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Reperforming, Reenacting or Rearranging Ancient Greek Scores?

The Example of the First Delphic Hymn to Apollo

Sylvain Perrot

CNRS junior researcher, UMR 7044 ArchiMède – Strasbourg

In June 1893, during the excavations made in the sanctuary of Delphi by the French School at Athens, several fragments of a musical score, engraved on stone, were unearthed in the South of Apollo's temple. Archaeologists quickly understood that the blocks belonged to the south wall of the Athenian treasure house. The city of Athens commissioned the erection of this building in the late 6th century BC as a dedication to the god Apollo and enjoyed the opportunity to use it as a commemoration of their victory upon Persians in the Peloponnesian war after the battle of Marathon in 490 BC. The inscriptions were engraved later, in the end of the 2nd century BC: in Delphi it was usual for Greek cities to inscribe texts related to themselves on buildings they had dedicated. As recorded by a series of inscriptions, Athenian people organized between 138 BC and 96 BC four big processions to Delphi, called *Pythais*, which was made of many officials and musicians, singers as well as instrument players, *kithara* and *aulos*. It was the occasion for Athens to manifest its power and its glory, in pride, pomp and circumstance.

In the *Pythais* of 128 BC, a chorus of about fifty singers and a dozen of musicians performed two hymns worshipping Apollo, the first one composed by Athēnaios, son of Athēnaios, and the second one by Limēnios, son of Thoinos. Both were members of the powerful corporation of theatre artists and musicians, the *Dionysiakoi technitai* ("dionysiac artists") of Athens, who were at that time in competition with the *Dionysiakoi technitai* of Isthmia and Nemea to organize musical and theatrical performances in Delphi. Although we have not conserved all

the text and notes, it is an exceptional testimony of ancient Greek music: it is the almost only example of ritual music discovered where it had been actually performed. While Henri Weil edited the text of both hymns, Théodore Reinach studied the musical notation and transposed it into a modern score. He perfectly knew the notation system of ancient Greeks, thanks to some treatises from Greek and Roman Antiquity, especially the one of Alypius. The whole study was published in the scientific journal of the French School, the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*. A few months later, Théophile Homolle, the director of the French School, wanted to give an audition of the first hymn, to divulgate it to a larger audience.

This was the starting point of an incredible diffusion of this ancient Greek melody, which can be subject of an interdisciplinary approach. As an archaeologist and classicist, one could study the text with the musical notation as well as the context of the ancient performance. As a musicologist, one could study the core of the musical composition and explore how it turned to something new in modern performances and creations. As a scholar in cultural and social history, one could try to understand the context of these modern performances; the first question that arises is probably to determine the status of such performances. In this paper, I would like to show that performing ancient Greek music may belong to three different approaches: reperformance, reenactment (on both see Dorf 2019: 6-11) and rearrangement, which are not exclusive of each another. The Delphic hymns had probably been deposited in the official archive of the city but a copy of them was engraved, not to be reperformed but as a votive gift to the god. The “resurrection” of both hymns came about 2000 years later, and this “date in the history of music archaeology” (Reinach 1897:XXXV) was the beginning of a long story of performances which are partially reperformance (as a more or less accurate replication of the original piece), re-enactment (as an actualization of the past within the present through senses and feelings) and rearrangement (as a creation process involving

reappropriation and resignification). Purpose of this paper is to explore those different combinations in the case of the first Delphic hymn, as a part of an ongoing research about the reception of this piece (Solomon 2010 and 2016; Perrot 2013 and 2018).

1. The first modern performance of the hymn and its reception in the Athenian society

The premiere of the hymn took place on March 29th at the French School at Athens, still located on the south slope of the Lykavittos hill. A report of this event was published in different media: scientific journals (Th. Homolle published a paper in the *BCH*), newspapers (from Greece, France, Great Britain, USA and even Australia as well as New Zealand), magazines (see e.g. the article of a British diplomat, Sir Reginald Lister: Lister 1895:251). They all describe the enthusiasm people felt in this brilliant event. The audience was made of the highest authorities of the Hellenic Kingdom: the King Georges I and the Queen Olga of Greece were accompanied by the Crown Prince Konstantinos, his wife the Royal Princess Sophia and two of their other children, the Prince Nikolaos and the Princess Maria. It was really a great honour for the French School to receive the royal family of Greece in that occasion. The French government was represented by the French diplomatic corps, the Admiral and the officers of the French Navy stationed in the Oriental Middle Sea, whose band was playing outdoors to welcome visitors. Then there were ministers, politicians, scholars and the elite of the Athenian society. The concert took place in the historical room of the library of the French School, “covered with Greek and French flags; more than two hundred people rushed for the first performance of the music discovered in Delphi by the French School of Archaeology” (Homolle 1894: 172). Given the size of the room, it is difficult to imagine today how it was possible to install so many people. A detailed account of the party was given in the *Ephēmeris ton syzētēseōn* the following day: “The hall had been decorated with grace and simplicity with

French and Greek flags and colours, the entire hall and the neighbouring rooms were totally full of people from the diverse and eminent Athenian society. The main hall was mostly occupied by the ladies, whose sophisticated, manifold and much coloured array produced a harmony that delighted the eyes”.

As shown by the composition of the audience and the whole decorum, it was at first a celebration of Greek patriotism and an exaltation of the friendship between Greece and France, since the latter had sent a military (and scientific) expedition in 1821 to the Morea, the modern Peloponnesus, to help Greek people revolting against the Ottoman power and getting their independence. It was also the opportunity to thank the Greek government for having granted the French School a concession to engage excavations in Delphi in 1892 for ten years. As Th. Homolle said in his welcome speech: “The luckier our excavations will be, the more treasures the floor will give to us, the more we will contribute to the progress of science, to the enrichment of museums, to the glory of the Greek people, to the glory of your reign, Your Majesty, that has already been marked by the most beautiful archaeological discoveries of this century, the better we will respond to the spirit of our institution, and the more worthily we will prepare the forthcoming celebration of our 50th anniversary [1896], being sure that we have not failed in our duty towards this illustrious country that once taught us and today is hosting us.” Regarding the performance itself, Th. Homolle reports that “the hymn is sung by Messrs. Roques, Rodios, Lascaris and Pappageorge, Athenian amateurs, with exactitude, with fullness, and we may say with a real religious and patriotic emotion. The King invites to applause and asks for an encore; he closes the session by congratulating the French School and the artists, who devoted their skill to the performance” (Homolle 1894: 174).

This concert had three intended purposes. The first one is scientific: it was the best way to let hear the archaeological reconstruction of the melody and rhythm by Th. Reinach. The

second one is aesthetic: it was supposed to be a perfect evening in the Belle Époque fashion. In fact, the organizers feared that the hymn would not please the attendance, and therefore it was decided to fill the gaps of the stone, to harmonize the ancient melody to suit the modern taste and to ask Eugène d'Eichthal to translate the text into French. This accompaniment was composed by L. Nicole, who was a Swiss composer from Geneva. This arrangement was quickly published in Athens. The last goal is political, probably the most important issue: the French School wanted to reinforce the diplomatic relations with the Greek state and to advertise the ongoing excavations in Delphi. This was a large success, due to the enthusiasm of the King and of journalists. For instance, a journalist wrote the following day in the *Ephēmeris ton syzētēseōn* (March 30th): “For this reason, the excavations in Delphi and the work of the French School at Athens are worth of our love and our gratitude”.

In the following days and months, the hymn was performed many times in Athens, in public concerts as well as in private occasions. On April 7th, a big concert was organized for all the people who could not attend the performance in the French School, since an invitation was required: it took place in the hall of the “Circle of friends of music” (Όμιλος Φιλομούσων), the program of which was essentially made of French music, typical for the Belle Époque (e.g. Offenbach, Pierné, Massenet, Bizet), apart from the first Delphic hymn (*Ephēmeris ton syzētēseōn*, April 8th). Some days later, on 12th, about five-hundred physicians, who had gathered at a big conference in Rome, came by boat to Athens and attended a concert in the Zappeion, in which the hymn was performed (*Ephēmeris*, April 13th). A week later, in the house of Mr Bakhmeteff, First Secretary of the Russian diplomatic mission in Greece, and his wife, five members of the musical chorus of the Russian church performed the Delphic hymn and L. Nicole accompanied the singers on the piano. Once again, the King and the royal family attended the concert (*Ephēmeris ton syzētēseōn*, April 20th).

2. The Parisian performances in 1894

After such a success in Athens, the first Delphic hymn came to France and was performed many times in Paris. On April 12th, T. Reinach read a paper on the hymn for the members of the Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques, in the amphitheatre of the École des Beaux-Arts de Paris; the paper was followed by the performance of the hymn (Reinach 1894; Reinach 1897:XXXV). It was immediately followed by other performances at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, at the Hôtel des Sociétés savantes and in the Grand Amphithéâtre of the Sorbonne University (*Revue Universitaire* 1, 1894: 463).

We may recognize in those performances the three same goals as in Athens, but the context is different. In a scientific point of view, this is again the archaeological reconstruction of the melody by Th. Reinach, but presented now to the French scientific community. It was also a political event. As Th. Reinach said, “the French School has been given the honour to wake up definitively the Greek music, that has been sleeping for 2000 years (...) For us, a patriotic satisfaction is joined to the scientific pleasure of this discovery and lets it double in value: the European music had lost its titles, the French School has recovered them” (Reinach 1894: XXXIII and XXXIX). Finally, in an aesthetical point of view, the accompaniment was made by another professional musician, much more famous than L. Nicole, Gabriel Fauré. His arrangement was published three times by the music editor Bornemann (Bélis 2009:265-266). There was no chorus of men anymore, but the hymn was sung by a famous female singer, Jeanne Remacle.

A significant performance took place on June 16th, again at the Sorbonne, but for a very different audience. It was scheduled by Pierre de Coubertin, during the Congress that was about to create the modern Olympic Games. The highest authorities were present, from the whole Europe, because of the international dimension of the meeting: the King of Belgium, the

Prince of Wales, the Royal Prince of Sweden and Norway, the Royal Prince of Greece, the Grand Duke Wladimir of Russia... (*Revue Olympique* 1, 1901:6) The performance of the hymn played a stronger role than expected in the creation of the modern Olympic Games: the audience was enthusiastic, the delegates voted for the creation of the Games (Bélis 2008:172), and the first modern Olympian Games were organized in Athens in 1896. On May 25th 1896, in the Cercle artistique in Brussels, François-Auguste Gevaert offered a “Greco-Roman concert” with instruments reconstructed by Victor-Charles Mahillon: the members of the Société philologique et historique could hear at this occasion the first Delphic hymn (see e.g. *Le monde artiste*, 1894: 460).

The hymn was gradually performed for a wider public, not only scientists, as reported by French newspapers, musical magazines and even contemporaneous testimonies of writers or travellers. For example, the Baron E. De Mandat-Grancey wrote about the hymn that “it was performed at the Bodinière (Théâtre d'Application) by small ladies in Greek garment. I was not at that representation, but I have read anywhere that the small ladies were quite cute and the melody was really not bad.” (Mandat-Grancey 1902:41). Different French cities hosted performances of the hymn like Lille (*Le Grand Écho du Nord*, June 19th 1894) or Rouen (*Précis analytique des travaux de l'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Rouen 1893-1894*: 7-8, 95-107). The hymn could also be heard at the occasion of big festivals, like the Chorégies d'Orange (with Saint Saëns' *Antigone*: see *Le Matin*, August 13th) or the Jeux Floraux de Nice (*Revue hebdomadaire*, 1904, VII, 2, 141).

People usually enjoyed the performances, but some were more critical, like Saint-Saëns (*Le Gaulois* published letters of both Reinach and Saint-Saëns) and Henry Gauthier-Villars, who wrote under the pseudonym Willy a bit sarcastic review of the first Parisian performance (*La mouche des croches* 267-269).

These were the first steps of a kind of democratization of the hymn (especially through the publication of the arrangements by L. Nicole or G. Fauré) and even its globalization.

3. The world tour

It is like a detective work to track the hymn all around the world, since all the performances have not been registered or reported. That's a big chance today to dispose of more and more digitalized newspapers that give us the opportunity to access the daily cultural life in that period. For instance, Greek newspapers reported that the hymn was performed in the Conservatory of Music of Saint Petersburg in May 1894, on Prof. Liberio Sacchetti's initiative (*Ephēmeris ton syzētēseōn*, May 23rd).

On June 6th 1894, Reinach's version of the hymn was presented in the Cambridge University Musical Club and a few weeks later privately in London (*The Tablet*, 23rd June). Meanwhile, the musicologist Charles Abdy Williams, published his own arrangement based on an English translation as a supplement to the *Musical Times*. The premiere took place in the Queen's Hall in on June 25th 1894. Since many news were divulged from London to the whole Commonwealth, the discovery of the hymn as well as the first performances were known even in Australia and New Zealand, although I have not yet found any performance of the hymn before 1919 in Melbourne. Jon Solomon (Solomon 2016) published a major contribution about the reception of ancient Greek music in the English-speaking area, especially in the United States of America, where different performances were recorded by newspapers. Henri Weil said in the *Journal des Débats* (October 17th 1894), that "the hymn has done its world tour: I have been told that it has arrived in the deepest South Africa, in the Republic of Transvaal. It was performed in Johannesburg, a small town whose existence is ignored by many of our readers, and the ladies who sang it had a Greek garment." In the following years, we can trace

the hymn for instance in Genova and Alexandria (*Le Matin*, July 19th 1894), Turin in 1895 or Prague in 1905 (Corbier 2010: 64-65).

Th. Reinach was so impressed by the celebrity of the hymn that he said in 1897: “Today, the battle is won. The first hymn to Apollo has done its European tour – what am I saying? its world tour! – and it has come back, roughly identical to what it looked like for its first time. The quite excusable scepticism of the public has re-joined the frivolous objections of the half science and of the false science.” (Reinach 1897:XXXV)

The first Delphic hymn was probably, if I may say, in the charts of the year 1894, but afterwards people were attracted by other sensational discoveries in Delphi: the bronze charioteer, the marble Antinoos, etc. And yet, sometimes, Athēnaios’ hymn reappears. For example, in the International Congress of Music History, which was held during the Universal Exhibition in Paris (1900), the hymn was performed on July 28th (see the proceedings edited by J. Combarieu in 1901). A couple of months later, it was performed in Greek for the opening ceremony of the Roman site of Kastell Saalburg (October 11th, 1900), by decision of the Emperor William II (*Centrablatt der Bauerwaltung*, October 27th). Interestingly, in November 1894, the hymn in Fauré’s arrangement had been performed in the theatre of Hamburg with William II’s work *Sang an Aegir*. Gustav Mahler was the director.

4. The 20th and 21st century

In the 20th century, things changed: apart from several isolated performances, associated to conferences on the history of music or to specific events concerning Greece, the hymn was not really performed till the 1970’s. It does not mean that it totally fell into neglect. A new phenomenon is to be considered: the appropriation of the melody by modern composers as an inspiration for their own operatic works, mostly related to Antiquity. The first examples I know are Theophrastos Sakellarides, who used the hymn with Greek folk songs for *Hymenaios*

in 1903 and Camille Erlanger for *Le fils de l'étoile* in 1904. Then André Jolivet incorporated it to the stage music he composed for Gerhardt Hauptmann's *Iphigenia in Delphi* (Paris, 1943): afterwards he gathered all the pieces into his *Suite Delphique*. The instrumentation includes an Ondes Martenot, an early electric instrument¹. In 1973, for his *Death in Venice*, Benjamin Britten used the hymn to compose his own "Hymn to Apollo" which sounds in the first act and in the end to accompany Aschenbach's death. Considering the history of cinema, the hymn belongs to the original soundtrack of the sword-and-sandal movie *Quo Vadis?* (Mervin LeRoy, 1951) composed by Miklós Rózsa: he used all the ancient scores he could (premiere recording of the whole score: 2018, © Mis). However, his arrangement of the first Delphic hymn accompanied a scene which was eventually cut off².

A second phenomenon is the creation of specialized orchestras with replicas of ancient Greek instruments to play ancient Greek music. In 1964, G. Paniagua created his ensemble *Atrium Musicae* in Madrid: a recording of the first hymn to Apollo was released in 1979 (repr. 2000, © Harmonia Mundi). In 1990, A. Bélis founded her group *Kerylos* in Paris. In 1992, for the jubilee of the French excavations in Delphi, *Kerylos* played among other works the first hymn to Apollon in the theatre of Delphi; the same year, A. Bélis published a new edition with some corrections of the two Delphic hymns to Apollo (Bélis 1992). She made three recordings of the hymn, in 1993 (© Kérylos), 1996 (© K 617) and 2016 (© Kérylos). In Athens, S. Panaghiotis created in 2001 his group *Lyravlos*. In 2004, *Kerylos* and *Lyravlos* played both in a concert organized in the Grand Amphithéâtre of the Sorbonne University, to celebrate the 110th anniversary of the creation of the modern Olympic Games. One of the most recent reconstructions, based on Armand d'Angour's philological analysis, was recently performed with an accurate replica of the Louvre *aulos* played by Barnaby Brown, with a chorus made of

¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WkLmPBYRUcM>

² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ix_oWMPczU

specialists of ancient Greek music and students (Oxford, 2017)³ or with a soloist, Stef Conner (Reading, 2018)⁴.

One could discuss carefully each attempt of reconstructing ancient Greek music and classify them from the most scientific to the most speculative one, but none of them could be considered as performances of ancient Greek music *stricto sensu*, since ancient scores are mostly lacunar, and even if they are complete, some data are absent like tempo, feelings or dynamics. Moreover, the accuracy of instrument replicas should be always taken into account, because many of them are made without any scientific process of reconstruction: a reproduction of an instrument only from iconography is far from what it actually was. Furthermore, in an anthropological and historical point of view, it is completely out of sense to think that perception and production of music in ancient times would be the same as today. Our way of hearing is a modern cultural construction. Whatever the reconstruction of ancient Greek music might be, with accurate or approximate replicas, this would never be ancient Greek music: we only have preserved a kind of skeleton of what it might have been; some holes may be filled scientifically, but most of them open the floor to the freest imagination. This is actually not bad, because this is the liberty of the composer and the performer, which is fundamental in any performing art. However, one must be honest: this is not ancient Greek music; these are only echoes of ancient Greek music.

As a historian, I would rather highlight the process of democratization, which occurred in the divulgation of the hymn. The development of the music industry, with new ways of diffusion (CD, DVD, Web) brought ancient Greek music out of scientific alcoves, so that everyone can endorse it. Therefore, ancient Greek music entered marketplaces, although advertising for such a product is limited. Nevertheless, it has been gradually considered as

³ <https://youtu.be/4hOK7bU0S1Y> (at 11'30)

⁴ <https://youtu.be/SgpWXDSSHEO>

belonging to the repertoire of classical music: for instance, Kerylos' second CD was granted the most important award of the French periodical *Diapason*, a “5”. Now ancient Greek music has even entered the cyberspace.

I would like to focus here on completely new compositions inspired by ancient Greek music, in terms of reception studies and sociological studies. Nowadays, ancient Greek music is not limited to reconstructions: it appears in a plenty of modern musical genres, targeting very diverse audiences, in a wide range of ages or social status. Regarding the first Delphic hymn, one could start with the most conventional examples, which can be labelled as “classical music”. Some of them are essentially arrangements for one modern instrument, like the arrangement made by Graham Lynch and played on the guitar by the Danish-Finnish performer Rody van Gemert, for his album *Traditional Ancient Greece: Musical Inspirations* (2017, © Pilfink records)⁵. The Greek-American Dinos Constantinides, looking for his roots, made several arrangements of the hymn for different instruments and used it for many compositions: the starting point was the sate music for Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* he composed in 1979. Among others, I shall mention his arrangements for flute and harp/guitar (1979), voice (or oboe) guitar (2002), alto saxophone and guitar (2002, released with Theofilos Sotiriades in 2007, © Magni Publications)⁶, voice, flute, harp and string quartet (2004). His most recent adaptation concerns the second movement of his concerto for flute, harp and orchestra (premiered in 2018). The last sample of the Delphic hymn arranged for a chamber orchestra was published last year by Ricardo André Longhi Frantz, for celesta, gamba and vibraphone, adding some polyphony and counterpoint effects⁷.

⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E5vUHCmhOzc>

⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OSxniNHM8ng>

⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yBS5dqO_i2o

Regarding bigger ensembles, Mark Edward Wilson drew his inspiration from the first Delphic hymn while composing a masterpiece for symphonic orchestra entitled *Symphonic Metamorphoses on the Delphic Hymn of Athenaios*. The composer used the first section of the hymn for the main theme, which is easily recognizable and works as a haunting leitmotiv in the whole piece, going from parts to parts, while some variations are based on some dissonances (released by the Kiev Philharmonic Orchestra, © ERM 2005)⁸. For his *Delphic Hymn and Dance* for brass band (with trumpet solo), the Dutch composer And Arend Gerts says to have been inspired by the Delphic hymn, but I have to confess it is hardly recognizable (2015)⁹.

Indeed, the ancient melody may be the starting point for an authentic composition, like Richard Steinitz¹⁰ arrangement for countertenor, recorder, cello and harpsichord (composed in 1976, released in 2010, © Guild): the composer gave to the ancient melody the aura of “ancient sorcery” by taking advantage of very high-pitches dissonances. In the album *Passage 138 B.C. – A.D. 1611* (released in 1994, © Telarc), the Empire Brass Quintet gave a version of the hymn for brass instruments and acoustic drum, mixing musical patterns typical for Latin America and the Arabic world. For his album *Mnemosyne* released in 1999 (with the Hilliard Ensemble, © ECM), the Norwegian saxophonist Jan Garbarek composed a *Delphic Paeon* which features a saxophone solo with Gregorian plainsong. The “Delphic Hymn to Apollo”, which is the third movement of the piece *Ancient Songs* by Nova Pon, shows relevant influences of contemporary classical music. “Inspired by the simple melodies and evocative texts with their seemingly timeless emotional tones of yearning and elation”, the Canadian composer decided to include soprano and tenor into a mixed ensemble (premiered by the Erato Ensemble on

⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wyXh7WzPyzo>

⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MYTW4uY9vrM>

¹⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MIFbaT0A4aQ>

March 27th, 2014 in Vancouver)¹¹. When the American composer of Serbian origin Dušan Bogdanović composed his *Delphic Hymns* for flute, viola and guitar (dedicated to Antigoni Goni, 2016)¹², he created a kind of patchwork of ancient melodies (among them two fragments of the first Delphic hymn), exploring many melodic possibilities from one single ancient phrase with instrumental effects typical of the contemporary classical music. To go now to modern jazz, the young French composer Grégoire Letouvet offered very recently his own version of the first Delphic hymn with his group “Les Rugissants”, a jazz tentet (piano, 4 saxophones, clarinet bass, trumpet, trombone, contrabass, drums), in the album *D’humain et d’animal* released in 2018 (© Klarthe). Purpose of the album is to explore the border between man and animal, but also between natural sounds and music. The bass clarinet plays a significant role in the piece, which alternates very dissonant moments and parts that are more melodic¹³. It also included an interpretation of the second Delphic hymn.

Nowadays, we have to add the electronic music and the digital performances we may find on the web. Ancient Greek music met electronic music, like in the mysterious “experimental ambience” of Samruk’s *Improviation on the first Delphic Hymn* (2013, © Black Isle Records)¹⁴. For his album *Ad astra* (2008, © Rob Astor) inspired by Holst’s *Planets*, Rob Astor arranged the first Delphic Hymn by using electronic means and keeping a typical Byzantine *ison*, which gives the impression of an interstellar travel¹⁵. Thanks to new technologies, artists may even add some visual effects, producing videos with ancient Greek music. Sometimes, the video is totally independent, but it can also underline melody, rhythm or lyrics. For example, Robert Fruehwald made in 2009 a video with the music he had adapted in 1997 from the first Delphic

¹¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wto4tzEWO-Q>

¹² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zXPluPLNk_c

¹³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bBlnsNnBXHU>

¹⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VLr1zEPjAEk>

¹⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BtBqWXotr_E

hymn, played on two flutes by Paul Thompson and the composer¹⁶. He used the text of the hymn (transcriptions of Greek phrases and translations) and visual effects based on the figure of a white mask, alluding to the practice of ancient Greek theatre, and on coloured tubular bells in movement, alluding maybe to M. Oldfield's famous composition. A couple of weeks ago, the American composer Edward Shaffer published a video¹⁷ of his *Fantasia on the Delphic Hymn* (Op. 101), composed in 2012 and remastered in 2015 for his *Album Tone Poem Project #9*.

This is obviously a new era for the archaeology of music, that cannot be considered any more as the property of the archaeologists. There is today a new worldwide audience, made of listeners and composers who may be inspired by the reconstructions and offer completely new scores based on them.

Conclusion

This small review, if not exhaustive, shows the main goals of people performing ancient Greek music. From the beginnings, science, politics and aesthetics are strongly linked. The very political context of emerging archaeology in the 19th century played a relevant role, but we may add that when the hymn was performed at the very first time, in 128 BC, music was also used for political purposes : the Athenian artists wanted to show the prestige of their city in Delphi, where all the Greeks came. The discovery of the hymn gave not only the opportunity the French School to organize a brilliant evening but also for musicians the occasion to draw inspiration from this ancient melody. The hymn was quickly known worldwide and one could hear it at the antipodes. However, when Angelos Sikelianos and his wife Eva Palmer decided to organize the two Delphic festivals in 1927 and 1930, they did not use this music for the stage of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and *Suppliants*. When Eva Palmer worked with the composer

¹⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TYAR2Ocau8A>

¹⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u1mvqeU2_kg

Konstantinos Psachos on the music, they relied on the Byzantine liturgical tradition and Greek folk songs.

Nowadays, it seems that performing the first Delphic hymn to Apollo has become a large source of inspiration for new musical ideas, from contemporary classical music to modern musical genres like jazz or electronic music. The importance of new technologies increased in those creations. By writing this history of performances, we realize that the border may be porous between science and performing arts: the archaeology of performance, which is the scientific study of ancient Greek music, encounters the performance of archaeology, which is wider than the world of archaeologists, opening the gates of ancient Greek music to modern artists. This is typically one of the main challenges of music archaeology in the 21st century.

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