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ALTERNATING RHYTHM IN ARCHAIC GREEK POETRY

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Most early Greek verse appears to be composed of a series of long syllables which are separated by another metrical "element": a single short syllable, or two short syllables (for which a long syllable appears instead in some lines), or a single syllable which is short in some lines, long in others. Such verse is said to exhibit "alternating rhythm."[1] It is a feature of some of the most familiar verse forms; for instance, the iambic trimeter (Archilochus 30.1):

ἔχουσα θαλλὸν μυρσίνης ἐτέρπετο
⏑ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —

the Sapphic hendecasyllable (Sappho 16.1):

Οἱ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον, οἱ δὲ πέσδων
— ⏑ — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

the dactylic hexameter (Archilochus 1.1):

εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων μὲν Ἐνυαλίοιο ἄνακτος
— ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — —

On the other hand, it appears to break down in so common a verse as the second line of the elegiac couplet, the "pentameter" (Archilochus 1.2):

καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ —

To the best of my knowledge alternation is not considered a constitutive feature of Greek verse in any modern handbook on Greek meter.

But the fact remains that alternating rhythm is an attractively simple unifying phenomenon for a very large portion of surviving Greek poetry, and—in one guise or another—it has kept recurring as an explanatory element in theories of Greek meter (part I). I will propose a new definition, one that makes alternation a feature of an abstract level of metrical description, and use that as a

[1] Paul Maas, *Greek Metre*, trans. H. Lloyd-Jones (Oxford 1962 [orig. ed. 1923]) 32. This and the following are referred to by their authors' last name: Bruno Snell, *Griechische Metrik*, 3rd. ed. (Göttingen 1962); Dietmar Korzeniewski, *Griechische Metrik*, Die Altertumswissenschaft (Darmstadt 1968); M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982); W. Sidney Allen, *Accent and Rhythm: Prosodic Features of Latin and Greek: A Study in Theory and Reconstruction*, Cambridge Studies in Linguistics, 12 (Cambridge 1973). Two works of A. M. Dale are further distinguished by their initials: *The Lyric Meters of Greek Drama*, 2d ed. (Cambridge 1968) and "The Metrical Units of Greek Lyric Verse, I, II, III," *Collected Papers* (Cambridge 1969), pp. 41–97 (= *CQ* 49 (1950), 138–48; n.s. 1 (1951), 20–30, 119–29). Archilochus is cited from West's edition; Sappho and Alcaeus from Voigt's (same numbers as LP); Pindar from Snell's. Other lyric poets are quoted from Page, *PMG* or *SLG*; references to Page look to his texts or critical notes at the fragment cited.

basis for a review of all archaic poetry and some early classical verse-forms in order to show the pervasiveness of alternation (part II).[2] Then I will re-introduce H. N. Porter's method of notation as a means of describing the various forms that alternating rhythm can take (part III). I believe that Porter's method makes possible a simplified presentation of the different meters which also clarifies individual traits, and puts exceptional and ambiguous uses into a context (part IV). A system of analysis based on alternation accommodates descriptions of historical change and it is well-adapted to the characterization and comparison of styles and to the close study of individual poems. I will illustrate the potential of this system with a rhythmical analysis of two poems by Simonides (part V). What I propose here revises the answers usually given to the question: what are the primary structural features that distinguish Greek verse?—that is to say, it rejects some assumptions of Greek metrical theory that Classicists generally accept. In concluding, I will look at the consequences of my proposal for our understanding of the history of Greek metric. (In an appendix, I summarize my reasons for also rejecting certain assumptions now current in the discipline of linguistics.)

I

A theory of alternation is latent in the ancient metricians' method of describing verse in terms of feet, for each of these is subdivided into an arsis and a thesis, and a verse can be taken as a stream of alternating arses and theses.[3] (Unfortunately, neither ancient nor modern scholarship is consistent about which portion to call by each term.) Ancient rhythmical theory concerned itself with the ratios of the actual duration of the arsis and thesis in each type of foot. The "musical" school of the nineteenth century inferred from the ancient discussions that the feet were temporally equal measures with an initial beat. Much of the current disregard of alternation probably has its origin in the response to this misreading. The "New Metric" restored the ancient separation of rhythm and meter as fields of study, and concentrated on isolating the metrical segments of which a line of verse was comprised. No one suggested that study of rhythm could address anything except the problem of relative duration, in performance, of successive syllables within a segment, and rhythm ceased, for the most part, to be a factor in the analysis of Greek verses.[4]

[2] I will not deal here with the complexities of fifth-century choral lyric. I also exclude Corinna, and most popular song. The fragmentary nature of much of the archaic tradition, of course, necessarily makes some conclusions tentative. Given the state of the evidence, it would be misleading to try to give a count of the actual number of instances of features which are relatively more or less common, so I have omitted statistics from this study (for an instructive example of such misleading figures, one should examine, and try to verify, the figures Page gives for the Sapphic stanza in *Sappho and Alcaeus* [below, note 14] 324).

[3] One manifestation of alternation is in the doctrine of *epiplokê*, according to which units that have the same arses and theses, but in different orders, originate from a continuous series in which they are overlaid or "intertwined" so that the beginning of one coincides with the end of another. See scholia A to Hephaestion, p. 110–11, 120–21 C. Dale adopts the concept; *LMGD* 41 n. 1, 70, 145–47, and, especially, MUGV 49-50, 95.

[4] The "New Metric" is a useful term for a style of analysis common to a group of, especially, English and German scholars; e.g., Blass, Wilamowitz, Maas, Snell, Dale, and, most recently, West. Originally some of their differences—espe-

Thus, Maas declared in his "Introduction" that it is "necessary not only to avoid using the terms 'arsis' and 'thesis,' but to keep our minds clear, so far as possible, of the notions associated with them."[5] This proscription serves to clear the air of the confusions associated with the terms; it also makes room for a system of describing verses as series of basic sequences (often called cola and metra) composed of elements in a fixed order: e.g., spoken tragic verse is three repetitions of the sequence *anceps*, *longum*, *breve*, *longum*, or x — ⏑ —.

Within the theories that posit segments as the primary metrical phenomenon, alternation has had varying roles to play. For Wilamowitz, the place of alternation was explicit but historically delimited: it had characterized the structure of the basic verse segments from which cola evolved, particularly those which show a fixed number of *Hebungen* (the regularly recurrent long syllables) in a variety of manifestations.[6] It seems to me that unacknowledged alternation lurks behind Maas's observation that "most metra consist of two *longa* before, after, or between which occur" the other elements (sect. 53, p. 38). His theory of internal responsion can be seen, in fact, as a way to account for the persistence of alternation—or the regular recurrence of the *elementum longum*—without recourse to the arsis/thesis distinction and without compromising the description by units. Bruno Snell ignores alternation completely.

If we look at the two most recent handbooks on Greek meter, we see that Dietmar Korzeniewski retains Wilamowitz's emphasis on "thesis-counting" but does not adhere to his historical model. Ostensibly, he is merely describing one class of metra in the statement, "in einem gleichmässig abwechselnden Rhythmus folgen nicht zwei Stäbe aufeinander"; but he views such a rhythm as

cially in the case of Maas—were more important than their common style. They differ considerably in the extent to which rhythm is important. Snell never mentions the word; Dale frequently considers the possible rhythmic distinctions among metrical types. For a fuller and more precise differentiation of modern approaches to metrics, see Massimo Lenchantin de Gubernatis and Gianfranco Fabiano, "Problemi e orientamenti di metrica Greco-Latina" in *Introduzione allo studio della Cultura Classica*, II (Milan 1973), pages 401–32.

Thomas Cole has now taken a somewhat different approach in *Epiploke: Rhythmical Continuity and Poetic Structure in Greek Lyric*, Loeb Classical Monographs (Cambridge, Mass. 1988 [I obtained this book too late to incorporate it into the main body of the discussion]). Taking his cue from reports of Heliodorus's theories, Cole argues that rhythm subsists in the cyclical recurrence of fixed patterns of long and short (or *anceps*) syllables. He calls such continuous patterns "epiploke." Individual verses can be understood as lengths of single or mixed epiploke which start and end at alternative points of demarcation within the pattern. Cole sees the poetic structure based on epiploke as something that evolved in the archaic period, and primarily directs his attention to explaining fifth-century forms.

[5] Pp. 6–7.

[6] "Das Knochengerüst, sozusagen, eines Verses bildet eine Anzahl von Längen, die wir als Hebungen bezeichnen, zwischen ihnen, oft auch vor and auch hinter ihnen stehen ein bis zwei Silben, wenn zwei, natürlich kurze oder (am Schlusse) für kurz geltende; vermutlich konnte auch einmal eine im innern fehlen" (*Griechische Verskunst* [Berlin 1921 and repr.] 88). This introductory remark closely resembles the definition by Maas which I paraphrased in the first sentence; but Maas's definition does not occur until Sect. 43 of his handbook, where he is adding several paragraphs of supplemental remarks to his presentation of the metrical elements.

natural, simple, and original, and treats it as a norm.[7] M. L. West, on the other hand, does not explicitly acknowledge the existence of alternation. Instead, at the beginning of his discussion of "rhythm," he formulates two "rules of contrast" which operate to insure that "fixed long positions...spaced, neither adjacent to one another nor separated by more than two other positions" form a recognizable pattern.[8] He calls these positions *principes*. The application of the rules determines "the basic rhythmical movements" and "...in most metres gives a clear sense of rhythm, a rhythm which often continues smoothly from one period into the next."[9]

A. M. Dale provided the most significant departure from the kinds of analysis I have been discussing, and which she herself had pursued in her book on dramatic lyric. She proposed that in one style of choral lyric, at least, the only effective units were the cretic (— ⏑ —) and the choriamb (— ⏑ ⏑ —), with and without intermediate *anceps*. This theory takes account of the two primary prosodic contrasts in Greek metric—the contrast between single and double short syllables and the contrast between short and long syllables—and makes them the basis of verse-structure. Dale's theory subsumes the phenomena which alternation describes without sacrificing a rigorous adherence to analysis by units (and without appealing to performance). But Dale achieved this simplicity at a cost: her method complicates the descriptions of the larger segments and makes the *anceps* into an anomalous structural element.[10]

[7] Specifically, it provides him a norm for describing the character of the dochmiac, bacchiac, and ionic; for the analysis of anaclasis; and for explaining the rule against *anceps* succeeding *anceps* or *breve* (6–8; on p. 8 it is simply "der gleichmässsige Rhythmus"). His insistence on "thesis-counting" as a basis for analyzing the inter-relationships of cola can also be seen as a reflection of the unstated primacy of alternation in his theoretical presentation. ("Thesis-counting" is the best English term available for giving attention to the relative numbers of what Wilamowitz called *Hebungen* and Korzeniewski usually calls *Stäbe* or (*feste*) *Longa*.) Korzeniewski himself actually seems to take alternation as a secondary phenomenon to thesis-counting. This leads R. Kannicht to point out that the theory of a fixed count is an unhelpful genetic interpretation of the fact that "das unterschiedliche Alternieren von obligaten *longa* und ein oder zwei *brevia* [ist] eine Grundtatsache des griechischen Versbaus" (Review, *Gnomon* 45, Heft 2 (April 1973) 129).

[8] The rules are: "1. Each princeps must have a short adjacent to it," and "2. No short syllable might be adjacent to a long syllable not occupying a long position," 18–19.

[9] P. 22. West's discussion makes clear that he understands such rhythm as a performance feature. He relates it to delivery in procession or with dancing.

[10] Dale, MUGLV. She introduces the further disadvantage of requiring three different types of verse construction: periodic, colometric, and stichic. It is characteristic of Dale's discussions (as of West's), both here and in *Lyric Metres*, that she regards the perception of long and short as the discernment of actual time measures (rhythm is a question of the ratios between them), not as the recognition of the presence or absence of prosodically relevant distinctive feature(s) (see below, note 13 and Allen 96–99; he attributes to her a "militantly durative-quantitative attitude to Greek verse rhythm"). This belief affects her expositions, it seems to me, to a much greater extent than it influences the German writers, who are much more concerned with the graphic patterns formed by their notation, and appear indifferent to whether that pattern reflects an aural or an abstract scheme. The differences between her approach and the one I will pursue make it impossible to note particular points of influence, but it will be obvious that I am in debt to her magisterial essay.

The analysis of Greek verse as alternating rhythm that I will now propose differs from previous hypotheses about the role of alternation in Greek poetry in two ways. First, it makes the observation of alternation primary in the analysis of Greek verse; and, second, it treats alternation not as a feature of perceptible rhythm in performance (which it may often also be), but as the distinguishing characteristic of the abstract scheme which all verses in Greek realize. A simple distinction between abstract elements and the syllables that realize them is familiar in classical studies from the work of Maas. Such a distinction in levels has been developed more extensively in certain studies of English meter, where it has been derived from Russian Formalism. These studies stress the importance of the normative function of the audience's rhythmical ideas—meter is as much in the ear of the audience as in the voice of the poet.[11] In applying these methods of analysis to Greek verse, I adopt one additional essential procedure from a theoretical model for all verse that John Lotz has elaborated.[12] Instead of searching, in the style of the New Metric, for a unit of composition which is, by itself, both necessary and sufficient for the creation of verse structure, I separate the discussion of the regulation of prosodic material from the discussion of the units, or *frames*, in which regulated language begins and ends. My focus here is on the former; but I do take for granted the existence of the period (or, informally, line) as a unit of organization, and will consider the significance of

[11] See W. K. Wimsatt and M. C. Beardsley, "The Concept of Meter: An Exercise in Abstraction," *PMLA* 74 (1959) 585–98 (reprinted in W. K. Wimsatt, *Hateful Contraries* [Lexington, Ky. 1965], pp. 108–45) and E. Schwartz, W. K. Wimsatt and M. C. Beardsley, "Rhythm and 'Exercises in Abstraction'," *PMLA* 77 (1962) 668–74. On the background of this approach in Russian Formalism, see pages 170–72 in R. Wellek and A. Warren, *Theory of Literature* (3rd ed., New York 1962); that method is presented more fully in V. Zirmunskij, *Introduction to Metrics* (The Hague 1966). There are useful analogies to the procedure followed here in James McAuley's practical guide to the scansion of English, *Versification: A Short Introduction* (East Lansing, Mich. 1966). The argument has been influenced by linguistic studies, not necessarily metrical, that teach the value of analyzing the components of a language system into a set of binary contrasts and of distinguishing separate stages or levels in the complex process that extends from the production of sound to its comprehension—in particular, by the studies of the phoneme in the work of Roman Jakobson and others of the Prague Linguistic Circle. See for example R. Jakobson, and M. Halle, *Fundamentals of Language*, 2nd. ed., Janua Linguarum, Series Minor, 1 (The Hague 1971), Part I, "Phonology and Phonetics," chs. 1–3. Allen 104–5, defines four different levels necessary for the study of poetic language; *form* and *structure* form the domain of meter (the other two are *composition* and *performance*). A. Devine and L. Stephens (below, note 13), 207–8, present a useful description of "two basic techniques" of analyzing patterns: "structural" and "transformational-generative." Halle demonstrates the potential of a generative analysis of levels for understanding rhythmic variation in "On Meter and Prosody," in Bierwisch and Heidolph, eds., *Progress in Linguistics*, Janua Linguarum, Series Major, 43 (The Hague 1970) 64–80 (he refers mainly to English but takes note of Greek). In answer to this a more thorough and subtle analysis of "podic" meters is presented by Devine and Stephens in "The Abstractness of Metrical Patterns: Generative Metrics and Explicit Traditional Metrics," *Poetics* 16 (1975) 411–30. The approach taken here, however, also differs significantly from those with a linguistic orientation; see the appendix.

[12] See his "Elements of Versification" in W. K. Wimsatt, ed., *Versification: Major Language Types* (New York 1972) 1–21, and "Metric Typology" in T. A. Sebeok, ed., *Style in Language* (Cambridge, Mass. 1960, 1966) 135–48.

beginnings and ends. I think it is useful to keep the term "rhythm" for the phenomena of regulation, and "meter" for the various rhythmic frames that occur in Greek (cf. the use of "dactylic" and "dactylic hexameter" in the traditional nomenclature).

II

In many metrical patterns there occurs an alternation between a position which is filled with a more regular expression and one filled by a more varied one. That is, one position is expressed regularly by only one prosodic element, the other by various elements: the two positions can be identified in comparison with each other. I will call one the *positio stabilior* = S and the other the *positio mutabilior* = M. Alternating rhythm is protean, but the contrasting positions are recognizable by broad induction. In practice the S is induced from the persistent recurrence of a prosodically long syllable, perceived as the *elementum longum*, and the M follows from our perception of other, intervening elements (including one expressed by another long syllable). In tragic trimeter and heroic hexameter one can easily see which is the more regular position. Within some types of verse the S and the M are almost equally regular or varied. At one extreme are dramatic anapaestic tetrameters, in which there is extensive variation between two elements at both positions. But when the elements are perceived according to a pattern of alternation, one set will include some elements that are regularly long in all the responding lines; that group of elements represents the S positions. At the other extreme, within a series of pure, lyric dactyls one could call either position the regular one; but the one in which there is a *longum* is the S, and the one where there is a double-*breve* is the M, because if we varied the element at the M we would still have recognizably alternating verse (though of a different type), but if we replaced the *longa* we would not.

Thus we can readily distinguish different types of verse in alternating rhythm by the extent to which the element in the S position is varied, if at all, and by the way in which the M is expressed. Because, ultimately, it is the persistence of an *elementum longum* formed by a long syllable that marks the S, we cannot identify alternation without that syllable, or, as an occasional variant, its prosodic equivalent, two short syllables. Two warnings are in order. First, this description assumes two and only two prosodically significant quantities, long and short; in particular, the long syllable expressing the *elementum anceps* is assumed not to differ from an unresolved *elementum longum*.[13] Second, because the analysis of continuous alternation is without regard for beginnings and ends, the distinction between iambic and trochaic or between tetrameter and hexameter is not relevant to the problem of alternation. (The first distinction

[13] The impossibility of a "middle quantity" is demonstrated by A. M. Devine and Laurence D. Stephens, "Anceps" *GRBS* 16 (1975) 197–215. This valuable article addresses the confusions in theories that base verse rhythm on the actual duration of syllables. I assume that the opposition of M and S as a normative rhythmical idea grows out of the opposition of long and short. See above, note 11, and the appendix. (It would be better to use the terms "heavy" and "light" for syllable quantity as recommended by Allen 55, 61, but I have kept the more familiar terminology; on the other hand, although it would have been possible to redefine "arsis" and "thesis" as names for the two normative positions, it would be unhelpful to describe the most abstract level with terms that originate in performance features: the raising of the foot, in Greece, or of the voice, in Rome.)

can be drawn simply by stating whether the verse begins in the M or the S position.)

Dactylic hexameters and iambic trimeters, the examples with which I began, make up, by mass, most surviving early Greek poetry: Homer, Hesiod, the Hymns, the fragments of the epic cycle, the early iambus (including choliambus), and, in the fifth century, the trimeters of drama. In these two types alternation is directly expressed in the prosody and continues without interruption from the end of one line to the beginning of the next. A third, smaller class of verses, the trochaic tetrameter catalectic, points up an important consideration (Archilochus 118):

εἰ γὰρ ὣς ἐμοὶ γένοιτο χεῖρα Νεοβούλης θιγεῖν

S M S M S M S M S M S M S M S
— ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ —

Successive verses would not express the alternating pattern between themselves, since an S follows an S directly across the line end.

This discontinuity illustrates an essential feature of the kind of theory I am adopting. It is neither necessary nor expected that a specific verse design which realizes an abstract scheme express every element or characteristic of the scheme, or represent the scheme in its every detail. But a theory which postulates the existence of an abstract scheme, and describes verse in terms of it, can be of use only if it can also categorize and describe those forms in which the scheme is only partly represented; in particular, it must be able to identify normal variations. The variation presented by catalectic trochaics (and iambics and anapests, so common in comedy) can readily be described by a general rule: the regularity of alternation in Greek meter is valid only within a period. Between periods (that is, at a "pause") a break in the alternation should not be construed as an abnormality of special interest.

The example of elegiac verse, quoted at the beginning, prompts us to broaden this principle. Alternation is broken not only at the period-end between the pentameter and a following hexameter, but between the halves of the pentameter:

S M S M S / S M S M S //
— ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — / — ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ —

The more general rule is that a pattern which associates an expected word-end, not only a pause, with a break in the alternation can be counted among the normal varieties of expression of alternating rhythm.

So alternating rhythm includes trochaic and elegiac verse, and anapaestic series whether or not they end in a catalectic dimeter. We can also add the epodic constructions of Archilochus (which completes his corpus). For by whatever name we call a segment such as:

Ἐρασμονίδη Χαρίλαε

M S M S M S M
× — ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ×

it is alternating.

In lyric verse, especially, analyses by cola, metra or sequences distract us from the commonness of alternation. I have already mentioned the line of the Sapphic stanza (there is also no break before or after the adonic). Alternation is continuous within the Alcaic stanza (Alcaeus 208):

ἀσυννέτημμι τῶν ἀνέμων στάσιν

M S M S M S M S M S
× — ⏑ — × — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ —

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται — M S M S M S M S M S
× — ◡ — × — ◡◡ — ◡ —

τὸ δ' ἔνθεν, ἄμμες δ' ὄν τὸ μέσσον — M S M S M S M S M
× — ◡ — × — ◡ — ×

νᾶϊ φορήμεθα σὺν μελαίνᾳ — S M S M S M S M
— ◡◡ — ◡◡ — ◡ — ×

(but not between stanzas).

Aeolic verse generally alternates, though the exceptions are not unimportant. At the start of the line the two indifferent syllables of the aeolic base may break the rhythm, though here—as Mass notes in his paragraph on alternation—the form — ×, which preserves it, is much preferred. But after the base the typical movements of glyconic, pherecratic, and hipponactean are alternating:

S M S M S
× × — ◡◡ — ◡ —

S M S M
× × — ◡◡ — —

S M S M S M
× × — ◡◡ — ◡ — —

(the two *longa* forming the "catalectic" or "pendant" ending of the second two will be discussed below). The most important exception is asclepiadic movement, now often called "choriambic" expansion of the aeolic rhythms. Unlike "dactylic" expansion, this involves a break in the alternation (Alcaeus 352):

Πώνωμεν, τὸ γὰρ ἄστρον περιτέλλεται — (S) S M S S M S M S
— — — ◡◡ — — ◡◡ — ◡ —

In Horace's imitations of these forms word-end is the rule between the contiguous S positions; but the practice of the Lesbian poets is less regular, and forms like the asclepiad constitute an exceptional class. A glance through a synopsis of Sappho's and Alcaeus' meters will show that these forms are not uncommon, though they are not nearly so common as verses with unbroken alternation, and that forms with any other kind of break are quite rare.[14] Ionics, for example, usually occur in Lesbian verse in the form of an anaclastic dimeter, the anacreontic (◡◡ — ◡ — ◡ — —), or together with it. When they are combined, the relation of such lines to the asclepiadic type is unclear. And the anacreontic itself is an alternating form. Ionics aside, in fact, the monodies of Anacreon belong among the types of alternating rhythm described so far.

[14] See E.-M. Voigt (Hamm), *Sappho et Alcaeus: Fragmenta* (Amsterdam 1963, 1971) 15–26 (with frequent word-ends marked and using conservative texts); Denys Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus: An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Lesbian Poetry* (Oxford 1959), 318–26 (with more analytical discussion and more regularized texts). Voigt shows that the major asclepiad (gl^{2c}) in both poets, its hipponactean congener in Sappho (× — ◡◡ — ◡◡ — ◡◡ — ◡ — —, no examples in Alcaeus), and the minor asclepiad (gl^{c}) in Alcaeus (barely exampled in Sappho) usually have word-end at the break (her "Conspectus" numbers Sa. C 3 h, k; Alc. A 4-7, C 3 c-d). In Sa. 102 LP,V word-ends allows ...— ◡ — — ◡◡ —... to be interpreted as MSM/M, i.e., — ◡ — × /◡◡ — as in Bacch. 6.1-2 = 9–10 Sn., where the same line also occurs; a preferable alternative to the analysis MSMM will be discussed below. The text of 132 LP,V is uncertain, but it may be an instance of the kind of break in iambo-trochaic discussed below.

Among choral lyrics one large class can easily be deal with. The dactylo-epitrite has an alternating movement (Pindar, *Ol.* 8.1; exdxe in Maas's notation):

Μᾶτερ ὦ χρυσοστεφάνων ἀέθλων, Οὐλυμπία — S M S M S M S M S M S M S — ⏑ — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ —

Within a stanza most interruptions in the alternation fall between lines, in accordance with the general principle that they be accompanied by obligatory word-end. Taking the Olympian and Pythian dactylo-epitritic odes as a sample, there are sixteen instances of M S S M within the lines (using Snell's edition) against 81 between lines (even without including the instances between the last line of a stanza and the first of the one which follows it, when the latter may be an antistrophe or an epode). It is worth noting in this regard that where period-end is definitively established (by hiatus or *brevis-in-longo*), the instance of rhythmic break between periods is much higher in the epodes of this sample (following 83% of the non-final periods) than it is in the strophes (following 52%). Intralinear breaks in rhythm will be discussed below. But we can add to the list the odes of Pindar and Bacchylides in this meter.

Despite some patent exceptions, the poetry of Alcman that we have is overwhelmingly alternating. I refer to not just the lyric dactyls and iambs. Alc. 1 P and 3 P do not break alternation even over line end.[15] An analysis such as Snell's ".../ 2 tro ^gl ia / ..." for str. 4-5 of 3 P should not obscure the unbroken alternation in and between these lines:

ὠρανῶ διαιπετής — S M S M S M S — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —

ἢ χρύσιον ἔρνος ἢ ἀπαλὸ[ν ψίλ]ον — M S M S M S M S M S — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —

Stesichorus' practice, for the most part, is similarly consistent and enters into our account without need for detailed comment.[16] The same is true for Ibycus, though the asclepiadic movement of the last line of the epode of Ibyc. 1/282a P is notable.

III

There are a variety of ways to accomplish the task of describing individual lines of Greek poetry in terms of a verse design that can be seen as a realization of a general pattern. Maas, for example, assigns the work of generalization to

[15] Note how in 16 P what appears to be a change from iambic to trochaic movement between lines 3 and 4 (MS/SM) is obscured by a tribrach as well as marked by word-end.

[16] For a survey, see Michael W. Haslam, "Stesichorean Metre," *QUCC* 17 (1974) 7–57, supplemented by "The Versification of the New Stesichorus (*P.Lille* 76abc)," *GRBS* 19 (1978) 29–57. The stanza of the Geryoneis (8/185 P = S17) shows further examples of the type that involves apparent successive M positions, as does one line-end in the epode of the Lille poem. In Haslam's discussion, alternation appears to be a fundamental feature of these verse forms. He remarks on the occurrences of "break[s] in metrical sequence" which occur at period junctures (e.g., "...Metre" 17, 26), and derives the dactylo-epitrite from "the two types of *stabilised* Greek rhythm, long/double-short alternation (dactylo-anapaestic) and long/single-short alternation (iambo-trochaic)" ("Versification..." 56, my emphasis).

the six elements and the basic sequences. But neither the traditional vocabulary of scansion nor Maas's elements (which do not imply units of length) are particularly well adapted to referring both to ever more general abstract schemes and to the verse instance; and totally to rely on them here would be additionally confusing, because they reuse for a different purpose the terminology and (especially) symbols that describe the longs and shorts of prosody. A method of notation developed by H. N. Porter works more efficiently, and I will employ it here in order to examine more closely the types of alternating verse and the contexts in which breaks in alternation occur.

Porter simply assumes, without notation, the recurrent *elementa longa* in the S position; he identifies only the elements of the M position. These are written down in order of occurrence. There are only four possibilities. If the M position is represented by a single short syllable, it is designated B (cf. *breve*); if by two short syllables, it is designated D (cf. double-*breve*). If it can be represented by either a long or short syllable, it is marked C (cf. *anceps*, common); and if it is not present at all, the position is marked A (i.e., absent). The advantage of this system is that it allows us to describe the prosody in terms of a normative rhythmic pattern at the most elementary level: it shows how the members of the audience can assimilate what they *hear* (the longs and shorts of scansion) to the patterns that their knowledge of verse-form (as a part of their linguistic culture) leads them to *expect*.[17]

Since the B and D elements, alone or in combination, can create a perceptible alternation, they claim a certain priority. Use of B by itself produces an alternation between elements which have one syllable (...BBB ... = ...— ⏑—⏑—⏑—...); of D alone, between elements which each have two *morae* (...DDD... = ...— ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ —...). It will be useful to refer to these two types as *isosyllabic* and *isochronic* alternation, as long as we keep in mind that the terms refer to the relation between the elements of alternation, not between the units in a verse. The long syllable which often appears as the expression of an element in the M position, on the other hand, is dependent on the pattern that the B and D elements establish. Without them, it would eventually defeat the expectation of alternation. Its use can be called a kind of normal variation. When a long syllable appears in situations where responsion definitely indicates a pattern that allows two short syllables, I assume that it is an apparent *longum* created by the prosodic phenomenon of contraction and retain the D designation. When it appears in responsion with a single-short, I designate it C. I also use C whenever the nature of a prosodically long syllable expressing the element in

[17] Cf. McAuley: "Once the metrical pattern is clear, it goes on in our mind as a pattern of expectation, able to resolve ambiguous syllables in its favour, and at times able to overcome the slight reluctance of an occasional phrase to take the required shape—so long as the reluctance is not too great" (above, note 11, 13). Allen (110) introduces the term "tension" to describe the relation of actual structures to an ideal one (which may rarely or never be actually composed).

Porter's system has previously been published—although explained in terms quite different from the ones used here—by Julia Loomis, *Studies in Catullan Verse: An Analysis of Word Types and Patterns in the Polymetra.* Mnemosyne Supp. 24 (Leiden 1972), 2–4 (Loomis retains "arsis" and "thesis"; see above, note 13). To distinguish verses or other units, on the basis of whether they begin or end with the M or S position, we can take from Porter's system the terms rising (M...S), falling (S...M), open (M...M), and closed (S...S). Porter's description of the elements of rhythm complements his study of normative frames in "The Early Greek Hexameter," *YCS* 12 (1951) 3–63.

the M position is obscure; for example, immediately before a pause, or when there is no evidence from external responsion to tell us whether the apparent *longum* is a contraction or an *anceps*. This last group includes those cases in which there is no instance of a true short syllable among the responsions (if any), but in which the verse design also appears to exclude a double-short.[18]

In this notation iambo-trochiac rhythm is the series ...BCBCBC..., dactylo-anapaestic is ...DDDD.... The rhythm of the first line of the Sapphic stanza is BCDBC, of the Alcaic CBCDB. Some generalizations about early Greek verse now emerge quite readily. The series BCD appears within many aeolic forms, but what is especially distinctive in aeolic and sets it apart from other types is its use of the sequence DB = ...— ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — .... The sequence BD, on the other hand, is uncommon in all archaic verse.[19] C is frequently found before, after, or between two (especially) or more D's; dactylo-epitrite shows, for example, DDCBCBCDD and DDCDD. But contraction and the C element are not, as a general rule, to be found in the same context; the exceptions

[18] Maas's *biceps* is not a true parallel to *anceps* because contraction appears to be not a metrical element (that is, an interpretation of prosodic material for metrical purposes), but a feature of the language itself—whether a phenomenon of the phonological determinants of prosodic features (perhaps a consequence of length as a redundant feature of syllable quantity?) or a generalization of vowel contraction in the evolution of poetic language (see Allen 255–59). It is thus not a feature of the verse system, even though the verse system regulates its appearance.

A certain arbitrariness seems inevitable in the use of C. For example, in Page's edition of Ibycus 6/287 the initial position of line 4 has a short syllable = B:

3	κηλήμασι παντοδαποῖς ἐς ἄπει-	D? D D D — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ —
	ρα δίκτυα Κύπριδος ἐσβάλλει·	B? D D D? ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — — —
5	ἦ μαν τρομέω νιν ἐπερχόμενον	D? D D D — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ —

All other M positions in the poem have either a double-short or a long; the design appears to be a consistent D rhythm. But we could obtain some partial responsion of line 4 with other lines by calling this element and the initial ones of lines 3 and 5, where there are long syllables in the M position, C; this changes the verse design. (But see below, on C and contraction. I prefer West's analysis: he includes this word-final syllable at the end of line 3, making it *brevis-in-longo*; p. 53.) "Pendant" endings will be discussed below.

[19] Uncertainties of responsion, of course, often make it unclear whether one is looking at BD or CD; see the example in the previous note, and Ibycus 36/317a.2 P where I suspect, but can hardly prove, BCD. When the aeolic base is accommodated to continuous alternation, consistent use of ⏑ — could produce the impression of BD, but in practice it is not to be distinguished from CD (if it is to be brought into the system at all; see below, page 76). BD seems certain in Ibycus 1/282.8 P (and 3 responding lines); yet here it looks like an aeolic basis that prepares the change of rhythmical context before the asclepiadic ending. Stesichorus S148 i.6 and 7 (supplements) and ii.8 also show BD. Haslam discusses the problem this presents in light of Stesichorus's practice generally (above, note 16, 35–39; these represent strophe 1 and 3 in his reconstruction of the metrical scheme of the *Eriphyle*).

tend to be at the beginning or end of well-established frames (e.g.,the dactylic hexameter, where the final element is understood as C because D is excluded).[20]

IV

I discussed earlier the verse types in which there is a break in rhythmic continuity, and described these breaks as a form of normal variation in their commonest position: between periods and at other points at which word-end is expected. Within the line, as in Alcaeus 352 (quoted above, p.70), they are more unusual. This variant structure can be analyzed as the absence of an expression of the M position in the verse design. In Porter's notation, then, Alcaeus' asclepiad would be described as (C)DADB.

Lines in which an element is missing can present some ambiguity in their analysis.The sequences ⏑ — — and ⏑⏑ — — as they occur, for example, in dactylo-epitrites: ...— — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ... and ...— ⏑⏑ — — ⏑ — ... (in Maas's notation: x e e or d^1e), or at the end of the catalectic iambic trimeter (or ithyphallic, ...⏑ — ⏑ — —) and of the pherecratic (...— ⏑⏑ — —), can be interpreted as M S S or M S M, that is, as either B A and D A or as B C and D C. They are not infrequent in later choral lyric. Within the line, however, if we allowed the possibility that ⏑ — — could be heard as ⏑ — x, then we would have to accept ⏑ — x⏑. But this sequence violates the rule, unprovable but induced from wide observation, that forbids *anceps* next to other elements in the M position.[21] So the analysis B A (or D A) is preferable, but the ambiguity here is quite real. In the dactylo-epitrite, especially, the audience will expect the *anceps* which occurs normally after M = B or M = D in this rhythm; they only can "correct" their first hearing as the pattern proceeds. If the sequence of two long syllables is clausular (as it so often is: "pendant close") and the next period starts with the M, the ambiguity can be assimilated to the discontinuity of rhythm that is associated with line-end; the exact nature of it need not be decided. If the next period begins with the S, then the final long syllable will certainly be assimilated as a C element in the M position in continuous alternation, although the transition between periods will remain a moment of decreased rhythmical definition. For analytical purposes, in fact, there is no need ever to assume successive M positions, even over stanza-end (as in the case of the Alcaic stanza), since a terminal syllable can always be taken as long and as an expression of the S position. Therefore, the analysis M S S M (i.e., B A B or D A B) will always be preferred to M S M M (even though that may seem to over-define some period endings or some rhythmically obscure sequences). The principle that associates expected word-ends with interruptions in the rhythm will be considered applicable both when the two coincide and

[20] Contraction and the C element appear to occur in very nearly the same context in the scheme for the strophe of Stesichorus's *Iliou Persis* (more so in Haslam's version [above, note 16, 24], than in the one Page prefixes to S88–132, but note especially str. 3). This feature and the occurrence of B D (see previous note) together suggest to me that within dactylo-anapaestic sequences Stesichorus used bits of isochronic alternation more as a kind of punctuation or dividing element than as a balancing element in the manner of dactylo-epitrites. (Haslam's presentation implies an evolutionary development from dactylo-anapaest to dactylo-epitrite for which there is no evidence other than his arrangement of the poems.) It may also be the case that Stesichorus experimented with allowing the least possible rhythmic definition at points where variation is allowed; cf. West 48–49 on the occurrence of "resolvable *anceps*."

[21] See Maas 29–30.

when, by being placed a syllable apart, they produce a momentary confusion between the A and C elements as the form of the rhythmic variation at the juncture.

The absence of an element for the M position within the period is a regular, but not frequent, feature of Pindar's dactylo-epitritic stanzas. It tends to occur toward the end of a stanza. In some cases, word-end occurs at this point.[22] But before mature archaic lyric the internal A element is uncommon. The DAD sequence—what I am calling the asclepiadic type—in aeolic verse is the only context which makes regular use of it. Throughout the archaic period and later, no contexts associate it regularly with dactylo-anapaestic rhythms. It can certainly be identified in contexts where there are monosyllabic elements expressing the M. The end of the stanza in the dactylo-epitrite is a context in which iambo-trochaic rhythms are expected. The "pendant" close ...— — appears frequently as the "catalectic" variation of ...— ⏑ —. But these manifestations of it occur irregularly. A completely regular omission of the element in the M position in a context of isosyllabic alternation—a substitution, as it were, of A for C—produces the rhythm of the "cretic." Hephaestion cites this as the rhythm of a line, but not a stanza, by Alcman (p. 42 C); for a stanza he cites Bacchylides (v. fr. 15 and 16 Sn., both hyporchemes to which Snell attributes "den Charakter von leichten Tanzweisen"[23]). So far as our evidence goes, this movement elsewhere plays an important role only in comic lyric and usually with the further variation of resolution (producing the "paeon"). Given the restricted use of the A element in isosyllabic alternation, and its tendency to distinctive contexts, I would retain the designation "syncopated" for all the passages in which it occurs in archaic verse.[24] If we need a name for syncopated isosyllabic rhythm, "bacchiac" addresses its distinguishing feature better than "cretic." The

[22] Bruno Snell lists the places where the "*anceps interpositum*" is missing, *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis*, vol. II[3] 165–67. His lists omit the points at which word-end also occcurs, except in the case of the most common type, "e–d[1]e." In all but four instances of this there is a word-end after d[1] (the single double-*breve* is itself anomalous in this rhythm.) In a few cases of the other types (e.g., *P.* 3 str. 6, *P.* 1 str. 2, *I.* 3/4 ep. 7) word-end is preferred but not obligatory. Furthermore, there are a certain number of lines in which there is a virtual bridge at this point, but a caesura one syllable later, viz., (⏑)⏑ — —/⏑ — (or ...:⏑ —); for example, in *I.* 2 str. 2, *P.* 1 str. 4, *I.* 1 ep. 4. I am counting actual word-ends, not word-group ends (cf. Maas 84ff.; West 25–26); no definition of the latter is sufficiently free of exceptions and inconsistencies to be useful.

[23] *Griechische Metrik* 29. The characterization is either subjective or circular.

[24] Syncopation need not imply prolongation in performance, though West 22, etc. and Dale, *LMGD* 3, etc. assume that it did. The cretic and paeonic—sometimes classed as "irrational feet" or "meters in five-time" (Dale, *LMGD* 97, cf. 16)—are notoriously hard to separate from syncopated iambo-trochaic, and for archaic verse I see no reason why they should be so separated. Their appearances in drama are discussed by Dale, *LMGD* 97–103. In her examples, note the frequency of caesurae in Aesch. *Supp.* 418–22 = 423–27 (persistent use of such regular syncopation obviously produces an effect quite different from the irregular use of it). I will risk a suggestion of a very different sort: that in some of these comic passages we are being treated to a rhythmic *tour de force* in which three shorts function as the element in the M position. Note that Aris. *Lys.* 781ff., cited by Dale, 98, for showing syncopated cretics in "a cretic-paeonic passage adulterated with trochaics," could be read as alternating without a break up to its last word, if this peculiar effect is accepted. Cf. Pindar *P.* 1 ep. 3 for a possible, isolated instance of this variation.

great monument to irregular bacchiac movement, with resolution, in later choral lyric, is the second Olympian Ode. Bacch. 17 Sn. is similar.[25]

Another context in which the sequence ⏑ — — appears in early archaic lyric is the start of aeolic verse. As aeolic base, ⏑ — is rarer than — ⏑; but it does yield, e.g., ⏑ — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ —. The aeolic base can be described as a moment of rhythmic uncertainty at the start of the line in which a perceptible bacchiac movement is occasionally substituted for syllables that can be perceived as alternation with a C element. Such a description accords with the frequent use of isosyllabic alternation before the distinctive D element of aeolic (as in Sapphics and Alcaics).[26]

In the scolia written to the metrical pattern of the "Harmodios" stanza (PMG 884-890, 893-896, 907) we find the sequence DBAD in both the third and fourth line; e.g., 886.3-4:

ἐλαφηβόλον τ' ἀγροτέραν D B A D
⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑⏑ —

Ἄρτεμιν, ἃ γυναικῶν μέγ' ἔχει κράτος D B A D B
— ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ —

In seven of the eleven different third lines there is some kind of word-end at the rhythmical break; in the fourth line, in contrast, word-end is never found. This is a more developed use of syncopated movement as part of the aeolic rhythm, and looks ahead to early fifth-century lyric.

The ionic is the most peculiar of the early forms. Pure ionics are recorded for Alcman (46 P) and Alcaeus (see Heph. p. 37 C). The ionic has achieved greatest fame in the verse of Anacreon, in conjunction with its presumed anaclastic form, the regularly alternating anacreontic (above, p. 70). Ionics (⏑⏑ — — ⏑⏑ — —) appear to be an alternation of D and A as the M element (i.e., every other M element is omitted). This would be a phenomenon parallel to that of bacchiac syncopation. But the regular association of ionics with isosyllabic alternations of M and S, and the peculiar cultic or foreign ethos that clings to so much of their use in the later tradition, suggest a wholly different explanation: that the alternating elements of ionic are — — and ⏑⏑, a peculiarity which accounts for the strange sound, and for their easy association with normal alternation.

The anacreontic has the apparent movement of aeolic (⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — = DBBA).[27] And the tendency for poems in aeolic rhythms to be written in lines with a fixed number of syllables, which restricts the variation between monosyllabic and disyllabic expression of the same element, establishes a fixed frame that accommodates sequences in ionic rhythm.[28] Indeed, the distinction between

[25] To look, for a moment, beyond this survey, bacchiac movement appears to have produced in tragedy the distinctive dochmiac, a colon frequently found in iambo-trochaic contexts.

[26] Very rarely, two shorts in the base create an altogether different effect for one line.

[27] A corollary of West's rules of contrast leads him to state that "the fourth position in ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — should be *anceps*" (59)—something which does happen in tragedy (124). This illustrates the inadequacy of treating the rhythmical phenomena as the by-product of a restriction on metron or colon formation: it overly restricts rhythmical typology and history.

[28] I suggest that this capacity of aeolic verse to keep place in the line at any moment by syllable-counting instead of alternation is what allows the rare re-

ionic movement and asclepiadic in Sappho may be too fine to draw. Anacreon certainly goes furthest in experimenting with what can be variously called combinations and substitutions of iambic and choriambic, or "choriambic expansion" of glyconic, or ionic anaclasis.[29] It is probably best to reserve the label "ionic" for unambiguous contexts. Where aeolics predominate, a larger role can be ascribed to asclepiadic rhythm.[30]

V

In the fragments of Simonides, with which I shall conclude this survey, we pass to the choral lyric of the late archaic and early classical periods. Most of his surviving poetry is in forms already discussed. We also find rhythmical variations in which alternation is not interrupted—fragments which have much of the appearance of dactylo-epitrite, but contain clearly aeolic sequences. For example, 26/531.5 P can be taken as B D B C B, but the only breaks in alternation in this fragment are at the end of lines 2 and 6.[31] 59/564 P is similar. In 76/581 P the only break occurs in line 2, between words (and separate phrases).[32] In three of the fragments, however, we can see new rhythmical variations incorporating breaks in alternation; these show the way to some of the apparent rhythmic irregularity of later choral lyric. In 74/579.4 P what could be a familiar aeolic line (hipponactean) is made into something else by a syllable that breaks the rhythm before the D element: — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —. The initial

sponsion of "choriambic dimeter" with a glyconic in Sappho. This responsion is grouped by Maas with other examples of anaclasis (25–27).

[29] The description of these verses in terms of metrical units is especially thorny. The opening sequence of Anacreon 41/386 P (72 D), 42/387 P (71 D) is analyzed as an iambic dimeter with an initial choriamb by Snell (33 n. 1), as an anaclastic glyconic by West (57). Note that the sequence of elements in the M positions is the same in an anaclastic glyconic and in an anaclastic ionic. For Anac. 1/346 P, Page's note offers an analysis into choriambs and iambics; West 58, sees a sequence of anaclastic glyconics and an aristophaneum with choriambic expansion that, because of dovetailing (single-syllable overlap of colon end), "has all the appearance of ionic." Anac. 43/388 P (54 D) is listed by Maas among the types of anaclasis (25; his analysis suggests less regular responsion than the text actually shows); Snell sees there his primary example of the responsion of choriamb and iamb (25); West takes it that the poet is using interchangeably two "iambo-choriambic verses" derived from the anaclastic glyconic: one with double choriambic expansion, one with a single extra choriamb and an iambic metron (57–58). I would suggest the same process is at work in these poems as in those in which Sappho equates a glyconic with a choriambic dimeter.

[30] When West says, "In [11/]356 [P] Anacreon uses a straight ionic as the penultimate line of a six-line anaclastic strophe-period, to *give it definition*," (59, my emphasis; 50/395 P has the same pattern with less textual uncertainty) he is supposing one possible structural principle—one for which there are no antecedents. Another principle of composition, for which there are parallels, prescribes the use of the typical syncopated form of a rhythm towards the end of a stanza. Perhaps the "straight ionic" can be taken as a variant of the "straight" anacreontics.

[31] There is also a break after line 7 if we retain ὁ in 8. Line 8 is alternating with or without καί.

[32] In line 3 synizesis in χρυσέας eliminates another break, which would also fall between phrases. The instances in 62/567.4 P are easily removed by Wilamowitz's reading; otherwise they exemplify asclepiadic movement. In 50/555 P the textual uncertainties are too great.

"cretic" is not isolated by word-end; in the next line we confront even more clearly an uneven transition from monosyllabic M elements to an aeolic type of sequence: 5 ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — —. The fragment seems to be alternating, except for these points and the end of "lines" 1, 3, 4. This has some resemblance to the BAD infrequent in aeolic bases, or to the DBAD in the "Harmodios" stanza. It can also be seen as syncopation of the isosyllabic alternation that precedes the D element in some Lesbian verse (such as the Sapphic hendecasyllable)—a variation analogous to syncopation in the two-fold movement of dactylo-epitrite (i.e., omission of "link" *anceps*).[33]

In Sim. 37/542 P we see the missing M element as a regular feature. Responsion of stanzas establishes eight "lines," of which the second and third are long enough to be printed (and numbered) as two; it also establishes the meter reasonably well. The first line begins with two successive D's, the only instance of paired D elements in the stanza. The following sequence, — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑⏑ —, allows more than one interpretation. Line-end is possible before the double-short (so printed) or after the following long. Thus, for example, the first line could be:

D D C B (A) D D D B B A D

— ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — / ⏑⏑ — ··· or — ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑⏑ — /

The first is quite unexceptional as a rhythmic sequence, but it is unlike anything else in the stanza; the second is more like what follows in that it recalls aeolic rhythm. There is an undeniable rhythmic ambiguity here which is resolved as Simonides continues, more clearly, using single D elements juxtaposed with B's, and B elements with C or A. The rest of the stanza is, unambiguously: CBDBABDBCB/[4]DBABDBABDB//[6]DBABD/[7]CBABD //[8]BABC/[9]BDC/[10]BB(C)///. The most remarkable feature is the frequent use of broken rhythm in the recurrent series ...BDBABD... (with word-end preferred at the break). The series of elements may overrun line-end (3/4, 5/6 and 7/8—at 5/6 the series can be seen as either restarting or overlapping). The occasional C element interposed before a B both allows some longer stretches of alternation and creates a clausular cadence in the last three lines. Note that there is no instance of DA or (unless in line 1) AD. The sequence BDB can be taken as a glyconic (— ⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ —), but the poem is not composed of glyconics; it uses, within and between lines and periods, element sequences familiar in the traditions of aeolic and of syncopated isosyllabic alternating rhythm. (The two types are more clearly distinguished in the closing lines, which correspond to a pherecratic and an ithyphallic.)[34]

Dionysius of Halicarnassus preserved Simonides 38/543 P, the Danae fragment, as a sample of metrical obscurity. It represents, for the study of metrics, the worst-case example. His text presents no definite line-ends, although hiatus does define occasional pauses (one period consists of only five syllables). Yet it is possible to see in the rhythm of this fragment some regularities of construction. I will present an analysis of it as a final illustration of the theory and

[33] There may be something of the same sort in the first line of Lasus 1/702 P, but the text is not certain.

[34] Maas says of these stanzas that "Their internal structure reveals *all* the licenses permitted in later lyric poetry" (50, my emphasis). He is not more specific, but I suspect he was led to this remark by assuming that the poem's metrical structure must be found in cola within the periods, and so not noticing the fairly simple rhythmic patterns.

procedures offered in this paper, and of the kind of discussion they encourage, even though the uncertainties of both structure and text make it fruitless to argue any individual point of the analysis in much detail. In what follows I will take advantage of whichever readings, among those Page offers, create the fewest difficulties.[35]

The fragment involves ...DDB sequences such as one finds in Ibycus[36] but blends them with longer segments of isochronic alternation that include apparent contractions—that is, long syllables in M positions that are not distinctively initial or clausular. In the absence of clarifying responsion, I will label all such syllables here as occurrences of the C element, although I understand them to be part of the isochronic series. There are also shorter segments that are more distinctively aeolic: ...(C)DB... In addition, there are sequences of alternation with only single-short. The absence of ...CB... is very notable; this makes the sequences of single-short alternation quite unlike the "iambo-trochaic" that is so readily expected. It preserves the clarity that comes of not mixing contraction and *anceps* in the same rhythm (...BCD... does occur two or three times).[37] The ...BD... of later aeolic is found once at what is probably a major transition, and otherwise only at textually uncertain points. Syncopation, the omission of an expression of the M position, occurs in the segment DAD, which is mostly used in phrases that denote the infant's sleep, and after B, often with word-end (hiatus in 24/25, 6/7), where it seems to be part of the closing off of one type of rhythmic segment.

I will assume that lines 21-25 + 2 (= 26) begin the strophic system. I take the ultima of line 21 to be *brevis-in-longo* at pause. Hiatus guarantees pause, and so *brevis-in-longo*, at the ends of lines 24 and 6.

Line 21 opens with DAD; line 22 is an extended isosyllabic series ending with syncopation (cf. 17, below). The absent element between the lines is the only certain instance of DAB; such an anomaly is not very interesting given the sharp distinction in rhythm, the syntactic separation, and the probable pause:

21 D A D A //22 B B B B B A B 23(D ...
⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑

κέλομαι δ', εὖδε βρέφος
εὐδέτω δὲ πόντος, εὐδέτω δ' ἄμετρον κακόν·

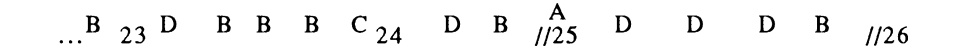
Line 23 begins a new isosyllabic series with a D element, if we accept μετα- (the manuscripts and the unlikeliness of BD leave it doubtful). It varies the series and anticipates the clearly aeolic segment (with the god's name) that

[35] Page discusses the text more fully in *JHS* 71 (1951) 133ff. (see also Davison, *CQ* 29 (1935) 85ff.). His text and, especially, lineation differ there from the version in *PMG*; my line numbers refer to the latter for convenience of reference.

[36] See West 51–52 on Ibycus's "asymmetrical cola." Whether or not one goes along with West's reluctance to treat aeolic as a metrical style unrelated to geography, I think the kindredness of all such sequences can be assumed in Simonides. Dale, *LMGD* 217, lists such sequences under "prosodiac," a type which she discusses in a chapter on aeolic cola (157ff.).

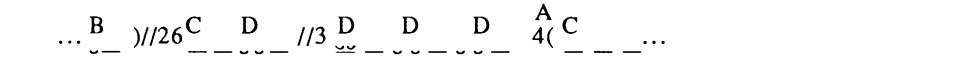
[37] Put the other way, the absence of clear *anceps* in the segments of single-short alternation makes it more likely that the C elements which appear surrounded by D elements are assimilated as contractions; this makes the supposed responsion of ⏑⏑ and — in lines 3 and 27 less surprising.

follows in 24; here C is transitional. After a break (BAD), line 25 (= 1) exhibits the aeolic isochronic rhythm:



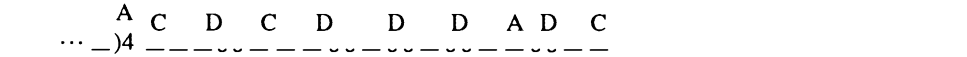
μεταβουλία δέ τις φανείη,
Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἐκ σέο
ὅττι δε θαρσαλέον ἔπος εὔχομαι = — ◡◡ — ◡◡ — ὅτε λάρνακι

A transitional C element combines with the first D of an isochronic series that extends to line 3 to form the remarkably short period of line 2 (= 26):

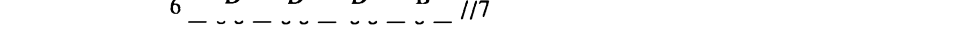


ἢ νόσφι δίκας, = ἐν δαιδαλέᾳ
σύγγνωθί μοι — ◡◡ — = ἄνεμός τε μέμηνε πνέων[38]

A rhythmically obscure sequence at the end of the series separates this from a very extended isochronic series in 4-6 (the text used for 4/5 does not follow *PMG*[39]). Line 5 contains the only instance of DAD that does not refer to the infant. The ending in 6 is like that of line 25

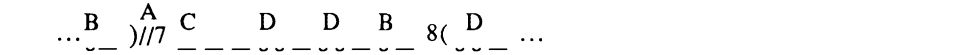


κινηθεῖσα δὲ λίμνα, δεῖμά τ' ἔρειπέ μιν, οὐκ ἀδιάντοισι παρειαῖς



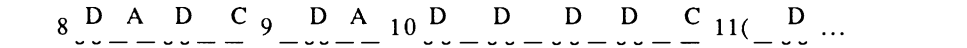
ἀμφί τε Περσέι βάλλε φίλαν χέρα

Line 7, begun like 4, is a virtual repetition of line 6. The unique BD in 7/8, the force of the exclamation, and the echo of line 21 in 8 all affirm the suggestion that a new stanza (the epode) begins after line 7.



εἶπεν τ'· Ὦ τέκος οἷον ἔχω πόνον·

Lines 8-10 provide two examples of the sleeping infant motif in an extended isochronic sequence:[40]



σὺ δ' ἀωτεῖς, γαλαθηνῷ δ' ἤθεϊ κνώσσεις ἐν ἀτερπέι δούρατι
χαλκεογόμφῳ

[38] Reading τέ μιν πνέων we get CDDBB for 26/27(=2/3), an unusual type of expansion for an aeolic phrase; but it gives a clearer A element between 3 and 4, and may have a parallel in 11/12.

[39] Above, note 35. The text Page prints in *PMG* would give CDCB for line 4; the CB is unusual but the line could be taken as a version of line 25 showing contraction. Line 5 then would be BBDADC; perhaps this unparalleled ...BD could be understood as BCD (cf. line 18).

[40] This assumes correption of the ultima of ἤθεϊ and, unlike the printed text, a disyllabic κνώσσεις.

Page's emendation of 11 gives a doubtful transition to a short isosyllabic phrase, CBBC; I give C. Pavese's reading,[41] which prolongs the rhythm of 8-10. In line 12 the sequence comes to a firm close on a clearly aeolic ending:

... D C)11 D C 12 D B B 13...

νυκτὶ δὲ λαμπεῖ κυανέῳ δνόφῳ ταθείς

The opening of line 13 offers a number of textual and prosodic possibilities. I offer one reading of Page's text[42] but a different distribution into lines (indicated by /) for 13 to the opening of 16. This interpretation makes line 12 not a close, but a transition (the single D followed by B elements would be like the reading accepted for 23). The isosyllabic series in 12–14 is succeeded by another long isochronic series, which begins in 14 and contains the sleeping infant motif (for the transition between the two series, BAD, cf. 24/25 and 6/7):

13 B B B B 14 B A /

ἄχναν ὕπερθε τεᾶν κομᾶν βαθεῖαν

D C 15 D D A D 16 C A /(D ...

παριόντος κύματος οὐκ ἀλέγεις οὐδ' ἀνέμου φθόγγον,

This isochronic series continues after a brief, rhythmically ambiguous sequence (cf. 6/7; CA and AC do not differ) with another instance of the DAD motif (Page's 16/17), and then closes with the aeolic cadence DB (cf. 25, 6). Line 17, and the sentence, appear to close ...DBAD—at least if we read the rhythm continuously through to line 18. Elsewhere BAD or BAC is found at period-ends or rhythmical transitions; 17-18 would thus have sequences like those in 24-26 but without much rhythmical clarity. If we posit period end at the end of 17 and brevis-in-longo, then the ending is BAB. That would prepare the final phrase, πρόσωπον καλόν, to be a pleasing contrast to the only other occurrence of BAB, ἄμετρον κακόν in line 22 (but create an atypical transition over the period-end: BAB again). Line 18 provides the sort of short aeolic sequence already seen in 23/24 but here quite clearly set off.

16 C A)/ D A 17 D D B A D

πορφυρέᾳ κείμενος ἐν χλανίδι πρόσωπον καλόν·

18 B C D B A 19(D ...

εἰ δέ τοι δεινὸν τό γε δεινὸν ἦν,

[41] "Simon. 38,11P.," *QUCC* 4 (1967) 134–35. His arguments, which are not directed to metrical problems, persuade me that this is a preferable interpretation.

[42] I am assuming correption of the penult in the improbable ἄχναν (the mss. give three syllables; two long syllables would yield another instance of CB) and synizesis in τεᾶν.

Line 19 contains the only instance of intralinear DAB.[43] The amount of syncopation throughout these few lines is remarkable (7 of the fragment's 18 instances are in lines 16-19) and line 19, perhaps the next to last of a stanza, is especially marked. The density of unusual features here suits the crescendo of the pathetic contrast between the infant's calm and his mother's and the sea's agitation (whatever may have been the use of the responding lines in other triads). Line 20 is an unmistakable aeolic segment, suitable for a cadence.

B A D A B A D B A
⏑ ⏑)19 _ ⏑ ⏑ _ ⏑ ⏑ _ 20 _ ⏑ ⏑ _ ⏑ ⏑ _

καί κεν ἐμῶν ῥημάτων λεπτὸν ὑπεῖχες οὖας.

The poems represented by Simonides 37/542 P and 38/543 P were very different in style, content, and construction. The former mostly uses a fairly simple, repeating, compound sequence of elements; the latter exhibits an apparently free variation between different types of uniform sequence. In each poem the patterns of elements realizing the *positiones mutabiliores* are a selection of the possibilities offered by a tradition of isochronic, isosyllabic, and mixed (aeolic) rhythms.

This tradition allowed, in the course of its development in the archaic period, an increased use of syncopation and a greater diversity in the combination of elements. It also incorporated free variation in the length of individual segments. While there appears to have been some correlation between rhythmic variation (especially syncopation) and regularly recurring word-end, it turns out that rhythmic patterning does not necessarily become a matter of indifference at the juncture of frames. For, one the one hand, there are patterns that continue over period-end, so that it is period-end which is a matter of indifference to the rhythm; and, on the other, there are stanzas in which a particular rhythmic pattern occurs only at the juncture of frames. The tradition thus came to include styles in which there is less predictability as to the rhythmic sequences and the clarity of their separation into different types or segments. On the other hand, it is possible to observe in these last two fragments an occasional use of fairly short segments of rhythmic patterns easily recognizable from the earliest periods of the tradition. Perhaps what we see here is the emergence of another, overlapping system of organization, discrete cola, which can provide a sense of metricality when the pattern of alternation becomes too variable to be apprehended easily—a system which could function even when the sequence of elements exceeds the limits of the most comprehensive norm. If that is the case, the identification of familiar cola in some later, complex choral lyric may be crucial only when the pattern of alternation cannot provide a rhythmical base (and the exact determination of their terminal points may be neither essential nor even relevant). Once such a system arose, the earliest verse must have seemed, by definition, to be exhibiting a metrical form based on familiar segments. Ultimately, there may have been a shift in perception such that the system of recognizable phrases came to be regarded as the primary one in poems in which both systems worked at once (or appeared to). And, finally, the perception of complicated and varied patterns of alternation may have died out. Looking back on such patterns

[43] The opening is textually uncertain but syncopation seems unavoidable here.

the Alexandrian editors and the readers of their texts may well have thought that they had no more internal structure than did a piece of prose.[44]

This analysis of archaic rhythms has not suggested or relied on any assumptions about the pre-history of Greek verse forms. But if there is any validity to my suggestion that "cola," which have been the primary object of analysis for the practitioners of the New Metric, are a late development, then they cannot be used as *prima facie* evidence for an historical development of the longer verse forms out of an inherited body of common Indo-European cola. One should beware of assuming the validity of an analysis by cola for the earliest verse on the basis of the pre-existence of the cola in the I-E tradition, while assuming the validity of the pre-historic reconstruction on the basis of the survival of the cola in the Greek tradition (all the while adducing less and less determinate forms as obvious cognates).[45] If the I-E tradition, however, is held to consist of a large body of verbal patterns and phrases,[46] then it is possible that the three basic types of rhythmic alternation arose as three different styles of regularization when changes in the language began to obscure an original metrical principle, whatever it was. In this light, isochronic and isosyllabic are much alike, each allowing a single type of variation within a consistent line, and aeolic is distinguished by the evolution of a peculiar cadence following a line of more indifferent structure but more rigid syllable count. This cadence than became a characterizing rhythmic feature independent of its original function.

We can no more prove how the original audience heard Greek verse than we can demonstrate how the original poets pronounced it. The methods of analysis that we use, and the styles of description that we adopt, rest on whatever assumptions we make about the way it was heard, and follow out the consequences in practice. The analysis that I have presented, based on alternation, on the one hand employs concepts that are now familiar in the larger framework of comparative metric, and, on the other, unifies and simplifies the presentation of early Greek poetry while allowing us to appreciate variety in the use of verse forms and their development in time. The descriptive power of this analysis suggests that rhythmical alternation, understood as an abstract pattern of comparatively fixed and free positions, should be assumed to be a primary feature of Greek metric.

[44] Cole (above, note 4) also argues that the system of composition by cola and metra is a late development. He finds the origin of these units in the commonest demarcations of epiploke (demarcations which were also exhibited in archaic poetry).

[45] For a summary of the history and current state of theory on the Indo-European origins of Greek verse forms see Angus M. Bowie, *The Poetic Dialect of Sappho and Alcaeus* (New York 1981) 16–27. I find it harder than Bowie does to accept some of the deduced common forms that he records from earlier scholarship (see the objections L. P. E. Parker raised in her notes on their original publication, *Lustrum* 15 [1970] 67), and I regret more than he does the absence of negative evidence. If equal ingenuity had been applied to non-I-E languages for as much time, would not they too have yielded up evidence of an enneasyllabic ur-verse?

[46] Cf. the thesis of Gregory Nagy, *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter*, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature 33 (Cambridge, Mass 1974).

Appendix: Alternating positions and linguistics

The procedures of contemporary linguistic science, as I understand them, derive a metrical system out of perceived phonetic features. The usual form of the abstract pattern as presented by linguists is, or implies, either a temporally regular recurrence of prominent events (usually a suprasegmental feature such as stress), or an alternation of *strong* and *weak* events (usually syllables).[47] See, for example, the articles by Halle and by Devine and Stephens referred to in note 11. Even when S. Chatman emphasizes the psychological factor of conception, he does not do so to the extent of positing other than phonetic qualities as categories.[48] The most rigorous application of the primary assumption that meter must be derived from phonology is Allen's, who emphasizes (p. 19) the "performative side" because his goal is the "characterization of the prosodic phonological systems in terms of their phonetic exponents."[49] He has concluded that the prosody of Greek must include a non-accentual stress. Devine and Stephens, who call Allen's book "the first work in the field of Greek metre that can truly be said to understand the requirements of scientific method and theory construction," attempt to explain the rules governing not only resolution but even the grammatically expressed regularities of bridge on the basis of phonology.[50] They have re-examined Allen's hypothesis of stress and concluded that the metrically relevant phonetic factor was not intensity but a manipulation of actual temporal duration in series of heavy (long) or of light (short) syllables.[51] In their conclusions the performance characteristics of style of delivery and tempo play a major role.

In contrast to such studies, I am not proposing an abstract or ideal form whose components have a phonological representation, let alone one directly related to motor phenomena in speech. I do not thereby deny that "metrical data can hardly be explained except in terms of some property of the Greek language."[52] But the conclusions reached by the application of a strict performative approach are not encouraging; we are asked to suppose too much at the level of performance merely because the theory construction requires it. The weakness of these conclusions suggests that the methodological axioms should be open to question; specifically, it seems that the exclusion of psychological factors has cost more than it gained.[53] So I have also kept in mind Suzanne Langer's

[47] See Allen 27–65, on the syllable and its qualities as the basic event, and 96–101 on the character of rhythm and its relation to motor factors.

[48] *A Theory of Meter*, Janua Linguarum, Series Minor, 36 (The Hague 1965) 18–29.

[49] It should be remembered that Allen's study of metrical systems in Greek is part of a larger study of prosodic phenomena generally.

[50] *Language and Meter: Resolution, Porson's Bridge, and their Prosodic Basis*, American Classical Studies, 12 (Chico, Ca. 1984); the quotation is from p. 26.

[51] "Stress in Greek?" *TAPA* 115 (1985) 125–52. It is not clear to me what they take to be the effect of such manipulation on the arrest of long and short vowels, and on the theory of the syllabic pulse as a ballistic rather than controlled movement (see Allen 63–72).

[52] Devine and Stephens (above, note 51) 130.

[53] On this exclusion, see Allen 19 n. 1 and 101 n. 3 (cf. his remarks on the relation of the disciplines of classical metrics and linguistics, 16). Although I take my own procedure to be one application of Jakobson's famous dictum, that linguistics without meaning is meaningless, I have addressed this essay to

comment that "the essence of rhythm is the preparation of a new event by the ending of a previous one."[54] In positing normative concepts—the two positions in opposition—as the constituents of rhythm (instead of the two syllable weights directly), I am asserting that a mental process akin to those involved in syntax or semantics precedes and guides comprehension and composition. As a consequence, the theory I offer has two advantages. First, it offers a means of unifying the rhythms of Greek verse that avoids imposing prominence or duration as the quintessential rhythmic experience, and therefore better accommodates the co-existence of distinctive classes of rhythm which can be performed in a variety of styles or contexts. Second, it provides a means of explaining rhythmic variation that also accounts for the diachronic increase in variety as a function of the accumulating experience of poets and audiences in their linguistic culture (and for the disappearance of variety as a consequence of cultural discontinuity).[55]

Classicists, and not attempted to formulate everything possible in linguistic terms (it would be possible to describe the A and C elements, for example, in terms of neutralization, opposing them as a class to the B and D elements, which are themselves contrasted realizations of alternation).

[54] *Feeling and Form* (New York 1953) 126.

[55] I would like to thank Professors Seth Schein and Jacob Stern for reading an earlier draft of this essay and giving me the benefit of their advice and comments. This research was supported (in part) by grants from the City University of New York PSC-CUNY Research Award Program.