Recreating the Music of Euripides’ *Orestes*

*Armand D’Angour*
Jesus College, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK
armand.dangour@jesus.ox.ac.uk

Abstract

The fragment of the chorus of Euripides *Orestes* preserved on Pap. Vienna G 2315 leaves a host of unanswered questions. For whom was the papyrus inscribed? How much of *Orestes* was preserved on the roll? Whose music is it, and what melodic and harmonic sounds does it preserve? Can the gaps in the melody be filled so as to (re)create performable music based on the papyrus for the Euripidean text, and if so how? This article sets out in detail the steps that led to the creation of a score that has become part of a widely viewed Youtube video presentation of a performance in Oxford in July 2017.

Keywords

The colometry and line order of the 7-line section of choral stasimon (316–355) with musical symbols from Euripides' Orestes inscribed on P. Vindob. G 2315 in the Austrian National Library vary from those of the MS tradition. Verses begin in the centre of the page (marked in several places with an angular symbol here represented by ż) rather than the left margin, and in verse 1 line 339 (φύρομαι) is transposed before line 338 (ματέρος...). In addition, the orthography shows EM for EN (before B) as shown and duplicates the vowels of ως as ΩΩΣ (343) to reflect their melodised extension.

The extremely rare incidence of a papyrus with musical notation both for voice and instruments (the latter not shown above), together with the abnormal colometry and the melodised duplication of vowels, confirms that the inscription was intended primarily as a record of the music (i.e. a score) that had been used, or was to be used, in a performance of Orestes, which was first produced in 408 BC. The later decades of the fifth century saw changes in musical sounds and practices that contemporary commentators (in particular comic poets such as Pherecrates and Aristophanes) as well as philosophical critics such as Plato characterized as a musical revolution. Euripides was a prominent representative of the style. A pronounced element of Aristophanes’ comic parodies of Euripidean lyrics in Frogs (1309–22, 1331–63) is the way ἔλισσετε (‘wind’, a word that occurs over 40 times in Euripides’ extant tragedies) is represented with multiple repetitions of the first syllable. Melismatic fluctuations will have extended the syllable’s duration beyond its standard duration, a distortion of metrical structure that instantiates the lawlessness (παρανομία) of which critics charged the New Music, and which evidently had counterparts in Euripides’ use of melodic effects and devices. We should expect some aspects of this novel style to have featured in the choral music represented by the Orestes papyrus.

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1 On the ideology of the ‘New Music’ see now D’Angour 2020.
2 Cf. D’Angour 2017a, 434–7. Non-standard melodisation may have been a factor in the creation and use of melodic notation (cf. D’Angour 2006, 283).
The Singing of the *Orestes* Chorus

The painstaking work undertaken by scholars on the papyrus (most recently Egert Pöhlmann and Martin West) since its publication in 1890 has established the technical premisses needed to make musical sense of this fragment. The notated symbols identify the *harmonia* as Dorian or Phrygian in the enharmonic genus i.e. using microtonal intervals. The vocal notes used on the papyrus are as follows, with the corresponding modern notes (as used in the transcription by Pöhlmann and West 2001, with ♯ representing a partial sharpening in pitch):

\[
\begin{align*}
\Phi & \quad C & \quad P & \quad \Pi & \quad Z & \quad I & \quad E & \quad \Delta \\
\text{representing} & \quad g & \quad a & \quad a^\# & \quad bb & \quad d & \quad e' & \quad e^\# & \quad f'
\end{align*}
\]

The dating of letter forms to around the 3rd century BC means that the inscription is not Euripides’ own, though it may represent his own composition (and if so, it might derive from the tragedian’s autograph). While the accord of melody to word-pitch is not complete (as is inevitable with strophic lyrics), the conformity is greater than can be ascribed to chance, particularly in the strophe: word-pitch accord was undoubtedly a factor in the melodisation, as is to be expected. Much of the melody has stepwise, often microtonal, movement; but there are also occasional dramatic intervals, the purpose and effect of which call for interpretation. Even in its lacunose state, the document shows that familiar musical techniques of repetition and variation were exploited by the melodisation.

However, the fragment leaves a host of unanswered questions. For whom was the papyrus inscribed? How much of *Orestes* was preserved on the roll?

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3 Pöhlmann and West (2001, 14) list relevant books and articles.
4 Pöhlmann and West 2001, 16. These are the ‘Damonian’ scales (West 1992, 174f.) referred to by Aristid. Quint. *Mus.* 18.5–19.10 W.-I. While in principle the genus could be chromatic, the aural effect of singing or playing the notes in that genus is wholly at variance with the idiom of the vast bulk of documented Greek music.
5 On the different routes that dramatic texts could have followed during their transmission, see Pöhlmann 1988 and Prauscello 2006, 123–83.
6 Pöhlmann and West (2001, 16) state that the fragment ‘answers the question’ to the contrary; but a rigidly binary approach is implausible (cf. Feaver 1960, 11). It would have been natural to use pitch-accent accord where other principles of melodisation did not override it (cf. D’Angour 2017a, 440f.), and I have taken that principle into account in my reconstruction.
Whose music is it, and what melodic and harmonic sounds does it preserve? And above all, can the gaps in the melody be filled so as to (re)create performable music based on the papyrus for the Euripidean text, and if so how? The ample, if fragmented, remains of melodic notation suggest some clear avenues for conjecture informed by text-critical methodology and appropriate musicianship. This article sets out in detail the steps that led to my creation of a score that was first publicly performed in December 2016 and has subsequently become part of a widely viewed Youtube video presentation of a performance in Oxford in July 2017 (‘Rediscovering Greek Music 2017’).

2 The Vocal Text

As the text inscribed on the papyrus differs from the standard order of verses, the first requirement is to determine whether that order should be preserved or the traditional order reinstated. To establish this requires a consideration of how the text of the chorus may be understood and articulated. The standard text of 333–44 runs as follows, with my translation below:

τίς ἔλεος, τίς ὄδ᾽ ἀγών
φόνιος ἔρχεται,
θοάζων σε τὸν μέλεον, ὡς δάκρυα
δάκρυσι συμβάλλει

πορεύων τις ἐς δόμον ἀλαστόρων
ματέρος αἶμα σάς, ὡς ἀναβαρχεύει;
καταλοφύρομαι καταλοφύρομαι.

ὁ μέγας ὄλψος ὡς μόνιμος ἐν βροτοῖς,
ἀνὰ δὲ λαῖφος ὡς τις ἀκάτου θοᾶς
τινάξας δαίμων κατέκλυσεν δεινῶν

7 By ‘appropriate musicianship’ I mean that the investigator should be clear that ancient music did not accord to the harmonic and rhythmical principles of modern music, but must be approached on its own theoretical terms; the musical aim should nonetheless be to arrive at a well-founded and plausible aural reality.

8 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4hOK7bU0SiY. The final score used for the performance, prepared by aulete Barnaby Brown at the pitch it was sung and played, is to be found on www.doublepipes.info, and is printed at the end of this article (it differs in a few small details from the reconstruction here proposed).

9 For discussion of the vexed issue of the colometry of the papyrus see Marino 1999; Willink 2001; Prauscello 2002; Giannini 2004. Giannini argues that the significance of ἔλεος is likely to have been rhythmical but “non esclude la funzione colometrica” (103). Its use in line 7 as a linking mid-word separator of two dochmiac cola (ἐλεός) [σι, responding to a space between words in the strophe) suggests an abbreviation of ΖΥΓΟΝ (effectively ‘barline’).
πόνων ὡς πόντου λάβροις ὀλεθρίοις
σιν ἐν κύμασιν.

What tribulation, what struggle is this that
comes blood-laden,
spurring you on, wretched man, for whom tears
are added to tears
by some avenging spirit channelling into the house
your mother's blood, which makes you jump up in frenzy?
I grieve for you, I grieve for you:
great prosperity is not lasting among mortals,
but like the sail of a swift barque,
tossing it upwards some god overpowers it
in waves of terrible toils, as if in rough deadly
waves of ocean.

The main sense pause in this antistrophic verse comes at 338, with subordinate sense pauses at 334, 336, 339, and 340, and the melodic line is likely to have reflected this structure. The transposition on the papyrus of κατολοφύρομαι κατολοφύρομαι (339) between πορεύων τις ἐς δόμον ἀλαστόρων / ματέρος αἷμα σάς, ὁ σ’ ἀναβασχεῦει (337/8) disrupts the sense, so it is likely that the line has been incorrectly copied.10 The error might be accounted for as follows. The series of notes Π Ρ Ζ (b♭ a♯ a) is found over both φύροι in 339 and ἔμ βροτοῖς in line 340, and clearly constituted a repeated melodic motif at dicolon end; and for reasons explored further below, Π Ρ Ζ may be conjectured for the end of lines 336 and 337 as well, over the last three syllables of πορεύων τις ἐς and ἀλαστόρων. The scribe was arguably copying a text laid out as follows (papyrus notation is shown in bold, conjectured notes in regular font):

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Even if the text from which this passage was copied had a different colometry, the double occurrence of ΠΡC in 337 may have drawn the copyist’s eye down to the repeated ΠΡC in 339/40. Both the latter occurrences are followed by a musical phrase beginning with the notes ΙΖ; and seeing those symbols at 338/9 could have caused the scribe to copy κατολοφύρομαι (melodised with ΙΖΕΔΕΖ in 338/9) prematurely. After completing the full dicolon (339) with its accompanying notation, he sought to make good the omission by adding in the missing line 338 after it. Restored to the traditional line order lines 337–40 may therefore be shown as follows, using standard colometry and orthography:11

3 Melodic Form and Symmetry

Given that the metre of the passage preserved from the antistrophe standardly duplicates that of the strophe (lines 322–8 in our printed editions), it should not be surprising, and there are strong indications, that the melody was composed with the strophe in mind.12 With the standard order of text restored, the relevant sections of strophe and antistrophe together thus appear (with standard colometry) melodised as follows:

The Z was repeated on all three syllables at 338: the notational practice was for a repeated melodic note to be shown only on the initial syllable.

Cf. Feaver 1960; Pöhlmann and West 2001, 16.
This presentation visually reveals a melodic form and elements of verbal and melodic symmetry. In terms of form, after rising to a high melodic point with the threefold repetition of Z (e') at 322/338, the melody subsides onto the parallel cola ending on C (a) at 323/339. That lower melodic register based around C then persists for three verses from 324/340 to 326/342, before a brief return to more intense and dramatic expression on higher notes in 327/343. The final line 328/344, after a rapid dramatic swoop up to Z and down again, reverts to the lower register on the penultimate note of the stanza (Φ = g, a tone below the base tonic C).

Symmetry of both melody and text are observable in a number of lines. In addition to the above-mentioned repeated cadence ΠΡΣ (bb a♯ a, a melodic descent through a semitone), the opening phrase ΙΣ (a rising tone
from both 323/339 and 325/341, initiating a melodic ascent (starting at the higher pitch register) in the first half of the dochmiac dicolon that will be answered by a fall (at the lower register) in the second half. The parallel words of the text in the strophe at both 323 (τινύμεναι δίκαν, τινύμεναι φόνον) and 324 (καθικετεύομαι καθικετεύομαι) compel the conjecture of the same accompanying melodic phrase Ι Ζ Ε Δ (d e’ e’ f’, a rise through a minor third) in both verses, thus:

Ι Ζ Ε Δ Π Ρ Ψ
τινύμεναι δίκαν, τινύμεναι φόνον,
kατολοφύρομαι κατολοφύρομαι. Ι Ζ Ε Π Ρ Ψ 323
καθικετεύομαι καθικετεύομαι,
ό μέγας ὁλβος οὐ μόνιμος ἐν βροτοῖς Ι Ζ Ε Π Ρ Ψ 324

Each of these dicola, accordingly, begins with the note I and ends on the note C. These are significant notes in the harmonia used in this piece: I is the highest note of the lower tetrachord (mapping on to modern d), while C (a fourth lower, a) is the lowest. Both notes musically represent tonal foci, the former tending towards the higher notes of the mode, the latter acting as a tonic base to which the melody reverts intermittently and in its closing cadences.

The balancing phrases of 323f. further imply a melodic contour for each individual dochmiac phrase that combines the melodic rise at the beginning and fall at the end. Assuming a melodic shape for each dicolon of d e’ f’ e’ : g a b b a (i.e. Ι Ζ Ε Δ : Φ Ψ Π Ψ Α cf. Φ Ψ at lines 326/342), by adding in the intervening microtonal intervals as found in 323/339 (Ζ Ε Δ inverted = Δ Ε Ζ, f’ e’ f’) and at lines 325/341 (Α Π Ψ, a a b b a), the following melody (d’ e’ f’ e’ : g a a # b b a) emerges for these ‘symmetrical’ verses:

Ι Ζ Ε Δ E Ζ Φ Ψ Π Ρ Ψ Ζ
τινύμεναι δίκαν, τινύμεναι φόνον,
kατολοφύρομαι κατολοφύρομαι. 323

Ι Ζ Ε Δ ε Ζ Φ Ψ Π Ρ Ψ
καθικετεύομαι καθικετεύομαι,
ό μέγας ὁλβος οὐ μόνιμος ἐν βροτοῖς. 324

Each half-verse thus comprises, at different pitch registers, a set of rising and then falling notes that revolve within the ambit of the respective tonal foci I (d)
and C (a), with which the dicolon begins and ends. The parallelism of the musical phrases, represented in modern notation as follows, cannot be doubted:

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{\textbf{Mimetic Melodisation}} \\
\end{array} \]

There is ample testimony that mimesis was a principle of Euripidean melodic composition.\(^{13}\) That the melody here is composed to some degree with mimetic intention was already clear from the lacunose remains of the papyrus, and now comes into yet clearer focus. Falling notes at the end of the above phrases accompany the phrases “I grieve for you, I grieve for you” (339) and “I beseech you, I beseech you” (324). That such a cadential shape should be appropriate to the despondent or plangent emotions connoted by the words seems intuitively appropriate, at least to students of Western music; and there is no good reason to reject such an intuition as mere coincidence in this case.\(^{14}\)

Mimetic melody is also evident at lines 322/338 and 325/341. The former shows a dramatic shift in register from notes (P Φ Π = a♯ g bb) that circle closely around the lower tonal focus C (a) to a single high note Z (e’), a whole fifth higher than C (a). While the loss of intervening notes might imply a more dramatic leap up at this point than was actually the case, a substantial rise towards the second half of the dicolon is nonetheless indicated. It is no coincidence that the melodic rise accompanies the final three syllables of the word on the papyrus that means ‘makes you jump up like a bacchant’, ἀναβακχεύει (338), and no less that in the absent strophe it emerges directly on the dramatic trisyllabic word ‘blood’ (ἀἵματος) directly following the phrase ‘you leap up into the thin upper air’ (ταναν αἴθερ’ ἀμπάλλεσθ᾽, 322). Once again, the melodic sensibility that matches a large upward interval leap to words with connoting ‘leap’, and that recognises that the dramatic high-point of a phrase (‘blood’) should be similarly highly-pitched, is culturally familiar in the Western musical idiom.

A more subtle, but unmistakeable, form of mimesis may be recognised at lines 341f., where the waves of the ‘swift barque’ flapping back and forth evoke a melodic expression that fluctuates between notes closely adjacent to the tonal focus C:

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{\textbf{Mimetic Melodisation}} \\
\end{array} \]

13 Cf. D’Angour 2017a, 435; it was a feature of the New Music generally (cf. D’Angour 2020, 413).
Within this oscillating melody \(\text{C R I I C R} \Phi \text{C} (a a^\# b b a a^\# g a)\), we find embedded the familiar cadential melodic movement \(\Pi \text{R C} (b b a^\# a)\) on alternating notes as underlined. The opening notes of line 341 (I Z) are those found at 339 (and previously conjectured at 440), suggesting the same opening figure, followed by the staggered return down to C in 326. The continuation up to the second \(\Phi\) of 326/342 will have remained within the same ambit, perhaps jumping up briefly to match the paroxytone pitch rise on both \(\lambdaύσσας\) and \(δαίμων\) (probably spelled \(δαίμωων\), following West) to create an anticipatory echo of the melodic rise and fall of 344 (C P Ζ Π Φ), e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I Z E Δ E Z} & \quad \Phi \text{C R I I C P} \\
\text{τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος γόνον ἐάσατ' ἐκ-} & \quad \text{325} \\
\text{άνα δὲ λαίφος ὡς τις ἀκάτου θεᾶς} & \quad \text{341}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\Phi \text{C R Ζ I I C Φ I I Π} \\
\lambdaαβέσθαι λύσσας μανιάδος φοιταλέου. & \quad \text{326} \\
\text{τινάξας δαίμωων κατέκλυσεν δεινων} & \quad \text{342}
\end{align*}
\]

5 Melodic Echoes

Given the premise of melodic correspondence between strophe and antistrope, it is fortunate that the papyrus preserves a sufficient amount of notation to observe substantial commonalities and echoes between different melodic lines, of the kind that has already been noted on the ‘symmetrical’ verses 323/339 and 324/340. The clear verbal echo of \(\alphaἱματος\) (322) with similarly trisyllabic \(\alphaἷμα σάς\) in the corresponding antistrophic verse (338) indicates the likelihood of another melodic echo, with the emotive high \(Z\) (\(e'\)) on the former trisyllable repeated on the latter. The resulting melody for these lines takes the pitch up to \(Z\) in anticipation of the words meaning ‘leap’. The notes between these peaks are likely to have circled around that pitch (e.g. \(d e'f'e'\)): 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I Z E Δ E Z} & \quad \Phi \text{C R I I C P} \\
\text{τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος γόνον ἐάσατ' ἐκ-} & \quad \text{325} \\
\text{άνα δὲ λαίφος ὡς τις ἀκάτου θεᾶς} & \quad \text{341}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\Phi \text{C R Ζ I I C Φ I I Π} \\
\lambdaαβέσθαι λύσσας μανιάδος φοιταλέου. & \quad \text{326} \\
\text{τινάξας δαίμωων κατέκλυσεν δεινων} & \quad \text{342}
\end{align*}
\]
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The preserved melody at the beginning of 322/338 swings down and then up (a♯ bb e’) with a tritone leap to the high e’ on αἰθέρ’/ αἴμα. The identical notes (Ρ Φ Π Ζ) are found inverted in the final verse 328/344, preceded by tonic C: Ρ Ζ Π Φ (a♯ e’ bb g) inscribes an upward and then downward tritone swoop (Ζ Π). The C preceding this figure demands a return at the end of the phrase to the final ‘base tonic’ a (so a a♯ bb g a), creating a suitably dramatic final cadence:15

6 Sprechstimme and Finale

What is now left to restore of the melodic text is the missing elements of the vocal part of lines 326/342 and 327/343:

Φ Σ Ρ Ζ ΠΣ Φ Π ΡΠ

λαθέσθαι λύσσας μανιάδος φοιταλέου 326
τινάξας δαίμων κατέκλυσεν δειν 342

Ζ Ι Ζ

φεῦ μόχθων, οίων, ὡ τάλας, 327
πόνων ὡς πόντου λάβροις ὀλεθρίοι- 343

The scholiast on δειν 342 notes ἀναπεφώνηται ‘it was shouted out loud’, i.e. without melodic expression. However, high-pitched melodic notes are indicated in the papyrus over πόνων, suggesting that the words were

15 The stave notation follows the quantity of 328, with the long penultimate syllable in that line. For the mimeticism of this musical phrase, cf. Psaroudakēs 2004, 477.
originally melodised, and that the use of a shouted exclamation (corresponding to the modern device known as Sprechstimme) was purely a performance practice. It is generally supposed that a similar kind of shout was used at the corresponding place in the strophe; but φοιταλέου (326), though a poignant epithet, is not an appropriate vehicle for such a non-melodic utterance. It seems very likely that the striking device was there applied to the words φεῦ μόχθων, which occur at a slightly later point in the strophe than δεινῶν πόνων in the antistrophe.16

The conclusion must be that, regardless of how they were to be realised in performance, all the words were originally composed with music, and the inscription constitutes a record of that composition copied from an earlier papyrus. To what notes, then, would φοιταλέου have been set? The word itself means ‘wandering’, so melodic fluctuation would be appropriate. Between Π Ρ Π over the last syllables of μανιάδος / κατέκλυσεν (326/342) and Ζ Ι over φεῦ and πόνων (327/343), there has been a familiar upward shift of register. The obvious place for that shift to occur would be immediately after the Π, allowing the poignant φοιταλέου to be set to a high pitch and creating a familiar tritone that will shortly be mirrored (inverted) in 328/344.17

The quavering, high-pitched melisma Ζ Ι Ζ that survives on the following syllables (327/343) gives a clue to the melodisation, suggesting a repetitive fluctuation of high intensity (varied in practice by the irruption of Sprechstimme), before the melody returns to the lower register with a similarly melismatic accompaniment to οἰὼν, ὦ τάλας / λάβροις ὀλεθρίοι- (327/343).18 Accordingly we may conjecture a melodic line such as the following:

Φ Π Ρ Ζ ΠΣ Φ Π ΡΠ Ζ ΖΙ Ε ΖΙ
λαθέσθαι λύσσας μανιάδος φοιταλέου 326
τινάξας δαήμων κατέκλυσεν δεινῶν πόνων 342

Ζ Ι Ζ Ζ Ι Π Σ Ρ Α Π Ρ
φεῦ μόχθων, οἰὼν, ὦ τάλας, 327
ὑώς πόντου λάβροις ὀλεθρίοι- 343

Ϲ Ρ Ζ Π Φ C
ὁρεχθεὶς ἔρρεις 328
σιν ἐν κύμασιν. 344

16 The suggestion that the ‘shout’ occurred on φεῦ μόχθων was made by Tosca Lynch.
17 The popularity of the tritone in early Greek music perhaps contributed in medieval times to the disparaging Christian attribution to that interval of the name diabolus in musica.
18 Cf. Psaroudakēs ibid. (n. 15 above).
Conclusions

The metrical basis of the ode is straightforward. Although no tempo indications are given, the ethos of dochmiacs make it a brisk and agitated metre: sung and played at the right tempo, the music gives a sense of motoric forward movement. The dots (stigmai) indicated above some of the musical symbols, representing arseis (upbeats), suggest a twofold rhythmical realisation of the dochmiac metre rather than one that places dynamic stress on each of the three basic long elements.19

The opening phrases of each stanza (316 δρόμαδες ὦ πτεροφόροι, 333 τίς ἔλεος, τίς δ’ ἀγών) are two resolved cretics, which act as a rhythmical run-up to the resolved dochmiac that follows: uu u – | uu u – | uu u – u –. On the basis of the melody that has been reconstructed, it may be conjectured that the choral ode as a whole started on a of the lower melodic register, alternating with the higher register or occasionally moving between them for effect (as we see at 328/344). This gives an organising principle for the melody; though it is clear that the composer has used the interplay between registers with flexibility and imagination. The high quality of the melodic setting might well be a further reason to suppose that it is Euripides’ own composition, and that the dramatist instructed his chorus according to his notated script of the choral passages throughout the play. This fragment would then be part of such a papyrus roll. The instrumental notes on the papyrus should be understood as a guide to the instrumental accompaniment of the vocal text. The notes of the aulos as shown, particularly the chordal fourth f–bb aligned with the vocal movement e’ d e’ of ὡς πόντου in 326 make striking sense to a modern harmonic sensibility (as a major seventh that resolves on to a major sixth) in the context of the melody. Absolute pitch would have varied (perhaps by as much as a third) depending on various factors, but the capacities and exigencies of instrumental and vocal resources would have been paramount.20

One of the most significant musical clues that emerges from the above recreation is the confirmation that the singing was focussed around a lower and higher pitch register based on notes a fourth apart, a and d. This helps us to understand that while the microtonal notes were conceived and notated as standing pitches, their function in this case was largely to act as passing-notes in relation to those tonal foci.21 The concern about how a tragic chorus of fif-

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19 See D’Angour 2017b, 63. It is possible that the stigmai should be considered indicative of dance steps rather than of the vocal articulation of the text.

20 The 2017 performance demonstrated this well in practice: the pitch was adjusted to the capacities and pitches of the replicated auloi used to accompany the chorus.

21 Microtonal variations may also be aligned with natural vowel-pitch: D’Angour 2016.
Figure 1

Transcription of score for performance of the Orestes ode by Barnaby Brown, set to C = g, with notes representing the papyrus symbols in red.

Editable file formats available at https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.6885089

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teen men (or men and boys singing in octave unison) could accurately pitch a microtone to the same level of accuracy as each other therefore becomes irrelevant; their task was to realise a melody that revolved around more readily tunable and singable standing notes. The kind of tonality that emerges, however, combined with the recognition of melodic shapes that make emotional sense to modern ears, urges a rethinking of previously held positions that suppose the music of the fragment to be ‘alien’ to Western musical sensibilities and idioms.22

Bibliography


Cf. D’Angour 2017b, 72. I am grateful to Eleonora Rocconi for her comments on the first draft of this article, and to Barnaby Brown for his invaluable assistance with the scores.


