# DEBUNKING THE PARRY-LORD ORALIST HYPOTHESIS ON THE COMPOSITION OF HOMER

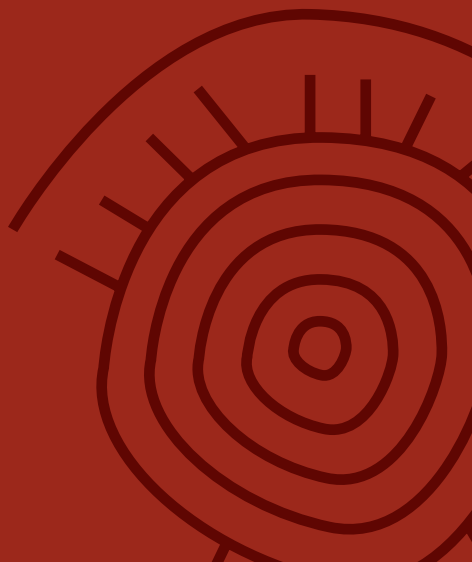
OR

*Ἐμμελὴς Τέχνη*, THE ART OF INTRINSIC MELODY

**A.P. DAVID**

Translations from the Greek are by the author, unless otherwise noted. Much of the following has been adapted from the author's *Singing Homer's Spell: The End of Oralist Poetics* (2024), available on Amazon, Kindle, and in a multimedia edition on Apple Books.

Independent Researcher



## Abstract

A law of tonal prominence, derived from A. P. David's new theory of the Greek accent, transforms the analysis of ancient Greek poetry and poetics, with significant implications for Homeric Studies. The first section summarises the new accentual theory. The second section brings forward the remarkable findings already made in Homer's text, which disclose for the first time a portion of the 'intrinsic melodic craft' for which Homer was known in the ancient world.

**Keywords:** Accent, Ancient Greek poetry, Homer.

## Resumo

Uma lei de "proeminência tonal", derivada da nova teoria do acento grego de A. P. David, transforma a análise da poesia e da poética grega antiga, com implicações significativas para os estudos homéricos. A primeira seção resume a nova teoria da acentuação. A segunda seção apresenta as notáveis descobertas já feitas no texto de Homero, que revelam pela primeira vez uma parte da "arte melódica intrínseca" pela qual Homero era conhecido no mundo antigo.

**Palavras-chave:** Acentuação, Poesia grega antiga, Homero.

A law of tonal prominence, derived from my new theory of the Greek accent, transforms the analysis of ancient Greek poetry and poetics, with revolutionary implications for Homeric Studies. It will become clear that a theory based solely on metre or metrical units cannot be adequate to account for the reality of Homeric composition. The first section summarises the new accentual theory. The second section brings forward the remarkable findings already made in Homer's text, which disclose for the first time a portion of the 'intrinsic melodic craft' for which Homer was known in the ancient world.

The written text of Homer we inherit is overtly pitch-accented. To be clear, *all* texts in modern languages, whether prose or verse—and indeed, all human languages themselves—are also accented on certain syllables, although this accentuation is not generally represented in writing. Special emphases are italicised in English printing, for example, but the regular, lexical word accents go unmarked, as they did also in ancient Latin writing. In the usage of other modern languages, accent marks (circumflexes, acutes, graves, etc.) do persist by way of tradition in writing and printing, but they are often now unrelated to the stressed or emphasised syllables of actual contemporary speech. All the same, it is essential in speaking a language coherently and effectively, to stress, pitch, or otherwise emphasise, the *correct* syllables. The location of the emphasised syllable is a part of the lexeme, as surely as the word's particular vowels and consonants. The autosegmental approach calls attention to the structural rôle accentuation plays in phonology. The implications of John Goldsmith's linguistic analysis have, however, so far eluded classical philology. Sometimes (e.g., English rébel and rebél), the differences between part of speech and meaning are triggered solely by the location of the accent. Basic comprehension, let alone the rendition of verse, can therefore severely be hindered when the wrong syllables are emphasised; this is a principal difficulty in understanding foreign speakers of one's own language, apart from the different vowel and consonantal values used in different dialects and nationalities.

But the difficulty in interpreting texts intended for performance—like all the compositions in prose and verse bequeathed us from the ancient world—becomes insurmountable. The rhythms of metrical verse and the crescendos of rhetorical flourishes in large part depend on the arrangement and sequence of the natural stresses of words. In verse in particular, the composed rhythmic effect depends almost entirely on the juxtaposition of emphatic syllables with expected metrical beats, either reinforcing them or syncopating them. Metrical schemes by themselves may be compared to the framing apparatuses of musical scores: they are of a piece with the time signatures, the clefs, and the bar lines. Such an abstracted apparatus can afford only limited insight into the content, the actual music, which is borne in the Homeric case by climaxing sequences of words through their building rhythms and intonations. Yet claimants to being 'theories of composition' in Classics are almost exclusively metrical.

It does not help matters that students are infected with the grammarian's misleading bromide, that word order is not essential to the interpretation of meaning in inflected languages, like Greek and Latin. It is, after all, only his chosen sequence of words—in any language—gracing and punctuating his line of expression with their native stresses and intonations—which can convey a poet's rhythmic and rhetorical intent. If word order is negotiable from a grammatical point of view, it is nevertheless absolute and absolutely fixed from the perspective of a composer's musical realisation. It is in fact laughable to suppose, if one attends to the phenomena in question—despite the practices, assumptions, and pretensions of classical philology—that one can do anything more than decode, crudely, rhetorical prose and poetry in dead languages, when armed only with a grammar and a lexicon without any knowledge of pronunciation and stress. Decoding is *not* translating.

The pathologies of silent reading, which characterise our modern experience, perhaps promote an indifference toward the joys and subtleties both of performing and of sitting in audience, of registering the gesture. Silent reading seems more to do with ingestion and digestion, or autoerotic stimulation—a private extraction of relevance or sustenance—without any access to the dimensions for human interaction in communal

settings and performance. Moderns distinguish between form and content, rather than form and material, as though a pitcher were filled with wine, where decoding what 'the author said' is to drink what is wanted and needed; while everything else is just the peculiar *way* it was said, the decorative pitcher the wine was carried in. Imagine, however, if the only way one engaged with Mozart's compositions was through silent reading. This is essentially what Classicists do with Greek texts intended for performance—which is all of them, from Euclid to Plato to Homer and the poets.

It is perhaps obvious that one cannot expound the music of Bach or Mozart if one ignores all the notes. But this is precisely what the metrical-formulaic, oral theory of Homeric composition purports to do to the music recorded in Homer's text. Metrical charts are abstract, static constructs which reveal almost nothing about how Greek and Latin words actually move in rhythm toward their syllabic cadences and climaxes. Mere metre is therefore inadequate to characterise a composition, any more than a time signature a piece of music. On the basis of the findings presented here, Milman Parry's purely metrical oral theory is flatly refuted. This is not only for its neglect of the fundamental linguistic data of accentuation, without which metre has no rhythmic meaning. More pressing is the naïveté of its rather fantastic assumption, that Homer's technique of poetic composition can be explained in terms of metrical building blocks, where the hexameter's dactylic (or spondaic) ictus is the only source of syllabic emphasis. This is completely to neglect the melodic and rhythmic accentual emphases innate in Homer's own Greek syllables. These emphases may be expected, from experience with the world's stichic poetry, not robotically to reinforce the regular metrical beat, or 'ictus', but also to syncopate that beat in a musical way.

We shall moreover see that Homer's composition arranges his words' pitch accents, of several different kinds, for particular, striking effects identifying particular speakers. These melodic arrangements—never before observed in Homer—may be compared to 'signature lines' in opera. They clearly have nothing to do with any underlying metrical formulas. The oral theory requires that Greek words register in the composer as purely quantitative in form, without any regard to their tonal patterns or accentual emphases. This requirement therefore does not answer to the evident tonal phenomena recorded in Homer's texts from Alexandria onwards, and must be abandoned. It is in fact impossible for any merely metrical structure—even of repeated words or phrases—to play a leading role in composition, if the inherent tonal dynamics of such phrases, creating distinctive rhythms and melody within the template of the hexameter, are a primary motive for their place in an epic line. That we need to pay attention to accentuation in the Homeric composition, as we do in all other metrical poetry and music, puts paid to the Parry-Lord oral theory—at least in its present form—once and for all.

Metre is not music: it is only a template for music, like the time signature and bar lines. We are well aware of this fact from long experience of vocal and non-vocal music, from the recorded history before Bach to the Beatles and beyond. All of these exemplars of modern composition, grounded ultimately in dance, are 'quantitative' by definition. The reason we almost never speak of them this way—so as to prompt a comparison to ancient Greek and Latin poetry—is that the overwhelming power of their melodies and rhythm upon the psyche and the memory, quite obviate any purely metrical theory of these compositions. Metre alone cannot account for these phenomena and our participation in them. One does not here diminish the role of 'keeping time' in the experience of music and poetry. For one thing, if time is not kept, no composed or otherwise intended rhythm can be realised. But it is only the singers and players, perhaps some

more than others, for whom keeping time metrically is in the anxious foreground of the phenomenon. The rest of us are humming, tapping our toes, or singing along, set free, as it were, under their measure.

The Alexandrian accent marks were very likely added to Homer's text by scholars attempting to preserve an original pitch pattern, when historically the Greek accentual habit and usage was already changing toward its modern, monosyllabic stress. Great care was taken in their selection and placement; the scholia to Byzantine (East Roman) manuscripts demonstrate that ancient scholars had made what we call diachronic and synchronic arguments, disputed, in support of the accentual choices for the published text. Now that we shall start acknowledging these tonal guides to melody and emphasis, it turns out the Alexandrian transmission has left us an Homeric score, which we can begin to approach also as vocal music. It is 'quantitative' like most such music familiar to us, which tends to keep time in whole-number ratios, regardless of the stresses or other emphases of the language sung; but this music is also measured, in the sense that the hexameter itself evidently came into being as a dance, or an accompaniment to dance,[1] in the manner of a Bach minuet. The design of an Homeric line can now be approached in terms of its musical aesthetic and intention, as an integral melodic, rhythmic, and semantic thing, rather than via its dissection into toneless building blocks and an hypothetical improvised reconstruction.[2]

As with any discipline or science, new data requires new theory. Sometimes the need is only for revision and reformulation. But once in a while there must be a thorough clean out, and a rebuild from the ground floor. The findings in Homer presented in this paper require the latter, a 'paradigm shift'. Any future attempt, on any basis—historical, cultural, aesthetic—at an oral theory of Homeric composition, for example, must now thoroughly be grounded in the Greek historical reality, of tonal emphasis lending rhythmic definition and impetus, and distinctive word melody, to a metrical ictus. The insights of Parry, Lord, and his followers into Homer the composer and his textual tradition must be completely recast and re-anchored, if they are to be salvaged. There may well have been an oral tradition with which Homer was familiar, though there is no evidence that it, or any other, was merely metrical either. Even so, Homer's own verses would likely not be a good exemplar of such a tradition, any more than Shakespeare's can be used to typify 'Elizabethan literature', or even Elizabethan poetry.

But it is not only the oral theory of Homeric composition which will be shown to have been presumptuous. There can scarcely be an expository work on classical Greek texts in the modern era, whether involving repeated phrases or not, which has not ignored the melodic dynamics and emphases of the language in which they are written. A grammar and the lexicon, a classicist's *organa*, are no longer sufficient for interpreting Greek compositions, any more than they are for interpreting the art or discourse of oratorio, or of opera, or Beyoncé. An ancient Greek text with its pitch accents may be compared to words set to music. But there is a significant difference: Greek words do not exist apart from their intrinsic melodic patterns; a Greek composer's syllables are intrinsically melodic phenomena, unlike literary ones, or a syllable of song lyric in the modern Western sense. To the extent that this patent fact is ignored, a Greek grammar's

1 David 2006, passim.

2 For an extended discussion, see David 2024, 221-64.

typical approach to ancient syllables, and words, therefore falsifies its data. A Greek or Latin syllable comes given not just in stop, vowel, and quantity, but also in its direction of changing pitch; a Greek or Latin word comes given in its culminating tonal cadence. This is not only when it is sung, but in everyday speech and prose compositions as well, from Herodotus' to Cicero's. Some syllables come with more or different tonal emphasis than others, not only at the speaker's whim but intrinsically. The composer's art would have been to choose and arrange his speech, under a metrical beat, so as to exploit these tonal powers of the ancient word.

To be sure, ancient citharodes were known to have set Homer's syllables to original melodies, not necessarily tied to their natural pitch patterns. But the ancient rhapsodes, who performed Homer in theatre without also playing music on the lyre, are equally known to have observed the original verbal pitch accents in their performances—which, to judge by their appellation (ῥαψῳδοί), were also a kind of singing. In point of fact, the rhapsodic tradition is thought to have preserved some very ancient accentuation (and diction) in Homer's text, despite the continuing changes in Greek usage over the centuries following the composition of the epic poems.[3]

At least in the case of Roman works, we have known which are the prosodically emphatic syllables in a Latin sentence. There have been passed down prosodic rules for Latin which are thought to be rules for monosyllabic stress (accent the penult when it is long, the antepenult when the penult is short). But it must surely be of some moment to both the composer and his auditor, if Latin composition, in prose and verse, was historically built, like classical and pre-classical Greek, around an accentual marking and emphasis which reflects a *disyllabic* tonal dynamism. This is the finding of the new law applied to Latin as well, which predicts as a matter of course, and by way of corroboration, the same positions for emphasis as do the traditional rules for Latin stress.

That Homer's and other Greek poetry and literature of all sorts were called *musikē* by their native audience, was not the use of a species of metaphor. It may be necessary for the professional Classical community to learn how to register and to perform the dynamic tonal emphases encoded in ancient texts, the music of musical scores, before they continue to expound and extol what they have heretofore approached as classical 'literature'. Grammar and a dictionary do not by themselves enable one to perform or interpret Shakespeare's verse. Neither does a quantitative analysis. Similarly, a grammarian armed with a lexicon may become adept at decoding ancient writing, but he is not thereby empowered or licensed to recite or assess the scores of ancient μουσική. True philology, based not on abstractions like 'literature' or 'language' but on the concrete, accented texts which gave it life, must encompass the whole act of intended speech. Its phonic, tonic, and rhythmic emphases are surely a major clue to its semantic ones. Classical Studies, in Greek *and* Latin, has been ignoring all the notes.

The end of any Homeric poetics ought to include to sing Homer well, then to sing Homer better, and crucially, to know the difference. It is these larger aims to which I dedicate this paper.

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3 West 1981, 114.

## 1. The Law of Tonal Prominence

A new theory of the ancient Greek pitch accent has been developed both diachronically[4] and synchronically[5] in *The Dance of the Muses: Choral Theory and Ancient Greek Poetics* (Oxford 2006). It allows for the first time that the integral pitch contours—the accentual melody—of spoken Greek can be restored to ancient prose and poetry. What follows is necessarily somewhat abstract and technical; let me assure the reader that if he or she finds this bit hard going, and is tempted to skip, they should still find the discoveries presented in the next section eminently intelligible.

There were two components of W. S. Allen's descriptive work, which, when connected—but not by him—caused the breakthrough. The first was his description of the Greek accent as a 'contonation', based on a comparison with the combined rise (*udatta*) and automatic fall (*svarita*) in pitch, often over two syllables, characteristic of the Vedic accent. The latter automatic down-glides are not usually marked in Greek texts, and so must be inferred, based on their presence in the known cognate. But there is also support for their presence in the native Greek descriptions, which, it turns out, have long been read with a most unnatural interpretation of a key term (βαρύς, 'heavy') in the usage of ancient philosophers, grammarians and scholiasts.

There are in fact two native descriptive terms that constitute the elements of classical harmony: ὀξύς ('sharp', 'acute') and βαρύς ('heavy', 'grave'). Their original meaning and usage, describing changing pitches and perhaps implying sharp or heavy dynamic emphasis, needs to be distinguished from their later application to fixed pitches (respectively 'high' and 'low'), and to the graphic signs, the accent marks that first came into use among the Alexandrian professors. Acute ´ and grave ` came to refer to graphic marks which at that time were complemented by a third, the perispomenon ~ or circumflex. But the original binary distinction, ὀξύς-βαρύς, precedes the use of these three written signs, and is not reflected in their system.

It might be confusing to have to distinguish the accent marks from the actual spoken accents. But this is what is required by history. The accent marks pick out only the ὀξύς element; they mark the *mora* of a vowel that bears the rising pitch. A mora is a smaller unit than a syllable; by convention, short vowels and syllables (breves U in metrical environments) contain one mora, while long vowels and closed syllables (metrical longums — ) contain at least two. The grave sign signifies the suppression of the acute rise, not a second kind of pitch accent. This suppression occurred only on the final syllables of words (ultimas). The comparison with the automatic *svarita* of Vedic immediately yields this word-level insight into the Greek graphic rule: evidently no pitch rise is allowed unless it can fall as well, within the word boundary. By itself this East Roman graphic rule suggests that high pitch was *not* the ancient Greek accentual feature, as is commonly assumed; it was the whole rise and fall, over more than one syllable if need be. But the original distinction, ὀξύς-βαρύς, bespeaks the perception of two different kinds of tonal accent, one sharply rising and one heavily falling in pitch. I claim that this original distinction corresponds to the description of pitch change in Vedic: between *udatta* and *svarita*, rising pitch and falling down-glide.

Here is Allen's formulation of the Greek pitch accent rule:

4 David 2006, 53-68, 86-93.

5 Ibid., 68-75, 80-6.

> *the Greek accent may be considered essentially as a 'contonation', comprising the high pitch and the falling pitch which immediately follows it; this contonation may be either monosyllabic (in the case of the compound accent) or disyllabic; but in either case not more than one vowel-mora (= short vowel) may follow the contonation.*
>
> ALLEN, 1987, 124.

That final restriction entails that in Greek, the tail or the culmination of the accentual contonation—the falling pitch—can only occur on the penult or the ultima.

My solution envisions that when the contonation, which is usually disyllabic, landed on different combinations of Greek syllabic quantities, two different outcomes were perceived in most cases, resulting in a perception of dynamic prominence on only one syllable. When the syllable containing the rise in pitch, marked acute, is followed by one or two short syllables, or a pause, the acute syllable is itself prominent. The falling pitch of the contonation still immediately follows, but it is deemphasised over short syllables, and the acute syllable itself becomes 'sharp', in that it may be perceived to rise to a point and break off. But, crucially, when the syllable following the acute is long, this syllable bears the down-glide in pitch over two moras, while the acute rise only ever occurs over one. Thus the unmarked syllable following the acute accent sign becomes the prominent one, a 'heavy' fall in pitch upon a long syllable, while in this instance, the preceding syllable marked acute becomes an anticipatory rise.

Specially significant in Greek was the automatic down-glide in pitch, which under my proposed rule is prominent over the preceding acute rise **whenever it occurs on the same or a following heavy syllable**. This unmarked *svarita* was, I contend, the Greek βαρύς accent, the heavy emphasis which cadences the rhythm of Greek verse and prose. The truth is stranger than any fiction, in the historical reception and interpretation of this feature of the Greek language, which turns out to be the key to the performance of any of its classical texts. It is unmarked in the Alexandrian accentuation, except in the case of the circumflex; everywhere else it appears to have been taken for granted, as a matter of common knowledge. Meanwhile, in the modern reception, the Greek word for 'heavy' has been taken to mean 'low pitch', and 'sharp' to mean high pitch, following the extended sense these words assumed in the tuning of string instruments. The rising and falling pitch these terms describe in Greek speech (ὀξύτης-βαρύτης) are most naturally applied to the sounds produced while tightening and loosening strings, but come to mean the high and low pitches reached when the tuning is over.[6] This latter extended sense then comes to inform the modern reception, where the acute and circumflex are taken to mark high pitch points, and by analogy with a number of other languages, these high pitch points are taken to signify the 'accented' syllable; and so the Greek word for 'heavy' comes to mean 'unaccented'. In this unfortunate process the heaviest prosodic emphasis has come to signify the least.

The post-acute down-glide—the original βαρύς—has been noted elsewhere, without its accentual significance being recognised. Allen, for one, demonstrated statistically the tendency for strong positions of feet to be landing points for the circumflex or the

6 see my discussion of Aristoxenus' *Harmonics* 1.10-11, David 2006, 59-60.

post-acute down-glide.[7] Georg Danek and Stefan Hagel call attention to the structural importance of this downward glide after the high pitch peak in their analysis of the melodic contour of the Homeric hexameter.[8] The accent marks directly indicated the automatic down-glide, however, only in the case of the circumflex. But its integral significance in the Homeric and classical era can be inferred from the use of the grave sign we have mentioned for oxytone-final words: the rise in pitch indicated by the acute sign is suppressed unless the following down-glide can also occur within the word.

The oxytone is the acute/*udatta* when immediately followed by a short syllable; the barytone is the automatic culminating down-glide/*svarita*, whenever it falls on a long or closed syllable. This single-syllable prominence must, however, be distinguished from a monosyllabic stress. The prominence of one element, the rise or the fall in pitch, did not eliminate the presence of the other element of the contonation on the adjacent syllable, nor did it weaken the vowel grade of that syllable—a common effect of monosyllabic stress upon adjacent syllables. Acute accents still rose in pitch, even if the fall in pitch on the following syllable was more prominent, in the sense that it was more likely than its neighbour to be placed so as to reinforce the metre in poetry.

Greek words generally have one most prominent syllable, either sharp or heavy, and so the words themselves can also be usefully characterised as either 'oxytone' or 'barytone'. Hence the received word-level distinction between these two terms, a strange holdover in our textbooks alongside the classification by the syllable of the graphic accent (proparoxytone, perispomenon, etc.), becomes justified and purposeful under the new theory, and helps vindicate the reconstruction. This original 'barytone', however, becomes in the received usage a redundant catch-all term for any sort of word with no accent mark on its ultima. Such words are already now called paroxytone, proparoxytone and properispomenon, terms which transparently postdate the use of the new graphic accent marks. Most modern scholars apparently infer from this, and often assert, that barytone, when referring to a syllable, means 'unaccented'. Of course the word literally means 'heavy accent'.

The new theory now understands some paroxytones (οὐλομένην) and proparoxytones (ἄειδε, ἔθηκε) actually to be barytones, on the ultima and the penult respectively, rather than oxytones on the antepenult (as, e.g., ἐλώρια) and penult (ὄρσε), if the syllable following the acute is heavy. In addition, Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes certain words as having both accents. He does not mean the circumflexes. These doubtful cases are instead the ubiquitous short-final paroxytones, e.g. λόγος, λελυμένος, which are either oxytone on the penult or barytone on the ultima, depending on what follows.[9] A pause or a following consonant can 'lengthen' the ultima and make these shapes barytone-final.

The second component of Allen's work was his more controversial inductive description of an apparent stress pattern in the syllables of Greek words, which would account for their preferred placement at certain metrical positions. He articulated the rules for the location of this word-level dynamic prominence.[10] I suppose it is something of a clue that Latin stresses in Roman verse were known to reinforce strong positions of feet in a

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7 Allen 1973, 262-4.

8 Danek and Hagel 1995, 14-15.

9 see David 2006, 61-5.

10 Allen 1973, 274-334.

musical way—not automatically but with selective, artful syncopation—while most all of its metres appear to have been borrowed from Greek. This does rather suggest that the Greek originals may have reinforced their metres in a similar way.

However, Allen's finding of a stress system apparently unrelated to the language's pitch accent and without an accentual function, turns out to be highly problematic typologically. Such a situation proposed for Greek is almost unexampled.[11] I have shown, however, that this stress pattern was directly caused by the fortuitous lexical combinations of the separate rising and falling pitch elements of the contonation with the given syllabic quantities.

It was Allen's theory of stress that first confirmed the new theory: the rules he induced for locating stress positions in Greek words also exclusively located either the oxytone or the barytone prominences as they have been newly defined. An acute sign marks an oxytone prominence when the following syllable is light. The syllable containing the automatic down-glide carries the barytone prominence, however, whenever it is long or heavy, whether unmarked post-acute or circumflex. An intensity comparable to that we attribute to stress in English poetry and speech therefore arises from specific conjunctions of pitch change and quantity in Greek. After Allen, historical linguists have recognised that '(t)he pitch event that gravitates toward stressed syllables in Greek is a fall … in the default case, the syllable selected as prominent by the stress system must bear a L [low or falling tone] immediately preceded by H [high tone].'[12] This linguistic finding goes ignored in Classical philology. The description corresponds directly to the phenomenon I have called the 'post-acute barytone'.

Circumflexes represent a special case where both 'sharp' and 'heavy' pitch changes occur, in that order, on the same long vowel or diphthong. The circumflex is not some sort of one-off or monster, however. The method of marking accentuation is by the mora of the placement of the high pitch component, rather than by indicating the complete tonal shape or envelope. In other words, it is only the circumflex among the accent signs that reveals Greek accentuation's true tonal shape. Really every acute is in fact a circumflex, except with its falling glide unmarked on the following syllable.

In some cases, e.g. ἄνδρα, an acute on a closed syllable appears to represent a completed contonation within that syllable. The accentuation of ἄνδρά μοι at the beginning of the *Odyssey*, for example, shows an acute rise in pitch immediately on the second syllable, which completes its down-glide on the enclitic μοι. This suggests that the first contonation is completed, or otherwise arrested, within the first syllable. This completion, or arresting pitch peak, does not occur in closed syllables in non-trochaic words; in ἄνθρωπος, for example, the down-glide must occur on the penult, never within the antepenult. But when the following syllable is not heavy, it appears that closed syllables can allow for the completion of the contonation—although in light of the graphical choices in our manuscripts, one might infer that the effect of such first mora accents on the penult (e.g. ἐλόντες), unlike in the case of the circumflex, was more oxytone than barytone, sharp rather than heavy in pitch and intensity.[13] Clearly such rising oxytones on the first mora of long penults could reinforce strong positions in verse quite as well as long falling barytones and circumflexes.

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11 Devine and Stephens 1984, 30.

12 Blumenthal 2004, 5. See David 2006, 81-2, citing Golston and Sauzet.

13 This did not use to be my view; see David 2006, 65.

Allen points out that Indian writers used the same term *svarita* for both the compound accent (equivalent to the Greek circumflex) and the automatic falling glide on the syllable following a high pitch.[14] All the same, Greek grammarians point to a distinctive 'break' (κλάσις) across the intoning of a circumflected vowel that distinguishes it from a post-acute barytone.[15] In some musical transcriptions of the Aydin inscription, the circumflected down-glides in pitch are represented by a grace note, perhaps reflecting an audible inflection between rise and fall.

Because the oxytone syllable in an oxytone word, and the barytone (or circumflected) syllable in a barytone word, are always the same ones as predicted for dynamic prominence in Allen's metrical study, there is therefore shown to be a necessary and musical connection between the once seemingly irrelevant pitch accent marks and the prosodic reinforcement of strong metrical positions.[16] It can no longer be maintained that in ancient Greek, "word accent and quantifying rhythm are ... completely independent of each other (*Wortakzent und quantitierender Rhythmus sind also voneinander völlig unabhängig*)."[17] It became possible, for the first time, to register the interaction between accentual melody and ictus in Greek which is characteristic of the interaction between accent and metre in other stichic poetry across diverse languages. I show that Allen's induced pattern of syllabic prominence is in fact a rule-governed product of lexical pitch change combined with lexical quantity, and I thereby confirm its reality as a tonal prominence pattern capable of turning mere metre, metrical templates, into rhythmic and melodic music. Not just at climaxes or coda segments of lines—Allen's database—but at their beginnings and throughout the most abstruse lyric metrical schemata, the oxytonic and barytonic prominences everywhere reveal the emphasised syllables in a given Greek metrical sequence, pointing to the poetry's intended rhythm and revealing its melodic contour.

The law of tonal prominence is as follows:

> *The udatta (acute rising pitch) when followed by a light syllable is prominent; but when the svarita (automatic following down-glide—post-acute barytone, circumflex) lands on a heavy syllable, that syllable is always the most prominent prosodic feature in a word.*

This is a descriptive law that either subsumes or explains a number of other disparate and sometimes problematic or ad hoc descriptive claims; it is a) consistent with Allen's description of the Greek pitch accent in terms of the Vedic contonation, b) assigns prominence to the same syllables as predicted by Allen's induced rules for the location of 'non-accentual' stress in Greek, and c), as we shall see, applies also to Latin prosody and accounts for the traditional received Latin stress accent itself as in fact a tonal prominence, susceptible after all to the Latin grammarians' chosen description of it.

It is a notable corroboration from a descriptive point of view that this same law of tonal prominence applies to Latin as well. The so-called Latin stress doesn't act like one:

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14 Allen 1987, 121.

15 for ancient loci in Dionysius Thrax and Varro, see David 2006, 54.

16 Ibid., 68-75.

17 Danek and Hagel 1995, 5-20.

unstressed syllables neither weaken nor shorten in classical Latin, unlike unstressed syllables in typical stress languages. The Latin rule of accent, newly formulated in terms of Allen's Vedic contonation, is simply that **the contonation is universally recessive, and must begin (that is, the pitch-rise must occur), where possible, on the second mora before the ultima**. In Latin the rule is indifferent as to the quantity of the ultima; this is a crucial difference with Greek. When the law of tonal prominence is applied, it follows that **when the down-glide occurs over a syllable containing more than one mora, it is prominent; otherwise the recessive pitch rise is prominent**. The received rules for Latin 'stress' follow: accent the penult when the penult is long, the antepenult when the penult is short or common. Quintilian's terms *acutus*, *gravis* and *flex* can at last be justified.[18] They are dismissed by moderns in the description of Latin. The law of tonal prominence appears to be an Indo-European law that applies uniquely, and somewhat mysteriously, to the classical phase of classical languages, perhaps including classical Sanskrit.[19]

We did not use to know how the prosody of Greek words interacted with Greek metres. With the arrival of the new theory of the Greek accent, now we do. The ignoring of the seemingly irrelevant accent marks in texts seems to have led not to the realisation that all we could know, sadly, about the sound and performance of Greek poetry was its metre, but to the delusion that metre was all there *was* to know. This sometimes wilful delusion does not mean that more than a millennium of metrical analysis needs to be replaced. But it does, all of it, need to be rethought—duly subordinated, and chastened of its generative pretensions. It exists at a pre-musical level of the analysis of poetry. The same is true of metre in relation to English song, almost all of which is quantitative. It is a fact, but one which yields no insight into poetics, that the Beatles' melodic compositions are exemplars of quantitative metre. We are now in the remarkable and unforeseen position where the actual musical substance of Greek prose and verse, the way its sound and rhythm inform its meaning, so as to prompt ancient authors to describe their literature as μουσική, lies in prospect before us as virgin territory for the explorer. The key to unlocking the treasury is in the interaction between the pitch patterns adumbrated with the perhaps deceptive economy of the system of Alexandrian accent marks, and the pattern of quantities, natural or conventional, in sequences of syllables.

We are taught that Greek verse is quantitative. This dictum is, at best, a misleading half-truth. J. Vendryes complained about the distinction this way, when defining 'accent':

> *Les trois éléments variables qu'on vient définir sont ce qu'on appelle les accents. Toutefois, la grammaire moderne met à part la quantité; mais elle confond généralement et fort malheureusement les rapports de hauteur et d'intensité qui sont indépendants les uns des autres et qu'il importe de distinguer avec le plus grand soin.20*
>
> *The three variable elements that we have just defined are what we call accents. Modern grammar, however, sets apart quantity; but it generally and very unhappily confuses the relations of pitch and intensity which are independent the one from the other, and which it is important to distinguish with the greatest care.*

18 David 2022, 737-41.

19 David 2006, 84.

20 Vendryes 1904, 2.

One must reconfigure these allegedly independent variables in a way that no longer separates them and indeed makes them dependent on each other. Metres need selective reinforcement to start to make sense as rhythm. Hence from a musical perspective they are not independent structures. The mere quantities of syllables can never do this reinforcement, for all that they constitute the basis of the metrical sequence. The literal *basis* is the downward step of the foot on the strong metrical positions, but even this downbeat cannot provide the necessary and rhythmising reinforcement without the guidance that comes from the voice of the dancer. His tonally prominent syllables at times reinforce, and at others syncopate with, his leading steps and beats at different moments in the metrical unfolding. As we have shown, these prominences are not just the high-pitched ones (Vendryes' *hauteur*) but the heavily fallings ones that follow, the crucial barytones. They are both pitched and intensive at once. Hence all Vendryes' elements—quantity, pitch change, and intensity—turn out to be mutually dependent variables. There can in fact be pitch change without intensity: many rising acute accents in our texts merely herald the unmarked but emphatic fall in pitch on the long syllable which follows.

Homer's accentual pitch contours can now be restored to the hexameter's underlying ictus. What emerges is the consummation of metre: a sophisticated syncopation is discovered, 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', for example, is replaced by the musical concept of a regular mid-line harmonic cadence, where caesura, word division within a metrical foot that 'cuts' it in two, becomes a merely automatic consequence of the musical motive.[21] It is the landing point of the accentually prominent syllable in the word—not necessarily the word's terminus—on the long *thesis* of the hexameter's third foot, which in most cases causes the subsequent caesura.

Homer was not therefore composing (or deploying) phrases whose length was determined by the need for a mid-line caesura, or word-break in mid-foot. Rather, he was deciding positively and musically about arranging his words so as to cadence his thought at mid-line as well as line end. The analysis of Homer's lines and phraseology in terms of the caesura is historically late, and secondary at best in its causality in the forming of his phrases. Barytonic prominence, the completion of the Greek contonation, can only occur on the ultima (if it is long) or the penult (if the ultima is short). This means that it is the desire for barytonic prominence on the third dactylic *thesis* which requires a word division at either one or the other of the prevalent caesuras:

> *The phenomenon of caesura must now be rethought: it must be seen as an automatic consequence of the desire to accent the thesis of the third foot … Caesura results from the prosodic shapes that produce a sense of agreement in ancient Greek, a concrete musical motivation; not from a need to pour words into metrical moulds inherited from some unknown tradition. Barytonic prominence placed on the third thesis, producing either a masculine or a feminine cadence at that point of the line, entails either a penthemimeral or a trochaic caesura. That is why there are the two of them. That is why these word breaks exist in the hexameter. No one in the ancient world seems to have noticed the caesura prior to Aristides Quintilianus … while the caesurae are a fact of the hexameter line, they are likely*

21 Ibid., esp. 119.

> *to have been considered secondary facts by those who were familiar with the original orchestic and musical motivations to the verbal accompaniment. Hence they would not have been the obvious articulations for ancient critics that they seem to be to moderns, who register and solemnize an abstract, atonal and merely quantitative conjunction of metre and language.*
>
> IBID

The conjunction of metre and language resulting in the hexameter's caesura is, rather, an harmonic one. It is the musical realisation of accented Greek words that ultimately determines their placement in Homer's lines, not simply their internal metrical sequence.

Their tonal components could be seen to invigorate the description and discussion of the so-called formulas. Phrases which are identical metrically need not also be identical phonically or tonally. Experience suggests that phrases from poems and songs are remembered for their melodic or rhythmic turns, for the way that they *land* when quoted or sung in the moment. Very rarely, if at all, are they remembered for their metre, an abstract quantitative thing. (An exception, perhaps, are the booming anapaests of "We Will Rock You", by the group Queen.) Yet oral theory has so far drawn only on the metrical level of the formulas, abstracted from their embedded tonal modulations and the rhythms induced by accentual prominence, to designate them the building blocks of improvised Homeric composition. This move can no longer be defended as the basis of sound theory. And indeed, once the musical substance of Homer is taken in, it becomes rather a mystery what it is that the oral theory of Homeric composition was ever attempting to explain. The occasion of this essay is one to discover a new law, and to hear what it does to the hearing of Homer's lines: to take it in for the first time, like a new song on the radio. Let insight into composition come after.

## 2. Penelope's Contonations: Significant Tonality

In 'solving' the dactylic hexameter, or the metrical maze of a Greek chorus, we go a long way toward reconnecting with the deep structure of ancient μουσική. The tonal reinforcements revealed by the disyllabic contonation and the law of tonal prominence consummate the received metrical schemata, so that one can feel that the poet's composition has been revealed: the words have been deployed so that apart from their grammar and meaning, their accents have been positioned so as to syncopate and reinforce a musical sentence. This represents a major advancement in insight over the cold abstraction of the naked metrical scheme. But in an essential way, we are still divorced from that point of contact which lingers after the actual witness of music performed. This is because, if we mean by 'melody' single tones in rhythmic sequence, defined by measured intervals of pitch, the melodies of the ancient world have mostly vanished. The accentual notations give us pitch contours for changing pitches, sharply rising and heavily falling emphases, together with the peculiar effect of the circumflected contonation over single vowels. But we are not given a scale or mode by the poet; hence the intervals of the pitch changes, as well as the fixed pitches at which the glides terminate, are not given in our texts. To this extent the law of tonal prominence might have brought us immeasurably closer to the composition than before, but not necessarily to the performance, in that it cannot reveal this most tangibly intimate dimension, of the sung tune on the lips. But there appears to be no surviving record of these poets'

melodic and modal choices, apart from a disputed setting of part of a strophe from Euripides' *Orestes*.[22] The ancient melodies have vanished.

Fortunately the East Roman manuscripts of Homer contain some prosodic notations that rather hit one on the head with their impact. The sense of dramatic intention in these mere notations is almost palpable. One does not actually have to become skilful at singing Homer to recognise the signs of histrionic effects written into Homer's score, as it is traditionally marked and accented. And one does not, after all, have to know the actual melody, to know that something of vital melodic interest is going on in the score. Some of the following are quite blunt instruments, it must be said. In describing *Odyssey* 23.175, one does not even need the new theory. One need only register that consecutive, long, identically intoned syllables must obtrude more or less violently, like a jackhammer into the rhythmic heartbeat, the alternating ba-dum, of poetry. But in this case, we are dealing with a very special species of stress indeed: the Greek circumflex, the complete contonation, containing both the rise *and* the down-glide in pitch of the voice, with perhaps a break like a grace note, intoned over the breath of a long vowel. Where usually a contonation is delimited by a Greek word and separated from those in other words, in the poetic arrangement of the following line, three of these 'broken' expulsions occur in a row on consecutive long vowels without a pause for breath:

> *οὔτε λίην ἄγαμαι, μάλα δ' **εὖ οἶ**δ' **οἷ**ος ἔησθα*
>
> *Nor am I even so amazed—but dammit, I know you, what you were ...*

I comment:

> *There is in this period a remarkable sequence, against all notions of epic rhythm and harmony, of three successive circumflected syllables: εὖ οἶδ' οἷος ἔησθα. 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.*
>
> DAVID 2006, 136-7

22 For a learned discussion and reconstruction of this melody, see D'Angour 2021.

Ignoring the accent marks is no longer an option, if it means ignoring Penelope's circumflexes, the pitch and fall in her breath when she says to Odysseus "I *know* you, what you were."

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. It is therefore rather striking that this momentous figure occurs fully three other times in the speeches of Penelope herself. One is obliged to speak of a motif characteristic of this Homeric personage, and no other, whatever a performer may choose to make of the effect, or infer about the speaker's character or state of mind in each passage. Penelope's mode of expression is prosodically—musically—tonally—marked.

It is only at the critical moment in Book 23, however—the 'recognition scene'—that the circumflected sequence occurs so arrestingly in mid-line. The great majority of instances of this prosodic figure do occur in Homeric speeches rather than narrative, usually at the beginning of lines, and often involve the sort of emphatic monosyllables typical of a speakers' immediate interests and pivots—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 παῖ****δ' 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 εἰδὼς οὔτ' ἀγοράων.* *4.817-18*
>
> *Again now my son, beloved, stepped aboard a hollow ship,*
> *The fool, not knowing his way around real work nor public business.*

The same phrase and prosodic figure, **νῦν αὖ παῖ**δ' ἀγαπητὸν, occurs here twice in Penelope's speeches at the end of Book 4, and then again immediately at the beginning of Book 5, this time in the mouth of Athena at the council of the gods (5.18). In such a context it is impossible not to hear Athena's use as a quotation and an evocation, of Penelope's recent and peculiar prosodic usage. Athena also is speaking of Telemachus, but makes no further allusion to Penelope. All the same her evocation is unmistakable, not only in her same words but their distinctive prosodic music. It is Penelope's emotive motif surfacing in Athena's voice.

The same insistent Penelopean prosody 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 οἶ***κον ἄτιμον ἔδεις, μνάᾳ δὲ γυναῖκα*
> *παῖδά τ' ἀποκτείνεις, ἐμὲ δὲ μεγάλως 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', "now here I am," 16.233), when he is revealed and reunited with Telemachus. Here it is he who echoes Athena, from the scene of his arrival on Ithaca, when she also makes the full revelation of herself—as seems to be the import of her final particular apparition as a tall, skilled, Penelope-like lady:

> ***νῦν αὖ δεῦ****ρ' ἰκόμην, ἵνα τοι σὺν μῆτιν ὑφήνω.* *13.303*
> *And now, here again come I, so that I may weave with you a cunning plan . . .*

Surely the echoing of the consecutive circumflected contonations, the prosodic inflection we observe and register here, reflects a real connection by design between the characters of Penelope, Odysseus, and Athena, and indeed the Homeric performer himself. Breath and harmony unite these characters with a tactile immediacy that seems only possible at the musical level of the representation of the psyche. One cannot see bottom for the significance of this signature echoing for one's assessment of the composer and the composition, and the kind of *mimesis* they are trying to achieve. "Now again here I come" stands as an emblem of the performer instantiating in the moment of song the reality of Athena's authorial consciousness, embodying in living *mimesis* her connection to the personas of both Penelope and Odysseus. The three straight circumflexes take you there, immediately, in the way a distinctive line of melody invokes every time in history that it has ever been sounded or sung. Such unities of representation seem only to be possible through music, and it is essential that Homer's composition be recognised at last for its musical art and intention.

The presumption of an oral tradition or composing-in-performance adds nothing of substance, taste, or interest to this fact of the manifest nature of Homer's text. This prosodic motif rides above the words and is not tied to a formula; it reflects a level of composition in no way connected to verbal formulas, let alone metrical ones. There is an immediacy to the communication of song. The circumflexes speak, and speak to a very specific effect that intrudes to call attention to itself in the normal run of dactylic hexameter rhythm, in service of making vivid and sonorous for an audience the metaphysical connection, for lack of a better way of putting it, between these three beings: Penelope, Odysseus, and Athena Tritogeneia. Beyond this sonority, the first person voice telescopes these three beings into the body of the performer stepping forth before you. It is not perhaps appropriate to speak of the breaking of a fourth wall: there is no dramatic illusion, the Homeric performer is always a soloist standing before you playing all the parts. It is primarily through the harmonic motion in his words, the song itself, that the performer earlier becomes Athena becoming Penelope, and then Odysseus becoming Athena: "Now here again come I."

Other examples of the performer's repeated circumflexes include lines belonging to Nestor, Aeneas and Poseidon in the *Iliad* (7.329, 20.231, 297). Achilles puts it like this, when he instructs Lycaon (ἀλλὰ φίλος, θάνε καὶ σύ, "Alright buddy, you die too!") to lie there with the fishes:

> *Ἐνταυ**θοῖ νῦν κεῖ**σο μετ' ἰχθύσιν, οἵ σ' ὠτειλήν*
> *αἶμ' ἀπολιχμήσονται ἀκηδέες·* *21.122-3*
>
> *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 triply sounded circumflected prosody. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus and even Telemachus almost repeat this command of Achilles, changing the imperative from 'lie' to 'sit'—also among the animals, if one tugs at the context. Odysseus says this to Irus the vagrant, after he has defeated and humiliated him (18.105):

> *ἑνταυ**θοῖ νῦν ἧ**σο κύνας τε σύας τ' ἀπερύκων*
>
> *There you are now: sit and keep the pigs and the dogs away …*

Telemachus later orders the disguised Odysseus himself to mind his company among the drinkers (20.262), with a level of command that shocks the suitors. The notion that 'men are pigs' has an Odyssean resonance, and it perhaps becomes associated with the suitors and other drinkers:

> *ἑνταυ**θοῖ νῦν ἧ**σο μετ' ἀνδράσι οἰνοποτάζων ·*
>
> *There now, have a seat with the men quaffing wine …*

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* 16.123:

> *… τοὶ δ' ἔμβαλον ἀκάματον πῦρ*
> *νηὶ θοῇ· **τῆς** δ' **αἶψ**α κατ' ἀσβέστη κέχυτο φλόξ.* *16.122-3*
>
> *… they threw the weariless fire*
> *Into the swift ship: and over her there quickly poured down an*
> *unquenchable blaze.*

Certainly there is something structural to the story in an objective way 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. It is perhaps surprising to find this heavy prosody outside a speaker's speech, and one wonders how to interpret the narrator's psychic state on the basis of the music of this moment. But is there any doubt that an author's psyche is in fact implicated here, in his three straight circumflexes intruding into the rhythm? The reciter may at least pause for punctuation after the first circumflex in this sequence. But there is no doubt that the effect—not just intensive, like a regular oxytone or barytone, but up and down in pitch with a break in the voice, all as part of one breath, three times in a row—seems best to suit not description but the histrionic rhythm of someone making a point in a speech. Three successive monosyllabic con-

tonations are not to be found, for example, in the reverie of the similes. They provide proof-of-concept that aesthetic suitability to situation and speaker, not excluding that of the performer or composer, is a governing factor in Homeric poetising, so that effects are sometimes summoned which conflict directly with the dactylic ictus of the metre, and whose nature therefore cannot be formulated in merely metrical terms.

Also in the *Iliad* narrative, also describing a sudden blaze of fire, is this sequence of five straight tonally dynamic syllables, all bearing changing pitch—three monosyllabic contonations separated by a disyllabic one. Four of the five syllables are prominent (5.7):

> *τοῖ**όν οἱ πῦρ δαῖ**εν 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. The opening sequence is circumflex, (rising long acute), post-acute barytone, circumflex, circumflex. Here we are less shy to register the narrator's investment: it would seem that ignitions excite this poet. The μένος or 'vital energy' instilled by the goddess is embodied by the rhapsode, from toe to head, in cresting imagery.[23]

Does Odysseus also have a characteristic agitated prosody, like his wife? Consider the following line. Odysseus and his men have successfully attacked the Cyclops, but are now stuck in his cave; the monster is blocking the entrance, in case Οὖτις and his men try to escape with the outgoing sheep. Odysseus' indignance at such a provision in Polyphemus appears to be marked (*Odyssey* 9.419):

> *οὔ**τω γάρ πού** μ' **ἤλ**πετ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ νήπιον εἶναι.*
>
> *For I suppose he expected me, in his mind's vessel, to be* such *a simpleton.*

There are four straight long, tonally prominent syllables in a row. It is an Odyssean prosodic outburst from the beginning of the line through to the mid-line cadence. There are in fact ***five*** long tonally active syllables in a row, in the sense that the line begins with an anticipatory rising long acute. In sum: (rising long acute), barytone, oxytone, oxytone, oxytone, all of them long. Every syllable leading up to and including the feminine mid-line cadence, is long and tonally dynamic: it is a matter of stress everything until the cadence, or stress everything so there is no cadence—an outburst instead of a half-line. Note in particular the three punched long oxytones in a row, as much a violation of the alternating rhythmic norm, one should think, as Penelope's three straight circumflexes.

Later on in the episode, Odysseus and his men have made their escape on ship, and Odysseus decides he must fatefully announce his true name to his foe (9.502-4). Note the initial sequence of accents:

> *Κύκ**λωψ, αἴ κέν τίς** σε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων*
> *ὀφθαλμοῦ εἴρηται ἀεικελίην ἀλαωτύν,*
> *φάσθαι Ὀδυσσῆα πτολιπόρθιον ἐξαλαῶσαι ...*

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23 see Kretler 2020, 59-63.

> *Cyclops! If there's any death-bound human being*
> *Should ask after the ugly blinding of your eye,*
> *Tell them it was Odysseus the City-Sacker who blinded you ...*

Again we see the sequence of five, long, pitched syllables in a row, four of them tonally prominent: (rising long acute), barytone, oxytone, oxytone, oxytone, all of them long. Homer's use of enclitics does allow for some concentrated effects, a kind of staccato stacking of oxytone accents, especially at the beginning of lines; but even amongst these, this sequence of Odysseus' sticks out for its five emphasised, exclusively spondaic long syllables right through the mid-line cadence, expressing four full contonations in less than three dactylic feet. In particular, a closing sequence of three long oxytone syllables again punctuates the phrase. Such an unnatural sequence of successive long oxytone syllables can only be achieved with the help of enclitics, which must be consciously deployed by a composer; successive oxytone syllables, with little break for a down-glide in between, may perhaps record a 'staircase' effect of rising pitch, where each rise starts from a higher base tone than the previous. Such an effect in English phrasal intonation could indicate alarm, for example, or anger, a rousing political flourish, or any number of intense motivations. But in neither language is it everyday chat.

At 19.486, Odysseus is desperate that Eurycleia remain silent when she recognises him by his scar. Once more there are five straight tonally dynamic long syllables, four of them prominent, with the characteristic closing flourish of successive oxytone syllables made possible by deploying enclitics. In audience of this memorable scene, we also immediately recognise the man by his identical tonal flourish:

> *σί**γα, μή τίς** τ' **ἄλ**λος ἐνὶ μεγάροισι πύθηται.*
> *Silence! Lest anyone else in the big rooms hear.*

Once more we read a disyllabic contonation followed by three stacked oxytones, (rising long acute), barytone, oxytone, oxytone, oxytone. We imagine a fierce stage whisper. Σίγᾱ (*Sīgā*)!

Note that the accentual sequence is identical in all three of these very different and famous Odyssean outbursts. It goes without saying that these sequences are each highly distinctive in comparison to the tonal dynamics of most Homeric lines. The only difference between them is that some of the respective oxytones are on long vowels and some on closed syllables with short vowels. They are each an emphatic, long-syllabled ejaculation all the way to a feminine mid-line cadence, four complete Greek contonations in a row without a break for an unaccented syllable from the beginning of a line. But the syllables themselves, and the words, are completely different. The cry to the Cyclops is an existential holler, the hushing of Eurycleia a desperate whisper. Formulaic analysis therefore has no access to this identity. Yet it hardly seems a merely ancillary or surface feature in the composition. Rather, these words and enclitics have been sequenced and arranged for their tonal and rhythmic effect, not only because of their metrical structure. Could we be looking again, as with Penelope, at a kind of dynamic tonal motif associated with a character? Is there this level of composition and musical theatre in Homer? Are Penelope and Odysseus drawn by Homer with distinct tonal personalities—three straight circumflexes, and three straight long oxytones at the end of an hemistich—which reveal themselves under situation and stress? We're not in Kansas any more.

Let us take stock of the import of these findings, and this finding in particular: of tonal motifs redolent of signature lines in opera. They all bespeak a composer whose storytelling and word-craft are shaped by melody and intend the use of melody. Homeric Studies must be transformed in light of this discovery. If one ignores the melody of a Mozart sonata, most of what is left is metrical formulas. The analogy is strong and not at all farfetched: modern Homeric Studies have brazenly ignored the accent marks in the score of Homer's poetry. The delusion of Parry's theory is that a theory of composition for an overtly and designedly melodic narrative could be based around verbal formulas with no regard for their intrinsic tonal contours. Its delusional appeal comes through the inference of oral composition and transmission, and therefore orality, which has followed. There are in fact no formulas in Homer, any more than there are in Mozart.

Or to approach the issue another way, a theory of composition for Mozart based on formulaic building blocks (metrical or chordal in his case) would no doubt lead to real insight into the 'deep structure' of his music. But it would be bound to fail in missing entirely his melodic invention, and would be judged a reductive travesty. So also oral theory in relation to Homer's music. Rather, repeated figures in each composer's work, Homer's and Mozart's, should be understood to be doing their musical work: creating texture and context in the singular way that music does this, by repetition, echoing and evocation. The fabric created by the interwoven, repeated rhythmic phrases can even be seen as the precursor, the seedbed, for melody, which emerges as a crowning effect upon the rhythmic words. But the signature prosodic motifs witnessed here for Penelope and Odysseus are manifestly not tied to any verbal formulas, and cannot be accounted for on any theory of composition out of oral formulas—cannot seriously be understood except as a conscious product of musical portraiture, from an artist who is in command of his phrases and their placement, arranging words so that their prosody registers in performer and listener as significant intonation.

The linguistic individuation described here has been observed before in Homer, albeit from a radically different perspective which almost completely ignores Homer's tonal prosody. Paul Friedrich and James Redfield broke ground with their study of Achilles' individual speech patterns, as part of an attempt to negotiate the paradox of individual language ('a minimal system of language use and variation').

> *Our examination of vocatives and particles thus reveals a pattern consistent with the rhetorical analysis which was earlier (and thus independently) arrived at. Achilles' use of these items suggests that he is keenly aware of others, but careless of their feelings and dominant over them; he is concerned with himself and with subjective self-expression, with a mind which darts back and forth between imagination and fact. Such a characterization will not seem unfamiliar to readers of the epic; we do, however, think it striking that in the Homeric style, which often seems to the neophyte rigid or unvaried, character (as defined by plot) can be expressed through details of language*
>
> FRIEDRICH 1978, 283.

The success of their analysis constitutes a milestone in the linguistic analysis of the artefacts of a dead language, and Homer's poems especially. Note, however, that their inspiration, Edward Sapir, studies the problem of individual language with quite a different focus:

> *The few studies of individual speech that we do have are wholly or largely restricted to one side of language. Thus, in Sapir 1927, we find a fairly typical attention to intonation, pitch, speed of pronunciation, 'rhythm' (e.g. number and placement of stresses), and other matters such as length of vowels. All these variables are phonetic and/or phonological, and are presented as such.*

In other words, the principal individuating features for Sapir are tonal, dynamic, and rhythmic, the stuff which makes poetry poetry and music music.

Friedrich and Redfield exemplify a classical ethos which embraces the stipulation that one hand be tied behind one's back before one attempts to solve a problem. This is the essence of a sight-reading exam. It is classical macho, like the useless composing or even speaking in some false version of Ancient Greek in class. We have inherited a non-representative liturgy, a minuscule (pitch-accented) written sample not a language, which deserves our forensic respect and acumen. Of course dead languages do rather tie one's hand behind one's back. But the pitch accent data, present in the best Homeric texts, is, all the same, perversely neglected.

> *In examining a character from Homer's* Iliad, *we work from a written text, composed in a tradition which* lacked (or more probably had no use for) orthographic resources to suggest phonetic or phonological variation. *We thus examine, not so much the personal VOICE of our hero, as his personal STYLE.*[24]
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> IBID., 264.

The disregard for the historical provenance of the accent marks, which, despite their Alexandrian appearance in Homer's written text, demonstrably record pre-classical accentuation along with pre-classical diction, is telling of the modern departmental ethos. There is no basis to claim that Homer "lacked ... or more probably had no use for orthographic resources" in composing the epics. The accents seem blithely dismissed as beneath the tradition's or the poet's or the modern scholar's interest. This reflects a deep-seated grammarians' prejudice against sound ('phonetics'), stress, and rhythm. For the sake of Friedrich and Redfield's interpretation of the data, Achilles' speeches need not even have come in hexameter lines. After my findings, one may look forward to the study of Achilles' tonality. We have already seen how his sequence of three straight circumflexes, Ἐνταυ**θοῖ νῦν κεῖ**σο, at the killing of Lycaon, was apparently of such impact that it recurs twice in the *Odyssey*, seemingly in parody. There was indeed a way to evoke Achilles' voice. Friedrich and Redfield's study of Achilles' style may yet be married insightfully to the study of his pitch-accentual patterns and his 'personal voice'. The hero's arias, after all, have been fully scored.

"There are no formulas in Homer." In light of the modern consensus, this statement must seem wilfully contentious. But tuneless metre, by itself, cannot generate melody. The proposed material for the product must be capable of it. A melodic composition therefore cannot be analysed by non-melodic, metrical building blocks. Rather, a poet who arranges his words, including repeated phrases, so as to create melodic and tonal effects, even to the point of composing Wagnerian signature lines for certain key char-

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24 Bold emphasis added.

acters in her dramatic narrative, is comparable to a musical composer in the modern sense. Every moment in the composition counts, including the re-echoed lines that help create a matrix and a fabric. Every note is intended for its effect. The filling up of lines, by contrast, is for throwaway jingles.

There is no empirical reason to suppose that any of the Homeric phrases which appear in Hesiod or the Hymns are not borrowings, evocations or inspirations from Homer. Any assumption of their independence is in fact a presumption of the oral-formulaic dogma. But even if some of these phrases are traditional in origin—in more than the sense that Homer stands as a most quotable predecessor for Hesiod and the hymnists—it should be clear that in the hands of a composer in search of a tonal and melodic effect and *affect*, as Homer has just been shown to be, such phrases with their built-in rhythmic, tonal, and melodic patterns can never or seldom be used in a merely formulaic way, filling up the line.

It is hard to think of any genre or species of music—if one is not engaged with a piece at some level, or is unfamiliar with its language or idioms—which does not sound formulaic or repetitive. What I am calling the deep structure of music always consists of repeated figures and patterns, without which music would make no sense. Consider a song that never repeated a thing; it would be a symbol of insanity, if it could even be imagined. It would, after all, be an infinite process, like a decimal expansion of π but without its meaning. But the repetition of rhythms or chords or melodies in music help to create internal context and can become a template for verbal, lyrical meaning. So many popular songs, for example, are based on the twelve-bar blues progression, from Chuck Berry to Led Zeppelin to Dire Straits. Fans do not typically register this twelve bar formula and chord progression as quoted, borrowed, or repeated when they encounter it; they rather experience the songs as fresh and distinct individuals, known by their lyrics, their rhythm, their riffs and their solos. Yet all the same, people who are not caught up in the spell of these bands do in fact hear only annoying repetition. "It all sounds the same."

There is no question but that modern students of Homer are handicapped in their ability to assess the music of Homer's poetry. They are like old, slightly deaf people trying to assess the popular beat music of younger people. This problem has nothing to do with literate folks trying to assess the product of an imagined oral mentality. From the perspective of a fan, it has everything to do with the distortion which arises from a listener being unused to the idiomatic ways an unfamiliar genre of music uses repetitions of material to create context and allow its texture to become a vehicle for expression. For me, rap music is endless, almost inscrutable, pounding repetition, punctuated by vulgarity. For my parents' generation, such was my own beloved rock and blues.

The scholar's handicap has also to do, of course, with the fact that he has been accustomed to ignoring the accent marks in Greek verse and prose. If he takes the trouble to learn to scan Homer out loud, he is likely to chant the syllables in a monotone. The depletion of the sensory artefact in this way no doubt heightens the sense of formulaic repetition, which is indeed common to the underlying structure of all music. If one ignores the tonal melody or the meaning of the words—the former is what the Homeric scholar does as a matter of course—then it is no miracle that repeated formulas are most of what remains. If he stresses where he sees an accent mark, like a modern Greek, rather than according to the ancient disyllabic contonation, he is likely to render the hexameter a chaos of wilful arrhythmia. He could be forgiven for throwing up his hands. His biggest handicap is therefore his lack of the historical law of tonal prominence for

ancient Greek, which turns the hexameter rhythmic and melodic rather than metrical and monotonous.

The hexameter itself is like the twelve bars of the blues and its walking bass line. The tonal phrases that Homeric scholars variously call formulas and noun-and-epithet phrases are, instead, like the familiar blues licks and riffs that recur endlessly in different songs. Note that for the fan, caught up in the spell, suffused with drums and bass and walking chords, these grooved utterances never register as clichés, but feel as inevitable as the rain or an aching heart. The soul longs for these familiar movements. We need at least to imagine this condition of the blues fan as we drink in the phrases of Homer. There is no separation between inside and outside, for the listener, when the pitch slides down in the rhythm of the expected phrase.

The contonational motifs we have just discovered in Homer, however, the signature lines, are more like those moments in a guitar or vocal solo of lyricism or prowess that call attention to themselves and stick out in the memory, and rise above the blues material as flourishes to distinguish a number. The Homeric tonal motifs bring this musical power to bear on narrative in the manner of signature lines in opera. The repeated tonal motifs that we call noun-and-epithet phrases evoke tangible presences in the space of the rhapsodic performer; I have called these 'choral signifiers'.[25] Penelope's three straight circumflexes, on the other hand, and Odysseus' oxytonal outbursts turn the performer into a medium; the protagonists' intimate identity sings forth through him. As we shall now see, in Homer's hands Odysseus' signature motif becomes ripe for play, exploring and exploiting this identity.

Consider an earlier scene from Eumaeus' hut. Odysseus is pretending to be a Cretan someone who has been on an ambush with Odysseus at Troy, as an elaborate way to snag himself a blanket for the night. In the course of his story about a frostbit bivouac, Odysseus has himself play Odysseus, and says the following (14.493):

> *σί**γα νῦν, μή τίς** σε' Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἀκούσηι.*
>
> *Hush now, in case some other Achaean hears you,*

Lo and behold, we hear the opening sequence of five straight long, tonally dynamic syllables, to the same feminine mid-line cadence, this time with a circumflected νῦν in place of one of the oxytones. What is marvellous here is that this is Odysseus trying to *sound* like Odysseus; may we not surmise that this character was coming to be known for the emphatic, long-syllabled, oxytonal crescendo at the beginning of his hexameters—and his stage whisper? In the previous line, Odysseus playing the Cretan even advises that Odysseus speaks the line in a "little voice", φθεγξάμενος δ' ὀλίγηι ὀπί με, cueing the performer's stage whisper for the outburst. We have therefore been set up, long in advance, by Odysseus himself in his lying tale, for the scene of the recognition by the scar in Book 19, when nurse Eurycleia famously drops his leg in the wash basin. Odysseus' tonal outburst gives himself away, to us, as surely as his scar reveals him to Eurycleia.

Katherine Kretler writes in admirable depth about the *mimesis* that can be achieved by an Homeric performer realising the Homeric script in a "one man show." She draws on a description in Plato of the 'manyness' of the Homeric performer, as distinct, one

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25 David 2006, 138-71.

might assume, from the actor who wears one mask at a time. The Homerist by contrast is regularly transforming from one character to another, in active dialogue, shaping and blocking a stage space on his own, where he steps up as narrator as well. We have already seen, vividly and tonally, how this performer can bridge consciousness and presence to link protagonists across a musical medium. Kretler documents this process with great fineness at the textual and thematic level; her analysis of the relationship between Odysseus and Eumaeus and their tales and exchanges, is both subtle and rich in textual detail, most strikingly in the import of a repeated—that is, echoed—line. It occurs between its use by Odysseus when he questions Eumaeus about the circumstances of his entrance into the state of slavery, and then again in Eumaeus' own tale in response, this time put in the mouth of the Phoenician woman who first carried young Eumaeus off from his aristocratic childhood to be sold. Eumaeus' Phoenissa echoes the line from Odysseus' question about Eumaeus' own transaction—being sold,

> *τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς πρὸς δώμαθ', ὁ δ' ἄξιον ὤνον ἔδωκε.* 15.388, 429
>
> *To this man's house, and he gave a worthy price.*

We are made to focus on a "this man here"—deictic demonstratives seem to be a cue to the solo performer for some form of pointing or embodiment—and to the "worthy price" for an human. Kretler writes,

> *This poignant, pregnant line (one sees Ithaka, looming on the western horizon) encompasses the insight listeners, including Odysseus, have gained into slavery, now seen as an endless cycle of "paying the price" for a human being.*
>
> *Eumaeus has conveyed this message by turning the tables on Odysseus, drawing on his words and projecting them into the mouth of the dead Phoenissa.*
>
> KRETLER 2020, 308.

If there were any doubt about this projection in the narrative strategy—that is to say, the projection of Odysseus the marauder and master upon the Phoenician slave woman, in the story of Eumaeus' own youthful abduction—it would surely have been erased for a hearing audience in the following passage, which has seemingly been deployed for the purpose of such identification. Philological and literary subtlety yield to a musical immediacy in the tonal and rhythmic phenomenon that is Homeric poetry. At a certain point the woman plots her escape from servitude with the Phoenician merchants, one of whom she has slept with, and who are to be her restorers to an aristocratic life at home. She says in hushed tones unmistakable (15.440-2):

> *σι**γῆι νῦν**, **μή τίς** με προσαυδάτω ἐπέεσσιν*
> *ὑμετέρων ἑτάρων ξυμβλήμενος ἠ' ἐν ἀγυιῆι*
> *ἤ που ἐπὶ κρήνηι,*
>
> *Hush now, let no one address me with his lines*
> *Among your crew, whether he meet up with me in the street,*
> *Or somewhere by the spring ...*

σιγῇι νῦν: there it is, almost Odysseus' hemistichal ejaculation, but it is a woman's tones, in Eumaeus' voice, imbuing the conspiratorial stage whisper. (In this version of the emphatic half-line there is no pitch change on the first syllable.) The suggestion is that this woman is an Odysseus, an Heracles plotting her escape from slavery through the μῆτις of conspiracy and concealment with her secret abettors over a solar span, a mythological annum. It seems likely that Eumaeus, who has already heard Odysseus trying to sound like Odysseus, means in this way for his Phoenician woman to sound like Odysseus when she plots in secret to secure her escape, from servitude to "this man" and his house.

We are made to feel ambivalence about Eumaeus being the noble servant, although a swineherd, daily dispenser of the "best of the Achaean" hogs (14.108). Perhaps the loyalty of an Eumaeus is always tugged at by an undertow, coloured by the longing, or the right, embodied imaginatively in his Phoenissa: to be free and autonomous both sexually and domestically. He himself must sleep rough with the pigs, pointedly not with a woman or a wife; he is Odysseus' pig man, Odysseus' servant. Kretler suggests that the *affect* surrounding the story of the restoration of the rightful righteous aristocrat to his home has been undermined:

> *[T]he perspective of Eumaeus ... is not one more perspective to be lined up against others, or one of the many masks the protean poet adopts, but the perspective that is ignored by the plot as it is experienced on the surface (the aristocrat returning as theoxenic god) and that, once exposed, continues to overhang that plot as a shadow.*
>
> IBID., 321

Eumaeus' projection on to his Phoenissa is enacted most immediately and elementally by the sounding of Odysseus' tonal motif. This projection can be seen as a kind of wish-fulfilment. The Phoenician woman and Odysseus both represent in Eumaeus' experience a kind of unattainable freedom, on at least two levels. One is a freedom of movement, enabled in part by deceit and cunning—traits or faculties seemingly foreign to Eumaeus—which result in a choice of destination, and to that extent also destiny. Both also embody a level of sexual freedom, or even merely sexual activity, which Eumaeus can apparently only imagine. Odysseus' crew, unlike most naval crews, are never seen to enjoy this kind of 'shore leave'. Their need for fresh meat, but never their need for heterosexual sex, is foregrounded. Only Odysseus gets to sleep with the goddess, in Circe's case for a whole mythological annum, while his men must be content to keep each other's company. Phoenissa's own elegance and beauty are a more direct kind of projection of Eumaeus' fantasy. But he is himself dependent on Odysseus' political restoration before he can think of deserving, and receiving, a wife. The vivid tonal motif immediately concretises Eumaeus' transference via his Phoenissa and Odysseus, which would otherwise be a purely psychological inference a critic could either take or leave. Once one hears it sung, however, and resonating in space, it is clear that Eumaeus has bared his soul in the tale of this Odyssean Phoenician woman; he has done this by entering a sound world of tonal identity and meaning, which the poet has himself created through the art of arranging his internally melodic words and their judiciously positioned enclitics.

A most striking prosodic moment in Homer is this one in the speech of Priam to Achilles, *Iliad* 24.505-6. It is perhaps the ultimate inspiration for Odysseus' prosodic motif:

> *ἔτ**λην** δ' **οἷ' οὔ πώ** τις ἐπιχθόνιος βροτὸς ἄλλος,*
> *ἀνδρὸς παιδοφόνοιο ποτὶ στόμα χεῖρ' ὀρέγεσθαι.*
>
> *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 the Odyssean outburst, 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, (rising acute), barytone, circumflex, oxytone, oxytone, according to the new parlance. Again the sequence culminates in a feminine mid-line cadence. Consider where exactly it is, however, that Homer has invested this prosodic extravagance: in the next line Priam describes the most unprecedented action described in all of Homer—perhaps in all of poetry and literature: "I reached my hand to the mouth of the man who slew my child." His announcement in the line preceding calls forth also an unprecedented prosody in anticipation, in his emphatic awareness that what he dares to do has no precedent. The power of this speech and moment has never needed to be in Greek, or pitch-accented Greek, to announce itself. But is it not gratifying to find this razor's stab of accentuation reinforcing the overwhelming pitch of the moment, in the tonic and dynamic substance of the old man's line? It is an accentual epiphany. If the *Odyssey* is the later poem, the characteristic 'Odyssean outburst' may well be a conscious rhythmic 'sampling' of the power of this half-line, first heard in such poetry from Priam at this riveting moment in the denouement of the *Iliad*.

The glass is always half empty for oralists. They will not permit a Mozart among the folk. A significant reason for this must be that they simply do not recognise the Homeric poems as tonally specific entities; instead they live and teach in a meta-world where Homer's is the world's only purely metrical poetry. Their concern seems not so much with what was actually sung as with what could have been substituted in the composition without changing the intent or the effect. It is not a natural starting point for the assessment of a composer, singer or audience. Even an improviser wants you to pay attention to what he actually lays down, not what he might have done, especially if he has to fix any unintended 'inconcinnities' in retrospect. We have demonstrated a level of musical intention and choice, and a level of musical characterisation and dramatic effect heretofore unknown and unsuspected in the Homeric medium and idiom. This should start to make plausible, and indeed instinctual, the notion that Homer's text—whatever its relation to the written versions we inherit—was composed as a musical score to instruct and direct performance. As we apply the law of tonal prominence directly to Homer's text, the quantitative syllabic conventions of measurement, combined with the accentual notation, provide a complete notation for the timing and pitching of each and every line of Homer.

Once we permit ourselves a Mozart, we solicit also a physical orchestra from the ancient world. We know that there were citharodes and rhapsodes performing Homer. We imagine they did this in a public theatre rather than a dining room. Eventually these would have been the public amphitheatres (or auditoriums) that survive today in ruin. We may even imagine Homer a Mozart leaving behind city versions of his opera, like the source of the important manuscript from *Massalia* (Marseilles). What is not imagination but text, are the cues for rhapsodic performance embedded in the script, involving rôle playing most obviously, actor's embodiments, but also stage blocking and the artful use of a wand. My suggestion is simply that the Homeric poems we have, were composed for rendition in the ancient theatres that we know came to be.

Consider King Lear's "Never, never, never, never, never!" It is the anti-iambic line, the anti-line, because each and every word in it denies the ictus. (The preceding lines seem rather to emphasise an iambic cadence: "Why should a dog, a horse, a rat, have life, / And thou no breath at all? Thou'lt come no more …") The jolting of the dislocated rhythm conspires with situation and meaning to force upon the actor a transcendent histrionic moment, as Lear faces Cordelia's death. We know this only because we know that 'never' has to be stressed on the penult, never the ultima. We take it for granted that we must know how to speak the language, how and where to stress the syllables, before we can begin to take in and register Shakespeare's poetry. And yet the oral theory of Homeric poetics, and the entire oral tradition it postulates, completely ignores the accent marks transmitted in our best texts of Homer.

Eustathius is known as an allegorist of Homer. This style of interpretation has become quaint or otherwise out of favour, but it originates among the very earliest of Homer's critics, and Eustathius appears able to draw on the whole lost library of ancient Homeric Studies for his ideas, including from the Alexandrian scholars. Among them were the no longer extant works of Aristophanes of Byzantium, who first introduced the accent marks into the Homeric textual record. As for the demise of allegory, it is not at all clear where modern scholars think about—or even show interest in—any sort of empirical reality involved in Homer's depictions of the named gods. 'Literary' gods, or psychological ones, allow for plenty of deflection and play, but what are they, literally? All the same, Eustathius' interpretation of the different gods as allegorising the poet's different qualities and faculties, is illuminating about what ancient people perceived these qualities to be in Homer. That the Muses represent his knowledge (γνῶσις) or Hermes his reason (λόγος), or Athena his intelligence (φρόνησις) and cleverness (δεινότης),[26] may be taken or left by modern critics, but few would deny these attributes to Homer himself—no matter how they take this author to be constituted, as an individual or somehow a tradition in space and time. But the findings in this paper call special attention to Eustathius' take on the great Apollo, that he represents Homer's "tuneful craft" (ἐμμελὴς τέχνη). Here is a quality of Homer, apparently an obvious one in Eustathius' tradition, his 'intrinsic melodic art,' that is all but lost on Homer's modern reception, scholarly or otherwise.

I take it Homer's Apolline art of words, which broadcast also his knowledge, reason, and intelligence, was one which arranged them to bring out or otherwise exploit their in-built (ἐμμελής) tonal patterns. This is the only one of Eustathius' allegorised attributes which speaks explicitly to Homer's art (τέχνη), a marshalling of words that turns speech into song. And here is the art of it: arranging the pitch-accented words (together with the accent-releasing enclitics and pauses) of your narrative into framing hexameters, and within hexameter phrases, so that melody emerges, sometimes to thrill or merely to please, sometimes to evoke or to imitate, sometimes, as I have shown in this essay, even to *indicate*. Thus the accent marks invented by the teachers in ancient Alexandria may represent for Classicists a remnant Apolline enigma; but the law of tonal prominence, governing the performance of Greek words, is a modern answer key to ancient performance. The once oracular Apollo may now be invited to lead the dance, slinging the lyre and stepping high, while Homer—and Penelope and Odysseus and Athena—intone their signature emphasis.

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