. Imagination gives way to will or mere curiosity.
>
> It follows that there is little room for epithets in speeches which mainly pursue an ulterior purpose. Some passages of Homer give us a cue. When the same object is mentioned in a speech and in the accompanying representation, it often happens that it has an epithet in the latter but not in the former. Thus, in *Od.* 21.176 Antinous orders Melanthius: "Come now, Melanthius, burn the fire in the hall..." And in 21.181, we find: "So he said, and Melanthius kindled the weariless fire." This variation is quite natural. When Antinous thinks of fire, it is merely for the purpose of melting the fat and greasing the bow; but when Melanthius actually sets off the flame, it is fire itself which is at the center of the picture.[18]

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[17] *Ibid.*, pgs. 18-26

[18] *Ibid.*, pg. 27

We are then given a sizable number of other instances of this variation. It would seem that if the speeches are naturally less concerned with mere representation, it is the speaker himself who is bodied forth in his vivid presence: Homer usually summons him before a speech with his signature line of characteristic epithets.

There are times, however, when a speaker in Homer does become interested in things for their own sake, when his mind is carried away to a far-off place, or he imagines the future, or dwells on the memories of things past. In such cases, the speaker is as interested as the epic bard in the evocation of a presence. Here is the part of Andromache's speech to Hector where she remembers her sad history, translated by Vivante so as to bring out the epithets, together with his luminous commentary:

> My father did Achilles-the-god-born slay
> when he conquered the well-placed city of Cilicia
> Thebes-of-the-lofty-gates; Eetion then he struck down,
> and stripped him not, in his heart he felt awe,
> but buried him together with his arms-wondrously-wrought
> and heaped a mound above; around it elms were grown
> by the mountain-nymphs, daughters-of-Zeus-aegis-bearing-god.
> And the seven brothers who were with me in the house
> all in one single day were sped down to Hades;
> them strong-footed god-born Achilles slew
> as they were tending the oxen-of-trailing-gait and the white-fleeced sheep.
> My mother who was queen under forest-rich Placos
> hither was brought with all her possessions,
> but he released her in exchange of measureless ransom,
> and in my father's hall Artemis struck her the goddess-of-arrows.
> Hector, you are now to me father and stately mother
> and brother, and you are my flourishing husband... (VI.414-30)

> Grief here stirs the imagination. Andromache is an unwitting artist. Her present feeling naturally overflows into past perspectives, touching experience into imagery and acquiring plastic power. This is not narrative but evocation. It is as if new blood were injected into the dead; and the envisaged scenes burst into full momentary evidence. The epithets are, therefore, at home. They fix the occasions where they belong. See how strongly implanted is the locality of what happened—the city of Thebes, Eetion's burial ground, the pasture lands, the queen's home. Especially the oxen-of-trailing-gait and the

> white-fleeced sheep have a startling effect through sheer representation: here is the tranquility of daily life suddenly swept away. So strong is the realization of the events themselves in time and place that all biographical detail is left out. We are not even told the names of Andromache's mother and brothers, but the sharp identities of "brother" and "stately mother" arise, as it were, from the past to crown Hector's living image as its ultimate attributes.[19]

To read Vivante's Homer is almost to learn again how to read. It takes a certain practice in passivity to allow the noun and epithet phrases to register their effects upon the imagination, so as to arrest and to manifest an object or a person as they pass by in the stream of the verse. This is a practice in pure audition, prior, if that is possible, to interpretation. The rendering of such substantives in Homer is a constant phenomenon, the meat of the verse, not the relish—"sheer representation" rather than emphasis. I have so far found exhilarating the effects of such reading and such poetry. But I must confess to the paranoia, if that is the right word, of a solitary reader who has neither danced in the ring nor heard the chant, and has no native schoolmaster to warn him against "over-reading" or to steer him from feeling the wrong things at the wrong moments. It must be said, however, that recent teachers have felt little scruple, and certainly no paranoia, at training their students in a kind of poetic anaesthesia, where whole swaths of Homer's music are to be conceptualised as so much "formulaic material". Oral theory approaches the mechanics of epic composition without regard to the possible aesthetic aspirations of the mechanism, or the aesthetic responses to such composition; this approach to the analysis of a composition is reserved for no other art work in no other genre. Fortunately for Homer, it is harder practice for a student of poetry to learn to short-circuit his imagination, than it is to learn a

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[19] *Ibid.*, pg. 31

new aesthetic.

Parry observed that Homer uses the phrase ἔπεα πτερόεντα in the line announcing a speech, when the coming speaker has already been the subject of the preceding verses and the use of the speaker's name would be "clumsy".[20] This observation was a part of his attempt to refute those who claim a special emotional significance for "winged words" in context. Parry is surely right that the alleged emotional intensity is spurious, and that Homer is avoiding repetition. But why does Homer do this? Parry professes an interest in gaining "the sense of style which is proper to oral song,"[21] but he is content here to rest with a negative aesthetic admonition about the avoidance of clumsiness, which may well be derived from literary instincts, and is certainly too vague to be specific to oral song. Neither speech nor art is created in a vacuum; an analysis of style cannot proceed solely on the basis of the production of the speaker. Words are winged precisely because they must cross the gap to a listening audience, in whom the effects of style are realised. A speaker is not free to follow his convenience when his listener is his critic. Why does Homer avoid repeating the speaker's name? He is in the business of elucidating a narrative foreground, which is pleasing to his audience in its variety and in the rapidity of its evolution. When the speaker is already there, it is the words themselves which Homer sometimes chooses to bring into focus, summoning them to the foreground in anticipation of the speech by means of their characteristic evocative epithet. The germ of Vivante's theory therefore arises immediately in the answer to the question begged by Parry. It is a true oral theory in that it attempts to look to the totality, in

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[20]Milman Parry, "About Winged Words," in *The Making of Homeric Verse*, ed. Adam Parry, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971, pg. 414

[21]*Ibid.*, pg. 418

production and reception, of the performed word.

It should be noted that Parry here speaks only of clumsiness, "break[ing] the style badly" and "spoiling the style."[22] Although he quite obviously means to imply it, for some reason Parry never explicitly states that Homer avoids repeating the speaker's name for reasons of style. *Does* Parry's Homer avoid repetition? How might such avoidance as a stylistic desideratum be squared with the "formulaic" style ascribed by oral theory to Homer? Only the restoration of the choric element to epic can resolve such a paradox. Repetition experienced as such—for example, the repetition of a subject's name instead of a pronoun—must be avoided in any narrative style. It is indeed clumsy. But the repetition of rhythmic phrases in an ambience of cyclic recurrence creates a self-substantial music; it generates for the purposes of progressive narrative a choral signifier, whose lexical component comes to be only the most abstract of three, in relation to the power of rhythm and melody to evoke the presence of an object. Oral theory is not sufficient to account for the subtleties of repetition and its avoidance in Homer: both for diachronic and synchronic reasons, choral theory must be developed for the criticism of Homeric style.

In developing an aesthetic theory like Vivante's one must always remember that Homer is the artist, and not the artifact. He is a proven master of mimetic effects, such as the story within a story. He knew how to draw the most wondrous similes ever drawn. He is also likely to be the master of his epithets, for all that at this level of composition he is engaging directly the metrical givens and the recurrent aesthetics of the dance. As we examine Homer and other Greek poets through the elements of the act of

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[22] *Ibid.*, pg. 414

making, as they are manifested in *χορεία*—our aim is to approach the *μίμησις* through the *ποίησις*—we must always take care that we respect the subservience of the analysis to the poetic act itself. One needs to remember that even so generally accurate a formula as, say, "when Homer wants to bring the present actuality of an object into the foreground, he sings it out with its epithets, whereas when an object is subservient to other narrative ends, the epithets are suppressed," will not be without its exceptions in the hands of a genius who is alive to his techniques. Consider the following passage from the *Odyssey*, first pointed out to me by Arthur Adkins, when Athena leaves Odysseus on the doorstep of Alcinous' mythical court at Phaeacia:

ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον, λίπε δὲ Σχερίην ἐρατεινήν.
ἵκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρυάγυιαν Ἀθήνην.
δῦνε δ' Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον. αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
Ἀλκινόου πρὸς δῶμα ἴε κλυτά· πολλὰ δέ οἱ κῆρ
ὥρμαιν' ἱσταμένῳ, πρὶν χάλκεον οὐδὸν ἱκέσθαι. (7.78–83)

...off went grey-eyed Athena
over the sea unvintaged, and she left lovely Scheria behind.
She came to Marathon, and to Athens of the broad ways, and
entered Erechtheus' close-built house. Odysseus, however,
did approach the famous halls of Alcinous; much was his heart
disturbed as he stood there, before he arrived at the brazen threshold.

Notice the almost over-emphatic floridity of the epithets, as the animate locations on Athena's journey are bodied forth. But then we see the name of Odysseus, unadorned and lonely. The bounty of the goddess' destinations, as it is expressed in the music of the epithets, seems to underscore the bereavement of the solitary traveller she has left behind, with only the syllables of his name. To say that Odysseus is pushed into the background because he has no epithet is to assert the opposite, in this case, of the poetic

reality. A more effective means can scarcely be imagined, to present the situation of Odysseus in all its poignancy, alone and unknown before a strange and awesome palace, than the solitary name. From Homer's perspective, it would seem that the rules of his poetry are made to be broken.

My sense is that Homer is constantly aware of his story turning into music, of the almost limitless possibilities of juxtaposition and variation, of "backgrounding" and "foregrounding" that are opened to him when the nascent musical qualities of words are made vivid through their recurrence in a rhythmic pattern. The story is certainly paramount: Homer in translation is largely a Homer with his native stylisations removed, and readers' interest in the tale itself, presented in this form, remains unflagging. In one sense Homer's achievement can be seen as one of transcendence over an orchestic ritual. But as an auditor of his native Greek, one becomes aware of the linear aims of the story-teller constantly meeting up with an immanent circling sensibility, and finding delight and repose.

The singer's rest is a real phenomenon in Homer, but it must finally be understood in the sense that rests have always been understood by musicians. As Thomas Jefferson once noted:

> [Homer] has discovered that in any rhythmical composition the ear is pleased to find at certain regular intervals a pause where it may rest, by which it may divide the composition into parts, as a piece of music is divided into bars. He contrives to mark this division by a pause in the sense or at least by an emphatical word which may force the pause so that the ear may feel the regular return of the pause.[23]

The rest is silence, indeed; but in music, it is the silence that gives context,

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[23]Thomas Jefferson, "Thoughts on Prosody," in Jay Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993, pgs. 7-10

and hence meaning, to the sound. There are rests within each line of Homer, and a rest between each line. The cyclic evocation of a feast, or an arming warrior, in one line or many, is also a kind of rest within the larger movement of the story, never obtrusive and always welcome, the return of a familiar face in the unfolding progression. I had used to think that the welcomeness of these passages might have been a Greek student's illusion; their recurrence meant that they were the first passages I could read at sight, as though natively, without the embarrassment of having to look up words. Their peculiar quality is testified to, however, by readers in translation. Even the improvising Yugoslav bard must be concerned that his singer's rest not obtrude as such into the listener's consciousness. It is only a sort of listener who has somehow imbibed an antidote to the story-teller's spell—someone who by inclination or even by principle is obliged to exclude himself from an immersion in his fellow listeners' reverie, and so to be doomed of an evening to observe and not to participate—an anthropologist, say, with his tape recorder—who might feel impeded by the natural pauses and recurrences, the repeats and *da capos* of even the most virtuosic of bardic performances. In the rapt and timeless moment of re-enactment, we shall catch him looking at his watch.

What can we finally say about the epithets *in situ*, bound up with their nouns in the metrical building blocks, neither substituted for nor transposed? Do they mean anything? Can the context of the story exert a semantic pull, and dislodge them, as it were, from the musical reverie, to draw out their meaning in a given situation? On the face of it, it is hard to see that the meaning of a word could ever be completely submerged in a musical setting; but the question of prominence and registration would seem to be crucial and subtle, and must come down ultimately to a question of taste. The reader

must stand up as a critic. In these cases the choral analysis can give no instruction; certainly, there do not appear to be any structuralist skirts for the critic to hide behind. We must be judged upon our perceptiveness and sympathy. The "life-giving" earth which hides the dead, the case of ουσίζοος αἶα, seems to me to be redolent of a pathos that is peculiarly and deeply Iliadic. On the other hand, Homer's use of a heroic epithet in the phrase "blameless Aegisthus" (*Odyssey* 1.29), when Zeus is about to catalogue Aegisthus' adultery and unmanly usurpation, bespeaks a kind of irony that strikes me as consummately Odyssean. I have no apology for these views, except that they are vivid. These two examples excite debate precisely because they are not extravagant poetic gestures, but deployments of conventional themes. I say this is also why they are so daring: in each case, Homer risks the very fabric of his music upon their success.

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The second aspect of Homer's presentation of Demodocus' song of the gods, which must be noted before we proceed, is the fact that the dancers come first (see 8.262 ff.). The dance claims an original and independent status, and its own measure of skill: Homer indicates that the Phaeacian youths have some expertise (8.263). The rhythmic drumming of their feet upon the dance floor has already filled the air and overwhelmed the senses, before Demodocus strikes up his prelude. We are to imagine him rooted at the centre, his consciousness suffused on all sides with the Muses' rhythm, which is the matrix from which his syncopated phrases take shape and become winged.

Under these circumstances, we should certainly not be surprised that

the divisions and emphases of the dance rhythm leave their tangible mark on the phrasings of the verse. But it seems that the effects of the dance are felt even at the level of the syllable. I have already alluded to the phenomenon of metrical lengthening. Let me suggest that the scenario of choral performance provides a compelling extra-linguistic cause for this phenomenon: only an extra-linguistic force will account for all the cases, without a residue of embarrassing anomalies. It must be stressed that in supporting a metrical rather than a linguistic account for lengthening, we are in no sense speculating about the pre-history of epic metre, but following the direct evidence of the *Odyssey* about the priority of the dance. Examples of melodic settings of English should impress the reader with the immense latitude of syllabic and even prosodic distortion that can be permitted or exploited in such a context, without a violation of the linguistic bonds that link performer and audience. There is an important objection in Homer's case, however: why is it that by and large—with some exceptions—only one syllable in a given word is allowed to be lengthened, if this lengthening is purely a result of metrical ictus? Why does only ἀθάνατος occur, and not ἀθᾰ́νατος or ἀθανᾰ́τος? Here the choral analysis can suggest an answer. Whereas in English settings, the melody and the word are relatively independent, in Greek the melody is integral to the word, and the word is identified by its melody. The metrically lengthened form is therefore stamped with a distinct melodic identity; unlike the case in English, to alter this melody would be fundamentally to alter the word. We have already seen in Vivante's argument that an epithet, transposed and isolated from its typical metrical environment in the noun-epithet phrase, can display a distinct semantic function; to stretch a point, one might say that the epithet and the adjective are different words. It is therefore likely that once a word appears in epic with

a metrically lengthened syllable, significant constraints of melodic identity should apply which mitigate against its appearing in another rhythmic form, at the risk of its semantic integrity. Exceptions (*e.g.*, Ἀχιλλεύς) tend to be proper names, and limit the variation to one syllable. such constraints are entirely intelligible from the perspective of a musical text, where both melodic and semantic forces must combine to create the final expression.

It was Dionysius Thrax who first distinguished between syllables that were long by "position" (θέσει) and syllables that were long by nature (φύσει). This was a grammarian's distinction, involving the sorting and counting of consonants, intended to explain the poetic usage of previous centuries. The distinction appears to apply to lyric and drama: within these types of verse, long syllables are either of one kind or the other. With allowance for a category of doubtful syllables, there appears to be a correspondence in lyric between the syllables which are defined to be long in linguistic terms, and the strong positions of metrical feet. I should like to speculate, however, that there was an earlier sense of long θέσει, with a particular application to Homer, who does not seem always to respect the lyric poets' correspondence between phonology and metre. On this interpretation long θέσει originally meant "long in virtue of the thesis," and covered all cases of syllables with naturally short vowels which were placed in the strong positions of epic feet. Homer is comparatively indiscriminate on this point: aside from naturally long syllables, he not only uses syllables in the thesis which are, in the later sense, long by position, but also the syllables with naturally short vowels which have been metrically lengthened, as well as syllables which are simply short, such as the initial syllables of διά and ἐπεί. This is a grab-bag of cases, from an ancient grammarian's or modern linguist's point of view. The only apparent common feature in all cases of lengthened short vowels and

syllables in Homer is fundamentally extra-linguistic; it is the simple fact that they appear in the thesis, the strong part of the dance foot. We see here a manifest effect of the independence and priority of the dance component in Homer, in the subservience of the phonological substance of speech to metrical pressure. The metrically lengthened vowel is a birthmark of the epic genre, where speech had to be adapted to suit an autonomous metrical pattern.

In lyric, on the other hand, the dance follows the word: a peculiar sequence of long and short syllables generates in each μέλος a peculiar metrical pattern. It is therefore entirely natural that in lyric, where the word has a measure of priority, it should have been a consistent linguistic rule, rather than an orchestic, metrical necessity, which governed the distinctions between syllable lengths and their deployment in verse. From a practical point of view, the dancer depends upon a linguistic rule to abstract the peculiar sequence of feet from the words. In lyric, after all, it is only when the dancer has determined, as a speaker of Greek, which syllables are naturally short and which are long, whether by nature or position, that he can recognise the dance pattern at all.

The sense I am suggesting for long θέσει in epic involves a natural corollary: a category of syllables, unattested in the grammarians, which are short ἄρσει, or short in virtue of the arsis. The epic dactylic rhythm would not only lengthen syllables which were naturally short, but sometimes shorten syllables that were naturally long, or long by position. The category short ἄρσει would cover such a case as the first syllable in the phrase, ἀνδρότητα καὶ ἦβην (*Iliad* XVIII.857), which has to be short in Homer. We see striking examples of both types, long θέσει and short ἄρσει, in the same name, in the phrase Ἄρες. Ἄρες βροτολοιγέ (V.31). Genitives in -ου, such as περικλυτοῦ

Ἡοαίστοιο, may be explained in terms of the Atticised spelling of an original Mycenæan genitive in -oo, which is elided in hiatus to -o'; but it is harder to explain in historical terms the shortening of dative endings in -ῳ. Here we have a diphthong of three morae, which can apparently be performed as a short syllable in the hexameter. The purely linguistic explanation, that correption is induced by hiatus, is made vain by the prominent counterexample, ἀντιθέῳ Ὀδυσῆι. To give a judgement that is empirically sound, one has simply to say that in epic, this ending in -ῳ is made short by the arsis of the foot and long by the thesis. Such a formulation would also cover the cases of "doubtful" or "common" syllables, composed of a short vowel followed by a mute and a liquid, in all genres of Greek poetry: these syllables are best described as long θέσει but short ἄρσει.

As Pierre Chantraine has said, *"il apparaît que le rhythme naturel de la langue grecque s'adaptait mal à la métrique rigide de l'hexamètre dactylique."*[24] Chantraine gives numerous examples of numerous forms of phonological and even morphological adaptations to metrical constraints in Homer, including certain verbs derived in -ιζω, a quite productive suffix in later poetic and non-poetic contexts, to replace unmetrical forms in -εω.[25] It is therefore appropriate to speak not just of the alteration of forms (lengthening or shortening of syllables) due to metrical pressure, but also of poetic neologisms and perhaps the creation of forms, and hence of the creation of an epic diction in Homer. Such a diction—as well as the very notion of metrical constraint—arises immediately and most naturally from the adaptation of speech to a fixed dance rhythm.

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[24]Pierre Chantraine, *Grammaire Homerique*, Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1942. pg. 94

[25]*Ibid.*, pg. 95 and pgs. 95-112

At *Laws* 795d-e, Plato prescribes dancing as a part of the gymnastic education of the young. He then distinguishes a type of dancing as one which belongs to those who "imitate the diction of the Muse (*Μούσης λέξιν μιμουμένων*)." This usage is very striking, all the more because it is not meant to be controversial or to call attention to itself, but merely to be descriptive. The relation of *ὄρχησις* to *λέξις* —note the order—is described as one of imitation. What sort of dance is there, which could be said to *imitate* a style of speech? Conversely, what manner of speech style or diction can be said to serve as an object of imitation for dancers?

It must begin to enter the consciousness of a student of Greek poetry, that the verses he is studying could be used for dance practice. It may be that *Μούσης λέξις* refers generally to poetic speech; or it may be that Plato has the diction of the epic hexameter particularly in mind. It is probably not a coincidence that the two types of dancing Plato prescribes, one imitating the language of the Muse, with a view to a certain grandeur and liberality of posture, the other more gymnastic and athletic, aiming at physical conditioning, correspond to the two types Alcinous has his Phaeacian youths display for Odysseus: when they have finished their performance with Demodocus of the tale of Ares and Aphrodite, two youths are singled out to make a solo display of their gymnastic prowess, throwing and catching a ball in mid-air. It is therefore not unlikely that Plato's first category of dance, imitating the *λέξις* of the Muse, is the same as that signified by "the dance of the Muses," a phrase we have seen used in an unqualified sense to refer to the seventeen-beat hexameter.

One reading of Plato's phrase could be seen to support Nagy's conviction, that "traditional phraseology generated meter rather than vice

versa."[26] (I should note that Nagy himself does not relate meter to dance.) The weight of Chantraine's considered observation mitigates strongly against this view, however. Plato's phrasing points to a symbiotic process of generation: dancers who imitate the λέξις of the *Muse*, are dancers who move in sympathy with a kind of utterance that is itself generated by dance. The dancers circle the bard; and we have not had far to look to find the unmistakable imprint of the arsis and thesis of the dancers' feet upon the Homeric λέξις. It can be seen at the level of the syllable, in the phenomenon of metrical lengthening; it can be seen at the level of the word and the line, in the creation of an epic diction, in the dancing noun-and-epithet phrases, and in the aesthetics of rhythmic recurrence; it is to be discovered at the level of broader narrative in the phenomenon of ring composition. None of these things would have been mysterious to Plato and his readership. Small wonder if in a rather straightforward way, he saw the relationship between dance and the language of Homeric verse as mimetic.

Aristotle also observed that epic speech was peculiarly marked, though not in the sense that it was evocative of dance. He rather noticed that when we speak hexameters, we step out of the normal "conversational harmony (τῆς λεκτικῆς ἁρμονίας, *Poetics* 1449a27-8)." The Cyclops episode in the *Odyssey* requires that the normal prosody of Greek be recognisable in an epic rendition; but Aristotle's testimony suggests that there was some perceived prosodic modification. The new theory of the accent predicts just such a limited modification in the relation between ὀξύς and βαρύς elements, the elements of ἁρμονία, in the context of the dactylic hexameter. This theory depends upon both the location of the beginning of the contonation (which is

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[26]Nagy, *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974, pg. 143

ὀξύς or rising), and the quantity of the following vowels. Any change in vowel quantity should therefore necessitate a change in accentual performance. This is exactly the situation we find in the phenomenon of metrical lengthening and shortening. In the former case, however, the lengthened vowel seems always to occur before or with the onset of the contonation, so that the crucial following vowel is left unaffected (*e.g.*, *κᾱ̃λός*, *τῑ́νω*, *ᾱ̃νήρ*, *Οὔλυμπος*, *εἰλήλυθα*). (This observation may have the force of a rule; in which case we should have to say that there *are* in fact some linguistic constraints in the case of metrically lengthened vowels, formulable in terms of the new theory of accent.) But with the shortened vowels, we see flagrant changes in prosody. The word *ἀσπέτῳ* in prose, for example, is barytone on the ultima, in the parlance I should like to adopt for the proposed theory; while in Homer's phrase *ἀσπέτῳ ὄμβρῳ*, with a shortened final syllable, it is almost certainly oxytone on the penult. *περικλυτοῦ* in prose is barytone on the ultima (a masculine cadence); but in *περικλυτοῦ Ἡφαίστοιο*, it is probably not accented at all (*περικλυτὸ*). In addition, there may be cases where the lengthening of short vowels does in fact occur after the onset of the contonation: words such as *ἔριδι* (*Iliad* I.8), *εὐχόμενος* (43), *δόμεναι* (98), *ἱλασσάμενοι* (100) are all oxytone on the antepenult in prose, given the quantities of the following vowels, but they are so positioned in the verse that the short ultima lands on the thesis of a dactyl. Perhaps the ultima was lengthened in these cases, causing a shift of accent which was also distinctive of epic harmony. But the absence of an accentual shift would have been equally distinctive. *μάχεσθαι* (8) is also oxytone on the antepenult, but standing at the end of a hexameter, the ictus of the final foot may have drawn out the *svarita* (*βαρύς*); it is likely to have been rendered barytone on the penult.

Hesiod appears to delight in the effects of the hexameter upon the sound of Greek, and to exploit them in such a way as to suggest that his audience shared his delight in the prosodic variations which characterise the Muses' song. Consider his use of the word *ῥέα* twice in line 5 of the *Works and Days*:

> *ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βριάει. ῥέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλεπτει.*
> *ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει.*
> *ῥεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγηνορα καροει*

In the thesis of the first foot, the vowels appear in synizesis; since the rise in the contonation occurs in the first element, the fused vowels should be rendered as though with a circumflex, and the word becomes barytone on the ultima. In the double-short arsis of the third foot, however, the vowels are likely to sound separately, and so the same word should sound oxytone on the penult. Then at the beginnings of the following lines 6 and 7, the word appears in its metrically lengthened form (*ῥεῖα*), and hence it is sung as a barytone on the penult. Surely this is a conscious exploitation of the hexameter's musical effects, which is entirely consonant with the audience's expectations of song. The case of *ῥέα* is by no means an isolated incident, although it is certainly striking, coming at the beginning of the *Works and Days* and seeming to emphasise the ease of Zeus' power in relation to mortal pretension. Whenever Hesiod repeats a word in this kind of trope, he appears to draw out its intrinsic potential for rhythmic and melodic variety in a hexameter setting. Consider that even an oxytone spondee such as *αἰδώς*, with no possibility of synizesis or metrical lengthening or shortening, occurring in the same place (the first foot) in three succesive lines (317-9), is rendered in each case with a different prosody: in the first line with its accent

suppressed (or grave); in the second, with a pause following, which releases the oxytone; and in the third, with its full contonation completed by a trailing enclitic (*τοι*):

> *αἰδὼς ὃ᾽ οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένον ἄνδρα κομιζειν.*
> *αἰδὼς. ἥ τ᾽ ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται ἠδ᾽ ὀνίνησιν ·*
> *αἰδὼς τοι πρὸς ἀνολβίη, θάρσος δὲ προς ὄλβῳ*

Each of these effects occurs in everyday speech, which suggests that what poet and audience alike appreciate is variety. When the peculiarly poetic, metrical effects, such as *synizesis* and lengthening, are unavailable, the variety of prose effects will do just as well. This in turn suggests that there is a continuum in the hexameter between the prosodic effects of prose and those of verse, rather than a disjunction between prosaic and song-like styles. The epic verse of Homer and Hesiod did not sound like everyday speech, but neither was it sung in an Euripidean or operatic sense; it was, rather, speech song, musical narrative, the *λέξις Μούσης*.

The effects of metre are the effects of dance; all these effects are therefore due, once again, to the relation of language to dance that is sketched out for us by Homer in his depiction of the choral song of Demodocus.

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Let us turn now to the modern *ἔπος*, which continues, perhaps, to thrive as dance, in the form of the *συρτός*. I should say that I have seen but never participated in this dance, and that I have access to a description of its steps only through books. These are not all of them scholarly works; the source I shall quote from is intended as a "how to" manual, as well as a

descriptive guide for interested tourists. There does not appear to be much controversy, however, about the steps of Greek folk dances, and one can have confidence in the facts.

The basic steps of the συρτός take four measures, the first two in a traveling step and the second two in what is called a pausing step in place, which involves a retrogression. The sequence can be expanded to six or eight or more, simply by adding traveling steps and pausing steps, at the end of which the whole sequence can be repeated indefinitely as the dancers proceed in the round. The modern συρτός appears to attach no special significance to a six-measure period; if it is to be identified with the epic dance, it would seem that only in the era when it was bound up with the verse of a chanting bard, did the six-measure format (as opposed to four- or eight-) come into its own as a period that suited the aesthetic requirements of a poetic accompaniment. To judge from the modern descriptions, in terms of traveling and pausing steps, a six-beat συρτός might as well be considered a trimeter (with two feet per metron) as a hexameter. The fact that the dance of the Muses was not so viewed in classical times should not debar us from an identification, however. In the ancient world itself, the epic line of verse and dance was viewed in at least two radically different ways: in the first case, as for example in Herodotus, the poetic verse is referred to as hexametric, *i.e.*, as composed of six dance measures; in the second, the epic *dance* is described in Aristotle as a *two*-part thing, of seventeen elements divided into nine on the right and eight on the left, where these elements are *syllables*. The latter description bespeaks a centuries-long cross-pollination, arising from the association between the dance of the Muses and the epic song, such that by the time of Aristotle the two were perceived to be mutually definitive in their structure. But the former description merely in terms of six dactyls

suggests a more independent and abstract relation of dance to verse, and the existence of two such synchronic descriptions of the relation, both ancient, and with almost no overlap in content, suggests the presence of an independent matrix which was interpreted and to some extent even intuited in terms of its monodic accompaniment. It is at least intelligible that with the demise of the ancient world—and perhaps even earlier, with the demise of the living tradition of epic composition as accompaniment—the underlying dance, a diachronically invariant matrix, could have continued to survive—no longer interpreted as "epic," dissociated even from a hexametric structure, but still truly a "dance of the forefathers."

Here follows a description of a six-measure *συρτός*, adapted from *Greek Dances* by Ted Petrides; in his words, "in addition to the simple enjoyment of the steps and the music there is a rare sense of human continuity in the experience of dancing a dance the ancient Greeks were performing 2,000 years ago"[27]:

Starting Position: Feet together facing obliquely Right.

Foot	*Step*	*Tempo*	*Traveling Step to the Right. Begin on right foot.*
1	1	slow	Step to the Right on the right foot.
	2	quick	Step to the Right on the left foot slightly behind right.
	3	quick	Step to the Right on the right foot.
			Continue Traveling Step to the Right. Begin on left foot.
2	4	slow	Step to the Right on the left foot in front of right.
	5	quick	Step to the Right on the right foot alongside left.
	6	quick	Step to the Right on the left foot in front of the right.
			Pausing Step in place. Begin on right foot.
3	7	slow	Step to the Right on right foot.
	8	quick	Step in front of right foot on the left foot.
	9	quick	Shift weight from left foot back onto right foot, which steps back into place.

[27]Ted Petrides, *Greek Dances*, Athens: Lycabettus Press, 1975, pgs. 73-4

			Continue Pausing Step in place. Begin on left foot.
4	10	slow	Step diagonally backwards to the Left on the left foot.
	11	quick	Step diagonally backwards on the right foot behind left foot.
	12	quick	Shift weight from right foot back onto left foot which steps forward into its former place.
			Resume Traveling Step. Begin on right foot.
5	13	slow	Step to the Right on the right foot.
	14	quick	Step to the Right on the left foot slightly behind right.
	15	quick	Step to the Right on the right foot.
			End Traveling Step
6	16	slow	Step to the Right on the left foot in front of right.
	17	quick	Step to the Right on the right foot alongside left.
		(rest)	*(Prepare to begin the next period, once again with a Traveling Step to the Right on the right foot.)*

The reader is encouraged to get on his feet and feel the rhythm. These are small sacrifices for art. The only point of ambiguity comes at the end of the period. Since the seventeenth step is on the right foot, I have speculated that the sixth measure is followed by a rest, which would allow the dancers to shift their weight, enough to begin again on the right foot in the next period. If the seventeenth step is slow rather than quick—*i.e.*, if the doubtful syllable is long and therefore accented, producing a rising, masculine cadence—this rest would have to be hypermetrical. There ought to be a rest of some sort between periods, as there is in the performance of lines of English blank verse. Such a rest must be long enough to mark off the period, but shorter than a complete foot, so as not to negate the rhythmic tension in the flow between the lines. A pause of some fraction of the length of a complete foot would seem to be required. Such a dynamic pause is crucial for the proper realisation of *enjambement* in recitation. Homer was obviously no stranger to this effect. (It should be noted that in the case of the elegiac couplet, there need be no shift of weight at the end of the hexameter; the pentameter thus

begins on the left foot, but will end on the right, and the end of the whole couplet is the true boundary point of the elegiac period.)

The *συρτός* is a self-sustaining movement. It has its own points of tension and release. Georgiades describes the *kalamatianós* as having a characteristic "give and take" quality to its rhythm, "a play between standing still and pressing forward, a peculiar fluctuation." He finds this effect to be heightened by the temporal relation of long and short in the *kalamatianós* foot, which is 3:2; but the effect should be evident to a dancer in the binary *συρτός* as well. He goes on:

> As one dances this round, one feels the elastic quality of this rhythm, but at the same time the static-loose juxtaposition of the individual temporal units. A "give and take" is expressed also by the succession of steps on a larger scale: several steps forward, then a hesitation and a few steps backward.[28]

This dance cannot function merely as a metre, in the modern sense of a time signature; the *συρτός* is rather a fully fledged and realised rhythm. If there is even a general similarity between the ancient and modern movements, the syncopation of epic verse and dance ought to have sounded like an interweaving and counterpointing of independent strands, rather than an improvisation against a drone. We should not be surprised to find the stress points of the verse merely matching the motion of the dance at times, and discovering not monotony but rhythm, not unison but give and take.

Two moments appear to me to stand out as turning points in the movement of the *συρτός*. The sense of the motion is consistent through the eighth step; the body's impetus is circling towards the right. The first shift in

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[28]Georgiades, pg. 135

this impetus occurs between the eighth and ninth steps: the dancers arrest their rightward motion in the middle of the third foot, and step back to the left, as the traveling step gives way to the pausing step in place. We have concluded, based on ancient testimony, that there was a natural division in the hexameter dance between the first nine and the following eight steps, or between the third and the fourth foot, and that we should expect to find this division marked by a prosodic cadence on the thesis of the third foot. We now see also the possibility of a natural division in the arsis of the third foot, on the evidence of the modern *συρτός*, between the eighth and ninth steps of the seventeen. This is the point which marks the beginning of the dancers' retrogression.

The heart of the retrogression is the thesis of the fourth foot, step ten. There then follows, between the fourth and fifth feet, a resumption of the rightward movement. This point of resumption is the second moment of orchestic turn. It begins in the arsis of the fourth foot and comes to a head in the thesis of the fifth (step thirteen), which is the beginning of a new traveling step to the right. We might therefore expect the sense of a new beginning here, insofar as the verse will allow it.

This brings to an end our analysis of epic rhythm, as it is manifested in dance. It is impressive how far one's sense of the aesthetics of Homer's *χορεία*, in its totality, is already given through the analysis of its rhythmic element. The analysis of epic harmony will consummate the picture, it is true, but we shall be illuminating a stage that is already set. A harmonic analysis should teach us a finer appreciation for Homer's music. It is also a first application and test for the new theory of the Greek accent. But the soul of Homer's poetry—I do not mean of the tale but of the telling, not the *μῦθος* but the *ἔπος*—as she manifests herself in ring composition within linear narrative,

in recurrence and the conjuring power of signature lines and epithet phrases, in the distinctive sound of metrical diction—the soul is rooted in dance. May the Muses grace our progress.

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We should catalogue our practical results at the level of the line, in preparation for the harmonic consummation. On Plato's cue, we should expect a movement from disagreement to agreement between prosody and ictus to be the hallmark of a period in the verse. The ancients appear to have experienced the hexameter in two sub-periods of nine steps and eight. We should on these grounds expect a trend toward disagreement between accent and ictus—whether in the form of accent in the arsis, or simply a lack of accentual reinforcement of the thesis—in the first and fourth measures, and agreement in the thesis of the third and sixth . Taking a cue from the form of a modern *συρτός*, we also look for some sign of the dancers' shift in direction, the beginning of the leftward retrogression, between steps eight and nine; and for a sign of rightward resumption or inception between the fourth and fifth feet. Finally, we have reason to believe that the ictus in the sixth measure can fall on either the long or the doubtful syllable—which corresponds to either the dancer's left or right foot—and that this represents an integral variability in the rhythm of the line; we should therefore speak not so much of agreement at this location between accent and ictus, but of the accentual determination of ictus. If the first step of the ultimate foot is stressed, the rhythm of the line is resolved in a falling pattern; if the second, it rises in a masculine cadence.

The analysis of the relation between words and metres has

traditionally been conducted in terms of the relation between the ends of words and the ends of feet. This analysis has generated the familiar categories, caesura and diaeresis. It is of course my claim that the real basis for such an analysis ought to lie in the relation between word-level prosody and ictus, as in English and other known languages. But it should be noted that on these terms, the traditional analysis has some validity. It often happens, for example, that the final syllable of a word in Greek is prosodically prominent. But more importantly, the Greek prosodic contonation does not cross word boundaries (except in the case of enclitics). The word is therefore an integral prosodic unit, and divisions between words must have some prosodic force in Greek poetry, although it is likely to be secondary in relation to the force of the actual accent. The most obvious example one can glean from the stream of letters that makes up our text of Homer, is the fact that a fresh word marks the beginning of each hexameter period. The most basic division in the metrical structure, that between successive periods, is therefore marked not by accent but by word division. If diaeresis in general has an inceptive quality, we have our first confirmation of the dance analysis: the sense of rhythmic resumption we expect between the fourth and fifth feet is marked by the bucolic diaeresis.

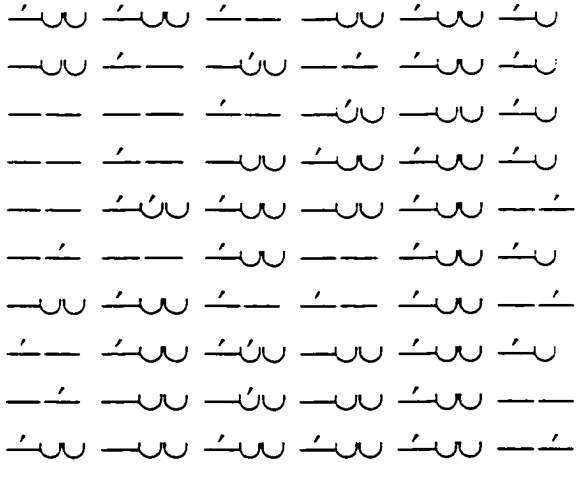
The trochaic caesura is our second prize. Hexameter poets appear to have favoured a word division inside the third foot, which corresponds to a division between the eighth and ninth steps of the round dance. The caesura often marks a division in the phrasing as well, so that quite literally the poet may have conceived his turns of phrase to match the turn in the dance. Two structural tenets of the traditional analysis, the trochaic caesura and the bucolic diaeresis, can therefore be seen to reflect the underlying rhythmic articulation of the dance of the Muses, if this dance was at all similar in its

steps, as it was in its rhythm, to a modern *συρτός*.

And now for the accent marks. Here are the first ten lines of the *Iliad*:

μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε,
πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄιδι προιαψεν
ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κυνεσσιν
οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι, Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή,
ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε
Ἀτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλευς.
Τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;
Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός· ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆι χολωθεὶς
νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὦρσε κακήν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί,

Here is the metrical structure of these lines. The use of spondees in mid-line and the distinction between spondees and trochees at line end requires a separate scheme for each line. Overlaid are the positions of the accentually prominent syllables as they are located by the new theory. (I have used a simple acute sign for the purpose of marking the position of these syllables; note that in a given case the prominent syllable is either oxytone *or* barytone.)



A once hidden order of disagreement and agreement is now revealed. As we

had expected, there is a tendency against accenting the thesis of the first and the fourth foot, and there are examples of accenting the arsis in these cases. Hence there is a tendency toward disagreement between accent and ictus at the beginning of a period (or sub-period), manifested either by a lack of accent in the foot, or an accent in the arsis in conflict with the ictus. In the sixth foot, by contrast, there is an accent nine times out of ten; and we find our expected variation between a falling and a rising resolution. In the third foot as well, there is an accent nine times out of ten, and seven of these times, an accent in the thesis. There is therefore clear evidence of a tendency towards a prosodic cadence not just at the end of the line, where one should expect it in any case, but also in the third foot, where its presence confirms the descriptions of the epic dance in the *Epinomis* and the *Metaphysics*.

There are three possible positions for an accented long syllable in a Greek word, and hence three ways of verbally reinforcing the metrical ictus. The first of these is in the antepenult, in a word of dactylic shape, such as *οὔνεκα* (*Iliad.*, I.11). This example occurs in the first foot; other examples near the beginning of the *Iliad* are *ἑλώρια* (I.4), *ἠτίμασεν*(11), and *λίσσετο* (15) in the fourth foot, and *ἐτελείετο* (5) and *κοσμήτορε* (16) in the fifth. Such a dactylic shape cannot occur in the sixth foot, but neither does it appear in the third, and its exclusion here must reflect a conscious aesthetic. Most obviously, the verse avoids the rhythmic symmetry produced by diaeresis after the third foot. Yet on the positive side, the verse seeks a harmonic resolution at this location, and it would seem that at least in the context of the hexameter, such dactylic words do not produce the effect of a cadence (*κατάληξις*), but rather suit the more motile portions of the line. The other two positions for long-syllable accent, the penult and the ultima, do seem to produce catalectic effects in this context, and hence both are profusely deployed in the third and sixth

feet. The former case yields a feminine cadence, such as πρῶτα in the third foot (I.6), or Ἀχιλῆος and ἔθηκε at the ends of the first two lines; the latter yields a masculine cadence, such as θεά (1), ἰφθίμους (3), and θεῶν (8) in mid-line, and βουλή (5), Ἀχιλλεύς (7), and Ἀχαιῶν (12) at line end.

The feminine cadence, with its falling rhythm, is evidently the prevalent form; its desired effect provides the substantial prosodic motive for what has been observed in the traditional analysis as the trochaic caesura. A feminine cadence in the third foot has in fact a double motive from the perspective of the dance: it reinforces the ictus, bringing the first segment of the ἔπος to a right-foot cadence; and it insures that there will be a caesura, so that a new word begins in the middle of the third arsis, to correspond with the beginning of the retrogression in the ninth step of the συρτός. The total rhythmic and harmonic effect of the hexameter—its choral effect—has emerged in its elegance as a sequence of expected cadences in the third and sixth measures of the period, agreements of accent and ictus succeeding disagreement, punctuated by two turning points marked by word division, at the trochaic caesura and the bucolic diaeresis. It must of course be remembered that expectations are things that musicians and artists of all kinds take a delight in cheating; but they must first be created, and the opening lines of the *Iliad* exhibit a perceivable pattern.

One curiosity of these lines is the prevalent accentual reinforcement of the fifth foot. The resumptive assertion we expect is apparently expressed primarily by the accent, and only secondarily by the bucolic diaeresis. (Often we see both, as in lines 2, 4, and 7.) One way or another, the thesis of the fifth foot is verbally marked, and appears to be a significant pulse point of the line; its structural role in the musical flow is revealed, by an application of the new theory of accent, to be on a par with the two cadences.

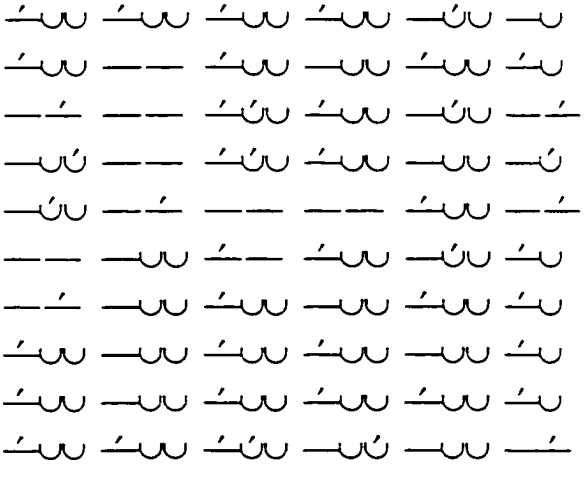
A notable feature of epic composition which does not appear to be explained by the present analysis, is the prohibition of a trochaic caesura in the fourth foot (Hermann's Bridge). The ictus at this point seems only to be reinforced by words with a dactylic accent and shape, filling the foot, or by words with a masculine cadence, producing the masculine caesura; for some reason, there is very rarely reinforcement by words with a feminine cadence. Perhaps some experience with the physical sense of the dance would explain this curiosity. But more likely, an overarching aesthetic, such as that which proscribes the rhythmic symmetry of diaeresis between the third and fourth feet, also proscribes a mimicry of the typical cadence of the line end at this position.

It must be stressed that this choral analysis, for all that it appears to lay hold of orchestic and linguistic realities, is nevertheless an abstraction from the total musical effect. If one were to speak of the full aural impact of these famous lines, one should have to begin with their spondaic solemnity, the dirge-like quality of their movement, the mournful effect of the sound of a series of long Greek vowels. It is perfectly obvious that a prevailing prosodic pattern is in no sense a limitation on the expressive possibilities of Homer's music, any more than it was on his brilliance as a story-teller. The meaning of his opening lines has already absorbed the attention of generations. We now stand on the threshold of a new appreciation for the totality of this awesome composer. Consider the impact of a word such as *ἡρώων*: it is not merely a signifier of the moral worth of the men who have become food for jackals—and it *is* that—but in the texture of the choral composition, as the bard sings it out, the succession of long sounds makes of the word a lament, a groan for the sufferance of that indignity. (Consider the similar position and mournful effect of *κηδείους*, used by Briseis of her lost brothers, slain by

Achilles, in her speech at XIX.294.) Standing at the beginning of a hexameter period, with a masculine cadence in the second foot—in a line where, strikingly, there is no cadence in the third foot—*ἡρώων* is brought into focus by the choral context, so as to highlight both its semantic and its musical substance. Homer's language can turn into music, and back again; it is in the nature of his composition to dramatise this potency for its effects.

The prosodic tendencies here revealed are real: they give law to Homer's freedom. But they can wear masks of infinite variety. Consider the opening lines of the *Odyssey*, how vastly different their feel and tone. There is a preponderance of short vowels, and a tripping rhythm that is markedly dactylic and anapæstic. Yet the prosodic pattern, overlaying the rhythmic time relations, bears a clear resemblance to the pattern displayed in the somber opening strains of the *Iliad*:

Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσεν·
πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω,
πολλὰ δ' ὅ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν,
ἀρνύμενος ἥν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἑταίρων.
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὣς ἑτάρους ἐρρύσατο, ἱέμενός περ·
αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο,
νήπιοι, οἳ κατὰ βοῦς Ὑπερίονος Ἠελίοιο
ἤσθιον· αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσιν ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἦμαρ.
τῶν ἁμόθεν γε, θεά, θύγατερ Διός, εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν.



We see, again, disagreement in the first foot, and regular cadences in the third and sixth. Note especially the lack of accent in the second foot. Agreement in the first thesis requires the use of a word with accent on the first syllable, and hence it could be argued that there is a certain automatic tendency in Greek toward disagreement at this location; but the only explanation for a pattern of disagreement or lack of accent in the second foot is conscious aesthetic choice. There seems to be less accentual reinforcement of the thesis in the fifth foot; but the reader will note that in these ten lines, where the fifth thesis is left unaccented, there is always a bucolic diaeresis. There seems to be a feeling for accent in the arsis in the third and in the fifth foot, on the first of the two shorts, sometimes in addition to accent in the thesis; this prosody appears to reinforce an anapæstic run in the rhythm. It certainly adds a vivid colour to the "rhyming" phrases in lines three and four, *ἴδεν ἄστεα* and *πάθεν ἄλγεα*.

The fourth thesis, at the heart of the backward turn in the dance, seems to come in for emphasis in these lines. Consider especially the very first line of the poem, which has accent in the fourth thesis, and accent in the fifth arsis, but no prosodic cadence at all where it is expected, in the final foot. The effect seems to call attention back to the already striking word *πολύτροπον*, which cadences in the fourth thesis, and which occupies no more nor less than the entire backward turn and return of the dance; the line, meanwhile, finds its cadence in the first foot of the next period, on *πλάγχθη* in *enjambement*, from which the rest of the line recovers in a rousing dactylic run. Are not the choral factors here, the turn in the dance and a displaced cadence, crucial for a full appreciation of Homer's verbal evocation of the harried wanderer, and a man of many turns? The dance turns with the very word, the cadence itself wanders. These are palpable, aural and physical

embodiments of the sense of the verse.

The openings of the two poems are not unrepresentative. Consider these eight lines of battle poetry, which, in Arthur Adkins' words, "constructed from common Homeric formulae, narrate a run-of-the-mill description of battle, little more than a tabulation of casualties"[29]:

Ἀστύαλον δ' ἄρ' ἔπεφνε μενεπτολεμος Πολυποίτης
Πιδύτην δ' Ὀδυσεὺς Περκώσιον ἐξενάριξεν
ἔγχει χαλκείῳ. Τεῦκρος δ' Ἀρεταόνα δῖον.
Ἀντίλοχος δ' Ἄβληρον ἐνήρατο δουρὶ φαεινῷ
Νεστορίδης. Ἔλατον δε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμεμνων
ναίε δὲ Σατνιόεντος ἐυρρείταο παρ' ὄχθας
Πήδασον αἰπεινήν. Φύλακον δ' ἕλε Λήιτος ἥρως
οεύγοντ' · Εὐρυπυλος δὲ Μελάνθιον ἐξενάριξεν. (VI.29-36)

Adkins goes on to point out that "great skill in variation of phrase length is used to avoid monotony...[With one exception], all the clauses in these eight lines are of different metrical length." Here is the rhythmic and prosodic analysis:

—⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑
—— —⏑⏑ —— —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑
—⏑⏑ —— —⏑ —⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑
—⏑⏑ —— —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑
—⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —— —⏑⏑ —⏑
—⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —— —⏑⏑ —⏑
—⏑⏑ —— —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑
—⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑

We see a greater freedom in the third foot, but the regular pattern of

[29]A.W. H. Adkins, *Poetic Craft in the Early Greek Elegists*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985, pg. 22

accentual cadences is still discernible, and becomes more so as one extends the sample before or beyond these eight lines. While it is evident that the rhythmic form and prosodic tendencies exhibited in the hexameter have given shape and length to Homer's recurrent phrases—the "common Homeric formulae"—it is also clear that he was not constrained by them to compose in rhythmic blocks, so that phrase groups always matched up with cadence points and periods in the verse. (Recall his use of *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν*, bridging the two sub-periods, in *Iliad* I.7; G.S. Kirk refers to the type of metrical structure exhibited in this line as a "rising three-folder."[30]) The rhythmic regularity of the catalogue form becomes for Homer a varietal option, a way to tap into the intrinsic rhythmic appeal of the round dance; it is never a constraint. Even within periods of rhythmic regularity, there is always a choice of cadence in the final foot. The types of prosodic reinforcement also represent an integral variable. An accented long syllable can be oxytone, or barytone; if barytone, it may be post-acute or circumflected. When one considers the full presence of a Greek word, its harmonic contonation inextricably fused with a particular sequence of phonemes, one is in a position to appreciate the true complexity and sonoric diversity of the elements of Greek poetical composition. The dance itself, by itself, is an engrossing physical and musical phenomenon; it has its own pressure points, its turns, releases, and cadences. When we come to the verse, even the most metrically rigid and conformist of verbal accompaniments has an integral prosodic variability, in addition to this orchestic vitality. But when we arrive at the compositional realisation of a Homer, we come to a level that is almost beyond criticism, to the level of, say, Shakespeare, or the greatest of the

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[30]Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, six volumes, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, Vol.I: pg. 20

modern classical composers. An unearthly richness in the texture here yields to a transcendent clarity of expression.

Adkins finds the life in these buried lines of battle poetry purely from a metrical analysis. The harmony provides the consummation. He is right to note the effect of the *enjambement* of φεύγοντ' in line 36:

> ...a heavy spondaic disyllable followed by a heavy stop at H3 [*i.e.*, the third step of the seventeen] derives great emphasis from position, pause, and the comparative rarity of the phenomenon, and φεύγοντ' fully merits its prominence, for it describes the greatest shame that a Homeric warrior can suffer: death while in flight from the enemy.[31]

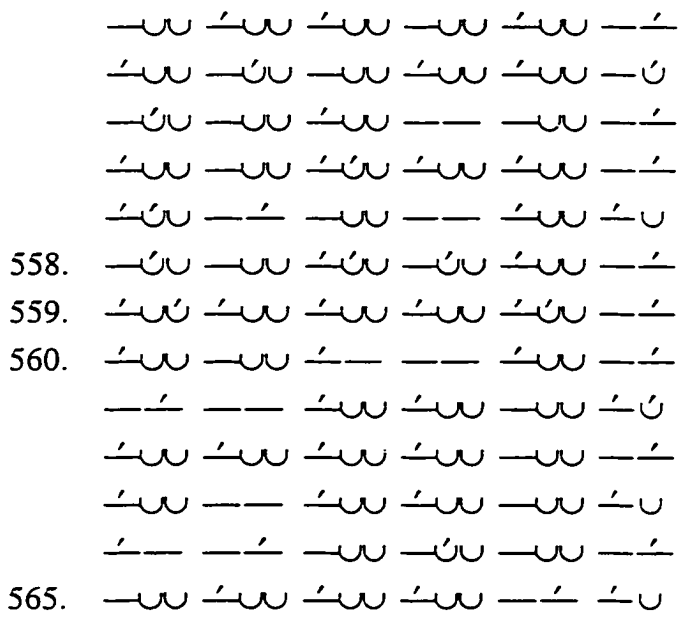
We should only add: here is a word with a long syllable accented in the arsis of the first foot, in disagreement with the ictus, in a line which has caesura but no accentual cadence in the third foot, and so no movement from this disagreement toward a resolution in agreement. The prominence of the word is a physical and aural fact, recoverable immediately from a performance of the musical text, and mediately through a metrical and prosodic analysis.

Now consider some lines of Homer's that are in no sense "run-of-the-mill." They describe the Trojan bivouac on the plain, a thousand fires burning before Ilium:

> οἱ δὲ μέγα φρονέοντες ἐπὶ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας
> ἧατο πανν<u>ύ</u>χιοι, πυρὰ δέ σφισι καίετο πολλά.
> ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνην
> φαίνετ' ἀριπρεπέα, ὅτε τ' ἔπλετο νήνεμος αἰθήρ ·
> ἔκ τ' ἔφανεν πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ καὶ πρώονες ἄκροι
> καὶ νάπαι · οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερράγη ἄσπετος αἰθήρ,
> πάντα δέ τ' εἴδεται ἄστρα, γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα ποιμήν ·
> τόσσα μεσηγὺ νεῶν ἠδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων
> Τρώων καιόντων πυρὰ φαίνετο Ἰλιόθι πρό.

[31]Adkins, pg. 23

χίλι' ἄρ' ἐν πεδίῳ πυρὰ καίετο, πὰρ δὲ ἑκάστῳ
ἥατο πεντήκοντα σέλαι πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο.
ἵπποι δὲ κρῖ λευκὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι καὶ ὀλύρας
ἑσταότες παρ' ὄχεσφιν ἐύθρονον Ἠῶ μίμνον. (VIII.553-65)



There is more agreement in the first foot than in previous samples, but this is offset by disagreement or lack of accent in the second foot, which prepares for the tonic cadences in the third. The fifth thesis when unmarked by accent, is usually marked by diæresis; and there is a variety in the determination of the final foot.

These lines are justly famous for their imagery, which survives well in translation, and it is the images evoked that are the lasting achievement of the Greek. But these images are rooted in a peculiarly Greek, or Homeric kind of euphony; to discover this beauty is to discover aural fire, stars and aether. The accentual pattern seems regular in the abstract, but up close—and the closer one looks, the more one sees—there is a constant variety. The first line, for example, is reinforced accentually with barytones exclusively. The the second, however, is striking in its exlusive use of oxytones, right through

to an oxytone stress on a final short (πολλά). (The trochaic option in the final foot usually involves stressing the long; but see also 561.) The weight of the first line rests on the magnitude of the men's thoughts and on the solidity of the γεφύρας, the dykes against the flood of war. The quick oxtyone rhythms of the second line, by contrast, seem to serve up tongues of flame (πυρὰ δέ σφισι καίετο πολλά.). There appear to be prosodic motives which determine the shape and inform the meaning of whole lines, and the juxtaposition of lines. This is to discover an overarching melodic aesthetic, whose elements are *not* formulaic building blocks conceived and defined in terms of the metre alone. Vivante makes a similar point solely on the basis of rhythm:

> Take, in Il.3.423, Helen joining Paris in his chamber: ἡ δ' εἰς ὑψόροφον θάλαμον κίε δῖα γυναικῶν [and she, to the high-roofed chamber, she went, the divine among women]. We have a simple act of going, but notice how it is expressed. From the initial "she" to the final noun, Helen's presence spreads through the verse, quickened by the imble verb near the center. The effect is one of lightness and solemnity at once. The epithets give fullness to the moment by simply touching off what is there. We linger upon steadfast shapes even while the passing act removes them from our view. Transience finds solidity, and solidity is in turn dissolved. We have rest in movement and movement in rest—at once, tranquility and motion. A translation such as "Helen, divine among women, went to the high-roofed chamber" would only give us embellished description. The force of Homer's verse lies in its rhythm—in the way the words take position, in the way each pause hints suspense, and in the way the parts integrate to realize a growing presence. It would be inadequate merely to point out a combination and adaptation of metrical formulas: the verse has an intrinsic unity, and it came on one wave of rhythm.[32]

Consider the effect of the trilled rho's in the phrase οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερράγη (VIII.558), and in particular the "squeezing" of ὑπερράγη into the rhythm, with metrical shortening of the final vowel (and probably a shift

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[32]Paolo Vivante, *Homeric Rhythm: A Philosophical Study*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1997, pg. 4

from barytone on the ultima to oxytone on the penult). The effect in the mouth is a vocal mime of the breaking and the parting, through which the upper air breathes forth in the long open vowels of *αἰθήρ*. The next line (559) consummates an already fertile simile with the unexpected perspective of the star-gazing shepherd, whose lonely night-time tendance and bucolic joy are in contrast with the crowded warrior companies around the points of fire; but whose solitariness speaks, perhaps, to the inward reflections of a soldier next his mates, on the night before a battle. The line is unremarkable in accent—there is a slight stress on the mind (*φρένα*) of the shepherd—but its articulation has a peculiarly Greek sonority, framed by labials, centred on the palatals in *γέγηθε*, and connected in between by two runs of dentals in various voice and aspiration.

There are several other moments of harmonic interest, as for example the double accent in the final foot of line 561, but the most striking effect is reserved for the final line (565). Here we find a rare barytone in the arsis of the fifth foot. The phrase *εὐθρονον Ἠῶ*, over the fourth and fifth feet, the fair-throned Dawn whom the horses await, reads as though it ought to end the line, as though it was designed for the fifth and sixth feet after the bucolic diæresis. The false cadence here is a masterful resolution to the whole passage: one has to re-gather one's breath after the masculine stress in *Ἠῶ*, to voice the final word, *μίμνον*, with its immediately adjacent accent. It is not the dawn with its epithet that is brought to the fore, as one might expect, but the awaiting it which is nudged forward as the key to all the imagery. In the words of Bernard Knox:

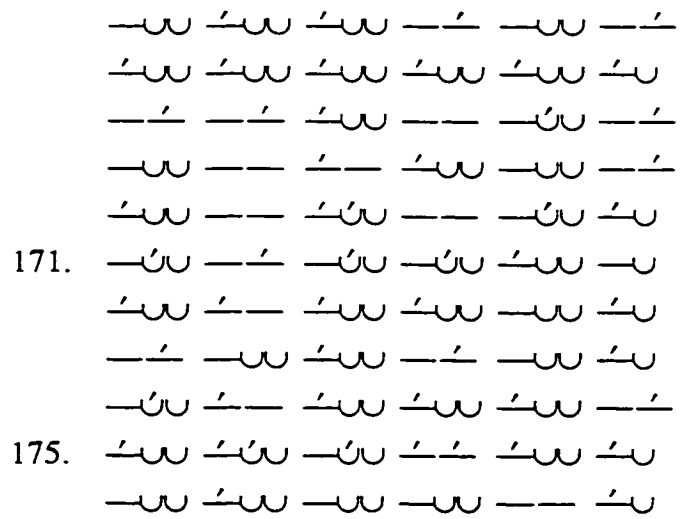
> These are surely the clearest hills, the most brilliant stars and the brightest fires in all poetry, and everyone who has waited to go into battle knows how true the lines are, how clear and memorable and

lovely is every detail of the landscape the soldier fears he may be seeing for the last time.[33]

At climactic moments, the poet will challenge his verse to produce new effects. This exchange occurs between Odysseus and Penelope, just before she gives him the test of the bed:

Ὦ δαιμονίη, περὶ σοί γε γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων
κῆρ ἀτέραμνον ἔθηκαν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες ·
οὐ μέν κ' ἄλλη γ' ὧδε γυνὴ τετληότι θυμῷ
ἀνδρὸς ἀφεσταίη, ὅς οἱ κακὰ πολλὰ μογήσας
ἔλθοι ἐεικοστῷ ἔτει ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.
ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι, μαῖα, στόρεσον λέχος, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτὸς
λέξομαι · ἦ γὰρ τῇ γε σιδήρεον ἐν φρεσὶν ἦτορ.
Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια ·
Ὦ δαιμόνι', οὔτ' ἄρ τι μεγαλίζομαι οὔτ' ἀθερίζω
οὔτε λίην ἄγαμαι, μάλα δ' εὖ οἶδ' οἷος ἔησθα
ἐξ Ἰθάκης ἐπὶ νηὸς ἰὼν δολιχηρέτμοιο... (23.166-76)

And the prosodic analysis:



[33]Knox, pg. 30

Once again we see the broad, familiar patterns of disagreement and agreement emerging as before, with a delectable variety from line to line. Just in terms of the prosody, without regard to phrase structure, we see one period here with only two accents; two of them have six accents; one of them has eight. Of particular note is line 171, which is without a cadence in either the third or the sixth foot. Odysseus' agitation at his wife's reticence is clearly marked and pressing; the line spills over, to find a resolution in *enjambement*, upon the word λέξομαι. The notion of Odysseus going to sleep, and where he is going to sleep, has been jogged forth from the auditor's subconscious by the pointed rhythmic displacement of the word; he does not know why, perhaps he is not aware of it at all; but the listener has been prepared for the comic sublimity of the bed trick, by a consummate poet and story-teller.

Even more striking is line 175, in Penelope's response. There is in this period a rare and remarkable sequence, against all notions of epic rhythm and harmony, of three successive circumflected syllables: εὖ οἶδ' οἷος ἔησθα. At a moment of ultimate tension, Homer has dared his music to overreach its native forms, to find an expression inside the rhythm and harmony of the epic line which captures the sure mind, the knowing heart, the very living breath of Penelope. "I know you, what you were," she seems to say to the stranger before her, with all the force, and risk, of her own identity. This is a moment to be savoured, a moment of musical disclosure and self-revelation, rooted in the ἔπος itself, and scarcely to be matched in the apparitions of later literature.

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The night of the formulae is over: a new planet is swum into our ken. Homer's symphony is an uncharted realm: a hill of gold, gleaming in the distance, to rouse the scholar labouring in the anthropological wilderness; a Muse to rejuvenate the bewildered poet, set adrift in the arrhythmia of modernity. Culture and tradition are the watchwords of opacity, and the solipsistic mysteries of the academic: Homer's is a musical text and a living presence.

The analysis of culture is a doubtful and a roundabout business. One first must identify a population. This is a task that requires the sharpest empirical discernment, combined with the keenest of analytic ability. The identity of populations is both the fulcrum and the measurement of the biologist, the physicist, and the geometer, the economist, the sociologist, and the professional philosopher, as well as the poet, the anthropologist, and the tribal chief. Consider my case: I am a native Sri Lankan, become an American; I am brown-skinned, married to a woman of white skin, whose ancestors' origins were in Ireland and Britain; we are both Roman Catholic, but one of my grandfathers was a Hindu; I am a Tamil, whose only and native language is English; I have lived in Ceylon, in England, in Hawaii, Maryland, New Mexico and Illinois; I have lived only in cities, not the country: I am a Chicagoan; my parents and my elder brother had arranged marriages, but I did not; I have been a student in schools nearly all my life; I wish to teach Greek in an academic community. Which of these factors and locales define a population? Which is my population?

One must then interrogate, secretly, once their trust is won, the individual members of a population—be they texts, or stories, or dances, or people—to spy out, with all one's powers of interpretation, and all one's ingratiating wiles, emergent patterns of nested and interdependent values.

Culture is to interpretation as the product to the activity, as dogma to δοκεῖν. So far well and good: to perform this analysis, one has had to be a philosopher and a critic, as well as an observant, not to say a cunning, guest; and these are things one is likely to profit from. But there appears to be a third stage which alone satisfies the modern student of culture. One must look back at one's population, which has been interpreted as a culture, and reinterpret the expression and activity of its individuals as in fact a passivity in relation to that very culture. Now we have spun webs, indeed. We have trapped our subjects as so many flies, when they were the bees that gave us honey.

We know little or nothing of Homer's population, its location, its antiquity, its wealth, its social structure, its vernacular. Of course we know even less of him—whether he worked for a king, whether he was itinerant among several populations, whether he was female, whether he was married, whether he *liked* his audience.

It is not Homer's business as a story-teller to uphold cultural systems, but to disclose conflicts. Contradictory moral principles and rival codes—born, perhaps, of the predicament of culture under the stress of the state of war—wrestle within the consciousness of his beleaguered protagonists. In the past his age and his primacy of place must have conspired, at least in the eyes of some, to make a primitive of Homer, in relation, say, to the Attic dramatists; but his *Iliad* is the purest of tragedies, his *Odyssey* the deepest and saddest of comedies. If one could now only shake off the prejudices which inevitably follow upon the presumptive reception of Homer himself and his poems as cultural or traditional accretions, one might begin to acknowledge qualities of the stories as they are actually told, as for example the qualities of their representation of the human individual, which continue to be most

compelling to the lay reader. How different might be the reception of Hamlet or Lear, and the analysis of their meaning, if they were understood to be stock figures, and their texts to be non-literate in origin, authorless, and traditional? It is the individual rendered in its inner life, revealed through conflict and suffering, which stands out in the flow of Homer's narrative, as this narrative emerges from the stylised moralisms of the traditional tales of the heroes. Homer may have revered these tales, as truth-filled paradigms; but it must be remembered that Achilles, Homer's hero, is himself a singer of such tales. In this very capacity he transcends their medium, and brings to them a new dimension: "[i]t is a mark of Achilles' unique self-reflective consciousness that he has become his own poet, or at least a poet of his own world."[34] Singing these songs on his battle-won lyre, in self-imposed exile from war, he must be wondering about his own place in the unfolding story, about the destiny and the glory of Achilles swift-of-foot.

The stylised figures of epic song, names and epithets, emerge in Homeric narrative through their speeches and acts as distinct, three-dimensional agents. One thinks of Andromache's speech, interpreted earlier by Vivante, in all its tragic fulness, or Sarpedon to Glaucus (XII.310-28), exhorting a comrade nobleman to live up to his rank and station among the living at home by facing death heroically, in the front lines of a foreign war—a speech which prompts James Redfield to comment: "[t]he greatness of Homer's heroes is a greatness not of act but of consciousness."[35] These are fully realised tragic presences, they can in no sense be reduced to the level of stock traditional types. In this sense, Homer stands as a story-teller in relation

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[34]Redfield, pg. 36

[35]*Ibid.*, pg. 101

to the κλέα ἀνδρῶν in exactly the same way that Shakespeare as a dramatist stands in relation to the late Mediæval morality plays. In both cases one sees an appropriation of symbolic forms and a transcendence of them through internal conflict and self-reflection, whereby characters who begin as emblematic premisses are rendered independent sentient agents, conscious before us of their inner life.

Is it not more likely that Homer and his audience were drawn to the story of Troy for the wonder and grandeur and hubris of it all—perhaps for its very immorality—rather than for the exemplification of traditional behaviour in traditional language? Much is generally made about a conflict of honour between Achilles and Agamemnon. The situation, however, is transparently one of honour among thieves, an attempt to assert normal feelings of fairness and rank into the division of piratical plunder. And the question turns on the nature of female, human booty. We are invited to compare the value of a hecatomb and the value of the girl Chryseis, both of them loaded by Agamemnon as ship's cargo (I.309-11). When Achilles tells Agamemnon that he will not fight with him hand to hand εἵνεκα κούρης (I.298), for the sake of a girl, what is this supposed to imply about the premiss of the whole war? Does not Helen represent an irreducible value, a transcendent prize to endure in the songs of men to come?

The phrase εἵνεκα κούρης recurs at key moments when men confront the value of women, and their own sense of worth in relation to women; at the close of the embassy to Achilles, Ajax exclaims that other men can be reconciled to their brother's murderer, but the gods have made Achilles intractable over a single girl. We're offering you seven! he says (IX.634-39). At the reconciliation with Agamemnon, Achilles says better she had died than that we should have striven so, for the sake of a girl (εἵνεκα κούρης,

XIX.54-60). The girl in question, Briseis, later steps forward to deliver over Patroclus one of the most moving speeches in the whole poem (XIX.287-300). The last we see of Achilles, he is lying by her side (XXIV.675-6). So which is she, this poignant tragic presence, a woman or a commodity? Does she have an independent dignity, or does her value derive from the judgements of men? And how should a man answer—is she worth fighting for? Is a woman ever worth fighting for, worth dying for? Homer will not resolve this question, he thrives on its tension and ambiguity; in facing it we feel something of the poem's pulse.

One is constantly confronted in the *Iliad* with conflict, with questionable grounds, with division of feeling. This begins at the beginning, with the old man Chryses. Readers are not in the habit of asking questions about this character, as they would if he were in a play. Homer cuts him a sympathetic figure as he prays to Apollo, alone and bereft, on the shore of the "tumbling clamorous whispering sea (*πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης*, I.34)."[36] Perhaps one can measure a curse upon a whole army, a miserable, mortal plague, against the value of a daughter. Certainly he does not feel so strongly about the rest of his town, and other men's daughters; but a father hath a privilege. Besides, she might have been a special girl, destined for service in the temple, perhaps even as an oracle. Agamemnon had an eye for Apollo's women: he has the gall to compare Chryseis' beauty favourably, before his ogling troops, with the beauty of his wedded wife. The prefigurement of Cassandra would be all of a piece with Homer's technique of telescoping the troubles of the past and the future of the Trojan War into the compressed sequence of the *Iliad*'s present.

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[36]Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. Robert Fitzgerald, Garden City: Anchor Press, 1975, pg. 12

But where did Chryses get his money? If his town was pillaged, if the daughters were carried off, where does this defenceless priest get the greenbacks for a ransom? Achilles and company had apparently spared the temple, and the temple treasury. Presumably, Achilles had "had awe of that in his heart (*σεβάσσατο γὰρ τό γε θυμῷ*, VI.417)." This phrase occurs in Andromache's speech to Hector, with reference to the murder of her father by Achilles; she finds it in her to comment, with some impossible torture of feeling, that this piratical berserker and slave trader had stopped short of despoiling her father's body, but had at least burnt him respectfully in his armour. We see here in bold strokes the peculiar dilemma of culture in the *Iliad*, as one meets it in the minds of a victimised protagonist, who struggles to square her notions of what is normal and pious, even what is chivalric, with the savagery and insanity of this unprecedented Greek campaign, the first professional war. Her seven brothers were slaughtered in the fields by an armoured killer, as they tended their sheep of an afternoon. To remark on Achilles' piety, his observance of limits, in the treatment of her father, is to my mind a mark of peculiar disquiet. All her being and ties of kin are now invested in Hector and their son, her past and home and way of life have been destroyed; but this observance of Achilles', a recognition on his part that there still was a higher order in human affairs that deserved respect, might in some odd way have given Andromache a hold on her sanity, while the situation of the world was conspiring to drive her mad. As the story continues, we surely do progress into madness; the death of Patroclus will drive Achilles beyond all human limits and observances, to defy the gods in his rage against mortality. There will come a time when the Greeks no longer feel awe at the despoiling of a temple, to their lasting sorrow.

So how should we feel about Chryses, and the private use of temple

funds? The other old men, if any were spared, did they not have daughters? Did not Briseis have a father? There is a sense of fate's injustice in the priest's special privilege, but at the very same time, there is a sense that a father's feeling for his daughter is beyond valuation. This is Homer's touch, his peculiar vitality. The crowning moment is the release of Chryses' curse, and his prayer that Apollo ward off plague from the Achaean host (I.451-6). Troyland and Troy be damned, he might have said; at least I have my daughter back.

There is no doubt that succeeding generations created a new culture because of Homer, and that in some measure, he must reflect the cultural proclivities of his own time. In this respect he is similar to Shakespeare. But just like Shakespeare, he cannot easily serve as an informant for the purposes of anthropology. To gather data from him is to interpret an interpreter, a critic rather than a representative of culture. There is not likely to be anything typical about his views on life or art or marriage or the gods, any more than there is anything typical about his genius as a composer of verse. There appears to be something of a cross-cultural interest in Homer, as for example in his depiction of the building and sleeping arrangements, which reflect the permutations of kinship and marriage ties, at Priam's oriental house in Ilium (VI.243 ff.). It is a curious fact that while Priam has many wives, all his children appear to be monogamous. Are they in a process of becoming Hellenised (to use an anachronism)? How much did they understand, before it was too late, about a Danaan furor over adultery and a proclivity for possessive monogamous relations; and how much of this furor was hypocrisy on the other side? It may in fact be a general truth, that the only "kinship system" one may come to comprehend, too late—and even here there is an uncertainty principle—is the one which one marries into.

Her cross-cultural experience may have made an amateur anthropologist out of Helen. When she looks out from the walls of Troy in search of Castor and Polydeuces, she points out to Priam that they are her own two brothers, "whom my single mother bore (*τώ μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ*, III.238)." Is this a distinction made for Priam's sake, who is used to recognising his children by their respective mothers? Or is this a personal point with Helen, to assert the strength of her human kinship, through the womb, despite the difference of fathers? Whatever the case, the notion of a reviled adulteress making kinship distinctions to a sanctioned polygamist, must have its own attractiveness for Homer; it is a point of this passage that whatever our origins—and our generation is as the generation of leaves—the life-giving earth has a claim on us all.

It may well be that Homer reflects or was influenced by the practices of hero cults. There are certainly references to ritual practices in Homer. But it may also be that the text of Homer influenced or even inspired the founding of such cults. Herodotus' famous statement (II.53), which ascribes entirely to Homer and Hesiod the Hellenes' knowledge of the birth and lineage of the gods, together with their names, functions, honours and shapes—whose peculiar qualities are a condition for the development of the figure of the hero—must be seen to point towards the latter direction of influence. In general it would seem to be imprudent to draw conclusions about religious practice through representations in art, and conversely, to draw inferences about the "function" of art and its relation to religion, because of its appropriation of cultic detail. The relation between religious texts and the sacramental imagination can be fluid and inscrutable, uncanny and inspired. Who could have predicted, for example, that the centurion's lines, "Lord I am not worthy to have you enter under my roof," would have been appropriated

out of all the gospels, to serve as the Christian's final utterance in preparation for communion? And conversely, the ritual of communion has been at the heart of the Christian cult since the beginning. Why is it not at the heart, or even the periphery, of Christian texts? Where does one find interpretations of the act, in two thousand years of poetry, theology, and art? Philosophical disquisitions on transubstantiation, do not, so far as I know, go on to speak of anthropophagy, or theophagy. (If there are such discussions, they have certainly been kept from public consumption.) The Christian mysteries have been open to common view and participation, yet some things are simply not talked of.

What was observed by Jane Harrison is apparently still true today: the theory and practice of Christian liturgy are too sacred for treatment in a comparative and historical approach.[37] Such a study, with a view to the relation between sacramental practices and textual and artistic representations, could serve in turn as a paradigm, cautionary in this case, for interpreting the ancestral religion. If Homer neglects certain aspects of local cult and appropriates others, this need have no implication for the localness or the pan-Hellenism of epic. Certain features of cultic practice are not meant to be talked about in public; others simply have no bearing on the story. From the story's perspective, the point of describing Achilles' rituals, in funeral games and human sacrifice, is neither an accuracy of detail, nor a suppression of savagery, but to underscore their ultimate failure. They cannot assuage Achilles' grief and madness, as ritual ought to do. They cannot raise the dead.

The notion that Homer's text is a window to tradition, or that it simply

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[37]Jane Harrison, *The Religion of Ancient Greece*, London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1905, pg. 10

is a piece of tradition, arises immediately from Parry's hypothesis. Homer's composition is in fact oral, therefore his language is formulaic, therefore the text is traditional. Each phrase in the text, recurrent or not, thereby becomes a repository of cultural significance. This paradigm has now been supplanted, if not cut out at the root: Homer's composition is aural and orchestic, therefore his language is recurrent, therefore the text is musical. The ancients knew Homer's text as a performance text, like a Mozart symphony or a Shakespeare play; they knew Homer only as their greatest poet. Ancient witnesses are not forthcoming, that the technique of composition in epic was in fact improvisational. How did scholars versed in the classical tradition subscribe to a theory without evidence? The answer has probably to do with the history of the Homeric Question, which had driven commentators to even greater excesses in respect of ancient texts, and to which Parry must have seemed a wholesome alternative; and with the growth by analogy, outside its proper domain in linguistics, of structuralist theory. Questions of authorship and tradition are in no sense eliminated by a choral paradigm, but they must be recast; there can no longer be an easy and presumptive leap into the traditional. What is a musical text? Who is its author? Who is its performer? Who is its listener? Who is its reader? How is music transmitted from generation to generation?

These are perennial critical questions from inside a living tradition of performance, a situation we are familiar with in relation to the works of Shakespeare or Mozart. Our situation with regard to Homer, by contrast, might at first sight seem desperate; how can we ever recover such a living tradition, even at the remove of the rhapsodes—still less pursue a critical inquiry? It is thankfully a quality of the greatest musical texts that they can teach their own actors and performers, if they are allowed to. Homer's music

is now recoverable from his text, as surely (and as unsurely) as Shakespeare's or Mozart's. If we can never be completely confident in a particular realisation, we can at least be confident at the level of our mediate techniques, in metrical and prosodic analysis, that they disclose a genuine rhythm and harmony. We can begin to say, "I know you, what you were."

The choral paradigm for Homer is based on the most authoritative of pre-Hellenistic sources, and the most enduring of folk traditions, Memory, the Muses' mother, transmitted through the dancing feet of Greeks. This paradigm explains what other hypotheses take as merely given, and makes confirmable predictions. Where choral theory accounts for the origin of the metre itself and the very feet, as well as the practical and aesthetic motives for metrical phrasing and for recurrence, oral theory only explains repetition, and that as a functional necessity, born, it is assumed, of the exigencies of a non-literary origin. No ancient descriptions or testimony can be cited; and typology is sought in modern oral traditions without any apparent connection to dance.

Nagy's attempt to generate the hexameter from dactylic expansions of the rhythms in primitive, traditional phraseology, is ingenious and often revelatory. He even manages to motivate Hermann's Bridge,[38] along with other structural features of the line. The method generates by way of inference from analysis; while this approach seems inevitably to entail a "mechanics of composing,"[39] via metrical building blocks, it need not preclude the aesthetic unity of whole Homeric lines observed by Vivante and others. The derivation of the hexameter from the pherecratean, however,

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[38]Nagy, *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter*, pgs. 72-4

[39]*Ibid.*, pg. 99

has more to do with mathematics, than it has to do either with the linguistic quality of poetry surviving in these metres, or with their original, physical, orchestic reality. The ubiquitous metrical pressure on linguistic form observed by Chantraine in the hexameter is nowhere to be found in lyric pherecrateans. On Nagy's hypothesis, much of the "formulaic" material in extant epic does not belong to the "generative" species of phrases; it must rather be interpreted as a later product of assimilation to the hexameter, which, most paradoxically, has displaced such traditional material as once generated the meter, and so *did* in fact fit the form without phonological alteration. On his own terms, Nagy is obliged to argue that phrases producing the masculine ("penthemimeral") caesura represent the "least traditional component of epic hexameter".[40] He suggests that their frequency may be due to the influence of the hemiepes of the pentameter from the elegiac couplet.[41] In other words, the frequency of the hemiepes at the opening of extant epic verse is partly due to the influence of the elegiac couplet, which already contains a hexameter: we must presume a primitive, non-extant and yet widespread and productive version of the hexameter, in order to generate the hexameter in its recognisable form.

Choral theory, by contrast, understands the frequency of penthemimeral caesura in the most natural and straightforward way. The masculine and feminine cadences which generate the two caesurae are original variants, in that both equally perform the function required by the theory, while at the same time, a favouring of the feminine-trochaic can be accounted for. In Plato and Aristotle we have direct testimony that epic verse

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[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *Ibid.*, pg. 101

was bound up with a specific dance period of seventeen steps, which broke into nine and eight. When these sub-periods are understood as sequences of dactyls, with theses and arses, we predict and discover a system of prosodic cadences in the verse, stressing the theses in either masculine or feminine fashion around the third and sixth foot. The analysis is supplemented by the evidence of a surviving dactylic round dance in modern Greece, which calls attention to a break and reversal in impetus between the eighth and ninth steps, corresponding to the trochaic caesura (which is usually emphasised by a feminine prosodic cadence), and also to a resumptive impetus in the fifth foot, corresponding to the bucolic diaeresis. Plato describes one whole species of dance as imitating the λέξις of the Muse. This must mean that such a λέξις has a rhythm and phrase structure which manifestly and sensibly corresponds to the rhythm and divisions of the dance of the Muses. The formulaic building blocks around the central cadence (or caesura) are in fact dance phrases, elements of a musical composition, sometimes signature lines or summoning names, harbouring the power to evoke the presence of their objects or subjects with their music, in the bewitching procession of the round.

Convolutions in Nagy's argument are not due to the reasoning, but to the premisses: "[j]ust as the Greek language is cognate with the Sanskrit language, so also the meters of Greek Lyric are cognate with the meters of Sanskrit Vedic."[42] Nagy intends to buttress Meillet's theory of Indo-European metre. But until it can be shown that other Indo-European metres were born in the context of something like Hellenic χορεία—that is to say, with a significant extra-linguistic component determining their form—Greek poetry

[42]*Ibid.*, pg. 1

must claim a separate place amongst its cousins.

In large part, modern scholarship has neglected the nature of Homer's epics as musical texts, and criticism has strayed by interpreting a musical composition in literary terms. This whole story is a story of neglected evidence. In the form and ambience of the round dance, we have a transparent motive for ring composition. In the dance's rhythmic structure, we see the natural genesis of a metrical phraseology. In the harmonic nature of Greek words, we find a transparent aesthetic motive for the recurrence of phrases. The absence of a theory which linked Greek prosody with verse forms has led to a neglect of prosody in general. How much error might have been prevented if the humble accent marks from Alexandria, staring at us on every page of Greek text, had not been disregarded. They remind us that to compose verse with Greek words is necessarily to compose verse with a harmonic element, together with a rhythmic and semantic substance. They remind us that Greek verse was *χορεία*.

Scholarship that has followed Parry does not all depend on Parry. Nagy's brilliant analyses of Homeric diction throughout *The Best of the Achaeans*, for example, lose nothing as analyses of Homer's diction. The method of gathering attestations and comparing usages in context so as to circumscribe the meaning of a term is not so much a technique to uncover the traditional—even when the material analysed is interpreted to be formulaic—as it is a technique of careful reading. Such a method is often applied, with no debt to oral theory, in Redfield's *Nature and Culture in the* Iliad, always with a revelatory result.[43] Arthur Adkins has pleaded for this approach as one which treats words not as lexical entries with a number of

[43]see, *e.g.*, pgs. 171-9, 115-9

meanings, but as *tools*, with uses.[44] David Grene will tell his new students that in its surviving corpus, and in its history as a corpus, ancient Greek is not a language but a liturgy. This being the case, all ancient texts should profit from being read with a lexicographer's care.

In some kinds of purportedly traditionalist readings, the choral analysis is a positive support. Richard Sacks argues, for example, that the use of *ἱπποδάμοιο* as an epithet of Hector in the last line of the *Iliad*, rather than the metrically equivalent *ἀνδροφόνοιο*, involves a necessary allusion to the presence of Apollo, although the god is not mentioned, because earlier deployments of the horse-breaker epithet all seem to occur in a context where Apollo is present.[45] "It is Apollo who has preserved Hector's body in death," says Sacks, "just as he often accompanied him in life."[46] He suggests that the allusion to Apollo at a funeral would complete the ring of the *Iliad*, which begins explicitly with Apollo's agency and the deaths of the Achaeans at the hands of the plague. To take this allusion, one need not appeal to traditional associations occurring in some traditional mentality. The musical text has its own concrete constraints. If Homer is going to sing Hector the breaker of horses, but not Hector the man-slayer, in close aural proximity to the name of Apollo, whether he likes it or not he has established an evocative connection in his audience, so that he cannot then sing the horse-breaker alone without awakening the musical association. The allusion to Apollo has a palpable reality, because we are dealing with the almost tactile power of musical memory. Of course, one need not agree with Sacks' interpretation of this

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[44]A.W. H. Adkins, *From The Many To The One*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970, pg. 6

[45]Sacks, pgs 220 ff.

[46]*Ibid.*, pg. 224

evocation. A partial melody might just as well highlight the absence of the missing parts, as the presence.

It is altogether a strange evocation. Hector has been cremated and buried: Sacks seems to forget that there is in fact no body left, to preserve or even to see. Homer has already stretched his expression to extremes to capture the condition of Hector in death. On the day that he died, when he and Achilles danced their nightmare ring around Ilium, it was not just Apollo that left him, but the day itself, the fateful day which went off to Hades with the tipping of the heavenly scales (XXII.209-13). I do not understand exactly what Homer meant by this strange saying—what it means for a day to leave you—but it is certainly effective in conjuring Hector's unspeakable solitude; isolated from his family and city, bereft of god's help, deserted by the very day, he is left to stare alone upon the armed face of death. Between the knowledge of his doom and the moment of death, Hector is as alone as ever any mortal man; but he is also on the verge of another realm, and gains a prophetic sight of this one (XXII.356-60). Now, after being recovered by his father from the horrors of Achilles' clutches, and restored to the city, after the antiphonal dirges of the women who loved him, after the funeral pyre and the burial, what has he become? What being is brought to consciousness by the name and epithet, assembled out of memory and bone? Has he a poetic identity, a poetic reality in word and song, beyond his body's dissolution? This can only be disputed as a matter of taste, but I do not feel god's presence in the last line of the *Iliad*; I feel only the presence of Hector, tamer of horses.

Now is the time, it is not too late. Transported by the analysis of rhythm and harmony, even Homer's readers can hope to find themselves within the perimeter of the round. Let us allow the poet back into the ring.

He has been missing too long his customary place at the centre. This used to be his place of inspiration. Ringed by the Muses, he had usurped the place of Apollo Mousagetes at the seat of power—perhaps he was the god's ritual surrogate[47]—capable without divine aid of crafting and exploiting a choral signifier to protect and to invest the presence of Hector with immortality. Who knows what he might still sing, what clarity dawning rays may bring to a new horizon as the upper air bursts through, the hills become resplendent, and the school bell tolls.

For God's sake, let the dancing begin.

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[47]see Gregory Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, pgs. 33, 305-6

CHAPTER IV

THE LYRIC ORCHESTRA

I wish now to give the briefest hint of the remarkable discoveries to be made in the genre of Greek lyric, through an application of the new theory of the accent in a choral analysis. It is hoped that a few examples will be sufficient to entice new students to a musical analysis of ancient poetry, and to persuade the reader that the corpus of Greek lyric is a treasure as yet unearthed, one of the greatest hauls amongst all the ancient treasures of the world.

At a certain critical moment in the development of Greek *μουσική*—a moment only to be compared in significance with the actor's later emergence from the chorus—the poet stood up from his place at the centre of the round, and took it on himself to lead the dancers, to become lord of the dance. So firm did the lyric poet's position become as *ἐξάρχων* of the dance, that Athenaeus would rather emend than let stand a passage from Homer which implies a different relation between singer and dancers. This description occurs at a wedding feast at Sparta in the *Odyssey*:

> *...μετὰ δὲ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδὸς*
> *φορμίζων · δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοὺς*
> *μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσους.* (4.17-9)
>
> ...amongst them sang a godly minstrel
> playing on the lyre; a pair of acrobats in the group,
> leaders of the song and dance, were tumbling in their midst.

Athenaeus seems almost to have been offended by the notion that two tumblers could be called ἐξάρχοντες of the song and dance, in the presence of a divinely inspired bard. He would emend the participle to ἐξάρχοντος, producing an absolute construction in apposition to the singer. William Mullen quotes Athenaeus' justification:

> For it was not the acrobats who were *exarchontes*, but they clearly danced while the bard himself was *exarchōn*; for leading is proper to the lyre. That is why Hesiod says in the Aspis, "And the goddesses, the Muses of Pieria, led the song (*exērchon aoidēs*)"; and Archilochus says, "I myself, to the flute's accompaniment, am *exarchōn* of the Lesbian paean"; and Stesichorus calls the Muse "leader of the song and dance (*archesimolpon*)"; and Pindar calls preludes "leaders of the dance (*hagēsichora*)." (5.180d-e)[1]

I have argued that in epic, the poet was essentially an accompanist to an independent dance rhythm; on this view it is perfectly natural that Homer would feel no rivalry, and perhaps even some kinship, with a virtuosic acrobat who syncopated the rhythm of his very body with the rhythm of the dancers' feet, just as the bard syncopated his words. Homer was a beneficiary of the dance's inspiration, he was not its leader or director. But it is apparent that Athenaeus had never heard of a lyric poet who was not also the ἐξάρχων of the dance. This should suggest that there was a decisive break in compositional and performance practice between the lost age of epic and the historical period in which the earliest lyric poets began to assert their craft. Athenaeus at his late date is persuaded to make an awkward emendation and is followed, I might add, by some modern editors and translators, because

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[1]William Mullen, *Choreia: Pindar and Dance*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, pg. 15

Homer's description runs contrary to the sense of the entire corpus of the lyric genre. As Mullen comments:

> Clearly Athenaeus has been moved to muster some of the most authoritative names from the history of Greek poetry in defense of his contention; and while it is impossible to take his interpretation of these poets' phrases as proving anything definitive about choral practice in the world of the Homeric epics, it would be impressive if with complete editions of all the great choral poets before him he found nothing in their words to contradict his thesis.[2]

Let us reject the emendation, and assume that there was, after all, a decisive shift in choral practice between Homer's world and the Greece of the lyric poets. What might be the implications of such a shift in the composer's role, for the poetics of lyric? Do the distinctive aesthetic features of lyric *χορεία*, as compared with epic *χορεία*, originate in the changed perspective of the poet who used to be an accompanist to the round dance, but is now become its choreographer?

Consider the vantage of the epic poet. He composes his verses in the company of an independent and autonomous rhythm; this rhythm has a fine structure which is endlessly repeating. On his side, his Greek has its own built-in rhythmic and melodic pattern. As the words begin to flow, they seek to harmonise with the recurrent fine structure of the dance, reflecting prosodically the turns and the cadence points of the independent movement, at times in agreement and at other times in counterpoint, shaping and being shaped by the rhythm and length of the articulated segments of the dance. Recurrent metrical phrases are the natural offspring of this composition, as the parents, the dance and the verse, weave and interweave. In the larger

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[2] *Ibid.*

context, this manner of *ποίησις* yields not so much a narrative sequence as a narrative fabric, with episodes forming closed loops inside a larger framework. Helen's web (*Iliad* III.125-8) is a plastic realisation of the aural *Iliad*, containing embroidered within it choice scenes of the struggle between the Achaeans and the Trojans on her account, much like the episode of solo combat between Menelaos and Paris that even now interrupts her in mid-weave.

Consider, by contrast, the vantage of the lyric poet. He is alone responsible for his dancers' rhythm. There is no independent movement against which he is obliged to harmonise, except insofar as the pattern of feet which emerges from his ordering of words may impose its own constraints as to possible rhythmic and orchestic resolutions, and hence as to possible word choices. But initially, at least, the poet gains an unprecedented freedom by moving to take over the dance, in that he creates his own dance phrases, and through them his own dance, whose circling pattern bears the unique stamp of the artist and his word. Where the epic poet responds to rhythm, the lyric poet creates it. This freedom also gives way, however, to an unprecedented level of constraint: in the antistrophe and succeeding systems, as well as in the second and following epodes, the chosen rhythm becomes a fixed form. When one considers the complexity of Greek lyric metres, one can appreciate the astonishing achievement of the lyric poets; it would seem to have been skill enough simply to find words that fitted the measures, in the manner of modern librettists and song-writers, but Pindar and Simonides were quoted in later generations for their wisdom, not just for the beauty and the richness of their rhythms. These poets were masters of finding the perfect word at the perfect time.

What were for the epic poet independent features of the dance—the

rhythm and its circling repetition—become subsumed under the control of the lyric poet and his λόγος. What are lost are the distinctive aesthetic features of epic χορεία, in particular the musical and semantic quality of recurrent dance phrases. The genesis of these phrases depended on the marriage of two independent sources of motion, the dance and the word, the foot and the voice. The epic poet was able at times to be passive to the rhythm, to surrender his speech to the repeating movement, and sit back, as it were, while his limpid phrases turned into music; he learned to exploit the evocative power of a recurrent phrase, so that the circling music also served him in the advancement of a story and the conjuring of its vivid, sonorous presence.

There is also a marriage of foot and voice in lyric verse, but on terms far different from the independent give and take of epic. The dance is fundamentally subordinate to the word: the lyric poet is a creator of rhythm, he is never passive, except to his own peculiar rhythmic microcosm. The dancer in a lyric chorus depends in a practical, physical sense upon the poet's word, both for his progress and his return in the round, in that the dance rhythm and its repetition are nonexistent except as by-products of the verbal train of the verse. The chorister has no motion of his own; he is, rather, controlled by the rhythm and harmony of the very words he sings. The syncopation of ictus and accent in epic depended on the disjunction and conjunction of the relatively autonomous motions of the dance and the words. In lyric, this syncopation is achieved entirely through the λόγος: one sequence of words can at times produce a disunity of emphasis between the dancer's foot and his voice, and at other times, at the resolution of a period, bring his vocal accent and the sense of his step into agreement, recomposing his mind and body *through* the word. This remarkable capacity of lyric

composition and performance brings into full fruition the latent musical potential of the Greek language, which has its syllabic quantities, the elements of a metrical pattern, given independently of the position of a word's harmonic contonation.

It is certainly true that in other languages as well, including English, lyric poets must generate a sense of metrical ictus and a counterpointing rhythm-music through the same lines of verse. What is remarkable in the Greek case is the enormous complexity and the calculated uniqueness of such metrical patterns, on the one hand, and their essentially orchestic quality on the other. Greek lyric metres cannot be generated or understood as stylisations of normal speech rhythms, which were generally iambic in Greek as in English; the λόγος is rather required to generate a genuine and relatively independent dance pattern, composed of various kinds of feet or dance steps—an achievement of high order in itself, which earns a Greek poet alone the title and duty of chorus-teacher (χοροδιδάσκαλος)—and then simultaneously to harmonise with it.

In this form of ποίησις, in contrast with epic, every aspect of the rhythm and its repetition is, in a fundamental way, *chosen*. Hence every word in a lyric sequence, by means of which the rhythm and repetition come to light, is also perceived to be specially chosen. For the lyric dancer, the words are elements of a distinctive choreography; unlike the epic dancer, if he is to learn his particular movement, he must concentrate on each word as it passes by, whether it links up with its predecessors in a rhythmic phrase, or perhaps passes in transit toward a new motion, or comes to a cadence. For the spectator or the critic, from that day to this—even without an obvious connection to a peculiar, virtuosic, one-show-only dance—each word in a lyric poem is read with a demand upon it which is not so felt in more song-

like forms, where the rhythm is imposed from without: it must justify its chosen place in the total order of rhythm and meaning. Lyric poets themselves expect no less of their words or their interpreters.

The dependence of the rhythm upon the word, and the concomitant chosenness of the word, conspire to destroy the spell of epic, and to produce a new aesthetic. The speech style of Homer flows with an energy that is, at least in part, external to the language. Certain words and phrases seem from time to time to surface, as it were, in profile against the background stream; but they also seem to be free to submerge again in the onward current. Effects like that of *enjambement* or a displaced cadence can bring even familiar and highly recurrent phrases into sudden and momentary focus; but the stream of the dancers' impetus is then bound once again to impose its enveloping pressure. Thus there is a delectable interplay in epic between the word and the cyclic rhythm in nine and eight, which makes dance phrases out of names and epithets, drawing upon the immediacy of their melodic evocation, but which can also focus light of a peculiar, haunting clarity upon their semantic intention. In lyric, on the other hand, there is less basis for such an interplay, for there is no external source of energy, beyond the quantitative substance of the words themselves. Each solid word must therefore take, and earn, its place in the spotlight.

It is a natural consequence that there is no room here for titular epithets, or the aesthetic of melodic evocation as it is manifested in epic. An adjective from the vantage of the lyric poet is necessarily an assertion, an attribution, a predication. In the transformation of choreographic practice subordinating rhythm to word, we find the source of the assertive, chosen quality of the epithet, if that is what it should still be called, observed by Parry in Pindar, together with what he refers to as the "particularized meaning" of

the epithets in the opening anapæsts of Aeschylus' *Persae*.[3] πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς in Homer is often simply the full, summoning name of Achilles; but a lyric poet could not say πόδας ὠκύς without intending it in some way, implicating some aspect of the performance or the subject. He should at least make a significant allusion to Homer or to Achilles in connection with the phrase, or he should have to stand up to our severest criticism with regard to lyric verse—a criticism which until recently had been misapplied to epic—that the poet is merely filling up his line, submitting to metrical constraint. What we look for instead in the lyric poet is a mastery over rhythm and repetition, a mastery over time itself, with a sixth sense for the καιρός. So it is that the poet's skill is called into account to hit the right word with his archery, at the right moment in the rhythm; so also does the lyric poet carry off all the credit and the glory of the dancers' performance, for the success of his aim and the wisdom of his word.

The development in relation to the round dance of so-called lyric composition out of epic has therefore nothing to do with the lyre or the singing voice, which are features of performance common to both; it has to do with the transcendence and mastery of the word over the dance's rhythm and repetition. (Note that this mastery does *not* involve the imposition of linguistic rhythms on the dance, but rather the control and sequencing of orchestic rhythms through the word.) The larger significance of this basically poetic innovation is hard to circumscribe. One might speak of the emergence into history of the dominant role of the λόγος in Greek consciousness, as master of the physical and the sensual, in both an aesthetic and a psychological sense; perhaps also of the transcendence of the λόγος over

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[3]Parry, "The Traditional Epithet in Homer," in *The Making of Homeric Verse*, pgs. 166-8

religious ritual. The development of lyric out of epic, and the later development of drama out of lyric, along with some other candidates across the span of history, have been severally interpreted as the moment when the "individual" emerged upon the stage of western consciousness. This at least is clear: the lyric poets needed no critics or interpreters to explain to them their new-found significance, in music or ritual or theology or society. They seem to be quite well aware of their skill, knowledge, and influence. There is an arrogance in their poetising that is wholly absent in Homer. Perhaps this goes with the territory, of becoming accountable for so many levels of the performance in the round. But I hope it is possible to prefer Homer's sort of individuality to Pindar's.

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Towards the beginning of one of the standard treatments of lyric metres, we read that

> [t]here is no vestige of evidence that dynamic stress had any structural significance in Greek verse rhythm before the Imperial period...In spoken poetry the pitch-accent must of-course have been audible above the quantitative rhythm, to which it stood in no kind of regular relation; in sung poetry also rhythm was independent of word-accents, and it is quite uncertain how far the melodic pitch took any account of the spoken.[4]

The confidence of these assertions is buttressed by a tradition among metricians that reaches back to Hephaestion in the 2nd century A. D. Against all type, there is supposed to have been no meaningful relation between the

[4]A. M. Dale, *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968, pg. 5

natural prosody of Greek and its poetic rhythms, and metrical analysis has proceeded in terms of abstract quantitative forms, such as Hephaestion's choriambs, and Maas' D's and e's (in the analysis of the so-called dactylo-epitrite metre). None of the terminology developed in these analyses is even remotely contemporary with the ancient poets whose verses are in question. Metrics in the tradition of Hephaestion is all later than late.

Against this nearly two-thousand year-old tradition we can oppose two solid lines of argument, one based on modern linguistic scholarship, and the other on the neglected evidence of an ancient witness. We now have a new theory of Greek prosody, which is based on Sidney Allen's landmark study of the ends of lines of stichic verse. The pattern of stress prominence in Greek words which emerged there has been shown in the present study to be linked directly with the tonic accent, corresponding perfectly, in fact, with the recessive accent rules. There *is* therefore a relation between accent and metre in Greek verse, and it is likely to be entirely typical. The new theory allows the paint to be restored faithfully to the marble.

The testimony of Plato, a contemporary of the last great phase of choral composition in Greece, is both ample and specific. As we have seen, *χορεία* is described by him as a unity combined out of both rhythm and harmony; the elements of this harmony are referred to in the same terms, *ὀξύς* and *βαρύς*, sharp and heavy, as the prosodic features of the Greek language. Plato is explicit that this harmony and its elements are expressed by the voice, and not primarily by some instrumental accompaniment (*Laws* 665a). It is therefore likely, against the sense of the pure mathematics and "quantitative rhythms" of the later than late metrical tradition, that there was in fact a most intimate structural relation between dynamic accent and verse rhythm in Greek, on the basis of Plato's contemporary descriptions. For their part,

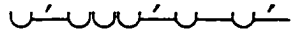
rhythm and metre were not understood by him as the arrangements of abstract quantities, but as the numberings of physically felt movements. It is therefore imperative that the sequences of longs and shorts in a poem be grouped not according to analytical convenience but according to choreographic realities, so far as these can still be discerned. The unity of the totality of *χορεία* or danced verse was understood by Plato as arising out of the disagreement of the forces of rhythm and harmony, moving in time and space towards their agreement. Such a movement from disagreement to agreement between foot-step and vocal accent would have been physically manifested and demonstrated in the dance: it should not have been subtle or distinctive, as the meaning of the stream of words may well have been; like that from dominant to tonic in modern harmony, such a movement would in fact have been basic and common to the whole range of composition and performance, in that singular era when the circle dances of the Greek folk became the musical medium for the poetic imagination and the poetic *λόγος*.

Can this movement still be discovered in our received texts? Consider one of the most glorious exemplars of the possibilities of the new lyric composition, Pindar's *Olympian 1*. The metrical pattern of this logaœdic ode is astonishingly complex, all the more so for being sustained over four triads; it is a pattern which defies the sense of an English speaker used to simple, declamatory rhythms. What is more, an analysis of the overlying pattern of accent, even according to the new theory, does not at first sight appear to clarify the metre and its bewildering succession of longs and shorts. It strikes one that in order to perceive a pattern of disagreement moving toward agreement between an underlying ictus and an overlying accent, one needs first to perceive this underlying ictus. This can be very hard to do, naturally, if the feet are obscure. We shall see in due course that the notion of

agreement is complicated by the fact that, very often, the accent can *determine* the ictus, where the metrical pattern admits equally of either rising or falling interpretations. (We have already met with this situation in the last foot of the hexameter.) But in the face of these complications, consider these last periods of the strophes and antistrophes of *Olympian 1* (as printed by Snell), where we should expect to find the agreement Plato describes:

ἱκομένους/ μάκαιραν Ἱέρωνος ἑστίαν	11
παρέχων,/ κράτει δὲ προσέμειξε δεσπόταν	22
παρέχων,/ τότ' Ἀγλαοτρίαιναν ἁρπάσαι	40
δεύτατα κρεῶν/ σέθεν διεδάσαντο καὶ φάγον	51
ἔρεφον/ ἑτοῖμον ἀνεφρόντισεν γάμον	69
ὀλέσαις/ μναστῆρας ἀναβάλλεται γάμον	80
βίοτον/ ἔχει μελιτόεσσαν εὐδίαν	98
ταχὺ λίποι/ ἔτι γλυκυτέραν κεν ἔλπομαι	109

The new theory of the accent here reveals for the first time that the pattern of harmonic reinforcement of the metre at the end of each strophe and antistrophe is almost exactly the same:



Given the extravagant variety of the accentuation in other parts of the verse, this tendency to conformity at the ends of all eight stanzas cannot be coincidental. When it comes to music, Plato defers to Damon; he nowhere indicates in his comments about disagreement and agreement in harmony and rhythm, that he is saying anything unusual or innovative about Greek poetry. His observations are general and generic, not limited to one or

another style of verse. What we see here at the points of resolution in each of the strophes and antistrophes of Pindar's sumptuous *Olympian 1*, is what Plato meant, plainly and simply, by agreement between accent and rhythm, which emerges in this poem from variety and disagreement to create a music.

It will be apparent that this agreement is not directly related to the location of word endings with respect to metrical junctures; analysis on these terms has heretofore been the only recourse of metrical theorists. The exposure of this hidden pattern of agreement, in this notoriously complex ode, should be another indication that the new theory at last lays hold of the accentual reality. It is, however, striking that in these final periods the responsion between individual pairs of strophe and antistrophe extends beyond accent to the pitch contour itself: within each pair, the printed accent marks correspond. Where strophe A has in the final period a post-acute barytone reinforcing the ictus, antistrophe A also has a post-acute barytone; where strophe Γ has an oxytone, antistrophe Γ has an oxytone; where a circumflex, a circumflex. It would seem, on the one hand, that even at these moments of agreement, which need to be the invariant elements in the compositional structure, the poet sought a variety in their implementation; but that at these same moments within each strophe-antistrophe pair, at least in the case of *Olympian 1*, there was an identity of verbal melody, and hence perhaps also of any non-verbal melodic accompaniment which attended the harmony of the words. Accentual reinforcement is effected in Greek by the most prominent syllable in a word; this syllable can be defined only in a general way under the new theory, as that which bears the greatest "absolute value" of pitch change. Thus in a given word, the syllable may be rising in pitch (*ἀνεφρόντισεν, ἀναβάλλεται*), falling (*Ἱέρωνος, προσέμειξε*), or compound (*ἑτοῖμον, μναστῆρας*). It would appear that Pindar has opted in this poem for

what amounts to a kind of "accentual rhyme," a correspondence in pitch-pattern as well as prominence, between the final periods of each pair of stanzas.

There is an apparent exception to the accentual uniformity in line 40, where the accent falls on the first rather than the second syllable of the period. But the elision of τότε in τότ' Ἀγλαοτρίαιναν may well allow for a completion of its contonation on the syllable Ἀγλ—, which would not interfere with the following, lexical contonation; pronounced as a barytone, this syllable would then in fact be the prominent one. Another exception occurs at the end of the final antistrophe (line 109), where the period resolves with a word accented on the antepenult rather than the ultima. The muted cadence here makes good musical sense, however: it can be understood as a deferral in anticipation of the masculine cadence to come at the end of the following epode, which is the conclusion of the whole composition.

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It remains to try to articulate a few principles for the analysis of lyric composition. These must necessarily be tentative, given the infancy of the approach, both in terms of interpreting metrical schemata as choreography, and in applying the new theory of accent. But I do believe that this combined approach, through rhythm and harmony as the constituents of χορεία, carries with it the promise that one day the musical dimension of Greek verse will be a fundamental constituent in the reading of a poem, and no longer one of its epiphenomenal mysteries.

The first principle or guideline, among three I shall suggest for the reading of Greek lyric verse, is "one syllable one step". This is to suggest that

for each syllable, there would have been a shift of weight, from the right foot to the left or the left foot to the right. William Mullen presents a balanced view:

> The premise without which no further deductions are possible, of course, is that the meter of the words and the figures of the dance flow from the same rhythm. This need not mean anything so literal as that there was one motion of the foot for every syllable of the language. Indeed, the art of the choreographer must have involved, among other things, some skill in varying the ways the different parts of the body realized the meter from phrase to phrase and stanza to stanza. Those are refinements of the choric art of the Greeks which have vanished as completely as the musical accompaniment... But underlying all the refinements it must always have been the case that the dance was blocked out by the same units of composition that shaped the words, and that ultimately the same unifying rhythm was flowing from the brains of the dancers into their voices and muscles and thence out to the eyes and ears of everyone else present. The notion of any poet fitting words into the extraordinarily demanding patterns of the Greek choral meters and then throwing them away by arranging a choreography completely unrelated to them will not stand up to examination.[5]

The problem is, the classical tradition has been making an equally unthinkable assumption: that a lyric poet, who was called a chorus-teacher, and who had actually taken all that trouble to fit his words into a sequence of dance steps or "feet," would throw away his choreography. This is the assumption of a vanished harmony and an ephemeral dance, which have come to form a romantic and even mystical penumbra to the poetic λόγος as it is apprehended today.

If each syllable of text corresponded to a single step of the foot, however, the written words of a choral ode become a rather straightforward outline for the progression of a round dance. For a dancer in an Aeschylean chorus, who knew the native accents, the sequence of words should have

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[5]Mullen, pgs. 90-1

been immediately interpretable as dance and harmony, if the simple feet into which the syllables grouped themselves represented the basic folk dance steps that he had grown up with. For him, such a sequence of words (or strictly, syllables) would in fact have been a choreographic notation, which he and his laymen's chorus could readily understand—a far cry from the literary text, in respect of which there is no reason to suspect that he would have found Aeschylus' usage and meaning any less violent or extraordinary than we do. The formula "one syllable one step" is a ready means of eliminating the paradigm of the marble text, weathered of its original colour and religious power, and admired for a spurious purity or humanism; and of replacing it with the paradigm of a liturgy or a musical score. We should also thereby eliminate the paradigm of a literate poet and composer of music and producer of theatre, who is supposed to have been utterly careless as a credited author about the recording of his performance; and replace it with that of a poet who has left us not with poetry, so much as written instructions for the realisation of poetry. (The possible re-setting of old lyrics in Plato's time should not indicate a lack of choreographic and harmonic information in the transmitted texts, but rather a desire to "modernise" these elements in the new, florid styles.)

But the formula may still be false. In modern Greek folk dance—although not in the "dactylic" forms which carry the ancient pedigree—a quantity in the rhythm may be marked by a tap or a gesture of the free foot, or a hop on the weighted foot, rather than the shift of weight from one foot to the other. There is no reputable way to be dogmatic about "one syllable one step" as applied to ancient lyric. But it does seem to be the most straightforward way to interpret Plato's testimony that the rhythm used to follow the word. For the first time we could see how the term "foot" came to

be applied in a linguistic context without any felt equivocation. There was clearly an identity between the quantitative structure of lyric verse and that of the dance. This is why there came to be strict conventions in lyric about the determination of syllabic quantity (*i.e.*, long by nature, long by position, doubtful, *etc.*), which allow a sequence of syllables to be read off as a quantitative rhythmic pattern. But the use of the term makes it equally clear that the identity extended beyond some abstract pattern of quantity in the choreography to the basic dance steps, the "feet" themselves. (This would be true whether or not the performance of the basic metrical feet involved a shift of weight on the physical feet for each quantity.) For someone who could analyse an ancient poem into what he called, literally, "feet," the written record must have been both a literary text and a choreographic scheme without equivocation. For all that the foot had become an abstraction for the metricians of late antiquity, there must once have been a concrete sense to account for the original use of the term in the analysis of verse.

This identity is in contrast with a kind of parallelism in epic, where the syllable count varies in relation to a fixed dance, attested to have contained seventeen steps. While there can be spondaic substitution in the epic feet, and even the metrical lengthening or shortening of a phonological quantity, lyric dactyls, if the dancer is to know to step out a dactyl, must and do in fact remain pristine. The same goes for lyric iambs, trochees, and anapæsts, in relation to their non-lyric counterparts. These latter, to be found in the stichic forms such as the trimeter and tetrameter, and non-lyric anapæsts, form a middle category between those of epic and lyric, which observes the phonological rules of quantity—there is no merely metrical lengthening or shortening in these forms—but which allows for resolution and substitution in the relation between the quantities of the feet and those of the syllabic

train. A partial tabulation follows:

	Epic	Stichic	Lyric
Metri Gratia	X		
Length by nature or position only		X	X
Resolution and/or substitution	X	X	

There could not have been *more* than one step per syllable in lyric. While this phenomenon occurs naturally in epic dactyls and non-lyric anapæsts, in the weak part of the foot, in the lyric context the florid extension of a syllable over several distinct quantities was recognised, and lampooned, as the innovation of Euripides. Hence this option can be eliminated as a basis for most lyric choreography. The other option remains, however: several syllables to a step. The viability of this formula depends upon one's assessment of the question of the orchestic reality of resolved feet. The resolution of a longum is a genuine vocal phenomenon in stichic verse forms such as the trimeter and tetrameter; and there is no doubt, at least in the case of the tetrameter, that these stichic forms were sometimes danced as they were recited (see Aristotle's *Poetics* 1449a23). It therefore may be the case in lyric as well, that while the dancers' feet stepped out, say, a trochee, long short, or a trochaic run, the voice could syncopate its accompaniment with a sequence of three short syllables appropriately stressed—although, to be sure, metricians have heretofore had to produce their schemata without a theory of stress, and have at most paid attention to word divisions in guiding their analyses and settings of choral periods. The problem with resolution, however, is that it suggests, however slightly, a priority of the dance over the word, in that the feet (or metra) must represent the invariant components

and structural elements of the dance, against which the syllabic train is free, within limits, to be resolved. This is properly the situation of stichic verse forms. If in lyric, however, the dance is truly to follow the word, three short syllables must entail a different physical movement than a long and a short.

It may be objected that dancing to sequences of short syllables would have been awkward or silly-looking, bursts of foot speed in the dignified procession of the chorus; but our sense of taste in such matters could be entirely spurious. In the eighth periods (as printed by Snell) of the strophic stanzas of *Olympian 1*, there is an opening sequence of seven short syllables. The first six of these are usually interpreted as a resolved iambic metron. In three of the eight such sequences, the word *ταχύς* appears in some form (*ταχύποτμον, ταχυτάτων, ταχυτάς*). Is this a coincidence? Or might the quickness of movement in seven short steps be an actuality of the poem's envisioned performance; in each case differently, and perhaps with a dignity peculiar to *χορεία*, might the movement sustain the sense?

When it comes to orchestic conventions, it must be admitted that we are dealing with a lost world. There is ample (but late) evidence that in the strophe the dancers circled in one direction, in the antistrophe in the other direction, and in the epode that they came to a stand.[6] (More later on the meaning of "stand".) Perhaps each of these movements used to begin on the right foot, regardless of the dancers' position at the end of the previous stanza. Or perhaps the antistrophe, turning in the opposite direction, would customarily begin on the left foot, whether or not the strophe ended on the right. If we accept one syllable one step, on the other hand, we should

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[6]see Scholia collected in Otto Crusius, "Stesichoros und die Epodische Composition in der Griechischen Lyrik," in *Commentationes philologae quibus Ottoni Ribbeckio*, Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1888, pgs. 10-11; most of them translated by Mullen, pgs. 225-8

advocate a continuous movement through the transitions. The situation is not totally desperate of judgement. Pindar's vivid use of *enjambement*, for example, seems to me strongly to suggest that there was a continuity between the stanzas, without a pause to shift weight. While such a pause is essential to the effect of *enjambement* in stichic verse, in lyric the reversal or cessation of motion should itself have been a powerful bridge for composer and audience alike. The effect is still striking in the literary text. Thought and movement seem in the middle of their disclosure to turn, as it were, on a dime.

If there were one syllable to a step, and each step involved a shift of weight from one foot to the other, some important corollaries follow. If it was a kind of convention, for example, that an ode should begin and end on the right foot, we should expect that the total number of syllables in a particular composition would be odd. This runs directly counter to the traditional theory of strophic responsion, which entails that the total number be even. (Where the systems include epodes, an odd number of triads could turn out under the traditional theory to have an odd number of syllables.) Editors would have to consider whether a proposed emendation affected the total number of syllables. In *Olympian 1*, for example, which has an even number of triads, Byzantine editors have added a *τέ* to the text of strophe Γ, in order to make it respond metrically with all the other stanzas, according to their theory of strophic responsion. But perhaps the "missing" syllable was in reality Pindar's contrivance for having the dancers' movement begin and end both on the right foot. According to the doctrine of one syllable one step, the first two epodes would each end on the left foot. The two epodes following the missing syllable, however would each have to end on the right foot. That this was in fact the case is suggested by the accentuation, which

does not match up in the resolutions of the epodes as it does in the strophes. Whereas the first two epodes each resolve with a feminine cadence (barytone on the penult), the final two resolve with a masculine cadence. In other words, while the first two might have ended physically on the left foot, and the last two on the right, all four—the ends of all the triads—would have cadenced harmonically on the right. The whole scheme envisioned here, based on one syllable one step, and interweaving the auspicious foot, the ictus of the step, and the stress of the voice, depends upon the missing syllable staying missing. It would seem to be judicious to examine all such textual emendations in lyric which have been made "for the sake of the metre," in relation to a syllable count and to the accentual patterns, if in fact there is a case for the right-foot cadence as an aesthetic, cultural, or even religious desideratum.

In several instances, the phenomenon of the cadence or *καταλήξις* in Greek verse forms seems to involve the docking of a quantity. In each of these cases, as perhaps in the sum of *Olympian 1*, the lost quantity results in an odd number of steps instead of an even. The dactylic hexameter and trochaic tetrameter catalectic are stichic forms, not likely to be covered by the one syllable one step rule. I have interpreted spondaic substitution in the former, and should interpret the resolution of a longum in the latter, as reflecting the syncopation of the linguistic rhythm with a fixed sequence of dance steps. In these cases it is the dance sequences which always have an odd number of quantities, so that each hexameter or tetrameter period would begin and end on the right foot. In lyric, the pherecratean with its odd number of quantities is the catalectic form of the glyconic, with its even count. A sequence of glyconics would succeed one to the other, beginning on the right foot and ending on the left; while the pherecratean would begin but

also cadence on the right, bringing the movement and the sense of the whole sequence to a resolution.

Is it too much to ask of the ancient lyric poets, amongst whom were craftsmen of the word to rival any produced in later ages, that they should worry in their poetising about such things as right-foot cadences? One should have thought so. And yet consider this poem of Pratinas of Phlius, the early 5th century tragedian, preserved in Athenaeus:

> What is this hubbub? What are these dances? What loud-clattering arrogance has come upon the Dionysian altar? Mine, mine is Bromios: it is I who must cry aloud, I who must make a clatter as I run across the mountains with the Naiads, uttering like a swan a dapple-feathered melody. It is song that the Muse made queen. Let the *aulos* dance after it, since it is a servant: it should be content to be commander only in the revel and the fist-fights of young drunks quarrelling at the door. Batter the one that has a mottled toad's breath! Burn that spittle-wasting reed with its deep-chattering mouth and its step that wrecks tune and rhythm (*παραμελορυθμοβάταν*), a menial whose body is formed with a drill. Look and see! This is the tossing of right hand and foot that is yours, dithyramb-triumphing, ivy-wreathed lord! Listen to my Dorian dance and song.[7]
>
> (*Poetae Melici Graeci* 708)

Pratinus long anticipates Plato in his complaint about the subversion of the song by the music of the flute: it is the song (*ἀοιδά*) that ought to lead, for it is "song that the Muse (*Πιερίς*) made queen." But in his elevation of Dionysiac song-craft over the disorderly pleasures of the flute, the poet directs our attention thus: "Look and see! This is the tossing of the right hand and foot that is yours, dithyramb-triumphing ivy-wreathed lord! Listen to my Dorian *χορεία*." Look *and* listen, the poet says. The Dorian song is queen, but it is reinforced by a *right* use of the *right* foot. Hence the change in the poet's

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[7]trans. Barker, in Steven H. Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press,1993, pg. 90

diction: *ἀοιδά* becomes *χορεία*. The way that a poet controls the dance through his text, even to the extent of controlling the pregnant conjunction of right footfall and verbal cadence, is to achieve as close an identification as possible between the sequence of syllables and the sequence of steps. If we assume a shift from one leg to the other on each syllable, we need only avoid resolution and substitution in the metrical feet, and the desired correspondence is achieved. Hence we have generated what has been observed to be the characteristic ethos of lyric metrics, as opposed to stichic metrics, out of a desire to produce a text which is in contol of the dance, and which would make a dancer more-or-less immune to the influence of *aulos*-players and other improvisers, if he should only *listen* to it. The syllables of the text, stressed and unstressed, would coordinate themselves as he uttered them with the steps of his feet. The sensual awareness required of the dancer, combined in this case with a certain sensual abandon, would indeed be worthy of the god. Dionysiac *χορεία*, in Pratinas' prescription, appears to embody a dialectic of frenzy and control, whose aptest symbol, perhaps, is a verbal right-foot cadence.

If one accepts one syllable one step as a working hypothesis for lyric, an extreme conservatism must apply to the reading of manuscripts, in order that late, abstract theories of strophic responsion do not lead to emendation on the grounds of a perceived unmetricality, and so to a distortion of the syllable count. What might emerge from this approach is the whole panoply of disagreement and agreement in *χορεία*: not just stressing the arsis, but plagal cadences, and left-foot cadences; not just stressing the thesis, but right-foot cadences, perhaps the ultimate resolutions in the choral web. To assume one syllable one step for lyric is the only way to recover the dance from the words, because it turns the sequence of syllabic quantities into a choreography. That

it is the *only* way, regardless of whether it is the right way, is small comfort to a truth-seeker. But perhaps the economy of expression which this assumption implies, where the lyric texts preserve not just words but χορεία, was all one with the imagination of the culture and the poets who produced them. And it should be recalled that Aristotle himself numbers the steps of the ἔπος with syllables (*Metaphysics* 1093b1). In any context, only a one-to-one correspondence would allow the syllable to serve as a measure of the steps; and in the epic case, at least, there is good reason to believe that each step involved a transfer of weight from one foot to the other.

A second working hypothesis is that the dactyl is the fundamental element of all lyric rhythm. The long-short-short rhythm and step has lasted to this day in the folk dance practice of the Greeks. It is the fundamental measure of the συρτός, the traveling step which carries the dancer round the circle. The rhythm appears also in another characteristic guise, a kind of stepping in place, a form of which occurs in the retrogression of the συρτός. This standing dactyl, a rhythmic shifting from foot to foot without progression in the round, may well have been the basic element of the epode. The late testimony is unanimous that in the epode, the dancers came to a standstill. The fact remains, however, that epodic rhythms are every bit as orchestic as strophic rhythms; whereas a chorus come literally to a standstill might be expected to declaim in a more speech-like style. A "standing dactyl" would resolve the issue. It may be objected that the sight of a chorus marching in place, as it were, for the length of an epode, would detract from the dignity of lyric expression. Such an objection should probably extend, however, to the whole concept of χορεία.

In his brilliant chapter on the Pindaric triad, Mullen has demonstrated with considerable subtlety how interwoven and interdependent, in the

moment of "epodic arrest," are the choreography, the theme, and the rhetorical stance.[8] The epodic moment is a cessation of motion; the dancers turn to face the god in their midst. It is the time also to face the transience and mortality of man, before the altar of the immortal god. Whereas the circling is a journey, in space and in narrative, the epode is a destiny, a place of arrival and departure, τέλος and ἀρχή. As such it becomes thematic in the unfolding progression of the lyric, so that throughout there is a fusion of the dance and the sense; to cull just the tip of a strand of Mullen's analysis (which demands to be read in its totality):

> ...What we call ring composition has to be seen as a movement of thought to which the choral poet must give both verbal and choreographic form...The movement from athletic present to heroic past is, as Pindar's metaphors often imply, a journey along a path of song which the dancers follow till they reach their true starting point, the *archē* from which the later fortunes of hero or clan are to be traced, and their true goal, the *telos* at which the god's sign of favor to hero or clan is made so manifest that it becomes a theme for song and dance among later generations of men. Clearly once the dancers reach either or both of these points it is in order for them to bring their movement to a halt, so as to pause and acknowledge the solemn place at which they have arrived before turning round to come back to the present. It ought therefore to begin to make more choreographic sense to us that Pindar should have been at such pains to place both *archē* and *telos* in that portion of the triad in which cessation of movement conventionally occurred. Moving dancers define a path but stationary dancers define a space, and the presentness of such a heroic space was what Pindar wished to fix in the eyes of his audience in order for the presentness of heroic time to become a reality in their minds...
>
> The signs of favor themselves in the epinicians, which come to the radiance of appearance in many forms, are registered by the epode in as many ways...Often, for instance, the divine favor consists simply in the fact that at a solemn moment a god *stood near* a mortal and thus blessed him...there can be little doubt that Pindar has counted on the dancers' stillness to adumbrate the mystery by which celestial agents stand quietly near terrestrial beneficiaries and work their magic...
>
> Given the potential of epodic arrest for dramatic effect, it should not be surprising to discover that virtually every speech of a god or a hero in the epinicians either occurs entirely within an epode or is so enjambed that its climactic moment occurs there. As the dancers

[8]Mullen, pgs. 90-142, *passim*

> cease from defining a moving path and suddenly create instead a stationary space, they "set the stage" for the moment of dramatic speech in which the action comes to its crisis and resolution.[9]

It is not clear whether Mullen means to make the implication, but surely it is tempting to see the development of drama itself out of lyric as an expansion and development of the inherently dramatic quality of the epode. In tragedy as well as in Pindar's epinicians, the strophe and antistrophe set the stage for dramatic speech. Whereas in lyric this speech was rendered by the whole chorus in an orchestic rhythm, in drama the chorus literally stood still, while in its early stages a single chorister may have stood forth at its focus—displacing, perhaps, the altar—and impersonated the mythic protagonist, declaiming his momentous utterance in a more speech-like (or speakable), stichic rhythm. (The rhythm was at first in the trochaic tetrameter, according to Aristotle, but afterwards, and more familiarly, in the iambic trimeter.) In this way we can see how it is that there could have been a transitional stage between lyric and drama, with only one actor. Aristotle testifies to such a stage, and ascribes to Aeschylus the innovation of introducing a second actor; presumably this allowed the poet to render the critical encounters of the myth into dialogue, thereby to break the spell of the epodic moment, in its monologic solemnity, and to create for the first time the spell of drama. We can also now account for the comparative rarity of the epode in tragic lyrics: it had been supplanted by the dramatic dialogue, for which the lyric element continued in various ways to set the stage.

The unique quality and power of this lost aesthetic of the epode have been exposed by Mullen:

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[9]*Ibid.*, pgs. 131-4

> Whatever may be the sense of strophe and antistrophe as cosmic revolutions, there is a certain justice in the notion that the epode stands for the stillness of the earth. Whether as a place for narrative of divine favor, for precepts on the limits of mortality, or for confrontation with the dead themselves, the epode reminds us that we are earthly beings whose destiny is, at best, to be briefly irradiated by the light from above before passing forever into the soil below. The dancers acknowledge as much when they come to a stand on the patch of earth that has been cleared for their dancing floor. It is by such a stand, if at all, that an axis through our transience can be established.[10]

The only qualification I might suggest to this luminous peroration is that the notion of the "stand," at least in the lyric context, can have an orchestic interpretation. The survival into modern Greek folk dancing of a stationary movement may be a clue as to why the rhythms of the epode are dance rhythms. The fact is that the "standing" dactyl is so unique a feature of the aesthetic of modern Greek folk dance, as to have earned a name in Europe: the *pas de Grecques*.[11]

If the dactyl is considered in its orchestic reality, a fairly straightforward mechanistic account emerges, which promises to explain in a concrete way the multiplicity of metrical patterns in Greek lyric. The practical question to ask is how does one bring a sequence of traveling dactyls to a physical cadence? A sequence of dactyls is a continuous, fluid movement, the round dance equivalent of a walk, with succeeding theses trodden by alternate feet. It has no natural termination (other than fatigue): a left-foot longum succeeds a right, and a right a left. The way to break the alternation is to have succeeding longs trodden on the same foot. This is accomplished by means of

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[10]*Ibid.*, pg. 142

[11]Petrides, pgs. 1-2

a cretic. (A corresponding function is performed by a bacchius after a sequence of anapæsts, which does not break the alternation but certainly breaks the stride.) The cretic can therefore serve as the cadence to a sequence of dactyls: it is the minimal form of the catalectic step, the rhythm which can bring a sense of closure to a flowing dactylic alternation. In the "Ode to Man" from Sophocles' *Antigone*, for example, there is in the eighth and ninth of the ten periods of the first strophe and antistrophe (as printed by Lloyd-Jones and Wilson) a sequence of seven straight dactyls, which is broken by a single cretic:

ἄφθιτον, ἀκαμάταν ἀποτρύεται,	8 strophe A
ἰλλομένων ἀρότρων ἔτος εἰς ἔτος,	9
ἱππείῳ γένει πολεύων.	

—∪∪ —∪∪ —∪∪ —∪∪
—∪∪ —∪∪ —∪∪ —∪—
——— ∪— ∪—×

θηρὸς ὀρεσσιβάτα, λασιαύχενά θ'	antistrophe A
ἵππον ὀχμάζεται ἀμφὶ λόφον ζυγῷ	
οὔρειόν τ' ἀκμῆτα ταῦρον.	

The notions of ploughing and yoking which correspond here at the respective periods of the first system may have been mimed in the dactylic run by the dancers' gestures, or *σχήματα*. The first case is striking in its use of *ἔτος*, a word which is of the type which can be either oxytone or barytone. In this line it is made to be both in close proximity, oxytone on the penult in the arsis of a dactyl, but barytone on the ultima in the cretic before a pause. In both stanzas the cretic serves abruptly to slow the movement down, and to convert the rhythm, on a dime, from strongly falling to rising. In the strophe the tenth (and final) period languishes on the three long syllables of *ἱππείῳ*,

stressed on the final, as a precursor to the solid masculine cadence on πολεύων (a natural bacchius). In the antistrophe the final period modulates back to a falling, feminine cadence on ταῦρον, perhaps to achieve a right-foot cadence where the last syllable of the system belongs to the left foot.

The cretic κατάληξις is often expanded by means of a transitional step and another cretic, which create the sequence now known simply as E: —⏑—x —⏑—, epitrite plus cretic. This movement allows for an emphatic cadence on one foot, seeing as the four longs belong to the same leg; the fourth step, however, which is anceps, can make for significant variety—an opposite foot bacchius—when it is stressed. The natural relation between dactyl and cretic, broadly as passage and cadence, falling and rising, becomes formalised in the so-called dactylo-epitrite metre. Here the dactyls occur in a relatively self-contained unit, the hemiepes (or D), which is often separated from the epitrite by a transitional quantity. (This transitional step insures that the opening and closing longs of the hemiepes, as well as the four longs of the catalectic sequence, are trodden on the leading foot.) The hemiepes is self-contained in the sense that its dactyls are rounded with a longum, and like the enoplion, it has a perceptible rhythmic unity derived from the phrasings of the hexameter and the elegiac couplet. In this latter, the hemiepes itself has the quality of a cadence. Given that the E sequence also has a certain rhythmic vitality, centered on the anceps, it is possible to see how the two segments could begin to gain a limited autonomy. In the hands of a Pindar, the E need not always follow as a cadence to the D. It can even begin an ode, as in the memorable opening to *Pythian 1*. This is a development which can no doubt be paralleled in the relation between the dances of folk and court and the dance forms of classical music. The natural, physical dynamic which subsists between dactyl and cretic, expanded but still

vivid in the long sentences of standard dactylo-epitrite, becomes subsumed in Pindar within the expressive framework of a sophisticated and original art rhythm. In *Pythian 1*, the poet and his audience have reached an ultimate stage where the ordinary rhythmic logic can be reversed to release new effects.

The dactyl is also the basis of the so-called Ionic rhythm. The choriamb, I would suggest, is Hephaestion's invention, one of the first spurious creatures of textual, abstract metrics. A dactyl is very likely to be marked off by a following longum; this would be why the choriamb seems to appear all over metrical schemata, including in so-called Aeolic rhythms, when these are viewed as patterns of signs rather than as choreography. The Ionic choriamb may in fact be a kind of processional dactyl, where the extra quantity eliminates the alternation of the legs and allows each metron to begin on the leading foot. The stately quality of the syllabic verse would thereby be a reflex of the stately step. The term choriamb suggests, on the other hand, a dynamic foot which turns in mid-step from trochee (choree) to iamb, falling to rising. We should expect to find what is not specially there in Ionic: a stressed syllable both at the foot's initial and final longum. A foot with two theses *does* contain an inherent potential to change the impetus of its stress. What we find, however, is often a smooth modulation over several metra into an anapæstic style of rhythm, also with an extra step, which results in a natural rising cadence. In anaclastic Ionic and in the Anacreontic, as well as Ionic a minore, this cadence takes the customary form of the rising bacchius. Were the sequence — ∪ ∪ — truly a trochee and an iamb, we might expect a corresponding rising-falling form ∪ — — ∪; instead we get ∪ ∪ — —, which rather suggests that the true Ionic rhythm arises out of a modulation between dactylic and anapæstic.

When we come to Aeolic metres, which used more usefully to be

called logaœdic, we reach the furthest limit, as I see it, of the control of the word over the dance. The rhythmic interchange between dactylic and epitrite possesses an independent impetus, which is reminiscent of the fully independent rhythm of the Muses' hexameter. Aeolic rhythms can seem almost free-form by contrast; the flexibility of their patterns accommodates the trochaic and iambic cadences of speech. This is not at all to say that Aeolic rhythms are speech-like, nor even that they are more speech-like than dactylo-epitrite. *Olympian 1* is a profusion of song. Nor is it to say that the rhythms are casual, despite an initial impression of formlessness: if you are going to compose a period beginning with seven short syllables, you impose upon yourself the severest possible constraints when it comes to the responding stanzas (in *Olympian 1* there are seven to come!). George Thomson has argued cogently for an underlying pattern of significant rhythm in this poem.[12] The illusion created by Pindar is that of a natural, artless rhythm, which seems to flow completely and, as it were, spontaneously at the behest of the words.

At the heart even of logaœdic rhythm, however, is still the dactyl. Occurring often singly and isolated in the poetic period, it seems almost a concession to the dancer and the dance. The invariant element of the glyconic is a dactyl immediately stopped before it can get started, —⏑⏑ —⏑—, by a cretic. The dynamic relation between these two feet seems to be entombed within the larger rhythmic life of the sentence, which depends more on the Aeolic base with its ancipitia, or the various internal and external expansions (which can sometimes be dactylic), or finally on the relation of the glyconic itself to the catalectic pherecratean. In the

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[12]George Thomson, *Greek Lyric Metre*, Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd. (1st edn.: Cambridge University Press), 1961, pgs. 70-80

pherecratean, the dactyl is "cut off" not by a cretic but by a spondee or trochee, resulting in a cadence which recalls the resolution of the hexameter.

The rhythmic and even verbal similarity of certain Aeolic phrases to elements of the hexameter form the basis for Nagy's *derivation* of the epic hexameter from an expanded pherecratean, in his *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter*. On my understanding, the Aeolics are precisely those lyric metres that are furthest removed from the dactylic parent. Why is it that aspects of Aeolic phraseology recall aspects of hexameter phraseology? Surely we pay too high a price in inverting the attested history. I rather point to a compositional revolution, where the poet became lord of the dance, and the word became master of rhythm. Precisely in such a situation, where Greek choral metre becomes for the first time linguistic, and rhythm begins more and more to flow from the words themselves—precisely in "logaœdic" metres—should Greek verse rhythm begin to resonate with an Indo-European metric. *Partial* quotation in word, rhythm and melody, which is documented by Nagy's evidence in the case of Sappho and Homer,[13] can be paralleled in other cases of musical revolution through history, whether we look to Renaissance polyphony in relation to plainsong, or to a bebop version of Cole Porter. Such quotation, nested within a new or merely idiosyncratic order, can help persuade an audience to get its bearings, and get hip. Snippets of hexameter rhythm in the mix give the verse legitimacy, by connecting the audience to its traditional music—at the very same time that the chorus seeks a new legitimacy in moving to the rhythms of natural language.

In modern music and musical accompaniment, excitement, fear, and emotional agitation are evoked or mimicked by the use of climactic rhythms,

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[13]see Nagy, *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter*, pgs. 118-39

whose finality and cadence-like quality are negated by their repetition, and are often offset by dissonance in the harmony. I believe a similar musical sensibility lies behind the poetic and dramatic deployment of so-called dochmiac rhythms, which are based on cretics and bachii, the typical climactic feet of a lyric train. A sequence of climax upon climax tends to increase rather than resolve tension, and this is probably what drew composers, particularly dramatists, to a rhythm based on these feet. The pæons (—⏑⏑⏑ and ⏑⏑⏑—) which occur in these sequences are sometimes described as resolved cretics and bachii, but it may be that these are really a kind of skewed dactyls and anapæsts. The extra short would give them a characteristic lurch. A former teacher of mine used to accompany college waltz parties on the piano, and he would occasionally satisfy some perverse and willful part of his soul by throwing in an extra and unexpected tail to the train of a famous waltz melody. Anyone who has seen the effect of such extra beats upon dancers who are caught up in the flow of a familiar pattern, would know the lurch as a real, physical phenomenon which disquiets the foot, the stomach, and the head balancing above. Possibly the dochmiac had a similar effect—calculated in advance—upon performer and spectator.

The solid principle underlying this analysis is that it is possible to reconstruct the metres of Greek lyric in terms of the simple dynamics of folk dance steps. Dactyls and trochees are living presences today in dances which are the direct descendants, perhaps the reenactments, of the orchestras of the ancient world. In the reenactment of music—as against the preservation of texts, and the transmission of languages—time itself stands still. There may therefore be a future for the science of ancient Greek metrics in the analysis of data from modern folk dance. What must remain speculative for now is my hypothesis about the seminal relationship between the dactyl and the cretic. I

have suggested that all the complexities of Greek lyric, the multiplicities of form, depend ultimately upon the structures created as solutions to this question: how can one bring a dactylic (or anapæstic) run—a Greek round dance—to a rhythmic resolution? The epic hexameter, the dance of the Muses, represents only the first and most open-ended answer to this question. The greater physical and aural climax of the cretic and the bacchius and their expansions can be seen to be called forth by the intensity and the closure required of the round by the lyric poet and his mastery.

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A third and final hypothesis I would suggest for the analysis of lyric, and of Greek poetry in general, is that of the accentual determination of ictus. This is the stage where the new theory of the accent becomes decisive and revelatory, where metre and rhythm are consummated by harmony and become *χορεία*. It must be remembered that for Plato, rhythm in relation to harmony is a merely analytic term, which abstracts the bodily motions from the living whole composed of both. But the body without a soul is a corpse; there is no real movement there at all. Hence, as a matter of principle, we should expect only a limited view into the musical life of *χορεία*, into the genuine motion of Greek verse, from metrical analysis alone. And we should expect still less, if anything, from a metrical analysis which pays no attention to the physical aspects of dance at all, in the manner of the orthodox analyses of the past two thousand years.

It has been observed, most recently by Thomas Cole, that the basic feet seem to come in pairs, where the transfer of a longum from the beginning of one foot to the end, or vice versa, generates the other corresponding foot.

This relation holds for trochees and iambs, dactyls and anapæsts, cretics and bachii, choriambs and ionics, and can be illustrated for longer sequences (for example, iambo-choriambic and anacreontic).[14] Cole has devised a comprehensive theory of ancient metre based on the ἐπιπλοκή or "interweave" in a given composition between the corresponding kinds of feet; this interweave can be understood in each case as a modulation between falling and rising rhythms:

> Rhythm is a single fabric in which rise and fall are constantly being interwoven through a pattern of alternating or cyclic recurrence. A dactylic (iambic, choriambic) movement phase is beginning during the closing portion of each anapestic (trochaic, ionic) phase, and vice versa:
>
> dactyl dactyl dactyl
> ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪
> anapest anapest anapest
>
> Double shorts and single longs are here conceived as creating by their alternation a movement which can possess shape and form even when it is without internal demarcation—like the perpetual succession of good and evil in men's lives which the word *rythmos* designates when first attested (Archilochus 128.7).[15]

Cole collects pre-Hellenistic evidence that the paired rhythms could sometimes be viewed under one head: in Aristotle, for example, iambic covers iambic and trochaic (although Plato distinguishes them); his pæon is both —∪∪∪ and ∪∪∪—. Similarly, Plato defines the dactyl in the *Republic* (400b) only in terms of the equality of its "up" and "down" segments, covering either —∪∪ or ∪∪—. Cole finds fault with the metrical segmentation of the pattern into identical units, which requires that the

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[14]Thomas Cole, *Epiploke*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988, pg. 5

[15]*Ibid.*, pgs. 3-4

sequence above be conceived as *either* dactylic or anapæstic.

> The interwoven segments of epiploke are one possible alternative to this model; another would be to represent rhythm, not as straight movement along a segmented line:
>
> —⏑⏑|—⏑⏑|—⏑⏑|—⏑⏑|— ...
>
> but as cyclic movement along an unsegmented closed curve—the circumference of a clock face, for example, marked with shorts at 12 and 4 and a long at 8. The dactylic day begins at eight and the anapestic one at noon, which does not prevent the morning, noon and night of the former and the noon, night and morning of the latter from being different, overlapping versions of the same diurnal rhythm—as is the much rarer night, morning and noon produced by "amphibrachic" (⏑—⏑) rising at 4 p.m.
>
> By virtue of its ability to indicate the relationship of cycles and corresponding phrases within cycles without creating demarcation or grouping, such a diagram may well be truer to the early Greek sense of time, whose passage was often felt as a non-linear periodic phenomenon, like the procession of seasons and stars by which it was measured.[16]

It is remarkable that Cole does not ground his view of Greek rhythm upon the attested physical circling of Greek choral performance, which would seem to be the manifest periodic phenomenon underlying the pattern of rhythm, but rather alludes to a perception of the periodicity of time, which is not, after all, peculiar to early Greece or late. That he would neglect the specific evidence on his side in favour of the vague is perhaps a symptom of the abstraction in which theorists of ancient metre have had to work, studying metre without regard to accent and harmony—an approach which would be considered self-contradictory in any other context—and with little concern for the practical implementation or performance of their metrical schemes. Of course it is my claim to have rediscovered the essential harmonic constituent, which combines with metre (interpreted as dance) in *χορεία*. But one wonders sometimes how much metrics since Hephaestion

[16] *Ibid.*, pg. 4

has ever felt the loss of its musical function and aesthetic context. Turf wars between metrists and colometrists are neither inspired by nor have any bearing on the harmony and the dance. They have no bearing on reality at all.

What is novel in Cole's approach is the notion of an undemarcated sequence. Such a notion borders on the self-contradictory—certainly one could not speak of an undemarcated or unsegmented rhythm—but it opens the way to seeing the sequence of longs and shorts not as a rhythm in itself, but as a matrix of potentials which can be realised in various ways as rhythm. The male agent in this fertilisation is the vocal accent. To be sure, the dance by itself places constraints on the sequence: the *συρτός* step can be seen as either dactylic or anapæstic, just as a waltzer as he waltzes will sometimes perceive the "one" as preceding but sometimes as following the "two-three". But the step *cannot* be seen, without some discomfort to the dancers, as amphibrachic. In this sense, the steps of the folk dance make an initial demarcation of the rhythmic potentiality. But just as was observed in the case of the hexameter, it is the accentual harmony which brings consummation.

What emerges is a vigorous dynamism in the push and pull between rising and falling rhythm. This dynamism is rooted in the natural accentual profile of the language, which the artist turns into music. Some instincts which come from a schooling in abstract metre prove to be valid: every sequence which ends in a long, for example, such as a period ending in a quantitative iamb, spondee, anapæst, cretic, or bacchius, will close with a rising rhythm, because before a pause every final long syllable in Greek is stressed. But in between here and there, it is the accentual substance of the words which determines the rise and fall and creates the music, and there is

no way to recover this from the sequence of quantities alone.

As we have seen, there are two possible kinds of barytone words in Greek, as determined by the new theory and the recessive accent rules, and hence there are only two main ways of stressing a long metrical thesis. Barytone on the penult, with a short always following, yields a falling rhythm and a feminine cadence; barytone on the ultima yields a rising rhythm and a masculine cadence. (Long-final oxytones before a pause, and pyrrhic paroxytones, the class with a double nature, can also produce a rising cadence.) While the barytones are the heavy stresses, as their name suggests, and the rhythmic anchors of the series, the oxytone serves up the spice, jazzing up the arsis and propelling the line. A barytone in the arsis, meanwhile, serves as a kind of counterpoint—perhaps a rhythmic kind of dissonance, whose effect in context may be either passing or emphatic. In particular, there is evidence that a masculine cadence on the arsis was felt to be especially disruptive, the epitome of disagreement. The rhythmic life of the tragic iambic trimeter often depends upon a masculine cadence on the third arsis (or second anceps), which both brings the line to a rising pause and compels it back into motion—like the unstable equilibrium of a cadence on the dominant in modern harmony—so that the line seeks to resolve itself with another masculine cadence, but this time in full agreement on the final thesis. The desire to avoid the disagreement of such a displaced cadence on the fifth arsis (third anceps), immediately before the final resolution, is the precise cause of Porson's bridge.[17] Since a long syllabic termination is nearly always stressed, it cannot occupy this position without upsetting the naturally rising ictus of the cadence which follows (–́–—/⏑–́–). Note, however, that it

[17]see Allen, *Accent and Rhythm*, pg. 306

is only the masculine cadence which is forbidden here; a feminine cadence on the penultimate arsis, with barytone on the penult (as for example an aorist infinitive filling the foot), is often to be found. Just as a feminine cadence was forbidden in the fourth thesis of the hexameter, a masculine cadence is forbidden in the fifth arsis of the trimeter, and this is how Porson's discovery should be understood in light of the new theory.

The other modulation characteristic in this metre is that between falling and rising. The caesura after the fourth arsis (second breve) occurs almost always after a feminine cadence on the third thesis; the caesura after the third arsis (second anceps), meanwhile, which is caused by the central masculine cadence mentioned above, is also sometimes caused by a feminine cadence on the second thesis, producing a short anceps. Each of these rhythms can be observed in the opening of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. In the opening line, we see a masculine cadence on *αἰτῶ* in the third arsis:

θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων,

In the second line we see another such cadence (*ἐτείας*) immediately displaced by a feminine cadence on the third thesis (*μῆκος*):

φρουρᾶς ἐτείας μῆκος, ἣν κοιμώμενος

In the fourth line we see a feminine cadence on the second thesis (*κάτοιδα*):

ἄστρων κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὁμήγυριν,

To say merely that all three of these lines observe the first caesura, in the manner of standard metrics, is to say truth, but it is to say nothing definitive about their rhythm.

Of course, whatever the nature of the central cadence, the iambic line usually resolves on a rising cadence on the final thesis. But notice that in the last two examples there is a significant variant. *κοιμώμενος* and *ὁμήγυριν* are both oxytone on the antepenult, and it is very difficult to interpret such an accentual shape as reinforcing a rising ictus. This shape appears to offer a Greek alternative to masculine and feminine—perhaps a double or weakened feminine, or else simply a dactylic cadence. Whereas an outright feminine or trochaic ending appears to be forbidden in the trimeter, the dactylic cadence is very common, and appears to offer the poet the option of a genuinely falling rhythm at the resolution of this most rising of measures. The tension felt in this metre between arsis and thesis, which is physical, and the interplay between falling and rising, which is vocal, are entirely typical; they combine and interweave in all the music of *χορεία*, whether it be performed by a declaiming actor or by the lyric orchestra.

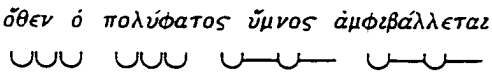
Since in their accents and quantities it is the words which bear the metrical and harmonic properties of verse, as relatively independent features within themselves, it is only through the words that the tensions and resolution of *χορεία* can be brought to life. The modulation between rising and falling, for example, is brought about simply by the juxtaposition of words, in particular by the two kinds of barytone. It is a most striking fact which cannot be revealed by the metre alone that this modulation between rise and fall can turn and return on a dime. It is a constant dynamism. Adjacent feet can bear opposite senses, a situation we first meet in the coda of the hexameter, which is sometimes –́ ∪∪/–́ ∪, but at other times, with a

feeling that is just as characteristic of the rhythm of the epic, –́⏑⏑/—–́. A cretic by itself can accomplish this change. Even within a single foot, such as –́⏑⏑, there can be the germ of an *ἐπιπλοκή* between the "one two-three" and the "two-three one".

There is one nearly unfailing clue to the music from the naked metrical scheme, which is readily illustrated by the trimeter. My third hypothesis could almost be restated; along with one syllable one step, and the structural centrality of the dactyl, we could say: "where there is anceps, look there for harmonic life." Anceps is a sign, particularly in the middle of the verse (as in the stichic trimeter or the lyric E sequence) or at the end (as in the hexameter) of an intrinsic harmonic variability, where the accent determines the ictus. To be sure, anceps at the beginning can allow for some creative effects, but this is usually in the nature of an up-beat or "vamp". Anceps in the middle or at the end represents a potentiality which, when it is realised, fundamentally determines the run of the line. When there is a feminine cadence on the preceding syllable, the anceps is realised as short. When there is a preceding masculine cadence, the anceps can be either short or long; but when the anceps is realised as long, it is usually itself the place of a masculine cadence. At the end of a line, short anceps nearly always means a feminine cadence, and the choice between rising and falling resolutions is an inherent dynamism of terminal anceps. That variation or indeterminacy in quantity (anceps) and variation in the accentual pattern should be causally related is a concomitant of the new theory: it is entirely natural that a linguistic dynamism should be exploited to become a poetic dynamism.

In lyric, the accentual determination can be more radical. Consider those seven short syllables in *Olympian 1*. Thomson has seen in the first instance of these, in strophe A, an example of a modulation from falling to

rising by means of resolved feet. Recall that the first six syllables are usually represented as a resolved iambic metron:



Thomson suggests that the phrase

> begins with two tribrachs. Of these the first, ὅθεν ὁ, is so divided as to suggest trochaic, while the second πολύφα, is doubtful, and so prepares the way for the undisguised iambic which follows, and for the rising rhythm which continues to the end of the strophe.[18]

Thomson is right about the falling sense of ὅθεν ὁ, but πολύφατος is an oxytone on the antepenult; it is impossible to see the rhythm of this word as modulating towards rising, and difficult to see it even as doubtful. As a matter of fact, *every* word in the line has a falling rhythmic pattern, with the final syllable(s) unstressed. (I always mean by rising and falling rhythms to refer to the pattern of stressed and unstressed [or prominent and non-prominent] syllables, regardless of whether a particular stress involves a rising or a falling phonetic pitch.) ἀμφιβάλλεται is particularly striking: its final syllable is naturally short, and unless there was a poetic convention which lengthened it, and shifted the accent accordingly, so as to change the pronunciation of the word in poetic recitation, ἀμφιβάλλεται cannot be seen to suggest or to implement a rising rhythm. So much for "undisguised iambic." That Pindar is after a specific effect is confirmed by some of the other stanzas, where at the corresponding spot (in strophe and antistrophe Δ) we find

[18]Thomson, pg. 24

ἐρίζεται and μήδεται. That the final syllable is in fact short seems to be confirmed by the respondent in strophe B: εὐνομώτατον, which ends in undisguised dactylic. On the other hand, the remaining stanzas *do* seem to end this period in the rising fashion (on φροντίσιν, εἰς ἀκμάν, ἀνέρων ἔθνος, and ἁρμάτων), so that it is not wrong that the metrical scheme should suggest iambic. What is going on here in these lyric iambs is in fact the same variation we saw in the tragic trimeter, eschewing trochaic, but accommodating a dactyl at period end. This is accent determining ictus from a matrix of possibilities.

If we were to revise the metrical scheme, we should print the final syllable in this sequence, and in the standard iambic trimeter, as anceps. In both cases it should be clear that the choral analysis of these words has something to say on all three levels—there are three levels of determinance where the traditional analysis only responds to the first: the rhythm of their metre is rising iambic; their accentual harmony, however, can determine a dactylic, falling resolution; and out of the combination there arises a dynamic variety in the sense of agreement at period end—accomodating the iamb and the dactyl in this case, but not the disagreeable trochee—which we should call distinctive of the cadences of the word-music and word-dance of χορεία.

As for the initial short syllables, there is no real basis for conceiving of them as forming an iambic metron. They represent a daring indeterminacy, which when realised as harmony and as dance would have been a locus of energy and excitement in the strophic procession. In the other stanzas, we see ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑́–, ⏑⏑́⏑⏑́⏑⏑⏑́–, ⏑⏑⏑⏑́⏑⏑⏑— twice, ⏑⏑⏑⏑́⏑⏑⏑́–, ⏑⏑⏑⏑́⏑⏑⏑—, and even ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑́–, where there is no prominent accent on any of the seven shorts (although the voice rises in pitch on the last). The suppression of the accent, which routinely happens in oxytone final words as

they link up in a train of thought, would seem to emphasise the word in which the accent is released (in this case, *ταχυτάτων*). It is hoped that the arrangement of words so as to control the suppression and the release of accents—in which enclitics play a prominent role—will one day be recognised as a seminal feature of Greek style in both verse and prose. A fine example of this occurs in Sophocles' "Ode to Man" in *Antigone*. There is no completed accentual contonation in the first printed period of the strophe. It is not a coincidence that in the second period, the word upon which the first accent finally falls is *ἀνθρώπου*.

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What is the orchestic relation between period and strophe? What is the orchestic reality of a period? Despite its name, a period as it is usually printed could not have been a true "circuit". This is properly the dimension of the whole strophe. On the other hand, it is clear that the strophe has rhythmic subdivisions, such as hemiepē and glyconics, which are metrically and prosodically marked. The circuit of the strophe was therefore made up of smaller elements, runs and cadences within the larger development and cadence of the total movement. Such "periods" may perhaps correspond as lyric versions to the segments of nine and eight, into which the continuous movement of a hexameter line was perceived to be divided. The strophes of lyric and drama can be understood as single rounds which turn in a non-uniform rhythm, speeding up and slowing down, running and reining themselves in as they proceed. The effect might have resembled that of the potter test-spinning his wheel, to which Homer compares the motion of a ring dance of boys and girls linked wrist to wrist, depicted on the shield of

Achilles (*Iliad* XVIII. 590-606)—although the simile may better suit the motion of the *συρτός*, which contains actual retrogressions. (The dancers on the shield also resolve into rows, probably by sex.) The non-uniform rhythm and speed, together with the kind of accentual reinforcement observed in the segments of the hexameter, would have served visibly and audibly to mark off periods, even in a continuous circling. The current printing practices, which suggest that periods and strophes have the structure and function of lines and stanzas, therefore have some validity. Resumptions, runs and cadences would have been physically manifested, so that the semantic emphases sometimes observed at the beginnings and ends of periods, and perhaps even the phenomenon of *enjambement* between lines, would have been physically manifested as well.

It may be objected that a simple ring dance (even if it resolved for some periods into rows) is too plain for lyric, not "theatrical" enough for a dramatic chorus. Certainly there might have been differences between a participatory ring dance, or a ring centred on an altar or a sacred space, and a chorus projecting outwards and forwards to a theatre. The ancient "crane" dance (*γέρανος*),[19] perhaps to be identified with the modern *tsakonikos*,[20] apparently presented an elaborate, labyrinthine pattern as a representation of the stories of Theseus, Ariadne, and the Minotaur. The sense of "strophe" could easily accommodate a twist or a weave; in which case, the period could perhaps be a strand in a kind of braid.

As the lexicon notes, however, the *κύκλιος χόρος* or circular chorus was

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[19]see Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* XXI (*e.g.* in *Lives*, tr. John Dryden, New York: Modern Library, pg. 13)

[20]Dora Stratou, *The Greek Dances: Our Living Link With Antiquity*, Athens: Dora Stratou Dance Theatre, 1992, pg. 14

associated with the dithyramb;[21] and Aristotle traces the origins of tragedy to the *exarchons* of the dithyramb (*Poetics* 1449a10 ff.). Aristotle speaks in this passage only of a series of gradual changes in the development of tragedy out of the dithyramb, largely having to do with the introduction of actors and dialogue and with the metres used to render these new features. It is therefore very unlikely that there were radical changes in the form of the chorus, which was the archaic and original element. At any rate, Aristotle mentions no such changes in the chorus itself, except the lessening of its portion (or perhaps just its pride of place) in relation to the λόγος ; and also what may be implied by the development of a certain magnitude in tragedy. The tragic poets' true innovation, as I see it, was to exploit the centre of the orchestral circle, made potent by the dance, as a stage for the reenactment of myth. (The steep slope of the Greek theatre would seem to have been constructed precisely for the sake of viewing the action in this central space in the orchestral circle, not just over the heads of the audience but also over the heads of the chorus—together, of course, with the viewing the whole circle of the chorus when it came time for them to dance in the round.) In their entry, Liddell and Scott somewhat lamely contrast the circular chorus with a square chorus, citing a single fragment of the historian Timaeus, which describes what appears to have been an occasional institution in Sparta. It is far more likely that circular choruses were so named to distinguish them not from squares but from more linear, processional choruses. (The structural distinction would not be between circles and lines as such, but rather between closed and open chains.) It appears that the procession and the round represent twin archetypes in the history of sacred folk dance across Europe:

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[21]Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968, pg. 1006

> ...the customs of the village festival gave rise to two types of dance. There was the processional dance of the band of worshippers in progress round their boundaries and from field to field, from house to house, from well to well of the village... The other type of folk-dance, the *ronde* or "round," is derived from the comparatively stationary dance of the group of worshippers around the more especially sacred objects of the festival, such as the tree or the fire. The custom of dancing round the Maypole has been more or less preserved wherever the Maypole is known.[22]

The phallic song and dance, which was still current in many cities in Aristotle's time (*Poetics* 1449a12-3)—perhaps also with the function of marking and consecrating the boundaries, farms and water sources of the unwalled κώμη—was the ancient Greek version of the processional type of village chorus. If Aristotle is right that the phallic κῶμος was the original of comedy, and the dithyramb of tragedy, it is reasonable to infer, for all that comedy seems later to have adopted them, that originally circular choruses were in fact essential to and distinctive of the tragic form, as the primitive element in its native development.

As for the theatricality of Greek round dances, done in costume, and projected towards an audience, it is demonstrated daily on Philopappou Hill in Athens at the Dora Stratou theatre. Once one has witnessed the modern performances of Greek folk dance—and borne in mind that these are not reconstructions, but idealisations of a living folk tradition—it is no longer difficult to imagine the spectacle and rhythmic pace of ancient tragedy. The movements of the chorus are *still* actual, continuing as they began, independent of epic and tragedy and the long liturgical centuries. The

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[22]E. K. Chambers, in Cornford, Francis Macdonald, *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, London: Edward Arnold, 1914, pg. 48

ancient dancers would have entered in a chain—usually, though not necessarily, in anapæsts—rounding the rim of the tragic orchestra, until they linked up in a circle and the strophe could begin. (In some of Sophocles' extant plays, such as the *Antigone*, this entering circuit is stepped in lyric metre and appears itself to be the first strophe.) They might have been led on, as today, by an improvising *χορηγός*, who could have remained a focus of rhythmic and vocal attention through the ode. What has changed between then and now, apart from the evolution of the instruments, is that the modern dancers are accompanied by a separate band of singers and players; whereas in the ancient art it was primarily their own voices that accompanied them.

Strictly, however, it was the dancers who accompanied the word, not the word the dance. To read the lyric scores of Sophocles or Aeschylus critically today is almost never to gloss the word as so much rhythmic filler, subordinate to a visual or musical design, but to encounter the authority and the luminosity of the chosen word. As one remembers this primacy of the word in the poetics of ancient lyric, one is less inclined to imagine geometrically elaborate choreographic patterns which would have been likely to call attention to themselves. It was not the complexity of the circling which was marked, but the *rhythm* of the circling, given by the *λόγος* and expressed in the foot, which was unique to each lyric composition. Supported by rhythm, by gesture, by costume, it was the circling word that could invite epiphany.

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Consider this little gem attributed to Sappho:

Δέδυκε μὲν ἀ σελάννα
καὶ Πληίαδες μέσαι δὲ
νύκτες, παρὰ δ' ἔρχετ' ὥρα
ἔγω δὲ μόνα κατεύδω

The verses have a poignancy which is not dependent on their beauty as *χορεία*. The community of the exclusively feminine subjects—Selanna the moon, the Pleiades, and the Midnight which have set, and the Hour of fruition passing by—a sorority which seems to link the speaker with the cosmos—makes a powerful contrast with her final solitude in sleep, as she lies down alone and unconsummated. The economy of expression and image is quietly breathtaking.

What can our three hypotheses do to awaken the music of these lines?

One syllable one step only says that there is an even number of steps, and the piece would have to begin and end on opposite feet. One wonders if an ode of this size would be stepped out at all. It is possible, however, that *Πληίαδες* was pronounced as a trisyllable. Such a pronunciation would eliminate the dactyl in the period; but there is manuscript evidence for the spelling *Πλειάδες*. The manuscripts also read *μέσσαι* in this line; the lengthened initial syllable may have equalised in time what was lost in step. Certainly this is the perceptible effect of reading both *Πληίαδες* as a trisyllable and *μέσσαι* as a spondee. On the basis of such a text, the ode would have an odd number of syllables, and could therefore begin and cadence on the right foot.

The centrality of the dactyl is manifest; as so often, and even on this

small scale, the dactyl gives the line its initial impetus, which is brought to a cadence by means of an epitrite.

When we turn to the accentual determinants, an elegant pattern of disagreement and agreement is revealed. The first line introduces the rhythm: ∪ ´—∪∪ —∪——´, falling on the dactyl and rising on a final bacchius. The masculine cadence is softened by the nasals in the name of the moon, and perhaps also by being stepped on the left foot. The first line's harmony reinforces the theses to establish the pattern, in response to which the following lines will first diverge and then return to agreement. The second line is an immediate variation, however one reads the text. As printed, it accents the arsis of the dactyl, and ends on a feminine cadence with short anceps: — —ǘ∪ —∪´—∪. On my reading, with the two changes suggested above, we see this pattern: — ´—∪—— ´—∪, which appears to continue the epitrite motion of the cadence to the first line, rising on the Seven Sisters and falling on midnight; the feminine cadence demands an *enjambement*, to complete the sense as well as the epitrite, in the opening of the next line. The whole pattern would be: — ´—∪—— ´—∪/—´.

The effect of the *enjambement* is striking. "Middle" and "night" straddle the break, which is also the mid-point of the poem. The effect is captured in this rhythm of the passing of the still point of midnight's zenith, which is only perceived as it disappears, like the bridge between line and line. The rest of the third line takes up with an anapæst the passage of the hour, cadencing on a bacchius: ∪∪´—∪—´; the moment of bloom is gone as soon as it is felt to be present alongside, in the very utterance of *παρὰ δ' ἔρχετ' ὥρα*. On my reading, in the lilting spondaic contonation of *ὥρα*, we have the first right-foot cadence at period end.

The final line returns to the agreement with the ictus observed in the

first line, in its chosen realisations of the ancipitia and its reinforcement of the theses, except that it stresses a third longum in the middle: ∪ –́–∪∪ –́– ∪––́–. Unlike the first line, however, the arrangement of words serves to de-emphasise the dactyl—there has been an *ἐπιπλοκή*—and the scheme should show a continuance of the rise begun in the close of the preceding line: we have in succession an iamb, an anapæst and a bacchius (∪ –́– ∪∪ –́– ∪––́–). This is a firm and vivid resolution. The total effect calls attention, however, to the new and central rhythmic stress on the word *μόνα*, whose meaning becomes the focus of a peculiarly choral power. On my reading this is a passing stress on the left foot—a bittersweet note which touches into life the aloneness on which both the poem's beauty and its sadness turns. The word is passing and at the same time emphatic: its rhythm forms the lonely axis of a setting cosmos.

It is not true that the speaker is anonymous. Her adjective, *μόνα*, is her epithet. She is the loneliest woman in all poetry.

Finally consider Pindar's *Pythian XII*, his tribute to Midas the flutist. It is a small-scale piece of four strophes, composed in standard dactylo-epitrite; but it is sufficiently complex to be illustrative and demonstrative of the utility of an analytic approach to longer works in terms of the elements of *χορεία* described by Plato. The musical analysis of modern poetry does not require an apology:

> Music in poetry synthesizes the sounds of a language in terms of aesthetic values, both technical and emotional, both universal and language-specific, to create an effect that is analogous and adaptable to literal music.[23]

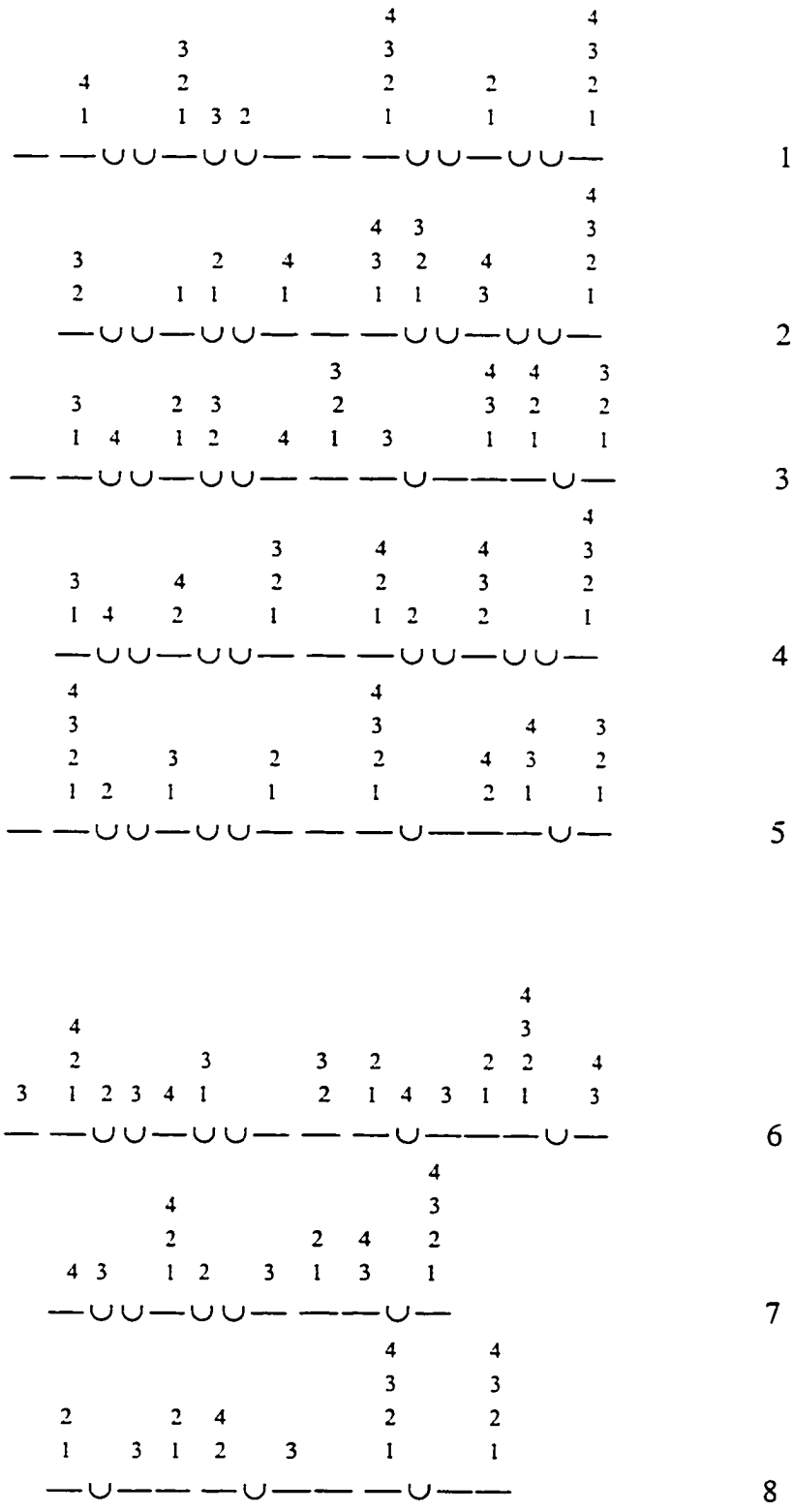
[23]Paul Friedrich, *Music in Russian Poetry*, New York: Peter Lang, 1998, pg. 18

The interpretation of ancient practices, however, and the poetry of dead languages, must involve some doubt and controversy. In the twentieth century, two and three generations of classicists with little or no ancient testimony to back them have made a foundational premiss out of a theory, an instant academic tradition out of oral tradition. This story counsels caution, for all that choral theory makes testable predictions, and is based on historical and empirical evidence. What ought to be beyond dispute is that the prosody discovered by Sidney Allen is real; that it is directly related to the received prosody; that the musical substance of Greek words creates effects in Greek poetry that are now normally associated with non-verbal music; that metre cannot be studied, cannot even be constructed, without accentual determinants; and that the physical aspects of dance are creative factors in the final expression.

Counting one step to a syllable, the total number of steps in *Pythian XII* is even, but in each strophe it is odd. The first word of the poem, *αἰτέω*, can be a trisyllable, however; this would make the total step count odd, and insure a passage in the dance from beginning to end of right foot to right foot. Examination reveals that there would often be an alternation from period to period of the foot of the final cadence, and an alternation also in the final cadences of successive strophes.

I have found it useful to draw up the traditional metrical scheme and overlay it with the positions of the prominently accented syllables. Care must be taken here to remember that traditional schemes will sometimes print a longum, in accordance with the standard conception of strophic responsion, where in reality there is anceps and the accent is decisive. The sixth periods of the first two strophes, for example, end with accentual dactyls (*τάν ποτε, ἔμπεδον*), while the second two with cretics (or iambs—*θνατοῖς ἔχειν, ἔσται*

χρόνος). The usual printed scheme just says "E". Each number refers to the strophe in which the accent occurs:



It should be clear that the accents are not randomly arranged. Nearly every period has its final syllable stressed (twenty-eight times out of thirty-two), while earlier portions of the line exhibit various degrees of flexibility. This is disagreement moving toward agreement.

In the final period, all the stanzas stress not only the final syllable but also the syllable fourth from the end. As we saw in the case of the final periods of the strophic stanzas of *Olympian 1*, there is a larger scale to the sense of agreement at the end of a complete strophe, and the motion from disagreement to agreement apparent here at the level of the individual period is organically subservient to this larger movement of the strophe. There is no linguistic reason why the fourth syllable from the end should particularly receive a stress. The accent determines the ictus; the poet has made a conscious harmonic choice as to what sort of accentual pattern will provide the characteristic resolution in the strophic procession of the poem. In the first three stanzas, this final resolution involves a word of bacchius shape (*e.g.*, *ἀγώνων*); in the terminal strophe, there is no such word (*τὸ δ' οὔπω*), but the accentual pattern is still maintained.

There appears also to be a strong tendency to stress the initial longum of a hemiepes (twenty-six times, in forty opportunities); in this way the period tends to bring into relief the modulation from falling to rising. Again we see this relation on a broader scale at the level of the strophe. Whereas the first seven periods are either entirely dactylic (in the sense of closed hemiepē) or dactylic moving into epitrite, the whole of the final period is in epitrites.

Meanwhile, there are numbers of long quantities which remain unstressed (or contain only the rise in the contonation) through all four

verses. Neither is the avoidance of stress a random phenomenon. The majority of the unstressed long syllables are anacruses or "up-beats," initial syllables before the first dactyl in the period, or transitional syllables between two rhythmic groupings. When one of these transitional steps *is* stressed in the middle of the third period, it appears to signal a change in the rhythm, and the first epitrites are introduced. Again, there is no linguistic reason why these longs should be unsuitable for the placement of the *svarita*. Longs in certain positions are never stressed in the course of four circuits, while longs in other positions are stressed every time. We see evidence of conscious choices on the poet's part which create a distinctive harmonic pattern; this pattern is recognisable in terms of Plato's descriptions of the characteristic music of *χορεία*. Here is more evidence in lyric to complement the evidence I have given in epic, that the new theory of accent lays hold of the very truth.

One of the stressed anacruses is particularly arresting. The sixth period of the third strophe begins with the stark sentence, *εὗρεν θεός*. This is severely to disjoint the rhythm. The up-beat is circumflected, while the thesis of the initial dactyl is left blank; and the *second* short of the dactyl, normally the least prominent and most dependent part of the foot, is given an emphatic stress. A glance at the scheme shows that the rhythm of the third strophe takes some time to recover, remaining out of step with the other stanzas until the cadence of the seventh period, and in some measure until the final cadences of the strophe.

This phrase in the twenty-second line of the poem appears to close the ring opened in the seventh, with *Παλλὰς ἐφεῦρε*. Pindar has traced the significance of the victory of Midas of Acragas with the flute at Delphi back to the flute's mythical origins, to the moment where Athena herself invented the instrument and the "many-headed tune". *εὗρεν θεός* marks in the

timeless aorist the very moment of discovery and epiphany, from which the chorus returns in the final strophe to the exigencies of the present. At the corresponding moment of epiphany in the narrative of *Olympian 1*, as the god himself appears before the hero (line 74, antistrophe Γ)—at his foot!—we find a period which contrasts with all seven other responding periods in allowing only one full contonation: *πὰρ ποδὶ σχεδὸν φάνη*. The release of the accent on *φάνη* is a slight touch in comparison with the rhythmic daring of *εὗρεν θεός*, but it is felt nonetheless. There is, *through* the word performed, in its own rhythmic and harmonic substance, as in its dynamic relation to the choral train, an embodiment of the moment of manifestation and discovery.

At the heart of Pindar's poetry the moments of divine epiphany, long recognised in Pindaric commentary, are here revealed for the first time to be musical phenomena. The experience of epiphany is the ultimate aim of the art of *χορεία* and its circling magic, whether in its epic or its lyric forms. The promise of such moments, actuated in harmony and rhythm, is now a reward for the labours of learning Greek. No tongue can tell what powers these poems still harbour, what epiphanies are yet to strike in bloom, as the music of an ancient world becomes vivid once again.

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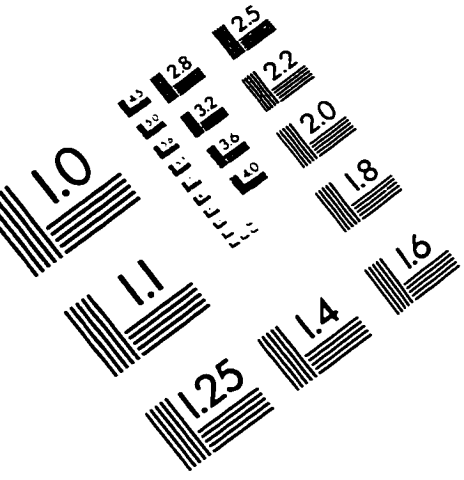

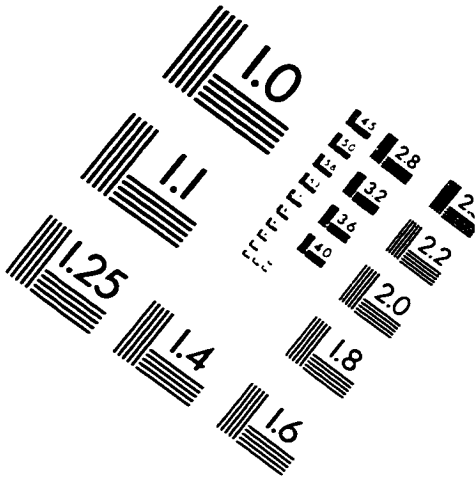

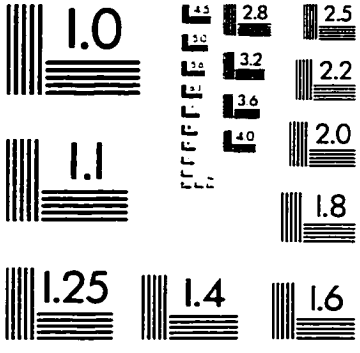

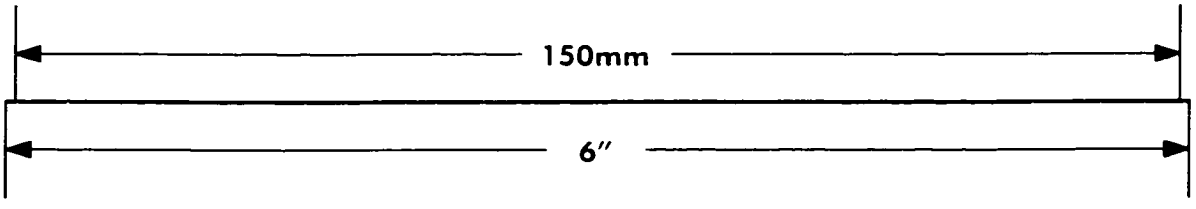

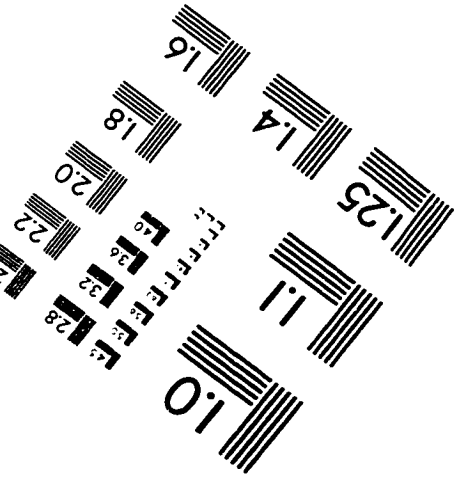

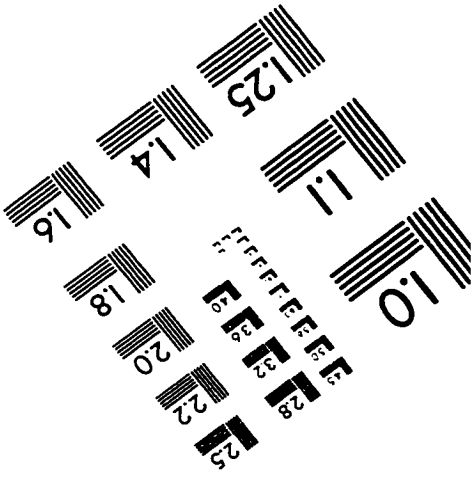

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