

THE MYTH OF THE “ZITHER” ON THE NIMRUD PYXIS – AND OTHERS

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A. THE NIMRUD PYXIS

1. Introduction

Until recently, and before I requested its correction, the British Museum Online Database¹ described the pyxis (Figure 1) as a cylindrical ivory box with a continuous frieze of carved decoration. It is badly burnt but shows musicians playing double pipes, zithers² and a tambourine (Fig. 1). They stand amidst palm and lotus trees and behind a goddess who is sitting on a throne. In front of the goddess stands a cross-legged table with food delicacies. Behind are two ladies, one of them being an attendant. On the underside of the box is an inscription written in a West Semitic script.³

2. The Myth

The myth came from the many translations of the Bible where this type of instrument, one of which depicted on the box, was said to represent a ‘zither’, (FHT 1 4) probably because these translations were made at a time (ninth to fifteenth centuries A.D.) when the zither, also called psaltery, was highly fashionable in the West. Chapels, churches and cathedrals (FHT 2

and FHT 3) of Christendom represented them on stained-glass windows, (FHT 4) church furniture and as illustrations of holy and secular books alike. Then, along the following centuries, the term stuck to the lexicology and most historians relied on these earliest translations and propagated the myth which is now published in hundreds, if not in thousands of books and articles (FHT 5 and FHT 6).



Fig. 1 BM 118179. Carved Ivory, badly burnt. Phoenician. Probably made in Syria.⁵

3. Harvard's perpetration and propagation of the myth

More recently, in 2001, a Harvard University doctoral thesis was granted by the Department of History of Art and Architecture. It was entitled *Assyrian Music as Represented and Representations of Assyrian Music 6*. A paragraph of the thesis states, in extenso:

“There may be a representation of two zithers on an ivory pyxis of North Syrian style found at Nimrud. As this is the only depiction of a zither [Fig. 2], and from a foreign source, the zither should perhaps not be considered as an Assyrian instrument but

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¹ [British Museum].

² The zither is a musical string instrument most commonly found in Slovenia, Austria, Hungary, northwestern Croatia, the southern regions of Germany, alpine Europe and East Asian cultures, including China. The word is derived from the Greek *kitara* hence its erroneous presence in Daniel during the Jewish exile of 606 B.C. The earliest known instrument of the zither family is a Chinese fretless *gugu*, found in the tomb of Yi of Zeng and dating from 433 B.C. – see [Wikipedia Contributors, 2014b].

³ [British Museum].

⁴ For « Figure Hors Texte ».

⁵ It was excavated at Nimrud (Kalhu), in Northern Iraq, and is dated from around 900-700 B.C. It is therefore Neo-Assyrian. The pyxis was reconstructed from fragments with the same acquisition date number (1856,0903). The inscription reads: ‘I...bytg’s’. It translates “Belonging to of Bit-Gusi”. The missing part of the inscription would have been the name of the owner, perhaps a king. The object is 6.7 centimetres high and 9.5 centimetres in diameter. The box, N.969 = BM 118179, is made up of the following fragments 1856,0903.792 = BM 118179; 1856,0903.791 = BM 118179; 1856,0903.774 = BM 118179 and 1856,0903.767 = BM 118179. The lid is missing.

⁶ [Cheng, 2001]: the thesis was written and defended for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The research was certified by a jury constituted of Professor Irene Winter, Professor Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, and Professor David Roxburgh. Advisors included John M. Russell, Megan Cifarelli, the late Edith Porada, Kay Kaufman Shelemay, Suzanne Blier, and Geoff Emberling, all from leading universities in the United States of America.

rather as an instrument in the broader Assyrian environment. A procession of women musicians curve around the sides⁷ of this cylindrical box. A pair of double pipe players is followed by a frame drum player, all facing right. Two women towards the end of the group turn their faces out, although their bodies remain in profile. In their left hand, the women hold rectangular objects decorated with parallel lines that they manipulate with their right. These objects may be zithers, sound-boxes with strings across them. It is equally possible that they are percussive scrapers or not musical instruments at all. The small scale and the unique iconography of this image⁸ make identification uncertain. Reinforcing this uncertainty is the lack of images of Mesopotamian zithers from earlier periods.”



Fig. 2 Two Chalcophones of the *Apulian sistrum* type, from the Nimrud Pyxis. British Museum archives, with kind permission.

Two notes accompany this paragraph in which it is stated that:

“The object has been identified as a psalter by Rashid, and a zither by Rimmer⁹.”

The other footnote, thankfully, states that:

“Gina Salapata has suggested in a lecture in 2000 that this object might be a forebear of the ‘Apulian sistrum’, a percussion instrument¹⁰. Her paper is forthcoming in *Studien zur Musikarchäologie*. I thank Anne Kilmer for this information.”

4. Historical facts

The usage of zithers and psalteries covers a period of some 700 years, but only from the ninth till the fifteenth century in Etruria (and is still played in the Middle-East with the *qānūn*), and generally to the Mediterranean shores with Apulean sistra, (Fig. 3) *psithyra* and other

forms of chalcophones. Therefore, historically and organologically, the identification of two zithers on the pyxis under scrutiny is a logical impossibility¹¹.



Fig. 3 Terracotta of a chalcophone of the *Apulian sistrum* type.¹²

5. Various lexical occurrences

While the terms tambourine and double-pipes are appropriate to describe two of the three instruments depicted on the pyxis above, the word “zither” is misused to name the third. Most, if not all the literature about Nebuchadnezzar’s orchestra, or whenever such an instrument from the Antiquity is shown, in most articles, is written without any further historical/organological consideration about what a zither really is and is not. There are cases when such instruments are called Apulian (Puglia) sistra, (Fig. 3) or even *psithyra* as with West¹³ who confuses the chalcophone, (Fig. 4) an unconvincing neologism meaning “sound-producing copper”, with the Greek *psithyra*, an instrument mentioned in Iulius Pollux’s *Onomastikon*, in the second century A.D. There it is described as a “Libyan Troglodyte invention”, having a rectangular shape and being quite similar to the askaros. It consists of a rectangular frame a cubit long with spirals

¹¹ The Hornbostel Sachs classification (Erich M. von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs. “Systematik der Musikinstrumente. Ein Versuch”, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xvi 1914, p. 553-590, translated by Anthony Baines and Klaus Wachsmann as “Classification of Musical Instruments” – [Hornbostel and Sachs, 1961]) in its revised version, as it is given on the “MIMO H-S classification” dated of the 8 July 2011 (IICOM), fails to classify both chalcophones and Apulian sistra. The closest would be entry 112.12: “Frame rattles. Rattling objects are attached to a carrier against which they strike.” I would propose: “Both the Apulian sistrum and its smaller version inadequately named chalcophone consist in hollow rectangular metal frame with metal rods inserted in their width (10 -15) on which spiralled copper or bronze coils rotate as the hand of the player swipes them down or sideways. Phoenicians chalcophones are usually adorned with scrolls at their longitudinal extremities.”

¹² [West, 1992, Pl. 33]: “Woman playing *psithyra* (?) (sic). Red figure lekythos in Essen. Mid-fourth century B.C. (Essen 74, 158 A3).

¹³ See previous note.

⁷ It is rather surprising that Dr Cheng finds that a cylindrical box has sides!

⁸ There are multiple occurrences of this instrument, over 16 in Southern Italy alone – see [Colelli and Fera, 2012, p. 813–822].

⁹ [Rimmer, 1969].

¹⁰ Certainly not a percussion instrument. It is an idiophone. See Sachs-Hornbostel Classification in [Wikipedia Contributors, 2014a].

of copper across it (Fig. 5, Fig. 6 and Fig. 7). When they are spun they make a sound similar to the *krotalon*¹⁴.



Fig. 4 Chalchophone of the Phoenician type. Unknown source.¹⁵

Thus, the instrument comes from the “*Regio Troglodytica*” or Libya(?). It is rectangular in shape about 45 centimetres long. It has spiral reels or *penia*, wired through the width of the frame and sounds like the *krotalon* and therefore can only but be classified as an idiophone.

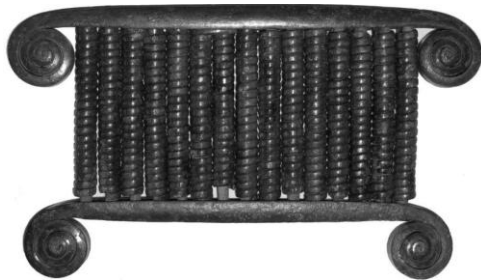


Fig. 5 Chalchophone from Francavilla, Tomb 60.¹⁶



Fig. 6 Chalchophone from Palestrina Latium, BM 1256, with kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 7 Phoenician chalchophone.¹⁷

6. Burney's historical accounts

In the first tome of his *General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, published in 1789¹⁸, Charles Burney mentions 1) the authorised English translation of the Bible which has, among other instruments: *Laudate eum in clangore buccinae: laudate eum in nebel et cithara: laudate eum in tympano et choro: laudate eum in chordis et organo: laudate eum in cymbalis auditis: laudate eum in cymbalis ovationis*. 2) The Targum has: *Laudate eum clangore buccinae—psalteriis et citharis—tympanis et choris—tibiis et organis—cymbalis*. 3) The Syriac has: *laudate eum voce cornu—citharis ac lyris—tympanis et sistris—chordis jucundis—cymbalis sonoris—voce et clamare*. 4) The Vulgate has: *Laudate eum in sono tubae—in psalterio et cithara—tympano et choro—in chordis et organo—in cymbalis benesonantibus—in cymbalis jubilationis*. 5) The Arabic has: *Sonitu buccinae—psalterio et cithara—tympano et sistro—chordis et organo—fidibus dulcisonis—instrumentis psalmodiae*. Finally, 6) the

¹⁴ (Pollux, *Onomastikon*, 4, 60). In *Polii* (sic) should be ‘Paulus’ Pollucis, *ONOMASTICON, cum annotationibus interpretum. Curavit Guilielmus Dindorfius, Vol. I, I-V, LIPSAE, in Libraria Kuehniana, MDCCCXXIV*.

¹⁵ [Bridgeman images], circa 8th - 6th century BC (bronze). Phoenician; Syrian. Musical instrument composed of 11 coiled wire tubes and twin sounding bars, each bar with 15 attachment holes and terminal spiral resonators. Wire tubes would have been wrapped around wooden pegs; thought to have sounded like a modern xylophone. © Christie's Images / Bridgeman Images.

¹⁶ [Colelli and Amedeo, 2012, p. 831, Fig. 3].

¹⁷ [Bonhams]: A Phoenician bronze chalchophone circa 8th-7th Century B.C. The musical instrument composed of two vertical bars with spiralled terminals as resonators, with eleven bronze springs coiled around connecting pins, 6¼in (16cm) high, mounted. *Provenance*: English private collection, formed in the 1960s. These instruments appear in both Phoenician and South Italian contexts during the Iron Age and are largely associated with burials and funerary practices, particularly female grave sites, cf. [Colelli and Fera, 2012].

¹⁸ [Burney, 1776, p. 238].

Septuagint agrees with the English version, exception made for the word “lute” which is translated as *nablon*.

Since we know that *buccina* is a kind of trumpet; that the *nebel* is not clearly identified¹⁹; that the *tympano* would be a type of drum; that *choro* and *chordis* remain uncertain and so is the *organo*, the *cymbalis*, probably cymbals; the *tibiis* would be some type of pipes; the *lyris* would be some form of lyre; the *sistris* would probably be sistra. However, *psalteris* and *citharis* are linguistically distinguished but are usually and erroneously and casually translated as “zithers”, while organologically, “psaltery” would be the most appropriate term to describe a zither.

7. Authoritative accounts

In their “*The Musical Instruments in Nebuchadnezzar’s Orchestra*”,²⁰ T. C. Mitchell, and R. Joyce²¹ quote a passage which is four times repeated, in Daniel 3:5, 7, 10 and 15, during the Jewish Exile of 605 B.C., which runs as follows: *qāl qarnā mašrôqūā qayrōs šabbkā p’santērīn šūmpōn’yā w’kōl z’nē z’mārā*. Mitchell and Joyce write that it would be of interest to append a table giving some of the translations of these terms which are given in various versions²²:

MT qeren mošrôqi qayterōs šabk pesantērīn šūmpōneyā
LXX salpinx syrinx kithara sambūkē psaltērion symphōnīa
Vulg. tuba fistula cithara sambūca psaltērīum symphōnīa
Knox horn flute harp zither dulcimer pipe
AV cornet flute harp sackbut psaltery dulcimer
RV cornet flute harp sackbut psaltery dulcimer
(bagpipe, mg.)
RSV horn pipe lyre trigon harp bagpipe
Luther posauone drommete harfe geige psalter laute
Pléiade trompette flûte cithare sambuque psaltérion comemuse
GBA §46 horn pipe zither sambuke psaltery symphony
(harp) (bagpipe?)

It is with the meaning of the Latin word that Medieval writers defined the zither. Its etymology, however, would direct towards Ancient Greece but the

Old and New Testaments of the Bible are critical, as we have seen above, since we find the instrument played by Jubal²³, Saul²⁴ as well as in *Nebuchadnezzar’s* aforementioned orchestra²⁵ where we have there a particular link with King David, its legendary composer.

8. Organology of the zither

During the defence of his²⁶ doctoral thesis²⁷, Xavier Fresquet gave an accurate description of the instrument which I shall therefore borrow, abridged, in the present article, be it in my translation, where he states that the zither, not only defines an instrumental group but also has strong [erroneous]²⁸ relationships with the instrumentarium of the Antiquity. In fact, the Greek kithara is a type of lyre. The zither is usually defined as a musical instrument where the strings are plucked or stricken. It is trapezoidal in shape, has a flat wooden sound-box. It is therefore a chordophone.

It is of common practice to use the word psaltery to define pre-17th century instruments²⁹. The word zither appears in the fourteen century and is borrowed from the Latin *cithara* which itself sprouts from the Greek *kithara*, further complicating identification by confusing chordophone and idiophone.

It is not the purpose of this paper to go any further in the description of zithers. All which needs to be known is that they are chordophones and arise in the ninth

²³ A descendant of Cain, son of Lamech and Ada, brother of Jabal and half-brother of Tubal-Cain and Naamah, (Genesis 4:21).

²⁴ First Jewish ruler in Palestine. His accounts are found in the First Book of Samuel (Bible 1 : Samuel 13).

²⁵ Nabuchadnezzar, the second (c. 634 - 562 B.C.), King of Babylon under the Chaldean Dynasty. He ruled from 605 to 562 B.C. and according to the Bible conquered the kingdoms of Juda and the town of Jerusalem. See Henze, M.H., *The madness of King Nabuchadnezzar: The Ancient Near Eastern Origins and Early History of Interpretation of Daniel 4*. Brill, 1999. In the mythic lore of the Ancient Near East, the trope of animalization contains a wealth of interpretive potential. The account of Nebuchadnezzar’s madness in Daniel 4, the most potent example of this mythic trope in the Hebrew Bible, has provoked much fanciful elaboration among early biblical interpreters. After a study of the many ancient variants of the ubiquitous tale, the book investigates the Ancient Near Eastern background of Nebuchadnezzar’s transformation. The discussion then turns to the early reception of Daniel 4 in rabbinic Judaism, the Western Fathers and, most importantly, the Syriac tradition. A number of Syriac texts from the fourth century onward explicitly draw on the model of Nebuchadnezzar as the basis for a newly evolving ascetic discipline.

²⁶ Excellent.

²⁷ [Fresquet, 2011].

²⁸ My commentary.

²⁹ “Proposition XXV” in [Mersenne, 1636 (1636), p. 174]; [Trichet and Lesure, 1957 (c. 1640), p. 149]; [Kettlewell, 1976, p. 37–38]; [Gifford, 2001, p. 190–194].

century A.D., not before. In the West, it survives to this day in more or less complex forms and in the North and East Mediterranean under the form of the *qānūn*. The Turkish form is more complex than the Arabian one. They are played from Morocco to the Iraq and allows for the practice of all *maqām* forms.

The instruments depicted on the Nimrud pyxis are chalchophones. This word is a generic term for similar instruments such as the *Apulian sistrum*, or the Greek *psythira* which are well known in Italy, in Greece and in the Levant at about the same time, each form with variations of size, ornamentation, and probably denomination.

9. The chalchophone in Southern Italy

In SOMA 2012³⁰, Carmelo Colelli³¹ and Amedeo Fera³² from the University of Calabria wrote an erudite paper entitled “Bronze Chalchophones in Southern Italy Iron Age: A Mark of Identity?”, where they establish a rational typology of various chalchophonic Italian instruments exhibited in a substantial number of Museums. In Southern Italy on both the Ionian and Tyrrhenian coasts, no less than 16 sites have yielded these instruments, all of them dating from the end of the 9th to the 8th centuries B.C.

10. Problems of transmission

Most interestingly, on figure 14, the Cotton Tiberius manuscript³³ shows what I would call ‘hybrid’ instruments. To the left is what would be an Apulian sistrum held atypically, if indeed it were a chalchophone, and should be rotated by 90 degrees. The absence of tuning devices would certainly tend towards an idiophone rather than a chordophone. It is possible that the scribe was copying from a much older text where an Apulian sistrum was described, textually, only, and that as a consequence, he was unable to replicate accurately, graphically, the literary description of an instrument he had never seen before.

The drawing to the right immediately suggests a partially typical chalchophone with its scrolls only showing at the top of the instrument. However, tuning devices are suggested, but strangely, the artist got confused as he drew string both vertically and horizontally. This would also be the consequence of the copy of an older text describing a chalchophone in a manner that was not clearly understood and which the artist decided to integrate to the morphology of the zither, an instrument

which was played in his time and with which he would have been familiar.

It will be noted that both instruments have the same ornamentation on their frames with small knobs clearly seen on both and which are seen on some exemplars of the antiquity.

11. Conclusion

To conclude, I am now satisfied that the British Museum database has been corrected with regard the Nimrud ivory pyxis which now reads:

“Circular ivory box or pyxis: with a continuous frieze of carved decoration. It is badly burnt, but shows musicians playing double pipes, chalchophones and the tambourine. They stand amidst palm and lotus trees and behind a goddess seated on a throne. In front of the goddess is a cross-legged table piled with food delicacies. Behind this are two ladies, one of whom is clearly an attendant. On the underside is an inscription written in West Semitic script. This is a fragment repaired with others of same Big Number to form whole.”

CYMBALS OR CLAPPERS?

1. Introduction

For many years, after their excavation between 1848-1851 at Nimrud, by the illustrious Rt. Hon. Austen Henry Layard³⁴, quantity of conical copper objects, and parts of them, have been systematically catalogued as cymbals, probably because of the Latin translation of the biblical psalm, 150, verse 5: “*laudate eum in cymbalis auditis: laudate eum in cymbalis ovationis.*” Which translates as: “*praise him upon the ‘audible’ (good-sounding) cymbals, praise him upon the ‘ovation’ cymbals.*” the word “cymbal” would find its origins in the Babylonian *bašillatu* and the Hebrew *ma-tsel-tā’-yem*, the Babylonian “b” typically turning into “m” in Hebrew for reasons that will not be discussed here.

³⁴ The Rt Hon Sir Austen Henry Layard; 5 March 1817 – 5 July 1894) was an English traveller, archaeologist, cuneiformist, art historian, draughtsman, collector, author, politician and diplomat, best known as the excavator of Nimrud and of Nineveh, where he uncovered in 1851 the library of Ashurbanipal. Layard, A. H. *Inquiry into the Painters and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians* (vol. 1–2) (1848–49); *Nineveh and its Remains*, London, John Murray, (1849); Layard, A. H. *Illustrations of the Monuments of Nineveh*, (1849); *The Monuments of Nineveh*, London, John Murray, (1849–53); *Inscriptions in the cuneiform character from Assyrian monuments*, London, Harrison and sons (1851); *A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh*, London, John Murray, (1852); *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London, John Murray, (1853); *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh*, London, John Murray (1853); *The Nineveh Court in the Crystal Palace*, London, John Murray, (1854); *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia*, London, John Murray, (1894).

³⁰ [Bombardieri et al., 2013].

³¹ <https://independent.academia.edu/CarmeloColelli>.

³² <https://frenchitalian.washington.edu/people/amedeo-fera>.

³³ Cotton Tiberius C. VI, manuscript, British Library, London, UK.

In 2009, as I was examining the whole collection of idiophonic instruments which I published later³⁵, including the cymbals hosted at the department of the Middle East at the British Museum, I was surprised to find that out of these 16 “so-called” cymbals, only one pair stuck together (Fig. 8) with corrosion and an isolated one (Fig. 9) were really cymbals; all others were clappers (Fig. 10).



Fig. 8 A set of cymbals stuck together with corrosion, with kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Author's photograph.



Fig. 9 Isolated cymbal, with kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Author's photograph.

It has even been suggested that the 14 clappers had nothing to do with idiophones but would simply be horse trappings³⁶. I do not agree with this last hypothesis as my observation of the depictions on the carved slabs of the British Museum have led me to the conclusion that these conical trappings placed on the heads of horses would have been pompoms, probably of wool (Fig. 11).



Fig. 10 Isolated clapper, side, top and inside views, with kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Author's photographs.

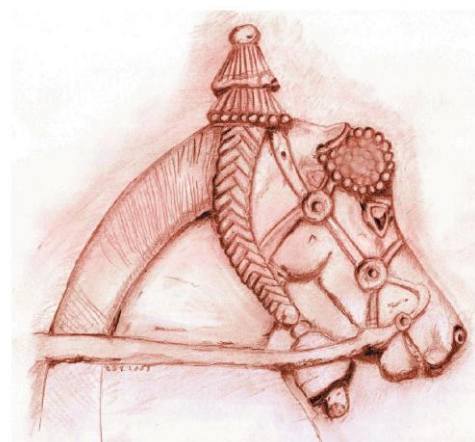


Fig. 11 Horse with a pompom, or a set of pompoms one above the other, at the top of its head. Details from a relief of Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 B.C.), from Nimrud. BM 124852-5. Author's drawing.

There is a clear organological difference between cymbals and clappers. Cymbals³⁷ have relatively wide lips at their base allowing for the sliding of one against the other in opposite vertical motions (Fig. 12).

However, cymbals can also be clashed directly in a converging motion (Fig. 13).



Fig. 12 A set of cymbals where one slides onto the other in opposite directions.³⁸



Fig. 13 A set of clashing cymbals.³⁹

³⁵ [Dumbrill, 2011].

³⁶ In an informal discussion among curators at the British Museum.

³⁷ As we see in Fig. 8 and Fig. 9.

³⁸ [Schutz, 2014].

³⁹ [NPR, 2014].

Clappers, on the other hand are more akin to castanets and have a hollow sound differing from the brilliant ringing tone of cymbals. Clappers can be made for a variety of materials, such as shells; halved coconut shells; hollowed-out wood, such as with castanets; halved ivory hippopotamus tusks (Fig. 14), and from many other materials.



Fig. 14 Clappers, New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, *circa* 1353-1336 B. C., from Amarna, Egypt.⁴⁰

This careless error was consequently published in various works which have misled for over a century thousands of readers.

2. Rattle-toy or statuette?

Among the idiophonic instruments of the Ancient Near East in the collections of the British Museum which I catalogued and published⁴¹, were a quantity of clay rattles, probably made for the entertainment of babies, and in some cases even made by children, as we can see from the size of fingerprints left marked in the clay.

These rattles were of various shapes but mainly, of “pie-crust” type (Fig. 15).



Fig. 15 Pie-crust baby or cultic rattles. With kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by the author.

⁴⁰ Length 21.5 cm. Gift of Mrs. John Hubbard and of the Egypt Exploration Society, 1932 [The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006].

⁴¹ [Dumbrill, 2011].

There were also other shapes such as pigs (Fig. 16); camel (Fig. 17); chickens (Fig. 18); and fruit (Fig. 19). But among these different idiophones there was a turtle (Fig. 20). Now all of the rattles, whether zoomorphic or fructiform are hollow and have small pebbles placed in them. These rattle against the inside walls of the object. Our turtle, (Fig. 20) is not hollow and therefore is a statuette of this animal and not a rattle. However, it was catalogued as such and subsequently published in Joan Rimmer's⁴² British Museum catalogue of 1969, and notably with Subhi Anwar Rasheed⁴³. This mistake was also replicated in hundreds of books, articles and reviews.



Fig. 16 Pig rattle for babies. With kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by the author.



Fig. 17 Camel rattle for babies. With kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by the author.



Fig. 18 Chicken rattle for babies. With kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by the author.

⁴² [Rimmer, 1969].

⁴³ [Rashid et al., 1984].



Fig. 19 Fig. 26. Fig-shaped rattle for babies. With kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Photograph by the author.



Fig. 20 The turtle statuette at the forefront of the picture among other idiophonic implements, from top left: Chicken, pig, camel. Bottom row: pig, (turtle statuette), pig and undefined animal. Lifted from [Rimmer, 1969, Pl. III].

PLATES



FHT 1 Two psalteries illustrating Psalm 80. Left, from the Pavia MS, Add. 15114 (British Library), c. 1450. Right MSS Add. 42130 (British Library), from East Anglia (1325-1335). Both instruments are of the "pig-nose" type. The vertically strung psaltery to the right might be an illustrative error although there is no reason why strings should not be arranged in this position although this is an atypical disposition.



FHT 2 Two stone carvings of psalteries. Left, from the Museum at Cluny, and to the right from the cathedral at Saintes. Photographs by Xavier Fresquet, with kind permission.



FHT 3 From left to right, Domkirsche Beata Mariae Virginis - Erfurt, Thuringe (Germany), 1370, Jouee NH-1 ; Barcelona Cathedral, Spain, 1398, Misericorde SH-19; St. Mary, Beverley, Yorkshire (Great Britain), 1445, *Appuie-main* S10-11 ; Church at Chieri, Piemont (Italy), 1469, N-04. Photographs by Frederic Billiet, with kind permission.



FHT 4 Psalteries in stained-glass medium. Left to right, double representation from Saint May at Shelton, 1460; Saint Agnes of Cawston, 1460-1475; Angel striking the psalterium with two hammers, Notre Dame de Moulins cathedral, mid fifteenth century.⁴⁴



FHT 5 Gothic Ivory Psalteries at the Louvre Museum. Left to right, Diptych number 90, 37 and 131, circa 1300. Photographs from the Musée du Louvre, Réunion des Musées Nationaux, with kind permission.

⁴⁴ Photographs by Adrian Rose in [Rose, 2001]. With kind permission.



FHT 6 Methods of handling and playing zithers: from top to bottom, left to right: Collégiale de Sainte. Photograph by Xavier Fresquet with kind permission. Soria church, photograph by Christian Brassy, with kind permission; MS 5999, fol. 76. Photograph by the Bibliothèque municipale, Lyon, with kind permission; MS M.0436, fol. 192 r., Padova. Photograph by the Morgan Library, with kind permission.



FHT 7 San Pedro Cathedral, Jaca. Photograph by Christian Brassy and Manuscript Cotton Tiberius C. VI, British Library, with kind permission.

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