

The University of Manitoba

Thesis

The Musical Revolution in Fifth-Century Greece

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ABSTRACT

Greece experienced a musical revolution in the fifth century BC which modern scholars call the “New Music” movement. The movement was encouraged by Greek culture which embraced change and innovation. Under the “New Musicians,” those individuals involved in the movement, many traditional elements of music were changed or discarded. The most prominent place in which to understand the change in musical styles is the dithyrambic and dithyrambic genres: both genres allowed musicians a great range in creativity to the extent that innovations in the *nomoi* made their way into the dithyramb. The change to traditional music was not always warmly accepted. Instead, while the *demos* enjoyed the new style of music the aristocracy derided its existence. The split between the demotic and aristocratic views of music may be seen especially in the attitude towards and purpose of the *aulos* and *kithara* in fifth-century Athens. Moreover, since the attitude of the aristocrats differed from that of the working-class musicians, we are able to see that the traditionally-minded aristocracy saw music as a gift from the gods while the working musicians saw the instruments and their musical sound as “tools.”

The New Music movement was encouraged by Greek society which rewarded novelty and innovation. As Athens grew to become a cultural hot spot in the fifth century, more people saw the incentive to becoming professional musicians; original music would be rewarded either by fame and glory of the festivals or by financial remuneration. As a result, a primitive “entertainment industry” arose at Athens and propelled the new-style musicians to pursue their original compositions in their professional careers.

The New Music movement also encouraged the study of music, particularly the study of musical ethics. In addition to having a status as a cultural hot spot, Athens also attracted numerous philosophers and other intellectuals. Those intellectuals contributed to

the debate about the function and value of music. As the New Musicians' popularity increased and the new style of music exerted an influence on the education system, emphasis was placed on the importance of the text and the development of the capacity to judge music. As a result, many philosophers and music theorists debated the moral aspect of music, now called the concept of musical *ethos*. The concept of musical *ethos* demonstrates that both philosophers and musicians studied music with a view to determining the most effective music for eliciting a response from the audience.

Through a study of the ancient literature, most of which deals with music only incidentally, we will be able to understand how the New Music movement was encouraged by Greek culture, given an incentive by fifth-century society, and studied by some of the most brilliant philosophers and musicians Greek history has known.

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Familiae meae:

νῦν ἔχομεν τὰς αἰρέσεις

To my family:

Now we have options

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------------|
| INTRODUCTION..... | 7 |
| CHAPTER 1: TRADITIONAL VS. NEW MUSIC..... | 17 |
| CHAPTER 2: THE GENRES..... | 31 |
| CHAPTER 3: THE INSTRUMENTS..... | 41 |
| CHAPTER 4: THE INCENTIVE..... | 47 |
| CHAPTER 5: THE SOCIAL IMPORTANCE OF MUSIC IN ATHENS..... | 71 |
| CHAPTER 6: THE STUDY OF MUSIC..... | 89 |
| CONCLUSION..... | 113 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY..... | 120 |
| DISCOGRAPHY..... | 123 |

INTRODUCTION

The Greek “New Music” was an avant-garde movement that rejected traditional music styles and, instead, explored the potential of musical sound. During the movement, musicians took liberty with several aspects of traditional music: they changed typical compositional structures, modified their instruments, incorporated various types of melodies, rhythms, and metres into their works, and added theatrical aspects into their performance, such as costumes and stage movement. The change in musical styles was brought about by the “New Musicians,” those people involved in the New Music movement. The purpose of this study is to examine how the New Musicians used the power of music in a performance context and what their study meant for Greek music as a whole.

Many major cities played host to the New Music, but Athens fostered the movement. Athens encouraged originality and alternatives to musical tradition, promoting their occurrence by hosting grand religious festivals. As a result, musical innovation became a prized commodity and a means of acquiring wealth. Some people who brought forth original and alternative musical concepts were motivated by the possibility of profit, others by the fame and glory of a festival victory. Further, the New Music movement was a product of the study of music which focused on the power of music and its application to performance on stage.

Pericles encouraged this movement, which valued diversity and new ideas. The New Musicians were enticed by the increasing wealth that the Athenian state offered in the popular *mousikoi agones*, music competitions, particularly for the *nomos* and

dithyramb. The New Musicians' interest in original and creative artistic music reflects a larger study of music in ancient Greece.

The chronological boundaries I have set extend roughly from the democratic reforms of Pericles (ca. 462/1 BC) to the end of the fifth century. Within that period I examine the change in the style of music discussed in the ancient literature. I concentrate mainly on the musicians mentioned by Pherecrates in his comedy *Cheiron*, cited in the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise, *De Musica* (1141c-1142a), such as Melanippides, Phrynis, Cinesias, and Timotheus. I mention other musicians only when the discussion warrants. The chronological boundaries need to be rough since much of the evidence about the New Music and its musicians comes from later sources.

The following sections describe the evidence I have used and the methodology I have followed, and provide a brief survey of the political landscape within which the New Music movement occurred.

Ancient Greek Literature Concerning Music

Often the ancient evidence for my study is hostile in its view toward the New Musicians. Writers of comedy, specifically Aristophanes and Pherecrates, had active careers during the movement and harshly ridiculed the New Musicians. The philosophical literature of the fifth and fourth centuries tells us that there was a great concern with the morality of music, views which modern scholars classify under the concept of musical ethics. Still other sources are late and therefore must be read with some caution. Valuable information may be found in the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise *De Musica* and Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, but some of the evidence in those works requires a skeptical eye. The

musical treatises of Aristoxenus and Aristides Quintilianus also figure into my discussion but not as much as the works of pseudo-Plutarch and Athenaeus. Both authors contribute a great amount to our knowledge of ancient Greek music. Aristoxenus, a student of Aristotle and active in the latter half of the fourth century BC, marks a turning point in the study of music. His method of studying music vastly differs from those studies before him: he relied upon perception and not the study of harmonics or acoustics or traditional stereotypes attached to certain types of metre, rhythm and mode. Aristides Quintilianus, whose exact dates are unknown, lived somewhere between the first and fourth centuries AD. Though he probably had access to material we no longer possess and proves valuable at times, his late date requires modern scholars to view his historical work with caution.

Fortunately, modern scholars are able to find much of the ancient literature concerning the musicians involved in the New Music movement in volume five of David A. Campbell's *Greek Lyric* (1993). The work collects several primary sources about Greek lyric poetry. The collection consists of various types of evidence, both early and late, and includes a diverse range of sources such as scholiasts, papyrus fragments, and excerpts from the aforementioned authors.

Modern Literature on Greek Music

Modern scholarship on ancient Greek music is slowly increasing. Andrew Barker's two volumes of translations, *Greek Musical Writings* (1984 and 1989), are integral to the study of the New Music movement. He dedicates one chapter (Chapter 7 in 1984: 93-98) to the musical revolution and focuses his discussion on the various reports about the new

style of music. He remarks on two points that need to be emphasized when we examine the musical revolution. First, the period was full of change as the musicians pursued original uses of metre, rhythm, melody, and poetic diction. Soon, however, artistry gave way to “elaboration and artifice” (Barker 1984: 98). Second, shifting from one mode (*harmonia*) to another, a process known as “modulation,” became a popular feature used by the New Musicians. The characteristics of those modes such as whether or not they belonged to any sort of “systematized” scale structure, are unknown (Barker 1984: 98).

Martin L. West’s *Ancient Greek Music* is a thorough analysis of Greek music. The book includes discussions on the voice, instruments, rhythm, melody, and several transcriptions of the surviving fragments of music. The synthesis that West provides in Chapters 11 (327-355) and 12 (1992a: 356-387) lays out a great portion of Greek music history from Minoan to Roman times, and places the New Music movement in its greater historical context.

The New Music movement itself, however, has only recently begun to attract more attention. The collection by Peter Wilson and Penelope Murray, *Music and the Muses* (2004), offers several articles that contribute to a greater understanding of the New Musician. One article in particular is Eric Csapo’s, “The Politics of the ‘New Music’” (2004: 208-248). Csapo provides an examination of the historical context, the style, and the reception of the New Music revolution. The article is valuable for its study of the New Music movement, especially the literature and images that stand as evidence for the movement. Also included in the collection are important articles by Robert Wallace, on the vaguely understood musician and theorist, Damon; Peter Wilson, who discusses the use of stringed instruments in Athens; and Andrew Ford, who analyzes the portion of

Aristotle's *Politics* which deals with music. More recently, Armand D'Angour reviews the evidence for the New Music movement in his article, "The New Music - so what's new?" (2006: 264-283). In particular, D'Angour discusses the advancement of professional musicians in the fifth century (270-276) and what the new style of music may have sounded like (276-283).

The New Music movement is obscure mainly because any discussion about it must infer many of its characteristics from sources whose primary purpose was not the study of music. These sources include literature (especially hostile treatment by writers of comedy and philosophy), vase-paintings, and archaeological remains of music notation and instruments. Because of the relatively isolated use of music notation, the surviving fragments of music are late and are usually copies of previous versions that are now lost. I do not rely on the fragmentary remains of the music, but refer the reader to the interpretations of West in his *Ancient Greek Music* (1992a: 277-326) and other published works concerning the fragments.¹ Much of the literature treats the New Musicians with contempt and hostility, while much of the archaeological evidence does not directly reflect the innovations of the New Music movement. Vase-paintings are useful to some extent, and S. Bundrick's *Music and Image in Classical Athens* (2005) discusses the iconography of fifth-century vases that depict musicians or music-related scenes. Bundrick touches on the music revolution throughout the volume, but dedicates the last chapter to a closer examination of its visual evidence. Vase-paintings provide some clues as to how Greek music evolved throughout the fifth century, especially how music

¹ The latest collection is by Egert Pöhlman and West (2001). Sound clips from the text may be found at <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/kal/agm/>, a website that is maintained by Stefan Hagel and West. Further, the ensemble *De Organographia* released two albums which used ancient instruments to recreate the sound of the music found in the extant notation: *Music of the Ancient Greeks* (1995) and *Music of the Ancient Sumerians, Egyptians & Greeks* (1999; see my discography for complete information).

developed from the preserve of the aristocratic elite to an artisan's profession.

Methodology

I am interested in a more general approach that examines the musical revolution in its proper cultural, social, and intellectual contexts. This thesis will primarily address the three different contexts of the New Music movement with a view to establishing the causes and effects of the movement.

The first part of this thesis focuses on the culture that bred the New Music movement. Chapter 1 compares and contrasts some important features of the traditional and new styles of music in order that their differences may be understood. Chapter 2 discusses the nomic and dithyrambic genres within which the New Musicians worked. Chapter 3 examines the attitude towards the *aulos* and *kithara*, especially the split of opinion concerning the history, use, and purpose of the instruments in fifth-century Athens. Further, I discuss how the attitude of the aristocrats differed from that of the working-class musicians. The former class viewed music as a gift from the gods while the latter class saw the instruments and their musical sound as “tools.”

The second part of the thesis, Chapter 4, discusses the social context that fed the movement. I focus on the incentive for the New Musicians to pursue their original music. Their reasons were practical and took advantage of the economic situation in Greece, especially Athens, in the fifth century BC. To examine the incentive, I discuss the relevant aspects of the Greek economy that allowed the New Musicians to pursue music as a profession.

The third part of the thesis considers the intellectual atmosphere surrounding the

study of music. I argue that the emergence of the New Music movement was part of a larger study of music. I attempt to examine how the New Musicians applied their knowledge of music theory to performance, in particular, the emotional effects of music on the audience. Chapter 5 discusses the reaction to the New Music movement at the end of the fifth century and throughout the fourth century, the importance of the text, and the focus on developing the capacity to judge music. Chapter 6 examines the concept of musical *ethos* and its origins.

Before I embark on discussing the New Music movement, I believe it is important to examine briefly the “stage” on which the New Musicians performed. The New Music movement received the greatest attention at Athens, a city that took immense pride in being able to secure the top talent from around the Aegean.

Setting the Stage

The New Music movement could not have flourished without a place to perform. Through the efforts of Pericles, a massive building project was undertaken in Athens that saw several grand buildings erected or replenished. Among them was the Odeion, a concert hall built especially for musical events.² The building was first erected under Themistocles but fell into disuse a short while later. Pericles, however, had the hall rebuilt for the purpose of hosting the *mousikoi agones*. Further, the building may have been used prior to the Great Panathenaia and other festivals for recitals, plot outlines by the poet, or some other meeting with all of the tragic poets along with their associated actors and *khoreutai* (Wilson 2000: 96 and n. 207). The building’s refurbishment may be seen as a move to bring Athens up to the status of “the place” at which to compete

² Plu. *Per.* 13.9-11; Davison 1958: 33-41; West 1992a: 348.

(Wilson 2004: 285).

There are similarities between the New Music movement and the rise of the democracy instigated by Pericles. Pericles promoted democracy as the ideal government and put through several reforms to usurp the power of the old aristocrats and place it more squarely in the hands of the *demos*. In 462/1 and 454-51 the powers of the Areopagus Council were reduced and redistributed to other positions, specifically to the Heliaea in the latter period (Plu. *Cim.* 15.2). Further, state pay for jurymen was introduced around this time.³

The purpose of the new form of government was to place the power of government in the hands of the *demos* and not the few (Th. 2.37.1). The two important elements of the new democratic government included: first, the capacity to decide on matters of state by way of the assembly, mass juries, a system of selection by lot, and payment for certain offices in which all citizens could participate; and second, that the high offices, those positions in which the person would advise the general populace (such as the generalship), should be entrusted to those best fitted and most able to carry out the required functions (Kerferd 1981: 16). The new form of government shared a couple of similarities with the New Music movement. First, the *demos* often became the judges of the music that was performed at the festivals, with their shouts and applause, which Plato called a “theatrocracy” (*Lg.* 701a; Csapo 2004: 213-14, 235-241). Second, the increasing use of professionals in the music competitions suggests that they replaced and assumed the religious duty of the citizens to participate in the choral dithyramb and other traditionally communal events. Although the democratic government was not directly

³ Ps.-Arist. *Ath.* 27. Kenneth Dover mentions that this passage was written with “anti-democratic eyes” and represents Pericles “as the puppet of a sinister intellectual advisor [Damon]” (1988: 140). Damon will become important later on in my discussion about the study of music in Chapter 6.

responsible for the new style of music, it brought with it a new, independent attitude.

Athens attracted a number of well-known people who contributed to the diversity of intellectual discussion, and many of them were friends of Pericles. Sculptors (e.g. Polycleitos of Argos), writers (e.g. Herodotus), Sophists (e.g. Protagoras of Abdera, Hippias of Elis, and the Sicilian Gorgias), scientists (e.g. Anaxagoras of Clazomenae) and the New Musicians came from abroad to Athens. There are a few common traits among this diverse group of people, including the separation of cause and effect from divine origin (as in the case of Anaxagoras), the introduction of fees for course instruction (brought about by the Sophists), an apparent disregard for tradition (in the works of Polycleitos and the New Musicians), and an increasing reliance on numbers to provide a basis for theory, especially in sculpture and music. For example, the sculptural revolution began with Polycleitos when he published his *Canon* and produced the Doryphorus statue to illustrate his text (Stewart 1990: 35). The first line of the *Canon* survives: “Perfection comes about little by little through many numbers” (trans. Stewart 1990: 35). His goal was to devise a series of integral ratios, based on arithmetic or geometric progressions (e.g. 1, 2, 3, 4...; 2, 4, 8, 16...), for the purpose of relating each and every part to another part and to the piece as a whole (Stewart 1990: 35). Through a system of ratios, the sculptor intended to find “the Mean (*to meson*) in each particular case,” since each particular subject was thought to have an “ideal set of proportions (*kairos*).”⁴ Pericles had created an atmosphere in Athens within which a number of intellectuals could carry out their work.

Athens was in a dominant position, culturally, economically and intellectually.

⁴ Stewart 1990: 35.

Hippias called Athens “the hall of wisdom,” τὸ πρυτανεῖον τῆς σοφίας,⁵ a place where the wisest Greeks could assemble to share ideas (*Prt.* 337d3-6). Robert Wallace writes about the stimulating atmosphere in Athens: “[t]he ongoing engagement of mass-theatre audiences with complex intellectual, political, and theological issues is a cultural phenomenon virtually without parallel” (2004: 255). Indeed, Athens proved to be a central location for many innovations in the arts and sciences in the fifth century, the New Music movement was one product of those innovations.

⁵ Pl. *Prt.* 337d6. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

CHAPTER 1

TRADITIONAL VS. NEW MUSIC

The New Music movement was encouraged by Greek culture, which fostered original and creative approaches to tradition, especially with regard to music. My aim in this chapter is to examine several traditional aspects of Greek music which changed under the practices of the New Musicians, such as composition, singing, and the number of strings on the *kithara*. Further, I will discuss the change in use of the fundamental modes, *harmoniai*, by the New Musicians. My method for this section is to present the general features of traditional music, and then move to the more specific changes that the New Musicians introduced. For much of this section I have relied on West's *Ancient Greek Music*, which provides the best analysis of many features of Greek music.

Composition

There were two types of strophic form in the ancient world which may be categorized as “closed” and “open” (West 1992a: 209). By discussing the two types of strophic composition, I will be better able to show how the new style of music contrasted with the traditional, “old-style.”

The “closed” strophe was typical of the Ionian and Lesbian solo lyric and Athenian popular songs, serving as a “conventional structure” for many different songs (West 1992a: 209). The best examples of the closed strophe are elegiac couplets and the Alcaic and Sapphic stanzas (West 1992a: 149, 152). A strophic piece would be small in scale, with between two and six lines clearly demarcated. Most often they were made to

familiar metrical specifications (e.g. iambic or ionic dimeter, glyconic), and several of the strophes could be metrically identical (West 1992a: 210). The patterns of arrangement could be along the lines of AAB, AB, ABC, AABC, AA, but not ABBA, AABB, or ABCA (West 1992a: 210), where A, B, and C represent a distinct metrical period. Further, B is usually a shorter or longer version of A (West 1992a: 210).

The New Musicians used an “open” type of strophic composition, a type which was characteristic of the Athenian dithyramb (West 1992a: 211). The “open” strophe was larger and more complex and extended over many lines, usually five or more, and the metre seldom determined the shape of a particular verse (West 1992a: 211). The open strophe consists of a number of periods each lasting for only a few syllables or as many as forty or more (West 1992a: 211). The periods were structured around rests in the text which were usually determined by the metre being used (West 1992a: 211).

Poets such as Stesichorus, Pindar, and others throughout the beginning of the fifth century BC used the triadic system which consisted of the series strophe-antistrophe-epode. The first two sections employed the same music while the third section, the “epode,” followed a different metre and melody. The whole sequence was repeated as often as needed, AAB, AAB, AAB, etc. The poetry may have been sung by the dancers or as accompaniment to them, giving the arrangement a musical and choreographic significance (West 1992a: 211).

In non-strophic (or “astrophic”) compositions, the words did not have to fit a “predetermined melodic frame,” and the melody could be shaped to fit the emotional nuances of the words by respecting the verbal accent of the language.⁶ West speculates that non-repetitive, continuously evolving music may have originated in instrumental

⁶ West 1982: 135-7; West 1992a: 198; D’Angour 2006: 276-80.

music, probably because a musician would find no point in repeating the same melody over and over and would prefer to repeat the melody with slight changes. However, there is no evidence for such a practice in antiquity (West 1992a: 212). The best examples of these types of composition are the *nomoi*, though it is important to note that those compositions used a variety of rhythms, tempi, timbres and different modes, so that the performer had to be a virtuoso (West 1992a: 214-15). D'Angour suggests that poets and composers would have made the compositions “their own” by selecting the modes, pitch keys and genera⁷ – selections that would have changed the *sound* of the piece, but not necessarily the overall melodic shape used for the words (2006: 279).

Astrophic music was made popular by solo performers, kitharodic competitions, and the *nomoi* (West 1992a: 214). The emphasis in the astrophic pieces, especially the *nomoi*, was on the talents of the individual competitor. The result of not being confined to strophic response was that the tune could better depict the text's imagery and emotional elements (cf. Ps.-Arist. *Pr.* 19.15; West 1992a: 214-15). The music of Phrynis, Melanippides, and Cinesias best demonstrates the use of astrophic music, particularly the influence of the nomic genre on the dithyrambic.

The careers of Phrynis and Melanippides mark a turning point in fifth-century music. Phrynis and Melanippides are reported to have composed in both genres.⁸ Phrynis' compositions were made up of a combination of dactylic hexameters and passages in free

⁷ The genera were sets of tetrachords with which the Greeks used to distinguish three “types” of scale: enharmonic, chromatic, and diatonic. The tetrachords were distinguished by the cluster of notes in the middle of the tetrachord, called the *pyknon*. West provides a possible reconstruction of the genera by using modern music notation. The tetrachords were as follows: enharmonic $e \uparrow f a$, chromatic $e f \# a$, and diatonic $e f g a$ (1992a: 162). \uparrow refers to a microtone, a note which, if placed on the modern piano, would fall in between a white key and a black key. The microtone is less than a tone or semi-tone, which the white and black keys represent. Chapter 6 in West 1992a discusses the basics of ancient Greek scales and modes.

⁸ For Phrynis as a composer of kitharodic *nomoi*: e.g. Athen. 638b; cf. Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1133b; Procl. *Chrest. ap. Phot. Bibl.* 320. For evidence that he sang to *aulos*-accompaniment and then turned to *kithara*-accompaniment, see Σ Ar. *Nu.* 971. Melanippides composed in both genres throughout his career (Suid. *Μελαννιπίδης* (2)).

form, i.e. instrumental passages with no definite metrical structure or corresponding words,⁹ and he incorporated into them *kampai*, musical “twists” or “bends.”¹⁰ They are described as “exharmonic bends,” which means that they went outside of the “prevailing *harmonia*” and were not just bends in and of themselves.¹¹ Those *kampai* were similar to the *anabolai* of Melanippides, a term that usually means “an instrumental preface to a vocal performance” (West 1992a: 357), a fact which indicates that Melanippides substituted *anabolai* for antistrophes.¹² Dithyrambos that were “through-composed” consisted of a series of sung sections split up by instrumental passages for the *aulos* alone (Barker 1984: 93; West 1992a: 357-8). In contrast to the predominant strophic music discussed above, the *anabolai* of Melanippides make the pattern: prelude – strophe A – prelude – strophe A – prelude – strophe B, etc. This “free form” was typical of solo auletic and kitharistic music, within which the melody could be shaped to the vocal style of the singer, thus improving the dramatic element of the piece.¹³

Melanippides and Phrynīs were professional competitors at the Athenian festivals around the same time. The careers of these mid-fifth-century musicians tell us that the dithyramb began incorporating elements of the *nomoi*, and that Melanippides and Phrynīs were among the first and most popular musicians to do so. Phrynīs is reported to have

⁹ Heph. *Poem.* 3.3 (quoted below, 33 n. 38); Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1133b-c, from a ca. 4th fourth-century source, probably Heraclides Ponticus (cf. 1132c); Barker 1984: 94, 211 n. 42. The older *nomoi* were “simply melodic schemes for singing verses of stereotyped forms such as hexameters or elegiacs” (West 1992a: 360 with n. 16).

¹⁰ Pherecrates *ap.* Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1141d-1142a; Ar. *Nu.* 966-72; Σ Ar. *Nu.* 969.

¹¹ Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1141d-1142a; Barker 1984: 94 n. 6; Anderson 1994: 129.

¹² The prelude served as a signal and guide to dancers. Throughout Greek music history, the verb ἀναβάλλομαι was used to signal the playing of a prelude (*Od.* 1.155; *P. N.* 7.77; Ar. *Pax* 1269; West 1992a: 205).

¹³ Ps.-Ar. *Pr.* 19.15 discusses the change from antistrophic music to the free-form, though Melanippides is not mentioned there by name. See Barker 1984: 93, and for the “free-form” see West 1992a: 198, 212-15, 358.

won his first victory at the Panathenaia in 446 BC.¹⁴ Melanippides' career lasted from 440 to 415 BC (West 1992a: 357), and he is believed to have performed his *Marsyas* at the Panathenaia (Wilson 2000: 39 n. 151). There is no evidence to link both musicians in a sort of “partnership” or some sort of musical exchange. However, the careers of Melanippides and Phrynis show an interest in combining musical elements from one genre into another which therefore created the “new style” of music. Further, as Melanippides used *anabolai* to separate the verses of his compositions, Phrynis used *kampai*.

The careers of Melanippides and Phrynis, however, contrasted greatly with a later dithyrambist, Cinesias. In contrast to Phrynis' moderate use of *kampai*, Cinesias notoriously incorporated the feature into his works.¹⁵ He may have placed these exharmonic bends either in his strophes or between them, but what is clear is that he added them in places that seemed unusual (Σ Ar. *Nu.* 332; Barker 1984: 94). In any event, Pherecrates blamed these *kampai* for making Cinesias' dithyrambs appear backward: “exactly like a reflection in a shield, the left looks like the right,” *καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν, ἀριστερ' αὐτοῦ φαίνεται τὰ δεξιὰ* (Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1141d-1142a).

The reports concerning the careers of Phrynis, Melanippides and Cinesias therefore show their interest in composing both solo and choral pieces and incorporating musical elements from one genre into another, the solo *nomoi* influencing the composition of the choral dithyramb. Phrynis appears to have been the first one to

¹⁴ The specified date relies on the accuracy of the scholiast's statement ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἄρχοντος, “in the archonship of Callias” (Σ Ar. *Nu.* 970). The Great Panathenaia (a quadrennial event) was not celebrated in that year, however, so the name “Callias” may be a mistake for Callimachus, whose archonship fell in 446/5 (West 1992a: 360 with n. 15).

¹⁵ Pherecrates *ap.* Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1133b. Practically nothing exists of Cinesias' works, though Page prints several fragments attributed to him in his *Poetae Melici Graeci* (hereafter abbreviated *PMG*) frs. 774-6. Other ancient authors discuss his career, many of whom are collected in Campbell's *Greek Lyric* (1993: 5, 40-59).

experiment with the new style, but Melanippides incorporated the nomic instrumental preludes into his dithyrambs. Finally, Cinesias tried the same sort of meld between the nomic feature and his own dithyrambs, but our sources indicate that he was not as successful as other composers.

The Sound of the Voice

Singing was often a communal effort. The most important aspect of singing was the clarity of the voice for the sake of communal participation. The listener was supposed to be able to follow the text and understand the story being told (Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1141d; West 1992a: 39). Above all, singing in smooth tones was highly respected. In the time of Lasos (late sixth century BC), it was an established feature and still admired in the time of Aristoxenus in the fourth century. The goal was to produce a sound that was loud and clear, the voice passing “imperceptibly” across each interval going up or down, and to “render the notes bounding the interval so that they are distinct and stationary.”¹⁶

Phrynis and Timotheus are the most prominent singers of the new style. Phrynis is reported to have been its turning point. From the time of Terpander until the time of Phrynis, music was “simple” and contained no modulation of modes and rhythms (Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1133b-c). But Phrynis’ musical experimentation was understood to have influenced the musical style of Timotheus (Arist. *Metaph.* 993b15-16). In Pherecrates’ *Cheiron* (ap. Ps.-Plu *De Mus.* 1141d-1142a), Lady Music complains of exharmonic and “over-shoot” (extra-high) notes, or *niglaroi*, meaning that the notes were played at a very high pitch. Though Anderson mentions that the term is sometimes identified with an

¹⁶ Aristox. *Harm.* 1.9-10; trans. West 1992a: 43-4; cf. Theophr. ap. Porph. in *Harm.* 63.10-20; Barker 1989: 114, with n. 19.

Egyptian whistle, it probably refers to particular moments of “earsplitting shrillness” in singing (1994: 133, 134; cf. West 1992a: 362 with n. 26). The “extra-high” notes Timotheus played are probably an indication that he used high notes as other musicians used *kampai*. Timotheus used *kampai* so often in his music that Lady Music complains about the poet: “he filled me full of wriggles just like a cabbage [full of caterpillars],” ὥσπερ τε τὰς ῥαφάνους ὅλην καμπῶν με κατεμέστωσε.¹⁷ Timotheus’ *Birthpangs of Semele* included some form of cries (probably performed with *niglaroi*) in which the cries of the goddess were imitated (Pickard-Cambridge 1962: 50-1). Phrynis and Timotheus completely changed the traditional style of singing, moving their voices beyond the reach of the amateur chorus.¹⁸

Strings

The standard, professional *kithara* in the fifth century was built with seven strings, although some vase-paintings show them with more strings than the standard (West 1992a: 62-64, Table 3.1). Ancient sources provide conflicting lists when giving credit to those who added strings (West 1992a: 63-4). Several of the New Musicians, such as Melanippides, Phrynis and Timotheus, are cited as adding more strings to the standard seven-string *kithara*. Pherecrates blames Melanippides for “slackening,” χαλαρωτέραν, music with his “dozen *chordai*,” probably referring to his use of more notes than the standard scales, and that he preferred the “slack” category of modes, such as the Iastian

¹⁷ Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1141c-1142a. The passage plays on the similarities between the word καμπή in its musical sense and καμπή in its other sense of “caterpillar” (Barker 1984: 97 and n. 19, 238 n. 205; cf. West 1992a: 362 with n. 27).

¹⁸ Cræxus was another important singer in the new style of music. We know he was a dithyrambist and is credited with using a combination of singing parts and portions of spoken dialogue accompanied by an instrument (Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1141a; Barker 1984: 234 n. 185; West 1992a: 359). Further, he is given credit for heterophony, in which he sang a note at a pitch different than the note he played (Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1135c, 1141a; West 1992a: 359).

or Lydian.¹⁹ Whether or not Melanippides actually used a *kithara* with twelve strings is hard to determine, but there is a possibility that he used more than the canonical seven strings to produce music that was seen to be “slack” (see Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1141d-1142a). Phrynis is reported to have added two strings to the standard (Plu. *Prof. Virt.* 13), and Timotheus used eleven strings (*PMG* 791.229-31). The number of strings on the *kithara* was important in antiquity because the instrument was seen to have a divine origin. Timotheus recalls the lineage in his *Persians*: Orpheus had no strings until he received the four-stringed lyre from Apollo, Terpander used seven, Timotheus eleven. The text may be understood to refer to the divine lineage to which Timotheus belongs, a lineage that allows him to modify the *kithara* as needed since his “ancestors” did the same.²⁰

The number of strings may have determined the sort of pitches available to the musician. The strings were aligned in a specific pattern: the bottom string, tilted down and farthest away from the performer’s body, was the highest pitch, and the uppermost string, closest to the performer’s body, was the lowest pitch (West 1992a: 64). Depending on the number of strings the *kithara* had, the number of pitches that the instrument could produce varied considerably. Further, with the increased number of strings, the musician would also require more technical training. Though the actual pitches covered by the *kithara* are unknown, the term *harmonia*, “mode,” refers to the scales of pitches that could be played on any instrument, which will be discussed in the following section.

Harmonia

The term *harmonia*, or mode, refers to a “special type of scale” (LSJ *s.v.* ἁρμονία IV.3).

¹⁹ Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1136c (= Aristoxenus fr. 80 Wehrli), 1141d-1142a. For the “slack” modes, see Pl. *R.* 398e10; West 1992a: 179, 181-2, 358.

²⁰ Timotheus does not mention any of the inventions attributed to Phrynis (West 1992a: 362 with n. 22).

The original meaning of the term *harmonia* in Homeric epic is “joint, connection, adaptation” and thus “pact, convention,” but with respect to music the term may be defined as the “tuning of an instrument” (*Od.* 5.248; cf. Comotti 1989: 24-5). In a basic sense, the term referred to the tones that an instrument would make if tuned in a specific manner. To Plato, *harmonia* was the melodic counterpart to rhythm (*Lg.* 665a). The term “mode” most of all implies a distinctive series of intervals in the scale spanning an octave, each having a certain range, called ambitus.²¹ The term ambitus refers to a segment of a theoretical scale, including the number of notes above and below the tonic note, “and their relative importance in the melody” (West 1992a: 172-74). Around the time Plato was writing his *Republic*, theorists were becoming interested in creating a “single, co-ordinated system” of the existing *harmoniai*, but it is unclear if the system reflected performance, if it was more artificial, or if it was familiar to Plato (Barker 1984: 164).

Plato and other writers of his time used the term *harmoniai* in the plural and distinguished each *harmonia* by using the names of certain geographical areas, such as the “Dorian” and “Phrygian” (Barker 1984: 164). Aristides Quintilianus preserves some earlier scale systems used in the fifth century which may have some connection with Damon. They were: Tense Lydian, Ionian, Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Mixolydian.²² Barker treats the list with “cautious respect” since the information appears to have been

²¹ Western music has used the term “mode” to describe the feeling of a given set of intervals, e.g. the major mode is happier than the minor mode (Barker 1989: 14; West 1992a: 177).

²² *De Mus.* 1.18.5-19.10; West 1992a: 174 and nn. 47, 48. Barker discusses two sets of *harmoniai* reported by Aristides Quintilianus. One set is reported to be the scales to which Plato refers in his *Republic* (Aristid. Quint. 18.5), while the second set is the later “organized” system constructed by theorists (Aristid. Quint. 15.10). Further, the names of the ancient modes that Aristides provides should not be confused with the later Gregorian modes of mediaeval Church music. The Gregorian modes were developed in the eighth century AD and bear little similarity to the ancient modes (Landels 1999: 96).

derived from Aristoxenus and his predecessors.²³ One interpretation of the naming scheme of the *harmoniai* reasons that they were meant to distinguish certain geographical and cultural elements, hence, Αἰολίς = “Aeolian,” Αἰολιστὶ = “in the Aeolic manner,” but there is no clear evidence that this was the case.²⁴ Each of the *harmoniai* differed from one another by the selection of the notes used and its ambitus.²⁵ In any event, Barker thinks that Plato had in mind the pitch melodies in performance, not “those suggested by a theorist’s diagrammatic representation of scales.”²⁶

All of the systems were considered “closed” since they went no further than the specified number of notes above and below the tonic note (West 1992a: 174). For example, if the Dorian begins with a *d*, that *d* note was not necessarily repeated after the procession up an octave (West 1992a: 174). Rather, the Dorian skips the *d* note an octave higher and proceeds to the *e* note instead (West 1992a: 174-77). Barker points out that these ancient scales reported by Aristides Quintilianus contain some “gaps” in which we would expect there to be notes, and some have notes where we might expect an “undivided interval” (1982: 184). The ranges of the scales vary, falling between the two extremes of the Tense Lydian, which spans only a fourth, and the Dorian, which spans a ninth (West 1992a: 174). Therefore, the typical *kithara* from the Classical period with seven strings could not sound a full diatonic octave (i.e. an octave without microtones),

²³ Barker 1984: 165; cf. Barker 1982: 184, 185, 196-97.

²⁴ Anderson 1966: 25-26; Comotti 1989: 25; West 1992a: 177. Anderson acknowledges the limitations in the modern understanding of what exactly the *harmoniai* were and what their names meant in the fifth century (1966: 26). The entry in the *Oxford Music Online* (hereafter abbreviated *OMO*), written by Anderson and Thomas J. Mathiesen, rejects the claim that the modes were named after specific geographic regions (*s.v.* “Ethos”).

²⁵ Though we cannot define their exact intervallic relationships, Barker provides two tables that list the “sequence of intervals” that Aristides provides (Aristid. Quint. 18.5-19.11; Barker 1984: 165; Comotti 1989: 25; West 1992a: 178).

²⁶ Barker 1984: 165. In particular, the Mixolydian and Syntonolydian modes are associated with high pitch (Pl. *R.* 398e); Iastian and Lydian are considered “slack” (Pl. *R.* 398e); the Dorian was considered firm and resolute; while the Phrygian was temperate (Pl. *R.* 399a). See Barker 1984: 166-168.

though a skilled virtuoso may have been able to pull other tones (West 1992a: 176). The musical range of the *aulos* was only about six fundamental notes, though part-stopping a hole could produce microtones and overblowing could reach higher notes (West 1992a: 176). When a musician incorporated *kampai* into his compositions, it indicated that some of the notes he played went outside the established scale for that particular melody and, more importantly, that particular song. I have already mentioned that our sources indicate that music until Phrynis' time was considered simple because it used only one mode and rhythm. The New Musicians changed the simple style of music by modulating from one mode to another. Before I further discuss the change Phrynis introduced, I should like to describe what "modulation" is.

One of the characteristics of the new style of music was the movement from one scale to another, a process known as modulation. There were basically four kinds of modulation,²⁷ three of which pertain to the New Music movement: 1) of genus, e.g. from diatonic to chromatic or enharmonic; 2) of *systema*, the scale of notes used, from a conjunct to a disjunct sequence of tetrachords, or vice versa²⁸; 3) of *ethos*, from grand to sensuous, or from calm to vigorous.²⁹ The exact use of each form of modulation and the particular musician who used it are difficult to ascertain. At least two of the New Musicians, Phrynis and Philoxenus, are known to have frequently modulated in their compositions.

Phrynis is one of the first musicians to modulate between modes. Reports

²⁷ I draw my information from West 1992a: 195, but his n. 9 provides the ancient sources.

²⁸ This form of modulation meant moving from one type of scale to another, which probably refers to the practice of moving from, for example, the Dorian to the Phrygian in a single composition, perhaps using *kampai* to perform the modulation. West discusses Ptolemy's later interpretation of this form of modulation (1992a: 195).

²⁹ The fourth type of modulation was of key, but it may be a later form of modulation since the "keys," *tonoi*, were not fully described until the time of Aristoxenus (later fourth century; Barker 1984: 164).

concerning Phrynis' career suggest that he adhered to one *harmonia* in his compositions but threw in “note flourishes” between each “musical paragraph,” which suggests that he used the second type of modulation, modulation between *different scales*, i.e. systems of tuning (Barker 1984: 94; West 1992a: 360). The Pseudo-Plutarchean treatise preserves a fragment from Pherecrates' *Cheiron* which describes Phrynis' music:

Φρῦνις δ' ἴδιον στρόβιλον ἐμβαλὼν τινα
κάμπτων με καὶ στρέφων ὅλην διέφθορον,
ἐν πέντε χορδαῖς δώδεχ' ἁρμονίας ἔχων.
ἀλλ' οὖν ἔμοιγε χούτος ἦν ἀποχρῶν ἀνὴρ
εἰ γὰρ τι κάξήμαρτεν, αὐτίς ἀνέλαβεν.³⁰

Phrynis, however, put in his own peg
and by twisting me and turning me he completely destroyed me,
and on five strings he had a dozen tunings.
But he was certainly sufficient for me,
for if he did make a mistake, he made it good again.³¹

Στρόβιλος in the first line of the above passage could mean “whirlwind,” “a wild flurry of notes,” a “pine-cone,” or it could be some sort of device that Phrynis used in order to achieve an extended range of notes.³² In this passage, however, it means “peg,” i.e. something that has been shoved in unwillingly, and carries with it the sexual double entendre that Lady Music has been raped (see also D'Angour 2006: 269). Therefore the effect of Phrynis' music on Lady Music could imply a physical act, e.g. that Lady Music has literally been raped because of Phrynis' music, or it could imply that Phrynis is an enigma to Lady Music (and to others as well) in the sense that his compositions were

³⁰ fr. 155 = Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1141f.

³¹ See Campbell's notes at 1993: 63, especially for the discrepancy in line 3 regarding how many tunings and strings Phrynis actually used. Anderson comments on the passage, stating that χορδή probably means “note” rather than “string,” and the word δώδεκα is probably a round-about number, like the word πέντε standing for “a few” (1994: 128-9, 131). See also West 1992a: 360-1 for his interpretation of the passage, particularly lines 1 and 3 and the next note.

³² West interprets the meaning of στρόβιλος in the first line as “a wild flurry of notes” and rejects Düring's interpretation that the word refers to some sort of “conical gadget for altering the tuning of a lyre-string” (Düring 1945: 187), but both agree that the term generally means something twisted up (West 1992a: 360 n. 19). Düring and West both refer to fr. 285 of Plato the comedian in which the definition is probably “whirlwind” (Düring 1945: 187; West 1992a: 360).

confusing and not easy to follow. In lines 4 and 5, however, Lady Music seems reconciled with Phrynis since he apparently reverted to the “old style” of composition. He might have used modulations as “flurries” during a regular composition in the sense that he would play one system of tuning throughout, throw in a flurry of notes between each “musical paragraph,” and then continue in the piece’s original system of tuning, e.g. *harmonia-kampai-harmonia-kampai*, etc. The exharmonic note-flourishes may have been only brief and temporary (West 1992a: 361), but that still leaves open to debate whether or not his *career* was defined by modulating between modes. It may be that after a few compositions in which he experimented with the *strobilos* effect, either the whirling notes or the physical device, and the use of *kampai*, he returned to the old style of composition without modulation.

Philoxenus was another musician who often modulated between modes. He used several modes in one piece, including the Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian, and was able to shift between the different genera (the enharmonic, chromatic and diatonic), and, while playing, he could vary the rhythms as he pleased to change the melodic lines (Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 131 R.). His music probably had a “push and pull” effect that could have evoked different emotions from the audience during his performances. We have a detailed analysis of the modality of Philoxenus’ *Mysians* which may have been done by Aristoxenus. The first part of the *Mysians* is Hypodorian, the middle is Hypophrygian and Phrygian, and its last section is Dorian and Mixolydian.³³ Aristotle reports that the composer tried to compose a dithyramb in the Dorian mode but failed: “because of its very nature, he fell back into the proper Phrygian mode again,” ἄλλ’ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν Φρυγιστὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἁρμονίαν πάλιν (*Pol.* 1342b6-11 =

³³ Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1142f; West 1992a: 364 and n. 35.

PMG 826).

The preceding section has discussed the particular features of traditional music that changed under the influence of the New Musicians. During the New Music period several traditional components changed, such as compositional structure, the method of singing, the number of strings on the *kithara*, and the use of the *harmoniai*. These changes to music-making often originated in the dithyrambic and nomic genres.

CHAPTER 2

THE GENRES

In this chapter I will examine the nomic and dithyrambic genres in which the New Musicians introduced their changes in music-making. For a full discussion of the term *nomos*, I refer the reader to Appendix A in Barker 1984: 249-55. At some point in the fifth century BC the term began to be used as a musical term and often referred to a certain type of melody; fourth-century sources describe the composition as a themed piece for solo musicians. Further, the solo nome was often contrasted with the choral dithyramb. The choral dithyramb was a malleable genre and it underwent an important “renewal” under the New Musicians. Both genres, however, allowed the greatest flexibility for artistic creativity and offered the New Musicians a playground of opportunities for their inventions.

Nomoi

Generally, the best description of the *nomoi* is that they were solo pieces, either instrumental or vocal (with accompaniment), governed by strict rules about their performance (Barker 1984: 255). In terms of content, a *nomos* was usually associated with a particular god or goddess, but not always, e.g. the *Pythikos nomos* was associated with Apollo, but the *tetraoidos nomos* had no divine association. The “genre,” if it may in fact be called that, was originally a ritual piece and may have had a certain function at religious festivals in pre-Classical Greek music (cf. Comotti 1989: 24-5). By the time the music competitions at Athens were instituted in the sixth century, the class of the *nomoi* (kitharodic, auletic) and its type (according to the divinity to whom the piece would be

dedicated) were selected prior to each competition, a practice which may be derived from ritual cult origins.³⁴ There were four types: the first two, the aulodic and kitharodic, involved pairs of performers, featuring a singer, who was considered the soloist, and an accompanying musician; the other two, the auletic and kitharistic, were purely instrumental and played by a lone musician.³⁵ The last important feature of the nomic pieces is that they often utilized mimetic effects, such as *niglaroi*, stage movement, or facial expressions, to help tell the story.

At some point in the fifth and fourth centuries the term *nomos* became associated with a musical genre. To most fifth-century Greeks the term may have been connected in some way to rules or “laws” (*nomoi*) that possibly had governed earlier musical forms by which they had been characterized and divided into different types (Barker 1984: 249); Plato uses the term in such a manner (e.g. Pl. *Lg.* 700b-c, 799e-800a). Heraclides states that the *nomoi* had changed from ancient times to the fourth century BC, and that earlier *nomoi* did not “modulate between *harmoniai* and rhythms,” οὐδὲ μεταφέρειν τὰς ἁρμονίας καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς.³⁶ The reason why these pieces were called *nomoi* is that “it was not permitted to pass over each established form of pitch as they wished,” νόμοι γὰρ προσηγορεύθησαν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξῆν παραβῆναι ὡς ἐβούλοντο καθ’ ἕκαστον νενομισμένον εἶδος τῆς τάσεως.³⁷ Those earlier *nomoi* to which Heraclides refers are the ones invented by Terpander (Ps-Plu. *De Mus.* 1133b). These pieces were the traditional, simple type without changes in *harmoniai* or rhythm which preceded the music of

³⁴ For example, the *nomos* of Athena is mentioned at Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1143b-c; the auletic *Pythikos nomos* at Poll. 4.84. Strabo 9.3.10 presents the *Pythikos nomos* as being both a kitharistic and auletic melody, though the piece required a hissing effect which the *kithara* probably could not make. See also Paus. 10.7.7; Barker 1984: 249-50; West 1992a: 214.

³⁵ E.g. Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1132c-e, P. P. 12.23-4, Str. 9.3.10; Barker 1984: 249, 255.

³⁶ *Ap.* Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1133b-c; trans. Barker 1984: 211 and n. 42.

³⁷ *Ap.* Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1133b-c.

Phrynis (Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1133b).

Each piece had a unique structure made up of a definite number of “musical paragraphs” or “movements” (see below for examples) that had a certain system of tuning (*harmonia*) and rhythm (Barker 1984: 250). The result was a piece that used several compositional features: a variety of rhythms, tempi, and timbres (West 1992a: 214). Thus the pieces had a “free-form” or astrophic structure in which each movement of the song probably used a different *harmonia*, rhythm, tempo, and timbre and did not rely on metre to define the structure of the verses.³⁸ In regard to the melodic identity for the *nomoi*, D’Angour suggests that the principal rules governing the *nomoi* were intended to preserve “a particular melodic interpretation to the inherent pitch accent of words” (2006: 278). These rules would have been passed on by oral tradition and education instead of by notation.³⁹ The musician’s choice of mode and genus would have an effect on the performance of the tune, but the overall melodic shape would have stayed the same (D’Angour 2006: 279). It is possible that some melodies that were considered to be strictly played on the *kithara* may have been played on the *aulos*, and vice versa (cf. Pl. *Lg.* 700d-e; Str. 9.3.10).

Pollux describes several kinds of *nomoi*. One of them is the *tetraoidios nomos*, a name derived from its *tropos* (an older term to refer to its *harmonia* or melodic structure), which may have referred to a composition in four distinct *harmoniai* (Poll. 4.84; Barker 1984: 251). Another type was the Terpenderean *nomos*, which was divided into seven

³⁸ Herphaestion writes, ἀπολελυμένα δὲ ἅ εἰκῆ γέγραπται καὶ ἄνευ μέτρου ὀρισμένου, οἳοί εἰσιν οἱ νόμοι οἱ κιθαρωδικοὶ Τιμοθέου, “‘Free-form’ is that which is written at random and without defined metre, such as the kitharodic *nomoi* of Timotheus” (*Poem.* 3.3).

³⁹ D’Angour 2006: 278. D’Angour 2006: 276-7 discusses the extent that melody was influenced by pitch accent, a subject that goes beyond the scope of my thesis. Further, the evidence we have is late and therefore cannot be taken as indicative of fifth-century practice. Landels, in an appropriately named chapter, uses evidence from tragedy to study the relation between music, words and rhythm (1999: 110-29).

parts: *archa* (beginning), *metarcha* (after the beginning), *katatropa* (perhaps “turning round” in the sense of a “turn” in the story), *metakatatropa* (after the *katatropa*, maybe “settle down to the subject”⁴⁰), *omphalos* (maybe “navel,” but “centre” is clearer), *sphragis* (“seal,” probably meaning “the end of the story”), and *epilogos* (which Barker notes is “used elsewhere to mean ‘peroration’ in rhetoric, or the ‘epilogue’ or final section of a play”).⁴¹ Another source reports that the Terpenderean *nomos* also included preludes, *prooimia*, that consisted of a dedication to a god, after which the poet typically sang the poetry of Homer or other authors and not his own (Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1133c).

Pollux also discusses the *Pythikos nomos*, a piece that goes back to the sixth century BC and was played for the purpose of commemorating the fight between Apollo and the serpent (4.78). The piece consisted of five sections: *peira*, the “trying out,” in which the god Apollo surveys the battle ground; *katakeleusmos*, the “call of command,” the start of the fight; *iambikon*, the battle proper, a part that included some special musical effects including trumpet-like notes and a chattering-teeth sound effect (performed by pushing the reed of the instrument against the teeth) which represented the gnashing teeth of the dying serpent⁴²; *spondeion*, the libation song celebrating the god’s victory⁴³; and the *katachoreusis*, the dance of victory.⁴⁴ The descriptions provided by Pollux about the ancient *nomoi* match the features of the only surviving, though fragmentary, *nomos* of the fifth century BC, the *Persae* of Timotheus.

⁴⁰ Edmonds 1927: 294-5 n. 1.

⁴¹ Poll. 4.66; Barker 1984: 251 and n. 264; West 1992a: 215.

⁴² Poll. 4.80; cf. West 1992a: 213 and n. 52.

⁴³ Strabo also describes the piece (9.3.10) and adds that the *spondeion* may have been performed with a device called the *syringes* or *syrigmos* in order to achieve the hissing and whistlings of the dying serpent; Barker 1984: 51-52 with n. 17; West 1992a: 212. The invention of the device was attributed to Lysander of Sicyon, an early Classical kitharist (West 1992a: 214).

⁴⁴ 4.84; cf. P. P. 12; Barker 1984: 51 with nn. 14-16. West 1992a: 213 mentions the “trumpet-like” notes. There is also the *Polykephalos nomos*, “many-headed nome,” which shares the same sort of features as the *Pythikos nomos* (Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1133d-e; Barker 1984: 253), but how the name reflected the actual composition is unclear.

The *Persae* tells the story of the battle of Salamis from the Persian point of view and is the best-preserved example of the new style of music from the fifth century. Hordern analyzes the stylistic features of the poem in depth in his text and commentary, observing that Timotheus uses syncopated forms and a many different rhythms, such as iambo-trochaics, iambics and bacchiacs, among others.⁴⁵ The poem is in astrophic form, probably because of the increasing practice of *mimesis* in the *nomoi*.⁴⁶ There are several speeches by the Persians (791.72-81, 105-138, 150-161, 178-195 in Hordern's text), descriptions of battles (791.86-104, 162-177 in Hordern's text), a *choreusis* (791.196-202 in Hordern's text), and the σφραγίς (791.203-240 in Hordern's text).

The σφραγίς in *Persians* suggests Timotheus' attitude towards contemporary music. Timotheus was disenchanted with the music composed by so many others in his day (*PMG* 791.216-20), and he rejected the "performers in the old-style" (Hordern 2002: 230). His purpose was to follow the lead of Terpander and Orpheus⁴⁷ and to reveal more songs of the Muses (*PMG* 791.233). The poet invokes Apollo by his epithet, Lord Paian, and champions the god as the new style's friend: "Oh exalter of the new-made music and golden kithara, come, Lord Paian, as a supporter of my music," ἀλλ' ὦ χρυσεοκίθαριν ἀέξων μουσαν νεοτυχῆ, ἐμοῖς ἔλθ' ἐπικούρος ὕμνοις ἰήιε Παιάν (*PMG* 791.202-05). The invocation indicates that Timotheus believed the god supports the new style of music, despite the heavy criticism the new style received. Since Timotheus throws out the older, traditional music (ὅτι παλαιότεραν νέοις ὕμνοις μουσαν ἀτιμῶ), he endures criticism

⁴⁵ The text of Hordern 2002 is a slightly modified version of *PMG* 791. Hordern's text is found on pp. 85-95, commentary on pp. 132-248.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Ps.-Arist. Pr.* 19.15 for the astrophic nature of the *nomoi*; West 1992a: 363; and above 18-19, 33.

⁴⁷ 791.221-28. Hordern 2002: 230-1 discusses the prevalence of catalogues in fifth-century music writings; cf. *Ar. Eq.* 507-46; *Pherecr. ap. Ps.-Plu. De Mus.* 1141c-1142a; Melanippides' invention of the *aulos* (*PMG* 758).

from the Spartans.⁴⁸ Further, his music is not restricted to any group of people. Instead Timotheus shares his music with everyone: “by contrast I do not keep at a distance anyone, young or old or my peers, from my music,” ἐγὼ δ’ οὔτε νέον τιν’ οὔτε γεραῖον οὔτ’ ἰσήβαν εἶργω τῶνδ’ ἐκάς ὕμνων (*PMG* 791.213-15; cf. Hordern 2002: 239). The underlying meaning of Timotheus’ text is that he had studied traditional Greek music and was making a conscious effort to go beyond the old style. To him Apollo would be pleased, especially since Orpheus and Terpander had changed the style of music in their time.

The term *nomos* may have been used to contrast the simplicity of traditional music with the association of the word “dithyramb” with revelry, licentiousness and disorder. The prehistory of music may have been inspired by “the harmony of ‘law’ and ‘nome,’” placing the nome at the centre of the socially and ethically ideal music which the New Musicians were ruining (Csapo 2004: 240). The term *nomos* gained such currency that it could provide a perfect contrast to the dithyramb (Csapo 2004: 240).

My intention has been to demonstrate that the *nomoi* began as simple, one-mode compositions but changed into highly specialized solo pieces by the end of the fifth century. The specialized solo pieces incorporated a variety of musical features, the most prominent being the astrophic structure, and could only be played by talented professionals. Eventually, the musical features of the nomic genre found their way into the dithyramb.

⁴⁸ *PMG* 791.206-12. Hordern writes that the claim that the Spartans actually criticized Timotheus’ music is unclear since there is no historical basis for it (2002: 7, 229-30). The Spartans were given a certain level of respect by the Athenians for their preservation of musical styles (Csapo 2004: 244).

Dithyramb

The dithyramb was a choral piece composed by a poet who was hired by a tribe's *khoregos*. The poet, in turn, trained a chorus and hired an *auletes* to accompany the piece for festival contests. The chorus was usually made up of 15 to 20 people, excluding the musician, and one leader, the *exarchon*.⁴⁹ The exchange between the solo singer and the chorus, called antiphonal or responsorial song, suggests that the piece was originally a ritual piece.⁵⁰ The chorus was made up of citizens who were amateur singers and dancers (cf. Wilson 2000: 75-80). Toward the end of the fifth century, however, professionals were often used in place of those amateur singers and the chorus of amateurs was eventually ousted. By the fourth century the poets were paid by the state, but the rest of the *choros* was paid for by the *khoregos*, a wealthy citizen who searched throughout his tribe for the best dancers (Wilson 2000: 84). In regard to content, the piece was usually a free-spirited dance associated with the god Dionysus that may be contrasted with the Apolline paean, differing mainly in their subject content, but not their form or occasion of use.⁵¹

The dithyramb was the most malleable genre, as suggested by several stages of "renewal," one of which occurred under Melanippides. The first renewal of the genre was performed by Arion at Corinth (Hdt. 1.23; P. O. 13.18). Arion is the first author given credit for bringing the dithyramb into the literary domain. Lasos of Hermione performed another renewal by writing a couple of compositions without the letter or (possibly) the sound of the letter sigma, representing a step towards a much more intellectual approach

⁴⁹ West 1992a: 340. The dithyramb was a form that suited the dramatic re-enactment of a scene from legend or myth.

⁵⁰ West 1992a: 388. The *Theseus* of Bacchylides is an example of a fifth century dithyramb in which a chorus and a singer exchanged verses. See West 1992a: 339, 340.

⁵¹ Poll. 1.38; Pickard-Cambridge 1962: 5. Dithyrambs sometimes included portions of narrative action, but paeans were always hymns of praise and supplication (Pl. R. 394c1-5; Barker 1984: 215 n. 76).

to composition.⁵² Further, he was credited with altering the rhythms for the movement of the dithyramb which may mean, if taken together with the scattered notes he used, a busier style of vocal music in which the melodic line was increasingly varied throughout the song.⁵³ The third stage of renewal was carried out by Pindar. An important feature of Pindar's poetry is his frequent reference to other authors from whom he drew inspiration, a practice that demonstrates Pindar's study of music history (West 1992a: 345, with ancient sources at n. 75). The fourth stage of "renewal" for the dithyramb was carried out by Melanippides. Melanippides introduced the nomic feature of "musical paragraphs" into the dithyrambic genre by way of *anabolai* (see above, 20). This new structure for the dithyramb took many people by surprise. Though the *demos* loved the new style,⁵⁴ Aristophanes ridiculed it (*Pax* 827, *Av.* 1385), and in the fourth century Aristotle criticized it (*Rh.* 1409b25-32). Aristotle singled out Melanippides as an example of a speaker who draws out his introductory speech so much that the audience can no longer understand where the argument is headed. This criticism suggests a link between the seemingly endless musical preludes of Melanippides and an unfocused speaker. The new structure of the dithyramb appears to have betrayed the audience's expectation of the text being sung from start to finish with very few pauses. Often the text of the new style was a cause of consternation for those who were accustomed to the old style.

One popular feature of the dithyramb that the New Musicians whole-heartedly embraced was the use of highly elaborate compound words. Compound words were understood to be a natural feature in the Greek language, and the dithyramb was one

⁵² Specifically, his *Centaur* was written asigmatically (Athen. 455c=*PMG* 704; West 1992a: 40-1, 342).

⁵³ Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1141c; West 1992a: 343.

⁵⁴ Pl. *Lg.* 700e-701a. Also, at 800c-e Plato proposes to remove the *nomos* (custom) in which the tears of the audience decided the winner, suggesting that the musician who emotionally moved the audience the most was declared the victor.

genre in which they could be found; Aristotle and Aristophanes mention their use in connection with the genre.⁵⁵ Some of the fifth-century dithyrambic composers appear to have been guilty of using compound words for the mere reproduction of sounds (often non-musical), matching the new words to the music that they had already laid out for the piece (*Lg.* 669b-670a; Pickard-Cambridge 1962: 51). The trend, in general, was ridiculed by Aristophanes (*Ar. Nu.* 332 and Σ *ad loc.*). These music-molded new words impressed upon the critics the idea that the dithyrambist, since he was speaking without *mimesis* and in his own person, was talking nonsense and therefore his soul was viewed as corrupted.⁵⁶ Compound words were not objectionable, but there needed to be a reason for their creation: a new word could not be formed without giving thought about the thing to which it actually refers.

The use of compound words by the New Musicians suggest that they were more concerned with creating dynamic compositions, pieces that would differ from traditional conceptions of music and thus “push and pull” their audience’s emotional reaction. The text, to the New Musicians, was relegated to secondary importance, behind that of the music. To Plato, the words a person spoke emanated from the soul (*R.* 400d1-e3); therefore if a dithyrambist were to construct compound words to satisfy a certain melodic or rhythmic arrangement, that composer would be putting the music ahead of the text, a form of *logos*, and, most importantly, he might be seen to be babbling like an idiot. Because of the dynamic nature of the dithyramb, the “renewal” that incorporated the features of another genre (the *nomos*) and the creation of extravagant compound words to

⁵⁵ Compound words are often found in dithyrms, strange words in heroic poetry, and metaphors in iambic poetry (*Arist. Po.* 1459a8). Compounds words were made because there was no other sufficient word (*Arist. Rh.* 1406b1; *Ar. Pax* 827).

⁵⁶ *R.* 400a5-8, cf. *Lg.* 669b-670a. Plato claims that the words of a composition “follow the character of the soul” (*R.* 400d6-7), and cf. *Lg.* 669b-670a where the Athenian Stranger specifies that music is to be used in accompaniment with song and dance, so that music needs words.

fit the music might have been expected.

The greatest concern, however, was the slow removal of the communal participation in the dithyramb as it moved to the domain of professionals. Beginning with the introduction of the *anabolai* by Melanippides, the amateur *khoroi*, which were made up of members from the community, found it increasingly difficult to participate in the genre due to the dynamic nature of the new style. As the dithyrambic genre changed, in terms of the variety of modes used, instrumental preludes, the literary style, and an increasingly competitive nature of the tribal contests, the genre became a sort of playground for the musicians, subject to their tastes and the reactions of the audience. Melanippides was among the first to mix the features of the *nomoi* into those of the dithyramb. The introduction of the nomic *anabolai* may be seen as the individual placing himself over the community. The *nomoi* were solo pieces whereas dithyrambs were choral pieces; therefore the introduction of a soloistic practice into a communal choral piece signified the usurpation of the community in favour of individualistic virtuosity (Anderson 1966: 51). Rather than composing a piece that the *community* could follow, the New Musicians placed themselves before the community and composed songs that only professionals could perform.

The dithyrambic genre shows itself to be one of the most malleable in Greek poetry, as evidenced by its several stages of renewal. The freedom a musician could find within the dithyrambic genre may have been the reason many New Musicians were dithyrambists. After Melanippides introduced the nomic “musical paragraphs,” the new style incurred further criticism. Some of the criticism directed at the new style of music may have had roots in the ancient opinion about the *aulos* and *kithara*.

CHAPTER 3

THE INSTRUMENTS

I now turn to a brief discussion of the *kithara* and *aulos* themselves. The instruments had histories that were well known and often contributed to a bias against some musicians, especially those who played the *aulos*. The stories surrounding the instruments are especially important since the *auloi* fell from favour in Athens during the fifth century. The *nomos* influenced the dithyramb through the use of *kampai* and *anabolai* to break up the traditional strophic structure as well as through the increased use of stage movement and facial expressions. Since the *aulos* was used for both dithyrambic and nomic compositions, as the features of the *nomoi* made their way into the dithyramb, the *aulos* came to be viewed as a corrupt instrument. The *aulos* was understood to pander to the emotions of the crowd, a trait which contrasted greatly with the *kithara*. The *kithara*, unlike the *aulos*, was held in high regard by the elite class and remained a prominent instrument in the Athenian education system throughout the fifth century (a subject I will discuss further in Chapter 5). Further, I want to contrast the use of the instruments by the aristocrats with that by the New Musicians and other working musicians. This discussion will set the foundation for Chapter 4.

The Relationship Between the *Kithara*/Lyre and *Auloi*

The *auloi* and *kithara* both have mythical stories about them. I have mentioned above that the *kithara* had a legendary history, especially with regard to the number of its strings (see above, 24). But the mythical history of the *chelys* lyre had its creation

attributed to Hermes, who then gave it to Apollo,⁵⁷ and even Zeus was believed to have played the lyre (see Lippman 1975: 45). The *chelys* lyre was used by school children and the *kithara* was used by professionals. The *aulos*, however, had a different history. A traditional story existed in which Athena threw away the *aulos* because it disfigured her face (Arist. *Pol.* 1341b2-7). Melanippides writes about the event in his *Marsyas* (Athen. 616e-f). Plato mentions a similar story of Apollo and Marsyas, giving Socrates the precedent for judging Apollo's lyre as superior to Marsyas' *aulos* (Pl. *R.* 399e1-3). Telestes of Selinus, in his *Argo*, refutes the claim that Athena threw away the *aulos*, since she was gifted with perpetual virginity: looks would not have mattered because she would not need them to attract anyone (Athen. 616f-617a). Telestes also tells us that Athena gave the instrument to Dionysus to be his helper (Athen. 617a). There is another story that has Apollo as inventor of both the *aulos* and *kithara* (Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1135f), but the story is meant to support the idea that music is the gift of the gods, not to prove the origin of the instruments (Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1136b). The two most important instruments in the New Music movement had a lengthy history in both legend and myth.

The use of the *kithara* and *aulos* elicited mixed feelings amongst different classes of Greeks. They were known to have been played together at certain times, specifically in wedding processions (Athen. 617f-618b; Wilson 2004: 273). The importance of mixing the sounds of the instruments lies in the fact that those who relied on music for a living held no bias against either instrument, but concentrated on producing the proper music for the occasion. We know that in the fourth century the *aulos* was thought to be the best instrument to cover up the mistakes of a solo singer, unlike the lyre which made the

⁵⁷ *h. Hom.* 4.25, 40. A later writer on music, Nicomachus, relates the history of the lyre (*Exc.* 1 = Jan 266.2-12). Hermes constructed it and taught Orpheus how to play it. Orpheus then instructed Thamyris and Linus, and Linus taught Amphion and Heracles. After Orpheus was killed by the Thracian women, his lyre was tossed into the sea, picked up on the shore of Antissa in Lesbos by fishermen, and given to Terpander.

mistakes more apparent (Ps.-Arist. *Pr.* 19.43; cf. 19.9). The main point is that the lyre and voice do not naturally blend together whereas the *aulos* and voice do. The *auloi* were conducive to concealing many mistakes of the song, since the voice and *auloi* were thought to have sounded similar. The notes of the lyre, being bare (*psiloi*), were less capable of combining with the voice and therefore made the mistakes in the song stand out clearly, “acting as it were as yardsticks for them” (Ps.-Arist. *Pr.* 19.43; trans. Barker 1984: 202, and see his n. 90).

Opinions concerning the pleasantness of each instrument amongst the aristocratic elite, however, differed greatly. Pratinas disliked the *aulos* (Athen. 617a-f); Socrates rejects the *aulos* simply because he is following the example of the goddess (Pl. *R.* 399e1-3); and Aristotle cites the fact that the *aulos* restricts a person’s ability to talk and, therefore, to reason: the stopping of *logos* was contrary to being a citizen (*Pol.* 1341a24-25).

Wilson rejects the idea that the lyre and *aulos* were in competition for favour in the ancient world since the *aulos* accompanied Bacchic activity and other such things (2002: 45; Arist. *Pol.* 1342b4-5). But the lyre and *kithara* had a much more elevated status in Athenian life, to such an extent that only heroes appeared on stage with any stringed instruments (Wilson 2002: 45). Despite the use of the *aulos* to accompany theatre productions, an “ideological barrier” existed between the Athenian and the *aulos* (Wilson 2002: 45). The good citizen did not use the *aulos*, since it was associated with the Dionysiac revels, especially losing control of the body and the “loss of the power of articulate speech” (Wilson 2002: 46). Blocking the mouth also blocked *logoi*, especially seen as bad in a city that “prided itself on the pre-eminent role and quality of its speech”

(Wilson 2002: 46). One aristocrat was seen playing the *aulos* in accompaniment to a comic chorus, a sight that appalled many others in his class (Arist. *Pol.* 1341 a 33-7; Wilson 2002: 46). Wilson interprets the report to mean that musicians who associated with the elite ranks, including poets, *khoregoi*, and performers, were often “of a very different status” (2002: 46).

Just as the *aulos* could be found at many occasions, the lyre permeated an Athenian’s life from childhood. The *chelys* lyre is often associated with an aristocratic education. Theseus is seen leading a procession of Athenian youths and maidens with a lyre in hand; Paris too is shown with a *chelys* lyre (Bundrick 2005: 14). In the fifth century, the *chelys* lyre was held by school children or played by the Muses themselves (Bundrick 2005: 14). Apollo, Paris, Tithonos and Orpheus all play the *chelys* lyre, indicating their musical and poetic talent (Bundrick 2005: 15).

By the fourth century, the *aulos*, *kithara* and lyre had become “technical instruments,” and so Aristotle struck them from his list of acceptable instruments: ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τε ὀργάνων καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀποδοκιμάζομεν τὴν τεχνικὴν παιδείαν (*Pol.* 1341a39-b1; Wilson 2004: 272). By Aristotle’s time, however, the *kithara* had become a tool of social and economic mobility for men from non-elite backgrounds, especially those whose fathers had never been educated in lyre-playing (Wilson 2004: 272). Therefore, to Aristotle, the study of music had become “contaminated,” a threat to “free men,” and the result was seen to be a vulgar (*banausos*) person: διόπερ οὐ τῶν ἐλευθέρων κρίνομεν εἶναι τὴν ἐργασίαν, ἀλλὰ θητικωτέραν, καὶ βαναύσους δὴ συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι.⁵⁸ The “purified” strings that Aristotle desired meant a return to a time when the elite had much more control over the organization of the city, and when knowing one’s strings was a

⁵⁸ *Pol.* 1341b14; Wilson 2002: 46; Wilson 2004: 272.

mark of culture and education (Wilson 2004: 272, 273).

Opinions varied on the use of the *aulos* and *kithara* and their capacity for music-making. The divine origin of the instruments supported a bias against the *aulos* and those who played it. The *kithara*, however, was viewed positively by the aristocrats. My purpose in examining the attitude towards the instruments is meant to lay the foundation for understanding the use of each instrument as a means for economic gain. Chapter 4 will cover the financial incentive many musicians were offered.

Conclusion

The New Music movement was produced by a culture that fostered creativity and originality in music. After Pericles had refurnished the Odeion and re-instituted the music competitions at the Great Panathenaia, the new style of music was introduced to Athens. Traditional elements of music were either modified or replaced by the New Musicians, such as the structure of compositions, singing style, the number of strings on the *kithara*, and the use of the *harmoniai*.

The music competitions made solo musical performances popular. The solo performances, *nomoi*, offered musicians an opportunity to display both their musical talents and showmanship. The music of the *nomoi* soon influenced the dithyrambic poets, who incorporated the features of solo music into the choral genre. Traditionally, an amateur chorus performed in the dithyramb, but competition between tribes increased at the major festivals. As a result, the amateur (and therefore the community) was slowly ousted from his traditional participatory role and replaced by professionals.

The important instruments in the New Music movement, the *aulos* and *kithara*,

both had mythical and legendary status. The bias that the elite class held against the *aulos*, favouring the *kithara* instead, stemmed from the rejection of the *aulos* by Athena; the *kithara*, however, was played by Amphion, Apollo, Zeus, and other legendary figures such as Theseus and Paris. As the fifth century progressed, the *auloi* fell from favour while the *kithara* was held in high regard by the elite class.

The fifth-century genres of the dithyramb and *nomos* opened up a world of creative possibilities for professional musicians. The New Music movement was not focused on improving every-day music nor on incorporating every citizen into the performance. Rather, the New Music movement focused on exploring the possibilities of musical sound. The musicians of the new style, it seems, were interested in winning the appreciation of the audience whose response to their music often determined the victor of the music competitions. Further, as I will discuss in the next part of this thesis, the economic atmosphere of the Aegean, particularly in Athens, was favourable to people who offered alternative views to tradition. Thus, by exploring the possibilities of musical sound, the New Musicians were able to develop music as a craft by which a person could live.

CHAPTER 4

THE INCENTIVE

Once the new style of music was introduced, the movement required an incentive to sustain the drive for creativity. Creative musicians, in the sense of musicality and economic astuteness, could have found many ways by which to earn a living. I intend to discuss the financial incentive that may have led many of the New Musicians to create innovative and creative music and poetry. In the following sections, I will examine the development of the musician as a part of the working class. I begin with a discussion about the change of responsibility for the pay of the musician. The change led to musicians becoming more like artisans, people who worked for pay rather than for their own personal development. Additionally, some similarities are drawn between the poets and musicians and other professions during the rise of the New Music movement, especially from sculpture and education. In order to support my argument for the financial incentive, I will discuss some methods by which the New Musicians could earn a living. In the last section, I will discuss some similarities between the professionalism of the Sophists and that of the New Musicians, despite the lack of evidence that the New Musicians were teachers themselves.

The Pay of the Musicians

According to the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise, the responsibility for the pay of the musicians changed some time during Melanippides' career (Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1141c-d). After Melannipides, the music of Crexus, Timotheus and Philoxenus was believed to be

driven by the acquisition of wealth: “Crexus, Timotheus, Philoxenus and other poets around the same period showed more vulgarity and love of novelty, and pursued [the music style] now called ‘popular’ or ‘profit-driven,’” Κρέξυς δὲ καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ Φιλόξεωος καὶ οἱ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡλικίαν γεγονότες ποιητὰι φορτικώτεροι καὶ φιλόκαινοι γέγονασι, τὸ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ θεματικὸν νῦν ὀνομαζόμενον διώξαντες (Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1135c-d).

Barker identifies a couple of interesting terms used in this passage. The term θεματικόν is discussed by Pollux, who tells us that it refers to the contests in which the prize was money and not the traditional crown of ivy leaves: “then there are the splendid competitions, in which the prize of the contest is only a crown; they were called prize crowns of leaves, but now they are called prizes of money,” τοὺς μὲν οὖν καλουμένους ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας, ὧν τὰ ἄθλα ἐν στεφάνῳ μόνῳ, στεφανίτας ἐκάλεσαν καὶ φυλλίνας, τοὺς δ’ ὀνομαζομένους θεματικοὺς ἀργυρίτας (Poll. 3.153.7-9). It is very possible that θεματικόν refers to the *mousikoi agones* (Barker 1984: 218 n. 95), especially if we consider that, by the fourth century, many of the prizes given out to festival victors were money and not crowns of ivy (Wilson 2000: 36-7). The other term Barker identifies is φιλάνθρωπον, “popular,” which suggests that the pieces were “designed to please the crowd” (Barker 1984: 218 and n. 95), a feature that contrasts with the ideal performance in which a judge who sat in silence to the end (Pl. *Lg.* 700c) decided the victor, not the shouts of the crowd. Both terms suggest the economic atmosphere of Athens in which the New Music movement began. In Athens, the movement made an important development by separating the “regular” piper or string-player at less-glorious events (e.g. weddings or in the military) from the professional, *creative* musician who composed his own works

and relied on his own capacity to write and perform. Often, costumes would be employed by the professional musicians, which distinguished them from the rest.⁵⁹ In one sense, the emergence of the New Music movement contributed to the creation of a rudimentary “entertainment industry” in which music, like other creative crafts (such as pottery and sculpture), provided a living for its practitioners.

Traditionally, musicians followed the script set out by the poet. Musicians were “technicians” hired to construct the road on which the text was transported (Wilson 2002: 53). As I discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, musicians exchanged musical ideas that resulted in the dithyramb taking on some features of the *nomoi*. Those changes served a new-found professionalism and specialization in music (Wilson 2004: 303). I reiterate the point that the dithyramb was accompanied by the *aulos*, while the *nomoi* used the *aulos*, *kithara*, or a solo vocalist accompanied by either instrument. However, the *kithara*, unlike the *aulos*, had a certain amount of baggage, an “ideological inheritance” that prevented an easy transition from its role as an instrument of the rich and educated to the tool of the working musician (Wilson 2004: 282).

The Working Musician

The New Music movement is an example of music changing from an aristocratic pastime to a job for artisans. In order to understand the shift that occurred, we must examine the Greek attitude toward manual labour and how the new-style musicians fit into the artisan class.

The attitude of the ancient Greeks towards manual labour was markedly different from our modern perspective. No ideology existed that assigned a positive value to work:

⁵⁹ At times, the Sophists also wore stage attire. I discuss the matter below.

if one had to work for someone else it meant being subject to the employer (Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977: 14-15). If in fact one needed to work, self-employment was the only respectable means by which to sustain oneself (Arist. *Rh.* 1367a31-32; Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977: 15). For example, trade itself was not necessarily good or bad, but it was inappropriate for trade to become an end in itself with the view of acquiring the highest profit.⁶⁰ Trade could be a legitimate means by which to become independent and self-sufficient, but war and politics were considered more important in the operation of a city, specifically at Athens.⁶¹ Generally, a Greek was wealthy if he did not need to work to live, and considered poor if he was required to sustain himself through his work.⁶²

The New Musicians, in a fundamental sense, were self-employed. They would travel throughout mainland Greece, the Peloponnesus, and as far as Sicily seeking patronage and festival victory. Some families took great pride in their achievements as musicians (Wilson 2002: 49, 50 fig. 8). Instead of pride in one's prestigious paternity there was a pride in professional status (Wilson 2002: 49 and n. 29). Two aspects of fourth-century *auletai* reveal the results of the fifth-century music revolution: by the fourth century, many of the well-known *auletai* in Athens were not of elite status and were conscious of their professional reputations (Wilson 2002: 49). Those two aspects apply to the New Musicians of the fifth century and may be glimpsed in the New Music movement as music-making was considered the job of an artisan, much like pot-making or stone-cutting.

The disdain for the "abuse" of music by the New Musicians was often leveled by

⁶⁰ Arist. *Pol.* 1256b40-1257a39; Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977: 13.

⁶¹ Arist. *Pol.* 1256b26-1257b39; Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977: 13.

⁶² Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977: 16. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1290b39-1291b30, where Aristotle discusses the differences between democracy and oligarchy. He mentions the variety of classes that make up a democracy and argues that a city requires the tasks which the many different groups provide, regardless of their personal financial situation.

the elite, non-working class who labelled those who were required to work as *banausoi*, vulgar (Loomis 1998: 105 n. 5). “Skilled” work, such as pot-making and stone-cutting, however, was recognized to involve a certain amount of training and apprenticeship, and artisans in those fields would maintain a certain amount of pride concerning their skills (Loomis 1998: 105 n. 5). Aristotle places the master craftsman (*architectonos*) above the artisan (*cheirotechnes*), “because they understand the reasons for the things being made,” ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας τῶν ποιουμένων ἴσασιν (*Metaph.* 981a28-981b2). Most importantly, the *architectonoi* perform their job through habit, ἦθος (*Metaph.* 981b4), a term that will become important in my discussion about the Greek concept of musical ethics. The artisans, however, are lifeless creatures, performing through their own nature, and they have no knowledge of what they are doing, much like fire (*Metaph.* 981b2-981b6). The views of Aristotle mainly reflect those of the aristocracy which we also find in the works of Plato.

The aristocratic attitude saw much of the working class as absent-minded. Music was not supposed to be a means of acquiring wealth but a subject that a well-cultivated citizen would study. To the Platonic Socrates, the most appalling aspect of the professional musicians was the receipt of coin. Payment for musical services separated the “gentleman” and the professional musician (Wilson 2004: 282; cf. *Prt.* 213b). By turning music-making into a profitable venture the New Musicians were destroying firmly entrenched beliefs of the elite class that considered music to be the domain of a privileged few.

If we compare musicians and sculptors in terms of the characteristics of their professions on a general level, we see that both groups were considered working artisans

who were creating a luxury product. To stay in business, they usually required commissions from many different sources. Since sculpture was considered a “luxury craft,” sculptors could not possibly live off the demand of a single centre; therefore an “itinerant existence” was the most profitable (Stewart 1990: 33). They could travel in groups or alone. The tools required for their trade were portable enough that they could pick up and go as conditions proved unprofitable (Stewart 1990: 33). The itinerant life of sculptors is similar to that of the traveling musician.

Musicians, too, required multiple sources of income in order to live off their craft. The musicians’ tools were his instruments, though we do not know if one musician would carry any more than one instrument. Carrying several instruments would ensure the greatest creative choices at the time of composition, either different types of the same instrument (such as *auloi* or *kitharai* of various sizes with different numbers of holes or strings) or different instruments altogether, especially if they were competing in the nomic genre. Further, the musician would travel to the places where his talents were in demand and the size of the fee or prize the greatest. Therefore, festivals and the courts of wealthy individuals, kings or citizens, provided the best opportunities for acquiring wealth, a subject I discuss in greater depth below.

The New Musicians and the sculptors of the fifth century BC shared a similar work ethic. In regard to the gulf between the sculptor and his audience, Andrew Stewart discusses the *beholder’s* share and the *maker’s* share: the former rates the materials by their *effect*, a view that is contrasted with the *maker’s* view which may lean toward more important classifications such as the work’s durability, e.g. its resistance to scratching and breaking (Stewart 1990: 36). Moreover, the Greek sculptors considered their

materials to be tools; wood, stone, and metal were *resources* that were to be used to their full potential by the “inventive and imaginative craftsman” (Stewart 1990: 37). To judge from the changes brought forth by the New Musicians, the scales, modes, extra strings, and ornamental effects used in their dynamic compositional structures were no more than “tools” to construct music. The advances of the New Musicians acknowledge that the various musical elements are not restricted to one context or another but could be varied. The sequence of notes used and the juxtaposition of one mode with another are what gave their compositions a particular effect.

Thus the general similarity between musicians and sculptors further allows the classification of the New Musicians as artisans. The most important similarity in the two professions lies in their use for the purpose of earning a living. Since an itinerant existence was the norm for both groups, it should come as no surprise that many of the musicians who are mentioned in connection with the New Music movement were foreigners. I shall now address the rise of foreign professionals in Athens.

Foreign Professionals

The Pherecratean passage found in the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise *De Musica* (1141d-1142a) highlights what must have been a much larger list of foreign professional musicians in the fifth century, particularly active in Athens. In the passage, Lady Music complains to Justice about the maltreatment she has received at the hands of the new-style musicians:

<ΜΟΥΣ.> ‘Λέξω μὲν οὐκ ἄκουσα· σοί τε γὰρ κλύειν
 ἐμοί τε λέξαι θυμὸς ἡδονὴν ἔχει.
 ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἦρξε τῶν κακῶν Μελανιπίδης,
 ἐν τοῖσι πρῶτος ὃς λαβῶν ἀνῆκέ με

5 χαλαρωτέραν τ' ἐποίησε χορδαῖς δώδεκα.
 ἀλλ' οὖν ὅμως οὗτος μὲν ἦν ἀποχρῶν ἀνήρ
 ἔμοιγε ... πρὸς τὰ νῦν κακά.
 Κινησίας δέ <μ'> ὁ κατάρατος Ἀττικός,
 ἐξαρμονίους καμπὰς ποιῶν ἐν ταῖς στροφαῖς
 10 ἀπολώλεχ' οὕτως, ὥστε τῆς ποιήσεως
 τῶν διθυράμβων, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν,
 ἀριστερ' αὐτοῦ φαίνεται τὰ δεξιά.
 ἀλλ' οὖν ἀνεκτὸς οὗτος ἦν ὅμως ἐμοί.
 Φρῦνις δ' ἴδιον στρόβιλον ἐμβαλὼν τινα
 15 κάμπτων με καὶ στρέφων ὅλην διέφθορεν,
 ἐν πέντε χορδαῖς δώδεχ' ἁρμονίας ἔχων.
 ἀλλ' οὖν ἔμοιγε χούτος ἦν ἀποχρῶν ἀνήρ
 εἰ γάρ τι κάξήμαρτεν, αὐτίς ἀνέλαβεν.
 ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεός μ', ὦ φιλότατη, κατορώρυχε
 20 καὶ διακέκναικ' αἰσχιστα. <ΔΙΚ.> Ποῖος οὐτοσὶ
 <ὁ> Τιμόθεος; <ΜΟΥΣ.> Μιλήσιός τις πυρρίας.
 κακά μοι παρέσχεν οὗτος, ἅπαντας οὖς λέγω
 παρελήλυθεν, ἄγων ἐκτραπέλους μυρμηκίας.
 κὰν ἐντύχη πού μοι βαδιζούση μόνη,
 25 ἀπέδυσε κἀνέδυσε χορδὰς δώδεκα'.⁶³

1 <LADY MUSIC> I shall tell you, for it gladdens my soul
 as much to speak as for you to hear.
 My troubles began with Melanippides,
 In this fashion he was the first, he grabbed me and let me down
 5 and made me more loose with twelve strings.
 But for all that, he was a decent man to me
 compared to the troubles I have now.⁶⁴
 Cinesias of Attica was the most abominable to me,
 by playing exharmonic bends in the strophes
 10 he has done damage, so that in his dithyrambs,
 exactly like a reflection in a shield, the left looks like the right.
 Nevertheless, I could tolerate him.
 Phrynis, however, put in his own peg
 and by twisting me and turning me he completely destroyed me,
 15 and on five strings he had a dozen tunings.
 But he was certainly sufficient for me,
 for if he did make a mistake, he made it good again.
 And then there is Timotheus, my dear, he has buried me and worn me out
 shamefully! <JUSTICE> Who is this Timotheus?
 20 <LADY MUSIC> He's a red-head from Miletus.
 This one treated me worse than all the others,
 he undid me, bringing the turning ant-hills.

⁶³ Pherecr. fr. 155 = Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1141d-1142a.

⁶⁴ At this point in the text there is a gap in the metre.

24 And if he happened to catch me walking alone somewhere,
He stripped me and undid me with twelve strings.⁶⁵

The passage mentions several well-known New Musicians: Melanippides, Phrynis, Cinesias, and Timotheus. Further, after the Pherecratean fragment, Philoxenus is mentioned as having “introduced [solo-]song into the dithyrambic choruses,” εἰς τοὺς κυκλίους χόρους μέλη εἰσηνέγκατο (Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1142a). In order to warrant the mention, it is likely that the musicians either performed at Athens regularly or resided in the city for some time. The pattern of musicians mentioned in the passage suggests that the innovations by each musician were slowly absorbed into the “musical mainstream as musical styles and tastes evolved” (D’Angour 2006: 269). Each innovation up to Timotheus was tolerable (*apochron*), which means that eventually Timotheus’ innovations would become accepted – and they were (Polyb. 4.20.8-9; D’Angour 2006: 269). The popularity of the New Musicians and the consistent portrayal of their styles as pandering to the multitude suggest that many musicians decided to visit Athens. The presence of the New Musicians in Athens suggests that they were much like metics, though not directly called by that term since they were considered vulgar artisans.

The main difference between citizens and metics was the ownership of land: only citizens were allowed to own agricultural land; metics were not (Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977: 96-97). As a result, metics turned to other methods of earning money, such as manufacture, commerce, and banking (Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977: 100-101). The business that metics brought to the cities that hosted them was beneficial to both parties. In terms of business, metics could reduce costs to the citizens of the host cities and, quite possibly, increase revenue for the city (Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977: 100-101). Metics

⁶⁵ See also notes in Barker 1984: 236-7 and Campbell 1993: 41, 63, 71.

and citizens worked alongside each other in various capacities on the construction of the Erechtheion, and their wages were paid regardless of their social status, about 1 drachma per day between 409 and 407 (Loomis 1998: 105-108 #3). Further, acceptance of metics and their services varied. Plato realized the benefits of having contact with metics, but he suggested only cautious and limited exposure to them (*Lg.* 952d-953e). Xenophon, on the other hand, encouraged their presence (*De V.* 2.1.3-2.6.1). Both sources are late but underline the importance of metics in the fifth century. The fifth century, however, shows an influx of foreigners, including the New Musicians, who wished to capitalize on the Athenian economy.

For the fifth century, our best information regarding the pay of creative artists is unreliable and embellished. At best, the figures give us an idea of how some ancients perceived the pay of creative artists. There is one story that has Pindar receiving 10,000 drachmas for one line of poetry praising Athens as the “bulwark of Greece,” though he may simply have been fined half of that amount by the Thebans and reimbursed by the Athenians.⁶⁶ The figures, both the payment and the fine, appear rather high for so early a period and may in fact be a later fabrication.⁶⁷ Herodotus is supposed to have been paid 10 talents for flattering Athens, but, again, the sum seems to be exorbitantly large for such an act at that period.⁶⁸

The next-earliest piece of evidence relates to 413. Hegemon of Thasos boasts he was paid 50 drachmas for singing an epic parody of the *Gigantomachia* just after the news of the Sicilian Disaster reached Athens.⁶⁹ Although the figure is plausible because

⁶⁶ Isoc. 15.166; Loomis 1998: 88-9 #1, and n. 5 provides the Greek text. The Thebans would have fined him 5,000 drachmas, and the Athenians would have reimbursed him 10,000 drachmae, if the story were true (Loomis 1998: 88-9).

⁶⁷ Loomis 1998: 88-9 n. 8; for other fabrications see 89 #5 and 221-222 ##4-5 with nn. 8 & 10.

⁶⁸ *Diyl.* 73 *FGrH* 3 *ap. Plu. Mor.* 862a-b; Loomis 1998: 89-90 #5 and n. 12 provides the Greek text.

⁶⁹ *Athen.* 698e-f; cf. 407a-b; Loomis 1998: 90-1 #7 and n. 14 provides the Greek text.

Athens was in a time of national grief and may have desired to give a token of gratitude to the poet, it is equally possible that the poet was down on his luck and trying to remind others of his former glory (Loomis 1998: 90-1 #7). If we are to accept the payment as plausible, Loomis compares the sum with the 1 drachma per day that soldiers and sailors received around the same time,⁷⁰ but Loomis cautions that the source should be treated with some skepticism (1998: 91). There is another report that between 407 and 400 BC a poet was paid 1 gold stater per line for celebrating the Greek victory over Xerxes, but the figure is unlikely since Athens was in an economic crisis at this time and there was a reduction in the pay for soldiers and the *diobelia dole*.⁷¹ Thus, such extravagance was probably not affordable at the tail end of the fifth century, even if a poet commemorated an illustrious ancient victory (Loomis 1998: 91). There is a report that at another unspecified time 1 talent was paid to the *kitharode* Amoibeus for one day's performance, but Loomis dismisses the figure as "impossibly high for one day's work."⁷² Overall, the figures represent the general impression of what creative artists may have been paid, though the authenticity of those figures should be accepted only with caution.

Few figures concerning the pay of artists in the fifth century are reliable. Of the twenty-three figures that Loomis records, the only observation that can be made with confidence is that sculptors (90-1 #8) and musicians (93-4 #16) were paid around the same amount as construction workers (96). Loomis notes that the artists mentioned in ##8 and 16 share a rise in wages with the Sophists and other instructors of oratory during 403-330.⁷³ During this period, the pay of Sophists increased from 300-500 drachmas to

⁷⁰ 1998: 90-1 #7 and n. 15; for soldiers and sailors, see 42-4 ##12, 13, 15.

⁷¹ Suda χ 595 (Adler); Loomis 1998: 91 #9 and n. 17 provides the Greek text, 240-241, 244-245.

⁷² Aristeeas *ap.* Athen. 623d; Loomis 1998: 95 #21 and n. 37 provides the Greek text.

⁷³ Loomis 1998: 241. The passages, Pl. *Ap.* 20a-b and Isoc. 13.3, are found at Loomis 1998: 65-6 ## 12 and 13.

500-1,000 drachmas, probably for a course, while the wages of artists and musicians increased from 1 drachma to 2 drachmas per day.⁷⁴

Though evidence is sparse, what we can determine is that creative artists were perceived to have earned large amounts of money for their services. The basic wages of regular musicians, much like the Erechtheion workers, were about the same. Well-known writers, such as Pindar and Herodotus, however, were said to have received a much larger fee. As the above figures suggest, large sums were rarely paid out by Athens or wealthy individuals. A creative musician might be able to sustain himself for a short period of time with the payment for only one performance, but a steady income in one location does not appear to be the case. As a result, a musician might find it beneficial to travel to more than one city both for the chance at larger prizes at other festivals and to establish a reputation that would lead to better commissions.

Travelling

I now turn to an examination of the opportunities available to musicians who travelled throughout the Aegean. In ancient times, many musicians appear to have travelled from their homeland to other major centres. Once at a major centre, creative musicians may have had the opportunity to be hired by wealthy individuals. More itinerant musicians also had the opportunity to compete at the grand festivals hosted by those major centres, particularly at the music competitions. The victors of those music competitions could earn large sums of money for a single performance. Consideration of the number of festivals available to the New Musicians suggests that there was a variety of ways a musician could earn a living by constructing a “tour” schedule. The performances at each

⁷⁴ Loomis 1998: 241; cf. 65-66 ##12 and 13, 68 #19, and possibly 69 #23.

stop of his tour would advertise his musical abilities. In this section, I examine the situations and venues that may have been available to the New Musicians. Often, however, the New Musicians are not specifically cited as performing at some of the festivals discussed below.

To judge from the Pherecratean passage mentioned above, several of the New Musicians travelled to compete in the illustrious festivals. Many of the musicians had travelled from their homeland to compete: Melanippides was from Melos, Timotheus from Miletus, and Phrynis from Lesbos; the only Athenian was Cinesias (West 1992a: 349-50). Further, Telestes was from Selinus and Philoxenus from Cythera. In addition to the illustrious festivals, at least two of the New Musicians are known to have travelled to cities other than Athens: Melanippides is reported to have travelled to the court of Perdiccas in Macedonia and Philoxenus traveled to Sicily to play for Dionysius I.⁷⁵ Therefore, the places of origin for the New Musicians suggest that they went beyond their own city to perform all over the Aegean to hawk their product, music. For professional musicians, their products were precious commodities that were often purchased by wealthy individuals on behalf of cities.

As a commodity, music had a certain value attached to it. Most often that value was determined by a select few wealthy individuals. Dictators would employ musicians as a means to building up their city's cultural superiority; for instance, Herodotus reports that Arion was employed by Periander at Corinth, a job that resulted in the creation of the new dithyramb (1.24). Macedonian dictators of the fifth and fourth centuries were no different in their desire to secure the top talent for their courts: Melanippides and

⁷⁵ West 1992a: 368 and n. 52. After a short while at the court of Dionysius, Philoxenus ran into some trouble. He was sent to the quarries either because he could not find anything complimentary to say about Dionysius' attempt at writing poetry (D.S. 15.6) or because he was caught with the tyrant's mistress (Athen. 6e).

Timotheus traveled there to perform for the king (West 1992a: 368 and n. 52). Aristocrats entertained their guests with shows put on by travelling performance troupes. Xenophon writes about a symposium in which a travelling performance group provides the entertainment for the evening (*Smp.* 2.1). Further, the Athenian *khoregoi* hired non-Athenian professionals to perform with their tribe's chorus, Lysias being only one of many people who carried that responsibility.⁷⁶ The practice of travelling throughout the Aegean was not restricted to the fifth century, but was a prominent feature of many professional careers throughout Greek music history.

Throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, professional musicians could expect to travel to major festivals around the Aegean, following a sort of tour schedule. Many major cities hosted festivals with music competitions. Delphi and Sparta each held their own games, the Pythia and Karneia respectively, at which kitharodic competitions were put on (Comotti 1989: 16; West 1992a: 19). In the archaic period, Terpander is linked to both festivals: he won the Pythian competition four times in succession and often competed at the Karneia, where he developed a notable reputation which remained throughout the New Music movement.⁷⁷ In the sixth century, Sakadas, a renowned *auletes*, competed at the Pythian festival and won it the first three times it was offered.⁷⁸ Other musicians, such as Thaletas, Clonas, and Olympus all travelled from their homelands to mainland Greece and were remembered for their musical virtuosity, though the exact venues at which they played are not recorded.⁷⁹ In the Classical period, hiring

⁷⁶ Lys. 21.1-4; Wilson 2000: 50-57, 89-94.

⁷⁷ Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1132c-e, 1134b discusses Terpander's history with Sparta and the Karneia; Athen. 635e gives the first dates for the Karneia; Timotheus mentions Terpander at *PMG* 791.225-28.

⁷⁸ Paus. 10.7.7 and 6.14.10. Pausanias also mentions at 6.14.10 that Pythocritus of Sicyon won the competition six times after Sakadas. Both musicians were from the Argolid (West 1992a: 338 n. 40; cf. Hdt. 6.60).

⁷⁹ Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1131f-1132f, 1133e-1135a; Barker 1984: 47, 207, 208, 210 n. 34.

virtuoso non-Athenian musicians became standard practice for the Athenian tribes. These foreign professionals, *kitharistai*, *auletai* and singers, would travel to the city and compose or play for them either as a part of the chorus or in solo performances (West 1992a: 349). In the early part of the fifth century B.C. Lasus, Simonides, Bacchylides and Pindar all wrote dithyrambs for Athenian choruses (West 1992a: 349). By the second half of the fifth century, Melanippides, Timotheus, Telestes, Philoxenus, and Cinesias were all writing and performing at Athens.⁸⁰

The festival prizes of the Great Panathenaia may have been incentive to play solo.⁸¹ The festival was reformed in 566 BC and the *mousikoi agones* were instituted at that time for the purpose of rivaling other Panhellenic centres (West 1992a: 19; Bundrick 2005: 8 and n. 25). The *mousikoi agones* either were spread out over the entire four-day festival or placed all on the same day (West 1992a: 20). Talented *auletai* generally enjoyed a higher status than other musicians, but the prizes for the *kitharodoi* suggest that those who sang to the *kithara* incited the greatest enthusiasm from the crowd in the fifth and fourth centuries (West 1992a: 366). Better evidence comes from later sources. They tell us that there were no fewer than five prizes for *kitharodoi* (West 1992a: 368). The top prize was a highly symbolic, aestheticized form of an olive wreath in solid gold (worth 1000 silver drachmas) and an additional 500 drachmas; other prizes worth 700, 600, 400 and 300 drachmas were doled out to those after the grand champion.⁸² Some musicians, after winning the festival crowns, may have melted them down to recover their cash

⁸⁰ Another possible Athenian was Crexus, but his place of origin is unknown (West 1992a: 349-50 and n. 100).

⁸¹ It is at the Panathenaia that Melanippides' *Marsyas* is thought to have been performed, along with one of Bacchylides' poems (Wilson 2000: 39 n. 151).

⁸² West 1992a: 368; Wilson 2004: 281-2 and n. 35.

value.⁸³ There were only two prizes for *aulodai*, worth 300 and 100 drachmas, while there were three prizes for *kitharistai* (500 drachmas was the highest).⁸⁴ High-quality olive oil was also offered to the victor in the fourth century (Wilson 2000: 36-7). The Athenian Panathenaia thus appears to have been a promising event at which talented musicians could perform and served as a meeting place at which they could share musical ideas. Thus, if Athens was the “hall of wisdom” for Greece (Pl. *Prt.* 337d6), the Odeion was the “hall of musical wisdom” for Athens and Greece as a whole.

The evidence suggests that highly successful musicians may have found it necessary to travel to one or two festivals. First-place victors may have been able to play a single performance and live quite comfortably. Depending on a musician's life-style, even a fourth-place competitor would earn in a single performance just less than the total amount that one of the Erechtheion workers would earn in a year. The amount of the prize, however, does not take into account the cost of instruments or travel fees; therefore, after victory, the net amount would be considerably less. Lower-ranking competitors may have found it necessary to continue to travel in order to seek out a larger prize.

In addition to the aforementioned festivals at Sparta, Delphi and Athens, there were a number of other festivals that hosted music competitions. The majority of the music competitions were in the dithyrambic genre, though solo competitions probably became more prevalent in the fifth century. Athens hosted other festivals. Among the better documented festivals were the City Dionysia (20 dithyrambic choruses of 50

⁸³ Csapo 2004: 237 n. 122. No evidence exists to support a general practice of melting down the first-place crown.

⁸⁴ West 1992a: 368 and n. 51. In *aulodia* it seems that only the singer received the prize (Athen. 621b; Wilson 2004: 281-2 n. 35).

people) and the Thargelia (10 dithyrambic choruses).⁸⁵ Other, non-Athenian festivals are not as fully documented: the Herakleia on Hekatombaion at Marathon, the Eleusinia the month after, the Amphiareia at Oropos (when it was under Athenian control), and the Epitaphia (Wilson 2000: 43-4 with nn. 177, 183). There is a likelihood that more festivals existed than those that our evidence shows, as suggested by Plato's desire to restrict the number of festivals in the fourth century (*Lg.* 799a). The diversity of places that offered religious festivals suggests that, after the major centres instituted their grand festivals in the fifth century, smaller centres began to establish their own festivals, perhaps with a view to making their own cultural mark.

A musician may have found it sensible, if he was victorious at one festival, to continue on to another to compete again. In theory, much-in-demand musicians may have been able to participate in all three Dionysian performances at Athens since they were held at different times, but the demands on the player and the extensive period of rehearsal with the different teams may have prevented musicians from participating in all of them (Wilson 2000: 68-69, 70; Wilson 2002: 54-5). Further, *khoregoi* and poets may have been reluctant to allow their musician to perform, and thus compete, as a part of another chorus, especially at such a formal event (Wilson 2002: 54-5). Specialization in any one genre would have been difficult for many *auletai* because of the required finances and creative resources (Wilson 2002: 54-5 and n. 49). Rather, flexibility and adaptability may have been important traits for touring musicians since performances may have led to further public or private commissions.⁸⁶ However, as the *mousikoi agones* of the Athenian Dionysia increased the importance of music and encouraged

⁸⁵ Wilson 2000: 13, 32-3.

⁸⁶ Pickard-Cambridge 1988: 26, 40, 58-9. Foreigners are known to have attended the City Dionysia (Ar. *Ach.* 505-6 and the scholiast on the passage), including ambassadors from other states (Pickard-Cambridge 1988: 59 and n. 4).

musicians to seek out more elaborate compositions, the wages of non-virtuoso *auletai* increased (Wilson 2002: 52, 53). The *auletai* were probably paid a wage instead of being offered a sum equal to that of a victor in prize competitions (Wilson 2002: 52, 53). Travelling around mainland Greece provided many opportunities for a professional musician, although there is no indication that the festivals were coordinated on an international level in order to avoid overlapping each other. The number of festivals mentioned above indicates that there was a market for the New Musicians' music; the music of the New Musicians was a product in demand. As Athens increasingly became the centre of Hellenic culture in the fifth century, many professionals found it beneficial to visit the city.⁸⁷ I have shown above that the itinerant life and work ethic of the New Musicians shared similarities with sculptors. However, the New Musicians and the Sophists also shared a professional attitude. In the following section I intend to examine some aspects of the Sophistic movement with a view to explaining the similarities between their practices and those of the New Musicians.

Sophists

The Sophists were a group of professional teachers interested in arranging classes devoted to certain subjects, primarily on how to become capable statesmen.⁸⁸ The

⁸⁷ Aristotle discusses the benefits of a city setting up a sea port for itself in order to benefit from the increased trade (*Pol.* 1327a11-38). There is the possibility that a musician, like other artisans, could export his product abroad through Peiraeus. The practice of exporting a written work is suggested by the works of Lasus, Pindar, Bacchylides and Simonides (West 1992a: 200-1, 344, 349). However, the New Musicians were primarily musicians and competitors, which meant that the honour of employing their services was most visibly demonstrated by their presence, and not by a written work. Further to the point, notation was often the preserve of the professional musicians and not taught in the regular school curriculum (West 1992a: 263). Therefore, the option of passing along a sheet of music may not have been very helpful to the local *auletes*.

⁸⁸ Pl. *Prt.* 317b; Marrou 1956: 7. One man who is often placed among the Sophists is Damon of Oa. I will postpone the discussion of Damon until Chapter 6 because his contribution to the study of music in relation to the new style is quite special, going beyond that of mere professionalism and economics.

services of the Sophists were aimed at a particular section of the populace who could afford their specialized and expensive product, especially those who sought success in politics and public life in general (Kerferd 1981: 17). The courses offered by the Sophists were a form of selective secondary education which was to follow the basic instruction a Greek youth would receive.⁸⁹ The Sophists catered to youths (and perhaps their families) who were interested in going beyond the typical education system. At the beginning of the fifth century, the only youths who could afford to continue their education were those of the elite ranks. The Sophistic movement tailored its product, training in oratory, to fulfill the demand created by the new form of democratic government and the increase of wealthy people.

I should briefly review the situation in Athens within which the Sophistic and New Music movements emerged. The change from an aristocracy to a democracy brought an increase in the freedom of expression and the exchange of ideas. In Athens the old aristocratic dominance gave way to the democratic reforms of Pericles which enabled more non-citizens to make a profit in the city. The *nouveaux riches* sent their children to school to be educated in the arts and accomplishments that were once restricted to the elite class (Marrou 1956: 40). Coupled with the extensive building programme instigated by Pericles, Athens was able to attract a diverse range of people who saw the city as the place to exchange ideas, sell their wares and, generally, be at the centre of the latest and greatest (Kerferd 1981: 19). Given the diversity of people active at Athens attested in our ancient sources, the city willingly made itself the centre of exchange, both for ideas and trade. Primarily, the New Musicians were motivated to explore the possibilities of

⁸⁹ Kerferd 1981: 17. The standard Athenian education for those who could afford it went until approximately the age of fourteen. The system was probably instituted by Solon early in the sixth century and was well-established by the middle of the fifth century (Kerferd 1981: 17, 37).

musical sound and not to change the constitution of a city (Csapo 2004: 229, 236, 246).

The New Musicians and Sophists appear to have divided up two areas which were formerly in the aristocratic domain, music and government, and made a business out of them. Both groups travelled extensively in search of clientele, the Sophists often bringing their students with them (Pl. *Ap.* 19e5; *Prt.* 315a7-b1; Kerferd 1981: 15). As the Sophists used *epideixis*, a public lecture or “display,” to advertise their skills at the grand festivals, so too did the New Musicians display their talents at the *mousikoi agones*.⁹⁰

The *epideixis* and music competitions could be embellished in any number of ways in order to attract a larger crowd. At least one Sophist saw fit to wear the purple garb of a rhapsode (Ael. *N.H.* 12.32). The Theban *auletes* Antigeneidas is credited with introducing the wearing of Milesian shoes and may have worn a *krokotos* (a yellow-gold robe usually worn by women and by Dionysus) during his performance of the *Komast*.⁹¹ This effeminate and foreign dress contributed to the separation of the performer and the crowd, giving the performer and his music an “alien” quality (Wilson 2002: 51 and n. 37, 52; cf. Bundrick 2005: 166).

The products offered – education for civil service by the Sophists, non-traditional music by the New Musicians – were not intended for a particular class of people but those who could afford their services.⁹² Athens was one of the best markets for innovation: wealthy citizens would send their children to the Sophists for the purpose of learning debating techniques (parodied in Aristophanes’ *Clouds*), and the wealthy *khoregoi* would hire the foreign professionals such as the New Musicians to play as a part

⁹⁰ Marrou 1956: 49-50. The main purpose of the *epideixis* was to demonstrate a Sophist’s ability to persuade his audience that his argument was plausible, regardless of its actual truth (Pl. *Prt.* 319a; Marrou 1956: 51, 52).

⁹¹ He was the person who sang to the music played on the flute by Philoxenus (Suid. Ἀντιγενεΐδης).

⁹² Pl. *Hp. Ma.* 282c-d; Kerferd 1981: 17, 25, 37; Wilson 2004: 282.

of their chorus at the grand festivals (Wilson 2000: 50-57, 89-94).

At this point, I would like to consider more closely the careers of Protagoras and Hippias in order to better show the professionalism of the Sophists and their similarity with the New Musicians.

Protagoras is an example of a Sophist who viewed instruction in civic matters as a superior alternative to the instruction offered by music teachers. He believed that children should study “not for the purpose of a technical skill... but for the purpose of education,” οὐκ ἐπὶ τέχνῃ... ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ (*Prt.* 312b3). As a result, Socrates asks Protagoras about the young Hippocrates’ possible gain from the Sophist’s instruction, especially how his classes differ from those of Othagoras of Thebes, a renowned *auletes*.⁹³ Protagoras explains that Hippocrates will receive from him education in the art of good citizenship (*Pl. Prt.* 319a). Other Sophists, however, would throw him back into the subjects they studied in primary school, i.e. mathematics, astronomy, geometry, music and literature (*Pl. Prt.* 318d-319a). The importance of the passage lies in the comparison between the instruction offered by Protagoras and Othagoras: both the Sophist and the musician were offering instruction for becoming professionals in their chosen field. Protagoras offers instruction with a view to becoming a better politician, i.e. a better speaker in the assembly, while Othagoras would teach Hippocrates how to play the *aulos* with a view to developing the young man into a professional musician. Protagoras does not see the instruction he offers as a technical skill (τέχνη), believing his instruction to be a good education in general (παιδεία). However, as Socrates discusses throughout the entire dialogue, the sophistic education offered by Protagoras is really no different from the

⁹³ *Pl. Prt.* 318c-d. Thebans were renowned *auletai*. The most famous was Pronomos at the end of the fifth century.

instruction offered by professionals such as Othagoras the professional *auletes*. The message conveyed in the comparison between Protagoras and Orthagoras is that there was a shared professionalism between the Sophists and musicians in the fifth century.

Hippias of Elis, on the other hand, was a polymath who had studied widely and was able to teach a variety of subjects. Some of his areas of interest were mathematics,⁹⁴ history, sculpture, the functions of letters, syllables, rhythms and musical scales.⁹⁵ Further, he is credited with writing epic verses, tragedies and dithyrambs, as well as various prose works (Pl. *Hp. Mi.* 368d; Kerferd 1981: 47). Given Hippias' background, especially in mathematics and poetry, it is tempting to think that he would have been able to understand and teach several important features of music. However, since there is no evidence indicating to what extent Hippias actually understood the subjects he could speak on (Marrou 1956: 55), including music, it seems unlikely that he would have been interested in guiding a student along the path of a new style of music instead of becoming a capable statesman.

The Sophistic and New Music movements share a professional attitude and a desire to make money selling their products, political ability and music, respectively. The Sophists were known to have travelled throughout the Aegean in search of a place to sell instruction, particularly in how to become a better politician. The New Musicians, on the other hand, traveled throughout the Aegean in search of patronage and festival victory.

⁹⁴ Plato attests to his knowledge in mathematics (*Prt.* 315c; *Hp. Ma.* 285b; *Hp. Mi.* 366c-368a). The use of numbers in music theory, especially the emergence of the study of musical harmonics and acoustics, is a wide and diverse field of study. Music theory, at least the form that included measuring octaves and intervals, was often considered to be a mathematical science and not tied to practice (Marrou 1956: 134). The subject is important in understanding Greek music but requires a much greater analysis than that which I am able to offer here. I refer the reader to the second volume of Barker's *Greek Musical Writings*, in which are translated with commentary many significant passages regarding the development of the field. Also, his most recent book, *The Science of Harmonics in Classical Greece*, discusses the matter in much more detail.

⁹⁵ Pl. *Hp. Ma.* 285c-286a; *Hp. Mi.* 368d; *Prt.* 318e; Kerferd 1981: 46-47.

The main similarity between the Sophists and New Musicians lies in the professionalism that had both groups pursuing the study of subjects that were once the domain of the aristocratic elite: government and music.

Conclusion

My aim in this chapter has been to discuss the economic atmosphere in which many musicians would have been offered an incentive to pursue a new style of music. By the fifth century, an interest had developed to use music as a means for increasing one's wealth. The responsibility for paying the musician changed in the fifth century, although there is no indication as to whom that responsibility fell. The change of responsibility, however, marks the beginning of an era in which the musician became a working artisan much like potters and sculptors. Evidence regarding the pay of working musicians is scarce, but they were perceived to have been well-paid. Many of the well-paid working musicians were foreigners who travelled throughout the Aegean in search of patronage and festival victory; Athens was a popular destination.

Athens offered many opportunities by way of their religious festivals which, like those put on by other cities throughout the Aegean, drew professional musicians from abroad. Foreigners were encouraged to do business at Athens, and it became a central location from which many foreign professionals could operate. The Sophistic and New Music movements especially found their greatest opportunities for earning a living at Athens. But the Athenians were also the harshest critics of the new style of music.

Many aristocratic Athenians criticized the business of the Sophistic and New Music movements as having a bad influence on the education of the youth. In the next

part of this thesis I will discuss the importance of music in the Athenian education system and how the critics of the new style of music determined its importance.

CHAPTER 5

THE SOCIAL IMPORTANCE OF MUSIC IN ATHENS

The business of the Sophists and New Musicians had significant ramifications for the education of the youth. As the Sophists received bitter criticism from many of the elite ranks, so did the New Musicians. No evidence suggests that either group was interested in the education of school children (under fourteen years of age), but the Sophists targeted youths who had finished the traditional system (ca. fourteen or fifteen years of age), while the New Musicians' music appears to have encouraged some youths to pursue music professionally. Music played an important role in the education of an Athenian child since much of the education system was aimed at developing good citizens.

In the following sections I examine the importance of music in the Athenian education system. I will explore the manner in which it is believed that music was taught in the curriculum, though acknowledging the limitations of our sources concerning the subject. Next, I discuss the influence of the new style of music on the education system. After discussing the change in the education system I turn to the reaction incited by the New Music movement. This reaction emphasized the importance of the text in a composition and the development of a child's ability to distinguish "good" music from "bad."

Music in Athenian Education

Music was integral to Athenian education, but the *kitharistes* seems to have been given a greater amount of respect than the other teachers. In the early half of the fifth century BC

the *kitharistes* taught reading, writing and the memorization of important poems such as those of Homer and Hesiod, but he also taught the basic technique for playing the lyre.⁹⁶ The grammar teacher (*grammatistes*), however, was in charge of teaching poetry to the children (Pl. *Prt.* 325d7-326b2). Indeed poetry and the accompanying music played a vital role in the Athenian education system.

Aristophanes provides some evidence for the importance of poetry and music in education. In *Frogs*, the character Aeschylus mentions several poets who have an important role in the education of Athenian children, including Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod, and Homer (*Ra.* 1030-36). What Aeschylus is trying to do is ally himself with that group of educator-poets (cf. Dover 1997: 11). Later in the comedy Aeschylus is chosen to leave the land of the dead in order to save Athens (*Ra.* 1500-503). Although Aristophanes is discussing mainly tragic poets, his ridicule of the state of playwriting in Athens is indicative of a larger problem at the end of the fifth century: many of the active poets were viewed as providing mere entertainment and spectacle rather than edifying and beneficial poetry to the audience (*Ra.* 72-102). Edifying poetry was to be found in traditional works, such as those of the poets mentioned above. Indeed, Aristophanes commented elsewhere on the traditional, old style of education.

In the *Clouds*, Aristophanes compares the old style of education, represented by the Stronger Argument, and the new style, represented by the Weaker Argument (961-1023). The Stronger Argument explains that his education, *archaia paideia*, “the old education,” was given to the men who fought at Marathon (*Marathonomachoi*; *Nu.* 986). The implication is that the *Marathonomachoi* were ideal models to emulate and thus the youth should have the same education given to those brave men. Certainly, the passage

⁹⁶ Pl. *Prt.* 318e1, 325d7-326a4; Kerferd 1981: 17, 37; Anderson 1994: 124-5.

comments on the old education system yielding to the new (cf. Dover 1968: lviii-lx). The old style of education favoured traditional music and poetry (*Nu.* 964-8), while the new system embraced innovations in music (*Nu.* 969-72) and the ability to speak well and argue.⁹⁷ Further, the old system did not encourage the questioning of mythology on moral or aesthetic grounds (*Nu.* 902-4), but the new system fully encouraged it (*Nu.* 1048-50, 1080-83). *Clouds* personifies the “new way” against the “old way,” a trait of Aristophanic comedy.⁹⁸

Dover explains that the old Athenian education did not encourage boys to think critically. Rather, education was about “passing on traditional techniques from one generation to the next” (Dover 1972: 111). Both the *Frogs* and *Clouds* emphasize traditional values and view past men and deeds as examples to emulate (Dover 1968: lxii-lxiii).

The Douris Cup, a drinking cup dated between 490/80 BC, depicts a sequence of school scenes, including instruction in lyre-playing, poetry recitation, *aulodia* (singing to the *aulos*), and a lesson in either reading or writing (Bundrick 2005: 2-3, figs. 1, 2). Although there is some debate about whether or not the image on the cup represents the subjects as being taught concurrently⁹⁹ or sequentially,¹⁰⁰ the most important fact about the image is that it depicts the education of *mousike* amongst the upper-classes in the fifth century.¹⁰¹ The image is probably not an exact scene from a formal lesson, nor should it

⁹⁷ *Nu.* 931, 942-4, 1003, 1053, 1109-10. Conspicuously, music and gymnastics are the only subjects mentioned in the Stronger Argument’s discussion; reading and writing are excluded (Joyal-McDougall-Yardley 2008: 43, cf. Dover 1968: lix-lx).

⁹⁸ I refer the reader to Barker’s article (2004: 185-204) about the figure of the Nightingale in Aristophanes’ *Birds*. In the article, Barker examines various portions of the text that contribute to the idea that the figure was Aristophanes’ personification of the new style of music that was occurring in Athens at the end of the fifth century BC.

⁹⁹ Beck 1964: 83-4; Marrou 1956: 374-76; Pritchard 307-8.

¹⁰⁰ Booth 1985: 279-80.

¹⁰¹ Bundrick 2005: 63. The presence of the *paidagogos* alludes to the elite status of the student and confirms that these lessons take place at a school away from home; otherwise there would be no need for the

be considered to represent the education of a large segment of the population (Bundrick 2005: 62-3). It provides a snapshot of what appears to have been the “standard curriculum” in fifth-century Athens. The subjects depicted on the cup, including reading, writing, music, and gymnastics,¹⁰² seem to have been the standard set of subjects taught to Athenian children, as I will discuss below.

The aristocratic educational system depicted on the Douris Cup was eventually influenced by the New Musicians. The date of the Douris Cup is also significant, since it represents the education system around the time of the Second Persian War; it was after the Second Persian War that *aulos*-playing was embraced by the Athenians (Arist. *Pol.* 1341a32). However, as *aulos*-playing fell from favour later in the fifth century,¹⁰³ particularly after the career of Melanippides, the influence of the New Music movement on the education system became more apparent.

The Influence of the New Musicians on Music in Education

There is no direct evidence to support the idea that the New Musicians were teachers of music, but the new style certainly influenced the music taught in the school curriculum. Aristophanes mentions that any child who was caught playing musical bends, such as those played by Phrynis, would be strapped (*Nu.* 971). Plato suggests that separate games should be set up for children so that they are not influenced by the music that was being played at the festivals in his time, since the new style caused a difference of interests between children and their fathers. Innovation would be banned from these “correct” children’s festivals (*Pl. Lg.* 797a; Barker 1984: 157). The passages mentioned above do

paidagogos (Bundrick 2005: 62).

¹⁰² Images of gymnastics training is found on the tondo of the cup.

¹⁰³ As evidenced by Alcibiades’ rejection of lessons in *aulos*-playing ([*Pl.*] *Alc.* I 106e4-7; *Plu. Alc.* 2.4-6; Booth 1985: 275-6).

not indicate precisely how the new style of music entered the education system, e.g. through music played on the *aulos* or *kithara*. Instead, many of our sources indicate that, in general, the new style influenced the music taught in the education system. Further, the increasing prominence of professional musicians encouraged youths to pursue professional musical training after they had finished the standard curriculum. But music, as we will see, was not meant to be pursued beyond the regular curriculum, especially not professionally.

For Plato, music teachers were in charge of ensuring the proper development of a child's moral decency and restraint. When children were learning how to play the lyre, they were taught the works of good lyric and choral poets (the *grammatistes* would teach the students the works of the epic poets).¹⁰⁴ Plato viewed the *kitharistes* as responsible for helping children develop a sound inner rhythm (εὐρυθμότεροι) and harmony (εὐαρμοστώτεροι): “they compel the inner souls of children to become familiar with both rhythms and harmonies,” καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς τε καὶ τὰς ἁρμονίας ἀναγκάζουσιν οἰκειοῦσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν παίδων (Pl. *Prt.* 326b1-2). The scores were arranged and the rhythms and scales drilled into the children's souls so as to make them gentler, and make their speech and movements more rhythmical and harmonious (Pl. *Prt.* 326b1-2). Indeed, music was important for the proper upbringing of a child's soul, and the study of music was to be taken up before gymnastics (Pl. *R.* 376e2-7). Plato especially believed that the three subjects of music, grammar and gymnastics constituted a complete education in virtue.¹⁰⁵ Musical education was not intended for the development of a professional musician, but for the development of a “gentleman” (Pl. *Prt.* 312b2-4). Plato mentions in

¹⁰⁴ Pl. *Prt.* 325d7-326b2; West 1992a: 37, nn. 116 and 117.

¹⁰⁵ Pl. *Chrm.* 159c3-13, [Pl.] *Clit.* 407c, [Pl.] *Alc.* I 106e4-9, [Pl.] *Thg.* 122e8-11; cf. Joyal-McDougall-Yardley 2008: 46-48.

his *Laws* that one of the requirements of an educated man is to be well-trained in choral activity, which included song and dance (*Lg.* 654a9-b8). But as the music competitions at the religious festivals became more popular, students may have viewed the stage at the religious festivals as a new type of battleground (cf. Lippman 1975: 58).

Plato gives the *kitharistes* an important role in education. The lyre-player's role was to ensure that his student employed the notes of the lyre that corresponded identically to the pitch of the words being sung (*Lg.* 812d). Only the melody was to be played. Elaborate musical flourishes that strayed from the main melody, such as the *kampai*, were prohibited (*Lg.* 812d). The melody should be properly ordered and not have a mixture of small and large intervals, nor have a quick tempo mixed with a slow one, nor should low notes be played alongside high notes (*Lg.* 812d-e). Further, the rhythms should not contain any frills or adornments (*Lg.* 812e).

Thus the music taught in the education system had a certain form to which it was to adhere. However, as the youth found out about the new style of music (described in Chapter 1), they turned their attention to learning the new style instead of the traditional style. The desire of young people to learn the new style of music is the main cause for the harsh reaction by critics of the New Musicians.

Reaction to the New Musicians

The new style of music was not widely accepted amongst the aristocratic class. As I discussed above in Chapter 4 (47-49), Timotheus and Philoxenus were accused of pandering to public taste – their music earning the label “popular,” *philanthronon*, and “profit-driven,” *thematikon*. Cinesias, a dithyrambist, was frequently targeted by the

critics of the New Music movement, perhaps because he was Athenian. Lysias mentions that he had done more for the city than Cinesias (21.20). Cinesias was also accused of impieties.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, Aristophanes and Plato despised the dithyrambist. Aristophanes and Cinesias appear to have had a falling out which led to a constant dispute between them. To Aristophanes, Cinesias was the prime example of a “pretentious dithyrambist” who made very little sense in what he said (Barker 1984: 94). His physical appearance is often ridiculed (*Lys.* 845-979), and his poetry was called ἀεροδονήτος, “air-tossed” or “soaring” (*Av.* 1372-409, cf. *Ra.* 1438). One of the reasons for Aristophanes’ ridicule of Cinesias may have been that Cinesias disliked comic poets and believed that their works had no substance (*Σ Ar. Ra.* 161). Further, he is reported to have had a hand in getting rid of the institution of the *khoregia* and was therefore labeled a “chorus-killer,” χοροκτόνος, by Strattis (*Σ Ar. Ra.* 404). Plato’s depiction of the composer is as a showman, one who loved the adoration of the audience. In the *Gorgias*, after asking Callicles if *aulos*-playing and dithyrambic poetry aim toward improving the soul or merely gratifying it, Socrates asks if Cinesias would create something “in whatever manner will make the listeners better, or something that is intended to delight the crowd of spectators?,” ὅθεν ἂν οἱ ἀκούοντες βελτίους γίγνοιτο, ἢ ὅτι μέλλει χαρεῖσθαι τῷ ὄχλῳ τῶν θεατῶν?¹⁰⁷

Timotheus, however, was aware of his originality and separated himself from other musicians. In his *Persians*, Orpheus and Terpander are mentioned and form a basis to the poet’s boast that his achievements surpass those of the ancients, suggesting that he thought of himself as their “true descendant” and much closer to divine inspiration than other poets (*PMG* 791.221-33; West 1992a: 362). In the *Persians*, he invites everyone to

¹⁰⁶ Athen. 551a. Cinesias and his friends chose to hold a party on a forbidden day.

¹⁰⁷ Pl. *Grg.* 501e-502b. Socrates includes Cinesias’ father, Meles, in the indictment.

partake of his new style of music and declares that he is opening the treasure trove of the Muses (*PMG* 791.232-3). He boasts in another fragment, “I do not sing the old songs, for my new ones are better. Young Zeus is king, it was long ago Kronos ruled: I throw out the old Muse!” οὐκ αἰείδω τὰ παλαιά, καινὰ γὰρ ἀμὰ κρείσσω· νέος ὁ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει, τὸ πάλαι δ’ ἦν Κρόνος ἄρχων ἀπίτω Μοῦσα παλαιά (*PMG* 796). Initially, Timotheus was unpopular, but Euripides encouraged his early efforts, even writing the prelude to the *Persians*.¹⁰⁸ Aristotle later appreciated the talents of him and Phrynis: “if Timotheus had not existed, there is a lot of music we would not have, yet if Phrynis had not existed, there would not have been a Timotheus,” εἰ μὲν γὰρ Τιμόθεος μὴ ἐγένετο, πολλὴν ἂν μελοποιίαν οὐκ εἶχομεν, εἰ δὲ μὴ Φρῦνις, Τιμόθεος οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο.¹⁰⁹

Philoxenus was unique because he received both positive and negative criticism. He is often coupled with Timotheus¹¹⁰ and contrasted with Pindar,¹¹¹ making a triad of composers that demonstrates the shift in music styles in the fifth century BC.

Philodemus, a late Epicurean writer (ca. end of first century BC), indicates that the styles of Pindar and Philoxenus were the same but the characters of each musician’s compositions were different.¹¹² According to our sources, Philoxenus’ new style had

¹⁰⁸ Satyrus (*Vit. Eur.* in *POxy.* 1176, fr. 39) reports the favourable opinion Euripides held of Timotheus’ works despite the criticism of the multitude. Cf. Plu. *An Seni* 23.

¹⁰⁹ *Metaph.* 993b15; West 1992a: 362 n. 22. Ingmar Düring entertains the possibility that Timotheus and Phrynis had a teacher-pupil relationship (1945: 179-80). Indeed, he claims that all of the New Musicians were linked via teacher-pupil relationships since the Pherecratean fragment (fr. 155 = Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1141d-1142a) lists them in the chronologically wrong order, which he interprets to mean that the student was named before the teacher (Düring 1945: 180). However, there is no evidence other than the passage in the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise (see above, 53-55) to support the claim that the New Musicians were teachers. Moreover, modern scholarship does not appear to support Düring’s claim. In the list of musical advancements above, Timotheus does not attribute any innovations to Phrynis, preferring only to mention the ancient composers Terpander and Orpheus. In another fragment, Timotheus boasts of his victory over Phrynis (*PMG* 802). Both passages suggest that no relationship existed between Phrynis and Timotheus other than a competitive one.

¹¹⁰ Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1142c, Polyb. 4.20.8, Athen. 626b.

¹¹¹ Ps.-Plu. *De Mus.* 1142b-c.

¹¹² *Mus.* 9.18.6 Kemke. Barker cautions about relying too much on Philodemus’ report since “he has a special axe to grind, and may perhaps be safely ignored” (1984: 95). Further, Philodemus, along with many of the Epicureans, did not believe that music had any mimetic capacity, particularly any ethical aspect to it.

some support. Antiphanes compliments his work, commending him for his use of compound words: “he filled his songs very well with modulations and musical ornaments,” τὰ μέλη μεταβολαῖς καὶ χρώμασιν ὡς εἶ κέκραται.¹¹³ Further, he is given credit for knowing what is truly musical, unlike “composers now, who set to their miserable words ‘ivy-wreathed, fountainy, flower-fluttering, wretched stuff, weaving in non-belonging melodies’,” οἱ νῦν δὲ κισσόπλεκτα καὶ κρηναῖα καὶ ἀνθεσιπτότατα μέλεα μελέοις ὀνόμασιν ποιούσιν ἐμπλέκοντες ἀλλότρια μέλη.¹¹⁴ The phrase ἀλλότρια μέλη may be some sort of “qualification to his modernism,” meaning that he either modestly diverged from tradition or he composed his own material and did not use other people’s tunes (Barker 1984: 95).

The study of music had become more important toward the latter part of the fifth century, a period in which the New Music movement may be considered to have been in “full swing.” To the aristocrats, two important aspects of the new style of music stood out. The first aspect was the importance of the text over the music, and the second was the judgment of “good” music.

The Importance of the Text

One of the most important aspects of the New Music movement was its use of the written, and sung, word. *Logos*, “word,” was typically considered to be more important than music, especially since the words of a song allowed the audience to participate in singing (cf. above, 22-23). I have already mentioned the ancient belief that the *aulos* was

See Wilkinson 1938: 174-181; cf. Chandler 2006: 1-17, 157-9. I will discuss the fifth-century interpretation of the concept of musical ethics as it pertains to the fifth-century musical revolution in Chapter 6.

¹¹³ Antiphanes *ap.* Athen. 643d.

¹¹⁴ Antiphanes *ap.* Athen. 643d; trans. Barker 1984: 95.

rejected from the education curriculum because it stopped a person from being able to speak (42). One of the major criticisms of the New Musicians was that they seemed to have composed the music first and then fit the text to the music. Plato's *Ion* describes the importance of the text over the music and, consequently, one of the major failings of the New Musicians.

Most poetry until Plato's time was spoken in the third person (i.e. narrative) and was understood not to have been created by the poet but by the god who inspired the poet. To Plato, artists did not write their *own* poetry. Poets were either inspired by the Muses or recited another person's poetry who was inspired by the Muses; poets interpreted what the gods told them, and the *rhapsodoi* in turn interpreted what the poets said (Pl. *Ion* 535a). Plato explains, for example, that Homer was a poet, but Ion is a rhapsode: Homer was divinely inspired while Ion is but an interpreter of the poet (*Ion* 533d, 534e1-535a2). The ability to compose came through a god or the Muses, especially in regard to the genre in which the poet was to sing.¹¹⁵ A divinity inspired the creation of all dithyrambs, encomia, *hyporchemata*, epics, and iambics (*Ion* 534c2-4). Socrates explains that the possession is for the benefit of the audience, so that they may know that the god himself, not the poet, is the originator of these valued sayings (*Ion* 534e1-535a2). The god, therefore, uses the poets as mouthpieces to communicate with the audience (*Ion* 534e1-535a2).

The passage in Plato's *Ion* suggests that poetry was viewed to be "referential": good poetry was always created in the past and always concerned a worthy subject, heroes, demi-gods, or the gods themselves, a sentiment that echos Aristophanes'

¹¹⁵ *Ion* 533c9-534c1, 534d1-4; cf. *Lg.* 654a6-7.

comparison of the old and new education in the *Clouds*.¹¹⁶ In essence, poetry preserved history, and that history was only accessible through divine inspiration; the poets (like seers) were its human repositories, and they held their own technical resources, their professional training (Dodds 1961: 81). Knowledge about the past and future were mysterious faculties over which the poet had only partial control, and that knowledge was mainly dependent on divine grace.¹¹⁷ True speech was the gift of the Muses. Poets did not create the names they used within their poetry but were “given” them by the Muses (Dodds 1961: 81; cf. Hes. *Th.* 22-28). Epic tradition, which was a traditional form of history-preservation, had the poet deriving “supernormal knowledge from the Muses,” though they were not possessed nor did they fall into ecstasy like the Pythian oracle.¹¹⁸ Since the New Music was, in fact, a new form of the lyric tradition, the difference between the epic tradition and fifth-century music was that the latter type of music took great liberties with rhythm, metre, tempo and other traditional elements of music-making which led to original poetry. The original poetry focused on “a more musical or poetic form of communication” which appealed more to the senses than to the intellect (Csapo 2004: 226 and n. 83).

The importance of the text is only one of two significant issues for the critics and musicians of the New Music movement. The second is the capacity for judging “good” music; but what was considered good music was up for debate.

The Ability to Judge

The ability to judge “good” music from “bad” influenced the New Music movement

¹¹⁶ Cf. Pl. *Lg.* 799a-b, 800e-802a; Lippman 1975: 51-52.

¹¹⁷ Dodds 1961: 81 and cf. n. 117, which cites Hom. *Od.* 17.518-20.

¹¹⁸ Dodds 1961: 82, Pl. *Lg.* 719b-c; cf. P. *P.* 4.279.

throughout the fifth century. The criticism of the New Music movement was based upon a traditional, conservative-minded elite class determined to set the music they enjoyed apart from that which was enjoyed by the lower ranks of society. Plato and Aristotle are two of the most prominent critics of the New Music movement. The views of the two philosophers regarding music differ from each other in some important ways, but both concerned themselves with the ability to judge properly a piece of music. I will treat Plato's view first, and then proceed to Aristotle's.

For Plato, one of the greatest fears in allowing a change in musical styles to occur was the possibility of developing a lopsided education. The main benefit of being correctly trained in *mousike* was the ability to judge correctly poorly crafted things: “the man who has been properly trained in these matters would keenly perceive things that were defective, and not well-made or well-grown,” ὅτι αὐτῶν παραλειπομένων καὶ μὴ καλῶς δημιουργηθέντων ἢ μὴ καλῶς φύντων ὀξύτατ' ἂν αἰσθάνοιτο ὁ ἐκεῖ τραφεὶς ὡς ἔδει.¹¹⁹ The other portion of a good education was *gymnastike*. Individuals who did not study both *mousike* and *gymnastike* in due proportion were likely to become lopsided in their education: either more ferocious or softer than is proper (*R.* 410d). The two skills were given to humans by God, gymnastics for the spirited part of the soul, and *mousike* for the philosophic part (*R.* 411e3-7). The task of the individual is to find a balance between those two elements (*R.* 411e8-412a2). The true musician and expert in harmony is the one who blends those two elements best and administers them, perfectly measured, to the soul (*R.* 412a4-7).

¹¹⁹ *R.* 401e1-3; cf. *Lg.* 669a-b, 700c-701a. One cannot help but think of the institution of the *khoregia* which was seen as a public service, and in order to fulfill that duty to the city, the individual needed to be a good judge of character, in the sense of hiring responsible individuals, and of music, so the tribe could win the competition.

Plato was especially hostile towards the new style. Later in the *Republic*, Socrates dismisses musical innovation, especially in regard to songs and styles. He cautions people to be wary of a poet who brings new songs to their city:

‘Ὡς τοίνυν διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν, τούτου ἀνθεκτέον τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς τῆς πόλεως, ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὺς μὴ λάθῃ διαφθαρέν ἀλλὰ παρὰ πάντα αὐτὸ φυλάττωσι, τὸ μὴ νεωτερίζειν περὶ γυμναστικὴν τε καὶ μουσικὴν παρὰ τὴν τάξιν, ἀλλ’ ὡς οἴόν τε μάλιστα φυλάττειν, φοβουμένους ὅταν τις λέγῃ ὡς τὴν

ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπιφρονέουσ’ ἄνθρωποι,
ἥτις ἀειδόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται.

[424c] μὴ πολλάκις τὸν ποιητὴν τις οἴηται λέγειν οὐκ ἄσματα νέα ἀλλὰ τρόπον ὥδῃς νέον, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπαινῆ. δεῖ δ’ οὐτ’ ἐπαινεῖν τὸ τοιοῦτον οὔτε ὑπολαμβάνειν. εἶδος γὰρ καινὸν μουσικῆς μεταβάλλειν εὐλαβητέον ὡς ἐν ὄλῳ κινδυνεύοντα· οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ κινουῦνται μουσικῆς τρόποι ἄνευ πολιτικῶν νόμων τῶν μεγίστων, ὡς φησὶ τε Δάμων καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι (*R.* 424b3-c3).

Therefore, to say it briefly, one must cleave to this matter to those overseeing the city, in such a manner that it should be destroyed completely without their noticing but they would guard against all things. They are not to make innovations in regard to gymnastics and music against the established order, but carefully guard against such a thing. Fearing whenever someone says that

Men care more for the song,
the newest one floating from the singer.

Often people think the poet means not new songs but a new style of song. This should not be approved. It is necessary not to approve nor to understand such a thing. One must be aware of changing to a new form of music, since the whole is risked. For nowhere are the styles of music changed without a great change in the laws of a city. So says Damon, and I believe him.

The lines from the *Odyssey* (1.351-2) that Socrates quotes, originally spoken by Telemachus, refer to the content of the poem (specifically the theme of the story) rather than to the music accompanying the poem (D’Angour 2006: 268). Socrates advises us not to think that Telemachus means musical styles, *tropoi*. Rather, in Socrates’ view,

Telemachus is referring to new songs, that is, a new story sung over the old style of music. However, Plato was concerned with the *style* of music being played, not merely the theme of the song. A new style of song was not to be praised but rejected. Plato believed that the effect of novelty on the greater population attracted people to entertainment rather than that which was edifying and instructive. The result of allowing a poet who brought a new style of music into a city was thought to be the risk of undergoing a constitutional change, since any change in a style of music usually meant a fundamental change in the laws of the city, which Plato makes explicit in the last lines of the passage quoted above (*R.* 424c5-6; Barker 1984: 140 n. 56).

Good music could be found in traditional music. According to Plato, there were traditionally several types of musical genres and each was judged to have its own purpose. Hymns were prayers to the gods; paeans and dithyrambs were lamentations; the kitharodic *nomoi* were not assigned a definite role (*Lg.* 700b). The genres were not to be mixed: “it is not allowed for one type of melody to be used for the purposes of another,” οὐκ ἐξῆν ἄλλο εἰς ἄλλο καταχρῆσθαι μέλους εἶδος (*Lg.* 700b7-c1), meaning that the music of one genre was not to be used in the performance of another. Plato states that the people who oversaw the education system were to listen silently until the end of a piece (*Lg.* 700c). The audience was to remain silent and not shout or encourage the musician to try anything out of the ordinary.¹²⁰ Who decided if a piece was acceptable to be played in public and, moreover, if it was played properly? Any change in musical styles would *only* be allowed if it fell within the acceptable guidelines of the proper judges, and the

¹²⁰ Plato mentions the popular practice in Sicily and Italy, where the audience raised their hands to judge the best music. In Plato’s view, the result of that interaction was that the audience taught the author. Since the author listened to the audience for judging the value of a piece, the stories became no more than efforts to gratify the audience, and not stories about better people and deeds (*Pl. Lg.* 659b8-c6). Cf. *Pl. R.* 376e9-377e8 for the importance of stories and music.

best judges of matters in music were those with experience, particularly the elders of the community (cf. *Lg.* 664d, 665c-d).

Along came musicians who disregarded tradition and pursued their own original poetry (*Lg.* 700d). They mixed “dirges with hymns and paeans with dithyrambs and imitated *aulos* songs with their *kithara* songs,” κεραυνόντες δὲ θρήνους τε ὕμνοις καὶ παίωνας διθυράμβοις, καὶ ἀλφιδίας δὴ ταῖς κιθαρωδίας μιμούμενοι (*Lg.* 700d6-8). To Plato, the music thus created was unintentional since the musicians were stupid, and “out of their ignorance they involuntarily falsely represented music,” μουσικῆς ἄκοντες ὑπ’ ἀνοίας καταψευδόμενοι (*Lg.* 700e1). Plato criticizes musicians who pander to the crowd (*Lg.* 700e2-6). Further, he disapproved of the musicians in the fifth century who believed that musical correctness was completely up to the listener (*Lg.* 700e2-6). To Plato, the worst aspect of this type of audience-driven judgment was the fact that the “ordinary man” thought himself capable of properly judging a piece of music, “whether he is a better man or a worse,” εἴτε βελτίων εἴτε χείρων ἂν εἴη τις (*Lg.* 700e3). In contrast to the musical judgment of the aristocracy, the new style depended upon the judgment of the *demos*, which Plato calls a “theatrocracy,” θεοτροκρατία (*Lg.* 701a2-3).

If we consider Plato’s criticism regarding musical innovation mentioned above (*Lg.* 700d6-8), while also considering the passage at *Republic* 424c3-6 (where music is closely associated with the laws of the city), the balance of probability suggests that he had in mind the musicians and music encompassed by the New Music movement. As I have mentioned above, Plato criticized musicians who imitated *aulos* songs with the *kithara* (*Lg.* 700d6-8). Thus, it is possible that the *Pythikos nomos*, which could be played by either an *auletes* or *kitharistes* (Str. 9.3.10), is a piece that Plato disapproved. Plato

also criticizes musicians who composed to please the crowd (*Lg.* 700e2-6), a charge that apparently had been laid against Crexus, Timotheus and Philoxenus (see above, 49).

Thus, it is possible to see a relationship between Plato's criticism of contemporary musicians (quoted above, *Lg.* 700e1) and the charge against the New Musicians.

Given Plato's staunch opposition to musical innovation in the *Laws* and elsewhere (such as the *Republic*), his criticisms are probably directed at the New Musicians. Some New Musicians apparently began to listen to the responses of the audience, perceiving what the audience liked or disliked, and composed accordingly. Within a hierarchal society such as the one the Athenian Stranger in Plato's *Laws* describes (within which there exists "better and worse people"), music remains separated into the fine distinctions described above. However, under the New Music movement, in which the audience was the judge, any feature of music could be used if it elicited a reaction from the audience. Positive reactions would suggest that a particular part of a composition should be kept, whereas a negative reaction would indicate that the part needed to be reworked or thrown out. Combined with the competitive nature of the dithyrambic competitions and other music competitions at the festivals, the audiences' reactions determined what the musician would play in order to win the competition, either as a solo musician or as a part of a chorus.

Plato's views of music favour tradition and indicate a desire for a return to the days when music itself was primarily the domain of the aristocratic elite. His views contrasted with the views of his pupil, Aristotle. Aristotle's views of music differed in that he acknowledged the working musician and the music he played, but relegated these musicians to a distinct class separate from that of the elite.

By the fourth century, the working musician had become much more apparent. Aristotle admits there are significant differences between people who pursue music within the regular curriculum and those who train themselves completely in the techniques of the music professional: “those who have made music their business and craft are necessarily better than those who have practised for the length of time required only for the purpose of learning,” καὶ γὰρ ἀναγκάϊον βέλτιον ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοὺς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιημένους ἔργον καὶ τέχνην τῶν τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἐπιμελουμένων ὅσον πρὸς μάθησιν μόνον (*Pol.* 1339a36-7). Professional performers were called “artisans,” βάνουσοι: “we call such men artisans, and no free citizen would play or sing unless drunk or joking around,” καὶ βαναύσους καλοῦμεν τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ τὸ πράττειν οὐκ ἀνδρὸς μὴ μεθύοντος ἢ παίζοντος (*Pol.* 1339b8-10). Aristotle encouraged children to learn music through practice since doing so was considered conducive to developing the capacity of judging music (*Pol.* 1340b24-36). However, those who were to become public officials later in life were to stop short of studying music so that it would “neither make the body uncultivated and useless with respect to the affairs of war and politics,” μήτε τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖν βάνουσον καὶ ἄχρηστον πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς καὶ πολιτικὰς ἀσκήσεις (*Pol.* 1341a5-9). As for what the children should learn, Aristotle excludes from education the professional techniques used in the music competitions, as well as the difficult and incredible practices. He states that the proper amount of education will be acquired “if students do not work striving for those technical skills used in the competitions, nor the wonderful and extraordinary kinds of works which are now common in the competitions, and from the competitions made their way into the education system,” εἰ μήτε τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς τεχνικοὺς συντείνοντα διαπονοῖεν, μήτε τὰ θαυμάσια καὶ περιττὰ τῶν

ἔργων, ἃ νῦν ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγόνων εἰς τὴν παιδείαν (*Pol.* 1341a10-13). Children should only learn music to the extent that they would be able to enjoy good melodies and rhythms, not the popular type of music (*Pol.* 1341a10-16), so that they may be able to judge music correctly later in life (*Pol.* 1340b36-40; Ford 2004: 331). The result of Aristotle's prohibitions on musical education makes him reject lessons for the *aulos* and any professional-type instruments such as the *kithara*.¹²¹ The only instruments allowed during the educative years are those that contribute to the development of a good student of music or contribute to some other part of education, though he does not specify which instruments (*Pol.* 1341a17-1341a20).

The Greek education system was not geared towards a vocational-type of livelihood. Instead, the system focused on the development of the mind which would, ideally, help the child develop the ability to govern the city. Banal work was relegated to the lower classes, while the upper classes concentrated on developing the intellect; the manner in which each class treated music demarcated the boundaries of acceptability. The purpose of playing music, especially to the aristocratic class, was not to become slaves or vulgar artisans in the pay of another person. Rather, the aristocratic class desired to develop the capacity to judge music, distinguishing the good from the bad, ostensibly leading to the perpetuation of traditional music. Overall, education in music was not supposed to be aimed at the production of more *original* poetry. Rather, the education of the elite youth was aimed at developing good citizens who were capable of distinguishing good and bad music. But what constituted good and bad music? The answer is found in the Greek concept of musical *ethos*, a concept that imbued music with certain moral characteristics but had no common method for ascertaining those characteristics.

¹²¹ Arist. *Pol.* 1341a17-1341a18. Cf. 1341a37-1341b2.

CHAPTER 6

THE STUDY OF MUSIC

As I have discussed in the previous section, the reaction against the New Music movement mainly concerned itself with the influence of the new style on the Athenian education system. In particular, the Athenian education system was meant to develop good character which was helped by music. As a result, many intellectuals of the fifth century developed theories concerning the morality of music. In this section, I will discuss the Greek concept of musical ethics as it pertains to fifth-century music. Much of the extant ancient literature consists of later interpretations of the concept of musical ethics and thus must be treated cautiously.

Although the Greeks in general acknowledged the power of music, fifth-century philosophers and music theorists condemned musical innovation as unethical and immoral. The Greeks understood that music had a certain power. For example, there were traditional stories about the Sirens, Orpheus, Arion and his dolphins, and Amphion's help in constructing the walls of Thebes by playing his lyre. Aeschylus calls music "a binding spell," ὄμιον δέσμιον (*Eu.* 306). Further, Hermes calmed the angry Apollo by playing the lyre (*h. Hom.* 4.416-96). Despite the general understanding that music had a certain power over its listener, fifth-century philosophers and music theorists believed that music had a moral effect on the character of an individual. But how that moral effect could be determined was unclear.

The first instance of the Greek concept of musical *ethos* with its moral and educational implications appears to have been with Damon. Damon wrote an essay addressed to the Areopagus Council designed to rein in the increasingly audacious music

of the fifth century¹²² just after the Odeion had been rebuilt. Philodemus reports the occurrence: “many still believe that it is proper for the educated to participate in music and to have participated. If Damon said these sorts of things to the real members of the Areopagus Council and not to fictional members, he mischievously tricked them,” πολλοὶ δ’ ἔτι νομίζουσι προσήκειν αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς μουσικῆς) μεταλαμβάνειν τοὺς χαρίεντας καὶ μετειληφέναι καὶ Δάμων εἰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἀληθινοὺς ἀρεοπαγίτας ἔλεγε καὶ μὴ τοὺς πλαττομένους, ἐφενάκιζεν ἀτηρῶς.¹²³ Although the report comes from Philodemus, a writer who may have had ulterior motives (see above, 78 n. 112), the fact remains that Damon was often credited with being the originator of the Greek concept of musical ethics. Robert Wallace concludes that there is no evidence that connects Damon with any particular side of the debate concerning the new style of music (2004: 267). Damon’s views concerning music, however, are important in understanding the intellectual atmosphere within which the New Music movement emerged. Later theorists would be influenced by Damon’s views, including Socrates, Plato, the speaker in Hibeh Papyrus 13 and Aristotle. I discuss below the importance of the Greek concept of musical ethics which demonstrates the fifth-century interest in the study of music’s power.

The Concept of Musical *Ethos*

Before discussing the number of views concerning the concept of musical ethics, it is important to give a general outline of what the concept involved. For this purpose I have relied on the entry in the *Oxford Music Online* encyclopedia, s.v. “Ethos,” which is the most current description of the many concepts.¹²⁴ The entry was written by Thomas J.

¹²² For the jurisdiction of the Council, see Isoc. 7.37.

¹²³ *De Mus.* 4.33, 37 (S. 104 Kemke) = 37 B 2 DK.

¹²⁴ Accessed May 6th, 2008. *Oxford Music Online* is hereafter abbreviated *OMO*.

Mathiesen and Warren D. Anderson. The latter scholar wrote the substantial and still relevant book on Greek musical *ethos* and the education system (Anderson 1966).

The concept of musical *ethos* is important in the development of the New Music movement since it demonstrates that the New Musicians were interested in the study of music with a view to creating a new style that would elicit an effect on the listener. Moreover, the concept that a piece of music could have an effect on a person's character displays both the musicians' and theorists' understanding of the power of music. For example, if a musician were to juxtapose two different modes, as Philoxenus did, then that piece would have much more potential to elicit an emotional response from the audience. The concept of musical *ethos* demonstrates an awareness of music and its effects on a person and represents an attempt to analyze and use that effect.

The term *ethos* changed meanings throughout Greek literary history. The term originally meant "accustomed place" (Hom. *Il.* 6.511), while Hesiod and Herodotus use it as "home" (Hes. *Op.* 167, 525; Hdt. 1.15). After Heraclitus, the term acquired its meaning of "character," especially in its moral sense, typically through habituation (22 B 119 DK; Pl. *Lg.* 792e2; Arist. *Rh.* 1356a23). Applied to music, *ethos* referred to the conveyance of "ethical attitudes," the musical sound not having any moral nature in itself (*OMO*). Below I examine the relevant evidence pertaining to the concept of musical ethics and fifth-century music. We shall see that there was no common concept of musical ethics, that is, the moral aspect of music, only the belief in the power of music. Above all, the concept of musical *ethos* suggested that the type of music to which a person listened would influence his morals. The most certain method by which to ascertain the moral value of a piece of music was to examine the mode, melody, rhythm

or tempo of the piece. The Pythagoreans believed in some form of music therapy, but existing works do not indicate the exact type of music they used for their therapeutic effects.¹²⁵ Many concepts of musical *ethos* in the fifth century, however, dealt with music's involvement in the education system. The earliest evidence we have concerning the Greek concept of musical ethics is reported by Plato and belongs to Damon of Oa.

Damon

Damon is an important person in the development of the concept of musical ethics. After I discuss the important aspects of Damon's concept of musical ethics, I will turn to a discussion of his history and the context in which he presented his views on the morality of music.

Although none of Damon's written works survive, Plato's *Republic* gives some indication about Damon's study of music and his view on the concept of musical ethics (*R.* 399e8-400c10):

ἴθι δὴ, ἔφην, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ καθαίρωμεν. ἐπόμενον γὰρ δὴ ταῖς ἀρμονίαις ἂν ἡμῖν εἴη τὸ περὶ ῥυθμούς, μὴ ποικίλους αὐτοὺς διώκειν μηδὲ παντοδαπὰς βάσεις, ἀλλὰ βίου ῥυθμούς ἰδεῖν κοσμίου τε καὶ ἀνδρείου τίνες εἰσὶν οὓς ἰδόντα τὸν [400a] πόδα τῷ τοῦ τοιούτου λόγῳ ἀναγκάζειν ἔπεσθαι καὶ τὸ μέλος, ἀλλὰ μὴ λόγον ποδί τε καὶ μέλει. οἵτινες δ' ἂν εἶεν οὗτοι οἱ ῥυθμοί, σὸν ἔργον, ὥσπερ τὰς ἀρμονίας, φράσαι.

ἀλλὰ μὰ Δι', ἔφη, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τρί' ἄττα ἐστὶν εἶδη ἐξ ὧν αἱ βάσεις πλέκονται, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς φθόγγοις τέτταρα, ὅθεν αἱ πᾶσαι ἀρμονίαι, τεθεαμένος ἂν εἴποιμι ποῖα δὲ ὁποίου βίου μιμήματα, λέγειν οὐκ ἔχω.

[400b] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ μετὰ Δάμωνος βουλευσόμεθα, τίνες τε ἀναλευθερίας καὶ ὕβρεως ἢ μανίας καὶ ἄλλης κακίας πρέπουσαι βάσεις, καὶ τίνες τοῖς ἐναντίοις λειπτέον

¹²⁵ West 1992a: 31-33, with ancient sources at n. 90. Barker 1989 Chapter 1 translates and comments on many passages that mention the Pythagorean views of music.

ῥυθμούς· οἶμαι δέ με ἀκηκοέναι οὐ σαφῶς ἐνόπλιόν τέ τινα
 ὀνομάζοντος αὐτοῦ σύνθετον καὶ δάκτυλον καὶ ἠρῶόν γε, οὐκ
 οἶδα ὅπως διακοσμοῦντος καὶ ἴσον ἄνω καὶ κάτω τιθέντος, εἰς
 βραχὺ τε καὶ μακρὸν γιγνόμενον, καί, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ἴαμβον καὶ
 τιν' ἄλλον τροχαῖον ὀνόμαζε, μήκη δὲ καὶ [400c] βραχύτητας
 προσῆπτε. καὶ τούτων τισὶν οἶμαι τὰς ἀγωγὰς τοῦ ποδοῦ αὐτὸν οὐχ
 ἦττον ψέγειν τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἢ τοὺς ῥυθμούς αὐτούς – ἦτοι
 συναμφοτέρων τι· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω λέγειν – ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὥσπερ
 εἶπον, εἰς Δάμωνα ἀναβεβλήσθω· διελέσθαι γὰρ οὐ σμικροῦ λόγου.
 ἢ σὺ οἶει;

μὰ Δι', οὐκ ἔγωγε.

SOCRATES. Come then, I said, let's purify the rest. Following the modes, we should next consider the rhythms; we should not pursue the complex ones nor all sorts of metre, but consider the rhythms of life that are both ordered and brave. After considering them, find which are necessary to match the foot and melody to the speech of such men, but not the speech to both the foot and melody. Whatever these rhythms are, just like the modes, is your job to say.

GLAUCON. But, by Zeus, I can't say. From observation, I could say that there are three forms from which the metres are constructed, just as there are four in the case of voices, from where come all the modes. Which sort represents which sort of life, I can't say.

SOCRATES. But on these matters, I said, we shall consult with Damon, to distinguish the metres that are servile and proud, or mad and some other vice, and the remaining rhythms for their opposites. I seem to recall, not clearly, him naming an enoplion, a composite, a dactyl and a heroic. I don't know how he divided them and placed them equally up and down, making them into short and long, and, I think, he named one iambic and another trochaic, and he added the quantities long and short. He approved or disapproved the tempo of the foot no less than the rhythms themselves – or both together, I can't say. But these matters, as I said, we shall leave to Damon: for to distinguish them is no small discussion. Or do you know?

GLAUCON. By Zeus, I do not.

The passage is important for understanding Damon's views of musical ethics. Wallace is able to determine four main points from the passage in the *Republic*: 1) Damon believed

that rhythms or steps “fit” certain types of psychological states or modes of behaviour, meaning that musical styles are able to determine and shape an individual’s or society’s behaviour; 2) he studied the technicalities of rhythms and metres; 3) he labelled the different rhythms; and 4) his research into metre is obscure.¹²⁶ Further, Damon makes explicit the connection between music and politics (*R.* 424c; Wallace 2004: 263-4).

Damon’s influence on later schools regarding the study of harmonics is distorted because there is no evidence to suggest that he believed in using the study of harmonics to determine the ethical value of a piece of music (Barker 1984: 169; Wallace 2004: 256). Rather, he probably believed in the distinction between *types* of notes being used (Barker 1984: 169), meaning that he labeled rhythms as he understood their different qualities. As a result, Damon’s views concerning the concept of musical ethics became more important as the New Music movement developed.

The implications of Damon’s views on musical ethics are important for understanding the intellectual context within which the New Music movement emerged. No evidence supports an explicit connection between Damon and the debate concerning the New Music movement. However, the period within which Damon presented his views concerning musical ethics suggests an increasing awareness of the power of music.

Damon’s research concerned music and metre, but he also advised on political matters (Wallace 2004: 250). As I mentioned above, his address to the Areopagus Council (some time after the rebuilding of the Odeion) in regard to the ostentatious music of the 450s and 440s BC was aimed at curbing musical innovation at Athens.¹²⁷ In any event, he was ostracized around 444/3 BC for a reason that is unclear (Wallace 2004:

¹²⁶ *R.* 399e-400b; Wallace 2004: 257-8.

¹²⁷ Since the Council’s powers had been reduced in 462/1 BC, the Council may have retained some sort of advisory status for the younger generation.

252). His ostracism may have come about because of his influence on Pericles' political decisions (Arist. *Ath.* 27.4) or because of his cleverness.¹²⁸ The latter charge is important because Athens was undergoing a political reform in which a person's ability to persuade the multitude became increasingly important. Thucydides reports an instance in which Kleon complains to the Assembly about the contemporary fascination with clever words and new, paradoxical arguments (3.38.4-7; Wallace 2004: 254). Athenians embraced the new form of government, but had yet no method in place to ensure its responsible use. So, too, with regard to the new style of music.

The best source of information regarding Damon's views, however, is provided by Plato through Socrates (who has a difficult time recollecting just what Damon's study of music involved). Socrates' hazy memory suggests that Plato may not have fully endorsed Damon's views concerning the concept of musical ethics, but what is clear is that the belief in the power of music became a major concern for musicians, philosophers, and Sophists, especially those who concerned themselves with the education of the young. The education of the youth greatly concerned Plato, the next significant contributor to the concept of musical ethics.

Plato

Plato condemned the new style of music primarily because it distracted a child from developing a good character. In the *Symposium*, the effects of music are made known, though not described (215c). In his *Timaeus*, Plato explains a metaphysical interpretation of music and harmony, relying heavily on the Pythagorean concept of number, but far

¹²⁸ Plu. *Arist.* 1, *Nic.* 6, *Per.* 4; Wallace 2004: 252. Wallace discusses the four ostraka that have Damon's name inscribed upon them and goes through the reasons why someone who was labelled a music theorist would have been ostracized (2004: 251-6).

removed from actual practice.¹²⁹ Above all, to Plato, the rhythm and mode of a piece determined its ethical value (*Prt.* 326a-b). A child must learn through *mimesis*, which meant that the music in the education system required careful thought so that it conveyed only good qualities (*Pl. Prt.* 326a-b; *Lg.* 812c; cf. West 1992a: 248-9).

The concept of musical *mimesis* was an important one in Plato's views on music and its effect on a person's character. The Greek concept of *mimesis* encompasses a diverse range of meanings, including the components of formative activity and "of the synthesis or simulation of appearance apart from reference to a model," extending from visual objects to character "and even to the idea of virtue itself rather than its particular manifestations" (Lippman 1975: 55). Musical *mimesis* in education was not about simple imitation; it was more about recreating. Musical *mimesis* was about learning the good habits of good men (Anderson 1966: 100-1). Anderson writes that the "images" of art are removed from reality (1966: 106). I interpret Anderson's statement to mean that the musical effects used by musicians to imitate non-human sounds, such as the cries of a goddess performed by Timotheus (discussed above, 22-23), were not real and therefore were mere copies of reality. Children were not encouraged to use their musical instruments for the imitation of sounds that were not natural to those instruments. More importantly, in regard to the content of the piece, children were encouraged to practice songs that developed good character. Musical *paideia* involved education through habit. The two main products of that education were "rhythmic and harmonious nature but not true knowledge"; true knowledge can only be attained through dialectic (*Pl. R.* 522a3-8; Anderson 1966: 106). Habituation would lead to second nature, in regard to both physical

¹²⁹ *Tim.* 47d-e. At *R.* 399c1-4, Plato does not suggest an analogy between rhythms and modes and an inner *harmonia* (Anderson 1966: 103).

and intellectual development (Pl. *R.* 395d1-3; Anderson 1966: 100-1). But Plato's views concerning musical *mimesis* are incomplete: he never provides an "explicit theory of melodic mimesis" (Anderson 1966: 101). What we do know is that music was to imitate the good, taking as its standard "rightness"; rhythms and modes could ultimately express mimetic qualities (Pl. *R.* 399c1-4; Anderson 1966: 103).

To Plato, story-content and music were important (*R.* 376e9-377e8). In regard to music, the appropriate modes and rhythms also had to be used in an unambiguous manner, i.e. without modulation, or else the ethical effect would be lost. A text made the judgment of a piece's *ethos* comparatively easy (Anderson 1966: 102). In Anderson's view, Plato's *Republic* describes literary *paideia* as able to produce "certain traits of character which differ from the habits implanted by mode and rhythm but ... nearly related to them" (1966: 106). Solo instrumental music, however, makes it almost impossible to ascertain the ethical value of the piece (Anderson 1966: 102). Plato does not fully reject the possibility of interpreting instrumental music, but he recognizes the difficulty in defining the meaning of the modes and rhythms (Anderson 1966: 102-3). If we consider that some New Musicians were solo musicians, either on the instrument itself or singing to accompaniment, as in the *nomoi*, we are able to understand that the new style of music included two elements of which Plato disapproved: musical imitation of sounds not proper to the instruments being used (e.g. playing an *aulos*-song on the *kithara*), and the use of compound words that led to no discernible moral value (e.g. the works of Cinesias).

In regard to the modes, Plato allows only the Dorian and Phrygian (*R.* 399a-c). The Dorian mode imitates the tone and rhythm of a person who faces dire circumstances

with self-control, while the Phrygian mode imitates the person who acts with moderation and self-control. In regard to rhythms, however, Plato defers the analysis to Damon (*R.* 399e-400c, quoted above, 92-3). Grace or inelegance accompanies a good or bad rhythm since rhythm reflected the physical movements of real life (*Lg.* 673c9-d5; Anderson 1966: 104). Thus, in addition to the text and rhythm, mode played an important role in Plato's concept of musical ethics.

Plato's views concerning musical ethics took into consideration the mode and rhythm of the piece of music. He was a proponent of traditional music and believed that children should be educated in the music approved by the elders of the city (*Lg.* 659d3-e1). Plato's views concerning the concept of musical ethics are primarily based on experiencing the live performance, not on abstract theories.

In fact, much of the criticism against the New Music movement dealt with the effects it produced in the audience, which the New Musicians were happy to elicit. The New Musicians, like Plato and other music theorists, understood that music had a certain effect on people during their listening experience. Though Plato and the New Musicians understood that music had an effect on its listeners, their evaluation and interpretation greatly differed. Another view also existed in the fifth century, however, which completely rejected the concept of music ethics. This view, represented in Hibeh Papyrus 13, relies on a different interpretation for judging music, but its overall point is to reject the idea that music produces an effect in its listener. I now turn to a discussion of this alternative view of judging music and its ethical effects.

Hibeh Papyrus 13¹³⁰

Hibeh Papyrus 13 reports a view of musical ethics that rejects the idea that music could exert any influence on a person's character. The papyrus itself dates to the middle of the third century BC, though the contents probably have earlier origins.¹³¹ The most recent editor of the text suggests Alcidas as a possible author (West 1992b: 16), which indicates a late fifth-century or early fourth-century date.

Col. 1. Πολλ]άκις ἐπήλθε μοι θαυμάσαι, ὦ ἄνδρες [᾽Αθηναῖοι,
 εἰ ἀ]λλοτρίας τιν[ές] τὰς ἐπιδείξεις τῶν οἰκείων τε-
 χν]ων ποιούμεν[οι] λανθάνουσιν ὑμᾶς. λέγοντες γὰρ
 5 ὅ]τι ἄρμονικοί εἰσι καὶ προχειρισάμενοι ὠ[ιδί]ας τινὰς
 ταύτας συγκρίνουσιν, τῶν μὲν ὡς ἔτυχεν
 κατηγοροῦντες, τὰς δὲ εἰκῆ ἐγκω[μιάζ]οντες.
 καὶ λέγουσι μὲν ὡς οὐ δεῖ αὐτοὺς οὐ[τε ψ]άλτας
 οὔτε ὠιδούς θεωρεῖν περὶ μὲν γὰρ τ[αὐτ]α ἑτέροις
 φασὶν παραχωρ[ε]ῖν, αὐτῶν δὲ ἴδιον [εἶ]ναι τὸ θε-
 10 ορητικὸν μέρος· φαίνονται δὲ περὶ μὲν ταῦτα
 ὧν ἑτέροις παραχωροῦσιν οὐ μετρίως ἐσπουδακό-
 τες, ἐν οἷς δὲ φασὶν ἰσχύειν, ἐν τούτοις σχ[εδιά-
 ζοντες. λέγουσι δὲ ὡς τῶν μελῶν τ[ὰ] μὲν
 ἐγκρατεῖς, τὰ δὲ φρονίμους, τὰ δὲ δικαίους,
 15 τὰ δὲ ἀνδρείους, τὰ δὲ δειλοὺς ποιεῖ, κακῶς εἰδότες ὅτι
 οὔτε χρῶμα δειλοὺς οὔτε ἄρμονία ἂν ἀνδρείους
 ποιήσειεν τοὺς αὐτῇ χρωμένους. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν
 Col. 2 Αἰτ]ωλοὺς καὶ Δόλοπας καὶ πάντας τοὺς θύ]οντας Θερμο-
 20 πύλ]ησι διατόνωι μὲν τῇ μουσικῇ χρω[μένους,
 πολὺ] δὲ τῶν τραγωιδῶν ὄντας ἀνδρειο[τέρους] τῶν διὰ
 πα]ντὸς εἰωθότων ἐφ' ἄρμονίας αἰδεῖν; [ὥ]στε δῆλον ὅτι
 οὔτε] χρῶμα δειλοὺς οὔτε ἄρμονία ἂν [ἀνδρείους] ποιήσειεν.
 εἰς τοσ]οῦτο δὲ ἔρχονται τόλμης ὥστε χ[ρόνον] πολὺν κα[τα-
 25 τριβ]εῖν ἐν ταῖς χορδαῖς, ψάλλοντες μὲν [πολὺ χ]εῖ[ρον] τῶ]ν
 ψαλ]τῶν. αἰδοντες δὲ τῶν ὠιδῶν, συγκρίνοντες δὲ καὶ
 τοῦ τ]υχόντος ῥήτορος, πάντα πάντω[ν χεῖ]ρον ποιοῦντες
 καὶ π]ερί μὲν τῶν ἀρμ[ο]νικῶν καλοῦμ[ένων], ἐν οἷς δὴ
 φ[ασί]ν διακεῖσθαι πῶς, οὐθ' ἦντινα φων[ήν] ἔχοντες λέγειν,
 ἐν[θο]υσιῶντες δὲ καὶ, παρὰ τὸν ῥυθμ[ὸν] ...]παίοντες
 30 τὸ ὑποκείμενον σανίδιον αὐτοῖς [ἅμα τοῖς] ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ

¹³⁰ The Greek text with commentary is found in West 1992b: 16-23. Barker offers a translation with notes (1984: 183-5); so does Anderson (1966: 147-152 and nn.)

¹³¹ Anderson 1966: 149; Barker 1984: 183. Both authors note Isocratean forms, constructions and terminology in the passage. West provides the best analysis of the Isocratean style (1992b: 16-23).

ψ[αλ]τηρίου ψόφοις

- 1 I've often been overcome by surprise, men of Athens,
that some people make demonstrations of skills that belong to others
without your noticing it. For they say that they are expert in the
harmoniai
and when they choose certain songs
- 5 they compare them against each other, condemning some on a whim,
and praising others at random.
And they say that they need not consider instrumentalists or
singers; they say
they leave these matters for others, whereas their concern is
- 10 the theoretical part. And it is clear that they are highly enthusiastic about
the matters that they leave to others, but that those things in which
they have authority, they do them off-hand.
They say that some of the melodies make people self-controlled, some
prudent, some just,
- 15 some brave, some cowardly, not knowing that
neither the chromatic mode could make cowards of those using it
nor the enharmonic make them brave. For who does not know that the
Aetolians and Dolopes and all those who sacrifice at Thermopylae
use diatonic music and are
- 20 much braver than singers of tragedy, who are accustomed to sing in the
enharmonic? Thus it is clear that the chromatic mode does not make
people cowardly nor the enharmonic make them brave.
And they are so audacious that they pass a long time on strings. They
- 25 play strings much worse than instrumentalists, sing much worse than
singers, making comparisons worse than any and every orator,
doing everything worse than everybody.
And regarding that which is called "harmonics," in which they say they
have a special interest, they have nothing significant to say.
- 30 They are overly enthusiastic, beating against the rhythm on the wooden
bench underneath them, at the same time as the sounds of the
psalterion.¹³²

The general agreement is that the speech is directed at the Damonian school of music theorists, particularly manifest in the opening lines of the speech.¹³³ No one person is targeted by the attack, but the group of people who claim expertise in the science of harmonics, the ἁρμονικοί, are singled out. However, if we consider that speaker's attack

¹³² West 1992b: 21 mentions that this is the earliest occurrence of the word, ψαλτήριον. He states that in the fourth century it became the generic word for "harp." According to Barker, the word means "instrument plucked with the fingers," as opposed to one that was played with a plectrum (1984: 185 n. 12).

¹³³ Anderson 1966: 150; Barker 1984: 183; West 1992b: 18.

on the evaluation of the ethical aspects of music, particularly the idea that one of the powers of music is to make men just (1.14), it is likely that the speaker is attacking the ἄρμονικοί associated with the Damonian school of music theory (Anderson 1966: 151; West 1992b: 18). Damon was most likely dead by the time this speech was delivered, but his ideas may have been picked up by his followers, and it is that group that the Hibeh Papyrus seems to target (West 1992: 247-48).

One of the most important aspects of the papyrus, however, is the view it presents. The speaker rejects the concept of musical ethics. Specifically targeted are the experts in the science of harmonics (Col. 1.4): they are not performers themselves and claim to study the musical *ethos* of scale-intervals and rhythms, but their views are only random and subjective (Col. 1.4-6; West 1992b: 18). Further, the contents of the papyrus targets people who considered the genera, i.e. the type of scale (diatonic, enharmonic, and chromatic; see above, 19 n. 7), an important factor in distinguishing the ethical value of a piece. Diatonic music is used by the Aetolians, Dolopes and others who are much braver than singers in tragedy and have always sung in the enharmonic mode (Col. 2.18-21). The speaker provides an example: the chromatic genus does not make a person any more cowardly than the enharmonic could make men brave (Col. 1.13-2.23). One of the themes of the speech is that a person's character is not determined by the music he sings. Already the difference in evaluating the ethical element of a composition is apparent: Plato relied on the interpretation of the modes, i.e. the scales themselves, whereas the view of musical ethics attacked in the Hibeh Papyrus relied on the type of scale being used, the genera.

Although the view expressed in the Hibeh Papyrus does not concern itself with music as it was taught in the education system, the papyrus is important for two reasons.

First, it presents a view of music theory that is based on determining the genera of a composition, not the mode, as the views of Plato and Aristotle are. Second, the speaker refutes the concept of musical ethics and thus represents an opposition to the Damonian school of music theory.

The view represented in Hibeh Papyrus 13 gives us a general picture of the study of music in the fifth century. Opinions varied between theorists and performers alike. The theorists who studied the ethical value of music were mainly concerned with music's effect on the youth, while the New Musicians applied their knowledge of the power of music to their performance, incorporating many modes, rhythms and melodies into a single piece. Aristotle's treatment of music, particularly its importance in education, differs from the treatments of Plato and the Hibeh Papyrus.

Aristotle

By Aristotle's time, professional performers had become common in many elements of Athenian religious celebration. In his discussion about music (*Pol.* 1339a13-1342b34), Aristotle distinguishes two classes of spectators: "there are two types of spectators, the free and educated and the vulgar crowd, comprising artisans and serfs and others of that sort," ὁ θεατῆς διττός, ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος καὶ πεπαιδευμένος, ὁ δὲ φορτικὸς ἐκ βαναύσων καὶ θητῶν καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων συγκείμενος (*Pol.* 1342a17-20). Thus, performers were allowed to play music for both classes, but those types of music were to be kept separate (*Pol.* 1342a20-31). Although Aristotle recognizes that the modes could have certain effects on its listeners, his view of music leads not to a concept of musical morality like that of Plato, but to an understanding that each mode had its proper use. In contrast to

Plato's view of music, Aristotle would allow music that was not conducive to learning into city festivals (Ford 2004: 334).

Aristotle concerns himself primarily with the education of the legislator, preferring to leave the exact study of music, such as the determination of morality, to others (*Pol.* 1340b6-7, 1341b20-31). Music was to be studied with a view to education or purgation; it might also be for intellectual enjoyment or for relaxation after exerting oneself: “we know, however, that it is necessary to study music not for one benefit but for many benefits, for it must be used for education and purgation... and, third, it must be used for our leisure time, for relaxation, and for release of tension,” φαμὲν δ’ οὐ μᾶζ ἔνεκεν ὠφελείας τῇ μουσικῇ χρῆσθαι δεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλαειόνων χάριν, καὶ γὰρ παιδείας ἔνεκεν καὶ καθάρσεως... τρίτον δὲ πρὸς διαγωγὴν πρὸς ἀνεσίαν τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς συντονίας ἀνάπαυσιν (*Pol.* 1341b35-1342b1; Ford 2004: 331). In regard to the first set of uses for music, that of education and purgation (*katharsis*), Aristotle rejects the use of the *aulos* on the grounds that it is not conducive to learning but more to the release of passions (*Pol.* 1341a20-25). Although Aristotle does not discuss *katharsis* and its apparent purgative process in his *Politics* (1341b38-39), and only briefly mentions the process in his *Poetics* (1449b27-28), *katharsis* appears to have “cleansed” people of some of their emotions, particularly the exciting ones (cf. Barker 1984: 177 n. 22). Unlike *katharsis*, however, moral learning relied on developing good habits, which included listening and understanding music and poetry for the purpose of assimilating the good qualities of the characters presented in the story (Barker 1984: 177 n. 22).

Aristotle's treatment of music, however, still examines the subject on the basis of

its modal, rhythmic,¹³⁴ and melodic properties. Aristotle believed that the modes could have an effect on a person's character, and refers to those used by Olympus as examples: "it is generally agreed that these make souls inspired, and inspiration is the effect of the character of the soul," ταῦτα γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως ποιεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικάς, ὁ δ' ἐνθουσιασμὸς τοῦ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἦθους πάθος ἐστίν (Arist. *Pol.* 1340a5-10). Further, rhythms and melodies (considered to be separate entities by Aristotle) could approximate reality, so that each mode could elicit a certain reaction from a person (Arist. *Pol.* 1340a19-1341b10). To Aristotle, the melodies themselves represent different characters, since the modes differ from each other: "in the melodies themselves there are representations of characters," ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτοῖς ἔστι μιμήματα τῶν ἠθῶν (*Pol.* 1340a39-41). Each mode had a different affect on the listener (*Pol.* 1341a41-b1). Further, each melody had a mode corresponding to it (*Pol.* 1341b33-35). In general, Aristotle's view of the modes of music is homeopathic, i.e. an excited soul requires exciting music and a calm soul requires calm music (*Pol.* 1342a4-16).

Aristotle discusses the modes at length but with the understanding that they themselves carry no moral aspect. Instead, certain modes developed habits better than the others. The Mixolydian mode was seen to be sad and solemn (*Pol.* 1340b1-6). Aristotle writes favourably about the Dorian mode: "regarding the Dorian mode, all men agree that it is the most steadfast and most manly in character," περὶ δὲ τῆς δωριστὶ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν ὡς στασιμωτάτης οὔσης καὶ μάλιστα ἠθος ἐχούσης ἀνδρεῖον (*Pol.* 1342b12-14, cf. 1340b4-5). Further, the Dorian mode was considered to be in the middle

¹³⁴ Rhythm was another important element of musical ethics, but our ancient sources do not explain how it factors into the concept of musical *ethos*. Plato refers the matter to Damon (*R.* 400b1-c3), and Aristotle's treatment of the subject is incomplete. Aristotle briefly mentions rhythm at *Pol.* 1340b8-10 and 1341b20-31, and also at *Pol.* 1447a26-28 but does not go into any detail, preferring to let other philosophers and musicians discuss the matter (*Pol.* 1341b26-31).

of all the other *harmoniai*,¹³⁵ and it is for that reason that the youth should be educated in it (*Pol.* 1342b14-17). The Dorian mode especially was conducive to educating a child for manhood (Barker 1984: 182 n. 41). The Phrygian, in contrast to Plato's view discussed above, was seen to be exciting and appropriate for the "harmless release" of exciting emotions (Barker 1984: 179 n. 31); it was considered appropriate to the dithyrambic genre (*Pol.* 1340b5-6). The dithyramb, by its very nature, was Phrygian: Philoxenus tried to compose his *Mysians* in the Dorian *harmonia* but failed and fell back into the Phrygian *harmonia* (*Pol.* 1342b6-11). To the Lydian *harmoniai*, Aristotle ascribes "both order and at the same time education," κόσμον τ' ἔχειν ἄμα καὶ παιδείαν (*Pol.* 1342b29-32). The Lydian *harmoniai* were viewed as "relaxed," and should be practiced in childhood in preparation for the later years.¹³⁶

Education plays an important role in Aristotle's discussion of music. A child should learn both the modes appropriate for his youth and those which are appropriate for later in life. A child's musical education should provide music for the development of moderation, music for later in life, and other music for the purpose of establishing good or proper behaviour (*Pol.* 1342b19-34). Indeed, Aristotle's "ideal citizen" would be well educated in music, both in terms of training and experience (Ford 2004: 335). The citizen would not participate in professional music so as to become a "crowd-pleasing professional," but he should be able to judge correctly the music of others "as a connoisseur, not necessarily as an expert in poetics or moral philosophy" (Ford 2004: 335). For Aristotle, music was important in a child's education since music prepared a

¹³⁵ Barker writes that the Dorian mode falls in the middle of all the other *harmoniai* "[i]n the cycle of the formalised system" (1984: 181 n. 38).

¹³⁶ *Pol.* 1342b30-31. Cf. Barker 1984: 182 n. 41. Aristotle's view contrasts with Plato's since the latter philosopher rejects all forms of the Lydian (*R.* 398e). Barker (1984: 167) discusses the possibility that there were groups of *harmoniai* under terms such as "Lydian."

child for life in general. Further, the child was to listen to good music since it would lead to good judgment throughout life.

The overall purpose of studying the ethical effect of music was to be able to judge the music being played, particularly the performance of others. The ability to distinguish well-made music from poorly-made music separated the classes, specifically the non-working class from the working class, i.e. the aristocracy from the *demos*. The judging of music indicated a person's level of education and ability to participate in the matters of the state. Several factors were taken into consideration when judging a piece of music: Plato emphasized the importance of the text, mode, and rhythm; and Aristotle believed that each mode, rhythm, and melody had no moral aspect in itself. In contrast to the views of Plato and Aristotle, the Hibeh Papyrus rejected the concept of musical ethics. Rather, each mode, rhythm and melody could serve a particular function but required careful evaluation when being used. For Aristotle, children especially should learn only the modes, rhythms, and melodies which were conducive to developing good habits for later in life.

An important point to remember is that the views of Plato and Aristotle did not represent universal opinion. Rather, the Hibeh Papyrus may better reflect a general opinion regarding music, that music itself did not have any moral aspect to it. Both Plato and Aristotle concern themselves with the education of good citizens who will have good characters as a result of their education and who will contribute to the development of the city. The Hibeh Papyrus, however, makes no mention of education but attacks the idea that some people are able to determine the ethical effect of music. To judge from the popular reaction to the new style of music, the musicians, and the audience to whom they

catered, understood that music had a certain power to elicit an emotional response. That power, however, had no moral aspect.

The New Musicians encouraged the audience to judge their music according to their own tastes rather than relying on the traditional ideas of good music. As a result, the power of judgment was put in the hands of the theatre audience instead of a select few people who could afford musical education.

Ethos, Education, and the New Music Movement

As I discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the general belief in the ancient world was that music had a certain power. However, as the study of the concept of musical ethics demonstrates, there was no common agreement that the power of music had a moral and ethical aspect to it, especially in regard to influencing a person's character. The particular concern was the education of a Greek child. The basis of the ethical philosophy of music was aimed at developing the traditional, formal part of a Greek child's education and at the uses of that art at social gatherings, such as the symposia; the formal education foreshadowed life in general (Lippman 1975: 51). Social occasions could provide opportunities to mold ideals and character (Lippman 1975: 51), and so it was important to teach good music to children while they were young.

The important point to make is that the modes appear to be much like dialects of a language, not merely a particular scale pattern (Anderson 1966: 25). Young Greeks, younger than 14 but not toddlers, learned the basic scales of music, e.g. Phrygian, Dorian, and Lydian, in school (Pl. *Prt.* 326b). Anderson makes two important points with respect to determining the ethical element in the Greek philosophy about music. First, the Greeks

normally used adverbs in referring to the modes rather than our modern adjectives, indicating that the Greeks were referring to the actual performance of music and not abstract concepts. Anderson writes, “English has ‘Dorian’ but lacks a counterpart for *Dōristi*: this means literally ‘in the Dorian manner of speech’ just as *Hellēnisti* means ‘in Greek’”; thus music was understood to be a form of speech (1966: 25). In Plato’s *Republic*, for example, the Mixolydian (μειξολυδιστί) and Syntonolydian (συντονολυδιστί) are mentioned at 398e2, the Iastian (ἰαστί) and Lydian (λυδιστί) at 398e10, and the Dorian (δωριστί) and Phrygian (φρυγιστί) at 399a1. So too in Aristotle’s *Politics*, the Mixolydian (μειξολυδιστί) is mentioned at 1340b1, the Dorian and Phrygian at 1340b4-5. Aristophanes uses δωριστί at *Knights* 989.¹³⁷ Second, the “ethnic modal adjectives” – such as *Aioleus* and *Ludios* – are often construed with the term *tropos*, a term which originally meant “manner” or “style” (Anderson 1966: 25). Pindar mentions the Lydian *tropos* at *Olympian* 14.17. Lasos says he composes songs in the Aiolian mode, which to him was a “deep-sounding mode,” βαρύβρομον ἄρμονίαν (*PMG* 702).¹³⁸ Anderson states that in using adjectives and adverbs in the manner discussed above, Plato, Pindar and Aristophanes were referring to actual musical performance itself, not abstract concepts (1966: 25).

However, Anderson warns against accepting the conclusion that modal ethos is equated with the “style” of the piece (1966: 25 n. 26). Thus, a mode could sound like it came from a certain geographical location, but it does not mean that by playing that mode the performer or listener will assume the characteristics of the people in that location. The

¹³⁷ Aristophanes then makes a play on the word δωριστί a few lines later (996) by using the term Δωροδοκιστί, “in bribe-fashion,” which is intended to ridicule Cleon’s refusal to learn any other mode except the Dorian because it was conducive to taking bribes.

¹³⁸ Anderson surveys much more evidence in the second chapter of his book, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music* (1966: 34-63).

significance of associating each mode with a certain geographical location is that children would carry that association with them throughout their lives. It would take an outsider to be able to see that the modes were no more than mere “tools” to be used to construct a composition. Since many of the New Musicians were not brought up in Athens, their basic understanding of music would have been different from the Athenians’ understanding.

There is one important aspect of the musical scales of the ancient education system: the *harmoniai* children learned were usually given some sort of context. Thus, in order to learn the Phrygian *harmonia*, a child would have to learn a piece that used the notes encompassed by that mode, such as a Bacchic dance tune or a pyrrhic dance.¹³⁹ To learn the Dorian *harmonia*, the child may have learned a *skolion* or a “dance of peace” that would be practical to the citizen in a social setting.¹⁴⁰ Song and dance were integral parts of a child’s education, and Plato’s reforms were intended to put the “order,” *taxis*, back into musical education (Csapo 2004: 238). During the fifth century, Spartan music, specifically their marching song, the *embaterion*, became regarded as the best example of properly “ordered” music (Csapo 2004: 242). The song stood for “old-fashioned simplicity and good order” because the Spartans knew how to “keep their place and receive direction from their betters,” unlike the Athenian *demos* (Csapo 2004: 242). Indeed, the Dorian mode was imbued with “all the virtues of Spartan discipline” (Csapo 2004: 243) and remained the mode of choice for the development of a good citizen.

The New Music Movement and Its Correlation with Musical *Ethos*

¹³⁹ Pl. *R.* 410b10-411a1 and 399a5-c4; Anderson 1966: 101.

¹⁴⁰ See Anderson 1966: 101-2; cf. Plato’s discussion at *Lg.* 814d8-815b6.

There is a certain connection between Damon, Melanippides and Phrynis: in the period in which these three men were active there came about a greater awareness of the power of music. After 450 BC, the significance of understanding music and its effects on a person's character became a prominent issue. Towards the end of the fifth century, when the New Music movement may be considered to be in "full swing," the study of the power of music became more important as the New Musicians encouraged the *demos* to judge their music and not rely on the traditional understanding of "good" music. The views expressed in the Hibeh Papyrus 13, Plato and Aristotle show that the study of musical ethics became an important topic of discussion since it had ramifications for the entire social fabric.

Damon seems to have been against the "entertaining" form of music that was used to win competitions, i.e. songs that were composed to pander to the tastes of the audience. However, his views may have been based on political ends rather than the influence on the education of the youth with which Plato and Aristotle concerned themselves. Instead of learning the proper, "practical" music of a well-cultivated citizen (such as *skolia*, the Homeric epics or other lyric poets), the youths desired to learn the music of the new style.

The reason behind Damon's statement (see above, 83) that change in musical styles ultimately has an effect on the constitution of the state is that the education of a well-cultivated citizen included *mousike*. *Mousike* was a part of the education system for the explicit purpose of developing a good citizen, more specifically, someone who would take an interest in politics and war and be able to debate in the assembly the necessary issues pertaining to the city and its operations. If a state relied on *mousike* to instill within

an individual a form of social responsibility and awareness, then the state had reason to oppose changes in that system of education. A music revolution becomes a social revolution in the sense that people could choose to pursue music as a career instead of war and politics. The result is that the city is robbed of capable statesmen and, in their place, given professional musicians. The goal of *mousike* was a person's study of the arts with a view to becoming not a specialized *artist* but an active *citizen*. The New Music movement demonstrates the opportunity to attain fame and glory in musical competitions rather than on the battlefield or in the assembly.

Conclusion

I have endeavoured to discuss the Greek concept of musical ethics as it pertains to fifth-century music and its influence on the education system. There was no common agreement on how to determine a musical composition's ethical element, but most people (including musicians, Sophists, philosophers, and the theatre audience) agreed that music had the power to elicit a reaction from the listener.

The views of Damon concerning musical ethics were made known around the time of Melanippides. Damon's concern was to limit the ostentatious performances of the new style of music. His views were picked up by Socrates who would then influence Plato. Plato's views of the power of music focused mainly on the education of the youth. The youth were to be educated in how to distinguish between the properties of good and bad music with a view to developing good character. Good music was to be found in traditional music, specifically that which was handed down by their forefathers: epics and traditional lyric poetry, not the original, creative and new style of music. However, not all

ancients believed that music had an effect on a person's character. The speaker represented in the Hibeh Papyrus claims that one *type* of scale, called a *genus*, cannot make a person any more or less cowardly than another type could make him brave. Aristotle's views concerning the concept of musical ethics involve the careful consideration and selection of the particular components of music, such as the words, modes, and rhythms. Each element of music had a particular use, and none had a specific ethical value. Rather, to Aristotle, music was meant to develop a child's ability to judge well later in life.

The New Musicians, however, appear to have acknowledged the benefits of using many different features of musical composition. By composing music with many modes, the new style of music was viewed as immoral since it influenced and drew the youth away from the practices of their fathers, government and music as a leisure activity, and led them to become professional musicians.

CONCLUSION

The New Music movement emphasized the power of music in a performance context. Pericles played an important role in the emergence of the New Music movement by refurbishing the Odeion, a building that hosted the Athenian music competitions, *mousikoi agones*. Pericles also promoted a new form of government in which the *demos* was involved in making the laws of Athens. The new form of government made Athens an attractive place for many foreigners to do business. In addition to business, the foreigners brought with them values and opinions that differed from those of the Athenians, made particularly evident in the New Music movement.

Many of the New Musicians were foreigners to Athens and brought with them a new style of music that differed from traditional music. Traditional music relied upon the strophic structure from which the New Musicians freed themselves. Instead, the New Musicians used a more free-form approach. The free-form, or astrophic, feature was adopted from the nomic genre and introduced into the dithyramb by Melanippides by way of his *anabolai*. Melanippides' *anabolai* were similar to the *kampai*. The musical "bends," *kampai*, were used by several musicians. Cinesias was ridiculed for his use of *kampai*, but Philoxenus was commended for his use of it. Some musicians, particularly Phrynis and Timotheus, stretched their voices beyond the typical range of traditional music. Further, Phrynis and Timotheus were among the musicians who modified the *kithara* for the purpose of playing a greater range of pitches. Up until the time of Phrynis music had been simple and used only one mode per piece, but with the new style of music musicians began incorporating more than one mode in a single composition.

The musical and technical advancements of the New Music movement were

mainly confined to the *nomos* and dithyramb. The *nomos* offered musicians an opportunity to display their talents as solo artists, using vocal, instrumental or other effects to put across the theme of the song. The musicians who played the *nomoi* were typically virtuosos, and their talents influenced the musicians who wrote dithyrambs. Melanippides is reported to have been the first musician to have introduced the nomic feature of musical paragraphs into the dithyramb, thus splitting up sung verses with instrumental passages. Since the New Musicians were experienced professionals, the changes to the structure of the dithyramb meant greater complexity. The dithyramb, by nature, was communal and consisted of citizens who were no more than amateur performers. The new style of dithyramb soon ousted the amateur chorus and placed it in the hands of working professionals.

Since the New Musicians used both the *aulos* and *kithara* in their work, their work had a particular resonance, especially in Athens. Both instruments had mythical and legendary histories behind them which were interpreted differently by the musicians and their critics. The *kithara*, lyre and *aulos* all held significant status amongst Athenians: the *kithara* was the domain of the professional performer, the lyre was used in the education system, and the *aulos* was used for the dithyrambic compositions; both the *aulos* and *kithara* were used in the *nomoi*. The manner with which the New Musicians treated their instruments contrasted greatly with the attitude of the aristocratic class. The aristocrats held the instruments in high regard since they played such an important role in the education of a good citizen. To the New Musicians, however, music (including the melodies, rhythms, text, and instruments) was like the materials used by sculptors: it was a tool to be used for both creative expression and the creation of a product that could be

sold to anyone who could afford the price.

Music as a commodity became an important factor in separating the New Music from the old. Some time in Melanippides' career, the responsibility for paying the musician changed: formerly the responsibility of the poet, our sources indicate that someone else took up the payment of the musician. The new method of payment changed the way music was treated. As payment for playing became more important, music-making became more like a business than a pleasurable past-time of the elite ranks. A creative musician could find a number of places to earn a living, including a number of religious festivals hosted at cities throughout the Aegean. Dictators and other wealthy individuals were interested in enhancing the cultural draw of their courts and the prestige of their wealth. The Athenian *khoregoi*, however, were an important group for the employment of professional musicians.

Through the assistance of Pericles' democratic reforms, Athens became a city where many foreign professionals could find a venue and an audience for their products. The work ethic exhibited by the New Musicians appears to have been similar to that of the Sophists. As the Sophists travelled throughout the Aegean with their students, they stopped at many of the religious festivals to put on a public display, the *epideixis*. The *epideixis* of the Sophists played a similar function to the *mousikoi agones* at which the New Musicians competed: both groups were able to advertise their talents to a large, international audience. The products of the Sophists and New Musicians – the art of becoming a capable statesman and a new style of music – found favour among many people throughout the Aegean, especially at Athens.

However, the products that the Sophists and New Musicians offered attracted a

public outcry. Critics of the movements, many of whom were Athenian, claimed that the products offered by the Sophists and New Musicians were having a negative effect on the education system. Traditionally, the governance of the city and the study of music were the preserve of the aristocratic elite, but the Sophistic and New Music movements changed those two important activities into a profitable business and offered them for sale to the highest bidder.

Music was especially important in the Athenian education system because it was one of three subjects that were believed to lead to the development of a good citizen. If a child did not study those subjects in due measure, he ran the risk of developing a lopsided education to the extent that he would not benefit the city. The general agreement in the ancient world, as the evidence gathered from the critics of the New Music movement shows, was that music helped develop a good citizen, although the view regarding the purpose of a child's musical education changed throughout the Classical period.

As a result of music's importance in the education system, great emphasis was placed on the text of the song. Much of the criticism against the New Music movement stemmed from the apparent abuse with which the musicians treated the written, and sung, word. The text was superior to the music since, according to tradition, the words were the method by which the listener could most easily discern the function of the song; music and text shared a widely held notion that they existed in an unbreakable link. Most importantly, the text enabled the listener to judge the composition and its moral value, and it was the ability to judge a piece of music that separated the elite from the working class.

The importance of music in the education system became clear as the New Music

movement exerted an influence on the curriculum being taught in schools. The study of music in the education system included the study of many features of musical composition, such as rhythm, mode, and melody. The elements of music that Greek children learned in school required careful selection since those elements led to the development of good character. The view that music was part of the development of good character fell under the Greek concept of musical *ethos*. By studying the different components of music, one could define the piece's moral value, but there was no common agreement about the criteria required for evaluating a piece of music.

Damon was the earliest and most reputable person known to have studied the moral value of Greek music. Our knowledge of Damon is derived from later sources, which indicate that his views on the concept of musical ethics influenced later generations of scholars, including Plato. Damon's concept of musical ethics stemmed from the desire to regulate the music being played at the Athenian festivals; the music at the festivals had apparently become much more elaborate after the Odeion was refurbished, as evidenced by the careers of Melanippides and Phrynis. Damon's views on the importance of regulating music would find resonance with later critics of the New Music movement, particularly Plato.

As the new style of music began to influence the music taught in the education system, Plato adopted the views of Damon and constructed his own theory of musical ethics. Plato was interested in curbing the influence of the new style of music on the education system. Although he refers much of the minutiae regarding the concept of *ethos* to Damon, he nonetheless agreed that any change in music style would alter the constitution of the city. To Plato, the danger of the new style of music was that it enticed

children away from developing a good character. Instead, the New Music movement enticed children to become music professionals, so that the children would use music for the purpose of gaining wealth instead for the development of good character. Music was integral to the development of a child's character, and a child's character was integral to the governance of the city. If a city and its citizens were to benefit each other, the citizens needed a good, balanced education. A balanced study of music, reading and writing, and physical education contributed to the development of good citizens. In particular, music contributed to a citizen's ability to judge a piece of music.

Beginning with Damon, many intellectuals studied music with a view to determining its ethical value, a study that depended on one's ability to judge. However, there was no agreement in precisely how to judge a piece of music. Plato believed music to be a part of a life-long learning process, one in which a citizen would aim at developing a good character. Aristotle, however, subscribed to the notion that musical components had no ethical value and, instead, required careful use. Further, a child was to become an educated connoisseur of music, not a professional performer. A contrasting viewpoint to the concept of musical ethics also existed, presented in Hibe Papyrus 13, which altogether rejected the idea that music had any moral value. But Aristotle, much like Plato, understood the importance of music in a child's development and promoted its judicious use, both in the education system and in life. To Aristotle, music assisted a child develop good habits, and those habits were improved by using the appropriate music over an extended period of time. Aristotle recognized the many features of music and the importance they could play in determining a child's moral development: modes, melodies, and rhythms all could be studied with a view to establishing their proper roles

in a piece of music. In particular, the evidence in the works of Aristotle concerning modality points to the fact that each mode could be used at a specific time, but its use required careful thought so as to elicit or quell the appropriate emotion. Further, Aristotle distinguished music by class: the working class and elite class required different types of music. The working class was permitted to listen only to the vulgar, popular music found at the festivals. The elite class, however, was permitted only to listen to music that would develop their capacity for good judgment and participation in the matters of the state.

The general belief that music could influence a person's character was important to musicians, philosophers, and statesmen alike. The concept of musical ethics became more prominent in Greek thought around the middle of the fifth century BC and increased in importance as the century drew to a close. As the New Music movement gathered momentum throughout the fifth century and its music began to influence the music played and taught in the education system, the concept of determining the moral aspects of music revealed themselves to be important. Though our sources allow only a partial study of the Greek concept of musical ethics, what is clear is that the Greeks understood and believed in the power of music. Philosophers sought to qualify music in order to explain what makes a good citizen, whereas the musicians desired a new style of music that would keep them employed and give their audience a show to remember. The *demos* and musicians embraced the new style of music while the more traditional and conservative-minded people, especially the aristocracy, rejected musical innovation for its effects on the education of the city's youth.

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