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Parakatalogē: **Another Look**

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§ The concept of παρακαταλογή has played a key role in how many modern scholars envision the performance of ancient drama, but its nature and role have been misunderstood. Close examination of the two passages where the word παρακαταλογή occurs (Pseudo-Aristotle *Problemata* 19, 6 and Ps.-Plutarch *De musica* 28), of uses of the words καταλογή and καταλέγειν, and of passages describing accompanied speech reveal that the vocalizing used in παρακαταλογή was very similar if not identical to normal speech. Παρακαταλογή could be used in the performance of a variety of meters, but there is no evidence that it was used extensively.

§ Il concetto di παρακαταλογή ha giocato un ruolo chiave nell'interpretazione che molti studiosi moderni hanno dato della *performance* nel dramma antico, ma la sua natura e il suo ruolo sono stati male interpretati. Un esame attento dei due passi nei quali ricorre la parola παρακαταλογή (Pseudo-Aristotele *Problemata* 19, 6 e Ps.-Plutarco *De musica* 28), degli usi delle parole καταλογή e καταλέγειν e dei passi che descrivono la recitazione accompagnata rivelano che l'articolazione utilizzata nella παρακαταλογή era molto simile, se non addirittura identica, al parlato. La παρακαταλογή poteva essere utilizzata nella *performance* di una grande varietà di metri, ma non c'è alcuna prova che essa sia stata impiegata in modo massiccio.

The word παρακαταλογή occurs only twice in extant Greek literature. The term has nevertheless played a key role in many studies of the performance of Greek theater.[1] Παρακαταλογή, it has been argued, represents a type of vocalizing in between song and everyday speech that was used throughout Greek drama for the performance of various meters, including long passages of trochaic tetrameters, iambic tetrameters, and anapests. Close examination of the two places where the word παρακαταλογή occurs and other passages, however, suggests that, although the boundary between speech and song was quite fluid in ancient Greece, and many different meters could be performed to accompaniment either with full-fledged

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[1] See especially BURETTE (1735), p. 134; CHRIST (1875), pp. 163-177 and *passim*; CHRIST (1879), pp. 676-677; ZIELINSKI (1885), pp. 288-314; WEIL–REINACH (1900), p. 107; WHITE (1912), p. 20; DEL GRANDE (1960), p. 289; GENTILI (1960); PERUSINO (1966); DALE (1968), p. 4, pp. 207-208; PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE (1968), pp. 156-165; PRETAGOSTINI (1976); ROSSI (1978), pp. 1150-1152; GAMBERINI (1979) pp. 244-245; BARKER (1984), p. 191, pp. 234-235; NAGY (1990), pp. 27-28 and *passim*.

song or in a way that could be considered speaking, παρακαταλογή was not a mode of vocalizing in between speech and song, but an accompanied performance mode that approached everyday speech very closely. Although it could be used in the performance of a variety of meters, παρακαταλογή probably occurred only rarely, and there is no evidence that it was used for extensive passages.

Various pieces of evidence suggest that in Greece the distinction between "speaking"—λέγειν—and "singing"—ἀείδειν—involved the performer's approach to rhythm as well as pitch, and that the two concepts could overlap with relative ease.[2] For Aristoxenus, the essential difference between λέγειν and ἀείδειν resides in the extent to which a performer maintains the distinction between different pitches while moving between syllables: in speaking one can hear many pitches in between the pitches that are used for two different syllables, while in singing one cannot (*Elementa Harmonica* 1, 9, 12-30, p. 14, 6-17 Da Rios).[3] In what follows I will use the term "melody" as shorthand for this distinction, ignoring for the time being the fact that spoken discourse has its own melody, and that Greek, with its tonic accents, brings more melody to any utterance than does a language without pitch accents.[4]

The word παρακαταλογή first occurs in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* (19, 6):

Διὰ τί ἡ παρακαταλογὴ ἐν ταῖς ᾠδαῖς τραγικόν; ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν; παθητικὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀνωμαλὲς καὶ ἐν μεγέθει τύχης ἢ λύπης. τὸ δὲ ὁμαλὲς ἔλαττον γοῶδες.

Why is παρακαταλογή in the songs tragic? – Is it because of its irregularity? For the irregularity in great misfortune and grief is moving. And the regular is less mournful.

Παρακαταλογή thus occurred in songs, and it was thought to produce a tragic effect because of its irregularity. Some have assumed that παρακαταλογή here refers specifically to spoken delivery of the iambic trimeters that sometimes occur individually or in very small groups within lyric passages (e.g., GAMBERINI [1979], p. 245 n. 12). The iambic trimeter was, after all, the meter most often delivered without accompaniment in ancient drama. It should be noted, however, that Pseudo-Aristotle makes no reference to meter here.

The second occurrence of the word does appear in a context that discusses meters, but it still does not associate παρακαταλογή with any specific meter. An interlocutor in pseudo-Plutarch's *De Musica* describes the musical innovations of Archilochus (chap. 28, 1140f-1141b):

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[2] Cf. MONRO (1894), pp. 113-119; BEARE (1964), pp. 223-224; PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE (1968), p. 158; NAGY (1990) p. 21, pp. 33-41.

[3] Aristoxenus (*Elementa Harmonica* 1, 9, 30-33, p. 14, 17-20 Da Rios), Nicomachus (*Harmonicum encheiridion* 2, p. 239, 13-17 Jan) and Aristides Quintilianus (*De musica* 1, 4, p. 5, 26 ff. W.-I. and perhaps 1, 13, p. 31, 24 ff. W.-I.) also mention modes of utterance in between speaking and singing. See BARKER (1989), pp. 133, 249, 404, 435.

[4] For a cross-cultural view of the distinction between singing and speaking, see LIST (1963).

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος τὴν τῶν τριμέτρων ῥυθμοποιίαν προσεξεῦρε καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμογενεῖς ῥυθμοὺς ἔντασιν καὶ τὴν παρακαταλογὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα κροῦσιν· πρώτῳ δ᾽ αὐτῷ τά τ᾽ ἐπῳδὰ καὶ τὰ τετράμετρα καὶ τὸ [προ]κρητικὸν καὶ τὸ προσοδιακὸν ἀποδέδοται καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἡρῴου αὔξησις, ὑπ᾽ ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐλεγεῖον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἥ τε τοῦ ἰαμβείου πρὸς τὸν ἐπιβατὸν παίωνα ἔντασις καὶ ἡ τοῦ ηὐξημένου ἡρῴου εἴς τε τὸ προσοδιακὸν καὶ τὸ κρητικόν· ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἰαμβείων τὸ τὰ μὲν λέγεσθαι παρὰ τὴν κροῦσιν, τὰ δ᾽ ᾄδεσθαι Ἀρχίλοχόν φασι καταδεῖξαι, εἶθ᾽ οὕτω χρήσασθαι τοὺς τραγικοὺς ποιητάς, Κρέξον δὲ λαβόντα εἰς διθύραμβον [χρήσασθαι] ἀγαγεῖν. οἴονται δὲ καὶ τὴν κροῦσιν τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ᾠδὴν τοῦτον πρῶτον εὑρεῖν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀρχαίους πάντας πρόσχορδα κρούειν.

But indeed Archilochus also invented the rhythmicizing of trimeters and the extension into rhythms that are not of the same type, and *parakatalogē* and the instrumental accompaniment concerning these things. And to him first are attributed epodes and tetrameters and the cretic and the prosodiac and the augmentation of the heroic meter and by some even the elegiac, and in addition to these the augmenting of the iambic into the processional paion, and the extension of the augmented heroic meter into the prosodiac and the cretic. And they say that Archilochus taught the practice of speaking some iambs to instrumental accompaniment and singing some, and therefore the tragic poets do it that way, and Krexos took that to the dithyramb. And they think that Archilochus first invented instrumental accompaniment underneath the song, and that all the ancients performed in unison with the accompaniment.[5]

Pseudo-Plutarch first lists four inventions, each separated by καί. The first involves trimeters. Τρίμετρα could conceivably refer to trimeters of any variety, but the word is almost always shorthand for iambic trimeters, as it almost certainly is here. Marius Victorinus writes that Archilochus invented the iambic trimeter by shortening the dactylic hexameter (*Grammatici latini* [vol. 6] [1961], p. 141). It is significant, though, that our author does not simply write τὰ τρίμετρα προσεξεῦρε, but rather states that Archilochus invented the ῥυθμοποιία of trimeters. Ῥυθμοποιία is a much-disputed word, but it almost certainly implies something more than just arrangement of words into meters.[6] Pseudo-Plutarch thus writes not that Archilochus invented the iambic trimeter, but that he developed a way of putting iambic trimeters to music.

Archilochus' next invention was ἡ εἰς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμογενεῖς ῥυθμοὺς ἔντασις. This must surely mean, as almost all who have addressed this passage agree, that Archilochus created asynartetic verses, which mix meters of different genera. That is, he was the first to include together in one verse meters where arsis and thesis have different ratios. Next on the list is παρακαταλογή, followed by the accompaniment for ταῦτα.

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[5] On pseudo-Plutarch's sources and reliability, see BARKER (1984), p. 205; BARTOL (1992); MERIANI (2003), pp. 49-81. On the sense of this passage, see LASSERRE (1954), p. 171; GOSTOLI (1982-1983); COMOTTI (1983); BARKER (1984), pp. 234-235.

[6] See PEARSON (1990), p. xxxiii and *passim*; GIBSON (2005), pp. 84-85 and *passim*. Cf. Hesychius' definition of ῥυθμοποιός: ὁ μέλη καὶ ῥυθμοὺς ποιῶν.

Key to our understanding of what is going on here is how we read ταῦτα. The plural ταῦτα reveals that the accompaniment must be for at least two of the preceding inventions. It is possible that pseudo-Plutarch lists two rhythmic innovations—the rythmicizing of trimeters and asynartetic combinations—then the mode of performance for them: παρακαταλογή with a particular kind of accompaniment. It seems more likely, however, given the string of parallel καὶ τὴν's, that he lists three distinct phenomena—rhythmicized trimeters, asynartetic lines, and παρακαταλογή—and then adds that Archilochus invented the method of accompaniment appropriate for each of them. Παρακαταλογή is thus independent of any particular meter: it may or may not have been used with trimeters and asynartetic verses.

A third passage, it has been proposed, connects παρακαταλογή specifically with iambics. An interlocutor in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* quotes Phillis of Delos on various kinds of stringed instruments (14, 636b):

> ἐν οἷς γάρ, φησί, τοὺς ἰάμβους ᾖδον ἰαμβύκας ἐκάλουν ἐν οἷς δὲ παρελογίζοντο τὰ
> ἐν τοῖς μέτροις κλεψιάμβους.

> «The instruments», he says, «on which they used to sing iambics they called ἰαμβύκαι. Those on which they cheated the things in the meters they called κλεψίαμβοι».

Παραλογίζομαι means to do something fraudulent. Hermann proposed that παρελογίζοντο is a scribe's error for παρακατελογίζοντο, a verbal form of παρακαταλογή.[7] The instrument's name, κλεψίαμβος, or "thieving iambos," however, suggests that the manuscript reading is correct. Phillis must be referring to some practice used before his day (the fourth century BC), in which people did some kind of accompanied performance, probably of iambic verses, that could be described as a kind of cheating. Perhaps they left syllables out; or perhaps they fudged the rhythm.[8] The passage does not, it would appear, have bearing on our understanding of παρακαταλογή.

What, then, was παρακαταλογή? The pseudo-Plutarch passage tells us nothing about its nature, except that it was accompanied; the *Problems* passage reveals only that it produced a tragic and irregular effect when it occurred in songs. Our sense of what παρακαταλογή actually was depends to a great extent on what we decide about its etymology. It is, of course, παρά plus καταλογή. Most have assumed that the καταλογή part means simply "speaking"; they assume that its verbal equivalent καταλέγειν means the same as λέγειν. Hesychius, however, defines καταλογή as "speaking songs without melody" (καταλογή· τὸ τὰ ἄσματα μὴ ὑπὸ μέλει λέγειν).

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[7] Both GENTILI (1960), p. 1599 and PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE (1968), p. 157 accept Hermann's emendation.

[8] Andrew Barker has suggested to me in private correspondence the possibility that the verb refers to a practice of rhythmicizing that seemed fraudulent, as a performer placed arses and theses in places different from where the meter would lead one to expect them.

Μὴ ὑπὸ μέλει, it might be argued, could mean "without melodic accompaniment," carrying no implications about the vocalist's response to pitch. Both Aelian (*De natura animalium* 6, 32, 4) and the Byzantine author Michael Choniates (*Orationes* 1, 9, 154, line 24), however, use ὑπὸ μέλει to refer to things done under the inspiration of singing; and we would expect a reference only to lack of instrumental accompaniment to use an expression including names of instruments or a word like κροῦσις ("accompaniment") rather than the generic μέλος. To Hesychius, then, καταλογή is not just speaking in general, but speaking without melody (or at least with no melody beyond what the language's tonic accents would provide) in ᾄσματα—songs—where melody would be expected.

Hesychius is notoriously unreliable. But several other occurrences of καταλογή and καταλέγειν confirm his definition. An inscription from Larisa records prizes for contests in καταλογὴ παλαιά and καταλογὴ νέα, evidently recitation of old and new poetry (*Inscriptiones Graecae* [IX 2] [1908] 531, 12, 46). Larisa, I would suggest, had contests in which participants recited without melody passages from old and new dramatic works that, because of their meter or because they were accompanied, would normally be sung or chanted.

These uses of καταλογή correspond to passages where the verb καταλέγειν implies delivery of poetic or other formalized texts in a mode approaching everyday speech. Herodotus reports that the oracle-monger Onomacritus, helping the Peisistratids to persuade Xerxes to invade Greece, κατέλεγε τῶν χρησμῶν ("gave recitations of the oracles", 7, 6). Oracles are usually in highly formal language and would have been pronounced with some melodic elaboration (cf. Plutarch *Quaestiones Convivales* 623c). The oracle-monger, though, concerned only with the content and not the form of the oracles (his audience is the non-Greek Xerxes, and he carefully edits the oracles to exclude anything that Xerxes might find ominous), leaves out the formalized intonation. Athenaeus, citing the fourth-century-BC historian Hermias, uses καταλέγειν of a herald reciting prayers (4, 149e):

> ἐπανίστανται εἰς γόνατα τοῦ ἱεροκήρυκος τὰς πατρίους εὐχὰς καταλέγοντος συσπένδοντες.

> They get up on their knees, pouring libations while the sacred herald recites the ancestral prayers.

Whereas a priest would have intoned the prayers, the herald, whose job is to convey information, delivers them in a mode similar or identical to everyday speech.[9]

Καταλογή, then, would imply a delivery very close to ordinary speech. But what does the παρα do? Some have suggested that παρακαταλογή is something close to but not equivalent to καταλογή, on the analogy with words like πάρισος, meaning nearly equal (e.g., CHRIST [1875], p. 166; WEIL-REINACH [1900], p. 107).

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[9] A Byzantine treatise on tragedy (BROWNING [1963], p. 70, section 9, lines 65-66) includes ἀναβόημα, evidently some kind of shouting, in a list of things that occur in tragedy, and he says that it is μεταξὺ [...] ᾠδῆς καὶ καταλογῆς, suggesting that καταλογή is speech as opposed to song.

If indeed this is the word's etymology, παρακαταλογή would be somewhat more melodic than καταλογή, a kind of chant rather than a kind of speech. As we can see later in the pseudo-Plutarch passage, though, παρὰ τὴν κροῦσιν is a standard formula for accompaniment. This would support the proposal of others that παρακαταλογή is καταλογή beside or along with (παρά) accompaniment (e.g., GENTILI [1960], p. 1599). The vocalization of παρακαταλογή would thus be no different from the bare speech of καταλογή: it would merely be done to accompaniment.

There is also a third possibility. Παρακαταλογή may have been thought of as καταλογή that occurs in juxtaposition with song or more melodic speech: παρακαταλογή is καταλογή—speaking without melody—that occurs alongside of (παρά) melodic performance. Here as well the vocalization of παρακαταλογή would be no different from that of καταλογή. The pseudo-Aristotle passage, I would argue, supports this third scenario, for an utterance very close to speech, inserted into the middle of more melodic performance, would be most likely to produce ἀνωμαλία.

Παρακαταλογή, then, was an especially speech-like mode of performance to accompaniment. Many have assumed that παρακαταλογή was a wide-ranging phenomenon, used for the performance of various meters throughout Greek comedy and tragedy. Our evidence suggests, however, that while some kind of speech-like vocalizing to accompaniment may have been common, παρακαταλογή was rare.

Hermogenes, an interlocutor in Xenophon's *Symposium*, resists the proposal of his companions that he speak to them while an *aulos* is being played (6, 3):

> καὶ ὁ Ἑμογένης, Ἦ οὖν βούλεσθε, ἔφη, ὥσπερ Νικόστρατος ὁ ὑποκριτὴς τετράμετρα πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν κατέλεγεν, οὕτω καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐλοῦ ὑμῖν διαλέγωμαι;

> And Hermogenes said, «So then you want me to converse with you under the *aulos*, as Nikostratos the actor used to pronounce the tetrameters to the *aulos*?».

The fifth-century actor Nikostratos employed a mode very close to speech for delivering accompanied tetrameters: close enough, in fact, that it could be compared to actual conversation with an *aulos* playing in the background. That is, he used a mode of delivery identical to παρακαταλογή. But Hermogenes suggests that Nikostratos represents the exception rather than the norm: his performance included a less melodic form of vocalization where more melody would be expected. The implication is that the normal mode of delivering such verses would employ either singing, or something between normal speech and song.

What, though, of other passages that refer to accompanied speaking? We need not look far to find such a passage. After describing Archilochus' various metrical innovations in the passage cited above, pseudo-Plutarch writes,

ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἰαμβείων τὸ τὰ μὲν λέγεσθαι παρὰ τὴν κροῦσιν, τὰ δ' ᾄδεσθαι Ἀρχίλοχόν
φασι καταδεῖξαι, εἶθ' οὕτω χρήσασθαι τοὺς τραγικοὺς ποιητάς, Κρέξον δὲ λαβόντα
εἰς διθύραμβον [χρήσασθαι] ἀγαγεῖν.

And they say that Archilochus taught the practice of speaking some iambs to
musical accompaniment and singing some, and therefore the tragic poets do
it that way, and Krexos took that to the dithyramb.

The plural of ἰαμβεῖον means, almost every time it appears in Greek literature,
iambic trimeters as opposed to iambics in general. Pseudo-Plutarch thus refers
here to the accompanied performance, spoken or sung, of iambic trimeters. This
must be something like the παρακαταλογή mentioned above, but it is listed as a
separate phenomenon. Conspicuously missing from this description is the κατα of
παρακαταλογή. Παρακαταλογή, which is either "καταλογή to accompaniment" or
"καταλογή next to more melodic performance," represents a dramatic reduction in
melody. Λέγεσθαι, the more general word for speaking and even for discourse in
general, here involves delivery with less melody than is usually associated with
ᾄδεσθαι, but with more than would be used for everyday speech. Archilochus,
pseudo-Plutarch claims, introduced accompaniment to the performance of
iambic trimeters, which would normally be unaccompanied, and the tragedians
and Krexos followed his lead. When accompanied, such trimeters could be either
spoken or sung, but the speaking still contained an element of melody greater
than everyday speech.

Other passages point to accompanied speech in other meters besides iambic
trimeters. Plutarch, for example, envisions Athens' tragic poets, as they present
their achievements, speaking and singing to accompaniment some iambic
tetrameters from Aristophanes (Plutarch *De Gloria Atheniensium* 348d):

ἔνθεν μὲν δὴ προσίτωσαν ὑπ' αὐλοῖς καὶ λύραις ποιηταὶ λέγοντες καὶ ᾄδοντες
εὐφημεῖν χρὴ κἀξίστασθαι τοῖς ἡμετέροισι <χοροῖσιν> […]
(Aristophanes *Ranae* 353)

Then let the poets come forward, speaking and singing to the
accompaniment of *auloi* and lyres,
«One must be silent and stand apart from our choruses […]»

There is an easy mix of speaking and singing to accompaniment here. Plutarch
even suggests that the two performance modes could occur simultaneously. This,
I would suggest, represents the same phenomenon as the accompanied and
spoken iambic trimeters of pseudo-Plutarch's Archilochus and his followers:
reduced melody, but not so different from singing as to produce the ἀνωμαλία of
παρακαταλογή. Other passages that refer to speaking (λέγειν) to accompaniment, I
would argue, refer to the same kind of chant-like performance.[10]

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[10] E.g., *Scholia in Aristophanem, Aves* 682: πολλάκις πρὸς αὐλὸν λέγουσι τὰς παραβάσεις.

We are not justified, then, in applying the term παρακαταλογή to the accompanied speech that probably occurred often in Greek drama: sometimes (probably rarely) in stichic passages of iambic trimeters, at other times (probably quite often) in the performance of other stichic meters. That speech, though it reduced melody enough that it could be distinguished from ἀείδειν, was still more song-like than normal speech. Sometimes, however, perhaps only in the lyric sections cited by pseudo-Aristotle, performers reduced the melodic nature of their utterances still further, approaching very closely if not matching the intonation of everyday speech. This practice was called παρακαταλογή.

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