

Ideias e críticas

Singing Homer's Spell.
The Disyllabic Contonation and the
Proposition Made by East Roman
Manuscripts

A. P. David
Independent Research
E-mail: homerist@me.com

Resumo

Neste ensaio, propõe-se a reconstituição do perfil melódico do verso homérico, de forma a se possibilitar a compreensão e reperformance de textos como *Ilíada* e *Odisseia*.

Palavras-chave: Prosódia, Hexâmetro, Texto, Performance, Homero.

Abstract

In this paper, we propose the reconstitution of the melodic contour of the Homeric verse, in order to enable the understanding and re-performance of texts such as Iliad and Odyssey.

Keywords: Prosody, Hexameter, Text, Performance, Homer.

Content

- 1 Introduction
 - 2 Word-Level Accent
 - 3 Lemmas
 - 4 Digamma
 - 5 Stress and the Disyllabic Contonation
 - 6 βαρυστεναχῶν and the Heavy Accent
 - 7 Secondary Accent
 - 8 The Proof
 - 9 The Pudding
 - 10 Pauses and the Corrected Text
- References

1 Introduction

For a hundred years or more, the scholarship on Homeric song has been fixated on performance: its conditions, traditions, and relationship to written texts. In this it resembles the scholarship on Bach and Mozart. In their case, however, there is also a living tradition of performing their compositions before audiences—disrupted and evolving amidst revolutions and world wars—along with the continuing existence of professional guilds of specialised performers. The interpretations developed within these orchestral traditions, and through their performers, exert no small influence on the analyses of the texts and composers offered by scholars. Few would take seriously a study of a text of Bach or Wagner from someone who was unfamiliar with the interpretations born of its actual performance, or the efforts of genius among members of its performance guilds. How comment on music one cannot play, and has never heard? Why listen to a critic of Shakespeare who cannot recite Shakespeare’s English, or has never seen a performance? ‘The play’s the thing,’ in every sense: one must experience how the performance *works*, before one can begin to interpret the thing itself, or even imagine an audience’s resources or reaction.

Unfortunately this essential inspiration and feedback from performers and living performance traditions does not exist for Homeric scholars, or for the Homeric texts. Homer himself asks for his text to be sung (*Iliad* I.1). But no separate instructions for Homeric melody have come down; and the accent marks embedded in our texts—which were known to indicate pitch contours,

and so were a likely clue to any original melody—appeared to bear no patterned relation to the downbeats (or ‘ictus’) of the metre. (This is a principal reason why, at present, the ancient Greek accent marks tend to be ignored by teachers and students alike.) This state of affairs has done nothing, however, to foster critical humility in the face of a lamented ignorance; rather, to a proliferation of interpretive schemata in the field of Homeric studies, leading even to the inculcation of consensus orthodoxies about performance. The only facsimile of a living feedback is sought from unrelated ‘oral traditions’, in particular a relatively modern one from Bosnia. In desperation at the critical vacuum, apples have been compared to elephants. Insight into the composition of what ancient writers approached as a finished work of musical art, is sourced in comparisons to the mindset, and the stultifying product, of extemporising Bosnian *guslars*.

My new theory of the Ancient Greek pitch accent, developed in *The Dance of the Muses: Choral Theory and Ancient Greek Poetics*, allows for the first time that the integral pitch contours—the melody—of spoken Greek can be restored to ancient prose and poetry. Greek metres, such as Homer’s dactylic hexameter, are already well studied; now Homer’s melodic contours can be restored to the metre’s underlying ictus. What emerges is a sophisticated syncopation, counterpoint leading to reinforcement of ictus by accent, disagreement moving toward harmonic and rhythmic agreement at regular moments in the line. The purely metrical rubric of ‘caesura’ is replaced by the musical concept of a regular mid-line harmonic cadence, where caesura becomes a merely automatic consequence of the musical motive. This is music that needs to be played—for its own sake, but also for a new critical assessment of the Homeric composition.

I shall therefore begin to record a performance of the *Odyssey*,¹ its intonation restored solely by the new interpretation of the textual accents. The purpose here is not only to serve scholarly interpretation, for all that *actual* performance would seem to be a *sine qua non*, prior to such interpretation; the principal purpose, self-motivated, is simply to bring the Homeric music to life. ‘Interpretation’ is itself the proper word for the act of a singer of a song, even if he or she is the composer. This project will help to restore the musical reality to Homeric scholarship, where interpretation occurs both before and during performance, not only afterward in response. There is no call for fantasising about the mentality, stamina, and memory of an extemporising singer, an irreproducible thing in any case; what emerges in practice is that the actual text of Homer we possess takes disciplined *preparation* to perform. Even after one deals with the peculiarities of grammar and diction, peculiar not just to Homeric Greek but to its author, the rendering of the rhythms and intonations of the *Odyssey* involves constant decisions of emphasis, breath and tonality.

1 See my website, <http://danceofthemuses.info>, for a link to the postings once they begin to be uploaded.

No doubt its competing rhapsodic performers in the ancient world were known for their differences in these decisions, just like the many virtuosic cellists of the Bach Suites.

I have argued that epic narrative has its origin in catalogues—lists of various kinds—names of matriarchs, ships of warriors, genealogies, sequences of events—that were, literally, re-counted in the rhythmic company of a particular round dance, a version of which is still the national dance of Greece.² The effect of dancing in a circle the rhythms of names and nouns with their epithets, I suggest, had the effect of summoning the presence of the dead or the absent, in the most vivid enactment of memorial. (One may imagine the uncanny affect of such memorial for those dancers who knew themselves as living descendants.) The rhythmic name-and-epithet phrases characteristic of Homer came also to evoke, rather than merely signify, objects in the course of the narrative, unlike the nouns alone. All of Homer's lines can be danced: they are dance music, just like the music of Bach. (For a demonstration, using the proem to the Catalogue of Ships, see <https://danceofthemuses.info/homeric-dance.html>.)

The hexameter is built upon the dactyl, an isochronous foot. That is, the strong and weak parts of the foot have the same time length. Antoine Meillet points to the equality in length of arsis and thesis in the dactyl as 'une innovation du grec',³ but the dactyl is better described as an anomaly rather than an innovation; contrasting time pulses are the rule in Indo-European metrics, and speech-driven metres generally:

This fundamental isochrony in the foot, unique to Greek, is itself evidence of an orchestric origin for Greek metre. A language-derived metre would rather be expected to build itself out of contrasting time pulses, as Meillet well understood. An isochronous foot generates isometric music. Isometry is a prevalent characteristic of dance and of dance music. Neither Greek nor any other Indo-European language appears to have been designed to reinforce isochronous dactyls.⁴

I elsewhere show how the derivation of the hexameter itself from Aeolic cola—where the extant poetry was once called 'logaoedic' because its rhythm seemed as much reminiscent of speech as song—is a currently prevalent doctrine that is all the same an epic failure.⁵ The origin of the dactylic hexameter is manifestly

2 A. P. David, *The Dance of the Muses: Choral Theory and Ancient Greek Poetics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, *passim*.

3 Antoine Meillet, *Les Origines indo-européennes des mètres grecs*, 1923, Paris, 57.

4 Ibid., 158.

5 see David, 'Seven Fatal Flaws in the Derivation of the Dactylic Hexameter from Aeolic Cola', *Classica: Revista Brasileira de Estudos Clássicos* (2012), 101-24.

A summary: '[T]he derivation of the Homeric hexameter out of smaller colometric 'units' fails because 1) there is no typological basis given for such a derivation of a line; 2) the study of comparative metrics, on analogy with comparative reconstruction in historical linguistics, is →

extra-linguistic; it is something to which the iambic Greek language had to be forced to adapt.

‘Epic narrative’ grew by insertion, say, of a tale about a person or place in the list; this digression exhibits the phenomenon called ‘ring composition’, where the closing lines recall the opening lines of the insertion, and thereby bring the singer back to his place in the list—so the digression, however expansive, does not cause him to lose his place in ‘the count.’ I have called this style of composition ‘intemporising’, to characterise its motive in relation to the counting catalogue in a way strongly to distinguish it from the prevailing fixation, ungrounded in text and untethered to context, on ‘extemporising’.

Neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey* are simply ‘intemporised’ catalogues, however, and neither of them, in my opinion, was composed for performances with dancers. (Consider that the ancient ‘orchestra’, or dancing-space, now refers to seated musicians, who dare, at most, to sway, while they play gavottes and minuets.) But the *Iliad* does contain an actual ‘Catalogue of Ships’, which defies every modern motivation in narrative. Its once living impact as dance ritual has preserved its traditional tether.

In reciting Homer over the past 35 years, it has been instructive to distinguish between two different styles of recitation, which reflect the unique potentiality of the Homeric text, as dance music, song, and poetry. The style that I find best suits a portion of the *Iliad* I call ‘bardic’; this is because the integral isochrony and isometry of the dactylic hexameter is rendered in a way that can accompany dancers dancing to a repeated groove; in effect, the various emphases of *rubato* become constrained. (I should clarify: I here mean to distinguish ‘bardic’ as a style of purely vocal recitation; I do not discuss the modal melodic interpretations supported by a *kithara*, whose practitioner was sometimes called a ‘citharode’.⁶) In general—and only in general, one cannot say this about the speeches—the *Iliad* ‘sings’ best when keeping time. But considerable literary prompts (as well as scholarly ones) suggest that the *Odyssey* was intended for solo performance, without music or dancers, in the manner of the rhapsodes who performed Homer in Plato’s antiquity. Odysseus himself takes over from a lyre-playing

bogus; 3) the Sesame Street test fails when one compares Sanskrit eight-syllable forms with glyconics; 4) the basis for linking the comparanda (variation prior to invariance) is so broad as to link each of them to most known verse forms; 5) the rhythmic sense of the metres is unrelated and positively dissimilar [only the Greek version contains a dactyl]; hence rendering implausible the possibility of a common parent; and 6) lyric cola, the supposed elemental constituents of the hexameter, do not in extant examples display the phonological and morphological adaptations characteristic of the Homeric text. The [supposed] child is a monster! As an absurdist corollary [to 6)], 7) Homeric diction and phraseology, and therefore Homeric poetry, is definitively non-traditional [in that the original phrases born from Aeolics would not have shown such phonological and morphological modifications].’ (123-4).

6 M. L. West, ‘The Singing of Homer and the Modes of Early Greek Music’, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 101 (1981), 113-14, *passim*.

singer and dancers in Phaeacia, himself alone without a musical instrument, to tell the story of his wanderings. This 'rhapsodic' style, without a constraint on the equal timing of whole lines, allows the text to be composed, and rendered, at moments like lyric poetry, or at others like Shakespearean dramatic verse. This combination of performative possibilities from the same words and metre—as dance music, lyric poetry or dramatic speech—with extraordinary effectiveness in all of these modes—seems to be unique to the Homeric text in all the world's literature. (Bob Dylan notwithstanding, song lyrics rarely work as lyric poems.)

In no sense would I attempt to offer a 'definitive' interpretation. This would counter the purpose: the aim is first to illustrate the theory of the accent, so that more performers may be inspired *to try it on for themselves*; but also to record my own statement, as one of the first into the pool. Faced only with a written text forgotten from the repertoire, the cellist Pablo Casals discovered Bach's suites composed for an ancestor of his instrument. His pioneering recording inspired others to rediscover this text, to the extent that skilled cellists, one hundred years after Casals, now view its interpretation as a modern rite of passage, and it has become a cerebral, popular sensation whose origin, like Homer's, comes directly from the rhythms of dance. Interest in the textual history of the Cello Suites, including in the varieties of its notation, has burgeoned and caused new performative interpretation in phrasings, slurrings and bowings. In light of these developments Casals' own interpretation has become dated, considered 'of its time'. Like Bach, Homer can also find an audience if his text is performed—however small, and however alien or ahistorical is the technique of the performing artist. Such performance, as it becomes more known, will also influence the editing of the Homeric text, and its interpretation. The fact is that with the insight of the new historical theory of the tonal accent, added to the already quantitative syllables, combined with the underlying hexameter drawn from folk dance, it turns out there is as much or more musical notation to instruct performance in Homer's text, as there is in that of the Bach Suites. Casals' recording, therefore, is my inspiration.

I shall be displaying a Greek text of Homer for each performed segment of the *Odyssey*, where the syllables determined to be prominent by the new theory of the Greek accent are highlighted. This determination is not univocal; there are times when the theory allows for a choice of emphasis between adjacent syllables; the ictus of the metre especially influences the judgement. But judgement in such matters has always been key to the transmission, by historical individuals, of the Homeric text now extant. I presume to assume a place in this transmission. I shall make the case that the Roman-era manuscripts represent a *proposition* about the Homeric text, one perhaps not properly recognised as such by modern editors; and my own graffiti will treat this proposition as a *lemma*, an assumption, in its own demonstration: a concrete visual guide to the reality of Homer's word music for those handicapped by literacy.

2 Word-Level Accent

In so marking the text it turns out I follow a most ancient practice in the textual history of Homer, to judge by the fragmentary remnant by which we reconstruct, and project, that history. Gregory Nagy and his Centre for Hellenic Studies has published, or is in the process of publishing online, the *Venetus A* manuscript of Homer hailing from the so-called 'Byzantine' (East Roman) era, the artefact of a manuscript tradition which in my view represents a significant culmination in the representation of Homeric Greek to non-native Greek speakers. Homer would not exist for modernity, or for me, without this Roman-era advancement. But there is reason to view the achievement of these surviving manuscripts as a maturation of the grammatical art that also serves native speakers of Greek, and—above all—the original composers of the Homeric music. I shall make this case.

Nagy points to a scholium on Dionysius of Thrace,⁷ which describes the office of a 'corrector' (διορθωτής). His skill was to put accent marks in the text *where needed*, so that a student could then take the prepared text to a different teacher, who would herself follow the corrected text in teaching the student how to recite the poetry. This correction was necessary or the student might fall into a 'bad habit' (κακὴν ἔξιν). The description seems to be about native speakers of Greek

7 Gregory Nagy, 'Traces of an ancient system of reading Homeric verse in the *Venetus A*', in Casey Dué (ed.), *Recapturing a Homeric Legacy*, Cambridge MA: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2009, 134-5.

who are studying how to read Greek writing aloud; it is worth noting that there is mooted a bad habit into which such a speaker might fall—though he was a native speaker, like a modern English speaker having a go at Chaucer or Shakespeare or even Keats—but this trap might be prevented by the use of signs, whose import was readily apparent to a different class of teacher, and perhaps the student as well. A modern Shakespearian must learn *révénue* to earn his revenue.

The first articulation of the parts of speech that inspired Greek grammar, and all sciences based on elements, is the alphabet itself: here was a quasi-phonemic representation of the sound of Greek, using Semitic signs, which itself exposed to consciousness the mostly meaningless atomic segments in speech that combined to form the larger molecules able to carry meaning. Earlier users of Greek writing, and most other users of writing, have managed with a syllabary. Some of the Linear B symbols were in fact ideograms, direct referents to things. After the introduced alphabet Greek speech (and poetry) could be preserved as consonants and vowels. But still this was Greek writing for Greek speakers—perhaps something of a shorthand. The phonetic stream of speech came to be represented by a continuous stream of letters, in a style called *scriptio continua*: there was no division into words or phrases, and writing flowed in a continuous stream of letters, sometimes reversing directions when necessary, like a snake, or an ox turning the plough (*boustrophedon*). It seems it was at this stage of the graphic representation of Greek, the *scriptio continua*—before what we register visually as the separation of words—that the first deployment of the helpful accent marks occurred. In other words, ‘word-level’ accents were sometimes indicated in a style of writing where words themselves—as we (pretend) to understand them—were not visually demarcated.

The ancient Greek accent, however, was a *word-level accent*. It is essential that this fact be held in mind during what follows. It is supported by direct as well as comparative evidence. It is, after all, the only rationally imaginable way to make sense of a recessive rule, defined in terms of the last syllable (*ultima*) of a word.

But what is a word? (Try giving a definition without using words—that’s not just a joke.) Dionysius of Halicarnassus passes on an apparent technical definition of what we call ‘word’, as part of his description of the ancient Greek accent: λέξις ἢ καθ’ ἐν μόριον λόγον ταπτομένη. λέξις and λόγος, two words for ‘word’, both appear in the definition. Dionysius’ construction shows the influence of the earlier Dionysius of Thrace, and so there is good reason to think that the formulation arose for the grammarian in the context of *scriptio continua*, where the representation via Greek γράμματα, which gave a name to his discipline, did not yet provide any obvious visual aid to describing the phenomenon in question. There is something of untranslatable jargon here; one modern translator simply uses ‘word’ to render the whole Greek phrase; but what the expression tries to encompass is the organisation of the continuous utterance of speech by distinct, rational, unitary parts.

The generality of such a description, however, can allow it to apply equally, in context, to a phoneme or a phrase as well as to what we call a word. For

Homer it applies best to ἔπος in the sense ‘line’; what we call word division, and what is metrically diaeresis, only *has* to occur for Homer between hexameter lines. In modern grammar we speak also of ‘parts of speech,’ but not in reference to material, phonetic elements of speech. This rather highlights a problem with the attempt at a definition of ‘word’: from the perspective of syntax and morphology, words have wildly different capacities. Some Greek words, for example, are complete sentences in themselves. Others (like articles and particles) are as meaningless as phonemes. In some respects it is only from late practices in Greek writing that we might see a Greek verb and a Greek particle on some kind of equal footing, as demarcated, separate graphic objects. But even when written in a continuous stream, a native speaker or his listener would readily separate them out as he read aloud, audibly or in his mind, if he intended to be understood or to parse a sentence.

It turns out a key marker that individuates words, without regard to morphology or meaning, is in fact their prosodic accentuation. (It is perhaps not an accident, therefore, that Dionysius of Halicarnassus invokes the definition of ‘word’ in the context of describing Greek accent.) At some point in their history—prior to Homer in the Greek case—the prosodic pattern in Greek, Latin and Sanskrit became recessive with respect to the ultima, rather than free as in Indo-European; but with different rules in each case. Where the Indo-European accents had been located within the permitted final syllables under the recessive regime, they appear to have persisted in those locations without further receding. It could be claimed as a matter of description that prosody mediated between the stream of sound as such (represented by *scriptio continua*) and its morphological groupings (roots, prefixes and suffixes, thematic vowels etc.), so as to demarcate ‘words’ of widely varying semantic valences; from particles to whole sentences, each and all were, prosodically, ‘words’. I would suggest that the notion ‘word’ is more of an ideogram in this sense than other entries in the English dictionary, pointing to the jumble-load of things that, since the era of the East Roman texts, we have printed as separate entities in Greek.

The Greek word-level accent could not cross word boundaries, however. As I have argued, following the description of W. Sidney Allen, the Greek accent was a ‘contonation’ which rose then fell in pitch.

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

Where the received accent rose on the ultima of a word, it had nowhere to fall so as to complete the contonation. The deployment of the grave accent mark

8 W. Sidney Allen, *Vox Graeca*, 3rd edn., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 124.

in writing appears to indicate that such oxytone words had their prosody suppressed: what cannot come down within the word, must not be allowed to rise. But the written practice suggests that pauses following such oxytones, often at line end in verse, or at mid-line when pauses are indicated by punctuation, freed the pitch to rise; this functionality of pauses in releasing a sort of prosodic momentum in syllables and words, is observed in empirical phonetic analysis. Following enclitics also allowed the release of the ultima rise in pitch on otherwise suppressed oxytones, by allowing the down-glide to occur.

As a corollary, whenever one sees the acute accent mark deployed rather than the grave—on any syllable—this implies that the contonation is completed, whether on the subsequent syllable in the word, or within the syllable itself if it is closed, or in the first syllable of a subsequent enclitic, or via the physical mechanism of a pause. In the first three cases, this completion is audible, as it is in the case of syllables bearing the circumflex, as a down-glide in pitch. The key to my new account of the Greek accent is that when this down glide falls on a heavy syllable—within a closed syllable or long vowel, or on the immediately subsequent long vowel or closed syllable—this down-glide in pitch—over two moras—registers as the most prominent syllable prosodically in the word, and bears what was called the ‘heavy’ (βαρύς) accent. The rise in pitch in the contonation, by contrast, only ever occurs over one mora. In such words, except in the case of all the words bearing a circumflex, this most prominent syllable is *not marked*; it is not the one marked by the acute accent, but the following one. Such syllables are said to be pronounced ‘with the heavy accent,’ and the words bearing them are (I claim) the original referent for the term ‘barytones’ (βαρύτονοι).

But as we’ve noted, native users of Greek saw no need to demarcate individual words at all, and accent marks only appeared in the Alexandrian period, an innovation ascribed to Aristophanes of Byzantium. Professional scribes and native readers evidently did not need to record word divisions, or the prosodic features defined by these divisions. In general modern native speakers do not need accent marks in their writing systems to instruct them which syllables to stress or how to intone their words, phrases or sentences. Such instructions are absorbed osmotically, or if you prefer, ‘transmitted orally.’ For the sake of composed music, or language set to music, a separate notational system has been developed for this purpose.

So why is it that a text of Homer might need ‘correction’, in the form of accent marks, for a Greek speaker to learn how to perform the verse? If he already knows the words and their prosody, what would be the point? What are the sources of possible danger whereby, left to themselves, students who knew how to read Greek might all the same fall into a ‘bad habit’ when reciting Greek poetry from a written text? And on what grounds do I myself presume to highlight a text—to ‘correct’ it prosodically, in the ancient sense—that itself exhibits the separation of words, their primary accents, and a computer-generated typescript, which each reflect quite late developments in the history of Homeric publication?

3 Lemmas

Let us consider the *Venetus A* manuscript as an artefact. Nagy's treatment of this document shall serve as an object lesson in the importance of applying the new theory of the Greek accent, and its many implications, so as to avoid debilitating errors in the editing of texts and the fostering of some very bad habits of mind indeed. How ought one to look at this document? I propose that the text framed within it should be viewed as a *proposition*. I say this because of the use of the word 'lemma' to refer to the piece of text upon the which the main or 'frame' scholia make an annotation.⁹

Nagy thus glosses 'lemma':

... an ancient technical term referring to whatever wording is literally 'taken' (the corresponding Greek word is λαμβάνειν / λαβεῖν) from the overall wording of a *scriptio continua* that is being quoted. In the case of the *Venetus A*, what happens is that the wording of any given lemma is notionally being 'taken' out of the overall wording of a Homeric verse and then transferred into the scholia, where it serves to lead off the wording of the relevant commentary. Literally, the

9 For an excellent analysis of the different types of scholia collated and formatted in this manuscript, see Lara Pagani, 'The *Iliad* "Textscholien" in the *Venetus A*', in Marco Ercoles, Lara Pagani, Filippomaria Pontani and Giuseppe Ucciardello, eds., *Approaches to Greek Poetry*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018, 83-106.

string of letters that is the lemma is being ‘taken’ out of the longer string of letters that is the overall verse, which had formerly been written in *scriptio continua*.¹⁰

His interpretation of the usage here is wrong on its face. Nagy is evidently unaware of the use of *lemma* as a term of art among the geometers who practiced in Alexandria. A lemma is a proposition that has to be assumed in the course of the proof of another proposition, although the lemma is not itself proved in the course of the demonstration. Often in Euclid the proofs of any required lemmas are provided after the formal demonstration is over—whether by Euclid himself or someone else. (The work of geometers is often genuinely communal and anonymous, unlike the composition of original poetry.)

The use of λήψις or υπόληψις as ‘supposition’ acquired a terminological authority under Aristotle. The influence of Aristotle is evident among Alexandrian scholars generally. Dionysius of Thrace, for example, defines the grammatical art (γραμματική τέχνη) as a kind of ἐμπειρία¹¹—‘experience’, perhaps a ‘descriptive’ or ‘empirical’ art, so to distinguish it, pointedly in Aristotelian epistemology, from ἐπιστημή—the latter being the kind of knowledge best characterised by the deductive-synthetic demonstrations of geometry. It is to be expected, however, that a lemma will be supported by an argument or demonstration of some kind, even though the descriptive, comparative principles of grammar do not carry the metaphysical weight of the first principles in arithmetic and geometry. The recourse to descriptive argument is in fact characteristic of the scholia in *Venetus A*, as we shall see. Lemmas are typically justified by the scholiast, just as they implicitly justify the chosen reading in the main text.

So what sort of proposition does a manuscript like *Venetus A* make? It is that the text itself—the thing that is centred in the frame, not the apparatus located within the frame and margins attracting scholars like bees to pollen—is a genuine text of Homer’s composition. This despite the fact that it is printed with accentual units (‘words’) separated, and with the terminal prosody for each such unit indicated with an economy of signs. (They mark where in the pronunciation of a word the voice rose in pitch; the rest, including the barytonic nature of barytone words, literally follows.) It is readily evident that economy characterises everything about the ancient scholarly approach to presenting the prosodic data in this framed text. In geometry one speaks of ‘elegance’.

The lemmas are snippets of text from an authoritative source, which, as Nagy points out, was likely written in the *scriptio continua*. They each constitute the

¹⁰ Nagy, 135-6.

¹¹ ἐμπειρία was also the term used earlier by Eratosthenes; see Lara Pagani, ‘Pioneers of Grammar. Hellenistic Scholarship and the Study of Language’, in Franco Montanari and Lara Pagani, eds., *From Scholars to Scholia, Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011, 17-18

basis—the authoritative *assumption*—upon which the relevant segment of the framed text is proposed. In the proposed text the words are separated, and the accent marks are filled in for each prosodic word—not necessarily a feature of the lemma quoted in *scriptio continua*—but the lemma nevertheless is invoked to inform (not dictate) the choices in these matters that are made in the proposed main text. We are not in the realm of geometrical demonstration, but we are in the realm of assumptions or givens, in relation to a proposition. In the background are sources for the scholia who have commented, among other things, on the authenticity of lines, on the correctness of accentuation, and on punctuation. The last refers to places where the text is made to instruct a performer to pause; such pausing can have the effect of ‘releasing’ suppressed accents, and modern editors punctuate and re-accent according to the graphic rules. The original punctuators among Homeric scholars, one assumes, were aware, unlike some of their successors, of the aural and audible prosodic consequences of prescribed pauses in performance. It is not just a matter of changing the direction of accent marks on a page, when an editor inserts a comma.

An immediate consequence of this understanding of the use of ‘lemma’ is the realisation that most of the main proposed text does not require them. In other words, most of the correctness of the corrected text is, in the language of geometers, self-evident—not in need of a supporting lemma. Here again we meet the remarkable fact, the mystery, that the Homeric compositions have had an astounding coherence and fixity throughout their transmission. This quality is implicit in the original mandate of Solon, prior to any Pisistratean recension, that rhapsodes be required to begin where their predecessor left off. This mandate bespeaks an audience (or an elite segment of the audience) who would not tolerate the liberties a performer might take to suit an occasion or his own aesthetic impulse, excerpting a palate of ‘greatest hits’ and stitching together a memorable Homeric programme. This audience knew the original and insisted that they hear the album complete—or at the very least, in its proper order.

4 Digamma

This is not to say, however, that the texts cited in the lemma are windows to the original composition, in either diction or prosody. Modern scholarship is rightly proud of the inferred digamma. The presence of this phoneme despite its lack of graphic representation in the earliest extant texts or fragments of Homer is sometimes the only way to get Homer to scan. Homer and Hesiod are already granted extraordinary licence with respect to quantities. I have pleaded that philology's term 'long by position' (θέσει), describing vowels, should really be understood as 'long in virtue of the *thesis*' (θέσει) where short vowels in closed syllables can be performed as long when they occur on the long downbeat of the foot, but can be short elsewhere. There are cases (Ἄρες Ἄρες βροτολοιγέ) where no digamma can aid the analysis: the alpha in Ares' name is first long and then short purely because of its placement first in the *thesis* (downbeat) and then in the *arsis* (upbeat) of the same foot. But the inferred digamma generally saves Homer's ghost from the charge of a wanton disregard for the natural quantities of Greek words when she deploys them in verse. And of course the existence of the digamma is thoroughly corroborated by comparative Indo-European.

This digamma needs to be reckoned with, when we consider the historical notion of 'correcting' the written text of Homer—whether in the context of *scriptio continua* or otherwise. The new theory requires that the realisation of the prosodic contonation, determining a most prominent syllable, depends in

its rule on the quantities of the syllables following its onset (the rise in the pitch of the voice). Here again is a descriptive rule (under the new theory) for the recessive Greek accent:


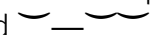
The Greek pitch accent is a *contonation*, a rise followed by a fall in adjacent vowel moras. It can be monosyllabic or disyllabic. Where possible, pitch rise occurs on the antepenult; but no more than one mora may follow the syllable bearing the subsequent down-glide.

There is this stipulation:

The contonation must be completed within the word; when there is no following mora to bear the down-glide within the word boundary, extended by enclisis or punctuation, the rise in pitch is therefore suppressed (indicated in writing by turning the acute mark to grave).

The quantity of the syllable bearing the down-glide determines which part of the contonation, the sharp rise (όξύς, always over only one mora) or the heavy fall (βαρύς, sometimes over two) registers as most prominent. Hence the knowledge of quantities is essential for correct prosodic performance, and this is not directly recoverable from a written representation where ε can stand for ε, ει and η, or a score for Homer which does not include the digamma (ϝ).

Consider, for example, these entries from the front of the lexicon: ἀάατος > ά(ν)αφατος.

The historical output is spelled with a slightly comic double hiatus; what is more, it is made to exhibit two different quantitative rhythms in the text of Homer:  in the *Iliad* and  in the *Odyssey*.

The former is therefore made barytone on the penult; the latter oxytone on the antepenult. Does one simply assume that metre has forced the musical issue in each case? Or should the different quantities and pronunciations in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* versions indicate that the lexical entries should be separated and derived differently? In any case such internal hiatus cannot be 'solved' by orthography. Next we have άαγής, also from the *Odyssey*, where the lengthened penult is said to indicate an *initial* digamma: άϝαγής.

More often, however, the digamma served to lengthen a syllable by closing it (e.g. ξέϊνος > ξένφος). Here the lengthened vowel (ε → ει) compensates metrically so as not to affect the prosodic reinforcement. (I claim that metrical lengthening in Homer only occurs before or with the onset of the contonation, as here.¹² Perhaps there is less restriction on shortening, even turning barytone into oxytone, as we see after the onset in άάατος in the *Odyssey*.)

This modern 'discovery' of the role of ϝ in Homer therefore rather problematises the correctness of the ancient prosodic correctors, pre-Alexandrian or otherwise.

12 David, *The Dance of the Muses*, 155

It does not occur, after all, in their corrected texts, but its absence is compensated for, metrically, by other means. To what extent, or for how long, might there have been a shared but unexpressed cultural osmosis between writer and reader and performer about the hidden presence and effects of the phoneme represented by digamma in Homeric prosody? There is no question that in the historical, post-Homeric period, Greek moved to lose certain intervocalic stops, notably -σ- and -φ-.

This loss is reflected in the transmitted Homeric texts, but there is no contraction because of the resulting hiatus, and the metrical properties of the remaining syllables are preserved. For all that Homer is famous for 'metrical lengthening', and shortening (Ἄρες Ἄρες), it is equally clear that the digamma closed a number of his syllables, and that he eschewed hiatus in mid-line.

The loss of digamma resulted in different phonemic outputs, together with various strategies then available to compensate for prosodic consequences in the different environments within and between words—all at some time prior to a Pisistratean recension of the written text. The linguistic chemistry involved in restoring those digammas, replaced in writing by movable nu and various particles, is not always a fixed science; there are alternate routes. And yet the modern inferred digamma, closing syllables and preventing hiatus, connects us to an *original composition reflective of Homer's native language and aesthetic*, whose authenticity is best guaranteed by a conservatism demanded by an audience—first from rhapsodic performers in classical times, but then carefully observed by scholars in Alexandria. Indeed it would seem that the successful inference of the digamma, corroborated by comparative historical linguistics throughout the Homeric lexicon, would not have been possible unless the snapshot of that composition, which was preserved and edited in Alexandrian and East Roman texts, did not reflect an authentic and reasonably consistent translation into the digamma-free medium of historical Greek writing. An *Urtext* of Homer is as real as the digamma, but also as the genuity of ancient Homeric scholarship whose consistency and conservatism allowed its discovery through its various remnant effects. No smile without a Cheshire cat.

No modern edition of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* now prints the digamma where its presence would help explain Homer's rhythm, and where it is soundly corroborated by comparative historical analysis as once having been present. It is assumed, however, that the earliest written texts reflect the contemporary state of dialectal pronunciation. So did Homer care or not care about the aural effect of hiatus? Did he or did he not fancy the -w- sound? The case of the Nikandre inscription shows movable -v- being used to prevent hiatus where digamma had been lost. Martin West argues

[t]his shows that by that time [the mid-seventh-century] Ionian poets were already using movable nu to cure digamma hiatus. If one believes as I do, that the *Iliad* was composed and written down at about the same period, one will take this as adequate justification

for leaving such nus in the text. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the insertion of particles such as γε, κε, τε, or ρα for the same purpose began as early as the addition of the nu.¹³

Nagy critiques a perceived assumption on West's part that the writing of the nu in this inscription bespeaks a practice reflective of the composition and writing of the *Iliad* itself. But Nagy does not address the need for what West calls a 'cure'; does it after all make sense that the original composer was in the business of systematically curing a problem with his dialect, rather than composing to its strengths? Neither West nor Nagy, 'multitext' nor *Urtext*, address the question of greatest import: what was the state of the digamma in the practical performance, and indeed the consciousness, of Homer and his audience?

There are many cases where loss of digamma causes hiatus *within* a word, as in the name of the dawn, Ἡώς, or the examples given above from the beginning of the lexicon. *Scriptio continua* does not distinguish these internal syllables from external ones in sandhi: avoidance of hiatus reflects an aesthetic at the level of the syllable, not the word. A performer does not have the luxury of remaining agnostic about the -w- sound. He has to choose, in saying Dawn's name, between the scratch of a glottal stop (Eh-Os) and the smoothness of a glide (Eh-Wos). For an artist there is more than the difference of a movable -n- between a *wanax* and an *anax*. The most straightforward assumption is that the digamma lived in the lingual or dialectal sound-world in which Homer composed his music. This is the common sense view for anyone undertaking to *sing* ἄδατος or Ἡώς. The 'avoidance of hiatus' is in fact the way grammarian philologists register a phenomenon that was actually caused by a cantor's need, and desire, to articulate and voice the vowel of any sung syllable with a distinct, specific, initial consonant. Against the sense of recent scholarship, the common sense must be that Homer composed with this hidden consonant opening (and sometimes closing) his syllables. I shall therefore deliver digammas where they need to be, on the assumption that they are, at the end of the day, where Homer *wanted* them to be. This will be my choice for a 'cure'.

When one considers the sources of the variants implied or explicit in the apparatus of the East Roman manuscripts—an Athenian vulgate, other city editions, classical fragments, generations of Alexandrian scholars—the situation of the Homeric text becomes comparable to that of the Shakespeare plays published in the mysterious literary Folio, alongside apparent working scripts prepared for actual performances a generation prior. The editors of a recent *King Lear* decided against producing a Shakespearean master text for students,

13 West, 'The Textual Criticism and Editing of Homer', in Glenn W. Most, ed., *Editing Texts/Texte edieren*, Aporemata II, Gottingen, 101; quoted by Nagy, Review of M. L. West, *Homeri Ilias* Vol. 1 & 2, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (2000.09.12)

and instead edited and published, in one volume, two separate plays with differing titles. But the role of the digamma takes Homer's text to a metaphysical quandary deeper than the status of folio versus quarto; it takes the composition of Homer's poetry to an era prior to that of the earliest dialects in which it was written down. All the same, a performer—whether bard, or citharode, or rhapsode, or modern student—has no use for metaphysical sounds, even if he is singing the hexameters of Parmenides. He must do more for the syllables of Homer's music than merely *infer* φ .

My own cure results, for what it's worth, in neither a complete restoration of the *waw* sound (the fully metaphysical option) nor its elimination and substitution (the slavishly historical one), but in its rounding semi-presence—appearing and disappearing like Banquo's ghost, or *ens* before aitches in English.

5 Stress and the Disyllabic Contonation

The new understanding of the relationship between lemma and proposition, in that between scholium and text in *Venetus A*, allows us to see the framed text in that document as an inevitable advancement in the demonstration of Homeric prosody. The division between lines and the separation of prosodic units (principally reflecting a terminal word-level prosody) with a descriptive economy in the use of accent marks to indicate the mora of rising pitch and its occasional suppression, has not so far been improved upon. Perhaps the Roman-era apparatus was a touch more transparent and user-friendly than that of the Oxford Classical Text.

Contrast this view with one taken by Nagy. About the lemmas:

... [w]hat was being quoted in upper-case letters from Homer originated from pre-Byzantine traditions of actually reading Homeric verse out loud, and so the use of this upper-case lettering system reflects an older and therefore more accurate way of reading the text of Homeric verse.

And about the scholia attached to the lemmas, together with the framed text itself:

... [w]hat was being written in lower-case letters as the text of Homeric verse or as the text of commentaries about Homeric verse originated from contemporary Byzantine traditions of rewriting what had been written earlier in the pre-Byzantine period, and so the use of this

lower-case lettering system can be seen as a newer and therefore less accurate way of reading the text of Homeric verse or even the text of commentaries about Homeric verse.¹⁴

Nagy sees as 'less accurate' a text that displays the word-level prosody for Greek as in fact a word-level prosody. He also reminds us that 'newer' also means 'later' to a classicist, and hence further removed from text produced closer in time to a source or sources vaguely older—not in his view an original score of Homer's music—but a style of written presentation of a late script that more closely preserved a product or products of a once oral composition and orally dispersed transmission, all of which was 'pre-Byzantine'. He goes on to play his hand:

From the standpoint of my own argumentation ... the Byzantine rewriting of pre-Byzantine texts was less accurate. It stripped away two kinds of information embedded in the lettering practices stemming from the pre-Byzantine traditions:

(A) The new writing practice of using a space for marking where each word was separated from the next word undid the old writing practice of *scriptio continua*, which had served to protect the integrity of the phrase and integrity of the intonation embedded in the phrase.

(B) The new writing practice of consistently marking the accents of words on a word-by-word basis undid the old writing practice of selectively marking the intonation of phrases on a phrase-by-phrase basis.¹⁵

Let us be clear that under (A) Nagy supplies no evidence to support the following concepts: 'integrity of the phrase' and 'integrity of the intonation embedded in the phrase.' (The latter would seem to offer the only clue, in fixed melodies known to be associated with certain phrases, to any possible reality of the former; but no such melodies exist.) Allen's descriptive rules for stress may in fact allow for a limited application toward phrases as prosodic units, as we shall see, but the work done by the word 'integrity' here is sheer mystification. Under (B) I also find that the 'new writing practice' did undo something about the 'old writing practice', but what was undone was precisely the old practice's notorious inconsistency. Intonation in Greek is properly embedded in a sub-unit of 'the phrase', which is to say *the word*. This is true of the recessive accent characteristic not only of Greek but of Latin and Classical Sanskrit. (Vedic does *not* show this quality of being recessive, under rule, from the ultima of the word.) It is therefore word accents that make music out of the epic ictus, by

14 Nagy, 'Traces of an ancient system of reading Homeric verse in the *Venetus A*', 139.

15 Ibid., 140.

alternately disagreeing and then agreeing with and reinforcing it in a recognisable pattern, as I have demonstrated elsewhere.¹⁶

Nagy's thesis, or lemma without proof, is that the selective accent-marking in pre-Byzantine texts, extant in papyri but also in the lemmas to *Venetus A*, preserves hints of a melodic contour that signals the highest pitch peak in the performance of a phrase; for him this points to the integrity of such phrases in transmission. Back of this for him, naturally, is the twentieth-century Homerist's magical unicorn, the traditional formulaic phrase as a unit of composition in Homer. Central to his argument (in his view) is the claim that the *Venetus A* text of Homer, in showing accent marks for each separated word, reflects the development of Greek from a language with a pitch accent to one with a stress accent:

These differences between old and new writing practices in the pre-Byzantine and Byzantine periods respectively were caused by what may best be described as a sea change in the evolution of the Greek language. We can see the beginnings of this change around the second century BCE. Already then, an old system of pitch-accentuation was changing into a new system of stress-accentuation. Where the syllable once had a pitch accent, there was now a stress accent. (This is not to say, however, that the new stress-accent was not simultaneously a pitch-accent as well.) And the new system of stress-accentuation persisted in the Byzantine Greek language and even in the Modern Greek language of today.¹⁷

Nagy goes on to cite his own summary, that 'already by the time of Aristarchus, whose floruit was the middle of the second century BCE, unaccented vowels were shortened while accented vowels were lengthened'—a consequence of the new stress implementation. Nagy nowhere gives evidence, however, that this supposed 'sea change' in any way affected Aristarchus' scholarly decisions about the Homeric text, upon which the 'Byzantine' *Venetus A* depends. Nagy clarifies what he means, so there can be no doubt about his own claim:

In the old pre-Byzantine system, the pitch-accentuation of words had operated within a larger framework, which was the intonation of the phrase that framed the words. In the new Byzantine system, by contrast, the *stress-accentuation of words was now operating within the smaller framework of the word itself*.¹⁸ [Emphasis added]

It is clear from the last that the word-level accent displayed in the innovative East Roman *Venetus A* text is being claimed to be a means of indicating the stressed syllable in each word.

16 David, Chs. 4 & 8.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid., 141.

The direct incoherence of this is immediately illustrated by the use of the circumflex, in *Venetus A* and elsewhere. What could it mean in a stress-accent system? Syllables are either stressed or unstressed; why distinguish between circumflex and acute, most especially on long vowels—for example, βουλή and Ἀχαιῶν? Stress is on the ultima in both cases; what’s the difference? Nagy is handicapped: he is evidently unaware of (or ignores) Allen’s historical description of the contonation, applied to Homeric and classical Greek, which was monosyllabic in the case of the circumflex but *usually disyllabic*.

Consider the corrector’s marking of this line (*Iliad* XXIV.408) from the Bankes Papyrus, juxtaposed with a version based on manuscripts like the *Venetus A*:

ἦετιπαρνῆεσσινεμοσπαιεῖμινῆδη
ἦ ἔτι πὰρ νήεσσιν ἐμὸς πάϊς, ἦέ μιν ἦδη

Amy Koenig notes: ‘... here three instances of η are marked with a circumflex, indicating a falling pitch after the rising one. The second of these is grammatically inadmissible on the antepenult.’¹⁹ This inadmissibility is of course true also under the new rule: if the down-glide is completed on the first syllable of νήεσσιν, more than two moras follow the completion of the contonation. Under the new theory, this is a violation. It is the accent system exhibited in manuscripts like the *Venetus A* that supplied the database for both Allen’s induced rules for dynamic stress in Greek, and his comparison with Vedic that resulted in the formulation of the pitch-accent rule via the contonation: it is the combination of these separate results from Allen that forms the basis of my new theory of tonal stress or dynamic pitch for ancient Greek.²⁰

I think it fair to say that the corrector of this text was also, like Nagy, not familiar with the contonation, or the rules of accentuation exhibited by the later *Venetus A* text. He did not appreciate the significance of the circumflex. An acute in this position would not violate the rules; it is therefore possible that there was no phonetic difference for this corrector, and his era, between the instruction from a circumflex and that from an acute. This is also the case under the later stress-accent: both signs mean ‘accented’. This line could therefore be of considerable significance for the history of Homeric settings, the history of Greek prosody, and the negative assessment of the Bankes papyrus of Homer as a source for a modern prosodic editor or would-be performer. Nagy would have it that ‘the accentual markings made by the ancient *diorthōtēs* or ‘corrector’ of the Bankes Papyrus show that he was truly a master of correct poetic pronunciation.’²¹ But it is not excluded in the case of this line, that the corrector’s child had at it with the Egyptian equivalent of a crayon.

19 Amy Koenig, “Homeric Accentuation: A Comparative Study of the Bankes Papyrus and Other Roman Papyri,” *FirstDrafts@Classics*, Center for Hellenic Studies, 2.

20 See David, esp. 71-2.

21 Nagy 143.

It is unclear why differences between the corrector's use of accent marks for singing students, centuries later, and the accentuation of Homer derived from Alexandria, might be thought to preserve a melodic contour that was itself antique in relation to Aristophanes of Byzantium. It might be worth remembering that the Bankes Papyrus was produced when the New Music of Euripides was already ancient history. The practice of setting historical texts to new music was one which drew attention to a perceived disconnection between the new melodies and the original word-level prosody. I wrote:

... a lyric melos was made up of three things: speech, harmony, and rhythm (Plato, *Republic* 398d). But after its composition, a lyric was preserved only as speech, as a sequence of words (or strictly, letters) in a written text. In this form it could be quoted and interpreted ... [A]ccording to the linguistic profile of Greek, to preserve a sequence of words is also to preserve a certain accentual harmony and a quantitative rhythm ... [B]efore Euripides' innovations, this harmony and rhythm were the originals, the constituents of the μέλος. As Plato says, the melic harmony and rhythm 'follow' (ἀκολουθεῖν) the melic word (λόγος) (*Republic* 398d); and in the *Laws*, the μέλος 'suggests and awakens' the rhythm (τοῦ δὲ μέλους ὑπομιμνήσκοντος καὶ ἐγείροντος τὸν ῥυθμόν, 637d) ...

It was apparently fashionable in the revivals of the time of Plato's *Laws* for the traditional melic texts, and possibly the fifth-century tragic choruses as well, to be treated by arrangers and performers in the new way, as if the words were music-less abstractions that could be set to a variety of 'melismatic' rhythms and melodies. This is why, when he wants to introduce some of the traditional poems and dances into the city (802a), the Athenian says his lawgiver must himself prescribe the harmonies and rhythms to which the μέλη will be set; for 'it is a terrible thing to sing "off" with the whole harmony, or to "unrhythm" to the rhythm, having assigned unsuitable ones to each of the songs' (δαινὸν γὰρ ὅλη γε ἁρμονία ἀπάδειν ἢ ῥυθμῷ ἀρρυθμεῖν, μηδὲν προσήκοντα τούτων ἐκάστοις ἀποδιδόντα τοῖς μέλεσιν) (802e). The Athenian's prescription is a rearguard action against what is often referred to as the New Music.²²

On the evidence of the Bankes papyrus, its compiler and its prosodic corrector appear to be guilty of doing Plato's 'terrible thing,' except in this case to the melody of Homeric epic. There are spellings that violate quantities, and of course there are those melismatic circumflexes. The practices here, apart from

22 David, 32.

reflecting the critical loss of the disyllabic contonation in favour of a monosyllabic accent, seem more likely to reflect the desire to set old poems to new music—the fanciful circumflexes certainly are unprecedented—than a hidden clue to ancient Homeric melodies, dug up from Egypt of the Common Era.

In its essence, the transition to the modern stress accent is easy enough to explain: the stress position is identical with the place where in the old system the voice rose in pitch. It is possible that the emergence of Greek as an international language after Alexander played a role in the transition, in that non-native speakers may have *heard* the rising high pitch at the beginning of the contonation as the accentual feature. Certainly if they got their books from Alexandria, this idea would have been reinforced: as today, one stresses the accented syllable. The down-glide would have lost its prominence, especially as the all-important reinforcement of quantitative ictus. In most cases it was not even indicated with a sign. We could therefore well imagine a stage where high pitch became the accentual signal, as well as the verbal cue for musical settings of what had been, in its manifestation under the Muses, a more percussive, orchestric phenomenon. (For a modern singer-songwriter, the guitar is equally a percussive and harmonic instrument.) This may have been a stage of the language that did not yet exhibit the concomitant features of stress, such as the shortening of unstressed syllables and weakening of vowels, in which the Bankes Papyrus perhaps best fits.

But in any case, the East Roman pitch accent system was still—all the same and as well—an indicator of melodic contour. Stress itself *has* a melodic contour; and the circumflex is precisely a graphic indication of melodic contour. Hence Nagy is asking the texts preserved in the *Venetus A* lemmas to point to a different, vanished melodic contour, somehow passed down in phrases, which was independent of the melodic contour manifestly inherent and indicated in the words—whatever the contemporary nature of the spoken accent, past or present. The hypothesis, if not denied *reductio ad absurdum*, is hopelessly fraught.

West points to a tradition of performing hexameter verse where there may well have been melody composed for hexameter verses that was not synchronised with the natural pitch pattern in the words:

The citharodic tradition that began in the seventh century and developed alongside the rhapsodic tradition did represent a radical departure. The citharode did not just spread the word accents over seven notes instead of [the] four [of the phorminx]: he employed real melodic structures in which the word accents were largely overridden...²³

Nagy does not appear to be referring, however, to this ‘citharodic’ tradition when he invokes a ‘pre-Byzantine’ melodic contour for phrases in Homer. West

23 West, ‘The Singing of Hexameters: Evidence from Epidauros’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 63 (1986): 46.

interprets a musical fragment from Epidauros as showing a fixed melodic pattern repeating at the ends of a series of lines. But he distinguishes the practice of this citharodic tradition from that of the singing or declaiming of the rhapsodic tradition, which he links to practices he elsewhere argues belong to 'eighth-century' hexameter singing with a phorminx; he claims that

... the eighth-century aoidos sang epic poetry on four notes, the four notes to which his phorminx-strings were tuned, and that he followed the contours given by the word accents.²⁴

With these views of West's my argument sings in harmony: the singer, like the later rhapsode, followed the word accents.

The pitch-accent distinction is that the acute on a long vowel indicates pitch rise on the second mora, circumflex on the first. But more importantly, the circumflex points to Sidney Allen's solution for what Nagy calls pre-Byzantine Greek, that the Greek pitch accent was in all cases, not just circumflexes, a contonation involving a rise and a fall, as in Vedic. The Greek contonation, unlike the later high-pitch or stress accents, was usually disyllabic. Only in certain circumstances, most obviously in circumflected vowels, was it completed within a syllable. I repeat, the syllable of falling pitch often went unmarked in Greek; when it falls on a long quantity, I have called it the post-acute barytone. I maintain that this post-acute barytone, literally the *heavy accent*, was the Greek poet's principal means of reinforcing the ictus brought to bear by the feet, at cadence points during a poetic movement—whether at the middle thesis (the third in the hexameter) or the end of a stichic line or, during the right- or leftward circling of a lyric strophic dance.

24 Ibid., 45.

6 βαρυστεναχῶν and the Heavy Accent

Nagy discusses a phrase that includes a third-foot cadence, τὴν δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων (or στεναχῶν) from *Iliad* I.364. His discussion is one that serves to illustrate a) by omission, the import of applying the new theory of the accent in interpreting manuscripts, and in particular the principles underlying the proposition of *Venetus A*; and b) the precious value of the resources still contained in that manuscript, for those capable of Nagy's excellence at forensic work. This forensic work, revealing the true source of the reading with the circumflex (στεναχῶν), underscores the propositional nature of the *Venetus A* text, where lemmas are given in support of the final rendition for select passages of the main text, and arguments are given in the scholia for the lemmas on which the passages' diction and accentuation are based.

The proposition made by the *Venetus A* is that the text of Homer for the first part of I.354 is τὴν δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων. The lemma on which this proposition is made is an authoritative text which appears to read τὴν δὲ βαρυστενάχων. All the focus is on the final accent. The primary scholium makes an argument for the lemma on synchronic grounds, implicitly arguing against the prosody βαρυστεναχῶν as a contraction of βαρυστεναχέων, because we would elsewhere then see the spellings ἐστεναχοῦντο in the verb and στεναχοῦντος in the declension of the participle, instead of the cited ἐπεστενάχοντο, together with στενάχοντος and στενάχοντι. Nagy attributes this argument to Herodian.

But the argument for the lemma gets a good deal more interesting in the secondary scholia, which also seek to 'prove' the lemma; Nagy makes a convincing

case that Aristarchus is the influential figure behind Herodian and the other scholiasts to *Venetus A* in making the case for the chosen accentuation. But in the Bt scholia, and a scholium reported on *Odyssey* 5.83, a case is made for a form στεναχή which was, by inference, the reading of Aristophanes of Byzantium via a student named Dionysius of Sidon. (Aristarchus was also such a student, more senior; he became, it would seem, the successor to Aristophanes in authority at Alexandria.) From στεναχή comes the alternate reading of l.364, preferred by the earliest authority on accentuation: βαρυστεναχῶν. Nagy shows that Aristophanes read a form στεναχῆσιν in the *Odyssey*. There is therefore a diachronic case for reading στεναχῶν at line 364, which in my view—and, one suspects, Nagy’s as well—trumps the proposition made by *Venetus A* for this line, together with its supporting synchronic lemma.

The marginal scholia, however, provide additional support for the lemma, and while they do not in my view win the day, they do provide a most valuable insight into Aristarchus’ biases as we look through the *Venetus A*, in some cases, to the Homer of Aristophanes of Byzantium—the parent of its graphic accentuation. In the margin we read, ὅτι τὸ βαρυστενάχων κατὰ βαρείαν τᾶσιν, ‘because “βαρυστενάχων” is [pronounced] according to the heavy accent.’ Nagy comments: ‘When the text speaks here of barytone accentuation, it has to do with the avoidance of placing an accent over the final syllable of a word.’²⁵ Nagy is not alone in interpreting a phrase that literally means ‘heavy accent’ (βαρεῖα τᾶσις) as meaning ‘unaccented’ in Greek grammarians’ usage. This absurd violence to the usage of Plato, Aristotle and the grammarians, about the word ‘heavy’ (βαρὺς), is endemic in the prevailing teaching about accent in schools.

The new theory at last makes sense of the word. It is a positive term—‘heavy’—in no sense a privative. Its meaning in prosody is akin to the one it has in describing Achilles’ groaning in the onomatopoeia of this very line. The heavy accent is characterised by a down-glide in the voice over a long or heavy syllable; it is signalled by the preceding acute. Clearly this positive description by the scholiast does not refer to the effect of the rise in pitch on the alpha in this word; it describes the phenomenon of the heavy fall in pitch on the long omega that follows. This is the phenomenon that reinforces the ictus on the *thesis* of the third foot. What the scholiast calls ‘the heavy accent’ is in my new parlance a ‘post-acute barytone’ on the unmarked final vowel of στενάχων.²⁶

25 Nagy 147.

26 The practice in *Venetus A* is, I believe, true to the original intent of Aristophanes of Byzantium, and this is what I follow in performance. To reiterate: the acute signifies the vowel mora of the rising pitch—on a long vowel always the second one; circumflex signifies rise and then fall on the same long vowel, with the fall dominating; grave means suppression of the rise due to the terminal boundary of a word or phrase. Acutes are prominent prosodically only when the following syllable is light; if the following syllable is long or closed, the combination of pitch change with duration renders it the most heavy: a post-acute barytone.

The new theory, on analogy with the use of *svarita* in Vedic, also treats the circumflex as a barytone, and the reciting of a circumflex could be just as evocative of a moan or groan in this context. The scholiasts distinguish both the sign and the break in the sound, it would seem, in referring to Aristophanes' reading as περισπωμένη, 'bent-over' or circumflex, but in the view of the new theory, both readings reinforce the ictus on the same syllable. This is not therefore a disagreement about which syllable is most prominent or accented, as it might appear to be visually (between στενάχων and στεναχῶν). Both prosodies reinforce the same element, the longum of the third foot in the line. This is an insight of the new theory. The disagreement is over the *quality* of that reinforcement: circumflex (περισπωμένη) or barytone (κατὰ βαρεῖαν τάσιν).

Nagy draws on a fascinating contribution from the bT scholia to this passage, which seems to offer a reason for Aristarchus' choices; it would seem that generally it is his choices behind the lemmas that justify the *Venetus A* text.²⁷ Note in particular this comment from bT, justifying the choice of post-acute barytone over circumflex in this instance:

The Sidonian circumfleets; for by circumflecting he also cites “ἀδινὰ στοναχῆσαι”.

(The 'Sidonian' is Dionysius of Sidon, a student of Aristarchus; but Nagy argues, with evidence, citing a scholium to *Odyssey* 5.83, that the circumflex he prefers for this word is due to Aristophanes of Byzantium, who knows a form στεναχή.)

But Aristarchus sings it heavy [βαρύνει]; for most of the transitions [κινήματα] arise based on the barytone [ἀπὸ βαρυτόνου]: βαρὺ δὲ στενάχοντος ἄκουσα (8.95), ἐπεστενάχοντο δ' ἑταῖροι (IV.154).

Nagy translates the last clause 'since inflections [κινήματα] happen for the most part by way of starting from barytone accentuation.' 'Barytone' under the modern convention effectively means 'without an accent mark' on the ultima. Inflections of the verb generally show recessive accent, and so 'for the most part' verb forms do not show an accent mark on their final syllables. But this is obviously not the case with contract verbs. So what exactly is the case being made here? Is the possibility of the forms στεναχέω and στεναχή being rejected simply because contract verbs constitute a somehow undesirable minority among verbs? Whether or not the scribe who has transmitted this scholium understood what was being said, it may be that Aristarchus intended an argument in support of the lemma that was less naive in opposing his own teacher.

It seems to me possible that the sense of 'inflection' Nagy gives to κινήματα, based solely on the usage of the Roman-era grammarian Herodian, may mask a more musically interesting bias on the part of Aristarchus. If it is most

²⁷ see Nagy 156.

‘movements’ that depend on the barytone, there may be an observation here about the characteristic prosodic movement of the hexameter. Here is my translation and discussion of a passage from Plato’s *Timaeus* about the κίνησις, the movement of accent and rhythm from disagreement to agreement (80a ff.):

καὶ ὅσοι φθόγγοι ταχεῖς τε καὶ βραδεῖς φαίνονται, τότε μὲν ἀνάρμοστοι φερόμενοι δι’ ἀνομοιότητα τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν κινήσεως, τότε δὲ ξύμφωνοι δι’ ὁμοιότητα. τὰς γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ θαπτόνων οἱ βραδύτεροι κινήσεις, ἀποπαυομένας ἤδη τε εἰς ὅμοιον ἐληλυθυίας αἷς ὕστερον αὐτοὶ προσφερόμενοι κινουῦσιν ἐκείνας, καταλαμβάνουσι, καταλαμβάνοντες δὲ οὐκ ἄλλην ἐπεμβάλλοντες ἀνετάραξαν κινήσιν, ἀλλ’ ἀρχὴν βραδυτέρας φορᾶς κατὰ τὴν τῆς θάπτονος ἀποληγούσης δὲ ὁμοιότητα προσάψαντες μίαν ἐξ ὀξείας καὶ βαρείας ξυνεκεράσαντο πάθην, ὅθεν ἡδονὴν μὲν τοῖς ἄφροσιν, εὐφροσύνην δὲ τοῖς ἔμφροσι διὰ τὴν τῆς θείας ἀρμονίας μίμησιν ἐν θνηταῖς γενομένην φοραῖς παρέσχον.

[We must pursue] also those sounds which appear quick and slow, sharp [ὀξεῖς] and heavy [βαρεῖς], at one time borne in discord because of the disagreement of the motion [κίνησις] caused by them in us, but at another in concord because of agreement. For the slower sounds overtake the movements of those earlier and quicker ones, when these are already ceasing and have come into agreement with those motions with which afterwards, when they are brought to bear, the slow sounds themselves move them; and in overtaking they did not cause a disturbance, imposing another motion, but once they had attached the beginning of a slower passage, in accord with the agreement of the quicker one, which was fading, they mixed together a single experience out of sharp and heavy sound, whence they furnished pleasure to the mindless, but peace of mind to the thoughtful, because of the imitation of the divine harmony arisen in mortal orbits.

There is something for everyone here, the mindless and the thoughtful, the pop and the classical, in the poetic movement of the Muses. The dance circling with retrogressions imitates in sympathy the apparent motion of the outer planet-gods. From my analysis:

... it is natural to read ‘similarity’ here ... as a correspondence of quick to sharp and of slow to heavy. Such a correspondence constitutes ‘agreement’. ‘Disagreement’ would arise out of the opposite collocations ... When a term subsumes a pair of definitive contraries—as, for example, ‘number’ in relation to the ‘even and odd’—Plato sometimes treats the pair as synonymous (or metonymous) with the term itself (see, e.g., *Laws* 818c, *Epinomis* 990c). Hence the pairs here seem likely to refer to what he elsewhere calls ‘rhythm’ [quick/slow] and ‘harmony’ [sharp/heavy]. In particular, in the context of the motile internal

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

I then call attention to the granular interaction between accent and rhythm in the description, which appears to reflect the distinctive inflection points of an hexameter line:

There appear to be two points of dynamic moment in this description: the first when the slower sounds 'overtake the movements of those earlier and quicker ones'; the second when they attach 'the beginning of a slower passage'. At first it would appear that the interaction occurs entirely within the realm of rhythm and metre; slower sounds 'overtake' quicker ones. But in so doing, the narrator says, they have 'mixed together a single experience [μίαν πάθην] out of sharp and heavy'. The interaction of harmony and rhythm begins at a trot in disagreement; then subtly turns, as at the cadence of the caesura, where slow sounds first 'overtake' the motion and come to a point of agreement. Then comes a new beginning, as at the diaeresis, leading to euphonic agreement in the coda ... It is emphasized that the overtaking and the new beginning do not introduce a disturbance; rather, the new passage is 'on the terms' of the agreement reached in the earlier quicker passage. It would seem, therefore, that an agreement reached at the caesura becomes fully confirmed in the coda.²⁸

This is without question a very difficult passage of Plato to interpret. I comment: [It] is ... a[n] attempt by a native speaker without recourse to technical terms from a dead language, at describing the syncopation and the

28 David, 89-91; for a different reading see Andrew Barker, *Greek Musical Writings, ii: Harmonic and Acoustic Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, 62.

accentual cadence of verse, both the phenomena themselves and their physical effects ... Our vertical sense of harmony draws a different kind of unity out of sound and time; but the horizontal, rhythmic sense of a melodic cadence, of disagreement seeking agreement in cycles of accent and rhythm, is still vital in western musical discourse.²⁹

It does seem that the reason for choosing στενάχων over στεναχῶν attributed to Aristarchus—the fact that most verbal inflexions do not involve contract verbs—is extremely weak. If the idea is in fact that most ‘movements to cadence’ (κινήματα) within the hexameter line involve a post-acute barytone reinforcement, and rarely a perispomenon one, with the implication of a *musical* preference at the cadence for the barytone contonation over the blunt masculine final circumflex, Aristarchus could be seen to be exercising his taste in avoiding the rare implementation of a terminal circumflex in this role, in line with what seems to be Homer’s own taste in the matter. The scholiast points to two cases where forms of στενάχω reinforce the fifth thesis (στενάχοντος, έπεστενάχοντο), the beginning of the coda in lines without a diaeresis; in I.364, however, the line in question, βαρυ στενάχων lands on the third thesis, which is the kind of musical reinforcement that is the true cause of the famous caesura. It is indeed rare for this position to be reinforced by a final circumflex like στεναχῶν. But modern taste will favour the diachronic argument, the unusual form, and the pioneering practice and seniority of Aristophanes of Byzantium over Aristarchus. Βαρυστεναχῶν.

29 Ibid., 91-2.

7 Secondary Accent

The practices in some of the earlier papyri appear to be arbitrary by comparison. The grave sign seems to have been the weapon of choice for correctors. It properly says ‘suppress the rise here.’ It was a prohibition, not a prescription. But in a number of instances, it appears to mark all the syllables where there is not an acute, so that the syllable of high pitch is known by being the odd man out. But the acute itself is not marked!³⁰ This is the interpretation of e.g., αἰὼλῶπον for (standard) αἰόλωπὸν.³¹ It must be said, however, that this example is taken from a number which, together, are used to make the case that final oxytones were sometimes ‘accented’ in mid-sentence; I find this possibility unlikely if the rule for completing the contonation within word boundaries was still in play. (This rule depends on the fact the contonation could be disyllabic.) More likely is that the successive graves were warning students against accenting alternatives, in the knowledge that the final syllable would be suppressed automatically. Highly likely is the possibility that Greek orators and composers worked to control the release of accents with pauses and enclitics, sometimes producing long stretches within lines and sentences with no full contonations.³² There is no teachable

30 Jennifer Moore-Blunt, “Problems of Accentuation in Greek Papyri,” *Quaderni Urbinati Di Cultura Classica*, no. 29 (1978): 137–63.

31 Ibid., 141 [Ox.Pap.2369.ii.28].

32 see Sophocles *Antigone*, 332; discussion in David, 253.



method apparent, as in *Venetus A*, but an ad hoc case-by-case and line-by-line approach; a seemingly unsystematic scattering of accentual assertions often after longer stretches of letters carrying no prosodic instruction at all. This is quite unlike the consistent word-level, propositional approach of *Venetus A*.

The use of the acute accent among the correctors responsible for accenting the papyri also needs to be approached afresh in light of the new theory. The acute does not originally mean ‘here is the accented syllable,’ in the sense of the most dynamically prominent syllable in a word (or phrase for that matter). It only means ‘here the pitch rises’. Neither does it necessarily mean ‘here is the highest pitch in a phrase’, despite Nagy’s pleading. Properly, the acute sign means ‘the contonation begins here.’ The locally most prominent syllable is often the one following: hence the acute can be as much a herald, as it were, of the word-level accentual event, as the grave sign preceding an unmarked acute.

One case where Nagy’s analysis is hampered by the late monosyllabic, accented/unaccented approach, is with his take on ΚΡΑΤΥΣΑΡΓΕΙΦΟΝΤΗΣ (κρατύς Ἀργεῖφόντης) from the Bankes Papyrus (*Iliad* XXIV.345). He sees the acute on κρατύς as evidence that in ‘pre-Byzantine’ Greek it was possible for final oxytones to be pronounced in mid-sentence, and not suppressed (‘graved’). What might the acute mean in light of the new theory? By itself, an acute *could* signify that a pause was felt here; despite the close attachment to the noun-phrase following, it is not impossible that this singing corrector wished to offset the cultish invocation of Hermes, ‘Slayer of Argus’ (Ἀργεῖφόντης) which fills the line from the diaeresis to the close. But if the *svarita* or down-glide was still felt, the released acute requires a down-glide on the first syllable Ἀρ- crossing the word-boundary, causing dynamic prominence on that syllable. This may also be the case if the grave involved a slight rise in pitch.

Here is Allen’s fifth rule for dynamic prominence in Greek:

A preceding element separated from the prominent element is also (secondarily) prominent.³³

Allen’s study arose from the patterns of syllabic reinforcement of the ictus at the codas of lines of stichic verse. He found that in addition to the required terminal stress, syllables like the first in Ἀργεῖφόντης, separated by an ‘element’ (either  or ) are also prominent. There is no Alexandrian marking for this secondary accent, but it may be that the oxytone preceding a polysyllable was sometimes ‘activated’ in this way, so as to produce a dynamically prominent initial syllable on the word following. There may even have been a phrasal integrity in such a Homeric collocation as κρατύς Ἀργεῖφόντης that encouraged such a marking and pronunciation. Ἀργεῖφόντης itself seems to be a ‘frozen’ collocation of words that acquired a new internal accentuation.

33 Allen, 135-6.

Equally possible, however, is a reflection in this case—and other cases in the papyri of mid-line or mid-sentence oxytone marking—of the fact that the contonation was no longer operant, and the accent had become monosyllabic. The contonation ordinarily was not allowed to cross word boundaries, because the down-glide needed to be completed within the word. If the accent had become monosyllabic, this restriction would no longer apply. In point of fact, the turning grave of ultimate oxytone syllables in mid-sentence would be as sure a sign as any that the original contonation and its word-boundary rule was still operant.

I do not see how best to take the Bankes Papyrus as a clue to anything but the pronunciation and melody-making styles of its own age. All the same, the papyri should be examined for each use of acute on the ultima in the context of an induced barytone at the beginning of the following word—in the new parlance—in case there is evidence there that the contonation of the ancient prosody sometimes worked in this way, inducing secondary prominence at the beginning of polysyllables—a practice not indicated in the *Venetus A* or modern texts.

The ‘phrasal integrity’ tentatively hypothesised here to explain the pronunciation κρατύς Ἀργεῖφόντης is not a remnant of some archaic integrity, sloping slipperily into the dreamscape of ‘traditional formulas’. Fans of ‘formulaic phrases’ as windows to the lost music of an oral tradition, or the melodic licks and clichés of an improvised oral composition, do not find what they need in Homer. What may be imagined here is the extension of the ‘word’ as a prosodic unit backward, as it already is extended forward by enclitics, so that, as is the case forward with enclitics, double contonations are possible in the rearward direction as well. According to the descriptive law induced by Allen, secondary accent separate from the terminal accent is a feature of Greek words based on his study of syllable placement in relation to poetic ictus. Such doubling of word-level prosody is *not* marked rearward, however, in polysyllables under the marking system used in the East Roman texts and in modern editions; only forward with enclitics. A study of the earlier papyri may yield an earlier practice perhaps still redolent of Homer, where on occasion a ‘released’ oxytone acute depends on a completed contonation in the next word, where that following initial syllable is actually the dynamically prominent phenomenon when it is long or closed.

One notes, however, this observation of William Wyatt, following one by A. Tsopanakis:

His observation is acute, and can be illustrated by the phrase ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν ᾿Αργεῖ (*Iliad* I.30), in which the final ω before the preposition is once shortened, once maintained as long.³⁴

34 William F. Wyatt, ‘Homeric Loss of /w/ and Vowels in Contact’, *Glotta* 72:1/4, 1994, 127.

This -ω- exhibits the same extralinguistic pressure we see in Ἄρεξ Ἄρεξ, long in the *thesis* and short in the *arsis*. This could be enough of an account for those who are satisfied that Homer's is dance music. But it leads Wyatt to make a distinction between internal and external sandhi:

In this phrase, a formulaic phrase one imagines, the rules of external sandhi, which call for shortening of the final vowel in hiatus, do not apply with the first occurrence of the preposition ... Formulas are in fact words, and therefore obey the rules of internal sandhi. Or, put more neutrally, in formulas and with certain words the rules of external sandhi are not obeyed or need not be obeyed. In the case in point, instead of a five-word phrase as printed, we have a three-word phrase: ἡμετέρω ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν Ἀργεῖ, i.e. ἡμετέρω+ἐνὶ+οἴκῳ ἐν Ἀργεῖ.³⁵

Wyatt's notion that formulas are words is not directly in reference to accentuation, but it serves as a way of acknowledging, from the perspective of word-level prosody, that the rules for such prosody interdepend on any rules for the determination of 'words'. In the lemma discussed earlier, τὴν δὲ βαρυστενάχων, βαρυστεναχῶν is the only portion that can be claimed from the manuscript to be in *scriptio continua*, and it is equally possible as not that it registers as a compound word—or what Wyatt here describes as a 'formula' with internal sandhi. In this extended envelope of a 'phrasal word', we perhaps accept a greater likelihood not for the compositional reality of formulas, but for a more than theoretical reality for Allen's secondary accent.

About the definition of words and the formulation of rules for word-level prosodic units, the following observation may be instructive:

In their field work among the guslari, the traditional oral singers of Yugoslavia, for example, Milman Parry and Albert Lord discovered that these singers thought in terms of sound groups, not individual words; the two do not necessarily coincide. Only after a Serbian or Croatian guslar had seen a printed copy of his dictated song on a sheet of paper, with the individual words set apart by the white space between them, could he understand what Parry and Lord meant by the term "word."³⁶

On the other hand, Plato in the *Cratylus*, composing in the age of *scriptio continua*, hypothesises the formation of nouns (ὀνόματα) out of clauses (ῥήματα)—e.g. Δίφιλος > Διὶ φίλος, ἄνθρωπος > ἀναθρῶν ἃ ὅπωπεν, 399a-c—in a way that fully presupposes the notion of words as integral prosodic units; this is long before their representation as such in manuscripts like the *Venetus A*. The process is

35 Ibid.

36 A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960, 25, 99-123; in Steve Reece, 'Some Homeric Etymologies in the Light of Oral-Formulaic Theory', *The Classical World* 93:2, 1999, 189-90.

one where a new word with a new accentuation is derived from a phrase where the original accents are responsive to the original word boundaries. Original letters are removed in the process, and some syllables change from pronunciation with a rising pitch to a down-glide, while others suffer the opposite change. Students who labour at their augments and endings in order to parse Ancient Greek sentences, ought to take heart that words and word-level prosodic melody were real things for the composers of texts, before their presentation in East Roman manuscripts as separate graphic phenomena.

Socrates describes the required changes of accent from the phrase to the derived word, it would seem as a way to make his etymologies more plausible.³⁷ If, therefore, in the lemma discussed earlier, βαρυστεναχῶν is to be understood as a word formed from a phrase (βαρὺ στεναχῶν), it would not be impossible that an early papyrus of Homer turned up showing a double contonation: βάρυστεναχῶν. It is even possible that the final circumflex would have been omitted (βάρυστεναχων), either as well-known or as the only possible option given the initial acute. No prediction is made; it is in fact possible that such a pronunciation would have been automatic, and therefore not worthy of a corrector's attention; but no surprise would be registered if he alerted us to the fact that in the compound word, he thought the βαρὺ component was no longer oxytone.

Perhaps it will turn out to be possible to formulate a broader rule this way: that in polysyllables—but also word-like collocations including name-and-epithet phrases, and other polysyllabic candidates sometimes described as 'formulas'—Allen's rule for secondary stress applies. If κρατύς Ἀργειφόντης is such a collocation, the accentuations κρατύσαργειφόντης (as written in the Bankes Papyrus, but actually prominent where underlined) and κρατυάργειφόντης would *both* be consistent with Allen's rule 5 for stress. The producers of such manuscripts as the *Venetus A*, however, are methodical in focusing *only* on the terminal accentuation at word-level. In my own performance practice, I shall follow their judgement, in allowing the accentual melody of noun-and-epithet phrases to blossom purely from their constituent words and normal sandhi.

37 David, 86-7.

8 The Proof

In the *Venetus A* lemmas, as in the papyri, accents were not used all over the place, as Nagy points out; only at selected places in texts printed in *scriptio continua*. Clearly, the students whom these Alexandrian texts served, mostly knew where the words were accented; as surely as they knew how to pick out, register and parse what we call ‘words’ as their eyes scanned the continuous stream of letters. It is only when words were arranged so as to exploit their inherent rhythms and melodies in larger structures, like epic lines—in poetry—where factors that affected or even altered natural prosody may have come into play. And naturally it is in the recording of poetry where one finds the most use of accent marks in early texts.

How were native speakers likely to trip up? To begin with, a portion of Homer’s diction had become obscure in the historical period. The first scholia from the classical era served as glossaries for this lost vocabulary, although classical teachers did not limit themselves to guesses about diction; allegorical exegesis also characterises the pre-Alexandrian era. One presumes that forgotten or unfamiliar words were also obscure as to their accent; but the focus on prosodic error, or simply on prosodic recording, seems only to have come to a head in Alexandria, resulting in the deployment of Aristophanes’ now familiar signs.

The main source of error, however, comes from the ictus of poetic feet. Modern students often learn a technique of scansion, as a way to drill on metres, where they punch every long downbeat (or *thesis*). The result is monotonous

but also weirdly hypnotic. Ancient students also would have had an instinct, native to human rhythm, for stressing alternate beats; Greek was as iambic in that way as English. Even *within* the accentual contonation, the theory has it that one mora or syllable was more prominent than the other; in some cases it was only the surrounding environment that determined which one. Hence correctors would have been as keen to prohibit as to prescribe; that is why so many graves are deployed in early papyri at the many places where a student may be tempted to accent to keep in rhythm. This is the 'bad habit' that the negative marking (grave) seeks to forestall. Only when it was decided to display words as prosodic units, separating them graphically, could the accent system become both universal and economical in its prescriptions and prohibitions.

In the period when the recessive contonation was operant, it would seem that gradations of emphasis between syllables would have been at their most nuanced and subtle, in relation to the monosyllabic accentual patterns of later Greek. To begin with, syllables outside those involved in the contonation retained their strong vowel values and full quantities, a situation we find only in some song settings of languages with stress accents, like English. Then there was the suppressed onset of the contonation when it could not be completed within the word; it is not certain whether some rise in pitch was still registered on acutes turned grave, and if there was a 'knock-on' effect on the initial syllables of words following. Finally, within the word's accentual contonation itself there was also a contrast between prominence/non-prominence, reflected in placement with respect to metrical ictus, which depended on the interaction of the pitch elements with quantity: when the down-glide fell on a long or closed syllable, it predominated over the marked rise; otherwise the rise itself was prominent.

It seems very likely that there was a stage, reflected in some papyri, when the accent became monosyllabic and indicated by high pitch. The circumflex and acute came to mean the same thing: 'accented'. The significance of the circumflex and the disyllabic contonation was lost. In that circumstance it is inevitable that native speakers would misinterpret and so distort the musical instruction intended by the accent marks, which rarely marked the prominent long down-glides in any case. There may have been 'correctors' who still remembered how the contonation actually worked; the usual suspects also would have included local correctors who only pretended that they knew.

In the meantime of course compositional prosody itself was changing; almost certainly there were some 'correctors' from Nagy's 'pre-Byzantine' world who wished to reflect the prosodic or musical styles of their own day—to set the old texts to a 'New Music'. The citharodes may already have been doing this long since to hexameters with the newfangled, seven-stringed or greater instrument (κίθαρα, λύρα) in different modal scales. Here is West:

Classical writers distinguish rhapsodes from citharodes. The latter sang the poetry of Homer and others to *melodies of their own*, accompanying themselves on the cithara, and they looked back to

Terpander as the famous exponent of this art. Homer was thought of as a rhapsode...³⁸

This Terpander is credited with increasing the number of strings in archaic times from the four of the Homeric phorminx to a lyre of seven or eight, filling out the modal octave. West discusses what he calls the 'dual-tradition hypothesis', as between performers of hexameters with and without an accompanying musical instrument (rhapsodes versus citharodes), but avers that '[t]he dual-tradition hypothesis is supported by no ancient testimony, and it lacks intrinsic plausibility.'

I conclude that Homeric 'singing' was truly singing, in that it was based on definite notes and intervals, but that it was at the same time a stylized form of speech, the rise and the fall of the voice being governed by the melodic accent of the words.³⁹

It is not therefore excluded that the Bankes Papyrus, and other provincial papyri displaying idiosyncratic accentuation outside the Alexandrian standard, may in fact represent citharodes' occasional librettos.

The circumflex and especially the post-acute barytone were no longer in later periods the heavy accentual phenomena around which poetry and *choreia* were composed. And of course at some point the high-pitch accent took on the qualities of stress, where the vowel grade and quantity of unstressed syllables were weakened. But the East Roman manuscripts derived from Alexandria manifestly preserved the reality and the effects of the classical contonation; there is on this level every reason to believe that the *Venetus A* is written in the same language as Homer spoke, and preserves his reinforcing prosody as well as it preserves his dactylic feet. I have argued that Latin has never lost this contonation; it is preserved in Latin's received stress pattern. The recessive rule for Latin is that *the contonation must begin (that is, the pitch-rise must occur), where possible, on the second mora before the ultima*. Because in Latin (unlike Greek) the rule is indifferent as to the quantity of the ultima, the circumflex is more prevalent in Latin than in Greek. Every long Latin penult is a circumflex! One hears it still on Italian penults. The classical Greek, Latin and Vedic/Sanskrit 'contonation' must be understood to have an Indo-European provenance.⁴⁰

Some part of the manuscript evolution may have involved the transition, after Alexander and in Rome, to the uses and needs of non-native speakers. But the school of thought or scholarly tradition that led to the superb *Venetus A* manuscript proposes a text based on the best authorities at the University of Alexandria, who included geometers, with their demonstrations and their

38 West, 'The Singing of Homer and the Modes of Early Greek Music', 113-14, *emphasis added*.

39 Ibid., 115.

40 David, 'The Classical Interlude: A Law of Recessive Tonal Accent for "Classical"-Era Indo-European', *Dramaturgias: Revista do Laboratório de Dramaturgia*, 4:2 (2017), 229-37.

lemmas, as well as grammarians. (This is clearly not true of some of the local papyri which contain no *apparati*.) The final result of the process can be understood on its own terms as an inevitable development in the representation of a language where word boundaries and tonal prosody were mutually definitive empirical phenomena. Even native students could use such guidance.

Let us take stock of what can be said about the historical authority of these fully developed East Roman manuscripts and their system of prosodic marking. Nagy could not be more wrong, when he infers that what he calls 'Byzantine' writing practices are 'newer' and therefore 'less accurate' than what came before. The opposite is true: these practices finally express what had been latent in the representation of word-level accent, by the separation of words and by focusing on terminal intonation. Lower case letters also have proved very useful things for many purposes. In distinguishing between lower and upper cases in writing, these manuscripts can be said to have initiated a new kind of visual registration of language, including new kinds of distinction and emphasis sometimes not possible in unwritten speech. They can even be credited with a usage influenced by geometry that has been sadly lost in the modern scholarly habit: where we have 'footnotes'—with no connection to dancing feet, except perhaps their odour—these manuscripts had *lemmas supported by argument*. Sometimes 'newer' actually means 'innovative' and 'better fit for purpose': this East Roman era is, with great good fortune, one of those times.

And in the face of what Nagy himself calls a 'sea change' in the accentual practices of living contemporary Greek, the East Roman manuscripts like the *Venetus A* show an extraordinary scholarly diligence and economy of method in transmitting the original word-level prosody, despite the contemporary reality and the anciently lost representation of key phonemes like the ubiquitous -w- of the digamma. They preserve the quantities of Homer's original words: the dactylic hexameter and its ictus have made sure of this. It is known that the position of the rising pitch in a word did not change over the course of Greek's history—unless it once presented, say, prior to the antepenult—and persists today as the location of the stressed syllable. Therefore in the vast majority of cases, there is no error in the marking of these accents by the Alexandrian grammarians. Consider this analysis of West's, citing Wackernagel:

The Alexandrian scholars and the grammatical tradition that derived from them attached importance to the study of Homeric accentuation, and record a number of particular accentuations that cannot have been established either from the living Greek language or from theory and analogy, but must have been preserved by a continuous tradition of oral performance from early times: such accentuation as ἄλεωρή, γάρ αὐτον, δηιοτής, θαμειαί, ταρφειαί, καυστειρῆς, ἀγυιαί, Τρωιούς, ὄθι σφισι, and others.⁴¹ That rhapsodes continued to perform Homer

41 citing J. Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften*, 880-1, 1102-7, 1154-78.

in Hellenistic times, and indeed much later, is known from agonistic inscriptions ... It is not the case that Alexandrian scholars kept their noses in books and ignored performing artists of their times ... Homeric scholars were naturally familiar with the sound of rhapsodes' voices. These rhapsodes performed Homer in such a way that the word accents were audible, and they were taken to have at least some authority in the matter. Rightly so, seeing that their accentuation had peculiar features which appear genuinely ancient. How ancient? As ancient as the times when the words concerned were in use in the living language. That implies a delivery in something not too far removed from speech tones at least as early as Homer, if not earlier.⁴²

That the scholar-critics used to frequent the theatre is evident not only on the level of the language they recorded, but on that of the *mimesis* they witnessed. Consider the scholia to *Iliad* II.360 recorded in *Venetus A*; when Nestor 'turns away' mid-speech from addressing the Achaeans to speak directly to Agamemnon, the scholia refer to τὸ σχῆμα ἀποστροφή, 'the figure apostrophe'.⁴³ The frame-scholium explains that Nestor literally turns his speech away from one to the other (ἀποστρέφει δὲ τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα). Of course neither addressee is really there at all. There is only the rhapsode, and very likely the audience implicated by him—the scholiast gives this away when he calls the Achaeans 'the Hellenes'. The use of 'schema' suggests that there was a stylised gesture involved when the rhapsode turned away from the theatre of Greeks to conjure them an invisible king. It comes with the territory for a solo thespian, with no guitar to hide behind, that he must populate the imagination, and that he can summon appearances from the dead, the invisible, or from thin air; these story-teller's wonders are nigh impossible with the machinery of staged drama. The rhapsode has power over what is not seen, and can layer the forces and agents in his kind of narrative without the constraints of other tellers' media.⁴⁴ At times he is like a medium, being possessed in turn by these different agents, human and divine, and even the recovery of 'himself' and his narrator's voice can thus become a dramatic moment.

Apostrophe has been treated as a literary figure, a narrative technique, even as a quirk born of metrical necessity in the Homeric context. But 'schema' and 'schemata' refer in the context of the Athenian stage to the repertoire of gestures used by choruses of dancers, as well as solo dancers (Herodotus 6.129) and actors. It is surely the most obvious gesture for a solo actor doing a one-man-show

42 West, 'The Singing of Homer and the Modes of Early Greek Music', 114.

43 Pagani, 91

44 For an excellent account, for example, of the rendering of the figure of Eris through telling of the *aristeia* of Diomedes, see Katherine Kretler, *One Man Show: Poetics and Presence in the Iliad and Odyssey*, Washington DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2020, 59 ff.

playing many parts, to turn to his imagined interlocutor and address him or her; the rendering of dialogue by one performer requires this, apart from the vividness of the effect, which can be made to surpass what can be achieved by two actors. This ‘apostrophe’ happens not only between the rhapsode’s audience and the familiar character to whom he turns in the second person, as in the celebrated cases of Patroclus and Eumaeus; in this instance the rhapsode is already embodying Nestor, and it is as Nestor that he turns directly to Agamemnon. This move, already in character, is also described as ‘apostrophe’ by the scholiasts. And of course the rhapsode will at times embody Patroclus and Eumaeus as well, and speak as them. Really apostrophe, ‘turning away’, is on a spectrum with the regular announcement between speeches that the narrator is now ‘exchanging his place’ (ἀμειβόμενος), usually translated as though the character himself is ‘replying’. Apostrophe is, however, as marked and vivid a ‘breaking the fourth wall’, in relation to the rendering of the usual exchange between speeches, as the critics (apart from the metrical dogmatists) have made it out to be.

There is, of course, a difference of Alexandrian scholarly opinion on occasion (στενάχων vs. στεναχῶν). But West’s inference from Wackernagel’s data that the preservation of particular anomalous accentuations implies a living tradition of rhapsodic performance, which preserved such pronunciation in the face of a changing synchronic picture—a tradition with which the grammarians were very likely familiar in performance—is richly to the purpose. It once again bespeaks an almost cultish conservatism, which begins not so much with the thespian or concert-planning instincts of rhapsodic performers, but originally with the pre-recension demands from their audience in Solon’s Athens.

It is difficult to overstate the significance of this demand by an audience, from the performers, for *their* Homer in its proper order. Consider the scale of its implications. This was a generation that knew its poems in their sequence, composed as written literature or otherwise, but expressed an anxiety about hearing any change in the order, as though they knew they were dealing with a record as fragile as memory, which had to be repeated as it was for fear of its loss or distortion, including the words whose meaning was forgotten and those whose accentuations were foreign to their own use. Recently an anxiety was reported in the news about a priest who had misspoken the lines repeated in Catholic baptism, that twenty years’ worth of baptisms had been invalidated. (The priest had been saying ‘we’ instead of ‘I baptise’; the royal ‘we’ was not considered as a possible mitigation; yet English-speaking Roman Catholics in my lifetime have started saying ‘We believe’ instead of translating *Credo* as they used to do.) There is perhaps a comparable anxiety expressed both popularly and among a professional elite about the ‘restoration’ of works of visual art. Nothing must be added! Only various accumulated pollutants must be removed. And yet there are some who find that the restored Sistine Chapel beams at them like a billboard. Anxiety breeds anxiety as preservation of Michelangelo takes on a present colouration and the actual artwork a metaphysical reality.

Nowhere is this anxiety more fraught about the loss of what is held preciously in the memory, because it belongs to a world that can never otherwise return, than in the restoration of ruins from antiquity in Greece and elsewhere. No one dares restore the colours to the pediments in their Hindu vitality, at the risk of losing our psychic connection; instead everything must be preserved in each generation exactly as it now is, or was at the first northern encounter; or else protected in museums with the fragmentary ruins reproduced on the sites in facsimile. Hence we continue to dwell in the limbo of the Pentelic mausoleum, some of us imagining the coloured life of the Parthenon and its polis, but living in an eternal present of the off-white marble ruin. Nothing must be changed: roped off and professionally maintained, the living ruin ensures a psychic connection to the historical one. This professionalism is a metaphor for the Alexandrian scholars—and perhaps the late rhapsodes as well—who preserved the alien sounds in performing and writing Homer in manuscripts, as though freezing Meleager's brand against consumption in the embers. Ion the rhapsode cast a spell, himself suspended like an iron ring in the magnet's energy (Plato, *Ion* 533d ff.); but everyone knows that a spell no longer works unless one gets the exact original words in the exact original order.

All that is required to unlock these conserved texts musically is the knowledge that the marked accent once signalled the beginning of a contonation that was usually disyllabic, where the second element was dynamically prominent when long, at last to make sense of the various patterns of reinforcement of the ictus of Greek metres. Hence these manuscripts *preserve the original prosodic map of the Homeric composition*. The quality of some syllables surely changed: digamma disappeared, along with intervocalic sigma, and metathesis happened—though in a way that did not alter the prosodic reinforcement of the underlying rhythm. Hence a student who practices the contonation, and becomes familiar with its interplay with the hexameter, can feel with genuine confidence that he is within the Homeric sound-world. If the Attic spelling of Homer still sounded like Homer, *so can we*. That is the achievement of the methodical and historically conscious approach to prosody in the late Roman manuscripts.

It is time for students of classical Greek to put down their other work and learn how the disyllabic contonation works in the performing of texts, in prose rhetoric and in all the kinds of poetry. I find that this is not intuitive work for people raised on classical paradigms. To the best of my knowledge, none of the modern languages in which classical texts are studied bring native experience to bear in implementing a disyllabic, polyvalent accentuation. But it is essential that this training be done—for all the poets—but for Homer's sake to begin with. I suspect it is only the rhythmic, prosodic, musical life of his words in the mouth and on the breath that will finally cure students of Homer of the notion that there is any rhythmic, prosodic, or musical actuality to the idea of a metrical formula. To look at his score without hearing it, Mozart also is full of them. They are a feast for the tone-deaf and for fans of statistics and Lego™.

A metrical formula is an abstraction stripped of syncopation, melody, or meaning. It is therefore impossible, in the nature of things, that it be a unit of poetic or musical composition. The emperor has had no clothes for a long, long time in the domain of Homeric criticism—for longer than my lifetime. Yet I can imagine a generation of students who will become practiced in the Homeric music. I was never the boy in class who was any good at poetry. But I imagine a generation of critics to come who will start to feel with some confidence, and be able to express it to others through the melodic movement denoted in the Homeric manuscripts, when it is that Homer sings, and when it is that Homer nods.

9 The Pudding

How does one demonstrate that a musical text ... is musical? It was one thing to demonstrate that the Linear B script was actually a representation of an historical stage of Greek. The decoded product was recognisable as Greek words and sentences, without gibberish. While this was not true about other language candidates, the proof was not thereby achieved through a process of elimination; there was, rather, a positive identification, where Greek answered the decipherment internally with morphology and meaning, as well as recognisable proper names. It is also the case that the East Roman manuscripts preserve the location of the onset of Greek's historical tonal contonation, and I have shown that this tonal contour tends to reinforce a quantitative stress pattern first induced from the Homeric and other stichic Greek data by Sidney Allen. There is therefore a case to be made, and I have made it, for aesthetic choice in the placement of words in relation to Homeric meter, to reinforce ictus with accent in a patterned, syncopated way—neither automatic and monotonous nor purely random, but with expectations created of regular cadences at mid-line and line end.

But when it comes to musicality, a certain reservation is made for taste and private experience. An impassioned and detailed case can be made for the perfection of a piece of music or its execution—the polyphonic sigh of a nocturne, or the consummation of a blues on the off-beat—but there will always be the fellow who wants to change the channel. It can be absurd, and often embarrassing

to both parties, to try to explain how a certain favourite song is musical in some objectively delineatable way. Yet a Homerist has been reduced by a hundred years and more of metrical-traditional-oralist mumbo-jumbo, to being forced to prove there's anything at all going on with his poet's poetry, at any given moment, beyond filling up a hexameter line with a pre-fab building block of 'traditional material'.

Consider the fate of an autograph of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, were all knowledge to be lost about the significance of the staff or the patterns of dots and squiggles scrawled all over the pages. At what point would anyone consider looking beyond the fascinating story told there in German, seeing as that was (obviously) the actual text? Scholarship would proliferate, what with analysing its different diction and styles and speculating about its origins. No doubt some would argue that certain parts were 'undoubtedly' lyric poems or 'arias' originally separate from the Ur-text and later incorporated, while other parts, said to be by the so-called 'M' author, were believed to originate in some now lost unitary work, perhaps stemming from a German oral tradition—although a faction solidly maintains, citing parallel sources, that they bespoke a written original of this work, a sort of German 'bible'. We envision a certain school that would be convinced that in the cyclic background, there were hints, still for them discernible at times in the *St. Matthew Passion* text, that the death of the Jesus figure was not in fact the end of it, as the extant text would have it, but that in some traditions it led to a transfiguring apotheosis of some kind. At what point would the project of deciphering the formulas in the squiggle patterns appeal to any but the most esoteric boundary riders in the academic club? Who could seriously think that such work could contribute anything worthwhile to the burgeoning anthropological debate on German Jesus-mythology, to which Picander (some say 'M', some even say 'Bach') contributes the fundamental text?

Now imagine what sort of lunatic it would be who dared claim that actually the staff and squiggles contained almost the whole point of the composition, and that the story being told was in large part a musical witnessing and a musical meditation. What chance would there be for the imagined music of Bach, on imagined instruments and voices charged with longing, in the face of a mountain of linguistic and humanistic scholarship proliferating across generations about the transmission of a quasi-religious myth? 'Hang on, this fellow is turning a foundational German text into a sort of Italian libretto. An unnecessary mystifier at best, at worst a mischievous self-aggrandiser. Yes of course there was music involved, everybody knows that. So what. Licence to teach denied!'

Fortunately the East Roman manuscripts contain prosodic notations that rather hit one on the head with their impact. As I have tried to show in earlier work, one does not actually *have* to become skilful at singing Homer to recognise the histrionic effects of musical drama achieved in the score, as it is traditionally marked and accented. This is a fortuitous feature that, one hopes, will help

readers entertain the possibility that a) the prosody denoted in these manuscripts is of considerable musical interest without fantasising about vanished melodies that were unrelated to this prosody and its intertwined meter; and b) that the obviousness of these examples will open the mind to the more subtle and pervasive musicality that is the reason for being of the distinctive Homeric diction and the evocation, of being itself, by noun-and-epithet phrases.

There are musical moments that can be discovered directly and visually from the prosodic notation once the new theory of the accent is brought to bear, and allowed to do its work. Some of these are quite blunt instruments. In the following instance I have written up, describing *Odyssey* 23.175, one does not even need the new theory:

οὔτε λῆν ἄγαμαι, μάλα δ' εὖ οἶδ' οἶος ἔηθα

There is in this period a remarkable sequence, against all notions of epic rhythm and harmony, of three successive circumflected syllables: εὖ οἶδ' οἶος ἔηθα. If there is an *absolute* in metrical theory, it is that rhythm depends on alternation—on the alternation of emphases in time. Hence there is also something absolute about the harmonic innovation registered here; three consecutive complete Hellenic contonations should be unsingable within a dactylic line. Even someone who hears formulæ in Homer must admit that there is something more than an instance of non-formulaic language going on here: there is something antithetical to the very *notion* of a metrical formula. Indeed, it is by 'innovation' that the concept 'tradition' is analytically determined, and hence by which it comes properly to light—not by the 'formula'. At a moment of ultimate tension, the histrionic minstrel has dared his music to overreach its native forms, to find and to embody an expression inside the rhythm and harmony of the epic line which captures the sure mind, the knowing heart, the very living breath of Penelope. 'I know you, what you were,' she seems to say to the stranger before her, with all the force, and risk, of her own identity. This is a moment to be savoured, a moment of musical disclosure and self-revelation ... a moment scarcely to be matched in the apparitions of later literature.⁴⁵

It turns out that such runs of three straight circumflected syllables are exceedingly rare in Homer—there are only a handful—though I have not catalogued them exhaustively. (This particular descriptive task, and any number of other studies of prosodic patterns in the standard editions disclosed by the new theory, are warmly solicited.) It is therefore rather striking that this figure occurs fully *three other times in the speeches of Penelope herself*. One is obliged to speak of a

45 David, *The Dance of the Muses*, 136-7.

motif characteristic of this Homeric personage, *and no other*, whatever an actor may choose to make of the effect, or infer about the speaker's character or state of mind in each passage. It is only at the critical moment in Book 23, however—the 'recognition scene'—that the sequence occurs so strikingly in mid-line. The great majority of instances do occur in Homeric speeches rather than narrative, usually at the beginning of lines, and often involve the sort of emphatic circumflected monosyllables typical of a speakers' immediate needs—as for example, words like 'now' (νῦν) or again (αὖ). Penelope's first examples occur twice at the start of lines in Book 4:

νῦν αὖ παῖδ' ἀγαπητὸν ἀνηρείψαντο θύελλαι
ἀκλέα ἐκ μεγάρων, οὐδ' ὀρμηθέντος ἄκουσα. 4.727-8

But again, now, my son, beloved—they snatched him up, the storm winds,
An unknown out of these rooms, and I didn't even hear of his setting off.

This is when Penelope first hears that her son has absconded to Pylos, and is expressing her dismay to her serving women. She repeats the figure, it seems in a somewhat different emotional register, a little later to her sister in a dream:

νῦν αὖ παῖς ἀγαπητὸς ἔβη κοίλης ἐπὶ νηός,
νήπιος, οὔτε πόνων ἐὺ εἰδώς οὔτ' ἀγοράων. 4.817-18

Again now my son, beloved, went on a hollow ship,
The fool, not knowing his way around real work nor public business.

The pattern is found also in Book 16, when Penelope dresses down Antinous for his murderous plotting; she reminds him that Odysseus once gave his own father safe haven:

τοῦ νῦν οἶκον ἄτιμον ἔδεις, μνάα δὲ γυναῖκα
παῖδά τ' ἀποκτείνεις, ἐμὲ δὲ μέγας ἀκαχίζεις: 16.431-2

That's whose home you're eating up, *right now*, with no payment; you
pursue his wife
And mean to kill off his son, and it's me most greatly that you grieve.

Odysseus also begins a line this way (νῦν αὖ δεῦρ', 16.233). Other examples include Nestor, Aeneas and Poseidon in the *Iliad* (VII.329, XX.231, 297). Achilles puts it like this, when he instructs Lycaon (ἀλλὰ φίλος, θάνε καὶ σὺ) to lie there with the fishes:

Ἐνταυθοῖ νῦν κεῖσο μετ' ἰχθύσιν, οἳ σ' ὠτειλὴν
αἶμ' ἀπολιμήσονται ἀκηδέες: XXI.122-3

There you are now, lie among the fishes! They'll lick
The blood off your wound without a care ...

It is evident that some level of passionate intensity in the speaker is expressed by this insistent circumflected prosody. There is more than one example, however, from the Homeric narrative as well. It is of course less obvious how to render the naturally emotive tenor of such prosodic emphasis when it comes from the narrator. But this prosody occurs when a ship in the Achaean camp first catches fire at *Iliad* XVI.123:

... τοὶ δ' ἔμβαλον ἀκάματον πῦρ
νηὶ θεῶν· τῆς δ' αἶψα κατ' ἀσβέστη κέχυτο φλόξ. XVI.122-3

... they threw the weariless fire
Into the swift ship: and over her there quickly poured down an
unquenchable blaze.

Certainly there is something objectively structural to the story about this famous ignition as a cue to action and a multivalent metapoetic signal, and it is likely that the narrator himself feels a special investment. But I admit I find it surprising to find this heavy prosody outside a speaker's speech, and I resist basing an interpretive claim about the narrator's psychic state because of the music of this moment. There is no doubt that the intensive effect seems best to suit not description but the histrionic rhythm of someone making a point in a speech. Three successive monosyllabic connotations are not to be found in the reverie of the similes. They provide proof-of-concept that aesthetic suitability to situation and speaker is a governing factor in Homeric poetising, so that affects are sometimes summoned which conflict directly with the dactylic ictus of the metre, and hence whose nature *cannot* be formulated in terms of metrical 'formulas'.

When the new theory is brought to bear, many more cases of three successive prominent long syllables come to light (though they are still by no means common, in the nature of dactylic metre). It is the consecutive circumflexes that most call attention to themselves by their anti-rhythm; successive long prominences of different shapes (e.g., barytone, circumflex, oxytone) at least provide variety in their reinforcement, unlike the cases above. All the same, particularly striking is Agamemnon's 'apology' speech (XIX.78-144), delivered (pointedly) from his seat, not standing, in public to Achilles when Achilles claims to renounce his wrath. Fully four of the lines in this fraught speech about his manic blindness involve sequences of three straight prosodically prominent long syllables (not necessarily circumflexes):

ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐν πολλῷ ὁμάδῳ πῶς κέν τις ἀκούσαι	XIX.81
σύνθεσθ' Ἀργεῖοι, μῦθόν τ' εὖ γνῶτε ἕκαστος.	84
τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενεῆς οἳ θ' αἵματος ἐξ ἐμεῦ εἰσι.	105
οὐ δυνάμην λελαθέσθ' Ἄτης, ἧ πρῶτον ἀάσθη.	136

In line 81, we have ὁμάδῳ πῶς κέν τις, a post-acute barytone, a circumflex and a closed oxytone. In 84, it is μῦθόν τ' εὖ γνῶτε, circumflex, closed oxytone,

circumflex, circumflex. In 105, γενεῆς οἱ θ' αἵματος, circumflex, oxytone+enclitic, oxytone; in 136, Ἄτης, ἧ προῶτον, post-acute barytone, circumflex, circumflex. This speech appears to be unique in Homer for these sequences; allied to the mystery of why he doesn't stand up, despite his protestation about how hard it is to address a vulgar, hostile crowd, is, it would seem, a stridency of delivery in lieu of manhood.

In XIX.84 there are *four* consecutive prosodically prominent long syllables, when Agamemnon means to stress that though he's making a point to Achilles, he wants each and everyone else to bloody well take it in. This really is a rare sequence—not only four prominent syllables in a row, but four dynamically prominent *long* syllables in a row. I know so far of only three other such sequences in Homer: *Iliad* V.340, describing ichor flowing from her wound, when Diomedes attacks Aphrodite:

ἰχώρ, οἷός περ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν·

Here, however, the oxytone on ἰχώρ depends upon the punctuation; without an editorial comma, the syllable becomes grave. Editors need to start considering the prosodic environment surrounding, before they decide to alter it with a punctuated pause. Also in the *Iliad* narrative, also describing a sudden blaze of fire, is this sequence of *five* straight tonally dynamic syllables, four of them prominent (but only three in succession) (V.7):

τοῖόν οἱ πῦρ δαῖεν ἀπὸ κρατός τε καὶ ὤμων,

Such was the fire that blazed from his head and his shoulders

This is the ignition by Athena of the *aristeia* of Diomedes. Here we are not shy to register the narrator's investment: the μένος or 'vital energy' instilled by the goddess is embodied by the rhapsode, from toe to head, in cresting imagery.⁴⁶

At 19.486, Odysseus is desperate that Eurycleia remain silent when she recognises him by his scar:

σίγα, μὴ τις τ' ἄλλος ἐνὶ μεγάροισι πύθεται.

Silence! Lest anyone else in the big rooms hear.

We read barytone, long oxytone, closed oxytone, closed oxytone. We imagine a fierce stage whisper.

Most striking of all is this moment in the speech of Priam to Achilles, XXIV.505-6:

ἔτλην δ' οἷ' οὔ πώ τις ἐπιχθόνιος βροτὸς ἄλλος,
ἀνδρὸς παιδοφόνιοιο ποτὶ στόμα χεῖρ' ὀρέγεσθαι.

46 see Kretler, 59-63

I dared what *no one ever has* yet upon the ground, no other mortal:
To reach my hand to the mouth of the man who slew my child.

As in *Odyssey* 19.486 above, where Odysseus is in danger of being recognised too soon, the use of two enclitics creates a most decided pattern: five consecutive long syllables, all of them tonally dynamic, the final four tonally prominent in succession: in this case, barytone, circumflex, oxytone, oxytone, according to the new parlance. In the next line Priam describes the most unprecedented action described in all of Homer—perhaps in all of poetry and literature. His announcement in the line preceding calls forth also an unprecedented prosody, in his emphatic awareness that what he does has no precedent.

Let us say again, these are the horn blasts and the timpani rolls: these are not the subtle shadings and the lyric breakouts and the mesmerising name-and-epithet invocations. But the fact that they obtrude from the page when one heeds the accent marks, must be taken as a vindication of the idea that these inherited prosodic notations preserve some of Homer's musical life, as surely as they instruct the breath of his histrionic actor. The *Venetus A* and its peers have given us a score that must be studied. This is a score that must be played. Students must learn how to read the music before they presume to edit it, let alone talk about its meaning. Perhaps they will find, as I do, that there is nothing traditional there. The Titans of Greek letters, after all—in history, philosophy and poetry—reacted to Homer by attempting to correct, to censor, to compete with, and to replace and defeat him. But perhaps there are some reciters who will find the opposite: then at least we can begin any discussion of tradition from a common starting point.

10 Pauses and the Corrected Text

My contribution to the cause, apart from posting recordings, will be posting my own 'corrected' version of the text alongside, using boldings to indicate the most prominent syllable in each word or prosodic unit. These boldings will illustrate what must become an admonition among trainees in classical Greek, as indeed it has already been in the course of this paper: *the most tonally, dynamically prominent syllables in a Greek text are not always the ones marked with an accent; very often they are the syllables immediately following.*

Another innovation in my corrected text will be a bias in favour of prodelision over elision. This is a common enough phenomenon not reflected in Homer's modern editions. One such case could come in *Odyssey* 1.2, πλάγχθη ἐπεὶ → πλάγχθη 'πεῖ. The difference lies in the fact that altering the quantity of a final syllable, in a language with recessive accent, has a large impact on the prosody of a word; πλάγχθη is a natural barytone on the ultima, in the parlance of the new theory; with correction of the η due to hiatus, it becomes barytone on the penult. (The closed and nasalised quality of this penult can allow, but does not require, that the contonation be completed there. Cf. also ἦν τε, 1.5.) Absent direct guidance from ancient witnesses, a performer must make judgements about the musical contract, as it were, between singer and audience, about what liberties can be taken in Greek epic song with the natural prosody for the sake of the beat. Metrical liberty with the words could *not* be taken in later lyric choruses.⁴⁷ But Homer is famous for such licence.

47 Ibid., 228-31.

Prodelision sometimes allows a word's contonation to be completed, where elision can alter or negate this prosody. A bias in favour of prodelision does not need to involve emending a text, but rather reading an initial vowel as instead the final vowel of the previous word. The editor's decision to elide reflects some sort of grammarian's prejudice, rather than a poet's feeling for the prosodic consummation of a word. Here this grammatical prejudice is applied to a language with an avowedly recessive accent dependent on the quantity of the ultima. It could be countered, with a musical bias, that ultimas should therefore be preserved where possible. The import of this practice, reading prodelision instead of elision, is felt most particularly, I find, in the rendering of the tragic and comic iambic trimeter, but it applies to the hexameter as well.

An objective musical case can certainly be made for preserving the natural prosody of πλάγχθη here: there is then a dynamic emphasis on the weak part of the foot, 'disagreement' between accent and ictus; such 'disagreement' at this point of the line is part of a typical pattern for the hexameter line, which I demonstrate with samples in my book;⁴⁸ it prepares for 'agreement', prosodic prominence on the strong part (longum) of the third foot (in this line, on the final syllable of Τροίης). Harmonic 'disagreement' in the singing of πλάγχθη here is specially apposite to the sense: enjambment and displacement of stress combine with the word to deliver 'wandering.' A performer can make either choice work; in this case, but not all cases, I choose prodelision over correction. (Note that I am not proposing an emendation to the received text, but a reinterpretation of its word division from the lettering in a *scriptio continua*.)

Here is a draft for a corrected text of the opening of the *Odyssey*:

- ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλά
 πλάγχθη, 'πεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσεν:
 πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόφον ἔγνω,
 πολλὰ δ' ὃ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν,
 5 ἀρνύμενος ἥν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἐταίρων.
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἐτάρους ἐρρύσατο, ἰέμενός περ:
 αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο,
 νήπιοι, οἳ κατὰ βοῦς Ὑπερίονος Ἥφελιοιο
 ἦσθιον: αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσιν ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἦμαρ.
 10 τῶν ἀμόθεν γε, θεά, θύγατερ Διός, εἰπέ καὶ ἡμῖν.

Stephen Daitz has written an indispensable article of musical and historical commentary on these lines, arguing that we should ignore the commas introduced into Homer's text by editors schooled in the developing traditions of grammar and rhetoric.⁴⁹

48 Ibid., see esp. 115-137

49 Stephen G. Daitz, 'On Reading Homer Aloud: To Pause or Not to Pause', *American Journal of Philology*, 112:2 (1991), 149-60.

What is clear is that the rhetorical punctuation of poetry, originating in Hellenistic Greece, then adopted by the Roman grammarians and rhetoricians, was eventually transmitted to our medieval and modern texts. What began as a scholarly procedure for semantic and grammatical analysis was imperceptibly and unhappily transformed into a performance practice for Homer and for later classical poetry.⁵⁰ (159)

Daitz argues for a reading of Homer's lines without internal pauses, such as the one prescribed by the comma after Διός in line 11:

... In the Homeric hexameter we have a form of poetry in which each verse was originally felt to be an integrated unit, centripetal in nature, knit together by the procedures of elision, correption, consonantal assimilation, and syllabic liaison.

(Let us also add 'prodelision' to his list here.)

This poetry was normally read without pause from the first to the last syllable, but with a pause after the last syllable of each verse, and with sufficient flexibility of tempo and pitch to clearly convey meaning and expression without distortion of the rhythm.

'Distortion of the rhythm' is what principally offends Daitz, and also, I should hope, all students of Homeric music. But we do not have the bearings to measure the envelope beyond which there is distortion. *Rubato*, for example, always needs to be executed in such a way that rhythmic continuity is sustained; the same for *rallentando*, which Daitz recommends in the conveying of Homer's meaning (156-7). Some necessary effects are encoded in the language itself: consider the length of time it takes to say Hamlet's Latinate 'Absent thee from felicity awhile,' in relation to the Anglo-Saxon monosyllabic gasp of the line following, 'And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain ...' Both are iambic pentameter.

There is a particular issue to confront, however, about Daitz's notion that there was a pause after the last syllable of each verse (and also no pause in mid-line). This last syllable is described metrically as 'anceps': 'two-headed'. This means the actual verses can have either a long or short final syllable; and when that syllable is long, the prosodic profile of Greek requires that that syllable be tonally prominent—that is, stressed, so that the line rises in a masculine cadence. In other words, it is only when there is a feminine cadence, and the final syllable is realised as short, that one is guaranteed a pause, of one short syllable's length, between hexameter lines. This is the realisation best suited for continuous dancing in the round: that each line ends with an accentual trochee, and a pause occurs between each line allowing the dancer

50 Ibid., 159.

a shift of weight to begin once again on the right foot. Is it possible that epic lines had their final syllables shortened in performance, and hence their prosody shifted? It is in fact a peculiarity of the Latin hexameter that almost every line of Virgil or Lucretius ends with a stress on the long thesis of the sixth foot, and is indifferent to the quantity of the final syllable. To produce a rising cadence in a Latin hexameter one must deploy a final monosyllable, and hence this is very rare (*significant initum percussae corda tua vi*, *De Rerum Natura* 1.13); the characteristic Latin hexameter ends with a descending cadence. Perhaps this Latin hexametric ethos had been, to begin with, an imposition of the dance metre upon Homeric Greek.

But if Homer's line did in fact sometimes cadence in an ascending rhythm with a tonally prominent long final syllable, any pause before the line following would have been extra-metrical—although it is possible to imagine a pause that lasted a whole foot in these cases. But the longer such a pause, the more compromised would be the effect of enjambement, across that interlinear pause, in Homer's arsenal. And any six-measure structure to the dance, including any regular steps of retrogression, would be disrupted by the occasional movement in sevens. In my experience it is possible to give full value to a final long syllable in epic hexameters without discomfiting the dancers. The discomfort is for the singer: there is effectively no pause between such a line and the next one, so one has to time one's breaths accordingly. A little bit of syncopation, alternately tugging and pushing the dancers' beat with the voice, can in fact be highly entertaining. But performing these lines without dancers physically present, although still in mind—as for Bach at a keyboard—frees up the syncopations and emphatic pauses available to the performer, by stretching the line's temporal envelope in a way that is impossible when dancers' steps determine the lines and their tempo.

It is usually an editor's choice to mark the final syllable of line 1 as a grave (πολλὰ), rather than an acute 'released' by a pause at line end. The enjambment of the sense must have influenced this decision. But this is surely an extraordinary assertion of the editor, which requires some considerable apology but goes without comment, in this case to subordinate the physical integrity of the line and the prosodic effect of its offsetting pause; elsewhere this interlinear pause ought to release oxytone accentuation. This editor's choice also is an example of the 'rhetorical punctuation of poetry' mentioned by Daitz, where the musical integrity of the Homeric line is ignored. A case can be made, certainly, for the subordination of πολλὰ; it makes musical as well as rhetorical sense in that it prepares for the enjambed contonation beginning the next line, with the strayed πλάγχθη. But West in the Teubner edition has done well to read πολλὰ in this position. Enjambment actually depends on the line's 'centripetal' integrity; the musical cadence of the line thereby ends up in conflict with the cadence of the sense. 'Of man's first disobedience and the fruit' seems like an expressed, resonant idea until the clause is completed, in the next line, by 'Of that forbidden tree ...'

Editors typically print a comma after line 4, and this *does* reflect a moment of agreement between the prosodic period of the line and the movement of the sense. But the comma is not the reason that θυμὸν should be so accented. It is commas printed in mid-line that need to be revisited in light of any perhaps unfortunate or unintended prosodic effects in releasing ultimate oxytones.

My own view, at least about the text of the *Odyssey*, is that it intends all its final quantities and correlated prosody. I believe it can be demonstrated, purely by internal evidence, that it was composed for a performer equipped with a stick for a multi-use prop—like a wizard’s wand (ῥάβδος);⁵¹ and that it was composed decisively with respect not only to the final syllables of lines, but to the nature of the prosodic cadence at mid-line, the choice of which causes the two kinds of caesura. There is in fact very often a best way, to suit the sense, to render these cadence points, with or without histrionic pauses. Some lines do call for a continuous rhythm through to the final syllable, as Daitz describes. All of Homer’s lines *can* be rendered this way. But some of the accentual realisations reinforce sense divisions, whether at caesura or at line end or both, and actors will find themselves milking the pauses when that works. The motivations of the actor outweigh the needs of the dancer in most of the Homer we have.

We can observe at least three different modes of hexameter performance in antiquity; one is obliged to chart a development: from dancing in a circle while a singer strummed and chanted a catalogue, to solo performance by a bard with a lyre—with or without a circle of dancers—to a declaiming thespian rhapsode, acting alone without instruments and with a staff for a prop. The spell cast by Demodocus was not the spell cast by Ion. Imagine the rhapsode when he plays the *Odyssey*’s Athena: his staff is sometimes a spear that breaks the ranks of men, at other times a magic wand that turns Odysseus—also played by him when he takes his place—into a fresh-bathed Adonis, or else a ragged old beggar leaning on the same stick. And yet all three modes of performance, from the solo actor to the communal dancers, can be said to be in the same business: of conjuring presences remote in space and time to inhabit and animate the living here and now. This is the work both of participatory dance and the theatre stage; what is astounding is the one poem that can serve both as score and as script.

It seems impossible that these different modes did not exploit different rhythmic possibilities and options, once the tether to dancing and even to singing was cut, and the lines were freed from strict isometry, and the dactyl from strict isochrony. But Daitz is right all the same to point to a late stage where verse was read as if it was prose—without the ‘centripetal’ integrity of the line—and commas were introduced to indicate rhetorical or grammatical pauses, rather than musical ones—as a ‘distortion of the rhythm.’

51 One explanation for ῥαψωδός was that it meant ῥάβδωδός, ‘wand-singer’; see West, ‘The Singing of Homer and the Modes of Early Greek Music’, 114, 124-5.

Daitz, unusually, fails in one case to pay attention to the effect of editorial pauses on accentuation. A comma or pause after Διός ‘releases’ its accent, so the mark changes from grave to acute (Διός → Διός,). Daitz’s text strangely prints the sign as grave⁵² before a comma; is this a wishful emendation of his, or a printing error? The standard text makes the final syllable, the *second* short in the dactyl, become dynamically prominent (an oxytone), a syncopation that would seem dramatically to disrupt the movement of dactylic hexameter. Is there a motive to emphasise Zeus as a parent in this way? This is an example of the new questions that must come before an editor of the text of Homer, when he or she learns to take the accentual effects of commas into practical account.

In my opinion, the striking tonal-dynamic pattern of Διός, in that position of the verse, is not impossible to perform nor does it ruin the line; I myself prefer the Daitz way in this case, however, without a pause and the accent made grave; but either way, the rhetorical as well as the musical emphasis lands on the long final circumflected cadence at line end, whose meaning strikes a peculiarly Odyssean, comedic tone in pointing to the audience: καὶ ἡμῖν, ‘even us.’

There is no substitute for this sounding of Homer. There are no doubt countless more correlations and connections made between prosody and context, beginning from the more obvious prosodic gestures like those discussed above, which call attention to themselves by violating rhythmic and melodic norms. But the real sea change happens when one starts to get a feeling for the names of invocation, the nouns and their epithets as distinct from the predications upon them.

The final initiation is from participating in the dance. Those who have done this, who know what it is to feel Homer’s phrases propel and interweave with the motion in their feet—those steps back to the left, resumption to the right, all the while with the twist in one’s spine—they know something they cannot demonstrate with words on a page. It is a fine libretto, but it’s the libretto. Neither can they demonstrate anything but the most histrionic effects from visual patterns in the score. The bread and butter is an endlessly sustaining rhythm. It needs to be moved before it can be tasted or supply any nutrients. It is true about any score and every script: the playing is the thing, hidden realities become revealed. Truth only happens when the score is played.

An immediate and lasting lesson from performing Homer is that his score must be prepared in order to be performed. It has been composed for a skilled performer: to render the rapid syncopations and land the cadences requires practice and dexterity. There is of course a recurrence of patterns, as in all music, which helps create context and sustains one’s energy, but the rule from line to line is variety in the prosodic implementation, even as the underlying

52 Daitz, 160.

ictus creates stability and expectation.⁵³ The whole experience is composed; nothing about it is improvised. The actor must anticipate and prepare his voice for the many roles he must adopt as he literally ‘exchanges place’ (ἀμείβεσθαι) from one persona to another in conversation. His is a one-man show.⁵⁴ Rendering a convincing Eumaeus does not prepare you for Penelope and her circumflexes.

The noun-and-epithet (allegedly ‘formulaic’) language is for people who like to dwell on the phonic texture and semantic rhythm of names; it is not for people who prefer the rapid, the plain and direct—or the noble. These words of Matthew Arnold’s were once meant to guide a translator as descriptors of Homer’s narrative style—and so they are, on occasion. They are very far, however, from describing the almost ubiquitously tangible quality of his word-craft, and the correlated concreteness of the referents invoked, rather than merely indicated, by the arresting presence of such phrases in the movement of the line. The proof of this really is in the pudding—in the mouth. One has to perform it to learn the spell; in my opinion it is not enough to hear Homer on someone else’s lips. But Ion has a different opinion.

Why not learn this line: when you incant it, the early-born child springs into consciousness of dawn at any time of day, in any age of the Sun, under any pole star:⁵⁵

ἦμος δ’ ἠριγένεια φάνη ροδοδάκτυλος Ἥως

ἦμος δ’ ἠριγένεια φάνη ροδοδάκτυλος Ἥφως

The dactyl is a risen rose. The pause is silence, and the spell is cast.

53 see my discussion, quoting Arthur W. H. Adkins, of *Iliad* VI.29-36, a ‘run-of-the-mill description of battle’: David, 127-9.

54 see Kretler, *passim*

55 David, ‘Demise of the Polar Bear’, *Chronology and Catastrophism Review*, 2019:2, 36-45

References

ADKINS, A. W. H., *Poetic Craft in the Early Greek Elegists*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

ALLEN, W. SIDNEY, *Vox Graeca*, 3rd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

BARKER, ANDREW, *Greek Musical Writings*, ii: *Harmonic and Acoustic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

DAITZ, STEPHEN G., 'On Reading Homer Aloud: To Pause or Not to Pause', *American Journal of Philology*, 112:2 (1991), 149-60.

DAVID, A. P., *The Dance of the Muses: Choral Theory and Ancient Greek Poetics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

____ 'Seven Fatal Flaws in the Derivation of the Dactylic Hexameter from Aeolic Cola', *Classica: Revista Brasileira de Estudos Clássicos* 25:1,2 (2012), 101-24.

____ 'The Classical Interlude: A Law of Recessive Tonal Accent for "Classical"-Era Indo-European', *Dramaturgias: Revista do Laboratório de Dramaturgia*, 4:2 (2017), 229-37.

____ 'Demise of the Polar Bear', *Chronology and Catastrophism Review*, 2019:2, 36-45.

KOENIG, AMY, 'Homeric Accentuation: A Comparative Study of the Bankes Papyrus and Other Roman Papyri'. *FirstDrafts@Classics*, Center for Hellenic Studies, 2011.

KRETHER, KATHERINE, *One Man Show: Poetics and Presence in the Iliad and Odyssey*. Washington DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2020.

LORD, ALBERT P., *The Singer of Tales*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.

MEILLET, ANTOINE, *Les Origines indo-européennes des mètres grecs*. Paris, 1923.

MOORE-BLUNT, JENNIFER, 'Problems of Accentuation in Greek Papyri', *Quaderni Urbinati Di Cultura Classica*, no. 29 (1978), 137-63.

NAGY, GREGORY, Review of M. L. West, *Homeri Ilias*, Vol 1. *Rhapsodias I-XII continens*, vol. 2. *Rhapsodias XIII-XXIV et indicem nominem continens*, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, 2000:09.12

____ 'Traces of an ancient system of reading Homeric verse in the *Venetus A*', in Casey Dué (ed.), *Recapturing a Homeric Legacy*. Cambridge MA: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2009.

PAGANI, LARA, 'Pioneers of Grammar. Hellenistic Scholarship and the Study of Language', in Franco Montanari and Lara Pagani, eds., *From Scholars to Scholia, Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011.

____ 'The *Iliad* "Textscholien" in the *Venetus A*', in Marco Ercoles, Lara Pagani, Filippomaria Pontani and Giuseppe Ucciardello, eds., *Approaches to Greek Poetry*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.

REECE, STEVE, 'Some Homeric Etymologies in the Light of Oral-Formulaic Theory', *The Classical World* 93:2 (1999), 189-90.

WEST, M. L., 'The Singing of Homer and the Modes of Early Greek Music', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 101 (1981): 113-29.

____ 'The Singing of Hexameters: Evidence from Epidauros', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 63 (1986), 39-46.

____ 'The Textual Criticism and Editing of Homer', in Glenn W. Most, ed., *Editing Texts/ Texte edieren*. Aporemata II. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998, 94-109.

WYATT, WILLIAM F, 'Homeric Loss of /w/ and Vowels in Contact', *Glotta* 72:1/4 (1994), 119-50.