

The Bankes Homer: A Window into Homeric Song

by

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Abstract

This thesis presents my analysis of the Bankes Homer papyrus with the intent to gain insights into aspects of Homeric performance. Over the past century, scholars have largely reconstructed the performance tradition of the Homeric epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, their social context, meter and composition, and dissemination, yet the *sound* of Homeric song remains shrouded in mystery. What little we know has come largely from the study of the songs depicted in the poems themselves, from the descriptions of Homeric performances in other ancient authors, and through comparison with living traditions of oral composition. Another rare and underappreciated source of information, however, are the surviving, material texts of the Homeric poems themselves which scholars have hypothesized could provide us possibly with a more direct understanding of some elements of the performance practices of the Homeric epic performance traditions. An example of this sort of text, one that may contain clues to the history of Homeric epic performance, is the “Bankes Homer” (= P. Lond. Lit. 28). This papyrus, dating from the 2nd century CE, is among the best preserved and longest Homeric papyri, preserving approximately 677 verses from Book 24 of the *Iliad* (lines 127-804). One of its unique features, besides its length, is the markings that are present above nearly every line of text. These contain diacritical markings (accents, breathings, and diaereses), markings of quantity, punctuation, and various scholia, which serve to organize the text. The research presented in this thesis, based on the systematic

examination of these markings, argues that they reflect features of the performance of Book 24 of the *Iliad*. Through a process called melodization, I use the ancient markings in the Bankes Homer papyrus to attempt a reconstruction of the melody of the lines that could have been sung by the performer/singer of the epic. In particular, I focused on the laments for Hector in lines 719-745 and considered how the content of the lines could affect how the melody sounds. Throughout my whole analysis, I have found that the Bankes Homer papyrus appears to be a unique document that opens for us a remarkable window into Homeric song.

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Introduction

In his celebrated book, *The Singer of Tales*, Alfred Lord remarks: “the Homeric poems have probably been analyzed more often and more variously than any other poems in world literature”.¹ Different aspects of the Homeric epics have attracted the attention of scholars for thousands of years and over the past hundred years the study of the “performance” of the Homeric epics has been gaining popularity. Scholars have taken several different approaches to the study of how the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* might have been performed including: the comparative ethnomusicological analyses pioneered by Parry and Lord (a comparison of the structure of the Homeric epics with a contemporary Southern Slavic oral epic performance tradition);² the analysis of the texts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* themselves—which are full of depictions of performers and their pieces—in order to understand how these epics were performed (sung or recited, with or without musical accompaniment) and on which occasions (social circumstances);³ the analysis of the commentaries of ancient authors on these performance traditions;⁴ and the study of archaeological artifacts.⁵ Though much progress has been made in our understanding of the ancient performance traditions of these epics, scholars still struggle to understand and reconstruct an idea of how these poems were created, performed, and how they might sound.

In this quest to uncover some of the enigma of the Homeric performance tradition, some less appreciated sources of information are surviving material texts (papyri and ancient manuscripts) that contain markings and marginalia by an ancient scribe or editor (διορθωτής, “corrector”). Papyrology and the resources that are now available online give us new ways to

¹ Lord, 1981, p. 145.

² Parry, 1971 and Lord, 1981

³ West, 1992

⁴ Nagy, 1996

⁵ Hagel, 2016

approach the question of Homeric performance, which can supplement what has previously been done. In the past few decades, scholars have done extensive studies of different papyri in order to determine what information specifically can be inferred about the performance of ancient Greek poetry. Nagy, for instance, performed an in depth analysis of the Bacchylides papyri (as published by Kenyon in 1897) in which he argued that the markings and formatting of the papyri (including the colometry and selective marking of the text) can provide invaluable information about the tradition of reading and performing this poetry aloud.⁶ Drawing from his analysis of the Bacchylides papyri, I modeled my own analysis in part on Nagy's research methodology.

My research focuses on the analysis of the "Bankes Homer" (= P. Lond. Lit. 28), a papyrus written around the 2nd century CE.⁷ Currently housed in the British Library, this particularly beautiful and legible text is one of the lengthiest and best preserved Homeric papyri, preserving approximately 677 verses from Book 24 of the *Iliad* (lines 127-804). These lines include some of the most dramatic and emotional scenes of the entire epic: the senselessness of war is fully revealed in Achilles' horrible mistreatment of the body of Hector; the power of humanity and forgiveness shines through in the interactions between Achilles and Priam; and the overwhelming grief of Hector's loved ones is unveiled during his funeral and in the laments of Andromache, Hecuba, and Helen.

Some of the unique features of the papyrus, besides its length, are the markings that are present above nearly every line of text. Already in 1821, Giovanni Finati (the man who bought the Bankes Homer papyrus in Egypt for William Bankes) noted the presence and significance of these markings in his first description of the papyrus: "what is very surprising," he wrote, "it has had

⁶ Nagy, 2000

⁷ Information about the papyrus and its provenance may be found here: <http://papyri.info/dclp/60500>

accents added to it afterwards”.⁸ The markings in the papyrus do indeed contain familiar diacritical markings: acute, grave, and circumflex accents, breathings, and diaereses, markings of quantity (*breves* and *longa*); but upon closer inspection it becomes clear that they have a different function from that of marking ordinary pronunciation. While the study of these markings might pale beside the dramatic narrative of *Iliad* Book 24, they can tell us a great deal about this epic and the traditions surrounding it. The goal of this thesis is to understand, through the analysis of the markings in this papyrus, how a text like this might have been used in performance, gain insights into the performance practices of the Homeric epics at the time when the papyrus was created, and reconstruct some of the melodic texture of such a performance.

The argument unfolds over four chapters. Chapter 1 presents a literary review of the contemporary scholarship on Homeric performance traditions and the “melodization” of ancient Greek poetry. In particular, I focus on the evolution of the Homeric performance tradition as proposed by West and Nagy. I describe the literature that supports my readings of the markings in papyrus as *performance* markings, and I survey the approaches of West, Hagel and D’Angour in the “melodization” of ancient Greek poetry and the Homeric epics in particular. Chapter 2 introduces the Bankes Homer papyrus, its history and a review of the history of scholarship on it. Scholars have pointed out that this is a unique example of a Homeric papyrus both due to its length and state of preservation and the markings that are the subject of my thesis. My argument builds on the studies done by Gregory Nagy, Amy Koenig, and Peter Parsons. Chapter 3 offers an analysis of the markings in the papyrus with the use of tools from papyrology, linguistics, ancient Greek grammar and statistics.⁹ The goals of this third chapter are: to identify the differences of the system

⁸ Finati, 1830, p. 357-358.

⁹ This part was completed and presented at the Society for Classical Studies 2021 Annual Meeting.

of markings used in the papyrus relative to the accentuation system used in modern critical editions of Homer, to learn about the patterns of the use of the markings in the papyrus and consider a possible purpose of the marked papyrus in terms of the performance of its text.

Chapter 4 of this thesis describes a possible approach for the melodization of the text based on patterns that might be marked by accents. This approach is rooted in the observation that in ancient Greek fragmentary texts which contain preserved musical notation, the melody, in general, appears to work in harmony with the accent patterns in the poetic texts. In addition, I emphasize the need to choose the musical mode of the melody to correspond to the content of the text. This chapter concludes with my attempt at a melodic reconstruction/melodization of several lines of the *Iliad* that are preserved in the Bankes Homer, which could correspond to a possible melodic contour/intonation of the song or recitation of this text. This part is largely multidisciplinary, drawing from both Classics and historical musicology. In particular, it dives deeper into a study of aspects of ancient Greek music modality, music notation, and the concept of the *ethos* of music.¹⁰

¹⁰ A preliminary draft of this part of my research was presented at the Graduate Seminar on Greek and Roman Music at Oxford University in 2018. A summary of this report can be found in Klavan, 2019.

Definitions/Glossary of terms used in the thesis

Byzantine/pre-Byzantine: In his periodization of Homeric performance, Gregory Nagy has proposed a distinction between a pre-Byzantine period (4th century BCE to the 4th century CE) and a Byzantine period, which he defines as after the 4th century CE.¹¹ He defines these periods by how the texts are written, arguing that certain conventions used in his “pre-Byzantine” period (into which the Bankes Homer falls) are distinct from those used in his later Byzantine period (into which the later manuscript tradition falls).

Ancient Greek Accent: Allen (1974) defined the Ancient Greek accent as “melodic” and characterized by “pitch” in contrast to the modern Greek language which utilizes a “stress” accent system. He explains this contrast between stress and pitch as follows (1974 p.74): “Adopting the terminology of radio telephony, we may call these ‘amplitude modulation’ and ‘frequency modulation’”.

Prosody: I use the term prosody as it defined by Allen, 1973 p.3, 86 - coming from the ancient Greek ἡ προσῳδία – signifying “a ‘tune’ to which speech is intoned, and more particularly the melodic accent which characterized each full word”, and “the Latin accentus is based on Greek often employed as synonym of stress.....and it is frequently extended to designate the accent marks...”

Nevertheless, a crucial distinction must be maintained between the use of the familiar system of ancient accents (acute, grave, and circumflex) to mark the pronunciation of ordinary Greek, and the use (in the Bankes Homer) of these same markings to mark the melodic contour of the line.

Melodic contour/Melodic pattern: Gregory Nagy (2000, p.18) defines a melodic contour of a phrase as the, “pattern in ancient Greek accentuation (that) corresponds to a pattern we find in ancient Greek traditions of melody”. He also points out that Martin West (1986, p.45) similarly argues that the epic singer of the eighth century “followed the contours given by the word accents”.

Melodization: the recovery of characteristics of the melodies of poems based upon their corresponding textual characteristics (e.g. accentuation). The term is suggested by D’Angour, (2018).

Mode (music) / harmonia – A mode in music theory is a way of ordering the notes in a scale, in modern music theory they have a similar function and construction as “major” and “minor” scales. The ancient Greek ἀρμονία (*harmonia*) is frequently translated as “mode” in both contemporary classics and musicology scholarship, though the meaning of this word changed significantly through time and originally had a much broader meaning. Mathiesen (1984, p.266)

¹¹ Nagy, 2009, p. 134.

notes ,“Harmonia in its fullest sense, then, is a unification of things...Thus, to choose three examples, the octave is a harmonia (cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De musica* 1.8; 2.12), a proportion like 2:4:8 (which may also produce octaves) is a harmonia (Aristides Quintilianus *De musica* 3.6), and a tonos is a harmonia (cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De musica* 1.10, 2.14)”

Chapter 1

Homeric Performance Tradition and Melodization of Poetic texts -

Review of contemporary scholarship

1.1. Introduction

The history of the Homeric performance traditions spans thousands of years, from the Bronze Age through to the Hellenistic, Roman, and Late Antique periods. Scholars have deduced that many aspects of these epic poems and performance traditions evolved over different periods and were not performed in the exact same way all throughout their history. In turn, several scholars have proposed competing periodizations to understand this evolution, and a few of these are discussed more in detail later on in this chapter. The modern understanding of oral performance was pioneered by Milman Parry and Albert Lord in the early 20th century, who conducted ethnomusicological studies of Yugoslavian oral epic poetry.¹² Their ambitious goal was, through the observation of contemporary living epic poetic performances in Yugoslavia and other Balkan countries, to make inferences about the creation and performance of the ancient Homeric epics as an oral tradition. This work created the foundation for a whole new way of understanding and researching how epic poems may have been (and still can be) created and performed in oral traditions all around the world.¹³ Since then, scholars have considered and debated multiple aspects of the different Homeric performance traditions that existed and developed in the ancient world. For the purpose of this research, I focus on two of these aspects: who performed the Homeric epics in the ancient world, and what features of their performances can we reconstruct?

¹² Parry, 1971 and Lord, 1981.

¹³ Jensen, 2011.

Furthermore, one of the goals of this research is to contribute to our understanding of one of the least explored characteristics of Homeric performance, the “melodization” of the texts. Song and music are present everywhere in Homer—from rhapsodes performing songs at banquets, to Achilles playing on his silver lyre, and to hymns being sung to Apollo—the Homeric world was anything but silent. We know from descriptions in the poems themselves (e.g. Phemius in *Odyssey* 1, or Demodocus in *Odyssey* 8) that at their inception the epics were sung or recited to the accompaniment of music instruments: a rhapsode would normally accompany himself with a stringed instrument (e.g. phorminx, lyre, kithara, etc.). But no records of music notation that could have reflected these epic performances have been preserved, even from later periods of history when we know that music notation was invented and started to be used by the Greeks.¹⁴ Modern scholars have suggested that it is possible to reconstruct the melody based upon certain assumptions, such as the notion that ancient Homeric scholars and scribes “were naturally familiar with the sounds of the voices of ancient rhapsodes”.¹⁵ Building upon this suggestion, my thesis attempts a reconstruction of the “melody” of Homeric song (a “melodization” of the song) by analyzing a papyrus in which performance markings appear to be preserved. In this preliminary chapter, I review both the contemporary understanding of the Homeric epic performance traditions, the arguments that have been made for the importance of studying the ancient markings that are preserved in the Bankes Homer and other Homeric papyri, and the attempts that have been made to reconstruct aspects of the Homeric melody based on the performance markings preserved in the poetic texts.

¹⁴ The earliest evidence that we have of ancient Greek music notation is a papyrus of Euripides’ *Orestes* 338-44. West (1992, p. 277) also asserts that there was an agreed upon system of music notation that was used by professionals by the middle of the 3rd century BCE, and this is attested to by papyri fragments and was also described by ancient music theoreticians

¹⁵ West, 1981, p. 114.

1.2. Performance Practices and Text Fixation of the Homeric Epics

Over the last 40 years the idea that the Homeric performance tradition evolved throughout time has become widely accepted by the scholarly community and several accounts of its history have been formulated. It is generally believed that, after originating with oral performances in the Bronze Age, the performance of Homeric epic through the Archaic and Classical periods was the work of a single performer, an *aoidos* (plural, *aoidoi*, αἰοῖδοί “singers”), who sang the epics with the accompaniment of a musical instrument (a *phorminx* φόρμινξ, *cithara* κίθαρις, or *lyre* λύρη).¹⁶ Starting in the Classical period, Homeric performance began also to be associated with rhapsodes and citharodes, whose performances were distinguished by their music: the citharodes were said to perform poetry (including Homer) to their own melodies, composed such that they could accompany themselves on a cithara.¹⁷ This practice was considered by ancient citharodes to have been started by the poet Terpander in the 7th century BCE. In contrast, rhapsodes sang (or perhaps declaimed) Homer in a dramatic recitative style both with and without musical instruments, and so have sometimes been characterized as less proficient musicians. This manner of *rhapsodic* performance was thought by the ancients to be the tradition that descended directly from Homer, but remains uncertain.¹⁸ West claims that the presence of a musical instrument accompanying the performance of the epic did not affect the vocal line, which was thought to be traditional, either passed down from generation to generation (as in the case of rhapsodic performances) or composed by the singers drawing from traditional melodies (in the case of citharodes). West’s hypothesis is supported by examples of other oral epic performance traditions, such as the traditions in the

¹⁶ Nagy, 2009b, West, 1981.

¹⁷ West, 1981, p. 113 and 114.

¹⁸ Ibid, p.114, West suggests this periodization in a form of a, “dual-tradition” hypothesis “to reconcile the conflicting indications” coming from the ancient literary analysis.

former Yugoslavia described by Parry and Lord, which could be sung with or without the accompaniment of an instrument, with no impact on the vocal line.¹⁹

One proposed periodization of Homeric performance, developed by Gregory Nagy, presents what he calls an “evolutionary model” of how the Homeric epics developed and were standardized over time into the texts we have today.²⁰ His periodization scheme includes five distinct stages, which he calls the “Five Ages of Homer”, linking the transmission and fixation of the Homeric texts to changes in their performing practices. During the first of these “Five Ages of Homer”, the period from roughly the 2nd millennium BCE into the middle of the 8th century BCE, there were no written texts, but stories from the Trojan war and its characters and heroes started to be developed and circulated around the ancient Mediterranean. The second age, Nagy’s so-called “pan-Hellenic” period, extended from the middle of the 8th century BCE to the middle of the 6th century BCE. Again, there were still no written texts of the epics, but Nagy posits that they were becoming more concretely formed and performed as a whole. The third age, from the middle of the 6th century BCE to the end of the 4th century BCE, is when Nagy places the first transcriptions of the epics and the beginning of their standardization, especially under the influence of Peisistratus (tyrant of Athens between 561 and 527 BCE), who may have ordered the Homeric epics to be written down and standardized. Nagy’s fourth age is a period, from the end of the 4th century BCE to the 2nd century BCE, during which he hypothesizes certain changes in the performance of the epic. These changes, especially in Athens between 317 and 307 BCE (instigated by orator and governor of Athens Demetrius of Phaleron) led to the further standardization of the text of the Homeric epics “in the sense of transcriptions or even scripts”.²¹

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 123.

²⁰ Nagy, 1996, p.109-110.

²¹ Ibid, p.109-110.

The fifth and final age begins in the middle of the 2nd century BCE and afterwards. During this period, the texts were quite rigidly set in their performance traditions and this is also the period in which the Alexandrian school of scholars, particularly beginning with Aristophanes of Byzantium, created edited versions of Homer.²²

Nagy argues that it was in the fifth “age” of Homer when the Homeric epics (or at least parts of them) began to be performed by *homeristai*, performers who acted on stage and had spoken parts that were “delivered in Greek verses apparently representing the speeches of the Homeric heroes engaged in combat with each other”.²³ Alongside these developments in Homeric performance, Nagy suggests that *rhapsodes* and other performers began to “increasingly use transcripts of earlier performances as scripts for future recitals” and that this “fixation of the texts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, (was) not by the historical accident of an act of dictation but by a process driven by the changing performance practices of rhapsodes in their training and public recitations”.²⁴ From this perspective, texts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* created during this period may have been written down in order to preserve the performance practices of the epics at a time when aspects of the ancient tradition were in danger of being lost. This work might furthermore have been done with the goal to teach the performances to *rhapsodes* and *homeristai* and to serve as an aid for their actual performances, having the same function that dramatic scripts have today. In accordance with this reasoning, Peter Parsons suggests that some Homeric papyri, most prominently the Bankes Homer, “set out the text as drama”.²⁵ Responding to the question of who might be performing Homer with these texts, Parsons suggests both *rhapsodes* and *homeristai*,

²² Ibid

²³ Ibid, p.166-167.

²⁴ González, 2013, p. 17.

²⁵ Parsons, p. 21.

specifying that they “do not read from a script: they have learned their lines by heart, from a written text more or less marked up for comprehension”.²⁶

As a whole, these arguments point towards the supposition that at least some of the physical texts of the Homeric epics created between the 2nd century BCE and 2nd century CE might serve as a sort of “script”, similar to ones used by actors today which have indications for all aspects of the acting performance— who should say which lines, how to dictate the lines and show the appropriate emotions, how much to inflect the voice, what the rhythm of the lines should be, and where the pauses should be. Nagy’s periodization points to the further possibility, however, that the performance markings in these later “scripts” may contain features of a tradition that extends back centuries.

1.3. On the Importance of an Analysis of the Original Ancient Markings

Appreciating the unique markings in the Bankes Homer papyrus requires understanding two different systems of markings, one used to reflect the pronunciation of ordinary Greek and the other the features of Homeric performance. The first of these two -- the one most familiar to readers and students of ancient Greek -- reflects the pronunciation of ordinary, Attic Greek (as reconstructed by, e.g., Allen 1972). Despite the changes in pronunciation in the centuries that followed (notably the gradual shift from a pitch-accent to a stress-accent), Byzantine manuscripts beginning around the 4th century CE, including Homeric manuscripts (e.g. Venetus A manuscript) preserve these older markings, which are of course the ones that we teach and study today. The practice of accent marking in literary papyri began in Alexandria in about the 2nd century BCE (most famously this practice was said to have been invented by Aristophanes of Byzantium, one

²⁶ Ibid, p. 23.

of the head librarians of the Library of Alexandria).²⁷ As such, accent markings can occasionally be found in literary papyri (though many do not have accentuation markings). Though the accents that do appear in papyri of this period are placed selectively (i.e. not over every word) their placements nevertheless conforms with the familiar rules of Attic pronunciation.²⁸ These markings preserve the ancient *pitch*-based accentuation system, traceable to the fourth or fifth centuries BCE, that is different from *stress*-based pronunciation that was to become the norm at the time the later manuscripts were written. The rules of the older system of pitch-accents are theorized from linguistic reconstructions by scholars based on the descriptions of ancient grammarians, accents marks found in material texts (including papyri), and from preserved fragments of ancient Greek music with the music notation and the corresponding text with accentuation.²⁹

Although it makes use of the same symbols as this system of pitch accentuation (i.e. acute, circumflex, grave accents), the system of *performance markings* in the Bankes Homer follows different patterns and performs different functions. That is to say, in marking up the text for performance, the *diorthotes* of the Bankes Homer employs a deceptively familiar-looking group of symbols (including acute, grave, and circumflex accents) that are not to be confused with the familiar markings used to accent ordinary Greek. My thesis, building on Nagy and others, is that their function is to denote the flow of the melodic line on a scale. Although I will continue to use the words “acute”, “circumflex”, and “grave” to describe these symbols, their use in this unique text is not to be confused with their function elsewhere as a guide to Greek pronunciation.³⁰

²⁷ Probert, 2006, p. 6.

²⁸ Probert, 2006, p.47.

²⁹ Allen, 1972; and 1973, p. 3, 230-232.

³⁰ On the relation of the system of accents to the historical pronunciation of Greek, see Allen, 1973, p. 3, 230-232.

Caution is warranted all the more, because as I have noted some literary papyri make use of conventional accents (i.e., *not* performance markings).

In using these ancient material texts as a guide for the restoring of performance (either reading out loud or reciting and acting), it is necessary to make a full investigation of the markings (“lectional” signs that look similar to accents, diaereses, breathing marks and markings of quantity) that appear in papyri. Distinguished scholars have already pointed out the importance of applying this kind of analysis to the question of Homeric performance. Martin West notes that ancient scholars themselves sometimes treated the markings used in ancient Homeric texts differently and, as such, these markings are worth further study.³¹ He pointed out that Alexandrian scholars who established the new grammatical tradition and system of marking, were likely familiar with rhapsodic performances of the Homeric epics in Hellenistic period, and that they made an effort to preserve the ancient accentuation in their writings on papyri. Further, the rhapsodes performed Homer (even as late as in Hellenistic period) “in such a way that the word accents were audible...” and scholars have described that the rhapsodes performed the epics with, “the manner of delivery throughout being a kind of recitative that preserved natural word accents but was pitched on definite words”.³² West emphasized that these accentuation patterns likely, “have been preserved by a continuous tradition of oral performance from an earlier time.”³³ In this way, West argues, one can attempt to restore the melodic patterns of the voice and even music of the ancient performance tradition from a study of the markings.

Scholars have emphasized that the perceived “sporadic” (not on every word) placement of accentuation marks in literary papyri (see above) cannot be interpreted clearly or explained just

³¹ West, p.114.

³² Ibid

³³ Ibid

with specified rules of accentuation.³⁴ Gregory Nagy, based on his analysis of the Bacchylides papyri (TM 59339, as published by Kenyon in 1897) and some excerpts from the Bankes Homer papyrus, notices that there are some systematic patterns in the placement of accents in these papyri. Following from these observations, Nagy suggests that the practice of the “selective marking of accents” is common in older papyri, such as the Bacchylides and Homeric papyri.³⁵ He notes, in these papyri, “pitch-accentuation had been matched by the old writing practice of selectively marking the intonation of phrases on a phrase-by-phrase basis, with the entire phrase written in scriptio continua” and such markings could preserve a melodic contour of the line.³⁶ Further, he notes that the accentuation marks in the Bankes Homer are possibly remnants of the pitch-accentuation system that made up Greek before it switched to the stress-accent system between the 2nd century BCE and the 5th century CE. Throughout this discussion Nagy emphasizes the importance of the analysis of the original accentuation present in papyri in order to restore the melodic contour of the verses which was used in their recitation.³⁷ He essentially highlights that the markings in the Bankes Homer, and in other similar papyri, serve the purpose of preserving and transmitting a performance tradition of the epics, both in their formatting and in the accentuation system that is present in the papyri.

It is important to also note the perception and opinions of scholars on the appearance of accentuation markings in papyri. In particular, Nagy makes the following remarks about the accentuation in the Bankes Homer: “the accentual markings made by the ancient *diorthotes* or ‘corrector’ of the Bankes Papyrus show that he was truly a master of correct poetic pronunciation”;

³⁴ Probert, 2006, p. 47.

³⁵ Nagy, 2000, p.14-15, “The older practice, as we see it clearly attested in the Homer and Bacchylides papyri, was the selective placement of accent-signs (and other diacritics, such as breathings). Nagy also notes that “A pioneer in the analysis of selective accentuation is Bernhard Laum (1928)”.

³⁶ Nagy, 2009, p.141.

³⁷ Nagy, 1996 and 2000

he “clearly knew about a system of pitch-accentuation underlying the Homeric text that he was marking up”; and “he clearly knew the melodic contours of the verses he was reading for mark-up”.³⁸ Peter Parsons makes similar observations regarding the markings in the Bankes Homer papyrus: “Even as scattered, the signs, written large and bold, dominate the column. Perhaps the marker was clumsy, perhaps he wanted to highlight his handiwork. Or did he intend to make his marks easily visible in the heat of recitation”.³⁹ It is possible to see how the impressions of Nagy and Parsons are quite different from the *communis opinio* on diacritical and other markings that appear in the Bankes Homer papyrus.⁴⁰

Parsons notices that the diacritical markings that are present in Homeric papyri can be considered as either “lectional” or “performance” markings. However, while considering the idea that the “lectional” marks (diacriticals including accentuation markings) may have been used for the purpose of performance, Parson cautions that:

the presence of ‘lectional’ signs does not in itself indicate a performative intention. Nonetheless, it is worth considering ... what particular kinds of mark-up might help the process – the choice of signs, their frequency, and their graphic prominence.⁴¹

He concludes that systematic study of the papyri with a focus on the original markings is urgently needed to identify the origin and possible functions of such papyri.

These points underline the general goal of my research presented in the first part of this thesis: to analyze the full set of original markings in the entirety of the Bankes Homer in order to

³⁸ Nagy, 2009, p. 143, 146.

³⁹ Parsons, p. 26.

⁴⁰ The *communis opinio* on diacritical and other markings that appear in Homeric papyri can be summarized by the quote from metadata information for the Bankes Homer Papyrus in the British Library catalogue: “The scribe took great care over the quality of his work. His script is characterised by capital letters on a highly uniform scale, exemplifying a style often called ‘rounded majuscule,’ which is found especially in some of the finest literary papyri of the 2nd century CE. But the striking impression which this text makes on the viewer is broken by the appearance everywhere of large accents and diacritical (pronunciation) marks added by a later hand. Since the *Iliad* was the literary staple of ancient Greek education, it is reasonable to suppose that these accents are the work of a student carrying out a school exercise without due regard for the vandalism that he was perpetrating”.

⁴¹ Parsons, 2011, p.24.

check the possibility that these markings may be placed for performing purposes. It is also important to highlight that, while attempting to reconstruct the melody of “Homeric song” through using the original accentuation present in papyri, one must first carefully analyze the markings to prove that they are representative of a system of performance markings that is distinct from the ancient system of accenting ordinary Greek that has been preserved in other texts. An analysis of the accents that appear in this unique papyrus may permit us to see them as a map that was set intentionally for the melodic flow of the text. The scholars mentioned in this section have argued that the ancient accentuation markings that are present in papyri such as the Bankes Homer, are the key to the understanding of the melodic contour “embedded in Homeric verse.”⁴² Taking this a step further, one might hypothesize not only that the markings in the Bankes Homer represent performance markings (giving us a clue to the melodic contour of the Homeric verse, and how it would have been performed as a whole) but also that those markings could reflect a performance tradition older than the papyrus itself -- in the same way that other texts continued to use the familiar system of classical pitch-accentuation, long after the shift from a pitch to a stress accent system had occurred in Greek.

1.4. On the “Melodization” of the Homeric texts

We have a lot of different forms of evidence that tell us that ancient Greek poetry was sung (or recited) with the accompaniment of music. This has been described by many ancient writers as well as mentioned in poems themselves.

Differently from the rhythm of a poem, which can be found by analyzing the metrical patterns of poetry through scansion and is relatively well understood, the recovery of

⁴² Nagy, 2009, p. 156.

characteristics of the corresponding melodies (“melodization”), both from the text itself and markings in documents, requires a set of assumptions. These assumptions include supposed connections that were noticed to be between the accents above words and the melodic line preserved in the surviving music notations that exists in the texts of various songs dated between the 2nd century BCE and the 1st century CE. There are about sixty known ancient Greek musical documents (papyri and epigrams) with preserved fragments of music notation and their corresponding texts that have accents.⁴³ These fragments are often very small and far removed from their original contexts, but they can give us a lot of important information not only about the melodies that were performed but also about the relationship between how the text of the poetry was written and the melody of the song. Scholarly analyses of these documents led to the conclusion that, at least in some instances, the composers/poets/musicians made an effort to correlate the melodic contour of the song with the word accents of the Greek.⁴⁴ The correlation between accentuation and melody is most evidently displayed in fragments such as the Delphic Paeans (~128 BCE).⁴⁵ This relationship was organized into the form of rules by several scholars based just on heuristic perception and was summarized in the work of Cosgrove and Meyer as follows:

1. The accent-bearing syllable of a multisyllabic word (two syllables or more) carries as high or higher than notes for other syllables in that word. In cases of melisma, the highest note of the melism is what counts for adherence to the rule.
2. The melody often falls after an acute accent; in polysyllabic words (three syllables more), the melody often rises to and then falls from the acute.
3. The circumflex accent is usually set to a falling figure.

⁴³ Pöhlmann and West, 2001

⁴⁴ (West, 1992, p. 384) Notably there is an exception in the fragments that we have from Euripides’ *Orestes*

⁴⁵ Brown & D’Angour, 2017 and D’Angour, 2018, p. 64-72, “The Song of Seikilos”.

4. After a grave accent, except in cases of a grammatical pause, the melody does not fall again until after the next accent. Successive grave-accented syllables tend to be set to the same note.⁴⁶

These observations/rules have been supported and verified through statistical analysis. For example, to confirm the validity of the first rule–The Pitch Height (PH) rule– Cosgrove and Meyer ran a computer simulation in which they, “use the words of a specific piece of Ancient Greek music and information about the melody of that piece to generate thousands of random matchings of word sets with melody strings...” and compared its results with the entire whole sample of known documents that have both music notation and text with accentuation.⁴⁷ This allowed them to make the conclusion based on statistical evidence that, “ the PH rule was used (to compose) from the last part of the second century BC until some time in the second century AD. The rule may also have been used or after the second century AD, but our statistical simulations do not offer any confident conclusions”.⁴⁸

Based upon these rules and the analysis of other characteristics of music performances that are known, scholars such as West, Hagel, and D’Angour created examples of possible reconstructions of the melody that could have been performed with the text of the ancient Homeric epics.⁴⁹ West focuses on the Homeric epic performance traditions during the Archaic period. Based on literary evidence, he presumes that the performer – a rhapsode (at this time he might have been a part of the creation of the epic)– was singing the epic poem and accompanying himself on a phorminx, a musical instrument resembling a lyre.

He devises the following steps in his process of melodization and reconstruction:

⁴⁶ Cosgrove and Meyer, 2006, p. 66.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 70.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.81.

⁴⁹ West, 1981; Hagel, 1994, see also Danek and Hagel, 1995; D’Angour, 2018

First, he proceeds to limit the choice of which music modes (the set of notes that the melody could be based upon, e.g. major and minor keys in the modern Western European tradition of music) the melody of the Homeric epics could be based. In addition, West assumes that the bard/rhapsode used a 4-stringed phorminx and that he did not attempt to get extra notes by “finger-stopping or otherwise manipulating the strings” (though this is a contested point from the perspective of a musicologist and even a musician).

Then, in order to choose modes the melody could have used West turns to the history of ancient Greek music theory. He argues and thinks that the melody of the Homeric epics originally was written/based in the most ancient of the Greek modes (according to his analysis), the Ionic mode/scale. West chooses the Ionic mode through an analysis of the ancient music theoretical texts and extant examples of music notation in which he argues that the Ionic (along with the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Mixolydian, and Syntonolydian modes) are among the most ancient modes. From this argument he continues to argue that the Homeric epics were performed in the Ionic mode during the archaic period as they were possibly developed in the area of Ionia and at this point there was a certain association between the name of the mode and the geographical region in which it was popular– though the connection between mode and geographical location later faded away and is not a factor in their nomenclature in the later music theoretical systems.⁵⁰ Moreover, West argues that in the archaic period the Ionic scale was restricted to four notes due to the number of strings that the phorminx had. In addition, he assumes that in the archaic period the accompaniment of the musical instrument went in unison with the voice and never deviated. In order to support these assumptions he cites various ancient Greek philosophical and theoretical writings– including those by Plato, Aristoxenus, Plutarch and Aristides Quintilianus. Finally, West gives the example

⁵⁰ West, 1981, p. 115-120.

of his own melodic reconstruction of the first few lines of *Iliad* based upon the rules devised from the correlation between the accentuation and melody found in a few surviving music papyri with the music notation and corresponding text (described above on page 17).⁵¹

Hagel's attempt at the reconstruction of the melody of Homeric song is based on assumptions that are very similar to West's (the rhapsode played on a 4-stringed phorminx and was based in the ancient Ionic mode), though he adds the important qualifier that it is not possible to restore the melody completely reflecting the "absolute mode".⁵² He explains that it is possible only to restore the "relative mode" of the melody. By this he means that it is possible to restore the structure of the melodic line –when the pitch would move up or down—based upon the accentuation of the text, but this structure would be relative to whatever the tonic note and scale/mode are decided upon by the bard. Hence, it is possible that this tonic note might have been chosen by the bard and changed throughout the performance to reflect the content of the poem and to suit his vocal range. In addition, Hagel enhances this method by a statistical analysis of the placement of pitch accents in Homeric and other early Greek poetic papyri.⁵³ He shows that the incident frequency of accents above words shows that the typical melodic contour of a line of dactylic hexameter tends to follow a certain pattern: it usually rises at the start and falls at the end of the verse with some fall at the central point of the verse. Examples of Hagel's musical reconstruction of the *Iliad* can be found online.

By contrast, D'Angour considers how the music "derived from the text and markings" (melodization of a text) enhances the content of the text.⁵⁴ He compares the accentuation patterns and

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² Daneke and Hagel, 1995, p.14.

⁵³ Hagel, 1994, For part of this statistical analysis Hagel uses the accentuated versions of the *Iliad* obtained from the TLG (<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu>), which itself is based on the OCT critical edition.

⁵⁴ D'Angour, 2018, p. 47.

melodic contour of an epic verse (as it is defined by Hagel's findings) in the opening verses of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* with the actual content of the verse. D'Angour points out that it is possible to see that the accents in lines of ancient Greek poetic texts are placed in very intentional places, just as the epic singer might have placed words in certain places in a line in order to make it metrically diverse or to emphasize the meanings of certain words. Further, he makes the observation that the melodic line of the opening verses in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have significant differences between them and from this he comes to the conclusion that, "pending further statistical and practical examination, one might venture to claim that the epic singer deployed melodic phrasing with no less variability than he did rhythm, so as to make a discernible difference to his performance in at least three areas: to signal moments of special significance in his narrative, to reinforce or differentiate the syntactic connection between successive verses, and to impart a thematic substructure of melodic echoes to individual passages and to the overall pattern of his song".⁵⁵

⁵⁵ D'Angour, 2018, p. 57.

Chapter 2

The Bankes Homer at Glance

2.1. The History of the Bankes Homer Papyrus

The Bankes Homer Papyrus has a long and complicated history, much of which we still do not know and the story of how it came to be in England adds to the importance of its content. Egyptologist William Bankes (from whom the papyrus takes its name) obtained the papyrus from Elephantine, Egypt in 1821. Elephantine is a small island in the Nile river which is part of the city of Aswan in Upper Egypt. **(Figure 1)**

This island has been a very significant place throughout Egyptian history as it was (and still is somewhat) the gateway for commercial and military expeditions into the south of Egypt. On the island itself, several important archaeological sites include ancient Egyptian temples, the palace of the nomarch (governor) of the area at one point, a military fort, Greco-Roman Egyptian temples, a “Nilometer” (device used to measure the level of the Nile during the year) from the Roman period, a Jewish temple, etc. As described by Bezalel Porten in the book *The Elephantine Papyri in English*, in the early 19th century archaeologists at Elephantine uncovered “hundreds of papyri and ostraca (shards of pottery with writing on them) in a half-dozen scripts and tongues — hieratic, demotic, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Arabic” spanning three thousand years.⁵⁶ Giovanni Finati (interpreter and intermediary spender for William Bankes) purchased the papyrus for Bankes from a local man in Elephantine who was selling papyri and other archaeological finds on the island. Of course, it is not certain if the Bankes Homer papyrus was actually from

⁵⁶ Porten, p. xi.

Elephantine, but it is certain that it is from Egypt and once it was discovered by the local Egyptians it somehow entered into the industry that formed when locals would find and sell antiques to European scholars and collectors. The papyrus made its way to England and to the library of William Bankes where it remained for 50 years until one of his descendants later sold it to the British Library in 1879, where it is still housed. The papyrus was partly accessible through photographs and, in 2014, it became available in a digitally enhanced form on the library's website, which makes it more convenient for scholars to analyze its text in greater detail (See **Figure 2** for an example of how the viewer appears).⁵⁷

As mentioned before, the Bankes Homer papyrus is the longest and best preserved Homeric papyrus that has been discovered to-date, and it contains the text of the *Iliad* book 24, lines 127-804. This particularly beautiful and legible text is organized into sixteen columns with between forty-two and forty-four lines in each column. It can be dated to the 2nd century CE based on the paleography: the fact it is written in uncial lettering and how certain letters are written in this handwriting, e.g. iota subscripts.⁵⁸ However, according to some scholars, the papyrus can be dated to the late Ptolemaic period (around the 1st century BCE), and definitely before 150 CE, based upon comparison with Alexandrian calligraphy in the time of the Ptolemies and upon comparison with papyri from the 2nd century CE.⁵⁹ Hence, the estimated dates of the creation of the Bankes Homer span between three to four centuries, from the 1st century BCE to the 2nd century CE based on the lettering, patterns of punctuation, and other characteristics of the text.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_114

⁵⁸ The metadata of the papyrus "The Bankes Homer (P. Lond. Lit. 28)". in the British Library describes the characteristics of the papyrus and the dating based upon these characteristics.

⁵⁹ Goodspeed, Edgar J., 1898.

⁶⁰ This corresponds to the dating of the *Bankes Homer* papyrus by Gregory Nagy to around the middle of the pre-Byzantine period, as he defines it between the 4th century BCE and the 4th century CE (Nagy, 2009, p. 134)

It is written in *scriptio continua*—the practice of writing without spaces between words—and by uncial lettering—writing in which all of the letters are capital. This was the norm in Greek inscriptions and papyri until it became replaced by writing with spaces and the use of a bicameral script (using letters in both upper and lower cases) in the manuscript tradition that began around the 7th/8th centuries CE. **Figure 3** is an example of one of the lines of the Bankes Homer (24.257) with a transcription preserving the original accentuation markings and *scriptio continua* and the line in modern standard critical editions of Homer.

This papyrus is unique in that accentuation and additional diacritical markings have been added in by a second hand, a “*diorthotes*” (διορθωτής, corrector) throughout the whole text. (**Figure 4** shows the examples of these diacritical markings) The Bankes Homer also has marginalia from the original scribe—or first hand (**Figure 5** shows examples of some of these marginalia), and additional commentary added by the *diorthotes* (in the image, the top left corner has an example of this). It is also important to note that it has been observed that the Bankes Homer is set up almost as a dramatic script: all of the character speeches are marked by character names, and the poet (narrator) becomes a character in his own poem, and is marked with a paragraphos symbol signifying his speeches.⁶¹

2.2 A Brief History of the Scholarship on the Bankes Homer

Despite its unique state of preservation and in-text markings, this papyrus has not been studied in depth. There are no complete published transcriptions, and the primary edition that exists (from 1832) merely lists the variations of the text and accentuation from the stress accented

⁶¹ According to Parsons such formatting choices appear in about 10 papyri dated between first and 3 centuries AD from which the Bankes Homer is lengthiest and less fragmented (he does not give a list of the names of these papyri). (Parsons, 2012, p.21)

version.⁶² In 2011 students at Furman University under the supervision of Chris Blackwell prepared a transcription of the Bankes Homer for the “Homer Multitext Project”.⁶³ However, this transcription was not completed in full, it seems to be a “diplomatic transcription” focusing on the words and markings (mostly just breathing marks) made by the original scribe.⁶⁴ The editors of this transcription also chose to convert the punctuation and the capitalization to the modern standard Homeric punctuation and capitalization. Both this transcription and the edition from 1832 are useful as a reference while transcribing the papyrus, but neither of them brings the original diacritical markings into focus. Furthermore, small excerpts from the papyrus have been used in comparative studies focused on its divergence from the Homeric tradition. These studies include those by Nagy, Koenig and Parsons (described in the next chapters). However, there has been no extensive work done on analyzing the role of each specific diacritical marking, including an analysis of the punctuation markings, as well as performing comparative analyses on different parts of the text in order to try and find patterns, if there are any.

⁶² Lewis, G.C., 1832.

⁶³ Blackwell, C.W., 2011.

⁶⁴ Blackwell, via personal communication.

Chapter 3

Performance Markings in the Bankes Homer

3.1. Introduction

As it was noted in chapter 2 some of the most noteworthy characteristics of this papyrus besides its length are the markings that are present in nearly every line of text. These include diacritical markings (accents, breathing marks, and diaereses), markings of quantity, punctuation, and various marginalia, which may indicate some characteristics of pronunciation and performance.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the diacriticals and other markings that appear in the papyrus. Through this process, my goal is to characterize the text as a whole, to provide argumentation and evidence for the idea that the marks in the Bankes Homer papyrus function as performance markings, and to gain insights into the performance traditions of the Homeric epics, especially at the time of the papyrus' creation, in the 2nd century CE. Using the high resolution images of the Bankes Homer recently published by the British Library, I was able to examine and analyze the original markings and marginalia throughout the entirety of the document. In my analysis, I build upon the method outlined by Gregory Nagy, particularly in his analysis of the Bacchylides papyrus, and his hypothesis that the accentuation markings in the Bankes Homer reveal a system of accentuation in which accents mark the phrases and reflect the melodic pattern of the lines.⁶⁵ Moreover, using my findings, I examine Peter Parsons' hypothesis that the markings

⁶⁵ Nagy, 2000 and Nagy, 2009, p.142.

in some papyri, particularly in the Bankes Homer, are more than just reading or pronunciation guides for the ancient reader, but instead they are performance markings.⁶⁶ (See Chapter 1)

3.2. A Preliminary Analysis of the Use of Accent Markings in the Bankes Homer

In a 2009 paper, Nagy hypothesized that the diacritical markings in the Bankes Homer (as shown by his analysis of lines 24.345, 24.738-739) are an example of a pitch-accentuation system.⁶⁷ He came to this conclusion through a discussion of the accentuation systems which he describes as “pre-Byzantine” and “Byzantine” (see definition in Glossary on p. 4). Nagy summarizes three characteristics of the “pre-Byzantine system”, which appear in papyri but not in later manuscripts (which he says use the later, “Byzantine” system) as follows: a) accentuation that is used to mark the intonation of the phrases on a phrase by phrase basis (not word by word), with different accents indicating different changes of intonation (what he calls the “melodic contour”); b) the use of *scriptio continua*— no spaces between the words; c) the use of an uncial lettering—written in all capital letters.⁶⁸ Nagy proposes that the style of accentuation that appears in the Bankes Homer dates from around the 4th century BCE to 4th century CE. His argument rests on the fact that many accent marks that appear in Byzantine manuscripts (which he defines as appearing after the 4th century CE) such as the Venetus A (the oldest surviving complete text of the *Iliad* (Marcianus Graecus Z. 454 [= 822])) are not present in the Bankes Homer. Nagy concludes that the difference in accentuation conventions between the Bankes Homer and the Venetus A manuscript reflects contrasting accentuation systems. As he explains, the “Byzantine” system involved marking accents on every word, a practice that has been carried into modern

⁶⁶ Parsons, 2012.

⁶⁷ Nagy, 2009, p.142.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p.134.

orthographic conventions, whereas the “pre-Byzantine” system can be characterized by the use of accents to mark phrases.⁶⁹ Further, he argues that this “pre-Byzantine style of accentuation” reveals the “melodic contour within the syntactical framework of the Homeric verse,” and that the accentuation marks indicate its “melodic peaks”.⁷⁰

Amy Koenig further provides evidence that supports Nagy’s hypothesis through an analysis of the accentuation in 20 lines of the Bankes Homer (24.405-424), as compared with the familiar practice of accentuation based on Greek pronunciation.⁷¹ In addition, she examines excerpts (20 lines each) from two other Homeric papyri, the Hawara Homer (Bodleian Library MS. Gr. class. a. 1 (P) = Pack 616), and P.Oxy I 21, both dated to the same time period– the first to the second centuries CE.⁷² However, differently from the Bankes Homer, these papyri contain just a few lines of book 2 of the *Iliad*. Koenig observes significant differences in the use of accentuation markings in these papyri, and concludes that this system is a pitch accent system in which the accents mark phrases and “melodic peaks”, as suggested by Nagy, rather than the changes in pitch on every word, as would be the case in the pronunciation of ordinary Greek. Moreover, Koenig suggests that once the accent markings/“melodic peaks” were marked in “formulaic lines and phrases”, they have to be consistent and repeated in most of the appearances of these formulas throughout the text, assuming the “consistency” of the *diorthotes* in their marking of accentuation in the formulas. She tested this hypothesis through examining the appearance of the accentuation in one “formulaic epithet” that appears in the Bankes Homer text. She came to the conclusion that the accentuation in “formulaic lines” and phrases in the Bankes

⁶⁹ Ibid, p.141.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.143-144, 146.

⁷¹ Koenig, 2011.

⁷² Hawara Homer papyrus: from Digital Bodleian library:
<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/2a85d293-1d4b-4bab-a36b-a1714ef32899>

Homer is fairly consistent between each other (5 out of 6 appearances of the formula she examined were accented exactly the same way). Koenig's overall conclusions support Nagy's hypothesis that the accents markings in the Bankes Homer show the "melodic contour" of the lines and, hence, are related to a pitch accentuation system. Her work also underlines the uniqueness of the Bankes Homer, emphasizing that it contains a much better preserved text than the other two Homeric papyri she analyzed (the Hawara Homer and P.Oxy.121), and the accents marked in it have a much more prominent position.

In my preliminary attempt to reconstruct the melodic contour of Homeric performance, I performed an analysis of 25 lines of the Bankes Homer (*Iliad*.24.719-745) comparing them with Allen's OCT.⁷³ In this work, I confirmed the striking discrepancy between the accent placement in modern critical editions and in the Bankes Homer. Furthermore, I noticed that the accent markings were being used in a different way than in the standard modern editions. For example, grave accents were written above syllables that would "conventionally" have an acute accent, or when there was an accent at the end of a line, there were either circumflexes or grave accents on the last syllable of that line, and the placement of the accentuation markings seems to be coordinated with the meter of the line and other diacritical markings.

Thus, my preliminary analysis of limited samples of the text of the Bankes Homer, particularly focusing on the use of the accentuation markings in the text, supports the hypothesis that the accentuation systems exhibited in the modern standard editions and in the Bankes Homer are very different and must serve a different function in the text.

⁷³ The results of this analysis were incorporated in the report "Homeric Performance and the Scholia" presented at the MOISA Graduate Conference in Ancient Greek and Roman Music, Oxford University England, June 2018. (Klavan, 2019)

3.3. Usage of Performance Markings Through the Entire Bankes Homer

To verify and elaborate upon the preliminary findings described in the previous section, I analyzed the diacritical markings (accents, breathing marks, markings of quantity), punctuation, and marginal markings (annotations) by the second hand, the *diorthotes*, throughout the entire Bankes Homer using images of the papyrus published on the British Library website.⁷⁴ I completed a full transcription of the papyrus paying special attention to the preservation of the original markings.⁷⁵

While preparing the text for publication, I observed five types of diacritic markings in use throughout the entire text: accents (acute, circumflex and grave), breathing marks, diaereses, iota subscripts, and markings of quantity (macrons (long marks) and brachy (the Greek equivalent to a brevis marking, marking short syllables)). In the following sections, I focus on the accents markings and markings of quantity (marked by the second hand of the *diorthotes*). In addition, I overview the marginal markings (marked by both the first and second hands) that appear in the papyrus.

3.3.1. Prosody - Usage of Accentuation Marks

The purpose of this section is to record the deviations of the accentuation system used in the Bankes Homer papyrus from the system used in modern critical editions of Homer. I used my transcription for a side by side comparison with the corresponding lines from modern standard

⁷⁴ The process of the transcription of the papyrus turned out to be quite involved, requiring a careful analysis of each accent mark on its placement and type. Though the quality of the digital images are superb, there are about 10% of marks which placement or types cannot be identified with 100% certainty as their placement is very ambiguous. Often accents seem to appear above consonants in the word, stretch above multiple syllables, or have an ambiguous starting point. In addition, there is a small part at the beginning of papyrus (58 lines) where the text is damaged and a few syllables of the words on the line are not visible but also may have preserved accentuation marks. In these occasions the words/syllables were restored in accordance with the standard Homer.

⁷⁵ To be published in the papyri.info database

editions (e.g. Allen’s OCT (a descendent from Monro’s Homer) and West’s Teubner), manually marking all of the places where there is an accent in the modern standard editions, but not in the papyrus, and where the accentuation of a word is different in the two versions (either on a different syllable or a different type of accent).⁷⁶ Then I detail the patterns of the usage of accentuation markings in the Bankes Homer by counting the frequency of the appearance of the markings divided into several categories: use of accent markings in general; use of grave, acute and circumflex accents; appearance of two accents on two consecutive syllables; the appearance of words with no accents, and the function of accentuation markings in formulas.

Accentuation markings usage. In general, the accent markings that appear in the papyrus are distributed rather uniformly with between 0-7 accents marks per line. Out of the 675 lines of text, there are 5 lines (24.262, 451,458,524,716) that, while there are differences in breathing and elision marks, have exactly the same accentuation as in the modern standard editions, with 4-6 accents present in above the text (this is less than 1% of the text). These lines are scattered throughout the text, and there does not seem to be any specific reason why the accentuation patterns line up exactly between these two versions. There are also 4 lines—24.607, 608, 645, and 646— which have the same number of accentuation as the lines in modern standard editions although some are in different positions or have different types of accents. In addition, there are four lines—24. 344, 558, 693 and 790— which are “missing” in the Bankes Homer, meaning that the original scribe did not write them in the papyrus.⁷⁷ Two of these, line 344 and 558, are written into the margins of the papyrus by the *diorthotes*, but verses 693 and 790 are not.

⁷⁶ There is no readily available software that can compare the diacritical markings of two digitized Greek texts. Most digital platforms like the “Chicago Homer”, “The Homer Multitext”, “WordHoard” and others are not designed for this task. Moreover, their reference texts have accentuation marks placed in accordance with the modern convention.

⁷⁷ Line 344 is only omitted in the Bankes Homer Papyrus, line 558 is omitted in the Bankes Homer and in at least 11 other papyri and manuscripts (including the Venetus 459 s.xv cont A-H 392 and Vaticanus 26 s. xiii), line 693 is

Moreover, there are 11 lines in the Bankes Homer (about 2% of all the lines) that, while there might be breathing marks and diaereses above the words, have no accent markings at all. (lines 24, 237, 243, 275, 299, 343, 552, 569, 671, 751, 782, 803). It is not immediately evident why accents markings are absent in these lines. Some of the reasons might just lie in scribal error, or damage in the actual papyrus that occurs at lines 237, 275, and 803. Another interesting explanation can lie in the fact that a few of the lines without accents are “formulaic lines”. This idea will be explored later in this paper (see *Accentuation markings and Formulas*).

Besides those 24 lines (the 11 lines without accents, 5 lines with the same accentuation position as modern critical editions of Homer, 4 line which have the same number of accentuation but in different placement as in modern critical editions of Homer, and 4 lines which are “missing” in the Bankes Homer), the accentuation markings in the rest of the papyrus (96%) significantly are not consistent with the markings in critical editions of Homer. These differences relative to modern standard editions include the absence of one to several accent marks and the placement of accent marks on a different syllable or different type of accents.

The average number of accent marks per line in the Bankes Homer is about 3, with 78% of the lines containing 2 to 4 accents. In modern critical editions of Homer the average number of accent markings is 6 with 84% of the lines having 5 to 7 accents.

Figure 6 illustrates the distribution of accentuation marks per line in the papyrus compared to modern editions of Homer. It is important to note that the marks are distributed uniformly (no gaps) and that the number of marks in the papyrus is systematically smaller than in the modern editions. These results correspond to the observations made by Nagy on the practice

omitted in the Bankes Homer and in at least 7 other papyri and manuscripts (including Pap. Mus. Brit 128 and the Venetus A manuscript), line 790 is omitted in the Bankes Homer and in 6 other papyri and manuscripts (including the Venetus A manuscript).

of the “selective markings of accents” in older papyri that are from the pre-Byzantine period (See Chapter 1).

Patterns of use of accentuation markings. Within each line it seems as though the accents in the Bankes Homer follow different patterns and serve a different purpose than the accents in the modern editions. These patterns can be observed in the use of the different types of accents—grave, acute, and circumflex.

Grave Accents: According to the standard system of accentuation, *grave accents* can appear only on the last syllable of a word (*ultima*) when it is not followed by a punctuation mark or an enclitic.⁷⁸ However, in the Bankes Homer, grave accents often appear on the second to last syllable, or even the third, fourth, or fifth to last syllables. For example, the dative plural of the noun φρήν is consistently accented with a grave accent on the penult, φρῆσι (6 times at lines 24.135, 152, 171, 282, 321 and 674) with one exception in the whole text – line 24.181. By contrast, this form is accented as φρεσί in standard editions. Another example of a word consistently accented with a grave accent on the penult is γεραῖος (lines 24.162, 252, 279; with the exception on line 24.302), whereas modern editions again accent the *ultima*, γεραῖος. Moreover, in the papyrus, the dative plural of νηῖς carries a grave accent on the penultimate (νηῖσι in line 24.254). There is even an example of a grave accent appearing on the fifth syllable from the end of a word in line 24.504: the phrase ἐγὼ δ' ἐλεεινότερός περ, is accented in the Bankes Homer as ἐγὼ δ ἐλεῖνότερός περ, with the grave accent appearing on the fifth syllable from the end in ἐλεῖνότερός.

Concerning the use of grave accents in early papyri that were written in scriptio continua, scholars have noticed that various accentuation systems were in use at this time and that in some

⁷⁸ Allen, p. 246.

papyri these systems might be used simultaneously.⁷⁹ In such papyri, grave accent markings may have been used for different purposes (e.g., to remove ambiguity between words in scriptio continua or to replace acute accent in certain positions) and their position within the lines of the papyri do not seem to follow the “modern” rule which limits their placement, and, as such, their placement can be difficult to predict.⁸⁰ The practice of using grave accents in these ways seems to have been gradually changed to the modern use of grave accents in later papyri around 400 CE.⁸¹ Thus, the observed placement of grave accents in the Bankes Homer on syllables other than the last syllable of a word may indicate that the papyrus belongs to an early tradition of marked up papyri (the practice of accentuation marking in papyri began about 200 BCE).⁸²

Acute Accents: There are on average two acute marks per line in the majority of the lines of the Bankes Homer (88% of lines have 1 to 3 acute accents, 7% have more than 4 and 1% have 0). Once again, the acute accents in the papyrus are often placed on different syllables of the word or placed instead of different accents than appear in modern standard editions. For example in 24.163, the *diorthotes* accented the word ἐντοπῶς with an acute accent instead of a grave, as the post-Byzantine conventions would demand. Also, every single time there is an accent on the last few syllables of a line in the Bankes Homer (55 lines) that accent is either a grave accent or a circumflex without any exception. (See Appendix 2) In 25 of these lines, the grave accents in the Bankes Homer papyrus are placed over syllables carrying acute accents in the modern standard editions.

⁷⁹ Probert, 2006. p.47.

⁸⁰ Moore-Blunt, Jennifer. 1978. (note: the analysis of accentuation placement presented in this paper was made on the limited sample of poetic papyri dated between 1 BCE and 2 CE)

⁸¹ Probert, 2006.

⁸² Probert, 2006. p.47.

From his preliminary analysis of the accentuation marks in the Bankes Homer, Nagy pointed out that the older system of accentuation, compared with the newer accentuation system exemplified in Venetus A manuscript and in modern critical editions of Homer, is characterized by the “misplacement” of acute accents to different syllables in the same word or their “replacement” by grave or circumflex accents depending on the context.⁸³ He suggests, however, that in the case of a polysyllabic oxytone word (a word with an accent placed on the last syllable which in the modern system is accented with a grave accent when it is followed by another word without a syntactic break), the convention in papyri is for the word to be accented with an acute accent.⁸⁴ Nagy illustrates this with an example from line 24.345, but notes that this rule may not be consistent throughout the entire papyrus. Indeed, my analysis of all 675 lines of the papyrus shows that such cases appear in 10 lines (e.g. line 24.345, κρατὺς in modern standard editions, but κρατύς in the Bankes Homer). However, there are also 5 lines in which oxytone words have acute accents in the modern critical editions but in the papyrus they have grave accent instead (e.g. line 24.516, πολίων in modern standard editions, but πολιδὺν in the Bankes Homer). (See Appendix 3)

The material analyzed in this paper seems to confirm some of these preliminary observations by Nagy, although exploring the reasons behind the patterns of the appearance of acute accents in the papyrus will be the subject of a future work.

Circumflex Accents: In regard to the use of circumflexes, I observed that, generally, their placement corresponds to their placement in modern standard editions with exceptions in a few cases. In occasions where a circumflex does not appear in the Bankes Homer where post-Byzantine conventions dictate that it should, there is instead a *longum* marking the syllable as long. This

⁸³ Nagy, 2009, p.143,144.

⁸⁴ Nagy, 2000 p. 10 and Allen, p. 245.

seems to serve the same function as the circumflex does in the modern accentuation system in which a circumflex normally is over a long syllable. In the Bankes Homer such use is not the primary role of a circumflex, and the long syllable is marked just with *longum* instead. As such, circumflexes appear over short vowels, such as ε, ο, and α, as well as long vowels such as η or ω. An example of this is in line 253 in the word σπεῦσατε (the circumflex is above the ε). In standard Homeric editions this word is accented as σπεύσατέ (there is the enclitic μοι afterwards, hence the second acute accent) in accordance with the modern accentuation system. Another example of this is in line 284, in which the word οἶνον in modern Homeric editions is accented as οῖνον in the Bankes Homer.

Two Accents on Two Consecutive Syllables: In addition, I observed many words that have two accents on two consecutive syllables. In general in the modern system of accentuation, the rule is that a word may have two accents if it is followed by an enclitic which does not take an accent. This rule does not apply both in this example and in the entire Bankes Homer. In the modern (post-Byzantine) accentuation system, it is possible for a word to have two accents, if, for example, the next word is an enclitic. Examples of this in the Bankes Homer include κατακτεῖναιεν in line 226 and σπεῦσατε in line 253. In κατακτεῖναιεν there is a circumflex above the εῖ and an acute above the ι. In σπεῦσατε there is a circumflex above the εῖ and an acute above the υ. Other examples include ὀδὸιπρόρον (line 375) and γαράιε (line 390). There are also words that have two accents on non-consecutive syllables of the word in places that differ from modern rules, as in line 311:

311 φίλτατος οἰωνῶν· κάι εὐ κρατος ἐστι μέγιστον

dearest of all birds, and whose strength is the greatest⁸⁵

⁸⁵ All translations used in this paper are from Lattimore, 2011.

In this example the word in question, οἰωνῶν, has a grave accent on the antepenult (where it can never appear in modern accentuation) and a circumflex on the ultima. Immediately after the punctuation mark the next word, καί, carries an acute accent on the first letter of a diphthong! Another such example is ἐλεεινότερός (line 504):

504 μνησάμενος σου πατρος· ἐγὼ δ' ἐλεεινότερός περ·

remembering your father, yet I am still more pitiful;

In this example ἐλεεινότερός has two acute accents on the antepenult and the ultima (perhaps, due to the enclitic περ, corroborating the fact that early versions of certain rules in the “Byzantine” system of accentuation were already being used in the Bankes Homer). However, the grave accent that appears above the word’s second syllable is unusual in its placement. These examples can show that the accents have a different function in the system of the Bankes Homer than they do in the modern stress-accentuation system.

Words with no Accents: There are a number of words and formulas that are not accented at all, differently from the modern convention. In particular, I found that the accents rarely appear on articles, conjunctions, or particles such as καί, μέν or γάρ. Of course, there are exceptions to this such as in line 311 shown above, but it seems as though longer words which are more specific and rarer in form often are accented more often than words such as particles which would have been pronounced the same in almost every single form. In addition, I found that names are also not heavily accented: no form of ἀχιλλεύς is ever accented, and it is more common for πρίαμος to be unaccented rather than accented.

Accentuation Markings and Formulas: Further following the model set by Koenig’s work, I performed an analysis of different formulaic phrases (I focused specifically on noun epithet phrases) throughout the entire papyrus to observe how accentuation could differentiate between

repetitions of the same formula. This analysis was limited to formulaic phrases which have *at least one other repetition* in the Bankes Homer. One of the formulaic epithets that appears is *μοῖρα κραταῖη*. This formula appears twice in Book 24 in lines 132 and 209, always at the end of the line:

132 [αγχι] παρέστηκεν θάνατος και μοῖρα κραταῖη.

near to you stand death and mighty fate.

209 ἤμενοι εν μεγάρῳ· τῷ δ' ὥς ποτε μοῖρα κραταῖη

in the megaron, for how mighty fate

In both cases there is a circumflex over the diphthong in *μοῖρα*; but a grave accent also appears above the ι of *κραταῖη* in the first occurrence of the formula (132) and not in the second instance (209).

One of the most common formulaic phrases is *ὥς εἶπτο*, “so he/she said”, often used as a narrative transition after dialogue. Every single time that this formula appears, including elided variants and the form of the verb without the initial augment (e.g. *ὥς εἶπατ'* and *ὥς φάτο*), it is not accented.

Another such formula that only appears accented once in the Bankes Homer is *ποδας ὠκυς*, “swift-footed”. This formula appears five times (four times with the name *αχιλλεύς*, once with the name *Ἥρις*—although this is a slightly different formula with a gender change of the adjective and noun and metrical change):

138 την δη α[πα]μειβόμενος προσεφη ποδας ὠκυς αχιλλεύς

Then swift-footed Achilles spoke responding to her

188 ἡ μὲν αρ ὥς εἶπους ἀπεβη π[ο]δας ὠκέα Ἥρις

And so swift-footed Iris spoke and stepped away

559 τον δ' ἀρ' ὑπόδρα ἴδων προσεφη ποδας ωκυς ἀχιλλεύς

And then looking grimly at him the swift-footed Achilles answered

649 τον δ' ἐπικεπτομέων προσεφη ποδας ωκυς ἀχιλλεύς

And the swift-footed Achilles mockingly said

751 ἄλλους μὲν γὰρ παῖδας ἐμούς ποδας ωκυς ἀχιλλεύς

for there were others of my sons who swift-footed Achilles seized

In general, it seems that formulas are marked with accents only once or twice out of the instances that they appear: usually they are fully accented on the first repetition of the formula in Book 24, for example, μοῖρα κρατὴν. The formula ποδας ωκυς might have appeared fully accented on the first repetition of it in Book 24 (24.87), but we can never truly know as that part of the papyrus is lost. It is also possible to explain the accentuation of the formula in line 24.188, because this version of the formula π[ο]δας ωκέα ἴρις, is different as the adjective and noun change genders. It is possible that this version of the formula was accented because it is an exception to the pattern of the other formulas, and as such it needed to be clarified by the *diorthotes*.

Whenever there are multiple repetitions of a formula bearing accents, the later instances never contradict the earlier accentuation; they may have the same accentuation, add some or eliminate some, but they never have an accent that directly contradicts that which is in another version of the formula. An example of this is εὐτροχον ἡμιονεῖν, “well-wheeled mule wagon”. This formula appears in the final positions of two lines:

189 αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ὕιας ἀμαξάν εὐτροχο[v] ἡμιονεῖν

and then he ordered his sons to make ready the well-wheeled mule wagon

266 ἐκ μὲν ἄμαξαν ἀείραν εὐτροχον ἡμιονεῖν

they brought out the well-wheeled mule wago

As is seen in these two lines, in the first occurrence of the formula there is an acute over the υ in εὔτροχον, and in the second occurrence the acute in εὔτροχον is kept the same and there is an acute accent added above the ι in ἥμιονεῖν. One of the accents appears in both instances and the other is added in the second appearance of the formula, but there is no contradiction between the accents.

Following the above observations, a hypothesis can be drawn that there may have been general rules for how to place the accents that corresponded to the intended function of the accents in the papyrus: accentuation marks were prioritized on the first appearance of formulas and on variations (such as ποδὺς ὠκεᾶ) with some margin for error on the part of the scribe. Perhaps, the *diorthotes* marking up the papyrus thought that the people performing the *Iliad* should know the accents for the formulaic phrases already, so it is not necessary to put the accents above every single repetition of the formula.

Overall, this analysis of how accents behave in formulaic expressions shows that formulaic expressions in the Bankes Homer function as memory aids, essentially in a text which is made for memorization. Formulas normally appear at the beginning and ends of lines and in fixed metrical places in the lines. The scribe seems to assume that the reader should know, or only have to be reminded of once or twice, the accentuation, pronunciation and meter of these lines, because they are formulas.

Summary for Diacritical Markings usage. The results of the analysis of the use of diacriticals in the Bankes Homer papyrus can be summarized as follows. Firstly, the diacriticals are placed rather uniformly throughout the entire papyrus on practically every line. In addition, the number of diacriticals, and specifically accents, on each line is systematically smaller than in modern critical editions suggesting the presence of “selective accent marking” and, hence, a different function of the accents in the text. Each of the individual accents also functions in a

unique way in this papyrus. Particularly, grave accents can be placed on any syllable in a word, acute accents can appear over a different syllable of the word or be “replaced” with different accent, and circumflex accents can be placed above any vowel (not limited to only long vowels). Finally, formulaic words and phrases are marked the same throughout the entire text, and when certain instances of the formula are not marked it can be assumed that this is because they should have the same accentuation as the other instances of the formula which are accented. Overall, these patterns show that the *diorthotes* placed each one of the accents selectively, not following the rules of the modern system of accentuation. In turn, it can be said that these accents serve a different purpose than the accents in the system found in modern critical editions. They are less of a part of the spelling of a word and seem to point towards a function of accents at the phrase level and more dependent on the meter of the phrase.

3.3.2. Markings of Quantity in the Bankes Homer

In the Bankes Homer there appear to be 180 “markings of quantity” spread throughout the whole text. These include macrons and brevis/breve (brachy in Greek). There are 13 short marks and 167 long marks spread fairly evenly throughout the text. **Figure 7** illustrates the distribution of the markings of quantity that appear in the Bankes Homer papyrus.

As one can see, the placement of the markings suggests that the scribe did not write them randomly, it seems that they were put for a specific purpose. Certain markings are placed in order to clarify where in the meter the performer should start after a punctuation mark, to remind the reader to start the line with a long syllable after the previous line did not end with a punctuation mark, to clarify the metrical value of syllables which contain vowels such as such as α, υ, and ι which can be either long or short, or it seems to emphasize certain words in the text. For example, no matter which position in the line θυμός appears, 15 out of 21 times there is a longum above the

υ. This could be because υ is an ambiguous vowel, but if this was the only reason then should not every ambiguous υ be marked with a macron? From looking through the patterns it seems as though the scribe very deliberately placed markings of quantity on forms of this word in particular (as well as other words such as ἴλιον, ἱρίς, and μυθος), perhaps to place a certain emphasis on the word. All of these signs indicate to some extent that the scribe placed these markings of quantity for a purpose, to aid with the oral performance (or reading aloud) of the poem.

3.3.3. Marginal Markings in the Bankes Homer

In addition to markings of quantity, many marginal notations appear in the Bankes Homer, both in the original hand and in a second hand. Most of the signs that are in the original hand include *paragraphoi* (40 signs) (a mark in papyri that marks a division in a text, see **Figure 8** for how the paragraphoi appear in the Bankes Homer), character names (40), and number markings (7).

There are other marginal markings that were made by a second hand (10) but these are mostly scribal corrections for a word or phrases in the original text. The character names seem to be placed in order to signify who is speaking during the speeches and laments (functioning similar to character names in a drama script and our quotation marks), and *paragraphoi* mark the lines when the narrator of the story (the poet himself) is speaking. These appear consistently when the speaker changes. In addition, the original hand has also placed numbers, which were written as letters of the alphabet in ancient Greek (from β to θ) within triangle brackets (resembling for example <β>) roughly every 100 lines, starting from line 200 and subsequently appearing at 300 (γ), 401 (δ), 501 (ε), 601(ζ), 703(η), and 804(θ). From this pattern it is possible to conclude that in the missing columns of the papyrus an α must have appeared around 30 lines before the beginning

of the existing papyrus, and this would have been marking about 100 lines from the beginning of the lost part of the book.

All of these marginal markings made by the original scribe have important roles in the function of the text. In total they set up the papyrus to look like a drama script, complete with line numbers, character markings and speech delineations.

3.4. Summary and Conclusion of Chapter 3

The main goal of this chapter was to analyze the use of the diacritical markings, and particularly the accentuation and marginal markings, that appear in the Bankes Homer. I have transcribed and examined the text of the entire papyrus (675 lines) and showed that the Bankes Homer accentuation system functions in a completely different way compared to the conventional accentuation as it appears in the modern standard editions (and which is descendent from a Byzantine system of accentuation according to Nagy). It can be described as functioning on a phrasal level with some relationships with other aspects of the texts, such as the meter and other markings in the text.

As my examination of the function of the accentuation markings in the Bankes Homer has progressed, it became evident that the meaning of the markings should be considered especially in conjunction with the markings of quantity and marginal markings that are also abundant throughout the Bankes Homer. It is important to note one of the striking qualities of the papyrus is that the accentuation, quantity, and marginal markings are distributed quite uniformly through the lengthy papyrus, suggesting that they were placed not by accident but with a specific intent.

My analysis strengthens the suggestion that the complex markup of the papyrus was made for the purpose of performance, possibly even in a theater. In accordance with Nagy's scheme of

the standardization and the fixation of the Homeric texts, the “Five Ages of Homer”, such papyri with performance markings could have been produced in the pre-Byzantine period between the second century BCE and second century CE which corresponds to the age of Bankes Homer. This places the papyrus in a unique position as possibly the best preserved and longest “script” for the performance of the Homeric epics, either in a theatre or in another performance setting. (See review on performance practices in Chapter 1, section 1)

In the future, more work needs to be done on analyzing the role of each specific diacritical marking, including an analysis of the punctuation markings, as well as performing comparative analyses on different parts of the text in order to try and find patterns, if there are any.

Chapter 4

Homeric Performance and Music

4.1. Introduction

The next step in considering the performance traditions of the Homeric epics, and in particular looking at the tradition that the Bankes Homer papyrus might reflect, is to consider the musical aspects of these traditions and what inferences can be made in order to “reconstruct” some version of these melodies. As can be seen in the actual content of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, music permeated every aspect of the Homeric world, reflecting in different genres (dance, singing, recitation of epic poetry) and serving different functions (entertainment, healing, inspiration, mourning). While we can make quite astute observations about the place of music in Homeric society, even so, the enigma of the “sound” of the music of the epics has attracted the attention of scholars for ages and every bit of information that allows them to make any insights is very valuable. True, we will never know what the song of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* sounded like; however, scholars have pointed out (as described in Chapter 1) that an analysis of texts which might preserve aspects of the oral performance traditions of the Homeric epics can create a more concrete image of the melodic patterns and how they were sung and thus, their music.

In this chapter, I will attempt to reconstruct the melodies that could correspond to several lines of the Bankes Homer papyrus using an approach similar to that which is described by West

and Hagel (see chapter 1 section 3). Before describing my method, I want to note that both West and Hagel specify that their approach for the “melodization” (the recovery of characteristics of a melodic line from elements of a text, e.g., accentuation) of parts of the Homeric epics is designed and based around the idea that they are reconstructing the performance of the epics as they might have been performed in their earliest history during the Archaic period. Consequently, they have to consider certain limitations that would define the melody of the Homeric verses due to assumptions such as: the early rhapsodes would often have performed on a four-string phorminx, and there were limitations on the range of notes that could have been sung by the performer due to the convention that the vocal melody generally followed the instrumental melody in unison, note by note.

This is where my approach differs slightly because I am looking at the Bankes Homer papyrus, which was written around the 2nd century CE. Through the approximately thousand years between the earliest performances of the Homeric epics to the 2nd century CE, the musical culture in ancient Greece developed and evolved alongside society. Thus, such limitations as being limited by the number of notes that could be played on a four-stringed phorminx became “archaic” in a sense as both the music theory, philosophy, and technology evolved. So by the time when the Bankes Homer papyrus was created, these limitations were no longer the norm. Through the evolution of the ancient Greek tradition of music in this time, so much happened that could have changed the performance traditions of the Homeric epics significantly: vocal and instrumental music separated into their own identities and didn’t necessarily need to follow the exact same melodic lines in a piece; the range of instrument and vocal notes was no longer as restricted; the music theoretical and philosophical concepts of “modes” and how they could affect the ethos of a human through the music and emotional content of songs were well established and developed;

and the Homeric epics were performed not only by rhapsodes but also by professional musicians (citharodes) and possibly by “professional” actors (homeristai) in a theatrical setting (see Chapter 1, section 1). As such, I need to make certain modifications to my approach for the melodization of the section of the *Iliad* that is within the Bankes Homer papyrus.

4.2. The Melodization Method

In my approach to the melodization of this text, my first step is to identify the melodic patterns of the phrases in the *Iliad* indicated by the placements of accents in the Bankes Homer papyrus, as was suggested by Nagy. In order to do this, I conducted an analysis of the patterns of the placement of accent markings in the Bankes Homer papyrus in its entirety (see Chapter 3). Following this, I work with the rules that have been formulated by scholars, which connect a change in pitch in the melody in accordance with the type and placement of accents in the phrase. The goal of this is to determine the “relative melody” of the phrase, the structure of the melodic line (see Chapter 1.3 for the formulated “rules” and why this gives us the relative, not absolute melody). The restored relative melody –when the pitch would move up or down in a line or phrase— is based upon the accentuation of the text, and the “absolute” melody would be determined by whatever tonic note and scale/mode are decided upon by the performer (a rhapsode, citharode or homeristes). My hypothesis is that the mode and tonic note of these performances was chosen by the performer to reflect/enhance the content of the poem and to suit their vocal range.

There are two important differences between my approach and the approach made by West and Hagel to the melodization of parts of the Homeric texts. First, my approach is based upon the argument by some scholars that it is important to use the original accentuation that appears in papyri in order to restore the melody that might have corresponded to the Homeric epics. This

provides the foundation for the melodization process (see Chapter 1, section 2). As I found in my analysis of the original diacritical markings in the Bankes Homer papyrus, the function of the accentuation system used in the papyrus seems to be different from the accentuation system used in modern critical editions (see Chapter 3 for in-depth comparison and analysis of differences). Following from this, it seems as though the melodization of the Bankes Homer, which is based on the accentuation system that appears in the papyrus, will be different from the melodization of the Homeric epics that has been done by West and Hagel, who used accentuation that appears in modern critical editions of Homer (see Chapter 1, section 1.3).

Secondly, I hypothesize that the choice of tonic and scale (music mode) that the melody of the song of Book 24 of the *Iliad* (as possibly recorded in the accentuation in the Bankes Homer) was performed in can be decided upon by looking at the content of the poem and considering which modes were considered “appropriate” for this content to be performed in accordance with the concept of musical ethos that was developed by ancient theoreticians and philosophers. West and Hagel consider different factors when choosing the mode that the epics might have been performed in. In their reconstruction, which they focus on reconstructing the “original” ancient melody of the epics as they were performed in the 8th century BCE, they decided that the melody would have been based in the most ancient mode (Ionic), and they placed a restriction on which notes could have been used, and how many could have been used, due to the instrument that might have been used by rhapsodes, a phorminx (see Chapter 1, section 1.3). In order to further develop my hypothesis about modes and justify why I am taking a different approach to West and Hagel, I will briefly delve into a description of ancient Greek modal theory and the concept of ethos, and the relationship between the two as the ancient authors thought of it.

4.3. Ancient Greek Music Modality and the Concept of Ethos

After the first step in my process of melodization, the next important step is to decide what pitches will be used in the basis of the melody. This entails choosing the starting note (the tonic) and the scale or what is also called the “mode” of the music, a certain sequence of notes that are put in a specific order with specific intervals between them.

The concept of the “modes” that are present in the Western European tradition of music originated in Medieval Europe and they were inspired by the theoretical concepts that originated in ancient Greek music theory such as *harmonia* (ἁρμονία) and *tonos* (τόνος).⁸⁶ The modes that were used by the ancient Greeks changed and developed through time. At their oldest, the most ancient system of modes in the Greek tradition of music was probably in use already in the Archaic period; however, these Archaic modes were different from the modes in the modal system that was developed by music theoreticians in later periods. We know about the earliest modes from the work of Aristides Quintilianus. Though he lived in the 3rd/4th century CE, West speculates that he preserved early scales as “they were used by ‘the most ancient’ musicians”.⁸⁷ The later “Classical” systems of modes were developed by Aristoxenus (~375-335 BCE) and Ptolemy (100-170 CE), along with several other ancient music theoreticians. By the time of Aristoxenus, the scale that the musical modes were built on had “solidified” into what is called the “Greater Perfect System”. This consists of seven overlapping seven-notes scales with different interval patterns. There were many different iterations of these different scales. This expanded modal system evolved alongside developments in musical instruments, which allowed for a greater range of notes

⁸⁶ See definition of “modes” in the Definitions section of the Introduction. The Greek names of the Medieval modes were adopted by medieval music theorists; however, the structure of these modes is not related to the original Greek modes.

⁸⁷ West, 1992, p. 174.

(e.g., more strings or longer flute pipes), and as such, it gave ancient Greek musicians and composers a larger capacity for melodic expression. The larger capacity for melodic expression did not just mean that more notes could be produced, it also meant that the concept of “modes” and the connection between music and emotion evolved into quite a complex picture.

According to the ancient Greek philosophy of music, different modes were thought to elicit specific emotional and spiritual responses in both the performers and audience. As such, the different modes came to be associated with different social contexts. Plato reinforced this idea connecting it with the perceived ethical power (ethos) of music and the ability of music to touch the ethos of humans. Specifically, he argued that “differences of ethos and effect are especially manifested in harmoniai (modes)”.⁸⁸ The ancient scholars thought that this aspect of music was really important to consider because anything that can affect the emotions can directly affect a human’s soul, corrupting it or purifying it in some way. According to Plato in the *Republic*, “rhythm and melody permeate the innermost element of the soul, affect it more powerfully than anything else, and bring it grace...”⁸⁹ Using this reasoning, Plato argues that it is important for people to avoid music in certain modes, especially during the critical phases of education as a child, and he lays out guidelines for the use of various modes and the context in which they should be listened to.⁹⁰ Here is an example of some of them:

Mixolydian, and Syntonolydian—mourning, grief, depression; suitable for laments
Ionian – soft and convivial (friendly, lively, and enjoyable); suitable for drinking parties
Dorian— disciplined, courageous and resolute; suitable for war or in forced work
Phrygian— Patient, temperate, moderate; suitable for peaceful willing work and enterprises

⁸⁸ West, 1992, p.249. In this phrase West summarizes the views of both Plato and Aristotle.

⁸⁹ Plato. *Republic* III.402d-e.

⁹⁰ Plato. *Republic* III. 399c-d

Furthermore, low-pitched modes were thought to produce tenderness and sentiment in listeners. West notes that the connection between musical mode and human emotion was already being discussed and considered by the Pythagoreans who “are reported to have classified (and made systematic and practical use of) types of music producing different effects, rousing or calming”.⁹¹ He continues by describing that this connection continued to be developed throughout the history of ancient Greek music. Later music theorists and philosophers, as exemplified by Aristides Quintilianus and later Boethius, further developed the relationship between human emotion—ethos—and musical mode, to be rooted in the concept of harmony and, specifically, the harmony of the cosmos and the Pythagorean concept of the mathematics of musical harmonies. Thomas Matthiesen describes how Aristides Quintilianus reflects this idea:

In *De musica* 3, Aristides Quintilianus shows how all the music-pitch, scale, tonos, rhythmic pattern, and so on—are like of the universe, and therefore through mimesis, music may make of the soul like the order of the universe. Thus, the harmonia of music may create a like harmonia in the soul, and this in turn creates a particular ethos.⁹²

One of the most condensed and well-laid out descriptions of this connection between human emotion, ethos, and music is outlined in Boethius’ *De Institutione Musica*. He creates some terms that no other philosopher used before him, but the concepts were part of a long-lasting philosophical tradition. In this treatise, Boethius mainly focuses on analyzing the works of Ptolemy and Nicomachus on music philosophy and music theory, and these works, in turn, transmit the philosophical tradition beginning with the Pythagoreans of connecting human ethos with music. In particular, Boethius writes about three different categories of music—*musica mundana*, *musica humana*, and *musica instrumentalis*. Two of these types of music—*musica mundana* and *musica*

⁹¹ West 1992, p.246. (West refers to the works of Pratinas and Pindar)

⁹² Mathiesen, 1984, p.268.

humana– are silent to the human ear, *musica instrumentalis* (the music of instruments) is what we hear as music to our ears.

The type of music most relevant to the subject of this work is the concept of *musica instrumentalis* (the music of instruments). This is the music that is physically heard and that is central to the function of ancient Greek society. As such, Boethius (and the tradition of philosophy that he is preserving) was very interested in how the human soul is affected by physical sound. As Chamberlain describes, Boethius declared that “music has extraordinary power over a man’s physical and moral condition, because all souls possess internal musical proportionings that pick out and delight in the external music that resembles it”.⁹³ Essentially, music and sounds in the outside world can directly affect the *musica humana* that is within a human’s soul, and, following from this, it is important to carefully cater the sounds of the outside world in order to positively affect a human’s soul. In this sense “good” music, sounds, and harmony can “cure sickness and foster virtue” in a human, and “bad” music can create chaos in a man’s soul.⁹⁴ It is in this context that Boethius begins to discuss the modes and genres of music. In his theory (continuing the traditions passed down from at least the 4th century BCE with Pythagoras) certain music should be played in specific modes and written in different genres, so that it will touch the human soul correctly.

While thinking about this philosophical and theoretical tradition of associating certain modes with emotions and certain events, it is important to ask the question if these concepts were actually used by musicians, composers, and performers? West notes that “already in the first half of the fifth century, we find some lyric poets making programmatic assertions that certain modes

⁹³ Chamberlain, “Philosophy of Music”, 84

⁹⁴ Ibid.

are best for particular purposes”.⁹⁵ For example, Pindar characterizes the Dorian melody as most dignified or solemn in fragment 67, and he references the Dorian mode several times in his *Olympian Odes* and *Pythians*.⁹⁶ However, it is not reasonable to assume that all composers, musicians, and performers of songs and musical compositions would have consciously followed the ancient theoretical and philosophical recommendations to compose music in specific modes to enhance the meaning of the performed texts (though we can’t completely exclude this option). Instead, it could have been the opposite way that music theoreticians followed the musicians and composers who naturally followed patterns in connecting modes to emotion and wrote their music in order to touch the specific emotions of the listener. One can find examples of the connection between music theory and actual compositional trends in the more “modern” tradition of Western music, composers know that often in order to express darkness/sadness a musical piece can be composed in a minor key (mode), and “happy” music can be composed in a major key (mode). As shown in the discussion above, it seems as though ancient composers also thought about this. Of course, music is always subjective, however, it is interesting to note that the emotional response of humans to different modes and keys can actually be “measured”. Modern cognitive research has been done on the influence of music composed in Greek musical modes (Lydian, Ionian, Mixolydian, Dorian, Aeolian, Phrygian, and the Locrian) on the emotional response of listeners (such as happiness, serenity, fear, anger, or sadness). The researchers found statistically significant evidence that “small changes in the pitch structures of modes modulate the emotions associated with the pieces, confirming the cognitive foundation of emotional responses to music”, thus confirming the speculations of the ancient Greek music philosophers on the relationship of the

⁹⁵ West, 1992, p. 246.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 180.

concept of ethos and musical modes which in turn reflected trends in ancient Greek musical culture.⁹⁷

In order to observe how this trend appears in the actual music notation that has been preserved to us today, I reviewed the musical fragments that are described and edited in West's book *Ancient Greek Music*. In particular, I was interested in looking at the musical documents which contain fragments of lament, as book 24 of the *Iliad* is centered around laments for the death of Hector. The ancient Greek musical fragments which contain laments are all apparently written in the Hypolydian, Mixolydian, Hyperaeolian, or Hyperionian modes.⁹⁸ Some of these fragments have very similar lyric content to the laments in book 24 of the *Iliad* and as such, observing which modes they are written in is an important observation for the next step in my melodization process.⁹⁹

4.4. Content of the *Iliad* and a Possible Mode of the Melody

When speculating about how the Homeric epics might have been performed, West notes that "the musical writers take no notice of rhapsodes at all, and no one associates them with singing in any specific mode," adding that "some differentiation from speech-melody may have been maintained".¹⁰⁰ However, while ancient writers on music might not have described the mode that the Homeric epics were sung in, I want to speculate about what mode could have been chosen by rhapsodes or other performers of the Homeric epics based upon the emotional content of the text

⁹⁷ Ramos D. et al., 2011, p. 165.

⁹⁸ Two of fragments are within one papyrus: Berlin papyrus inv. 6870 (this papyrus also includes a fragmentary paean and instrumental pieces). There is a fragment of a dramatic lament on the death of Ajax and a fragment of dramatic lament. One is a fragment on the verso of POxy.3161 of a lament involving Persians and Lydians.

⁹⁹ West, 1992, p. 277.

¹⁰⁰ West, 1981, p.124. He also notes that some evidence may survive in Homeric scholia.

and the ethos of the music, especially for the Homeric performance tradition at the time when the Bankes Homer papyrus was created (1st century BCE to 2nd century CE). In order to do this, I need to look more in detail at the content of Book 24 of the *Iliad* (as mentioned before, the Bankes Homer papyrus contains the last 677 lines of Book 24). The *Iliad* can be characterized, using the terms described by Aristotle in his *Poetics*, as an “epic tragedy” because it has an epic structure along with multiple plots and with tragic content.¹⁰¹ This characterization becomes especially apparent in Book 24 of the *Iliad*, which contains some of the most emotional scenes of the epic, including: Achilles’ mistreatment of the body of Hector, the horror of the gods and the discussions between Thetis and Achilles, and Iris and Priam; Priam being led into the Greek camp by Hermes and meeting with Achilles; the speech in which Priam begs Achilles to return Hector’s body and to think how his father would feel; the scene in which Priam brings Hector back home to Troy; and the funeral of Hector.

Among the most prominent features of Book 24 are the laments for Hector. The scene containing these laments starts around line 710 of the book and extends until the last line, line 804. In this scene, Priam returns to the citadel of Troy with the body of Hector, and when he is spotted by Cassandra, she cries out and the people of Troy come flooding to the city gates to meet Priam crying out laments for Hector. Among them are Hector’s wife Andromache, mother Hecuba, and sister-in-law Helen. When Hector’s body is brought into the palace and laid out, a group of funeral singers gather around and begin to “chant the song of sorrow”. The women of the palace (specifically Andromache, Hecuba, and Helen) mourning beside the singers, take turns leading the singers in the lament. Andromache goes first and leads the mourners in a lament for her husband. Then Hecuba takes the lead and leads them in a lament for her son. Finally, Helen ends with a

¹⁰¹ Whissell, 2019.

lament for Hector, and the *Iliad* comes to a close with his funeral. In these heartbreaking scenes, the laments stand out due to both their content and the fact that they are described as being performed; the women are described as groaning and chanting.

In particular, when thinking about the performance traditions of Book 24 of the *Iliad*, questions about the performance of these lament sections are particularly intriguing as certain scholars have hypothesized that they are an example of different poetic genres existing within the Homeric epic poems.¹⁰² Nagy's article "Homer and Greek myth" explores the intersection of the lyric tradition with Homer's epic.¹⁰³ He makes a very strong connection between the common origins of lyric and of epic in oral poetry, specifically talking about the performance act of "muthos" which he uses to refer to "speech acts... quotes by Homeric poetry: boasts, threats, invectives, laments, prophecies and prayers".¹⁰⁴ Nagy emphasizes that the performance of the actual Homeric poetry would have emulated the "performance traditions" of these ritualistic speech and singing acts. He notes specifically the performances of lament in book 24: "The quotations of laments performed by women in the *Iliad* show a poetic form that belongs to the general category of lyric, not epic".¹⁰⁵ Extending Nagy's argument, Casey Dué Hackney cites evidence that "the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* include within the overall epic frame the conventions and allusive power of a number of other pre-existing verbal art forms, including prayer, supplication, boasting, and insulting, as well as lament".¹⁰⁶ She suggests that "women's lament traditions may have played a crucial role in the development of Greek epic and tragedy, which was traditionally

¹⁰² Martin, 1989.

¹⁰³ Nagy, 2007

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 54.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 57.

¹⁰⁶ Dué Hackney, 2003, p. 63

performed by men”.¹⁰⁷ Pointing out that “the majority of women’s speech in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is closely related to lament in both language and theme”, she concludes that “epic subsumes a distinctly feminine mode of singing within its own mode of expression, the dactylic hexameter, no doubt transforming it but also maintaining many of its essential features”.¹⁰⁸

As noted by Nagy and Dué Hackney, it is important to consider the performance of the laments in the Homeric epics as part of a tradition of laments that had existed in the ancient Mediterranean for thousands of years. As such, this was the motivation behind choosing a passage of lament for beginning my melodization of the text of the Bankes Homer papyrus. I thought it would be interesting to consider how these laments (lines 710-804 of Book 24), and the book that they are contained in, would have been performed to reflect their content and musical tradition. As mentioned in Chapter 4.4, philosophers connected the emotions of grief, sadness, and melancholy with the Mixolydian and Syntolydian modes, and thus it was appropriate for laments to be performed based in these modes. Following from this, I decided to base my melodization of the laments for Hector, in particular, in the Mixolydian mode as it was described by Aristoxenus. I chose to use the Modal system of Aristoxenus due to the dating of the Bankes Homer papyrus to the 2nd century CE. As was described in previous sections, West and Hagel base their melodization in the more ancient Ionian mode. By the time of Aristoxenus in the 3rd century BCE, when the Greater Perfect system of scales was firmly established, the Ionian mode was no longer in use and when it came back in use by late antiquity it was a different mode completely (a variation of what was called the “Phrygian mode”). Thus, since I am interested in the melodization of a text from the 2nd century CE, I have chosen to use the Mixolydian mode from the Aristoxenian system,

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

which would have been firmly established and could have been used in the performance community (“Aristoxenus’ system was close to the one generally accepted in later Antiquity”).¹⁰⁹

The ideas of ancient Greek modal theory are complex and very hard to organize and reconstruct. This is a subject that my work in the future might delve more into, especially into the theoretical construction of these modes. However, for the purpose of this paper, I want to proceed with the melodization of the laments for Hector based upon a Mixolydian mode.

4.5. Reciting/Singing Homer

In considering the performance of “songs” in the ancient world, Plato describes that there is a relationship between the three elements of the song—speech, melody, and rhythm— and that the melody and rhythm of the song must follow the words and content of the text.¹¹⁰ Following from this, when thinking about creating a reconstruction of a Greek text, it is important to think about both the rhythm and the melody.

In the melodization of Greek poetry, the rhythm of the song is found in the rhythm of the meter of the poetry itself. So, in the Homeric epics, the meter is dactylic hexameter (each line is made up of 6 “feet” and in each foot, there is either a dactyl—one short and two long syllables— or a spondee—two long syllables) and by performing the lines in this meter we get the meter of the song.

Now, I will start with my melodization of the laments of Hector in two ways. First, I will reconstruct West’s method and create a melodization of the laments in the Ionian mode, as written by Aristides Quintilianus. Then, I will make my own melodization in the Aristoxenian Mixolydian

¹⁰⁹ West, 1992, p. 231.

¹¹⁰ Plato Republic.III.398d

mode and put both of them side by side to see the difference in how they sound. As described in Chapter 3.2, in which mention is made of Nagy’s argument that the accentuation in the Bankes Homer papyrus lays out the melodic contour of the lines, it seems to be possible to draw out a “relative” melodic line from the accentuation that is in the Bankes Homer.

I will be looking at lines 740-745 (as accented in the papyrus, see **Figure 9** for a screenshot of the lines in the papyrus). These are the last six lines of Andromache’s lament for her husband (using the accentuation from the Bankes Homer papyrus):

740 τω και μιν λαοι μεν οδυρονται κατα άστυ¹¹¹

Therefore your people are grieving for you all throughout their city,

741 αρητόν δε τοκεῦσι γόον και πένθος εθηκας

and you left for your parents mourning and sorrow beyond words

742 εκτορ· εμοῖ δε μαλιστα λελείψεται άλγεα λυγρὰ·

Hector, but for me passing all others is left the bitterness and the pain,

743 ου γάρ μοι θνησκων λεχέων εκ’ χειρας ὄρεξας·

for you did not die in bed, and stretch your arms to me,

744 ουδέ τι μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν επος· οὐ τέ κεν αιεῖ

nor spoke to me any word of wisdom on which

745 μεμνημην νυκτας τε και ἡματα δάκρυ χεούσα·

I might have pondered night and day while shedding tears.

Looking at these lines, I then drew out the accented melodic contour lines and placed them on top of the rhythm of the lines to see the melody and the rhythm together separately from the words.

¹¹¹ In the Bankes Homer papyrus the first scribe has written *περι αστυ* and this has been corrected to *κατα άστυ* by the second hand

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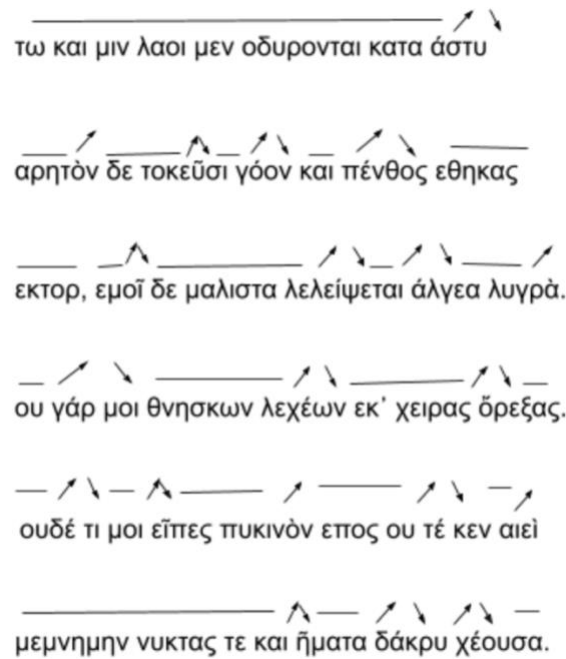
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Based upon the rules that were described in Chapter 1.3 and pointed out by scholars such as Hagel, acute and grave accents indicate a rise in pitch, a circumflex indicates a rise and then fall in pitch on the same syllable, and the melody does not fall after a grave accent until either a grammatical pause or the next accent. These rules allow us to create a melodic contour for these lines which can be illustrated as such:



The melody does not stop at the end of a line if there is no grammatical pause. Thus, at the end of the first line, the melody rises (on αἰεῖ), and the melody on the next line (μεμνημην) continues on that same pitch. In addition, D'Angour notes that through a statistical analysis, Hagel was able to determine that generally in each line, the “melodic line standardly rises at the start, falls at a point around the central part of the verse, then resumes a rise before a final cadential fall at the end of the verse”.¹¹² There are also rare occurrences of lines that end on a high-pitched syllable, but after that, the next line generally falls in pitch around the middle of the line (the third-foot caesura) so that the shape of the phrase does still finish.¹¹³ West also notes that in lines where the melodic line is not resolved to the original note, it is possible (based on descriptions of performances by bards and rhapsodes in words like the *Odyssey*) that the performer might have filled the spaces between

¹¹² D'Angour, 2018, p. 52-53.

¹¹³ Ibid.

lines with instrumental improvisation. Logically it seems that the performer could have come back to the initial note through his improvisation, so that every phrase would start on the same tonic note. It is also important to note that a phrase does not necessarily stop at the end of a line, the end of the phrase usually comes with punctuation and this might be in the middle or the end of the line.

In order to move from the “relative” melodic line to a melodization, my next step is to apply a mode to the melodic contour in order to create the melody. As mentioned before, I will first use West’s method of creating the melodization based upon the Ionian mode. I was able to find the reconstruction of the Ionian mode with the notes–e,f,a,d– in West’s work, so I chose to use this approximation of the mode. Since we do not actually know the accurate pitch values of the notes used in the ancient Greek modal systems, these reconstructions are approximations of the pitches in the modern Equal Temperament tuning system and are represented by the modern Western European tradition of notation. This approximation is proposed by West as, “the note-values given here serve merely to characterize the intervals of the scale: we do not know the proper pitch”.¹¹⁴ See **Figure 10** for a key to the notation that I used in these scores and **Figure 11** for the reconstruction of the Ionian mode and the melodization of the *Iliad* Book 24 lines 740-745 in the Ionian mode. The recordings for my reconstruction of each of the modes and the following melodizations are included on the page “Melodization of the Bankes Homer Papyrus” in the digital exhibit that I created, “Ancient Greek Music Reconstruction: the Homeric Epics”.¹¹⁵

Through this melodization, it is possible to see that the actual movement of the pitches in the line is quite limited and the sound is very distinct. My next step is to create a version of the melodization of a section of the laments for Hector, as marked by the accentuation that is present

¹¹⁴ West, 1992, p. 173.

¹¹⁵ <https://homericsong.omeka.net/exhibits/show/ancient-greek-music/reconstruction-of-the-bankes-h>

in Bankes Homer, in a Mixolydian mode in order to reflect the content and genre of lament and to evoke emotions related to this content in the listener. See **Figure 12** for the reconstruction of the Mixolydian mode and the melodization of the lines in the Mixolydian mode.

In listening to this melodization, I found it really interesting that the Mixolydian version does sound more “sad” and “melancholy” to me in comparison with the Ionian version (which sounded a bit lighter to me and more “pleasant” with a wider range of pitches due to the jump between the second and third pitches of the scale), especially when I knew the content of the lines that I was singing. Of course, this is my own subjective point of view, but listening to the two side-by-side does show an interesting example of how choice of mode can affect the melody that is produced by the same relative melodic contour.

4.6. Summary and Conclusion of Chapter 4

In Chapter 4 of my thesis, I demonstrated a possible approach for the melodization of the Homer epics based on the accentuated text of Book 24 of the *Iliad* that is in the Bankes Homer papyrus. The approach that I followed and built upon, originally suggested by West in his work “Singing Homer”, springs from the well-known observation (also confirmed by statistical studies) that in some ancient Greek musical documents, which have both music notation and accents placed above the corresponding text, the melody apparently is coordinated with the accentuation patterns (see Chapter 1.3). Following the train of thought that the melody of ancient Greek musical pieces followed the accentual patterns of the language, this phenomena can be used in thinking about the reconstruction of the melody of a text if the ancient accentuation patterns of the text are known from papyri or manuscripts.

In particular, I worked on a melodization for 6 lines of Andromache's lament at the end of Book 24 using the original accentuation of the text found in Bankes Homer papyrus. In order to reconstruct the melody of the text, in addition to using the "rules" that relate the patterns of accentuation to the relative melodic patterns of the line (see chapter 1.3), I hypothesized that the whole melody could be reconstructed by choosing which mode the melody should be built upon. I chose the Mixolydian mode through the assumption, based upon ancient Greek music philosophy and theory, that the text's emotional content could have been related to the musical "mode" that it was performed in through the ancient Greek concept of the ethos of music and how this can affect the ethos of humans themselves. My result is presented in the form of a melodic score and sound recordings corresponding to these lines of text.

In this thesis, my reconstruction was focused almost completely on the melody of these lines. However, there are so many other elements of music that also need to be considered as a part of a "reconstruction" and I plan to go through several of these elements in my further research. One of the most important of these elements is the rhythm of the music. While the basic rhythm of the text can be determined through the analysis of the metrical patterns of the poem, there are so many variations and uses of rhythm in Homer and the "interplay" of the different rhythmic and the melody could be a subject of my further research. Also, in this melodization attempt, I did not consider in great detail the influence on the performance of the epic of how the "melodic patterns" reflected in the selective accent placement in the Bankes Homer could be related throughout the entire papyrus and the influence of the "selective placement of marks of quantity" and punctuation also found throughout the entire papyrus (see Chapter 3). I hope to go more in-depth into these questions in my further research.

I would like to conclude this section with a quote from West: “We cannot know exactly how Homer was sung, how Homer sang. But the arguments that have been presented, however frail, are rational, and an *exempli gratia* reconstruction based on them may bring us nearer than we have been to an idea of the kind of thing Homeric singing was”.¹¹⁶ I think that this summarizes really well the purpose and worth behind the process of the melodization and reconstruction of the Homeric epics.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ West, 1981, p.123.

¹¹⁷ Other examples of the melodization of various literary texts can be found in D’Angour: Sappho’s brothers poem, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/p02qpz87>, and Conser, *Pitch Accent and Melody in Aeschylean Song*, *Greek and Roman Musical Studies* 8 (2020). p. 254-278.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

In this BPhil thesis, I presented the results of my investigation of some aspects of Homeric performance based on my extensive examination of the diacritical and marginal markings in the Bankes Homer papyrus. In my analysis I focused on the possibility that the extensive markings in the papyrus had a performance function and on the possibility that I could reconstruct a version of the “melody” of the song of book 24 of the Homeric epics, based on the accentuation patterns in the papyrus.

Through this project I conducted a systematic examination of the entire papyrus (the last 675 lines of the *Iliad* Book 24) using the online high definition images published online by the British Library. As my results, I found that:

- a) the accentuation system used in the Bankes Homer papyrus is different from the accentuation system used in modern critical editions of Homer in multiple ways: the distribution of the placement of accent markings (acute, grave, circumflex) in the papyrus is more sparse than in modern editions where accents are present on nearly every word (there 1895 accent marks in the papyrus vs. 4262 accent marks in the critical editions) and the patterns in the placement of accents in the words in the papyrus, in general, seem to follow ‘rules’ and patterns that are characteristic of an older Greek system of accentuation based on pitch.
- b) both the diacritical marking (accents, diaereses, breathing and elision marks) and markings of quantity (139 marks in the entire papyrus) are distributed quite uniformly over the entire papyrus (e.g. there are no gaps), suggesting that they were placed by the *diorthotes* in their specific positions on purpose.

c) the patterns of the placement of both accentuation markings and markings of quantity in the papyrus seem to follow the phenomena of “selective placement accents” and “elective placement of markings of quantity” as was suggested by Nagy. In addition, I found a number of marginal markings (paragraphoi (40 signs), character names (40), and line number markings (7)) that are also distributed all over the papyrus.

Based on this examination of the diacritical and marginal markings in the Bankes Homer papyrus, I was able to find evidence for the idea that the papyrus might have been marked by the *diorthotes* as a “script” that could be prepared and used for the purpose of performance.

In addition to my examination of the accentuation patterns in the Bankes Homer papyrus, I attempted to reconstruct a possible melody that could correspond to the ‘relative’ melodic contour line marked by the accents. This reconstruction builds on arguments by scholars that it is possible to draw out the melodic contour of how the epics were performed from the accentuation of the text. For the purpose of melodization, I revised the procedure that West and later Hagel used in order to reconstruct the melody and performance of sections of the Homeric epics. Particularly, my approach is based upon the accentuation markings that are present in the papyrus, while West and Hagel use an accentuation that appears to be analogous to the accentuation in modern critical editions of Homer. Secondly, through discussions of ancient Greek music theory and philosophy and genre, I hypothesized that the melody could be based in the Mixolydian or Syntonolydian modes. This hypothesis was based on the assumption that the mode should correspond to the content of the text, an assumption itself based on the concept of musical ethos and the connection with the human ethos. In contrast West, focusing on reconstructing and understanding the original performance of the Homeric epics in the Archaic and Classical periods, hypothesizes that the epic was performed in the ancient Ionic mode (as described by Aristides Quintilianus) and restricted to

four notes due to the rhapsode performing on a four-string phorminx. Using my approach to melodization, I reconstructed my version of a possible melody for six lines from the Bankes Homer papyrus.

Much remains to be done in the future to build upon the research that I conducted for my BPhil. In particular, more work can be done in the analysis of the punctuation in the papyrus, the possible interplay between the melody given by accentuation and the rhythm of the text that is determined by the meter, and I am interested in possibly conducting a more in-depth statistical analysis of the patterns in the text with the involvement of the tools and instruments of digital humanities. The method that I developed and used in this research can also be applied to other literary papyri, specifically those that (according to Parsons) may be formatted similarly as dramatic performance texts. I hope that I will be able to continue these explorations in the future. Nevertheless, I believe the Bankes Homer papyrus is a unique document that provides an opportunity for a new look to some aspects of the Homeric epic performance traditions, particularly in Egypt where it was found. It may truly be a “window into Homeric Song”.

FIGURES



Figure 1: Map of Egypt, the pinpoint is Elephantine in the Nile River.

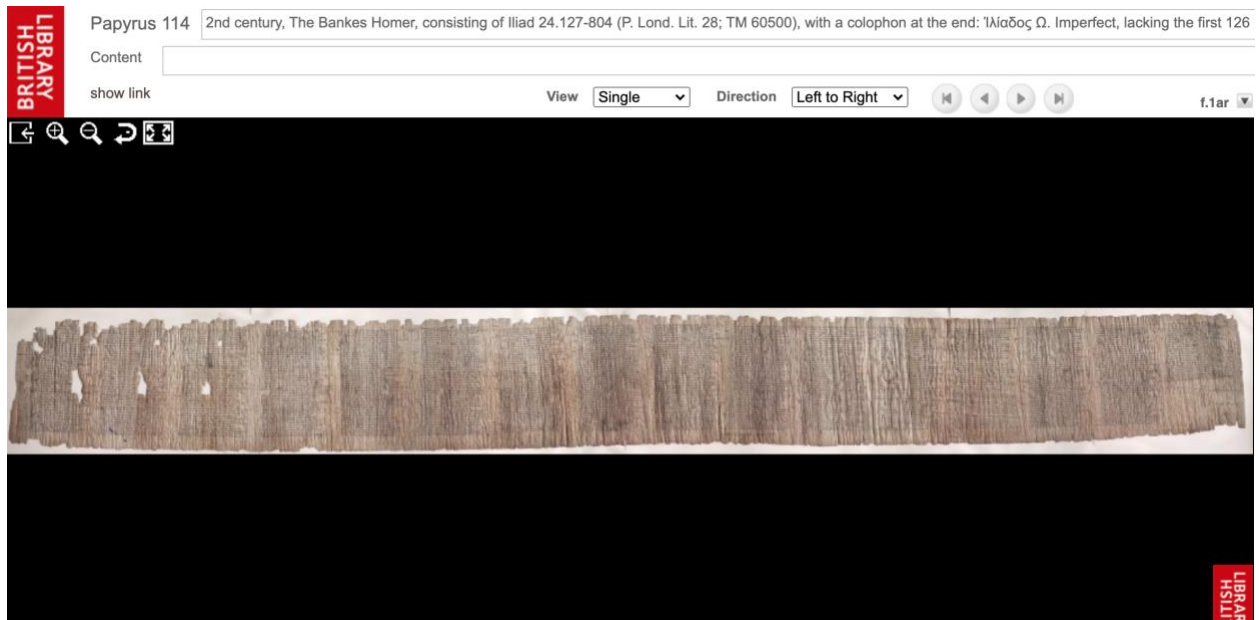


Figure 2: The image of the full Bankses Homer Papyrus in the British Library manuscript viewer.

It is possible to zoom into each of the separate columns and quite close into each line, there is also a viewer for the verso (back side of the papyrus)



257 μήστορατ' ἀντίθεον, καὶ τρωῖλον ἵπποχάρμην,
Μήστορά τ' ἀντίθεον καὶ Τρωῖλον ἵπποχάρμην
 Mestor like a god and Troilos whose delight was in horses

Figure 3: Example of line 24.257 in the Banks Homer.

1st line: direct transcription of the Banks Homer including ancient diacritical markings, punctuation and scriptio continua; 2nd line: line from OCT Homer; 3rd line: translation of line by Lattimore.

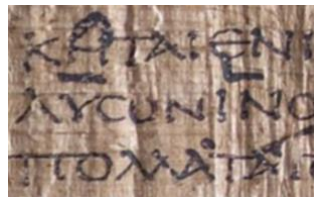


Figure 4: Examples of diacritical markings in the Banks Homer.

There is a circumflex in the top line, a macron and rough breathing mark in the second line, and a punctuation mark and acute accent in the third line.

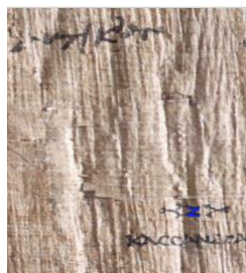


Figure 5: Examples of Marginalia in the Banks Homer.

Marginalia by the first hand can be seen in the last line of text in the bottom right, and in a section divider (in the image the marking that looks like <Z>); the second hand can be seen in the upper left hand corner making a correction in the text

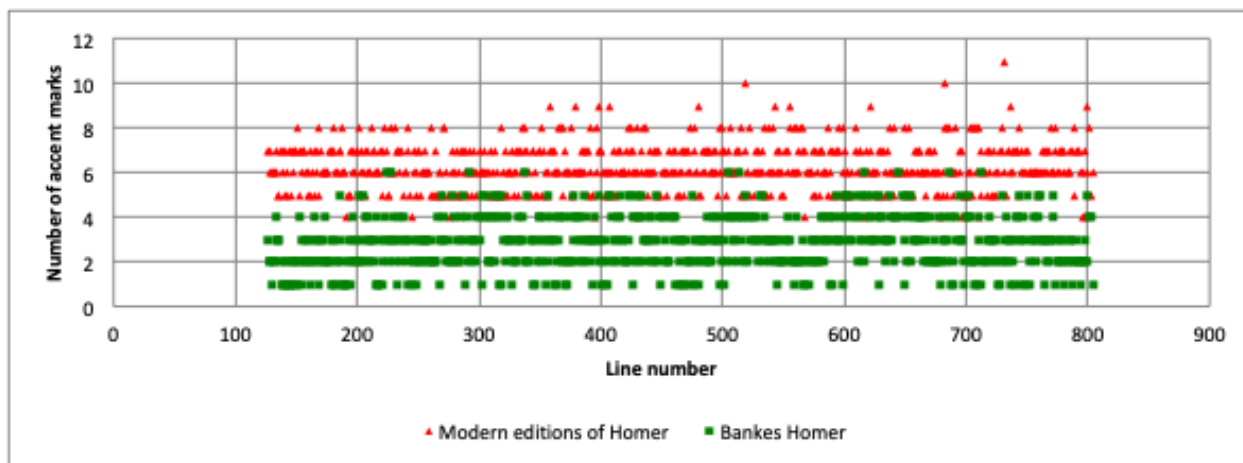


Figure 6: Number of accent marks in every line of Book 24 in the Bankes Homer and Modern Editions of Homer.

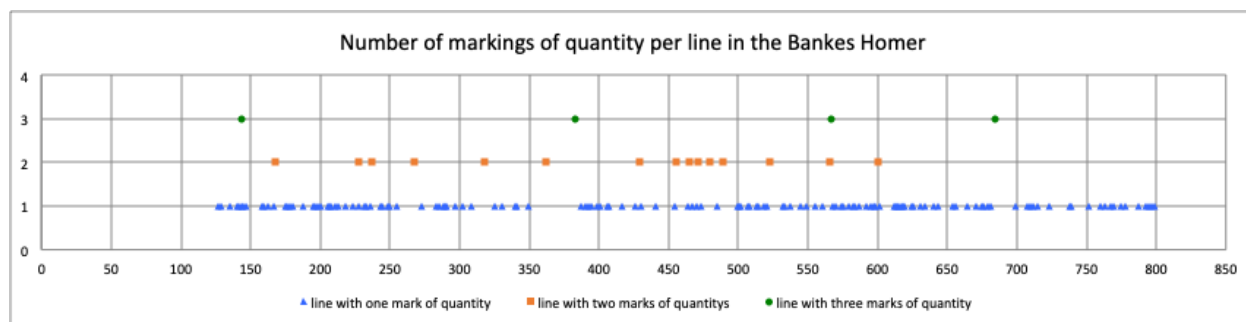


Figure 7: Graph with the number of markings of quantity per line of the papyrus.



Figure 8: Example of a paragraphos symbol in the Bankes Homer.

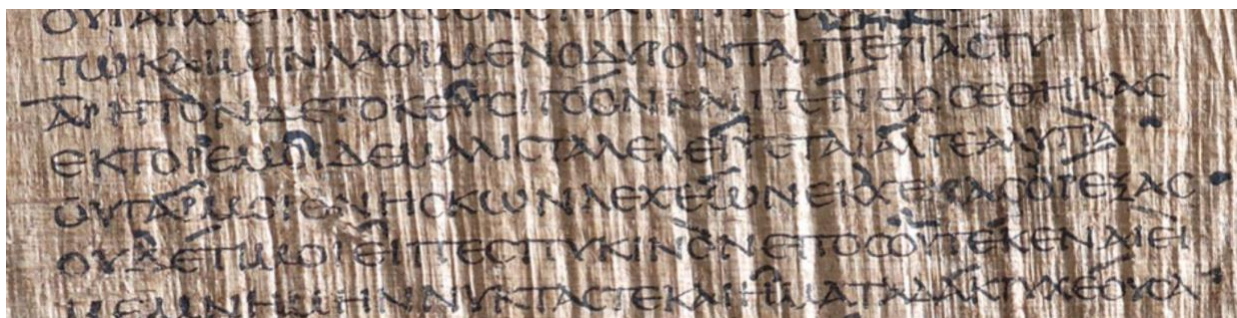


Figure 9: Screenshot of lines 740-745 of the Bankes Homer Papyrus: the last six lines of Andromache's lament for Hector.



Figure 10: Key for rhythmic notation used in the melodization score.

Figure 11: Melodization of Book 24 lines 740-745 in the Ionian mode.

Written in the Ionian mode according to the recommendation by West. The top line is the approximation of the notes of the Ionian mode in modern musical notation— e,f,a,d

Ancient
Ionian

740.

τῷ καὶ μὲν λαοὶ μὲν ὁδὸν οὐκ οἶδ' ἔχουσιν κατὰ ἄστρον

ἄρ' ἢ τὸν δεῖ το κεῖ σι γόν καὶ πένθος ἐθ' ἡκας

ἐκ τοῦ· εἰ μοῖ δε μαλιστα λε λείπεται ἄλγος ἄλγος·

οὐ γάρ μοι θυγσκων λε χέων ἐκ' χειρὸς ὄρεξας.

οὐδέ τι μοι εἴπεις πυκινὸν ἔπος οὐδέ κεν αἰεὶ

με μνημὴν νεκρῶς τε καὶ ἢ μάταια δάκρυ χέουσα·

Figure 12: Melodization of Book 24 lines 740-745 in the Mixolydian mode.

Written in the Mixolydian mode following my speculations. The top line is the approximation of the notes of the Mixolydian mode in modern musical notation—b,c,d,e,f,g,a,b.

Aristoxenus
Mixolydian

740.

τω και μιν λα οι μεν οδ υρ ον ται κα τα ας τυ

αρ η τον δε το κω σι γον και εν θος εθ ηκ ας

εκ τος ε μοι δε μα λι στα λε λειψε ται αλγ ε α λυγ ρα.

ου γαρ μοι θυη σκων λε χε ων εκ χει πας ορ εξ ας.

ουδ ε τι μοι ει πος πν κι τον ε πος ου τε κεν αι ει

μεν νη μην νυκ τας τε και η μα τα δακρυ χε ου σα.

APPENDIX 1

Bankes Homer papyrus transcription

(the (*) refer to notes in the apparatus at the bottom of the transcription and indicate where a letter has been manually crossed out or a substitution has been made by the second hand)

column i

127 [χειρι τε μιν κατερεξ]εν· έπος τ' έφατ εκ τ' ο[ν]όμαζε·

[τεκνο]ν ε[μον τεο μ]εχρις οδυρόμεν[ος κ]αι αχεύων

[σπιν έ]δεαι κρα[διην] μεμνημενος όύ' τε [τι] σ(*)ειτου·

130 [ουτ ευ]νης· αγα[θον] δε γυναικι περ εν φ[ιλό]τητι·

[μισγ]εσθ' ου γαρ μοι δηρόν βεη· αλλά τοι ηδη

[αγχι] παρέστηκεν θανατος και μοίρα κραταιή·

[αλλ] εμέθεν ζύνές ὤκα· διος δέ τοι άγγελος ειμ[ι]

σκυζ[εσθ]άι σοι φησι θεους· ξε δ' έξοχα παντων

135 άθαν[ατ]ων κεχολῶσθαι· ότι φρέσι μαινομένησιν

εκτο[ρ εχεις] παρα νήysi κορωνίσιν· ουδ' απέλυσας·

αλλ' αγε [δη λυσ]ον· νεκροιο δε δέξαι[ε]](*) άποινα·

——την δη α[πα]μειβόμενος προσεφη ποδας ωκυς αχιλλευς·

(added at left: αχιλλευς) τηδ' ειη ός άποινα φεροι και νεκρον αγοιτο·

140 ει δη πρόφρονι θυμῳ ολύμπιος αυτος ανωγει·

——ως οι γ εν νηῶν αγύρει(*) μητηρ τε και υίος

πολλα προς αλληλους έπεα πτερόεντ αγορευον

ιριν δ ωτρυνε κροنيδης εις ἴλιον ἱρήν·

(added at left: <α>) βάσκ ι[θι ἱρ]ι ταχεια λιπους' έδους ουλυμπ[ο]ιο

145 άγ[γειλον] πριαμφ μεγαλητορι ἴλιο[ν ει]σω·

λ[υσασθ]αι φιλον υίον ἴοντ' επι νηας [αχαι]ων·

δῶρα δ' ἀχιλλῆϊ φερέμεν τα κ[χ]ε(*)· θυμον [ιην]η·
 οἶον· μηδέ τις ἄλλος ἅμα τρωων ἴτ[ω αν]ηρ·
 κηρυξ τίς τ[σ]οί(*) ἔποιτο γεράιτερος ὅς κ' [ιθυνοι]·
150 ἤ[μιον]ους καὶ ἀμαξαν ἐϋτροχον· ηκε(*) [καὶ αὐτι]ς
 ν[εκρο]ν ἀγοὶ προτι ἄστν τον ἐκτανε [δῖος ἀχι]λλεὺς·
 μηδε οἱ θάνατος μελέτω φρέσι· μηδ[ε τι ταρβ]ος·
 τοῖον γάρ οἱ πωμπον οπάσσομεν ἀ[ργειφó]ντην·
 ος ἀξει εἰὼς κεν ἀγων ἀχιλλῆϊ πελάσση
155 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν ἀγάγησιν ἐσὼ κλισίην ἀχιλλῆ[ος]
 οὐτ' αὐτος κτενέει· ἀπο τ' ἄλλους παντας ἐρύξ[ει]·
 οὔτε γαρ(*) ἐστ' ἄφρων οὐτ' ἄσκοπος οὐτ' ἀλι[τημ]ων·
 ἀλλὰ μαλενδυκέως ἱκέτεω πεφιδήσεται ἀνδρὸς·
 ———ως ἐφατ'· ὦρτο δὲ ἴρις ἀελλόπος ἀγγελέουσα·
160 ἵξεν δ' ἐς πριαμοιο· κίχεν δ' ἐνοπὴν τε γόον τε·
 παῖδες μὲν πατέρ' ἀμφὶ καθήμενοι ἐνδοθεν αὐλῆς
 δακρυσιν (*)εἰματ' ἔφυρον· ὁ δ' ἐν μεσσοῖσι γεραίος
 ἐντυπᾶς ἐν χλαίνῃ κεκαλυμμένος· ἀμφὶ δὲ πολλῇ
 κόπρῳ ἦν κεφαλῇ τε καὶ αὐχενὶ τοῖο γέροντος·
165 τήν(*) ρα κυλινδόμενος κατεμήσατο χέρσιν ἐῆσι·
 θυγατέρες δ'· ἀνα δῶματ' ἰδε νῶοι ὠδύροντο
 τῶν μῆνησκόμεναι οἱ δὲ πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοὶ
 χερσὶν ὑπ' ἀργείων κέατο ψυχὰς ὀλέσαντες·

column ii

[στ]η δε παρα πριαμον διος αγγελος ηδε προσ[ηυ]δα

170 τυτθον φθενξαμενη· τον δε τρόμος έλλαβε γυϊα·

(added at left: ιρις)θαρσει δαρδανιδη πριαμε φρεσι· μη δε τι τάρβει·

ου μεν γαρ τοι εγω κακον οσσομένη τόδ'ικανω·

αλλ αγαθα φρονέουσα, διος δε τοι αγγελος ειμι·

ός σεῦ ανευθεν' εὖν μέγα κήδετα η [δ'ε]λεαίρει·

175 λυσασθαί σ'ε κελευεν ολύμπιος έκτορ[α διο]ν·

δωρα δ'αχιλληϊ φερέμεν τά κε θυμον [ι]ηνη·

όιον· μηδέ τις αλλος άμα τρωων ίτω ανηρ·

κηρυξ τίς τοι έποιτο γεράιτερος ός κ'εϊθυνοι

ή[μ]ιονους και αμαξαν εὔτροχον, ηε και αυτις

180 νεκρον αγοι προτι άστυ τον εκτανε διος αχιλλευς·

μηδε τι τ(οι)(*) θανατος μελέτω φρεσι· μηδέ τι ταρβος·

τοιος γάρ τοι πομπος άμ'έψεται αργειφοντης·

ος' σ'αξει είως κεν αγων αχιλληϊ πελάσση·

αυταρ επην αγάγησιν εσω κλισίην αχιλληος·

185 όυτ' αυτος κτενέει· από τ'αλλους παντας ερύζει·

ούτε γαρ εστ'άφρων όυτ'άσκο[π]ρος όυτ'αλιτήμων·

αλλα μαλ'ενδυκέως ίκέτεω [π]εφιδήσεται [αν]δρος·

—— ή μεν αρ ως ειπους απεβη π[οδ]ας ωκέα ιρις·

αυταρ ό γ'ύιας αμαξαν εὔτροχο[ν] ήμιονειην

190 ωπλίσαι ηγωγει, πέρινθα [δε δη]σαι επ αυτης·

αυτος δ'ες θαλαμον κατεβήσε[το κη]ώεντα

κέδρινον ύποροφον· ός γλη[νεα πο]λλα κεχάνδεϊ·

ες δ'άλοχον έκαβη εκαλέσσα[το φων]ησεν τε·

(added at left: πριαμος)δαιμονή διόθεν μοι ολυ[μπιος] άγγελος ηλθε

195 λυσασθαι φιλον υιον ιοντ'επι ν[ηα]ς αχαιων·

δώρα δ' αχιλληϊ φερέμεν τά κε θυμον ιήνη·

αλλ'αγε μοι τόδε ειπε τί τοι φρεσιν [εί]δεται ειναι·

αινως γάρ μ' αυτον γε μενος και θυμος ανωγει

κέισ ιέναι επι νηας έσω στρατον ευρυν αχαιων·

200 (added at left: <β>)——ως φατο, κώκυσεν δε γυνη και αμείβετο μυθω·

(added at left: εκαβε)ώ μοί πη δή τοι φρενες οϊχοντ'ής το πάρος περ

εκλέ επ ανθρωπους ξεινους ήδ'οϊσιν ανασσεις·

πως εθέλεις επι νηας αχαιων ελθέμεν οϊος

ανδρος ες οφθαλμους ος τοι πολέας τε και εσθλούς

205 υϊέας εξενάριξε· σιδήρειον νύ τοι ητορ·

ει γάρ σ'αίρησει και εσόψεται οφθαλμοϊσιν

ωμήστης και άπιστος ανηρ· ο γέ σϋκ[[ς]](*) ελεησει·

ουδέ τι σ'αιδέσεται· νυν δε κλαιωμεν άνευθεν

ήμενοι εν μεγάρω· τῷ δ'ώς ποτε μοϊρα κραταιη

210 γεινομενω επένησε λινω ότε μιν τεκον αυτη

αργίποδας κυνας ασαι εών απάνευθε τοκῆων

column iii

ανδρι παρα κρατέρω τοῦ εγω με[σ]ον ἦπαρ εχοιμι

εσθέμεναι προσφυσαι· τότε'άντιτα εργα γενοιτο

παιδος εμου(*)· επει(*) ουτε(*) κακιζόμενόν γε κατεκτα·

215 αλλα προς τρων και τρωϊάδων βαθυκολπων

έσταότ' ούτε φοβου μεμνημένον ουτ αλεωρής·

——την δ' αὔτε προσεειπε γερῷ[ν] πριαμος θεοειδης·

(added at left: πριαμος)μη μ' ἐθέλοντ' ἵεναι κατε[ρυκα]νε· μηδε μοι αυτη

ὄρνις ενι μμεγάροισι κακὸς πέλεν οὐδέ με πεισεις·

220 ει μεν γαρ τις μ' ἄλλος επιχθονίων εκελευεν

ἢ οἱ μάντιες εἰσι θυοσκόοι η ἱερῆες·

ψεῦδός κεν φαῖμεν και νοσφιζόμεθα μαλλον·

νυν δ' αυτος γαρ ἀκουσα θεου και εσέδρακον άντην·

εἴμι· και ουχ ἄλιον[σ](*) ἔπος ἔσσεται· ει δέ μοι αῖσα

225 τεθνάμεναι παρα νηῦσιν αχαιων χαλκοκιτωνων·

βουλομαι· αυτίκα γάρ με κατακτεῖνειεν αχιλλευς

αγκάς ἐλόντ' εμον ὕιον επήν γόον εξ ἔρον ἔιην·

——ἦ· και φωριαμων επίθηματα καλ' ανέωγεν·

ένθεν δωδεκα μεν περικαλλέας ἐξέλε πέπλους·

230 δωδεκα δ' ἀπλοῖδας χλαινας· τόσσους δε τάπητας·

τόσσα δε φαρεα λευκα· τοσσους δ [ε]πι τοῖσι χιτῶνας(*)·

χρυσου δε στῆσας εφερεν δεκα παντα ταλαντα·

εκ δε δυ αἶθωνας· τ[ρ]ιπονδας· πῖσυρας δε λέβητας·

εκ δε δέπας περι[καλ]λες· τό οἱ θρῆκες πόρον ανδρες

235 εξεσίην ελθον[τι μεγ]α κτέρας· ουδέ νυ τοῦ περ

φεῖσατ' ενι μμε[γαροι]ς ὁ γερων· περι δ' ἤθελε θυμῷ

λυσασθαι φιλον ὕ[ιον ὁ] δε τρωας μεν ἅπαντας

αιθούσσης απέε[ργεν ἅ]πεσσ' αισχροῖσιν ενίσσων·

(added at left: πριαμος)έρρετε λωβητῆρες ελεγχέες ού νυ και υμειν

240 οἴκοι εστι γόος· ὅτε μ ηλθετε κηδήσοντες·

ἡ ὁ[υ]νοσε[σ]θ'(*). ὅτι[ε](*) μοι κρονίδης ζεὺς ἄλγε εδωκεν

παῖδ' ὀλέσαι τον αριστον· αταρ γωνσεσθε και ὑμμες·

ρηιτεροι γαρ μαλλον αχαιοισιν δη· σεσθαιε(*)

κεῖνου τεθνηῶτος εναιρέμεν αυταρ εγωγε

245 πριν αλαπαζομενην τε πολιν καραῖζομένην τε

οφθαλμοισιν ἴδειν βάιην δομον αἴδος εισω·

ἦ και σκηπανίῳ διέπ' ανερας· οι δ' ισαν εισ[ξ]ω(*)

σπερχομένοιο γεροντος· ὁ δ' ὕιασιν ὅσιν ὁμόκλα·

νεικειων ἔλενον τε πάριν τ' αγαθωνα τε διον·

250 πάμμονα τ αντ[μφ]ιφόνον(*) τε βοήν αγαθον τε πολ(*)ειτην·

δηῖφοβον και ἵπποθοον και διον αγαυον·

εννεα· τοῖς ὁ γεραῖος ὁμοκλησας εκελευεσεν·

(added at left: πριαμος) σπεῦσατε μοι κακα τεκνα κατηφονες· αἴθ' ἅμα παντες

εκτορος ω[σω]φελλετ'(*) αντι θοῆς επι νηῦσι πεφᾶσθαι·

255 ὦ μοι εγω πανάποτμος· επεί τεκνον ὕιας αριστους

column iv

τροιή εν ευρεῖῃ· των δ' ού τινα φημι λελειφθ[πτ]αι(*)·

μήστορα τ' αντιθεον· και τρωῖλον ἵπποχάρμην·

εκτορα τ'(*)εὸς θεος ἔσκε μετ ανδρασιν· ουδ[τ]ε(*) εώκει

ανδρος γε θνητου παις ἔμμεναι[ε](*) αλλα θεοῖο·

260 τους μεν απωλες' αρης· τα δ ελέγχεα παντα λέλειπται·

ψεῦσται τ' ορχ[η]στὰ τε χοροῖτυπήσιν αριστοι·

αρνῶν ηδ' ἐ[ρί]φων επιδήμιοι ἀρπακτῆρες·

ουκ αν δη μοι ἀμαξαν εφωπλίσσαι[ει]τε(*) τάχιστα·

ταυτα τε παντ επιθ[τ]ειτ[θ]ε(*)· ἵνα πρήσσωμεν ὁδοῖο·

265 —ως εφατ'· οἱ δ' αρα πατρος ὑποδδείσαντες ὁμοκλήν·

εκ μεν ἄμαξαν ἀειραν εὐτροχον ἡμιονεῖην·

καλην πρωτοπαγη[εα](*)· πείρινθα δε δῆσαν επ αυτης·

καδ' δ' απο πασσαλόφιν ζυγον ἥρεον ἡμιόνειον·

πύξινον ὀμφαλόεν· εὖ οἰήκεσσιν ἀρήρος·

270 εκ δ' ἔφερον ζυγόδεσμον αμα ζυγω εννεάπηχυ·

και το μεν εὖ κατέθηκαν εὐξέστω επι ρυμῶ

πέξῃ επι πρωτη· επι δε κρίκον ἔστορι βάλλον·

τρεις δ' ἑκατερθεν(*) ἔδησαν επ ομφαλον· αυταρ ἐπειτα

ἐξειhs κατέδησαν· υπο γλωχέινα δ' εγνάμψαν·

275 εκ θαλαμου δε φεροντες εὐξεστηs επ ατηνης

νήεον ἑκτορης κεφαλης ἀπερείσι' ἀποινα·

ζευξαν δ' ἡμιονους κρατερώνυχας εντεσιεργόνους·

τούς ρ[ά] ποτε πριαμῶ μυσοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαα δῶρα·

ιππο[υ]ς δε πριαμῶ ὕπαγον ζυγον· ὅς ὁ γεραίος

280 αυ[τος εχ]ων ἀτίταλ'εν εὐξέστω· επι φατην·

τω [μεν] ζευγνύσθην εν δῶμασιν ὑψηλοῖσι

κη[ρυξ] και πριαμος πυκινα φρέσι μήδε' εχοντες

αγχ[ιμ]ολον δέ σφ ηλθ' ἑκαβη τετιηότι θυμῶ

οῖνον' εχους εν χειρι μελιφρονα δεξιτερῇφι·

285 χρυσεω εν δέπαι· ὄφρα' λείψαντε κιόιτην·

στῇ δ' ιππων προπάροιθεν· ἔπος τ'(*) εφατ' εκ τ' ονόμαζεν·

(added at left: εκαβη)τῇ σπεῖσον διῖ πατρι· και ἔνυχeo οἶκαδ' ἵκέσθαι

αψ' εκ δυσμενέων ἀνδρων· επει ἀρ' σέ γε θυμος

οτρυνει(*)ς επι νηας· εμεῖο μεν ουκ εθελουσης·
290 αλλ' ἐυχέο συ γ' ἐπειτα κελαῖνεφέει κρονιῶνι
ιδαιῷ· ὅς τε τροιην κατα πᾶσαν ὀρᾶται·
ἄιτει δ' οἰωνόν· ἐόν αγγελον· ὅς τε οἷ αυτῷ
φιλτατος οἰωνών· καί εὐ κρατος εστι μεγιστον·
δεξιον· ὀφρά μιν αυτος εν οφθαλμοισι νοήσας·
295 τῷ πίσυνος επι νηας ἱῆς δαναων ταχυπωλων·
ει δε σοι ου δῶσει ἐόν αγγελον ευρύοπα ζευς·
ουκ ἂν ἐγώγέ σ' ἐπειτα εποτρυνουσα κελοίμην
νηας επ αργειων ἶέναι μαλα περ μεμαῶτα·
——την δ απαμειβομενος προσεφη πριαμος θεοειδης·

column v

300 (added at left: <γ>πριαμος)ω γυναι· ου μέν τοι τόδ' ἀφέιμεν συ δ απιθησω·
εσθλὸν γαρ διῖ χειρας ανασχέμεν αἱ κ' ελεηση·
——ἦ ρα· και αμφίπολον ταμίην ὠτρυν' ὁ γεραιὸς
χερσιν υδωρ επιχευαι ακήρατον· ἡ δε παρεστη
χέρνιβον αμφίπολος πρόχοον θ' ἅμα χερσὶν εχουσα·
305 γιψάμενος δε κύπελλον εδέξατο ἧς αλόχοιο·
εὔχετ' ἐπειτα στᾶς μεσῷ ἐρκεῖ· λείβε δε οινον
ουρανον εισανιδών· και φωνησας ἔπος ηυδα·
(added at left: πριαμος)ζευ πατερ (*)ειδηθεν μεδέων κύδιστε μεγιστε·
δος μ' ες αχιλλης φιλον ελθειν ἡδ' ελεείνων·
310 πεμψον δ' οἰώνον ταχυν ἄγγελον· ὅς τε σοῖ αυτῷ
φιλτατος οἰωνῶν· καί εὐ κρατος εστι μεγιστον(*)

δεξιον· όφρά μιν αυτος εν οφθαλμοῖσι νοήσας·

τω πίσυνος επι νηας ἰω δαναων ταχυπωλων·

——ως εφατ' ευχόμενος· τοῦ δ' έκλυε μητίετα ζευς·

315 αυτίκα δ' αιέτον ἦκε τελειότατον πετεηνών

μόρφονν θηρητῆρ' όν και πέρκνον[- ca.3 -]καλέουσιν·

όσση δ' ύψοροφοιο θυρη θαλαμοιο τέτυκται

ανερος αφνειοῖο εὔ κληι[[η]]ς(*) αραρυῖα·

τόσσ' άρα του έκάτερθεν έσαν πτερα· έίσατο δε σφιν

320 δεξιος αἶζας δια άστεος· οἱ δε ἰδόντες

γήθησαν· και πασιν ενι φρεσι θυμος ἰάνθη·

σπερχομενος δ' ό γερων ξεστόν επεβήσατο διφρου·

εκ δ έλασε προθύροιο και αιθούσσης ε[ρι]δουπου·

πρόσθε μεν ἦμιονοι ελκον τετράκ[υ]κλον απήνην

325 τας ιδαιος έλαυνε δαῖφρων· αυτα[ρ ό]π[ι]σθε

ιπποι τους ό γερων εφέπων μάστ[ιγι κ]έλευε·

καρπαλιμως κατα άστν· φιλοι δ' άμα παντες έποντο

πολλ' ολοφυρόμενοι ώς ει θανατονδε κιόντα·

οἱ δ επει ουν πολιος κατέβαν πεδίον δ αφικοντο·

330 οἱ μεν αρ άγορροι προτι ἱλιον απονέοντο

παιδες και γαμβροι· τω δ ου λάθον ευρύοπα ζῆν

ες πεδιον προφανέντε· ἰδών δ ελέησε γεροντα·

αἶψα δ απ έρμειαν ὑῖον φιλον αντίον ηύδα·

(added at left: ζευς)ερμεια· σοῖ γάρ τε μαλιστα γε φίλτατον εστιν

335 ανδρι εταρίσσαι· και τ' έκλυες ᾗ κ εθέλησθα·

βασκ' ἴθι· και πριαμον κοῖλας επι νῆας αχαιων

ὥς ἀγαγ· ὥς μήτ ἄρ τις ἴδη μήτ ἄρ τε νοησῇ
των ἀλλων δαναων πρὶν πηλείωναδ' ἰκέσθαι·
——ὡς εἶπ'· οὐδ' ἀπίθησε διάκτορος ἀργεῖφοντος·

340 ἀντίκ' ἐπεῖτ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλά πέδειλα
ἀμβροσία χρυσεῖα· τὰ μι[ε]ν(*) φέρον ἡμὲν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν
ἥδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν ἅμα πνοιῆς ἀνεμοῖο·
εἶλετο δὲ ραβδὸν τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὀμματα θελγεί

column vi

\(hand 2) των εθελει, τους δ' αὔτε \ κ(αι)/ υπνωγοντας εχειρει·/

345 (hand 1) τὴν μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων πέτετο κρατὺς ἀργεῖφοντος·
αἶσα δ' ἀρα τροίην τε καὶ ἐλλήσποντον ἔικανε·
βῆ δ' ἵεναι κούρω αἰσὺμ[τ]ητηρι(*) εἰκῶς
πρῶτον ὑπηνήτη· τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἥβη·
οἱ δ' ἐπει(*) οὖν μέγα σῆμα παρεξίλοιο ἔλασσα[ε]ν(*)·

350 στήσαν ἀρ' ἡμιόνους τε καὶ ἵππους ὄφρα πίοιεν·

ἐν ποταμῷ· δὴ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλυθε γαῖαν·

τὸν δ' ἐξ ἀγχιμόλοιο ἰδὼν ἐφράσσατο κηρυξ

ἐρμειαν· ποτὶ δὲ πριαμὸν φάτο φώνησέν τε·

(added at left: δαιος) φραζεο δαρδανιδῆ· φραδέος νο[υ]ου(*) ἐργα τετυκται·

355 ἀνδρ' ὀρώω· τάχα δ' ἄμμα διαρραῖσεσθαι οἶω·

ἀλλ' ἀγε δὴ φευγόμεν ἐφ' ἵππων· ἦ μιν ἐπεῖτα

γοῶντων ἀψάμενοι λιτανεύσομεν αἰ κ' ἐλεήσει·

——ὡς φάτο· σὺν δὲ γέροντι νόος χύτο· δειδιε(*) δ' αἰνῶς·

οῖσιν δὲ τριχες ἔσταν ἐπὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσι·

360 στῇ δε ταφῶν· αὐτος δ' ἐριόνυνιος(*) ἐγγύθεν ἐλθων

χειρα γεροντος ἐλων(*) ἐξείρετο καὶ προσεειπεν·

(added at left: ἐρμης)πῇ πατερ ὦδ ἱππους τε καὶ ἡμιόνους [[ε]]ιθύνεις

νυκτα δι ἀμβροσίην· ὅτε τ' εὐδουσιν βροτοὶ ἄλλοι·

οὐδε σὺ γ' ἐδδειςας μένεα πνειοντας ἀχαιούς·

365 οἷ τοι δυσμενέες καὶ ἀνάρσιοι ἐγγυς' εἶσι·

τῶν εἰ τις σε ἴδοιτο θοῇν(*) δια νυκτα μέλαιναν

τοσσάδ' ὀνείατ' ἀγοντα· τις ἂν δὴ τοι νόος εἴη·

οὐτ' αὐτος νεὸς ἐσσι· γερῶν δέ τοι οὗτος ὀπηδεῖ

ἀνδρ' ἐ[[α]]παμνασ[θ]αι(*) ὅτε τις προτερος χαλεπαίνει·

370 ἀλλ ἐγὼ οὐδεν σὲ ρέξω κακὸν[[α]](*) καὶ δέ κεν ἄλλον

σεῦ ἀπαλεξήσαιο· φίλῳ δέ σε πατρὶ εἵσκω·

——τον δ' ἡμείβετ' ἐπειτα γερῶν πριαμος θεοειδής·

(added at left: πριαμος)οὕτω πῃ τάδε γ' ἐστὶ φίλον τέκος ὥς ἀγορευεῖς·

ἀλλ' ἐτι τις καὶ ἐμεῖο θεῶν ὑπερέσχεθε χεῖρα·

375 ὅς μοι τοιὸνδ' ἤκεν ὁδοιπόρον ἀντιβολῆσαι

αισιον(*), οἷος δὲ σὺ μέγας καὶ εἶδος ἀγῆτορ·

πέπνυσάι τε νοῶ· μακάρων δ' ἐξ' ἐσσι τοκῆων·

——τον δ' αὖτε προσέειπε διάκτορος ἀργεῖφοντης·

(added at left: ἐρμης)ναὶ δὲ ταῦτα γε πάντα γερὸν κατὰ μοῖραν εἶπας·

380 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἶπε καὶ ἀτρεκέως καταλεξόν·

ἦέ πῃ ἐκπεμπεῖς κειμήλια πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλὰ

ἀνδρας ἐς ἀλλοδαπούς· ἵνα περ τάδε τοι σόα μίμνη·

ἦ ἤδη πάντες καταλείπετε ἵλιον ἱρήν

δειδιότες· τοῖος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὠρίστος ὅλωλεν

385 σος παις· ου μεν γάρ τι μαχης επιδένετ' αχαιων·

——τον δ ημείβετ' έπειτα γερων πριαμος θεοειδης·

column vii

(added at left: πριαμος)τίς δε συ εσσί φεριστε· τέων δ' εξ' εσσί τοκῆων·

ός μοι καλα τον οῖτον απότμου παιδος ένισπες·

——τον δ' αὔτε προς έειπε διάκτορος αργειφοντης·

390 (added at left: ερμης)[πειρα] εμεῖο γεραῖε και έίρεαι εκτορα διον·

τον μεν εγω μάλα πάγχυ μαχη ενι κυδιανειρη

οφθαλμοισιν ό[[πω]]πωπα(*)· και εὔτ' επι νηῦσι πελασσας

αργειους κτείνεσκε δαῖζων οξεί χαλκῳ·

ήμεις δ' εσταότες θαυμαζομεν· ου γαρ αχιλλευς

395 εἶα μάρνασθαι κεχολωμένος ατρείωνι·

του μεν εγω θεραπων· μια δ' ήγαγε νῆυς ευεργής·

μυρμιδόνων δ' εξ' ειμι· πατηρ δ εμος εστι πολύκτωρ·

αφνείος μεν ό δ' εστι· γερων δε δη ως σύ περ ώδε·

εξ δέ οι ὕιες έασιν· εγω δέ όι έβδομος ειμι·

400 των μετα παλλόμενος κληρῳ λαχον ενθάδ' ἔ[[α]]πεσθαι(*)

(added at left: <Δ>)νυν δ' ηλθον πεδιονδ' απο νηων· ηῶθεν γαρ

θησονται περι άστυ μαχην(*) έλίκωπες αχαιοι·

ασχαλόωσι γαρ όιγε καθημενοι· ουδε δυνανται

ίσχειν εσσυμένους πολεμου βασιλῆες αχαιων·

405 ——τον δ' ημείβετ' έπειτα γερων πριαμος θεοειδης·

(added at left: πριαμος)ει μεν δη θεραπων πηληϊάδεω αχιλληος

εις άγε δη μοι πᾶσαν αληθείην κατάλεξον·

ἦ ετι παρ νῆεσσιν εμος παις· ἦέ μιν ἤδη

ἦσι κυσιν μελεῖσσι ταμῶν πρόυθηκεν αχιλλευς·

410 ———τον δ' αὔτε προσέειπε διάκτορος αργειφοντες·

(added at left: ερμης) ὦ γερον· οὐ πω τόν γε κυνες φαγον ουδ' οιωνοι·

αλλ' ετι κεῖνος κειται αχιλληος παρα νῆϊ

αὐτως εν κλισίῃσι· δυωδεκατη[[οι]](*) δέ τοι ἤδη

κειμενω· ουδ' ἐτι οἱ χρώς σηπεται· ουδέ μιν ευλὰι

415 ἐσθους· αἰ ρά τε φῶτας αρηϊφάτους κατέδουσι·

ἦ μέν μιν περι σῆμα ἐοῦ ἔταροιο φιλοιο

έλκει ακηδέστως ἠὼς ὅτε δια φανήη·

ουδέ μιν αισχυνει· θηοῖό κεν αυτος ε[[α]]πελθων(*)

οῖον ἐέρσήεις κειται, περι δ' αἶμα' νένιπται,

420 ουδέ ποθι μιαρος· συν δ' ἔλκεα παντα μέμυκεν

ὅσσ' ἐτύπη· πολεες γαρ επ αυτω χαλκον ἔλασσαν·

ὥς τοι κήδονται μακαρες θεοι ὕϊος εἰηος (added at right: (hand 2) τεοῖο)

και νέκυός περ εοντος· επί σφι φίλος περι κῆρι·

———ως φατο· γήθησεν δ' ο γερων· και αμεῖβετο μυθω·

425 (added at left: πριαμος) ὦ τεκος· ἦ ρ' αγαθον και ενάσιμα δῶρα διδοῦναι

αθανατοις· επεί οὐ ποτ εμος παῖς εἰ ποτ' εἴην γε

ληθετ' ενι μμεγαροισι θεων οἱ ὀλυμπον εχουσι·

τῷ οἱ απομνήσαντο και εν θανα[[δε]]τοιό(*) περ αἴση·

αλλ' αγε δη τότε δέξαι εμεῦ πάρα καλον ἄλεισον

column viii

430 αυτον τ[δ]ε(*) ρύσαι· πεμψον δ[γ]ε(*) με συν γ[δ]ε(*) θεοῖσιν

ὄφρα κεν ες κλισιην πηληϊάδεω αφίκωμαι·

——τον δ' αὐτε προσέειπε διακτορος αργειφοντης·

(added at left: ερμης)πειρᾷ εμεῖο γεραῖε νεωτερου· ουδέ με πείσεις·

ὅς με κέλη σέο δωρα πάρεξ' αχιλληῖ[α](*) δέχεσθαι·

435 τον μεν εγω δέιδοικα και αιδέομαι περι κῆρι

(added at left: \(\text{hand 2}\) συλευειν/)μωμευειν· μη μοι τι κακον μετόπισθε γενοιτο·

σοῖ μεν εγω πομπός κάι κεν κλυτὸν αργος ἵκοίμην

ενδυκέως εν νηϊ θοῇ η πεζος ὁμαρτ(*)εων·

ουκ άν(*) τις τοι πομπον [ον]οισσάμενος(*) μαχέσαιτο·

440 ——ῆ και επαῖζας εριούνιος ἄρμα και ἵππους

καρπαλίμως μαστ[ε]ιγγα(*) και ἡνία λάζετο χερσὶν·

εν δ' ἔπνευσ' ἵπποισι και ἡμιόνοις μενος ηὔ·

αλλ' ὅτε δη πυργους τε νεῶν και τάφρον ἱκοντο·

οἱ δε νεον περι δόρπα φυλακτῆρες πονέοντο·

445 τοῖσι δ' εφ ὕπνον ἔχευε διάκτορος αργειφοντης

πᾶσιν· ἀφαρ δ' ὥϊξε πυλας και ἀπῶσεν ὀχῆας·

ες δ' ἄγαγε πριαμον τε και ἀγλᾶ δῶρ' επ ἀπήνης·

αλλ' ὅτε δη κλισίην πηληϊάδεω αφικοντο

ὑψηλην· την μυρμιδονες πόησαν ανακτι

450 δοῦρ' ἐλάτης κέρσαντες αταρ καθῦπερθεν ἐρεψαν

λαχνήεντ' ὀροφον λειμωνόθεν ἀμήσαντες·

αμφι δέ οἱ μεγαλην αυλην πόησαν ἀνακτι

σταυροῖσιν πυκινοῖσι· θυρην δ ἔχε μουνος επιβλής

εἰλάτινος· τον τρ[ε]ῖς μεν επερρήσεσκον(*)αχαιοι·

455 τρ(*)εῖς δ αναόιγεσκον μεγαλην κλ(*)εῖδα θυραων·

των αλλων· αχιλλευς δ αρ'επειρήσεσκε και οῖος·

δη ρα τόθ'ερμειας εριούνιος ὤξε γεροντι

ες δ'άγαγε κλυτὰ δῶρα ποδω(*)(*)κεῖ πηλείωνι·

εξ ιππων δ'απέβαινεν επι χθονα φώνησέν τε·

460 (added at left: ερμης)ὦ γερον· ήτοι εγω θεος άμβροτος ειλήλουθα

ερμειας· σοῖ γάρ με πατηρ άμα πομπόν ὄπασσε·

αλλ'ήτοι μεν εγω παλιν'είσομαι· ουδ'αχιλλης

οφθαλμους είσειμι· νεμεσσητόν δέ κεν ειη

αθανατον θεον ὠδε βροτους αγαπαζέμεν άντην·

465 τυνη δ'εισελθων λαβε γουνατα πηλείωνος·

κάι μιν ύπερ πατρος και μητέρος ηϋκόμοιο

λίσσέο και τεκεος· ἵνα οἱ συν θυμον ὀρείνης·

——ως αρα φωνησας απέβη προς μακρον ολυμπον·

ερμειας· πριαμος δ αμ[εξ](*) ιππων αλτο χαμαῖζε·

470 ιδαῖον δε κατ αὔθι λιπεν· ὁ δε μίμνεν ερύκων

ιππους ημιόνους τε· γερων δ'(*)ειθυς κίεν οικου·

τη ρ αχιλλευς ἔζεσκε διῖ φιλος· αν δέ μιν αυτον

column ix

έυρ'έταροι δ'απάνευθε καθείατο· τω δε δυ οἶω

ήρως αυτομεδων τε και άλκιμος (*)υῖος αρηος (added at right: ὄζος)

475 πόιπνυον παρεόντε· νέον δ'απέ[η]ληγεν(*) εδωδής

έσθων και πεινων ετι και παρεκειτο τραπέζα·

τους δ'έλαθ'εισελθων πριαμος μεγας· άγχι δ αρα στᾶς
 χερσίν αχιλληος λαβε γουνατα και κύσε χειρας
 δεινας ανδροφόνους· άι οί πολέας κτανον ύϊας· (added at right: παιδοφόνους)
480 ώς δ'ότ αν ανδρ'ατη πυκινη λαβη· ός τ ενι πατρη
 φῶτα κατακτεινας άλλων εξ[[ε]]ίκετο δημον
 ανδρος ες αφνέιου· θάμβος δ ειχεν(*) εισορόωντας·
 ώς αχιλλευσ θάμβησεν ἴδων πριαμον θεοειδέα·
 θάμβησαν δε και αλλοι· ες αλλήλους δε ἴδοντο·
485 τον και λισσόμενος πριαμος προς μυθον έειπεν·
 (added at left: πριαμος)μνήσαι πατρος σεῖο θεοις επιείκελ αχιλλευ
 τηλικου ώς περ εγών· όλοῶ επι γήραος ουδῶ·
 και μεν που κεινον περυναίεται αμφίς εόντες
 τειρους· ουδε τις εστιν αρήν και λοιγόν αμυναι·
490 αλλ'ήτοι κεινος γε σέθεν ζώνοντος ακουων
 χαιρει τ'εν θυμῶ· επεί τ' ελπεται ἦματα παντα
 ὄψεσθαι φιλον υἱον απο τρόιηθεν(*) μολόντα·
 αυταρ εγω πανάποτμος επεί τέκνον ὕϊας αριστους
 τροιη εν ευρειη τῶν ού τινα φημι λελείφθαι·
495 πεντήκοντά μοι ησαν ότ' ήλυθον ὕϊες αχαιων·
 εννεακάιδεκα(*) μεν μοι ἱῆς εκ νηδύος ησαν·
 τους δ' άλλους μοι έτικτον ενι μμεγαροισι γυναικες·
 των μεν πολλων θοῦρος αρης υπο γοῦνατ'έλυσεν·
 ός δέ μοι οἶος ἔην· έιρυτο δε αστυ και αυτους·
500 τόν συ πρωην κτεινες αμυνόμενον περι πατρης·
 (added at left: <ε>)εκτορα· τοῦ νυν εἶνεχ ἱκανῶ νηας αχαιων

λυσομενος παρα σεῖο· φερω δ'απερείσι ἀποίνα·
 ἀλλ' αἰδεῖο θεους ἀχιλλευ· αυτον τ' ἐλέησον
 μνησάμενος σου πατρος· εγω δ ἐλέεινότερός περ·
505 ἐτλην δ'οἷ' ὅυ πω τις ἐπιχθόνιος (*)γένετ αλλος (added at right: βροτος αλλος)·
 ἀνδρος παιδοφόνοιο ποτι στόμα χεῖρ' ὀρέγεσθαι·
 —ως φατο· τῷ δ'αρά' πατρος υφ [[ε]]ῖμερον ὤρσε γόοιο·
 ἀψάμενος δ αρα χειρος ἀπῶσατο ἦκα γεροντα·
 τω δε μνησαμένω ὁ μεν εκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο
 κλᾷ ἀδινὰ προπάρριθε ποδων ἀχιλλης·
510 αυταρ ἀχιλλευς κλᾷεν ἑόν πατέρ' ἄλλοτε δ'αὔτε
 πατροκλον· τῶν δε στοναχὴ κατὰ δῶματ' ὀρώσει·
 αυταρ ἐπεῖ ρα γόοιο τετάρπετο διος ἀχιλλευς·
 καί οἱ ἀπο πρᾶπιδων ἦλθ' ἔμμερος ἡδ' ἀπό γυίων·
515 αὐτίκ' ἀπο θρονου ὤρτο· γεροντα δε χειρος ἀνέστη

column x

οἰκτεῖρων πολιον τε ἄρη πολιον τε γένειον·
 καί μιν φωνησας ἔπα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
 (added at left: ἀχιλλευς) ἄ δειλ' ἡ δη πολλὰ κακ' ἀγσχεο σον κατα θυμον·
 πῶς ἐτλης ἐπὶ νῆ[ας] ἀχαιων ἐλθέμεν οἶος
520 ἀνδρος ἐς οφθαλμους ὅς τοι πολέας τε και ἐσθλους
 υἱέας ἐξεναρίζα[[ε]](*)· σιδήρειον νύ τοι ἦτορ·
 ἀλλ ἄγε δη κατ' ἄρ ἐξευ ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀλ[[λα]]γεα(*) δ' ἐμπης
 ἐν θυμῳ κατακεῖσθα[ι] εἰάσομεν ἀχνύμενόν περ·
 ου γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο·

525 ὥς γὰρ ἐπεκλῶσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι
 ζῶειν ἀχνυμένοις· αὐτοὶ δὲ τ' ἀκηδέες εἰσι·
 δοῖοι γάρ τε πιθοὶ κατακείαται[[θε]](*) ἐν δῖος οὐδὲι
 δῶρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν· ἕτερος δὲ ἐάων·
 ᾧ μὲν κ' ἀμμείξας δῶη ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος·
530 ἀλλοτε(*) μὲν τε κακῶ ὅ γε κύρεται· ἀλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῶ·
 ᾧ δὲ κε τῶν λυπῶν δῶη λωβήτον ἐθήκε·
 καὶ ἐ κακῇ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα διὰν ἐλαυνεῖ·
 φοιτᾷ δ' οὔτε θεοῖσι τετ(*)ειμένος οὔτε βροτοῖσι·
 ὥς μὲν καὶ πηλῆϊ θεοὶ δόσαν ἀγλὰ δῶρα
535 ἐκ γενετῆς· πάντας γὰρ ἐπ'(*) ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο
 ὀλβῶ τε πλουτῶ τε· ἀνάσσει δὲ μυρμιδόνεσσι·
 καὶ οἱ θνητῶ ἐόντι θεῶν ποίησαν[[τ]](*) ἀκοιτίν·
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καὶ τῷ θῆκε θεὸς κακόν, ὅτ' τί οἱ οὐ τι
 παιδῶν ἐν μεγάροισι γονὴ γενετο κρειόντων·
540 ἀλλ' ἓνα παιδ' ἔτεκεν παναῶριον· οὐδὲ νῦν τὸν γε
 γηράσκοντα κομίζω· ἐπεὶ μάλα τηλόθι πατρὸς
 ἤμαι ἐν[[η]]ι(*) τροίῃ σέ τε κήδων ἤδε σά τεκνα·
 καὶ σέ γεροντὸ πρὶν μὲν ἀκούομεν ὀλβιον εἶναι·
 ὅσπον λεσβος ἀνὼ μακαρῶν(*) ἔδος ἐντος ἐέργει·
545 καὶ φρυγίῃ καθυπερθε· καὶ ἐλλήσποντος[[ν]](*) ἀπέιρων·
 τῶ σέ γεροντὸ πλουτῶ τε καὶ ὑἷάσι φασὶ κεκάσθαι·
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τοι πῆμα τόδ' ἡγαγον οὐρανιώνες·
 αἰεὶ τοι περὶ ἀστυ μάχαι τ' ἀνδροκτασίαι τε·
 ἀνσχεο· μὴδ' ἀλιάστον ὀδυρεο σὸν κατὰ θυμόν·

550 ου γαρ \ (hand 2) τι/ πρῆξεις ακαχήμενος ὕιος εἰος· (added at right: τεοιο)

ουδέ μιν ανστῆσεις πριν και κακον άλλο πάθησθα·

——τον δ' ἡμειβετ' ἐπειτα γερων πριαμος θεοειδης·

μή με πω ες θρονον ἔζε διοτρεφές· ὀφρά κεν εκτωρ

κῆται ενι κλισιησιν ακηδής· αλλα τάχιστα

555 λυσον ἰν οφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδω· συ δε δέξαι ἀποινα

πολλα· τά τοι φερομεν· συ δε τωνδ' (*) ἀπόναιο· και ελθοις

σὴν ες πατριδα γαιαν· ἐπεῖ με πρωτον ἔασας (added at right: κατ') (Refers to line that is written in at the bottom of the column)

——τον δ' αρ' υπόδρα ἴδων προσεφη ποδας ωκυς ακιλλευς·

560 (added at left: ακιλλευς)μηκετι νυν μ' ἐρέθιζε γερον· νοέω δε και αυτος / (hand 2) αυτον τε ζωειν και ὀρᾶιν φας ηελιοιο· \

column xi

εκτορά· τοι λυσαι· διόθεν δέ μοι ἀγγελος ηλθε

μητηρ· ἡ μ' ἔτεκεν θυγατηρ ἀλίοιο γεροντος·

και δε σε γεινωσκω πριαμε φρέσιν· ουδέ με ληθεις

οτ' τι θεων τις' σ' ἦγε θοας επι νῆας ακαιων·

565 ου γάρ κεν τλάιη βροτος ελθεμεν ουδε μαλ' ἠβῶν

ες στρατον· ουτε γαρ αν φυλακας λαθοι· ουδε κ(*) οχηα (added at right: φυλάκος)

ροια(*) μετοχλίσσειε θυραων ἡμετεραων·

τω νυν μη μοι μαλλον εν ἀλγεσι θυμον ὀρένοις· (added at right: νης)

μη σε γερον ουδ αυτον ενι κλισιησιν εασω

570 και ἔκετην περ εοντα· διος δ' ἀλίτωμαι εφετμάς·

——ως εφατ'· ἔδδεισεν δ' ὁ γερων και ἐπειθετο μυθῳ·

πηλειδης δ' οἰκοιο λεων ὥς ἄλτο θύραζε·

ουκ' οἶος· ἅμα τῷ γε δυω θεραπευοντες ἔποντο
 ηρωσ ἀλκιμέδων ηδ ἀλκιμος· οὓς ρα μαλιστα
575 τι ἀχιλλεύς ἐτάρων μετα πάτροκλόν γε θανοντα·
 οἱ τόθ' ὑπο ζυγόφιν λυον ιππους ἡμιόνους τε·
 ἐς δ' ἀγαγον κηρυκα καλήτορα τοιο γεροντος·
 καδ δ' ἐπὶ διφρου εἶσαν· ε(*)υσσωτρου δ' ἐπ' ἀπῆνης
 ἥρεον ἐτκορης κεφαλῆς ἀπερείσι ἀποινα·
580 καδ δ' ἐλιπον δυο φαρε ευννητόν τε χιτῶνα(*)·
 ὄφρα νεκυν πυκάσας δοῖη οἰκονδε φέρεθαι·
 δμῶας δ' ἐκκαλέσας λουσαι κέλετ' ἀμφί τ' αλειψαι
 νοσφιν αειράσας· ὥς μὴ πριαμος ἴδοι ὕιον·
 μὴ ὅ μιν ἀχνυμένη κραιδίη χολον οὐκ ἐρύσαιτο
585 παιδα ἴδων, ἀχιλλῆϊ δ' ὀρινθέει φιλον ἠτορ(*),
 καί ἐ κατακτείνει· διος δ' ἀλίτῃται ἐφετμὰς·
 τον δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν δμῶαι λουσας καὶ χρεῖσαν ἐλαιῳ·
 ἀμφὶ δέ μιν φαρος καλον βαλον ἦδε χιτῶνα(*)·
 αὐτος τὸν γ' ἀχιλλεύς λεχέων ἐπέθηκεν αἶρας·
590 συν δ' ἔταροι ἥειραν εὐξέστην ἐπ' ἀπῆνην·
 ὦμωξεν τ' ἀρ' ἐπειτα· φιλον δ' ὀνόμηνεν ἔταιρον·
 (added at left: ἀχιλλεύς) μὴ μοι πατροκλε σκυδμαινέμεν· αἶ κε πύθῃται
 εἰς αἰδός περ ἐὼν ὅτι ἐκτορα διον ἔλυσας
 πατρι φιλῶ· ἐπεὶ οὐ μοι αἰκέα δῶκεν ἀποινα·
595 σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ καὶ τῶνδ' ἀποδάσσομαι ὅσ(*)ὡσ(*) ἐπέοικεν·
 ——— ἦ ρα· καὶ ἐς κλισίην παλιν ἦϊε διος ἀχιλλεύς·
 ἔζετο δ' ἐν κλισμῷ πολυδαιδάλῳ ἐνθεν ἀνεστη

τοιχου του ετερου ποτι δε πριαμον φάτο μυθον·

(added at left: αχιλλευς)υῖος μεν δὴ τοι λέλυται γέρον ὥς ἐκελευες·

600 κεῖται δ' ἐν λεχέεσσ· ἅμα δ' ἠοῖ φαινομένηφι

ᾔψαι αὐτὸς ἄγων· νυν δε μνησῶμεθα δόρπου·

(added at left: <ζ>)και γάρ τ ἠύ[κ]ομος νιόβη ἐμνήσατο σ(*)εῖτου·

τῇ περ δῶδεκα πάιδες ἐνι μμεγάροισιν ὅλοντο·

ἐξ μεν θυ[γα]τερες· ἐξ δ' ὕῖες ἡβῶντες·

column xii

605 τοὺς μεν ἀπόλλων πέφνεν ἀπ ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο

χωόμενος νιόβη· τας δ' ἀρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα·

οὔνεκ' ἄρα λητοὶ εἰσάσκετο καλλιπαρῆφ·

φῆ' δόϊω τεκέειν· ἡ δ' αὐτὴ γείνατο πολλοὺς·

τὼ δ' ἀρα καὶ δοιὼ περ εὐντ' ἀπο πάντας ὄλεσσαν·

610 οἱ μεν ἀρ' ἐννήμαρ κέατ' ἐν φονῶ· οὐδέ τις ἦεν

καθθάψαι· λαοὺς δε λιθοὺς ποιήσε κρον(*)εῖων·

τοὺς δ' ἀρα τῇ δεκάτῃ θάψαν θεοὶ οὐρανίῳνες·

ἡ δ' ἀρα σ(*)εῖτου μνήστα· ἐπεὶ καμὲ δάκρυ χέουσα·

νυν δέ που ἐν πέτρῃσιν ἐν ὄυρεσιν οἰοπόλοισιν

615 ἐν σιπύλῳ· ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἐμμενε εὐνας

νυμφαῶν· αἱ τ' ἀμφ' ἀχελώϊον ἐρρώσαντο·

ένθα λίθος περ εοῦσα θεῶν ἐκ' κῆδεα πέσσει·

ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ νῶϊ μεδώμεθα δ(*)εἰέ γεραῖε

σ(*)εἰτρον· ἐπειτά κεν αὐτε φίλον παιδὰ κλάϊοισθα

620 ἴλιον εἰσ[...]]αγαγὼν· πολυδάκρυτος δέ τοι ἐσται·

——ἦ· και αναΐξας οἶν ἀργυφον ωκυς αχιλλευς
σφαζ'· ἑταροι δ' ἔδερὸν τε και ἀμφεπον εὖ κατα κοσμον·
μίστυλλον τ' ἄρ' ἐπισταμένως πεῖράν τ' ὀβελοῖσι·
ῶπτησάν τε περιφραδέως· ἐρύσαντό τε παντα·

625 αυτομέδων δ αρα σείτον ἔλων επένειμε τραπεζῇ
καλοις εν κανέοισιν· αταρ κρέα νεῖμεν αχιλλευς·
οἱ δ' επ ονεῖαθ' ἑτοῖμα προκέιμεθα χειρας ἰάλλον·
αυτὰρ επεὶ πόσιος και ἑδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο·
ἦτοι δαρδανιδης πριαμος θαύμαζ' αχιλλῆα

630 ὅσσοις εἰν οἶος \ (hand 2) τε· / θεοῖσι γαρ ἅντα εὔκει·
αυτὰρ ὁ δαρδανίδην πρίαμον θάυμαζεν αχιλλευς·
εἰσὸρόων οψιν τ' ἀγαθὴν· και μύθον ακουων·
αυταρ επεὶ τάρπησαν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὀρόωντες·
τον πρότερος προσεειπε γερων πρίαμος θεοειδης·

635 (added at left: πριαμος)λέξον νυν με τάχιστα διοτρεφες· οφρα· και ηδη
ὑπνφ ὑπο γλυκερῳ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντε·
ου γάρ πω μύσαν ὅσσε ὑπο βλεφάροισιν εμοῖσιν
ἐξ οὔ σῆς υπο χερσὶν εμος παις ὦλεω θυμον·
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ στεναχῶ και κῆδεα μυρια πέσσω

640 αυλῆς εν χόρτοις κυλινδόμενος κατα κόπρον·
νυν δη και σ(*)ειτου πασάμην· και ἀίθοπα οινον
λε[[α]]υκανίης(*) καθέηκα· πάρος γε μεν οὐ τι πεπάσμην·

——ἦ ρ· αχιλλευς δ' ἑτάροισιν ἴδὲ δμωῇσι κέλευσε
δέμνι ὑπ αἰθούσση(*) θέμεναι καιρήγεα καλά

645 πορφυρέ ενβαλέειν· στορέσαι τ' εφύπερθε τάπητας·

χλαῖνας τ' ενθέμεναι ὄυλας καθῦπερθεν ἔσασθαι·

αἱ δ' ἴσαν εκ μεγάρου δάος μετα χερσιν ἔχουσai·

αἷψα δ' αρ εστόρεσαν δαιὼ λεχε' ενκονέουσai·

column xiii

τον δ' επικεπρτομέων προσεφη ποδας ωκυς αχιλλευς·

650 (added at left: αχιλλευς)εκτός μεν δη λέξο γερον φιλε μή τις αχαιων

ενθάδ' επέλθησιν βουληφόρος· οἱ τέ μοι αιεῖ

βουλας βουλεύουσai παρήμενοι ἢ θεμις εστι·

των εἰ τις σε ἴδοιτο θοήν δια νυκτα μέλαιναν·

αυτίκ' αδ' εξείποι αγαμεμνονι ποιμενι λαων· (added at left: αυτικ' αν)

655 καί κεν ανάβλησις λύσιος νεκροῖο γένοιτο·

αλλ'· ἄγε μοι τόδε ειπε και ατρεκέως κατάλεξον·

ποσσ' ἤμαρ μέμονας κτερεῖζέμεν εκτορα διον·

ὄφρα τέως αυτος τε μενω και λαον ερύκω·

——τον δ' ημίβετ' επεῖτα γερων πριαμος θεοειδης·

660 (added at left: πριαμος)ει μεν δη μ' εθέλεις τελέσαι τάφον εκτορι διω·

ὥδέ κε μοι ρέζων αχιλλευ κεχαρισμένα θειης·

οἴσθα γαρ ὡς κατα άστυ εέλμεθα· τηλόθι δ' ὕλη(*)ν·

αζέμεν εξ ὄρεος· μαλα δε τρῶες δεδιάσιν·

εννημαρ μέν κ' αυτον ενι μμεγάροις γοόωμεν·

665 τη δεκατη δε κε θάπτοιμεν· δάινυτό τε λαος·

ένδεκάτη δέ κε τυμβον επ αυτω ποιήσαιμεν·

τη δε δυωδεκάτη πτολεμίζομεν εἷ περ αναγκη·

——τον δ' αὖτε προσεειπε ποδάκρης διος αχιλλευς·

(added at left: αχιλλευς)έσται τοι και ταῦτα γερον πριαμ' ὥς συ κελευεις·

670 σχῆσω γαρ πολεμον τόσσον χρονον ὅσσον ἄνωγας·

——ως αρα φωνησας επι καρπῳ χειρα γεροντος

έλλαβε δεξιτερη· μη πως δεῖσει ενι θυμῳ·

οἱ μεν αρ εν προδόμῳ δομου αυτου κοιμήσαντο

κηρυξ και πριαμος πυκίνα φρέσι μῆδε' εχοντες·

675 αυταρ αχιλλευς εὔδε μυχω κλισίης ευπηκτου·

τω δε βρισηῖς παρελεξατο καλλιπάρης·

ἄλλοι μὲν ρα θεοὶ τε και ανερες ιπποκορυστᾶι

έυδον(*) παννύχιοι μαλακῳ δεδμημένοι ὑπνῳ

αλλ ουχ' έρμειαν εριουνιον ὑπνος έμαρπτεν

680 ὀρμᾶινοντ' ανα θυμον οπως πριαμον βασιλῆα

νηων εκπέμψειε λαθὼν ἱερους πυλαῶρους·

στιῇ δ' ἄρ' ὑπερ κεφαλῆς· καί μιν προς μυθον εἶπεν

(added at left: ερμης)ῶ γερον· ὅυ νύ τι σόι γε μελει κακον· οἶον εθ' εὔδεις

ανδρασιν εν δηϊόισιν· επει σ' έιασεν αχιλλευς·

685 και νυν μεν φιλον ὑιον ελυσάο· πολλὰ δ' εδῶκας

σειῶ δέ κεν ζωοῦ και τρις τόσα δοῖεν ἄποινα

παιδες· τοὶ μετ' ὀπισθε λελιμμένοι· αἱ κ ἄγαμεμνων

γνῶη σ' ατρείδης γνῶωσι δε παντες αχαιοι·

——ως εφατ· έδδειςεν δ ὁ γερων κηρυκα δ' ανίστη·

690 τοῖσιν δ' έρμειας ζευξ' ἵππους ημιόνους τε·

ρίμφα δ αρ' αυτος έλαυνε κατα στρατὸν· ουδέ τις εγνω·

column xiv

αλλ' ὅτε δὴ πόρον ἴζον εὐρρεῖος ποταμοιο·

ερμειας μεν ἐπειτ' ἀπέβη προς μακρον ολύμπον·

695 ἤως δε κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ αἶαν·

οἱ δ' εἰς ἄστν ἔλων ὁμωγῇ τε στοναχῇ(*) τε

ἱππους· ἡμίονοι δε νέκυν φερων· ουδέ τις αλλος

εγνω προσθ' ἀνδρῶν καλλιζῶνων τε γυναικων·

αλλ' ἀρα κασσάνδρῃ ἱκέλη χρυση ἀφροδ(*)εἰτη

700 πέργαμον εἰσαναβᾶσα φίλον πατέρ' εἰσενόησε

ἑσταότ' ἐν διφρῷ κήρυκά τε ἀστυβοῶτην·

τον δ' ἀρ' ἐφ ἡμιόνῳ ἴδε κειμενον ἐν λεχέεσσι·

(added at left: <ζ>) κώκυσεν τ' ἀρ' ἐπετῖα· γέγωνέ τε πᾶν κατὰ ἄστν·

(added at left: κασσάνδρα) ὄψεσθε τρωες καὶ τρωαδες ἔκτορ ἰόντες·

705 εἰ ποτε καὶ ζῶντι(*) εἰ μαχῆς ἐκ νοστήσαντι

χαιρετ'· ἐπεὶ μέγα χαρμα πολεὶ τ' ἦν παντὶ τε δῆμῳ·

——ὥς εἶπεν· ουδε τις αὐτόθ' ἐνὶ πτολεΐ λιπετ' ἀνηρ

ουδε γυνή· παντας γὰρ ἀσχετον ἴκετο πένθος·

αἰχλὸν δε ζύνβληντο πυλαων νεκρον ἀγοντι·

710 πρῶται τὸν γ' ἄλοχός τε φίλη καὶ πότνια μητηρ

τιλλέσθην ἐπ ἀμαξαν εὐτροχον αἶξασαι

ἀπτόμεναι κεφαλῆς· κλαίων δ' ἀμφισταθ'(*) ὁμ(*)εἶλος·

καὶ νῦν κε δὴ πρόπαν ἡμᾶρ ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα

ἔκτορα δάκρυ χέοντες οδυροντο προ πυλαων·

715 εἰ μὴ ἀρ' ἐκ διφροιο γερων λαοῖσι μετήνδα·

(added at left: πριαμος) εἰξατέ(*) μοι οὐρεῦσι διελθέμεν· αὐτὰρ ἐπεῖτα

ασεσθε(*) κλαυθμοῖο ἐπὴν ἀγαγοίμι δόμονδε·

——ως εφ᾿αθ'· οἱ δὲ διέστησαν καὶ εἷξαν ἀπηνῆ·

οἱ δ' ἐπει(*) εἰσάγαγον κλυτὰ δῶματα· τὸν μὲν ἔπειτα

720 τρητοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσι θέσαν· παρὰ δ' εἶσαν αἰδοῦνς·

θρηνοὺς ἐξάρχους· οἳ τε στονοέσσαν αἰοιδῆν·

οἱ μὲν ἀρ' ἐθρήνεον· ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες·

τῆσιν δ' ἀνδρομαχῇ λευκῶλενος ἦρχε γοόιο·

ἐκτορὸς ἵπποδαμοιο κάρη μετὰ χερσὶν ἐχουσα·

725 (added at left: ἀνδρομαχῇ)ἀνερ· ἀπ' αἰωνὸς νέος ὦλεο· καδ δέ με χερὴν

λείπεις ἐν μεγάροισι· πᾶϊς δ' ἐτι νηπιὸς αὐτῶς

ὄν τεκομένην σὺ τ' ἐγὼ τε δυσάμμοροι· οὐδέ μιν ὀϊώ

ἤβην ἔξεσθαι· πρὶν γὰρ πόλις ἦδε κατ' ἀκρῆς

πέρσεται· ἥ γὰρ ὀλωλὰς ἐπίσκοπος· ὅς τέ μιν αὐτὴν

730 ρυσκεῖ· ἐς δ' ἀλοχοὺς κεδνὰς καὶ νήπια τέκνα·

αἱ δὲ τοὶ ταχὰ νηῶσιν' ὀχῆσονται γλαφυρῇσιν·

καὶ μὲν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆσι· σὺ δ' αὖ τέκος ἡ ἐμοὶ αὐτῇ

ἐψαῖ ἔνθά κεν ἐργὰ αἰκέα ἐργάζοιο

ἀθλεύων προᾶνακτος ἀμειλίχου· ἡ τις ἀχαιῶν

735 ρεῖψαι χεῖρος ἔλῶν ἀπὸ πυργοῦ λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον

column xv

χόρμενος ὥ τι νῆι δὲ που ἀδελφὸν ἔκτανεν ἐκτῶρ·

ἡ πατέρ' ἡ καὶ υἱόν· ἡ καὶ μάλα πολλοὶ ἀχαιῶν

ἐκτορὸς ἐν παλαμῆσιν(*) ὁδὰξ ἔλῶν ἀσπετον οὐδὰς·

οὐ γὰρ μείλιχος ἔσκε πατὴρ τέος ἐν δαῖ λυγρῇ·

740 τω και μιν λαοι μεν οδυρονται κατα(*) άστν

αρητὸν δε τοκεῦσι γόον και πένθος εθηκας

εκτορ· εμοῖ δε μαλιστα λελείψεται άλγεα λυγρὰ·

ου γάρ μοι θνησκων λεχέων εκ' χειρας ὄρεξας·

ουδ'έ τι μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν επος· οὐ τέ κεν αιει

745 μεμνημην νυκτας τε και ἡματα δάκρυ χέουσα·

——ως εφατο κλαιους· επι δε στενάχοντο γυναικες·

τῆσιν δ' αὔθ' ἑκαβη ἀδινδὺν ἐξῆρχε γόοιο·

(added at left: εκαβη)εκτορ ε[[ο]]μωι(*) θυμω παντων πολυ φίλτατε παιδων·

ἡ μὲν μοι ζωὸς περ εων φιλος ἦσθα θεοισι·

750 ἡ δ' αρα σεῦ κηδοντο και εν θανάτοιο περ αἴσῃ·

αλλους μεν γαρ παιδας εμους ποδας ωκυς αχιλλευς

περνασχ' ὄν τιν ελεσκε(*) περην ἄλος ατρυγέτοιο

ες σαμον· ες τ' ἰμβρον και λημνον αμιχθαλόεσσαν·

σεῦ δ επι ἐξῆλετο ψυχην ταναήκει χαλκῷ·

755 πολλα ρυστάζεσκεν'έοῦ περι σῆμ'έτάροιο

πατροκλου· τον επεφνες· ἀνέστησεν δέ μιν ουδ' ὤς·

νυν δέ μοι ἐρσηεις και πρόσφατος εν μεγάροισι

κεισαι τῷ ἱκελος· ὄν τ' αργυρότοξος απολλων

οἷς αγανοῖσι βέλεσσιν εποιχόμενος καταπέφνη·

760 ——ως εφατο κλαιουσᾶ γόον δ αλιάστον ἐγειρε·

τῆσι δ' ἐπειθ ελενη τριτάτη ἐξῆρχε γόοιο·

(added at left: ελενη)εκτορ εμῷ θυμω δαέρων πολυ φίλτατε παντων·

ἡ μὲν μοι ποσις εστιν αλεξανδρος θεοειδής·

ὅς μ' ἀγαγεν τροιηνδ'· ὥς πρην ὠφελλον ὀλέσθαι·

765 ἤδη γὰρ νῦν μοι τοδ̣ εἰκοστον̣ ἐτος̣ ἐστίν

ἐξ οὗ κεῖθεν̣ ἔβην· καὶ ἐμῆς̣ ἀπελήλυθα̣ πατρὸς·

ἀλλ̣ οὐ πω(*)ς̣ σεῦ̣ ἀκουσα̣ κακὸν̣ ἐπος̣ οὐδ̣ ἀσύφηλον·

ἀλλ̣ εἰ τις̣ με καὶ ἄλλος̣ ἐνὶ μμεγάροισιν̣ ἐνίπτοι

δαέρων̣ ἢ γαλόων̣ ἢ εἰνατέρων̣ εὐπεπλῶν·

770 ἢ ἔκυρῃ· ἔκυρος̣ δὲ πατὴρ̣ ὥς ἡπίος̣ αἰεῖ· (added at right: (hand 2) ἦεν)

ἀλλὰ σὺ τὸν γ' ἐπέεσσι̣ παραιφάμενος̣ κατέρυκες·

σῆ τ' ἀγανοφροσύνη̣ καὶ σοῖς̣ ἀγανοῖς̣ ἐπέεσσι·

τῷ σε θ' ἀμα̣ κλαίω καὶ ἐμ' ἀμμορον̣ ἀχνυμένη̣ κῆρ·

οὐ γὰρ μοι τις̣ ἐτ' ἄλλος̣ ἐνὶ τροίῃ̣ εὐρείῃ

775 ἡπίος̣ οὐδὲ φίλος· πάντες̣ δὲ με̣ πεφρείκασιν·

——ὥς̣ ἐφατο̣ κλαίουσ· ἐπὶ δ' ἐστὲνε̣ δῆμος̣ ἀπείρων·

λαοῖσιν̣ δ' ὁ γέρων̣ πριαμος̣ μετὰ μῦθον̣ εἶπεν·

(added at left: πριαμος) ἀξέτῃ νῦν̣ τρῶες̣ ξύλα̣ ἀστυδὲ· μῆδε τι̣ θυμῷ

column xvi

δεισῆτ' ἀργείων̣ πυκινὸν̣ λόχον· ἦ γὰρ̣ ἀχιλλεύς

780 πέμπων̣ μ' ὥδ' ἐπέτελλε̣ μελαιναῶν̣ ἀπὸ νηῶν·

μὴ πρὶν̣ πημανέειν̣ πρὶν̣ δωδεκατῇ̣ μόλῃ̣ ἡῶς·

——ὥς̣ ἐφαθ'· οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀμαξῆσιν̣ βοᾶς̣ ἡμιονοὺς̣ τε

ζευγνυσαν· αἶψα̣ δ' ἐπειτα̣ πρὸ ἀστεος̣ ἠγερέθοντο·

ἐννημαρ̣ μὲν τοῖ γε(*) ἀγείνεον̣ ἀσπετον̣ ὕλην·

785 ἀλλ' ὅτε̣ δὴ δεκατῇ̣ ἐφάνη̣ ῥοδοδάκτυλος̣ ἡῶς·

καὶ τότε̣ ἀρ' ἐξεφερον̣ θρασὺν̣ ἐκτορα̣ δάκρυ̣ χερόντες·

ἐν δὲ πυρὴ̣ ὑπάτῃ̣ νεκρὸν̣ θέσαν· ἐν δ' ἐβάλον̣ πυρ·

ημος δ' ἡριγένεια φανη ροδοδακτυλος ἠώς
 τῆμος αρ αμφι πυρη κλυτου(*) εκτορος ἔγρετο λαος·
790 πρωτον μεν κατα πυρκαϊῆν σβέσαν αἶθοπι οινῳ
 πᾶσαν· ὁπόσσον επεσχε πυρος μενος· αυταρ επειτα
 οστεα λευκ' ἐλέγοντο κασίγνητοι θ' ἔταροι τε
 μυρομενοι· θαλερον δε κατεῖβετο δακρυ παρειῶν·
 και τά γε χρυσειην ες λαργακα θῆκαν ἔλοντες
795 πορφυρεοις πεπλοισι καλύψαντες μαλακοῖσιν·
 αἶψα δ' αρ' ες κοιλην κάπετον θέσαν· αυταρ ὑπερθε
 πυκνοῖσιν λαεσσι καταστόρεσαν μεγαλοισι·
 ρίμφα δε σῆμ' ἔχεαν· περι δε σκοπὸι εἶατο παντη·
 μη πριν εφορμηθεῖεν εὐκνήμ(*)ειδες αχαιοι·
800 χεύαντες δε τό σῆμα παλιν κίον· αυταρ ἔπειτα·
 εὖ συναγειράμενοι δαινυντ' (*)π(*) ερικυδέα δαῖτα
 δωμασιν εν πριαμοιο διοτρεφεος βασιληος·
804 (added at left: <η>)ως οἱ γ αμφίεπον ταφον ἑκτορος ιπποδαμοιο·

Apparatus

^ i.3. Text canceled with slashes

^ i.11. corr. ex δεξε

^ i.15. corr. ex αγυρι

^ i.21. κ[χ]ε·κ[χ]ε corr. ex χε

^ i.23. corr. ex σοι

^ i.24. corr. ex ηδε

^ i.31. corr. ex γα

- ^ i.36. Text canceled with slashes
- ^ i.39. corr. ex τη
- ^ ii.55. corr. ex τι
- ^ ii.81. corr. ex ους
- ^ iii.88. εμου·εμου corr. ex εου
- ^ iii.88. corr. ex επι
- ^ iii.88. corr. ex ουτι
- ^ iii.98. corr. ex αλιος
- ^ iii.105. χιτῶνας·χιτωνας corr. ex [.]ιτωνας
- ^ iii.115. ὁ[υ]νοσε[σ]θ'·ο[υ]νοσε[σ]θ' corr. ex ουνεσθ
- ^ iii.115. corr. ex οτε
- ^ iii.117. corr. ex σεσθαι
- ^ iii.121. corr. ex εξω
- ^ iii.124. corr. ex αμφιφονον
- ^ iii.124. Text canceled with slashes
- ^ iii.128. corr. ex ωσωφελ
- ^ iv.130. λελειφθ[πτ]αι·λελειφθ[πτ]αι corr. ex λελειπται
- ^ iv.132. Text canceled with slashes
- ^ iv.132. corr. ex ουτε
- ^ iv.133. corr. ex εμμενε
- ^ iv.137. corr. ex εφωπλισσειτε
- ^ iv.138. επιθ[τ]ειτ[θ]ε·επιθ[τ]ειτ[θ]ε corr. ex επιτειθε
- ^ iv.141. πρωτοπαγη[εα]·πρωτοπαγη[εα] corr. ex πρωτοπαγεα
- ^ iv.147. corr. ex εκατερθερ
- ^ iv.160. corr. ex επος

^ iv.163. Text canceled with slashes
 ^ v.182. Text canceled with slashes
 ^ v.185. corr. ex μεγιστος
 ^ v.192. corr. ex κλειης
 ^ v.215. corr. ex μεν
 ^ vi.221. corr. ex αισυτητορι
 ^ vi.223. corr. ex επι
 ^ vi.223. έλασσα[[ε]]ν·ελασσα[[ε]]ν corr. ex ελασσεν
 ^ vi.228. corr. ex νου
 ^ vi.232. corr. ex δειδια
 ^ vi.234. corr. ex εριονος
 ^ vi.235. corr. ex γεροντος
 ^ vi.240. corr. ex θον
 ^ vi.243. corr. ex απαμυνασθαι
 ^ vi.244. corr. ex κακα
 ^ vi.250. corr. ex αισιος
 ^ vii.266. ό[[πω]]πωπα·ο[[πω]]πωπα corr. ex οπωπω
 ^ vii.274. corr. ex απεσθαι
 ^ vii.276. corr. ex μαχη
 ^ vii.287. corr. ex δυωδεκατοι
 ^ vii.292. corr. ex απελθων
 ^ vii.302. corr. ex θαδετοιο
 ^ viii.304. corr. ex δε
 ^ viii.304. corr. ex γε
 ^ viii.308. corr. ex αχιλληα

^ viii.312. Text canceled with slashes
^ viii.313. corr. ex εν
^ viii.313. corr. ex ονοσσαμενος
^ viii.315. corr. ex μαστειγα
^ viii.328. επερρήσεσκοναχαιοι· επερρησεσκον corr. ex επερησεσκον
^ viii.329. Text canceled with slashes
^ viii.332. ποδώκει papyrus
^ viii.343. corr. ex εξ
^ viii.345. Text canceled with slashes
^ ix.348. Text canceled with slashes
^ ix.349. corr. ex απηληγεν
^ ix.356. corr. ex εχεν
^ ix.366. corr. ex τρωιηθε
^ ix.370. corr. ex εννεακαιδε
^ ix.379. Text canceled with slashes
^ x.395. εξεναριξα[[ε]]·εξεναριξα[[ε]] corr. ex εξεναριξε
^ x.396. corr. ex αλλαγε
^ x.401. corr. ex κατακειαθε
^ x.404. corr. ex αλλογε
^ x.407. Text canceled with slashes
^ x.409. corr. ex ες'
^ x.411. corr. ex ποιησατ
^ x.416. corr. ex ενη
^ x.418. corr. ex μακαρος
^ x.419. corr. ex ελλησποντον

^ x.430. corr. ex των
^ xi.439. corr. ex [.]
^ xi.440. corr. ex ρεια
^ xi.451. ·ἐϋσωτρου papyrus
^ xi.453. χιτῶνα·χιτώνα corr. ex [.]ιτώνα
^ xi.458. corr. ex ητο[v]
^ xi.461. χιτῶνα·χιτώνα corr. ex [.]ιτώνα
^ xi.468. corr. ex ωσ : Text canceled with slashes
^ xi.475. Text canceled with slashes
^ xii.484. Text canceled with slashes
^ xii.486. Text canceled with slashes
^ xii.491. Text canceled with slashes
^ xii.492. Text canceled with slashes
^ xii.514. Text canceled with slashes
^ xii.515. corr. ex λαυκανης
^ xii.517. corr. ex αιθουση
^ xiii.535. Text canceled with slashes
^ xiii.551. corr. ex ηυδον
^ xiv.568. corr. ex στεναχη
^ xiv.571. Text canceled with slashes
^ xiv.577. Text canceled with slashes
^ xiv.584. corr. ex ανφισταθ'
^ xiv.584. Text canceled with slashes
^ xiv.588. είξατέμοιειξατε corr. ex ιξατε
^ xiv.589. corr. ex ασεσθαι

^ xiv.591. corr. ex επι
 ^ xv.610. corr. ex παλα
 ^ xv.612. corr. ex περι
 ^ xv.620. corr. ex ομωι
 ^ xv.624. corr. ex ελεκε
 ^ xv.639. Text canceled with slashes
 ^ xvi.656. corr. ex δης φιν
 ^ xvi.661. corr. ex κριτος
 ^ xvi.671. Text canceled with slashes
 ^ xvi.673. corr. ex δαινυνπ

APPENDIX 2

Accent on the last part of the line

Line	OCT <i>Homer</i>	<i>Bankes Homer</i> papyrus
132	ἄγχι παρέστηκεν θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή.	[αγχι] παρέστηκεν θανατος και μοῖρα κραταιή.
143	Ἴριν δ' ὄτρυνε Κρονίδης εἰς Ἴλιον ἱρήν,	ἱριν δ ωτρυνε κρονιδης εις Ἴλιον ἱρήν,
192	Κέδρινον ὑψόροφον, ὃς γλήνεα πολλὰ κεχάνδει,	κέδρινον ὑσοροφον, ὃς γλην[εα πο]λλα κεχάνδει,
204	ἄνδρὸς ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὅς τοι πολέας τε καὶ ἐσθλοὺς	ανδρος ες οφθαλμους ὅς τοι πολέας τε και εσθλοὺς
216	ἔσταότ' οὔτε φόβου μεμνημένον οὔτ' ἀλεωρῆς.”	ἔσταότ' ουτε φοβον μεμνημένον ουτ αλεωρῆς.
259	ἄνδρός γε θνητοῦ πάϊς ἔμμεναι, ἀλλὰ θεοῖο.	ανδρος γε θνητου παις ἐμμεναι αλλα θεοῖο.
264	Ταῦτά τε πάντ' ἐπιθείτε, ἵνα πρήσσωμεν ὁδοῖο;”	ταυτα τε παντ επι ^θ ει ^θ ε, ἵνα πρήσσωμεν ὁδοῖο;
265	Ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πατὴρ ὑποδείσαντες ὁμοκλήν	ως εφατ', οἱ δ αρα πατρος ὑποδδείσαντες ὁμοκλήν,
271	Καὶ τὸ μὲν εὖ κατέθηκαν εὐξέστω ἐπὶ ῥυμῶ,	και το μεν εὖ κατέθηκαν εὐξέστω επι ρυμῶ

279	ἵππους δὲ Πριάμῳ ὕπαγον ζυγόν, οὓς ὁ γεραιὸς	ἵππο[υ]ς δε πριαμῳ ὕπαγον ζυγον, οὓς ὁ <u>γ</u> εραῖος
292	Αἶτει δ' οἰωνόν, ταχὺν ἄγγελον, ὅς τε οἱ αὐτῷ	αἶτει δ' οἰωνόν, ἐόν αγγελον, ὅς τε οἷ αὐτῷ
302	Ἥ ρα, καὶ ἀμφίπολον ταμῖν ὄτρυν' ὁ γεραιὸς	ἦ ρα, και ἀμφίπολον ταμῖν ὄτρυν' ὁ γεραιὸς
331	Παῖδες καὶ γαμβροί, τῷ δ' οὐ λάθον εὐρύοπα Ζῆν	παιδες και γαμβροι, τῷ δ ου λάθον ευρύοπα ζῆν
341	ἀμβρόσια χρύσεια, τὰ μιν φέρον ἡμὲν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν	ἀμβροσια χρυσεια, τα μὲν φερων ἡμὲν ἐφ υγρὴν
347	Βῆ δ' ἵεναι κούρῳ αἰσυμνητῆρι ἐοικώς,	βῆ δ' ἵεναι κουρῳ αἰσυμνητοῦρι εοικῶς
358	Ὡς φάτο, σὺν δὲ γέροντι νόος χύτο, δειδία δ' αἰνῶς,	ως φατο, συν δε γεροντι νόος χύτο, δειδια ^ε δ' αινῶς,
368	Οὗτ' αὐτὸς νέος ἐσσί, γέρων δέ τοι οὗτος ὀπηδεῖ,	οут' αὐτος νεος <u>ε</u> σσι, γερων δέ τοι οὗτος οπηδεῖ
369	ἄνδρ' ἀπαμύνασθαι, ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνη.	ανδρ' ε παμυνα <u>σθ</u> αι ὅτε τις προτερος χαλεπαῖνη.
376	Αἴσιον, οἷος δὴ σὺ δέμας καὶ εἶδος ἀγητός,	αισιος ^ν , οἷος δη συ μεγας και εἶδος ἀγητός,
377	Πέπνυσάι τε νόῳ, μακάρων δ' ἐξ ἐσσι τοκῆων.”	πέπνυσάι τε νοῳ, μακάρων δ' ἐξ ^ε ἐσσι τοκῆων.
381	ἥε πη ἐκπέμπεις κειμήλια πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλὰ	ἥε πη εκπεμπεις κειμήλια πολλὰ και εσθλὰ
383	ἣ ἤδη πάντες καταλείπετε Ἴλιον ἱρὴν	ἣ <u>η</u> δη παντες καταλείπετε ἴλιον ἱρὴν
387	«τίς δὲ σὺ ἐσσι, φέριστε, τέων δ' ἐξ ἐσσι τοκῆων;	τίς δε συ εσσι φεριστε, τέων δ' ἐξ ἐσσι τοκῆων;
396	Τοῦ γὰρ ἐγὼ θεράπων, μία δ' ἦγαγε νηὺς εὐεργής,	του μεν εγω θεραπων, μια δ' ἦγαγε νῆυς ευεργής,
412	ἀλλ' ἔτι κεῖνος κεῖται Ἀχιλλῆος παρὰ νηϊ	αλλ' ἐτι κεῖνος κειται ἀχιλληος παρα νῆϊ
428	Τῷ οἱ ἀπομνήσαντο καὶ ἐν θανάτοιο περ αἴσῃ.	τῷ οἱ απομνήσαντο και ἐν θανατοιοῖ περ αἴσῃ.
441	Καρπαλίμως μαστιγα καὶ ἡνία λάζετο χερσίν,	καρπαλίμως μαστιγγα και ἡνία λάζετο χερσίν,
442	ἐν δ' ἔπνευσ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἡμιόνοις μένος ἦϋ.	ἐν δ' ἐπνευσ' ἵπποισι και ἡμιόνοις μενος ἦϋ.
453	Σταυροῖσιν πυκινοῖσι: θύρην δ' ἔχε μῶνος ἐπιβλής	σταυροῖσιν πυκινοῖσι: θυ <u>ρ</u> ην δ' ἔχε μουνος ἐπιβλ <u>ῆ</u> ς
475	Πόιπνυον παρεόντε: νέον δ' ἀπέληγεν ἐδωδῆς	πόιπνυον παρεόντε: νέον δ' ἀπέληγεν ἐδωδῆς
477	Τοὺς δ' ἔλαθ' εἰσελθὼν Πρίαμος μέγας, ἄγχι δ' ἄρα στᾶς	τους δ' ἔλαθ' εἰσελθων πριαμος μεγας, ἀγχι δ ἀρα στᾶς
487	Τηλίκου ὥς περ ἐγὼν, ὅλοϙ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ:	τηλικου ὥς περ ἐγὼν, ὅλοϙ ἐπὶ γῆραος ουδῶ:
565	Οὐ γάρ κε τλαίῃ βροτὸς ἐλθέμεν, οὐδὲ μάλ' ἥβῳν,	ου γάρ κεν τλάιη βροτος ἐλθειμεν ουδε μαλ' ἥβῳν

566	ἐς στρατόν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν φυλάκους λάθοι, οὐδέ κ' ὀχῆα	ες στρατον: ουτε γαρ αν φυλακους λαθοι, ουδε κ οχῆα
570	Καὶ ἱκέτην περ ἐόντα, Διὸς δ' ἀλίτωμαι ἐφετμάς.”	και ἱκετην περ εοντα, διος δ' αλίτωμαι εφετμάς.
586	Καὶ ἐ κατακτείνειε, Διὸς δ' ἀλίτηται ἐφετμάς.	καί ἐ κατακτείνειε, διος δ' αλίτηται εφετμάς.
605	Τοὺς μὲν Ἀπόλλων πέφνεν ἀπ' ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο	τους μεν ἀπόλλων πέφνεν απ αργυρέοιο βιοῖο
618	ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ νῶϊ μεδώμεθα, διε γεραῖε,	αλλ' ἄγε δη και νῶϊ μεδώμεθα δειέ γεραῖε
659	Τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα γέρων Πρίαμος θεοειδής:	τον δ' ημείβετ' ἐπειτα γερων πριαμος θεοειδής:
677	Ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἵπποκορυσταὶ	ἄλλοι μὲν ρα θεοὶ τε και ανερες ιπποκορυστὰι
681	Νηῶν ἐκπέμψειε λαθὼν ἱεροὺς πυλαωρούς.	νηων εκπέμψειε λαθὼν ἱερους πυλαωρούς.
706	Χαίρετ', ἐπεὶ μέγα χάρμα πόλει τ' ἦν παντί τε δήμῳ.”	χαιρετ', επει μέγα χαρμα πολει τ' ην παντι τε δήμῳ.
720	Τρητοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσι θέσαν, παρὰ δ' εἶσαν ἀοιδούς	τρητοῖς εν λεχέεσσι θέσαν, παρα δ' εἶσαν αοιδούς,
739	οὐ γὰρ μείλιχος ἔσκε πατὴρ τεὸς ἐν δαΐτῃ λυγρῇ,	ου γαρ μειλιχος ἐσκε πατηρ τεος εν δαῖτῃ λυγρῇ.
742	Ἐκτορ, ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα λελείψεται ἄλγεα λυγρὰ.	εκτορ, εμοῖ δε μαλιστα λελείψεται ἄλγεα λυγρὰ.
744	οὐδέ τί μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν ἔπος, οὐ τέ κεν αἰεὶ	ουδ' ἐ τι μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν επος, οὐ τέ κεν αιεὶ
750	οἱ δ' ἄρα σεῦ κήδοντο καὶ ἐν θανάτοιο περ αἴσῃ.	ἦ δ' αρα σεῦ κηδοντο και εν θανάτοιο περ αἴσῃ.
756	Πατρόκλου, τὸν ἔπεφνες, ἀνέστησεν δέ μιν οὐδ' ὧς.	πατροκλου, τον επεφνες, ἀνέστησεν δέ μιν ουδ' ὧς.
763	ἦ μὲν μοι πόσις ἐστὶν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής,	ἦ μὲν μοι ποσις εστιν αλεξανδρος θεοειδής,
770	ἦ ἐκυρὴ, ἐκυρὸς δὲ πατὴρ ὥς ἥπιος αἰεῖ--,	η ἐκυρὴ, ἐκυρος δε πατηρ ὥς ἥπιος αιεὶ,
773	τῷ σέ θ' ἅμα κλαίω καὶ ἔμ' ἄμμορον ἀχνυμένη κῆρ,	τω σε θ αμα κλαιω και εμ' ἄμμορον αχνυμένη κῆρ,
781	Μὴ πρὶν πημανέειν, πρὶν δωδεκάτῃ μόλῃ ἡώς.”	μη πριν πημανέειν πριν δωδεκατη μόλῃ ηώς.
785	ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ ἐφάνη φαεσίμβροτος ἡώς,	αλλ' ὅτε δη δεκατη εφάνη ροδοδάκτυλος ηώς,
788	Ἥμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ροδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,	ημος δ' ηριγένεια φανη ροδοδακτυλος ηώς
794	Μυρόμενοι, θαλερὸν δὲ κατεΐβετο δάκρυ παρειῶν.	μυρομενοι, θαλερον δε κατεΐβετο δακρυ παρειῶν.

APPENDIX 3

Acute accent in Oxytones

Line	OCT Homer	Bankes Homer Papyrus
160	ἴξεν δ' ἐς Πριάμοιο, κίχεν δ' ἐνοπήν τε γόον τε.	ἴξεν δ' ἐς πριαμοιο, κιχεν δ' ενοπήν τε γόον τε.
181	Μηδέ τί τοι θάνατος μελέτω φρεσὶ μηδέ τι τάρβος,	μηδε τι ^τ θανατος μελέτω φρεσί μηδέ τι ταρβος,
345	Τὴν μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων πέτετο κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης.	την μετα χερσιν εχων πέτετο κρατύς αργειφοντης.
437	Σοὶ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ πομπὸς καὶ κε κλυτὸν Ἄργος ἰκοίμην,	σοῖ μεν εγω πομπός καί κεν κλυτὸν αργος ἴκοίμην
461	Ἑρμείας· σοὶ γάρ με πατὴρ ἅμα πομπὸν ὄπασσεν.	ερμειας· σοῖ γάρ με πατηρ ἅμα πομπόν ὄπασσε.
488	Καὶ μέν που κείνον περυναίεται ἀμφὶς ἐόντες	και μεν που κεινον περυναίεται ἀμφίς ἐόντες
512	Πάτροκλον· τῶν δὲ στοναχὴ κατὰ δώματ' ὀρώρει.	πατροκλον· τῶν δε στοναχὴ κατὰ δῶματ' ὀρώσει.
514	Καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ πραπίδων ἦλθ' ἥμερος ἡδ' ἀπὸ γύων,	καὶ οἱ ἀπο πραπίδων ἦλθ' ἥμερος ἡδ' ἀπὸ γύων,
516	Οἰκτίρων πολίων τε κάρη πολίων τε γένειον,	οικτείρων πολιον τε ἀρη πολίων τε γένειον,
609	Τὼ δ' ἄρα καὶ δοιὼ περ ἐόντ' ἀπὸ πάντας ὄλεσσαν.	τὼ δ' ἄρα και δοιὼ περ ἐόντ' ἀπο πάντας ὄλεσσαν.

650	“ἐκτός μὲν δὴ λέξο, γέρον φίλε, μή τις Ἀχαιῶν.	εκτός μὲν δὴ λέξο γερον φιλε μή τις αχαιων
676	Τῷ δὲ Βρισηΐς παρελέξατο καλλιπάρηος.	τω δε βρισηΐς παρελεξατο καλλιπάρηος.
677	Ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἵπποκορυσταὶ	ἄλλοι μὲν ρα θεοὶ τε και ανερες ιπποκορυσταὶ
684	ἀνδράσιν ἐν δηϊοσιν, ἐπεὶ σ’ εἵασεν Ἀχιλλεύς.	ανδρασιν εν δηϊοσιν, επει σ’είασεν αχιλλευς.
749	ἦ μὲν μοι ζῷός περ ἐὼν φίλος ἦσθα θεοῖσιν,	ἦ μὲν μοι ζῶός περ εων φιλος ἦσθα θεοισι,

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