FRAME DRUMS IN THE MEDIEVAL IBERIAN PENINSULA

by

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ABSTRACT

Frame Drums in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula

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Frame drums are percussion instruments comprised of one or two membranes stretched over a light and shallow frame or hoop. Iconographical and literary sources reveal the widespread use of two different types of frame drums in the medieval Iberian Peninsula: a round version with parchment stretched only on one side of its shell and another of square shape with parchment covering both sides of its body. The names *tympanum* in Latin*, pandero* and *adufe* in Castilian*,* and *bandair* and *duff* in Iberian Arabic were most commonly used to refer to these instruments. From a variety of sources, such as sculptures, illuminations of Christian and Jewish books, Islamic decorative objects, music treatises, dictionaries, and historical chronicles, we learn that these instruments were not only played to provide rhythmic accompaniment to recreational, civic, and paraliturgical music, but were also perceived and used as symbols that stood for or suggested something else that was not intrinsically connected to them.

In this dissertation I examine these historical membranophones from four different perspectives: organological, socio-antropological, symbolic and performative. I used an organological approach to study the construction of frame drums and trace back their historical materials in an attempt to reconstruct their timbre. The results of this analysis suggest that these instruments produced a clear and bright medium-high tone full of high overtones because of their specific sizes and materials. Round frame drums tended to produce a clear and sustained pitch and square frame drums a muffled

and “woody” tone. The second perspective that I applied is socio-anthropological to place the frame drums in a social context. This analysis revealed that frame drums were not the sole patrimony of a single religion or social class, but were popularly played by Christian, Muslim, and Jewish performers of different social classes and professional status. Of them, women who performed to make a living were considered to be sexually available and therefore looked down upon. My third approach is symbolic, which I applied to decipher how the instruments were transformed into objects that emphasized cultural concerns. On the one hand, frame drums were used as symbols of paganism and female sexuality to generate anti-Semitic and misogynous feelings from the audience. On the other hand, they were perceived as attributes of Miriam and as symbols of Christ on the Cross and divine justice. My final approach is performative, which I employed to recreate the playing techniques and other aspects of their performance practice. While the round *pandero* was played with the thumb, the palm, and the fingers, the square *adufe* was set to vibrate only with the fingers. The historical sources also indicate that medieval Iberian frame drums were combined alone with each other and also with voices, wind and string instruments, and other percussion instruments.

A comparison of medieval sources with contemporary musical traditions reveals that medieval Iberian frame drums have continued to exist without major variations in rural areas of the Iberian Peninsula and the historically related Maghreb and Latin America. This fortunate case of continuity allows us to corroborate and complement conclusions developed from the study of the primary sources with observations of live traditions. This multidisciplinary research is a thorough and comprehensive study of

medieval Iberian frame drums, instruments that, because of their popularity and their musical and symbolic function, were some of the most preeminent musical instruments used in the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages.

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I feel it is important to mention the instrument maker Joel Robinson and the members of my medieval Mediterranean music ensemble Sendebar — Carlo Valte, Francesc Sans and Cristina Boixadera — who enthusiastically and patiently have listened to my ideas about sound and performance practice reconstruction and were willing to experiment with new materials, instruments, and concepts. I also would like to thank my colleagues David Bruno, Alessandra Ciucci, Ben Bierman, Evan Rapport, Javier Albo and Arsinoi Ioannidou for their wonderful suggestions and valuable support. I would like to commend the important research conducted by the ethnomusicologist Judith Cohen and the frame drum master Lynn Redmond; their pioneer works were crucial in the germination of this dissertation.

Besides scholars and performers, I would like to thank other people who were instrumental in the making of this work. Writing a dissertation was not only a difficult and often frustrating enterprise in itself, but mine was conducted during times of major personal and family crises. During these difficult periods, the support and company of true friends such as Rudaina Ansari, Geoff Glick, André Gremillet, Anthony Bellov and my sister-in-law Linda Severo was crucial. I also want to thank Peg Rivers who has not only been a great advisor and guide through my time at the Graduate Center, but also a real friend. I further would like to acknowledge my mother-in-law Grazia Severo for her unconditional help and support. Finally, I especially wish to thank my wife Antonella Severo and my daughter Isabel. My wife has been a rock during difficult times, and while I was working on this dissertation, she provided me with unconditional love, support, advice, and criticism while her understanding was tested by endless days and holidays without a husband. It was probably the memory of my daughter's laugh that kept me sane during long nights at the library and the last stages of my dissertation. This work is dedicated to both Antonella and Isabel.

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INTRODUCTION

Of Skin Stretched on a Frame or Hoop

In a thirteenth-century representation of the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse sculpted in one of the portals of the Cathedral of Burgos we find that instead of being depicted with their customary *citharae* the characters mentioned in the Revelations of Saint John have been portrayed playing on an array of musical instruments such as the lute, the fiddle, and the bagpipe. And while twenty-two of these bearded male figures hold easily recognizable instruments, the two remaining elders are shown gripping puzzling objects: one a circular object with a floral design [fig. 36], the other a simple square item [fig. 57]. While our first reaction might be to interpret the round object as a plate or mirror, and the square piece as a book or large tile, the musical context of the representation of the other elders guides us instead to acknowledge them as musical instruments. In fact, the artifacts held by the two elders are nothing other than a round and a square frame drum — percussion instruments that consisted of a membrane stretched on a wooden shell.

A considerable number of Iberian iconographical and literary sources reveal that these types of instruments were widely used throughout the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages. As in the case of the representation from the Cathedral of Burgos, the historical sources show the existence of two particular types: one consisting of a circular body with a membrane set on only one of its sides, the other one comprised of a square frame with a membrane covering both sides of its shell. In both cases, devices such as brass jingles, snares, or little bells were added to these basic configurations with the purpose of augmenting their resonance. Following the Hornbostel-Sachs modern

categorization system, these percussion instruments can be largely classified as membranophones because they produced sound by the vibration of a stretched membrane. Their further identification as frame drums in this system is based on the fact that the depth of these membranophones' shells appears to be equal to or smaller than the radius of their membranes.[1]

Both the round and the square frame drums were known in medieval Iberian Latin by the generic term *tympanum*. However, in Romance languages the round kind was known as *pandero* and the square type as *adufe*. While the former term was a development of the Latin noun *pandorium*, a term used during Antiquity to describe a string instrument, the latter was an absorption of the Arabic pronoun-noun combination *al-duff*, a denominative that was used generically throughout Islamic territories to describe any type of frame drum.

It seems possible that frame drums might have originally developed out of skin trays or grain sieves.[2] This is suggested by the similarity between these instruments' shapes, sizes, and methods of construction and those of the food utensils. In fact, the relatively modern Irish frame drum *bodhrán* has been positively traced back to skin trays

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[1] Under medieval conventional classifications, these instruments would have been described either as belonging to a group called *musica rythmica* that was comprised of strings and drums (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum* III/22, seventh century), or as belonging to the *percussibilia*, a group that encompassed only percussion instruments (Johanness de Muris, *Musica speculative*, 1323). These classifications are unsatisfactory for our study since the groups are extremely wide and, therefore, unhelpful in dealing with specific features. Thus, I have chosen to follow the more specific classification proposed by Erich M. von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs. For their theory, see "Systematik der Musikinstrumente," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 56 (1914): 553-590. For an account of different attempts to classify musical instruments through history and in different cultures, see Geneviève Dournon, "Organology," in *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, ed. Helen Myers (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992), 245-300. For criticism of the Hornbostel-Sachs classification in reference to frame drums, see Heide Nixdorff, *Zur Typologie und Geschichte der Rahmentrommeln: Kritische Betrachtung zur Traditionellen Instrumententerminologie,* Baesseler-Archiv, Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Neue Folge-Beiheft 7 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1971).

[2] See Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1940), 32, 76.

that were used for winnowing the grain and as storage containers.[3] The connection between frame drums and grain sieves and skin trays is further indicated by the use of a common name for both types of artifacts. For example, in ancient Sumer the noun *adapa* (*adapu*) was used to describe both a grain measure and a square frame drum,[4] and in medieval North Africa the noun *ghirbāl,* which signifies "the sieve," was used specifically to describe a round frame drum.[5] In the particular case of the Iberian Peninsula we find that at least in Aragon during the fourteenth century a skin tray or similar utensil was also known by the name *pandero*.[6]

Although it is possible that an object held by a dancing figure depicted in a shrine from a sixth-century Neolithic Anatolian city is the oldest extant depiction that we have of the round frame drum [fig. 1],[7] the earliest representations that can be positively identified as the round and square instruments were produced during the third century B.C. [figs. 4-5]. Iconographical and literary sources produced between this time and the fourth century A.D. show that during Antiquity and Early Christianity these instruments were used throughout the Mediterranean and the Middle East primarily to provide music for temple worship, religious processions, or sacred dances—rituals that were performed

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[3] See David G. Such, "The Bodhrán: The Black Sheep in the Family of Traditional Irish Musical Instruments," *The Galpin Society Journal* 38 (1985): 9-19; and Rina Schiller, *The Lamberg and the Bodhrán* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 2001), 95-96.

[4] Francis W. Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians and their Immediate Successors the Babylonians and Assyrians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), 8.

[5] See Henry George Farmer, "Duff," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat and J. Schacht (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 2:620-21; and Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 246.

[6] See Joan Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: Gredos, 1954), 4:366-367.

[7] See Robert Anderson, "Drum, II (vi) Frame Drums," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 7:607; and James Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967)*,* 134, 174-177.

primarily to ensure fertility and regeneration. The identification of these instruments with such rituals prompted their association with fertility goddesses such as the Mesopotamian and Hittite Inanna/Ishtar, the Egyptian Hathor, and the Anatolian and Greco-Roman Cybele.

Since these associations conflicted with the ascetic points of view of the early Christian Church, the early Church Fathers fought to eradicate frame drums, as well as other instruments, from the religious and secular life of their time. However, since frame drums were also mentioned in the Bible in passages such as Exodus 15:20 or Psalm 150 as musical instruments used for praising God, the Fathers of the western Church were forced to explained why notorious pagan instruments played such an important role in the Old Testament. Their solution was to negate their role in the Scriptures as genuine musical instruments used in religious ceremonies. Instead, the Christian leaders saw the frame drums as symbols that negatively referred to the flesh and worldly things, or that positively indicated Christ stretched on the Cross.[8] These conflicting interpretations were to have a crucial influence in the way these types of instruments were perceived and used in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages.

Even though frame drums were commonly depicted during Antiquity, they are absent in Christian art produced from the fifth to the tenth century. It is tempting to think that this was the result of a successful banishment of the instruments by the religious leaders. Nonetheless, the reason for the lack of representation is better explained by a

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[8] See Helmut Giesel, *Studien zur Symbolik der Musikinstrumente im Schrifttum der alten und mittelalterlichen Kirche: von den Anfängen bis zum 13. Jahrhundert,* Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, 94 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1978), 46; James W. McKinnon, "Musical Instruments in Medieval Psalm Commentaries and Psalters," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21 (1968): 3-20; and Reinhold Hammerstein, *Diabolus in Musica: Studien zur Ikonographie der Musik des Mittelalters* (Munich: Francke, 1974), 22-29.

preference during this period for an aniconic style of art in the medieval West. As we will see later, literary sources demonstrate that the frame drums did not disappear during this period, but endured at the margin of organized religion.

In Iberian literature we find the round frame drum described precisely as early as the seventh century in the *Etymologiarum* of Isidore of Seville. Nonetheless, its earliest extant depiction in both Iberian and medieval Western art does not appear until the tenth century in an illumination of a Mozarabic Bible. Similarly, the square type is first described in a tenth-century Latin dictionary produced in Navarre that explains that the instrument is comprised of skin stretched over four pieces of wood. Its first known representation appears a century later in the façade of the church of Saint Isidore of Seville in León. After the twelfth century, both the round *pandero* and the square *adufe* become commonly represented in sacred and secular art and literature either in the hands of biblical figures or secular players.

From these sources we gather that Christian, Muslim, and Jewish players of both sexes commonly used the round *pandero* and the square *adufe* to accompany recreational dance-songs, commemorative parades, the welcoming of important people into towns and houses, and pilgrimages. However, the instruments were most commonly associated with professional female musicians who were considered to be sexually available for their male audiences. The historical data also indicates that the frame drums were played alone, in combination with each other, or as part of ensembles of musical instruments that included other percussion types or melodic instruments such as the fiddle, the lute, or the bagpipe.

Besides their recreational, civic, and paraliturgical musical functions, the *pandero* and the *adufe* were also used in art and literature to reinforce and enhance social and cultural precepts and concerns. Because of their pre-Christian associations with paganism and biblical worship, their interpretation as allegories for both worldly things and Christ on the cross, and their contemporaneous connection with sexually-charged female musicians, the medieval Iberian frame drums were perceived as complex and multifaceted symbols.

Observations of modern performance practice suggest that the Iberian frame drums have continued to exist today in some rural areas of Iberia, the Maghreb, and Latin America. In these regions frame drums not only have maintained their medieval configurations, sizes, and materials, but also their denominations and some aspects of their social context, symbolism, and performance practice. This fortunate continuity could be explained by a theory formulated by the musicologist Jan Ling that states: "to abandon an instrument when it is still functioning is foreign to any society outside the laws of the modern market economic system."[9]

Despite the wealth of medieval iconographical and literary records and a modern survival that demonstrates the instruments' continued connection with the people of the region, little scholarly attention has been paid to frame drums. This may be because in our melodic and harmonic-oriented modern musical culture, these instruments are more often than not considered to be rudimentary and archaic. For most scholars and performers, the instruments' animal membranes, simple frames, and connection with rural music are no match for the complicated designs, materials, and courtly association

[9] See Jan Lingg, *A History of European Folk Music*, trans. Linda and Robert Schenck (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997), 134.

of other historical instruments such as the medieval and Renaissance harp, fiddle, recorder, and lute.[10]

The purpose of this dissertation, which is the product of my interests in medieval and traditional Iberian and Mediterranean music and musical instruments, is to present the most comprehensive study to date of a historical drum. This task will be attempted by looking at the surviving iconographical and literary sources from organological, socio-anthropological, symbolic, and performative perspectives.

Since the practice and performance of frame drums in medieval Iberia was affected by musical and symbolic functions during Antiquity and early Christianity, in chapters 1 and 2 I will begin with a detailed survey of the frame drums during these periods. In chapters 3 and 4, I will present the medieval Iberian iconographical and literary sources that I have been able to collect in which frame drums are depicted, described, or simply mentioned. This will serve as a platform for a socio-anthropological, symbolic, organological, and performative study of the instruments that will be conducted in chapters 5 to 9.

Any thorough study of historical musical instruments needs to address the people who played them, since the musical functions and symbolism given to the instruments is usually closely linked to the performers' gender, religion, and social and professional

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[10] For different studies about these instruments, see Christopher Page, "Jerome of Moravia on the Rubeba and Viella," *The Galpin Society Journal* 32 (1979): 77-98; Mary Remnant, "The Diversity of Medieval Fiddles," *Early Music* 3 (1975): 47-51; Horace Fitzpatrick, "The Medieval Recorder," *Early Music* 3 (1975): 361-364; Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Frederick von Ende, "Recorder Finds from the Middle Ages, and Results of Their Reconstruction," *The Galpin Society Journal* 29 (1976): 35-41; Curtis Bouterse, "Reconstructing the Medieval Arabic Lute: A Reconsideration of Farmer's Structure of the Arabic and Persian Lute," *The Galpin Society Journal* 32 (1979): 2-9; Roslyn Rensch Erbes, "The Development of the Medieval Harp: A Re-Examination of the Evidence of the Utrecht Psalter and its Progeny," *Gesta* 11 (1972): 27-36; Marinus Jan Hendrikus van Schaik, *The Harp in the Middle Ages: The Symbolism of a Musical Instrument* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992); Michael Morrow, "The Renaissance Harp: The Instrument and its Music," *Early Music* 7 (1979): 499-505.

statuses. Thus, in chapters 5 and 6 I will look at medieval Iberian frame drum players from a socio- anthropological perspective to classify and compare the different roles that they had in their social and cultural environments and how their peers perceived them. With this I hope to reconstruct elements of the musical and symbolic functions, the social context, and status of the instruments in the medieval Iberian societies that used them.

To understand the role that frame drums had as symbolic objects and to attempt a de-codification of their allegorical message, chapter 7 uses elements of the traditional iconographical and iconological method suggested by Erwin Panofsky as a guide and ideas about medieval perception and memory formulated by Karl Morrison and Mary Carruthers.[11] These scholars' basic approach to the decoding of symbolic meaning is based on the idea that the intrinsic message of a representation was discerned by a viewer/reader/listener through a process of recognition, association, and criticism that was steered by socio-cultural precepts. As we will see, frame drums generated in the mind of the receiver such a complex and contradictory set of associations that in a representation the interaction of the instruments with other elements of the symbolic discourse and the context of the depiction or description are crucial to understand their proper significance.

My organological research in chapter 8 focuses on the study of the frame drums' structures and materials not only to classify them appropriately, but also to understand how these instruments sounded. Since there are no extant medieval frame drums, I

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[11] See Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939); and by the same author *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (New York: Harper & Row, 1955). For a summary of Panofsky's method and criticism of this method, see Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, 32-45. For the theories of Morrison and Carruthers, see Karl F. Morrison's *History as a Visual Art in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); and Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 229.

attempt the reconstruction of their historical materials by finding what types of wood and animal skin were both appropriate to make the instruments and at the same time available in medieval Iberia. Then, I analyze these materials' response to vibration in the context of the instruments' configurations and sizes, as they appear represented in the sources. This helps us to determine the possible timbre that was produced by the combination of all these structural elements.

Finally, in chapter 9 I try to reconstruct the medieval Iberian frame drums' playing techniques by studying the ways in which the performers represented appear to hold their instruments and strike their membranes, resonators, and shells. Then, searching for precise similarities that might show an endurance of the medieval performance practice in our days, I compare the medieval hand positions with the way round and square frame drums are still held and set to sound in modern Iberia, the Maghreb, and Latin America. I use the same process for the reconstruction of playing techniques utilized for other elements of performance practice such as the musical role that the instruments had when they were combined with each other or played as part of ensembles of mixed instruments.

CHAPTER I

Frame Drums in Pre-Classical Antiquity and their Association with Sacred and Secular Rituals

Ancient Middle Eastern and Mediterranean sources reveal that the main role of frame drums during Antiquity was to provide music for temple worship, religious processions, or sacred dances, rituals that were performed primarily to ensure fertility and regeneration. Although the association of the frame drums with these rituals is not the main focus of this dissertation, the subject deserves considerable attention here since it is crucial for our understanding of how these instruments were perceived and used during the Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula.

1. Frame Drums and Fertility Cults in the Ancient Middle East and the Mediterranean World

The oldest extant representation of what could be considered a frame drum comes from a scene depicted on a shrine wall from the Neolithic city of Çatal Hüyük, located in Anatolia (modern-day Turkey).[1] The depiction, produced circa 5800-5600 B.C., portrays a group of human figures clad in leopard skins that seem to be dancing around a giant bull [fig. 1].[2] While most figures seem to be carrying bows, one of them holds a horn-shaped item in one hand and a round object in the other. The appearance of the bull, revered throughout the ancient Near East and the Mediterranean as the emblem of male

[1] See Robert Anderson, "Drum, II (vi) Frame Drums," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 7:607. For more information about this Neolithic city and its shrines, see James Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967).

[2] For the dating of this shrine, see Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük*, 170.

fertility, suggests in the context of the shrine the cultic character of the event represented.[3] In this respect the items held by the participants of the ceremony take the role of ritualistic objects. Since both horn and frame drums were to become widespread objects of fertility cults throughout the ancient Middle East and Mediterranean world, it is possible to imagine that we are in fact in the presence of the earliest known iconographical representation of the frame drum and its everlasting connection with fertility rituals.[4]

It is not until some three thousand years later, during the flourishing period of the ancient Sumerian civilization, that we find our next representations of frame drums. To my knowledge, the earliest of these depictions appears on the inlaid sound box of a lyre belonging to the first dynasty of Ur (circa 2700-2450 B.C.) [fig. 2].[5] In one of the scenes represented, three animals appear to be involved in music making. An ass plays a lyre with a bull head carved on its sound box while a bear appears to be either clapping or dancing to its music. Next to them a jackal shakes a *sistrum* with one hand while with the

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[3] See James Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations of the Near East* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), 96, 124; and Sybil Marcuse, *A Survey of Musical Instruments* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 119. These figures have been described as "dancing hunters" involved in a religious ritual. See Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük,* 134, 174-177.

[4] See Anderson, "Drum, II (vi) Frame Drums," 378; and Anthony Baines, "Drum," in *The Oxford Companion to Musical Instruments*, ed. Anthony Baines (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 34. I agree with Doris Stockmann that one of the horn-shaped objects represented is in fact an animal horn. However, it is important to consider that the horn-shaped object might be a drumstick in imitation of an actual horn. See Doris Stockmann, "On the Early History of Drums and Drumming in Europe and the Mediterranean," in *Second Conference of the ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology, Stockholm November 19-23, 1984*, ed. Cajsa S. Lund (Stockholm: Royal Swedish Academy of Music, 1986), 1:20-26.

[5] Curt Sachs informs us that on an early vase from Bismya (circa 3000 B.C.), the figure of a man marching behind two harpists seems to be squeezing a rectangular frame drum. See Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1940), 31-32. However, the author states that: "the object is not distinct enough to admit any authoritative interpretation." Similarly, Francis Galpin suggests that a square frame drum is depicted together with a bow-shaped harp in a seal impression dated circa 2700 B.C. Although this iconography predates the lyre found in Ur, I find the representation of the object too vague to accept his interpretation. See Francis Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians and their Immediate Successors the Babylonians & Assyrians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), 9.

other he strikes what seems to be a square frame drum that rests on his lap.[6] The art historian Julian Reade has explained that the musical scene depicted on the lyre is part of a larger iconographical program that represents a banquet celebrated in preparation for crossing into the netherworld.[7] The context of the scene indicates the association of the frame drums, as well as the other instruments depicted, with ritualistic music and the idea of rebirth in the afterlife.

The frame drums' association with ritualistic music is further corroborated by a religious scene depicted in a Mesopotamian seal impression from the Akkadian Period (circa 2350-2170 B.C.) [fig. 3]. The scene shows two musicians playing music for Inanna/Ishtar, the ancient Assyrian goddess of fertility and love.[8] One of them performs on the lyre and the other one shakes a *sistrum* with one hand while a square frame drum, just discernable in the impression, rests on his lap.[9]

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[6] Galpin has interpreted this as a square frame drum. See Galpin, *Music of the Sumerians*, 10; and Subhi Anwar Rashid, *Mesopotamien,* Musikgeschichte in Bildern II: Musik des Altertums. Lieferung 2 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1984), 40-41. The art historian Julian Reade identifies the object on the animal's lap as a tablet containing the text of a song. See Reade, "The Royal Tombs of Ur," in *The Art of the First Cities*, ed. Joan Ruz (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 105-106.

[7] Julian Reade, "The Royal Tombs," 105-106.

[8] The Sumerian Inanna and her Assyrian counterpart Ishtar were the contemporary manifestations of the Neolithic Mother Goddess, a deity that incarnated the generative power of nature and therefore was responsible for the periodic renewal of life in accordance with the seasons. For a history of this belief see E. O. James, *The Ancient Gods: The History and Diffusion of Religion in the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1960), 46-76; and Marija Gimbutas*, The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe: 6500-3500 B.C.: Myths and Cult Images* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 152.

[9] See Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians*, 4, 8-9; and Rashid, *Mesopotamien*, 64-65. Although the object appears too vague to be interpreted as a drum, the player's posture, function, and the appearance of the *sistrum* and lyre clearly reminds us of the depiction in the lyre of Ur. This convinces me of Galpin's interpretation that this is in fact another frame drum. Galpin and Rashid have described the other object shown in the representation as an altar shaped as a hourglass drum. It is important to mention here that the *sistrum* was to become a cult instrument in ancient Egypt where it was sacred to the goddess Hathor. See Baines "Sistrum," in *The Oxford Companion*, 309. Stockmann suggests it is possible that the *sistrum* might have developed from horn-shaped figurines with legs like a fork, which themselves developed out of the old ritualistic animal horn. See Stockmann, "On the Early History," 25-26.

A clearer depiction of a square-shaped instrument, held in a more conventional manner (by two hands and at chest level) is shown on the fragment of a bronze situla from Tepe Giyan (west Iran) produced circa 2200 B.C. [fig. 4]. The scene shows four musicians in a procession, two of them clapping their hands and the other two playing instruments. While the first instrumentalist is shown playing an elongated quadrangular harp, the second one appears to be playing a small square frame drum.[10] It is possible that the scene depicted is a representation of a religious procession since parades with musical instruments such as lyres and drums were commonly performed as part of fertility rituals in the ancient world.[11]

The round-shaped frame drum was also associated at this time in Mesopotamia with fertility rites. A good example is a scene that is depicted in a limestone relief from Tell Halaf, on the border, of Syria produced during the third millennium B.C. [fig. 5]. In this representation, a lion appears playing a lyre while another animal, probably a bear, plays a round frame drum to accompany the dance of a group of animals that includes an

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[10] See Joan Rimmer, *Ancient Musical Instruments of Western Asia in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum, 1969), 26-27; and Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians*, 9.

[11] Processions had a major role in the worship of Inanna, the Sumerian fertility goddess. In one of her hymns, written on a tablet dated to circa 2000 B.C. it is explained that "the people of Sumer parade before you [Inanna]." This sentence reappears as a refrain after the author of the work gives descriptions of the different social groups that are parading, including some who held "the lyre." For the complete text of this hymn, see Diane Wolkstein and Samuel Noah Kramer*, Inanna Queen of Heaven and Earth: Her Stories and Hymns from Sumer* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), 97. Other connections between processions and music in a sacred context are also testified in Hittite literature. Ancient texts tell us that during the spring festival's celebrations, it was customary for the king and queen, together with the court and the priesthood to parade to the temple accompanied by musicians, including drummers and dancers. It is also mentioned that at certain moments during the festival the musicians were to stop playing their instruments while continuing to hold them in their hands. For more information on this subject, see Stefano de Martino, "Music, Dance, and Processions in Hittite Anatolia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jack M. Sasson (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 4:2664.

ass with protruding genitalia.[12] Two elements seem to associate this scene with the idea of fertility and regeneration. The clearest one is the representation of the animal's genitalia, which functions as an emblem of male fertility. The other one, more subtle, is the representation of the act of dancing, an activity that in ancient Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Anatolia was closely associated with the fertility and regeneration cult of the goddess Inanna/Ishtar and the shepherd god Dumuzi/Tummuz.[13] The association of dances with fertility rites should not come as a surprise since in ancient agricultural cultures the dance had the ritualistic function of re-enacting the drama of copulation, the imitation of the sprouting of seeds, the calling to the plants to grow, the action of healing, and the sacrifice to the deity.[14]

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[12] See Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians*, 9, 31. The depiction of animals engaged in human activities is rare in ancient Sumer. This type of representation might have started in Uruk and spread throughout Mesopotamia. See Holly Pittman, "Proto Elamite Period," in *The Art of the First Cities*, ed. Joan Ruz (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 43. It is also possible to interpret the animals in the scene as human dancers disguised as animals, a custom that has persisted from the Stone Age to modern times. Throughout antiquity, representations of animals endowed with extra-large phalluses represented male fertility. These depictions were carried in processions during springtime. See Steven Lonsdale, *Animals and the Origins of Dance* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1981), 14-15, 103-105; and Lilian B. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1965), 58-60.

[13] It was Inanna who renewed vegetation, prompted the crops to grow, and propagated man and beast. She was known as the celestial mother, the lady of granary and wine, and the goddess of love. Her marriage (the "sacred wedding") with the shepherd god Dumuzi was understood to represent and affect the renewal of life at the turn of the year. Her nuptials, celebrated every spring, consisted of a festival in which, amid processions, the king and high priestess reenacted the goddess' sexual union with Dumuzi with the purpose of arising the vital forces in the dormant soil and the process of fecundity everywhere. For more information about the cult of Inanna and Dumuzi and their "Sacred Wedding" see James, *The Ancient Gods*, 77-79; and E. O. James, *Myth and Ritual in the Ancient Near East* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1958), 55-57.

[14] See James, *Myth and Ritual,* 27-28; also Maria-Gabriele Wosien, *Sacred Dance: Encounter with the Gods* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974), 19; and Lonsdale, *Animals and the Origins*, 14-15, 103-105. For the specific Sumerian context, see Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, "Music and Dance in Ancient Western Asia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jack M. Sasson (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 4:2608, 2610-2612 and for the Hittite dancing, see Stefano de Martino, "Music, Dance, and Processions," 2663-2665. During fertility festivals in Sumer, temple service people exclusively performed ritualistic dances. Hittite literature produced during the second millennium also documents the use of several kinds of similar dances during their own spring fertility festivals. The dances were performed to accompany a particular ritual action or procession and to entertain the gods or royalty. For further information, see Draffkorn Kilmer, "Music and Dance," 2611; and Stefano de Martino, "Music, Dance, and Processions" 2665.

A clearer representation of a round frame drum that accompanies yet another dance scene, one which also includes lyres and the depiction of protruding male sexuality, is found in a drawing carved into a stone plate with flint or pebble stone in central Negev (Palestine), produced during the early second millennium B.C. [fig. 6].[15] The drawing shows two women, identified as such because of their accentuated hips and hairstyle, playing lyres in front of an animal that could be a jackal, a lion or a leopard. Below and to the left of these figures, the artist represented a dance scene that shows men with accentuated genitalia and what seem to be daggers attached to their belts. This group of dancing figures is accompanied by a male musician who holds a round frame drum with his left hand while beating the instrument with his right.[16]

Literary sources further testify to the specific use of frame drums for the performance of ritualistic music. These sources mentioned the *adapa, meze,* and *balag-di,* instruments identified as frame drums by Galpin and Sachs, in connection with the

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[15] See Joachim Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine: Archeological, Written, and Comparative Sources* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2002), 71-75. The chronological classification of the drawing has been problematic since the desert region where the iconography is found does not lend itself to the kind of stratification that archeologists need to make in decisions regarding dating. Thus, scholars have suggested a range of dates that extend from the fourth millennium to the Hellenistic Roman period; Joachim Braun dates it to the early second millennium based on the lyre's shape and the women's hairstyle.

[16] Currently, male group dances accompanied by frame drums are still popular in Armenian festivals. See Karine Kushnareva, "Some Evidence of Musical Instruments in Bronze Age Caucasus," in *Studien zur Musikarchäologie II: Vorträge des 1. Symposiums der International Study Group on Music Archeology im Kloster Michaelstein, Mai 1998,* ed. Ellen Hickman and Ricardo Eichmann (Berlin: VML, 2000), 18-24, 105. Also, in some Semitic male round dances, it is customary for the participants to swing a dagger above their heads. See Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 75.

veneration of deities.[17] A good example is found on a tablet of the Ur-Sin period (circa 2100 B.C.), where a hymn to Enlil, the god who separated heaven and earth and organized the world after creation, is preserved with the inscription "a song on the *adapa* to Enlil."[18] The use of the *meze,* identified by Galpin as a round frame drum, is testified by glosses, such as "the *mezu* is to be removed," or "the *mezu* is to be used," that were added to temple's hymns to indicate the proper use of the instrument during their singing. Also in the temple of Enlil, the great liturgy ended with two psalms that were indicated to be sung to the *meze*.[19] In terms of the *balag-di*, which Sachs describes as a round frame drum, we find in another Sumerian text that circa 2280 B.C. the granddaughter of King Maram-Sin was appointed player of that instrument in the temple of the Moon in Ur.[20]

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[17] Contemporaneous literature informs us of twelve Sumerian words and their Akkadian equivalents that were used as appellatives for drums. Of those twelve names, scholars have recognized that the words *adapa*, *meze* (*mezu*), and *balag-di* referred to handheld frame drums. It is possible that the *adapa* and the *meze* were regarded as the same instrument or two instruments of similar shape and performance practice since they were sometimes equated in descriptions. Galpin stated that the terms *adapa/adapu* described a frame drum of the square shape possibly with skin on both sides of its shell. He based this conclusion on the fact that a grain measure of the same shape was also called by that name in Ancient Sumer. On the other hand, the *meze* is considered by Galpin to be a frame drum of round shape with skin on only one side of its frame. However, the scholar does not support this claim with any iconographical or philological information. The *meze* is also considered by H.G. Farmer to be a small round frame drum. In the case of the *balag-di*, Curt Sachs explains that the name *balag* comes from the verb *bal* which means "to beat." Its Akkadian equivalent was *balaggu*. It is possible that this word described a frame drum of round shape since the etymology of the word *timbutu* or *tibbu,* the equivalent name of *balag-di* in Akkadian, was "ring." While Galpin considers the *balag-di* to be an hourglass drum, Anne Draffkorn Kilmer explains that the term *balag* was also used to describe a harp as well as a drum. For these studies and discussions, see Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 73-76; James Blades, *Percussion Instruments and Their History* (Westport, Conn.: The Bold Strummer, 1992), 153,156-157; Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians*, 4-9; Marcuse, *A Survey of Musical Instruments*, 123,147-48; and Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, "Continuity and Change in Ancient Mesopotamian Terminology for Music and Musical Instrument," in *Studien zur Musikarchäologie II: Vorträge des 1. Symposiums der International Study Group on Music Archeology im Kloster Michaelstein, Mai 1998*, ed. Ellen Hickman and Ricardo Eichmann (Berlin: VML, 2000), 115.

[18] Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians*, 8.

[19] Galpin identifies the *adapa* as a square frame drum. See Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians*, 9-10.

[20] See Blades, *Percussion Instruments*, 153; and Marcuse, *A Survey of Musical Instruments*, 131. For rites connected with the worshipping of the moon in which frame drums were used, see Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 76.

The representations produced during the third millennium suggest that two different kinds of frame drums, one square and one round, were known to the ancient Mesopotamians as well as other nearby cultures. The evidence studied suggests that the performance of the different kinds of frame drum was a fundamental element of religious ceremony. During fertility rituals as well as temple worship they accompanied and articulated various ritualistic acts. Because of their fundamental participation in these ceremonies, frame drums, as well as lyres, became associated with the rituals of the spring festival and thus with fertility and sexuality.[21] This helps to explain the emphasis made on male genitals in figs. 5 and 6. As we will see, for the rest of antiquity this association with fertility and sexuality was to become the most important feature of these instruments even if the ritual acts and the names of deities were different from one culture to another.

2. FRAME DRUMS AND WOMEN

Art and literature from the second millennium onward indicate a widespread use of frame drums throughout the Ancient world.[22] Most of these sources show females playing or holding one of these membranophones, a fact that suggests a close connection between women and these instruments during Antiquity. The representations can be roughly grouped in two categories or topoi: one in which the women players are nude and

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[21] See Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 70-73.

[22] This coincides with an important period of political stability in these areas. For example, Egypt was recovering from a period of political fragmentation, Mycenaean trade was expanding the boundaries of the Mediterranean bringing places such as Cyprus into the trade network, there was a reappearance of urbanism in Palestine, and many important palaces were built in Anatolia and Crete. For more information about this period, see D.H. Thrump*, The Prehistory of the Mediterranean* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 156-228.

the other in which they are clothed.[23] Scholars have interpreted depictions that conform to the first topos as representations of fertility deities or women involved in their cult, while suggesting that figures of the second topos represent secular musicians because of the appearance of garments covering their bodies. The identification of the two topoi is crucial to our study because elements of both will endure not only throughout the Middle Ages but even to this day in the Iberian Peninsula.

2.1 NUDE AND SEMI-NUDE PLAYERS AS FERTILITY SYMBOLS

The oldest representations of the nude/semi-nude female drummer topos are found in a collection of clay figurines and reliefs produced in Mesopotamia during the high Babylonian period (2100-1530 B.C.) [fig. 7-8]. The statues and plaques represent nude or semi-nude females, with braided or loose hair and often wearing necklaces,[24] who hold disc-like objects that have been described as frame drums.[25] Scholars have suggested that because of their nudity these figures are representations either of the Mother Goddess or of one of her priestesses.[26] The presence of frame drums likely reinforced the sexual element of the representations since these instruments had, as we have seen above, a strong connection with fertility rituals.

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[23] While the idea of two different topoi have been hinted at by different scholars such as Joachim Braum, Emily Teeter, and Anwar Rashid, this type of division between nude/semi-nude and clothed female players is used here as a way of grouping the extant corpus of images and literature that represent female frame drum players. However, these categories are far from being perfect since, as we will see later, their boundaries blur constantly. For the sake of clarity, I have decided to group the representations of males into a separate section.

[24] See Rashid, *Mesopotamien,* 96.

[25] See Rimmer, *Ancient Musical Instruments,* 23**;** and Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 76.

[26] Nudity was a traditional feature of fertility deities' representations. See Anne K. Capel and Donald B. Spanel, "Motherhood," in *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven,* ed. Anne K. Capel and Glenn E. Markoe (Cincinnati: Hudson Hills Press, 1996), 59-60, 65-66. See also Rashid, *Mesopotamien*, 96.

In these depictions, the frame drums are varied in size and are held and played in two different ways. In one of them the instruments are held from the bottom section of their frame by the left hand of the player, leaving the opposite hand free to strike the skin of the instrument either with the finger or the whole palm [fig. 7].[27] In the other technique represented in the clay figurines, both hands grab the frame by the lower or middle section of the instrument [fig. 8], leaving available only the pads and joints of the fingers to strike the skin.[28] It has also been suggested that in some of the figures a strap seems to be holding the drum.[29]

Similar types of nude or semi-nude female figures also holding disc-like objects can be found in terracotta plaque reliefs produced after 1200 B.C. in areas of Israel/Palestine and other Mediterranean coastal regions. The women in these representations are adorned with some sort of head covering or wig and jewelry and appear holding a disc-like object flat against the left side of their chests. While the circular object held by some of the figures appears to have cross-shaped adornments and a slightly vaulted shape, which identifies it as a loaf of bread [fig. 9], other figures hold larger discs that can be more certainly identified as frame drums [fig. 10].[30] The

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[27] This technique is still popular throughout the Middle East and North Africa. For examples of this playing technique, see Rashid, *Mesopotamien*, 96-97, 110-11; Afif Alvarez Bulos, *Handbook of Arabic Music* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1971), 23; Jeremy Montagu, *Musical Instruments of the Bible* (London: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 131; and Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 247.

[28] I have seen this technique used mainly on Moroccan square frame drums. A similar technique is also currently used in the Middle East. See Rashid, *Mesopotamien*, 96.

[29] If this were the case, the two hands would have been free to strike the skin in different possible ways such as flat palm or closed fist. For the performance of the square frame drum in some countries of the Middle East, see Rashid, *Mesopotamien,* 96.

[30] See Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 127. For a heated discussion about the identification of these objects, see Othmar Keel, "Musikinstrumente, Figuren und Siegel im Judaischen Haus der Eisenzeit II," *Heiliges Land* 4 (1976): 35-43.

similarity between these figures and the Babylonian representations studied above suggests a possible Mesopotamian influence in the production of the Israeli/Palestinian types.[31]

As in the case of their Mesopotamian sisters, the nudity of the figures also suggests a connection with fertility and sexuality, elements that are emphasized by the appearance of the frame drum and its ancient association with fertility cults. The wigs and jewelry that adorn the figures have also helped scholars identify the figures as representations of deities, temple prostitutes, and/or priestesses.[32]

In Egypt, the round frame drum, introduced during the New Kingdom and labeled as *s´r* in tombs, appears also in the hands of nude or semi-nude deities and priestesses, particularly in those of Hathor and her worshipers.[33] Hathor, yet another incarnation of the Neolithic Mother-goddess, was the Egyptian deity of love and fertility as well as the mistress of the sky who gave birth to the sun every morning. The waters of the Nile were considered to come from her uterus and her assistance was crucial at divine and royal births. She was also considered to be the "mistress of dance and music," and lovers turned their prayers to her while the population created votive phalli in her honor.

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[31] See Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 70.

[32] See Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 131; and Carol Meyers, "The Drum Dance Song Ensemble: Women's Performance in Biblical Israel," in *Rediscovering the Muses: Women's Musical Traditions*, ed. Kimberly Marshall (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 55. For an explanation about temple prostitution, see footnote 48 in this chapter.

[33] See Hans Hickmann, *Musicologie Pharaonique: Études sur l'evolution de l'art musical dans l'Égypite ancienne* (Kehl: Librairie Heitz, 1956), 25, 45. There seems to be evidence that during the twelfth century B.C. foreigners such as Phoenician and Canaanite artisans and traders introduced different kinds of drums to the Middle Kingdom. For more information about this subject see Lise Manniche*, Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1991), 39; Emily Teeter, "Female Musicians in Pharaonic Egypt," in *Rediscovering the Muses: Women's Musical Traditions*, ed. Kimberly Marshal (Boston: North Eastern University Press, 1994), 79-80; and Bo Lawergren, "Music in Ancient Egypt," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Donald B. Redford (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 2:450-454.

Toward the end of the Pharaonic period (late first century B.C.), her attributes were frequently given to Isis, wife of Osiris the King of the Dead, who was associated with rebirth.

Representations of a nude or semi-nude Hathor or her priestesses playing round frame drums can be found in temples dedicated to the goddess of the Ptolemaic period (first century B.C.) such as the ones in Edfu, Philae, and Dendara.[34] In Dendara, for example, we find depictions of the goddess herself playing the frame drum sitting on a lotus flower, an Egyptian symbol of fertility [fig. 11].[35] Further examples of the association with and use of frame drums in her cult are attested in inscriptions from some of Hathor's temples. In a text found on one of the walls of her temple in Dendera, it is explained that in that place a statue of the goddess was carried and presented to the people to the sound of cymbals and frame drums.[36] In another inscription, this time a hymn written on a wall at the Greco-Roman temple of Medamud, we find another example of the use of frame drums in her rituals in a passage that says " the priest honors you [Hathor]…, the drummers take their frame drums…, [and] drunkards play frame drums for you [Hathor] in the cold night.[37]

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[34] For more information about these temples, see Richard H. Wilkinson*, The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000).

[35] In the same temple there are also representations of thirty-two identical females wearing some of Hathor's headdresses (cow horns and sun discs) and playing frame drums in procession toward the deity's shrine. On the opposite wall of this shrine, similar figures appear playing the *sistra*, the other musical instruments associated with the goddess Hathor. See Manniche*, Music and Musicians,* 65. The participation of female musicians in temple music, especially in the cult of Hathor, is well documented during the New Kingdom. See Emily Teeter, "Female Musicians," 84-86. On the lotus flower as a symbol of fertility, see Gay Robins, "Of Fertility and Potency in the New Kingdom Egyptian Art," in *Sexuality in Ancient Art, Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy*, ed. Natalie Boymel Kampen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 32-33.

[36] See Manniche*, Music and Musicians,* 67.

[37] Ibid., 61.

Obviously, as seen in the context of Hathor, a goddess related to female sexuality and the fecundity of the land, the frame drum in Ancient Egypt also carried the widespread connotation of fertility that we have seen in Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and the Levant. This connection probably prompted the instrument's further association with life beyond death, an ancient concern of the Egyptian culture. A good example of the relation of the frame drum with the other life can be seen in the inside of wooden sarcophagi where lists of musical instruments that were suitable to be used for the transformation of the dead were depicted. In these lists, the round frame drum always figures first.[38]

In Egypt, round frame drums also appear in the hands of nude or semi-nude women in tomb paintings that depict outdoor sacred and secular ceremonies such as processions, dances and the racing of the *djed* pillar, a monument erected during a ceremony called the *heb sed* jubilee that represented the pharaoh's stability and vitality after thirty years of reign.[39] The joyful character associated with the frame drums is attested not only in the context of these blissful *heb sed* festivals, but also by their prohibition in the shrines that allegedly housed the remains of Osiris. [40] These shrines

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[38] Ibid.,118-19.

[39] In fact, the oldest representation of the round frame drum in Egypt can be seen in the tomb of Kheruef (circa 1417-1379 B.C.). The depiction shows two women playing this type of frame drum during the ritual festivities of the erection of the *djed* pillar of Amenhotep III. See Lise Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, 65-69; and Emily Teeter, "Female Musicians," 85. Other examples can be seen in the tombs of Amenophis III and IV, and of Osorkon III. Although most of these players have their hairs so short that they can be confused with men, scholars described them as women because of their bodies, their gestures, and other details in the representations. See Robert Anderson, "Egypt" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 8:3. This same author also explains that dancers in Ancient Egypt were more often women than men. See Robert Anderson, "Music and Dance in Pharaonic Egypt," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jack M. Sasson (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 4:2563.

[40] According to mythology, his brother Seth tore him into pieces. Different parts of his body were housed in different shrines that were spread throughout Egypt. See Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, 118.

were considered to be so sacred that any joyful or frivolous activity was banned from them. Thus, in a decree carved in stone found in one of these shrines located in the island of Biga, we read: "Do not play the frame drum here, nor sing to the harp and pipe."[41]

Another kind of frame drum that was popular in Ancient Egypt, at least during the fourteenth century B.C., was rectangular with concave sides. Representations of this instrument appear in tombs, in the hands of women at banquets and celebratory outdoor scenes.[42] The instrument usually appears together with other kinds of drums and/or string and wind instruments. For example, in a depiction in the tomb of Neferhotep at Thebes (circa 1320 B.C.), women playing rectangular frame drums are joined by a round frame drum player, and in the tomb of Thutmoses III, a vizier of Rekhmire, at Thebes (circa

[41] See Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, 118. Although remains of round frame drums are rare, fragments of parchment membranes used for these instruments have survived to our day and can be found in some museum collections. Two of these skin covers from the Ptolemaic period, now housed at the Musée du Caire, show priestesses playing before an enthroned Isis and have the inscription "Isis, Lady of the Sky, and Mistress of the goddesses." Two other very fragmented examples of about 40 cm in diameter that date from the end of the new kingdom can be found at the collection of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. One of them presents decorations that depict four horizontal registers in which a number of deities and figures appear playing the round frame drum and dancing. See Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, 65.

[42] The instrument can be seen in the tombs of Neferhotep (c. 1320 B.C.), Thutmoses III (circa 1475 B.C.), and other tombs from the necropolis at Thebes also dating from the 15th century B.C. There is no name given to these instruments in any extant literary source. See Hickmann, *Musicologie Pharaonique*, 25. More information about this instrument can be found in Hans Hickman, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Instruments de musique* (Cairo: L'institut Français d'Archéologie Oriental, 1949), 110-111; also Anderson, "Music and Dance," 2559; and Teeter, "Female Musicians," 79, 84. For more about the particular use of frame drums by women in Ancient Egypt, see Barbara Watterson, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York: St. Martin Press, 1991), 53. This type of frame drum was usually depicted playing with other instruments. While these ensembles and orchestras sometimes appear to be formed by both men and women, it is more common to see exclusively female groups. The female musicians depicted in the banquet scenes are sometimes identified by hieroglyphic captions as members of the family. However, it seems that in the majority of cases the performers were professionals. About this, see Teeter, "Female Musicians," 84-88.

1475 B.C.), we find the rectangular instrument accompanying a lute and a harp [fig. 12].[43]

The nude and semi-nude frame drummers, as well as other musicians, dancers and servants that appear in banquet scenes depicted in tombs, have been interpreted to be images that symbolized fertility in Ancient Egypt.[44] This has been suggested by the similarity of these figures with nude female terracotta and limestone figurines produced from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty that have been recognized as fertility representations.[45] In both the fertility figurines and the banquet depictions, the women represented wear wigs, have girdles around their hips, and have their pubic triangles plainly displayed. The Egyptian association that existed between fertility and rebirth might have prompted the tombs' artists to represent female musicians in banquets as fertility figures to emphasize the message of rebirth already given to the scene by the depictions of lotus flowers.[46]

The use of frame drum players as symbols of fertility in Egyptian art is further demonstrated by their depiction in spoon handles that are considered to have been used

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[43] There are some representations of rectangular frame drum players that do not appear to be nude. A good example is the one that appears in the tomb of Thutmoses III. However, in this case even if the frame drummer is fully clothed, the lyre player appears to be seminude and the lute player seems to have a translucent dress. Nonetheless, clothed performers could fit into the second topoi of dressed female frame drum players. For more information about the rectangular frame drum, see Anderson, "Music and Dance," 2565; and Teeter, "Female Musicians," 84. Fortunately, extant frame drums of this kind have been excavated from tombs and rest now in museum collections. The most impressive of these, today at the Musée du Caire, was found in the tomb of the mother of Senmut, the favorite architect of Queen Hatshepsut. The specimen measures 74 x 39.9 x 6cm. and is covered by a red-stained leather membrane on both sides of its frame. See Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, 49.

[44] See Robins, "Of Fertility and Potency," 31.

[45] These figurines have been found in houses and in temples dedicated to the goddess Hathor. See Robins, "Of Fertility and Potency," 29-31.

[46] The lotus flower was regarded as a symbol of rebirth because it opens in the morning with the rising sun. See Robins, "Of Fertility and Potency," 31-33.

for ritual purposes [fig. 13]. The handles typically contained religious imagery of such symbols as lotus flowers and tilapia fish, both related to rebirth, and papyrus plants, which refer to Hathor, and different nude and semi-nude female musicians including frame drum players.[47]

A more explicit association between frame drums and their nude and semi-nude female players with sexual love and fertility can be found in a Mesopotamian terracotta relief dating from the old Babylonian period (circa 1950-1530 B.C.). In this piece, a nude male lute player and a female frame drum player, whose clothing is moved toward the front of her body, are depicted as simultaneously playing music and having sexual intercourse [fig. 14]. It has been suggested that the content of this iconography is either the representation of the "sacred marriage" or of sacred temple prostitution, a Near and Middle East fertility cult practice where women who resided in temples had the task of engaging sexually with those who came to the sacred places to pay honor to the deities.[48]

As we have seen, the association of frame drums with fertility is amply documented in ancient iconographical and literary sources. The information extrapolated from art and literature suggests that these instruments were used by women involved in cults of fertility deities such as Hathor and Inanna/Ishtar as ritualistic artifacts that enhance their communication with the deities. The connection of the instrument with these rituals prompted artists not only to place frame drums in the hands of the fertility deities themselves, but also to use them in their compositions as elements that symbolized fertility, regeneration, rebirth, and probably by extension, female sexuality.

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[47] Ibid., 32-33.

[48] For information about temple prostitution, see Wolkstein, *Inanna*, 129; and Rashid, *Mesopotamien*, 76. These scholars had suggested the possibility that the people in the scene are performing an acrobatic dance for cultic festivities.

2.2 Dressed Players as Representations of Women's Secular Performance Practice

Besides the association of frame drums during Antiquity with cultic activity, surviving sources also indicate the use of these instruments for secular entertainment. Musical iconography and literature attest to a strong tradition of female frame drum performance practice associated with joyful occasions that called for dancing and singing.

An extraordinary number of terracotta figurines representing clothed female frame drum players have been excavated from Israel/Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Cyprus. Scholars have described these images as a different kind of topos that pertains to actual secular human performers such as court musicians. The Israeli/Palestinian representations of this topos, produced circa 1200-600 B.C., are figurines of dressed females whose garments are usually decorated with patterns of black or red paint [fig. 15]. Their hair, at times painted black, is shoulder length and appears either braided or loose in contrast to the ornamented hairstyles, head coverings or wigs of the nude/seminude counterparts.[49] Perpendicular to their bodies and at chest level, the figurines appear to be holding a disc-like object that is occasionally painted red. This object is held by the right hand while the left is placed flat against one of its sides.[50] The round artifact held by the figures can be identified as a frame drum not only by its similarity in shape and position held with instruments of this kind, but also because the

[49] See Meyers, "The Drum Dance," 54; and Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 118.

[50] Ibid.

specimens are similar to other contemporary excavated figurines that were meant to represent musicians holding lyres or *aulos* pipes.[51]

Scholars have offered two different interpretations of the figures' identity. Some believe that because they are similar to other contemporary representations of the mother-goddess, Astarte, or Inanna, they also ought to be considered representations of deities and/or priestesses.[52] Others explain that they are representations of secular human musicians because the figures are not naked and their dresses and hairstyles are rather plain and absent of adornments.[53] This second theory becomes more convincing when we find that not only is a tradition of female frame drums practice described in the Old Testament, but also that such a tradition has continued to exist to our days in the Mediterranean, and the Near and Middle East.[54]

In the sacred texts of the Old Testament, the frame drum *tof* (plural *tuppin*) identified by some scholars as a frame drum of the round shape,[55] is mentioned as being

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[51] See Meyers, "The Drum Dance," 53. In these depictions, the players seem to be striking the instrument from the interior rather than the exterior of the drumhead. See Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 126-27.

[52] See Meyers, "The Drum Dance," 50.

[53] See Meyers, "The Drum Dance," 54; and Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 126.

[54] In the ancient world, the best literary source for this kind of practice is the Old Testament since it gives us a picture of the religious and secular customs of the ancient Hebrews as well as other people that were in contact with them.

[55] See Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 108-109; Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 125-26; Meyer, "The Drum Dance," 58-62; and Montagu, *Musical Instruments*, 16-17. On the other hand, it is also possible that the instrument was of square shape. See Alfred Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969), 64. The denominative *tof*, probably onomatopoeic in origin, appeared first in Ugaritic writings of the fourteenth century B.C., and because it comes from a widely distributed root, it finds relatives in almost all Middle Eastern languages. Thus, in Sumerian we find the names *dup* or *adappa*, in Assyrian *tuppu*, in Aramaic *tuppa*, in Akkadian *dadpu*, in Egyptian *tbu*, and in Arabic *duff*. More information about this instrument is found in the post-biblical texts of the *Mishnah* (Qinnim iii.6) in which it is said that the *tof*'s vibrating membrane was made out of ram's hide. See Joachim Braun, "Biblical Instruments," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 3: 530-31.

played during joyful occasions such as the welcoming of a family member, or a victorious king and/or army (Judg. 11:34, 1 Sam 18:6-7); the action of blessing and thanking God with a "song of praise" and dance (Ex. 15:20); and temple worshipping and processions (Ps. 68:26).[56] Since these passages describe only secular women such as Miriam, Jephtah's daughter, and Judith playing the frame drum to accompany songs and dances, many other biblical passages of the same nature where frame drums are mentioned in connection with these activities without any indication about the sex of their performers might be interpreted as also describing female players. However, a passage where the frame drum appears to be played by men (1 Sam 10:05), warns us against assuming that the frame drum was solely the domain of women in Hebrew culture.[57]

In any case, the terracotta figurines in combination with the biblical texts suggest a well-established tradition of frame drum playing among Hebrew women.[58] Furthermore, because of its similarity with other biblical passages, it has been suggested that a section from 2 Samuel 1:20, which mentions how Philistine women were ready to perform a victory song, represents yet another instance of this tradition in relation to a different culture.[59] Since the text refers to the Philistines and not to Israelites, it is

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[56] See Sendrey, *Music*, 74-76, 84-86, 372-375.

[57] In 1 Sam 10:5 we read: "you will meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place with a psaltery, and a timbrel (*tof/tympanum*), and a pipe, and a harp, before them; and they shall prophesy." The English translation of this passage is taken from *The Holy Scriptures: According to the Masoretic Text*, vol. 1, Genesis to II Kings (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955), 662.

[58] Meyers, "The Drum Dance," 61.

[59] Carol Meyers, "Women with Hand Drums Dancing," in *Women in Scripture: A Dictionary of Named and Unnamed Women in the Hebrew Bible, The Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, and the New Testament,* ed. Carol Meyers (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 190.

possible to assume that this practice was followed by Hebrew women as well as by women of other contemporaneous cultures. The production of figurines and carvings representing clothed female frame drum players in Mesopotamia, Phoenician North Africa, Iberia, and Cyprus further suggests that this female frame drum performance practice was in fact widespread throughout the Middle East and the Mediterranean world in antiquity [figs. 16-17].[60]

In some of these representations, like those we saw in iconography depicting the Egyptian frame drums, secular female frame drum players are represented performing as part of instrumental ensembles that include wind, string, and other percussion instruments. An excellent example is found in a Cypriot bowl fragment dating from circa 710-675 B.C. [fig. 18]. Here we find a procession of female musicians performing on double-pipes, lyre, and round frame drum before seated or reclining royal figures.[61] The appearance of a servant bringing food to the nobles and the lack of any enthroned divinity in the composition suggests that the scene depicted is a royal banquet for which either court or professional musicians were used to enliven the event.[62]

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[60] Meyers, "Women with Hand Drums Dancing," 190.

[61] For the identification of the reclined figures in the Cypriot fragment as a king and queen, see Vassos Karageorghis, *Ancient Art From Cyprus: The Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 188-9. Another good example that shows a scene similar to the one in the Cypriot bowl can be found in a cylindrical ivory *pyxis* found in an Assyrian palace at Nimrud (circa 900-700 B.C.). For more on this piece, see Rashid, *Mesopotamien*, 108-9; Jack Cheng, "Assyrian Music as Represented and Representations of Assyrian Music" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University 2001), 236**;** Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians*, 10; and Rimmer, *Ancient Musical Instruments*, 40.

[62] Besides banquets, this kind of female musical ensembles were found also in Assyrian art in religious context and in military parades. See Cheng, "Assyrian Music," 96-7, 149-50.

3. MALE FRAME DRUM PLAYERS AND SACRED AND SECULAR RITUALS

Although most sources seem to indicate that frame drums were solely performed by women throughout the Near East and the Mediterranean Antiquity, we also find these instruments represented, although much less frequently, in the hands of men. Some representations portray males playing frame drums, as women did, in religious dances and processions associated with fertility rites. Along these lines, in Egypt male gods associated with fertility and rebirth are also depicted playing these instruments. Male frame drummers are also represented as members of musical ensembles that include other instruments. These depictions are either of religious or secular character. Of the latter, groups of professional musicians appear to be playing martial music to accompany army parades, or for the sole purpose of entertaining an audience.

In the religious contexts where frame drummers are depicted, we find the round frame drum in the hands of the Egyptian dwarf god Bes, protector of the household, and assistant of conception and childbirth. This grotesque deity was generally represented as engaging in the secular pastimes of dance and music making where he played the round frame drum, among other instruments [fig. 19].[63] Another male Egyptian deity who is also sometimes depicted playing the round frame drum is Anubis, the jackal god of the underworld, protector of necropolises and the judge of dead. He is found playing the round frame drum at the temple of Deir el-Medina at Edfu and in the birth chapel at

[63] See Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, 118-19; Robert D. Anderson, "Musical Instruments," in *Encyclopedia of the Archeology of Ancient Egypt,* ed. Kathryn A. Barnard (London: Routledge, 1999), 546-547; and Anderson, "Music and Dance," 2556.

Dendara [fig. 20].[64] The depiction of this deity in the context of the birth chapels suggests the association of the instrument not only with the passage into the underworld, a custom already implied in the representation of the animal orchestra from the lyre found in Ur [fig. 2], but once again indicates its connection with the concepts of regeneration and rebirth.

Other religious images show human males playing the frame drum for ritualistic purposes. Such is the case of a scene depicted in a Mesopotamian plaque produced during the High Babylonian period (1950-1530 B.C.) [fig. 21]. In this case, a man is represented as beating on a round frame drum before a nude female who plays the lyre.[65] While it is possible that the plaque depicts a dancing scene of secular character, the appearance of the nude female, a lyre, and a frame drum suggests that the scene has a sacred character by the association of these elements with iconography connected with the Mesopotamian fertility rituals that has been described above.[66]

Male players also appear in Hittite and Philistine iconography produced during the first millennium B.C. These males, all round frame drum players, appear playing as part of musical ensembles that are similar to the female groups presented above in the Cypriot bowl fragment [fig. 18], which show frame drum playing together with string, wind, and other percussion instruments. However, unlike the female ensemble depictions that customarily appear in banquet scenes, the male musical groups are found in a

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[64] The birth house, referred in the literature as *mammisi,* was a precinct placed inside a temple complex during Greco-Roman times where the birth of the king was celebrated with the beating of frame drums. Again, we see the relation between female sexuality, fertility and the instruments. See Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, 65, 119. For information about the drum skins, see Anderson, "Egypt," 4.

[65] For the interpretation of the figure's physical posture as dancing steps, see Rashid, *Mesopotamien*, 76-77.

[66] Ibid.

religious or military context. Of the religious kind, good examples can be found on a relief produced circa 704-681 B.C. in Assyria, showing frame drummers and harp players leading a procession toward the temple of Ishtar,[67] and in a Philistine stand, probably an altar, made in Ashrod (Palestine) during the eleventh century B.C., which presents the figurines of four musicians playing frame drum, lyre, double-pipe and small cymbals.[68]

Military scenes with male frame drum players are more prominent. One of them can be found in a relief from the palace of Ashurbanipal in Niniveh (668-648 B.C.), where two pairs of bearded musicians with tight curls face each other while performing for a military parade [fig. 22].[69] The ensemble, composed of two different kinds of lyre and cymbals, includes on the nearest left side a round frame drum player who holds the instrument from the bottom with his left hand. It is important to notice that because one of each of the musicians' feet is pushed back and their hair is raised in the back, as if moving, the players have been described by scholars as also dancing while playing music.[70] Another good example of this subject can be seen in a relief door from an Assyrian palace dating circa 883-858 B.C. In this work, we find two beardless frame

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[67] See Rashid, *Mesopotamien*, 122; Cheng, "Assyrian Music," 228; and T. C. Mitchel, "An Assyrian Stringed Instrument," in *Music and Civilization British Museum Year Book 4*, ed. T. C. Mitchell (London: British Museum, 1980), 33-42.

[68] For the dating of this piece, see Moshe Dothan, "The Musicians from Ashod," *Archaeology* 23 (1970): 310-11. For the different interpretations of the purpose of this stand, see Brown, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, 166-75. This author also suggests that the instruments represented indicate a pre-Hellenistic cult to the goddess Cybele in this region.

[69] A register above the musicians shows foot soldiers in procession while registers below depict soldiers on horseback. See Cheng, "Assyrian Music," 233; Rashid, *Mesopotamien*, 134-5; and Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians*, 11.

[70] See Cheng, "Assyrian Music," 233; Rashid, *Mesopotamien*, 134-5; and Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians*, 11.

drum players, two harpists, and a *sistrum* player leading an army that returns triumphantly from war.[71]

Thus, an examination of iconographical sources reveals that even though women mainly played frame drums during Antiquity, men were not excluded from such musical practices. As in the case of their female counterparts, males also perform music in connection with religious worship and secular entertainment. Nevertheless, the sources also seem to indicate that men were the only ones entitled to perform the instruments in civic rituals associated with war and power.

4. Conclusion: Sources and Functions of Frame Drums Before Classical Antiquity

Extant images and texts attest to the importance of frame drums in the life of ancient Mediterranean and Middle Eastern cultures. The sources show primarily women using instruments of round, square, and even rectangular shape in connection with fertility rituals. The association between the drums and rituals prompted artists to use them as symbols for fertility deities themselves and as elements that in specific contexts help emphasize the fertility connotations of a nude figurine or a tomb scene. However, a secular tradition of frame drum performance practice is also revealed by iconographical and literary sources such as the dressed female drum player figurines from the Levant and Cyprus and texts from the Old Testament. As in the case of the performance practice of sacred music, the secular tradition was also the primary domain of women but without the exclusion of men. As we will see in the next chapters, these customs and functions

[71] See Cheng, "Assyrian Music," 234, plate 21 for a commentary and picture of this scene.

were to endure during Greco-Roman Antiquity and into the Middle Ages under different guises.

CHAPTER II

Frame Drums in Greco-Roman and Christian Antiquity

In trying to reconstruct a comprehensive picture of the medieval Iberian frame drum, Greco-Roman and Christian Antiquity (fifth century B.C. to the fifth century A.D.) are our next logical building blocks not only in terms of chronology, but also in terms of evolution of the instruments themselves, for it seems that during this time the round frame drum with jingles was developed.[1] The different uses and associations that the Greco-Roman frame drums inherited from Pre-Classical Antiquity and/or acquired during this stage are primary to our study because they were to influence the instruments' performance practice and perception throughout the Middle Ages.

1. THE GRECO-ROMAN FRAME DRUM

Historical sources reveal that the Greeks and the Romans favored only the round frame drum.[2] This type of instrument, described in the literature as a "leather stretching circle,"[3] was known in Greek as Τύμπανον (*tympanon*, Pl. *tympana*), and in Latin as *tympanum* (Pl. *tympana*). Scholars have suggested that the different manners in which the

[1] The period that I cover extends roughly from the fifth century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. Before the beginning of this period, there are no representations of frame drums in Greek art. See James McKinnon, "Tympanum," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 1980), 19:301; and Günter Fleischhauer, *Etrurien und Rom*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, II/5 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1964), 82. However, in Greek literature the instrument already appears in the seventh-century Homeric Hymns, a collection of poems dedicated to the Greek gods and goddesses, in a poem written in honor of the goddess Cybele.

[2] To my knowledge, there are no representations of frame drums of the square or rectangular types in Greco-Roman art.

[3] "bursotonon kuklôma tode moi kurobantes hêuron: barkcheiai haduboai Phrugiôn." Euripides, *Bacchae* 124-25. The translation is from John G. Landens, *Music in Ancient Greece and Rome* (London: Routledge, 1999), 81-82.

instrument appears to be held in the surviving depictions – directly from the bottom of the shell or from a handle placed on the outside part of the body – reveal that there were two types of *tympana*: one with skin covering only one side of its shell, and another one with membranes stretched on both ends of its body [figs. 23-24].[4] There are also depictions that show yet another type of *tympanon/tympanum* with skin stretched on only one side of the shell and with metal discs or jingles inserted in its shell [fig. 25]. Since this type of round frame drum does not appear represented or described in sources produced before the fourth century B.C. outside of Greece or Rome, we can speculate that it was during the Greco-Roman period that this particular frame drum first came into existence.[5]

2. GRECO-ROMAN ANTIQUITY AND THE PERPETUATION OF THE ANCIENT USE OF FRAME DRUMS BY WOMEN IN FERTILITY CULTS

The ancient fertility cult of the prehistoric Mother Goddess, embodied during the Bronze and Iron Ages (3200-1220 B.C., 1200-587 B.C.) in the Mesopotamian and Hittite

[4] See Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 174-175; Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1940), 148-149; and James Blades, *Percussion Instruments and Their History* (Westport, Conn.: The Bold Strummer, 1992), 177. This is suggested by the different ways in which round frame drums appear to be held in the representations. In some instances, the instrument is shown grasped by a single hand from the bottom of the shell. Since this type of grip is only comfortable and stable when the thumb is curled into the inside of the instrument's frame, we can conclude that there was only a membrane on one of its sides. Conversely, in other depictions the *tympanon/tympanum* is shown as having handles attached to its frame to facilitate its holding. Here, the use of a handle seems necessary only to improve the grip on an instrument that was not easily held in the manner described above because it was furnished with two membranes. While I agree with these scholars about their interpretation of the use of handles as a special grip because of the double-skin configuration of the instrument, it is important to mention that even if an instrument has skin covering both sides of its frame, it is possible to hold it from the bottom of its body without the use of handles. In that case, the thumb of the performer will have to remain in contact with the skin stretched over the side of the instrument that faced toward his/her body. This manner of holding the instrument can be seen today on the double-headed Portuguese square frame drum *adufe*, and is also represented in a mosaic from Pompeii in which we clearly see the skins on each side of the frame overlapping the side of its shell and the performer holding the instrument without a handle [fig. 29].

[5] See also Landens, *Music in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 82.

goddess Inanna/Ishtar, the Egyptian goddess Hathor/Isis, and the Phoenician-Cannanite goddess Astarte, among others, continued to exist in Greece and Rome in the mystery cults of Cybele and Bacchus/Dionysius.[6] We know little about the rituals of these cults since they were practiced by closed societies who demanded secrecy from their members. However, information extrapolated from artistic representations of ritual scenes and written descriptions of worship practice has helped scholars to reconstruct these religious events. It becomes clear from the study of these sources that, as in the case of the other fertility rituals performed throughout the Middle East and the Mediterranean, frame drums were also central to the worshiping of the fertility deities.

References to the use of frame drums by women in connection with fertility rituals dedicated to Cybele and Bacchus/Dionysius appear in Greek art after the fifth century B.C., a time when their cults were reportedly introduced from the East into Greece. Iconographical sources commonly show clothed and semi-nude women playing *tympana* to accompany ecstatic and lively dances, solemn processions, and libations performed in honor of the goddess and god.[7] A good example can be found in a red-figured krater produced circa 435 B.C. that shows a group of women dancing ecstatically

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[6] Cybele was a Phrygian Mother Goddess who seems to have come to Greece via Ionia and was assimilated with the Greek deity known as the "Great Mother," whose myth dealt with the seasons, life and death, and fertility. Bacchus, known as Dionysius in Rome, was the son of Demeter, the goddess of agriculture. He was the Greek god of fertility, ecstasy, and wine. His cult was associated with intoxicated frenzy from wine drinking, and his followers were ecstatic women known as *maenads* (mad women), who apparently roamed the mountains performing frenetic dances in the company of satyrs. See Matthew Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (London: Routledge 2002), 154. Scholars believe that the cults were welcome because of the people's needs to have a personalized religion: they promised the personal salvation of the individual's soul. See Mircea Eliade, *A History of Religious Ideas: From Gautama Buddha to the Triumph of Christianity*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 2:184.

[7] See Sue Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 165-169; Solon Michaelides, *The Music of Ancient Greece: An Encyclopaedia* (London: Faber, 1978), 344-345; Dillon, *Girls and Women*, 2, 67-68, 155,160, 298-289; Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 174-176; and Johannes Quasten, *Music and Worship in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (Washington D.C.: National Association of Pastoral Musicians 1983), 3-7, 14-18, 33-38.

to the sound of the frame drum and the *aulos* [fig. 24]. Similarly, we find depicted in another krater dating circa 430 B.C. a group of female figures dancing frenetically to the sound of an *aulos* and a *tympanon* played by a woman and a young girl before Cybele and Dionysius who hold their *philai* expecting to receive libations.[8] One more interesting depiction of the use of frame drums in religious ceremonies, this time accompanying a more subdued processional dance, is seen on a gateway to a sanctuary dedicated to Cybele or Demeter, Dionysius' mother, in Samothrace that dates from 340 B.C. In this representation we find a group of young women depicted holding each other by the hands, dancing in two separate single lines to the music of a *kithara*, an *aulos*, and *tympana*.[9]

Literary sources further indicate the use of frame drums by women during this period, some times in great numbers, to worship not only Cybele and Bacchus/Dionysius, but also other minor fertility deities. For example, in a passage from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (written circa 411 B.C.) in which the heroine laments the tardiness of the Athenian women assembling to discuss how to end the Peloponnesian War, we read:[10] "if

[8] Dillon, *Girls and Women*, 160.

[9] For a study of this work, see Dillon, *Girls and Women*, 67-68.

[10] The transliteration of Greek characters into Latin characters used in this dissertation follow the standards proposed by the ISO (International Organization for Standardization).

the women were summoned to some rite of Bacchus, or shrine of Pan, or of Kolias, or of Genetyllis, you wouldn't be able to get through, what for the number of frame drums."[11]

We learn from Roman writers that at least during the last century of Antiquity frame drums also became associated in Rome with the cults of Cybele and Dionysius. A good example is given by the Roman poet Catullus (84-54 B.C.) who indicates the use of the instruments in temples dedicated to Cybele to accompany religious dances: "There sounds the clang of the *cymbalum*, there echos the *tympana*, there the Phyrgian flutist plays upon his deep-sounding, twisted reed. There the Maenads. . .celebrate their holy rites to the sound of shrill screams. . . . There would we also hurry with quickening dance-step!"[12] To my knowledge most extant Roman representations that show frame drums in connection with fertility deities were produced during the first centuries of our era. A good example is found in a frieze produced circa 100 A.D. that shows a *maenad* playing a *tympanum* while leading two satyrs, one of them playing the reed blown pipe *aulos,* in an ecstatic procession [fig. 26].[13] Similarly, we see another *maenad* depicted

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[11] **"**All' ei tis es Vakcheion aytas ekalesen, i 's Panos i 'pi Ko¯liad' i 's Genetyllidos, oud' an dielthein i¯n an ypo to¯n tympano¯n." Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1-3. I have taken this translation from Dillon, *Girls and Women*, 2. This author also explains the identity of the deities and places mentioned in the passage: *Bacchus* is the same as *Dionysius*, *Pan* was a god with marriage connotations, *Kolias* was a place were there was a shrine dedicated to Aphrodite goddess of love, and *Genetyllis* was a goddess with child-bearing attributes. Other examples in the literature can be found in the Homeric hymns composed in honor of the Great Mother during the seventh century B.C., in which we read about the goddess's predilection for frame drums, clappers, and pipes, and also in the *Dithyramb* 2 of Pindar (522 B.C.-443 B.C.), in which we find a description of how the Great Mother was honored at night by the beating of frame drums and clappers. For information about this passage, see Dillon, *Girls and Women*, 155.

[12] "Phygiam ad domun Cybeles, Phrygiam ad nemora Deae. Ubi cymbalum sonat vox, ubi typana reboant, Tibicem ubi canit Phryx curvo grave calamo. Ubi capita Maenades vi iaciunt hederigerae. Ubi sacra sancata acutis ululatibus agitant. Ubi suevit illa divae volitare vaga cohors: Quo nos decet citatis celerare tripudiis. Simul haec comitibus Attis cecinit notha mulier. Thiasus repente linguis trepidantibus ululat. Leve tympanum remugit, cava cymbala recrepant." Catullus 63, 19 ff (133 Kroll). The translation is taken from Quasten, *Music and Worship*, 36.

[13] The *aulos*, a single or double reed pipe, is best translated as a reed-blown pipe instead of pipe or flute. While I will use either *aulos* or reed-blown pipe throughout this chapter, when using someone else's translation of a text I will respect the translator's decision.

playing a *tympanum* and dancing in honor of Dionysius between two satyrs in a sarcophagus produced during the second century A.D. [fig. 23].[14] Another depiction of a frame drum performed in connection with Dionysius can be seen in a sarcophagus produced circa 190 A.D. that was found outside of Rome in an underground tomb belonging to a prestigious Roman family [fig. 25]. In this representation we see yet another *maenad* playing a round frame drum with jingles inserted in its shell.

The customary use of the *tympanon-tympanum* in rituals dedicated to Cybele throughout the Greco-Roman period explains the popular representation of the goddess holding a frame drum by her side [fig. 27], a tradition that we have already seen in the depictions of the Egyptian goddess Hathor [fig. 11].[15] This identification is also found in the literature where the *tympanum* is described as Cybele's instrument: *tympanum tuum Cybele*.[16] Since the frame drum seems to have been used as a symbol for the goddess' cult or even the deity herself, some scholars have concluded that representations of a deceased female holding a *tympanum* on a tombstone identify the dead person as someone involved in the Great Mother's cult.[17] An example of this possibility can be seen on the gravestone carving of a Greek woman named Nikomante, who lived during the fourth century B.C. [fig. 28]. The carving shows her depicted sitting on a chair holding an unconventionally large frame drum while bidding farewell to her husband.

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[14] The depictions of satyrs in these kinds of scenes seem to have been the product of male erotic imagination. See Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece*, 165-169.

[15] For a collection of these types of representations, see Layne Redmond, *When the Drummers Were Women* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1997).

[16] Catullus 63, 9.

[17] See Dillon, *Girls and Women*, 155-56.

Matthew Dillon has suggested that the work seems to indicate Nikomante was a priestess or worshiper in Cybele's cult because of the appearance of the frame drum and its similarity with other pieces in which the deceased is clearly proclaimed to be a follower of the cults. Nikomante's sitting posture and the way the instrument is held as represented on her gravestone are in fact both reminiscent of the representations of Cybele already shown in figure 27.[18]

3. MALE *TYMPANUM* PLAYERS

Although the majority of depictions of frame drum players in Greco-Roman art show females, we also find a small number of males represented. In Greek art the males depicted holding frame drums are virtually always satyrs, while in Roman art the players appear to be human. Probably the most interesting extant example of a male frame drum player from Roman Antiquity can be found in a mosaic from Pompeii produced towards the end of the second century B.C. [fig. 29]. In the scene represented we see a man playing the *tympanum* performing together with a female double piper and a male who plays small cymbals. Scholars have suggested that the scene represents performers playing music between acts of a play, since the musicians appear to be wearing masks. It is also possible that because the scene seems to be happening in front of a house, the musicians are in fact street performers.[19] From this piece we can gather not only that men

[18] For this interpretation and further information about this piece, see Dillon, *Girls and Women*, 155-57. Other scholars see the representation of a dead person holding a musical instrument as symbolic of the passing from the earthly to the other world. A good analogy might be our modern custom to identify or represent dead people who go to heaven with wings, and halo, and playing the harp. See Quasten, *Music and Worship,* 155.

[19] See Fleischhauer, *Etrurien und Rom*, 96-97.

also played the *tympanum* outside of the religious sphere, but also that there was a tradition of frame drum performance practice that was intended to entertain audiences with secular music, a tradition that was well established already in Pre-Classical Antiquity.

The participation of males playing frame drums in Mesopotamian and Phoenician fertility rituals seems to have endured at least in Rome as is indicated by an interesting example of a male frame drum player that can be seen on a pedestal from the temple of Isis-Seraphis dating from circa 146 A.D. In this piece we see a priest carrying an idol followed by two male musicians playing the harp and the round frame drum [fig. 30]. The musical duo reminds us of the ancestral lyre-frame drum ensemble of the earliest representations we have seen in Chapter One [figs. 6, 21].[20]

4. THE NEGATIVE VIEW OF WORSHIPPING WITH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS BEFORE THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY

Although mystery cults were very popular in Greco-Roman Antiquity, their rituals were criticized by philosophers and writers who disapproved of a religious cult in which the connection with the divinity was achieved through ecstasy produced by

[20] For information about this piece, see Quasten, *Music and Worship*, 49.

external elements such as alcohol and the performance of music.[21] These critics advocated for a spiritual connection with a deity that came from within the individual.

The idea of inner devotion as opposed to externally produced ecstasy is first hinted in the *Leges* 669 of Plato where the philosopher criticizes the popular concept of sacrifice and refers to ritualistic instrumental music as "music without words [that] contains no more of the spirit than the sound which an animal makes."[22] This kind of criticism in which instrumental music is seen as empty and powerless to produce spiritual communion with a deity seems to have developed later into the rejection of musical instruments. Thus, Philodemus of Gadara (circa 100-28 B.C.) in his *De musica* explains that the ritualistic music of frame drums and cymbals performed by worshipers is nothing but "a disturbance of the spirit," since it generates nothing but pleasure.[23] The author sees

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[21] This idea of rejecting the externals of empty rituals and their replacement with inner worship develops out of the philosophers' rejection of rituals with bloody sacrifices. See O. Casel, "Ein orientalische Kultwort in abendlandischer Umschmelzung," *Jahrbuch fur Liturgiewissenschaft* 11 (1939): 1-19. Mystery cults were also at times persecuted because of the secrecy with which they were conducted and the number of people that they mobilized — issues that were considered dangerous by the political establishment. In Rome, their highest popularity was reached during the first century A.D. after Claudius proclaimed them part of the official Roman religious cult. This decision was a reversal of an earlier pronouncement made by the senate to prosecute these cults that ended with the incarceration and execution of many of their followers. See Eliade, *A History*, 134-36.

[22] "…alla ypovalein anagkaion, oti to toioyton ge polli¯s agroikias meston pan, oposon tachous te kai apneystias kai fo¯nis thirio¯doys sfodra filon, o¯st'e aylisei ge kai christhai kai kitharisei plhn oson ypo orchisin te kai o¯din, psilo¯ d' ekatero¯ pasa tis amoysia kai thaymatoyrgia gignoit; an tis chriseo¯s. This translation is taken from Quasten, *Music and Worship*, 51. Other important pagan authors that deal with the subject of spirituality against cultic use of external elements such as music are Philodemos of Gadara (circa 100-28 B.C.) in his *De Musica* 7,1; Cleanthes of Assos (331-223 A.D.), quoted by Philodemus in *De Musica* 28,16; and Diogenes of Babylon (circa. 240-152 A.D.) also quoted by Philodemus in *De Musica* 20, 28 ff. For further information on this subject, see Quasten, *Music and Worship*, 51-52; and O. Casel, *Die Liturgie*, 105.

[23] …ai de to¯n tympano¯n kai romvo¯n kai kymvalo¯n kai melo¯n tino¯n kai rythmo¯n idiotites kai dia poio¯n organo¯n to pan symploki mochthiro¯n ypolipseo¯n exorgiazoysi kai pros bakcheian agoysi, kai tayta gynaikas o¯s epi to poly kai gynaiko¯deis andras.… ("…the music of the frame drums, *rombos* and cymbals and all other instruments that have the property of rhythm produce despicable pleasure and lead to bacchanals, activities proper of women and feminine men….") *De Musica* 18, 24. For the author's judgment of cultic music, see Quasten, "Greek Philosophy and Sacred Music," *The New Scholasticism* 15 (1941): 225-260.

this induction of mere pleasure as the reason that primarily women and effeminate men conducted this kind of worship.[24] This association with external pleasure was further connected with deities as is clearly indicated by the pagan Celsus (second century A.D.) who, as quoted by the Christian Origen (185-254), explains that "the demons of earth take too great a delight in fleshy pleasures; they have too great a desire for blood, the smell of fat, sweet sounds [of musical instruments], and other such things."[25]

The reaction against the use of musical instruments in religious rituals because of their inducement of lust instead of promotion of spiritual communion was embraced earlier by the Hellenistically-educated Jewish philosopher Philo (circa 20 B.C.-50 A.D.), who transferred the urge for religious inner spirituality expressed by the pagan writers to the worship of God. Philo indicates with displeasure that instead of appropriate spiritual exaltation, pagan religious feasts were comprised of physical satisfaction created by "carousing and overeating. . .flutes and *citharas*, the sound of *timpanoi* and cymbals and other effeminate and frivolous music of every kind, enkindling unbridled lust, with the

[24] Ibid.

[25] "…chri gar isoˉs oyk apistein andrasi sofois, oi dh fasi dioti toˉn men perigeioˉn daimonoˉn to pleiston genesei syntetikos kai kroshloˉmenon aimati kai knissi kai meloˉdiais kai allois tisi tioytois…" Origenes, *Contra Celsum* 8, 60. The translation is taken from Quasten, *Music and Worship*, 53.

help of the sense of hearing."[26] As we will see later, Philo's position on this, as well as other subjects, had an important influence on the writings of the Christians Ambrose, Origen and Clement of Alexandria, some of the most prominent spiritual leaders of a new religion based on the teachings of Christ.[27]

5. FRAME DRUMS AND THE EARLY CHRISTIANS

As we have seen, round frame drums were used, particularly by women, throughout the Roman Empire to accompany ecstatic dances and processions that were performed as part of mystery cult rituals dedicated to fertility deities. The role of frame drums and other instruments in these rites prompted their condemnation by the leaders of Christianity, a new ascetic faith based on Judaism and the teachings of Jesus Christ.[28] However, these leaders, some of them known to us as the Fathers of the Church because their writings became doctrinal, encounter one problem: musical instruments, including frame drums, were not only part of pagan rituals, but were also mentioned in the

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[26] *De specialibus legibus* 2:193. The translation has been taken from Quasten, *Music and Worship*, 52. See also McKinnon, "The Exclusion of Musical Instruments from the Ancient Synagogue," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 106 (1980): 78-81; and Alfred Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969), 182. This association of musical instruments with mere pleasure and therefore their perception as antagonistic to piety was not new in Jewish culture. We already find in the Old Testament that the prophet Isaiah had scourged those who indulge in luxury, gluttony, and debauchery while at feasts where musical instruments, including the frame drums, are played: "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that tarry late into night, till wine inflamed them. And the Harp, and the psaltery, the timbrel [*tof/tympanum*], and the pipe, and wine, are in their feasts." Isa. 5:11,12. Furthermore, the prophet warns against divine punishment for those who participate in these activities by explaining that during the last judgment "the mirth of timbrels ceaseth, the noise of them that rejoice endeth, the joy of the harp ceaseth, they drink not wine with a song." Isa. 24: 8,9. For the translation of these passages and more information about the prophets' reaction against musical instruments, see Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel*, 89.

[27] See John Bowker, ed., "Philo," in *The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 750.

[28] See Reinhold Hammerstein, *Diabolus in Musica: Studien zur Ikonographie der Musik des Mittelalters* (Munich: Francke, 1974), 22-25, 29; and Daniela Costa, "Sant'Agostino e le allegorie degli strumenti musicali," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 28 (1993): 207.

Scriptures as being employed in the worship of God. The contradiction was addressed by imaginative explanations that were to taint the manner in which musical instruments were to be viewed during the Middle Ages.[29]

5.1 The Reaction of the Early Christian Leaders Against the Use of Musical Instruments for Religious Worship

Frame drums, along with other instruments, were violently condemned by the spiritual leaders of the Christian religion for different reasons. On the one hand, they were associated with the orgiastic and ecstatic cults of pagan divinities, whose worship the early Christians were striving to suppress. On the other hand, the early Church Fathers adopted from pagan philosophy and Jewish asceticism the notion that musical instruments promoted sensuous experience during liturgy instead of pure spiritual communion with the divinity. On top of that, frame drums also carried a centuries-old connection with fertility and, therefore, with sexual desire, a concept that was now tainted by an aura of sin under the Church Fathers' ascetic religion.

The oldest extant example of the Christian repudiation of frame drums is found in the eighth book of the *Oracula Sibyllina*, an anonymous work written before 180 A.D.[30] In a Christian song found toward the end of the manuscript we read:

> [Christians] do not pour out in libation upon the altar the blood of the victims; no *tympanon* is heard, no cymbal, no many-holed flute, instruments full of senseless sounds, not the tone of the

[29] Helmut Giesel, *Studien zur Symbolik der Musikinstrumente im Schrifttum der alten und mittelalterlichen Kirche: von den Anfängen bis zum 13. Jahrhundert,* Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 94 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1978), 46.

[30] See J. Geffken, "Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina," *Texte und Untersuchungen, Neue Folge* 8/1 (1902): 38.

> shepherd's pipe, which is like the curl snake, nor the trumpet with its wild clamor.[31]

Since musical instruments, particularly the frame drums, had been fundamental elements of religious rituals for centuries, the new devotees of Christianity probably had the propensity to incorporate them into their new Christian worship out of tradition, even after their repudiation by the Christian leaders. This is indicated, for example, in the *Paidagogos* of Clement of Alexandria (d. 215) where the author tells the faithful about the inappropriate use of frame drums and other musical instruments in the Christian ritual because of their connection with pagan cults:

> When a man occupies his time with flutes, stringed instruments, choirs, dancing, Egyptian *crotala* and other such improper frivolities, he will find that indecency and rudeness are the consequences. Such a man creates a din with cymbals and [frame drums (*tympanoi*)]; he rages about with instruments of an insane cult.[32]

Another example can be found in the writings of Gregory Nazianzus (330-390), where we find constant reminders about the prohibition of musical instruments in Christian liturgy and their replacement with *a cappella* singing of hymns and Psalms.[33] Yet one more example about the endurance of the use of musical instruments in Christian

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[31] "…oy thysio¯n spondais epi bo¯mois cheoysin; tympanon oyk ichei, oy kymvalon….ouk aylos plytritos, echonta frenovlavon aydin, oy skolioy syrigma feron minima drakontos. Oy salpix polemon aggeltria varvarofonos…." *Oracula Sibyllina* 8:113. The translation is by Quasten from his *Music and Worship*, 60. In his translation, Quasten used kettledrum for *tympanon*. I have changed it to frame drum in the text since that should be the appropriate translation.

[32] "…oi de en aylois kai psaltiriois kai chorois kai orchimasin kai krotalois Aigyptio¯n kai toiaytais rathymiais saloi ataktoi kai aprepeis kai apaideytoi komidi gignointo an kymvalois kai tympanois exichoymenoi kai tois tis apatis peripsofomenoi." *Paidagogos* 2, 4. The translation is taken from Quasten, *Music and Worship*, 61.

[33] See Quasten, *Music and Worship*, 62.

life and the spiritual leaders' concern with this practice can be read in St. Augustine's letter to Alipyus of Tagaste and in his *Enarratio II in Ps 32* where the Church Father informs us about the difficulty of eradicating the remnants of pagan music tradition from Christian feasts.[34]

Thus, the leaders of the Christian religion condemned the frame drums because of their connection with the fertility cults that they were struggling to banish. This undertaking was not easy at first because the ancient customs were deeply ingrained in Mediterranean culture. Trying to cope with the problem, the Fathers offered the new followers other alternatives of worship that included the *a cappella* singing of Psalms. And even though the spiritual Christian leaders finally succeeded in banishing these and other musical instruments from religious ritual, the frame drums, along with their associations, endured in medieval Europe at the margin of organized religion.

5.2 THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH AND THE PROBLEM OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE SCRIPTURES

But while frame drums and other musical instruments were rejected in Christian ritual, the Fathers of the Church had to deal with the fact that those same musical instruments were mentioned in the Old Testament, particularly in the Psalms, as suitable for the worship of God.[35] A good example is found in the text of Psalm 150 in which God is praised with trumpet, psaltery, harp, frame drum, stringed instruments, organs,

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[34] Ibid., 86.

[35] James W. McKinnon, "Musical Instruments in Medieval Psalm Commentaries and Psalters," *Journal of American Musicological Society* 21/1 (Spring 1968): 3-20.

cymbals, and even dances.[36] The Fathers in their rumination and commentary of the Old Testament addressed this contradiction.

Two schools of interpretation arose. One of them, originating in Alexandria, rejected the idea that the musical instruments mentioned in the Bible were real objects, preferring to see them as allegorical symbols.[37] This school, well represented by the work of Origen (185-254), demonstrated little interest in the historical or literal meaning of the Bible and established a principle in which the information contained in the Old Testament had to be deciphered to find its mystical content.[38] This approach to the Scriptures is known today as allegorical exegesis.

The second school, established in Antioch, rejected the allegorical interpretation of the Alexandrians, preferring to see the musical instruments mentioned in the Bible as real historical objects that were in fact used by the ancient Hebrews in the worshipping of the Lord.[39] This approach is well exemplified by John Chrysostom (d. 407), who offers a solution for the appearance of musical instruments in Psalm 149 by explaining that "the Ancients [Hebrews] used these instruments because of the slowness of their

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[36] Psalm 150: "Sono tubae, psalterio et chitara....tympano et choro, chordis et organo...cymbalis benesonantibus, cymbalis jubilationis."

[37] This approach was not new and was inherited from Jewish as well as Pagan tradition, which already exercised great freedom in interpreting their sacred texts. See McKinnon, "Musical Instruments," 5. For an extensive discussion about Origen's approach, see Giesel, *Studien zur Symbolik*, 50-55.

[38] Origen's influence is tremendous since he was the first to compose a Psalm commentary for every existing Psalm. Before the Psalm commentary was elevated to a literary form by this writer and turned into a tradition by the subsequent Fathers, allegorical interpretations of musical instruments appear scattered throughout the works of Clement of Alexandria. For more information about this and Origen's contribution, see Helmut Giesel, *Studien zur Symbolik*, 39-55; Reihold Hammerstein, *Diabolus in Musica*, 22-25, 29; Costa, "Sant'Agostino," 207; and McKinnon, "Musical Instruments," 4-5.

[39] This school of thought that explained the wrongful use of musical instruments as literal objects was a feature of the school of Antioch, which was more restrained about the search for allegories in the scriptures than other church fathers. See McKinnon, "Musical Instruments," 7-8.

understanding and to keep themselves from idols. Just as he [God] received sacrifices he allowed those things because of their weakness."[40] To this Theodore of Cyrus (d. circa 460) added that God tolerated the use of musical instruments by the Jews because "they were fond of play and laughter, and since all this sort of thing took place in the temples of idols, he [God] allowed it, thus to lead them, and by the smaller evil avoid the greater and through the incomplete prepare for the complete."[41]

In the West, the allegorical school of Alexandria took hold. The approach of Origen was perpetuated and expanded by writers such as Hilarius of Poitiers (315-367), St. Augustine (354-430), Cassiodorus (490-580), and Gregory the Great among many others.[42] In turn, the Scriptural commentaries of these early Western writers became authentic theological pillars in the medieval Christian tradition. An example of the need to use these writings as guides to understand divine meaning in biblical texts can be found in the *Institutione divinarum litterarum* of Cassiodorus where the writer indicates that enlightenment can be only achieved "through the teaching of the Fathers as through a ladder of vision, that, led and carried forward by them, we might merit to come to the contemplation of God."[43] Throughout the Middle Ages, the high regard for these writings prompted each new generation of theologians, writers, and artists to continue relying on the Patristic texts for guidance about interpreting the Scriptures.[44]

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[40] *Patrologia Greca (PG)* 55, col. 494. The translation is taken from McKinnon, "Musical Instruments," 8.

[41] *PG* 80, col. 1996. See also Costa, "Sant"Agostino," 208.

[42] For a list of Latin Fathers that practiced the allegorical exegesis of musical instruments in the Scriptures, see Giesel, *Studien zur Symbolik*, 68-99.

[43] *Institutione divinarum litterarum, Patroligia Latina* (*PL)* 70, 1105 ff. The translation is taken from Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Monasticism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 22.

[44] See Norman Cantor, *The Medieval Reader***,** (New York: Harper Collins, 1994), 91.

5.3 THE PATRISTIC INTERPRETATION OF THE BIBLICAL *TOF*/*TYMPANUM*

Since the frame drum was cited in the Scriptures, it was yet another musical instrument that had to be interpreted by the Fathers' allegorical exegesis. This instrument, called *tof* in Hebrew and translated as *tympanon/tympanum* in the Greek and Latin versions of the Old Testament, is mentioned in the Bible fifteen times, mostly in connection with the worshiping of the Lord. In the following chart we can see the recurrence of the term in the *Torah*, the *Septuaginta*, and the *Vulgate* or Latin Bible.[45]

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[45] The collections of text that are known to us as the Old Testament were originally written in Hebrew and Aramaic. In Hebrew, these texts were not completely compiled and codified until after the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A.D. However, a translation of these texts into Greek, called the *Septuaginta*, was made prior to this time, around 250 B.C., for the Jews of Alexandria. The Vulgate (from the Latin *Vulgo*: common) is the name of the Latin translation of the Bible that was completed around 405 A.D. by Eusebius Hieronymus, known as St. Jerome. This work became the official text used in Christendom during the Middle Ages. For an account of these different books and their history, see Jeremy Montagu, *Musical Instruments of the Bible* (London: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 2-6, 107-8.

Tof* in the *Torah	**Τύμπανον (*Tympanon*) in the *Septuaginta***	***Tympanum* in the *Vulgate***
Gn 31,27	Gn 31,27	Gn 31,27
Ex 15,20	Ex 15,20	Ex 15,20
Idc 11,34	Idc 11,34	Idc 11,34
I Sm 10,05 18,06	I Sm 10,05 18,06	I Sm 10,05 18,06
II Sm 06,05	II Sm 06,05	II Sm 06,05
Is 05,12 24,08 30,32	Is 05,12 24,08 30,32	Is 05,12 24,08 30,32
I Par 13,08	I Par 13,08	I Par 13,08
	I"Εσδρ 05,02	
	Idt 3,07 16,02	Idt 3,10 16,02
Ier 31,04	Ier 38,04	Ier 31,04
Iob 21,12		Iob 21,12
Ps 81,03 149,03 150,04	Ps 81,03 149,03 150,04	Ps 67,26 80,03 149,03 150,04
	I Mcc 09,39 II Mcc 06,19 06,28	I Mcc 09,39

Table 1. References to the frame drum in the different versions of the Bible.[46]

Particularly in the Psalms, the frame drum is mentioned in association with religious ritual. In Psalm 67:26 we find a description of a religious pageant: "…singers ahead, musicians behind, in the middle come young female frame drum players."[47] In Psalm 80:3-4 we read: "Strike up the music, beat the *tympanum*, play the melodious *psalterium*, and the *cithara*...for our feast day."[48] And at the end of the collection, we find

[46] I have taken this chart from Giesel, *Studien zur Symbolik*, 160.

[47] "…praevenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus in medio juvencularum tympanistriarum."

[48] "psumite psalmum et date tympanum psalterium iucundum cum cithara...die sollemnintatis nostrae."

in Psalm 149:1-3: "Sing a new song to the Yahweh...play to him on *tympano* and *psalterio*," and in Psalm 150:3-4, as we have seen above, among other instruments God is worshiped with: "*...tympano… cordis* et *organo*."[49]

The allegorical interpretations given to this instrument by the Church Fathers, particularly in the Psalms, were varied. Some of them were prompted by the instruments' connection with pagan rites. Along these lines, Origen (185-254) in his commentary on Psalm 150 associating the frame drum with women and fertility rituals describes the *tympanum* as a symbol of desire.[50] This association similarly prompted St. Augustine to use the *tympanum* as a symbol for the old religious order. In his commentary about the opening Psalm 80, "Adsumite carmen et date tympanum," he interprets this text as a request to the faithful to break with the old pagan tradition, symbolized by the frame drum, and to embrace the new order of the Christian Church in which the new followers of Christ worship with spiritual chants.[51]

Other interpretations were the result of the instrument's materials: a frame made out of wood and a vibrating membrane made out of animal skin.[52] For example, while Eusebius of Caesarea (246-340) explains that because the instrument is made out of the skin of dead animals, it refers to worldly things, St. John Crysostom (347-407) identifies it with the death of the flesh.[53] Following their example, St. Augustine comments that

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[49] "Cantate Domino canticum novum…laudent nomen eius in choro in tympano et psalterio psallant ei."

[50] *PG* 12.

[51] Psalm 80:1-2 "Acquire a song and give the frame drum." See Costa, "Sant"Agostino," 218.

[52] Hammerstein, *Diabolus in Musica*, 29-30.

[53] Eusebius *PG* 23, 710, Crysostomus, *PG* 55, 494, 1862.

"the *tympanum*, since it is made out of hide, relates to the flesh,"[54] and Gregory the Great (circa 540-604) tells us that since "the instrument is made out of stretched dead animal skin, it allegorizes the death of our own flesh."[55]

Because the skin stretched over the frame drum's body conveyed an association with worldly things, sin, and death, a further association with the torments of hell was also suggested.[56] Yet another related interpretation proposed by some of the Fathers was that the membrane of the *tympanum* represents our own flesh,[57] and the beating of the instrument its flagellation and mortification.[58] Reinhold Hammerstein has suggested in his *Diabolus in Musica* that this symbolism was positive since the Fathers indicated that through the mortification of our flesh mankind could find preparation for eternal bliss.[59] For example, the Psalm commentator Bruno of Cologne (1037-1101) tell us that "the *tympanum* refers to the doctrine of the mortification of the flesh and in this way a sweet song dedicated to the Lord,"[60] and Gregory the Great indicates that "The mortification of

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[54] "Tympanum, quod de corio fit, ad carnem pertinent." *PL* 37, 1035. The translation is mine.

[55] "Quia de motui animalis corio tenditur, in eo non inconvenienter carnis nostra mortificatio figuratur." *PL* 79, 291. Other influential writers who connected the vibrating membrane of the instrument with the death of the flesh include Clements of Alexandria (d. 215), *PG* 8,441; Origen (185-254), *PG* 12,332; Crysostomus (334/54-407), *PG* 55,494; Isidore of Pelusium (ca. 335-360), *PG* 78,389; Casiodorus, *PL*70, 471; the Venerable Beda (673-735), *PL* 93,921 and 93,1101; Honorius from Autum (1080-1156), *PL* 172,306; Petrus Lombardus (ca. 1095-1160), *PL* 191,769; 191, 1292-93; and Petrus Abaelardus (1079-1142), *PL* 178,535. For a complete list see Giesel, *Studien zur Symbolik*, 163-5.

[56] See Hammerstein, *Diabolus in Musica*, 30-31.

[57] See Euthymius Zigabenus (b. 1118), *PG* 128, 1320; and Bruno of Würzburg (d. 1045), *PL* 142, 254.

[58] See Procopius of Gaza (465-528), *PG* 87, 583 ff.; Gregory the Great (540-604), *PL* 76, 694; 77 89; 79, 291; and Bruno of Cologne (1030-1101), *PL* 152, 769; 769, 963.

[59] See Hammerstein, *Diabolus in Musica*, 30-31.

[60] "Per tympanum doctrina carnis mortificandae et sic dulcem cantum Domino prolaturae figuratur." *PL* 152, 769.

the flesh is another form of preparation for the eternal life."[61] Despite these quotations, I disagree with Hammerstein's view of the positive symbolism associated with the frame drum; rather, I find that these writers are perpetuating the idea that the frame drums stand for worldly things even if the premise of mortification presents a positive connotation. The idea of achieving salvation through mortification needs to be interpreted in the context of Col 3:5 where Paul advises the faithful to "kill every thing in you that is earthly: sexual vice, impurity, uncontrolled passion, evil desires and especially greed, which is the same thing as worshipping a false god; it is precisely these things which draw God's retribution upon those who resist." Thus, the frame drum maintains the symbolism of the worldly, embodying, among other things, sex, passion, and desire, elements that bring us back to the instruments' original connection with women and pagan fertility rites.

The wood of the drum's frame also triggered the exegetical imagination of the Fathers. In their search for allegorical exegesis and a typological connection between events of the Old and New Testaments, the commentators gave a powerful interpretation to the nailing of the animal hide to the wood of the instrument's frame. In this common manner of keeping the instrument's membrane in position, the Church Fathers saw the flesh of Christ himself nailed to the wood of the cross. Good examples of this interpretation are found in St. Augustine's commentary on Psalm 149: "In the *tympanum* [there is] the crucified flesh," and in Psalm 150 "[Christ] played the frame drum as he

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[61] "…ipsa autem mortificatio corporis, quid est aliud quam preparation aeternae beatitudes." *PL* 79, 291. Other writers that refer to the drum in these terms are Hieronymus of Stridon (347-419/420), *PL*26, 1269; Arnobius of Gallien (fifth century), *PL* 53, 569 ff.; Gregory the Great, *PL* 76, 694; 76,858; 77,89; 79, 291-292; and Hrabanus Maurus (circa. 780-856), *PL* 111,499.

was crucified, extended on wood [of the Cross]."[62] Also, the Psalm commentator Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129) when referring to Jesus in his commentary on Psalm 150, indicates that "our David played the frame drum (*tympanizabat*) as he was hanging from the cross,"[63] and Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093-1169), in his commentary of John 10:17-18, explains that "our king played upon the frame drum when he prayed for his crucifixion on the wood of the cross."[64] Therefore, as we will see later**,** the representation of frame drums in the hands of Old Testament figures might take a dimension of messianic symbolism since they represent the culmination of Christ's life and the forgiveness of human sins, prophesized already in earlier days. It is under this light that the frame drum lost its negative connotation and also became a messianic symbol.

6. CONCLUSION: THE MULTIFACETED *TYMPANUM* AT THE END OF ANTIQUITY

The Greeks and the Romans, continuing a well-established tradition of the Ancient Mediterranean world, used a round frame drum known as *tympanon*/*tympanum* to perform music during fertility cults and lay entertainment. During the first centuries of our era the religious leaders of a new ascetic religion based on the teachings of Jesus Christ reacted violently against this instrument because of its association with paganism and also because it was thought to promote sensuous feeling rather than internal piety. But while the early Christians frowned upon the *tympanum*, they had to explain its important presence in the Scriptures as a worshiping tool, a function specially

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[62] "Tympanizabat id est crucifigebatur, in ligno extendebatur." *ML* 36,306.

[63] "Nostre David tympanizabat pendens in cruce." *PL* 170, 20. See also Hugo of St. Victor *PL* 177, 418: "Nostre David tympanizabat, corpore super lignum cricis extenso."

[64] "In tympano rex noster tympanizavit, quando expansus in lingo cricis pro suis crucifixioribus orabit." *PL* 194, 990.

exemplified in the Psalms. Their solution was to deny the instrument's historical role in Hebrew religion, and to explain its mentions in the Bible not as a real instrument but as a complex symbol. The allegorical interpretations given to the frame drum by the Church Fathers — who deciphered the instrument as a representation not only of the flesh and worldly things, but also of Christ himself on the cross — were to determine the various associations that the instrument had during the Middle Ages since every generation of writers and artists used patriarchal exegesis as a guide to the understanding of the Scriptures.

CHAPTER III

Frame Drums in Medieval Iberian Iconographical Sources

Depictions of frame drums in medieval Iberian art are mainly found in sculptural programs of Christian religious buildings, illuminations of Christian and Jewish sacred books, and Islamic decorative objects. Two different types of frame drums can be recognized in these sources. One of them is a round-shaped instrument analogous to the frame drums depicted in Mediterranean and Middle Eastern pre-Christian art, either with or without jingles. The other one is a square frame drum akin to some of the handheld membranophones that we have seen represented in Sumerian visual sources. In this chapter, I will present a collection of iconographical sources where these two different types of instruments are depicted. To determine which representations can give us the most accurate information about the different elements of the membranophones' structures, the representations will be placed in their historical and artistic context. The data presented in this chapter will serve as a point of departure and cornerstone for the following study of the instruments' terminology, players, social functions, symbolism, sound color, and performance practice.

1. The Reemergence of Frame Drums in Medieval Iberian Christian Art

While frame drums were commonly depicted in the art of Antiquity, they disappeared from European iconographical sources between the fifth and the tenth centuries. It is tempting to think that this was the product of the banishment of musical instruments attempted by the Christian leaders of the early Church. However, literary

data indicates that these kinds of membranophones endured at least in secular life.[1] Therefore, it is perhaps more accurate to blame the lack of depictions on a preference for non-figurative artistic styles, trends that conformed well to the religious ordinances of the time.[2] As can be expected, frame drums reemerged in Western European art along with a change of attitude towards figural representation that started to take place during the high Middle Ages.[3] Thus, we can say that the reappearance of frame drums during this time was the result of a change in artistic ideals and styles.[4] In Mozarabic and Romanesque art, illustrations became important tools that helped to explain and clarify the narrative

[1] We find data about frame drums in a fifth-century epistle about Teodorico II King of the Goths (454-465), in seventh-century Visigothic epistles and hymns, and in the seventh-century *Etymologiarum* III, 22:10 of Isidore of Seville. This data shows that the Church Fathers were only successful in banishing the frame drum from sacred Christian ritual but not from secular life in Western Europe. For a discussion of Medieval texts in which musical instruments are described, see José María Lamaña, "Los instrumentos musicales en los últimos tiempos de la dinastía de la Casa de Barcelona," *Anuario Musical* 24 (1969): 18-25. As we will see in the next chapter, a wealth of information about different kinds of frame drums can be gathered from the corpus of literature produced after the tenth century. These records are the product of the development of literature in the Romance languages, the flourishing of Arabic poetry in the Peninsula, and the creation of encyclopedic works such as dictionaries and music treatises.

[2] Traditionally, it has been suggested that the aniconic attitude in Western art derived from the condemnation of idolatry stated in the 36th canon of the council of Elvira (circa 300). This canon was repeated again in the twelfth council of Toledo (681) and the sixteenth counsel of Toledo (693). During this period illumination was restricted to decorated initials and crosses and labyrinth designs. See John H. Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination* (New York: G. Braziller, 1977), 10-17.

[3] Depictions of musical instruments start to appear in eighth- and ninth-century manuscripts and wall paintings. Examples of lyres, lutes, wind instruments, and hourglass drums can be seen in sources such as the eight-century Canterbury Psalter (London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Vesp. A. I, fol. 30v.); the ninth-century Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, University Library of Utrecht, Ms. 32); and the *Lothair* Psalter (London, British Library, Ms. Add. 37768, fol. 5). In Iberia, the only extant musical instrument representation produced during this period is a depiction of a lute player found in the Asturian church of San Miguel de Lillo (ninth century). Scholars have suggested that this depiction was created as a reaction against the aniconical doctrines of the contemporaneous Iberian Church. See J. Rueda, *La pintura románica en España* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1985), 39; and Jerrilyn D. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 37-46. As we will see in this chapter, the first depiction of a frame drum in Iberian and Western European art does not appear until the tenth century.

[4] For the changes in the approach to the image in medieval art, see Marilyn Stokstad, *Medieval Art,* 2nd ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2004), 22-25, 202; George Duby, *Art and Society in the Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 9; and Lawrence G. Duggan, "Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?," *Word and Image* 5 (1989): 227-251.

and allegorical content of sacred texts.[5] To ensure that the messages of these texts were relevant to the recipient, the artists introduced familiar elements into their illustrations that served as reference points for the audience.[6] Therefore, contemporary clothing, architecture, and functional objects helped illustrate the historical and sacred world of the Scriptures. In this manner, the depiction of the quotidian became crucial to communicate the sacred message of the Bible through allegory, symbolism, or literalism, and by extension the social, religious, and moral concerns of the age.[7]

In this functional art, frame drums, like other musical instruments, were in many cases depicted to communicate specific messages. Since, the cultural associations of the frame drums played a primary role in their use as symbols and emblems, artists had to ensure that they were recognized precisely to avoid any confusion with other artifacts that had different connotations. This was facilitated not only by the realistic depiction of the

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[5] See Otto Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages* (London: Harvey Miller, 1986), 129; and Stokstad, *Medieval Art*, 202. A good example of this premise can be found in the *Hortus Deliciarium* (an eleventh-century manuscript destroyed in 1870 but reconstructed on the basis of nineteenth-century copies) a work dedicated to compiling the existing human knowledge. In this book, the text is accompanied by hundreds of tinted drawings that illustrate its meaning. For an edition of this work, see Herrad of Landsberg, *Hortos Deliciarum,* vol. 1 [reconstruction], vol. 2 [Commentary], Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. 36, ed. Rosalie Green, T. Julian Brown, and Keneth Levy. (London: Warburg Institute, 1979).

[6] See Henry Kraus, *The Living Theatre of Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967), 112-113; Elizabeth Sears, "Reading Images," in *Reading Medieval Images*, ed. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor**:** University of Michigan Press, 2002), 1-8; and Francois Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles: A Facsimile Compiled from Two Picture Bibles with Martyrologies Commissioned by King Sancho el Fuerte of Navarra (1194-1234) Amiens Manuscript Latin 108 and Hamburg Ms. I, 2, lat. 4, 15* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 1:5.

[7] See Kraus, *The Living Theatre*, 91-92; Peter K. Kline, "The Romanesque in Catalonia," in *The Art of Medieval Spain* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 189-190; and Isidro Bango Torviso, "Historia del arte cristiano en España," in *Historia de la iglesia en España II-2: La Iglesia en la España de los siglos VIII al XIV*, ed. Javier Fernández Conde (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1982). 569-571.

instruments' physical features, but also by the depiction of other important elements connected to the frame drums, such as their habitual players and performance practice.[8]

2. Approaching the Iconographical Sources

In the medieval Iberian Peninsula, musical instruments in general were represented in different types of media and artistic styles. During the tenth and eleventh centuries they were most commonly depicted in Mozarabic and Romanesque manuscript illuminations. Then, throughout the twelfth and thirteen centuries they appear portrayed more prominently in Romanesque and Gothic stone sculpture. By the last two centuries of the Middle Ages most representations are found in Gothic paintings.[9] In these works, the degree of realism of a musical instrument's depiction is directly dependent not only on medium and artistic style, but also on the intention of the work and the cultural atmosphere where the piece was created. For example, the representation of a musical instrument in a tenth-century Mozarabic manuscript will differ greatly from a portrayal of the same type of instrument sculpted in a thirteenth-century cathedral portal. While both representations were probably created to illustrate religious texts and to spread Christian doctrine, the degrees of realistic detail used in the depiction of the instruments varies between the two pieces because of the characteristics of their medium and of the representational principles of the artistic period.

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[8] In most of these representations the artists depicted the instruments with enough details to make sure that they were readily understood and deciphered by the viewer as frame drums and not other similar objects. Thus, the shell and the manner of holding a square frame drum were clearly emphasized in the depictions to differentiate them from books. Examples of this concern with detail will be dealt with in later chapters.

[9] See María del Rosario Álvarez, "La iconografía musical hispánica en la Edad Media en relación con los criterios estéticos de las differentes etapas artísticas," *Actas del congreso internacional España en la Música de Occidente* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1987), 1:101-104.

2.1 REALISM AND STYLE

The medium and the artistic style of a representation are, in most cases, the most decisive elements that help determine the levels of realism of the instruments' portrayal. Frame drums are basically comprised of a vibrating membrane and a shell, so information about their primary structural elements such as shape and size can be gathered not only from detailed naturalistic depictions but also from highly schematic representations. Nevertheless, other important structural elements — such as the use of one or two membranes, resonators, and the instruments' playing techniques — can be recognized only from selected sources where realism was the main concern of the artist. Thus, to recognize the proper documentary value of each depiction, one must be acquainted with the primary styles and mediums used in medieval Iberia. It is therefore essential at this point to review some basic artistic conventions that will help to guide us through the collection of representations.

The oldest depictions of frame drums can be found in Mozarabic art, a style that flourished in Iberia between the ninth and the eleventh centuries and that seems to find its roots in Islamic, Carolingian, and Celtic arts.[10] Mozarabic art is usually figurative and schematic and depictions of the frame drum are reduced to their most basic geometric structural elements. Nevertheless, its representation remains clearly legible.[11]

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[10] For a discussion of the different theories about the formation of this native art, see Mireille Mentré, *Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 15-41; O.K. Werckmeister, "Art of the Frontier: Mozarabic Monasticism," in *The Art of Medieval Spain: A.D. 500-1200* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 121-166; John H. Williams, "León and the Beginnings of the Spanish Romanesque," in *The Art of Medieval Spain: A.D. 500-1200* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 167-174; and David Simons, "Late Romanesque Art in Spain," in *The Art of Medieval Spain: A.D. 500-1200* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 199-329.

[11] Mentré, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 114-141.

Frame drums are also found depicted in Romanesque sculpture and manuscript illumination. This art, which was popular all over Europe during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, consisted of a variety of regional styles that found inspiration in late classical, early Christian, Byzantine, Islamic, and Celtic-Germanic styles.[12] As in the case of Mozarabic works, Romanesque illuminations and sculptures were also conceived in principle to explicate and clarify religious text.[13] However, we also know from contemporary writings that spiritual and moral edification was not the only purpose of this art. Representations were also used as attractive ornaments on walls, capitals, windows, books, chairs, and other objects to attract and entertain the observers.[14]

The Romanesque is primarily a formalist art not based in the reproduction of nature. For this reason, it is common to find that figures depicted in Romanesque representations are reduced to stereotyped abstraction. In the specific case of sculpture, the medium was crucial since, in many cases, the artists had to adjust the representations to architectonic spaces. The depictions of human figures and objects do not usually correspond to natural measurements and proportions, but are shortened, elongated, augmented, or shrunk to accommodate to the available space that they need to fill.[15] Thus, we should expect that frame drums represented in this type of art are either reduced to their basic geometric structures or altered to fit functional spaces.

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[12] See Andreas Petzold*, Romanesque Art* (London: Prentice Hall, 1995), 11.

[13] See Walter Cahn*, Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 66-69.

[14] See Meyer Shapiro, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," and "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," in *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers* (New York: G. Braziller, 1977), 6-10, 46.

[15] See F. García Romo, *La escultura del siglo XI: Francia-España* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1973), 40.

Perhaps the most detailed representations of frame drums in medieval art are found in Christian and Jewish Gothic illumination and sculptures.[16] In this style there was a new concern to depict the surrounding world realistically and accurately. Thus, among other things, the proper proportions and specific features of human figures and objects were carefully represented, even if the final purpose of this art was still the spiritual edification of the faithful.[17] But the function of Gothic art also influenced the artists' search to depict detail and to endow the images with animation and expression. The artists represented vernacular gesture, expression, costume, objects, and architectural ambience learned from sensual experience to make the message of Gothic art accessible to a wide audience. Thus we might expect that representations of frame drums produced during this period demonstrate a careful concern to depict not only the instruments' correct proportions and details, but also the manner in which they were played.[18]

In addition to Christian sculpture and illuminations, frame drums are also found depicted in Islamic Iberian ornamental objects. This is surprising since Islamic art was conceived as an aniconic expression resulting from strict religious rules concerned with the dangers of idolatry.[19] However, the survival of representational art demonstrates that these regulations were softened in luxury-loving courts throughout the Muslim world,

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[16] For the influence of Christian book making in Jewish Iberian manuscripts, see Cecil Roth, "Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Hebrew Spain," in *The Sephardic Heritage: Essays in the History and Cultural Contributions of the Jews of Spain and Portugal*, ed. R. D. Barnett (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971), 1:47.

[17] See Michael Camille, *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986), 12-25.

[18] See Robert Suckale and Matthias Weniger, *Painting of the Gothic Era* (Cologne: Taschen, 1999), 1-5; James H. Stubblebine, *Assisi and the Rise of Vernacular Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985), 88-99; and Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 332-241.

[19] See Richard Ettinghausen, "The Man-Made Setting," in *The World of Islam*, ed. Bernard Lewis (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976), 62.

including Al-Andalus.[20] In Islamic art, the representation of musicians and musical instruments seemed to have always been linked to different types of court functions such as musical entertainment, parades, and the hunt.[21] As in the case of other instruments, such as the lute and the reed pipe, frame drums were commonly represented in these contexts, revealing their popularity in Muslim culture despite religious prohibitions against their use in Islam.[22]

Finally, I have decided to include some late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century depictions of frame drums that can be stylistically described as works in Northern Renaissance style. These pieces are studied here because they can still reveal elements of an extant medieval tradition. Since in these representations we can see the common Northern Renaissance artistic endeavor of depicting people, objects, and landscapes with exceptional detail and realism to reflect an image of truth, then, in principle, we can expect that these representations contain a considerable amount of documentary evidence. However, it is important to be cautious and not jump to conclusions since this type of art was also capable of being highly conventional and stereotyped.[23]

To summarize, the understanding of medium and style are crucial to determine the realism of frame drums' representations in medieval Iberian art. And even though the basic elements of the instruments' configurations are clearly depicted in the styles of the

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[20] This did not prevent the Arabs from accepting non-religious representational art found in newly conquered territories. Around the year 800, we start finding strict rules against the representation of everyday people and objects. In this manner, animal and human figures were banished from Islamic art. See Richard Ettinghausen, "The Man-Made Setting," 62.

[21] See Walter Denny, "Music and Musicians in Islamic Art," *Asian Music* 17/1 (Autum-Winter, 1985): 37-68; and Reynaldo Fernández Manzano, "Iconografia y otros aspectos de los instrumentos musicales en Al-Andalus," *Música y Poesía del Sur de Al-Andalus* (Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1995), 79.

[22] For information about the status of frame drums in Islam, see chapter 4.

[23] For a detailed study of realism in Renaissance art, see Craig Harbison, *The Mirror of the Artist: Northern Renaissance Art in its Historical Context* (London: Calmann and King, 1995), 25-61.

different periods, other important details are only visible in depictions where the portrayal of reality was a main concern for the artist. Generally speaking, as we have seen, this might be more the case in Gothic and Renaissance representations of frame drums than in depictions of the instruments in Mozarabic and Romanesque works.

3. THE SOURCES

As stated above, round and square frame drums are depicted in a variety of sources produced during the high and late Middle Ages by Christian, Jewish, and Muslim artists. In this section, I will list and describe these sources, paying special attention to their medium and artistic style. The iconographical material will be grouped by instrumental type: one group will comprise sources that show instruments of the round type without resonators, another group will contain sources that show round instruments with the addition of resonators, and a final group will be composed of sources that depict instruments of the square type.

While this compilation of sources might be far from exhaustive,[24] the variety of the iconographical corpus and its time span can still give us invaluable information not only about the configuration of the instruments, but also about their players, social functions, symbolism, and performance practice — features that will be studied in subsequent chapters.

[24] This might be the case even though I have included all materials that I have found throughout my research.

3.1 SOURCES REPRESENTING ROUND FRAME DRUMS WITH AND WITHOUT RESONATING DEVICES

The earliest representation in Iberian Christian art of a round frame drum without any visible resonating devices is found in a Mozarabic manuscript produced around 960 that is housed today in the library of the Church of Saint Isidore of Seville in León (Biblioteca de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, Ms. 2, fol. 40v) [fig. 31].[25] Besides being the earliest depiction of a frame drum in Iberian Christian art, this is also to my knowledge the earliest representation of this type of instrument in medieval Christian Europe. The round frame drum is found in an illustration of the text of Exodus 15:20 where Miriam and other Israelite women are described as praising God after the safe crossing of the Red Sea by singing and dancing with the accompaniment of frame drums: "The prophetess Miriam, Aaron's sister, took a frame drum, and all the women followed her with frame drums and dances."[26] The illumination shows four women holding round frame drums. The first figure from the left is not only made bigger to identify her as Miriam, heroine of the passage, but there is also an inscription placed above the figure that reads *Maria* to further help the observer recognize the character.[27] Similarly, the other three smaller figures are labeled *mulieres* (women), a marker that distinguishes them as the other characters mentioned in the biblical passage. As is customary in a Mozarabic representation, people and objects are flattened and reduced to simple geometric structural elements. While in this instance we can assert that the instruments

[25] This manuscript is most commonly known as the *León Bible* of 960. For a discussion of the art and historical context of this manuscript, see Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, 68-70.

[26] The text in the Vulgate reads: "Sumsit ergo Maria prophetis soros Aaron tympanum in manu egressaeque sunt omnes mulieres post eam cum tympanis et choris."

[27] In the Vulgate the name Miriam is written as Maria.

depicted are round frame drums, little else can be learned about specific features of their structure.[28]

Another tenth-century depiction of a round frame drum without resonators can be found on an Islamic bottle with a wide body and narrow neck produced in Cordoba, housed today at the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba. In this representation we find a group of Muslim men processing before a seated figure, one of them carrying an object of cylindrical shape that has been considered by some to be a round frame drum.[29]

A Romanesque representation of a small round frame drum without renonating devices can be seen in an illumination that illustrates Exodus 15:20 from a Bible produced between 1015 and 1020 in the *scriptorium* of the Catalonian monastery of Ripoll (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Lat. 5729, fol. 82r) [fig. 32]. The active posture of the character suggests a more naturalistic approach to the depiction of objects and places.[30] The frame of the instrument is clearly delineated, probably to ensure that it was not confused with a different object. The brown color of the shell refers to its wooden material.

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[28] The depiction shows an interesting position of the players' striking hands: the index and the middle finger separated. This position reminds us of the playing technique shown in the Roman sarcophagus discussed in chapter 2 [fig. 25]. Nevertheless both the lack of naturalism of this art and the absence of any other medieval depiction of a performer playing in this manner prevent us from considering the Mozarabic illumination as a depiction of an actual manner of striking the instruments.

[29] For information about these depictions, see Fernández Manzano, "Iconografía y otros aspectos," 79.

[30] In contrast with the illuminations in the Mozarabic Bible of León of 960, the depictions of people, places, and objects create a naturalistic impression of activity and depth. While the iconographical programs show connections with late Carolingian, Anglo-Norman, Northern French, and Italian-Byzantine art, the depiction truly corresponds to Iberian models and developments of a more naturalistic art of the Peninsula. For a discussion of the historical and artistic features and merits of this manuscript see Peter K. Kline, "The Romanesque in Catalonia," 189-190; and Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination, 70-80.*

More Romanesque depictions of this kind of frame drum are carved in a capital of the twelfth-century church of San Juan de Amadi in Villaviciosa (Asturias) and in the west wall of a pillar from the late twelfth-century lower cloister of the Monastery of Silos [figs. 33-34]. The former is a rather crude carving of a female frame drum player. Since the figure is not accompanied by any explanatory text, the religious character of the building suggests that the performer is a biblical female character such as Miriam, Judith, or Salome. Nonetheless, it is also possible that it was instead a simple representation of a female jongleur placed there for ornamental purposes. The example from Silos is a marginal depiction that borders an illustration of "The Doubting Thomas (John 20:24-29). The representation shows two Muslim drum players, revealed as female by their lack of facial hair and their typical headdresses,[31] who perform in an ensemble with two bearded male horn players on the battlements of a wall.[32] Even both these representations are fitted tightly into the restricted space, the sizes and structures of the instruments depicted do not show signs of alteration.

Another depiction of a round frame drum without resonators from this period can be found in a Romanesque Bible that belongs to the library of the church of Saint Isidore in León (Biblioteca de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, Ms. 3, fol. 38v) [fig. 35]. In this manuscript, known as the Second Bible of León because it is a Romanesque copy of the Mozarabic Bible of 960, we find again a depiction of Miriam and the Israelite women playing frame drums. As with the Mozarabic model, the figures are labeled (*Maria*,

[31] For more information about the players' religion and gender, see chapter 5. See also Shapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," 43- 45. Shapiro also interprets these players as being women. While I agree with the scholars's reading, it is also possible to interpret them as men.

[32] For a study of the cloister and its art, see Félix Palomero Aragón et. al*., Silos: Un recorrido por su proceso constructivo* (Burgos: Caja de Burgos, 1999). For a study of the symbolism of this image, see Shapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," 43- 45.

mulieres) to ensure their identification. The instruments depicted show painted designs on their membranes. The outer circles of these designs seem to refer to the flat models of the Mozarabic originals. However, the depiction of the players' hands holding the instrument from the bottom of the shell between the thumb and the fingers, as is the custom for frame drums in the Mediterranean, shows a degree of naturalism more akin to the Romanesque style. Thus, while the artist based his composition on the earlier model, he also attempted to depict a more natural and realistic manner of holding and striking the instruments.

A similar round frame drum is again found sculpted in one of the archivolts that encompass the tympanum of the *Sarmental* portal (finished before 1235-1240) at the Cathedral of Burgos [fig. 36].[33] In this instance, the instrument appears in a complete new context: the hands of one of the elders of the Apocalypse of John (Revelations 5: 8-9), who, among other crowned elders playing musical instruments, performs on a round membranophone without resonating devices. This piece was produced in the new Gothic style and is a perfect representative of the ideal of realism that is characteristic of this art. In this representation the player holds the instrument on top of his leg with two hands. Even though it is possible that the playing technique represented here is genuine, I suspect that the instrument was positioned in this way to prevent breakage of the sculpture and to be legible from below. Thus, in this case the medium, rather than the naturalism of the style, prescribes some elements of the representation.

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[33] The Cathedral of Burgos, one of the jewels of Gothic art in Europe, was built during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries under the patronage of Fernando III (1217-1252), Alfonso X (1252-1284), and Sancho IV (1284-1295). It was erected to replace the Romanesque Cathedral of Santa Maria, which was proven to be too small and inelegant for the *Civitas Regia*. See Nicolás López Martínez, *Catedral de Burgos: Guía Básica* (Burgos: Cabildo de la Catedral, 1999), 9; and Jesús Urrea Fernández, *La Catedral de Burgos* (Madrid: Editorial Everest, 1978), 12.

A round frame drum without jingles is also depicted in a Jewish manuscript illuminated in Castile circa 1300 (London, British Library, Or. 2737, fol. 86v) known as the *Moorish Haggadah* [fig. 37]. In this book, produced for the domestic service on the eve of Passover, an illumination that illustrates Exodus 15:20 shows Miriam playing an instrument with a *fleur-de-lis* design painted on its membrane, accompanied by two wreathed women who play clappers and snap their fingers.[34] Although suggestive for performance context and ensemble combination, the depiction is too crude to offer us clear information about details in the instrument's structure and playing technique.

One last depiction of an Iberian round frame drum without any visible resonating devices can be found in a work produced outside of the Peninsula during the Renaissance. This source is the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum,* published in Cologne by Georg Braun (1572-1617) [fig. 38].[35] I have included this late depiction here not only because it allegedly depicts a "young Basque woman," but also because it clearly shows features of the frame drum that are not discerned from the other representations presented above. The player holds a round instrument without resonators, and the depiction is especially interesting because in trying to give a realistic sense of depth to the scene, the artist has represented the instrument at an angle from where we can clearly see the side of its shell. This type of information will be useful later when we try to reconstruct the instrument's structure and timbre.

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[34] The representation's style reminds us of the manuscripts illuminated at the court of Alfonso X in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. See Bezalel Narkiss*, Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles. Vol. 1: The Spanish and Portuguese Manuscripts Part One: Text* (Jerusalem and London: Oxford University Press, 1982), 51.

[35] Georg Braun, *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne: 1572-1617). This work provides a unique comprehensive view of urban life during the sixteenth century. One of its most important features was the depiction of local people in contemporaneous dress conducting everyday tasks.

Thus, in the Iberian Peninsula we find depictions of round frame drums without any apparent resonating devices such as jingles or snares as early as the tenth century in Mozarabic and Islamic art. Representations of such an instrument continue to appear in Iberian Christian and Jewish illuminated manuscripts of the Romanesque and Gothic period in the hands of the prophetess Miriam and in stone carvings and sculptures of these same periods held by unidentified female players and an elder of the Apocalypse. As we have seen, the degree of realism shown in a representation is in many cases more dependent on the medium and the artist's skill than on the style of the period. But even in the most non-naturalistic portrayals of the instrument elements of its structure and performance practice can be recognized.

Representations of round frame drums with jingles do not appear in Iberian art until the end of the thirteenth century. A rather large instrument of this type is depicted three times in the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda fols. 119r, 173r, 197r), a Portuguese manuscript produced during the first quarter of the fourteenth century that compiles the texts of four hundred songs known as *Cantigas da Amigo* [figs. 39-41].[36] In the three instances where the round frame drum with jingles is represented, the instrument is played by female jongleurs performing in duo with male string instrument players before a nobleman. Based on the context and content of the manuscript, it is possible to imagine that these illuminations depicted standard contemporaneous performances of *cantigas de amigo* or other Galician troubadour repertoires. The

[36] This manuscript is housed today at the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon, with no catalogue number. The work was probably produced during the last years of the thirteenth century. The illuminations are in a style that mixes Gothic Parisian and typical Iberian elements. See Maria Ana Ramos, "O Cancioneriro da Ajuda: História do Manuscrito, Descriçao e Problemas," in *Cancioneiro da Ajuda: Apresentação, Estudos e Índices* (Lisbon: Távola Redonda, 1994), 27-46. For a facsimile edition see *Cancioneiro da Ajuda Ediçao Fac-similada do códice Existente na Biblioteca da Ajuda* (Lisbon: Edições Távola Redonda, 1994). The work is composed of poems written by Portuguese and Galician troubadours.

naturalistic approach of the Gothic artist offers us a good amount of information about the instrument's structure, social function, ensemble combination, and playing technique.

A more detailed depiction of the instrument is found in an illustration of Exodus 15:20 from the *Golden Haggadah* (London, British Library, Ms. 27210 fol. 5r), a Jewish manuscript produced in Catalonia circa 1320 [fig. 42].[37] In this illumination we see Miriam performing on a square frame drum surrounded by Israeli women who perform on lute, cymbals, clappers, and a round frame drum with barely visible jingles inserted in its shell.[38] The facial expressions of the women and the sway of their bodies connect this work to the naturalistic French-Gothic style.[39] As is common in the art of the era, the round frame drum, as well as the other musical instruments in the illumination, show detail in their structural elements and playing techniques.

The same scene is also represented in an illumination from the so-called *Sarajevo Haggadah* (Sarajevo, Zemaljski Muzej Bosne i Hercegovine), a work produced in Aragón in 1350 [fig. 43].[40] This time we find Miriam herself performing on a small round frame drum with jingles while the Israelite women of the story dance. As in the *Moorish*

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[37] This work is one of the earliest consecutive biblical cycles in Hebrew illustrated manuscripts from Iberia. See Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, 66-67.

[38] Scholars have suggested that the artist's knowledge of Rabbinic tradition identified him as a Jew. See Roth, "Illuminated Manuscripts,"131; and Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, "Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: G. Braziller & The Jewish Museum, 1992), 145.

[39] There are also a few Italian and Byzantine elements in the architectural background that help to create the illusion of space. The eastern elements, mainly in geometrical form, resemble arabesques. A good example can be seen in the designs depicted on Miriam's instrument. See Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, 66-67.

[40] *Sarajevo Haggadah, Ms. Sel pesah*, facsimile edition ed. Cecil Roth (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1963).

Haggada, the crude depiction of the figures gives them a caricatured look. While the instrument seems diminished in size, its basic elements are clearly represented.

Another illumination that shows the round membranophone with jingles is found in the fourteenth-century *Libro de la coronación de los Reyes de Castilla* (Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, Ms. III.3) [fig. 44].[41] In this manuscript, we find a representation of a passage in the text that reads: "That the young women that know how to sing will come and sing a song and dance."[42] In the illumination, which is accompanied by the caption "Here it is depicted how the young women sing and how the others dance,"[43] we see on the left side one women performing on the cymbals and another one playing a frame drum with metal discs. On the right side, a male fiddle player stands behind women who appear to be singing from a book.[44]

The instrument is also depicted in a representation of the Feast of Herod and the Dance of Salome that appears in the *Retaule dels Sants Joans,* a Catalonian Gothic altarpiece painted by Joan of Tarragona with tempera circa 1370 [fig. 45]. In this piece, housed at the Museu d'Art de Catalunya in Barcelona (MB 515/507), Salome is portrayed dancing and playing a frame drum with jingles before Herod and Herodias. This scene also shows a minstrel accompanying the dance with his lute. Some details on both instruments are depicted with care.

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[41] This book was made after the coronation of Alfonso XI in the Real Monasterio de las Huelgas in 1312.

[42] "Vengan donçellas que sepan bien cantar, et canten una cantiga, et fagan sus trebeios." The occasion for the singing and dancing was a procession to the altar of Santiago where the king was going to be knighted. See Maricarmen Gómez Muntané, *La Musica Medieval en España* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2001), 101-102.

[43] "Aqui pintado es et figurado como cantan las donçellas et como trebeian los otros."

[44] For information about and an interpretation of this illumination, see Gómez Muntané, *La música medieval*, 101-102.

The round frame drum with jingles is also represented in two contemporaneous stone sculptures found in Catalonian cathedrals. One of them can be seen in a relief of a capital from the fourteenth-century cloister of the Cathedral of the apostle Saint Peter in Vic [fig. 46]. In this depiction, a female minstrel plays the round membranophone with resonators in a duo with a bowed string instrument player. The other representation is on the capital of a column attached to a wall that stands to the left side of the altar of the Cathedral of Tarragona [fig. 47]. In this location, as part of a program that shows other musicians playing a horn, dancing, and singing, we find a male jongleur with a round frame drum with jingles. While the piece from Vic Cathedral shows a crudeness and functionality that reminds us of some Romanesque depictions, the representation from the Cathedral of Tarragona showcases the usual care and concern for detail that was customary of Gothic art. Another representation in stone is found in one of the archivolts of the west portal of the monastery of Santa Maria da Vitória in Batalha (Portugal).[45] In this Gothic church, built between 1388-1533, we find among other angel musicians a figure that plays a small round frame drum with jingles.

The round drum with jingles is also represented in a woodcarving that ornaments a fourteenth-century choir stool of the choir of the Cathedral of Barcelona [fig. 48]. This piece shows a woman playing the instrument; as in the case of other representations of women playing frame drums that are not accompanied by any explanatory text, she can be interpreted either as a biblical heroine or a contemporaneous female jongleur.

To sum up, round frame drums with jingling resonators are depicted in medieval Iberian art produced after the thirteenth century. The iconographical material, which

[45] I have not included this representation in the plates because of the lack of a good reproduction.

encompasses sources produced in different artistic styles and mediums, indicates that the shell and jingles of this type of instrument were produced in different sizes.

3.2 SOURCES REPRESENTING SQUARE FRAME DRUMS

Probably the earliest depiction of a square frame drum in Iberian art can be found sculpted in the façade of the eleventh-century church of Saint Isidore of Seville in León [fig. 49]. In this representation, described as the earliest portrayal of musical instruments in Spain during the Middle Ages,[46] we find King David surrounded by his musicians, a typical portrayal that was to become popular in Psalters during the twelfth and thirteenth century.[47] On one side of the portal the king stands with six minstrels, mainly of plucked and bowed string instruments, while on the other side we find a musician playing a small bowed string instrument in duo with a square frame drum player.[48]

The square frame drum was widely represented in sculpture during the twelfth century. For example, in a portal of the church of Saint Miguel do Monte in Serra do Faro (Galicia), we find a depiction of a female dancer with clappers who is being accompanied by a male fiddle player and a male square frame drum player [fig. 50].[49] Here, the bodies

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[46] See Isabel Pope, "King David and His Musicians in Spanish Romanesque Sculpture," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan la Rue (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966), 695.

[47] The representation of King David surrounded by his musicians was usually used to illuminate the capital letter of Psalm I *Beatus Vir*. See James W. McKinnon, "Musical Instruments in Medieval Psalm Commentaries and Psalters," *Journal of American Musicological Society* 21/1 (1968): 13-16.

[48] The instrument represented looks more rectangular than square. Nonetheless, since all angular frame drums represented in the historical sources are clearly square, it therefore can be argued that the object represented here also was meant to be a frame drum of square shape. For a commentary on this representation, see Antonio Viñayo Gonzales, *San Isidoro: Expresiones Musicales* (Leon: Edilesa, 2000), 9.

[49] See José L. Dopico Orjais, "Pandeireta, pandeiro, ou adufe," *Raigame*, 13 (May 2001): 50-56.

of the performers and their instruments have been altered to fit inside the reduced architectonic space. A similar depiction that shows a male fiddle player and a female square frame drum player is found in the south portal of the church of Santa María de Ucelle in Coles (Galicia) [fig. 51].[50] Here the instruments have been so far reduced to their most basic structural elements that they are difficult to distinguish.

Two more interesting examples of square frame drums can be seen in a relief from a capital of the south gallery of the twelfth-century upper cloister of the Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (Castile) and in a series of capitals placed outside of the twelfth-century church of the Assunción de María in Duratón (Castile) [fig. 52-53]. In the first example we find again a distorted depiction of a female performing on a small square frame drum in a duo with a male fiddle player.[51] In our second example we see a male square frame drum player who performs as part of an ensemble comprised of two female dancers, one male horn player, and one male fiddle player. As in all the cases mentioned above, the crudeness of this representation offers us only a distorted image of the instrument. Other twelfth-century examples of square frame drums performed by women or men can be found in capitals from the Romanesque churches of San Juan de Amadi (Asturias), Santa Eulalia de la Lloranza (Asturias), Santa Maria de Yermo (Santander), Santa Maria la Mayor de Barruelo de los Carabeos (Santander), and in the portal of the Virgin from the Cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo in Castile.

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[50] For information about this church, see Ramón Yzquierdo Perrín, *Galicia Arte*, ed. Francisco Rodríguez Iglesias (A Coruña: Hércules, 1985), 10:383.

[51] It is important to mention that on the other sides of the capital there are representations of everyday life scenes such as the making of glass and people in a tavern. This might indicate that the musical scene did not have any specific allegorical meaning, but was a generic depiction of a contemporaneous performance. For a study this cloister's art, see Palomero Aragón, *Silos: Un recorrido por su Proceso Constructivo*, 175-178.

Three contemporaneous examples are also found in different illuminations of the so-called Pamplona Bibles, works produced for the King of Navarre, Sancho VII the Strong (1160-1234).[52] On fol. 64v of Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. Lat. 108 (circa 1197), we find a square membranophone in an illumination that illustrates Numbers 25:1-2, a passage that narrates the sexual encounter between the Israelite princes and the Moabite women [fig. 54]. In this scene a woman is shown accompanying a female dancer with the square drum while other characters engage in sensual caresses. Another depiction of the frame drum is found on folio 52v of the same manuscript, in an illustration of Exodus 32: 4-6, a passage that describes the adoration of the golden calf by the Hebrews [fig. 55]. Here male Israelites are depicted playing large square frame drums even though there is no mention of musical instruments in the biblical text. The instrument is found one more time in the usual context of Exodus 15:20 in the bible that was finished between 1199-1212 (Hamburg, Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein, Ms. I, 2, Lat. 4, 15). Here, Miriam and her usual companions are depicted with large frame drums in their hands [fig. 56]. Like the Mozarabic and Romanesque Bibles of Léon presented above, the central character and her companions are labeled as *Maria* and *mulieres* respectively. While the simple structure of the frame drums is easily discerned in the depictions, the lack of naturalism of these Romanesque representations should make us suspicious of the different ways in which the instruments are held.

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[52] For a facsimile edition and study of these manuscript, see Francois Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles: A Facsimile Compiled from Two Picture Bibles with Martyrologies Commisioned by King Sancho el Fuerte of Navarra (1194-1234) Amiens Manuscript Latin 108 and Hamburg Ms. I, 2, lat. 4, 15* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).

One of the most realistic representations of square frame drums in Gothic art is found in the group of Elders of the Apocalypse (Revelations 5: 8-9) sculpted between 1235-1240 in the archivolts of the *Sarmental* portal of the Cathedral of Burgos (Castile) [fig. 57]. It shows a crowned bearded figure who, among other elders who perform in honor of the Lamb of God, holds a small square frame drum.[53] A similar representation is found in the archivolts of the *Majestad* portal of the collegiate church of Santa María la Mayor in Toro (Castile), built during the first half of the 13th century [fig. 58].[54] As in the case of Burgos, one of the Elders of the Apocalypse, crowned but without beard, performs on a square frame drum. One of the exceptional features of this piece is that it conserves its polychrome.[55]

As we have seen, the square frame drum is also depicted in an illustration of Exodus 15:20 in the fourteenth-century *Golden Haggadah* in the hands of Miriam, who performs with other instruments that include a round frame drum with jingles [fig. 42]. We also find the square frame drum depicted in an illustration of the same passage from the mid-fourteenth century *Sister Haggadah* (London, British Library, Or. 2884, fol. 16v) [fig. 59]. In this instance Miriam plays the square frame drum while the rest dance holding hands.[56] This Gothic manuscript is known as the *Sister Haggadah* because of its similarities in subject, style, and composition with the above-mentioned *Golden*

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[53] For more information about this sculptural group, see López Martínez, *Catedral de Burgos*, 12.

[54] For information about this church, see Ricardo Puente, *La Colegiata de Toro Santa María la Mayor* (León: Albanega, 2001).

[55] Stylistically, this archivolt is related to the one from the Cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo or the Cathedral of Burgos. It is possible that this is the work of Roy Martínez de Bureba or a workshop located in Carrión de los Condes that was aware of the stylistic trends of León. See Puente, *La Colegiata de Toro*, 26-30.

[56] For information about this dance, see chapter 9**.**

Haggadah.[57] There is yet one more representation of the same subject in the late fourteenth-century *Kaufman Haggadah* (Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Ms. Kaufmann A 422) [fig. 60].[58] In this depiction we see Miriam playing again the square frame drum while two other Israelite women appear performing on a lute and a portative organ. Notable is the *fleur-de-lis* painted on the instrument's membrane, a design already seen on a round frame drum's head in the early fourteenth-century *Moorish Haggadah* [fig. 37].

The square frame drum also appears in the hands of an angel sculpted in the fifteenth-century chapel of the *Dalmases* palace in Barcelona [fig. 61]. This late Gothic figure is part of a sculptural group of angel musicians who play contemporaneous instruments such as the *sonajas* (circular wooden frame furnished with jingles) and the *guiambarda* (*jew's harp*).[59]

One more important depiction of the square instrument is found again in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* of Georg Braun [fig. 62]. As in the case of other late depictions included in this study, this example is incorporated here because it shows Iberian players performing on the same musical instruments found in medieval art. In this representation we see a woman dancing and snapping her fingers to the accompaniment of *sonajas* and a large square frame drum.

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[57] However, it has been proven that they are not directly related but share a common model. The style of the work is Franco-Spanish Gothic. Italian elements such as the fashion of clothes, the proportions of the bodies, the black outline of figures and facial features are also present. The work was produced in Barcelona. See Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, 77-78. For a facsimile edition, see *The Golden Haggadah*, ed. Bezalel Narkiss (London: The British Library, 1997).

[58] *The Kaufmann Haggadah*, facsimile edition by Alexander Scheiber (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1957).

[59] For details about the iconographical program of this ceiling, where many more instruments are depicted performing in groups, see Lamaña, "Los instrumentos musicales," 100, 109-111.

4. CONCLUSION: THE HANDHELD MEMBRANOPHONES OF THE MEDIEVAL IBERIANS

In this chapter we have seen that both round frame drums with or without jingles and square drums were used in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages. That these medieval prototypes share the same basic characteristics with the types used during Antiquity and Greco-Roman times suggests that the ancient frame drums were not successfully banished by ascetic Christian leaders but continued to be used by the medieval Iberians. The significant number and variety of sources in which they are represented demonstrates the popularity of these instruments. While the depiction of frame drums in some secular sources indicates their popular use in musical events, their representation in the hands of religious figures depicted in Bibles or presented in cathedral and cloister sculptural programs demonstrates that the instruments were perceived and used as symbolic objects. Thus, we can conclude that because of their double function as musical and symbolic instruments, round and square frame drums with or without resonators were central instruments for the medieval Iberian.

CHAPTER IV

Terminology of the Medieval Iberian Frame Drums

Iconographical sources reveal the widespread use of two different types of handheld frame drums in the medieval Iberian Peninsula: a round frame drum with or without jingles and a frame drum of square shape. These instruments were most commonly referred to by the names *tympanum, pandero, panderete, bandair, duff,* and *adufe* in medieval Iberian Latin, Romance and Arabic literary sources.[1] And while some of these terms were only used generically, others were specifically applied to a particular kind of frame drum. In this chapter, I will examine extant literary sources in an attempt to match these common terms, as well as other less popular ones, with the round and square types of frame drums portrayed in the iconographical sources.

1. THE GENERIC *TYMPANUM*

The term *tympanum* in Latin was used by the Romans to describe a frame drum of round shape. This usage continued in medieval Iberia, as seen in the seventh-century *Etymologiarum* of Isidore of Seville (circa 559-636), according to which "the *tympanum* is hide or leather stretched over one of the sides of a body made out of wood. It is half of

[1] In medieval Iberian Hebrew sources, the name of the frame drum was *tof*, a term that we have already seen used during biblical times. A good example is a poem by Ibn Gabirol (1021-1058), in which a frame drum that accompanies the *nevel* and the singing is referred to in this way: *q'chi hatof v'hanevel v'shiri b'nigunech al asor uminim.* I have taken this text from Judith R. Cohen, "Le role de la femme-musicienne dans l'Espagne medieval, dans les communautes chretienne, juive et musulmane" (master thesis, Université de Montreal, 1980), 132. In the *Haggadot* (books for the feast of Passover), the text is, of course, in old Hebrew and, therefore, the name of the frame drum is also *tof*.

the *symphonia* that is similar to a sieve."[2] From this statement we gather that the *tympanum* had a shape similar to that of a sieve. And, although sieves could be either round or angular, the explanation that the *tympanum* is only half the size of a *symphonia*—an instrument explained elsewhere in the *Etymologiarum* as made out of a "hollow trunk" (*lignum cavum*)—confirms that the two instruments were cylindrical.[3] It also is important to note that the author emphasizes that the membrane of the instrument covered only one side of its body.

Isidore's detailed description of the *tympanum* thus indicates that during his time the instrument corresponding to this name was a round frame drum with skin stretched on only one side of the shell.[4] However, later in an anonymous Latin dictionary (*Vocabulario latino*) produced in Navarre circa 964 we find that the same Latin term was also used to describe a frame drum of square shape: "*Timphanum* [*tympanum*]: hide

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[2] "Tympanum est pellis vel corium lingo est una parte extentum. Est enim pars media symphonia in similitude cribi. Tympanum auctem dictum quod medium est, unde et margaritum medium tympanum decitur; et ipsud, ut symphonia, ad virgulam percutitur." *Etymologiarum* III, 22,10. The text also indicates that the half *tympanum* is called *margaritum*, and that similar to the *symphonia*, the instrument was stroked with sticks. Here it seems to be implied that there were many different sizes of frame drums during the author's time. Since, to my knowledge, the term *margaritum* was not used by anybody else during the Middle Ages in reference to a frame drum, I have decided not to expand the study to this isolated mention.

[3] "Symphonia vulgo apellatur lignum cavum ex utraque parte pelle extensa, quam virgulis hinc et inde musici feriunt, firque in ea ex Concordia grabis et acuti suavissimus cantus." (The people usually call *symphonia* a hollowed trunk whose two sides are covered by stretched hide; the musicians strike the two membranes with wooden sticks; the sound produced, thanks to the harmony between the low and the high sounds, is soft). *Etymologiarum* III: 22, 14.

[4] In the text Isidore also explains that the instrument was played with sticks and not with the hands. There are two depictions that show such a performance technique for the round frame drum. One can be found in the fourth-century Christian sarcophagus housed at the Musée de l'Arles et de la Province Antiques (catalog number 64 tf. 20). The other example can be found in the *Hortus Deliciarium* of Herrad of Landsberg fol. 38 (destroyed in 1870 but reconstructed on the basis of nineteenth-century copies). For a reproduction of this example, see Wilhem Stauder, *Alte Musikinstrumente* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1973), 154. See also the facsimile edition of this work: Herrad of Landsberg, *Hortos Deliciarum,* vol. 1 [reconstruction], vol. 2 [commentary], Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. 36, ed. Rosalie Green, T. Julian Brown, and Keneth Levy. (London: Warburg Institute, 1979).

stretched over four pieces of wood."[5] Thus, the conflicting descriptions of the *tympanum* in the *Etymologiarum* and in the Navarese *Vocabulario latino* suggest that the Latin term was applied to both round and square frame drums, at least after the tenth century.

The use of the noun *tympanum* as a generic term in medieval Iberia is further indicated in biblical illuminations where the noun was illustrated as either a round- or a square-shaped frame drum. Examples of this can be found in representations of Exodus 15:20, in a passage where Miriam and the Israelite women are described in the Vulgate as playing *tympanum/tympanis.*[6] Whereas the *tympanum* mentioned in Exodus 15:20 in the famous Romanesque Bible produced in León in 1162 was depicted as a round frame drum [fig. 35],[7] in the Pamplona Bible (finished between 1199 and 1212),[8] the instrument depicted in the illustration of the same passage is a frame drum of the square type [fig. 56]. As we can see, this evidence shows that round and square frame drums were not only

[5] "Timphanum: In quattour lignis extensa pellis." Real Academia de la Historia, Codex Emilanense 46, 155r-1. This anonymous Latin dictionary contains the earliest description of the square frame drum in the Iberian Penisula. For an edition of this work, see Claudio and Javier García Turza, *Fuentes españolas altomedievales: El códice emilanense 46 de la Real Academia de la Historia. Primer diccionario enciclopédico de la peninsula iberica* (Caja Rioja: Real Academia de la Historia, 1997), 547. Latin-Latin dictionaries like this one were generally used during the Middle Ages to help with the comprehension and clarification of medieval Latin texts. The dictionaries were usually comprised of a mixture of preexisting texts and new annotations. In the description of the square *tympanum*, since there are no earlier sources that speak of such an instrument, it seems that this entry in the dictionary actually reflects the contemporaneous linguistic situation.

[6] "Sumpsit ergo Maria prophetissa, soror Aaron, tympanum in Manu sua, egressaeque sunt omnes mulieres post eam cum tympanis et choris."

[7] León, Biblioteca de la Colegiata de San Isidoro, Cod. 3, fol. 38 v.

[8] Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Latin 108. For a facsimile and study of this manuscript, see Francois Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles: A Facsimile Compiled from Two Picture Bibles with Martyrologies Commissioned by King Sancho el Fuerte of Navarra (1194-1234) Amiens Manuscript Latin 108 and Hamburg Ms. I, 2, lat. 4, 15* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).

popular at the same time in Iberia during the Middle Ages, but also that they both shared the Latin denominative *tympanum*.[9]

2. THE DOUBLE CHARACTER OF THE ARABIC *DUFF*

The Arabic term *duff*,[10] an appellative related to the Hebrew name *tof* and the Sumerian *adapa*, also seems to have been used generically to describe frame drums of different shapes in Islamic cultures during the Middle Ages, including in the Islamic Iberian peninsula.[11] Other terms such as *tār* and *ghirbāl* seem to have been used to better describe the different configurations of frame drums in the Islamic world. However, these terms do not seem to have been used universally throughout Islamic lands, and are only mentioned in a handful of texts.

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[9] The generic character of the term *tympanum* is further demonstrated in the translation of the Latin noun in Iberian Romance- and Arabic-language texts by a collection of names that includes *pandero*, *adufe*, *mizhar*, *mazhar*, and *tarr.* Examples of this can be seen in the eleventh-century anonymous *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, in which tympanum is equated to *mizhar/mazhar*; the *Vocabulista in arabico* of Ramon Martí (1287), in which *tympanum* is translated as *tarr* and *bandair*; and in the *Vocabulario Español Latino* compiled by Antonio de Nebrija (Salamanca, 1495), in which *tympanum* is equated to *pandero* and *adufe*. For editions of these works, see *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum, ex unico qui extat codice Leidensi XI saeculo in Hispania conscript.*, ed. C.F. Seybold (Berlin, 1900); *Vocabuli sta in Arabico, pubblicato sopra un codice della Bibl. Riccardiana de Fierenze, da C. Schiaparelli* (Florence, 1871); and Antonio de Nebrija, *Vocabulario Español Latino*, facsimile edition (Madrid: Real Academia de la Lengua, 1951).

[10] The transliteration of Arabic characters into Latin characters used in this dissertation follow the standards proposed by the ISO (International Organization for Standardization).

[11] In July of 711, Tariq, a lieutenant of the Muslim North African governor Musa, sealed the fate of the Iberian Peninsula by defeating the Visigothic king Rodericus. With this defeat, the Visigothic kingdom collapsed and the unity of the Peninsula was shattered. The victory of the Islamic forces had deep cultural repercussions not only in Iberia, but also in Western Europe since the conquerors brought with them from the East a highly developed culture. Different kinds of musical instruments were among the most important contributions of Islam to the cultural life of the West. For a detailed account of the historical events that comprised the conquest of Iberia by Arabs and Berbers and the splendor of the Muslim culture in Al-Andalus (the name given by the Arabs to the Muslim part of the Peninsula), see Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975); L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990); and María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 2002).

Before the advent of Islam in the seventh century, the term *duff* was already used among the Arabs.[12] In pre-Islamic times, the appellative designated an instrument that was popular among pilgrims, court musicians, and the slave singing girls known as *qiyan* (sing. *qaina*), who used the *duff* to accompany their singing.[13] With the establishment of the Islamic faith, some spiritual leaders reacted against the use of musical instruments in connection with religious ritual, just as the early Christian Fathers had done some centuries before, and forbade their use by the faithful. This repudiation was based on exegetical interpretations of the *Qur'ān* and information extrapolated from sayings or stories told by the Prophet Mohamed (*hadiths*) that allegedly demonstrated the unlawfulness of the instrument.[14] Among musical instruments, the *duff* proved to be a complex issue. On the one hand, it was banned from Islamic practice because exegetical interpretations considered musical instruments as among the most powerful tools used by the devil to seduce men,[15] but on the other hand it was legitimized as lawful in some of

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[12] The term is found as early as the sixth century in the poems of Djābir Ibn Huyayy. See Henry George Farmer, "Duff," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat and J. Schacht (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), 2/620. Some scholars claim that the term *duff* was used in pre-Islamic times specifically to describe a frame drum of a square shape. See H.G. Farmer, "Meccan Musical Instruments," in *The Science of Music in Islam,* ed. Eckhard Neubauer (Frankfurt: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1997), 2:84; Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1940), 246; and James Blades, *Percussion Instruments and Their History* (Westport: The Bold Strummer, 1970), 183.

[13] See Farmer, "Duff, " 620-21; and idem, *A History of Arabian Music to the XIII Century* (London: Luzac, 1929), 4, 7, 10-12. See also Habib Hassan Touma, *The Music of the Arabs*, trans. Laurie Schwarts (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1996), 1-4; and Mahmoud Guettat, "El universo musical," in *Música y poesía del sur de Al-Andalus* (Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1995), 22. As explained by these scholars, the *qiyan* were slave girls who were proficient in singing, dancing and playing musical instruments. They were invariably found in every Arab household of social standing. Their price varied depending on the number of songs they knew. This information was stipulated in a piece of parchment carried by the slaves that specified the repertoire. The document also indicated the instrument(s) played by the *qaina*.

[14] For a review of this attitude against music and musical instruments and the different modern schools of interpretation of this custom, see Farmer, *A History*, 20-38.

[15] Ibid., 25.

the prophet's *hadiths*, especially the one where Mohamed calls for its use to announce a wedding.[16]

Medieval literary sources show that the term *duff* was commonly used to describe different kinds of frame drums throughout the Islamic world. For example, we learn from al-Mutarrizī (d. 1213)[17] that there were two types of frame drums that responded to that term, one round and one square,[18] and from al-Samarqandī (983-1002)[19] and Ibn Jamā'a (Cairo 1325-Damascus 1388)[20] we find that the word *duff* could also refer to a frame drum with jingles.[21] This generic use of the term in Islamicate culture might have prompted the addition of adjectives next to the noun to better describe the instrument in question. Thus, we find *duff murabba'* (square frame drum)[22] in the *Fi dja*wāz *al-samā'*

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[16] While in most versions of this *hadith* the appellative *duff* was used, al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) in his *Ihyā 'ulūm al-din,* uses the name *ghirbāl*. See Farmer, *A History*, 28; and Christian Poché, "Ghirbāl," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 6:43. Making a case for the lawful status of the *duff*, we find that Ibn al-Kaysarānī (Jerusalem, 1058-Baghdad 1113) in his *Fi dja*wāz *al-samā'* and al-Adfuwī (Udfu,1286- Cairo,1347) in his *Kitāb al-imtā' bi-alikūm al samā'* remind their fellow Muslims about the important and long standing role of the frame drum in Arabic culture. This role was so ingrained in Islam that Al-Sammarkandī (983-1002) explains that the instrument could be used to celebrate joyful events such as weddings on the condition that it did not have jingles. Also, in his *Masala fi'l- samā'*, the influential writer Ibn Taymiyya (Harran, 1263-Damascus, 1328) advocates for its use in religious ceremonies. Finally, the Tunisian lexicographer al – Tīfāshī (1184-1253), in his *Mut'at al-asmāc' fi ' ilm al-samā',* goes so far as to describe the *duff* as one of the noblest of instruments. For descriptions of these works, see Amnon Shiloah, *The Theory of Music in Arabic Writings (c. 900-1900): Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Libraries of Europe and the U.S.A.,* RISM B/X (Munich: Henle, 1979), no. 003; and Amnon Shiloah, *The Theory of Music in Arabic Writings (c. 900-1900): Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Libraries of Europe and the U.S.A.,* RISM B/Xa (Munich: Henle, 2003), nos. 060, 064, 117.

[17] For this information, see**,** Farmer, "Duff," 620.

[18] Ibid.

[19] *Bustān al-'ārifin.* See Shiloah, *The Theory,* RISM B/X, 319.

[20] *Jawāb sual sālahu shakh***s** *min al-fuqarā fi'l samā'.* See Shiloah, *The Theory,* RISM B/Xa, 104.

[21] This information can be extrapolated from their preference to use a *duff* without jingles (*djalādjil*). For a summary of and commentary on these works, see Shiloah, *The Theory,* RISM B/Xa, 319.

[22] For this information in the *Kashf al-ghumūm,* see Farmer, "Duff," 621. For a summary of and commentary on the *Fi djawāz al-samā',* see Shiloah, *The Theory*, RISM B/X, 182, 409-10.

of Ibn al-Kaysarānī (Jerusalem 1058-Baghdad 1113) and in the fifteenth-century anonymous *Kashf al-ghumūm*, and *duff al-mudjaldjal* (frame drum with jingles) in the anonymous *Risāla al-barāhīn al-awlawiyya* (first half of the seventeenth century).[23]

In the specific case of contemporaneous writings related to Islamic Iberia, we find the term *duff* in the writings of Al-Shaqundī (d. Seville 1231),[24] Ibn Sīda (Murcia 1007-Denia 1066),[25] Ibn Zayla (d. 1048),[26] Ibn al-Darrāj (d. 1294),[27] and Al-Tīfāshī (Tunisia 1184-Cairo1253).[28] Since no indications about the specific shape of the *duff* are given in these cases, we can only conclude that either there was only one type of frame drum known to these authors and their intended audience, and, therefore, it did not need to be explained in their works, or that the use of the word was strictly generic. However, as we will see later in this chapter, the fact that the noun *duff* was absorbed into the Iberian Romance language without any qualifying adjective to designate the square frame drum might also suggest that, at least at some point, the term was used in Iberian Arabic to

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[23] *S*ee Shiloah, *The Theory* B/X, 409.

[24] *Risālā fī tafdīl al-andalus*. See Shiloah, *The Theory*, RISM B/Xa, 168-69.

[25] *Kitāb al mukhaṣṣaṣ*. See Shiloah, *The Theory*, RISM B/X, 210.

[26] *Kitāb al-kāfi fi'l-musikī.* Ibn Zayla was a student of Ibn Sina. In his book *Al-Kafi fi 'i-musiqui,* the author summarizes the classification systems for musical instruments of al-Fārābī and his teacher. However, unlike these two writers, Ibn Zayla includes the membranophone family by mentioning the *duff* and the *Tabl* (cylindrical double headed drum). In this context, the author seems to encompass all instruments of the frame drum family under the name *duff*. For an edition of this treatise, see Zakariyya Yusuf, *Kitāb al-kāfi fi'l-musikī.* (Cairo: Dar al-Qalam, 1964).

[27] *Kitāb al-imtā' wal'-intifā'*. There are two extant exemplars of this treatise*,* one of them housed today at the Biblioteca Nacionál de Madrid, Res. 246, and the other one in the General Library of Rabat, D 3663. See Shiloah's entries on al-Shalaḥī and Ibn al-Darrāj in his *The Theory of Music*, RISM B/X, 323-324 and in his *The Theory of Music*, RISM B/Xa, 97-98. See also Mahmoud Guettat, *La musique arabo-andalouse l'empreinte du Maghreb* (Paris: Fleurs Sociales, 2000), 173.

[28] *Mut'at al-asmā' fi 'ilm al –samā'*. See Shiloah, *The Theory*, RISM B/Xa, 184-85.

specifically designate the square form, which is why it passed into the Romance language with this designation.[29]

3. THE TERM *PANDERO*

The Romance term *pandero* is frequently found in connection with frame drums in the corpus of extant medieval Iberian literature. Philologists have suggested that this term is a development of the Greek word *pandura* and its Latin derivation *pandorius*, both names given during Greco-Roman antiquity to a plucked string instrument of the

[29] For this hypothesis, see section 4 in this chapter.

lute family.[30] This etymological theory is based on a regular phonetic development that occurs to the suffix *-oriu* from Latin into Castilian. The first step of this development was a tendency for medieval Latin speakers to diphthongize the mid-open classical Latin vowel /*ō*/ into /*uo*/ as an effort to differentiate its open sound from the closed sound of

[30] While it is also possible that the term *pandero* derived from the Latin adjective *pandus* (curved, bent), the most current theory based on phonetic development from Latin to Spanish sustains that the word *pandero* comes instead from *pandura/pandorius*. It also has been explained that the term *pandura* itself derived from the Sumerian *pandur* or *pantur* (little bow), which suggests that the *pandura* was an instrument that evolved from some kind of musical bow. However, these words are never used in the Sumerian literature in connection with musical instruments. See H.G. Farmer, "An Early Greek Pandore," in *The Science of Music in Islam*, ed. Eckhard Neubauer (Frankfurt: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1997), 2/301. Organologists have commonly identified the *pandura* as a kind of Greco-Roman lute. Their conjecture is based on the description by Pollux of Naucratis (second century A.D) of the instrument as a trichordon (instrument of three strings). The *pandura* is rarely found in Greco-Roman literature or musical iconography. It was comprised of a long, thick fingerboard and a small resonating body. Representations in late Roman sarcophagi indicate that the instrument had three strings or more and was plucked with either fingers or a plectrum. It is also important to take into consideration that both Marcianus Capella and Isidore of Seville identify the *pandorius* with a wind instrument made out of cane. Isidore, quoting Virgil (*Ecl*. 2,32), further ascribes the instrument's invention to the god Pan, and explains that it consists of a collection of cane tubes of different sizes that are joined together with wax. See *Etymologiarum* III: 21, 8. As we can see, the instrument described by Isidore is no other than the panpipe. For further information, see Joan Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: Gredos, 1954), 4:366-367; James W. McKinnon, "Pandoura," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 1980), 14:154; and R.A. Higgins and R. P. Winnington-Ingram, "Lute Players in Greek Art," *Journal of Hellenistic Studies* 135 (1965): 62. As mentioned above, Bernardo Aldrede first suggested the evolution of *pandero* from *pandorius* in his *Del origen y principio de de la lengua castellana o romance que oi se usa en España* (Rome, 1606). On how the name of a string instrument was later applied to a frame drum, we can only suggest that the transfer of the name from one to the other was not related to the instrument's performance practice, but rather with its physical appearance. Simple lutes such as the *pandora/pandorius* consisted of a wooden finger-board, strings, and a resonating body made out of wood that is covered by stretched animal skin. A good example of these types of instruments is the North African *guimbri*. Based on the materials of the string instrument, we can hypothesize that the name was transferred from the lute type to the frame drum because of the similarity in their construction materials. Furthermore, as we will later see, strings stretched under the skin of the instrument also furnished some frame drums. Thus, there was a close connection between the two types of instruments in some of their most fundamental features.

/*o*/.[31] In turn, this diphthong was incorporated into Ibero-Romance dialects in different ways.[32] In Castilian, the anticipation of *-ium* following the /*r*/ made the combination /*ue*/ an equivalent to the medieval Latin diphthong /*uo*/.[33] Then, emphasis on the clarity and precision of vowels in Castilian, one of the main characteristics of that language, prompted the transformation of the diphthong /*ue*/ into the clear and sharp sound /*e*/.[34] In this manner the Latin *pandorius* would have become *panderius* in Castilian. At the same time, the reduction of the Latin cases into only one singular and plural form for most substantives and adjectives in Romance dialects also caused the disappearance of the /*s*/ at the end of nouns of the *-orius* group. This seems to have prompted the conversion of /*u*/ into /*o*/ following a regular vocalic development that occurs with the loss of the

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[31] The diphthongizing of simple vowels in Latin is a widespread phenomenon in Romance languages. This is particularly true for the mid open vowels /ē/ and /ō/. Since this phenomenon appears so early in so many different Romance dialects, it is then necessary to look for its origins in Late Latin. Here it is important to define what is a diphthong. Currently, a diphthong is described as a single syllable nucleus in which there is a qualitative difference between the beginning or end of the vowel and its center, or between the center and the end. The kind of diphthongization suffered by the long /ō/ and /ē/ is described as the on-gliding type since their diphthongs have a weaker or non-syllabic element at their beginning and their initial portion is modified to the latter feature of the segment. This diphthongizing seemed to have occurred before the eighth century. This stage of diphthongization did not evolve further in some Ibero-Romance dialects, such as the Leonese, in which we find that the equivalent of the Latin /ō/ is to this day still /*uo*/. For the above-mentioned theory about the diphthongization of the Classical Latin /ō/ as well as other approaches to the problem, see Paul M. Lloyd, *From Latin to Spanish, Vol. I: Historical Phonology and Morphology of the Spanish Language* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1987), 116-118; and Julius Purczinsky, "A Neo-Schuchardtian Theory of General Romance Diphthongization," *Romance Philology* 23 (1969-1970): 92-528. For the Leonese examples, see Alonzo Vicente Zamora, *Dialectología española* (Madrid: Gredos, 1967), 91-92.

[32] The Medieval Latin diphthong /*uo*/ was interpreted either as /*ue*/ or /*oi*/. For example, the Latin noun *corium* (leather) was transformed into Spanish as *cuero* and in Portuguese as *coiro*. See Lloyd*, From Latin to Spanish,* 184-185; and Corominas, *Diccionario crítico*, 635-636.

[33] See Lloyd*, From Latin to Spanish,* 184-185.

[34] The reason might be because /*e*/ is the vowel that among other vowels combines the greatest amount of perceptibility with the greatest degree of sharpness. See Lloyd*, From Latin to Spanish,* 186.

consonance /*s*/.[35] Thus, the Latin *pandorius* might have first evolved into a medieval Latin *panduoro*, then into the early Castilian *panduero* and finally into the form *pandero*.

To my knowledge, the term *pandero* is first mentioned in an eleventh-century Mozarabic Psalter as a translation of the Latin form *tympanum*.[36] In a gloss written in vernacular to explain the original Latin text, the anonymous author explains that the declined Latin noun *timphanis* (with frame drums) was to be understood as the act of "singing with *pandero*." Moving chronologically, after the Mozarabic description we find the term *pandero* in its Latinized form *pandorius* in the thirteenth-century treatise *Ars musica* written by the Castilian Gil of Zamora.[37] In this work the author explains that the

[35] This phenomenon also occurs with the ending *–um*. See Lloyd*, From Latin to Spanish,* 151.

[36] London, British Library, Add. 30, 851 fol. 27. For a facsimile edition of this work, see J.P. Gilson, ed., London, British Library, Add. 30, 851 fol. 27 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1905). In one of the glosses in vernacular used to explain the original Latin text of the Psalter, the author defines the declined Latin noun *timphanis* (with frame drums) as the act of "singing with *pandero*." (Thimphanis: cantare vel pandero). See Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Léxico hispánicoprimitivo (siglos VIII al XII)*, ed. Manuel Seco (Madrid: Fundacion Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 2003), 451.

[37] This is demonstrated by Alonso Fernández de Palencia*, Universal vocabulario en latin y romance* (Seville, 1490), facsimile edition (Madrid: Comisión Permanente de la Associación de academias de la Lengua Española, 1967), 337. Here the author translates *pandorium* as *pandero*, and shows knowledge of Isidore's texts by explaining that the instrument has the "name of its inventor."

instrument corresponding to this name is "a round instrument made of parchment extended over a frame of wood, that is played with the hands."[38]

The Romance form *pandero* is recorded at least five times in the fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor* of the Castilian Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita. He situates the *pandero* in the hands of a professional female performer known as *cantadera,* and describes that after she sings her first song, "her feet always move and the *pandero* suffers…."[39] In another section of the work the *pandero* is requested as a wedding gift by a shepherdess, and again described being played by women who sell meat during Lent.[40] The term is also found in another fourteenth-century source, the poem *Una coronación de Nuestra Señora* of Fernán Ruiz of Seville, in which it is explained that *panderos* are "the tenors of all other instruments" along with *trompas, adrufes,* and *sonajes.* [41]

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[38] ". . .instrumentum rotundum, cum pergameno extenso super lignum quod manibus tangatur." Johannes Aegidivs de Zamora, *Ars musica*, ed. Michel Robert-Tissot (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1974), 114-115. This information is included in a chapter of the work that appears to be almost a verbatim copy of the *Libro XIX "De musica"* found in the *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomeus Anglicus, a work that is based in turn on Isidore's *Etymologiarum.* But significantly, while descriptions and etymologies of every other musical instrument in Zamora's text coincides with the information given by Bartholomeus, the description of the *pandorius* does not. Bartholomeus explains, quoting Isidore, that the *pandorius* is an instrument comprised of pipes of different sizes bound together: "Unde et quidam nominee Pan dicebatur esse deus pastoralis que primus dispares calamos ad cantum aptavit et studiosa arte composuit…Et ideo instrumentum fistularum ab eo inventum pandorium," ("Under the name Pan we refer to that pastoral god that first put together reed pipes of different sizes with imaginative art…And made an instrument out of pipes called *pandorium*.) Zamora, however, after giving the same explanation, points out in a confusing manner that the *pandorius,* instead of being a wind instrument, was a round frame drum. This *unicum* demonstrates the writer's concern to include in the list an instrument that was popular in his own land, an attitude that, as we will see later in this chapter, is common of other medieval Spanish writers such as Juan Ruiz and Fernán Ruiz.

[39] Verse 471: "Desque la cantadera dize el cantar primero, siempre los pies le bullen e mal para el pandero… cantadera nunca tienen los pies quedos,…en la dança siempre bullen los dedos." See Juan Ruiz Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Alberto Blecua (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996), 124.

[40] Verse 1003: "e dame un pandero," (and give me a *pandero*); and verse 1212: "…triperas tañiendo panderos," (the tripe sellers playing panderos). See *Libro de buen amor*, , 302.

[41] This text appears in the *Cancionero de Ramón de Llaviá* (14th or 15th century); see Daniel Devoto, "Los instrumentos de la coronación de Nuestra Señora, de Fernán Ruiz, según un nuevo texto," *Anuario Musical* 30 (1975): 35-48. The text reads: "Las trompas, panderos, adrufes, sonajes eran de todos los otros tenores."

Towards the end of the medieval period we find the name *pandero* as a translation or interpretation of the *tympanum/tof* in the anonymous *Biblia Medieval Romanceada Judio-Cristiana* produced in Castile circa 1400. In a rendering of Samuel 18:6 we read "and the women from all cities of Israel came out to receive King Saul singing and playing *panderos*, and with happiness, *adufles*, and minstrels." [42] Similarly, in the translation of Judges 11:34 that appears in the same work we read "Jephthah returned to his house at Mizpah, and there, his daughter came out to receive him with *adufles* and *panderos*." [43]

During the late fifteenth century the term *pandero* is again found as a translation of the Latin *tympanum* in the *Vocabulario en latin y romance* of Alonso Fernández de Palencia (Seville, 1490)[44] and in the *Vocabulario español latino* of Antonio Nebrija (Salamanca, 1495).[45] During this same period the *pandero* is also mentioned in a Catalan text that narrates a series of festivities: "For all three days a *pandero* and a *rabenet* (*rebec*?) played together from the window of a house in the city." [46]

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[42] "Salieron las mugeres de todas las çibdades de Ysrael a cantar e las de los *panderos* a rescebir a Saul, el rey, con *adufles* e con alegria e ministriles." See *Biblia medieval romanceada judío-cristiana*, ed. P. J. Llamasa (Madrid, 1950), 96.

[43] "E vino Ybta a la mispa a su casa, e he su fija do sale a lo rresçebir con adufles e panderos." See *Biblia medieval romanceada judío-cristiana*, ed. P. J. Llamasa (Madrid, 1950), 357.

[44] Alonso Fernández de Palencia*, Universal vocabulario en latin y romance* (Seville, 1490), 500.

[45] Antonio de Nebrija, *Vocabulario Español Latino* (Salamanca, 1495), 480.

[46] The specific date for this text is 1492. The text reads "Tots los tres dies sonaren stant en la finestra a la dita casa de la ciutat un pandero et un rebenet." This information is given by Dolors Sistac i Sanvicén, *Les cançons de pandero o de tambor. Estudi i noves aportacions* (Lleida: Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, n.d.), 72.

The term appears again during the early sixteenth century as the equivalent of the Latin *tympanum* in the anonymous Aragonese *Glosario del Escorial*,[47] and as the equivalent of the Arabic term *bandair* in the *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua aráviga y vocabulista arávigo en lengua Castellana* published in 1505 in Granada by Pedro de Alcalá.[48] During this period we find the term again in the second volume of the *Eusebio* (Salamanca, 1506-07) of Alonso de Madrigal, a retelling of 1 Samuel 10:5 that reads: "And you will find a great company of prophets descending from the hills, and in front of them you will see *psalterium*, *pandero*, *adufle*, and *cítola.*" [49]

The term is also found in the *Historia de los reyes católicos* of Andrés Bernáldez (1513) in a passage that describes how the Iberian Jews went into exile after their expulsion from Castile in 1492: "The Rabbis…made the women and the young boys sing and play the *panderos* and *adufes*, and in this way they left Castile."[50] The term is also recorded during this period in the anonymous *Cronica del Condestable de Castilla Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo* in a section of the text that narrates the noble's wedding festivities**:** "In front of the pages there was a great multitude with the noise of kettle

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[47] The actual full title is *Libro de advervios, nombres, verbos y refranes latinos, con sus correspondientes españoles*. This work seems to have been written in Aragon during the fifteenth century. For information about this manuscript see Américo Castro, *Glosarios latino-españoles de la Edad Media* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Filologia Hispanica, 1991).

[48] In this work, the word *bandair* is translated as "pandero para tañer." See Corominas, *Diccionario crítico,* 367; and Philippe Vigreux, "Les Membranophones," in *Instruments de musique du Maroc et d'al-Andalus*, ed. Catherine Homo-Lechner and Christian Rault (Paris: Foundation Royaumont/CERIMM, 2001), 96.

[49] "Fallarás una compaña grande de profetas descendientes de las cuestas, e delante de ellos veras psalterio, e pandero e adufle e cítola." Alonso de Madrigal (el Tostado), *Eusebio* 2:165 (Salamanca 1506-7).

[50] "Los Rabíes…facian cantar a las mugeres y mancebos, e tañer panderos e adufes para alegrar a la gente, e así salieron fuera de Castilla." This text is taken from the *Diccionario historico de la lengua española,* ed. Julio Casares (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1964), 803.

drums, *bastardas* and Italian trumpets, shawms, drums, *panderos*…. The noise was so great that you could not hear the person next to you speaking." [51]

Perhaps the best source that we can use to finish this list is the *Dialogo de la lengua* (1535) of the Castilian Juan Valdés, written to teach its readers the proper use of the Castilian language. In this source the author suggests the use of *pandero* instead of *adufe* as a more correct term for the frame drum on the grounds that the latter is an archaism and, therefore, an "ugly" word (*vocablo feo*).[52]

As we have seen, the description of the *pandorius* as "a round instrument made of parchment extended over a frame of wood," given in the thirteenth-century *De musica* of Gil of Zamora, indicates that the term was only applied to instruments of circular shape.[53] This premise is supported by information contained in an inventory written in 1373 in Aragon, in which we find a mention of "three sieves to sift, one *pandero* to hold the wheat."[54] Since this record indicates that the *pandero* was a skin tray or basket, a food utensil made out of wood wended into a circle with skin stretched on one side of its

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[51] "Delante de los ya dichos pajes yvan tan gran moltitud e ruydo de atabales, trompetas bastardas et ytalianas, chirimias, tamborinos, panderos etc., locos, et vallesteros de maza et otros oficiales de diversas maneras, que non avie persona que una a otra oyr se pudiera por cerca et alto que en uno fablasen...." Quoted in José María Lamaña, "Los instrumentos musicales en los últimos tiempos de la dinastía de la Casa de Barcelona," *Anuario Musical* 24 (1969): 113-14.

[52] "digo no adrufe sino pandero." Juan Valdés, *Dialogo de la lengua* (1535), ed. Juan M. Lope Blanch (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1982), 118-119. This passage suggests that the replacement of the term *adufe* with the name *pandero,* a gradual process still not concluded in some regions of Iberia, was not a result of fourteenth-century court taste but rather of sixteenth-century humanism. This is further exemplified by the eighteenth-century *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Madrid: Real Académia de la Lengua, 1732) in which we find that "Pandero: [is a frame drum] formed by a square frame of wood." It is important to mention that in the same source the term *adufe* is also recorded as another possible name for the square instrument: "*Adufe*: A type of drum that is low and square...that it is also known by the name *pandero*." This indicates its endurance until at least the beginning of the eighteenth century in Castilian.

[53] For this text, see footnote 37 in this chapter.

[54] "…tres grivas de agrivar, un pandero de tener trigo…." Quoted in Corominas, *Diccionario crítico,* 636.

body, we can speculate that the term was used to describe this item because it reminded people of the round frame drum.[55]

Another seeming testimony linking the term *pandero* to the round frame drum in medieval Iberia is given in a much later source, the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, a dictionary published by Sebastián de Cobarruvias at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[56] In this work the author explains that although the *pandero* was an instrument of square shape during his days, it seems to have had a round shape before his time: "At the beginning this instrument must have been round; after that it was made with a square shape."[57]

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[55] The philologist Joan Corominas explains that, in this case, the term *pandero* is an ultracorrection of *panero* — a derivation of the word *pan* (bread) — and, therefore, it holds no relation with the frame drum *pandero*. Corominas also informs us that in Catalan the term *paner* is used to describe a basket. In this case, the appellative is more clearly derived from *pan* than in the Aragonese case. See Corominas, *Diccionario crítico.* 636. However, it is important to remember the long connection that has existed for centuries between frame drums, sieves, and skin trays. As mentioned before, in ancient Sumer the appellative *Adapa* (*adapu*) was used to describe both grain measure and a frame drum. See Francis W. Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians and Their Immediate Successors the Babylonians & Assyrians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), 8. Also, the similarity of shape between the winnowing utensil and the musical instrument during the Early Middle Ages prompted Isidore of Seville to compare the shape of the round frame drum with that of the sieve (*Etymologiarum* III: 22, 10). Furthermore*,* one of the names given to a frame drum in Medieval Arabic was *ghirbāl,* the same appellative given to the sieve. See H.G. Farmer, "Duff," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat and J. Schacht (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 2:620-21. Sieves or skin trays, probably like the ones mentioned in the medieval inventory, were still produced until recent times in Aragon. Examples of these utensils can be found in the Museum Ángel Orensanz of Puente de Sabiñánigo and in the Ethnologic Museum of San Juan de Plan. The variously-sized specimens are comprised of a round wooden frame to which sheep or goatskin has been stretched over one side of their bodies. These sieves were not only used during the threshing process, but also served as frame drums if the circumstances called for it because of their similarity to these musical instruments. Throughout my research, I did not find any specific museum catalog number for any of the objects preserved in museums. In Ireland, the relatively modern Irish frame drum *bodhrán* can be traced back to skin trays that were used for winnowing the grain and as storage containers. See David G. Such, "The Bodhrán: The Black Sheep in the Family of Traditional Irish Musical Instruments," *The Galpin Society Journal* 38 (April 1985): 9-19; and Rina Schiller, *The Lamberg and the Bodhrán* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 2001), 95-96.

[56] Sebastian de Covarrubias Horozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* (Madrid, 1611), ed. Felipe C. R. Maldonado (Madrid: Castalia, 1994).

[57] "Al principio dević de ser redondo; después los hizieron quadrados." *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, 800.

Further proof that the *pandero* refers to a round-shaped drum also can be deduced from a close examination of literary sources and their comparison with contemporaneous works of art. In medieval Iberian texts in which the appellative is mentioned, it is not uncommon to find that the instrument described is performing together with other instruments including the frame drum *adufe*.[58] Similarly, two kinds of frame drums, one round and the other square are also represented in contemporaneous works of art [fig. 42]. Since the *adufe* can be identified as a frame drum of square shape, we can deduce that the round frame drum shown in the depictions can be recognized by the appellative *pandero*. In modern-day Castilian the term *pandero* is still used to describe frame drums of round shape in regions of the Iberian Peninsula, Latin America, and North Africa.[59] This practice suggests a continuous use of the Romance noun at least from the eleventh century, when the name is recorded for the first time in a Mozarabic Psalter, to modern times to describe the round frame drum.

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[58] These sources will be scrutinized in chapter 9.

[59] While in the Iberian Peninsula the term is also currently used as a generic appellative that describes instruments of the round and square shape, it is more commonly associated with the round types. We find in Galicia and Asturias the related terms *pandeira, panderu, pandeiru*, and in Castile, Leon, La Mancha, Extremadura, Andalucia, and Murcia also the form *pandera* for instruments with jingles. See José Antonio García Trabajo and Jesús San José Hernández in the article "El Pandero," in *Diario de León* (Octobre 18, 1987), 45; and Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos Musicais Populares Portugueses* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouse Gulbenkian, 1982), 393. For the Maghreb, see Paul Collaer and Jürgen Elsner, *Nordafrika*, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern* I: Musikethnologie 8 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1983), 152, 168, 110; and Bernard Lortat-Jacob, *Musique et Fêtes au Haut-Atlas* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1980). For Latin America, see Martha Ellen Davis, "The Dominican Republic," in *South America, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean*, *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (New York: Garland, 1998), 855; Gemma Salas Villar et al., "Pandero," in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid: SGDE, 2002), 8:431-433; Miguel Pérez Lorenzo, "Pandereta," in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid: SGDE, 2002), 8:431; Gerard Béhage, "Brazil II, 1 (iv): Traditional Music: Organology," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd rev. ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 4:276; and José Portaccio Fontalvo, *Colombia y su Musica* (Bogota, 1995), 2:242.

3.1 *BANDAIR* AND *PANDEIRO*: TERMS RELATED TO THE NOUN *PANDERO*

The Latin *pandorius* was also incorporated into medieval Arabic in the Peninsula as *bandair* via the Ibero-Romance dialects.[60] As we have seen, the mid-open Latin /*o*/ was interpreted in Castilian as /*ue*/ and in other Iberian dialects as /*oi*/. The philologist Joan Corominas explains that since the vocalic succession /*oi*/ does not exist in Arabic, the combination /*ai*/ was used instead in that language to emulate the sound of the Romance diphthong.[61] Besides this change, the sound /*p*/ at the beginning of the word *panduiro/panduero/pandero* morphed into the Arabic /*b*/ because of the lack of that Latin/Romance phoneme in Arabic.[62] Thus, *pandorius* became *panduiro* in Ibero-Romance from where it was imported into Arabic as *bandair*, a term that is still used throughout North Africa to describe a round frame drum with snares stretched over the inside of its membrane.[63]

There are only a few extant references to the name *bandair* in the corpus of medieval Iberian literature. The term appears in an Arabic poem by the prestigious Iberian Muslim poet Ibn Quzman (Cordoba, 1087-1160) where it is described being played in ensemble with other musical instruments: "Nakers resounding, you there grasp your *duff*, castanets play deftly, no one should neglect them, *bandayr* if present, beat it as

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[60] The form *bandair* is also transliterated in the sources as *bandayr*. In the main text of this study, I only will use *bandair* for the sake of consistency and clarity. However, when the original text is given, the original spelling will be respected. The form *bendir* also will be found on some occasions.

[61] Corominas, *Diccionario crítico*, 635-636.

[62] A good example of this common evolution is the interpretation of the Romance word *papa* as *baba* in Arabic.

[63] See Collaer and Elsner, *Nordafrika*, 152, 168, 110; and Philippe Vigreux, "Les Membranophones," 96.

well, and the reed companions, let it revive you."[64] A century later we find the Arabic appellative as a translation of the Latin term *tympanum* in the thirteenth-century *Vocabulista in Arabico* of Ramon Martí,[65] and again during the sixteenth century as the equivalent of the Castilian *pandero* in the *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua aráviga y vocabulista arávigo en lengua Castellana,* published in 1505 in Granada by Pedro de Alcalá.

In addition to the Arabic term *bandair*, the other noun related to the Castilian *pandero* that appears in medieval Iberian literature is the Galician-Portuguese *pandeiro*. Philologists explain that this term is simply an absorption of the Castilian form into the Galician tongue.[66] As in the case of Arabic, its conversion is easily traced since the Castilian suffix *–ero* commonly becomes *–eiro* in that language.[67] Although the term *pandeiro* might well have been used in Galician-Portuguese almost as early as it was in Castilian, the term was not recorded until the last quarter of the fifteenth century by Frei João Álvarez in his *Vida do Infante do Fernando.* In this work the writer informs us that during a procession performed in 1482 to commemorate the battle of Toro, some women who were part of the event accompanied a bagpiper with *adufes e pandeiros*. [68]

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[64] "Yassirū an-aqrā/wa ǧ'alū ad-duff li l-yad/ wa llāh llāh aš-šīz/ la yufraṭ fihi ḥad/ wa in āmkan bandayr/ faz-ziyāda aǧwad/ wa az-amīr ya aṣ-ṣḥāb/ az-amīr yaḥyikum Translation from James T. Monroe's liner notes of the CD *Altramar, Iberian Garden,* Dorian Dis-80158.

[65] The *Vocabulista in arabigo* is an Arabic-Latin dictionary attributed to the Catalan Ramon Martí (1287). See footnote 9 in this chapter. The passages in which frame drums are mentioned appear in Corominas, *Diccionario crítico*, 366-367.

[66] Even though the term *pandero* also exists in Bable (Asturian dialect) as *panderu*, to my knowledge this term is not mentioned in extant Medieval Literature in that language. However, it seems safe to assume that the appellative was imported from Castilian.

[67] Thus, *estera* is turned into *esteira* and *pandero* into *pandeiro*. See Corominas, *Diccionario crítico,* 635-636.

[68] For this quote, see Oliveira, *Instrumentos Musicais*, 395. The author does not give the original text.

While there are no extant descriptions of the physical structure of either the *bandair* or the *pandeiro*, we can assume that these terms were used to describe frame drums of a round shape. This conclusion is prompted not only by the close relationship that exists between the two terms and the Romance noun *pandero,* which was used to describe round instruments, but also because the nouns *bandair* in modern Arabic and *pandeiro* in Brazilian Portuguese continue to be used to describe single-membrane frame drums with a circular shell.[69]

3.2 THE *PANDERO/PANDERETE* AND ITS BRASS JINGLES

In addition to describing a round instrument without resonators, it seems that the term *pandero* was also used to refer to the round frame drum with jingles.[70] This is implied in a passage from the fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor* of Juan Ruiz in which an old hag, who arranges illicit meetings between lovers, allegorically describes

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[69] In Galicia and Portugal, the term *pandeiro* is mainly used today to describe instruments of the square shape. At the same time, in Galicia the name *pandeira* is used to describe the round instrument with jingles, and in Portugal the name *pandeireta* is also used to describe the same type of frame drum. As we can see, these three terms are derived from the Castilian *pandero*. Juanjo Fernández, telephone conversation with traditional music specialist, 24 April 2006. See also Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos Musicais*, 393-404. In Brazil there is also a large round frame drum without jingles called *panderau*. See Layne Redmond, "Bumba Meu Boi: Frame Drum Festival in São Luis, Maranhão" *Percussive Notes* 39 (June 1997): 39-42. See also Béhage, "Brazil II," 276.

[70] The earliest description of the round frame drum with jingles in Iberia seems to be that given by the Jewish writer and philosopher Maimonides (1153-1204) when he defines the object referred to in the Torah as *erus* as an instrument with small metal plates fastened to a wooden frame that produces joyous ticking when shaken. See Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel*, 413, who unfortunately does not provide the original text or any other information about this reference. Outside of the Iberian Peninsula the round frame drum with jingles is described as early as the tenth century in the *Mafatih al-ulum*, an Arabic encyclopedia compiled between 976-91 by al-Khalil. In this work, it is explained that the *sanj* are jingling plates that are heard in frame drums (*dufuf*). See H.G. Farmer, "The Science of Music in the *Mafatih Al-Ulum,*" in *The Science of Music in Islam*, ed. Eckhard Neubauer (Frankfurt: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1997), 1:455.

her deceitful profession as the selling of "*panderos* whose jingles are mute."[71] While in this passage the instrument with "mute" jingles is used as an allegory for something deceitful, what is important for us here is that the noun *pandero* was also associated with frame drums commonly furnished with these types of resonators.

This premise is corroborated by the fact that in the literature we find the *pandero* performing in ensemble with the *adufe*. As we will see in later chapters, most representations of different types of membranophones performing together produced after the fourteenth century show a square frame drum accompanied by a round frame drum furnished with jingles [fig. 42]. Thus, Juan Ruiz's text and a comparative study of the iconographical and literary sources indicate that, at least after the fourteenth century, the round frame drum with jingles was also known as *pandero*.

However, besides *pandero* the term *panderete* was also used to describe round instruments furnished with jingles. The meaning of this denominative is found in verse 1232 of Juan Ruiz's work that describes musical instruments played by minstrels to welcome the character Don Amor into town. In this passage we find that the author uses the term *panderete* to describe a frame drum with jingles: "the little *pandero* [that] with jingles [made] of *açofar* produces a sweet sound."[72] From this passage we can extrapolate that the small *pandero* was furnished with *sonajas*, resonators described in an unrelated

[71] Verse 705: "nosotras vendemos panderos que no suenan las sonajas."

[72] "El panderete, con sonajas de azofar faze dulçe sonete."

source as "metal plates."[73] Furthermore, the author also informs us that these pieces of metal were made out of *açofar*, a material described in other sources as "brass."[74]

It is important to mention here that the term *panderete* is simply the regular noun *pandero* modified by the addition of the suffix *–ete* that in medieval Castilian turned a regular noun into a diminutive. Thus, we can conclude that the name *panderete* was used to describe any kind of round frame drums of small dimensions. However, since the only extant medieval literary description of a *panderete* indicates that the instrument had jingles, it is safe to assume only that the term was applied specifically to small round instruments with brass jingles.[75] The noun *panderete* is rarely recorded in medieval sources; besides the example encountered in the *Libro de buen amor*, it is only found in two other places: the thirteenth-century *General estoria* of King Alfonso X,[76] and the anonymous fifteenth-century *Cronica del Condestable de Castilla Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo.*[77]

As we have seen, two different passages from the *Libro de buen amor* indicate that the terms *pandero* and its diminutive *panderete* were used to describe circular frame

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[73] "Rodajas de metal." See Sevastian de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* (Madrid, 1611), 12.

[74] Covarrubias translates *açofar* as: "cosa amarilla y color que reluze como oro" (yellowish material that shines like gold). *Azofar* is translated as *laton* (brass) in the *Diccionario de autoridades* (Madrid: Real Académia Española, 1732), 518.

[75] See Juan Ruiz, *Libro de Buen Amor*, ed. Joan Corominas (Madrid: Gredos, 1967), 276, n. 718bc.

[76] "Las mugeres con Maria...con atambores & panderetes & otros instrumentos muchos de cantar…" (Miriam, sister of Moses and Aaron, and the other women stood by the seashore. There they sang upon *atambores*, *panderetes*, and many other instruments that are good for the accompaniment of songs and that were brought by the ones who were joyful). *General Estoria* fol. 162r 69.

[77] "Pues trompetas, ministriles de dulzaynas et chirimias, atabales, tamborinos et panderetas, tañedores cuerda et otras personas de más actoridad, asi como trobadores...." Taken from José María Lamaña, "Los instrumentos musicales en los últimos tiempos de la dinastía de la Casa de Barcelona," *Anuario Musical* 24 (1969): 113-14.

drums (with or without jingles) shown in the iconography. The use of these terms in connection with these types of frame drums has endured to our days. Both denominations *pandero* and *panderete*, sometimes in the feminine forms *pandeira* and *pandereta*, has survived to describe round frame drums with jingles of different sizes in some regions of the Peninsula, and in Spanish-speaking Latin America.[78]

4. THE ROMANCE *ADUFE* AND ITS CONNECTION WITH THE SQUARE TYPE

The term *adufe* seems to be more commonly found in the corpus of medieval Iberian literature than its counterpart *pandero*.[79] To my knowledge, its earliest references are found in thirteenth-century secular texts. One of them is a Castilian retelling of Exodus 15:20 from the *General estoria* of King Alfonso X (ca. 1275): "Mary and the others came out with their *adufles* in hand, dancing, and singing upon the instruments."[80] Another appearance of the word can be seen in a Castilian translation of the eleventh-century Arabic *Liber Picatrix,* also produced by Alfonso X. In this work the *adufe* is mentioned in connection with an astrological sign: " He who is born in the second degree,

[78] The term *pandero* is currently still used in Léon to describe a large instrument with jingles and the term *pandeira* is used in Galicia to describe a similar type of instrument. For information about the use of *pandereta* in Latin America and Spain see Davis, "The Dominican Republic," 855; Pérez Lorenzo, "Pandereta," 431; Béhage, "Brazil II, 1, 276; and Fontalvo, *Colombia y su Musica*, 242. See also footnotes 59 and 69 in this chapter.

[79] It is not uncommon to find the variants *adufle*, *adufre*, *adrufe, alduf,* and even *adufo* in Romance. The appearance of the form *adufle* or *adufre,* for example, is explained by the absorption of the final *ff* in *duff* into Romance. See Bodo Müller, *Diccionario del Español Medieval* (Heidelberg: Universsitätsverlag, 1994), 2:159. Since all these forms come from the same root, I will use the form *adufe* in this study for consistency and clarity as this is the most commonly used today. However, I will keep the original spelling in the quotations of the historical texts.

[80] "Salieron María con su adufle en su mano e todas las otras mugeres con ella con los suyos, faziendo quirelas e cantando con ellos…." Alfonso X, *General Estoria,* fol. 162v 64.

in which a woman holds an *adufe* in her hand, will be a lover of entertainment, musical instruments, and other things that are related to happiness."[81]

The *adufe* is also found in a *Cantiga de Amigo* composed by the thirteenth-century Galician poet Martin de Ginzo, who mentions the instrument as being played on the orders of a woman: "When it seemed to be good, [she] demanded that the *adufe* was played." [82] A final example, this time in its Catalan form *alduf*, appears in the *Llibre de les Besties* of the Catalonian friar Ramon Llull (circa 1232-1315). Here the frame drum that corresponds to this name is in the possession of a professional musician: "In a valley a jongleur had left his *alduf* hanging from a tree. And the wind was moving this *tempe* (*tympanum*) making it hit the branches of the tree. Because of this, the *alduf* produced a great noise…."[83]

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[81] "En el Segundo grado sobre una muggier que tiene en la mano adufle, el qui naççiere en el sera amador de solaz & de estrumentos & de todas cosas pertenecen a alegria." Alfonso X, *Liber Picatrix* (1256?) fol. 1r11. This is a translation of an eleventh-century Arabic treatise on talismanic magic written by Abu Maslama of Madrid.

[82] A segment of the text reads: "A do mui bon pareçer mandou lo adufe tanger." This piece belongs to the corpus of the so-called *Cantigas de Amigo*, a literary genre that consists of a monologue spoken by a young woman who anxiously waits for the return of her lover. It has been suggested by scholars that the repertoire of the *Cantigas de Amigo* evolved from an older genre of female songs native to the Peninsula that was developed and formalized by twelfth- and thirteenth-century Galician troubadours connected to the intellectual environment of Santiago de Compostela. For a study of the genre, see Manuel Pedro Ferreira, *O Som de Martin Codax* (Lisbon: UNISYS, 1986). See also José Joaquim Nunes, *Cantigas d'amigo dos Trovadores Galego-Portugueses,* (Coimbra: Impresa da Universidade, 1928), 1:310-312.

[83] "…en una vall hac un joglar posat son alduf que penjava en un arbre, e lo vent menava aquell tempe e feia-lo ferir en les branques de l'arbre. Per lo feriment que el tempe feia de si mateix en l'arbre, eixia l'alduf una gran veu…." For an edition of this work, see *Ramon Llull, El Llibre de les Besties*, ed. Marina Gustà (Barcelona: El Cangur, 1998). There is a curious juxtaposition here of the terms *aduf* and *tempe*. The latter is the form of *tympanum* usually found in medieval French as *tempe*. While some scholars have associated the term *tempe* with a frame drum with jingles, it is difficult to say if Ramon Llull specifically meant that type of instrument. However, we should not forget that the term *tympanum* was used generically to describe frame drums of different shapes including the square instrument. I suspect that Llull is using the term *tempe* here to generically describe a frame drum to avoid the excessive use of the word *duff* throughout the text. And while my feeling is that he refers to a square instrument because of the connection of the term *duff* with the square form at this time, the question should remain open.

During the fourteenth century, the only extant mention of the *adufe* is found in *Una coronación de Nuestra Señora* by Fernán Ruiz de Seville, a poem composed in honor of the Virgin Mary. As already mentioned above, the instrument is described in this work as being a "tenor" for all other instruments along with *trompas, panderos,* and *sonajes*.[84]

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the *adufe* appears as a translation of *tympanum* in a study of the Church Fathers' commentaries known as *Est quatro dotores*: "In the *adufe* resonates the dry and wounded flesh, and in the *coro* the voices in agreement…."[85] Within the same period, *adufe* is also found as an equivalent of the Hebrew *tof* in different passages of the *Biblia medieval romanceada judío-cristiana*.[86] For example, in Genesis 31:27 we read: "Why didn't you notify me of your departure? I would have bid you farewell with songs accompanied by *adufe* and rebec."[87] The name *Adufe* is also used during this time in a Castilian translation of the Hebrew Bible made by Mose Arrangel Guadalfajara circa 1422. In the text of Exodus 15:20 the Jewish translator writes: "Miriam, the sister of Aaron, took the *adufe* in her hand…." Towards the end of

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[84] See footnote 41.

[85] "E el que se aparta la abstinençia de la concordia, oya lo que se dize: alabat en el adufe eç. En el adufe sona la piel seca e ferida, e en el coro las vozes acuerdan por compania. Pues asi es, qual quier que atormenta el curpo, mas desampara la Concordia, alaba a Dios en el adufe e non en el coro." *Est quarto dotores: la estoria de los quarto dotores de la Santa Eglesia*, 330:26. See Müller, *Diccionario del Español Medieval*, 2: 160.

[86] "Para que te escondiste a fuyr e non me lo notificaste, e enviárate con alegria, e cantares con adufle e rabbe?" *Biblia medieval romanceada judío-cristiana*, ed. José Llamasa (Madrid: Instituto Francisco Suárez, 1950), 411. Another two instances found in Samuel 18:6 read: *"Salieron las mugeres de todas las çibdades de Ysrael a cantar e las de los panderos a rescebir a Saul, el rey, con adufles e con alegria e ministriles,"* and in Judges 11:34: "E vino Ybta a la mispa a su casa, e he su fija do sale a lo rresçebir con adufles e panderos." For translations of these texts, see section 3 of this chapter.

[87] "Tomó Maria la propheta, hermana de Aron, el adufe en su mano." Mose arrangel Guadalfara, *Biblia (Antiguo Testamento) traducido del Hebreo al Castellano* (Madrid: Duke of Berwick and Alba, 1920-22), 185b.

the century we find the term again in the *Vocabulario Español Latino* of Antonio Nebrija (Salamanca, 1495), given as the Castilian equivalent for *tympanum*.[88] The *adufe* is described yet one more time at the end of the fifteenth century as one of the instruments performed during a welcoming festival in the *Vida do Infante do Fernando* of the Portuguese Frei João Álvarez: "…and around the village there were many women, and Christians, and Genovese merchants, and at least one Castilian, and Jews from the region that joyfully played *anafis*, *adufes*, and *atabaques*, and sang many different songs." [89]

During the early sixteenth century, the term *adufe* is found in the *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua aráviga* (Granada, 1505) of Pedro de Alcalá as the Castilian equivalent of the Arabic term *duff*,[90] and in the second volume of the *Eusebio* of Alonso de Madrigal (Salamanca, 1506-07) as a translation of *tympanum* in a retelling of 1 Sam 10:5: "a company of prophets…[playing on] *psalterium*, *pandero*, *adufle*, and *cítola,*" [91] Finally, we find the term *adufe* in the *Historia de los reyes católicos* (1513) of Andrés Bernáldez, where it is mentioned along with the *pandero* as the other instrument that was

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[88] Antonio de Nebrija, *Vocabulario Español Latino* (Salamanca, 1495).

[89] "E ante huma legoa que chagasem, acharon moços que os vinhon reçeber ao caminho, e como se mais chegauam, sayam os homes, por ende muy pouco; e acerca da vila estavanm as molheres, que eran muitas, e cristãos, e mercadores jenoeses e alguns castelaãos, e judeus, todos da terra; e faziam grande alegria e tangiam anafis, adufes e atabaques, e diziam muitos cantatas." For this quotation, see Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos Musicais Populares*, 395.

[90] In this work, the word *duff* is translated as *adufe*. See Corominas, *Diccionario crítico,* 367; and Philippe Vigreux, "Les Membranophones," 96.

[91] Alonso de Madrigal (el Tostado), *Eusebio* 2:165 (Salamanca 1506-7); see footnote 49 for the text.

played by exiled Jews on their way out of Castile in 1492,[92] and in the *Dialogo de la Lengua* written in 1535 by Juan Valdés, where it is described as an "ugly" archaism.[93]

Two Castilian literary sources indicate that the term *adufe* was used specifically in Romance to describe the square-shaped frame drum. These sources are the above-mentioned *Universal vocabulario en latin y romance* of Alonso Fernández de Palencia published in Seville in 1490,[94] and chapter sixteen of the *Recopilacion Historica* of Pedro Aguado, a Franciscan friar born in Valdemoro (Spain) who lived in the New World during the first half of the sixteenth century.[95] In the *Vocabulario,* Palencia equates the term *adufe* with an instrument of "the same lineage of the *pandero*, made like a square window."[96] Similarly, in the much later *Recopilacion,* Pedro Aguado, attempting to describe the form of a basket carried by Indian women during their weddings, explained that it was "made in the shape of a cornered *adufe*."[97] Thus, as indicated by Palencia's *Vocabulario* and Aguado's *Recopilacion*, the *adufe* was, at least in Castilian, a term used

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[92] See *Diccionario historico de la lengua española,* ed. Julio Casares (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1964), 803; see footnote 51.

[93] ". . .digo no adrufe sino pandero." Juan Valdés, *Dialogo de la lengua* (1535); see footnote 53 for the text.

[94] Alonso Fernández de Palencia, *Universal vocabulario en latin y romance* (Seville, 1490).

[95] This work, written during the first half of the sixteenth century in the New World, records historical events in the areas of what today are known as Colombia and Venezuela. The manuscript has been edited and published by La Real Academia de la Lengua (Madrid, 1916-1918).

[96] "Tirsum: [instrumento] del mismo linage de pandero fecho como ventana cuadrada, adufe."

[97] "…cestillo echo a la manera de adufe esquinado."

to describe frame drums of square shape. This term still today refers to the square frame drum in Portugal, Brazil, and Guatemala.[98]

It is possible that the use of the term *adufe* in connection with the square frame drum in Iberian Romance languages might have originated from an earlier use of the term *duff* in Iberian Arabic as a noun that specifically described only the square instrument. As we have seen, *duff* was used more commonly as a term either describing a round form, or as a generic term encompassing all instruments of the frame drum family. For this reason, a qualifying adjective was attached to the term by some non-Iberian authors to better specify the shape of the instrument. Thus, we find *duff murabba'* (square frame drum)[99] in the *Kitāb al-malāhī* of al-Mufaḍḍal (830-905), and *duff murabba' maghlug* (square frame drum covered) in the *Kitāb al-imtā' bi-alikām al-samā'* of al-Adfuwī **(**Udfu 1286-Cairo 1347**).** But while writers and lexicographers might have struggled to identify a specific type by the addition of an adjective to the noun *duff*, the qualifying terms were probably dropped in the everyday spoken language for the sake of brevity as is common with most musical instruments in our own modern languages.[100] Following this precept, I believe that if an adjective such as *murabba'* was used to describe the shape of the *duff*, it was probably used only when the writers needed to be specific. Then, with the

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[98] See Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos Musicais,* 398-401; Gerard Béhage, "Brazil II, 1, 276; Saiwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, "Portugal," in *Europe, The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (New York: Garland, 2000), 577, 582; and Linda O'Brien, "Guatemala," in *South America, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean, The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (New York: Garland, 1998), 2:727.

[99] See Vigreux, "Les Membranophones," 96.

[100] A good example is the transverse flute, which in everyday English is only called by its generic name flute. Furthermore, H.G. Farmer has demonstrated in his study of the *mizār* and *nāy* that the Arabs were not consistent about keeping the attached adjectives. See Farmer, "A Note on the Mizmār and Nāy," in *The Science of Music in Islam*, ed. Eckhard Neubauer, 2:65-67. As we have seen, this unfortunate custom created great confusion for Islamic writers and lexicographers in the Middle Ages.

popularization of the term *pandero* in connection with the round types, the noun *duff* was replaced by the Romance term, absorbed as *bandair*, and became relegated only to the square-shaped frame drum. Since the noun did not usually carry a qualifying adjective in the everyday language, the form *duff* alone became the standard name that described the square frame drum in the streets of Islamic Iberia while *bandair* described the round-shape frame drum. This hypothesis is supported by the appearance of the nouns *bandair* and *duff* together in the same poem by the poet Ibn Quzman (Cordoba, 1087-1160).[101] Most likely, *bandair* described the round instrument while the *duff* indicated the square type. Then, it seems that since the term *duff* was a specific denominative in Iberian Arabic, it consequently became absorbed into the Romance languages, probably during the twelfth century, as a name that described only that type of instrument.

Finally, it is important to mention here that even though nineteenth- and twentieth- century square frame drums from Iberia and North Africa have skin covering two sides of their shells,[102] there is no extant medieval Iberian literary or iconographical data that indicate this was typical for the same kind of instrument in the Peninsula. However, the use of skin on both sides of the medieval square frame drums is implied by an interesting dichotomy between the round and square types found in the fourteenth-century *Kitāb al-imtā*ʿ of al-Adfuwī. In this work the author explains that while the round frame drum is described as a *duff maftūh* ("open" frame drum), the square counterpart is

[101] For the complete text see footnote 64 in this chapter.

[102] Nineteenth-century square frame drums from North Africa and the Middle East with skin covering the two sides of their shells can be seen in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (numbers 392 and 1316). A similar Iberian instrument from Toledo that has both sides of its shell covered by skin can be seen in the collection of the Horniman Museum of London. For the latter, see J. L. Jenkins, *Musical Instruments* (London: Horniman Museum, 1970), 10. No reference number is given in this book.

explained as a *duff maghlug* ("covered" frame drum).[103] Here, it is clear that an "open" frame drum is an instrument with skin stretched only on one side of its shell, as in the case of the *pandorius* described by Gil of Zamora, while the "covered" frame drum refers to a membranophone that had either one or two skins wrapped around its shell.

The use of membrane(s) covering both sides of the instrument's body is further demonstrated in a thirteenth-century French illuminated Bible known as the Pierpont Morgan Library Old Testament. In an illumination that illustrates King David and his musicians leading the Ark of Covenant (II Samuel 6: 12-16), the instrument is represented from the back [fig. 63].[104] This depiction clearly shows the thumbs of the player extended while holding the drum, a fact that indicates that there was also a membrane covering the back of the instrument.[105] In a late example, the early seventeenth-century *Syntagma Musicum* of the German Michael Praetorius shows two skins covering the whole body of one of these instruments and the manner in which they were fastened together with stitches [fig. 64].[106] Thus, this data suggests that the medieval square frame drum was generally an instrument whose shell was covered on both sides. And even though the medieval Iberian sources do not clearly indicate this feature of the

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[103] For this information, see Vigreux, "Les Membranophones," 96.

[104] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.638, fol. 39v. For a facsimile edition of this work see Sydney Carlyle Cockerell and John Plummer, *Old Testament Miniatures: A Medieval Picture Book with 238 Paintings from the Creation to the Story of David* (New York: G. Braziller, 1969). For discussions about this manuscript see *Between the Picture and the Word*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, in Association with Penn State University, 2005).

[105] If the instrument had only one skin, the thumbs would have been represented curled in holding the inside part of the frame.

[106] Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum II: The organographia* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), Pl. 30. For an edition of this work, see David Z. Crookes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986). In this work the instrument is described as being Russian, suggesting that the square frame drum was not used, at least at this point, in Germany.

instrument's structure, we can safely assume that this was also true of the medieval Iberian type.

5. GHIRBĀL, TARR, MIZHAR AND MAZHAR: OTHER NAMES ASSOCIATED WITH FRAME DRUMS IN MEDIEVAL IBERIA

We learn from a late thirteenth-century Maghrebi source, the *Kitāb al-imtā' wal'-intifā'* of Ibn al-Darrāj, that during this time a frame drum known as *ghirbāl* was popularly played in the north of Africa.[107] And while this information pertains to the Maghreb, a discussion of this instrument is included here because there is the possibility that Muslims from both sides of the Mediterranean shared a similar musical practice. This premise is based on the tremendous political and cultural connection between the Arabic communities of the Peninsula and North Africa during the Middle Ages.[108]

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[107] This work was written for the Marinid sultan of Morocco, Abu Yacub Ibn Yusuf (d. 1306). There is no specific date for the work. However, we know that Ibn al-Darrāj died in 1294, suggesting that the book was written during the second half of the thirteenth century. Although not specifically a treatise on music but rather a disquisition on the propriety of listening to it, it is extremely valuable because of the scarcity of such kinds of treatises in the Muslim West. It is also important because of the extensive quotations found in it from Eastern and Western authors about the use of several rather uncommon musical instruments. There are two extant exemplars of the *Kitāb al-imtā' wal'-intifā'*. One of them is housed today at the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, Res. 246. The other one can be found in the General Library of Rabat, D. 3663. The Escorial manuscript was the only known copy for years. Since the beginning of this book was missing and the name Ibrahim Al-Shalaḥī appeared in the last folio of the work, the book was attributed to him. See H.G. Farmer, "A Maghribi Work on Musical Instruments," in *The Science of Music in Islam*, 2:149-165; and idem, "Al-Shalaḥī," in *Groves's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Eric Blom (New York: St. Martin Press, 1966), 1:84. However, the recently discovered copy at the library of Rabat demonstrates that the author was in fact Ibn al-Darrāj. See Shiloah, entry on "Al-Shalaḥī" and "Ibn al-Darrāj" in *The Theory*, RISM B/X, 323-324, and in *The Theory*, RISM B/Xa, 97-98; and Guettat, *La musique arabo-andalouse*, 173. Here I use the translation of El Escorial manuscript by Mariano Soriano Fuertes, *Música Árabe-Española, y Conexión de la Música con la Astronomía, Medicina y Arquitectura* (Barcelona: Oliveres, 1853), 74.

[108] Records of these kinds of connections can be found in O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*; Harvey, *Islamic Spain*; and Menocal, *The Ornament of the World*.

From the *Kitāb al-imtā‘ wal'-intifā'* of Ibn al-Darrāj, we learn that this *ghirbāl* had snares stretched across the inside of its membrane.[109] While the shape of this instrument is not discussed by the author, we can deduce that it was round because the term *ghirbāl* was also used in medieval Arabic to describe the grain sieve, a food utensil with a shallow and circular body.[110]

Taking into consideration the cultural exchange that existed between the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghreb during the Middle Ages, it is possible to assume a coexistence between the simple round frame drum *pandero/bandair* described by Gil of Zamora, and the round frame drum *ghirbāl* described during the same century by Ibn al-Darrāj.[111] But while this coexistence can be assumed because of historical circumstances, both Iberian literature and the *Kitāb al-imtā‘ wal'-intifā'* seem to refute this argument. The problem is raised because the term *bandair* is not mentioned in the Maghrebi

[109] See Soriano Fuertes**,** *Música Arabe-Española,* 52*;* Farmer, "Duff," 620**;** and Poché, "Ghirbāl," 43.

[110] We know that this food utensil was shallow and cylindrical by its depiction in a scene from a manuscript known as the Book of Antidotes produced in 1199. This representation can be seen in Bernard Lewis, "The Faith and the Faithful," in *The World of Islam*, ed. Bernard Lewis (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976), 56; see also Poché, "Ghirbāl," 43. For the passage, see Soriano Fuertes**,** *Música Arabe-Española,* 52**.**

[111] Even though the *pandero* and the *ghirbāl* were both one-headed round frame drums without jingles, there are no extant descriptions of the round Iberian instrument in which the use of snares are indicated. Art representations are of little help because all of them show the instrument from the front. If the snares were inserted in the back of the instrument, the artists probably would not have represented them as they did with kettledrums and tabors since the snare on those instruments is placed on top of the head.

source,[112] and the name *ghirbāl* cannot be traced in any extant Arabic or Romance medieval Iberian texts.[113] Does this mean that the instrument described by the name *bandair* was only used in Iberia and the instrument called *ghirbāl* was only known in North Africa? This is possible but doubtful since most instruments mentioned in the *Kitāb al-imtā' wal'-intifā'* are also found in medieval Iberia.[114] I suspect that the surprising silence of the Iberian sources about the *ghirbāl* and the lack of any trace of the *bandair* in the Maghrebi work have more to do with the way frame drums were perceived

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[112] Besides the *ghirbāl,* the *Kitāb al-imtā' wal'-intifā'* also mentions the frame drum *al-duff* as one of the most important instruments of the Arabic culture. However, there is no trace in the Maghrebi treatise of the name *bandair*, a term used by the Iberian Arabs to describe a round frame drum without jingles. This is perplexing since one of the most important features of the *Kitāb al-imtā' wal'-intifā'* is that it provides information about an array of musical instruments, at least 33, that were commonly used by the Arabs during pre-Islamic and Islamic times. To add to this riddle, the term *ghirbāl,* is not recorded in any contemporaneous Christian or Muslim Iberian source in relation to a musical instrument. H.G. Farmer has explained that the term was first introduced into music by al-Ghazālī in a misquotation of one of the Prophet Mohamed's *hadiths* that refers to the lawful use of a frame drum in Islam: "Publish the marriage, and beat the *ghirbāl*." In this citation al-Ghazālī replaced the term *duff* with *ghirbāl*. al-Ghazālī's work was well known in Iberia and North Africa, demonstrated by the fact that the North African Murawids banned the work in Iberia during the early twelfth-century. See Farmer, *The History*, 28, 188; and Poché, "Ghirbāl," 43.

[113] The Arabic names for frame drums found in sources produced in the Peninsula are *duff*, *bandayr*, *tarr,* and *mizhar.* Most of these sources are in fact Romance texts that present the Arabic equivalents of the Latin *tympanum*. These sources are the eleventh-century anonymous *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (*mizhar, mazhar*), the twelfth-century *Diwan* of Ibn Quzman (*al-duff, bandayr*), the thirteenth-century *Vocabulista* of Ramon Martí (*bandayr, tarr*), and the early sixteenth-century *Vocabulista* of Pedro de Alcala (*bandayr, duff, tarr*). As we can see, the term *ghirbāl* is not found in these sources. It is perplexing that, while the Arabic names given by the above-mentioned sources have all survived in North Africa and the Middle East as names for frame drums, the term *ghirbāl* does not appear to be used in connection to a musical instrument anywhere in the Muslim world. In fact, instead of *ghirbāl* the round frame drum with snares stretched across the back of its head is currently called *bandair* in the Maghreb, a name that developed from the Romance term *pandero*. Currently, the term is usually transliterated as *bendir*. I will try to keep the medieval form *bandair* to avoid confusion. Nonetheless, in some cases where I quote a modern author who uses the transliteration bendir, I will leave the text unchanged. The North African frame drum is also known as *allun* and *tagnza* in different Berber communities. See Lortat-Jacob, *Musique et Fêtes*, 90-94; and Collaer, *Nordafrika*, 152, 168, 110. Scholars have suggested that the appellative *ghirbāl* was at some point replaced in North Africa by the Iberian term *bandair.* See H.G. Farmer, "Meccan Musical Instruments," in *The Science of Music in Islam*, 2:79-101; and Poché, "Ghirbāl," 43. However, this is a simplistic explanation and further examination of this subject needs to be done. This subject will not be treated here in detail since it deals with Maghrebi music and, therefore falls outside the scope of this dissertation.

[114] For a comparison of the information given in the *Kitāb al-imtā' wal'-intifā'* with other European sources, see Farmer, "A Maghribi Work," 149-168; and Poché, "Ghirbāl," 43.

and classified during the Middle Ages on both sides of the Mediterranean than with an exclusive use of musical instruments by each culture.

As suggested above, the shape was the most determining element that differentiated frame drums. In medieval Iberia, round frame drums with or without jingles and frame drums of square shape were considered to be different enough from each other to receive different names. Thus, our round form was known as *pandero/bandair*/*panderete*, and the square form was described as *adufe/al-duff*. Now, taking into consideration this custom of implied classification in Iberia and the possibility that the round form with and without snares coexisted because of the enormous cultural interaction between the Peninsula and North Africa, I would like to suggest that the only reason that the two kinds of round instruments do not overlap in the literature is because the two were considered to be the same instrument, snares or not. In other words, the added resonators did not change the basic round form enough in the mind of the medieval audience to demand the use of two different terms. Therefore, since there was no need to give different names to what was considered a single type, the name *pandero* was used in Iberia in Castilian and probably in the other Romance languages, and the term *ghirbāl* in the Maghreb in Arabic to describe round frame drums with or without snares.[115] Thus, the addition of snares was viewed only as a mere variation of a simple round type and not as a different kind in itself. In this light, the use of two different terms would have been unneccesary.

[115] This assumption could be corroborated by the modern Moroccan tradition in which the term *bandair* is used for frame drums both with and without snares. See Lortat-Jacob, *La musique*, 90-94. The use of *ghirbāl* and *bandair* in the same music cultures might have been redundant.

Another term for a frame drum found in medieval Iberian literature is the Arabic name *tār* (transliterated in medieval Castilian as *tarr*), a noun derived from '*itār* which literally means "circular sieve." It is possible that this name referred to a round frame drum with jingles. The reason to suspect this is that the term, which is given as a translation of the Latin noun *tympanum* in the thirteenth-century *Vocabulista in arabico* of Ramon Martí and later as a translation for *pandero* in the fifteenth-century *Vocabulario* of Pedro de Alcala, is used nowadays in the Maghreb and other Islamic lands to describe round frame drums with jingles.[116] However, in his thirteenth-century *Kitāb al-imtā' wal'-intifā'*, Ibn Darrāj describes the *tār* as being none other than the one-skinned round frame drum known by the Arabs as *duff.*[117] As we can see, there is no mention of any type of jingling resonators attached to the instrument in the Islamic writer's description. Therefore, because of a lack of any concrete Iberian data, the only safe conclusion is that the term *tarr* seems to have described frame drums of round shape.[118]

The only other name that appears in the sources in relation to frame drums is the Arabic noun *mizhar/ mazhar,* which in the eleventh-century anonymous *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* is given as the equivalent in Arabic of the Latin *tympanum*. Unfortunately, since this instrument is not described in the source, all we can do is to

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[116] See Scheherazade Qassim Hassan, "Musical Instruments in the Arab World," in *The Middle East*, *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, ed. Virginia Danielson, Scott Marcus, and Dwight Reynolds (New York: Routledge, 2002), 6:418; Jürgen Elsner, "Urban Music of Algeria," in *The Middle East, The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, 6:468; Ahmed Aydoun, *Musiques de Maroc* (Casablanca: EDIFF, 1992), 27; Farmer, "Duff," 620-21; and Collaer and Elsner, *Nordafrika*, 90, 142, 168.

[117] See Vigreux, "Les Membranophones," 96.

[118] H.G. Farmer affirms that the *tār* was a round frame drum with jingles that was popular among the minstrels of the Arabian nights. However, that the name was used next to the *duff* signals only its different shape. See Farmer, "The Minstrelsy of the Arabian Nights" in *The Science*, 34, 94.

speculate about its shape based on historical sources produced outside of Iberia, and the survival of these terms in the modern Islamic world as denominatives of specific types of instruments. A description of the terms appear in the *Kitāb al-imtā‘* of al-Adfuwī, in which the term *mizhar* is also said to be a *duff murabba‘ maghūlq* (covered square frame drum).[119] However, the modern-day term *mazhar* is used in Egypt and Yemen to describe a deep round frame drums with jingles, which corresponds in size to instruments of the same type depicted in medieval Iberian iconography.[120] Thus, it is difficult to conclude what type of frame drum was described in medieval Iberia by the term *mizhar/mazhar.* While it is possible that the term pertains only to the square type, it is also conceivable that it was generically used. This may explain why the qualifying adjective *murabba‘* (square) is attached to the noun *mizhar* by other non-Iberian Islamic authors.[121]

6. CONCLUSION: THE IBERIAN HANDHELD FRAME DRUMS AND THEIR DESIGNATIONS

While in Latin and Classical Arabic both round and square frame drums were equally designated by the generic terms *tympanum* and *duff*, in Romance and colloquial Arabic each type was described by a different name. The literary sources presented in this chapter show that the round frame drum without jingles represented in medieval Iberian art corresponded to the name *pandero* in Castilian and Catalan, *pandeiro* in Galician-Portuguese, and *bandair* in Arabic — all terms that evolved from the Latin noun

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[119] The medieval writers tended to identify the *mizhar* as a string instrument. This mistake was caused by the generic use of the term to describe any type of musical instrument. See Farmer, “Duff,” 620-21.

[120] See Qassim Hassan, “Musical Instruments in the Arab World,” 418; Farmer, “Duff,” 620-21; Collaer and Elsner, *Nordafrika*, 90, 142, 168.

[121] Vigreux, “Les Membranophones,” 97.

pandorium. The sources have further shown that this type had animal skin stretched over only one side of its shell. Evidence taken from a contemporary Maghrebi source further suggests that some round frame drums might have been furnished with resonators stretched across the inside of the membrane, which is not apparent in the depictions since the instrument is always represented from the front. And while a round frame drum with these features was known as *ghirbāl* in the Maghreb, in the Iberian Peninsula this instrument was probably also named *pandero/pandeiro/bandair* since it was perceived only as a variation of the basic round type already associated with these names.

The round type with brass jingles inserted in its shell that we have encountered in medieval Iberian art also seems to have been known as *pandero.* However, when the instrument was small in diameter, it was called *panderete*. Since, as explained in one source, the instrument's jingles were made out of brass, it is not surprising to find them represented by gold leaf in illuminations as an attempt of the artists to emulate the "yellowish" color of the copper alloy. Besides *pandero/panderete*, the round frame drum with jingles might have been further described in Iberian Arabic by the terms *tarr* and *mizhar,* a premise suggested by their modern use as nouns that describe instruments of this type.

Finally, the sources also reveal that the square frame drum depicted in works of art was known in medieval Iberia as *adufe,* a product of the direct absorption into Romance of the Arabic noun *al-duff.* Since *duff* seems to have been borrowed to specifically describe the square membranophone, then it is possible that this Arabic generic term might have pertained only to instruments of angular structure in Iberia, as

currently used in Morocco.[122] As we have seen, the terms *pandero*, *panderete*, and *adufe* (and variants thereof) were used to describe specific types of frame drums in medieval Iberia, at least in regions where Castilian, Galician-Portuguese, Catalan, and Arabic were spoken, and therefore the majority of the Iberian Peninsula.[123]

[122] The use of the term *pandero* in relation to round instrument, *panderete* for small-diameter round frame drums with jingles, and *adufe* for square frame drums can be further corroborated by the fact that in some regions of Latin America, a place where Iberian conquerors brought their musical instruments with their denominations just after the end of the Middle Ages, these terms still describe these types of frame drums. See Davis, "The Dominican Republic," 2:855, Rosario Alvaréz, "Adufe," in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid: SGDE, 1999), 1:81; Salas Villar et. Al., "Pandero," 431-433; O'Brien, "Guatemala," 727; and Pérez Lorenzo, "Pandereta," 431.

[123] Without being particular about regional dialects, this would include the kingdoms of Portugal, Galicia, Castile, Leon, Catalonia, the *taifas* of Muslim Iberia, and as we have seen earlier in this chapter, also the kingdom of Aragon. It is difficult to determine if the term was used in Asturias and the Basque country since there is no extant medieval literature in those languages.

Term	Used	Type of Frame Drum	Location
Tympanum (Latin)	Throughout the Middle Ages	Round and square	Christian Iberia
Duff (Arabic)	Throughout the Middle Ages	Round and square	Islamic Iberia, Maghreb, Middle East
Pandero (Mozarabic, Castilian and Catalan)	After 11th century After the 16th century	Round with or without jingles Generically used to describe both round and square types	Christian Iberia (Castile, León, Catalonia, Aragon)
Panderete	After 13th century	Small round frame drum with brass jingles	Christian Iberia (Castile)
Pandeiro (Galician-Portuguese)	After 15th century	Round	Galicia and Portugal
Bandair (Arabic)	Iberia 12th century	Round	Islamic Iberia (Al-Andalus)
Adufe, *alduf*, *adufre*, *adrufe*, *adulfe* (Romance languages)	After 13th century	Square	Christian Iberia (Castile, León, Galicia, Portugal, Catalonia, Aragon)
Ghirbāl (Arabic)	After 13th century	Round with snares	Maghreb
Tār, *tarr*	After 13th century	Round, possibly with jingles	Maghreb and Islamic Iberia
Mizhar/mazhar	After 11th century	Round and square?	Islamic Iberia

Table 2. Terms used in Iberia or Iberian-related places to generically or specifically identify different types of frame drums during the Middle Ages. The indication of time and place in which they were used is based on the provenance of texts that record the denominatives.

CHAPTER V

Frame Drum Players in Medieval Iberia

Any thorough study of historical musical instruments needs to address the people who played them. The musical functions and symbolism assigned to specific musical instruments in a culture tend to be deeply connected to the performers' gender and religion, as well as their social and professional status. One example of this tendency is the bagpipe, an instrument that because of its association with shepherds was not only commonly depicted in European art in the hands of such characters in nativity scenes, but was also played in French courts by amateur and professional players as an instrument that symbolized idyllic rural life.[1] Thus, acknowledging the importance of the performers in the way frame drums were used and perceived in medieval Iberia, I will scrutinize the sources in an attempt to identify the gender, religion, social class, and professional status of the people who seemed to have played these instruments. With this information on hand I will then try to determine how these players were regarded by their contemporaries in medieval Iberia. The conclusions generated in this chapter will serve as the basis for the reconstruction of both the musical and symbolic roles of the instruments that will be conducted in later chapters.

To identify who played frame drums in medieval Iberia we need to approach the sources with a great degree of caution since in most cases the information that they offered was not meant to be photographic or documentary. For this reason, it will be useful at this point to divide the sources by the type of evidence that they contain.

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[1] For a study of the bagpipe in iconographical sources, see Emanuel Winternitz, "Bagpipes and Hurdy-Gurdies in their Social Setting," in *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art: Studies in Musical Iconography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 66-85.

According to the degree of documentary evidence, the sources can be separated into three main groups. The first group can be comprised of sources such as music treatises, dictionaries, or *ensenhamens,* where the instruments are described, mentioned, or depicted for didactic reasons. Because of their instructive character, these types of sources are not couched in the figurative language of poetry and tend to document contemporary tradition.[2] Thus, data about the instruments' denominations, shapes, materials, aspects of their performance practice, and finally their players can be taken as approaching historical accuracy. Unfortunately, these sources are scant at best.

A second group can be formed by historical chronicles and depictions of actual performances found in secular art whose purpose was to record specific or generic events, such as a typical performance of courtly music. This is a problematic group because the accuracy of its information is difficult to assess; the depiction of a specific performance might have been done a long time after the actual event occurred, or might have been formed or tinted by fantasy, allegory, or pre-established models. Nonetheless, the mutual corroboration between their data and information extrapolated from the first group, as well as other types of sources, might clarify which elements of the representation are truly documentary.

Finally, the last group can be comprised of sources such as Bible illuminations and cathedral sculptural programs, where the representation of frame drums was probably motivated by a desire to communicate and reinforce social, religious, and moral values of a specific group through symbolism and allegory. While in these sources artists and translators depicted the popular Iberian frame drums as a vehicles of expression that

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[2] See Elizabeth Aubrey, "References to Music in Old Occitan Literature," *Acta Musicologica* 61 (1989): 143.

"anticipate[d] and guide[d] a response,"[3] the correlation between actual practice and data found in these materials suggests that these representations were in fact based on real models. This was probably done to guarantee the correct reading of the instrument and player, and to make the message of the sacred text more immediate to the observer.[4] Thus, a careful study of these types of sources can also help us to expand our knowledge about contemporaneous frame drum players.

1. Identifying Gender, Religion, and Socio-Professional Status of Players in the Historical Sources

To discern the gender, religion, social class and professional status of the medieval frame drum players depicted or described in the sources, we have to pay attention to details such as the players' clothes, presence of an audience, performance environment, and the function of the historical source. Of the performers' features, gender is probably the easiest to distinguish. Facial hair or dress is in most cases a clear identifier of a player's sex. In some cases where it is difficult to determine if the drummer is male or female, the context or the subject of the representation can help the identification. Similarly, in Iberian literary sources written in Romance, the sex of a player can be easily determined in most cases by the masculine or feminine endings of

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[3] This quote is taken from Elizabeth Sears' article "Reading Images," in *Reading Medieval Images*, ed. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 1-8. In terms of conferring such power to the medieval representations, it is also important to mention the positive attitude of Thomas Crow who expressed that "The object invites and prefigures analysis; half the genius of the interpreter lies in recognizing that invitation." See Crow, *The Intelligence of Art* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1999), 5.

[4] In this way, biblical characters such as Miriam in the illustrations of Exodus 15:20 were modeled after contemporaneous performers. See Elena Ferrari Barassi, *Strumenti musicali ed esecutori nella società medievale* (Perugia: Benucci, 1983), 348. Similarly, contemporaneous musical instruments were often used during the Middle Ages in biblical illuminations to represent those mentioned in the Scriptures. See Howard Mayer Brown, "Trecento Angels and the Instruments they Play," in *Modern Musical Scholarship*, ed. Edward Olleson (Stocksfield: Oriel Press, 1978), 128.

nouns. Nonetheless, it is important to be aware that when players of both sexes are described as a group the plural form used is always masculine, leaving us to rely again on context and purpose for guidance.

The religion of the players can also be identified in many cases by elements in a depiction or by the context of a representation or text. The largest number of extant medieval Iberian depictions or descriptions of musicians are of Christian origin. In these sources the identification of non-Christians seemed to have been of great importance since they were customarily distinguished from Christians by their different clothes or physical features.[5] A good example of this tendency can be seen in the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, Ms. B.I.2, one of the manuscripts that contains a collection of the *Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso X (1221-84). In illuminations accompanying some of the musical pieces of the collection, Jewish performers are distinguished by particular headdresses (*Cantigas* 70 and 380), or by the use of a rectangular patch on their sleeves (*Cantiga* 300).[6] Similarly, a Moorish player is distinguished from a Christian in *Cantiga* 120 by his darker skin, beard, turban, and a lack of shoes.[7] Following this

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[5] This preoccupation to distinguish the "other" is well exemplified by numerous Christian proclamations in which Muslims and Jews were requested to dress differently from Christians or have in their clothes an identifying emblem. The most important of these is probably Canon 68 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). For the text and English translation of this mandate, see Salomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (New York: Hermon Press, 1966), 308-309. Information about clothing as a marker of religious affiliation and other important mandates that order special garments or emblems for Jews and Muslims can be found in Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. Caroline Beamish (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 137-139. For information about how Jews and Muslims were depicted in medieval European Christian art, see Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 105-108, 173-175.

[6] This was a mandatory form of identification for Jews in various times and regions of Northern Europe during the Middle Ages. See Israel J. Katz, "The Music of Sephardic Spain: An Exploratory View," in *Musical Repercussions of 1492: Encounters in Text and Performance*, ed. Carol E. Robertson (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 106.

[7] For information about the illuminations showing Jewish musicians, see Katz, "The Music,"104-06.

example, we can try to discern the religious affiliation of a frame drum player depicted in a given source by paying attention to specific features of his or her physical appearance. In addition to Christian musical iconography we also find depictions of players in pictorial sources created in the Jewish and Muslim spheres. In these cases it is possible that contemporary Muslim and Jewish performers might have served as models for the musicians depicted in these materials. In Christian literature we find that although in many cases the performers are clearly identified by their religion, other times it is the context of a passage or the provenance of the source that gives us the necessary information about the players' religious affiliation.[8]

The professional or non-professional status of medieval Iberian frame drum players can also be discerned by pertinent elements presented in the sources. For example, the players' garments, presence of an audience, depiction of other players, and performance occasions and spaces usually indicate that a player was either a professional or non-professional performer.[9] The term "professional" is used here strictly for those players who the historical data clearly suggests entertained an audience for compensation. It is useful here to mention a passage from the thirteenth-century *Libro de Apolonio* (verse 426) where a female character named Tarsiana decides to become a professional musician. In this episode she explains that from now on she will "play the fiddle to earn

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[8] For the different types of performers that coexisted in medieval Iberia, see Judith R. Cohen, "Le role de la femme-musicienne dans l'Espagne medieval, dans les communautes chretienne, juive et musulmane" (master thesis, Université de Montreal, 1980), 9; and Judith R. Cohen, "Ca no soe joglaresa: Women and Music in Medieval Spain's Three Cultures," in *Medieval Woman's Song: Cross-Cultural Approaches*, ed. Anne L. Linck and Ann Marie Rasmussen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 66-80.

[9] While the term "specialist" has been used in ethnomusicological research to cover many different types of players including professionals and semiprofessionals, in this study I use the more common term "professional" as used by Ramón Menéndez Pidal in his *Poesía juglaresca y juglares: Orígenes de las literaturas románicas* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1962), 26.

money" (violar por soldada).[10] Tarsiana's statement shows us that not only were women remunerated for music making in medieval Iberia, but also that in some cases they could make the choice of becoming a professional entertainer. Unfortunately, unlike the case of singers, bagpipers, kettle drummers, and trumpet players among others, to my knowledge there are no extant pay records that mention people being compensated for playing frame drums.[11] However, iconographical and literary evidence in association with records of other paid musicians suggest the remuneration of performers who used frame drums during their acts. Finally, certain titles given to performers in the literature, as well as the depiction of specific dress, a performing space, and the role of the players can indicate in many cases the social class of the performers.

To avoid an unnecessary repetition of data and to facilitate comparison in the same text, perhaps the best way to structure our identification of players will be by dividing the performers by their clearest and most unmistakable feature: gender. Thus, all types of female performers will be grouped and studied together and all types of male players will be examined as a cluster. However, their differences in terms of religion, professional status, and social class will be clearly juxtaposed.

2. FEMALE FRAME DRUM PLAYERS

Most depictions and descriptions of frame drum players produced in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages are of women. It is not necessary to specifically describe all the instances here, since most of them are easily recognizable from the

[10] For an edition of this work, see *Libro de Apolonio*, ed. Dolores Corbella Díaz (Madrid: Cátedra, 1992).

[11] For information about musicians mentioned in the payrolls in the Kingdom of Aragon, see Maricarmen Gómez Muntané, *La música en la casa real catalano-aragonesa, 1336-1432* (Barcelona: Bosch, 1979).

compilations presented in chapters 3 and 4. For now it will suffice to mention the type of sources where female frame drum players are depicted. We see representations of this type of player in illuminations of books that depict secular performances such as the thirteenth-century *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* [figs. 39-41], and the fourteenth-century *Historia de la coronacíon de los Reyes de Castilla* [fig. 44]. Women with frame drums are also represented in carvings and sculptures from the capitals, portals, and walls of cathedrals, churches, and monasteries, such as the ones in the cloisters of the twelfth-century Monastery of Silos [figs. 34, 52], in the fourteenth-century Cathedral of Vic [fig. 46], and the Cathedral of Barcelona [fig. 48].

Numerous depictions of female frame drummers can be also seen in biblical illuminations. In this genre, the most popular character represented both in Christian Bibles and Jewish *Haggadot* is Miriam, the sister of Moses, who in Exodus 15:20 is described as singing a song of praise to the accompaniment of a frame drum (*tof/tympanum*).[12] Good examples of this type of illustration can be found in the Mozarabic Bible of León of 960 [fig. 31], in the eleventh-century Romanesque Bible of Ripoll [fig. 32], and in the fourteenth-century Gothic *Golden Haggadah* and *Sister Haggadah* [figs. 42, 59].

Females beating on frame drums can also be found in illustrations of biblical passages that do not mention the use of frame drums. An example of this type of depiction is found in one of the Pamplona Bibles in an illustration of Numbers 25:1-2 where a woman is represented as playing the *adufe* during an illicit sexual encounter [fig. 54]. Another good example is the representation of Salome dancing before Herod and

[12] For this text, see chapter 3, n. 26.

Herodias (Mark 6: 21-29) from the fourteenth-century anonymous *Retaule dels Sants Joans* [fig. 45], where Salome, who in the biblical text is only described as dancing, is represented playing a *pandero/panderete*.

The iconographical data is supported by many references to women performing on frame drums that are found in secular literature. Examples can be found in a thirteenth-century *Cantiga da Amigo* of Martin Ginzo,[13] in several passages of the fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor* of Juan Ruiz,[14] and in the sixteenth-century *Vida do Infante do Fernando,* written by Frei João Álvarez, where a group of women are described as accompanying a bagpiper with frame drums during a celebratory procession.[15]

From what we can see in the historical sources, women of all different religions played frame drums. In Christian-produced sources, we can easily identify Christian performers because there is nothing in their depictions or descriptions that indicate their affiliation to either Islam or Judaism. Thus, we are prompted to conclude with certainty that the female performers depicted in sources, such as the above-mentioned *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* and the *Historia de la coronacíon de los Reyes de Castilla,* are Christian players who seemed to be performing for professional reasons. The use of frame drums by Christian women is further corroborated by a passage from the twelfth-century *Chronica adefonsi Imperatoris* where it is recorded how the noble women of Toledo, led by the Empress Doña Berenguela, came to defend their city from the Moors by singing and

[13] For this text, see chapter 4, n. 82.

[14] These examples will be given later in this chapter.

[15] For this text, see chapter 4, n. 68.

playing musical instruments including frame drums (*tympanis*).[16] Although we should be careful about taking these kinds of writings too literally, the text clearly shows the use of frame drums by women whose Christianity is emphasized in juxtaposition with their Muslim attackers.

From Christian sources we learn that Muslim women also performed on frame drums. A depiction of two Muslim women performing on frame drums without jingles can be found in a relief carved on a pillar from the late twelfth-century lower cloister of the Monastery of Silos [fig. 34]. In this depiction, we see two bearded males blowing on horns accompanied by two female frame drummers whose Moorish identity is revealed by their headdresses.[17] The most specific information about women who performed on frame drums in Muslim Iberia can be found in the thirteenth-century *Mut'at al-asmā' fi 'ilm al –samā'* of the Tunisian lexicographer Al-Tīfāshī (Tunisia 1184/Cairo 1253),[18] a text that explains different musical customs of al-Andalus. In this work, the author records that the *muwalladat,* a free half-Arab female professional musician, and the *qaina* (pl. *qiyan*), a non-Muslim slave female performer, were songstresses and dancers trained

[16] "...magna turba honestarum mulieres cantantes in tympanis et citharis et cimbalis et psalteries." *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, ed. Luis Sánchez Belda (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1950), 343. I identify the instrument in the passage as a frame drum not only because medieval Iberian treatises and dictionaries identify the *tympanum* as a frame drum, but also because the *tympana* mentioned in biblical texts are also depicted as frame drums. However, it is important to acknowledge that *tympanum* was also used during the Middle Ages in Europe as a generic term that described any type of membranophone. Nonetheless, it seems unlikely that an aristocratic woman played other percussion instruments such as kettledrums.

[17] During the Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula, Muslim men wore a simple turban wrapped around their heads, sometimes with its ends falling over the shoulders. A similar type of turban known as *mizar* (Sp. *almaizar*) was used by Muslim women. There was also a Jewish form similar to the *mizar* but laced off the sides. See José Guerrero Lovillo, *Las cantigas: Estudio arquelógico de sus miniatures* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1949), 212-214. Sometimes Jews also wore turbans in Muslim-controlled lands. Therefore, it is possible that the players of the depictions were representations of Jews. See Alfred Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1967), 54.

[18] See Amnon Shiloah, *The Theory of Music in Arabic Writings (c. 900-1900): Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Libraries of Europe and the U.S.A.,* RISM B/Xa (Munich: Henle, 1979), 184-85.

in Seville who, in addition to knowing how to sing and play the lute, also accompanied their singing with frame drums (*dufuf*).[19] As we will see later, the literature also speaks about other professional female performers of the Muslim faith who were hired to perform before Christian patrons.[20]

Descriptions of Jewish frame drum performers can also be identified in the literature. Information about female Jewish frame drum players is given by the author of the *Libro de buen amor* in verse 1212 where he describes how Jewish tripe sellers used to play *panderos* to attract their customers' attention: "To [receive] him out come the female tripe sellers playing their *panderos*."[21] Similarly, in the *Historia de los reyes católicos* of Andrés Bernáldez, it is described how exiled Jewish women and young men try to cheer up the people on their way into exile by playing "*panderos* and *adufes*."[22] Unfortunately, to my knowledge, there are no depictions of frame drum players in Christian art that can be clearly determined as being Jewish. However, it is possible that

[19] For an edition of commentary on this text, see Benjamin M. Liu and James T. Monroe, "Ten Hispano-Arabic Strophic Songs in the Modern Oral Tradition, Music and Texts," *Modern Philology* 125 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 37-38. Even though these players were criticized, they had an elevated status in society because of their skills. See Cohen "Le role de la femme-musicienne," 3, 19, 69; and Manuela Cortés García, "La mujer y la música en la sociedad arabomusulmana y su proyección en la cristiana medieval," *Música oral del sur* 2 (1996): 193-206.

[20] See Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, *Historia de la música española 1. Desde sus orígenes hasta el "ars nova"* (Madrid: Alianza, 1983), 336.

[21] *A Don Carnal…salen triperas taniendo sus panderos*. These players can be interpreted as being Jewish because of the context of the passage. For this text and its interpretation, see Juan Ruiz Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, Alberto Blecua ed. (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996), 302.

[22] For the original text and translation, see chapter 4, n. 50.

actual Jewish performers might have served as models for the depictions of Miriam and other Israelite women that are found in the *haggadot* [figs. 37, 43, 59, 60].[23]

2.1 PROFESSIONAL FEMALE PERFORMERS

By professional female performers I refer to those women who played frame drums before an audience for compensation. Since to my knowledge there are no extant records that specify payment to female frame drummers, we have to rely on other types of data to determine the professional status of a player.[24] For example, a female can be considered a professional performer if she is described as a *joglaresa* (female jongleur), *cantadera* (songstress), or *qaina* (enslaved singing girl), titles given to a woman whose profession was to play music before an audience. Also, a woman can be regarded as a professional player if she is depicted performing before an audience in the company of a male jongleur, a character whose livelihood depended on the performance of music.

A description of one of these professional performers, probably Christian because of a lack of any religious marker in the text, can be found in verses 471-472 of the fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor*, a poetic work considered to be an excellent

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[23] It has been suggested that the artist's arrangement of scenes and knowledge of Rabbinic tradition identified him as a Jew. See Cecil Roth, "Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Hebrew Spain," in *The Sephardic Heritage: Essays in the History and Cultural Contributions of the Jews of Spain and Portugal,* ed. R. D. Barnett (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971), 1:47; and Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, "Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: G. Braziller & The Jewish Museum), 145.

[24] Even though there are no records that show payment specifically to a female frame drum player, other records that show payment to female dancers or female players who accompanied male jongleurs without identification of their instrument might pertain to actual *pandero* or *adufe* players. For more information about this, see footnote 31 of this chapter.

record of contemporary Castilian customs.[25] From this work we get a good picture of how a songstress, known in Castilian as *cantadera*,[26] performed her routine by simultaneously singing, dancing, and playing the *pandero*: "After the songstress sings the first song, her feet always move and the *pandero* suffers…[she] never stops her feet… when dancing, [her] fingers always move."[27] Another passage from the same work further indicates that besides her popularity in medieval Iberia, the *cantadera* was considered to have an important role as a keeper of repertoire. This important trait is implied by the author in verse 1513 where he advises the audience to count on the songstress' knowledge of repertoire: "If you don't know a song, learn it from the songstress."[28]

Examples of professional female performers who used frame drums to accompany themselves or others can be seen in illuminations from the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* that show women playing round frame drums with jingles [figs. 39-41]. The role of these female musicians as professional entertainers is demonstrated by their appearance performing in duos with male jongleurs before noble men or troubadours, most likely

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[25] For essays on this subject, see Monique de Lope, *Traditions populaires et textualité dans le "Libro de Buen Amor"* (Montpellier: Centre d'Études et de Recherches Sociocritiques, 1984).

[26] The first time such a denomination appears in the literature is in a Galician document written in 1228, in which someone called "maior Petri, cantatrix" is recorded as paying for prayers on behalf of her soul in the Cathedral of Lugo. See Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca*, 62.

[27] "Desque la cantadera dize el cantar primero, siempre los pies le bullen e mal para el pandero… cantadera nunca tienen los pies quedos,…en la dança siempre bullen los dedos." For a study of this text, see Juan Ruiz Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, Alberto Blecua ed. (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996), 124

[28] "El cantar que non sabes óylo a cantadera."

inside a castle or manor.[29] A similar depiction of professional female players performing on frame drums in ensemble with a male fiddle player can be found in an illumination from the *Libro de la coronación de los Reyes de Castilla* that illustrates "young women" performing during the coronation of Alfonso XI at the Huelgas monastery in Burgos [fig. 44].[30]

Other similar depictions that show the pairing of a female frame drummer with a male bowed string player can be seen in the portal of the twelfth-century Galician Church of Santa Maria de Ucelle [fig. 51], in capitals from the twelfth-century cloister of the Monastery of Silos [fig. 52], and the fourteenth-century cloister of the Cathedral of Vic [fig. 46]. While it is possible that these representations found in religious buildings might have been produced allegorically or symbolically to represent biblical passages from Job: 21:12, Psalm 149:3, or Isaiah 24:8, where God is praised with a frame drum (*tof/tympanum*) and a string instrument (*cithara),* their similarity to the illuminations found in the secular manuscripts mentioned above and to the character of the *cantadera* described in the literature suggests their inspiration was found in real contemporaneous

[29] The males can be identified as minstrels not only because they are playing instruments, but also because of their clothing. For information about minstrels and their garments, see Catherine Homo-Lechner, *Sons et instruments de musique au moyen age: archéologie musicale dans l'Europe du VIIe au XIVe siècles* (Paris: Errance, 1996), 56-60; and Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. Caroline Beamish (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 142-150. The character who is sitting has been identified by some as a troubadour because of his long dress. See Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca***,** 26. The small number of musicians in this and other depictions coincides with a decree issued by the Portuguese King Alfonso III (1210-1279) that stipulated that a royal house should keep no more than three jongleurs. For this information and other information about Iberian professional performers, see João De Freitas Branco, *História da música portuguesa* (Mem Martins: Publicações Êuropa–America, 1995), 59.

[30] For the complete text and translation, and a study of this piece, see chapter 3, nn. 42-44.

models.[31] Assuming this, we can then conclude that the number and provenance of iconographical materials that show the duo string instrument-frame drum indicates the popularity of such ensembles throughout medieval Iberia.

That the professional *cantaderas* were not only Christian we also learn from the *Libro de buen amor,* whose author informs us inadvertently in verse 1513 that he also composed "songs of dance, for Jewish and Moorish women."[32] The characterization of these performers as songstresses and that the songs were to be danced suggests that, as in the case of the Christian *cantadera* described before, Jewish and Muslim female professional singers also played frame drums to accompany themselves.[33] As we have seen already, an equivalent of the *cantaderas* in medieval Iberian Islamic culture were the *muwalladat* who, unlike the *qiyan,* were free because they were born from an Arab father and a non-Arab woman. Payrolls also indicate that Christian princes hired female jongleurs of Muslim faith. For example, we know that in 1389 King John I of Aragon (1350-1396) invited a group of Moorish women from Valencia to his court, "the best on their instruments," to entertain him. Similarly, in 1417 Alfonso the Magnanimous (1396-

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[31] While I have explained that there are no extant records of payments made to female frame drum players, it is possible that money paid to male instrumentalists and their female companions might have been meant to remunerate women who used frame drums as part of the duo male instrumentalists-female frame drum players. For example, we find in the payment records of Sancho IV that in 1293, money was used to remunerate a Moorish dancer (*saltador*) and his wife. Similarly, in 1294, the same court paid a Jewish *rota* player named Ismael and his wife. This information is found in Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca,* 483. One more important example is that of the Occitan troubadour-jongleur Gaucelm Faidit (fl. 1180-1216), married to a *soldadera* who accompanied him throughout the courts of Europe. See Camille Chabaneau, *Les biographies des trobadours en la lange provençale* (Toulouse: 1885, reprint, Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1975), 10:243. These records of dancers and players who performed in company of their female partners not only remind us of the performing couples depicted in the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda,* but also suggest that frame drum playing was remunerated by patrons.

[32] "Después fiz cantigas, de dança e troteras, para judías e moras e para entendederas." The word *troteras* seem to refer to dancers. See Alberto Blecua ed., *Libro de Buen Amor*, 124.

[33] It is important to note that by explaining he had composed songs for "Jewish and Muslim" women, the author seems to be making a distinction between repertoires that belonged to different cultures.

1458) rewarded another Moorish woman from Valencia called Nutza for her dancing skills.[34] Because of their musical abilities as instrumentalists and dancers, important skills of both the *cantadera* and *qaina,* it is not difficult to associate the Moorish performers from Valencia with those other female entertainers who accompanied their songs and dances with frame drums.

2.2 NON-PROFESSIONAL FEMALE PERFORMERS

Besides professional performers, the historical data also indicates the existence of non-professional players in medieval Iberia. These characters can be regarded as such because unlike the professional players described above, they are not qualified in the literary sources by a title that indicates a professional status and/or they are not mentioned as performing before an audience but for themselves. These types of female players seemed to belong to all different social classes. As we have seen, noble women are described as performing frame drum (*tympanis*) in the *Chronica adefonsi Imperatoris* when facing Muslim besiegers. On the other hand, we find a *serrana*, a shepherdess from the mountains of Castile, asking her suitor to give her a *pandero* as a wedding present in verse 1003 of the fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor*. It is possible that this *serrana* intended to use the instrument for her own entertainment while guarding the sheep. Also, as we have seen, the *Historia de los reyes católicos* describes how women members of the Jewish communities played *panderos* and *adufes* on their way into exile.[35]

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[34] For this information, see de la Cuesta, *Historia de la música*, 336.

[35] For the original text and translation, see chapter 4, n. 50.

In artistic representations, an amateur performer is indicated not only in that he/she does not appear to be dressed like a professional musician, but also by the lack of any visible or implied audience in the depictions. There are two examples that, although produced during the Renaissance and not the Middle Ages, are worth examining here because they help to corroborate and expand the data found in the literature. These depictions are found in the sixteenth-century *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* of Georg Braun,[36] a source that depicts cities of the world and their inhabitants. In this work, we find a woman playing a large square frame drum as part of a scene that shows women enjoying leisure time by dancing and playing percussion instruments outside city of Granada [fig. 62].[37] Similarly, in another depiction that illustrates Basque women, we find a peasant woman or shepherdess sitting in the countryside playing a round frame drum without jingles [fig. 38]. It is possible that, as in the case of the *serrana* mentioned above, this peasant woman used the frame drum for personal pastime. It is important to remember that in general during the Middle Ages, a respected woman socialized with other females mainly when they met at someone's house or outdoors for recreation, at a river to wash clothes, at work in the countryside, or when they bathed.[38] It was probably during some of these occasions when the amateur performers carried frame drums with them to accompany songs and dances. Females also gathered together for special public occasions

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[36] Georg Braun, *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne: 1572-1617).

[37] Note that the frame drum player has a rosary hanging from her wrist, indicating that the women were Christians. It is possible that they belong to a group dedicated to the performance of music during the feasts of the Virgin Mary. Such types of sisterhoods were first recorded in Catalonia in sixteenth century. For a study of the Catalonian sisterhoods of the rosary, see Salvador Palomar i Abadia, *Les Majorales del roser d'Ulldemolins* (Reus: Carrutxa, 1990).

[38] See Lisa M. Bitel, *Women in Early Medieval Europe 400-1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 27.

when they joined the whole community for events such as festivals or the welcoming of a potentate. As we will see in the next chapter, these occasions also called for frame drumming and singing.[39]

To summarize up to this point, the historical sources reveal that frame drums were popularly played by Christian, Muslim, and Jewish women of different social classes who were either city dwellers or country people. It is also clear that some of these performers earned a living by singing and dancing to the accompaniment of frame drums either as an entertainment for aristocratic patrons or as a way to get the attention of customers, as in the case of the Jewish tripe sellers. Nonetheless, the instrument was also employed by other players who did not seem to be interested in remuneration but instead were engaging in personal recreation, as in the case of Juan Ruiz's *serrana*.

3. MALE FRAME DRUM PLAYERS

In contrast to a considerable number of depictions of female frame drum performers in Iberian art, only a few representations of male players are found. To my knowledge, the earliest depiction of a male frame drum player produced in Iberia during the Middle Ages is of Muslim origin. This representation can be found on an Islamic bottle produced in Cordoba during the tenth century.[40] In this piece we see a man holding a round frame drum without jingles as part of a procession conducted before what appears to be a seated noble man. This scene reminds us of the depictions of secular ceremonies or banquets that were popularly produced during Pre-Classical Antiquity. As

[39] For information about this particular function of the drum, see chapter 6.

[40] For information about this piece, see chapter 3:3.1.

in the case of the ancient depictions, the frame drum player portrayed in the medieval Iberian bottle might have been a representation of a court musician.

The use of frame drums by Iberian Muslim men is further recorded in the *zejel* 147 of the celebrated twelfth-century Muslim poet Ibn Quzman, where it is mentioned that a male dancer accompanied himself with a *duff* during one of the Muslim night musical gatherings known as *zambras*.[41]

A hint about the use of frame drums by Christian jongleurs/minstrels is found in the thirteenth-century *Llibre de les besties* of Ramon Llull in a passage where the author speaks about an *adufe* (*alduf*) that belonged to a male jongleur.[42] More concrete evidence about male professional musicians and their use of frame drums can be found in the thirteenth-century poem *Fadet joglar* composed by Giraut de Calasó, an Occitan troubadour who resided for a time in Iberia. In this piece (an *ensenhament* or poem where a troubadour instructs his jongleur), the author advises the *joglar* who travels with him that to succeed in his profession he should play, among other instruments, the frame drum with jingles with a good technique: "and for example on the frame drum (*temple*, from *tympanum*) [you] should make all the jingles rattle."[43] One more reference of a jongleur performing on a *panderete* is given in the *Libro de buen amor,* in which one of the

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[41] For information about this text, see Mahmoud Guettat, "El universo musical de Al-Andalus" in *Música y Poesía del Sur de Al-Andalus* (Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1995), 21. It seems that *zambras* were noisy affairs. This is revealed by a prohibition stated by the Counsel of Valladolid in 1322 that stipulated that the presence of "infidels" in these nocturnal vigils created a lot of noise because of their use of different musical instruments including frame drums. See Alfred Sendrey, *The Music of the Jews in the Diaspora (Up to 1800): A Contribution to the Social and Cultural History of the Jews* (New York: T. Yoseloff, 1971), 103.

[42] For this text, see chapter 4, n. 83.

[43] "E del temple/Per essemple/Fai totz los cascavels ordir." For a larger section of the text in which all the instruments are cited and a study of the work, see Ferrari Barassi, *Strumenti musicali*, 307, 356-357.

jongleurs is described as performing on a *panderete* or small frame drum with jingles as part of a procession conducted to welcome the character of Don Amor into town.[44]

Depictions of this type of court musician can be found in some unexpected places: walls and capitals of churches. An example can be seen in the twelfth-century church of San Miguel do Monte where a man plays a square frame drum to accompany a male fiddle player and a female dancer with clappers [fig. 50]. Similarly, in the twelfth-century Castilian Church of the Assunción de María we also find a male minstrel playing a square frame drum as part of an ensemble that includes a horn player, a fiddle player, and two female dancers [fig. 53]. Another representation of a male minstrel, this time performing on a round frame drum with jingles, can be found in a capital from the fourteenth-century Cathedral of Tarragona [fig. 47]. While these representations can be interpreted as allegorical or symbolic because of the religious context of their dwelling, it is also plausible that their main function was merely ornamental.[45] However, as in the case of the representations of females found in similar spaces, the importance of these representations for this particular study is that they seemed to have been inspired by real models.

Also, as in the case of the depictions of female frame drummers in illuminations of sacred texts, some of the male depictions in churches also have the function of representing specific biblical characters. A good example of this type of iconographical subject can be found in the eleventh-century portal of the church of Saint Isidore in León where a man playing the *adufe* was sculpted to represent one of King David' minstrels

[44] This important reference is studied in depth in chapters 4: 3.2; and 8: 3.3.2.

[45] For a discussion about the function of depictions of monsters or daily life characters or events in churches and monasteries for ornamental functions, see Meyer Schapiro, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," in *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers* (New York: George Braziller, 1977), 1-27.

[fig. 49]. Other examples of male biblical figures depicted holding frame drums can be seen in the thirteenth-century Cathedral of Burgos and the Collegiate Church of Santa Maria la Mayor of Toro where elders of the apocalypse have been represented as either round or square frame drum players [figs. 57, 58]. As in the case of the depictions mentioned earlier, it is possible that the artists based their depiction of biblical musicians on the contemporaneous jongleur.

One more interesting depiction of male biblical characters playing frame drums can be seen in an illumination from one of the so-called Pamplona Bibles (Amiens 108 folio 52v) that illustrates Exodus 32: 4-6 [fig. 55]. In the scene, male Israelites are depicted worshiping the Golden Calf with *adufes* even though the biblical text does not mention any musical instrument as part of the infamous event. Because of the context, these players do not seem to be professional players but common folk who might have been modeled after amateur male players, such as the young men mentioned in the *Historia de los reyes católicos* of Andrés Bernáldez as playing *panderos and adufes* side by side with women.

4. THE DIFFERING STATUS OF FEMALE AND MALE PLAYERS

Professional female performers such as singers, dancers, or instrumentalists were generally considered to be sinful women in both religious and secular spheres in the medieval Iberian Peninsula. Scholars have indicated that this was not necessarily prompted by their specific professions, but by the performers' challenge to

contemporaneous cultural conventions of female propriety.[46] A good example of the association of the performer with indecorous and antisocial behavior can be found in a statement of the Council of Toledo of 1324 that attacks female jongleurs for corrupting good customs with their spectacle.[47] Female professional performers also had a bad reputation in secular literature where the terms *soldadera* (from *soldada*: *salary*) or *juglaresa* (female jongleur), both used to described female entertainers, are used synonymously with courtesan.[48] In fact, the association of female performers with prostitution was so strong in medieval Iberia that the "good character" of players had to be clearly stipulated in the literature. A good example of the need for such clarification can be found in a text that records how, during the wedding of Doña Urraca and King Garcia of Navarre, in 1144, a group of jongleurs and women sang songs to the accompaniment of musical instruments. Apparently to avoid a misunderstanding about the nature of these female performers, a later comment in the texts calls them "honest women" (*honestae mulieres*).[49] Another example can be found in the thirteenth-century *Libro de Alexandre* where Queen Calcetrix, who performs songs, implores that people do

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[46] This attitude was common both in the rest of Europe as well as in Islamic countries during the Middle Ages. There seem to be two closely related reasons that prompted this type of discrimination against women who made a living by performing before an audience. One of them is that they performed outside of permissible spaces such as their houses or the convent. In this respect, the performing environment contributed to the formation of the players' perception by the audience. Another important element is the professional female performers' refusal to adhere to the conventional censorship that urged women to maintain traditional postures as housewives rather than women who pursue radical lifestyles. Thus, the patriarchal tradition of the Christian, Muslim, and Jewish cultures also contributed to the creation of the performer's image. For discussions about the different constraints on females during the Middle Ages, see Cristina Segura, "Mujeres públicas/malas mujeres: Mujeres honradas/mujeres privadas," in *Arabes, judias y cristianas: Mujeres en la Europa medieval*, ed. Cristina del Moral (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1993), 53-62; and Bitel, *Women in Early Medieval Europe*, 103.

[47] For this information, see Cohen, "Le role de la femme-musicienne," 62.

[48] See Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca,* 62.

[49] Ibid., 150.

not confuse her with a female jongleur: "I did not come here to earn money, I am not a *joglaresa*."[50] One more example worth mentioning here is found in a passage from the thirteenth-century *Libro de Apolonio,* where the fiddle player Tarsiana, who earlier had decided to "play the fiddle to earn money," explains that she is not a female performer who is selling her body: "I am not a *joglaresa* like those who are up for sale….I have lineage and I have honorable parents."[51]

Like any other professional female entertainer, women who used frame drums as part of their acts were also considered courtesans. This is indicated by the fact that the *cantadera* or songstress-frame drummer who is described in verse 470 of the *Libro de buen amor* appears in a passage where a woman talks to the author about women who lose their shame and "unravel their souls and bodies, and lose their reputation."[52] Furthermore, it is also possible that the character described by Juan Ruiz is in fact a notorious *soldadera* or *joglaresa,* only with the different and newer name *cantadera*.[53] If this is the case, then there is no question that all the negative connotations ascribed to the female performers described above apply to those professional women who accompanied themselves with frame drums. As with the *cantaderas*, *soldaderas*, and *joglaresas*, some of the *muwalladat* and the *qainat*, popular performers who on occasion accompanied

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[50] Verse 1723: "Non vin' ganar haberes, ca no soe joglaresa." For an edition of this work, see *Libro de Alexandre*, ed. Jesús Cañas Murillo (Madrid: Cátedra, 1988).

[51] Verse 490-491 "No so joglaresa de las de buen mercado…Duenya só de linatge, de parientes honrrados." For an edition of this work, see *Libro de Apolonio*, ed. Dolores Corbella Díaz (Madrid: Cátedra, 1992).

[52] "Alma e cuerpo e fama, todo lo dexan perder." For a study of this passage, see *Libro de buen amor* ed. Alberto Blecua, 124.

[53] It has been suggested that the *cantadera* was the same *soldadera* whose name changed during the fourteenth century. See Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca,* 65.

their singing and dancing with frame drums, were also associated with prostitution in Muslim Iberia.[54]

But even though female professional performers in general had the stigma of courtesans, it did not mean that they were in all cases despised. As we have seen in verse 1513 of the *Libro de buen amor* the author also praises the *cantadera*'s skills as a transmitter of repertoire. Similarly, the *qiyan* were highly valued by aristocratic patrons because of their skills.[55] In fact, men not only sought to gain prestige by having them as part of their retinue, but there is the case of the emir Abd al-Rahman II (reign 822-852) who married a Christian Basque slave songstress named Qalam because of her incredible musical skills.[56]

We know little about the perception and status of non-professional players. People of both the aristocracy and the lower classes who performed music for reasons other than remuneration might have been perceived in a much different way than the professional *cantaderas* and *qiyan,* especially if their performances contributed to a "greater good." Examples of these types of performers are commonly found in literature. In the *Vida do Infante do Fernando* and the *Chronica adefonsi Imperatoris,* frame drums are seen in the hands of regular city or town female dwellers who play them for salutatory or defensive purposes. We have also found in the *Vida do Infante do Fernando* a description of town women performing on frame drums as part of a procession dedicated to celebrate a battle.[57]

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[54] See Cortés García, "La mujer y la música," 194; and de la Cuesta, *Historia de la música española*, 206.

[55] See de la Cuesta, *Historia de la música*, 336; and Cohen, "Le role de la femme-musicienne," 3, 19.

[56] See Cohen, "Ca no soe joglaresa," 69.

[57] For this text, see chapter 4, n. 58.

Another interesting example is found in verse 1003 of the *Libro de buen amor,* where a shepherdess desired by the author askes for a *pandero* as part of his wedding present to her. It is clear in the passage that her honest intentions are not to sell her body and lose her "soul and reputation," but to get married.

Like the *cantadera* and other types of professional women musicians, the contemporaneous male jongleurs also performed for compensation before different audiences.[58] However, the innuendo attached to their female counterparts did not seem to be extended to them. While there were some jongleurs who were hired by troubadours to sing their compositions, others traveled by themselves or formed part of a noble person's retinue. They seemed to have come from all different social classes and were in many cases well remunerated by their patrons, which probably advanced their status in society.[59] Some of the most valuable information about the perception and social status of jongleurs in Iberia can be found in the *Declaratío del sénher rey N'Amfos de Castela* a document dated 1275, in which Alfonso X responds to an inquiry about the status of jongleurs made by the Occitan troubadour Giraut Requier entitled *La Supplicatío al rey de Castela per le nom dels juglars.* In this text, it is explained that jongleurs (*joglares*) are those people who "know how to behave among rich people and play instruments, sing verses, and play other entertainments." Then the author indicates the contemporaneous

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[58] For the different types of jongleurs in Iberia, see Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca.*

[59] Following the information about troubadours and jongleurs offered in the *Vidas* and *Razos*, a collection of thirteenth and fourteenth-century sources that offer biographical accounts of these performers, the jongleurs seemed to occupy a higher social class than those who specialized in knife throwing, animal training, and dancing. In fact, clerics and knights sometimes became jongleurs for financial reasons. See Aubrey, "References to Music in Old Occitan Literature," 121-123; and Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca*, 64-65.

positive perception of these performers by explaining that because of the above-mentioned attributes, the *joglares* "should be well received in the courts."[60]

5. CONCLUSION: OF *PANDERETEROS* AND *ADUFEROS*

The extant depictions of female frame drum players in the corpus of medieval Iberian iconographical sources reveal that these instruments were for the most part used by both professional and non-professional female performers. Nonetheless, a small group of depictions of male frame drummers in conjunction with literary evidence indicates that men were also participants, although probably on a much smaller scale, in this performance tradition. The historical data also reveals that frame drums were not the sole patrimony of a single religion or social class, but were popularly played by Christian, Muslim, and Jewish performers of different social classes and professional status. Of them, women who performed to make a living were considered to be sexually available and therefore looked down upon. On the other hand, non-professional female performers did not seem to have such stigma since they used frame drums not for monetary reasons, but for personal entertainment or community-oriented functions, such as salutatory or celebratory processions.

Unlike professional female performers, male professional players who seemed to have used frame drums as part of their acts do not seem to have been linked to lewd behavior. In fact, their skills made them welcome into the environment of the aristocratic

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[60] This source is an epistle allegedly written in Occitan by King Alfonso X. However, some scholars believe that it was Riquier who wrote it for the King. See V. Bertolucci Pizzorusso, "La supplica de Giraut Riquier e la risposta di Alfonso X di Castiglia," *Studi mediolatini e volgari* 14(1966): 729-806; Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca,* 37; and Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, Ricardo Palma, and Enrique José Varona, *Antología universal ilustrada: Colección de las producciones literarias más notables del mundo en la que están representados los más grandes escritores de los tiempos antiguos, medioevales y modernos* (London: Sociedad Internacional, n.d.), 11/27.

classes. As we will see in the next chapter, the dichotomy between the professional and social status of female and male players was one of the most important features that determined the instruments' used as symbolic objects.

CHAPTER VI

Social Functions and Performance Context of Frame Drums

Unlike issues such as performance practice and symbolism, the social functions of frame drums can be gathered easily from extant sources. From both literature and art we learn that the most popular uses of frame drums in medieval Iberia were to provide joyous entertainment, welcome people into towns, celebrate special community events, practice non-liturgical worship, and even attract customers' attention in the market. And, while these different functions can give us a clear picture of the frame drums' role in the contemporaneous culture, data gathered from musical traditions of Iberia and the historically- and politically-related Maghreb also suggests their unrecorded use at baptisms, circumcisions, weddings, and harvest festivals. In this chapter, I will explore the different social functions of the instrument by combining historical information and ethnomusicological research. Modern data will allow me to support and expand the historical information, investigate the possibility that ancient and medieval traditions continue into our days, and explore other possible uses of the instruments that are not recorded in the extant sources. From this research, it will become clear that while some ancient social functions of frame drums endured in medieval Europe, such as the welcoming and honoring of a guest, others were reconfigured to accommodate to the religious and cultural parameters of medieval society, such as the worshiping of deities.

1. RECREATION

In all likelihood, the main purpose of frame drums in medieval Iberia was for the performance of private and public recreational music. As we have seen in the previous

chapter, frame drums were generally found in the hands of both professional and non-professional musicians who accompanied their songs and dances with these types of instruments.[1] We need to cite only a few of the numerous surviving examples. We find depictions of female frame drummers entertaining an audience in the thirteenth-century *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* [figs. 39-41] and in the fourteenth-century Catalonian *Sister Haggadah* [fig. 59]. While the former probably represents a habitual occasion in a castle or manor, the latter shows an outdoor scene where Miriam plays a square frame drum to accompany a group of females who dance holding hands.[2] It is perhaps important to mention at least one instance in which a male performer plays the frame drum to entertain an audience. The best example can be found in a series of capitals from the twelfth-century church of the Assumption of Mary in Castile, in which a man is depicted performing on the *adufe* among a group of jongleurs that include two female dancers.

Accounts of public performances are common in the literature. For example, the twelfth-century Cordovan poet Ibn Quzman records the use of the *duff* by a male dancer at one of the nightly outdoor Moorish gatherings known as *zambras*, performances that might have inspired the depiction of Islamic performers found in the lower cloister of the Monastery of Silos [fig. 34].[3] Similarly, we learn from a fifteenth-century Catalonian text that as part of some festivities "…a *pandero* and a *rabenet* (rebec?)" played together from the window of a house in the city."[4]

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[1] For information about these performers and their functions, see chapter 5.

[2] For information about this dance and other repertoires performed to the accompaniment of frame drums, see chapter 4: 6.

[3] This information is given by Mahmoud Guettat, "El Universo Musical," in *Música y poesía del sur de Al-Andalus* (Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1995), 21.

[4] The specific date for this text is 1492. For more information about this text, see chapter 4, n. 46.

Finally, the primary function of the instruments as providers of entertainment made them good symbols for amusement, leisure, and pastime. This is demonstrated by a passage from the thirteenth-century astrological *Liber Picatrix* of Alfonso X in which it is explained that a person born in a sign that shows a woman holding an *adufe* "will be a lover of entertainment, musical instruments, and other things that are related to happiness." [5] Although entertainment was the most important role of the frame drum in medieval Iberia, this function was nothing but a continuation of the ancient Mediterranean tradition that was condemned by the spiritual leaders of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam at the beginning of our era.[6]

The use of frame drums for recreational purposes was not only well established during Antiquity, as indicated in the first two chapters of this dissertation, but continues to play a major role in this type of social function today in some areas of Iberia as well as the Maghreb and Latin America. For example, in different regions of Portugal, square frame drums are commonly used today to accompany many kinds of secular songs and dances.[7] In the same way, frame drums are still used in other regions of Iberia, such as Asturias and the Basque country, to accompany songs and dances performed for the entertainment of the performers or others.[8] The use of frame drums for entertainment purposes is also widespread in modern day Morocco. For example, we find that the small

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[5] For the complete text, see chapter 4, n. 81.

[6] For information about the reaction against the use of frame drums by spiritual leaders, see chapters 2: 4; 5.2; and 4: 2.

[7] Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais populares portugueses* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouse Gulbenkian, 1982), 379-443.

[8] See Josep Crivillé, *Historia de la música española, El folklore musical* (Madrid, Alianza, 1983), 350; and Salvador Palomar i Abadia, *Les majorales del roser d'Ulldemolins* (Reus: Carrutxa, 1990), 51.

frame drum with jingles — known as *tār* — is one of the most characteristic instruments of a classical genre of music known as *nuba*, which is usually performed for aristocratic audiences. Similarly, singers in marketplaces still use a square *duff* or a round *bandair* to accompany a *qasida*, a poem sung in Arabic related to the medieval Islamic Iberian poetic form known as *muwashshaha*.[9]

2. CIVIC EVENTS

Medieval Iberian frame drums were also used, like their ancient counterparts, during civic ceremonies that included welcoming and celebratory outdoor performances and parades.[10] For example, we learn from the twelfth-century *Chronica adefonsi Imperatoris* that King Alfonso VI was triumphantly welcomed to Zaragoza in 1134 by "all kinds of people [who] came out to express joy and to meet [the King] with frame drums (*tympanis*), plucked string instruments (*citaris*, *psalteries*) and all kinds of musical instruments."[11] Similarly, we find recorded in the fifteenth-century *Vida do Infante do Fernando* that the prince was welcomed to a city by Christian and Jewish women and men who played *adufes*, kettle drums, and trumpets.[12] And while it is possible that these

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[9] See Christian Poché, *La Musique arabo-andalouse* (Paris: Cité de la Musique: Actes Sud, 1995), 110-111; and also Philip D. Schuyler, "Malhun: Colloquial Song in Morocco," in *The Middle East, The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, 498.

[10] The use of frame drums for these types of events was already popular during Antiquity. Good examples can be found in Genesis 31:27, Judges 11:34, and Samuel 18:6. This tradition was continued in the Middle East throughout the Middle Ages. For example, it was documented that during one of his trips, the prophet Mohamed was welcomed upon his arrival into a city by women playing frame drums (*dufuf*). For this information, see G.H. Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music to the XIII Century* (London: Luzac, 1929), 28-38.

[11] "...et tota plebs exierunt obviam ei cum tympanis, et citaris, et psalteries et cum omni genere musicorum." This text can be found in Josá María Lamaña, "Los instrumentos musicales en los últimos tiempos de la dinastía de la Casa de Barcelona," *Anuario Musical* 24 (1969): 20.

[12] For this text, see chapter 4: 89.

passages are only conventional literature based on biblical accounts of triumphal entrances, such as the one by King Saul in Samuel 18:6, it is more likely that the authors based their descriptions on the different kinds of civic and religious processions that were organized by city governments and middle class citizens to welcome nobles or dignitaries.[13]

Frame drums were also present during other types of civic celebrations. For example, the illumination in the fourteenth-century *Coronacion de los Reyes de Castilla* that shows women performing music during the coronation of Alfonso VI at the monastery of Las Huelgas suggests that frame drums were customarily used to accompany songs and dances during solemn civic occasions. One more example is found again in the *Vida do Infante do Fernando,* where it is recorded that during a procession organized in 1482 to commemorate the battle of Toro, women paraded accompanying a bagpiper performing on *adufes* and *pandeiros*.[14]

3. FAMILY AND COMMUNITY EVENTS

To my knowledge there are no medieval depictions or descriptions of frame drums used in small household or large community events. Nonetheless, it is possible that some ancient welcoming and celebratory traditions related to the home and community that endured in medieval Islam and have survived to our days in Iberia and the Maghreb

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[13] Civic processions and street pageants were usually a gift of the rising merchant class to dignitaries and nobles. Since, this type of procession symbolically represented power, glory, and rank for nobles, they also moved around with officials, servants, heralds, men-at-arms, artisans, chroniclers, and musicians. See Edmund Bowles, "Musical Instruments in Civic Processions During the Middle Ages," *Acta Musicologica* 33/2-4 (April, 1961), 147-161.

[14] For this quotation, see Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais*, 395.

were also common in medieval Iberia.[15] For examples, it is common in modern Morocco to hire groups of female performers who play percussion instruments, including frame drums, as a welcoming gesture to migrants returning home during holy days or from the *hajj*, the pilgrimage from Mecca.[16] Since this custom appears to be related to other medieval Islamic welcoming traditions, we can theorize that similar household welcoming practices might also have been customary in Muslim Iberia.

In most cultures the yearly seasonal calendar and the individual calendar of life cycles are occasions that provide the stage for music performances. The important role that frame drums play at celebrations associated with planting, harvesting, weddings, baptisms, and circumcisions (for Muslims and Jews) in some regions of Iberia, the Maghreb, and the Islamic world in general, suggests a similar case in medieval Iberia. Nowadays, square frame drums are played in Galicia, Asturias, and some areas of Castile to celebrate weddings.[17] In Catalonia, it is recorded that at least until the first half of the twentieth century they were also used for baptisms.[18] Frame drums are also used in the Maghreb to accompany songs and dances performed during circumcisions and

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[15] For example, the custom of welcoming someone into a household with the music of frame drums is recorded in the Bible. In Judges 11:34, we find Jepthah's daughter welcoming her father back from the war. Similarly, in the Prophet Mohamed's sayings, it is recorded how women used frame drums to accompany songs that honored an eminent person's arrival. These performances were conducted in the streets, from rooftops, and at home. See Veronica Doubleday, "The Frame Drum in the Middle East: Women, Musical Instruments and Power," *Ethnomusicology* 43/1(1999): 109.

[16] See Antonio Baldassarre, "With the Daughters of the Houara (Morocco): From Fieldwork to World Music," *Music and Anthropology* 4 (1999), 5.

[17] See Palomar i Abadia, *Les majorales*, 51.

[18] Ibid., 24. See also Valeri Serra i Boldu, *Cançons de pandero. Cançons de ronda* (Barcelona, 1907, Reprinted, Editorial Olañeta, 1982), 24.

weddings,[19] a practice that has been long connected to Islam. As we have seen, the Prophet Mohamed himself exhorted in one of his famous *hadiths* to "Publish the marriage and beat the frame drum (*duff*)."[20]

Perhaps one of the most important uses of the frame drum in the Maghreb is to provide the accompaniment for songs and dances that are performed during harvest festivals. For example, in the rose festival conducted in May in Kelaa M'Gouna, where millions of petals are strewn to celebrate the harvest, frame drums accompany songs and choreographed dances.[21] Other similar celebrations can be found throughout the Berber communities of the Atlas mountains where music, often performed on frame drums is connected to the farming calendar to such an extent that a single term often describes both music making and agriculture.[22]

4. NON-LITURGICAL RELIGIOUS OCCASIONS

Because of the strong connection that frame drums had with religious ritual during Antiquity, it is not surprising to find them played in a paraliturgical context. An association of the frame drums with pilgrimage is suggested in chapter 17 of the first book of the *Codex Calixtinus*, a twelfth-century manual for the pilgrim to Santiago de

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[19] See Antonio Baldassarre, "With the Daughters," 5; and Susan S. Davis, *Patience and Power: Women's Lives in a Moroccan Village* (Rochester: Schenkman, n.d.), 79-81.

[20] See H.G. Farmer, "Duff," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat and J. Schacht (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), 6:620; See also Doubleday, "The Frame Drum," 112. This *hadith* was commonly quoted in discussions about the permissibility of musical instruments. However, while some writers call the frame drum *duff,* others call it *ghirbal*. See chapter 4, n. 112.

[21] See G. Baroio, *Morocco Past and Present* (New York: MetroBooks, 2001), 128-130.

[22] For example, the term *irizi* means both to process to the sound of drums and to plow, the term *tamssust* refers both to dance-songs and to knock fruit down from a tree, and *aqqayn* describes both a sung lyric and the seeds of certain nuts. See Miriam Rovsing Olsen, "Berber Music in Morocco," in *The Middle East*, *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, 483-486.

Compostela that includes music performed during the feast of Saint James at the Cathedral of Santiago.[23] The text informs us that pilgrims who came from afar carried with them different musical instruments including frame drums: "Some [pilgrims] play plucked string instruments (*citharas*, lyres), others frame drums (*tympana*), others had wind instruments (*tibias*, *fistulas*)...."[24] The tradition of using frame drums in medieval Christian pilgrimage also can be witnessed in contemporaneous Islamic practice. In fact, these instruments' association with the pious events prompted the Islamic jurist al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) to proclaim the square *duff* and the round *ghirbāl* as lawful musical instruments in his *Ihyā 'ulūm al-din*.[25]

The medieval custom of using frame drums during religious pilgrimages both in Christianity and Islam finds predecessors in the different religious festivals conducted during Antiquity in which deities were worshipped in shrines, forests, or mountains.[26] Thus, as we can see, it was through pious medieval pilgrimage that the old pagan frame drums found their way back into religious worship despite the exile that they suffered in the hands of the early Christian and Islamic leaders. This ancient practice, re-interpreted by the two major monotheistic religions in the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages,

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[23] This city was one of the most important centers of pilgrimage during the Middle Ages because it was believed that the body of the apostle James (Santiago) was buried in this place. For more information about different aspects of the *Codex Calixtinus*, see José López Calo*, La Música Medieval en Galicia* (A Coruña: Fundacion Pedro Barrie de la Maza, 1982), 30-54.

[24] "Unusquisque cum patriotis suis per se vigilias sapienter açit. . . .Alii citharis psallunt, alii liris, alii timpanis, alii tibis, alii fistulis, alii tubiis, alii sambucis, alii violis, alii rotis Britannicis vel Gallicis, alii psalteriis, alii diversis generibus musicorum cantando vigilant, alii peccata plorant, alii psalmos legunt. . . .Ibi audiuntur diversa genera lingaarum...et cantilene Theutonicorum, Anglorum, Graecorum, ceterarumque tribuum et gentium. . . ." For this text, see Lamaña, "Los instrumentos musicales," 20.

[25] See Farmer, *A History of Musical Instruments*, 30.

[26] For this information, see chapters 1 and 2.

continues to exist today in Portugal, where modern pilgrims still accompany their journeys and worship with frame drums.[27]

A further paraliturgical function of the frame drum is suggested by its long use by "sisterhoods of the rosary," female lay groups who were dedicated to the worship of the Mother of Christ and her rosary.[28] These groups were first recorded toward the end of the fifteenth century but might have existed before that,[29] and were popular in different places of the Peninsula at least until the first half of the twentieth century.[30] The most prominent function of such an organization was to spread devotion to the rosary and participate in events related to the worship of the Virgin Mary, occasions in which the frame drums were used to accompany songs and dances.[31] As mentioned in previous chapters, it is possible that the women depicted playing in the sixteenth-century *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* were in fact members of such a type of sisterhood since a rosary appears to be hanging from the wrist of the *adufe* player [fig. 62].[32]

In a similar fashion, square frame drums are used today in Portugal by groups of townswomen to accompany processions in honor of the Virgin Mary or a saint and during

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[27] See Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais*, 379-443.

[28] The cult of the rosary was prompted by Domingo de Guzman towards the end of the twelfth century and spread by his order of Dominican friars. The actual rosary as an instrument of worship appeared during the thirteenth century in the form of a string with nods. In the beginning, the sisterhoods of the rosary acted only in connection with Dominican convents and places influenced by them. See Palomar i Abadia, *Les majorales*, 17-18.

[29] See Valeri Serra i Boldú, *Llibre d'Or del rosari a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1925), 4.

[30] See Palomar i Abadia, *Les majorales*, 17-18.

[31] Members of the sisterhood also performed frame drums during baptism, weddings, and other social occasions in which money could be earned to support the organization. The Catalan scholar Salvador Palomar i Abadia explains that these actions can be considered to have a religious character because their purpose is the support a religious group. See *Les majorales*, 52.

[32] For information about this, see chapter 5, n. 37.

Christmas, though without any specific connection to a lay group.[33] Probably honoring the medieval prohibitions regarding the use of musical instrument in the liturgy, these instruments are never played inside the church.[34]

Thus, as is suggested by both historical sources and modern tradition, among the different functions of the medieval frame drums was the accompaniment of music dedicated to celebrate paraliturgical events. These types of occasions, probably descended from the old religious customs of Antiquity, included the worship of Christian or Muslim saints by pilgrims and the honoring of the Virgin Mary by lay groups or regular townspeople during her feasts, all traditions that can still be witnessed on both sides of the Mediterranean.

5. ATTENTION CALLER

It is also important to mention in this chapter one more function of the medieval Iberian frame drums that is documented in a historical source. As I have explained in the previous chapter, we learn from verse 1212 of the *Libro de buen amor* that the instruments were used in markets by tripe sellers, and maybe other types of vendors, to attract their customers' attention.[35] The use of other musical instruments such as horns, trumpets, bells, and other types of membranophones to attract attention and send signals is similarly well documented in medieval Europe.[36]

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[33] Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais*, 397.

[34] Ibid.

[35] For this text and its interpretation, see chapter 5, n. 21.

[36] See Catheriene Homo-Lechner, *Sons et Instruments de Musique au Moyen Age, Archéologie musicale dans l'Europe du VIIe au XIVe siècles* (Paris: Errance, 1996), 13-21.

6. Conclusion: Continuity of Social Functions of Frame Drums

During Antiquity, frame drums were used throughout the Mediterranean and the Middle East both indoors and outdoors and both in religious and secular contexts. They not only were played to worship deities, but also were used to provide musical entertainment during banquets, feasts, and royal and military parades. Similarly, frame drums were played in medieval Iberia to provide accompaniment to songs and dances, both by women and men, both professional and non-professional. This music was used to entertain people of different social classes, welcome important migrants and visitors to towns and houses, commemorate important dates in the lifecycle of a person or a community, participate in non-institutionalized worship, and even attract the attention of passersby for commercial reasons. As we can see, most of these contexts show a direct or indirect connection with the functions witnessed during Antiquity. Thus, even though at the dawn of our era frame drums were condemned and forbidden by the leaders of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, these instruments endured at the margin of organized religion, and their functions were to some extent the product of the reinterpretation and accommodation of ancient practices in medieval culture.

CHAPTER VII

The Symbolism of the Iberian Frame Drum

In addition to their function as musical instruments, the medieval *pandero/panderete* and *adufe* also operated as symbolic or emblematic objects both in art and literature.[1] As symbols, the instruments stood for and suggested something else that was not intrinsically connected to them to communicate and reinforce social, religious, and moral values of a specific group.[2] As emblems, the instruments were used as attributes of historical and contemporaneous people appearing in manuscript illuminations, sculptural programs in churches, monasteries and cathedrals, and sacred and secular narratives and poems. In this chapter, I will scrutinize the sources, combining iconological procedures that require the knowledge of contemporaneous thought and tradition with current theories about medieval perception, comprehension, and memory. By these means I will attempt to locate and decipher the original allegorical and referential intentions that a writer, artist or designer of an iconographical program had when they chose to represent frame drums and their players in their works.

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[1] Scholars have suggested that during the Middle Ages words were perceived as capable of painting pictures. Therefore, a writer or storyteller also needs to be considered a "painter" who can draw images in the minds of his audiences. See Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 229.

[2] The term symbol develops from the Greek *symballein,* a term that literally means "to throw together." In art this term refers to an image that stands for something other than the image itself. It is mainly in this way that the term will be used in this chapter. See Ori Z. Soltes, *Our Sacred Signs: How Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Art Draw from the Same Source* (Cambridge, Mass.: Westview, 2005), 7-8.

1. THE FRAME DRUM AS SYMBOL

The symbolic character of medieval Iberian and other European art and literature is well exemplified in a statement from the prologue of the *Libro de buen amor,* in which it is explained that under the plain words there is a concealed message that offers the audience the opportunity of salvation: [3]

> And, I advise everyone who might see or hear [the text], to guard carefully the three things of the soul. First of all, understand and judge well my intentions in the text and not just the plain sound of the words, for words should serve intentions and not intentions words….And God knows that my intention [in this text] was not to promote sinful acts, but to fill everybody with the memory of good deeds, and to give examples of good behavior, and punishment for salvation.[4]

Thus, we gather from the author's *intentio libri* that the purpose of art and literature is to communicate a message of salvation by reminding (*memoria*) the audience through symbolism and allegory of the crucial difference between good and evil deeds.[5] But even though secular art and literature had a direct or indirect connection with

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[3] Much has been written about the symbolic and allegorical character of medieval art and literature produced in Christian Europe. For this type of discussion, see Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 46-58; Elizabeth Sears, "Reading Images," in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object,* ed. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 1; and Jesus Menendez Peláez, *Historia de la Literatura Española: vol. 1 Edad Media* (Madrid: Everest, n.d.), 61.

[4] "E ruego e consejo a quien lo oyere e lo oyere que guardare bien las tres cosas del alma; lo primero que quiera bien entender e bien juzgar la mi entencion, porque lo fiz, e la sentencia de lo que y dize, e non al son feo de las palabras. E según derecho las palabras sirven a la intención e non la intención a las palabras…E Dios sabe que la mi intención non fue de lo fazer por dar manera de pecar, ni por mal dezir, mas fue por reducir a toda persona a memoria buena de bien obrar, e dar ensienplo de buenas costumbres e castigos de salvacion." *Libro de buen amor,* Introduction, lines 125-130.

[5] "Otrosí fueron la pintura e la escritura e las imagines primeramente falladas por razón que la memoria del ome desleznadera es." *Libro de buen amor,* lines 76-80. As we can see here, Juan Ruiz equates texts with pictures because of their capacity to remind people of good behavior.

religious doctrines,[6] other historical, cultural, and political concerns — such as denunciation, social criticism,[7] and political-religious propaganda — were also latent in the artistic discourse.[8]

In this light, we can assume that at least in some sources, both religious and secular, the representation of certain places, people, circumstances, and objects, including frame drums, followed symbolic functions.[9] Thus, while a representation of a frame drum can primarily reflect contemporaneous musical performance practice, at a deeper level it still encapsulates some dominant values and interests of the contemporaneous culture.[10]

2. DECODING THE MESSAGE

The marked difference between our modern social, cultural, political and religious realities and those of medieval artists and writers inhibits our decoding of the frame drums' symbolism in their works.[11] Nonetheless, the reconstruction of the cultural

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[6] Besides the general religious character of the age, one of the most important reasons for this is that art was created by clerics and for clerics, Church functionaries who were educated in cathedral schools or other religious cultural centers. Their education as Christian functionaries translated in their work. See Menendez Peláez, *Historia de la Literatura Española,* 61.

[7] At this point we also see the flourishing of a trend in literature: social criticism. A good example of this trend is found in the *Libro de buen amor*. See Menendez Peláez, *Historia de la Literatura Española,* 208.

[8] For the political-religious propagandistic nature of some medieval art, see Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 46-58; and Soltes, *Our Sacred Signs*, 7-8.

[9] Peter Burke suggests that spiritual attitudes and concerns of an era appear represented in the age's religious images. For this reason images need to be considered crucial elements in the reconstruction of a specific culture's spiritual and social experiences. The author also explains that images combined with textual information can advance our understanding of how that experience was understood and accepted. See Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 46-58.

[10] See Emanuel Winternitz, "The Visual Arts and the Historian of Music," in *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967), 33-35.

[11] Scholars have indicated that in different symbolic discourses there is a code that the sender knew how the receiver was going to decipher. See Edmund Leach, *Culture and Communication: The Logic by which Symbols are Connected* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 9.

climate that surrounded the works and the manner in which information was devised and apprehended can provide us with enough tools to reconstruct how artists, writers and their audience conceived and perceived musical instruments in common cultural terms that prompted their use as symbols and emblems.

Scholars have proposed based on medieval visual and allegorical theories that in the Middle Ages audiences were expected to decode the message inherent in an object by a process comprised of recognition, association, and criticism. First, an object was literally recognized by the mind either in isolation or in connection with its functions or other related symbols. The realized object was then transformed through a web of associations into revelation.[12] Since artists, writers, and creators of sculptural or illumination programs seemed to have anticipated this mental process from their viewers and readers/listeners, this paradigm can help us to reconstruct their original intentions when they chose to make a visual or literary reference to a frame drum in a source.

First, the receiver of the visual message would have been expected to identify an object depicted as a frame drum by recognizing its basic structural features or by the context of a scene.[13] Textually or verbally, the identification of the frame drum depended on the recognition of its denominative. In this case, the name of the drum triggered in the mind of the listener-reader a mental image that operated in the same way as a visual depiction of the instrument. Obviously, since various types of frame drums had different

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[12] For the theory of this mental process, see Karl F. Morrison's *History as a Visual Art in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 221-257; and Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Seeing through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

[13] For example, frame drums were commonly depicted in illustrations of Exodus 15:20. Thus, round objects carried by the main figures in an illumination of this passage were probably immediately identified as frame drums and not as plates.

names, the use of a specific denominative such as *pandero*, *panderete*, or *adufe* would have helped to distinguish a particular kind. In any case, the correct detection of a frame drum was the only way to access the next two steps of de-codification.[14] Thus, the instrument had to be presented unambiguously. For this reason, the artists had to depict clear structural, contextual, or functional elements familiar to his contemporaneous audience to ensure a correct identification of the instruments.[15]

Then, the identified instrument was expected to trigger in the mind of the viewer-reader-listener a mesh of religious, moral, social, cultural, and political conventions. This process of recalling these cultural precepts formed by previous political-religious indoctrination and sensual experience is probably what Juan Ruiz in his *intentio libri* referred to as *memoria*. For this reason, the only way to attempt the recognition and understanding of the full spectrum of possible associations that were activated in the mind of the medieval audience is to be familiar with cultural codes.[16] While some codes might have been formed by secular thought, most of them were directly imposed or

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[14] See Sears, "Reading Images," 1.

[15] It is also possible that an artist from a completely different culture might have depicted the instruments without understanding what they were. See Tilman Seebass, "Iconography I.2: Method" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 12:54.

[16] This was the major preoccupation of the iconological method formulated by Erwin Panofsky and the Warburg School during the 1930s. The method was comprised of three levels: 1) first level of recognition of the "natural meaning of the image," in other words, their mere identification; 2) the iconographical level in which the image was concerned with the "conventional meaning," that is, the realization of an image in specific terms; and 3) the iconological interpretation that, different from the iconographical level, is concerned with the "intrinsic meaning." This is the search for underlying principles that reveal the basic attitude of an image's production. For this third iconological level, Panofsky urged knowledge of a culture that created the image. See Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939); and Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (New York: Harper & Row, 1955). For a summary of Panofsky's method and criticism of it, see Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 32-45.

influenced by religious institutions. Therefore, our approach to the subject needs to be constantly informed by the religious precepts of the era.

And while we can be sure that a critical evaluation of the instruments in relation to the "recalled" cultural guidelines helped the receiver to assess its symbolic message,[17] it is also important to remember that, because of its nature, a symbol cannot have an absolute meaning. The same image can trigger different types of associations in the audience because the realization of its meaning through association is dependent on context and/or personal experience.[18] For this reason, the meaning of a representation created by an artist or writer can only be considered exemplary and far from universal and normative.[19]

Most of the above-mentioned steps toward the recognition and association of the frame drums in the historical sources have already been taken in this study. The proper recognition of frame drums in art and literature has already been conducted in chapters III and IV. Similarly, the association of the instruments with some current cultural conventions has been developed in earlier chapters pertaining to the frame drums during Antiquity, Early Christianity, and the Middle Ages. Thus, the remaining step is to link the correct set of religious, political, social, and cultural guidelines to the proper representations to ensure a suitable criticism of the frame drums' symbolism.

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[17] Scholars have explained that the process of memory and imagination is crucial to the understanding of the message contained in the sources. See Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 221-257; and Morrison, *History as a Visual Art*, 48-66.

[18] See Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 234.

[19] See Emmanuel Winternitz, "Secular Music Practice in Sacred Art," *Early Music* 3 (1975): 221.

3. THE AMBIVALENT FRAME DRUM

Because of their long history, endurance, widespread popularity, and myriad of social functions, frame drums are musical instruments that possess an incredibly rich set of associations. Since these relations in many cases conflict with one another, the medieval audience probably perceived these instruments as ambivalent symbols. As we have seen, frame drums in Antiquity were associated with fertility rituals and as a consequence with female sexuality. Because of their special connection to grain, frame drums became the attributes of Mediterranean fertility goddesses such as Hathor and Cybele. Besides this, their use as providers of entertainment during pleasurable banquets and other secular occasions further endowed the instruments with an image of sensuality. For these reasons, in their reaction against the religious practices of the past, the Church fathers as well as Jewish and Muslim spiritual leaders associated the frame drums with paganism, worldly things, licentious women, and the flesh. These negative connotations were further accentuated in medieval Iberia in that professional female performers who challenged the proper behavior expected for medieval Christian, Jewish, and Muslim women commonly used frame drums. In this way, frame drums were burdened by their most prominent ancient and contemporaneous functions negatively perceived through the eyes of religious and secular asceticism and gender stereotypes.

Nonetheless, frame drums were at the same time filled with positive associations. For example, our instruments were the emblems of Miriam who in Exodus 15:20 accompanied a "song of praise" with a *tof/tympanum* to thank God for the Israelites' safe crossing of the Red Sea. Also, as we have seen, frame drums (*tof/tympanum*) were mentioned in psalms as instruments used for the worship of God. Furthermore, the

instruments' materials, "skin nailed over wood," prompted some Church Fathers to interpret them as an allegory of Christ on the cross.[20] Thus, under these different sets of associations the medieval frame drums were also perceived as positive symbols of worship, divine justice, and Christ himself.

We probably can safely assume that at least some of the above-mentioned associations were activated in the mind of the medieval Iberian audience after recognizing a frame drum in literature and art. Since the set of contradictory religious and cultural conventions turned the instruments into ambivalent symbols, proper interpretation was achieved by understanding the representacion in its context.

4. NEGATIVE SYMBOLISM

Because of their association with paganism and female sexuality, artists, writers, and the creators of iconographical programs carefully represented frame drums in their works as negative symbols that inspired misogynous and anti-Semitic sentiments. Since the instruments in themselves were also capable of embodying positive attributes, the correct recognition of them as harmful markers was achieved by their clear placement in relation to other negative symbols and appropriate context.

4.1 THE FRAME DRUM AS A SYMBOL OF LUST, SEDUCTION, AND DECEPTION

To understand how a frame drum can operate as a symbol of lust, seduction, and deception, we have to not only remember its connection with fertility cults and their goddesses, priestesses, temple prostitutes, and female worshippers during Antiquity, but

[20] See, chapter 2, nn. 62-64.

also its association with the socially suspect medieval professional female performers. It was because the instruments triggered these associations in the mind of the medieval audience that in art and literature they were confidently placed in the hands of women to identify them as licentious, sinful, and even evil. In this context, the frame drum was used as a symbolic object that through association incited a misogynous sentiment in the audience.

A perfect example is found in an illumination of one of the Pamplona Bibles (Amiens, Bibliotèque Municipale Lat.108, folio 64v) that illustrates Numbers 25:1-2, a passage where the Israelites are described committing fornication with the pagan Moabite women [fig. 54]. In the Amiens depiction we observe a group of women and men undressing and engaging in sensual caresses. In the upper left corner of the illumination a woman appears playing a square frame drum while a man dances to its music. Here, although the text has no mention of a drum being used as part of the occasion, the artist has added it to emphasize the erotic character of the scene. In this context, an *adufe,* with its ancient and contemporaneous connections to female sexuality, and in the hands of a woman who makes a man dance to her music, was meant as a clear symbol of lust and seduction for its viewers.[21]

A similar case is found in the fourteenth-century depiction of Salome dancing before Herod and Herodias from the *Retaule dels Sants Joans* [fig. 45]. In this piece

[21] I suspect that, since in the Middle Ages religious and secular precepts were directly or indirectly based on the ascetic and patriarchal teaching of the Church Fathers, the figure of the sensual woman might have always been understood in these spheres as the personification of temptation. It will suffice to quote a passage from the celebrated biography of St. Thomas Aquinas written by Bernard Gui (circa 1262-1331). In this work the author comments that for Aquinas the sight of a "beautiful, imprudent girl, [was] as though [seeing] a serpent with a human face." See Bernard Gui, "Vita S. Thomae Aquinatis," in *Fontes Vitae Thomae Aquinatis*, ed. D. Prümmer (Toulouse: Privat Bibliopolam, 1929) fasc. 3, 174-175. See also Morrison, *History as a Visual Art*, 185.

Salome is depicted as a *joglaresa* who plays a round frame drum with jingles in duo with a lute player. Her depiction as a professional performer identifies her as a potentially sinful woman. Here, the lasciviousness and seduction associated with contemporaneous female performers seems to be appropriately bestowed on the infamous biblical character who achieves deadly revenge through the seduction of a king. And while the frame drum confers immoral connotations onto the image of Salome, it further associates the character with the contemporaneous female professional musicians whose "sin" was the challenging of the established Christian, Jewish, and Muslim order for women.[22] In this way, the frame drum in the scene helped trigger associations of lust, seduction, and prostitution that translated into misogynous sentiment not only directed against the evil Salome, but also against the professional female performers of the artist's time.

A situation is similar in literature. We have seen in previous chapters how women who perform music before an audience had to be free of any connection with seduction and prostitution either by a writer's promulgation of their virtue or by the performer's first-person explanation about her proper status and intentions.[23] We also have seen how, in art, it was sometimes necessary for the artist to express the virtuous character of a female performer by either identifying her by name, covering her head, or adding chaperones to the scene. For these reasons, we might conclude that in most cases the appearance of an unidentified female frame drummer in the literature might have almost instantly triggered a web of associations in the mind of the medieval audience that culminated at least in her identification as a lustful and sexually charged character.

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[22] See chapter 5: 4.

[23] For this information, see chapter 5: 4.

A good example of such an occurrence can be seen in verses 469-472 of the fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor,* where the image of the *cantadera* simultaneously singing and dancing to the accompaniment of her *pandero* enhances the erotic character of the passage:

> Who can understand the disposition shown by women,
> or their wicked behavior and evil knowledge;
> Whenever they are hot and want to do some evil,
> they let body and soul and their reputation go to ruin.
> After a gambler loses his shyness at the playing table,
> if he loses his cloak he then bets his underwear;
> after the *cantadera* sings the first song,
> her feet always move and the *pandero* suffers.
> For weaver and *cantadera* never stop moving their feet,
> at the loom and at the dance they always move their fingers;
> even if a shameless woman is offered a price worthy of ten times the city of Toledo,
> she would not give up indulging in shameless cravings;
> I have already told you not to forget your lady,
> a woman, a garden, and a mill need constant use;
> they don't enjoy secret holidays,
> as the troubadour says:
> she does not tolerate to be forgotten.[24]

Just as in the visual sources examined above, here the *pandero* played by a professional female performer or *cantadera* operates as a symbol of lust and seduction that together with other elements of the poem enhances the passage's misogynous message.

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[24] "Talente de mugeres quien lo podria entender, / sus malas maestrías e su mucho malsaber; / quando son ençendidas e mal quieren fazer, / alma e cuerpo e fama, todo lo dexan perder./ Desque pierde vergüença el tafur al tablero, / si el pellote juega, jugará el braguero; / desque la cantadera dize el cantar primero, / siempre los pies le bullen e mal para el pandero. / Texedor e cantadera nunca tienen los pies quedos, / en el telar e en la dança siempre bullen los dedos; / la muger sin vergüenza, por darle diez Toledos, / no dexarié de fazer sus antojos azedos. / Non olvides la dueña, dicho te lo he de suso, / muger, molino e huerta sienpre quieren grand uso, / non se pagan de disanto en poridat nin a escuso, / nunca quieren olvido: tobador lo compuso." For a study and commentaries of this text, see Juan Ruiz Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Alberto Blecua (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996), 124; and Juan Ruiz*, Libro de buen amor,* ed. Joan Corominas (Madrid: Gredos, 1967), 199-200.

Similarly, in verses 704-705 of the same work, frame drums are used in the poetic text to symbolize lust and deception. In this passage an old hag known as an *alcahueta*, a deceitful woman who among other things arranged sexual encounters between men and women, explains that: "the role of go-between is a hidden one, we conceal more secrets than a neighborhood inn does; if all the women in this village to whom we sell jewels knew about each other there would be a lot of trouble; many weddings we put together that end up in complaints; we sell many *panderos* whose jingles are mute."[25] Here the frame drum *pandero* symbolizes simultaneously both lust and deception. On the one hand, it contributes to the general sexual imagery of the passage by reminding the audience of lascivious players such as the *cantadera* already mentioned above. On the other hand, that its jingles do not produce any sound as should be expected further emphasizes the deceitful nature of the *alcahueta*. Once more, as in the case of the depictions of the Moabite women in the Pamplona Bible and Salome in the *Reaule,* the instrument is used to trigger negative concepts that guide the audience to a misogynous reading of the text.

4.2 THE FRAME DRUM AS A SYMBOL OF THE PAGAN "OTHER"

Even though frame drums were actually widely used in medieval Iberia, their connection with different biblical characters prompted artists and their audiences also to identify them as emblems of the ancient Hebrews and the Old Testament. However, this

[25] "…ofiçio de correderas es de mucha poridat, más encubiertas encobrimos que meson de vezindat. Si a quantas d'esta villa nós vendemos las alfajas sopiesen unos de otros, muchas serian las barajas; muchas bodas ayuntamos, que vienen a repantajas, muchos panderos vendemos, que non suenan las sonajas." For a study and commentaries of this text, see Juan Ruiz Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Alberto Blecua ed. (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996), 175; and Juan Ruiz *Libro de buen amor,* ed. Joan Corominas (Madrid: Gredos, 1967), 270, 272.

connection had a double edge since the perception of the Jews in medieval Europe was a mixture of, as John Van Egen had put it, "intimacy and distance."[26] On the one hand, Jews were considered historical relics and the living witnesses of the Old Testament, and on the other hand they were seen as the Christians' inveterate theological enemies.[27]

Since, as we have seen, frame drums not only operated as ambivalent symbolic objects, but also reflected the complex and conflicting perception of the Jews in medieval Europe, these instruments were contextually used as either positive or negative emblems for the "good" or "bad" Old Testament Hebrews. Of course, in their negative form the instruments served anti-Semitic propaganda. The use of the instruments to fire anti-Jewish sentiments in the audience is perhaps best represented in a non-Iberian source: a *Bible Moralisée* (*Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliotek*, Codex Vindobonensis 2554, folio 61v). This work, produced in Paris during the first half of the thirteenth century, was essentially a picture book whose function was to provide moralistic exegetical commentaries designed to uncover the contemporaneous meaning of the scriptures. Among the hundreds of representations of biblical passages found in this manuscript, we see a depiction of Jephthah's daughter welcoming her father home with a square frame drum (Judges 11: 34-35).[28] In this case, the frame drum in her hands seems to not only reflect the biblical text, but also, as in the case of Miriam, to identify her as an ancient

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[26] John Van Engen, "Introduction: Jews and Christians Together in the Twelfth Century," in *Jews and Christians in Twelfth Century Europe,* ed. Michael A. Singer and John Van Engen **(**Notre Dame**:** University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 2.

[27] Dwayne E. Carpenter, "Social Perception and Literary Portrayal: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Spanish Literature," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: G. Braziller & The Jewish Museum, 1992), 62.

[28] "reverenti autem lepthae in Mashpa donum suam occurrit unigenita filia cum tympanis et choris non enim habebat alios liberos." (When Jephthah returned to his house at the Mispha, his daughter came out to welcome him with frame drums and dances.) A frame drum is commonly depicted in her hands since the biblical text mentions the use of a *tof/tympanum.*

Hebrew. However, in the commentary that follows the passage, the biblical heroine is compared with Synagogue who "comes before Christ and celebrates worldly things that are deniers and the flesh."[29] In this context, the association of the instrument with women's sexuality and Judaism, both censured by the Christian producers of the manuscript, take precedent, turning the instrument into a negative symbol that induced anti-Semitic feelings within the audience.[30]

In Iberian art, the frame drum was also manipulated for anti-Semitic purposes. A perfect example of this can be found in one of the Pamplona Bibles (Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 108, fol. 64v) that was produced by the church not only as an effort to guide King Sancho VII of Navarre (1160-1234) in his duties as a Christian king, but also to persuade him to stop his tolerance of the Muslim and Jewish faiths.[31] On folio 52v of this manuscript, an illumination that illustrates the "adoration of the golden calf" (Exodus: 32 4-6) shows a group of men playing square frame drums before a horned idol [fig. 55]. Even though in this instance the biblical text does not give any indication of musical instruments being used during the occasion, the illuminator has

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[29] *Bible Moralisée,* Codex Vindobonensis 2554 fol. 61v. For a facsimile edition of this manuscript see Gerald B. Guest, *Bible Moralisé Codex Vindobonensis 2554 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliotek: Commentary and Translation of the Biblical Text* (London: Harvey Miller, 1995).

[30] The *Bible Moralisées* were essentially picture books that included exegetical commentaries. They work as a kind of instructional manuals in which moralist commentaries were designed to uncover the contemporary meaning of the scriptures. For a complete introduction to these manuscripts see Guest, *Bible Moralisé*. See also Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

[31] Not only did Sancho permit Jews to inhabit certain cities and do guard duties in castles, but there were also rumors of a liaison between him and a Moorish princess. These and other liberal policies of the King were strongly criticized by the church of his time. See Francois Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles: A Facsimile Compiled from Two Picture Bibles with Martyrologies Commissioned by King Sancho el Fuerte of Navarra (1194-1234) Amiens Manuscript Latin 108 and Hamburg Ms. I, 2, lat. 4, 15* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 6-10, 21.

included the frame drum to influence the viewer against the infamous worshipers. Here, the instrument operates as a symbol of paganism because of its ancient association with the pagan rituals of Antiquity, a connection communicated to the medieval culture by the writings of the early Church Fathers. Furthermore, the association of frame drums with the nightly Islamic performances known as *zambras* might have further connected the characters with impious non-Christian Iberians such as Jews and Muslims. Thus in this representation the frame drum seems to have operated as a symbol for the pagan "Other," which probably prompted the association of the ungrateful Israelites with the contemporaneous enemies of the Christian faith.[32] The product was anti-Semitism.

This identification of the instrument with the pagan "Other" can be also seen in the representation of the "Doubting Thomas" carved in one of the columns of the twelfth-century lower cloister of the Monastery of Silos [fig. 34]. While in the main section of the work we see a depiction of Thomas putting his finger into Jesus' wounds in front of the other Apostles, at the margins of this scene we encounter two females playing frame drums and two males playing horns, all standing on the battlements of a city wall. As we have seen, the headdresses and beards of these characters already implicate them as being Muslims or Jewish. The appearance of the frame drums here further identifies them as members of these religions who, by not acknowledging Christ and his resurrection, remain in the margins of salvation separated from the main scene by city walls. As in the case of the illumination from the Pamplona Bible, the frame drums in this representation operate as symbols of the "Other" because of their ancient association with paganism,

[32] The association of the ancient pagans and the infidels is common in medieval art. See Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 106-108.

their contemporaneous connection with women who operated beyond the margin of medieval Christian society, and contemporaneous Jewish and Muslim cultures.

Thus, the association of the frame drum with the Old Testament prompted its use as a marker or banner of Semitism even though in real life Christians and Muslims also performed on this type of instrument. Further historical connections with ancient paganism and female sexuality seemed to have helped mold the perception of the instrument as one that identified and vilified those who existed at the margins of Christianity.

5. Positive Symbolism of the Frame Drum

Frame drums were also used in iconographical sources as positive symbols that generated piety and understanding of the divine plan of God. Despite the heavy burden of negative associations explained above, this was achieved by placing them appropriately in relation to elements in the composition or as part of contexts that stimulated positive religious reading. In certain situations they operated on a simple level as signs of biblical worship, and at a deeper level as messianic symbols of divine justice.

5.1 The Frame Drum as a Symbol of Worship and Divine Justice

As I have explained, at least in medieval Iberia, frame drums were always used to illustrate the instrument(s) played by Miriam and other Israelite women in Exodus 15:20: "The prophetess Miriam, Aaron's sister, took a frame drum, and all the women followed her with frame drums and dances."[33] The use of frame drums instead of other percussion

[33] For this text, see chapter 3, n. 26.

instruments shows a careful understanding of the meaning of the nouns *tof/tympanum* that appear in the original texts.[34] This care should not come as a surprise to us since in Iberia biblical texts were considered not only to be the carriers of a religious message but also to be historical documents (*veritas hebraica*).[35] Thus, we can say that the interpretation of the Scriptures was a sort of middle way between the old school of Alexandria that saw biblical musical instruments as allegorical symbols and the school of Antioch that understood them as real historical objects that were used by the ancient Hebrews in the worshiping of the Lord.[36] In their historical context, frame drums were seen as the ancient instrument used by the Biblical Hebrews to worship the Lord as testified in Exodus 15:20 and Psalms such as Psalm 67:26 ("...the processions of my God… [with] young female frame drum players/*tympanistriarum*"),[37] and Psalm 80:3 ("…beat the *tympanum*...for our feast day").[38] Similarly, we find the frame drum mentioned again as a tool for worshiping God in Psalm 149:1-3 ("Sing a new song to Yahweh...play to him on *tympano* and *psalterio*..."),[39] and in Psalm 150:3-4 ("praise God with...*tympano* et *choro*, *chordis* et

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[34] Examples of representations of Exodus 15:20 which Miriam plays a cylindrical drum (*tabl*) instead of a frame drum can be found in the corpus of Byzantine art. Good examples can be seen in an eleventh-century Octateuch from the collection of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Gr. 746, fol. 194, and in a thirteenth-century Psalter housed at Berlin's Staatliche Musee, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupfertichkabinett, Ms 78 A 9, fol. 243v.

[35] This prompted the use of their information in historical chronicles such as the *General Estoria* of Alfonso X. See Menéndez Pelaez, *Historia de la literature española*, 260.

[36] For the theories of both schools, see chapter 2, 5.1.

[37] "Viderunt ingressus tui Deus ingressus Dei mei regis mei qui est in sancto, praevenerunt principesconiuncti psallentibus in medio iuvencularum tympanistriarum."

[38] "Sumite psalmum et date tympanum."

[39] "Alleluia cantate Domino canticum novum…laudent nomen eius in choro in tympano et psalterio…."

organo").[40] The invocation of the instrument in the context of religious praise can also be found in other biblical passages such as Job: 21:12 and Isaiah 24:8, where God is thanked with frame drum and string instruments: *tympanum et cithara.*

However, even if frame drums were identified with the honorable Miriam and the grateful female Hebrew performers of Psalm 67:26, their ancient association with female sexuality and their widespread use in medieval Iberia by "sinful" professional female performers made the representation of the instrument in the hands of any women ambivalent. For this reason, some artists were prompted to add other elements to their compositions to clarify the virtuous character of the females represented. Thus, the illuminators who illustrated Exodus 15:20 in the Mozarabic Bible of 960 [fig. 31], the Pamplona Bibles [fig. 56], and the Romanesque Bible of León [fig. 35] added texts to show that the females holding frame drums were Miriam (*Maria*) and her companions (*mulieres*) to avoid any confusion between these women holding frame drums with the ill reputed *joglearesas* and *cantaderas*. Similarly, some Jewish artists, when depicting the biblical heroine and the Israelite women in their *Haggadot,* ensured the correct perception of Miriam as a worthy female by showing her with her hair covered, a symbol of humility and piety among women of all three religions [fig. 37, 43].[41] Furthermore, in depictions in which Miriam is represented with her hair down, other characters in the

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[40] "Cantate Domino canticum novum…laudent nomen eius in choro in tympano et psalterio psallant ei."

[41] During the Middle Ages, loose hair was considered both a symbolic marker that denoted virginity and at the same time desire. This stood in juxtaposition with concealed hair, an indicator of married women, matrons, or pious females. It seems clear to me that the depiction of loose hair in the company of the frame drum was used and understood as a symbol of sexual desire. See Esther Corral, "Feminine Voices in the Galician-Portuguese cantigas de amigo," in *Medieval Woman's Songs*, ed. Anne L. Klinck and Ann Marie Rasmussen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 84-86; and Danielle Régnier-Bohler, "Imagining the Self," in *A History of Private Life: Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. Georges Duby and Philippe Ariès (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1988), 362.

composition appear with their hair covered. These figures, who in some cases seem to be older chaperones who appear to be guarding the young women of the musical scene, are carefully placed to endow the scene with the proper religious meaning — transferring a necessary sense of propriety that prevented identification of the female frame drummers with negative models.

While the frame drum was identified in the hands of Miriam as a tool used by the ancient Hebrews in their praising of God, it is also possible that it was seen in the context of Exodus 15:20 and the Psalms as a symbol of divine justice. This is suggested by a non-Iberian depiction of the instrument that can be seen in the *Effects of Good Government*, a fresco painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena between 1337 and 1339. In this depiction we observe a female simultaneously singing and playing a large round frame drum with jingles to accompany a group of women dancing [fig. 65].[42] This merry scene in principle represents one of the joys that can be achieved in a city by the acts of a good government that is ruled by Justice. In this context the dance represents the social harmony granted by a fair and just administration.[43] A similar depiction of justice in which we find a woman playing on a frame drum can be seen in one of the representations of the Virtues in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padova painted by Giotto. Under the main panel the painter, imitating the texture of marble, represented a musical scene that shows two women dancing and one playing a round frame drum. As in the

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[42] The idea that these characters are women has been challenged by Jane Bridgeman, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Dancing Maidens: A Case of Mistaken Identity," *Apollo* 133 (1991): 245-251. However, the gender of the players does not affect the idea that the instrument was associated with justice.

[43] The *Effects of Good Government* is placed in the room in relation with another fresco known as the *Allegory of Good Government* whose main motive is the representation of justice against the private interest of some. For a study of these pieces, see Enzo Carli, *Sienese Painting* (New York: Sacala, 1982), 40-43.

case of the Sienese fresco, the image shows the blissful life that can exist when justice prevails.[44]

What I propose, based on the Italian images and the text of Exodus 15:20, is that the frame drum in these Italian scenes is used to emphasize the concept of justice because such an instrument was performed by Miriam not only after God brought the Israelites to safety on a shore of the Red Sea, but also after his merciless destruction of their Egyptian oppressors.[45] Thus, the associations of the frame drum with the biblical passage probably prompted Lorenzetti and Giotto to use it as another symbol of civic justice. Similarly, in the context of the Iberian depictions, the frame drums of the Peninsula were most probably understood not only as symbols of ancient reverence, but, perhaps more importantly, as a symbol of God's righteousness and justice.

Both the mention of frame drums in Psalms as an instrument used to worship God and the popular use of these instruments by contemporaneous male professional musicians seemed to have prompted the representation of one of King David's minstrels as a frame drummer in the portal of the church of Saint Isidore in León [fig. 49].[46] Here the instrument was turned into a symbol both of royal music and of homage to God because of its contemporaneous connections with pilgrimage, paraliturgical worship and civic celebration. Since the frame drum in this case was divorced from its connection

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[44] See Elenora M. Beck, *Giotto's Harmony: Music and Art in Padua at the Crossroads of the Renaissance* (Florence: European Press, 2005), 108-109.

[45] This theme of protection and the destruction of enemies was, of course, a common theme of the Psalm prayers. Good examples are found in Psalm 9:3-5 and Psalm 545-6.

[46] Other examples of such iconographical themes can be seen in one of the illuminations of the manuscript known as the *Morgan Library Old Testament* (New York, Morgan Library Ms. 638, fol. 39v.).

[46] *Bible Moralisée,* Codex Vindobonensis 2554, fol. 61v.

with women, there was no danger of misreading the instrument as an allegory of female sexuality, as in the representations of Miriam explained above.[47] However, as in the depictions of the Exodus passage, the instrument was understood as a symbol of worship. It is perhaps in this light that we need to understand those depictions of females or males holding frame drums sculpted in Christian religious buildings. In these cases, the web of associations led the viewer most probably to understand the frame drums as symbolizing biblical worship, royalty, and even perhaps the promise of divine justice such as the one enjoyed by the people of Israel in Exodus 15:20.

Thus, frame drums in the hands of Miriam or one of King David's minstrels, as well as other unidentified male or female figures that dwell in religious Christian buildings, seemed to have been used to symbolize worship and divine justice. While in the case of female representations the association of the instruments with lust and female sexuality made it necessary for the artists to show the virtue of the characters by labeling them or depicting them with their head covered, male figures did not need identification because in their hands the biblical *tof/tympanum* took on different connotations.

5.2 THE FRAME DRUM AS A SYMBOL OF CHRIST ON THE CROSS AND THE OLD TESTAMENT'S ORDER

We find both the round frame drum without jingles and the square frame drum held by bearded male figures wearing crowns represented as part of the sculptural program of the thirteenth-century southeast portal of the Cathedral of Burgos [figs. 36, 57]. Similarly, a square frame drum appears to be held by another crowned but beardless

[47] As we have seen in chapter 5, male professional performers seemed to have been for the most part welcomed by the establishment. They obviously did not seem to have suffered from any of the sexual innuendo that professional females had.

male figure in the archivolts of the *Majestad* portal of the Collegiate Church of Toro [fig. 58]. In both cases these performers form part of a group of similar male figures who hold different types of contemporaneous musical instruments. These crowned players are none other than the twenty-four Elders who are described as "singing a new song" around the throne of the Lamb of God in the book of the Apocalypse (Revelations 5: 8-9).[48] And while in the biblical texts these characters are described as playing the plucked string instrument *cithara*, in the archivolts of Burgos and Toro they are depicted playing all sorts of contemporaneous instruments such as the lute, the bagpipe, and the pipe and tabor. As we observed in chapter 3, this artistic freedom derives from the need to represent and actualize the instruments mentioned in the Scriptures with those easily recognized by a contemporaneous audience. However, considering the tremendous and complex symbolic character, both of the frame drum and the book of the Apocalypse, the instrument's depiction in the hands of one of these elders might not only correspond to a modernization of the scene, but also to a well-calculated language of symbols.

On a primary level, the role of the instrument as a symbol for biblical worship fits perfectly in this context. However, there might be more to it. In popular exegetical commentaries that circulated in medieval Iberia, such as the one by Haymon of Auxerre (circa 850), the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse are identified as the twelve

[48] "Et audivi vocem de caelo tamquam vocem aquarum multarum et tamquam vocem tonitrui magni et vocem quam audivi sicut citharoedorum citharizantium in citharis suis et cantabant quasi canticum novum ante sedem et ante quattour animalia et seniors et nemo poterat discere canticum nisi illa centum quadraginta quattour milia qui empti sunt de terra."

prophets of the Old Testament and the twelve Apostles of the New Testament.[49] In other words, in the medieval imagination these characters personified an union between the pre-Christian and post-Christian sections of the Bible. This juxtaposition is clearly stated in an inscription found in the crypt of the French cathedral of Anagni that reads: "The elders that worship the lamb are twenty four, they are the doctors of the old and new law."[50]

This notion of the new against the old can be found in the Old Testament.[51] For example in Psalm 33 we find an invitation to worship the Lord with a "new song on the *cithara* and a ten string *psalterium*."[52] Similarly, in Psalm 149:1-3 we read: "Sing a new song to Yahweh, play to him on *tympano* and *psalterio*." The medieval Christian concept of what this "new song" meant is clearly stated by Augustine who explains it as a symbolic call to the faithful to "Divest from what is old."[53] At the same time, Augustine in his commentary on Psalm 80 interprets the *tympanum* as a symbol of the old religious order.[54] Thus, in the juxtaposition between the old and the new laws represented by the

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[49] See Nanie Bridgman, Les themes musicaux de l'Apocalypse, Leur signification spirituelle et leur interpretation dans les miniatures (Todi: Presso l'Accademia Tudertina, 1973), 199; Louis Réau, Iconographie de L'Art Chrétiene vol 2: Iconographie de la Bible (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), 690; and Alicia Gonzáles de Buitrago, "Los Ancianos del Apocalipsis: Representaciones Musicales en la Fachada Meridional de la Catedral de Léon," Revista de Musicología 20/2 (1997): 7.

[50] "Qui laudant Agnum Seniores bis duodeni, Hos Vetus et Nova lex doctores contulit aevi." For this text and interpretation, see Réau, *Iconographie de L'Art Chrétiene*, 690.

[51] See Beck, *Giotto's Harmony*, 147.

[52] Psalm 23: 2-3: "Confitemini Domino in cithara, in psalterium decem chordarum psallite cantate mi canticum novum."

[53] St. Augustine *Enarrationen in Psalmos*. Ps. 23. For a discussion of this Psalm, see D. W. Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 127-132.

[54] Psalm 80:1-2 **"**"Adsumite carmen et date tympanum." For a commentary on Augustine's interpretation of the opening of this Psalm, see Daniela Costa, "Sant'Agostino e le allegorie degli strumenti musicali," *Rivista Italiana de Musicologia* 28 (1993): 218. For more discussion about this Psalm also see Robertson, *A Preface*, 127-132.

Elders of the Apocalypse, the frame drum takes a new meaning. Because of its association with Miriam and the Psalms, and because of Augustine's connection of the frame drum with the old ways, the instrument becomes an indicator of the Old Testament and its people. Thus, since the Elders of the Apocalypse were interpreted as the combination of the Old Testament prophets and the New Testament apostles, I suspect that a frame drum in the hands of one of these crowned figures from Burgos or Toro helped identify him as a pre-Christian "doctor."[55]

But there seems to be yet another important meaning attached to the instrument, especially in the context of the prophets of the Old Testament: Christ on the Cross. We can trace the use of the frame drum as a symbol for Christ to allegorical interpretations of the frame drum mentioned in the Scriptures by some of the Church Fathers and exegetes. As we have seen in chapter 2, the wood and animal skin of frame drums played a major role in the interpretation of the instrument's symbolism. In their search for the allegorical exegesis and a typological connection between events of the Old and New Testaments, Christian writers saw the nailing of animal hide to the wood of the instrument's frame as an allegory of the flesh of Christ stretched and nailed to the wood of the cross.[56] Since a few examples of this allegorical interpretation have been given already, it only will be necessary to quote a couple here. In Augustine's commentary on Psalm 149, the stretched skin of the frame drum is interpreted as the flesh of Christ: "In the *tympanum* [there is]

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[55] If this is correct, other instruments that appear in the hands of the Elders may also operate as such identifiers, but this is beyond the scope of my study.

[56] See chapter 2, and Helmut Giesel, *Studien zur Symbolik der Musikinstrumente im Schrifttum der alten und mittelalterlichen Kirche: von den Anfängen bis zum 13. Jahrhundert.* Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, 94 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1978), 46.

the crucified flesh."[57] Similarly, in the explanation of Psalm 150 written by Rupert of Deutz (1075-1129) we find that the frame drum is associated with the figure of Christ on the Cross by the act of playing the instrument: "our David played the frame drum (*tympanizabat*) as he hung from the cross."[58] As we can see, in the writings of some medieval Christian spiritual leaders, the frame drum in some contexts was not seen as a negative symbol of the flesh, worldly things, and lust, but was understood as an allegory for Christ and his sacrifice. In this light and in the framework of the Psalms the instrument was stripped of its negative associations and transformed into a messianic symbol. Based on this premise, I would like to suggest that in the hands of the Elders of the Apocalypse, in the mind of a viewer who knew commentaries on the Psalms, frame drums triggered not the negative image of flesh, but rather the flesh of Christ stretched on the cross.[59]

Thus, it is perhaps in the archivolts of the Cathedral of Burgos and the collegiate Church of Toro that the frame drums found their most complex role as symbols. At a primary level, in the context of the Apocalypse and in the hands of men the frame drums' association with the Hebrews from Exodus and the Psalms prompted its recognition not only as a symbol of biblical worship but also of Old Testament prophecy. With this, the

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[57] *PL* 36, 306: "Tympanizabat id est crucifigebatur, in ligno extendebatur."

[58] *PL* 170, 20: "Nostre David tympanizabat pendens in cruce." See also Hugo of St. Victor *PL* 177, 418: "Nostre David tympanizabat, corpore super lignum cricis extenso."

[59] The *cithara* was also allegorically associated with the passion of Christ by medieval exegetes such as Haymo Halberstatensis (ninth century). It has been suggested that the depiction of this type of instrument in connection with representations of the crucifixion was meant to create a correlation between the two. There are in Iberia many examples of the crucifixion in tympana that are surrounded by Elders of the Apocalypse performing on *citharae*. See Francesc Vicens Vidal, "La idea de la Passio Christi en la iconografía musical románica: textos y contextos para una interpretación allegórica," *Codex Aqvilarensis* 21 (2005): 90-106. It is in this same context that I see the representation of frame drums. Because of their exegetical meaning both the *cithara* and the drum in the hands of an Elder of the Apocalypse allegorically referred to the passion even in cases where the image of the crucifixion was not present in a tympanum.

juxtaposition of the Old and New Testaments ascribed to the depiction of the scene was further emphasized. At a deeper level, the interpretation of the instrument as Christ stretched on the cross, especially in connection with an Old Testament figure, supported typological interpretation bestowing the scene with messianic meaning.

6. Conclusion: The Complex and Ambivalent Symbolism of Frame Drums in Medieval Iberian Christian Art and Literature

The widespread popularity, longevity, and array of functions of frame drums during Antiquity and the Middle Ages turned the instruments into powerful multifaceted and ambivalent symbols. With much care about context and other symbolic objects in the representations, frame drums were manipulated in art and literature to communicate some specific religious and political concerns of the age. On the one hand, because of their ancient connections with fertility rituals and contemporaneous female performers, frame drums were used as symbols of paganism and female sexuality to generate anti-Semitic and misogynous feelings from the audience. On the other hand, as attributes of Miriam and as a symbol of Christ on the Cross, the frame drums were used to represent biblical worship and divine justice. They further operated as emblems for Old Testament prophets, and emphasized the messianic character of figures or scenes to promote the pious understanding of the plan of God in the mind of the audience. Thus, medieval viewers, listeners, and readers reacted to the depiction or mention of frame drums in art and literature by applying a critical evaluation to the context of the representations based on their *memoria* of cultural guidelines.

CHAPTER VIII

Toward a Reconstruction of the Sound Color of Medieval Iberian Frame Drums: A Study of their Structures and Materials

As we saw in the previous chapter, medieval Iberian frame drums have cultural and historical associations implicitly reflecting social and religious concerns. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as musical instruments their primary function was the production of sound. For this reason, a study of these frame drums would be incomplete without attempting a reconstruction of their characteristic timbre. In this chapter I will reconstruct the characteristics of the sound color of the medieval Iberian frame drums by examining the resonant qualities of the instruments' fundamental structures and possible historical materials.[1]

1. THE BASIC ELEMENTS AND HISTORICAL MATERIALS OF FRAME DRUMS

The primary elements that comprise any type of frame drum are a membrane or head made of a semi-pliable material and a frame on which this membrane is stretched and kept tight. The role of the membrane is to produce a sound when set to vibrate by a stroke. The function of the shell is to keep the membrane stretched tight and add resonance to the vibrating drumhead. Historical sources reveal that the membranes of medieval Iberian frame drums were made out of treated animal skin (*corium*, *pergameno*,

[1] Until now, there has not been much of a standard vocabulary that accurately describes the sound quality of instruments. Trying to stay away from subjective impression, an almost impossible endeavor, in this chapter I will attempt to use vocabulary that describes sound quality that is standard or meaningful to organologists and instrument makers. To create a comprehensive vocabulary, historical sources are of little help since the information contained in them is scarce and subjective. Nonetheless, statements about quality of sound found in the literature will be used when necessary or appropriate. Since I am aware that not only people, societies, and cultures react differently to the sounds of musical instruments, but also that sound preference and function can change through time, I will not attempt to imply universal concepts in this study.

pellis, *piel*), and their shells were made out of bent or straight wood (*lignum, madera*). Besides these basic structural elements, resonators such as jingles or bells could be added to the basic structure of frame drums to increase their resonance and therefore their volume.[2]

2. IMPLICATIONS OF THE STRUCTURE OF FRAME DRUMS FOR SOUND PRODUCTION

The structural elements of frame drums such as size, depth, shells' thickness, shape, and the addition of resonators need to be taken into consideration before undertaking an analysis of specific historical materials because of their importance in determining the instruments' production of sound.[3]

2.1 SIZE

In frame drums as well as in other types of membranophones the diameter of the shell is a determinant of the tone production of the instrument.[4] Assuming that the membrane is stretched to an optimal tension and that it vibrates in an environment with

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[2] A round shell furnished with jingles but without a membrane was also used during the time. Following the Sachs-Hornbostel classification method, this type would be considered an idiophone rather than a membranophone because it produces sound by the vibration of a solid material instead of a semi-pliable membrane. Since this type does not qualify as a frame drum, it will not be dealt with in this study.

[3] See Bart Hopkin, *Musical Instrument Design: Practical Information for Instrument Making* (Tucson: See Sharp Press, 1996), 95-96.

[4] This is, of course, counting on a membrane that vibrates at an optimal level of tension. In common practice this is determined by ear. Any membranophone will produce the best possible sound when the vibrating membrane achieves a tension that is proper to the diameter of the instrument. Since animal skin tends to absorb water, the level of humidity in the environment affects the tension of the membrane. On a very humid day or place, a membrane will tend to sound flat and dull because it loses its original tension. On the other hand an extremely dry environment will make the membrane go beyond the optimal level of tension, producing a high pitch. Traditionally, to counteract excessive humidity, frame drum players expose the natural membrane of the instrument to a flame to dry the skin and bring its pitch up. Conversely, when the environment is too dry, the players sprinkle the inside of the head with water to add moisture to the head and bring the pitch down.

proper humidity levels, a small diameter will produce a high pitch and a large diameter will create a low tone. As mentioned before, medieval representations of the instrument, both painted or sculpted, in general show what we can call small and middle-sized instruments.[5] The round types range from 10 to 16 inches in diameter, and square types extend from 10 to 15 inches in width.[6] Under optimal circumstances these dimensions would produce pitches that range anywhere from c and c" (130.81 Hz to 523.25 Hz).[7] This suggests that medieval Iberian frame drums tended to produce a higher and brighter pitch than those large frame drums imported from modern traditional Iranian, Turkish, and Irish music that are customarily heard in early music recordings nowadays.

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[5] For the measurements of the instruments depicted in art, I decided to use the sizes of the head and hand of the depicted performers as reference points. I gave every head a length of 8-10 inches, and the hands a length of 8 inches. Then I visually calculated the size of the instrument in reference to the head or the hand, taking into consideration whether the style of the piece seems to prescribe naturalistic representation. A late source of information about frame drum size is the French sixteenth-century dance master Thoinot Arbeau in his *Orchesography*, a dance manual published in France (Langres: Jehan des Preyz, 1589), who informs us that the round frame drum with jingles of the French Basques had "one foot in diameter, and half foot in depth." For an edition of this work, see Mary Steward Evans, *Orchesography* (New York: Dover, 1967), 47. The measurement called foot during the Renaissance was based on the actual size of a person's foot, so we can hypothesize that the author was describing an instrument of around 8 to 10 inches in diameter and 3 to 4 inches in depth.

[6] Moroccan round frame drums without jingles tend to be from 12 to 20 inches in diameter and 3 to 5 inches in depth. See Lortat-Jacobs, *Musique et fêtes au haut-atlas* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1980), 91-92. In Portugal the head of a square frame drum measures from 8 to 18 inches with depths of 2 and 3 inches. See Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais populares portugueses* (Lisboa: Fundaçao Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982), 398. In the collection of the Horniman Museum of London, we find an early nineteenth-century square frame drum from Toledo (Castile) that measures about 10 inches (25 cm.). See J. L. Jenkins, *Musical Instruments* (London: Horniman Museum, 1970). No reference number is given in this book. For frame drums with jingles, in Iberia we find that while they tend to be from 11 to 15 inches in diameter (the small *tār* used in classical music is sometimes as small as 8 inches in diameter), there is a large Leonese *pandero* that can reach up to 20 inches in diameter.

[7] This is assuming the proper tightness of their skins.

2.2 DEPTH

In terms of the depth of a frame drum's shell, organologists and instrument makers have explained that the height of the shell is not substantial enough to serve as a resonator.[8] Thus, its function is mainly to maintain the membrane in position. However, in the case of the double-headed square frame drum, where the air is trapped inside of the instrument by the two membranes, a deeper shell allows more space for that air to vibrate and produce sound. For this reason, a deeper shell on a double-headed frame drum will help to increase the resonance of the instrument.[9] Similarly, round instruments with a deep shell also seem to add a little more resonance to the vibrating skin than those with a thin shell.[10] This, as we will see next in this chapter, is also dependent on the thickness and material of the shell.

Regarding the depth of the shell of the medieval Iberian instruments, artistic representations where the instruments are either painted from the side or sculpted in three dimensions suggest that the depth of round frame drums shells might have ranged from 2 to 4 inches for round frame drums, and from 1 to 2 inches in square types [figs. 38, 42, 45, 46, 47].[11] The measurements of both diameter and depth suggested by the historical

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[8] The shells of frame drums do not have a particularly important function as a resonator since they are not deep enough to enclose an important amount of air under the vibrating membrane. In deeper drums, such as the members of the cylindrical drum family, the air chamber adds its own resonance to the sound of the membrane and influences the vibration patterns of the drumhead itself. See Sybil Marcuse, *A Survey of Musical Instruments* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975)**,** 120-121, Lortart-Jacob, *Musique*, 92; and Hopkin, *Musical Instrument Design*, 95-96.

[9] I have come to this conclusion after experimenting with instruments of same diameter but different depths under the same environment.

[10] This has been my experience playing round instruments that have shells of different depths. Other players have shared this experience. See Peter Fagiola, "A Discussion of Frame Drums," *Percussive Notes* 15 (1997): 30-31.

[11] As mentioned before, Arbeau, in his *Orchesography*, suggests that during the sixteenth century in France, round frame drum with jingles had shells of at least 3 to 4 inches in depth. See footnote 5.

sources closely correspond to the measurements currently used for "traditional" round and square frame drums made in Iberia and the Maghreb.[12]

2.3 SHELLS' THICKNESS

While the depth of frame drum shells is somewhat important to the overall sound of the instruments, the thickness of the shell is crucial because the degree of its vibration tends to directly affect sound production. In general, a thin shell tends to sympathetically vibrate with the membrane. For this reason, it affects the overall tone quality of the instrument by imparting some of its own sound characteristics. On the other hand, a thick shell tends to conduct little vibration from the instrument's head. Thus, it conveys little of its own sound quality to the tone of the frame drum, and, because of this, it reflects more of the "pure" sound of the membrane.[13]

Information about the thickness of the medieval instruments' shells has to be deduced from traditional models since this information is practically impossible to discern from the iconographical sources because of the difficulty of representing such precise feature in paintings and sculptures. Observation of Iberian and Maghrebi museum specimens and traditionally-made instruments shows that frame drums in these areas tend to be thin: all nineteenth- and twentieth-century instruments that I examined have shells

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[12] By "traditionally" I refer to frame drums that are built using natural products such as wood and animal skin and that are made without the help of modern industrial techniques. My conclusion about the correspondence in size between instruments depicted in medieval sources and modern instruments is based on my own observation and comparison of instruments in museums and private collections with the depictions found in the historical sources. Some of the instruments studied from museum collections will be reference later in this chapter. For information about sizes of traditional instruments, see Lortart-Jacob, *Musique et fêtes*, 92; and Veiga de Olivera, *Instrumentos musicais*, 398-200.

[13] In frame drums, as well as other percussion instruments, the impulse is transferred directly to the body of the instrument.

that vary from as little as one-third to three-quarters of an inch.[14] It is tempting to assume, based on ideas of continuity, that these measurements might have also been common in medieval Iberian frame drums. If this were the case, then the shells would have vibrated sympathetically with the membrane and, therefore, contribute with their own sound characteristics to the overall tone quality of the instruments. Nonetheless, the lack of information prevents us from reaching any safe conclusions about this matter.[15]

2.4 SHAPE

Acoustic research has demonstrated that the reflection of wave patterns tend to be more optimal in round-shaped membranes than in other types including square ones. For this reason, among the family of frame drums the round-shape models will tend to be the most resonant and have more of a defined and sustained pitch than other types.[16] Furthermore, if the round frame drum has only one head, as in the case of our medieval Iberian models, being open on one of its sides increases its resonance because the air is allowed to vibrate freely.[17]

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[14] Besides one eighteenth-century instrument and ten different twentieth-century instruments from my personal collection, I have also looked at the following nineteenth-century frame drums from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York: 843 86-B, 89.4.1920, 89.4.1920 1320, and 452, 79c; and an early twentieth-century specimen from the collection of the National Music Museum: 11,640.

[15] With the proper technique and care both thin and thick pieces of an appropriate type of wood are bendable. For the different degree of wood resistance to bending, see R. Bruce Hoadley, *Undertanding Wood: A Craftsman's Guide to Wood Technology* (Newtown, Connecticut: The Taunton Press, 2000), 87-94, 177-179.

[16] See Hopkin, *Musical Instrument*, 92.

[17] This occurs because more resonance is radiated to the surroundings. See Hopkin, *Musical Instrument*, 92.

On the other hand, in double-headed square frame drums such as our medieval Iberian models the vibrating air is trapped inside the instrument by the two membranes.[18] As the vibrating air is retained within the drum, the shell is constantly excited. The vibration of the shell prompted by the trapped air adds a "woody" sound quality to the overall sound of the membranes.[19] Since the two heads of the square instrument are usually stretched differently, they will be out of phase with each other, producing a tone comprised of unpitched "noise" components that decay more quickly. [20]

Thus, we can conclude that while the medieval Iberian round frame drum tended to produce a strong, round, and clear sustained pitch because of its basic structure, its square counterpart likely had more of a muffled, un-sustained and imprecise tone. Of course, even though the round type seems to have had more of an optimal response to vibration, an ancient but unbroken tradition of making and playing both types testifies that through history each kind has been considered valuable for its own qualities and timbre. The two types have been part of an aesthetic of sound in percussion instruments that was popular during Antiquity and the Middle Ages and that has endured into modern days.

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[18] But even if the air does not freely vibrate outside of these types of frame drums, the flexibility of the second head gives the air enough freedom to move inside them. This avoids a completely dampened and dull sound. This is characteristic of drums with a head on one side and a closed shell on the other. See Hopkin, *Musical Instrument*, 92-96.

[19] A second head provides the instrument with a surface that is parallel to the vibrating membrane. The vibration of the principal drumhead is reflected back against it by the secondary membrane whose function is to vibrate, adding resonance to the instrument. This exchange continues back and forth until the sound dies.

[20] I am not using the word noise here negatively. Instead, I refer to a complex collection of "messy" high frequency components. See Hopkin, *Musical Instrument*, 92-96.

2.5 ADDITION OF RESONATORS

Resonators are objects that are added either to the skin or the shell of frame drums to increase the instruments' resonance and therefore their volume. These devices are usually snares made out of gut strings or twine, or jingles made out of brass. In addition to augmenting the sound of the instrument, these elements also tend to diminish the perception of a definite pitch while sharpening the sound produced by the different strokes of the hand. Their addition likely responds to functional needs such as making the instruments louder, hiding their pitch, and sharpening their response. In addition, the combination of their own sound to the vibration of the membrane and shell results in what we can describe as a complex sound quality. Thus the addition of resonators might be partially or completely generated by an aesthetic preference for the complexity of a sound formed by a combination of two different vibrating elements, rather than solely by a functional need for more sound.

3. FINDING SPECIFIC HISTORICAL MATERIALS

The materials that comprise a musical instrument are important because of the direct influence that they have in its overall sound production. Different materials vibrate or conduct vibration in different ways. Since there are no medieval frame drums that have survived to our day, we have to learn and speculate about these materials and their sound from historical sources alone.[21] However, the information offered by the sources is scant at best. For this reason, the study of the extant data needs to be complemented in other

[21] Even if basic, this information is crucial. For example, the sources inform us that the instruments' shells were made out of wood. This data is important for our reconstruction of sound because a shell made out of this material resonates differently than one constructed from clay or metal.

ways. What I propose is that the fragmentary historical information can be complemented by information about availability of materials in medieval Iberia together with data about materials commonly used to currently build frame drums in culturally related areas. For example, taking as a departure point that frame drum shells were made out of wood, I will present a list of woods that not only were appropriate to build these frames, but that also were available in Iberia during the Middle Ages.[22] Then, considering the possibility of permanence in the tradition of instrument-making as a reflection of continuity in function and sound aesthetics, I will compare conclusions drawn from the research with data about types of wood used in the construction of "traditionally made" frame drums, hoping to find concordances that will help me to narrow down candidates.[23] I will also consider the concordance between historical and modern materials to give weight to conjectures developed from the historical research.[24]

3.1 HISTORICAL MEMBRANES AND THEIR SOUND QUALITIES

Basic information about the material used to produce drumheads can be found in two medieval Iberian dictionaries: the tenth-century *Vocabulario Latino*,[25] and the *Universal vocabulario en latin y en romance* of Alonso Fernández de Palencia (Seville,

[22] To be appropriate for this purpose, the type of wood had to be malleable enough to be bent into a cylinder, and also light enough to be carried in one hand.

[23] As I have explained before, by "traditionally made" I refer to a frame drum that is built with natural products and without modern industrial techniques. This stands in contrast with modern instruments whose shells are made out of plywood or plastic shells and whose membranes are made out of plastic or canvas material.

[24] Furthermore, concordances will also suggest the possibility of an unbroken tradition of instrument making and sound preference.

[25] For an edition of this work, see Claudio and Javier García Turza, *Fuentes españolas altomedievales: El códice emilanense 46 de la Real Academia de la Historia, Primer diccionario enciclopédico de la peninsula iberica* (Caja Rioja: Real Academia de la Historia, 1997), 547.

1492).[26] In the first work we find that the head of the frame drum *tympanum*, a term used in this dictionary to describe a square frame drum, is referred to as *pellis*.[27] Similarly, in the latter the term *piel* is used to describe the vibrating membrane of the round frame drum *pandero*. In this case, both the Latin *pellis* and the Castilian *piel* refer to animal skin. But, although the term "skin" seems to indicate plain animal epidermis, this is not the case. To become a membrane that is capable of producing sound when set to vibrate, raw animal skin has to be turned into a semi-pliable material through a curing process.

There are different methods used to turn animal skin into an optimal vibrating membrane.[28] The two most general types produce either a rather rough and usually uneven membrane often called rawhide, or a thin and smooth vibrating material known as parchment. Both processes are basically the same to a certain point, entailing the immersion of skin in a solution of slaked lime or urine for at least two days. This wash cures the material and softens the hair and fat attached to the skin. Then washing the epidermis with water and carefully scraping both sides of it with a dull blade helps remove hair and natural fat. After the skin is cleaned the rawhide process is finished and the material can be stretched over the shell of an instrument to dry and be used as a vibrating membrane. To produce parchment the skin needs to be further thinned out. Tightly stretching it on a frame and subsequently carefully cleaning the extra hair and fat

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[26] Alonso Fernández de Palencia, *Universal vocabulario en latin y romance* (Seville, 1490)**.** The information about the drumhead can be extrapolated from the information given on the entry of the Latin term *tympanum*. The Latin term is translated as *pandero* made of skin extended on wood: "tympanum: pandero fecho de piel extendida en Madera."

[27] For the full text, see chapter 4, n. 5.

[28] It is hard to specify how many different ways of curing a skin there are or have been. Rawhide curers usually develop their own "secret" ways of processing the skin according to their needs and preferences. However, although the differences between them are meaningful, the basic steps are the same: 1) immersion of the skin in a substance to soften the hair and fat; 2) a wash with water; 3) a removal of hair and fat with a sharp instrument; 4) and a drying of the material.

with a dull knife achieves this. This thin material is then rubbed with a number of different substances to improve the smoothness of the surface, such as pumice powder or stanchgrain, a thin paste comprised of lime, flour, egg whites and milk. The final product is a vibrating membrane that is thin, strong, and smooth on the hand.[29]

While it is possible that both processes were used in medieval Iberia, the historical data seems to indicate that parchment was preferred as a membrane for frame drums and other membranophones in general. For example, we learn from the description of the round frame drum given by Gil of Zamora in his thirteenth-century music treatise *De musica* that the drumhead of the *pandorium* was made out of *pergameno* (parchment).[30] The use of this material in Iberia as a membrane for frame drums is further corroborated by a later source, the *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* of Sebastian de Covarrubias (1611), where the author explains that "skins [for *panderos*] are thinned out in the manner of parchment," which I read as a direct reference to the cleaning and thinning of the stretched skin with a dull knife.[31] Parchment for frame drum

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[29] The smoothness was necessary for parchment destined for books. See Ronald Reeds, *The Nature and Making of Parchment* (Leeds: Elmete Press, 1975), 87.

[30] Before Gil of Zamora, Isidore of Seville already described the membrane of the round *tympanum* as made out of *corium* (leather) in his seventh-century *Etymologiarum*. Here the term is obviously used also to also identify a cured animal skin. See *Etymologiarum* III: 22, 10. For the complete texts and its translation, see Chapter 4, n. 2. Unfortunately, it is difficult to know what specific process was implied by the word *corium*. Isidore himself explains in *Etymologiarum* XI: 79 that *corium* referred to cured animal skin. However, the author does not specify the process. It is obvious that Isidore did not specifically mean what is commonly known as leather (*corium*). This is because the term leather has been used traditionally to describe animal skin that is processed by immersion in a solution of slaked lime for cleaning. After the material is clean, the hide is further exposed to tanning, a process of replacing the natural fats and oils in the skin with other chemicals. This turns the animal skin into a supple or hard strong material that is not apt for drum heads but for bags, armor, clothing and other items in which not only flexibility but also strength are necessary. Thus, we can conclude that Isidore was referring to another type of material in his book. For more information about leather making and its history, see Reeds, *The Nature and Making of Parchment*, 26-28.

[31] "[Panderos:] guarnécense con sendas pieles adelgaçadas en forma de pergaminos." Sevastian de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* (Madrid, 1611).

membranes was also used outside of the Iberian Peninsula for the same purpose. For example, we learn from an anonymous English sixteenth-century text that the membrane of round frame drums with jingles were made of " fine parchment,"[32] and from the *Harmonie Universelle* of Marin Mersenne (Paris, 1636), that "sheepskin [treated] like parchment" was used for frame drum heads.[33]

Thus, these sources indicate that the material that was used in Europe to make vibrating membranes for frame drums throughout the late Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Baroque, was animal skin turned into parchment. [34] Most probably membranes made out of this material were not only preferred for their strength, uniform thickness and smoothness, but most importantly for the sound that they produced.

It is difficult to assess what type of skin was preferred for frame drums in medieval Iberia since parchment could be made out of many different kinds of animal

[32] This description is part of a passage that depicts a musical performance that includes frame drums with jingles. The passage concerning the instruments reads: "timbrels (round frame drum with jingles) were as broad as sieves, having bottoms of fine parchment." For the complete text, see David L. Whitwell, *The History and Literature of Wind Band and Wind Ensemble* (Northbridge, CA: Winds, 1983), 2: 53.

[33] "On les fait ordinairement de peu de mouton, come les parchemins." Marin Mersenne, proposition 16 of the section dedicated to musical instruments of his *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1636).

[34] By calling the skin parchment, the Medieval, Renaissance, and Early Baroque authors might have referred to skin that was processed as the parchment destined to be written upon or close variations of it. However, as we can infer from Covarrubias' statement, it was the manner of thinning out or scraping the skin, which in parchment making involved the stretching of the membrane on a frame, that more than anything else seemed to have identified a prepared skin by the name parchment.

hide including those of deer, pig, goat, sheep, donkey, and calf.[35] And while availability was probably a major factor in choosing the skin type, we should not underestimate a preference for some specific types because of their qualities. Thus, we learn from medieval sources that at least in medieval Christian Europe goat, sheep, and calfskins were generally preferred to make parchment because of their durability, lightness, and thinness.[36] In any case, the historical sources emphasize that the heads of frame drums were "thin," a feature achieved by the combination of the right choice of hide with its proper transformation into parchment.

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[35] Many kinds of animal skin might have been used to make drumheads in Iberia. For example, medieval literature indicates that during the tenth century in Cordoba parchment was made out of sheep, deer and gazelle skins, See Reed, *The Nature and Making of Parchment*, 76; and Joaquín Vallvé, "La industria en Al-Andalus*," Al-Qantara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 1 (1980): 237-238. James Blades explains that other types of skin — such as dog skin, ass skin, pigskin, and even wolf skin — seem to have been used. See James Blades, *Percussion Instruments and Their History* (Westport: The Bold Strummer, 1992), 207. Ass skin has been documented in modern day Italy. See Nico Staiti, *Angeli e pastori: L'immagine musicale della Nativita e le musiche pastorali natalizie* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 1997), 60. This also occurs in Tajikistan and the Caucasus. See Conway, "Daff," 832. Currently, gazelle skin is used among other types of skin for round frame drums in Iraq. See Schéhérazade Qassim Hassan, *Les instruments de musique en Irak, et leur rôle dans le société traditionelle* (Paris: Mouton, 1980), 38. These days, dog skin is also used in Portugal for square frame drums. See Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais*, 39. Fish skin is used for the drumhead of the Middle Eastern frame drum with jingles known as the *riqq* (*rikk*). See Qassim Hassan, *Les Instruments*, 38. Catfish is also used for frame drums in Armenia. See Jean During, "Daf(f) and Dayera," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (Costa Mesa, California: Mazda, 1993), 6:561. Rabbit is used in Colombia for the drumhead of the frame drum with jingles known as *pandereta*. See José Portaccio Fontalvo, *Colombia y su musica* (Bogota, 1995), 2:242. Thus, although the skins of goat, sheep, and calf were probably the most commonly used for drumheads in medieval Iberia, it is also possible that other kinds of animal skins that were available either through local production or importation also might have been utilized for this purpose. The type and age of the animal, the specific section of the body where the skin was taken from, and the treatment used to cure the skins are all determinants of the drumhead's final thickness and quality of sound. It is important to remember that, in general terms, a thicker skin tends to produce a low, opaque, and "round" sound while a thin one often produces a tone of warm quality that is rich in overtones. See Lortat-Jacob, *Musique et fêtes*, 93-94.

[36] See Christopher de Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen: Scribes and Illuminators* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 8-15; and Reed, *The Nature and Making of Parchment*, 1975. 19. The thickness of a skin is measured in ounces. Calfskin thickness can vary from 1.5 to 4 ounces while goatskin from 2 to 3 ounces and sheepskin from 1.5 to 3. As we can see, some types of calfskin can be almost as light or lighter than sheep or goat. The choice of these skins for frame drums might be supported by Marin Mersenne's recording of sheepskin parchment, at least in France, for frame drums' membranes, and by their continuous use in the construction of traditionally-made frame drums in both modern day Iberia and Morocco. See Garcia Trabajo, "El Pandero," 24; and Lortat-Jacob, *Musique et fêtes*, 93-94.

The degree of thickness of a cured membrane determines the instrument's overtone response. While a thick and heavy membrane usually produces a darker tone, a much thinner and lighter skin tends to produce a brighter sound full of high overtones while still projecting a fundamentally clear tone.[37] A predilection for the production of a drum sound full of high overtones might be seen as a reason why light skin thinned out to become parchment was preferred during the Middle Ages for drumheads. This corresponds to the depiction in medieval Iberian art of most frame drums as middle-sized, instruments that under the right circumstances produced more of a bright and high pitch sound than a dark and deep tone.

To summarize, historical data suggests that the heads of medieval Iberian frame drums were made of skin — probably of sheep, goat, or calf — that through a curing process was turned into a thin, smooth, and strong material known as parchment. These features indicate that under optimal circumstances the membranes of these frame drums tended to produce a bright sound full of high overtones.

3.2 HISTORICAL WOODS AND SHELLS

Isidore of Seville, the anonymous author of the Latin-Latin *lexicum* produced in Navarre, the Franciscan Gil of Zamora, and Alonso Fernández de Palencia all explain that the bodies of frame drums were made out of wood (Lat. *lignum*, Spa. *madera*).[38] For frame drums of round shape, this wood needed to be bent into the shape of a cylinder. To achieve this, the medieval constructors probably softened the fibers of the stiff wood by

[37] See Hopkin, *Musical Instrument*, 92-94.

[38] This is in contradistinction to materials such as clay or metal. For Isidore's text, see chapter 4, n. 2. Both Gil of Zamora's and Fernández de Palencia's texts are presented above in this chapter.

steaming the material.[39] This process gives temporary flexibility to the wood, making it malleable enough to be shaped by hand. Another possibility is that the wood used was still green and therefore more flexible than dried wood.[40] This would allow it to bend easily and without much need of moisture.[41] Here it is important to mention that if the shell is not completely cylindrical the tension of the skin might not be even in all of its sides. This would affect the even vibration of the membrane, preventing it from producing an even tone.[42] Conversely, for the body of the square-shaped frame drum the wood did not need to be bent into a circular shell. It only needed four pieces of wood attached to each other to form an angular frame. Therefore, any type of wood that was light would have been appropriate for this purpose.

As in the case of the skins used to make drumheads, it is also difficult to determine what kinds of wood were used in medieval Iberia for the construction of frame drum bodies. However, information about how the instruments were held and played can help us to find some answers. As we have seen, round frame drums were held in one hand, at chest level and away from the body, and square frame drums were held with two hands also away from the chest and in some cases above the head. Furthermore, the sources also revealed that performers simultaneously played frame drums while they were dancing and singing. And while it is impossible accurately to determine if these performances lasted for a long time, common sense tells us that they were probably

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[39] This procedure is used for the construction of "traditionally-made" frame drums around the world. See Albert Jackson and David Day, *Good Wood Hand Book* (Cincinnati: Popular Woodworking Books, 1996), 32. For a complete theory of wood bending, see Hoadley, *Undertanding Wood*, 87-94, 177-179.

[40] This is customarily done in Galicia nowadays by makers of sieves and frame drums. Juanjo Fernández, telephone conversation with traditional music specialist, 24 April 2006.

[41] See Jackson, *Good Wood*, 32.

[42] Lortat-Jacob, *Musique et fêtes*, 94.

substantial in terms of time, meaning that the performers had to carry their instruments in one or two hands without any rest while dancing for long periods of time. This undoubtedly indicates that the medieval Iberian frame drums were made out of light wood because otherwise the players would have had to play their instruments on top of one leg while sitting down, as in the case of the Irish *bodhrán,* or leaning against the chest as in the case of many Puerto Rican *panderetas.*[43] In both cases the medieval performers could not have played and danced freely as the medieval players reportedly did.

While scholars have hypothesized that ash, oak, and chestnut wood were used in Medieval Europe to produce different types of drum shells,[44] the lack of actual specimens prevents us from reaching precise conclusions. However, the fact that ash, chestnut, plane, poplar, and walnut woods are light, bend well, were available in Iberia, southern Europe and/or the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages, [45] and are still popularly used to build frame drum shells in Iberia, North Africa, and the Middle East make them

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[43] This happens because the Irish *bodhrán* is usually made out of high-density heavy wood such as American maple, and the Puerto Rican instruments are made out of heavy mahogany or metal; if made out of light wood, they have been furnished with heavy metal rods that allow for the skin of the instruments to be tightened at will. Nowadays, most factory-made instruments tend to be heavy because of tightening devices, the interest of producing long-lasting and more unbreakable instruments, or because high projection of sound is needed for newer musical spaces and ensemble combinations.

[44] See Jeremy Montagu, *Making Early Percussion Instruments* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 4-7.

[45] To talk about availability is of course relative since products made outside Iberia could have been imported. However, for the sake of reducing the possibilities to a manageable number, I have decided to consider only those items readily available in the Peninsula. It is also important to consider that imported products might have been more expensive and, therefore, they would have increased the price of instruments.

primary candidates in our search for historical materials.[46] And while these types of wood can also be used to make shells that do not require the material to be bent into a cylinder, as in the case of the square frame drum, other types of wood that are not particularly suitable for bending might have also been used. Of different wood types, I only will mention woods of the pine family since in modern-day Iberia these types of soft and light woods are popular for square frame drums shells.[47]

When we talk about the weight of the wood we usually refer to the thickness and density of the material. These features tend to be determinants of the overall sound quality of the frame drum since they accentuate and amplify certain harmonics and partials produced by the vibrating membrane. While high-density woods tend to accentuate the low frequencies of the vibrating membrane, middle to low-density woods have a tendency to emphasize more of its high frequencies.[48]

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[46] These kinds of trees are mentioned in the '*Umdat al-tabib fi ma'rifat al-nabat li-kull labib*, an anonymous Hispano-Arabic work on botanical medicine written during the eleventh or twelfth century describing the flora of the region. The work has been published by Miguel Asín Palacios as *Glosario de Voces Romances, Registradas por un Botánico Anónimo Hispano-Musulmán (Siglos XI-XII)* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1994). More related information can be extrapolated from J. M. Houston*, The Western Mediterranean World: An Introduction to its Regional Landscapes* (London: Longman, 1964), 80-86, 110-123. For the specific bending properties of these types of wood, see Terry Porter, *Wood Identification & Use* (Lewes, East Sussex: Guild of Master Craftsman Publications, 2004); and Jackson, *Good Wood Hand Book, 15*. Chestnut is still used in Iberia to make frame drum shells. See Gemma Salas Villar, "Pandero," in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid: SGDE, 2002), 8:432. For information about ash wood properties in frame drums, see Lortat-Jacob*, Musique et fêtes*, 92; and Philippe Vigreux, "Les Membranophones," in *Instruments de Musique du Maroc et d'al-Andalus*, ed. Catherine Homo-Lechner and Christian Rault (Paris: Foundation Royaumont/CERIMM, 2001), 96. In Kurdistan and the Caucasus, chestnut and plane are preferred nowadays for round frame drum shells. See Conway, "Daff," 832; and During, "Daf(f) and Dayera," 561. For the Middle East and Central Asia, see also Madjt Khaladj, liner notes of *Daf (Tambour Mystique), Dayré & Zan-é saringôshti: Anthologie des Rythmes Iraniens. Vol. 2.* Musique du Monde 92741-2.

[47] See Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais*, 398. For the use of pine in medieval Islamic Iberia, see Joaquín Vallvé, "La industria," 221-225.

[48] See Lothart-Jacob, *Musique et fêtes*, 92.

Following all the previous information, we can conclude that under the right circumstances a frame drum with a shell made of a dense wood will tend to produce a darker sound, while an instrument of the same characteristics but whose shell is made out of medium- to low-density wood will tend to produce a brighter sound**.** Now, all the types of wood that we have mentioned as possible candidates for medieval Iberian frame drum shells because of their lightness are either medium- or low-density woods. Thus, if as I suspect, ash, chestnut, plane, poplar, pine, and walnut were used to make frame drums in medieval Iberia, the shells made with these types of wood would have accentuated the higher frequencies generated by the vibrating membrane.[49]

To conclude, medieval music treatises, dictionaries, and representations of players holding frame drums away from their bodies while dancing reveal that the shells of frame drums were made out of light wood. Most types of wood that not only were available in medieval Iberia, but that are still currently used to make "traditional" frame drum in the modern Iberian Peninsula, the Maghreb, and the Middle East, are medium- to low-density woods. If woods such as ash, chestnut, plane, poplar, and pine were actually used for drum shells in medieval Iberia, the sound produced by these instruments, especially if using membranes made out of the thin sheepskin, goatskin, or calfskin parchment, would have been bright and full of high frequencies. If to this we add the size of the instruments depicted in contemporary art, ranging from a medium to a small size, we can speculate that the medieval Iberian frame drums, unlike many frame drums used nowadays in world music and early music ensembles, were relatively soft instruments that under

[49] The density of wood is measured by kg. per cubic meter. The density of ash wood is 526 kg/cu.m., of chestnut 490 kg/cu.m., walnut 562 kg/cu.m., and plane 539 kg/cu.m. These are medium to low-density woods. Pine and poplar usually have the low density of 300 to 400 kg/cu.m.

proper circumstances produced a medium to a high pitch and a bright sound that was the product of the vibration of both the membrane and the shell.

3.3 HISTORICAL RESONATORS

Historical information in conjunction with modern ethnomusicological and organological data suggest that some round instruments without jingles were furnished with snares, and that the square type had either snares or little bells that were placed inside the body of the instrument. Jingles were also inserted in the shells of round instruments. While the primary purpose of these resonators was to augment the volume of the instruments, we should not underestimate that sound aesthetic might have also played an important role in their addition.

3.3.1 SNARES

As explained before, the late thirteenth-century writer Ibn al-Darrāj explained in his *Kitāb al-imtā' wal'-intifā'* that during his days there was a round frame drum that was furnished with snares stretched across the inside of the membrane.[50] Although the author does not mention the material of the snares, we can hypothesize that they were made out of gut strings since, as can be seen in nineteenth- and twentieth-century museum specimens and in the best quality of "traditionally-made" *bandairs* from Morocco, this has been the material most commonly used for this purpose.[51] Another detail not

[50] For this information, see chapter 4: 5.

[51] This is probably the way the instruments have been made for centuries. Twine is also used in Morocco currently for the snare. However, the best and most traditional instruments always have gut, and I have not found any museum specimen with these kinds of snares. I suspect that twine is a recent alternative to gut, especially for drums that are more souvenirs than real musical instruments.

mentioned in the *Kitāb al-imtā‘ wal’-intifā‘* is the number of snares set across the back of the instrument. The museum and modern instruments that I have observed were furnished with two to five snares.[52] There is no extant information about the use of snares in square frame drums. All that can be said is that modern Portuguese instruments and the best quality of "traditionally-made" Moroccan square frame drums found in museum collections are furnished with snares. [53] While it is possible that, as in the case of the round instruments, this is a tradition that has survived from medieval times to increase the volume of an otherwise a quiet instrument, the lack of extant historical information on the subject only allows us to speculate that this was the case in medieval Iberia.

In practical terms, for the snares to have an effect on the sound of the drum they need to be loose enough to rattle when the skin is set to vibrate by the stroke of the hand. The snares' rattling affect the overall sound of the frame drum by adding high frequency noise components to the pitch produced by the vibration of the membrane.[54] This added "noise" tends to diminish the perception of a definite pitch especially in strokes where the hand bounces and lets the membrane vibrate freely.[55] The snares further give the instrument a sharp, high definition and also increase its volume.

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[52] The number of snares can vary even among instruments of almost the same size. We can see this by comparing two nineteenth-century Moroccan specimens that belong to the musical instruments collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York. One of them, 18 inch in diameter (catalogue number 89.4.1920), is furnished with only two snares. The other one, 17 inches in diameter (catalogue number 452, 79c), has 5 snares. Both instruments have snares made out of gut string.

[53] See Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais*, 399.

[54] In other words, the snare adds a cloud of non-periodic partials to the regular overtone production of the membrane. This cloud of partials extends from 2000 to 5000 Hz. See Craig Woodson, "The Effect of a Snare on the Tone of a Single-headed Frame Drum, the Moroccan Bendir," *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology* 2 (1974): 103-117.

[55] These types of strokes are usually referred to as "open strokes" in contrast to "closed strokes," attacks where the hand stays in contact with the instrument to dampen the sound.

3.3.2 JINGLES

We learn from iconographical sources that metal disc or plates, known as *sonajas* in Castilian, *ferreinhas* in Galician, and jingles in English, were inserted in slots carved around the shells of round frame drums [figs. 39-48]. In terms of their specific material, we learn from the early fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor* that jingles were made of a "yellowish metal" called *açofar,* the medieval Castilian name for brass.[56] The fact that medieval jingles were made out of this "yellowish" material explains why illuminators used gold leaf to represent them in manuscripts.[57] It is also important to mention that the jingles of nineteenth-century museum specimens and the best quality of "traditionally made" Iberian, North African, and the Middle Eastern instruments are most commonly made out of brass.[58]

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[56] The explanation that the term *açofar* equals brass appears in the so-called *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Madrid, 1700). See also Martin Alonso*, Diccionario Medieval Español: Desde las Glosas Emilianenses y Silences (s. X) hasta el siglo XV* (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1986), 1:474. For accounts about the brass industry in medieval Islamic Iberia, see Joaquín Vallvé, "La industria," 215. The use of this type of metal for jingles is not only supported by the fact that jingles were usually depicted in medieval art as yellow (in illuminations this was done with gold leaf), but also by the fact that brass is found in museum specimens and the best quality of "traditionally-made" North African and Middle Eastern instruments.

[57] Brass is a copper and zinc alloy.

[58] Usually, tin is used to make jingles of low-quality instruments. As in modern practice, it is possible that other types of metal also were used for the production of jingles in medieval Iberia. This type of information, to my knowledge, is not found in any medieval Iberian source, but is suggested by other historical European practices. For example, bronze dangling jingles are found in a ninth-century Lithuanian pendant housed today at the Historic-Ethnographic Museum at Vilnius (Lithuania). See Frederick Crane, *Extant Medieval Musical Instruments: A Provisional Catalogue by Types* (Iowa city: University of Iowa Press, 1972), 74. Similarly, the sixteenth-century French dance master Thoinot Arbeau informs us in his *Orchesography* that the frame drum of the French Basques of his day was surrounded by tinny bells and pieces of copper. See Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchesography* (Langres: Jehan des Preyz, 1589). Furthermore, during the early seventeenth century, another Frenchman, Marin Mersenne, records that besides brass, jingles were also made of white iron. See Marin Mersenne, proposition 16 dedicated to musical instruments, *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1636), 324. I will only cover brass in this discussion since, as explained, it is the only metal mentioned in the Iberian sources.

Acoustically speaking, jingles behave like wide and shallow bells that create a number of high harmonics.[59] Their principal role in a frame drum is to increase the resonance and volume of the instrument by adding their characteristic sound to the overall timbre of the membranophone. As in the case of snares, the "noise" added reduces the discernment of the membranes' pitch while providing the instrument with a sharper definition.

The sound production of a brass jingle is determined by the combination of three main factors: the brass plate's diameter, thickness, and hardness.[60] Since two of these elements, thickness and hardness, are practically impossible to be discerned from the iconographical evidence, in principle, an accurate reconstruction of the sound produced by medieval jingles is not a reasonable task. However, it is still possible to get a notion of how medieval Iberian round frame drums with jingles might have sounded by combining extant data about the instrument's musical function with contemporaneous statements about its sound quality.

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[59] See Hopkin, *Musical Instrument*, 49.

[60] The following conclusion has been reached from my own observation of jingles, but also from the experimentation with brass sheets and brass jingles of the same hardness, diameters, and thickness that I conducted with the help and supervision of the instrument makers Joel Robinson and Leslie Ross. First, the diameter of the metal discs is fundamental in determining sound production. For example, if we compare brass jingles of the same thickness and hardness, but different diameters, we will find that the jingles of larger diameter will tend to be lower in pitch and louder in volume than jingles of smaller diameter. For this reason, frame drums with smaller jingles tend to be furnished with a larger number of these types of resonators to achieve the same amount of volume that they can gain with bigger jingles. Thus, bigger instruments need bigger jingles to compensate for the louder sound produced by the skin. If a large instrument is furnished with smaller jingles, probably to maintain a higher pitch, that instrument needs to be furnished with a larger number of jingles to compensate in volume. However, this is not an absolute rule because a change in the thickness of the jingles' brass will produce some radical variations to this premise. For example, if we compare two jingles of the same diameter but one thicker than the other, the thicker piece will tend to produce a high pitch, while a disc made out thin brass will tend to produce a lower pitch. But there is yet one more thing to be taken into consideration: the hardness of the brass. Thus, between two jingles of the same diameter, one made out of hard brass and the other made out of soft brass, the hard-brass jingle will tend to be louder and have a higher pitch than the piece that is softer. As we can see, there are already many confusing variants to the original diameter principle.

Scholars have suggested that the frame drum with jingles was a loud musical instrument (*haut*). This is based on its mention in at least one French thirteenth-century text in connection with other loud instruments such as bagpipes, kettledrums, horns, and trumpets.[61] A similar account can be found in a passage from the Iberian *Cronica del Condestable de Castilla Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo,* where a group of round frame drums with jingles (*panderetes*) is also mentioned as playing in an ensemble comprised by other loud instruments such as trumpets, shawms, and kettledrums.[62]

While this data seems enough to demonstrate that our frame drum was a loud instrument, to my knowledge, every other extant Iberian source where the instrument is mentioned or depicted show that in fact in Iberia different sizes of round frame drums with jingles were commonly used to accompany the human voice, and/or "soft" (*bas*) musical instruments such as the *guitern*, the lute, and the *vielle*. For example, we find a round frame drum with jingles represented in the fourteenth-century *Cancionero de Ajuda* accompanying *guiterns* or *vielles* [figs. 39-41], and in the *Libro de la coronación de los Reyes de Castilla* accompanying a group of singers, a square frame drum, and a *rebec* [fig. 44]. Similarly, the instrument is portrayed accompanying a fiddle at the

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[61] Edmund Bowles has postulated that during the high Middle Ages, musical instruments were divided into two aesthetic and functional groups "haut" and "bas" (loud and soft.). Even though this functional classification was not used until after the late fourteenth century, he explains that the taxonomy was already in place from at least the twelfth century since the grouping of instruments is already clear in the literature of that time. Bowles further explains that the groupings were created according to volume and robustness of tone, and that the *haut* group was particularly enjoyed in festive gatherings. See Bowles, "Haut and Bas: The Grouping of Musical Instruments in the Middle Ages," *Musica Disciplina*, 8 (1954): 115-40. Bowles puts the round frame drum with jingles in the group of loud instruments because it is mentioned in the thirteenth-century anonymous *Échecs amoureux* as being part of a group of *haut* instruments that made a "great noise" ("grant noise qu'ilz faisient"). The instruments included are: "trompez (trumpets), tabours (drums), tymbrez (round frame drums with jingles), naquaires (kettledrums), cymballes (cymbals), cornemusez (bagpipes) et chalemelles (single reed instruments), et cornes de fachon moult belles (beautiful horns)." For the complete text of this passage, see Hermann Albert, "Die musikästhetik der Échecs amoureux," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 3 (1905): 355.

[62] This text is already given in chapter 4, n. 77.

Cathedral of Vic [fig. 46], and playing as part of an ensemble that includes a lute in an illumination from the fourteenth-century *Golden Haggadah* [fig. 42]. Furthermore, the use of the round frame drum with jingles to accompany a soft instrument is also indicated in verse 1232 of the *Libro de buen amor*, where the membranophone is coupled with a *psalterium*: "Sweet full-size *canón* (*psalterium/canun*) come out playing with the *panderete* [that] with jingles made out of brass produces a sweet sound."[63] Thus, even though Edmund Bowles suggests that the round frame drum with jingles was a loud and noisy instrument, the historical sources seem to indicate that at least in Iberia it was mostly used to accompany soft instruments.[64]

The premise that the jingles of medieval Iberian round frame drum were commonly soft seems to be further supported by extant descriptions of the instrument's sound quality. As mentioned above, the round frame drum with jingles (*panderete*) is described in verse 1232 of the *Libro de buen amor* as an instrument that produces a "sweet" sound. The proper meaning of this description is clarified by other medieval

[63] "Dulçe canon entero sal con el panderete, con sonajas de açófar faze dulçe sonete." Juan Ruiz*, Libro de buen amor,* verse 1232.

[64] Of course, I am aware that some instruments, including drums, can sound loud or soft depending on the playing technique used by the performer. However, my experience playing and studying different types of musical instruments, especially frame drums, has shown me that each type of instrument has an optimal point in which it functions at its best: generally at a mezzo-forte level. In the specific case of frame drums, I have experienced that it is at this level in which most frame drums produce the clearest possible tone. It is also important to mention here that the techniques implied by the iconographical sources require a level of energy that makes it difficult for a performer to maintain a *pianissimo* sound. As in the case of modern performers and makers of round frame drums with jingles, our medieval counterparts were surely aware of these important features. Thus, I believe that membranophones made to accompany soft instruments were probably built taking their purpose into consideration.

Iberian literature where the adjective "sweet" is clearly explained.[65] Contemporary dictionaries referred to the word *dulçe* as an adjective that described something "soft" and "peaceful"(*suavidad*, *suavis, apacible*) that causes an "enjoyable" (*grato*) and "pleasurable" (*gustoso*) sensation.[66] The description of the sound quality of the round frame drum with jingles given by Juan Ruiz coincides with the description of the instrument's tone color given two hundred years later by the French dance master Thoinot Arbeau in his sixteenth-century *Orchesography*. [67] In this work the French author describes the round frame drum with jingles (*tambour de basque*) as an instrument that "makes a pleasant sound." [68]

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[65] There might be yet an earlier description of the sound quality of the round frame drum with jingles in Iberia. This description seems to be given by the Jewish philosopher Maimonides (1153-1204) when he explains that the instrument in the Torah called *erus* not only had small metal plates fastened to the wooden frame, but also that these jingles produced a joyful sound. This information is given by Alfred Sendrey in his *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969), 413. The author does not provide the original text.

[66] Alonso Fernández de Palencia in his Universal vocabulario en latin y romance (Seville, 1490) explains: "entonada y dulce suvidad de su voz and grato, gustoso y apacible." Also, Sebastián de Covarrubias in his Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española (Madrid, 1611) explains dulce: suavis chiarus. For this information, see Alonso, *Diccionario Medieval Español*, 976.

[67] See Arbeau, *Orchesography*, 47.

[68] We find in the corpus of musical iconography representations of instruments with jingles that seem to vary from 1½ to 3 inches in diameter. The idea that the instrument was furnished with soft sounding jingles might come as a surprise to someone who is not only accustomed to listen to industrially-made modern frame drums with jingles whose purpose is to accompany bagpipes (as is the custom in some areas of Galicia and Catalonia), but also used on those instruments created to play in rock bands and loud gospel choirs. Furthermore, some might also argue that, in many depictions, the instruments are furnished with very large jingles. It is important to mention that a specialized maker can have a lot of control over the sound quality of the jingles. For example, a maker can radically change a thick and soft piece of brass by pounding on it with a hammer. The hammering will thin out the metal, turning it into a hard material, which in general terms will lower its tone while increasing its volume. However, after the piece is thinned out, the maker can also anneal the brass (heat it to make it soft again). By doing this, the maker can create a large surface that will produce a low pitch and soft tone at the same time. It is also important to mention that irregularities on the jingles, created by hammering or molding their edges, not only help to prevent a dull tone, but also influence the material's vibration. This helps adding different resonances to the metal. See Tabourot [A.K.A. Peggy Sears], *Tambourine! The Happy Sound* (Austin: Tactus Press, 1996), 45-46. Thus, the possibility of changing the original tone and sound quality of a piece of metal gave medieval makers a great amount of control over the resonance produced by the addition of jingles to a frame drum.

Thus, as we can gather from the historical literature, the sound of the round frame drum with jingles was praised for its "enjoyable" "peaceful" and "soft" sound, qualities that made the instrument appropriate to be played in ensemble with soft instruments such as the lute, the *vielle,* and the *guitern*. This conjecture seems to be further supported by the rather soft "rustling" sound with a low-pitched tone produced by the brass jingles inserted in the shell of some museum specimens and "traditionally-made" instruments from North Africa and the Mediterranean.[69] This type of sound, observed even in large brass discs with diameters of up to 3 inches, is the result of jingles being made out of soft and thin brass, or of a mixture of soft and hard jingles.[70] While the timbre of these jingles still helps to increase the resonance of the instruments, their sound also blends well with the overall tone quality of the membrane and shell.[71] These characteristics make these membranophones appropriate for the accompaniment of soft instruments such as the ones

[69] Most of these instruments are 10 to 14 inches in diameter and, therefore, concordant with the sizes depicted in medieval art. Besides two instruments that belong to my personal collection, an eighteenth-century Turkish and a twentieth-century Egyptian instrument, the best examples that I have found is a nineteenth-century Algerian *tār* that belongs to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (89.4.451, 79-c). This instrument's jingles are of thin brass mounted in five double openings around frame. The instrument is 12 inches in diameter, 3 inches in depth, and has jingles of 7.9 inches in diameter. Another notable instrument whose jingles were probably the thinnest I have seen is an early twentieth-century specimen from the collection of the National Music Museum (11,640).

[70] Soft jingles were used throughout the Algerian specimen mentioned in the previous footnote, and a mixture of both can be seen in the Turkish eighteenth-century instrument described in the previous footnote.

[71] For a discussion about the different sounds and pitches produced by brass of different thickness and harness, see footnote 60 of this chapter.

often represented in the corpus of Iberian iconographical sources in ensemble with the medieval Iberian frame drums with jingles.[72]

If true, my hypothesis about the way jingles affected round frame drums should cause a change in the way this type of instrument is made and used by historically informed instrument makers, early music ensembles, and their audience and critics. For the most part, even the most historically informed early music ensembles have tried to find a modern equivalent of the medieval frame drum with jingles in the modern Middle Eastern *riqq*, a heavy and loud tambourine that is used nowadays for classical Middle Eastern music as well as accompaniment to the belly dance.[73] Guilty of having made the same mistake myself, I can attest that it is easy to fall into this reconstruction error not only because the *riqq*'s rather large brass jingles remind us of those shown in the visual sources, but also because the sound of the instrument is beautiful and captivating when played with the correct technique. Furthermore, since the sound is already familiar to some listeners because of its popular use in Arabic music, the sound of the *riqq* fills medieval music recordings with an "oriental feeling" that concurs with the "Islamic influence" in medieval music that many orientalists and musicologists have

[72] A good example of this type of instrument is the modern Moroccan *tār* that is only used to accompany classical North African music. In this type of music, the instrument accompanies orchestras comprised of soft instruments such as the *'ūd* and the *qanun*. See Jean Jenkins and Poul Rovsing Olsen, *Music and Musical Instruments in the World of Islam* (London: Horniman Museum, 1976), 15; Mahmoud Guettat, *La Musique Arabo-Andalouse: L'Empreinte du Maghreb* (Paris: Fleurs Sociales, 2000), 15-25; and Ahmed Aydoun, *Musiques du Maroc* (France: EDDIF, 2001), 7.

[73] For information about this instrument, see Qassim Hassan, *Les Instruments*, 38.

unsuccessfully sought to find.[74] Nonetheless, if this instrument is played following the techniques suggested by our study of historical sources,[75] it cannot be coupled with soft instruments because of the loud sound produced by its large, thick, brass jingles. To avoid this, the instrument can be played following the typical technique used by Middle Eastern players when they perform classical Arabic music. This form of playing the instrument consists of holding it with the two hands in an almost horizontal position, an arrangement that mutes its raucous jingles, and striking the skin and rim with the middle and ring fingers of the hand.[76] However, this is not a technique ever depicted in the historical sources. Thus, instead of using or building a heavy and raucous *riqq*-like frame drum, performers and makers might be able to learn more from some of the North African models with large, but soft and thin, jingles that describe above. A reconstructed frame drum following these examples, played with the techniques suggested in the next chapter, will not only provide a complex sound comprised of the mix of the membrane, wood, and brass vibration, but would not overpower string and wind instruments, such as the ones depicted in the sources.

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[74] For some examples of different positions about this so-called Islamic influence especially in Iberia, see Julián Rivera y Tarragó*, La música de la cantigas: Estudio sobre su origen y naturaleza con reproducciones fotográficas del texto y transcripción moderna* (Madrid: Real academia Española, 1922, reprinted, Madrid: 1989); Martin G. Cunningham, *Alfonso X el Sabio; Cantigas de Loor* (Dublin, University College Dublin Press, 2002), 15-18; and Habib Hassan Touma, "Indications of Arabian Musical Influence on the Arabian Peninsula from the 8th to the 13th Century," *Revista de Musicología* 10/1 (1987): 137-50.

[75] See chapter 9.

[76] The loud sound of these jingles is caused by the use of thick and hard, almost unhammered, brass discs.

4. CONCLUSION: MEDIEVAL MATERIALS, SOUND AND MUSICAL AESTHETIC

This chapter reconstructs the sound qualities of the medieval Iberian frame drums through a study of their structure and possible historical materials. As the research has suggested, because of their sizes and materials, these instruments produced a clear and bright medium-high tone full of high overtones. While none of these instruments had a great volume, instruments of the round shape tended to produce a rounder, clearer, and more sustained pitch than the their square counterparts. Consequently, it is tempting to conclude that the addition of resonators such as snares, and jingles responded to a functional and aesthetic need to increase the volume of the instruments. However, the fact that round frame drums with jingles were used to accompany soft instruments also suggests that resonators might have been used to bestow the frame drums with a complex sound that was aesthetically pleasing to the medieval Iberians.

CHAPTER IX

Recreating the Performance Practice of Medieval Iberian Frame Drums

It seems fitting that after reconstructing the medieval Iberian frame drum's timbre we should follow it up with a study of its performance practice. Some elements of this performance practice, such as ways of holding the instrument, the ensembles in which it appeared, and performance spaces, can still be reconstructed from a rigorous study of historical sources; other elements, however, such as specific playing techniques, are lost to us because of the lack of any extant written music or specialized treatises. Nevertheless, a comparison between elements of performance practice represented in the historical sources with modern musical practices of rural Iberia as well as the Maghreb and Latin America shows correlations that suggest that some elements of the medieval practice have continued into modern times. Thus, in this chapter I will not only review the historical sources for their information about performance practice, but I will also corroborate and expand this information with the help of observations of modern practice that, I believe, illustrate the continuity of the medieval tradition. And although I am aware of the pitfalls of such a method, I believe that if it is rigorously conducted it can still bring us closer to what medieval performance practice was than the common practice of recreating the performance practice of medieval percussion instruments based only on intuition and reinvention. Finally, after a comparative study of the iconographical sources, musical and non-musical literature, and the extant medieval Iberian repertoire, I will present a range of possible repertoires and compositions that might have been performed with the accompaniment of frame drums.

1. ESTABLISHING THE PERFORMANCE PRACTICE OF FRAME DRUMS

The term "performance practice," a designation adapted from the German concept of *Aufführungspraxis*, is used in reference to all aspects involved in the performance of music. This includes elements such as musical notation, improvisation, vocal production, and instrumental playing techniques. The study of performance practice is usually dependent on musical treatises, instruction books, iconographical material, and, in terms of modern music, observation and oral information.[1] In this chapter, the elements of performance practice that will be discussed are: the manner of holding frame drums, the specific ways in which they were set to vibrate and produce sound, their role as solo or ensemble instruments, and the acoustical environment in which they were played.

2. LEARNING HISTORICAL PERFORMANCE PRACTICE FROM MEDIEVAL SOURCES AND LIVE TRADITIONS

Since there are no extant medieval Iberian music treatises or instruction books dedicated to frame drums, information about their performance practice has to be extrapolated solely from contemporaneous literature and art.[2] Therefore, the combination of literary and iconographical sources is crucial for this study since in most cases only the correlation between visual and written materials can help us determine what is actual

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[1] For a discussion of the idea of performance practice, see Howard Mayer Brown, "Performing Practice," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 19:349; and Leslie Lassetter, "Music Iconography and Medieval Performance Practice," in *College Music Symposium,* 31 (1991): 91-116.

[2] The first European treatise in which we find concise information about some percussion instruments and their rhythms is in the *Orchésographie* (Langres, 1588), a dance manual written by the French dance master Thoinot Arbeau. Outside of the Christian sphere, we find several treatises written in the Islamic world (not from Iberia) that deal with rhythm. For this information, see George Sawa, "Theories of Rhythm and Meter in the Medieval Middle East," in *The Middle East*, *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 6:387-395.

documentary evidence.[3] And although valuable information about the instruments' basic playing techniques, acoustic spaces in which they were used, and their function as solo and ensemble instruments can be still discovered by the comparative study of the historical materials, the lack of notated music hinders any further attempts to reconstruct other performative elements such as playing techniques.

Fortunately, observations of the modern frame drum tradition in Iberia, the Maghreb, and Latin America indicate a possible survival of elements of the medieval practice in modern times. This continuity is not only suggested by the concordance between historical data about playing techniques and the traditional ways of producing sound, but also by the correlation between the medieval and traditional functions and the ensembles which include round and square instruments.

The continuity of some of the elements of performance practice our own day can be explained in part by the following two theories. One of them, formulated by sg, purports that "to abandon an instrument when it is still functioning is foreign to any society outside the laws of the modern market economic system."[4] The other, suggested by Febo Guizzi, explains that if historical representations show elements of performance practice found in the present it might be because the artist adhered to cultural and musical

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[3] It is always dangerous to assume that the representations of performances found in the historical sources are photographic documents of a tradition since medium, purpose, and style might play a major role in the creation of a depiction. For the problems of assuming realism in art, see Tilman Seebass, "Iconography," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 12:54-71, and also by the same author "Prospettive dell'iconograpfia musicale," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 18/1 (1983): 67-86. See also Lassetter, "Music Iconography," 91-116; James McKinnon, "Iconography," in *Musicology in the 1980s: Methods, Goals, Opportunities*, ed. D. Kern Holman and Claude V. Palisca (New York: Da Capo Press, 1982), 79-93; and Mary Remnant, "Rebec, Fiddle and Crowd in England," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 95 (1969): 15-28.

[4] Jan Ling, *A History of European Folk Music*, trans. Linda and Robert Schenck (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997), 134.

reality for the depiction of his subject.[5] In other words, he opted to translate a real instrument and a performance practice that were known and understood by him into figurative terms.[6] The correlation between the old and the new shows endurance of both instrument and practice.

Thus, since it seems possible to find vestiges of medieval performance practice in our time, then it is also feasible to reconstruct medieval practice by corroborating and expanding data extrapolated from the historical sources with information obtained from the observation of a living music culture.[7] I recognize the difficulty of this type of research because of the enormous gap in time that exists between the historical sources and modern practices. Furthermore, it is also possible to be misled by something that might accidentally look similar in a medieval source and in today's real life. However, a rigorous method in which we scrutinize historical and contemporary data to make the right associations, follow the closest possible models, and criticize weak links, can offer us a reconstruction of performance practice that is better informed than the more common

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[5] Febo Guizzi, "The Continuity of Pictorial Representation of a Folk Instrument's Playing Technique: The Iconography of the *Tamburello* in Italy," *The World of Music* 30/3 (1988): 28-56. See also his article "Considerazioni preliminari sull'iconografia come fonte ausiliaria nella ricerca etnomusicologica," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 18/1 (1983): 87-101.

[6] This might correspond not only with the artist's intentions to be realistic, but also to precisely fulfill the expectations of a viewer who needed to recognize an actual object and its functions. On the other hand, when the representation of the instrument and its technique contains elaboration or simplification, Guizzi concludes that these deviations might not only have to do with stylistic trends, but also with the faulty reproduction of an object that was not well known. In Guizzi's comparative method, the ethnomusicologist follows a path that is opposite to the one followed by historical musicologists until now, which basically comprises the analysis of historical sources from which general conclusions are extrapolated. In some cases, these conclusions are later related to some modern practices. His original method describes the need to know the objects of research first, in this case the modern frame drums, prior to the study of the historical information. See Guizzi, "The Continuity," 28-56.

[7] This type of comparative study which juxtaposes historical data with modern performance practice, has been used successfully by Werner Bachmann, *The Origins of Bowing and the Development of Bowed Instruments up to the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969); Michael Murrow, "Musical Performance and Authenticity," *Early Music* 6/2 (1978): 233-46; and Guizzi, "The Continuity," 28-56.

approach based on personal intuition, copying of the wrong models, or complete reinvention.[8]

3. PLAYING TECHNIQUES

Even though a detailed observation of the iconographical sources can still give us an idea of how the instruments were held and stroked, the static nature of the sources limits our understanding of how the body of the player was used to set the instrument into sound.[9] Furthermore, it is also possible that in many cases the representations correspond to set iconographical models that were far from being naturalistic.[10] However, approaching the historical sources with an awareness of traditional frame drum performance practice in The Iberian Peninsula and related places presents us with correspondence between the historical data and modern traditional practices. This correlation offers us the possibility to fill in some blanks using the live tradition as a model.[11]

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[8] All these are commonly witnessed in "historically informed" recitals and recordings.

[9] While some renderings, such as illustrations of biblical passages, might not depict an actual performance, the portrayal of the players' hands might show degrees of realism that can inform our reconstruction of playing techniques. For conclusions of how depictions might show real instruments in imaginary environments, see Howard Mayer Brown, "Trecento Angels and the Instruments They Play," in *Modern Musical Scholarship*, ed. Edward Olleson (Stocksfield: Oriel Press, 1978), 119. See also Federico Ghisi, "An Angel Concert in a Trecento Sienese Fresco," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966), 22-43. For examples of how musical iconography can inform playing techniques, see Zoltán Falvy, "Images, Instruments, History of Music = Musical Iconology," *RIdIM/RCMI Newsletter* 12/2 (Spring 1977): 11.

[10] See Remnant, "Rebec, Fiddle and Crowd," 15-28; and Guizzi "The Continuity," 87-101.

[11] I have developed my ideas and method using some elements of Guizzi's research from his article "The Continuity," in which he codifies each single hand movement used to set the Italian frame drum *tamburello* into sound. He then traces back those movements to the historical sources to find precise concordances between them and the hand positions of performers in the medieval representations.

3.1 PLAYING TECHNIQUES OF THE MEDIEVAL *PANDERO/PANDERETE*

Medieval depictions of round frame drums usually show performers playing in two different ways. In one of them, the performers appear holding the instrument from the bottom of the shell with one hand while the other appears to be free to strike the membrane. While in some cases the holding hand appears to have its fingers stretched over the lower section of the drumhead, the open hand is extended practically to the middle of the drum head or toward the edge close to the chest of the performer with the thumb separated from the rest of the fingers at a 45- to 90-degree angle [figs. 33-34, 39].[12] The hands represented in this manner suggest that the thumb and fingers of the open hand and the fingers of the holding hand were involved in the production of sound by striking the instrument.

Hand positions that closely coincide with the hand placement shown in the medieval representations are found in the Maghreb and Latin America today. In Morocco this kind of technique is used to play the round frame drum called *bandair*. [13] The same basic technique is also used in Puerto Rico by players of *panderos/panderetas*, round

[12] This type of hand position is already depicted in ancient Mediterranean and Middle Eastern art. See Chapters 1 and 2.

[13] Craig Woodson, "The Effect of a Snare on the Tone of a Single-headed Frame Drum, the Moroccan Bendir," *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology* 2/1 (1974): 105-110. Although I have personally never seen this type of technique during my fieldwork in Morocco, this manner of playing, as described by Woodson, finds correlation with techniques used in Latin America and Italy. Woodson describes five different strokes, but since two of them are basic variations of the others, I have chosen to describe only three of them.

frame drums without jingles or any other type of resonators that are used to accompany the vocal genre called *plena*.[14]

This technique is comprised of three basic strokes. The most important is an attack produced by the side of the thumb on a place located about an inch from where the rim meets the drumhead [fig. 66].[15] In this stroke, the thumb rebounds after striking the skin, thus allowing the membrane to vibrate freely, producing a full resonant tone. Another characteristic attack is produced in the center of the membrane by the pads of the index, middle, and ring fingers. Because the stroke is produced in the middle of the drumhead and the fingers usually remain in contact with the skin after the attack, the sound is dry and dampened [fig. 67]. One more stroke is produced by the pads of the fingers of the holding hand about one and a half or two inches into the membrane. The sound of this attack can be either dry or resonant depending on the placement of the fingers on the drumhead and the strength of the stroke.[16] The most common function of the thumb's stroke is to play the strongest and more fundamental notes in the structure of a rhythm. The dampened attack produced with the same open hand is regularly used to perform those notes that are secondary but still crucial to the structure of a rhythm. The third type of stroke is the least important of the three and therefore it is usually utilized to fill in and ornament between the important notes of a rhythmic mode. Thus, when the

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[14] See Héctor Vega Drouet, "Puerto Rico," in *South America, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean*, *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, ed. Dale A. Olsen and Daniel E. Sheehy (New York: Garland, 1998), 934, 939-940.

[15] American players called this place the "sweet spot" because it is there where the instrument produces the fullest, most resonant tone. See Peter Fagiola, "A Discussion of Frame Drums," *Percussive Notes* 15 (1997): 30-31.

[16] Of course, there can be many variations on the strokes. Sometimes a slight change in the position and angle of the thumb or fingers can change a sound drastically. Also, different degrees of rebound will change the sonority of the membrane.

holding hand is not used to play the instrument, the free hand can still perform the most important elements of a rhythmic mode.

It is important to mention yet another possible attack that can be added to the above-mentioned two- or three-stroke technique. This is suggested only by one representation that appears in the fourteenth-century *Golden Haggada*. As we can see in the representation, the open hand is depicted close to the rim in a position that demonstrates that the artist tried to convey its movement during playing [fig. 42]. This active hand-playing technique seems to be one of the ways in which the artist tried to confer movement and tension to the image. It is important to note that for this purpose the illuminator avoided the more typical and static portrayal of the hand spread over the membrane of the instrument, preferring to depict it in a playing motion that might have included the use of the rim. The stroke, which is an important element in Middle Eastern and Eastern European styles of playing, consists of an open attack performed with the pads of the fingers of the free hand on the place where the membrane meets the rim [fig. 68].[17] This attack produces the high end of the fundamental pitch.[18] This type of stroke functions as a replacement of the dry attack produced by the fingers in the middle of the drumhead. Although this stroke is found in the Moroccan and Puerto Rican techniques, it is less common than the other three types of attack.

Another technique portrayed in the sources consists of one hand holding the instrument from the bottom of its body with fingers barely stretched over the lower part of the drumhead so that they hold the shell without spreading over the front of the instrument. The open hand does not appear to be spread flat over the drumhead, as in the

[17] For this stroke players might use from one to three fingers (index, middle, and ring).

[18] See Fagiola, "A Discussion of Frame Drums," 30.

other technique. Rather, it is depicted as placed on top of the membrane as if imitating the shape of an inverted letter V with the thumb placed at a 90-degree angle in relation with the other fingers [fig. 47]. Contact is therefore achieved only through the pads of the thumb and the fingers.

As is suggested by the resemblance between the hand positions shown in the medieval representation with hand positions seen in an early twentieth-century photograph of Basque female *pandereta* players, the technique portrayed in fourteenth-century art seemed to have endured through the centuries at least in the Basque country.[19] The traditional playing technique that seems to correspond to the old practice is a hand movement in which strong attacks are generally produced by the stroke of the pads of the middle and ring fingers held together while the pad of the thumb is used for softer strokes [fig. 69]. The rhythms are usually produced by the swaying of the whole hand on a plane perpendicular to the membrane. The wrist is utilized as an axis that allows an easy alternation or a series of combination of the two strokes.[20] Following what is natural for the hand in this position, performers play the strongest and most important structural attacks with the fingers and lighter and secondary strokes with the thumb. This same basic technique has been recorded by Febo Guizzi in central and southern Italy,[21] and is also used by some Moroccan players of the little frame drum with jingles known as *tār*.[22]

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[19] For this photograph, see Jira Galdua, *Panderoa: historia eta metodoa* (Donostia: Ikerfolk, 1999), 15.

[20] For a detailed explanation of this specific technique, see Galdua, *Panderoa: historia eta metodoa*, 1-8. Examples of other types of techniques used in modern times in Iberia are given by José Manuel Fraile Gil, "Notas Sobre la Pandereta," *Revista de folklore* 28 (1983): 123-130.

[21] See Guizzi, "The Continuity," 36-38.

[22] I have observed this technique in performances of classical North African Music. See Paul Collaer and Jürgen Elsner, *Nordafrika*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern I: Musikethnologie 8 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1983)**,** 144-145.

3.2 PLAYING TECHNIQUES OF THE MEDIEVAL *ADUFE*

Most representations of the square frame drum show a technique in which the instrument is held in between the thumb and the palms of both hands while the fingers are stretched over the square membrane [figs. 57-60, 62]. The use of this type of grip and finger position is found in the Maghreb and Brazil.[23] In this manner of playing, the performer has two basic strokes at his/her disposal. One of them is an attack where the fingers of either hand strike the skin and immediately bounce off, allowing the instrument to resonate freely. The other attack is comprised of a stroke that does not rebound and therefore creates a dampened and dry tone [fig. 70].[24] Similar to the technique used on the round frame drum, the resonant strokes correspond to the most basic elements of the rhythm while the dry slaps perform secondary attacks and fills for empty spaces between structural points.[25]

4. FRAME DRUMS AS SOLO AND ENSEMBLE INSTRUMENTS

Literary and iconographical sources reveal that the medieval Iberian frame drums were played alone, in pairs, or in a large ensemble, to accompany song and/or dances. A

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[23] There are many more techniques used in Iberia for playing the square frame drum. However, besides the crude representations found in the Pamplona Bibles [figs 55-56], all other depictions of the instrument in Iberia show this type of the technique. For different techniques used throughout the Peninsula, see Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais*, 379-443. For information about the North African instrument, see Collaer and Elsner, *Nordafrika*, 152, 168, 110. For information about the Brazilian *adufe,* see Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais*, 402. It is also important to mention here that the technique hinted at by the medieval representations corresponds with techniques already recorded in Ancient Mediterranean and Middle Eastern art. See chapter 1.

[24] I have seen people in Fez ornamenting with the rolling of the fingers. However, this technique seems to me to be imported from modern *riqq* (*rikk*) of *daff* techniques.

[25] See Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais,* 401.

comparison of the historical data with observations of the musical functions of the frame drums in modern day Iberia, the Maghreb, and Latin America indicate the permanence of this medieval performance tradition.

4.1 THE PERFORMANCE OF A SINGLE FRAME DRUM AND GROUPS OF FRAME DRUMS OF THE SAME TYPE

Literary and iconographical evidence suggest that singers of both genders utilized the frame drum to accompany their songs and/or dances. In Christian literature, the best documentation of such practice can be found in verse 470 of the *Libro de buen amor,* where a songstress (*cantadera*) is described accompanying her own singing and dancing with a *pandero*.[26] Similarly, it is described in the *zejel* 167 of Ibn Quzman how a male dancer accompanied his own dance with a *duff*.[27] Meanwhile, a tradition of accompanying Arabic poetic singing with the square frame drum, a custom that has survived in modern-day Morocco, was also well documented by contemporaneous Islamic texts produced outside of the Peninsula.[28]

It is common to find representations of single women playing a frame drum in medieval Iberian art [figs. 33, 48]. And while these depictions are found in churches, and

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[26] For the original text, see chapter 5, n. 27.

[27] For this information, see Mahmoutt Guettat, "El Universo Musical de Al-Andalus," in *Música y Poesía del Sur de Al-Andalus* (Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1995), 21.

[28] Examples of this tradition in Iberia can be heard in *Voix de femmes du Portugal*, Audivis B 6816, 1995. *La tradición musical en españa, pandero cuadrado y pandereta en trasmonte (Asturias)*, Saga WKPD-10/2011, 1997. *The Spanish Recordings: Extremadura, The Alan Lomax Collection*, Rounder 82161-1763-3, 2002. In Morocco we find singers in the marketplace using only a *duff* or a *bandair* to accompany their *qasida*, a sung poem in Arabic that is related to the *muwashshah* of medieval Iberia. Philip D. Schuyler, "Malhun: Colloquial Song in Morocco," in *The Middle East*, The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, ed. Virginia Danielson, Scott Marcus, and Dwight Reynolds (New York: Routledge, 2002), 6:498.

thus could be interpreted as representations of Old Testament heroines, they seem to have been based on the popular songstress/dancer/frame-drum-player discussed in chapter 5. It is also important to remember that single female frame drummers are also represented in art accompanying other people dancing [figs. 54, 59].

The practice of accompanying dance and song with a frame drum in medieval Iberia was also expanded to the use of two or more instruments of the same type playing together. This homogenous ensemble practice is not only commonly depicted in art [figs. 31, 35, 56], but is also recorded in different literary sources. For example, in verse 1212 of the *Libro de buen amor* the author mentions a group of female tripe sellers that "come outside playing their *panderos*."[29] Similarly, in the fifteenth-century *Cronica del Condestable de Castilla Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo*, we learn that minstrels used a number of *pandereta*s as part of their instrumental ensembles.[30]

The purpose of combining the same type of frame drums in performance might have been the product of either acoustical or aesthetic concerns. Since the bigger the ensemble of instruments the stronger the volume of the sound produced, it is possible that the number of instruments was increased to accommodate to a specific acoustical environment, probably the outdoors. However, more than one instrument also allows for the performers to interpret rhythms using techniques such as call and response, the division of one rhythm into different instruments, the separation of forces between soloist and ensemble, or the use of polyrhythm.

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[29] For this text, see chapter 5, n. 21.

[30] The text is copied from José María Lamaña, "Los instrumentos musicales en los últimos tiempos de la dinastía de la Casa de Barcelona," *Anuario Musical* 24 (1969): 113-14. For the complete text and translation, see chapter 4, n. 77.

Since the music played by these homogeneous ensembles has not reached us, it is practically impossible to reconstruct their specific musical function and performance practice. However, one historical source seems to suggest that the combination of more than one frame drum of the same type responded to the acoustical need to augment the volume of the music. This can be found in an explanation about the use of resonators in square frame drums given by Sebastian de Covarrubias in his *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* (Madrid, 1611), in which he explains that these type of devices were used to make a single instrument sound "as if it were many."[31] From this exposition we can infer that, at least in some cases, the purpose of using more than one instrument of the same type in ensemble was to increase sound.[32] The passage from the *Libro de buen amor* mentioned above, in which the female tripe sellers/*pandero* players are described as playing "outside," further indicates that this increase in volume was prompted by the need to adapt the music to certain acoustic spaces.

The medieval custom of combining the same types of frame drums to increase the volume of the music finds correlation in modern frame drum performance practices in Iberia, North Africa, and Latin America where frame drums of the same type are often grouped in a homogenous ensemble in which all instruments perform the same rhythm.[33] Furthermore, these ensembles are found performing in outdoor spaces. Thus, as

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[31] "…dentro tienen muchas cuerda, y en ellas cascavelillos y campanillas que hacen resonar el instrumento, como si fuesen muchos." Cobarruvias, *Tesoro de la lengua*, 850. The tradition of using bells as resonators has continued to exist to our days. Instruments that follow Covarrubias' description still can be found in the region of Beira Baixa of Portugal. See Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais*, 398-399.

[32] For information about the role of resonators in frame drums, see chapter 8: 2.5 and 3.3.

[33] Portuguese examples can be heard in *Voix de femmes du portugal*. Audivis B 6816, 1995. See also Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais*, 398-399. For the Brazilian tradition, see Layne Redmond, "Bumba Meu Boi: Frame Drum Festival in São Luis, Maranhão," *Percussive Notes* 14 (June 1997): 39-42. In Morocco the practice can be seen among the *Amazigh* during the performance of *Ahidus*. See Miriam Rovsing Olsen, *Chants et Danses de L'Atlas* (Arles: Cité de la musique, 1997), 71.

suggested by the *Libro de buen amor*, the main musical function of the homogeneous ensembles of frame drums in medieval Iberia seemed to have been the production of a quantity of sound that was appropriate to the performance environments.[34]

To sum up, our study of the iconographical and literary sources shows that frame drums were considered appropriate instruments for the accompaniment of joyful dance-songs. These pieces were performed by a player on *pandero/panderete* or *adufe,* who either sang and played, or sang, played, and danced to the rhythm of his/her instrument. If one membranophone was not enough to fill a specific acoustic environment with sound, a homogeneous ensemble of either the round or square types was used to increase the volume of the percussive accompaniment. Since the percussion sound was augmented, it is possible that many of the frame drum players, if not all, sang together to balance the vocal production with the instrumental accompaniment. This practice can be observed in our days in both the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghreb.[35]

4.2 THE COMBINATION OF THE *PANDERO* AND *ADUFE* IN PERFORMANCE

The fact that the terms *pandero* and *adufe* appear together in texts that describe occasions where music making was involved indicates that these different types of frame drums were combined in medieval Iberian music performance. The literary data is further

[34] However, it is important to keep in mind that even with the correlation between modern practice and historical data, our hypothesis should remain inconclusive since, at least in the Maghreb we can find examples of groups of frame drums of the same type in which shared rhythm, call and response, and polyrhythm are an important element of performance practice. For examples of this practice, see Lortat-Jacob, *Musique et fêtes au haut-atlas* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1980), 91-94; and Rovsing Olsen, *Chants et Danses*, 71.

[35] See Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais*, 267; and Rovsing Olsen, *Chants et Danses*, 71.

supported not only by depictions of the two different kinds of membranophone playing together, but also by the combination of these instruments in modern day-practice.

The oldest extant Iberian source in which we find these two instruments playing together is the *zejel* 12 of Ibn Quzman, where the round *bandayr* and the square *duff* are described as playing together as part of an ensemble of mixed musical instruments.[36] The round and square types are also described as performing together along with *trompas* and *sonajes* in the fourteenth-century *Una coronación de Nuestra Señora* of Fernán Ruiz of Seville. In this work the author mentions that these instruments "[are] the tenors of all other instruments." In this case, the description of the frame drums as "tenors" (*tenores*) might refer to their function as bearers of the rhythmic structure of the music.[37]

Two other contemporaneous examples where we find the round and the square types appear in a translation of the Scriptures into Castilian in the anonymous *Biblia Medieval Romanceada Judio-Cristiana* produced circa 1400. We find here the combination *pandero-adufe* in Samuel 18:6, "And the women from all cities of Israel came out to receive King Saul singing and playing *panderos*, and with happiness, *adufles*,

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[36]For the original and translation, see chapter 4, n. 64.

[37] For this text, see chapter 4, n. 41. During the Middle Ages, the term *tenore* was used to describe the structurally fundamental voice that kept the composition together. It also is interesting to note that this term, among others, was used by Guido d'Arezzo to indicate the duration of a note. See David Fallows, "Tenor," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 25:284. The idea of *tenore* as a part that keeps the composition together can be related to the cyclical rhythmic structure of a piece. Johannes de Grocheio in his *De Musica* (Paris, cairca 1300) indicates that a measured unit is an important feature of dance music: "Sed recta percussione eo quod ictus eam mensurant et motum facientis et excitant animum hominis ad ornate movendum secundum artem quam ballare vocant, et eius motum mensurant in ductiis et choreis" ([A dance needs] a correct [strict] beat because beats measure the *ductia* and the movement of one who dances it, and [these beats] excite people to move in an elaborate fashion according to the art that they call "dancing," and they measure the movement [of this art] in *ductia* and in *caroles,*). The original text has been taken from Christopher Page's edition of the work in his article "Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 2/1 (1993): 31-32.

and minstrels,"[38] and in Judges 11:34, "And Jephtah returned to his house at Mizpah, and there, his daughter came out to received him with *adufles* and *panderos*."[39] Furthermore, the two types are also described as playing together in the retelling of 1 Samuel 10:5 in the *Eusebio* (1506-07) of Alonso de Madrigal.[40] Unlike the two biblical passages mentioned above, in this instance we find the *pandero* and the *adufe* in the hands of male prophets. As in many other biblical passages translated into Romance in the *Biblia Medieval Romanceada Judio-Cristiana*, the *Eusebio*, and other Castilian sources, the original text mentions either only one type of frame drum or no frame drum at all. However, as we can see, the translators recorded the contemporary practice of combining the round and square frame drums, perhaps to make the text more familiar to their audience.[41]

The two instruments playing in ensemble are also mentioned in historical chronicles. For example, we find in the *Vida do Infante do Fernando* that women accompanied a bagpiper with *adufes e pandeiros* during a procession performed in 1482 to commemorate the battle of Toro,[42] and in the *Historia de los reyes católicos* that exiled Jews played their *panderos* and *adufes* on their way out Castile in 1492.[43]

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[38] For the original text, see chapter 4, n. 42.

[39] For the original text, see chapter 4, n. 43.

[40] For the original text, see chapter 4, n. 49.

[41] In Samuel 18:6, the Vulgate mentions *tympanum* and *sistrum*; in the text of Judges 11:34, only the *tympanum* is mentioned; and in 1 Sam 10:5, the original text mentions the *psalterium*, *tympanum*, *tibia*, and *chitara*. In this case, the author has replaced the flute *tibia* with the *pandero*.

[42] For this quotation, see Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais*, 395. The author does not provide the original text.

[43] For the original text, see chapter 4, n. 50.

The combination of different kinds of frame drums in performance in medieval Iberia is further demonstrated by depictions of men or women playing round and square frame drums together in music-making scenes. An extant representation of the combination of two kinds of frame drums in performance can be found in the sculptural program of the southeast portal of the Cathedral of Burgos, sculpted before 1235-1240.[44] In one of the arches that encompasses the tympanum of this gate we find twenty-four crowned male figures who represent the elders mentioned in the Apocalypse of John (Revelations 5: 8-9) playing contemporaneous musical instruments. On the right side one of them holds an *adufe* and on the left side another one grasps a *pandero* [figs. 36, 57]. The sculptural program of the arch, with its diversity of instruments grouped to musically worship the lamb of God, reminds us also of the innumerable instruments that play together in honor of the Virgin Mary in the poem of Fernán Ruiz of Seville. Another representation in which the two kinds of frame drums are shown playing together is found in the illumination representing Exodus 15:20 from the fourteenth-century *Golden Haggadah* [fig. 42]. Here we find Miriam playing a square *adufe* next to a woman who performs on a *pandero* with small jingles inserted in the shell.

As we can see, the historical sources not only reveal the widespread use of round and square frame drums in medieval Iberia, but also the practice of combining them in performance, either by themselves, or as part of bigger ensembles that included other types of instruments. Although the information offered by the historical sources reveals

[44] For information about this portal, see Nicolás López Martínes, *Catedral de Burgos: Guía Básica* (Burgos: Cabildo de la Catedral, 1999), 9; and Jesús Urrea Fernández, *La Catedral de Burgos* (Madrid: Editorial Everest, 1978), 12.

an important medieval Iberian tradition, the lack of notated music hinders any attempt to actually reconstruct the performance practice of these instruments.

Fortunately, the custom of playing *panderos* and *adufes* together has survived in modern-day North Africa.[45] Paul Collaer and Jürgen Elsner have documented that in the Moroccan region of Oarzazate the square *duff* and the round *bendir,* both mentioned in the twelfth-century Arabic poem of Ibn Quzman, are combined in performance [fig. 71]. Similarly, Ahmed Aydoun, in his study of traditional Moroccan music, records that the *duff* and the round frame drum with jingles, known as *tār,* perform together with plucked and bowed string instruments as part of *al-malhūn* ensembles.[46]

While this practice is currently typical of male ensembles, it was in the past more customarily found performed by female groups.[47] This assertion is supported by an early twentieth-century photograph that shows a group of women performing on a *rebāb* (North African fiddle), kettle drums (*naqqārāt*), the *tār*, and the square *duff* [fig. 72],[48] an ensemble reminiscent of the one mentioned by Ibn Quzman.

In practical terms, each instrument fulfills a specific role in the execution of rhythm. As Collaer and Elsner explain in relation to the repertoire from the Oarzazate region, the round *bandair* performs the structural elements of a rhythmic pattern and the

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[45] See Collaer and Elsner, *Nordafrika*, 110, 152, 168.

[46] See Ahmed Aydoun, *Musiques du Maroc* (Casablanca: EDDIF, 2001), 58-60. I have not found any examples of the instrumentation mentioned by the author either in recordings of the repertoire or during my personal fieldwork in Fez and Meknes.

[47] See Collaer and Elsner, *Nordafrika*, 110, 152.

[48] Mission Juin, Museé del l'Home. I have taken this image from *La Musique: Les Hommes, Les Instruments, Les Oeuvres* (Paris: Larousee, 1977), 1:28-29.

square *duff* performs subdivisions of the basic beat.[49] Fortunately I have had the chance not only to corroborate this premise but also to expand on it by studying contemporary North African frame drum performance practice with Moroccan percussionists.[50] What I have learned from my own observations of the practice is that the *bandair*, with its more resonant sound, not only plays the basic elements of the rhythmic pattern, but eventually ornaments the rhythmic structure by adding, in a formulaic way, strong and weak strokes to the basic cycle. At the same time, the *duff* not only emulates the basic strokes of the *bandair,* but also adds equal or unequal subdivisions to the steady beat to fill in space between the structural points of the rhythmic pattern.[51] In duple meter, these subdivisions are commonly organized in a dactylic form (one eighth note and two sixteenth notes in a 2/4 meter), and in triple meter in a tribrachic configuration (three eight notes in 6/8).

Thus, based on my observation of modern performance practice and taking into account the most important elements of sound production of the round and square frame drums, I would like to propose that, at least when playing together, the role of the round *pandero* was to lay out the basic structure of a rhythmic pattern or cycle, and the role of the square *adufe* was to accompany the main rhythmic structure by performing not only the basic strokes, but also by subdividing and ornamenting the basic beat. Furthermore, both instruments are expected to add occasional formulaic ornamentation comprised of

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[49] See Collaer and Elsner, *Nordafrika*, 152. Unfortunately, in terms of the *malhūm* repertoire, Ahmed Aydoun does not develop the specific use of each frame drum in the ensemble in his *Musiques du Maroc*. Nor have I been able to recreate this practice from any recording, fieldwork experience, or informant.

[50] My main informant has been Mustafa Idli, a Moroccan percussionist from Casablanca who has been residing in New York since 1989. In my fieldwork conducted in Fez and Meknes (Morocco), I did not encounter this practice.

[51] The addition of subdivisions by one or many instruments is a common feature of Moroccan music. In most cases these subdivisions are added by a *tarija* played in the manner of a *darbuka*, a *tār*, or the metal castanets known as *qraqabs*. My impression is that in some cases these instruments have replaced the *duff* and its function.

different types of equal and unequal subdivisions, diminution within the rhythmic structure, as well as the displacement and unexpected addition of strong and weak strokes.

4.3 FRAME DRUMS IN ENSEMBLE WITH OTHER PERCUSSION INSTRUMENTS

Round and square frame drums were also combined with other percussion instruments. Perhaps the most common mixture was a round or square frame drum with idiophones such as clappers [fig. 37] or round frames furnished with jingles known in Iberia during the Middle Ages as *sonajas* in Castilian, *ferreignas* in Portuguese, and *cercle* in Catalan [fig. 62].[52]

As in the case of the small Moroccan square frame drum, clappers are usually utilized to play subdivisions of the beat and ornament the rhythmic structure with rolls, appoggiaturas, and unexpected accents. Examples of this type of accompaniment can be found not only in the different Iberian castanet playing traditions and in the North African

[52] Idiophones are instruments in which the sound is produced by the vibration of their bodies. In the case of the *sonajas/ferreignas/cercle*, the body of the instrument merely serves as a frame where jingles can freely vibrate. As already mentioned, it is important not to confuse this type of instrument with a round frame drum with jingles since it lacks the most important feature of the frame drum: its vibrating membrane. It is for this reason that the instrument is classified as an idiophone and not a membranophone, and for this reason it is not studied in depth in this work.

qraqab (Sing. *qarqaba*) used in the accompaniment of side drums and melodic instruments, but all throughout the world.[53]

As was mentioned above, the *sonajas/ferreignas/cercle* was an ideophone that consisted of a round frame with jingles inserted in its body.[54] Since this instrument was not furnished with a vibrating membrane, its sound was produced by striking and shaking its body or jingles.[55] In my research, I did not find any examples of ensembles comprised of frame drums and *sonajas* in modern traditions. Nonetheless, the use of the small round frame with jingles in the North African repertoire known as *al- Āla* might still illustrate how this instrument was used in an ensemble with other percussion instruments. In the modern groups that perform this repertoire, while the basic structure of a rhythmic cycle is played by a goblet drum known as *darabuka*, the *tār* is stroked and shaken to both ornament the basic rhythm of the piece with rolls, appoggiaturas, and unexpected accents, as well as to subdivide the beat. Thus, based on the ensemble function and playing

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[53] A good example of the combination of the big square frame drum and castanets in Iberian traditional music can be heard in a recording made in 1986 in Asturias called *La Tradición Musical en España Vol. 3: Pandero Cuadrado y Panderetas en Trasmonte (Asturias)* Saga WKPD-10/2011, 1997. In track 2 of this recording, entitled *Son D'Arriba Moderno* performed by Concepción Rodríguez Suárez, the castanets play long rolls while the square frame drum plays the rhythm of the piece with subdivisions. The *qarqaba* is described by Sybil Marcuse as "a large form of clappers that are shaped like a dumbbell split lengthwise and with the heads hollowed out," see *A Survey of Musical Instruments*, 6. For their use, see Deborah Kapchan, "Music in Performance: Following the Entranced Ones: Gnawa Performances and Trance in Rabat, Morocco," in *The Middle East*, *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, ed. Virginia Danielson, Scott Marcus, and Dwight Reynolds (New York: Routledge, 2002), 6:491; and Collaer and Elsner, *Nordafrika*, 129-129.

[54] Another good example of the duo *sonajas-adufe* seems to be represented in the ceiling of the fifteenth-century *Dalmases* Chapel in Barcelona, where we see two angels in proximity performing respectively on an *adufe* and the *sonajas*. For details about the iconographical program of the *Dalmases*' ceiling where many more instruments are depicted performing in groups, see Lamaña, "Los instrumentos," 100, 109-111. In literary sources the sonajas are mentioned as playing in conjunction with *panderos* and *adufes* in the fourteenth-century *Una coronación de Nuestra Señora* of Fernán Ruiz of Seville: "The *trompas*, *panderos, adufes, sonajes* [are] the tenors of all other instruments." This text appears in the *Cancionero de Ramón de Llaviá* (14th or 15th century). For the complete text and translations, see chapter 4, n. 41.

[55] Although no instruments of this type have survived from the Middle Ages, there is a nineteenth-century *ferreignas* from Madeira that belongs to the musical instrument collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (catalogue number 844). Although this instrument is of late manufacture, it might help to give us an idea of how this type of instrument was made and the sound that it produced during the Middle Ages.

technique of the North African *tār,* it can be suggested that the role of the *sonajas* in a *sonajas*-frame drum duo was to add subdivisions and ornaments to a rhythmic structure that was laid out by a frame drum. If this was the case, this performance practice was no different from that observed in ensembles comprised of square and round frame drum and frame drum and clappers. It is important to note here that in all these cases the instruments that play ornaments and subdivisions of the beat differ in timbre from the instruments whose function it is to perform the basic structure of the rhythm of a piece.

Lastly, frame drums were recorded in some literary sources as playing in ensembles with other membranophones. For example, we learn from Ibn Quzman *zejel* 12,[56] the *Cronica del Condestable de Castilla Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo*,[57] and the *Vida do Infante do Fernando,*[58] that *panderos* and/or *adufes* were also combined in performance with kettle drums, instruments known in medieval Iberia as *atabales* in Castilian, *atabaques* in Portuguese, and *naqqārāt* in Arabic. Similarly, *panderetes* appear playing together with *atambores* (side drums) in a passage that recounts the events of Exodus 15:20 in the *General Estoria* of Alfonso X,[59] and with *atabales* and *tamborinos* (tabors) in the *Cronica del Condestable de Castilla.*[60]

When we compare this information with current practice we learn that similar types of combinations are still common in Iberia and the Maghreb. We learn from the observations of these modern practices that, in general, those percussion instruments that

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[56] For this text, see chapter 4, n. 64.

[57] For this text, see chapter 4, n. 51.

[58] For the complete text, see chapter 4, n. 89.

[59] For the complete text see 4, n. 76.

[60] For the complete text, see chapter 4, n. 77.

are capable of producing deep and resonant sounds tend to secure the rhythmic structure by consecutively performing the most important attacks of the cycles,[61] while those instruments that produced higher and/or dryer sounds are used to add subdivisions and ornaments to the rhythmic pattern.[62] In some special cases, we find that in Morocco the smaller instruments can also play cross rhythms against the basic structure.[63]

Thus, based on our study of modern practice, we can speculate that when frame drums were combined with other membranophones in medieval Iberian music, the role of these hand-held membranophones in an ensemble that included other drums was probably dependent on the tone quality and playing capabilities of the other instruments involved. For example, if a deep sounding *atambor,* or *tamborino,* or *atabal* was combined with a small *adufe* or *panderete*, any of the former would have most probably played the basic rhythmic structure and any of the latter subdivisions of the beat and ornaments to the pattern. Conversely, if a sonorous *pandero* or *adufe* were combined with a small, high-pitched kettle drum, any of the frame drums would have maintained the rhythmic mode while the *atabal* would have driven the rhythm with ornamentation and subdivision.[64] This type of separation of ensemble roles does not come as a surprise here

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[61] The player of one of these main instruments is called in the Middle East *Dabit Iqa'* (leader of the rhythm). See Habbib Hassan Touma, liner notes of the CD *Iraq: Traditional Rhythmic Structures Iqa'at*, Musiques Traditionnelles d'Aujord'Hui D 8044.

[62] In Galician music, for example, the deep rope tension side and bass drums carry the rhythm while the *pandereta* plays subdivisions, rolls, and slides. A good example of this practice can be heard in track 22 of the recording *Espagne Septentrional,* Le Chant du Monde CDM CMT 2741003.

[63] In some cases the deeper side drum known as *tbel* plays the basic rhythm while the *tār* plays complex and syncopated cross-rhythms. This practice can be heard in the recording *The Music of Islam Vol. 5: Aissaoua Sufi Ceremony Marrakesh, Morocco*, Celestial Harmonies 14144-2, Disc 2:1.

[64] And while this might have been the most common role of the instruments in a mixed ensemble of percussion instruments, the performance of polyrhythm should not be discounted.

since it has been observed before in our study of the *pandero-adufe* and the frame drum-clapper combinations.

4.4 FRAME DRUMS COMBINED WITH MELODIC INSTRUMENTS

Besides accompanying vocal music, frame drums were also used to perform in combination with string and wind instruments. Based on a reading of the historical sources, the most popular instruments that were used together with frame drums in Christian Iberia seems to have been bowed string instruments such as the *rebec* or *vielle*, known in Castilian as *rabé* and *vihuela* respectively.[65] The earliest extant depiction of this kind of duo might be in the eleventh-century façade of the church of Saint Isidore of Seville in León where two of King David minstrels perform on *adufe* and rebec [fig. 49]. The same instruments also appear in the hands of male and female figures carved in the portal of the Galician church of Santa Maria de Ucelle [fig. 51], and in a capital of the upper cloister of the Castilian Monastery of Silos [fig. 52], both produced during the twelfth century. The tradition of combining these instruments in performance is further recorded in a translation of Genesis 31:27 found in the fourteenth-century *Biblia medieval romanceada judío-cristiana*.[66] In this work we find that the translator chose the common Iberian *adufle-rabbe* formation of his days to attempt a contemporary and meaningful rendition of a sacred and ancient text that recorded the popular duo

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65 The rebec was a rather small bowed string instrument composed of a pear-shaped body and round back and generally furnished with three strings. See Mary Remnant "Rebec" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 20:902-903. The *vielle* was a larger instrument usually with a rectangular, waisted, or oval shape that was set with four or five strings. See Jeremy Montagu, *The World of Medieval & Renaissance Musical Instruments* (Woodstock: 1976), 24-25.

[66] For the original text, see chapter 4, n. 86.

tympanum/tof-chitara/kinnor (frame drum-harp).[67] *Panderos/panderetes* were also portrayed performing in ensemble with *rebecs* and *vielles*. Examples can be found in the thirteenth-century *Cancionero da Ajuda* where in an indoor scene a male minstrel who plays a *vielle* before a nobleman is accompanied by a young female who beats on a large round frame drum with jingles [fig. 39], and in the fourteenth-century cloister of the Cathedral of Vic, where again male and female players perform on a *rebec* and a *pandero/panderete* [fig. 46]. As in the case of the *adufe*, the *pandero-rebec* duo is recorded in medieval literature. We find it described in a fifteenth-century Catalonian text that as part of some festivities "…a *pandero* and a *rabenet* (rebec?) played together from the window of a house in the city."[68] The duo *pandero/panderete-adufe* was also used in combination with bowed string instruments shown in an illumination that illustrates a performance including singing and dancing that is described in the fourteenth-century *Libro de la coronación de los Reyes de Castilla* [fig. 44]. In this example, which also includes cymbals, the two membranophones played by women are joined by a rebec that is played by a male minstrel.

Iconographical sources also show that medieval frame drums were used to accompany plucked string instruments. In the *Cancionero de Ajuda* we find two illuminations that show a male *citole* player and a female *pandero/panderete* player performing for a nobleman [figs. 40-41].[69] Similarly, in the fourteenth-century *Retaule*

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[67] The *kinnor* is believed to have been a kind of harp. See Jeremy Montagu, *Musical Instruments of the Bible* (London: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 24. As we have seen in the first two chapters of this study, the frame drum-harp duo was popular during Antiquity.

[68] For this text, see chapter 4, n. 46.

[69] The citole was a plucked string instrument with fretted fingerboard and waisted body. See Lawrence Wright, "Citole," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 5:872-876.

dels Sants Joans, Salome playing a frame drum with jingles and a male minstrel playing a lute are depicted performing indoors before Herod and Herodias [fig. 45]. A lute is also combined with the duo *pandero-adufe* in an illumination that illustrates Exodus 15:20 from the fourteenth-century Catalonian *Golden Haggada* [fig. 42], an image that also contains a cymbal and a clapper player. As in the case of the Bible translation described above, the creator of this piece represented contemporaneous Iberian frame drum performance practice to attempt a meaningful illustration of the passage.

That the practice of combining a frame drum with a plucked string instrument existed in medieval Iberia should not come as a surprise to us. Ample information about this practice during Antiquity has been already given in the first two chapters of this study. This ancient combination has also endured to the present and it is commonly encountered in different forms throughout North Africa.[70] Finally, we should not forget the passage from the fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor* that reads: "Sweet *psalterium* come outside with the *panderete*." And even though in this section of the work the author gives a long list of instruments involved in a welcoming outdoor procession, the popularity of the duo frame drum-zither both during antiquity and modern times suggests that the author was in fact referring to a practice known to him.

Groups of *panderos/panderetes* and/or *adufes* seemed also to have been used in conjunction with wind instruments and in outdoor settings. In both the tenth-century

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[70] This is not only seen in popular Arabic and Berber music where the *'ūd* or the *gimbri* are commonly accompanied by the *bandair*, but also in the classical *Al- Āla* repertoire, a style thought to reflect the musical practice of medieval Islamic Iberia. In this repertoire, the *tār* accompanies the *'ūd* and *gimbri*. A good example of these combinations can be heard in *Maroc: Musiques berbère et marocaine*. Arion ARN 64079, 1989; *Maroc: Musiques berbères, les musicien de l'Atlas*. Musique du Monde 92698-2, n.d.

Islamic bottle known as the *Botella de los Musicos* and in the representation of the "Doubting Thomas" (John 20:24-29) from the late twelfth-century lower cloister of the Monastery of Silos, we find round frame drums without jingles represented in ensemble with horns [fig. 34]. It is clear, at least in the second example, that the musicians performed outdoors. Another testimony to the combination of horns and frame drums is the passage from the fourteenth-century *Una coronación de Nuestra Señora* of Fernán Ruiz of Seville, in which *panderos* and *adufes* are grouped with *trompas,* the medieval Castilian name for horns.[71]

Other wind instruments such as bagpipes, trumpets, and shawms are also mentioned in the literature as playing in ensemble with *panderos* and *adufes*. As we have seen, Frei João Álvarez records *adufes e pandeiros* playing along with a bagpipe during a commemorative procession in 1482.[72] The practice of accompanying bagpipes with frame drums can be still seen in Iberia and North Africa. In Galicia, bagpipes are commonly found playing to the beating of *panderetas*, and in the Maghreb the bagpipe known as *mezued* is commonly played in ensemble with the *bandair*.[73]

We find also in the *Vida do Infante do Fernando* a description of how square frame drums performed during a welcoming festivity along with trumpets and kettledrums (*anafis, adufes e atabaques)*.[74] Similarly, *panderos/panderetes* are described as not only playing together with trumpets (*trompetas*), but also with double reed

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[71] For the original text, see chapter 4, n. 41.

[72] For this quote, see Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos Musicais*, 395. The author does not give the original text.

[73] See Collaer and Elsner, *Nordafrika*, 98, 114.

[74] For the complete text, see chapter 4, n. 89

instruments such as *dulzaynas* and *chirimias* (different types of shawms) in two different passages of the fifteenth-century anonymous *Cronica del Condestable de Castilla Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo*.[75] The accompaniment of double reed instruments with frame drums is a practice that has also endured to our time in the Maghreb. In Morocco, for example, it is not uncommon to find the loud *gaita* (shawm) accompanied by *bandairs* or *duff*s.[76]

Finally, we find depictions of the square frame drum performing as part of ensembles of mixed wind and string instruments. In an illumination illustrating Ex 15:20 in the late fourteenth-century *Kaufman Haggada*, Miriam is shown playing the *adufe,* while two other Israelite women appear performing on a lute and a portative organ [fig. 60]. While it is difficult to assert that the illumination in fact depicts common performance practice, we should consider that not only has the combination of lute and frame drum been already documented in this chapter, but also that the combination of lute and portative organ is not uncommon in European medieval music iconography.[77]

5. THE REPERTOIRE OF FRAME DRUMS

It is difficult to identify what type of music was performed with frame drums because of the lack of any specification of their use in connection with a particular genre in either the extant written repertoire or music treatises. However, depictions and

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[75] For the complete text, see chapter IV, nn. 51, 77.

[76] See Collaer and Elsner, *Nordafrika*, 110,116.

[77] For a study of the possible use of lute and portative organ in relation with the repertoire included in the Faenza Codex, see Timothy J. McGee, "Instruments in the Faenza Codex," *Early Music* 14 (1986): 480-490.

descriptions of performances that include frame drums found mainly in non-musical sources give us a good idea about the instruments' repertoire in medieval Iberia. We have seen in previous chapters that at least during recreational occasions frame drums were primarily used in dance music. For example, we read in the *Libro de buen amor* how a *cantadera* plays the *pandero* while singing and dancing. Similarly, we have seen women dancing to the accompaniment of frame drums and other instruments in an illustration from the fourteenth-century *Libro de la Coronación de los Reyes de Castilla,* and in the depictions of the dance of Salome in the fourteenth-century *Retaule dels Sants Joans* [figs. 44-45]. Furthermore, we have found both the round and square frame drums accompanying dances performed by a group of people holding hands and turning around in a circle or in a straight line in illuminations from the *Golden* and *Sister Haggadot*, the *Sarajevo Haggadah*, and the *Kaufmann Haggadah* [figs. 42-43, 59-60].[78] As we can

[78] It is possible that these group dances represented in the sources are the ones known during the period as *corea/carole/quirola*. The dances that corresponded to these names were danced by high and low classes, in villages, and aristocratic environments; see Page, *Voices and Instruments,* 77-79. Despite their secular character, group dances were also used at least in Iberia for non-liturgical Marian worship. Examples can be found in illustrations that accompany the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* 5 and 120 from the Real Biblioteca de el Escorial Ms. T.J.I. In one example we see a group of the faithful, some holding candles and others dancing in a circle inside a church before the statue of the Virgin Mary. In the other example we can see a group of musicians performing on string and wind instruments before the Virgin Mary. Behind them a group of men perform a round dance. For a discussion of dances and the Marian cult, see Marícarmen Gómez Muntané, *El Llibre Vermell de Montserrat, Cantos y Danzas* (Sant Cugat del Vallès, Catalonia: Los Libros de la Frontera, 1990), 64-65.

gather from the information given in these sources, most of the dances that were accompanied with frame drums were sung.[79]

Our next question is: can any of these dance-songs depicted in the sources be traced to the extant repertoire? The truth is that it is practically impossible to associate any of the few extant pieces of medieval Iberian music to the silent iconographical sources. Nonetheless, since we know that vocal dances were at least on some occasions accompanied with frame drums, then it is reasonable to think that dance-songs from this period might have been accompanied with these instruments. Therefore, to suggest specific music that might have been performed to the accompaniment of frame drums, we

[79] It is important to mention here that besides their use to accompany dance-songs, frame drums were also probably employed in the performance of instrumental dances. For this type of performance practice we only need to quote a passage from the *De Universo*, written between 1231 and 1236 by Guillaume d'Auvergne, in which it is said that dances were accompanied by: "…et sonis cantilenarum aut musicorum instrumentorum quam possunt affigiatione motuum concordare conantes…" (the music of songs, or of musical instruments…). See Guillaume d'Auvergne, *Opera omnia* 2, 704 (Venice 1591). Nevertheless, since there are no extant purely instrumental pieces in the corpus of medieval Iberian music, the subject will not be expanded here. Examples of contemporaneous instrumental dances can be found in the thirteenth-century French manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 844, fols. 5r, 103v-104v,; and in the Italian fourteenth-century London, British Library, Ms. Add, 29987, fol. 55v-63v. For a study of all extant medieval instrumental dances found in manuscripts, see Timothy J. McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); and Joan Rimmer, "Medieval Instrumental Dance Music," *Music and Letters* 72/1 (1991): 24-34. See also Christopher Page, *Voices and Musical Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100-1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), n. 14, 201.

need to start by identifying possible pieces from the extant repertoire that fit into the mold of a dance-song. [80]

But what can be determined to be a dance-song? This can be answered with the help of information extrapolated from both musical and non-musical literary sources. We learn from the thirteenth-century *Doctrina de compondre dictas* of the Catalan Jofre of Foixá that the dance-song known as *dança* is basically composed of three stanzas and a refrain with the option of one or two *tornadas* (short strophes added at the end of the poem).[81] Similarly, we gather from the anonymous Occitan-Catalonian poetic treatise,

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[80] Even though different types of dances might have received different names, sometimes the name given to a dance was simply connected to its function. For example, we learn from the Catalonian *Doctrina de compondre dictas*, a treatise on poetry and language probably written by Jofre of Foixá circa 1286-91, that "the piece known as dança is naturally known by that name because one moves or dances to it…[furthermore], it is sung with instruments and pleases those who sing and listen to it." (Dansa es dita per ço com naturalment la diz hom dança[n] o bayllan,…e la ditz hom ab estrumens, e plau a cascus que la diga e la escout.) I have taken this text from Elizabeth Aubry, *The Music of the Troubadors* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 72, 123. Similarly, we learn from the *Summa artis rithmici vulgaris dictaminis* of Antonio da Tempo written in 1332 that a vocal piece that is danced in a circle can be named *rotundellus*: "We can call this *rotundelli* because it is sung in a circle of round dance." (Possunt etiam appellari rotundelli quia plerumque cantatur in rotundiate corrheae sive balli.) This work was printed as *Delle rime volgari* G. Grion (Bologna: Collezione de Opere Inedite, 1869), 135. Names of vocal pieces that were commonly danced are found in the literature. For example, Johannes of Grocheio in his *De musica*, cites the *stampita*, *ductia*, *cantinela rotunda* (round song), the *rotundellus*, and the *cantinela exitata* as some examples of songs that are appropriate to be danced. Similarly, the author of the anonymous fourteenth-century *Leys d'Amours*, an Occitan-Catalonian poetic treatise written circa 1328, explains that the *dança*, *ballada*, *estampida*, *carola*, and *trisca*, were vocal compositions "designed to be danced." See Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, *Historia de la música española 1. Desde los orígenes hasta el "ars nova"* (Madrid: Alianza 1983), 328-329. Furthermore, in verse 1021 of his fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor,* Juan Ruiz informs us that some of the pieces that were described as *canticas* (songs) were meant to be danced: "Fiz tres canticas grandes…las dos son chançonetas, la otra de trotalla," (I composed three long songs (canticas)…two of them to be sung, and another one to be danced in a lively manner). Besides the constant mention of *cantigas* in the *Libro de buen amor* and other contemporary texts, reference to some of the other types of dance-songs mentioned in the treatises are found in medieval secular literature. For example, the *carola* (*quirola*) and the *trisca*, both listed as vocal dances in the *Leys d'Amours*, are mentioned as being danced in verse 700 of the thirteenth-century *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* of Gonçalo de Berceo, and in verse 1789-1790 of the anonymous *Libro de Alexandre*. For an edition of the earlier, see *Gonzalo de Berceo, Milagros de Nuestra Señora,* ed. Michael Gerli (Madrid: Catedra, 1997), 187. For an edition of the latter, see *Libro de Alexandre* ed. Jesús Cañas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995). For a translation of the *De musica* of Grocheio, see Page, "Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music." For information about the *Leys d'Amours,* see Fernández de la Cuesta, *Historia de la música española*, 328-329.

[81] "Si vols far dança…dues li fer dedents cobles e no pus, e respost, una o dues tornades, qual te vulles…"(If you want to make a dansa…you have to make no more than three stanzas, a refrain, and if you want one or two tornadas…). See Aubry, *The Music of the Troubadors*, 72, 123.

Leys d'Amours (written circa 1328), that the dance-song known as *dansa* was composed "of a refrain that works only as an answer to the stanzas, and of three stanzas that are similar in measure and rhyme to that of the refrain."[82] Referring also to the form of a dance-song known as *ductia*, Johannes of Grocheio in his *De Musica* (written in Paris circa 1300), explains this type of piece begins with a refrain followed by verses that share its form and rhyme. Then, at the end, the refrain comes back to close the piece.[83] As we can see, the most important feature of in the poetic structure of a dance-song, disregarding its name, is the existence of a refrain that appears after, or before and after a stanza(s).

Musically speaking, it seems logical that for these pieces to be "danceable" they had to have had a strong pulse and an organized rhythmic pattern to guide the steps of the dancer(s).[84] In fact, Grocheio in his *De Musica* prescribes this practice when he refers to the instrumental counterpart of the vocal *ductia*. Talking about the music of this type of composition, the author explains that it needs a strict measure (*recta percussione*) "to

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[82] "Dansa es us dictatz gracios que conte un refranh, so es respos, solamen, e tres coblas sembans en la fi al respos en compass et en acordansa." This text is given by Fernández de la Cuesta, *Historia de la musica Espanola*, 328.

[83] "Cantilena vero qualibet rotunda vel rotundellus a pluribus dicitur, eo quod ad modum circuli in se ipsam reflectitur et incipit et terminatur in eodem." (Many people refer to the cantilena [vocal ductia] as a *rotunda* or *rotundellus* since it is similar to a circle in that it begins and ends in the same way). As we can see, the form of the *ductia* fits into the form of the *virelai*, the *cantiga*, and the Italian *ballata*. Although Grocheio says that the ductia is called by some *rotundellus*, in his explanation of the actual form of the *rotundellus,* the author describes what can be considered the form of a *rondeau*. See Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 14, n. 201.

[84] This is the case of all dance music. See Julia Sutton et. Al., "Dance," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 6:880.

measure…the movement of the one who dances."[85] If this is the case, we can probably assume that if dance-songs were to be copied in musical notation, they would have had to be written in a notation that clearly showed a clear and measured rhythm for the performers to execute a proper rendition of the piece, even if that piece was monophonic.[86] Finally, we can deduce from Grocheio's treatise that while in some dance-songs, such as the one known as *rotundellus,* the music of the refrain is also used in the verses,[87] in other dance-songs, such as the *ductia*, different music is used for the refrain and the verse.[88] Scholars have explained that the forms of the *ductia* as described by Grocheio fit the structures of what we are accustomed to call *virelai* (whose AbbaA form is the same of the Iberian *cantiga* and Italian *ballata*), and the *rondeau* (ABaAabAB).[89] In any case, what we can gather from the *De Musica* is that while in some types of dance-songs the music of the refrain was also taken by the stanzas, in other

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[85] "Sed recta percussione eo quod ictus eam mensurant et motum facientis et excitant animum hominis ad ornate movendum secundum artem quam ballare vocant, et eius motum mensurant in ductiis et choreis." The original text has been taken from Page, "Johannes de Grocheio," 31-32. For a translation, see footnote 37 in this chapter.

[86]It has been assumed that modal and mensural notation were designed for polyphonic music to ensure the correct alignment of the voices. See Richard H. Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), 221. If we assume this is so, then there should be no reason to notate monophonic music with rhythmic notation unless the rhythm of the piece were an essential part of its performance. This premise is supported by the fact that the instrumental dances that survive from this period are copied in mensural notation even though they are monophonic. For this information, see McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances*, 26-27.

[87] "Nos autem solum illam rotundam vel rotundellum dicimus, cuius partes non habent diversum cantum a cantu responsorii vel refractus."

[88] The music of the *ductia* is deduced from the explanation about the *rotundellus*. See Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 81-82.

[89] See Page, *Voices and Instruments*, nn. 14, 261; Sutton, "Dance," 883; and McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances*, 7.

types the music of the refrain and the verses were different. Nonetheless, their rhythm would have to have been clear and steady to accompany the steps of the dancers.[90]

Interestingly enough, the corpus of extant medieval Iberian secular music is dominated by compositions that conform to the type of refrain-form described by Grocheio. For example, most of the pieces that are part of the collection of the thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X (*CSM*) are composed in the poetic-musical *zejel-virelai* form.[91] This structure basically consists of an opening refrain, a narrative verse set to music that is either based on or different from that of the refrain, but that in most cases retakes the melody of the refrain before its closing, and a return to the opening refrain as a closing of the whole piece (thus, AbbaA).[92] In this collection we also find pieces such as *CSM* 90 and 120 in which, similar to Grocheio's *rotunedullus*, the verses share the same melodic line of the refrain.[93] As we can see, most pieces in the repertoire of the *Cantigas de Santa María* conform to the vocal dance forms explained by Grocheio in both text and music structure. Another reason to suspect that the *Cantigas*

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[90] See also John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986), 171.

[91] The thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (*CSM*) is a collection of more than four hundred monophonic pieces in Galician-Portuguese, composed and compiled in Castile in the multicultural court of King Alfonso X "the Wise" (1252-1284). The poetry of most of these pieces is narrative and usually recounts miracles performed by the Virgin Mary throughout the known world.

[92] The pieces have an initial refrain of two or more poetic lines (AA). Verses starts with a change in rhyme that is heard three times in succession (bbb) before a return to the rhyme of the refrain (a). The refrain is performed again to close the piece. The music relates to the poetic form as follows: There is a melody assigned to the refrain, then in the verse, the melody is sometimes different or based on the music of the refrain for the first two lines of text, while the third and fourth lines utilize the music of the refrain again. See Cunningham 10. However, a great number of variants upon this basic structure are possible in either the textual form or the musical one or both, such as the example of *Cantiga* 100, 20, and 380 in which the text and the music are truly symmetrical. For a study of the different poetic-musical structures of the repertoire, see Martin G. Cunningham, *Alfonso X el Sabio Cantigas de Loor* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2000), 10-11.

[93] The form of these pieces is that of the *rondeau*: ABaaaAB. See Cunningham, *Alfonso X*, 12, 137-138.

were dance-songs is that even though they are not polyphonic but monophonic, they were copied, at least in part, in mensural notation.[94] This not only indicates the importance of rhythm in this repertoire, but also reminds us of Grocheio's statement about the importance of providing "*recta percussione*" for a dance-song whose function was to prompt people to dance.[95] Finally, we can further corrobate the dancing character of the repertoire in the illuminations accompanying *CSM* 5 and 120 from the Codex *El Escorial* T.J.I. show people dancing in a circle,[96] and in the refrain of the *CSM* 409: "Singing and dancing/ she will be praised by us/ the crowned Virgin/ who is our hope."[97]

The extant *cantigas d'amigo* ascribed to the Galician troubadour Martin Codax (active circa 1213) are also composed on a refrain form.[98] As is characteristic of the

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[94] The subject of the rhythm of the cantigas has been a polemic one. The latest, and in my point of view more accurate, study of the notation has been conducted by Manuel P. Ferreira, "Bases para la transcripción: el canto gregoriano y la notación de las Cantigas de Santa María," in *Los instrumentos del Pórtico de la Gloria: su reconstrucción y la música de su tiempo*, ed. José López Calo (A Coruña Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, Conde de Fenosa, 1993) 2:573-621. See also Cunningham, *Alfonso X*, 19-59.

[95] It is difficult to figure out how is that the *Cantigas* were performed since we don't know the circumstances and places where their music was played. References about their performance seem to be given in the pieces. For example, we read in *Cantiga* 172 that the piece was to be performed by jongleurs: "E desto cantar fezemos/ que cantassen os jograres" (And we made this song so it can be performed by the jongleours). At the same time, we know that Alfonso decreed that the manuscripts containing these pieces were to remain in the church where he was going to be buried and that their content was to be used to celebrate the feasts of the Virgin Mary. See Cunningham, *Alfonso X*, 17. However, that the pieces were performed in church does not mean they were not accompanied by musical instruments like other secular instrumental music of the time. This is suggested by the illumination from the *Historia de la coronacion de los Reyes de Castilla* that shows women performing what the text calls "*cantigas"* ("vengan donçellas que…canten una cantiga") during the solemn coronation of Alfonso VIII in the church of the monastery of Huelgas. As we remember, one of them carries a frame drum during the performance. See Cunningham, *Alfonso X*, 17.

[96] See footnote 78 in this chapter.

[97] "Cantando e con dança/ seja por nós loada/ a Virgen corõada/ que é noss' esperança."

[98] The *Cantigas de Amigo* is a genre that consists of a monologue spoken by a young woman who anxiously awaits the return of her lover. It has been suggested by scholars that this repertoire evolved from an older genre of female songs native to the Peninsula that was developed and formalized by twelfth- and thirteenth-century Galician troubadours connected to the intellectual environment of Santiago de Compostela. For a study of these pieces, see Manuel Pedro Ferreira, *O som de Martin Codax* (Lisbon: Unisys, 1986).

genre, their poems are organized by couplets (groups of two lines) that present "parallelism," a poetic technique in which the text of the second couplet repeats almost verbatim that of the first one. The parallelism of the pieces is further enhanced by a procedure called "leixa pren," in which the first lines of the third and fourth strophes are identical to the last line of the second couplet. As is also customary in the repertoire, the refrains diverge from the thematic and poetic structure of the rest of the piece. As in the case of some of the *Cantigas de Santa María*, the *cantigas* of Martin Codax can be also associated with some of the dance-song forms described by Grocheio and the Occitan-Catalan poetic treatises in which a refrain is written to answer to the stanza. Also, the extant melodies are written in mensural notation, an indication that the performance of these pieces required a clear and "steady beat" such as the one prescribed for the *ductia* by Grocheio. Furthermore, in the text of one of the pieces, the composition *Eno sagrado en Vigo*,[99] there is a description of a woman who dances alone: "In holy ground in Vigo/ her beautiful body danced/ in love I am/ In the sacred Vigo/ her slim body danced/ in love I am...".[100] Thus, both the poetic and musical elements of these pieces and the allusion to a dancer in the text seemed to indicate that these compositions were meant to be danced. The use of frame drums to accompany these types of dance-songs is suggested not only by the text of the *Cantiga da Amigo* of Martin Ginzo in which a women is said to be demanding the playing of an *adufe*,[101] but also by the depictions of female frame

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[99] Unfortunately, this is the only *cantiga* in the manuscript whose music was not entered by the scribe. Its staff was left empty.

[100] "Eno sagrado en Vigo/ bailava corpo velido/ Amor ei/ En Vigo, no sagrado/ bailava corpo Delgado/ Amor ei…" For the complete text of this piece, see Ferreira, *O som de Martin Codax*. Texts like this one suggest that the pieces were dance-songs meant to be danced.

[101] For this text, see chapter 4, n. 82.

drum players from the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, a manuscript that contains four hundred *cantigas d'amigo* of different poets [figs. 39-41].

It is also possible that frame drums could have accompanied four of the ten pilgrim songs contained in the fourteenth-century *Llibre Vermell*, a manuscript produced in the scriptorium of the Monastery of Montserrat in Catalonia.[102] This supposition is based on the fact that the compositions are explicitly described in the manuscript as "round dances" (*ball redon*, *trepudium rotundum*),[103] pieces that, as we have seen, were commonly accompanied with frame drums. These dance-songs are the polyphonic virelai *Stella splendens,*[104] the irregular monophonic virelai *Cincti simus concanentes,*[105] the monophonic virelai-rondeau *Polorum Regina*,[106] and a peculiar monophonic *ballade*

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[102] We know from an indication appearing in the manuscript that these pieces were to be sung and danced by the pilgrims during their stay at the monastery. By prescribing these compositions, the establishment was trying to replace the visitors' music, considered to be lascivious and impious, with music accepted by the Church: "Quia interdum peregrini quando vigilant in ecclesia Beate Marie de Monte Serrato volunt cantare et trepudiare, et etiam in platea de die, et ibi non debeant nisi honestas ac devotas cantinelas cantare, idcirco superius et inferius alique sunt scripte" (Since many a time the pilgrims want to sing and dance during their vigil in the church of Santa Mary of Montserrat or in the square before it during the day, where only honest and devout songs should be performed, therefore here are some written down). For a study of this work and its music, see Gómez Muntané, *El Llibre Vermell*.

[103] The Roman term *tripudium* seems to have had the same meaning as *saltare* (to jump). It was used in relation to dance after the fourteenth-century as demonstrated in the dance treatise of Guglielmo Ebreo de Pesaro, *De prattica seu arte tripudii vulgare opusculum*; modern edition, ed. B. Sparti (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). See also Sutton, "Dance," 883.

[104] The complete heading of this piece is: "Sequitur alia cantilena omni dulcedine plena eiusdem Domine nostre ad trepudium rotundum."

[105] On the heading of this piece we only read "ball redon." This piece is in fact an altered *virelai* with the form: AAbbaaAA.

[106] The heading of this piece only says "ball redon," whose form is somewhere between a *rondeau* and a virelai: ABbbaBAB.

called *Los set gotxs*.[107] Perhaps we should also include the monophonic piece *Ad mortem festinamus* that, despite the lack of a label in the manuscript, features a clear *virelai* form. It is also important to note that as in the case of the *Cantigas de Santa María* and the *cantigas d'amigo* of Martin Codax, the scribes of the *Llibre Vermell* also entered carefully the rhythm of its monophonic compositions.

Thus, despite the lack of any explicit indication about the music played with frame drums in medieval Iberia, representations of performances in the historical sources indicate that at least in some contexts the instruments were used to accompany dance songs, pieces described in medieval poetic and musical treatises as comprised of refrains and clear rhythms (*recta percusione*). Since a large number of the *Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso X, the six *Cantigas d'Amigo* of Martin Codax, and five of the anonymous pilgrim songs from the *Llibre Vermell* can qualify as dance songs because of their structure, musical notation, and explicit or implicit function, we can speculate that frame drums were appropriate for their accompaniment.[108]

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[107] The complete heading of this piece is: "Ballada dels goytxs de Nostre Dona en vulgar cathallan, a ball redon." *Los set gotxs* is the oldest extant piece written in Catalan that celebrates the seven joys of the Virgin Mary, a traditional subject in Catalonian literature. The piece does not precisely fit into the usual form of the Occitan *ballade* in which verses of the refrain are inserted in the text of the stanza. The composition is comprised of a stanza whose text is set to a melody that presents open and closed endings (*ouvert* and *clos*), and a refrain that is repeated twice. It is important to mention that after the first stanza there is an annotation that says: "Los demás respondan" (everyone else answers). This clearly indicates the interaction between a soloist and a group of participants.

[108] As is also implicit in the iconographical sources, frame drums were coupled with melodic musical instruments such as the lute or the fiddle. On the one hand, it is possible that the instruments depicted might have doubled the melodic line of dance-songs or have supported the rhythm of the drum in some cases. It is also possible that the instruments were playing instrumental versions of the dances since we know that it was also a customary practiced, at least outside of Iberia, to turn vocal pieces into instrumental dances. See McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances*, 10. For the use of musical instruments in the accompaniment of vocal pieces, see Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 40-76.

6. CONCLUSION: SOURCES, MODERN PRACTICE, AND A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PERFORMANCE PRACTICE AND THE MUSIC OF *PANDEROS/PANDERETES* AND *ADUFES*

The reconstruction of the performance practice of the medieval frame drums presents major difficulties because of the lack of specific materials such as written parts or specialized treatises. However, a critical study of historical sources, the proper juxtaposition of literary and iconographical materials, and the correlation of historical data with modern-day practice observed in the Iberian Peninsula and other pertinent places can still shed some light on the matter. This study shows that the medieval Iberian frame drums were combined in performance with voices and/or other percussion, wind, and string instruments, or with other drums. Furthermore, from a comparison between depictions of hand positions and current playing techniques we have reconstructed some basic forms of striking the *pandero/panderete* and the *adufe*. Conclusions developed from these reconstructions and the observation of how the instruments' modern counterparts are played as solo or ensemble instruments indicate that medieval frame drum performance practice included elements such as the accentuation of the main attacks of a rhythmic structure and the addition of subdivisions and ornamentation to that configuration. Finally, a comparative study of art and both musical and non-musical literature has indicated that frame drums were used to accompany dance-songs, poetic compositions with refrains that were measured by a strict beat. With this precept in mind, I have searched the extant medieval Iberian repertoire looking for pieces that could have been performed with the accompaniment of frame drums. I have concluded that, because of their music-poetic structure and their implicit or explicit functions, a large number of the *Cantigas de Santa María*, the six *Cantigas da Amigo* of Martin Codax that have

survived with music, and five of the pilgrims songs of the *Llibre Vermell* might have been normally performed to the accompaniment of frame drums.

CONCLUSION

Because of the simplicity of their structure, medieval Iberian frame drums might at first appear to be only minor and unimportant elements in the Peninsula's historical *instrumentarium*. However, a careful scrutiny of musical and non-musical historical sources reveals that, in fact, these instruments were central to the cultural life of medieval Iberia.

As we have seen, round and square frame drums comprised of wooden shell and a membrane made out of parchment, were popularly used throughout the Peninsula during the Middle Ages. While these two types of instruments were known in Latin as *tympana*, in Romance the name of the round type was *pandero*, a development of the Latin word *pandorius*, and the square type as *adufe*, a mere absorption of the Classical Arabic term *al-duff.* Similarly, in medieval Iberian colloquial Arabic the square type retained its original name *duff*, but the round type was called *bandair*, a development of the Romance noun *pandero*. Thus, in their nomenclature, frame drums are a perfect example of the tremendous cultural exchange experienced in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages.

The medieval Iberian Christians, Muslims, and Jews of both sexes and different social classes used *panderos* and *adufes* to accompany recreational, civic, and paraliturgical events. However, these instruments seemed to have been particularly associated with the *cantaderas*, female performers who were considered to be prostitutes primarily because they defied the contemporaneous conception of a woman's placement in society by performing professionally.

The round and square drums were used to provide a rhythmic accompaniment to joyous vocal or instrumental dances performed and enjoyed by both aristocratic and non-aristocratic people. The two types were performed alone, in groups comprised of frame drums of the same kind or of mixed percussion instruments, in duos with melodic instruments, and as part of larger mixed instrumental ensembles that included other percussion, wind, and string instruments. In my opinion, the most interesting practice recorded in the historical sources was the combination of the *pandero* and *adufe*. Observation of the modern practice suggests that, in this case, the resonant *pandero* was used to set the most important elements of a rhythmic structure while the more muffled and softer *adufe* ornamented this basic cycle with dry-sounding subdivisions and ornamentations. And, even though scholars and performers have usually considered these instruments to be noisy and loud, the sources not only show their common pairing with soft instruments such as the *vielle* and the lute, but in one source the sound of the round type with jingles was even described as being enjoyably "sweet."

Like many other musical instruments, frame drums were used in medieval Iberian art and literature as symbols that stood for and/or suggested something else that was not intrinsically connected to them to communicate and reinforce social, religious, and moral values of a specific group. However, the wide-ranging set of associations that the instruments acquired during their long history was capable of triggering in the mind of the audience ambivalent readings, making them complex, multifaceted symbolic objects. For example, while *panderos* and *adufes* were identified with sexually-charged female performers and pagans, and, therefore, capable of being manipulated to trigger misogynous or anti-Semitic feelings, the instruments were also utilized to promote

piousness because of their connection with biblical heroines, divine justice, and Christ stretched on the Cross. Thus, the only way to ensure the appropriate identification and reading of the message projected by frame drums in an artistic discourse is by paying special attention to the context of the scene and/or the relation of the objects with other symbolic elements of the representation. As we can see, despite their simple appearance, the complexity of frame drums as symbolic artifacts cannot be underestimated.

I believe that the most interesting feature of the medieval Iberian frame drums is their tremendous historical and cultural burden. Their story does not start in the seventh century with the description of the *tympanum* in Isidore's *Etymologiarum*, or in the tenth-century Latin dictionary from Navarre, but in an ancient Anatolian shrine. The instruments' musical and symbolic functions in medieval Iberia are the product of the amalgamation of the ancient and the medieval, the Eastern and the Western, the religious and the secular, the forbidden and the permissible, the aristocratic and non-aristocratic, and the pagan, Jewish, Christian, and Islamic elements piled up on them through the centuries.

Perhaps the most difficult task of this dissertation has not been to collect enough historical sources and find methodologies to scrutinize them, but to know how, when, and where to stop doing it. In other words, the subject of the medieval Iberian frame drums has proven to me to be endless because the variety of extant primary sources, scarcity of secondary sources, and the complexity of the subjects' relation with the culture. Fortunately, this open field provides us with the opportunity to continue opening doors that might give us a deeper insight into the many influences, connections, and associations that surround these types of membranophones. Some of the most important

subjects to be dealt with in the future are the instruments' connection with food and the cycles of nature, their particular connection with males and religious groups, their use as instruments that provided women from Antiquity and the Middle ages with the opportunity to gain space and a voice in rather difficult and restricted misogynous environments, their recurring floral decorations, and their use as symbolic tools of political propaganda. As we can see, even though we are talking about frame drums, these subjects as well as other ones explored in this dissertation transcend musical functions. This demonstrates one more time the central role that these types of membranophones had not only in medieval Iberian, but also in Mediterranean and Middle Eastern cultures as a whole.

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