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JOURNAL

OF

BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Volume XXVII

Part II

1908

Daniel 3 s, Sūmpōnyāh

PHILLIPS BABBY

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

THE presence in the Aramaic text of Daniel 3 s of three loan-words from the Greek, to wit, *kitharos*: κίθαρῖς, *psantērīn*: ψαλτήριον, and *sūmpōnyāh*: συμφωνία, is conceded to have an important bearing on the questions of authorship and date of the book, as showing that it must have been written subsequent to the dissemination of Greek influences in Asia, following the conquests of Alexander the Great. With the history and semasiology of one of these words, namely, *sūmpōnyāh*, I shall be occupied in the following pages. My purpose is to show that the interpretation recommended by the margin of the Revised Version, which is *sūmpōnyāh*: 'bagpipe,' following the definition of the word given by Rabbi Saadia,¹ is confirmed by evidence derived from known facts concerning the sense of *συμφωνία* and its derivatives in various languages, ancient and modern. In this respect my remarks are by way of reply to "Συμφωνία not a Bagpipe," by Professor George F. Moore, of the Harvard Divinity School, written for this JOURNAL (vol. xxiv. part ii. 1905, pp. 166-175) in answer to my article,

¹ Author of the commentary on Daniel, ascribed by the Shilte haggibborim to R. Saadia da Gaon (d. 942), but now believed to be the work of another scholar of the same name, who lived and wrote two centuries later.

"On Luke xv. 25, *συμφωνία*: Bagpipe," printed in this JOURNAL (vol. xxiii. part ii. 1904, pp. 180-190).

A question which naturally suggests itself at the outset, in connection with the interpretation of *συμπρονηδή*, renders necessary the presentation of the following facts, here gathered together for the first time.

EXCURSUS. *Bagpipes and bagpipers of ancient Greece and Rome.*

I. BOMBΑΤΑΙΟΣ.

Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 862-66:

BOL. ἡμᾶς δ' ὅσοι θεΐβαθεν αὐληταὶ πέρα
τοῖς ὀστίνοις φυσῆτε τὸν προκτὸν κυνός.

ΔΙΚ. παῦ' ἐς κόρακας· οἱ σφήκες οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν;
πόθεν προσέπτανθ' οἱ κακῶς ἀπολούμενοι
ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν μοι Χαιριδῆς βομβαύλιος;

Of the various interpretations of the curious phrase, *φυσῆτε τὸν προκτὸν κυνός*, the only one consistent with common sense is that of Van Leeuwen:

Inflate fistulis podicem caninum. Habent igitur tibias utriculares, ex pelle canina, et in podicem insertae sunt fistulae sive tibiae osseae.

It is further reinforced by the fact that the simplest and most primitive form of the bagpipe is made of the entire skin of a small animal, into which the pipes are inserted as into a reservoir of air.² Moreover, the evident play upon words, *i. e.* *βομβύλιος*: 'bumble-bee,' and *αὐλός*: 'pipe,' in the word *βομβαύλιος*, strikes the reader at once, though less forcibly than it must have struck the Athenian audience, as suggesting the principle of the drone-bass, the most obvious feature of the music of the bagpipe.³ Following the expla-

² Carl Engel writes: "In Poland and in the Ukraine, it used to be made of the whole skin of the goat, in which the shape of the animal, whenever the bagpipe was expanded with air, appeared fully retained, exhibiting even the head with the horns, hence the bagpipe was called 'kosà,' which signifies a goat." (*Musical Instruments*, 110.)

³ A modern parallel is the German *Hümmelchen*, a small bagpipe, described by M. Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, iii. 42.

nation of Hesychius, βομβάυλιος · ὁ αὐλητής · ἀπὸ τοῦ βομβεῖν, Blaydes interprets the word, βομβάυλιοι pro βομβύλιοι dictum, quasi βομβούντες αὐλοῖς, Angl. 'droners on the bag-pipe.'

2. ἌΣΚΑΤΛΗΣ. Latin, *utricularius*.

Martial, *Epigrams*, book 10, iii. 7-8:

Voce ut loquatur psittacus coturnicis,
Et concupiscat esse Canus *ascaules* ?⁴

Though not indeed found in the extant writings of any Greek author, the fact that this word appears in Latin as a borrowed word already in the second century of our era, is good reason to assume its currency in the popular speech. Moreover, given *ascaules*, that is, ἀσκαύλης, as the name of the musician, it follows that the instrument on which he played was *ascaulos*, that is, ἄσκαυλος, literally ἀσκάς: 'bag,' and αὐλός: 'pipe.' Both words have survived in modern Greek, according to the following lexicographical authorities:

1550.	ascauleon	sackpfeiff ⁵
1587.	ἀσκαύλης, ἀσκαῶδός	Eyn sackpfeiffer ⁶
1889.	ἀσκαύλης	a player of bagpipes ⁷
	ἄσκαυλος	a bagpipe
	ἀσκαύλος	a bagpipe
	ἀσκάυλος	a bagpipe
1900.	ἀσκαύλης	Dudelsackpfeifer ⁸

The Emperor Nero played upon the bagpipe, according to a well-known statement of his biographer:

⁴ Martial's argument, emphasized by the metrical position of *ascaules*, is that he would no more use the language of a contemptible hack, than would the intelligent parrot chatter to quails, or the virtuoso Canus turn bagpiper. It follows from this, that the bagpipe was held in little esteem by the musically cultured in Martial's day.

⁵ Alberus, Dict., Y, 3a., cited by Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s.v. "Sackpfeife."

⁶ Lexicon Trilingue, ex Thesuro Roberti Stephani et Dictionario Ioannis Frisii. Argentorati, 1587, s.v. *utricularius*.

⁷ Ν. Κορρόπουλος, Λεξικὸν Ἑλληνοαγγλικόν. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1889.

⁸ P. A. Ρουσόπουλος, Λεξικὸν Ἑλληνογερμανικόν. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1900.

Sub exitu quidem vitae palam voverat, si sibi incolumis status permansisset, proditurum se partae victoriae ludis etiam hydraulam et choraulam et utricularium.⁹

The word *utricularius* in this passage is a free Latin rendering of ἀσκαύλης. This is shown by comparison with the following passage from Dio Chrysostom, written with evident reference to Nero, as will appear from the examination of the context.

φασὶ δὲ καὶ γράφειν καὶ πλάττειν ἱκανὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ αὐλεῖν τῷ τε στόματι καὶ ταῖς μασχάλαις ἀσκὸν ὑποβάλλοντα.¹⁰

An interesting statement, as describing the exact manner in which the bagpipe was played.

The above evidence is sufficient to show that musical instruments constructed on the principle of grouping pipes around a reservoir of air were known to the ancients as early as the fifth century B.C. And these instruments were bagpipes. With this fact established I return to the question under discussion.

Συμφωνία, expressing the quality of the adjective *σύμφωνος*, is an abstract noun, denoting the combination of the idea expressed by *φωνή* in its widest sense. The adjective is found in the poems of Homer; *συμφωνία*, however, first appears in the writings of Plato, in a metaphorical sense. The writers on music, both Greek and Latin, from Aristotle to Boethius, give a special technical definition of the word, as applied to the relations of two musical tones, forming, according to ancient ideas, the extremes of a consonant interval.¹¹ According to Aristotle, the pleasing effect of *συμφωνία* is due to the fact that it is a fusion of things which are oppo-

⁹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 54.

¹⁰ Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* lxxi. p. 381, Reiske. "They say he was a clever painter and sculptor, and knew how to play the pipe with his lips and the bag thrust under his arms."

¹¹ *Συμφωνία*, according to the Greek theorists, was a term used in a more restricted sense than "consonance," as it was held to apply only to the relation between tones forming the extremes of intervals numerically expressed by the ratios 2 : 1, 3 : 2, and 4 : 3. Cf. Bacchius, *Isagoge*, p. 293, von Jan.

sites, yet have a certain relation to each other.¹² Or, to cite in full, the more exact and technical definition of Porphyrius:

Συμφωνία is a term used to express the fusion and blending into one sound, of two sounds differing in pitch. A necessary condition of it is, that the two sounds shall together form a sound, differing in quality from either of the two sounds which by their fusion create said *συμφωνία*.¹³

It is an easy step, well in accordance with the laws of semasiology, for the abstract noun, *συμφωνία*, as used by the writers on music, in an abstract sense, already partially specialized, to acquire a concrete sense, specialized as the name of a musical instrument, by which some attribute, or quality, or peculiarity of said instrument is suggested, to which *συμφωνία*, in the technical and abstract sense, would apply.¹⁴

As the name of such a musical instrument, *συμφωνία* is of rare occurrence in the pages of the ancient Greek documents that have come down to us. Four instances, however, of its use in this sense are now accepted by scholars.

1. Polybius, xxvi. 1 :

εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων αἰσθητοῦ τινος συνευχουμένους ὀπουδήποτε, παρῆν μετὰ κερατίου καὶ συμφωνίας, ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὸ παραδόξον ἀνισταμένους φεύγειν.

2. Polybius, xxx. 26 :

μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλουμένης, ἀνεπήδα γυμνός, καὶ τοῖς αἰμοῖς προσπαίλων ὠρχεῖτο.

¹² Aristotle, *Problems*, xix. 38.

¹³ Porphyrius, p. 270, cited by Marquardt, on Aristoxenus, p. 16, Melbom. "Συμφωνία δ' ἐστὶ δυοῖν φθόγγων ὀξύτητι καὶ βαρύτητι διαφερόντων κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πτώσει καὶ κρᾶσι· δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς φθόγγους συγκρουσθέντας ἐν τι ἑτέρῳ εἶδος φθόγγου ἀποτελεῖν, παρ' ἐκείνου ἐξ ὧν φθόγγων ἡ συμφωνία γέγονεν."

¹⁴ M. Bréal writes: "An abstract word, instead of keeping its abstract sense, instead of remaining the exponent of an action, a quality, or a state, becomes the name of a material object. This fact is very frequent; sometimes the modified word preserves both meanings; sometimes, the abstract idea being forgotten, the material signification alone survives." (*Semantics*, p. 184.)

3. LXX, Daniel 3 5 :

ὅτ' ἂν ἀκούσῃτε τῆς φωνῆς τῆς σάλπιγγος, σύριγγος καὶ κithάρας, σαμβύκης καὶ ψαλτηρίου, συμφωνίας καὶ παντὸς γένους μουσικῶν, πεσόντες προσκυνήσατε τῇ εἰκόνι τῆι χρυσοῦνι ἧι ἔστησε Ναβουχοδονόσορ βασιλεὺς.

4. N. T., Luke 15 25 :

ἦν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐν ἀγροῦνι· καὶ ὡς ἐρχόμενος ἤγγισε τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἤκουσε συμφωνίας καὶ χορῶν.

In the Latin, however, to which *συμφωνία*, in the form *symphonia*, came as a loan-word from the Greek, the usage in this sense is better attested. My researches have resulted in the discovery of over twenty-five passages in the works of authors during the period from 100 B.C. to 600 A.D., in which *symphonia* is used in such a connection that intelligible translation is impossible, unless it be supposed that the word is regarded as the name of a musical instrument.

1. Cicero, *Cael.* 35 :

Accusatores quidem . . . 'comissiones, cantus, symphonias' iactant.

2. Cicero, *Pro Gellio*, frag. ix., Baiter & Kayser:

Fit clamor, fit convitium mulierum, fit symphoniae cantus.

3. Cicero, *Verr.*, act. sec., iii. 105 :

Apronium . . . cotidie solitum esse, non modo in publico, sed etiam de publico, convivari, — cum in eius convivii symphonia caneret, maximisque poculis ministraretur, etc.

4. Cicero, *Verr.*, act. sec., v. 31 :

Non offendebantur homines . . . locum illum litoris percrepare totum muliebribus vocibus, cantuque symphoniae.

5. Cicero, *Verr.*, act. sec., v. 92 :

Curritur ad praetorium, quo istum ex illo praeclaro convivio reduxerant paulo ante mulieres, cum cantu atque symphonia.

6. Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, xvi. 9 :

Symphoniam Lysonis vellem vitasses, ne in quartam hebdomada incideres.

7. Horace, *A. P.*, 374–376 :

Ut gratas inter mensas symphonia discors,

Et crassum unguentum et Sardo cum melle papaver
Offendunt, poterat duci quia cena sine istis.¹⁵

8. Celsus, *De Med.* iii. 18 :

Discutiendae tristes cogitationes, ad¹ quod symphoniae et cymbala strepitusque proficiunt.

9. Seneca, *Dial.*, book 1, iii. 10 :

Feliciorem ergo tu Maecenatem putas, cui amoribus anxio et morosae uxoris cotidiana repudia deflenti, somnus per symphoni-
arum cantum ex longinquo lene resonantium quaeritur ?

10. Seneca, *Ep.*, book 1, xii. 8 :

Pacuvius, qui Syriam usu suam fecit, cum vino et illis funebri-
bus epulis sibi parentaverat, sic in cubiculum ferebatur a cena, ut
inter plausus exoletorum hoc ad symphoniam caneretur, *βεβίωται*,
βεβίωται.

11. Seneca, *Ep.*, book 5, li. 4 :

Videre ebrios per litora errantes, et comissiones navigantium,
et symphoniatarum cantibus strepentes lacus, et alia quae velut
soluta legibus luxuria non tantum peccat, sed publicat quid necesse
est.

12. Seneca, *Ep.*, book 5, li. 12 :

Quidni mallet quisquis vir est, somnum suum classico quam
symphonia rumpi ?

13. Seneca, *Ep.*, book 20, cxxiii. 9 :

Quem ad modum qui audierunt symphoniam ferunt secum in
auribus modulationem illam ac dulcedinem cantuum, quae cogita-
tiones impedit, nec ad seria patitur intendi ; sic adulatorum et
prava laudantium sermo diutius haeret quam auditur.

¹⁵ Scholia explain, "Symphonia discors, — id est mali cantores, sym-
phonia est concentus cantorum." Pliny, *N. H.*, x. 29, certainly uses *sym-
phonia* as referring to vocal music (of birds). The interpretation of the
scholiast, however, makes no sense here. Horace insinuates that some may
enjoy *symphonia discors*, etc., at a banquet. From a number of references,
it appears that certain persons of notably bad taste did take pleasure in
the music of the instrument called *symphonia*, which had a noisy quality
of tone, — yet it is absurd to suppose that they would endure listening to
vocalists who sang out of tune. Accordingly, *symphonia* must here be taken
as the name of an instrument whose music is not *concors* as the name
would suggest, i.e. *συμφωνία*, but rather from Horace's point of view to be
characterized as *discors*. This explanation brings out fully the force of
Horace's argument, in the following phrase, *poterat duct quia cena sine istis*.

14. Petronius, *Cena Trim.*, 32 :

In his eramus lautitiis, cum ipse Trimalchio ad symphoniam allatus est.

15. Petronius, *Cena Trim.*, 33 :

Accessere continuo duo servi, et symphonia strepente, scrutari paleam coeperunt.

16. Petronius, *Cena Trim.*, 34 :

Cum subito signum symphonia datur, et gustatoria pariter a choro cantante rapiuntur.

17. Suetonius, *Caligula*, 37 :

Discumbens de die, inter choros et symphonias litora Campaniae peragraret.

18. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii. 64 :

Docilitas tanta est, ut universus Sybaritani exercitus equitatus ad symphoniam cantum saltatione quadam moveri solitus inveniatur.¹⁶

19. Pliny, *N. H.*, ix. 8 :

Delphinus non homini tantum amicum animal, verum et musicae arti mulcetur, symphoniam cantu, et praecipue hydraulico sono.

20. Scholia Pseudacron. Horace, *Sat.*, book 1, ii. 1 :

Ambubaiæ dicuntur mulieres tibicines lingua Syrorum. Etenim eorum lingua tibia sive symphonia ambubaia dicitur.¹⁷

21. Scholia Bern., Vergil, *Georg.*, ii. 1903 :

Apud Tuscos a Tyrrheno symphoniam et tibiae usus inventus est et sacris primum additus est.

22. Servius, *Comm.*, Vergil, *Aen.*, i. 67 :

Aque hac lascivia excogitaverunt (sc. Tyrrhenus et Lydus) et tibiae modulationem et concentum symphoniam tubarumque.

¹⁶ Athenaeus, xii. p. 521, citing Aristotle, writes: ἐς τηλικούτων δ' ἦσαν τρυφῆς ἐηλακότες ὡς καὶ παρὰ τὰς εὐωχίας τοῦς ἵππους ἐθίσαι πρὸς ἀλλῶν ὀρχεῖσθαι. τότε οὖν εἰδότες οἱ Κροτωνιάται ὅτε αὐτοῖς ἐπολέμουν ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορεῖ διὰ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν, ἐπέδωσαν τοῖς ἵπποις τὸ ὀρχηστικὸν μέλος. συμπαρήσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀλλοτρίαι ἐν στρατιωτικῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ἅμα ἀδούτων ἀκούοντες οἱ ἵπποι, οὐ μόνον ἐξωρχήσαντο ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀναβάτας ἔχοντες ἠτόμωλεσαν πρὸς τοὺς Κροτωνιάτας.

¹⁷ Ambubaia, — the Aramaic *ābūdā*, a kind of pipe or flute. The importance of the citation is that it shows the *symphonia* to have been, like the tibia and *ābūdā*, a wind instrument.

23. Julius Capitolinus, *Verus*, vi. 9:

Ille . . . apud Corinthum et Athenas inter symphonias et cantica navigabat.

24. Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum*, ii. 57:

Fluctibus Actiacis signum symphonia belli
Aegyptis dederat clangebat buccina contra.

25. Apuleius, *Met.*, xi. 8:

Symphoniae dehinc suaves, fistulae tibiaeque modulis dulcissimis personabant.

26. Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini*, iv. 48:

Implicito sonitu rauca novitate cicuta
Donec plena suo cecinit symphonia flatu.¹⁸

A word may here be added, concerning the rendering by the Latin translators of the two passages of Scripture, where it has been seen that the Greek text mentions a musical instrument called *συμφωνία*, to wit, Daniel 3 5 (in which *συμφωνία* of the LXX stands for the *sūmpōnyāh* of the original), and Luke 15 25. These passages are thus rendered in the Latin Vulgate of St. Jerome:

In hora qua audieritis sonitum tubae et fistulae et cytharae, sambucae et psalterii, et symphoniae, etc. (Dan. 3 5.)

Erat autem filius eius senior in agro, et cum veniret et appropinquaret domui, audivit symphoniam et chorum. (Lk. 15 25.)

Concerning the interpretation of *symphonia* in Dan. 3 5, no question has ever been raised tending to throw doubt on the assumption that it is the name of a musical instrument.¹⁹ Moreover, a comparison of the words used in the LXX and Vulgate as equivalents for two of the names of musical

¹⁸ These lines are taken from an account of the healing of a dumb child by St. Martin, the simile of a wind instrument with a reservoir of air, the first tones of which are harsh and flat, because the air pressure is low, being applied to the mute's first efforts to speak. That is, "The reed, in harsh tones at first, uttered confused sounds, until, when filled with wind, the *symphony* (bagpipe) chanted."

¹⁹ Compare the rendering of the Douay version of 1609-1610. "That in the hour that you shall hear the sound of the trumpet and of the flute, and of the harp and of the sackbut, and of the *symphony*, and of all kinds of music," etc.

instruments mentioned in this passage, namely, *mashrokitha* and *sūmpōnyāh*, will be helpful, as showing at least, most emphatically, what the *sūmpōnyāh* (*συμφωνία*, *symphonia*) was not. That is:

<i>mashrokitha</i>	σύριγξ	fistula ²⁰
<i>sūmpōnyāh</i>	συμφωνία	symphonia

proving that *sūmpōnyāh* (*συμφωνία*, *symphonia*) cannot be identified with the Pan's-pipe, referred to under its old established names, to wit, Greek, σύριγξ, Latin, *fistula*,²¹ in the LXX and Vulgate, respectively.

As to the interpretation of Luke 15 28, I have shown in my previous article that *symphonia* (*συμφωνία*) is the name of a musical instrument. It is, moreover, certainly to be understood as a wind instrument, since the word is rendered in the Ethiopic version, as Professor Moore points out,²² by 'ensērd, the word elsewhere used to translate names of wind instruments, e.g. αὐλός, ὄργανον. Merely to show, however, that St. Jerome, who adopts the view that vocal music is meant by *symphonia*, knew of the existence of a musical instrument *symphonia*, his comment on this passage may be put in evidence here:

Male autem quidam de Latinis symphoniam putant esse genus organi, cum concors in Dei laudibus concertus hoc vocabulo significetur.²³

At this point it is well to summarize the known facts concerning the musical instrument variously called *sūmpōnyāh*, *συμφωνία*, and *symphonia*, as revealed in the citations from Greek and Latin documents which up to this point have been put in evidence.

²⁰ σύριγξ is not improbably a loan-word from the Semitic, showing the same stem *shrak* that appears in *mashrokitha*. For the epenthetic nasal, compare τύμπαρον, σαμβόκη, also *ambubata*, well attested examples of loan-words of Oriental origin.

²¹ Compare Vergil, *Ecl.* ii. 37:

Est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis,
Fistula, Damocetas dono mihi quam dedit olim.

²² *l.c.*, p. 166, n. 1.

²³ St. Jerome, *Ep.* xxi. 29.

1. It is a musical instrument.

- a) It is mentioned in connection with, or in comparison to, other musical instruments already well known.
Greek: 1, 3. Latin: 8, 12, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25.
- b) Translations into other languages use as an equivalent word the name of a musical instrument.
Lk. 15²⁸: Ethiopic, 'enzērā; Syriac, sēpūnyō (Sinaitic palimpsest).
- c) The phrase *symphoniae cantus, canere symphonia*, etc., is analogous to *tibiae cantus, canere tibia*, etc., well-attested forms of expression for instrumental music, or the act of producing it.
Latin: 2, 3, 4, 9, 11, 13, 18, 19, 22, 26.

2. It is a wind instrument.

- a) It is used as a free Latin equivalent of,
- | | |
|---------------------|------------|
| 1. Greek, αἰλός. | Latin: 18. |
| 2. Aramaic, 'ābūbā. | Latin: 20. |
- b) It is mentioned in close connection with the *tibia*.²⁴
Latin: 20, 21, 22, 25.
- c) Described as provided with a reservoir of air.
Latin: 26. Venantius Fortunatus.

3. It has a loud and penetrating quality of tone.²⁵

- a) It makes a noise.
Latin: 15.
- b) It adds to the din of other noises.
Latin: 2, 4, 11.
- c) It makes a place ring with its music.
Latin: 4, 11.
- d) It sounds gently, when far away.
Latin: 9.
- e) It wakes a man, suddenly and rudely as the war trumpet.
Latin: 12.

²⁴ The following glosses, from Mss. of the tenth century or later, may be cited in this connection:

CGL, iv. 184, 19.	tibia, symphonia.
CGL, iv. 292, 3.	tybia, symphonia.
CGL, iv. 574, 25.	tibia, sinphonia.

²⁵ Whereas in Latin, 13, 25, the music of the symphonia is described as *sweet-toned*, it is to be noted that the statement is made from the viewpoint not of the writer, but of the hearer.

- f) It is used in military music.
Latin: 18, 24.
4. It is used in polyphonic music.
- a) With pipes.
Greek: 1. Latin: 21, 22, 25.
- b) With cymbals.
Latin: 8.
- c) With all kinds of music.
Greek: 3.
5. It has not a fixed pitch, but a range of tones.
- a) Used as an accompaniment to the voice.
Latin: 10.
- b) Used to play dance tunes.
Greek: 2, 4.
6. It is held in little esteem.²⁶
- a) Cultured persons do not fancy it.
Greek: 1. Latin: 7.
- b) Persons of bad taste affect a liking for it.
- | | |
|------------|--------------|
| Antiochus, | Greek: 1, 2. |
| Apronius, | Latin: 3. |
| Verres, | Latin: 4, 5. |
| Caligula, | Latin: 17. |
- c) Played at banquets of a vulgar or sensational sort.
Greek: 1, 2, 4. Latin: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23.

I now turn to the task of tracing the history, through the modern languages to the present time, of *symphonia* and its derivatives, in this concrete, limited, and specialized sense, as the name of a musical instrument. Covering, as it does, a period of thirteen centuries, since the time of Venantius Fortunatus (A.D. 600), this history forms one of the most extraordinary chapters in the whole course of philology.²⁷

²⁶ It may be noted that the instrument from which the bagpiper, called *δοκαύλης*, took his name was held in little esteem.

²⁷ The following detailed stemma of *συμφωνία* and its derivatives will be instructive.

Greek, *συμφωνία*,

1. Aram. *sūmpōnyāh*,
2. Syr. *sēpūnyō*,

Originally Greek, the word passed first into Semitic, later into Latin, then from the Latin it was transmitted to Italian, Spanish, Provençal, Portuguese, French, Roumanian, Hungarian, and English. In Provençal are parallel forms, one derived from the parent Latin, the other a more recent loan-word from the Italian. Finally, the word, as current in Modern Greek, has returned, scarcely recognizable as a derivative of *συμφωνία*, to the land and tongue whence it came.

And scarcely less striking is the persistence for twenty centuries of the etymological idea involved in the structure of the word—out of the elements *σύν* (denoting combination) and *φωνή* (sound). The following comprehensive definition of the word will illustrate my meaning:

Συμφωνία (*σὺμπδονυᾶῃ*, *sympbonia*), the name of a musical instrument endowed with some attribute or quality or peculiarity, to which *συμφωνία* would apply; that is, when used in the special technical sense, conveying the abstract idea of the fusion and blending into one sound, of two sounds differing in pitch.

1. A wind instrument.		BAGPIPE		
1598	Italian	sampogna	bagpipe	(John Florio)
1599	Spanish	çampoña	bagpipe	(John Minshew)
1785	Provençal,	fanfogno	cornemuse	(Cl. Fr. Achard)
1796	Modern Greek	τζαμπούρα	Sackpfeife	(Karl Weigel)
1847	Hungarian	csimpolya	Dudelsack	(Moritz Bloch)
1870	Roumanian	cimpoiu	cornemuse	(Ion Costinescu)

3. Lat. *symphonia*.

a) Ital. *sampogna*

I. Mod. GK. τζαμπούρα

II. Proven. *jambouigno*

b) Span. *sampoña*

c) Prov. *sansogno*

d) Port. *sanfona*

e) O. Fr. *çifonie*

f) Roum. *cimpoiu*

g) Hung. *csimpolya*

h) Engl. *symphonye* (archaic)

Here one sees an instance of word-migration almost without a parallel.

2. A stringed instrument.²⁸HURDY-GURDY.²⁹3. An instrument of percussion.³⁰

ST. ISIDOR'S DRUM.

Expansion of meaning in each of these three senses being possible,³¹ the result has finally been that derivatives of *symphonia* have acquired meanings in which the original etymological sense of the word is no longer felt.³²

As the testimony of the ancient writers in their references to *συμφωνία* and *symphonia* goes to show that a wind instrument is meant, I am concerned in these pages only with those derivatives of *symphonia* in which the significance is that of a wind instrument; in the original, restricted and specialized sense, or in the later, extended and generalized sense. The items under consideration may for convenience be put under five groups, (1) Italian, including loan-words in Provençal and Modern Greek, (2) Spanish, (8) Provençal, (4) Roumanian, (5) Hungarian.

I. ITALIAN, *zampogna* (*zampugna, sampogna, sampugna*).³³

In the sixteenth century, as Professor Moore points out,³⁴

²⁸ *German*, Drehleier, Bauernleier, *French*, vielle. "It consists of a flat oblong sounding board, upon which are stretched four gut strings, two of which are tuned a fifth apart, to form a drone bass and placed where they cannot be acted upon by the ten or twelve keys, fixed upon one side of the belly of the instrument. The other two are tuned in unison, and are so arranged that they may be shortened by the pressure of the keys. . . . The strings are set in vibration by the friction of a wooden wheel, charged with rosin, and turned by means of a handle at one end." (Stainer and Barrett's *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, s.v. "Hurdy-gurdy.")

²⁹ A name now incorrectly applied to the barrel and piano organ.

³⁰ St. Isidorus, *Liber Etymologiarum*, iii. col. 167, Migne.

³¹ See Michel Bréal, *Semantics*, p. 115.

³² Compare the following Italian dialectic variations:

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------|----------------------|
| 1. zampogna, "Pan's Pipe." | Padua. | E. Forcellini, 1768. |
| 2. sanfornia, "Jew's harp." | Genoa. | G. Casaccia, 1876. |
| 3. sampogn, "cow-bell." | Como. | P. Monti, 1845. |

³³ Professor Moore writes, "'Bagpipe' is therefore not the common and accepted meaning of zampogna, but is unusual and provincial. It is also obviously secondary." ("*Συμφωνία* not a Bagpipe," p. 175.)

³⁴ "*Συμφωνία* not a Bagpipe," p. 168. R. Elijah evidently means no more than that "Leier," i.e., *hurdy-gurdy*, and "zampogna" are the accepted interpretations of German and Italian scholars, respectively. There is not a

Elijah the Levite (1468–1549) mentions as an equivalent of *sūmpōnyāh* in Dan. 3 5 the Italian word *zampogna*.²⁵

John Florio, in 1598, gives the following definition of the word:²⁶

SAMPogna, a bagpipe, an oten pipe. Also a bell hanged about sheep or goates, a lowe-bell.

ZAMPogna, an oaten pipe, a shepherd's pipe, a bagge-pipe. Also a bell that is hung about a goate or bell-weather's necke.

Athanasius Kircher, the learned Jesuit of Fulda, writing about 1650, in commenting on the *sūmpōnyāh* of Dan. 3 5, further testifies concerning the Italian *zampogna* or bag-pipe:²⁷

Sampunia igitur accipitur pro fistula non simplici, sed qualem Schilte haggibborim describit, — erat enim instrumentum *διάνλον*, duarum fistularum, intra quas medius ponebatur uter rotundus, ex pelle Arietis aut Vervecis, in quo duæ dictæ fistulae inferebantur, una sursum, deorsum altera vergente, — quando vero superior canalis insufflabatur, uter spiritu repletus compressusque, fistulae inferiori aerem subministrabat, — qui pro clausura vel apertura foraminum in ea dispositorum, obstetricantibus digitis, varios parturiebat sonos, cuius figuram alibi ponimus. Unde patet id fuisse prorsus simile nostro utriculo, quo Pastores et Rustici passim utuntur, — et mirum sane est in Italia, in hunc usque diem, hoc nomine *Zampugna pastorale* appellari.²⁸

Apart from the fact that he traces the word back to its Greek original, namely *συμφωνία*,²⁹ Kircher, deriving his

vestige of evidence that the hurdy-gurdy, or *lyra tedesca* as Italians know it, ever in Italy bore the name *zampogna*.

²⁵ In the Italian translation of the Bible by G. Diodati, published at Genoa in 1641, Dan. iii. 5 is rendered, "Che nell' ora che voi udirete il suono del corno, del fianto, della cetera, dell' arpicordo, del salterio, della *zampogna*."

²⁶ A Worlde of Words, or a most copious and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English, collected by John Florio. London, 1598.

²⁷ Athanasii Kircheri, Fuldensis Soc. Iesu. Presbyteri, *Musurgia Universalis*. Rome, 1650. See p. 53.

²⁸ It may be noted that he does not identify the form of bagpipe described by R. Abraham (see Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, xxxii. col. xl) with the Italian bagpipe, but he notes the similarity of the two instruments, as constructed on the same principle.

²⁹ Kircher, *l.c.*, p. 53. "*Sampunia* a graeco, ni fallor, *συμφωνία* corruptum vocabulum."

explanation from R. Saadia, by way of the Shilte hag-gibborim, has no claim to independent authority as an interpreter of *sūmpōnydh* in Dan. 85. The importance of the above citation in connection with the matter at issue lies in the fact that he recognizes *utriculus*,⁴⁰ that is *bagpipe*, as the common and accepted meaning of *zampugna*. And the *zampugna* with which he was familiar, as the favorite musical instrument of shepherd and rustic, very likely differed little in form and structure from the eighteenth century instrument figured and described by Hipkins :

The Calabrian bagpipe or zampogna is a rudely carved instrument of the eighteenth century. It has four drones attached to one stock, hanging downwards from the end of the bag, —two of them are furnished with finger holes. The reeds are double like those of the oboe and bassoon. The bag is large, it is inflated by the mouth, and pressed by the left arm against the chest of the performer. The zampogna is chiefly used as an accompaniment to a small reed melody-pipe called by the same name, and played by another performer.⁴¹

Still called zampogna, the bagpipe is even at the present day, though perhaps not to be characterized as *solamen unicum*, a favorite instrument among the shepherds and rustics of central and southern Italy. It is an important piece in the village bands of the Abruzzi, furnishing, as it were, a sort of primitive pedal-bass to the rustic orchestra, variously consisting of oboes and flutes (*ciaramelle*), cymbals, triangles, drums.⁴² During the Christmas holidays, the traveller in Naples, Messina, and other cities of southern

⁴⁰ Kircher, *l.c.*, p. 505: "*Cornamusam* multi pro utriculo sumunt. Quid sit utriculus passim notum est, Pastorum scilicet Rusticorumque solamen unicum, — in hoc instrumento uter inflatus, brachioque compressus fistulas eidem annexas animat, quae animatae pro varia clausura vel apertura orificiorum variam reddunt harmoniam." Concerning *cornamusa*, see excursus, below, p. 123.

⁴¹ A. J. Hipkins, *Musical Instruments, Historic, Rare, and Antiqua*. Edinburgh, 1888. See plate iv.

⁴² For this information I am indebted to Mr. A. T. Sinclair, author of "Gypsy and Oriental Music" and other articles.

Italy⁴³ and until very recently also in Rome⁴⁴ may see the peasants who have come from their homes in the mountains to make the annual pilgrimage to the shrines of the Madonna, passing through the streets, and playing on their pipes before the sacred images. A recent writer in *The Musician* gives the following interesting description of the strolling pipers and their instruments :⁴⁵

Usually, the pipers go in groups of three, two play the pipes, a kind of clarinet, the third, the *zampogna*, a curious instrument, made of the skin of a sheep, fastened to two pipes. The player, by means of a small tube, breathes into the skin, which swells and dilates, while at the same time his agile hand opens and closes the holes of the instrument. A melancholy sound issues in contrast to the acute strident sound of the *piffero*.⁴⁶

It is therefore well in accordance with the facts of the case that musicians have adopted 'bagpipe' as the common and accepted meaning of *zampogna* and defined the word accordingly. In this connection, the definition of *zampogna* given in Stainer and Barrett's *Dictionary of Musical Terms* may be put in evidence:

⁴³ "The approach of Christmas is indicated by the arrival of the *sampognari*, the bagpipers of the Abruzzi, who annually visit Naples and Rome at this season." (*A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Italy and Sicily*. John Murray, London, 1903.)

⁴⁴ W. W. Story, *Roba di Roma*, 1863, in the chapter relating to street musicians, gives a full account of a meeting with Neapolitan pipers; a description of their instruments, the *piffero* and the *zampogna*, — he also prints the words and music of one of the best known of their songs, a hymn in praise of the Virgin.

⁴⁵ Raffaele Simboli, "The Christmas Pipers of Rome," translated by Elise Lathrop, *The Musician*, December, 1907. The accompanying illustrations give an excellent idea of the pipers and their instruments.

⁴⁶ Specimens of the instruments played upon by the Italian pipers may be seen among the curiosities of the Crosby-Brown Collection of Musical Instruments of All Nations, in the Metropolitan Museum, at New York. The following items may be noted here :

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1629 | BAGPIPE. Zampogna. |
| 1568 | |
| 1521 | |
| 2510 | PIFFARO PASTORALE. A reed pipe generally played with the zampogna. |

—See *Catalogue of the Crosby-Brown Collection*, p. 154.

ZAMPOGNA, It. A bagpipe in use among Italian peasants. The name is supposed to be a corruption of *symphonia*. A rough-toned reed instrument without a bag is also called *sampogna* or *sampugna*.⁴⁷

It has been noted that the Italian word *sampogna* passed as a loan-word into other languages; namely, into Provençal and Modern Greek. A few words may be devoted to the study of these migrations.

1. Provençal.

In this language *sampogna* appears as a loan-word, beside a host of native forms, namely, *sansogno*, *fansogno*, *fouñfòni*, etc., all of which are to be traced back, allowing for dialectical variations, to the Latin *symphonia*. It appears as (a) *sambougno*, (b) *jambougno*, according to the following lexicographical authorities:⁴⁸

1785. C. F. Achard:⁴⁹

JAMBOUGNO, terme de montagnards, *cornemuse*. On le dit aussi de la *vielle*.

1879. F. Mistral:⁵⁰

ZAMBOUGNO (*sambougno*, *sampougno*, *jambougno*, *jambouno*), *cornemuse*, *vielle*, *Mite champêtre*, *guitbarde*.

2. Modern Greek.

Scarcely recognizable now after their long wanderings, as derivatives from *συμφωνία*, the curiously altered forms enumerated below have, it is likely, been current in Greek for a considerable time. The following statements of lexicographers may be put in evidence:

1796. Karl Weigel:⁵¹

τζαμπούρνα (*δεσποτζαμπούρνα*) die Sackpfeife, der Dudelsack, la piva, la cornamusa.⁵²

⁴⁷ Stainer and Barrett's *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, revised by Sir John Stainer, London, 1898. See *s.v.* *sampogna*.

⁴⁸ In these and following citations, all evidence other than such as tends to show that a *wind instrument* is meant is to be discounted, as having no bearing whatever on the case.

⁴⁹ *Dictionnaire de la Provence*. Marseille, 1785.

⁵⁰ *Lou Tresor dou Felibrige, ou Dictionnaire Provençal-Français*. Aix, 1879.

⁵¹ *Λεξικόν ἀπλορωμαϊκόν, γερμανικόν καὶ ἰταλικόν*, Leipzig, 1796.

⁵² Of the curious by-form, *δεσποτζαμπούρνα*, I shall have a word to say in a later paragraph.

τζαμπούρια, Der Laut, Ton der Sackpfeife (wenn sie geblasen wird), il suono della cornamusa.

1889. N. Κουτόπουλος: 53

II. SPANISH, *zampoña*.

The bagpipe was formerly much more common in Spain than at the present day; ⁵⁴ it is now practically restricted to the northwestern provinces, where it is still played by roving *gaiteros*,⁵⁵ mostly gypsies, the bagpipe being there, as everywhere, the favorite, and indeed, perhaps most characteristic instrument of these people. *Zampoña*, however, the representative in the Spanish tongue, of the Latin *symphonia*, is by no means yet extinct. As to the meaning of the word, namely, 'bagpipe,' during the past few centuries, I introduce here the following dictionary testimony :

1599. John Minsheu : 56

ΖΑΜΠΟΝΑ, a bagpipe, an oaten pipe. Also a bell hanged about sheepe or gotes, a lowbell.⁵⁷

1739. Dictionary of the Spanish Academy: 58

⁵⁸ Λεξικόν ἑλληνοαγγλικόν. Ἐν Ἀθῆναις, 1889.

τσαμπούνα	a pipe, bagpipe.
τσαμπούρα	a pair of bagpipes.

⁵⁴ A thirteenth-century manuscript of the Cantigas de Santa Maria, usually known as *Loores et Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, contains a number of pictures of bagpipes. Of these, one shows the instrument as having only one pipe, the chanter, another represents it with the chanter and drone, while a third depicts a very interesting view of a bagpipe with two chanters and four long drone pipes. See Juan F. Riaño, *Notes on Early Spanish Music*, London, 1887, figure 51.

⁵⁵ That is, 'bagpipers,' from *gaita*, now a common Spanish word for bagpipe. According to Minsheu (see note 56) *gaita* or *gayta* is an Arabic word, which in his time, 1599, was not yet fully established as a loan-word in Spanish.

⁵⁶ A Dictionary in Spanish and English. . . Ric. Percivall, Gent. Now enlarged and amplified by many thousand words, as by this marke * to each of them prefixed may appeere . . . by Iohn Minsheu. London, 1599 (*zampoña* is one of the words added by Minsheu.)

⁵⁷ This definition is given also in Minsheu's Spanish Dictionary of 1623.

⁵⁸ Edition of 1739. The same definition is given in all subsequent editions of the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy, including the latest, pub-

ZAMPOÑA, instrumento rustico pastoril, à modo de flauta ó compuesto de muchas flautas.⁶⁰

1901. F. Corona Bustamente : ⁶⁰

- ZAMPOÑA. (1) *Musette*, espèce de cornemuse, instrument de musique champêtre.
 (2) *Chalumeau*, instrument de musique pastorale, qui n'était dans l'origine qu'un roseau, percé de plusieurs trous.
 (3) *Cornemuse*, instrument de musique champêtre, formé d'une espèce de sac cuir, plein d'air, auquel sont adaptés deux tuyaux.

If 'bagpipe' is not, and never was, as Professor Moore argues, the meaning of *zampoña*,⁶¹ let him then show how the definitions of the word recorded here, arose, and why, if incorrect, they should have become established and remained so long unchallenged.

III. PROVENÇAL, sansogno, etc.⁶²

The bagpipe has long been a favorite rustic and pastoral

lished in 1899. Note, —

1. In 1798 it is copied word for word by Connelly and Higgins, and translated into English :

ZAMPOÑA. Instrumento rústico pastoril, à modo de flauta, ó compuesto de muchas flautas. ZAMPOÑA. A shepherd's flute, or a *bagpipe* made up of divers flutes.

(FRS. Thomas Connelly and Thomas Higgins, *A New Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages*, Madrid, 1798.)

2. More recently it is interpreted :

ZAMPOÑA. Los poetas dan este nombre non sólo á la cornamusa italiana, sino á la flauta pastoril ó caramillo.

(Luisa Lacál, *Diccionario de la Musica*, Madrid, 1899.)

⁶⁰ It may not be superfluous to add the following definitions :

ZAMPOÑA. A rustic instrument, a kind of bagpipe.

ZAMPOÑAZA. A large bagpipe.

ZAMPOÑEAR. To play the bagpipe, met., to be prolix and frivolous in conversation, to prose.

(J. M. Lopez and E. R. Bensley, 1900.)

Compare also the Spanish-English Dictionaries of Velasquez, 1895, and Bustamente, 1903.

⁶⁰ *Diccionario Español-Frances*, Paris, 1901.

⁶¹ " *Συμφωνία* not a Bagpipe," pp. 166, 174, 175.

⁶² Compare the following :

sansogno, voyez crabo.

crabo, chevre, femelle du bouc,

crabo, *boudego*, *cornemuse*, instrument à anche et à vent.

instrument in France, in company with the hurdy-gurdy, — at one time, indeed, the *blasé* courtiers of French kings, affecting a taste for the simple music that old Damoetas loved to hear, brought both instruments into a short-lived popularity among the nobility. To-day, the *biniou*, or *bignou*,⁶³ as it is called, may still be heard in Brittany, while in La Provence, the bagpipe, bearing many local names,⁶⁴ continues to enjoy its old-time popularity.⁶⁵

And the Latin word, *symphonia*, the name of a musical instrument of the old Roman days, has been handed down, as the name of the bagpipe,⁶⁶ in a host of forms, varying partly through local changes in Provençal phonology, partly through folk-etymology, namely: *sanfogna*, *sanfònio*, *sansogno*, *sanforgna*, *champorgno*, *fanfogna*, *fanfònio*, *fanfòni*, *founfòni*, *fanfougni*, *fanfournié*, *fanforgno*.

The following definitions of these words are given by the standard authorities on the lexicography of Provençal:

1785. C. F. Achard:⁶⁷

CORNEMUSE, instrument à anches et à vent, qui ne sert qu'aux paysans montagnards, *carlamuso*, *sanfogno*.

1879. F. Mistral:⁶⁸

FOUNFÒNI, FANFÒNI, FANFÒNIO (rh), SANFÒNIO, SANSOGNO (l), FANFORGNO (nic), SANFORGNO (for), CHANFORGNO (sup), FANFÓURNI (d), FANFOUGNO (vir), FANFOURNIÉ (m), CORNEMUSE, v. CARLAMUSO, mandoline, vielle, v. VIOLÓ.

IV. ROUMANIAN, *oimpotu*.

The Latin *symphonia* has survived as the name of the

(M. J. P. Couzinié, *Dictionnaire de la langue Romano-Castraise, et des Contrées limitrophes*, 1850.)

⁶³ A. Lavignac, *Music and Musicians*, p. 104.

⁶⁴ Mistral mentions besides *sansogno*, etc., also *carlamuso*, *boudego*, *cabreto*, *museto*, and *cat-enfla*. The last reminds one of *φυσήτε τὸν πρῶτον κύβη*.

⁶⁵ As in Italy, so in La Provence, the bagpipe figures in the festivities of Christmas, together with the *galoubet*, the tambourine, and the cymbals. (See T. H. Janvier, *The Christmas Calends of Provence*, p. 122.)

⁶⁶ Also as the name of stringed instruments, mandolin and hurdy-gurdy, but this evidence is to be discounted, as having no bearing on the case. Similarly of Old French *cifonie*.

⁶⁷ I. c. compare note 49.

⁶⁸ I. c. compare note 50.

bagpipe in the language of these people, in the forms *cimpoi*, *cimfoiu*, *simfonu*,⁶⁹ the meaning of which is accurately described by the lexicographers, whose testimony I put in evidence.

1870. Ion Costinescu : ⁷⁰

CIMPOIU. Instrumentă musicală câmpestră, compusă din două țevi și un pielle de țapă, de capră, pe care o înflă suflând în țeva de susșă.⁷¹

1903. H. Tiktin : ⁷²

CIMPOIU. Dudelsack. Besteht aus Schlauch (burduf) Pfeife (caravă) Stimmer (hang) und Anblaserohr (suflatore).

As late as the middle of the last century the bagpipe was still in use among the peasants of Roumania, especially in connection with the feast of Pentecost.⁷³

V. HUNGARIAN, *csimpolya*.

The provenience, in this non-Indogermanic language, of words of Indogermanic origin is an interesting problem to study. The fact remains that a derivative of the Latin word *symphonia*, the name of a musical instrument in the form *csimpolya*, exists in Hungarian as the name of the bagpipe.⁷⁴ This is the testimony of the lexicographers:

1847. Moritz Bloch : ⁷⁵

CSIMPOLYA. Der Dudelsack.

1868. Alexius Farkas : ⁷⁶

CSIMPOLYA. Schlauch, Dudelsack.

At this point, in connection with Professor Moore's argu-

⁶⁹ Theodor Stamatî, *Wörterbuch der deutschen und romanischen Sprache*.

"Dudelsack," cimpoi (cimfoi, simfonu).

⁷⁰ *Vocabularu Român-Francesu*, Bucuresci, 1870.

⁷¹ This definition may be translated for the benefit of those unacquainted with the Roumanian language: "A rustic musical instrument, formed of two pipes and a goat-skin, inflated by blowing into the upper pipe."

⁷² *Dictionar Român-German*, Bucuresci, 1903. Contains the latest and most accurate information on the subject.

⁷³ Vallixandri, *Ballades et Chants Populaires de la Roumaine*, 1855, p. xxvi. See also Tereza Stratilesco, *From Carpathian to Pindus*, p. 345.

⁷⁴ The usual word now is *duda*.

⁷⁵ *Neues vollständiges Taschenwörterbuch*, Pest, 1847.

⁷⁶ *Német-magyar és Magyar-német Zsebszókönyv*, Pest, 1868.

ments to show that *συμφωνία* is not a bagpipe, may be presented certain facts which have some bearing on the case.⁷⁷

EXCURSUS. *Semasiology of certain derivatives of Συμφωνία and predisposing causes.*

Language, being a communal product, not a conscious creation of an individual mind, nor of a limited number of individuals, is in a perpetual process of change, the more marked in proportion as the life of the folk is the more intense and its thought more active. In two epigrammatic phrases Professor Whitney has summed up the whole matter:

These two, in fact, the restriction and specialization of general terms, and the extension and generalization of special terms, are the two grand divisions under which may be arranged all the infinite varieties of the process of names-giving.⁷⁸

The antecedent causes which underlie these processes of change in meaning are further defined by Bréal:⁷⁹

Restriction depends . . . on the conditions of language, expansion . . . results from the events of history.

Another important modifying cause is the usurpation of the function of a given noun as the name of a certain thing by another noun, in meaning originally quite different, or, it may be, by a word of recent coining, or a loan word borrowed from another language.⁸⁰ In the case of the derivatives of *συμφωνία* these causes have all acted to bring about a gradual change in meaning.

The etymology of the word in question shows that when it was first used as the name of a musical instrument it must have been applied to an instrument capable of producing two sounds at once, to which the word *συμφωνία* would

⁷⁷ G. F. Moore, *l.c.* p. 175. "'Bagpipe' is, therefore, not the common and accepted meaning of *zampoña*, *zampogna*, but is unusual and provincial. It is also obviously secondary."

⁷⁸ W. D. Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*, p. 106.

⁷⁹ M. Bréal, *Semantics*, p. 115.

⁸⁰ See Hermann Paul, *Principles of the History of Language*, translated by H. A. Strong, p. 285.

properly apply, when used in the special technical abstract sense, that is, denoting the fusion and blending into one sound of two sounds differing in pitch. A living language cannot be shackled. At an early date the word⁸¹ might be applied to objects bearing an intimate relation to the object which in the first instance acquired as its name the abstract noun *συμφωνία*. From this, especially in languages to which *συμφωνία* came as a loan-word, it is not a long step for the word to become fixed in senses that no longer recall the original meaning. Moreover, in the modern languages in which the word is preserved in its original sense the modifying cause referred to above has been operating during the last three centuries.

A very primitive form of musical instrument, no doubt older than the bagpipe, has been characteristic of the Celtic peoples, namely the *piðgorn*,⁸² now practically extinct, though perhaps still to be found on the island of Anglesea and in a few remote districts of Wales. The instrument, by reason of its peculiar form and construction, was one that would attract attention. Its name appears in other languages, for example, French, *cornemuse*,⁸³ English, *hornpipe*.⁸⁴ Though in course of time the instrument became extinct, the name has been retained to this day, in French as the name of the bagpipe, in English as the name of a dance tune first played on a hornpipe. The word also appears in Provençal, *car-*

⁸¹ In the Mishna, it is quite evident, as Professor Moore points out ("Συμφωνία not a Bagpipe," p. 163), that *šimpōnyāh* has come to be the name of a shawm, by extension of its original meaning. In Italy, likewise, *scampogna*, the old established name of the bagpipe, was first transferred to the chanter, or *piffero*, then later to the Pan's-pipe.

⁸² A specimen of the Welsh *piðgorn* is in the Crosby-Brown Collection in the Metropolitan Museum.

1729. PIBGORN. "The body composed of the shinbone of a deer, mounted at either end with an ox-horn. In the upper horn is concealed a small beating reed made from a straw stalk. Six finger holes in front, and one at the back." (See *Catalogue*, p. 133.)

⁸³ Latinized *cornamusa*, the form in which it appears in fourteenth-century documents.

⁸⁴ Chaucer, however, uses *cornemuse*, a loan-word from the French, now obsolete.

lamuso; Italian, *cornamusa*,⁸⁶ Spanish, *cornamusa*.⁸⁶ In these tongues⁸⁷ it has been gradually usurping the functions of derivatives of Latin *symphonia* as the name of the bagpipe, appearing first in this sense at the close of the sixteenth century in Spanish and Italian,⁸⁸ at a time when *zampofia* and *zampogna* were the common and accepted names of this instrument.

In Italian to-day *cornamusa* has become the common literary word for bagpipe,⁸⁹ yet it is unknown to the Italians who still play the bagpipe.⁹⁰ Among them the bagpipe still bears its native Italian name, *zampogna*.⁹¹

Returning now to the main question under discussion, the testimony of the modern languages, namely,⁹² Italian,

⁸⁶ F. Alunno defines: *cornamusa*, Lat. *ventriculus, batillus, id est ceratolum*. Della Fabrica del Mundo, Veneti, MDLXXXIII. *ceratolum* may be for *κεράυλον*.

⁸⁶ R. Percivall defines: *cornamusa*, a cornamuse, a hornpipe, fistula. — Percivall's Spanish Dictionary of 1591. See Murray's English Dictionary, s.v. *cornemuse*.

⁸⁷ Probably as loan-words from the French.

⁸⁸ Compare the following documents, —

Italian, 1598. John Florio, *l.c.*

cornamusa, a bagpipe or a hornet.

Spanish, 1599. John Minshew, *l.c.*

cornamusa, a cornemuse, a horn-pipe, a bagpipe.

⁸⁹ This usage was established by 1768. But compare note 40.

SYMPHONIA. Apud Vulg. interpr. Dan. 3 s . . . memoratur, videturque intellegi tibia utricularis, Italice *cornamusa*.

(E. Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, s.v. *symphonia*.)

⁹⁰ R. Andreoli, *Vocabolario Napoletano-Italiano* does not give the word.

⁹¹ Boys in the Abruzzi make Pan's-pipes much as American boys make willow whistles; they call them *fischetti*, never *zampogne*.

⁹² In English the word *symphony* was used as the name of a musical instrument in the fourteenth century:

1380. Wyclif, N.T. Luke 15 25:

"He herde a *symphonye* and a crowde."

1398. Trevisa, Barth. de P.R. vi.-xxlii. 213:

"He herde the *symphony* and cornemuse."

It was evidently different from the cornemuse or hornpipe,—that it is mentioned with it is good evidence that it was a rustic instrument. In Dan. 3 s, the Douay Version renders *sūmpōnyāh* by *symphony*.

More cannot be said than that in the fourteenth-century *symphony* was probably an English word for *bagpipe*. See Stainer, *Dictionary of Music*, s.v. *symphony*.

Greek,⁸³ Spanish, Provençal, Roumanian, Hungarian,⁸⁴ concerning the meaning of the several derivatives of Latin *symphonia* peculiar to each tongue respectively, is the following:

1. The word appears as an old and established name of the BAGPIPE, which persists to the present day.

2. Other names of the BAGPIPE are later, usurping the function of derivatives of the Latin *symphonia*.

With this evidence I am prepared to rest my case. The dissipation by Professor Moore⁸⁵ of the deceptive mirage of Hebrew tradition⁸⁶ has done good, in making way for better evidence as to the sense of *sūmpōnyāh* in Dan. 3 5, based not upon what others think, but upon what we know of the musical instrument called in Greek *συμφωνία*, in Latin *symphonia*, also upon the history of the same word in the modern languages, to which it came as an inheritance from the Latin; and if one ounce of facts may be had in exchange for a mine of "tradition," etc., they are indeed cheap at the price. These facts may now be summed up *in toto*:

⁸³ Weigel, in 1796, mentions an evident vulgar neologism, *δοκονζυμοόβρα*, showing that *τζυμοόβρα* was affected by the same process of change of meaning as *sūmpōnyāh* in the Mishna, and *zampogna* in Italian. Another recent name for bagpipe is *δοκομαρδοόβρα*.

⁸⁴ Professor Moore, *l.c.* p. 166, writes: "For the interpretation 'bagpipe,' Mr. Barry relies in part . . . on the meaning of the derivatives of *symphonia* in the Romance Languages. Upon closer examination, it will be found that this evidence does not sustain his contention."

In rebuttal, he confines himself to Italian and Spanish (and Portuguese, in which 'sanfona' is *hurdy-gurdy*, and 'sanfonha' *flageolet*) and makes no mention whatever of the derivatives of *symphonia* and their meaning in Greek, Provençal, Roumanian, and Hungarian.

⁸⁵ I have no cause to dispute with Professor Moore in his view that R. Saadia stumbled upon the interpretation of *sūmpōnyāh* by a process of unscientific folk-etymology to which even the best commentators have in all ages been but too fain to resort, nor in his view that R. Abraham di Porta Leone is giving not a traditional description of an ancient Hebrew instrument, but illustrating "what he thought it might have been like" by describing a form of bagpipe (probably not Italian) that he had himself seen.

⁸⁶ Professor Moore deserves everlasting gratitude for the effective manner in which he has for all time disposed of the utterly unfounded and absurd '*ūgāb* : bagpipe "tradition."

1. In ancient times,

covering a period from approximately 200 B.C. to 600 A.D.,⁹⁷ there was a musical instrument, called in Greek *συμφωνία*, whence Aramaic *sūmpōnyāh*, and Latin *symphonia*, further specified as a *wind instrument*, capable of carrying a melody for singing or dancing, hence, having not a fixed tone, but a range of tones; not a Pan's-pipe,⁹⁸ not a *double-pipe*;⁹⁹ referred to at a late date in such a manner that it must have been thought of as provided with a reservoir of air, the quality of its tones being loud and noisy, waking a man out of sleep as suddenly and rudely as the war trumpet, though indeed sounding gently when far away, causing a large area of territory to ring with its music, which was heard even above the din of other noises;¹⁰⁰ played at banquets and revels for the delectation of persons of bad taste, extravagant proconsuls and *blasé* emperors, who affected a liking for its music, though it was held in little esteem by the musically cultured; used often in polyphonic music with other instruments, notably pipes and cymbals, espe-

⁹⁷ The bagpipe was known to the ancient Greeks and Romans, as I have shown in the excursus on pp. 1 ff., from the fifth century a.c., and by them held in little esteem.

⁹⁸ See above, p. 108, for discussion of the reasons why *συμφωνία* (*sūmpōnyāh*, *symphonia*) cannot possibly be identified with the Pan's-pipe.

⁹⁹ Many forms of double-pipes, *ἀόλοι, tibiae*, were known to the ancients, and held in high esteem. The *symphonia* which Cicero and Seneca associate with depravity must have been an instrument whose music was psychologically incompatible with Greek and Roman ideas, hence seeming rude, barbarous, and vulgar. Consequently, it is not possible to identify it with any of the *double-pipes* mentioned by the ancient writers.

¹⁰⁰ The noisy quality of the tones of the ancient *symphonia* at once suggests the bagpipe, the tones of which have a loud and penetrating quality such that they may be heard for a great distance, and are almost ear-splitting at close range. This feature is well known, and especially characteristic of the instrument in its older and more primitive forms. The remarks of R. Abraham in the Shiltē haggibbōrim (Ugolini, xxxii, col. xlii) are apposite in this connection, —

“Italice hoc instrumentum (samponia) dicitur *pitva sordina*, propter acumen sonitus, quasi ut aures illius qui audit eius sonitum sint quasi aures surdonum, ut praeter hunc, alterum sonitum audire non possint.” (Translated by Blasio Ugolini.)

cially when it was desired to produce more noise than music.¹⁰¹

2. In modern times,

derivatives of *symphonia* have been and are still current in Italian, Provençal, Spanish, Portuguese, Roumanian, Greek, and Hungarian¹⁰² as the names of various musical instruments, to wit, *bagpipe*, *shawm*, *Pan's-pipe*, *hurdy-gurdy*, *mandolin*, *Jew's-harp*, *drum*, *cowbell*. Among these, since the ancient instrument variously called *συμφωνία*, *sūmpōnyāh*, and *symphonia*, was a wind instrument, only names of wind instruments have any bearing on the case; moreover, the Pan's-pipe is excluded from the list of instruments hypothetically corresponding to the ancient instrument in question.¹⁰³ The meaning 'bagpipe' is the oldest, as required by the etymology of the word,¹⁰⁴ which could be applied in the first instance only to an instrument capable of producing two sounds at once. In this sense, moreover, derivatives of *symphonia* are now current in central and southern Italy, Provence, Spain, Roumania, Hungary, and Greece, especially in localities where there is less intensity of life and activity of thought, where amid archaisms of speech antiquated manners and customs chiefly flourish. It was current in this sense, according to printed records, previous to the time when the name of a rustic musical instrument quite different from it came to be used as a name for the bagpipe.

In the light of the facts I have put in evidence there can be but one conclusion, namely, that the musical instrument

¹⁰¹ The modern *zampogna* and *carlamuso*, or bagpipe of Italy and Provence respectively, are played in concert with cymbals.

¹⁰² Formerly also current in French and English, but now obsolete in both of these tongues.

Old French, *cifonie* was certainly the name of the hurdy-gurdy, which is still called *chifourney* in Guernsey.

Old English, *symphony*, probably a name of the bagpipe. See note 92.

¹⁰³ See p. 108.

¹⁰⁴ See pp. 102 f.

Professor Moore, *l.c.* p. 172, acknowledges the importance of the question involved in the etymology of the word. "The name *συμφωνία*, in its etymological sense, would apply more properly to the double-pipe, by which two tones are produced at once, than to the Pan's-pipe."

called in Greek *συμφωνία*, in Aramaic *sūmpōnyāh*, in Latin *symphonia*, is no other than the bagpipe, still called by the same name in Italian, Spanish, Provençal, Roumanian, Greek, and Hungarian.

Accordingly, in Dan. 3 5 *sūmpōnyāh* should be rendered as suggested by the margin of the Revised Version, the whole passage to read, "That at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, bagpipe, and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up."

Likewise, in Luke 15 28, the fact that *συμφωνία* is the name of a musical instrument being admitted,¹⁰⁶ it is necessary — as I recommended in my previous article¹⁰⁶ — to restore the interpretation of Wyclif, substituting only the modern word 'bagpipe' for the obsolete word 'symphony,' making the verse to read, "Now his elder son was in the field, and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard a bagpipe and dancing."

¹⁰⁶ Professor Moore, *l.c.* p. 175, writes: "I think, therefore, that Mr. Barry is right in taking *συμφωνία* in Luke 15 28 as the name of a musical instrument."

¹⁰⁶ On Luke 15 28, *συμφωνία*: Bagpipe, p. 190.