

### MUSIC AND MEMORY IN THE ANCIENT GREEK AND ROMAN WORLDS

In Greek mythology, the Muses are Memory's daughters. Their genealogy suggests a deep connection between music and memory in Graeco-Roman culture, but how was this connection understood and experienced by ancient authors, artists, performers, and audiences? How is music remembered and how does it memorialize in a world before recording technology, where sound accumulated differently than it does today? This volume explores music's role in the discourses of cultural memory, communication, and commemoration in ancient Greek and Roman societies. It reveals the many and varied ways in which musical memory formed a fundamental part of social, cultural, ritual, and political life in ancient Greek- and Latinspeaking communities, from classical Athens to Ptolemaic Alexandria and ancient Rome. Drawing on the contributors' interdisciplinary expertise in art history, philology, performance studies, history, and ethnomusicology, eleven original chapters and the editors' Introduction offer new approaches for the study of Graeco-Roman music and musical culture.

LAUREN CURTIS is Associate Professor of Classical Studies at Bard College. She is the author of *Imagining the Chorus in Augustan Poetry* (2017) and is currently working on a commentary on Ovid, *Tristia 3* for Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics.

NAOMI WEISS is the Gardner Cowles Associate Professor of the Humanities at Harvard University. She is the author of *The Music of Tragedy: Performance and Imagination in Euripidean Theater* (2018) and coeditor of *Genre in Archaic and Classical Greek Poetry: Theories and Models* (2019).



# MUSIC AND MEMORY IN THE ANCIENT GREEK AND ROMAN WORLDS

EDITED BY

LAUREN CURTIS

Bard College

NAOMI WEISS

Harvard University





# **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India 79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108831666 DOI: 10.1017/9781108917858

© Cambridge University Press 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-108-83166-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



### Contents

List of Figures		<i>page</i> vii	
	t of Contributors	xi	
Aci	knowledgments	xiii	
No	te on Texts and Abbreviations	xv	
PΑ	RT I: APPROACHING MUSIC AND MEMORY	I	
	Introduction  Lauren Curtis and Naomi Weiss	3	
Ι	Music, Memory, and the (Ancient Greek) Imagination <i>Mark Griffith</i>	25	
PΑ	RT II: MUSIC, BODY, AND TEXTUAL ARCHIVES	63	
2	Musical Memory on Delos: Theseus in the Archive and the Repertoire Sarah Olsen	65	
3	Remembered but Not Recorded: The Strange Case of Rome's Maiden Chorus  Lauren Curtis	81	
4	Incorporating Memory in Roman Song and Dance: The Case of the Arval Cult Zoa Alonso Fernández	101	
PΑ	RT III: TECHNOLOGIES OF MUSICAL MEMORY	121	
5	Do Alexandrians Dream of Electric Sound? Recording Music in the Early Ptolemaic Empire <i>Yvona Trnka-Amrhein</i>	123	



vi	Contents	
6	Teichoacoustics, or the Wall as Sonic Medium in Antiquity Peter McMurray	148
PA	RT IV: AUDIENCE, MUSIC, AND REPERTOIRE	173
7	Iacchus Resonatus: Sound, Memory, and Salvation in Aristophanes' Frogs Tim Power	175
8	Performance, Memory, and Affect: Animal Choruses in Attic Vase Painting  Naomi Weiss	203
9	Meter, Music, and Memory in Roman Comedy <i>Timothy J. Moore</i>	234
PA	RT V: MUSIC AND MEMORIALIZATION	259
IO	Sirens on the Edge of the Classical Attic Funerary Monument Seth Estrin	261
II	Music as <i>Mnēma</i> on Athenian White-Ground <i>Lekythoi Sheramy D. Bundrick</i>	287
Bil	pliography	311
Ger	neral Index	352
Ina	lex Locorum	358



## **Figures**

O.I.	Left and center walls of the Tomb of the Triclinium,	page 7
	Tarquinia, Italy, ca. 470 BCE. Museo Nazionale	
	Archeologico di Tarquinia. Photograph © Nimatallah/Art	
	Resource, NY.	
0.2.	Right wall of the Tomb of the Triclinium, Tarquinia, Italy,	8
	ca. 470 BCE. Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Tarquinia.	
	Photograph © Scala/Art Resource, NY.	
3.I.	Map showing the processional route of 207 BCE (Livy	85
	27.37.11–15). Map drawn by Marie Saldaña.	Í
4.I.	The Acta Fratrum Arvalium of 218 CE. Musei Vaticani,	113
	Rome. Photograph © Governatorato SCV – Direzione dei	
	Musei.	
8.1.	Ben Whishaw in Bakkhai, Almeida Theater, London,	204
	Summer 2015. Photograph by Marc Brenner © Almeida	
	Theater.	
8.2.	Attic red-figured column-krater, ca. 500–490 BCE	209
	Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig BS 415.	
	Photograph © Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung	
	Ludwig/Andreas. F. Voegelin.	
8.3a.	Attic black-figure amphora (inverse) attributed to the Painter	212
	of Berlin, ca. 550–540 BCE. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin	
	F1697. Photograph © bpk Bildagentur/Staatliche Museen zu	
	Berlin/Johanne Laurentius/Art Resource, NY.	
8.3b.		214
	Berlin,ca. 550–540 BCE. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F1697.	
	Photograph © bpk Bildagentur/Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/	
	Johanne Laurentius/Art Resource, NY.	
8.4a.		215
	Fine Arts, Boston, 20.18. Photograph © 2020 Museum of Fine	
	Arts, Boston.	

vii



viii	List of Figures	
8.4b.	Attic black-figure <i>skyphos</i> (reverse), ca. 520–510 BCE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 20.18. Photograph © 2020 Museum of Fine	216
8.5.	Arts, Boston.  Attic red-figure <i>psyktēr</i> attributed to Oltos, 520–510 BCE.  Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989.281.69. Photograph © The	221
8.6a.	Metropolitan Museum of Art.  Attic black-figure Siana cup (side A) attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, 560–550 BCE. Allard Pierson, Universiteit van Amsterdam, APM 3356. Photograph © Allard Pierson.	227
8.6b.	Attic black-figure Siana cup (side B) attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, 560–550 BCE. Allard Pierson, Universiteit van Amsterdam, APM 3356. Photograph © Allard Pierson.	227
8.7a	Attic red-figure calyx-krater (inverse), ca. 425 BCE. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 205239. Photograph by Giorgio Albano © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali/ Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.	229
8.7b	Attic red-figure calyx-krater (reverse), ca. 425 BCE. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 205239. Photograph by Giorgio Albano © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali/ Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.	231
IO.I.	Marble stele of Phylagros and Hegilla. Athens, mid-fourth century BCE. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Sk 741. Photograph © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.	262
10.2.	Marble stele of the daughter of a man from Sounion and Phile. Athens, ca. 375–350 BCE. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 65.II.II. Photograph © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.	267
10.3.	Marble stele of Aristodike, Proxenides, and Menippe. Athens, mid-fourth century BCE. Piraeus Archaeological Museum, Athens, 228. Artwork in the public domain. Photograph by Seth Estrin.	268
10.4.	Marble stele of a woman. Athens, first half of fourth century BCE. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Sk 755. Photograph by Johannes Laurentius © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.	269



	List of Figures	ix
10.5.	Marble stele of Sostratos, ca. 375–350 BCE. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 08.258.41. Photograph © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.	273
10.6.	Marble stele of Philto. Athens, mid-fourth century BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens, 2545. Photograph by Seth Estrin © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.	274
10.7.	Marble stele of Kleariste. Athens, ca. 350–325 BCE. Kerameikos Archaeological Museum, Athens, P 279-I 168. Photograph by Eleni Bardani © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.	277
10.8.	Marble stele of Silenis. Athens, ca. 350–325 BCE. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Sk 1492. Photograph by Johannes Laurentius © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,	278
II.I.	Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Athenian white-ground <i>lekythos</i> attributed to the Inscription Painter, ca. 460 BCE. Tampa Museum of Art, Joseph Veach Noble Collection, purchased in part with funds provided in memory of Dorothy M. Moseley, 1986.79. Photograph © Tampa Museum of Art.	288
11.2.	Athenian white-ground <i>lekythos</i> attributed to the Group of Berlin 2459, ca. 420–410 BCE. Musée du Louvre, Paris, MNB1729. Photograph © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN–Grand Palais/Hervé Lewandowski/Art Resource, NY.	294
11.3.	Athenian white-ground <i>lekythos</i> attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, ca. 450 BCE. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin V.I.3262. Photograph © bpk Bildagentur/Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY.	295
11.4.	Athenian white-ground <i>lekythos</i> attributed to the Thanatos Painter, ca. 440 BCE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 01.8080. Photograph © 2021, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.	300
11.5.	Athenian white-ground <i>lekythos</i> attributed to the Achilles Painter, ca. 440 BCE. Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich, S80. Photograph by Renate Kühling © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.	305



List of Figures

- II.6. Athenian white-ground *lekythos* (unattributed), ca. 475–450
  BCE. Musée du Louvre, Paris, CA3758. Photograph © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN–Grand Palais / Hervé Lewandowski / Art Resource, NY.
- II.7. Edwaert Collier, Vanitas Still Life, oil on wood, Dutch, 1662.
   The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 71.19.
   Photograph © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



### Contributors

- ZOA ALONSO FERNÁNDEZ is Assistant Professor of Classical Philology at Autonomous University of Madrid. She is the author of several articles on Roman dance and on the musical and choreographic reception of antiquity.
- SHERAMY BUNDRICK is Professor of Art History at the University of South Florida. She is the author of *Music and Image in Classical Athens* (Cambridge University Press 2005); *Athens, Etruria, and the Many Lives of Greek Figured Pottery* (University of Wisconsin Press 2019); and numerous articles on ancient Greek art and iconography.
- LAUREN CURTIS is Associate Professor of Classical Studies at Bard College. She is the author of *Imagining the Chorus in Augustan Poetry* (Cambridge University Press 2017) as well as articles on Roman poetry and musical culture.
- SETH ESTRIN is Assistant Professor of Art History at the University of Chicago. He has published on topics in Bronze Age, archaic, and classical Greek art, and is currently working on a book about funerary sculpture in classical Athens.
- MARK GRIFFITH is Professor of Classics and of Theater, Dance, and Performance Studies (TDPS) at UC Berkeley. His publications have mostly focused on ancient Greek drama. He is currently completing a book on "Music and Difference in Ancient Greece."
- PETER MCMURRAY is Lecturer in Ethnomusicology at the University of Cambridge. His research focuses primarily on contemporary sonic cultural practices in Turkey and its diaspora. He holds degrees in classics and in music from Harvard, where he worked for over a decade as Assistant Curator of the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature.



xii

#### List of Contributors

- TIMOTHY J. MOORE is John and Penelope Biggs Distinguished Professor of Classics at Washington University in St. Louis. His publications include *Artistry and Ideology: Livy's Vocabulary of Virtue, The Theater of Plautus, Music in Roman Comedy, Roman Theatre*, and articles on Greek and Roman music, theater, and literature, American musical theater, and Japanese comedy.
- SARAH OLSEN is Assistant Professor of Classics at Williams College. She is the author of *Solo Dance in Archaic and Classical Greece: Representing the Unruly Body* (Cambridge University Press 2020), as well as articles on choral dance, Greek vase painting, and the ancient novel.
- TIM POWER is Associate Professor of Classics at Rutgers University, New Brunswick. He has published on topics in ancient Greek and Roman music, poetry, performance, and auditory culture.
- YVONA TRNKA-AMRHEIN is Assistant Professor of Classics at the University of Colorado, Boulder. She is interested in the literature of the Ptolemaic empire and its reception in the Roman imperial period. She is planning a future study of musical automata in the Ptolemaic court.
- NAOMI WEISS is Gardner Cowles Associate Professor of the Humanities at Harvard University. She is the author of *The Music of Tragedy: Performance and Imagination in Euripidean Theater* (University of California Press 2018) and coeditor of *Genre in Archaic and Classical Greek Poetry: Theories and Models* (Brill 2019). She has published numerous articles on ancient Greek tragedy and musical culture, and is currently writing a book on the aesthetics of theatrical spectatorship in classical Athens.



## Acknowledgments

Most of the papers included in this volume were originally presented at an Exploratory Seminar entitled "Music and Memory in the Ancient Mediterranean," held at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study in June 2017. We are extremely grateful to the Radcliffe Institute for funding that seminar, and in particular, to Wendy Frohlich and Maura Madden for their advance planning and organization. We thank all the speakers for making the event so stimulating and fruitful; in addition to the contributors to the volume, we are grateful for the participation of John Franklin, Barbara Kowalzig, Panayotis League, and Mary Bachvarova.

As we turned this from a seminar into a volume, our contributors devoted an extraordinary amount of energy and care to the project. We are grateful to them all for making this collaborative endeavor such a pleasure. We also thank several people who helped us along the way. Rob Cioffi read the Introduction with a brilliant editorial eye, and it became much stronger as a result. Leslie Kurke provided expert advice at crucial points. At Cambridge University Press, our thanks go to Michael Sharp, Katie Idle, and the production team. We are also grateful to the two anonymous reviewers for the Press for their detailed and constructive comments, and to Greta Galeotti for editorial assistance in the final stages of preparing the manuscript. Harvard University and Bard College generously assisted with production costs.

The origins of the volume can be traced back to the beginning of our friendship. Having somehow managed never to encounter each other during four years as undergraduates at the same university, we eventually met at Harvard, where we bonded over animated discussions about ancient Greek chorality with the late Albert Henrichs. Six years later, we returned to those conversations as we planned a conference that would combine our interests in Greek and Roman music. Albert was from the very start full of enthusiasm for our proposal. His declining health prevented him from



xiv

#### Acknowledgments

attending the seminar itself, but he was very much present in spirit – just as his presence is also felt throughout these pages.

Finally, we would like to thank our families for their support as this volume took its final shape during the COVID-19 pandemic. Amidst personal loss, lack of childcare, and soaring teaching and administrative responsibilities, their assistance and encouragement were appreciated even more deeply than ever.



 $ARV^2$ 

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-83166-6 — Music and Memory in the Ancient Greek and Roman Worlds Edited by Lauren Curtis , Naomi Weiss Frontmatter More Information

### Note on Texts and Abbreviations

Unless otherwise specified, Greek and Latin authors are quoted from the Oxford Classical Texts (OCT). Abbreviations of authors, works, and editions follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, fourth edition, eds. S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow (Oxford, 2012). Names of journals follow the abbreviations of *L'Année Philologique*. Additional abbreviations are listed below.

Beazley, I. D. 1963. Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters, and ed.

MV	Deaziey, J. D. 1903. Ann Rea-Figure vuse Furniers, 211d ed.
	Oxford: Clarendon Press.
BAPD	Beazley Archive Pottery Database (www.beazley.ox.ac.uk)
Campbell	Campbell, D. A. (ed.) 1982–1993. Greek Lyric. 5 vols.
	Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
EDCS	Epigraphik - Datenbank Clauss-Slaby (www
	.manfredclauss.de)
Freidlein	Friedlein, G. (ed.) 1867. Boethius, De Institutione
	Arithmetica; De Institutione Musica. Leipzig: Teubner.
Gerber	Gerber, D. E. (ed.) 1999. Greek Iambic Poetry. Cambridge,
	MA: Harvard University Press.
Huffman	Huffman, C. A. 2005. Archytas of Tarentum: Pythagorean,
	Philosopher, and Mathematician King. Cambridge:
	Cambridge University Press.
Käppel	Käppel, L. 1992. Paian: Studien zur Geschichte einer
	Gattung. Berlin: De Gruyter.
Kühn	Kühn, D. C. G. (ed.) 1964. Galeni opera omnia. 20 vols.
	Repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms.
Lindsay	Lindsay, W. M. (ed.) 1913. Sexti Pompei Festi De verborum
	significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome. Leipzig:
	Teubner.
Manuwald	Manuwald, G. (ed.) 2012. Tragicorum Romanorum frag-

menta. Vol. 11: Ennius. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck &

Ruprecht.



More Information

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-83166-6 — Music and Memory in the Ancient Greek and Roman Worlds Edited by Lauren Curtis , Naomi Weiss Frontmatter

> Note on Texts and Abbreviations xvi Orelli Orelli, J. C. (ed.) 1826–1838. M. Tulli Ciceronis opera quae supersunt omnia ac deperditorum fragmenta. 8 vols. Zurich: Typis Orellii, Fuesslini et Sociorum. Pfeiffer Pfeiffer, R. (ed.) 1949. Callimachus. Vol. 1: Fragmenta. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Powell Powell, J. U. (ed.) 1925. Collectanea Alexandrina. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Schwartz Schwartz, E. (ed.) 1887-1891. Scholia in Euripidem. 2 vols. Berlin: Reimer. SM Snell, B. and H. Maehler (eds.) 1975. Pindari Carmina cum fragmentis, vol. 2: Fragmenta, Indices, 4th ed. Leipzig: Teubner. Wehrli Wehrli, F. (ed.) 1967-1969. Die Schule des Aristoteles. 2nd ed. 10 vols. Basel: Schwabe.