

WHEN IS A HARP A PANPIPE?

THE MEANINGS OF *πηκτίς*

From the Archaic period to the sixth century A.D., as well as in later Byzantine lexicography, we find numerous instances of the word *πηκτίς* as the name of a musical instrument. It occurs in some 78 passages:¹ enough, one might suppose, to establish its meaning beyond peradventure. Yet of all ancient instrument names, this one proves to be the most Protean. In the earlier sources it designates a harp. Later it is applied to other types of stringed instrument, both to lyres and to lutes. But it does not remain confined to the chordophone category, for in the Imperial period it frequently signifies a panpipe. As no complete collection and analysis of the evidence has ever been made, I have thought it worth while to undertake one.

πηκτίς, genitive *πηκτίδος*, is the Attic-Ionic form, while in Lesbian and literary Doric we find *πακτ-*. The word is clearly formed from *πηκτός/πακτός* 'fastened, jointed', by means of the highly productive suffix *-ίς*.² Because its relationship to *πηκτός/πακτός* must have been obvious to all, we cannot argue from the coexistence of the dialect forms that it came into use before the Attic-Ionic change of original *ā* to *η*; if it began as *πηκτίς* among Ionians, speakers of Aeolic or Doric would naturally have restored *πακτ-* after *πακτός*, and vice versa. The lack of specific reference in the term 'the jointed' may have facilitated its transfer from one sort of musical instrument to another. It may be noted that by an independent development a type of bird-catching device—presumably the one that Aristophanes and Aristotle call *πηκταί*—came to be called *πηκτίδες* in the Roman period.³

1. *πηκτίς* AS A HARP

In the Archaic and Classical periods a number of texts indicate that the *πηκτίς* was a plucked chordophone with many strings, characterized by the playing of octave concords or the echoing of the melody at octave intervals. This points clearly to a harp. The instrument is strongly associated with Lydia. Here are the passages in question.

(1) Anacreon, *PMG* 373: *νῦν δ' ἄβρῶς ἐρόεσσαν ψάλλω πηκτίδα τῇ φίλῃ κωμάζων †παιδὶ ἄβρῃ†*. The instrument here is plucked and makes a sweet or gentle sound.

(2) Pindar, fr. 125 Snell: *Terpander invented the barbitos, ἐν δειπνοῖσι Λυδῶν ψαλμὸν ἀντίφθογον ὑψηλὰς ἀκούων πακτίδος*. The *barbitos* was a bowl (tortoise-shell) lyre with longer arms than the common *λύρα*, giving a deeper pitch and softer tone. Pindar speculates that Terpander got the idea of it from hearing the tall Lydian *πακτίς* with its 'answering' plucking, which Aristoxenus correctly understood as a reference to octave-doubling.⁴

¹ My collection is based on data drawn from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* CD-ROM (version D), plus two or three other passages that I happened to know.

² On this suffix cf. C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, (Chicago, 1949), 416f.

³ See N. V. Dunbar (Oxford, 1995) on *Birds* 527–8.

⁴ Fr. 99 Wehrli *ap. Ath.* 635bc; cf. my *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992) [hereinafter '*AGM*'], 58 n. 41, 73f.

(3) Soph. *Mysoi* fr. 412 Radt πολὺς δὲ Φρυγὲς τρίγωνος ἀντίσπαστά τε Λυδῆς ἐφύμνει (or ἐφύμνει) πηκτίδος συγχορδία. Sophocles was evidently describing a banquet in ancient Mysia. The τρίγωνος (later τρίγωνον) is a type of harp. The πηκτίς is here again characterized as Lydian. Its συγχορδία may just refer to its concord with the τρίγωνος; but it may, especially as it is reinforced by ἀντίσπαστα (apparently neuter plural accusative in adverbial sense), allude to its typical use of octave-doubling. The latter word appears also in a fragment of Phrynichus' *Phoinissai* (*TrGF* 3 F 11), again presumably referring to music in an oriental setting: ψαλμοῖσιν ἀντίσπαστ' αἰδόντες μέλη. There may have been a mention of πηκτίδες in the context, since Aristoxenus (loc. cit.) quoted the fragment together with the Pindar and Sophocles passages in support of his finding that τὴν μάγαδιν καὶ τὴν πηκτίδα χωρὶς πλήκτρου διὰ ψαλμοῦ παρέχεσθαι τὴν χρεῖαν.

(4) Telestes, *PMG* 810.4: Pelops' followers introduced the Phrygian *nomos* of the Mountain Mother to Greece, τοὶ δ' ὀξυφώνοις πηκτίδων ψαλμοῖς κρέκον Λύδιον ὕμνον. Again a reference to plucking and the association with Lydia.

(5) Diogenes, *Semele*, *TrGF* 45 F 1.6–9: I hear that Lydian and Bactrian girls living by the Halys worship the Tmolian goddess Artemis, ψαλμοῖς τριγώνων πηκτίδων <τ> (Casaubon) ἀντιζύγοις ὀλοῖς (-αῖς Graf) κρεκούσας (Cas.: -σαις A, -ση CE) μάγαδιν. The last two words mean 'thrumming an octave concord',⁵ and ἀντιζύγοις perhaps means 'counter-strung', of the pairs of strings that answer each other at the octave, with ἀντι- as in ἀντίφθογγον and ἀντίσπαστα above.

(6) Pl. *Rep.* 399c: πολυχορδία and παναρμόνιον will not be required in the songs of our designer city, so we shall not have jobs for makers of those instruments which are πολυχορδα and πολυαρμόνια, such as τρίγωνοι and πηκτίδες.

In other pre-Hellenistic passages where the πηκτίς is mentioned we cannot tell what sort of instrument is meant, but we may assume, in the absence of counter-indications, that it is always a harp. Hellenistic antiquarian writers, whose references are drawn from Archaic and Classical literature, may be included with this group of texts.

(7) *Margites* 9.15 West² (*P.Oxy.* 3964): line-ending ἵππὸ πηκτίδος. The context is less than certain, but it may have been Margites' wedding, and the πηκτίς may have been accompanying a dance. Cf. below, § 5 no. 74 (Dionysius of Halicarnassus).

(8–10) Alcaeus 36.5 πᾶκτιδι in a fragmentary context; Sappho 22.11 πᾶκτιν in broken context, apparently as the instrument on which a girl or woman would accompany the song that Sappho invites her to sing (supplementing 9 κέλομαι σ' αἰείδην, cf. 21.11f.); Sappho 156 πόλυ πάκτιδος ἀδυμελεστέρα. Either a harp or a lyre would be suitable in these passages, but the harp may have the stronger claim to ἡδυμέλεια, and it may be added that the Lesbian poets mention lyres under other names: λύρα Sa. 103.9; κίθαρις Alc. 41.15, cf. 38b.2; φοίνιξ Alc. p. 509 V. = fr. 424A Campbell.

(11) Anacreon, *PMG* 386: Σίμαλον εἶδον ἐν χορῶι πηκτίδ' ἔχοντα καλήν. Doubtless the same instrument as in the other Anacreon fragment (above, no. 1).

(12) Hdt. 1.17.1: Alyattes marched against Miletus ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικείου τε καὶ ἀνδρείου. Cf. *Ἡροδότου λέξεις* p. 222 Rosén, πηκτίς· ὄργανον, ψαλτήριον. Once again the πηκτίς appears as a Lydian instrument.

(13) Soph. *Thamyras* fr. 241: οἴχωκε γὰρ κροτητὰ πηκτίδων λύραι μοναύλοις †—†.

⁵ On the meaning of μάγαδις, cf. A. Barker in B. Gentili and R. Pretagostini (edd.), *La musica in Grecia* (Rome and Bari, 1988), 96–107; *AGM* 73.

(14) Ar. *Thesm.* 1217: the Scythian asks where the old woman (the disguised Euripides) has gone; the chorus-leader asks, you mean the one ἣ "φέρειν τὰς πηκτίδας; The scholiast took this to be a kithara (πηκτίς ὄργανον κιθαρωιδικόν; cf. *Suda* below, § 3, no. 43), but if Aristophanes had intended a lyre, he had several words for 'lyre' at his disposal. Cf. Hermippus fr. 94 Wehrli (*Vit. Eur.* p. 5.16 Schwartz) for Euripides' alleged ownership of a harp (ψαλτήριον).

(15) Anaxilas, *Λυροποιός* fr. 15.1 K.-A.: ἐγὼ δὲ βαρβίτους, τριχόρδους, πηκτίδας, κιθάρας, λύρας, σκινδαψὸν ἐξηρτυόμαν. The 'lyre-maker' made other kinds of stringed instrument besides lyres, as his inclusion of τριχόρδοι (lutes) confirms.

(16) Arist. *Pol.* 1341a40: many instruments of the ancients have gone out of fashion at Athens, such as πηκτίδες καὶ βάρβιτοι κτλ.

(17) Aristox. fr. 97 W. (Ath. 182f, from which Eust. *Il.* 1157.52 and *Od.* 1558.8) lists the πηκτίς among foreign (ἐκφυλα) instruments. Wehrli's fr. 98, a statement that Aristoxenus identified the πηκτίς with the μάγαdis, is a mere alias of fr. 99 (above, under nos. 2–3), as is clear from the association of both with the same citation of Menaichmos (next).

(18) Menaichmos of Sicyon, *περὶ Τεχνιῶν*, *FGrH* 131 F 4 (Ath. 635b, e), repeated Aristoxenus' equation of the πηκτίς with the μάγαdis, and stated that it was invented by Sappho.

(19) Phillis of Delos ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ Μουσικῆς, *FHG* iv 476 fr. 2 (ap. Ath. 636b), included πηκτίδες and μαγάδιδες in a list of out-of-the-way instruments which reproduces the list of ἐκφυλα ὄργανα in Aristox. fr. 97. Athenaeus infers that Phillis denied the identity of πηκτίς and μάγαdis.

Nowhere before the time of Alexander do we find evidence for πηκτίς denoting anything but a harp. We may fairly conclude that this was the original application of the word. As to what type of harp it denoted, I have argued that, as it is distinguished from the τρίγωνος, which is presumably the aggressively triangular 'spindle harp', it should refer to the other design seen on Attic vases, the one with a soundbox curving away from the player and over at the top, whether with or without a front pillar (*AGM* 71f.).

The name πηκτίς may throw a little light into the dark prehistory of the Greek harp. Harps were widely used in the Near East from the fourth millennium on, and the dearth of evidence from Greece between the Cycladic culture of the mid third millennium and the late seventh century is surprising (*AGM* 70f.). Now, to designate a type of harp as 'the jointed' suggests an antithesis to a different type that is not jointed but made from a single piece of wood. Hesiod makes a similar distinction between two ploughs, the αὐτόγυον and the πηκτόν (*Op.* 433). In relation to harps, the distinction is naturally taken to be between the primitive arched harp derived from the musical bow, with a soundbox prolonged into a curving neck, and the angular harp, in which the neck was jointed to the soundbox at an acute angle. The latter displaced the former in Mesopotamia about 2000 B.C., and reached Egypt in the New Kingdom. The main types of Greek harp, including those which I have identified as πηκτίς and τρίγωνος, belong to the angular, jointed category. A survival of the arched harp, however, is seen in the *déclassé* σαμβύκη, which was not necessarily made in one piece but nonetheless preserved the general shape of the primitive instrument (*AGM* 75–7). There is no evidence for the σαμβύκη before Eupolis, and it may have been a recent import. But the name πηκτίς suggests that some sort of arched harp had been known at an earlier period.

2. *πηκτίς* AS A LYRE

We have it on Aristotle's authority (above, no. 16) that the *πηκτίς* had fallen out of fashion (*ἀπεδοκιμάσθη*). Aristoxenus and later antiquarian writers had to make inferences as to its nature from classical allusions. *ψαλτήριον* had by now become the normal word for a harp. From early Hellenistic times *πηκτίς* came to be used in literature of other stringed instruments, both lyres and lutes, though most of the evidence for the latter sense comes from later sources. This development probably came about not because there was anything distinctively 'jointed' about the instruments, but because the name was already established as that of a stringed instrument, no longer clearly identifiable, and so available for literary use as an elegant alternative to plainer names for more familiar objects.

Among lyres there was a conspicuous difference between the *κιθάρα*, the box lyre used by the professional citharode, and the *λύρα*, the homely instrument made from a tortoise shell. With the decline of private music-making, it was the former type that was the more familiar to the public. When *πηκτίς* is used of a lyre, it seems generally to be the other type, except in a couple of late passages. Here are the passages for which I propose this interpretation.

(20) *Hymn. Curet.* 7 καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶι, τάν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι μείξαντες ἄμ' αὐλοῖσιν. There is no proof that these are not still harps, but I can recall no evidence for harps in cult use, or in combination with auloi, whereas lyres can certainly be documented in both connections. As the singers all(?) seem to be equipped with them, something humbler than the kithara is likely.⁶

(21) Theoc. *epigr.* 5. 2 Gow (Gow–Page, *HE* 3493): sing me something on the twin auloi, I will take up the *πηκτίς* and ἀρξεύμαί τι κρέκειν, while Daphnis the cowherd will play *κηροδέτῳ πνεύματι*. The simple lyre seems the likeliest companion for the auloi and panpipe in this context.

(22–25) Nicarchus, *A.P.* 6.285.7 (*HE* 2743): a young woman has abandoned weaving for the life of a hetaira, taking up *στεφάνους καὶ πηκτίδα*; Meleager *A.P.* 5. 139.1 (*HE* 4146), to a bewitching woman: ἀδὺ μέλος, ναὶ Πᾶνα τὸν Ἀρκάδα, πηκτίδι μέλεις, Ζηνοφίλα, ναὶ Πᾶν', ἀδὺ κρέκεις τι μέλος; 140. 1 (4152) *fere item*; 175.8 (4361), a promiscuous woman is dismissed, καλεῖ σε γὰρ ἡ φιλόκωμος πηκτίς καὶ κροτάλων χειροτυπῆς πάταγος. In all these four passages the *πηκτίς* appears as the typical instrument of the singing hetaira and the symposium. A harp—especially a *σαμβύκη*—cannot be ruled out, but a lyre is at least as likely. In the next passage it is certain:

(26) Marcus Argentarius, *A.P.* 9.270.4 (Gow–Page, *GP* 1444): the comast sees his dance as a parallel to that of the stars, his garland and his *κελαδεινὴ πηκτίς* corresponding to the constellations *Στέφανος* and *Λύρα*.

(27) *GVI* 1925 (i A.D.?): epitaph on a beautiful, virtuous woman, to whom the Muse gave καὶ σοφίαν καὶ πακτίδα τὰν φιλέραστον.

(28) Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 7.7.1 p. 710b, alluding to Plato's *Symposium* at which the auletris was dismissed so that the guests could entertain themselves with intellectual debate (176e): Φίλιππος ὁ Προυσιεύς ἔαν ἐκέλυσεν τοὺς παρ' Ἀγάθωνι δαιτυμόνας

⁶ I would assume the same for the Laconian Hyacinthia as described by Polycrates, *FGrH* 588 F 1, where the boys' chorus *κιθαρίζουσιν ἐν χιτῶσιν ἀνεζωσμένοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν αἰδόντες πάσας ἅμα τῷ πλήκτρῳ τὰς χορδὰς ἐπιτρέχοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ μὲν ἀναπαίστῳ, μετ' ὀξέος δὲ τόνου τὸν θεὸν αἰδοῦσιν*. (*κιθαρίζω* is the ordinary word for playing any sort of lyre and does not imply kitharas.)

ἐκείνους, παντὸς αὐλοῦ καὶ πηκτίδων ἐπιτερπέστερα φθεγγομένους. The πηκτίδες are not in Plato but have been added by Plutarch as the typical instrument (besides the aulos) of the symposium.

(29) Luc. *Dial. mar.* (78) 1.4: Polyphemus' lyre, made from a deer's skull, with its horns for arms, is called both πηκτίς and λύρα.

(30) Philostr. *Imag.* 1.10.3: a painting of Amphion receiving the lyre as a gift from Hermes. The instrument is described in detail, and it is made from a tortoise and goat's horns, so properly a λύρα, not a κιθάρα. Philostratus calls it a λύρα eight times, and a πηκτίς once by way of *variatio*.

(31) Id. *ib.* 2.2.4: a painting representing the education of Achilles. πηκτίς is used of Chiron's lyre, the civilizing instrument ὑφ' ἧς ἐκμεμύσσωται.

(32) Orph. *Arg.* 413: Chiron's lyre again.

In the last two passages of this section πηκτίς seems to be used more loosely of a lyre that we should expect to be a kithara:

(33) Kaibel, *Epigr.* 1025.9 (hymn to Apollo, Tenos, ii or iii A.D.): πηκτίδα δ' οὐρανίων ἐτάρην θαλίης τε χορῶν τε. The preceding and following verses are missing, but there is presumably an allusion to Apollo's kithara.

(34) Orph. *Arg.* 6: Orpheus' lyre (called κιθάρα at 707, χέλυσ at 72 and 88, φόρμιγξ at 111, 419, 1001, 1274).

3. πηκτίς AS A LUTE

The lute appeared in Greece in the mid fourth century B.C.⁷ Its usual name is πανδοῦρα (or some variant of this), but the τρίχορδοι of Anaxilas (above, no. 15) must also be lutes. The passages in which πηκτίς is applied to this instrument are mostly post-Hellenistic, but the first is relatively early, from the time of Alexander.

(35) Sopater of Paphos, fr. 11.1 Kaibel (*CGF* 194): πηκτίς δὲ μούσῃ γαυριῶσα βαρβάρῳ δίχορδος εἰς σὴν χεῖρα πῶς κατεστάθη; The reference must be to a two-stringed lute.

(36) Aretaeus 5 (= *Cur. Acut.* 1). 1.15 (*CMG* ii.94.32): people are lulled to sleep by familiar surroundings, μουσικῶν δὲ (sc. ὕπνου ἀγωγὰ) ἐρεθισμός (ἔτι ἐθισμός codd.: correxi) αὐλῶν ἐφ' ἡσυχίῃ ἢ ψαλμὸς λύρης ἢ πηκτίδος ἢ μελέτη παιδῶν ξὺν ὠιδῇ. The πηκτίς here is a plucked instrument distinct from a λύρα. Perhaps a harp is meant, but ψαλτήριον would be the normal word for a harp at this date. The lute therefore comes into question; though it might be objected that πανδοῦρα would be the expected word for that.

(37) Plut. *De virt. mor.* 443a: instruments that mirror human emotions, ψαλτήρια . . . καὶ λύρας καὶ πηκτίδας καὶ αὐλοὺς κτλ. Harps are covered by ψαλτήρια, lyres by λύρας.

(38–40) Hesychius π 2169 πηκτίδες καὶ σύριγγες· ὄργανα μουσικά. 2170 πηκτίδος· πανδουρίου. 2171 πηκτίς· πανδούριον, ψαλτήριον, σύριγξ, ὄργανον. Here we find πηκτίς explicitly identified with the lute, besides other explanations as harp or panpipe.

(41) Phot. *Lex.* πηκτίς· πανδούριον, ἥτοι Λύδιον ὄργανον χωρὶς πλήκτρου ψαλλόμενον. The second explanation reflects Aristoxenus (fr. 99, cf. above under no. 3; fr. 97, above under no. 17).

⁷ See R. A. Higgins and R. P. Winnington-Ingram, *JHS* 85 (1965), 62–71; *AGM* 79f.

(42–3) *Suda* [π 181 πανδούρα· μάχαιρα κρεωκόπος. ἡ πηκτίς. ζήτει ἐν τῷ πηκτίς.] π 1502 πηκτίς πηκτίδος· πανδούρα· μάχαιρι κρεωκόπος. παρὰ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις εἶδος ὄργανου κιθαρωδικοῦ· “τὴν γραῦν ἐρωταῖς ἢ “φέρειν τὰς πηκτίδας;” ἢ εἶδος ἀκολάστου σχήματος. The Aristophanes quotation is from sch. Ar. *Thesm.* 1217 (cf. above, no. 14).

4. πηκτίς AS A PANPIPE

The application of the name πηκτίς to the panpipe appears only in the Imperial period, unless the Vienna bucolic fragment is of earlier composition, but is then abundantly attested. It is foreshadowed by Theocritus' use of the verb πηγνύναι, πηγνύσθαι with reference to the making of a panpipe: *Idyll.* 4.28 χά σύριγξ . . . ἄν ποκ' ἐπάξα, cf. *Syrinx* 7 and sch. The association of the name and the object might have been reinforced by the conjunction in Theoc. *epigr.* 5.2 (above, no. 21).

(44–5) Anon. *Bucol.* (*P.Vindob.* Rainer 29801; Gow, *Bucolici Graeci*, 168) 10f.: Silenus asks Pan, πῶς δὲ χ[ο]ρῶν ἐπ' ἀγῶνας ἄνευ σύριγγος ἰκά[νεις; πῆι σοι πηκτίς ἔβη, μηλοσκοπέ; πῆι σεο φ[ω]νή; Ibid. 54ff.: Pan collects wax and makes a new πηκτίς (63 πηκτίδα πῆξε χρίσας). The description of his playing it in 71–7 leaves no doubt that it is the panpipe. In 10–11, therefore, πηκτίς is a mere *variatio* on σύριγξ, not distinguished from it.

(46) *Anacreontea* 43. 4–11 (3rd–4th century?): a drinking party is described; a girl dances as a maenad ὑπὸ βαρβίτῳ, while a lad στομάτων ἀδὺ πνεόντων κατὰ πηκτίδων ἀθύρει, προχέων λίγειαν ὀμφάν.

(47) Aristid. Quint. 2.5 (p. 58.13 W.-I.): the pleasure of music is a powerful lure even for animals, ὡς δηλοῦσι ποιμένων τε σύριγγες καὶ αἰπόλων πηκτίδες. The distinction between shepherds and goatherds and between σύριγγες and πηκτίδες seems to be drawn on purely literary grounds.

(48) Heliodorus *Aeth.* 4.17.1: (Tyrian merchants) πρὸς αὐλοῖς ἔτι καὶ ὀρχήσασιν ὄντας, ἃς ὑπὸ πηκτίδων ἐπίτροχον μέλος Ἀσύριόν τινα νόμον ἐσκίρτων. The nature of the instrument does not appear clearly here, except that it is one used by amateurs at improvised entertainments.

(49) John Chrysostom, *De sacerdotio* 6.12 line 136: μεираκίον τῶν ἐν ἀγρῶι τραφέντων καὶ τῆς πηκτίδος καὶ τῆς καλαύροπος πλέον εἰδότεων οὐδέν. We find the same conjunction of πηκτίς and καλαύροψ in three passages of Nonnus' (*Dion.* 15.348f., 43.216f., 47.400f.).

(50) Id. *In epist. ad Coloss.* 1.1.5 (*PG* lxii 306.50ff.) condemns pagan revelry: ἐκεῖ μὲν αὐλοὶ καὶ κιθάραι καὶ σύριγγες, ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπηχῆς μέλος, ἀλλὰ τί; ὕμνοι, ψαλμωιδίαι. He proceeds to contrast our (Christian) praises of God with their celebration of δαίμονες: τὰ γὰρ διὰ τῶν πηκτίδων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δαιμόνων αἰσματα. Of the three instruments first mentioned, it must (in view of the other Chrysostom passage) be the σύριγγες that are picked up by τῶν πηκτίδων.

(51) Kaibel, *Epigr.* 271 (Aegina, 4th–5th century? A statue of Pan speaks) οὐκέτι κηροχύτοισι κατ' οὐρεα τέρπομε (-αι) αὐλοῖς πηκτίδος, οὐτ' ἄντροις, οὐ δένδρεσιν.

(52–70) The word occurs 19 times in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, apparently always of the panpipe; see Vian's note on 26.206 in the Budé edition (vol. ix.279). Of Cadmus' panpipe, 1.389, 431, 434, 444; 2.19. Of panpipes coupled with auloi as wedding music, 8.377, cf. 26.206. As the instrument of Pan or Panes, 11.124, 20.338, 43.217, 45.186. As a herdsman's instrument, 15.348 (= 303 σύριγγι), 47.400. As Dionysus' instrument,

27.171, cf. 28.43. As Polyphemus' instrument, 40.557. The other passages are all compatible: 7.52, 12.122, 20.93.

(71) Arabius Scholasticus, *A.P.* 16.225. 4: Pan's syrinx.

(72) Agathias, *A.P.* 16.244.6: a satyr's reed pipe (δόναξ, κάλαμος).

(73) Cometas Chartularius, *A.P.* 9.586.5: Pan's syrinx.

5. PASSAGES OF UNCERTAIN REFERENCE

Although the meaning is not strictly determinable in all of the above texts, relationships with other passages allow us to assign them to one or other heading with some degree of probability. There remain a few passages where it is more difficult to establish precisely what instrument the author had in mind.

(74) Dion. Hal. *Ars rhet.* 4.1 (ii.270.13 Us.–Rad.) mentions auloi and *πηκτίδες* as the typical accompaniment of a wedding song. We have seen one possible reference to the harp being used in this connection (*Margites*, above, no. 7); but Dionysius is not likely to be using *πηκτίς* in this sense unless he is echoing allusions of Archaic or Classical date. At his period the lute may come into question: I do not know of any reference to it being played at weddings, but it is perfectly conceivable. In art lutes are normally played by women or by an Eros. Panpipes too are a possibility, and here we can adduce Nonnus (cited above under nos. 52–70).

(75) Plutarch, *De tribus reip. generibus* 827a, recalls Plato's recommendation to dispense with instruments more complex than the *λύρα* and *κιθάρα* (*Rep.* 399cd, above, no. 6), but he elaborates the list of rejected instruments to include *πηκτίδας*, *σαμβύκας*, *καὶ ψαλτήρια πολύφθογγα καὶ βαρβίτους καὶ τρίγωνα*. He seems to have thrown in several instrument-names taken from literary or antiquarian sources—some of them no longer current—and may have had no clear idea of what they were. His *πηκτίδες* come from the Plato passage, but if he attached a definite meaning to the word, it may have differed from Plato's. Lutes and panpipes are likeliest; it may speak against the latter that Plato does actually allow them for rustics.

(76) Herodian, *Καθολικὴ προσωιδία* i.104.4 Lentz, notes that the word is oxytone. The meaning is irrelevant here.

(77) Clement, *Paed.* 2.42.2–3 (i.183.6 St.), lists a series of instruments used in pagan festivity but discredited by military applications: *χρῶνται γοῦν παρὰ τοὺς πολέμους αὐτῶν Τυρρηνοὶ μὲν τῇ σάλπιγγι, σύριγγι δὲ Ἀρκάδες, Σικελοὶ δὲ πηκτίσιν, καὶ Κρήτες λύραι, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐλῶι, καὶ κέρατι Θρᾷκες, καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι τυμπάνωι, καὶ Ἀραβες κυμβάλωι. ἐνὶ δὲ ἅρα ὀργάνωι τῶι λόγωι μόνωι τῶι εἰρηνικῶι ἡμεῖς κεχρήμεθα, ὧι γεραίρομεν τὸν θεόν, οὐκέτι τῶι ψαλτήριωι τῶι παλαιῶι καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι καὶ τυμπάνωι καὶ αὐλῶι*. What are these *πηκτίδες* that the Sicilians use? If *ψαλτήριωι* in the following sentence picks up one of the items in the list, it must be this one. But harps would not seem effective either for giving signals or for disconcerting the enemy. Neither would a lyre, a lute, or a panpipe, even if Nonnus (27.170f., 28.42f.) fancifully makes Dionysus use his panpipe in battle in place of a trumpet (just as other Bacchic accoutrements double as military equipment, the Maenads' thyrsi becoming lethal spears, and so on). Otherwise I can only recall Herodotus' reference to the Lydians marching to war *ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικίου τε καὶ ἀνδρῆιου* (above, no. 12), and the earlier mention in the Doloneia of the Trojans and their allies diverting themselves round the camp-fires with auloi and *σύριγγες* (*Il.* 10.13).

(78) Isid. *Orig.* 3.22.3 *paulatim autem plures eius [= citharae] species extiterunt, ut*

psalteria lyrae barbitae phoenices et pectides, et quae dicuntur Indicae et feriuntur a duobus simul. The terminology is confused, for *psalteria* should not be included among varieties of *cithara*, even if we take this as meaning 'lyre' in general. Isidore clearly understands *pectis* to be a stringed instrument, but he has probably taken it from some older source without having any clear conception of its nature.

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