LEXIS

Poetica, retorica e comunicazione nella tradizione classica

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SOMMARIO

ARTICOLI

RECENSIONI

THE NEW MUSIC OF THE TROJAN WOMEN

Where does music come from? Is it something we had from the beginning? Did the gods give it to us? Did we take it from other peoples and countries?

Different cultures gave different answers to this question.

According to one account, at the beginning there was no music on earth. The winged serpent « Quetzalcoatl flew towards the house of the Sun, which was the home of music» and unleashed the terrifying thunderstorms that were his speciality. «The storms were so fearsome that even the house of the Sun began to shake and the musicians were scared and fled in all directions. And some of them fell to earth, and so, thanks to the winged serpent, we have music».

This Aztec myth, recently retold in a novel by Salman Rushdie[1], presents a general theory on the origin of music. All music comes from the gods. According to the Greeks, the gods invented some traditional tunes and instruments, such as the lyre[2], while men discovered others. Some ethnic groups were credited with the invention of specific instruments[3] and genres[4].

Pindar tells us that Athena invented the *nomos polykephalos* in the distant West, when Perseus killed Medusa.[5] Athena imitated the Gorgons that mourned the death of Medusa. In this way the goddess 'tamed' their fearful groaning, and her music can now be played at Greek festivals. The *nomos polykephalos* was born at the edge of the world, and is appropriated by the Greeks[6].

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[1] S. Rushdie, *The Ground beneath her Feet*, Toronto-New York 1999, 94.

[2] Ps.-Plu. *de musica* 1135 F-1136 A (chapter 14) lists *kithara* and *aulos* as musical instruments invented by Apollo: see Eur. *Bacch.* 58 and 120-34 on the invention of *ty(m)panon* (a small hand drum). On the sources of the *De Musica* see the useful survey in Meriani 2003, 49. On the drum of Dionysus, esp. in the *Bacchae*, see Di Benedetto 2004, 30-31, 85-87, 297-301, 305-6. Barker 1984, 73-78 collects, translates and comments on tragic passages which mention the music of Dionysus.

[3] Musical instruments often derive their names from the area of their supposed origin: for instance 'Libyan' flute and 'Phrygian' pipes (Eur. *IA* 576-78).

[4] Other styles of musical performance are discovered by humans, and get their name from their place of origin: for instance the *threnos* is of Asiatic origin. Different authors name different places of origin: Kissia [Aesch. *Cho.* 423 f.], 'Asia' [Eur. *IT* 179-85]. The *harmateion melos* was invented by Olympus (Plu. *Mor.* 335 A; Ps.-Plu. *de musica* 1133 E). It is used by Stesichorus. Euripides (*Or.* 1384), if the text is sound, presented it as a «barbarian cry». On Asian music in tragedy see E. Hall 1989, 129-32.

[5] Medusa lives «at the extremity of the world, in the West, next to the Hesperides and their sweet song» (Hes. *Theog.* 275). A.R. 4.1399 locates them in Libya; see West 1966 *ad* Hes. *Theog.* 275 and Vian 1981, 195-96 *ad* A.R. 4.1399 for references. Serghidou 2001 discusses Athena and music, but Furley, *BMCR* 2002. 03. 11 has pointed out the inadequacies of her treatment.

[6] The tune is used to «woo the people to attend the contest» (Pind. *Pyth.* 12.1). This *nomos* was re-invented by a number of Greek musicians (Crates the elder, a disciple of the Phrygian *auletes* Olympos, and Olympus himself). A cultural hero (Perseus, Olympos) had introduced it into Greece. On Pindar's *Pythian* 12 see Segal 1997, 85-104 (esp. 90 and 97, on the 'domestication' of the song of Medusa); Gentili 2000 *ad loc.* with extensive bibliography.

Several other Greek texts narrate the violent birth of a musical and poetical tradition. The first stasimon of the *Trojan Women* is a dramatisation of the birth of epic and kitharodic poetry, and a staging of the appropriation of Phrygian music by the Greek tradition. Other classical Greek texts that discuss non-Greek music present similar patterns of cultural appropriation: this will be observed in some fragmentary plays of Sophocles and in dithyrambic poetry.

Rather than insisting on a binary opposition between Greeks and 'the Other,' I intend to analyse the specificity and the richness of Athenian prejudices about ethnic groups, both Greek and barbarian[7]. It is true that different or even disparate ethnic groups are associated: we will find that the peoples of Phrygia, Lydia and Thrace are often linked together for their musical inventions. But not every Eastern barbarian would do as 'Other' in discussions about musical traditions. In the case of music, Greek texts show an ambivalent mixture of disparaging and admiring attitudes towards Phrygia, Lydia and Thrace. This has important consequences for interpreting texts or myths that are set in those regions.

The issue of Phrygian song is crucial in the *Trojan Women*. The first section of this paper discusses some of the references to Phrygian song and dance in Greek culture in general and in the play in particular. In the *Trojan Women*, Trojan characters link the disruption of Phrygian traditions of song and dance performance to the arrival of the Greeks and their music, which causes the violent end of their civilisation. The second section analyses the fall of Troy, as narrated in the first stasimon. The chorus of Trojan women frames the narration as a piece of 'Greek' epic/kitharodic poetry that substitutes the Phrygian tradition. Trojan characters in the drama express the awareness of the end of Phrygian music and of the emergence of Greek poetry. This self-effacing move of the chorus in fact legitimises the Greek appropriation of Trojan subject matter.

The third section discusses a fragmentary play by Sophocles: his *Thamyras* dramatises the defeat of non-Greek music and stages, quite literally, the destruction of Thracian musical instruments, vanquished by the Hellenic Muses. We will be able to see a similar pattern of appropriation and erasure in other texts, particularly in dithyrambic poetry. The paper end with some general considerations on the dynamics of cultural appropriation and their interpretation by Plato and Aristotle, who historicise and rationalise these mythical traditions.

1. PHRYGIA AND PHRYGIAN MUSIC

The people of Troy came to be called 'Phrygians' only in retrospect. Homer distinguishes between Trojans and Phrygians: the Phrygians are a separate ethnic group, living near Troy, and fighting on the Trojan side (B 862-63). Starting from the Fifth century, the Trojans were assimilated to the Phrygians, and the two terms were used as synonyms[8]. As Edith Hall notes, «once Priam, or Hector or Paris was identified as a Phrygian, all the contemporary resonances of that term [...], such as high luxury, began to affect the way in which he was portrayed»[9]. The resonances included also effeminate or emotional behaviour. Phrygian is also often used as a term of abuse: many Phrygians lived in Athens as slaves[10].

1.1 Phrygian song and music

Phrygia became important in other respects too: a number of musical instruments, technical innovations, genres of song, and (mythical) musical performers were connected to Phrygia. Their tradition was invented, and presented as dashing, daring, original and particularly apt for representing uncontrolled states of mind: religious frenzy, manic attacks, uncontrolled fear. The monody of the Phrygian slave in the *Orestes* is a particularly good example of this 'Phrygian' style. Phrygian elements in Greek music include the Phrygian *harmonia,* that is a particular musical scale, a scale that was characterised by a succession of the intervals in the octave with wide gaps (two tones) and very small intervals (quartertones)[11]. As Aristotle says (*Politics*, 1342 b 2), «among the *harmoniai* the Phrygian has the same power as does the *aulos* among instruments: both induce ecstasy and emotion». The Phrygian *harmonia* was apparently used in tragedy[12], and we do find that *auloi* are mentioned in context where Phrygian style music is mentioned; see for instance Eur. *Bacch.* 127-28: ἡδυβόαι Φρυγίων αὐλῶν πνεύματι «with the high-stretched, sweet-crying breath of Phrygian *auloi*»[13]. Note the presence of the root of βοάω 'to shout.'[14] This

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7 Important discussions of the opposition between Greeks and barbarians include E. Hall 1989; J. M. Hall 1997 and 2002 discusses ethnic divisions within Greece.

8 See E. Hall 1988 and 1989, 37-39. On Trojans in the *Iliad* see Mackie 1996.

9 See E. Hall 1989, 38.

10 See Bäbler 1998. This is symptomatic of a colonizing mentality: Athens had colonies in the Troad, and it was easier to assimilate the ancient Trojans to the present-day barbarians who lived in the area. On political interpretations of the *Trojan Women* see Croally 1994, van Erp Taalman Kip 1987.

11 See the reconstructions given by Aristides Quintilianus (18. 5) in Barker 1984, 165; West 1992, 174. On Phrygian music see Thiemer 1979.

12 See *Vita Sophoclis* 23 = Aristoxenus fr. 79 Wehrli (Sophocles used the Phrygian *harmonia*); Psellus, *On Tragedy* 5: «Sophocles was the first to take up the Phrygian and the Lydian [*harmonia*]. Old tragedy also used the Phrygian in more of a dithyrambic style. [...] generally speaking, Euripides uses many more genera and has much more variety than his predecessors» (translation Csapo-Slater 1995, 342-43); see also Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 258-60 and the discussion in West 1992, 181; also below, note 64.

13 Translation Barker 1984, 74. The *auloi* were a wind instrument, made of two pipes played at the same time by the same musician. Many translators, including Kovacs, use the word 'flute' for translating *aulos/auloi*, but it has long been pointed out that this is incorrect. The *aulos* had a vibrating reed, unlike the flute, and had a deeper (lower) sound; see West 1992, 81-109. On *aulos* and tragedy see Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 88, 156-64; Wilson 1999, 76.

14 See also *Hel.* 1352, Barker 1984, 74 n. 79, p. 76 n. 95, p. 267 n. 31. In reference to Greek *aulos* music see *IA* 438 λωτὸς βοάσθω. The line may be non-Euripidean, but it is very likely to have

root is often used to describe Phrygian music, suggesting loudness: wild emotions demand loud sounds. There was a special kind of *aulos* which is termed Phrygian in the sources, and had an even deeper pitch[15].

Another instrument that is connected with the Phrygians is, unsurprisingly, the drum (*typanon* or *tympanon*) (*Bacch.* 58-59):

> αἴρεσθε τἀπιχώρι' ἐν Φρυγῶν πόλει
> τύπανα, Ῥέας τε μητρὸς ἐμά θ' εὑρήματα

«Lift up the tympana native to your Phrygian city, inventions of Rhea the Mother Goddess and me»[16].

Phrygian song in itself is represented as a kind of βοή (*Bacch.* 155-59):

> μέλπετε τὸν Διόνυσον
> βαρυβρόμων ὑπὸ τυμπάνων,
> εὔια τὸν εὔιον ἀγαλλόμεναι θεὸν
> ἐν Φρυγίαισι βοαῖς ἐνοπαῖσί τε

«Sing Dionysus, to the sound of deep-thundering *tympana*! Shout to celebrate the joy-shouting god in ringing Phrygian cries»[17].

Mention of the *aulos* follows this passage. Phrygian music is particularly common in connection with the cults of Dionysus and Rhea the Goddess Mother.

1.2 Interruption of the Phyrgian tradition of songs and music

This tradition of Phrygian song and music is already present in the *Trojan Women*[18]. Phrygian songs (Φρύγια μέλεα) are mentioned in the *Trojan Women* (545) as a thing of the past. In the past there were occasions for public performance: this tradition is now interrupted. This is a major theme in the play; characters and the chorus make often references to it. The text mentions songs for the gods and *pannychides*, nightlong festivals with song and dance (*Tro.* 1071-73):

> φροῦδαί σοι θυσίαι χορῶν τ'
> εὔφημοι κέλαδοι κατ' ὄρφ-
> ναν τε παννυχίδες θεῶν.

«Vanished are your sacrifices,
the lovely songs of choruses, and in the darkness
the all-night festivals of the gods»[19].

Not all the old Trojan songs were cheerful. Euripides mentions ritualised *komoi* of young men performing some sort of ritual lament. Astyanax used to tell Hecuba that he would lead such a lament in her honour to her tomb[20]. The passage is important as it stresses that the tradition of Trojan/Phrygian song included mournful songs; the change caused by the fall of Troy is not simply one of tone, from cheerful to sad.

The songs of Troy were part of a regular, well-organised civic life, and were well structured; in the play, we find a series of distorted fragments of this tradition.[21] According to Damon, the most influential fifth century musical theorist, «styles of music are nowhere altered without change in the greatest laws of the city» (Plato, *Rsp.* 424 c)[22]. The *Trojan Women* represents the converse of this statement: that a breakdown of society cannot but entail a breakdown in musical tradition. In the play, ritual patterns of song performance are constantly re-staged and disrupted. Wedding songs and ritual lament (*threnoi*) are conspicuously distorted.

The most notable instance is Cassandra's wedding song. When she enters on stage, she claims that her union with Agamemnon is a 'marriage' and must be celebrated with a wedding song, a *hymenaios*. The union of Agamemnon and Cassandra is of course a complete travesty of a wedding and the wedding song is equally distorted. The wedding song is sung by the 'bride', Cassandra herself, not by the mother and the chorus of young girls, as convention dictated (308-40)[23]. Cassandra

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been written in classical times.

[15] Poor Paris is represented as making the best he can of his pastoral pipe in his attempt to imitate the *aulos* of Olympos (*IA* 574-79): βουκόλος ἀργενναῖς ἐτράφης Ἰδαίαις παρὰ μόσχοις, βάρβαρα συρίζων, Φρυγίων αὐλῶν Οὐλύμπου καλάμοις μιμήματα πνείων «piping foreign tunes on the *syrinx*, breathing imitations of Olympus on the reeds of Phrygian *auloi*» (translation Barker 1984, 92). Olympos is the mythical Phrygian singer credited with the introduction of instrumental music to Greece, and many other musical innovations, including the Phrygian mode (Campbell, *testimonia* 5 and 9): to sum up, «the founder of Greek, i.e. of beautiful, music» (Ps.-Plu. *de musica* 1135c).

[16] Translation Barker 1984, 74. I quote from Diggle's text of Euripides, unless otherwise marked.

[17] Translation Barker 1984, 74-75.

[18] On Euripides and *mousike* in general see Wilson 2000, 427-33. Wilson's paper includes a fine discussion of Euripides' *Heracles* and *Antiope*, among other plays.

[19] Translation Kovacs 1999.

[20] *Tro.* 1183-84 πρὸς τάφον θ' ὁμηλίκων / κώμους ἐπάξω, φίλα διδοὺς προσφθέγματα («I shall [...] bring gatherings of my agemates to your tomb and speak loving words of farewell»; translation Kovacs 1999). The term προσφθέγματα, 'shouts, invocations', suggests that these songs were short, but they were definitely customary and organized. It is important to note that it is the men who utter the lament, which is unusual in Greece (and at Troy, as represented in the *Iliad*), where the lament is the province of women: see Foley 2001, 26-29.

[21] Of course the Phrygian tradition is not totally foreign: Euripides imagines the songs of the Phrygians to have taken place on the same occasions as fifth century Greek songs, and some of these Trojan songs are imagined as falling into genres corresponding to those found in Greece. But of course what matters is what is different, and the difference is stressed.

[22] Other references in Barker 1984, 169. This view is clearly linked to the ethical implications that Damon saw in musical modes; see Anderson 1955; Anderson 1966, 38-42; Lord 1978; Barker 1984, 168-69; West 1992, 246-48; Ritoók 2001; Wallace 2004, esp. 249-50, 258-59, 263-64.

[23] Cassandra also stresses the lack of participation of the mother in the celebration. Euripides at *IT* 363-65 makes Iphigenia say that «my mother and the women of Argos are all singing the wedding-song for me, and flutes fill the whole house with music».

insists on the continuity between her present dance and the dances of the past: she urges herself to «strike up the dance as in *her* father's happiest days» (*Tro.* 325-28):

> ἄναγε χορόν-
> εὐὰν εὐοῖ-
> ὡς ἐπὶ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ μακαριωτάταις
> τύχαις.

«strike up the dance
(Euhan! Euhoi!)
just as in my father's happiest day»[24].

Cassandra is however conscious of a disruption in the ritual patterns. During her monody, she complains that her mother is always crying for Priam and the fall of the city, and does not lift up the torch for the wedding: she has to do that in order to fulfil the ritual (324: ἇι νόμος ἔχει)[25]. Cassandra takes up her mother's role in the singing of the *hymenaios*: it is Cassandra who begins the song, and it is she who asks the mother and the chorus to respond to her song and to join in the dancing (*Tro.* 332-41):

> χόρευε, μᾶτερ, χόρευμ' ἄναγε, πόδα σὸν
> ἕλισσε τᾶιδ' ἐκεῖσε μετ' ἐμέθεν ποδῶν
> φέρουσα φιλτάταν βάσιν.
> βόασον ὑμέναιον ὦ
> μακαρίαις ἀοιδαῖς
> ἰαχαῖς τε νύμφαν.
> ἴτ', ὦ καλλίπεπλοι Φρυγῶν
> κόραι, μέλπετ' ἐμῶν γάμων
> τὸν πεπρωμένον εὐνᾶι
> πόσιν ἐμέθεν.

«Dance, mother, lead the dance,
whirl[26] your foot this way
and that, joining with me in the joyful step.
Shout the cry of Hymen
with songs and shout of blessedness
to the bride!
Come, you daughters of Phrygia, with your lovely gowns[27],
sing for me of the one destined
for my marriage bed,
my husband!»[28].

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24 Translation Kovacs 1999. On this scene see Seaford 1987, 128; Rehm 1994, 128-30; Suter 2003, 8-10.
25 This refers to the lifting up of the torch. Lee 1976 *ad loc.* aptly compares *Med.* 1024 ff.
26 On ἑλίσσω and round dance in late Euripides see Csapo 2000, 419-24. He connects the round dance with Dionysian choruses and 'New Music'.
27 Note the combination of the Homeric epithet καλλίπεπλοι (Z 442 αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρωιάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους) with the post-Homeric designation of Trojans as Phrygians.
28 Translation Kovacs 1999, adapted.

Hecuba does not join in, nor does she take up her role as a chorus leader. She does not sing the *hymenaios*, as she is asked to do at 335[29]. Cassandra acts as a substitute song-leader, but fails: she cannot convince the chorus to carry out her orders and her ritual requests (338-41). At the end of the passage, Cassandra gives the chorus a chance to answer, but the chorus does not pick up the singing, and does not address her; they address Hecuba in recited iambic trimetres, commenting on the necessity to stop Cassandra. At that point Hecuba gives ritual orders to the chorus, but she urges them to take away the torches and to shed tears in response to the wedding song (351-52)[30]:

> ἐσφέρετε πεύκας δάκρυά τ' ἀνταλλάσσετε
> τοῖς τῆσδε μέλεσι, Τρωιάδες, γαμηλίοις.

«Trojan Women, take the torches indoor and in response to her wedding songs give her your tears!»[31]

The traditional ways of ritual mourning are equally distorted. Hecuba is so overcome by grief that she is not able to fulfil her duty as a leader in the lament (*threnos*) for her grandson Astyanax. The leading role in the lamentation has to be taken up by the chorus, and Hecuba barely manages to answer the ritual calls of the chorus (1229-37):

> (Χο.) στέναζε, μᾶτερ Ἑκ. αἰαῖ.
> Χο.   νεκρῶν ἴακχον. Ἑκ. οἴμοι.
> Χο.   οἴμοι δῆτα σῶν ἀλάστων κακῶν.
> Ἑκ.   τελαμῶσιν ἕλκη τὰ μὲν ἐγώ σ' ἰάσομαι,
>   τλήμων ἰατρός, ὄνομ' ἔχουσα, τἄργα δ' οὔ·
>   τὰ δ' ἐν νεκροῖσι φροντιεῖ πατὴρ σέθεν.
> Χο.   ἄρασσ' ἄρασσε κρᾶτα
>   πιτύλους διδοῦσα χειρός.
>   ἰώ μοί μοι.

«(Cho.) Utter aloud, mother, the groan...
Hec. Ah me!
Cho. of lament for the dead!
Hec. Alas!
Cho. Yes, alas for your miseries none may forget!
Hec. With constricting bands I shall treat some of your wounds, a poor physician, having the name of doctor but not the work. The others your father will care for in the Underworld.
Cho. Strike, strike your heads,

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29 Adopting Diggle's βόασον for βοάσατε τὸν of the manuscripts.
30 One can compare a similar scene in Euripides *IA* 1467-69, where Iphigenia asks the chorus to sing a paean to Artemis on the occasion of her sacrifice and the chorus performs the song as requested, after Iphigenia's monody. Order: *IA* 1467-69 ὑμεῖς δ' ἐπευφημήσατ', ὦ νεάνιδες, / παιᾶνα τῆμῆι συμφορᾶι Διὸς κόρην / Ἄρτεμιν· ἴτω δὲ Δαναΐδαις εὐφημία. For the performance of the song see 1521 ff.
31 Translation Kovacs 1999, adapted.

moving your hands in rhythm!
Ah me!»[32]

This reverses the traditional modality of lamentation: the traditional form has the soloist give orders to the chorus, who pick up her lament and repeat some of the phrases she used. This form is Eastern in its origin; for instance, it is found in the cult of Adonis and in the *Linos* songs[33]. We see instances of this form in *Iliad* 24, where the text mentions *exarchoi,* 'leaders of the chorus'[34]. We find a similar structure of antiphonal lament in a number of Athenian plays[35]. The Italian anthropologist De Martino showed that forms of antiphonal lament survived until the 1950s in Southern Italy; Alexiou and Holst-Warhaft collected evidence about the modern Greek tradition. Euripides reverses the relationship of chorus and soloists[36] in order to emphasise the breakdown of family and society, a breakdown that affects even the rituals used by society to deal with mourning. Note that in this passage from the *Trojan Women* the chorus tries to set itself as the respondent in an antiphonal lament: they pick up οἴμοι from Hecuba, but she stops singing and addresses the dead Astyanax in trimeters, so that the chorus has to continue the lament on its own (1235-37).

So far we have detected instances of the breakdown of song performance in the *Trojan Women*. Most of these considerations have been based on the comparison with other texts: these are inferences from the 'history of tragic forms', a familiar methodology in European scholarship[37]. We can strengthen these considerations by drawing attention to a number of self-referential passages in the play. In her initial monody, Hecuba displays a self-conscious awareness of the corruption of dance and song performance. At the end of her monody she explicitly admits that the aristocratic and joyful Phrygian *mousike* of the past (146-52) is gone forever.

She starts her monody with a description of her present, 'danceless', repetitive movements (120-21). Her rocking movements accompany physical pain, and are a substitute for a 'Muse' that is no longer there. See 116-21:

116   ὥς μοι πόθος εἱλίξαι
        καὶ διαδοῦναι νῶτον ἄκανθάν τ'
        εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοίχους μελέων,
        ἐπιοῦσ' αἰεὶ δακρύων ἐλέγους.

32 Translation Kovacs 1999.
33 West 1992, 339-40 and 388.
34 See Σ 51 ff. , 316 and also Ψ 17 ff.; Ω 720 ff. On the form of antiphonal lament see De Martino 1958; Alexiou 1974 (2002); Barker 1984, 20 n. 4; Holst-Warhaft 1992; Battezzato 1995, 137-81. On the 'politics of lamentation' see Foley 2001, 21-55, with further references. On lament see also Derderian 2001; Loraux 2002; Suter 2003.
35 See for instance Aesch. *Pers.* 1040 ff., Eur. *Suppl.* 798 ff., *Hel.* 164 ff.
36 In plays such as *Andromache, Suppliant Women, Heracles* and *Trojan Women*: see Battezzato 1995, 147-57.
37 See for instance the following important studies: Schadewaldt 1926; Kranz 1933; Jens 1971.

120   μοῦσα δὲ χαύτη τοῖς δυστήνοις
        ἄτας κελαδεῖν ἀχορεύτους.

«How I long to roll my back and spine about, listing now to this side of my body, now to that, as I utter continually my tearful song of woe! This too is music for those in misfortune, to utter aloud their joyless [lit. 'danceless', *achoreutous*] troubles»[38].

Instead of a dance, Hecuba now longs to twist her back and spine, «on both sides of her limbs, in endless tearful laments». She complains of the 'Music' that sings of 'joyless troubles'; a paradoxical music, because the troubles 'do not know the joy of the dance' (ἀχορεύτους). The aristocratic muse of her past is now replaced by the monotonous music of sorrow[39]. Hecuba describes the limbs of the body as τοίχους (118), the sides of a ship; this compressed metaphor continues the maritime imagery used by her at the beginning of her monody (100-5 esp. 103 «sail with the stream»). Moreover, it announces the arrival of the Greek *fleet* and its 'muse'. This is also the moment when Hecuba begins to sing (121-28):

        πρῷραι ναῶν, ὠκείαις
122   Ἴλιον ἱερὰν αἳ κώπαις
        δι' ἅλα πορφυροειδῆ καὶ
        λιμένας Ἑλλάδος εὐόρμους
126   αὐλῶν παιᾶνι στυγνῷ
        συρίγγων τ' εὐφθόγγων φωνᾷ
        βαίνουσαι...

        «Prows of ships,
        with swift oar
        you came to holy Ilium
        over the dark blue sea
        and the fair harbors of Greece
        with the hateful song of *auloi*
        blent with the voice of tuneful pipes»[40].

38 Translation Kovacs 1999.
39 The sorrowful Muse is paradoxically 'sweet' to the mourner, according to the chorus at l. 609 (see the Homeric phrase τεταρπώμεσθα γόοιο in Ψ 10 and 98, λ 212; see also Ω 513; Aesch. fr. 385, Eur. *Suppl.* 79 χάρις γόων): see Di Benedetto in Di Benedetto-Cerbo 1998, 73-78. On the «figure of joyless song» and «negated music» see Segal 1993, 17-20. Note that in the earlier tragedy Cassandra rejected a Muse that sung of *kaka*, sorrowful circumstances (see *Alexandros* 62g Kannicht = adesp. 414 Nauck; on the trilogy see Scodel 1980; Cassandra is not believed, but when people experience the unpleasant events (*kaka*) she has foreseen, they call her *sophe*). Mourning ritual included repetitive movements that can be described as a kind of dance: De Martino 1958, 206-207. Ahlberg 1971, 300 and Pedrina 2001, 35-37, 151-53 discuss possible figurative representations of a mourning dance (round dance around the *kline* of the deceased): see Athens, National Archaeological Museum 12960 and Athens, Archaeological Museum of Kerameikos, 690 (Pedrina 2001, 225, image 15; 265, image 44). Suter 2003, 7-8 briefly discusses the threnodic aspects of Hecuba's monody.
40 Translation Kovacs 1999, adapted.

L. Battezzato

On Greek ships the *auloi* gave the rhythm to rowers: this explains the presence of *auloi*. The old songs of Troy have been disrupted by the 'ugly paeans' of the invaders from Greece. The paean not only refers to the music played on board the ships, but also foreshadows the future hateful victory of the Greeks. Hecuba's lines are a pastiche of Homeric frases: Ἴλιον ἱεράν, ἅλα πορφυροειδῆ and λιμένας... εὐόρμους are all Homeric echoes[41]. Hecuba's own voice is cluttered with Homeric expressions at the very moment when she deprecates the arrival of the hateful Greek *mousike*.

At the end of her monody, Hecuba remembers things past. When Priam ruled Troy she used to lead the chorus in a joyful dance in honour of the gods (*Tro.* 146-52)

> μάτηρ δ' ὡσεί τις πτανοῖς,
> κλαγγὰν {ὄρνισιν ὅπως} ἐξάρξω 'γὼ μολπάν,
> οὐ τὰν αὐτὰν οἵαν ποτὲ δὴ
> σκήπτρῳ Πριάμου διερειδομένου
> 150 ποδὸς ἀρχεχόρου πλαγαῖς Φρυγίαις
> εὐκόμποις ἐξῆρχον θεούς

148 κλαγγὰν Dindorf: κλαγγὰν mss. ὄρνισιν del. Willink, ὅπως del. Dindorf
150 διερειδομένου Herwerden, Diggle: διερειδομένα mss. («leaning on Priam's sceptre»).
151 Φρυγίαις mss.: Φρυγίους Wilamowitz, Diggle, Kovacs

> «Like a mother bird to her winged brood,
> I lead off the song of lamentation,
> not at all the same song that I led off, as Priam leaned upon his sceptre,
> with the confident Phrygian beat of chorus leader's foot
> in praise of the gods»[42].

Note that Hecuba here uses the words ἐξάρχω, 'to lead (a song)', and ἀρχέχορος, 'leader of the chorus': in the past she was up to the traditional role of leader of the chorus that now (in the rest of the tragedy) she can no longer uphold[43]. In the past there was a distinctive musical and choreographic tradition peculiar to the Trojans:

41 See H 20 Ἴλιον εἰς ἱερήν, Π 391 ἐς δ' ἅλα πορφυρέην, Ξ 16 πορφύρῃ πέλαγος μέγα κύματι (Euripides reinterprets the meaning of the Homeric words), δ 358 λιμὴν εὔορμος, ι 136, Φ 23. On echoes of Homeric phrases in the *Trojan Women* see Breitenbach 1934, 270 and 277, Davidson 2001, 66-67. Di Benedetto in Di Benedetto-Cerbo 1998, 5-18 offers a subtle and comprehensive reading of Homeric and epic intertextuality in the *Trojan Women*.
42 Translation Kovacs 1999, adapted.
43 Tragic characters are compared to birds when they are afraid, or when they sing, or when they speak in foreign languages. Fear: Aesch. *Ag.* 1316, *Suppl.* 223, Eur. *Hec.* 177-79; Soph. *Trach.* 105; Eur. *HF* 72, 974; song (lament): Eur. *HF* 110, 1039, *Pho.* 1515, Soph. *El.* 148, *Ai.* 625-30; Eur. *IT* 1089; foreign language: Aesch. *Ag.* 1050, fr. 450, Ion of Chios 19 F 33 *TrGF*, Ar. *Aves* 1680, Hdt. 2. 57. 1, Soph. *Ant.* 1001. All these connotations are possible here, and in Euripides characters that resort to singing because of their powerlessness are compared to birds: *HF* 110, *Bacch.* 1365.

The New Music of the Trojan Women

note «the Phrygian beats of the foot» (150-51)[44]. One can compare Φρύγια ... μέλεα in *Tro.* 545[45].

Wilamowitz, followed by Diggle and Kovacs, thought that the gods needed an adjective, and that this would give the sentence a better balance (two nouns, each one accompanied by an adjective)[46]. He conjectured Φρυγίους instead of Φρυγίαις. However, the gods of Troy cannot be but Phrygian, as the city is in Phrygia for Euripides: the information is inessential. It is also misleading: there are no essential differences in religion between Greeks and Trojans[47]. More importantly, the text of the manuscripts is semantically richer: the Phrygian musical tradition is often emphasized, and its individuality is stressed[48]. Hecuba must be alluding to the specifically Phrygian tradition of music/poetry/dance.

Wilamowitz and Diggle prefer a more even distribution of adjectives, with hyperbaton in interlaced order. This is regular style in classical Latin poetry, but the lyric style of Greek tragedy is not so classically symmetrical. We often find that Euripides gives special emphasis to a noun by attaching to it a series of adjectives, leaving other nouns in the sentence totally bare. One can compare 519-21, were Ἀχαιοί at the end of the sentence is left bare of any qualification:

> ὅτ' ἔλιπον ἵππον οὐράνια
> βρέμοντα χρυσεοφάλαρον ἔνο-
> πλον ἐν πύλαις Ἀχαιοί

> «when the horse, reaching high heaven
> with its clatter, decked with gold cheekpieces,
> arms within, was left at the gates by the Achaeans»[49].

Several passages from Euripidean plays present a similar distribution of adjectives[50].

44 Di Benedetto in Di Benedetto-Cerbo 1998, 141 n. 47 aptly compares the nostalgia for older, more cheerful songs expressed in Aesch. *PV* 552-60, Eur. *IT* 218 ff.
45 See Eur. *Erechth.* fr. 370 Nauck= 369d Kannicht Ἀσιάδος κρούματα «thrummings of the Asian (cithara)» from Ar. *Thesm.* 120. Cf. κρούω (κροτέω) of dancing in Eur. *HF* 1304 κρούουσ' (Tricl.: κρόουσ' L; κροτοῦσ' Murray)... πόδα (πέδον Brodaeus), *IA* 1043, *El.* 180, cf. *Tro.* 546 κρότος ποδῶν.
46 See the editions Diggle 1981 and Kovacs 1999.
47 The possible differences are not given any emphasis in the play. Zeus is called πρύτανι Φρύγιε «Lord of Phrygia» (1288). However, that happens only in the context of a direct appeal to Zeus, where it is important to stress the relationship between the god and the lineage of Dardanus. The Trojans stress that they worshipped Zeus (*Tro.* 17, 1063), Artemis (551-52), and other Greek gods (see e. g. 69).
48 For instance, according to the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Paris played a Phrygian tune by Olympos when the goddesses came to be judged by him (see above, n. 15). See also Ar. *Thesm.* 120 Λατώ τε κρούματά τ' Ἀσιάδος ποδὶ παράρυθμ' εὔρυθμα Φρυγίων διανεύματα Χαρίτων.
49 Translation Kovacs 1999.
50 See *Tro.* 835-37: σὺ δὲ πρόσωπα νεαρὰ χάρισι παρὰ Διὸς θρόνοις καλλιγάλανα τρέφεις (καλλιγάλανα could be predicative), *Tro.* 1100-4: εἴθε(ε)... δίπαλτον ἱερὸν ἀνὰ μέσον πλατᾶν

Hecuba, in her monody in the *Trojan Women*, is theorising a refashioning of Trojan music. This was already a theme in the *Oresteia*. Euripides radicalises a musical image of Aeschylus. In the third stasimon of the *Agamemnon* (700-15) we read of a change in the music of the Trojans. Vengeance punishes

τὸ νυμφότι-
μον μέλος ἐκφάτως τίνοντας,
ὑμέναιον ὃς τότ' ἐπέρ-
ρεπε γαμβροῖσιν ἀείδειν.
μεταμανθάνουσα δ' ὕμνον
Πριάμου πόλις γεραιὰ
πολύθρηνον μέγα που στένει κικλήσκου-
σα Πάριν τὸν αἰνόλεκτρον
†παμπρόσθη πολύθρηνον
αἰῶν' ἀμφὶ πολιτᾶν†
μέλεον αἷμ' ἀνατλᾶσα

«those men
who graced in too loud voice the bride song
fallen to their lot to sing,
the kinsmen and the brothers.
And changing its song's measure
the ancient city of Priam
chants in high strain of lamentation,
calling Paris him of the fatal marriage;
for it endured its life's end
in desolation and tears
and the piteous blood of its people»[51].

In the *Agamemnon* the chorus claim that the Trojans have 'unlearned' the *hymenaios* for Helen. They have learned in its stead 'a song of much mourning', a 'loud lamentation', a *threnos*. However, this seems to be still a song that develops the traditional mourning music. In the *Trojan Women* Hecuba and the chorus unlearn their previous songs, but they also contrast their song with the songs of the Greeks and announce a new Greek tradition of song. The text of Aeschylus does not

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πέσοι †αἰγαίου† κεραυνοφαὲς πῦρ («O that… / in the mids of his oars might fall the hurled / lightning blaze …»; Kovacs 1999 follows Schenkl in changing αἰγαίου into Δῖον, 'of Zeus'; Δῖον would be the fourth adjective attached to πῦρ). See also *Ion* 888-90 εὖτ' ἐς κόλπους κρόκεα πέταλα φάρεσιν ἔδρεπον †ἀνθίζειν χρυσανταυγῆ † («As into the folds of my gown / I was plucking flowers of saffron hue / reflecting the golden light », translation Kovacs 1999), *Ion* 1091-92, *IA* 574-75 βουκόλος ἀργενναῖς ἐτράφης, Ἰδαίαις παρὰ μόσχοις (note that Ἰδαῖος would be metrically possible and very apt for the content: *IA* 1289-90 Πάριν, ὃς Ἰδαῖος Ἰδαῖος ἐλέγετ' ἐλέγετ' ἐν Φρυγῶν πόλει). A similar problem in the distribution of adjectives occurs at *HF* 361-63, πυρσῶι [πυρσοῦ Stephanus] δ' ἀμφεκαλύφθη ξανθὸν κρᾶτ' ἐπινωτίσας δεινῶι [δεινοῦ Diggle] χάσματι θηρός, where again Diggle prefers a balanced distribution of adjectives. Note also *Hipp.* 669, *Hel.* 1501; Diggle 1994, 95 and 418.

51 Translation Lattimore 1953. An echo of this contraposition between marriage song and mourning song is in Meleager, *AP* 7. 182. 5-6 = Gow-Page 1965, lines 4680-87 (see the note on 4680 for abundant parallels).

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make use of the contrast between Greece and Troy, and does not allude at this point to the Greek music and poetry that will take over the narrative about the Trojan War. Euripides narrates the violent end of the Trojan tradition: he makes the Trojan characters aware of the fact that the Greek tradition will take over their Phrygian music, and will narrate the story of their country. This is what happens in the first stasimon.

2. MUSIC AT THE FALL OF TROY

2.1 Disruption

The pattern of disruption, interruption and replacement of music is dramatized in the first stasimon. It is dramatized at two levels: on the level of the facts narrated, and on the level of literary and musical allusions[52].

The opening of the stasimon is an epic invocation to the Muse, combined with an epic and kitharodic formula (511-15):

ἀμφί μοι Ἴλιον, ὦ
Μοῦσα, καινῶν ὕμνων
ἆισον σὺν δακρύοις ὠιδὰν ἐπικήδειον·
νῦν γὰρ μέλος ἐς Τροίαν ἰαχήσω,

«Sing for me concerning Ilium,
O Muse, a new-made
ode of mourning accompanied by tears.
For now I shall sing a song of Troy,
how…»[53].

The stasimon makes use of common epic and kitharodic formulae: the invocation to the Muse, the request to 'sing', the use of ἀμφί at the beginning of a poem or of a line.[54] These formulae acquired the status of 'markers' of the epic and kitharodic genres in fifth century Athens. Comedians for instance used the verb ἀμφιανα-

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52 The chorus narrates the last public celebration in Troy and describes how the attack of the Greeks interrupted their last musical performance in the city. On the level of literary allusions, the narration is framed by a quotation of the Greek epic and kitharodic tradition; but the song of the chorus also refers to and restages the Phrygian musical tradition.

53 Translation Kovacs 1999; see also below, n. 56.

54 See especially: Terpander 697 *PMG* ἀμφί μοι αὖτις ἄναχθ' ἑκατηβόλον ἀειδέτω φρήν, *PMG* 938e Μοῖσά μοι ἀ<μ>φὶ Σκάμανδρον εὔρ<ρ>οον ἄρχομ' ἀεί{ν}δειν, *h.*Pan 19.1 ἀμφί μοι Ἑρμείαο φίλον γόνον ἔννεπε Μοῦσα, Aristoph. fr. 62 *PCG* «amphianaktizein: to sing the nome of Terpander known as the Orthian, the prelude of which began as follows: "About the far-shooting lord let my heart sing again"» (see Ion of Chios, *TrGF* 19 F 53 c), *h*Dioscuri 33.1 ἀμφὶ Διὸς κούρους ἑλικώπιδες ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι, α 1 ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα, *Ilias Parva* fr. 23 Allen = 1 Bernabé = fr. dubium 2 Davies Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε κεῖνα [ἔργα West, Bernabé] τὰ μήτ' ἐγένοντο πάροιθε / μήτ' ἔσται μετόπισθεν. On the kitharodic prooimion see Koller 1956. On Terpander see Gostoli 1990. On the metres of Terpander see also Gentili-Lomiento 2003, 74 and 207. On the links between kitharodic poetry and tragedy see Cerri 1985 (on *Helen*, but see pp. 173-74 on *Trojan Women*); Hose 1991, 302-6.

κτίζειν as a synonym for kitharodic poetry. The word ἀμφιανακτίζειν is meant as a reference to a *nomos* of Terpander, a semi-mythical poet who is supposed to have lived in the seventh century BC in Lesbos and Sparta. His songs were dactylic in rhythm, and he used the *kithara* for accompanying them[55]. The allusion to epic is clear from the invocation to the Muse, which is absent from the fragment of Terpander[56].

The allusion to epic and kitharodic poetry is reinforced by some metrical characteristics of the firs few lines. Line 511 is meant to scan as a hemiepes: this requires μοι to be shortened in hiatus, a metrical feature common in epic but quite rare in tragedy, except in dactyls (which in fact recall epic)[57].

The beginning of the stasimon refers very clearly to early Greek traditions of song and poetry. We can say that the presentation of the events in the stasimon begins with a peculiarly Greek voice: it begins with the song of the Greek tradition, a tradition that gives the frame for the narration. The characters of the Trojan saga 'quote' epic/kitharodic music and poetry in the tragic genre, alluding to their literary future just at the time when they relate the end of their own Phrygian tradition of song and poetry.

The chorus goes on to describe the kind of music and dance performed at Troy. They narrate the celebrations for the supposed end of the Trojan war, the night before the fall of the city. In this section they shift from dactylo-epitrites to iambics, moving away from the 'kitharodic' rhythm of the beginning[58]. Song and dance are characterized as specifically 'Phrygian' (542-47):

> ἐπὶ δὲ πόνωι καὶ χαρᾶι
> νύχιον ἐπεὶ κνέφας παρῆν,
> Λίβυς τε λωτὸς ἔκτυπει
> Φρύγιά τε μέλεα, παρθένοι δ᾽
> ἀέριον ἅμα κρότον ποδῶν
> βοάν τ᾽ ἔμελπον εὔφροινα)

> «but when their labor and their joy
> were overtaken by night's blackness,
> the Lybian pipe sounded
> and Phrygian tunes were played, and maidens
> as they lifted their feet in dancing
> sang a song of joy»[59].

In the stasimon, the Trojan women mention Libyan pipes and Phrygian songs. Pipes are said to be Libyan because of a particular variety of plant whose wood was used for making *auloi*[60]. We can be sure that the *aulos* was being used in the actual performance of the stasimon, as it regularly was in tragedy. The chorus project into the past their present dance. The speakers describe an *earlier* performance of music by a chorus of *parthenoi* and by the choral I. The description occurs when the chorus is singing and dancing[61]. Albert Henrichs has coined the phrase 'choral projection' for such situations[62]. The music played *in the actual tragedy* along with the dance of the chorus alludes to the music and the dance supposedly performed at Troy the night before the attack.

As we mentioned, the Phrygian *harmonia* was used in tragedy. Sophocles was the first one to do so[63]. It had Dionysiac associations, as we have seen[64], and was probably used in the *Bacchae*, to the accompaniment of *auloi* and drums[65]. It is possible that the 'Phrygian' mode was being used in the first stasimon of the *Trojan Women*, at least in the lines where the Trojan festival is described.

2.2 The 'music' of the Greeks during the fall of Troy

The first stasimon of the *Trojan Women* ends with the interruption of the music by the shouting of the Achaeans, and with the slaughter in the temples and in the homes of the Trojans. We may note the presence of the term *boa* at 547: «they sang a shout of joy». *Boa* is used in Pindar and in tragedy or comedy for loud songs of joy/victory; but we have seen that the loudness of the *boa* is also typical of Phrygian songs and *aulos* music[66]. The *boa*, the shout of the attacking Greeks marks the end

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[55] West 1971, 310.

[56] Di Benedetto in Di Benedetto-Cerbo 1998, 178-79 n. 139 stresses the similarity with *Ilias parva* fr. 1 Bernabé, quoted above (note 54) and discusses the text of lines 513 ~ 534.

[57] See Dale 1968, 35-36; West 1982, 11.

[58] For metrical discussions of this stasimon see esp. Dale 1971, 81-83 and Cerbo in Di Benedetto-Cerbo 1998, 271-74.

[59] Text and translation Kovacs 1999.

[60] See Thphr. *Hist. Plant.* 4. 3. 1-4, Barker 1984, 67 n. 34 and 275 n. 72.

[61] In tragedy we often find self-referential remarks about the actual performance of the music. For instance, Hecuba describes her own song at the beginning of the play.

[62] Henrichs 1996, 49: «choral projection occurs when the Sophoklean and Euripidean choruses locate their own dancing in the past or in the future, in contrast to the here and now of their immediate performance, or when choruses project their collective identity onto groups of dancers distant from the concrete space of the orchestra». See also Henrichs 1995, 75 and *passim*.

[63] See above, n. 12, and Stesichorus *PMG* 212; Eur. *IA* 576 (*auloi* and Olympus); *Bacch.* 127. It was often used in tragedy: West 1992, 181. Borthwick 1968, 70-73 discusses sources on the harmonic variety of Euripides.

[64] In the Greek tradition the Phrygian *harmonia* is associated with Dionysian ecstasy and celebrations, but also, in Plato's *Republic* (399 b), with prayers. See Anderson 1966, 72-74, 101-104; Lord 1978, 37; West 1992, 180; Gostoli 1995; Pagliara 2000; Grandolini 2001; Tartaglini 2001 and below, n. 125. On the «ideology of modes and genera» see in general Anderson 1966; the main sources are translated and commented in Csapo-Slater 1995, 343-47.

[65] Eur. *Bacch.* 127-30: βακχεῖαι δ᾽ ἅμα συντόνωι κέρασαν ἡδυβόαι Φρυγίων αὐλῶν πνεύματι ματρός τε Ῥέας ἐς χέρα θῆκαν, κτύπον εὐάσμασι Βακχᾶν.

[66] The Trojan also shouted a *boa* at the sight of the Wooden Horse (l. 525). I list some passages where *boa* is used of the flute: Σ 495: αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον, Eur. *Bacch.* 127 f. (see above, n. 65), *IA* 438 λωτὸς βοάσθω. In other passages, *boa* is used of song, especially epinician song, (wild) song of joy, or song for Dionysus: Eur. *El.* 879 ἀλλ᾽ ἴτω ξύναυλος βοὰ χαρᾶι,

of the Trojan music[67] (*Tro.* 551-57):

> ἐγὼ δὲ τὰν ὀρεστέραν
> τότ᾽ ἀμφὶ μέλαθρα παρθένον
> Διὸς κόραν ἐμελπόμαν
> χοροῖσι· φόνια δ᾽ ἀνὰ
> πτόλιν βοὰ κάτεσχε Περγάμων ἕδρας

«In that hour in honor of her of the wilds,
Zeus's maiden daughter,
I was dancing about the temple[68],
when a murderous cry throughout the city
possessed the dwelling palaces of Pergamum»[69].

The *boa* of the Greeks mirrors that of the Trojans: their song is described as a *boa* at 547. The loud *boa* of the Greeks stops the musical *boa* of the Trojans. The Trojan women resume their song in the course of this play, and as soon as they have the opportunity they take over from where they had been interrupted. The first stasimon of the *Trojan Women* is explicitly presented as the first occasion the women have for *singing* after the interruption during the fall of Troy. Note that the *parodos* is not presented as a song: it is a dialogue with Hecuba[70], the metre used is lyric anapaests, the most regular lyric metre, and very similar to recited anapaests. More importantly, the chorus members do not present their lines in the *parodos* as a song: as characters in the play they sing, but they are not aware that they are singing, and make no reference to that. The first stasimon is the first song of the Trojan Women after the fall of Troy. The first stasimon begins where they were forced to stop. It takes over from the interrupted song of the Trojans that is narrated within the stasimon itself. But in the meantime the Trojan voice has changed. It has acquired a Greek tone.

Pind. *Nem.* 3. 67 βοὰ δὲ νικαφόρωι σὺν ᾽Αριστοκλείδαι πρέπει, Ar. *Thesm.* 123 f. κίθαριν τε ματέρ᾽ ὕμνων ἄρσενι βοᾶι δοκίμων, *Ra.* 212 ξύναυλον ὕμνων βοὰν φθεγξώμεθ᾽ εὔγηρυν ἐμὰν ἀοιδάν. The verb βοάω is used in a similar way for song (Soph. *Ai.* 976 μέλος, Eur. *Tro.* 335-37 βόασον ὑμεναῖον... ἀοιδαῖς ἰαχαῖς τε νύμφαν, *Hyps.* I iii 16-17 = 73-74 Diggle Δαναῶν δὲ πόνους ἕτερος ἀναβοάτω) or music (of the kithara: *Hyps.* I iii 9-10 = 66 f. Diggle ᾽Ασιάδ᾽ ἔλεγον ἰήιον Θρῆισσ᾽ ἐβόα κίθαρις).

67 Another allusion to the initial monody of Hecuba is in the metaphors used for the Wooden Horse, which is compared to a ship (*Tro.* 538-39 κλωστοῦ δ᾽ ἀμφιβόλοις λίνοιο ναὸς ὡσεὶ σκάφος κελαινόν is comparable to *Tro.* 122 ff., esp. 128-29 πλεκτὰν Αἰγύπτου παιδείαν). Euripides had mentioned earlier the «high thunder of the weapons» of the Greeks (*Tro.* 520-21: ἵππον οὐ ράνια βρέμοντα). Euripides plays on the metaphorical links and contrasts between music and war that will be developed in full in the second stasimon of the *Phoenician Women*. The words of the attacking Greeks are given in Eur. *Hec.* 929-32.

68 For μέλαθρον referring to a temple see *Tro.* 1317 θεῶν μέλαθρα, *Ion* 1373 (*Hipp.* 748 del. Barthold).

69 Translation Kovacs 1999.

70 The women are mainly concerned with practical matters.

The last song of the chorus in Troy was distinctively Phrygian. But the voice that takes up the interrupted song of the Trojans is distinctively Greek. When the Trojan prisoners start narrating the end of Phrygian music they allude to a Greek tradition that post-dates the 'actual' date of the events. A 'new' poetry, a new *mousike* is given birth from the destruction of the Trojan city with its interrupted music. We do not know whether the Phrygian *harmonia* was used at the beginning of the stasimon. If it was, Euripides was offering a characteristic example of cultural colonisation: the Homeric phrases made the exotic, conquered tune into a Greek one.

2.3 A new song

This gives a richer meaning to the opening lines of the stasimon, where the chorus asks the muse for 'new songs'. Walter Kranz offered an interpretation of this passage that became classical: the chorus asks for 'new songs' and their opening lines are the manifesto for a new style in Euripidean lyrics[71]. According to Kranz, «this motto [sing me new songs] does not apply to this single stasimon only», but marks the blossoming of a new artistic trend, in keeping with musical developments in dithyrambic music. Kranz refers to Agathon (1933, 228-29). This interpretation will work only in so far as we identify the voice of the chorus with the voice of the author.[72] It cannot be denied that, after the kitharodic opening, the stasimon continues in an elaborate 'modern' style, which recalls dithyrambs: it employs for instance rare compound adjectives[73] and riddling phrases.[74] It has been pointed out that the chronological development envisaged by Kranz is too neat. Among other things, some plays earlier than the *Trojan Women* present stylistic traits that are characteristic of the so-called 'new style' of choral lyric; Kranz dated the *Electra* of Euripides after the *Trojan Women*, and this is very unlikely[75]. Moreover, the reading offered by Kranz obliterates a series of connotations that are essential to understanding the stasimon in its contest.

The chorus claims that their song is 'new' because it is sorrowful (note the adjective *epikedeion*, a song 'for the dead')[76]. It is unlike the 'older' Phrygian *molpe*. But it is 'new' also because it inaugurates the 'new' Greek genres that are created by

71 Other scholars, such as Panagl 1971, accepted and developed this line of interpretation. Di Benedetto 1971, 241 ff., follows Kranz 1933, 228-29 in considering the *Trojan Women* as a turning point and offers an important discussion of the stylistic evolution of Euripides. Davidson 2001, 77 argues that «the 'new' song of the chorus incorporates the notion of female lyric lament in a war setting, within the context of tragic drama».

72 This is a move that few critics now are prepared to take without qualifications.

73 Rare compound adjectives: 516 τετραβάμονος, 518 δοριάλωτος, 520 χρυσεοφάλαρον, 536 ἀμβροτοπώλου, 562 ἀμφιβώμιοι, 564 καράτομος.

74 E. g. 516 τετραβάμονος ... ἀπήνας, 534 ξεστὸν λόχον ᾽Αχαιῶν, 559 χεῖρας ἐπτοημένας, 562 σφαγαὶ ἀμφιβώμιοι, 564 καράτομος ἐρημία.

75 Other objections in Csapo 2000, 406-409 and 424.

76 *Alexandros* fr. 6 Jouan = 46a Kannicht = 16 Snell = 62 Mette l. 12 κα]ὶ ἐπικηδείους πόνους «the care for the funeral».

the violent destruction and appropriation of Trojan culture. Euripides dramatises the archaeology of Greek epic and lyric poetry and, through that, of tragedy. Tragedy is presented as an 'overarching' genre that not only incorporates earlier genres of Greek poetry, but can also include the narrative about their origins.

2.4 A metaliterary Cassandra

Another neat instance of metaliterary allusion occurs in the Cassandra scene, where she casts herself as both the Circe and the Teiresias of the *Odyssey*, announcing the fate of Odysseus with a speech (427-43) that anticipates Circe's instructions in κ 488-540, μ 37-140 and Teiresias' prophecy in λ 100-37. Lee and Biehl miss the allusion to Circe and Teiresias, and make reference to the prologue of the *Odyssey*[77]. The content of the speeches is very similar (the fate of Odysseus and his future adventures)[78], and some details are missing from the prologue. In particular, it is Teiresias that confirms that, as the Cyclops asked his father, Odysseus will arrive home «late, after having lost all his companions» only to find «sorrows at home» (λ 113-14, cf. ι 534-35), details that figure very prominently in Cassandra's speech (*Tro.* 433-34 and 443). Note also that Cassandra, as a prophet, clearly recalls Teiresias. So Euripides manages to include some *Odyssey* voices in his Trojan tragedy, giving us a *female* version of Teiresias (a notorious transgender character). Tragedy locates itself in the interstices of the myth. The Euripidean play announces but does not pre-empt epic: Odysseus is absent from the stage; Cassandra's prophecy is futile, and leaves untouched the traditional story. Odysseus will still need to hear the instructions from Circe and Teiresias.

2.5 Trojan self-effacement

In fact, Hecuba later explicitly prophesies the invention of epic. She is aware that she will be object of future songs. At 1242-45 she claims that future poets will sing the fate of Troy

> εἰ δὲ μὴ θεὸς
> ἔστρεψε τἄνω περιβαλὼν κάτω χθονός,
> ἀφανεῖς ἂν ὄντες οὐκ ἂν ὑμνηθεῖμεν ἂν
> μούσαις ἀοιδὰς δόντες ὑστέρων βροτῶν.

> «But if the divinity had not overturned things, putting what was above ground below, we would have been unknown [*aphaneis*] and not have been sung of, nor provided a theme for song to the Muses of men to come»[79].

This statement alludes to a group of famous passages in the Homeric poems, where epic characters expressing their awareness that they will be object of song for people in the future. In Ζ 357-58 Helen says that Zeus prepared a bad fate for her and Paris, «so that in the future we will be object of song for the men that will be» (ὡς καὶ ὀπίσσω / ἀνθρώποισι πελώμεθ' ἀοίδιμοι ἐσσομένοισι)[80]. Hecuba here seems to accept that she will be part of the Greek epic and tragic tradition. Cassandra had made a similar self-referential point[81]. At the end of the play, the Trojan characters themselves erase these allusions to the future fame of Troy. Hecuba herself and the chorus complain that the «famous name» of Troy will vanish with the destruction of the city (1277-78; 1319; 1322)[82]:

> *Tro.* 1277-78
> ὦ μεγάλα δή ποτ' ἀμπνέουσ' ἐν βαρβάροις
> Τροία, τὸ κλεινὸν ὄνομ' ἀφαιρήσῃ τάχα

> «(Hecuba) Troy, who were once so proud among the barbarian peoples, soon will you be deprived of your famous name!»

> *Tro.* 1319
> τάχ' ἐς φίλαν γᾶν πεσεῖσθ' ἀνώνυμοι

> «(Chorus) Soon you [*i.e.* the temples of the gods and city of Troy] will fall down to the beloved earth and be without a name».

> *Tro.* 1322 ss.
> ὄνομα δὲ γᾶς ἀφανὲς εἶσιν· ἄλλαι δ'
> ἄλλο φροῦδον, οὐδ' ἔτ' ἔστιν
> ἁ τάλαινα Τροία.

> «(Chorus) The land's name shall be wiped out! In one place one thing, in another another vanishes away, and poor Troy is no more!»[83]

This peculiarly Euripidean self-effacing move[84], contradicted by the play just performed, not only foreshadows the approaching closure of the tragic trilogy, but also raises the question of who controls the narrative about Troy.

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[77] See Lee 1976 and Biehl 1989 *ad loc*. On the *Odyssey*, esp. λ, see Di Benedetto- Cerbo 1998, 170 nn.121-22.

[78] The journey to Hades is announced in κ 488-540; Charybdis, the Sirens and the cows of the Sun are mentioned in μ 37-141; for the cows of the Sun and the death of Odysseus see λ 100-37.

[79] Translation Kovacs 1999.

[80] See also Alcinous in θ 579-80 (the gods planned the fall of Troy so that there would be song for future generations), Telemachus in γ 204-5 (there will be a song about Orestes and Aegisthus). Euripides takes up this traditional metaliterary device in *Suppl.* 1224-25: Athena mentions a song about the Epigonoi, alluding to the cyclic poem *Epigonoi*. On the epic passages see Nagy 1979, 100-101, 304 n.; Segal 1994, 125.

[81] She said that the *kleos* of the Trojan warriors depended on the Trojan war and, ultimately, on their defeat (*Tro.* 386): if the Greeks had not come to the Troad, Hector's courage in battle would have escaped notice (*Tro.* 397). Even Paris would have missed his ticket to fame, had he peacefully married an inconspicuous Trojan bride.

[82] See Di Benedetto 1971, 229-31; Gregory 1991, 176-77; Segal 1993, 32.

[83] Translations Kovacs 1999.

[84] In *Medea* 410-30, the chorus prophesies that there will be a change in the Greek tradition of

If the Trojan culture is annihilated, and the Trojans themselves recognise that the fame of their city will disappear, then Greek tragedy can step in. This explains the very obvious pro-Trojan stance of the tragedy. The Phrygians of the 5th century are all ignorant slaves[85], and cannot be proper heirs to that tradition. If Phrygian music and Phrygian instruments are to survive at all, it will be in Greek culture; they will be played in Athenian tragedies. Greek tragedy has the strength to incorporate elements from the Phrygian musical and ritual tradition, or at least elements that passed for Phrygian to the eyes and ears of the audience.

Tragedy puts on stage the violent end of a civilisation, the birth of a new subject matter for Greek song, and the acquisition of an Oriental musical heritage.

By adopting a Trojan point of view, tragedy can speak up for the defeated. This is the most authoritative way to achieve the ultimate appropriation of the Phrygian tradition: to speak up for the vanished barbarians of the past.

3. EUNEOS, MARSYAS, THAMYRAS:
PATTERNS OF CULTURAL APPROPRIATION

The musical and poetical tradition of the Phrygians is alluded to and partly reproduced on stage: but at the same time the persistence of this foreign tradition is denied. According to what the characters say in the play, the music and the songs of the Trojans vanished with the destruction of Troy[86]. The play affirms the presence of the very tradition whose end it narrates. This might seem a peculiarly Euripidean paradox[87]. What is peculiar to Euripides, I think, is the metapoetical aspect: the fact that Euripides links the end of Phrygian song with the birth of Greek song[88]. This is just one of the possible patterns for the appropriation of foreign cultural elements in the musical word of the late fifth century.

3.1 Eastern musicians in Athens

Eastern musical elements became particularly important in the second half of the fifth century in Athens. A number of poets and musicians introduced technical re-

finements and displayed unexampled virtuosity, bringing about a complete renovation of the musical tradition. The innovators included Euripides himself, Agathon and a number of writers of dithyrambs, such as Melanippides of Melos, Timotheus of Miletus, and Telestes of Selinus[89]. The main characteristics of the 'New Music' include intricate rhythmical patterns, abandonment of the strophic form, modulations between different *harmoniai* and other changes in the harmonic sequence[90]. New instruments were introduced, for instance lyres with a larger number of strings, in order to make it easier to play the new intricate harmonic patterns[91]. These technical innovations required professional performers, and many of these performers came from outside Athens[92].

Eric Csapo recently argued that «New Music was a new professional music performed by foreign professionals, usually of working-class origin… for the entertainment of the masses»[93]. Because of this, New Music was systematically characterized as 'Other.' «New Music was characterised as barbarous, servile, anarchic, uncontrolled and effeminate»[94]. Csapo rightly notes a curious complicity of the New Musicians with elements of this discourse. They often present their own music as Dionysian and «their project entailed the effeminization and orientalization of both music and Dionysus»[95]. In fact many of the innovations are presented in the texts themselves as linked with the East. The *Bacchae* is a prime example of this. According to the *Bacchae* it was Dionysus himself who brought to Greece the Bacchae, their music, and their instruments: the chorus brings «drums native to *their* Phrygian city»[96] and Phrygian *auloi*[97]. The Eastern origin of the chorus justifies the use of *typana* (drums)[98].

A strand of Greek musical tradition appeared nobler and more prestigious because it was presented as having a non-Greek origin. This is the first pattern of cultural appropriation that we can observe in relation to Greek music. A neat instance of this can be found in the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides. At the end of the play the text

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song, and 'feminist' songs defending the honor and fame of women will appear. In the *Heracles*, the hero questions the truth of the mythical events that lead to his own birth and existence (see the discussion of Stinton 1976, 83-84 = 1990, 262-64). At the end of the *Ion*, Athena instructs Creusa not to tell anyone that Ion is her son (*Ion* 1601), but the very play that includes this line testifies that the secret was broken, at some point.

85 On 'Phrygian' as a term of abuse see *e. g. Alc.* 675 f. ὦ παῖ, τίν' αὐχεῖς, πότερα Λυδὸν ἢ Φρύγα / κακοῖς ἐλαύνειν ἀργυρώνητον σέθεν;.

86 Yet every educated Athenian knew of the existence of the Phrygian *harmonia*, and had an idea of what Phrygian songs are like.

87 See above, n. 84.

88 On the metapoetical aspects of Dionysism in 'choral projection' see Henrichs 1995, 90: «each time tragic choruses relate their own dancing to Dionysos, they not only locate their performance in the cultic setting of the Dionysiac festival but also recall and reenact the distant origins of tragedy».

89 See West 1992, 350-72.

90 D. H. *de comp. verb.* 131: from Dorian, Phrygian and Lydian (but see already Sacadas in Ps.-Plu. *de musica* 1334 b) and from one genus to another (enharmonic, chromatic, diatonic).

91 *E. g.* eleven strings rather than ten (Timotheus, 791, 230 *PMG*): on this see West 1992, 62-64.

92 See Csapo 2000, 401-405; Csapo 2004; Wilson 2000, 82-83 and the evidence in Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 49, 76, 79.

93 Csapo 2000, 405.

94 Csapo 2000, 405.

95 Csapo 2000, 425; see also p. 426: «This new poetic-musical image of Dionysus corresponds to the wilder, more oriental and more effeminate Dionysus that appears in late fifth century iconography.»

96 Eur. *Bacch.* 57-58 τάπιχώρι' ἐν Φρυγῶν πόλει / τύπανα. The chorus and Dionysus both emphasize that these instruments were invented by divine beings (Dionysus, Rhea, Kouretes, and Satyrs).

97 Eur. *Bacch.* 127-28. On the role of *auloi* in the New Music see Csapo, 2004, 217-21; Barker 2004, 203-4; Wilson 2004, 274-77.

98 See Aesch. fr. 57. 10, Eur. fr. 586. 4; West 1992, 124.

suggests that the Athenian *genos* of the *Euneidai* preserved the musical tradition of Orpheus. Euneos, the progenitor of the *genos*, says: Orpheus «taught me the music of the lyre of Asia»: μοῦσάν με κιθάρας Ἀσιάδος διδάσκεται (*Hyps.* fr. 64, 101 Bond = 286 Diggle). Note that Orpheus is associated with Thrace (north of Greece, still in Europe, and west of some Ionian cities), but that his *kithara* is said to be specifically Asiatic. The Euneidai were *kitharodoi*, and the priest of Dionysus Melpomenos ('Dionysus the singer')[99] came from their family; we also know that the Euneidai played the *kithara* in 'sacred ceremonies', presumably in connection with the cult of Dionysus[100]. The Athenian tradition of cult music is linked to Asian music and to a Thracian mythical teacher: the context makes it clear that the great antiquity of the musical tradition and the exoticism of its origins increase its prestige. Examples like these can be easily multiplied[101].

Other patterns of cultural assimilation are less respectful of foreign influences. Some authors even erase completely the presence of foreign elements: Athenaeus 624 c reports a long passage by Heraclides of Pontus (fourth century BC) who «in the third book of his work *On Music* says that the Phrygian should not be called a separate mode any more than the Lydian. For there are only three modes, since there are also only three kinds of Greeks-Dorians, Aeolians, and Ionians» (translation Gulick; fr. 163 Wehrli). Not everything in this passage is clear, but Heraclides appears to be saying that some *harmoniai* which are designated as Lydian or Phrygian are in fact devoid of special characteristics and can be reconnected to the three Greek *harmoniai*, which form the basis of any conceivable music[102].

A more ambivalent attitude can be found in other texts. In the *Orestes* of Euripides, the Phrygian slave sings an incredibly elaborate solo piece. His monody is astrophic, and extremely varied and complex from a rhythmical point of view[103]. In a word it presents all the marks of the 'New Music', much more so than the stasimon from the *Trojan Women*. Yet, the character that sings it is presented as a freak, an Oriental eunuch who cuts a ridiculous figure as a total coward[104].

The *Trojan Women* present a different pattern of cultural appropriation. The Eastern origin of peculiarly Greek traditions of song is declared and at the same time denied. The pattern of negation and affirmation can be found in other texts in Greek culture. We have time to discuss an example from Sophocles and a piece of theoretical discussion given by Aristotle.

3.2 Sophocles, *Thamyras*

Sophocles wrote a play called *Thamyras*. Thamyras is the Attic form of the name that in Homer appears as Thamyris (Β 594 ff.). Sophocles, just like Homer, narrates the contest of Thamyras with the Muses, a contest that unsurprisingly ends with the defeat and punishment of the boastful singer[105]. Thamyras is from Thrace[106] - a barbarian from a region that is between Greece and the Orient, both geographically and culturally. From this tragedy we have a number of fragments mentioning musical instruments. Sophocles mentions a kind of harp called (fr. 239) τρίγωνος, '*trigonos*'[107].

Sophocles calls the *trigonos* Phrygian, in fragment 412, from another tragedy, the *Mysians*:

πολὺς δὲ Φρὺξ τρίγωνος ἀντίσπαστά τε
Λυδῆς ἐφυμνεῖ πηκτίδος συγχορδία

«and there is a loud[108] Phrygian *trigonos*, and the accompanying strings of the Lydian *pektis* resound in answer»[109].

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99 The temple of *Dionysus Melpomenos* was in the Cerameicos, in Athens (Paus. 1. 2. 5).

100 See Burkert 1994; *Poetae Comici Graeci*, ediderunt R. Kassel-C. Austin, vol. IV, Berolini- Novi Eboraci, 1983, 157; Harpocr. E 161 Keaney = *Harpocrationis Lexicon in Decem Oratores Atticos*, ex recensione G. Dindorfii, Oxonii 1853, I, 141, 1-3; Cassio 2000. Note that Cratinus fr. 72 Kassel-Austin ἀμφιανακτίζειν comes from his play *Euneidai*. On Orpheus and Dionysus in the *Hypsipyle* see also Di Benedetto 2005, 101 and Battezzato 2005, 197-99.

101 Other instances of this pattern can be found. Telestes fr. 810 *PMG* states that the companions of Pelops were the first to bring to Greece the «Phrygian song of the Mother of the mountains». Alexander Polyhistor (a historian of the first century BC) is reported for saying that the Phrygian «Olympus was the first to introduce instrumental music to the Greeks» (Ps.-Plu. *de musica* 1132 F; transl. Barker 1984, 209). Telestes (fr. 806 *PMG*) speaks of «the Phrygian king of beauteous-breathing, holy *auloi*, who first fitted together the quivering Lydian *nomos*, rival to the Dorian Muse, intertwining a well-winged breeze on his reeds with the voice of his breadth» (Φρύγα καλλιπνόων αὐλῶν ἱερῶν βασιλῆα, Λυδὸν ὃς ἅρμοσε πρῶτος Δωρίδος ἀντίπαλον μούσας †νομοαίολον ὀρφναι† πνεύματος εὔπτερον αὔραν ἀμφιπλέκων καλάμοις) (transl. Barker 1984, 273; see Comotti 1993). This can be compared to passages that tell us that some specific Oriental elements were brought to Greece by characters from the mythical age. These cultural heroes are now felt to be essential part of Greek culture. Another possible, common pattern is outright Hellenization: some poets claim that some peculiarly Eastern songs are in fact typically Greek. Damon of Athens came to be credited with the invention of a scale called 'relaxed Lydian'. Ps.-Plu. *de musica* 1136 E (chapter 16); see Barker 1984, 222 n. 114.

102 On this passage see Barker 1984, 281, 283 f., n. 115 and 117; Winnington-Ingram 1936, 13-14, 18-20, 60.

103 See the analysis of Di Benedetto 1965 and Willink 1989 *ad loc.*, and Diggle 1994, 373-99.

104 Other texts stress the need to subordinate Eastern elements to Greek music. A text attributed to Pratinas (708 *PMG*) claims that the Δώριον χορείαν (l. 16) is in conformity with what the *Pierian* Muse orders (l. 6) and that the *aulos* should have second place. On the problems of *PMG* 708 see Seaford 1978 and Napolitano 2000, with bibliography.

105 Homer attests that Thamyris was of Thracian origin: Β 595. What survives of the play fits well with the Homeric story.

106 This is clear from fr. 237, which mentions this region.

107 On the *trigonos* see West 1992, 72 n. 105.

108 For this sense of πολύς referred to sounds (sung by many voices = loud) see: Δ 449 etc. πολὺς δ᾽ ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει, Σ 493 πολὺς δ᾽ ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει. It is possible that the *trigonos* was loud here because in fact there were many such instruments played («there is many a Phrygian *trigonos*»: translation Lloyd-Jones 1996).

109 Translation Lloyd-Jones 1996, adapted; see Barker 1984, 270 n. 47 and 295 with n. 177.

The *trigonos* is there associated with the *pektis,* another kind of harp. The play *Thamyras* included mentions of *pektides* and *magadides,* that is non-Greek kinds of harps. It also mentioned Greek instruments:

fr. 238

> πηκταὶ τε λύραι καὶ μαγαδίδες
> τά τ' ἐν "Ελλησι ξόαν' ἡδυμελῆ

«Joiner-made lyres [=*pektides*] and harps that give octave concords [*magadides*], and the instruments carved from wood to give sweet music that exist among the Greeks»[110].

Thamyras must have sung in the play, presumably accompanying himself with a particular kind of lyre, which modern writers call the Thracian *kithara* or the 'Thamyras *kithara*'[111]. In the development of the play, the Muses defeat Thamyras. At that point he breaks the musical instrument (or instruments) that could not secure his victory. Pausanias describes works of art that represented Thamyras sitting surrounded by the broken fragments of his broken lyre (9. 30. 2; 10. 30. 8) and it is very likely that a similar scene was part of the Sophoclean play. We have fragments that refer to this aspect of the story:

fr. 244

> ῥηγνὺς χρυσόδετον κέρας
> ῥηγνὺς ἁρμονίαν χορδοτόνου λύρας

«breaking the horn bound with gold[112], breaking the harmony of the string lyre»[113];

fr. 241

> ὤιχωκε γὰρ κροτητὰ πηκτίδων μέλη,
> λύραι μόναυλοι † τε χειμωντεως
> ναος στέρημα κωμασάσης †

«gone are the songs resounding from the striking of the harp [=*pektis*]; the lyres and ... single pipes...»[114].

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[110] Translation Lloyd-Jones 1996.
[111] West 1992, 55.
[112] This might refer to the *magadis*: see Telestes fr. 808 *PMG* κερατόφωνον ἐρέθιζε μάγαδιν πενταρράβδωι χορδᾶν ἀρθμῶι. The *lyre* of fr. 244 l. 2 might simply be a periphrasis for the *magadis*.
[113] Translation Lloyd-Jones 1996. See also Strabo 10. 3. 17 κιθάραν 'Ασιᾶτιν ῥάσσων «striking the Asian kithara». Does this refer to Thamyras too? Note that Thamyras is mentioned in the same paragraph. Cassio 2000, 106 n. 32 rules out a tragic origin for the fragment.
[114] Translation Lloyd-Jones 1996.

The play was certainly rich in metaperformative associations: singing and poetry were part of the events described. It is not clear whether Thamyras played all the instruments mentioned, and, if not, which ones were played by the Muses[115]. Fr. 241 looks like a complaint by Thamyras about his defeat and the loss of his musical instruments. This would mean that the *pektides* of fr. 238 were his too. But we cannot go further than that. The metaperformative and musical associations remain vague for us, if fascinating. Their fascination was felt in antiquity too. The life of Sophocles reports that Sophocles himself played the lyre in *Thamyras,* presumably in the role of Thamyras[116]. This means that the ancient readers liked the idea of assimilating Sophocles the poet and Thamyras the singer[117].

Even if we leave the biographical question aside, as we should, problems remain. The main problem is the relationship between the poet *of* the play and the poet *in* the play. Did the text present the defeated Thracian poet as a Sophoclean hero? Were his musical instruments introduced as an allusion to elaborate contemporary music? Did Sophocles think of his play as being on the side of the victorious Muses? Could the Muses not be associated with the music of the genre of tragedy itself[118]? *Thamyras* remains tantalizing. Less than twenty lines are extant from the play. We do not have information on its date. We cannot be too confident in offering a reconstruction of the plot. What we can confidently say is that the musician, the music and the musical instruments of the East are projected into the past, as in the *Trojan Women* of Euripides. The Thracian music is again played on stage, and emphatically defeated by the Muses of Pieria, by the Hellenic Muses and by Hellenic music. More than that: Thracian music was not simply defeated; it was suppressed and superseded by Hellenic music: the musical instruments were broken on stage. And yet, this ancient Thracian music and the ancient foreign musical instruments were played on stage, were heard and seen by all spectators—they were liked to some extent by the spectators. So we find here the same pattern we found in the *Trojan Women*: the antiquity of the Thracian tradition is recognized; the play suggests a link with the music and the instruments that in the present are considered Thracian; and yet the foreign music is defeated and tamed.

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[115] Fr. 242 from the play is a genealogical poem in hexameters vaguely recalling Hesiod. This may have been the song of the Muses, who after all inspired Hesiod himself to sing (esp. *Theog.* 1-46; *Op.* 1 and 662).
[116] Athenaeus 20 F; *Sophoclis Vita* 5; see Radt *ad loc.* Lefkowitz 1981, 78 collects biographical information about Sophocles as an actor; she distrusts stories about Sophocles giving up acting on account of his weak voice. Many such stories about tragic poets seem to be based on fanciful inferences from the text of the plays, or from comedy.
[117] Biographical interpretations of literary works have been out of fashion for the past fifty years, and I have no intention of reviving them. Whether this is reliable information or not, it does not concern us here. I suspect we cannot place much confidence in biographical sources.
[118] I consider it unlikely that Sophocles would have chosen to ridicule the defeated singer by presenting him as incompetent.

3.3 The defeat of Phrygian music: Marsyas

Both Plato and Aristotle claim that the instruments played by Thamyras should go out of fashion: *trigonoi* and *pektides* are to be abandoned. They do not make explicit reference to Thamyras but recall the popular myth of Marsyas[119]. Marsyas was a Phrygian Silenus who picked up the *auloi* discarded by Athena, and challenged Apollo in a musical contest. The judges are said to have been the Muses, or Athena or king Midas[120]. We have fragments from dithyrambs by Melanippides[121] and Telestes, both from the end of the fifth century, or beginning of the fourth.

Let us read what Plato has to say on this matter (*Rsp.* 399 c-e):

> «We shall not bring up craftsmen to make *trigonoi* or *pektides* or any of the instruments that have many strings and all *harmoniai*… [lyra and *kithara* are admitted 'as things useful in the city; the *syrinx* is admitted in the countryside for herdsmen]. After all […] it is nothing new that we are doing, in judging Apollo and his instruments to be superior to Marsyas and his»[122].

Aristotle, in Book VIII of *Politics*, gives us an account of the *aulos* and its success in Athens. He says that the affluence gave the Athenians greater leisure and they set themselves to learning of all sorts in the period leading up to and following the Persian wars. They introduced *aulos* playing as part of the education and [1341 a]:

> «the majority of free men engaged in it […]. Their experiences later caused them to reject it, when they were better able to judge what is conducive to virtue and what is not. Similarly, they rejected many of the instruments used by the ancients, such as *pektides* and *barbitoi*, and those that promote the pleasure of people who hear their executants, such as *heptagona* and *trigona* and *sambykai*, [1341 b] […]. The fable told by the ancients about the *auloi* also has a sound rational basis: they say that Athena invented the *auloi* and then threw them away. It makes a good story to say that the goddess did this because she was put out by the way it distorted her face; but it is more likely to have been because training in *aulos*-playing contributes nothing to the intelligence [*dianoia*], knowledge [*episteme*] and skill [*techne*] being things that we attribute to Athena»[123].

We see Aristotle in a proto-Euhemeristic mode, trying to find an allegorising explanation for a mythical story that he cannot bring himself to find believable. The explanation is given in purely intellectual terms: Athena favours *dianoia, episteme,* and *techne*[124]. The mythical example is used as a basis for a project of rationalizing society and culture, for an attempt to purify the Greek tradition of some of the foreign elements[125]. Athena rejects playing the *aulos* and Athenian citizens should do the same. It is interesting that Aristotle is dealing with teaching: the masses of slaves and hired labourers are allowed their lowly musical forms. Entertainment for the masses is still admitted. This is the crucial point: a double standard is introduced. Eastern emotional music is admitted, Phrygian songs can be played, virtuoso *aulos* music is admitted in the city, but only at the cost of distancing it from the élite.

The dithyrambographer Telestes gives us account of the Marsyas myth that has a different way of sanitising it. He wants to save the dignity of the *auloi*. He therefore rejects the current version of the myth. He claims that it is incredible that Athena should give the *aulos*, which he thinks highly of, to a repulsive animal-like being. He says (*PMG* 805 a 1-4):

> οὐκ ἐπέλπομαι νόωι
> δρυμοῖς ὀρείοις ὄργανον
> δίαν Ἀθάναν δυσόφθαλμον αἶσχος ἐκφοβη-
> θεῖσαν αὖθις χερῶν ἐκβαλεῖν
> νυμφαγενεῖ χειροκτύπωι φηρὶ Μαρσύαι κλέος

> «I cannot believe in my mind that she, divine Athena, frightened by the ugliness unpleasant to the eye, threw it away again from her hands to be a glory for Marsyas, that handclapping beast born of a nymph»[126].

According to Telestes, Athena gave the *techne* of *aulos* playing to Dionysus (*PMG* 805 c 1):

> ἃν [=τὴν αὐλητικὴν] συνεριθοτάταν Βρομίωι παρέδωκε

> «that she passed on to Dionysus to be his best helper» (transl. Barker 1984, 273).

The *aulos* can be redeemed but only at the price of sanitising its not so respectable relationship with Marsyas, a repulsive Phrygian Silenus. In the account of

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119 On Marsyas in art and literature, see Schauenburg 1958; Leclerque-Neveu 1989; Weis 1992; Wilson 1999, 60-69, 2004, 274-77 and 285-86.

120 See Weis 1992, 366; Hdt. 7. 26.

121 We have a fragment from his dithyramb called *Marsyas,* where Athena rejects the *auloi* because they 'defile' her body: *PMG* 758 ἃ μὲν Ἀθάνα τὤργαν' ἔρριψέν θ' ἱερᾶς ἀπὸ χειρὸς εἶπέ τ'· ἔρρετ' αἴσχεα, σώματι λύμα· ἐμὲ δ' ἐγὼ <οὐ> (Maas) κακότατι δίδωμι «Athena threw the instruments from her holy hand and said "Away, shameful things, defilers of my body! I do not give myself to ugliness!"» (translation Barker 1984, 273). It is not clear whether Melanippides tried to defend the *aulos* in his poem. See also Boardman 1956, 18 ff.

122 Translation Barker 1984, 132-33.

123 Translation Barker 1984, 178-79. Ford 2004 discusses the role of music in Aristotle's *Politics*.

124 On these aspects see Wilson 1999, 87-95.

125 See also Segal 1997, 96. Even the less rigid Aristotle reproached the Socrates of the *Republic* for admitting the Phrygian *harmonia* in the ideal city. Socrates mistakenly thought that the Phrygian *harmonia* was suitable to imitating the sounds and cadences «of a man engaged in peaceful activities», such as persuading, praying the gods, and teaching or giving advice. On the diverging opinions of Aristotle and Plato on the Phrygian *harmonia* see above, n. 64.

126 Translation Barker 1984, 273, adapted. The 'beast', φηρί, is of course Marsyas: see *e. g.* Eur. *Cycl.* 624, Soph. fr. 314, lines 147, 153, 221 (also *Trach.* 1162). Telestes (*PMG* 805 b) explains that «this is an empty story, unfit for choruses [ἀχόρευτος: cf. Eur. *Tro.* 128], told by empty-talking minstrels, which has flown to Greece, an envious insult to clever art among men» (translation Barker 1984, 273) (ἀλλὰ μάταν ἀχόρευτος ἅδε ματαιολόγων φάμα προσέπταθ' Ἑλλάδα μουσοπόλων σοφᾶς ἐπίφθονος τέχνας ὄνειδος).

Telestes, in order to save the *aulos*, it is the Phrygian Marsyas who has to be suppressed[127].

Telestes denies any connection of *aulos* music with Phrygian Sileni. Vase painters portray a converted Marsyas who literally saves his skin by playing the *kithara* of Apollo[128]. Foreign music has to be rejected into a distant past, as in the *Trojan Women*. It has to be defeated by the Hellenic Muses, as in the *Thamyras* of Sophocles. It has to be disapproved of by a goddess, as in the Marsyas myth, or by the philosophers, as in the *Republic* and the *Politics*. These are the conditions for its existence in Greek classical art and thought. Non-Greek musical elements are admitted but distanced. Poets and musicians end up accepting this paradox: they glorify and deny the non-Greek elements in their art[129].

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[127] For accounts on the origin of *aulos* see Ps.-Plu. *de musica* 1132-33.

[128] *Marsyas* I 43 in *LIMC* VI 1 (Weis 1992): Attic Volute Crater (found at Ruvo), from the end of 5th cent. BC (Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 1093). See also Wilson 2004, 285-86.

[129] See the fine analysis of the myth of Medusa offered by Segal 1997, 99: «the flute's transformation from the Gorgon's wild, death-laden, liquid and monstrous cry to an instrument of Athena's artistry is a figure for the incorporation of the otherness of female creative energy into the polis […]. The entire passage of the Twelfth *Pythian*, then, makes the Medusa's cry part of the order of a "city" in athletics, music, ritual, and sacred space. Under Athena's inventive artistry, the radical otherness of the Medusa's wail is banished to a world of pain and suffering outside» (97) and yet «Athena's transformation and "invention" in the myth, mirroring Pindar's in the ode as a whole, recognize the pain and suffering involved in suppressing the Gorgon» (99).

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