BRILL

Greek and Latin Texts on the Harp and Similar Instruments in Byzantine Times

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Abstract

In Byzantine sources, both literary and iconographic, the harp occurs surprisingly seldom. *Harpa* as a term for a musical instrument is first encountered in Venantius Fortunatus. It is usually translated as 'harp', but at that time it most likely meant a lyre. Since the Carolingian Renaissance – when in the West often the harp, in Byzantium the psaltery gradually took the place of the lyre – the old name apparently passed to the new instrument, as similarly in the cases of *cithara* and ψαλτήριον. The name *harpa* was apparently adopted into Greek only at the end of the 14th century under Italian influence. Πλινθίον probably referred to the rectangular psaltery in Byzantium. Ἀχιλλιακόν may have meant a rare instrument in Byzantium, probably due to a misunderstanding of our Fortunatus passage.

Keywords

1 Introduction

The ancient Greek name of the harp was mainly ψαλτήριον. In Byzantine times, this word could denote various instruments, especially those shown in fig. 1

FIGURE 1   Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett 78 A 9, f. 41v. (ca. 1300), detail
DIGITAL SOURCE, BY COURTESY OF KUPFERSTICHKABINETT

(around 1300): in David's hands the triangular psaltery, in front of his feet the open angular harp of the oriental type (also called σαμβύκη),[1] on the tree on the right the rectangular psaltery (probably of the πλινθίον type, see below) and on the left tree the harp psaltery, which was held like a harp while playing. In addition, there are a few representations of the frame harp of a more western type in the period around 1060 and again around 1390;[2] in the latter case the term *harpa/arpa* – a word of Germanic origin – was apparently adopted from Italian as ἅρπα into Greek (cf. fig. 5); in the early Middle Ages, however, especially under the Merovingians, this word may still have denoted a lyre (see below). Finally, there are, as singular phenomena, the instrument name ἀχιλλιακόν and, as far as can be seen, the representation of a huge lyre in St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev, played like a harp, apparently in an ensemble of Byzantine

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1   Two Arabic texts of the 9th and 10th centuries – by Ibn Khurdādhbih and Al-Khwārizmī – show that the σαμβύκη was also found among the Byzantines at that time, cf. De Meynard 1861–77 vol. 8, 91 and 417–19, Van Vloten 1895, 236 and Farmer 1925, 301 and 303. The Al-Khwārizmī passage is a quote by the historian Al-Masʿūdī (10th century).

2   Around 1060: Maliaras 2007, mainly figs 5 (cf. also 3 and 26), 25, 27 and 29. Around 1390: Harlfinger 2011, plate 3, here fig. 5.

musicians. For the texts dealing with all these instruments, the present article tries to gain some clarity.

2   Venantius Fortunatus

The word *harpa*, with reference to a musical instrument, is first attested in the Latin *Carmina* of Venantius Fortunatus, in the preface to the first part of his collection of poems published ca. 576 (Praef. 4/5) and in the poem to Lupus, Duke of Champagne, apparently written in 566 (Book 7, 8, 61–64). Since the latter passage has already been interpreted in very different ways, and since the words *Graecus Achilliaca* there are not easy to understand, in particular the syntax and meaning of *Achilliaca*, it must first be asked whether the surviving text, edited by Reydellet,[3] provides a reliable basis for interpretation. In addition, the interpretation must also take into account the historical situation and the life of Fortunatus.

2.1   *Textual Basis*

Tradition: In Praef. 5, *arpa* has survived without variants. For Book 7, 8, 63/64 Redeyllet (1998) gives the following variants in the apparatus: *harpa* P M D U L *harpha* E B W F[2] *pharpa* C V *pharpha* R F[1] *pharphas* A *partha* G; *crotta* P A M G V D U L R *crottam* C *chrota* E[1] *chrotta* E[2] B *rotta* W F; *britanna* A M G U E L B[2] W *brittanna* P C D B[1] *brittana* V *brittania* R; furthermore, for the otherwise unambiguously transmitted *achilliaca*, the variants *etchiliaca* W *anchiliata* R. These latter are obviously peculiar errors of W and R, perhaps caused by an illegible place of their common ancestor in the <η> subfamily. The variants to *britanna*, except for the peculiar error *brittania* in R, are purely orthographic, but according to the metrics *britanna* alone is correct. In the case of *crotta*, *crottam* in C is metrically inappropriate, thus a peculiar error, while the two readings in E are purely orthographic variations; finally, *rotta* in W and F, two late manuscripts, may be an adaptation to Old and Middle High German usage.[4] For this and for the variants of *harpa*, see the Stemma codicum prepared by Reydellet:[5]

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3 Reydellet 1994 books 1–4, 1998 books 5–8, 2004 books 9–11.

4 Welsh *crwth* [kruːθ], Irish *crot*, *cruit*, Middle Latin *c(h)rotta* or *rotta*, Middle High German *rotte*.

5 Reydellet 1994, LXXXV. For the resolution of the manuscript sigles, see XCVII (Conspectus siglorum). Manuscript Σ contains only a small selection of the poems; the texts discussed here are not included.

Original/Archetypus
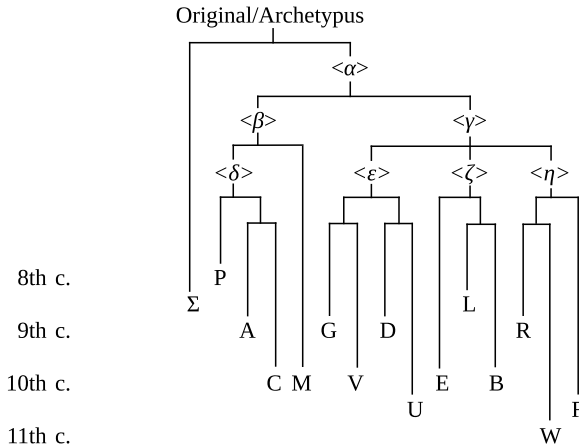
The variants of *harpa* form two groups, the names beginning with *h* and the names beginning with *p*. Here, *harpa* and *harpha* are to be understood as orthographic variants just as *pharpa* and *pharpha*, with *pharphas* and *partha* – as peculiar errors in A and G – joining the second group. Thus, essentially the two groups *harpa/harpha* and *pharpa/pharpha* are opposed to each other. The first group is distributed over all subfamilies of the stemma, the second one over nearly all. Such a constellation is probably best explained by a kind of double reading in the hyparchetype <α>, e.g., an interlinear insertion of *p* above the first syllable of *harpha*, which was intended to correct the *ph* but could also be related to the beginning of the word ($_h a^p{}_{r\,p\,h\,a}$). On the one hand, as with *crotta/chrotta*, the influence of the Old High German sound shift becomes visible here, on the other hand also a (rather) widespread ignorance of the word *harpa* among the monastic scribes. In any case, *pharp(h)a*, unlike *harpa*, is not a word attested in Latin lexicons, and *arpa* in the Praefatio clearly shows that in Book 7 only *harpa* or *harpha* can be correct, again *harpa* deserving preference because it is attested more frequently and in the older manuscripts. – Thus, the text of our passages, as edited by Reydellet, is the best that the tradition offers.

Vocabulary and grammar: Except for the Germanisms *leudos* and *(h)arpa* and the Graecism *Achilliaca*, Fortunatus' Latin remains conventional in our two texts. A grammatical peculiarity is shown by Praef. 5 "... *apud quos nihil disparat aut stridor anseris aut canor oloris, sola saepe bombicans barbaros leudos arpa **relidens** ...*", where after the finite verb *disparat* also a finite form of *relidere* would be expected; however, the mere participle in its place, here

relidens, is encountered sporadically since Propertius, and more frequently in late Latin authors.[6]

Metrics: Somewhat striking is the short syllable at the end of the first half of the pentameter in 3 verses of our poem (Book 7, 8):[7]

> 22 *hinc levat umbra di**em**, **h**inc fuga unda sitim.*
> 58 *Materia vinc**or** et quia lingua minor.*
> 60 *hinc meus urget am**or**, **h**inc tuus obstat honor.*

The *h* at the beginning of a word, before a vowel, does not count as a consonant, so it does not form a positional length with the final consonant of the preceding word. The incision in the middle of the verse (22 and 60), however, is so strong due to the anaphora of *hinc* at the beginning of the verse halves that a slight pause in the flow of speech, a new beginning, must be assumed, so that the short final syllables of *diem* and *amor* together with this pause do result in a length in time. Similarly, the short final syllable of *vincor* (58) could be explained by a slight pause, which can be understood as a parable of speechlessness, of catching one's breath, in the sense of 'the mass (of your merits) – makes me speechless'. In general, a short syllable in this place is considered a rare exception, but it already occurs in Catullus (66, 48; 76, 10).[8] Fortunatus makes judicious use of this exception, but ultimately remains within the bounds of conventional metrics.

In summary, the textual tradition, vocabulary, grammar, and metrics of our passages, in the version presented by Reydellet, attest to a reliable basis for interpretation.

2.2 *The Life of Venantius Fortunatus*

In 534, the Byzantine general Belisar had conquered the empire of the Vandals in North Africa, and in 540 he moved into Ravenna, thus also winning the empire of the Ostrogoths, i.e. primarily Italy, for Byzantium.[9] Thus Emperor Justinian ruled over by far the largest part of the old Imperium Romanum. Iberia, however, remained under the rule of the Visigoths and Suebi, and Gaul under that of the Franks.

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6 Leumann, Hofmann and Szantyr 1972, 389.

7 Reydellet 1998, 98f.

8 Cf. Crusius 1961, 58.

9 However, the struggles in Italy continued until 552, when Narses defeated the Ostrogoths.

In these years Venantius Fortunatus was born near Treviso in northern Italy. In Ravenna, where he studied grammar and rhetoric, he immersed himself in both classical and Christian Latin poetry, developing his own poetic talent. In the late Summer of 565, two years before the Lombard invasion, he set out for Gaul and, via Aquileia, Lienz, Innsbruck, Augsburg, and Mainz, reached the Austrasian royal court at Metz in the Spring of 566, where King Sigibertus was celebrating his marriage to the Visigoth princess Brunichildis. Fortunatus, who was accompanied from the Italian border by one of Sigibert's emissaries,[10] was apparently expected for the occasion, and he contributed a wedding poem and an elegy in praise of the married couple (*Carmina* 6, 1 u. 1a). At these celebrations and on a subsequent tour of the court – via Cologne, Trier, Verdun and Reims – Fortunatus met the grandees of Austrasia, dukes and bishops, among others Duke Lupus of Champagne, to whom the poem to be discussed below (*Carmina* 7, 8) is addressed. In the Fall of 566 Fortunatus traveled on to the Neustrian royal court in Paris, where he spent the Winter in contact with King Charibertus and Bishop Germain/Germanus. In 567 he reached – via Tours and Poitiers – the Pyrenees in July, perhaps to meet Archbishop Martin of Bracara (now Braga), the apostle of the Suebi in Galicia, but he returned to Poitiers and there, in contact with Radegundis, widow of Chlotar I, and with her foster daughter Agnes, abbess of the monastery there, he spent the rest of his life, at first occupied with administration and secretariat of the monastery, from 590 as a clergyman. From there, partly on behalf of Radegundis, he also wrote letters to Byzantium,[11] among others with the request for a splinter of the Holy Cross. This request was granted, and Fortunatus dedicated a poem to the Byzantine emperor and empress in gratitude.[12] Radegundis, daughter of a Thuringian king, was also interested in contacts with Byzantium because two of her relatives had fled there during the conquest of Thuringia by the Franks.[13]

Fortunatus' journey was ostensibly a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Martin in Tours. However, all circumstances – contact persons, addressees of the poems,

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10 Sigoaldus (*Carmina* 10, 16).

11 The epistolary relationship of Fortunatus with Byzantium is probably best reflected by the four major poems written on behalf of Radegundis for recipients in Byzantium: *Carmina* 8, 1 (request for books), App. 1 (conquest of Thuringia; Amalafred), App. 3 (Artachis, relative of Amalafred) and App. 2 (relic of the Holy Cross). Occasionally it has been assumed that Radegundis was the author of these 'Byzantine poems', but Brennan (1996) has shown that stylistic features (alliteration, polyptoton and paronomasia) as well as reminiscences of Virgil, Ovid, Claudian, Sedulius and Arator strongly indicate the authorship of Venantius Fortunatus.

12 Fels 2006, 302–5 (Appendix: Vermischtes aus dem Nachlass, Nr. 2: "Radegunde bedankt sich beim byzantinischen Kaiserpaar für die Kreuzreliquie"); cf. Reydellet 2004, 140.

13 Fels 2006, 297–302 (Appendix: Vermischtes aus dem Nachlass, Nr. 1: "Radegunde bittet Vetter Amalafred in Byzanz um ein Lebenszeichen"); cf. Reydellet 2004, 133.

cultural competence of the poet, circumstances of the time and Byzantine interests – indicate that the journey took place on behalf of Byzantium; with the aim to strengthen the interest in Roman culture among the powerful of Gaul, perhaps also to revive the idea of a common Romania and to find allies against its threat – e.g. by the Lombards.[14]

The famous mosaics of Ravenna, including the panel with Justinian and Theodora in the St. Vitale Basilica, were installed during Fortunatus' childhood. Later, as a student in Ravenna, Fortunatus seems to have been so impressed by them that the mosaics, it has been suggested, also influenced his poetry. Two cases are of particular interest: first, the costume and jewellery of the Empress Theodora may have influenced the description of the Virgin in Fortunatus' *Vita Sancti Martini*;[15] second, the procession of the *Sponsae Christi* in the northern aisle of the St. Apollinare Nuova Basilica is likely to have influenced Fortunatus' *De Virginitate* (*Carmina* 8, 3).[16] This does not prove, of course, that Fortunatus undertook a cultural diplomatic mission for Byzantium, but it does show that he may well have been inclined to do so.

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14   Cf. Reydellet 1994, XVI: "En analysant la situation politique du moment, J. Šašel a récemment montré que Fortunat était … un agent de l'empereur auprès des cours franques, et, en particulier, celle de Metz …. l'empereur qu'inquiétait la menace des Lombards cherchait des alliés en Gaule. Le roi de Metz, qui possédait aussi la Provence, pouvait être fort utile. Fortunat, déja connu sans doute pour son talent poétique, était un homme précieux pour séduire le roi et ses grands réunis à l'occasion de ses noces. Le poète fut donc chargé de ce qu'on pourrait nommer une offensive de charme. Il lui fallait, lui l'Italien cultivé, réveiller en Gaule le sentiment d'une communauté spirituelle de la Romania contre les Barbares de la seconde vague"; this is based on Šašel 1981. A different view has been proposed by Brennan (1995), based on the contents of those poems that might be expected to reveal an allegiance to Byzantium: *Carmina* 5, 1 and 2, the correspondence with Martin of Braga (who was perhaps entrusted with a comparable mission), contain "no material that might be construed as having a political significance", 9, 1, the panegyric of King Chilperic, "nothing that could be even vaguely construed as pro-Byzantine" and, above all, 8, 1 and App. 1–3, the 'Byzantine poems', "reflect Radegund's own concerns rather than affairs of state". On the other hand, Brennan, citing Cameron (1976, 59f.), concedes that the donation of the relic by Justin II and Sophia should be seen "as a diplomatic move designed to strengthen good relations with a potentially useful ally". It would follow that the donation of the relic and religious books, albeit not a major "affair of state", did have a certain "political significance" that was clearly directed toward a "pro-Byzantine" goal. The characteristics of a king like Chilperic, "pro-Byzantine" or not, have some "political significance" per se. Brennan's evaluations of the contents therefore seem a little inadequate, and sometimes the function of a poem may be more important than its content. Moreover, Brennan does not consider the role of Sigoaldus at all. In sum, I prefer Reydellet's view, even if Fortunatus in his later years should have, as Brennan puts it, "long left behind him any Byzantine political allegiance". Cf. also Pietri 2012, 2.

15   Quesnel 1996, 152 (note 68, referring to Book 3, 470).

16   Marsili 2021, 90f. and fig. 2.

2.3   *Carmina, Praef. 4/5*

Fortunatus had much opportunity to learn about the culture of Germanic and Gallic peoples during his travels. In the preface to his poems (ca. 576), addressed to Bishop Gregory of Tour, he complains about a lack of understanding in his audience:[17]

> *… inter barbaros longo tractu gradiens …*
> *… novus Orpheus lyricus … silvae voces dabam …*
> *… apud quos nihil disparat aut stridor anseris aut canor oloris,*
> *sola saepe bombicans barbaros leudos arpa relidens …*
> *… quo residentes auditores inter acernea pocula salute bibentes insana*
>   *Baccho iudice debaccharent.*

> … among barbarians I walked long distances …
> … I shouted my verses into the forest as a new Orpheus …
> … among people where neither the chatter of a goose nor the song of a swan made any difference and often only the harp humming barbarian tunes resounded …
> … where the listeners sat with cups of maple wood, caroused with (thunderous) cheerio and raved nonsensically even according to the judgment of Bacchus.[18]

Through excavations in the areas traveled by Fortunatus, we know several lyres of his time,[19] but no harps. In addition, some formulations of Cassiodorus suggest that harp playing had practically died out in the Latin West in the 6th century after Theodosius had issued a far-reaching ban in 385.[20] I therefore assume that (*h*)*arpa* in Fortunatus meant a lyre that was common among the Franks.[21]

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17   Reydellet 1994, 4f.
18   This translation is based on the German rendering of Fels 2006, 4f.: "… unter Barbaren schritt ich weite Strecken dahin … rief ich als neuer Orpheus meine Verse in den Wald … bei Leuten, bei denen weder das Geschnatter einer Gans noch der Gesang eines Schwans einen Unterschied machte und oft nur die barbarische Weisen summende Harfe ertönte … wo die Zuhörer bei Bechern aus Ahornholz saßen, mit tosendem Prosit zechten und sogar nach dem Urteil des Bacchus unsinnig tobten". I thank Wolfgang Maaz for drawing my attention to Fels's book.
19   Finds of lyres from the 6th century in Central and Western Europe: Trossingen, Oberflacht, Schlotheim, later Cologne (ca. 700), English instruments from the 5th to the 10th century, and the Frankish lyre of Concevreux/Aisne; cf. Hillberg 2015, esp. 10–19.
20   Najock 2013, 9f. and 23.
21   Cf. also Rensch 1989, 91f.

There is further evidence that *harpa* may have referred to a lyre in the early Middle Ages: In the 16th century, Martin Agricola contrasts the hurdy-gurdy (*Drehleier*) and the keyed fiddle in his *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* in picture and inscription.[22] The main difference between them is that the hurdy-gurdy's strings are bowed by a wheel, while the keyed fiddle's strings are bowed by a bow. Both instruments have probably developed through mechanization (keys and tangents) from the bowed lyre of the high Middle Ages. Since the keyed fiddle corresponds to the *nyckelharpa*, which is still in use in Sweden,[23] the name parts *-leier* and *-harpa* obviously refer to the same instrument. Also the *talharpa* of the coastal Swedes in Estonia, still played at the beginning of the 20th century, is a bowed lyre, even in the old form without fingerboard.[24] Thus *harpa*, especially in the Germanic area,[25] may well have meant the plucked lyre in the early Middle Ages, but with the advent of the harps in Carolingian times – and especially after the advent of the bowed lyres in the 10th/11th century – increasingly the harp. In book illumination, the lyre recedes more and more in favor of the harp in the Latin West since Carolingian times, and in Byzantium in favor of the psaltery, e.g. in the hands of David. In this process, the old Greek name of the harp, ψαλτήριον, was retained in Byzantium for the 'new' instrument, our psaltery. Similarly, *harpa* has apparently been transferred from the older plucked lyre to the newer harp. Also κιθάρα referred to a box lyre in antiquity, but *cithara* to a harp in the high Middle Ages and even later.[26]

2.4   *Carmina 7, 8, 61–64*

The poem 7, 8 is a homage to Lupus, Duke of Champagne: as a wanderer under a scorching sun feels relieved after a long journey when he encounters a shady grove and a fresh spring, so he, Fortunatus, feels relieved after learning that he, Lupus, is well (v. 32). Always he, Fortunatus, will keep in his heart a pleasant

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22   Martin Agricola 1529, 27v u. 28r.

23   Swedish *nyckel* = 'key'.

24   *Talharpa* is interpreted as *tallharpa* ('pine harpa') or *tagelharpa* ('horsehair harpa'). There is a detailed article about this instrument at Wikipedia.de.

25   *Harpa*, Old High German also *harpha*, < Common Germanic **harpō* < Indo-European (*s*)*kerb*(*h*) 'to turn', 'to curve', because of plucking with curved fingers.

26   In Herrad of Landsberg, *Hortus deliciarum*, as attribute of Lady Musica, cf. Najock 2013, plate 2d, and Green 1979, 57; in Ireland, e.g., the inscription *ego sum regina cithararum* on the Dalway harp of 1621, cf. Billinge and Shaljean 1987, 179. In a (lost) 12th century manuscript from St. Blasien, *Cythara teutonica* designated a lyre and *Cythara anglica* a harp, cf. Luiselli Fadda 1988; but even lute instruments were designated as *cythara*, as apparently in the Utrecht Psalter. Note also that ancient Greek λύρα was later transferred from the plucked instrument to the bowed *lira*.

memory of the common conversations, the witty words of the Duke; but his own tongue is too small to praise his great merits (v. 58). May others vie in doing so in his place, each in his own way (v. 61f.), and may one celebrate his deeds of war, the other his administration of justice in peace (vv. 65–8). This is the context of our verses:

> *Sed pro me reliqui laudes tibi reddere certent*
> *Et qua quisque valet te prece, voce sonet,*
> *Romanusque lyra plaudat tibi, barbarus harpa,*
> *Graecus Achilliaca, crotta Britanna canat.*

> But let others in place of me compete in praising you,
> and as each one is able, let him praise you in prayer and song,
> Romans on lyres, barbarians on harps,
> Greeks on that of Achilles, may the lute of Britain resound.[27]

This rendering, based on Fels (2006), is consistent with Latin metre and grammar, but we will probably still have to correct it. Van Schaik rightly says that we do not know whether *harpa* really means a harp.[28]

The crotta is assumed to have been a lyre at this time.[29] Thus it would follow that Fortunatus always refers to the lyre by *lyra*, *harpa*, and *crotta*, with the different names it had among different peoples. For the Greeks, therefore, one might assume – which has been done – a lyre-like instrument *achilliaca* or *achilliacon*, but this seems to me poorly founded in our place: Greeks and Britons, unlike the neighbors from the Frankish Empire, had no reason to sing of Duke Lupus of Champagne; in the 2nd half of pentameter, therefore, it should read 'the crotta may sing of Britannic material'.[30] Accordingly, the 1st half of the pentameter should read 'the Greek (may sing of) things related to Achilles'.[31] Hexameter (verse 63) and pentameter (verse 64) thus contain a contrast: Thee, Duke Lupus, the Roman (the Latin-speaking Gaul) shall praise

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27   This translation is based on the metrical German rendering of Fels 2006, 177: "Aber es sollen für mich um die Wette dich andere loben, und wie es jeder vermag, preis er dich betend im Lied, und auf der Leier feiern dich Römer, Barbaren auf Harfen, Griechen auf der des Achill, Laute Britanniens erkling!".

28   Van Schaik 1992, 19.

29   Rensch 1989, 92: Abbot Cuthbert notes in 764 that the *cythara* was known to him in Northumbria as a *rotta*; cf. Salmen 1960, 72.

30   That an instrument, here *crotta*, stands for the player occurs occasionally elsewhere as well, cf. Plautus *Stichus* 381, and *Historia Augusta, Vita Hadriani* 26.4.

31   Similarly van Schaik 1992, 19.

with the *lyra*, the foreigner (the Germanic-speaking Frank) with the *harpa*,
let the Greek sing the deeds of Achilles, the (player of the) *crotta* Britannic
material.

For comparison, here are a few other translations of the last decades:

Van Schaik 1992, 19:

> 63 And may the Roman bring you homage with the lyra, the German
> with the harpa,
> 64 the Greek sing Achilles' songs, and the Briton sound the crotta.

Reydellet 1998, 100:

> 63 *Que vous applaudisse le Romain sur sa lyre, le barbare sur sa harpe,*
> 64 *que vous chantent le Grec à la manière d'Achille et le luth breton.*
>
> Let the Roman applaud you on his lyre, the barbarian on his harp,
> let the Greek sing of you in the manner of Achilles and the Breton
> lute.

Maliaras 2007, 80:

> 63 Ο Ρωμαίος σε δοξάζει με τη(ν) λύρα, ο βάρβαρος με την άρπα,
> 64 ο Έλληνας σου τραγουδά με το αχιλλιακό και ο Βρετανός με την χρότα.
>
> The Roman glorifies thee with the lyre, the barbarian with the harp,
> the Greek sings to thee with the achilliacon, and the Briton
> with the chrotta.

Roberts 2017, 445:

> 63 May the Roman acclaim you on his lyre, the barbarian on his harp,
> 64 the Greek in Achillean strain, the Briton on his lute.[32]

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32 In his notes on p. 869, however, Roberts writes: "The *harpa* and *crotta*, which I have trans-
lated 'harp' and 'lute', were stringed instruments, generically *citharae*". This is much better
than his translation. He continues: "The *harpa* was oblong, the *crotta* triangular in shape".
This is left without comment.

These translations, except the one of Reydellet, overlook the fact that *crotta*, unlike *lyra* and *harpa*, ends in short *a* according to the metric, so as nominative singular it should be subject. This also invalidates the assumption of a female British bard in these translations. Finally, *Achilliaca* is certainly an allusion to Homer's Iliad, so it would be better to translate it as 'songs about Achilles'. The assumption of a musical instrument *Achilliacon* or *Achilliaca* is superfluous here.[33]

3   *Psaltērion* and *Achilliakon*

In Greco-Roman antiquity, the harp was mainly referred to as ψαλτήριον/*psalterium*. In Byzantine times, ψαλτήριον is hardly used in this sense anymore, only occasionally in psalm commentaries that are attached to the ancient tradition.[34] On the other hand, ψαλτήριον could also be understood as a psaltery in the more recent sense, that is, as an instrument with a soundboard under the strings. In the Byzantine representations of David, these instruments gradually take the place of the lyre, but the harp does not appear there in his hands – unlike in the Latin West. The struggle of the church fathers against

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33   The terms relating to peoples are usually well understood: *Graecus* and *Britanna* are used in the plain sense, *Romanus* is interpreted as the Latin-speaking Gaul, and *barbarus* as the Germanic-speaking Frank. The sense of *Achilliaca*, however, is not obvious. As for metrics, this word can end in either long or short *a*, since the next word, *crotta*, begins with *muta cum liquida*. If taken as an ablative singular feminine with long *a*, *Achilliaca* raises several problems: (1) As a simple adjective it would refer primarily to *harpa* ('on that [scil. *harpa*] of Achilles'), but *harpa* was Germanic, not Greek. (2) An *ablativus modi*, 'in the manner of Achilles' or 'in Achillean strain', would remain almost empty of content, since nothing is known about how Achilles, while refusing to fight at Troy, played his φόρμιγξ – certainly not a praise of Agamemnon. (3) As a musical instrument (substantivized adjective), *Achilliaca* would be a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, in contrast to the neuter *achilliacon* (cf. section 3 below), which is also a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. Moreover, the ablative singular feminine would closely connect the first half of the pentameter to the preceding hexameter, since the predicate *plaudat* would remain valid, while the next predicate, *canat*, would refer only to the second half of the pentameter – resulting in a somewhat awkward composition. Therefore, it seems preferable to understand *Achilliaca* as accusative plural neuter with short *a*. Finally, it should be noted that the English translation of *Britanna* as 'the Briton' tends to be misleading, since *Britanna*, understood as subject (singular), is strictly feminine, while 'the Briton', which is both masculine and feminine, tends to be understood as masculine – after *Romanus*, *barbarus*, and *Graecus*.

34   Two of these commentaries – those of Zigabenos and Blemmydes – are discussed below in section 4. They clearly show how ancient material is adopted, rearranged, and confused. Other commentators included Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 350–428), Hesychius of Jerusalem (1st half 5th century) and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (ca. 393–466).

harp playing thus seems to have had an even longer lasting effect in the Greek East than in the West, where with the Carolingian Renaissance the harp makes a new appearance, apparently as a takeover from late antiquity.[35]

As evidence for ψαλτήριον and ἀχιλλιακόν, a text is to be discussed here that deals with analogies between musical and alchemical structures.[36] The theoretical part seems to be constructed mainly for the sake of these analogies.[37] Somewhat more realistic seems the practical part about the instruments. The instruments are first divided into the genera of idiophones (ναυστόν),[38] aerophones (αὐλητικόν), and plucked chordophones (κιθαρικόν),[39] the last group then into various types of plucked instruments:

Anonymus philosophus (6th–9th century):[40]

ἔστι γὰρ πλινθίον τὸ διὰ τῶν λβ΄, λύρα ἡ διὰ τῶν ἐννέα, ἀχιλλιακὸν τὸ διὰ κα΄ ἐπαγωγῆς, ψαλτήριον τὸ διὰ τῶν ι΄ ἢ ἔλαττον, ἢ λ΄ ἢ μ΄ ἢ πλεῖον, τὸ ἀπὸ γ΄ ἢ δ΄ ἢ ε΄.[41] Καὶ τὸ διὰ τῶν λβ΄ τό τε οἰκεῖον τῶν θείων δυνάμεων πλινθίον, ὅπερ

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35   Cf. Najock 2013, 20–3 and 27–30.

36   Berthelot and Ruelle 1888, vol. 3, 433ff.

37   Berthelot and Ruelle 1888, vol. 3, 434.4–6 and 437.6–9: On the musical side, four generic στοχοί (Α Β Γ Δ) – which a 17th century redactor interprets as the four main keys – are first divided into six subtypes each (κέντροι, ἶσοι, πλάγιοι, καθαροί, ἄηχοι, παράηχοι). Nothing in ancient musical theory corresponds to this, and little in Byzantine. Nor are any alchemical analogues mentioned in the context, but only general references to the importance of the proper sequence of procedural steps such as ἴωσις and λεύκωσις. It should be noted, however, that there are numerical equivalents in medieval Arabic alchemy: the four 'essences' (mercury, sulfur, arsenic, ammonium salt, Greek πνεύματα) and the six 'bodies' (gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, iron, Greek σώματα); cf. Hall and Quest 1970, 500.

38   Να(υ)στός 'firm, solid'.

39   Berthelot and Ruelle 1888, vol. 3, 437.18.

40   Berthelot and Ruelle 1888, vol. 3, 438. Dating: according to Berthelot and Ruelle 1887, vol. 1, 196 and 202, late 6th century; according to Wellesz (1949, 61ff.), rather 9th century, but according to his second edition (1962, 72–7) traceable to the circle around Zosimos of Panopolis (probably early 4th century); further dating in Maliaras 2007, 33; oldest text: Codex Marcianus Gr. 299 (10th or 11th century, cf. the articles of Roberts 2019 and 2022).

41   On the formulation with ἀπό, cf. Berthelot and Ruelle 1888, vol. 3, 434,12–14: καὶ τὸ αὐλούμενον ἅπαν ἢ κιθαριζόμενον (scil. μέλος) ἐστιν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων συγκείμενον στοχῶν, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν δύο μόνων, ἢ ἐξ ἑνός. Here ἐξ is used where the stock of notes from which the melos draws can be regarded as a unit, but ἀπό where this is not the case, such as when several keys are used. Now in our text, ἀπό (in the case of the numbers 3, 4, and 5) stands in contrast to the previously used διά, which prompted Maliaras (2007, 42) to add (probably in view of 434.12–14 [Berthelot and Ruelle]) στοχοί rather than strings here (both with question marks); but this is incompatible with the number 5, for there are only 4 στοχοί. Plausible therefore remains above all the interpretation of the ψαλτήριον with 3, 4 or 5 strings as a lute instrument. According to this, ἀπό stands where the notes must be

κυρίως ἁρμόττει ψυχαῖς, καὶ πρὸς σωματικῶν δυνάμεων φιλίαν, ὅπερ ἀνήκει μᾶλλον τοῖς σώμασιν.

Plinthion namely is the one over 32 (strings), lyre the one over 9, achilliakon the one over 21 of adduction (?), psalterion the one over 10 or less, or 30 or 40 or more, (further) the one starting from 3 or 4 or 5 (strings). And the one over 32, the plinthion both peculiar to the divine powers, which quite actually fits the souls, and for the friendship of the corporeal powers, which concerns more the bodies.[42]

Πλινθίον 'small brick, box' fits well to the shape of the rectangular psaltery and is attested as an instrument by Konstantinos Rhodios[43] (870/80–931), Konstantinos VII Porphyrogenetos[44] (905–959) as well as in the Hagiopolites[45] (12th century).[46] In ancient mathematics a πλινθίον is encountered as the constellation 2 × 4 × 4, i.e. as a cuboid with a square base 4 × 4 and the height 2, which just gives the volume 32, thus our number of strings. The 'corporeal powers' might mean the cubes 2 × 2 × 2, which are 4 times in the πλινθίον, the 'divine powers' the higher ones, so 2 × 2 × 2 × 2 = 16 (2 times in the πλινθίον) and 2 × 2 × 2 × 2 × 2 = 32 (once in the πλινθίον). In a real musical instrument seems to be hidden here therefore a number-mystical construction in the service of the alchemy.

An ἀχιλλιακόν with 21 strings could be interpreted as a harp as well as a psaltery, but an instrument of this name is not attested in other Greek sources. For the harp, the old names ψαλτήριον and σαμβύκη would have been available, and it is not easy to explain why it should have been called ἀχιλλιακόν instead.[47]

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obtained by stopping 'starting from 3, 4 or 5 strings', but διά stands where each note has its own string and the melody 'runs through' the notes 'over the strings'.

42 The end could also be translated as 'And the one over 32, both the plinthion peculiar to the divine powers, which quite actually fits the souls, and for the friendship of the corporeal powers, the one that concerns more the bodies'.

43 Matranga 1850, 625: βαρβητο-ναβλο-πλινθο-κυμβαλο-κτύπε (mocking poem on Leon Choirosphaktes, verse 21, without hyphens).

44 Vogt 1935–1939, 180f.: πληθίον, next to χειροκύμβαλα (*De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae* II, 90/91); here perhaps a kind of string drum.

45 Raasted 1983, 86: πλινθίον (Hagiopolites 97.4).

46 On the πλινθίον cf. also Maliaras 2007, 78f., on the ἀχιλλιακόν Maliaras 2007, 80f. A rectangular psaltery with 32 strings (in two separate covers) appears under the name *nuzha* in an Arabic manuscript of 1333/34, cf. Farmer 1976, 96f.; it is said to have been invented in the 13th century, but it may well have been derived from the κοινὴ ὁρμασία, cf. Najock 2018, 182ff.

47 Unless this was to circumvent the prohibitions of Theodosios of 385 or because the harp was considered a new instrument.

Thus, the ἀχιλλιακόν could be a product of imagination, perhaps inspired by the verses of Fortunatus discussed above.[48] On the other hand, the ἀχιλλιακόν appears here in a series with well attested instruments such as plinthion, lyre and psalterion. Thus, it may well have existed as a real instrument, although it is not otherwise attested and although the text in Fortunatus is certainly to be understood differently. An aid to interpretation might be the addition of ἐπαγωγῆς, but it is this addition that is most difficult to explain. A 17th century redactor changed the text τὸ διὰ κα′ ἐπαγωγῆς to τὸ διὰ εἴκοσι χορδῶν συνιστά-μενον καὶ μιᾶς ἐπαγωγικῆς 'that of 20 strings and one additional';[49] however, this says no more than 21 strings, so the addition ἐπαγωγῆς ultimately remains unexplained. I would therefore like to present a solution that stays closer to the text and seems to yield satisfactory results: we have to read (as spoken text) τὸ διὰ εἴκοσι (καὶ) μιᾶς ἐπ(')αγωγῆς, with or without καί, with or without a word break in ἐπ(')αγωγῆς, and with a caesura either after εἴκοσι or after μιᾶς. Among the resulting possibilities, three seem plausible to me in terms of language and content:

1) 'with 20 strings of a single stringing' (i.e. with single stringing, as opposed to double-stringed psalteries),[50]
2) 'with 20 strings and one on a (special) guide' and
3) 'with 21 strings on a guide'.

By guide here one could understand the small movable bridges on the sound-board of certain psalteries,[51] in fact such bridges are attested under the name ὑπαγωγεύς.[52] But a lyre, too, may have had one or two such individual bridges in addition, as apparently the instrument depicted on a Roman tombstone from Dion in Pieria (called there *nab[i]lium*, after Hebrew *nebel*, see fig. 2),[53] and a very large lyre, especially one with an oblique yoke and bridge, may well have had 20 strings. Such a lyre may be meant in the fresco of St. Sophia's

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48 Fortunatus apparently – cf. Fels 2006, XXI–XXIII – conducted part of the monastery correspondence from Poitiers for Abbess Agnes and Radegundis, the former wife of King Chlothar I, including letters to Byzantium. He is said to have enclosed several of his poems with some of the letters, and a poem in which "Graecus Achilliaca" appears may have fitted well with a letter addressed there. If the verse in question, whose meaning is still disputed today, was then misunderstood in Byzantium, this is only plausible.

49 Codex Parisinus Gr. 2329 (17th century).

50 Cf. Maliaras 2007, fig. 11 and fig. 34.

51 See Najock 2018, 190, fig. 6. Cf. Cutler 1984, fig. 78, fig. 116; Maliaras 2007, fig. 34 (pairs of strings) and fig. 35.

52 Nicomachus of Gerasa *Harmonikon encheiridion* 10 (254.17 Jan [1895]). Dionysios Τέχνη μου-σική 5 (12 Terzēs [2010]). Perhaps even ἐπ' ὑπαγωγέως should be conjectured in our place.

53 Pantermalēs 1994, 132 and 136; Andrikou et al. 2003, 178.

FIGURE 2   Dion, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 5561 (Roman period). Cf. Andrikou et al. 2003, fig. 69

Cathedral in Kiev (see fig. 3 and 4),[54] and it would not unjustly bear the name ἀχιλλιακόν. Thus, as far as the instruments are concerned, the assumption of a

54   According to older interpretations, music-making and dancing minstrels are depicted, cf. Salmen 1960, 80 and Bachmann 1966, 134; according to a more recent interpretation,

FIGURE 3   Kiev, St. Sophia Cathedral, mural painting (1st h. 11th c.). Cf. Logwyn 1971, fig. 256

psaltery or a lyre remains plausible, especially the solution no. 2, a harp would not be assumed in any of these cases. The bridge to alchemy could be again the number magic, with 21 as 3×7.[55]

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however, it is a professional ensemble, such as Byzantine court musicians, all seated, cf. Točkaja and Zajaruznyj 1995, 294f.: "l'insieme musicale di corte dell'imperatore di Bisanzio". One of the musicians, in front on the right, apparently plays an unusually large lyre with a slightly slanted yoke in the manner of a harp. The fresco cycle of St. Sophia's Cathedral depicts secular scenes and must be related to contemporary events, cf. Kämpfer 1992, 85–95.

[55] On ancient and medieval numerical magic, see Najock 1975, 1447–9 and Van Schaik 1992, 77–81 (*numerical symbolism*).
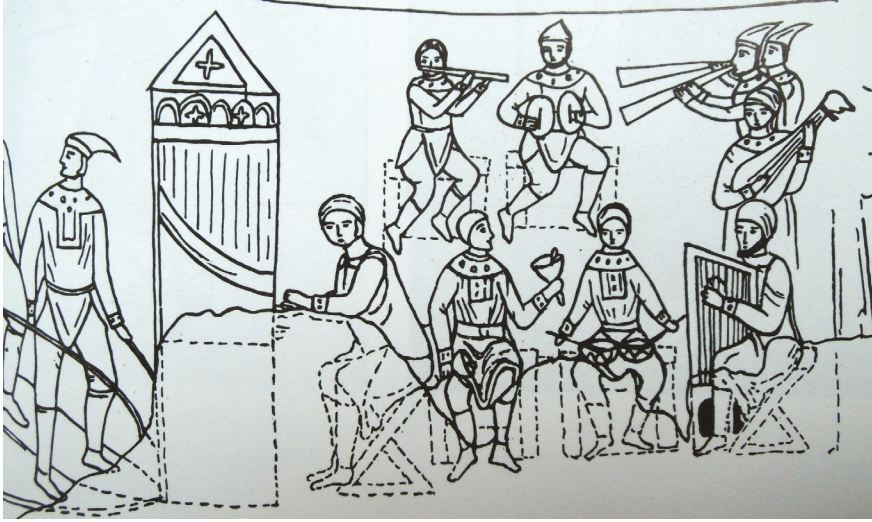
FIGURE 4   Kiev, St. Sophia Cathedral, mural painting (1st h. 11th c.), reconstruction. Cf. Točkaja and Zajaruznyj 1995, 299

Realistic remains the λύρα, even if the number of strings – 9 as 3 × 3 – could point to numerical magic.[56] Realistic further remains the ψαλτήριον,[57] although the indicated numbers of strings may appear very low (10 or less) or very high (30, 40 or more) and the fixation on multiples of 10 is striking;[58] however, it is possible that this is merely meant to outline the order of magnitude.[59] The last part, 'that proceeding from 3, 4, or 5 (strings)', might be taken to refer to the latter ψαλτήριον (with 30, 40, or more), in the sense of 'with 3, 4, or 5 strings per note'; but against this is the fact that a quadruple or quintuple stringing seems too high, and especially that the double stringing is missing, although

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56   According to an Arabic source – Ibn Khurdādhbih, see Farmer 1925, 301 – λύρα denotes a 5-stringed rebec (or *rabāb*) already in the 9th century. So it will be better to set our text earlier.

57   On the ψαλτήριον, cf. Maliaras 2007, 85–90.

58   10 strings had the ψαλτήριον δεκάχορδον of David (*nebel asor*, Psalm 32,2, 91,4 and 143,9 of the Septuagint), mostly 9 strings the horizontally held New-Assyrian-New-Babylonian angular harp, which probably was known to Aristoxenus (ἐννεάχορδον, Athenaios 14, 182f.) and is still attested under the Sassanids in the 6th century AD, cf. Najock 2013, plate 2b, and Farmer 1976, 16.

59   The gap at 20 would just be closed by the ἀχιλλιακόν, but this is different from the ψαλτήριον in one more feature because of the ἐπαγωγῆς addition.

FIGURE 5   Athens, Μετόχιον Παναγίου Τάφου 478, f. 44v. (end of 14th c.). Cf. Harlfinger
2011, 295

it is well attested iconographically.[60] Thus, it seems better to relate the 3, 4, or 5 strings to another plucked instrument, namely the lute, which is depicted in various forms.[61] A number-mystical reference to alchemy might be implied by the multiples of 10,[62] but ψαλτήριον and λύρα must be considered real instruments. To what extent ψαλτήριον was understood to be the harp must remain open, but with a larger number of strings this may have been the case at least in the 6th century and certainly until the 8th century.

4   Commentaries on the Psalms

4.1   *Johannes/Euthymios Zigabenos (ca. 1050–after 1118), Commentarius in Psalterium*

Migne, PG 128, 53 B: ψαλτήριον κυρίως ὀργάνου εἶδος, ναῦλα παρὰ Ἑβραίοις ὀνομαζόμενον.

Ψαλτήριον is properly speaking a type of instrument, called *nabla* by the Jews.

Migne, PG 128, 60 B: ψαλτήριον δέ, ὃ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ καλοῦσι κινύραν, καὶ κιθάραν καὶ λύραν, τῶν ἐντατῶν μὲν ἦν. Πλὴν, ὄρθιον καὶ ἄνωθεν εἶχε τῶν φθόγγων τὰς ἀφορμάς ... Δέκα γὰρ κόλ(λ)αβοι παρὰ τὸν πῆχυν τοῦ ψαλτῆρος στρεφόμενοι, ἔτεινόν τε καὶ ἐχάλων τὰς χορδάς, ... καὶ ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ χεὶρ κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆκτρον, ἡ δ᾽ ἀριστερά, τῶν κολ(λ)άβων ἄνωθεν ἐπαφωμένη καὶ περιστρέφουσα, βαρύν, ἢ ὀξύν, ἢ κεκραμένον φθόγγον εἰργάσατο.

But the ψαλτήριον, which is also called κινύρα, κιθάρα and λύρα elsewhere, belonged to the string instruments. Only that it was straight and had the starting points of the notes (the resonator) above ... Ten pegs namely, turned on the ulna (the arm) of the ψαλτήρ, tightened and loosened the strings ... and the right hand directed the plectrum, but the left, touching the pegs above and turning around, induced a low, high or mixed note.

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60   Maliaras 2007 figs 11 and 34.
61   Maliaras 2007 figs 1, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 22, 24 and 32.
62   The Pythagoreans revered the number 10 as 1 + 2 + 3 + 4, called τετρακτύς, because with these numbers the proportions of all consonant intervals can be expressed. In addition, there is the role of the number 10 in the Old Testament (10-stringed harp, 10 commandments).

Obviously, names and characteristics of ancient harps and lyres are mixed up here. This is probably due to the hopeless equation of ψαλτήριον and κιθάρα, which is already found in Athanasios (4th century),[63] while more careful authors, such as Eusebios (ca. 260–ca. 340), address the differences.[64] The straight resonator, which was held up when playing, was typical for the harp and is addressed in all authors mentioned,[65] likewise the name *nabla* (*nebel*) is mentioned everywhere.[66] The singular πηχύς 'ulna, arm' would also fit the harp, but it has been transferred here, as the following text shows, to the ζυγόν 'yoke' of the lyre, which had two arms, not one. In contradiction to the previous text, no longer is the resonator at the top, but the yoke with the pegs, which are operated by the left hand. Finally, the plectrum in the right hand belongs almost entirely to the lyre. The turning of the pegs with the left hand is probably related to the tuning process in Zigabenos, but according to Athanasios (Migne, PG 27, 548) it apparently happens during playing: πρός τε τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῆς ἁρμονίας 'to the rhythm of the music'.

4.2 Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197–after 1269), Ἐξήγησις τοῦ Ψαλτηρίου

A better description of the role of the left hand in ancient lyre playing – though again related to the ψαλτήριον – is given in the commentary on the Psalms by Nikephoros Blemmydes,[67] although it is otherwise almost identical to that of Zigabenos:

> Migne, PG 142, 1323 A/B: ... καὶ ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ χεὶρ κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆκτρον, ἡ δ᾽ ἀριστερά, τῶν χορδῶν ἄνωθεν ἐφαπτομένη κατὰ διαστάσεις καὶ συχνὰ τοῖς δακτύλοις μετατιθεῖσα, βαρὺν καὶ ὀξὺν ἢ κεκραμένον φθόγγον εἰργάσατο.

> ... and the right hand directed the plectrum, but the left touched the upper part of the strings with spaces (probably between the fingers),[68]

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63 Athanasios *Fragmenta commentariorum in Psalmos* (Migne, PG 27, 548 A): ψαλτήριον ... παρὰ μὲν Ἑβραίοις ναῦλα λεγόμενον, παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι δὲ κιθάρα ὀνομαζόμενον (*ex Nicetae metropolitae Heracleae catena expositionum*). Cf. Maliaras 2007, 581.

64 Eusebios *In Psalmos* (Migne, PG 23, 72): λέγεται δὲ ψαλτήριον ὄργανόν τι μουσικὸν παρὰ τὴν κιθάραν διαλλάττον τῷ σχήματι.

65 Eusebios *In Psalmorum Inscriptiones* (Migne, PG 23, 66).

66 The name was *nebel* in Palestine and probably *nabla* in Phoenicia.

67 Nikephoros Blemmydes *Ἐξήγησις τοῦ Ψαλτηρίου* (Migne, PG 142, 1321 A and 1323 A/B).

68 The spaces are probably not to be related to temporal sequence, since κατὰ διαστάσεις next to καὶ συχνά may otherwise seem contradictory.

often changing the position of the fingers and inducing a low, high, or mixed note.

Here, the selective damping of the strings by the more or less spread fingers of the left hand is described with rare clarity – in contrast to the end-to-end plectrum stroke of the right. As interesting as this is for the ancient lyre technique, and as challenging as the patchwork of the psalm commentaries may be, there is probably nothing to be gained here for the harp in Byzantine times.

5   **Anonymus, Διήγησις πολυπαθοῦς Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τύρου 'Narrative of the Sorrowful Apollonios of Tyros'**[69]

Verses 155–7 (Janssen):
ὅστις ηὑρέθη τὴν σήμερον τὴν ἄρπαν διὰ νὰ παίζῃ
καὶ νὰ νικήσῃ ἄπαντας, εὐθὺς γοργὸν νὰ ἔλθῃ,
νὰ λούσῃ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἀντάμα διὰ νὰ φάγῃ.

Whoever is found today to play the harp
and defeat all, shall come at once,
he shall bathe the king and dine with him.

These are – with the oldest record of a musical instrument called ἄρπα in Greek literature[70] – the words proclaimed by a herald in Tripoli, where Apollonios has arrived after a shipwreck. Further:

Verses 160–2 (Janssen):
παίζουν τὴν ἄρπαν, παίζει την, ὅλους ἐνίκησέν τους.
ὑπάγει εἰς τὸ βαλάνειον, τὸν βασιλέα λούει.
ἦν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἀρχίστρατος ὁ μέγας.

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69   End 14th / beginning 15th century: Janssen 1954, 22. Cf. Beck 1971, 135–8.

70   Kriaras 1973, 210. At about the same time, the word ἄρπα appears as an inscription in a rough sketch of a western female harpist in an Athenian manuscript. She is designated as Φράγκισα 'Franconian', with the indication μπεζη / ´ΑΡΠΑ 'plays harp'. The harp corresponds to the type of the western frame harp of the late Middle Ages. The drawing must probably be assigned to the years 1385–1395, when the Florentine Ranieri I Acciaiuoli controlled the duchy of Athens. Cf. fig. 5 (ms. Athens, Μετόχιον Παναγίου Τάφου 478, f. 44v.) and Harlfinger 2011, 290f. (with plate 3).

They play the harp, he plays it, and he defeats them all.
He goes away to the bath and bathes the king.
The name of the latter was Archistratos the Great.

The title of the anonymous poem also includes Μεταγλώττισμα ἀπὸ Λατινικὸν εἰς ῥωμαϊκόν 'translation from Italian into Greek';[71] a Tuscan original is suspected. This is certain in the case of a longer, rhymed poem from 1500,[72] which goes back to a work by the Florentine Antonio Pucci, the *Istoria d' Apollonio di Tiro in ottava rima* (i.e., in eight-liners).[73] There are many medieval versions of this material in other European languages, the oldest surviving version being the Latin *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* from the 5th/6th century.[74] There Apollonios is not washed ashore near Tripoli, but near Cyrene in the Pentapolis, also he does not distinguish himself by harp playing, but by special skill in ball playing; after the meal, however, he gives a masterly musical performance, albeit on the lyra (chapter 16). Just as the instruments change in the hands of David.

6 Θρῆνος τοῦ Φαλλίδου τοῦ φτωχοῦ 'Lament of the Beggar Phallides'[75]

Verses 44–7 (Xanthoudides):

Μέρα νύκτα σοναδόρους
τζήτερες, βιολιά, λαγοῦτα,
κλαδοτζύμπανα, τρουμπέτες,
μὰ σὰν ἐγύρισε ὁ τρόχος

στὰ καντούνια κ᾽ εἰς τοὺς φόρους
ἄρπες, μπάσσα καὶ φιαοῦτα,
ἀμὲ δὰ κάνω προσέτες,
ἐφαλλίρισα ὁ φτωχός.

Day and night the minstrels
citterns, violins, lutes,
clavicembali and trumpets,
but as the wheel has turned,

in the lanes and in the squares,
harps, basses and flutes,
of course I do (my) lyrics,
I poor man have gone broke.

The words of this stanza are largely loanwords from Italian or Venetian (καντο(ύ)νι, λαγοῦτο, κλαδοτζύμπανο(ν)), typically Italian also the instruments,

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71 Vernacular.
72 Morgan 1960.
73 Rabboni 1996.
74 Kortekaas 2004.
75 Xanthoudidēs 1927, 96–105. According to the language, content and context of the tradition, this text is apparently Cretan, from around 1600.

in verse 45 almost a broken consort as with Morley. In 1600 Crete was still under Venetian rule (since 1204/12), only in 1669 it became Ottoman.

7   Conclusions

In Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* 7, 8, 63f., *harpa* almost certainly denotes the Germanic lyre, and *Achilliaca* – instead of a musical instrument – most probably means 'things connected with Achilles' (accusative plural neuter), parallel to *Britanna* as 'British material'. On the other hand, the neuter ἀχιλλιακόν appears in a list of musical instruments in an alchemical codex (Berthelot 3, 433); this seems to be due to a misunderstanding of our Fortunatus passage in Byzantium, a misunderstanding that recurs in several modern translations as well (caused by the preceding ablatives *lyrā* and *harpā*). In Byzantine texts, ψαλτήριον can denote either the harp, as in antiquity, or the psaltery, which in its rectangular form was also called πλινθίον. Psalm commentaries adopt ancient material and tend to use ψαλτήριον in the ancient sense, but sometimes confuse certain characteristics of harp and lyre. The word ἅρπα has been used for the harp only since about 1400, apparently under Italian influence.

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