

ARCHAEOMUSICOLOGY AND ETHNOMUSICOLOGY IN DIALOGUE

I

It is more and more realised in our days that the study of ancient civilisations is significantly enhanced by the application of the anthropological method in archaeology. Archaeologists, and in general students of the human past, whether remote or more recent, should, it is maintained, approach an ancient society not only with their own, established within the discipline of archaeology, methodological tools, but also with those of the related to it discipline of anthropology. In this investigation of the validity of the above statement, that is, of the relevance of anthropology to the development of archaeology, the present article (see footnote 1) confronts one component of the issue: the relevance of ethnomusicology to archaeomusicology, the study of the musical systems of ancient societies, focusing on Hellenic antiquity.

The pertinent questions to be asked at the outset of our discussion are the following:

— Can anthropology be of value to archaeology? More specifically, can the method of anthropology be used in the study of ancient societies? Indeed, should it be used in this way? Have archaeologists come to the point of agreeing that the anthropological method is the best approach to the study of ancient societies?

Since, in this paper, I shall concentrate on only one aspect of cultural life, music, the above questions are modified as follows:

— Can ethnomusicology be of value to archaeomusicology? More specifically, can the method of ethnomusicology be used in the study of ancient musics? Indeed, should this be so? Have archaeomusicologists come to the point of agreeing that the ethnomusicological method is the best approach to the study of ancient musics?¹

II

Any study of an ancient society is based on existing evidence. The same applies to music. The evidence specific to music is threefold (Table 1):

1. Texts (theoretical treatises on music; *ad hoc* references to music in the ancient literature surviving on papyri, codices or inscriptions; scores with musical notation)
2. Iconography (two- and three-dimensional depictions of musical scenes in various media)
3. Prototype instruments, found in excavations

¹ It will be assumed, for current purposes, without endangering my argument, that there is such a thing as a single ethnomusicological method, accepted by the consensus.

As is immediately apparent from Table 1, the student of ancient music must be adequately knowledgeable on the issues and methods of both philology and archaeology. We should add to this a third prerequisite: sound knowledge of the practice and theory of music. The question is, of course, knowledge of *which* music, of *whose* music? Is music one, or should we say «musics», just as we say «languages» or «religions»?²

Texts	Iconography	Prototypes
Theoretical treatises on music. References to music in various texts. Music scores: Papyri: Papyrology: Philology. Manuscripts: Palaeography. Inscriptions: Epigraphy.	Depictions of music scenes: Paintings. Engravings (stone, bone, clay, wood, metal): Archaeology. Reliefs. Full sculptures.	Real instruments: Archaeology.

Table 1. The kinds of evidence for the study of ancient Hellenic music

III

Normally, the end of ancient Hellenic music is placed at the end of the 4th cent. AD (see Table 2 on page 198 below). Gaudentios seems to be the last Hellene who wrote on Hellenic music in technical terms.³ Not long after that, the Romans became interested in the theory, mainly, of Hellenic music, and it is, most probably, this need that urged Martianus Capella⁴ and Boethius⁵ compose their treatises on Hellenic music, for the benefit of Latin speakers.

Interest in the theory of ancient Hellenic music was again expressed in Byzantion, where a number of scholars at Konstantinoupolis wrote treatises on ancient Hellenic music in the Hellenic language. The three most important ones were Michael Psellos,⁶ Georgios Pachymeres,⁷ and Manouel Bryennios.⁸

The study of ancient Hellenic music was resumed in Renaissance Italia (see Table 3 on page 199 below). The first publication appeared in Venezia in 1497 (the very end of the 15th cent.). This was a Latin translation by Giorgio Valla of Kleoneides' musical treatise *Harmonic Introduction*.⁹ From that point on publications on the subject followed one another: in the beginning, Latin translations of theoretical treatises, then scores with

² See Nettl 1983:44-51 for an illuminating discussion of this issue. The conclusion drawn there is that the world of music consists «of a large number of discrete systems» (p. 51). Thus, the student of ancient Hellenic music should have a good knowledge of the ancient Hellenic music system in all its facets.

³ *Ἀρμονική Εἰσαγωγή*. Gaudentios probably belongs to the 4th or 5th cent. AD (West 1992:273).

⁴ *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (see, e.g., Dick 1925).

⁵ *De institutione musica* (see, e.g., Friedlein 1867).

⁶ *Σύνταγμα εὐσύνοπτον εἰς τὰς τέσσαρας μαθηματικὰς ἐπιστήμας, ἀριθμητικὴν, μουσικὴν, γεωμετρίαν καὶ ἀστρονομίαν* (see, e.g., Heiberg 1929).

⁷ *Σύνταγμα τῶν τεσσάρων μαθημάτων ἀριθμητικῆς, μουσικῆς, γεωμετρίας καὶ ἀστρονομίας* (see, e.g., Tannery 1994).

⁸ *Ἀρμονικά*. (see, e.g., Jonker 1970).

⁹ *Εἰσαγωγή ἁρμονική*. Valla, Giorgio (1497) *Cleonidae harmoniconum introductorum*. Venezia.

notated music (items in Table 3, marked «Scores»), even later editions of treatises with ancient text, translation and commentary in various European languages. The point of, briefly, running down the history of scholarship up to 1900 is that, all these people were either amateur dilettanti in the salons of Renaissance Italia, or philologists, usually but not always, with some knowledge of classical European music (both its praxis and its theory). The list, of course, continues into the 20th century. There is no point in presenting it here; it is extremely long and unnecessary for the present purposes. Suffice it to say that new scores came to light, treatises re-edited, based on a larger number of manuscripts, and a wealth of archaeological finds, both iconographical and real instruments, were published. However, very little had changed in the mentality of scholars, both philologists and archaeologists. They all saw ancient Hellenic music through the eyes of a European, and tried to describe it in modern European terms, and in the philosophical system of European classical music. Even in our days, Martin West's justly celebrated book on ancient Hellenic music (West 1992), uses terms such as «sharp»,¹⁰ «bar»,¹¹ even *cantata*, *oratorio*, *sonata*. Only lately have students of ancient Hellenic music, in general, realised that the time has come to change methods. This happened when ethnomusicologists rang the bell of danger to them: archaeomusicologists were heavily criticised, in the light of observations made and conclusions drawn from the ethnographic studies of the musics of the world.

IV

Ethnomusicology began its career, so to speak, late in the 19th century. The discipline underwent many changes in both scope and method in the course of the 20th century. It even changed its name a few times: «comparative musicology», «ethnic musicology», «ethno-musicology», «ethnomusicology». Within the last decade or so one should say that the discipline «assumed its own nature» –to use the Aristotelean expression– although the orientation and targets of the discipline are still being debated.¹²

Similarly for archaeology: in the beginning there was «antiquarianism». Then came the «Marxists», the «functionalists», the «structuralists», the «new archaeologists», the «processualists», the «post-processualists», the «culture historians»; names which reflect the internal uneasiness of the discipline, while in search of *its* own nature.¹³

¹⁰ E.g. «E double sharp» (West 1992:255).

¹¹ E.g. «bar divisions» (West 1992:148) or «bar-lines» (West 1992:134). The notion of the «bar» is absent in ancient musical thinking.

¹² See, e.g., Nettl 1964:1-19 and Nettl 1983:1-11 for definitions, scope and the history of the discipline of ethnomusicology. See Merriam 1964:3-16 for a most comprehensive discussion on the parallel development of ethnomusicology and anthropology, and the influence the latter exerted on the former. The close affinity of ethnomusicology and anthropology was realised from the outset of the ethnomusicological discipline, in the early 20th century (see, e.g., Hornbostel 1905).

¹³ See, e.g., Dark 1995:1-11 for a clear and comprehensive presentation of the various tendencies in and approaches to archaeology over the last two centuries.

Ethnomusicology, in contrast to (historical) musicology, demands that the description of a music be made «in culture».¹⁴ That is to say, in short, «in cultural terms», only within the philosophical framework of the culture that produces the music under investigation, using the musical terminology of the insiders, or, when that is either limited or non-existent, introducing terms compatible with the culture's ways of thinking.¹⁵

It was in 1949 (Table 4) that ethnomusicologists established the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) in the United States. In 1981 it changed its name to International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM). Its annual publication (supplementing, from 1969 onwards, its earlier *Journal*) is the important *Yearbook of ICTM*. In 1983, following a meeting in Cambridge a year before (1982), archaeomusicologists formed a separate study group, under the auspices of ICTM. Seven international conferences on archaeomusicology were organized by the Study Group (eight in all, including the one in Cambridge in 1982), and the papers presented were published in separate volumes. Thereafter, the ICTM Study Group ceased to exist. A new one was formed in its stead, named the International Study Group on Music Archaeology (ISGMA), directed by Professor Ellen Hickmann, Hannover, Deutschland. Three conferences have so far been organized by the new Study Group. The papers are published in the series *Orient-Archäologie* of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Orient-Abteilung, under the title *Studien zur Musikarchäologie*.¹⁶ It is more and more realized that the nature of archaeomusicology is interdisciplinary: philology, archaeology, ethnomusicology, anthropology, all are needed in the study of the musical phenomena of antiquity. The dominant role of ethnomusicological method in this cooperation is expressed by the term «historical ethnomusicology», which has lately appeared in the literature.

2002 ³		
2000 ²		
1998 ¹	ISGMA Study Group	
1996 ⁸		
1994 ⁷		
1993 ⁶		
1992 ⁵		
1990 ⁴		
1986 ³		
1984 ²	ICTM Study Group on MUSIC ICONOGRAPHY	
1983	ICTM Study Group on MUSIC ARCHAEOLOGY	
1982 ¹		
1981	INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR TRADITIONAL MUSIC (ICTM)	
1969		– <i>Yearbook</i>
1949	INTERNATIONAL FOLK MUSIC COUNCIL (IFMC)	– <i>Journal</i>

Table 4. The development of Music Archaeology

¹⁴ See, e.g., Merriam 1964:6-7. Also, Nettl 1983:98 §1 on Blacking 1967.

¹⁵ For a distinction between ethnomusicology and «ordinary musicology» see Kolinski 1957:1-2.

¹⁶ See, e.g., Hickmann 2000:1-4 for a comprehensive outline of the history of the two Study Groups, their conferences and publications. See also Παρουδάκης 2001. On the issues and methods in archaeomusicology see further: Megaw 1988; Schneider 1986; Moberg 1986; Hickmann 2001, 1997, 1993.

V

We have so far been talking about the influence of ethnomusicology upon archaeomusicology. But how is this influence really affected? The matter will be discussed by way of selected examples.

1. The first and foremost problem in the study of ancient musics is the non –or ill– representation in the evidence of oral sub-cultures. We are amply informed by the ancients themselves about the music of the educated, of the State, of the Temple, but we hear next to nothing about the music of the poor, the slaves, the women, the youth; only passing references at best.¹⁷ This automatically means that a large part of ancient Hellenic music, like the moon, hides from us a large portion of its body.

Ethnomusicological area studies have shown that there exist, next to the music of the politically influential, a great number of genres, oral in nature, which would leave no trace of their existence, had not ethnomusicologists shown an interest in recording and studying them. In the words of John Blacking (1988:333): «The extent of what is hidden from music archaeologists will vary according to the social structure of the society and the relationship of music-making to other artistic activities».

2. In prototype stringed instruments of antiquity, a count of the notches on the bridge was once believed that safely showed the number of strings the instrument possessed. That is not the case anymore: ethnomusicology has demonstrated that there are cultures in which the number of notches is not equal to the number of strings. Blacking, again, (1988:332) reports that: «in S. Uganda and E. Zambia, and elsewhere, musicians do not place strings across all the notches of their board zithers».

This observation is, perhaps, not relevant to ancient Hellenic stringed instruments (lyres and harps) —for we have no evidence for lack of one to one correspondance between notches and strings— it, however, sensitizes us in not taking for granted that what seems logical or sensible to us may not be so in music cultures other than our own.

3. In the case of musical pipes, it was initially thought that all the holes of a pipe were handled by the musicians. However, ethnomusicology has shown that the majority of musical pipes of the world have more holes than are actually used by pipers: «reproduction of the tones of a wind instrument cannot be regarded as evidence of a scale or mode used, because musicians often select and restrict the number of tones, and alter the sounds by techniques of breath control and embouchure, and even by partial closing of finger holes. One could have absolutely no idea of the sound of Japanese shakuhachi music, for instance, if the only available evidence were the instrument» (Blacking 1988:332).

Care must therefore be taken when dealing with ancient Hellenic auloi (Fig. 1): it must somehow be decided which holes served as tone holes and which ones as vents («speakers»)¹⁸. But even if we can distinguish the sound holes from the rest, can we deduce the scale of the melodies played on a pipe? In previous years it was believed that

¹⁷ See Nettl 1964:1-5 for a distinction between «high», «folk», «written», and «aural» music cultures. On the «folk music-art music» dichotomy, or the «folk-popular-classical» continuum see Nettl 1983:303-14.

¹⁸ See, e.g., how Landels 1963:117 concludes that hole V of the Brauron Aulos is a vent.

if the scale of an aulos were deduced either experimentally or mathematically,¹⁹ we had also managed to define the scale of the melodies played on it.

4. Archaeologists bring to light sound producing instruments such as bells, trumpets and drums. Are we to regard these as musical instruments?²⁰ Even if they usually played the role of musical instruments are we certain that they were not also used for calls or signals of various kinds? Was the sound of a trumpet in the battlefield, for example, regarded as music? This is one of the most difficult questions to answer, because it involves the definition of music, and an internationally agreed upon definition of music does not exist. What constitutes music can vary dramatically from one culture to another.²¹

5. Another problem in ancient music is the reconstruction of musical instruments from two- or even three-dimensional depictions. Often, these representations, if taken at face value, distort reality. Ethnographic studies on organology can be of much value and sensitize the student to iconographic extravagancies. Take, for example, the three-dimensional lute in the hands of a Hellenistic (c. 330-320 BC) Muse on the Mantinea Base²² (Fig. 2): neither the angle between base and facade, nor the curvatures of the sides of the sound-box could possibly be true; no lute ever possessed these features. It is therefore highly unlikely that the sculptor is here being realistic. His reasons for distorting the lines were undoubtedly non-musical, most probably to do with oral aesthetics.²³

6. Moving from instruments to music itself, the problem of tonality is a difficult one to solve. We are all so imbued with European tonality that we automatically search for it in all the musics to which we are exposed. A classical example is the story of European ethnomusicologists swearing that they can hear definite tonalities in North Indian ragas, when the Indians themselves neither intend nor can hear them. (By tonality is meant the psychologically defined attractions between the notes of a scale.) There was heated debate in the past amongst archaeomusicologists as regards tonality in ancient Hellenic music.²⁴ The accumulated information by ethnomusicology on the phenomenon of tonality, worldwide, has now opened up our minds and new studies of tonality in ancient musics will certainly benefit from this.

7. Archaeomusicologists were initially rather willing to use ethnographic material in their studies. Parallels were sought for comparisons, especially in non-European societies. There came a time when this attitude was heavily criticized: ethnographic material for

¹⁹ For calculated, approximate aulos scales see, e.g.: Schlesinger 1939; Landels 1963:119; Landels 1968:236; Letters 1969; Landels 1981:299; Bélis 1984:118ff.; West 1992:94 ff.

²⁰ Examples are: the sistra of pharaonic Egypt; the Mesopotamian bells; the Minoan tritons; the Hellenic *phormiskoi* etc.

²¹ See, e.g., Nettl 1983:19-21 for a discussion of the concept of music in various cultures.

²² For the continuing debate on the date of the sculpture and the identity of the sculptor see Ψαρουδάκης (1995).

²³ A very good paradigm of non realism in instrumental iconography is the case of Medieval European lyre bridges: those found in excavations are very much smaller than those depicted in iconography (Graeme Lawson, «Ancient European Lyres: Excavated Finds and Experimental Performance Today». Paper read at the conference «Performing Ancient Greek Music Today», Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, September 2003 –to be published in March 2004).

²⁴ See, e.g., Monro 1894; Winnington-Ingram 1968; West 1992:177 ff.

comparison, it was insisted, should only come from similar cultures. John Blacking was the first ethnomusicologist to go against this belief: there is, he said, more common ground amongst world musics than we should expect (perhaps, this is idiosyncratic to music). To give an example: the ancient Hellene pipers used the *phorbeia*,²⁵ a harness that passed over their mouths and heads (Fig. 3). This is worn today by certain pipers in West Java, Indonesia (Fig. 4). Are we to leave this information out of our study of the ancient Hellenic equivalent? Should we not benefit from its study? There is no doubt that, despite temporal, geographic or cultural differences, an investigation of a certain practice in one culture might unexpectedly, even significantly, illuminate a similar practice in another.

8. Finally, a word on transcription of ancient scores and performance of their music. Because the code of ancient Hellenic music has survived,²⁶ it has been possible to transcribe the music in the scores without much difficulty. It was initially believed that once the pitches and their durations were established, the music in the scores had been reconstructed. But this is not what music is all about: it certainly comprises rhythm and melody but ethnomusicology now tells us that there are other components in music that may be of much significance to the insiders of a musical culture, such as quality of voice, instrumental timbre, high or low positioning of voice, embellishments, tempo (faster/slower), dynamics or others. In an ancient Hellenic score,²⁷ or in any musical score, for that matter, all that is notated is melody and rhythm (the «blue print» of music). This means that all other components of ancient Hellenic music are lost to us. And because these are psychological constructs, and therefore subjective, we cannot hope that they will ever be retrieved. We cannot, therefore, speak anymore of an «authentic»²⁸ performance of a piece of ancient music; the word has now been almost entirely expunged from the ethnomusicological vocabulary in referring to Early Music performance, to be replaced by «Historically Informed Performance» (HIP).²⁹

In concluding, therefore, the belief is expressed that the above argument, based on selective but sufficient issues for the present discussion, convincingly shows what a positive influence ethnomusicology has been to the study of ancient music. In general, one could, indeed, speak of a «New Ethnomusicology», since the late fifties-early sixties, a study of the diverse musical systems of the world in a «sensitized» way, anthropologically informed, respectful to other people's modes of perception and thought, and a description of the various musical styles in «cultural» context, avoiding unduly, Western-type projections, or making irrelevant value judgements, which in the end would only blur and distort the real picture. Ethnomusicology, a discipline which was founded in the early 1880s in Europe, in more or less the same time that

²⁵ See Bélis 1986 for the available evidence on the *phorbeia*.

²⁶ Mainly in Alypius' *Εἰσαγωγή μουσική* (see, e.g., Jan 1995:357ff.) and Aristeides Quintilianus' *Περὶ μουσικῆς* (see, e.g., Winnington-Ingram 1963:24ff.).

²⁷ The extant ancient Hellenic musical scores have most recently been re-edited, transcribed and discussed to a certain extent in Pöhlmann & West 2001.

²⁸ On the «dangerous» notion of authenticity in music see Nettl 1964:180-84.

²⁹ See, e.g., Stobart 2002:10 n. 1. In a recent conference in Wien (see n. 23, above) an interesting experiment was carried out, where a number of singers, Austrian, German, Polish, and myself, executed in turn the same ancient Hellenic songs. In the ensuing discussion important conclusions were drawn on the various aspects of performing style (Transactions to be published in March 2004).

anthropology was springing, developed over the first half of the twentieth century becoming more and more aware of the relevance of the conclusions drawn in anthropology, and from there onwards moved on in close association with it, up to the present day.

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Stelios Psaroudakes
Faculty of Music Studies
University of Athens

Table 2. The theoreticians of ancient Hellenic music (Hellenes and Romans)

	1300	Manouel Bryennios (14 th cent.) Georgios Pachymeres (1242-1310)
	11th	Michael Psellos (1018-1079)
	10th	Dionysios
	7th	Isidorus
	5th	Boethius Anonymi Bellermann Cassiodorus Martianus Capella Augustinus
	4th	Gaudentios Marius Victorinus Alypius Bakcheios the Senior
	3rd	Aristeides Quintilianus Sextos Empeirikos Porphyrios
	2nd	Klaudios Ptolemaios Adrastos Theon of Smyrne Dionysios Halikarnasseus Kleoneides
AD		Nikomachos of Gerasa
BC	1st	Ptolemais of Kyrene Panaitios (Ps-Ploutarchos) Thrasyllus Didymos
	2nd	Philodemos
	3rd	Alkidamas(?) (Papyrus Hibeh 13) Eratosthenes
	4th	Eukleides Theophrastos Aristoxenos of Taras Agenor of Mytilene Stratonikos Herakleides of Pontos Archytas (Aristoteles) (Platon)
	5th	Simos Philolaos Hippasos of Metapontion Eratokles Damon Pythagoras of Zakynthos Lamprokles
	6th	Pythagoras of Samos Lasos of Hermione Epigonos

Table 3. Publications on ancient Hellenic music since Renaissance

1899	Euripides <i>Orestes</i>	Leipzig, Jan	Score
	Athenaios <i>Paian</i>	"	Score
	Limenios <i>Paian</i>	"	Score
	Seikilos " <i>Epitaph</i> "	"	Score
	Mesomedes <i>Hymns</i>	"	Scores
1895	Aristoteles	Leipzig, Jan	Edition
	Eukleides	"	Edition
	Nikomachos	"	Edition
	Bakcheios	"	Edition
	Gaudentios	"	Edition
	Alypios	"	Edition
	Euripides <i>Orestes</i>	"	Score
	Athenaios <i>Paian</i>	"	Score
	Limenios <i>Paian</i>	"	Score
	Seikilos " <i>Epitaph</i> "	"	Score
	Mesomedes <i>Hymns</i>	"	Scores
1894	<i>The Modes...</i>	Oxford, Monro	Study
1894	<i>Die Delphischen...</i>	Göttingen, Crusius	Study
1893	Athenaios <i>Paian</i>	Paris, Reinach	Score
	Limenios <i>Paian</i>	"	Score
1892	Euripides <i>Orestes</i>	Wien, Wessely	Score
1891	Seikilos " <i>Epitaph</i> "	Wien, Wessely	Score
1883	<i>Die Musik...</i>	Leipzig, Westphal	Study
1882	Aristeides Quintilianus	Berlin, Jan	Edition
1875	<i>Histoire...</i>	Gand, Gevaert	Study
1868	Aristoxenos (harmonics)	Berlin, Marquard	Edition
1866	Pseudo-Ploutarchos	Breslau, Westphal	Edition
1856	Pseudo-Ploutarchos	Leipzig, Volkmann	Edition
1841	Anonymi I-III	Berlin, Bellermann	Edition
1840	<i>Die Hymnen...</i>	Berlin, Bellermann	Study
1786	Mesomedes (words only)	Leipzig, Snedorf	Edition
1786	Aristoxenos (rhythmics)	Venezia, Morelli	Edition
1731	<i>Dissertation...</i>	Gand, Burette	Study
1699	Ptolemaios	Oxford, Wallis	Edition & Latin Translation
	Porphyrios	"	Edition & Latin Translation
	Bryennios	"	Edition & Latin Translation
1652	Aristoxenos (harmonics)	Amsterdam, Meibom	Edition & Latin Translation
	Alypios	"	Edition & Latin Translation
	Aristeides Quintilianus	"	Edition & Latin Translation
	Bakcheios	"	Edition & Latin Translation
	Eukleides	"	Edition & Latin Translation
	Gaudentios	"	Edition & Latin Translation
	Nikomachos	"	Edition & Latin Translation
1650	Pseudo-Pindaros	Roma, Kircher	Score
1623	Bakcheios	Paris, Morellus	Edition & Latin Translation
1616	Aristoxenos (harmonics)	Leyden, Meursius	Edition
	Nikomachos	"	Edition
	Alypios	"	Edition
1581	Mesomedes	Firenze, Galilei	Scores
1562	Ptolemaios	Venezia, Graviensi	Latin Translation
1542	Aristoxenos (harmonics)	Venezia, Graviensi	Latin Translation
1497	Kleoneides	Venezia, Valla	Latin Translation

FIGURES

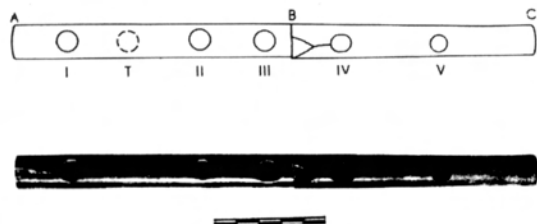


Fig 1. The "Brauron Aulos". Drawing, above, and photograph, below. Late 6th- early 5th cent. BC. Brauron, Archaeological Museum 1059. (From Landels 1963:116 Figs. 1-2).



Fig 2. Muse with a lute. Detail of relief on a plaque of the "Mantineia Base". Date: c. 330-320 BC (Praxiteles?). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 215-216-217. (Photograph taken by the author).

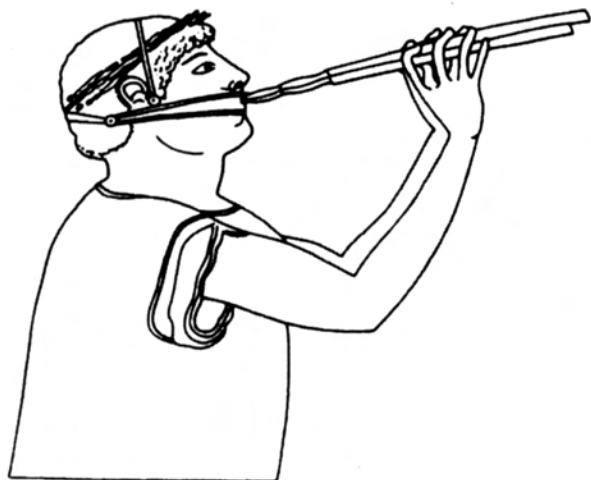


Fig 3. Aulos player wearing the phorbeia. Amphora, c. 480 BC. Detail. London, British Museum E 270. (Drawing in Landels 1999:31 Fig. 2a.8).



Fig 4. West Java. Mouth band worn by a shawm (tarompet) piper in a gendang pēnca ensemble (Heins 1980:211 Fig. 25).

ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Τόμος 4
Μεσογειακή Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία
Ρέθυμνο 2003