

# Music and Identities

## Al-Andalus Clay Drums and the Study of Popular Musical Behaviors Through the Archaeological Record

Raquel Jiménez Pasalodos – Alexandra Bill

### Zusammenfassung

*Tontrommeln aus Al-Andalus gehören nach gegenwärtigem Wissensstand zur größten Fundgruppe von Musikinstrumenten aus dem archäologischen Kontext des 8.–15. Jh. der Iberischen Halbinsel. Nach dem 15. Jh. sind diese Instrumente weder im archäologischen noch ethnographischen Zusammenhang anzutreffen. Im Vergleich dazu sind sie in der musikalischen Praxis Marokkos nach wie vor sehr verbreitet. Archäologische, ikonographische und schriftliche Quellen sowie musikethnologische Studien in Marokko legen eine Interpretation der Funktion dieser Instrumente nahe, die mit rituellen Praktiken der islamischen Bevölkerung eng zusammenhängt und mit der Christianisierung der Region endet. Der Beitrag liefert ein Beispiel für die enge Beziehung zwischen sozialer Identität und musikalischer Praxis in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.*

Medieval Islamic clay drums are the largest archaeo-musicological corpus in the Iberian Peninsula, and by far the most commonly found musical artefacts in Andalusi archaeological sites. Since the first discovery made in an Andalusi<sup>1</sup> shipwreck found in 1973 in the southern end of the bay of Cannes,<sup>2</sup> a relatively large number of them have been discovered during excavations or in museum collections. At the moment, we have identified 76 single drums (more or less fragmented) and more than 200 drum fragments (Tab. 1). This inventory is far from complete since many clay drums were unnoticed when finds were published in archaeological reports (for instance, the drums from Benetússer were only recognized as such some years later).<sup>3</sup> Others are probably still lying unknown in the storerooms of museums or laboratories as a result of their problematic identification.<sup>4</sup>

The findings are spread throughout the territory of al-Andalus (Fig. 1). Their distribution mirrors the archaeological map of al-Andalus, as rural re-

gions and the centre of the Andalusi territory have not interested archaeologists as much as the politically important towns and the harbour areas, which also benefit from a large number of emergency excavations. The clay drum time span covers almost all of Andalusi history, from the Umayyad period to the Nasrid period. The chronological frame also reflects the state of archaeological and ceramological research on al-Andalus. The earliest drums, those from Silves Castle<sup>5</sup> and Torrevieja (Fig. 2),<sup>6</sup> were initially dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century but are now considered to be from the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century. The most abundant findings are from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century, such as, for example, the drums from Benetússer<sup>7</sup> or the drum of Petrer (Fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> We also have interesting cases where drums from dif-

<sup>1</sup> Andalusi is the adjective that refers to al-Andalus, the part of the Iberian Peninsula that was under Muslim rule from 711 AD to 1492 AD, while Andalusian is a geographical term that refers to the region of Andalusia within its contemporary borders.

<sup>2</sup> Vindry 1980, 221–222.

<sup>3</sup> Escribà 1987, 314; Escribà 1990, 65.

<sup>4</sup> An example of the difficulties with their identification is the confusion of a drum's base with the neck of a type of water jug. See Bienes Calvo 1987, 124 fig. 16; 145 fig. 16.

<sup>5</sup> The drum was dated from the 8<sup>th</sup> century when first published (Varela Gomes 1995, 27 fig. 5) and in the following publications (Varela Gomes 2003, 490–491 fig. 272), according to the dating of the layer in which it was found (*camada* 8). However, ceramic production in western al-Andalus is still not very well known for the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries and Varela Gomes' dating is questioned by ceramologists. The 8<sup>th</sup> century dating seems impossible but the exact dating is still questioned: though some of the pieces of the *camada* 8 can be dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, others found in the same layers cannot be found before the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Gómez Martínez 1998, 122).

<sup>6</sup> Gutiérrez López first dated it to the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Gutiérrez López 2002, 131). However, this author has reviewed the date and asserts that the finding must now at least be dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Gutiérrez López, pers. comm.).

<sup>7</sup> Escribà 1990, 67.

<sup>8</sup> Navarro Poveda 1990, 22–24.

ferent periods were found in very near locations, such as the drums from Jerez de la Frontera, with one example from the 10<sup>th</sup> century and two from the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 4). The latest, the drum from Castillejo de los Guájares in Granada province (Fig. 5), belongs to what A. García Porras calls “*tardo Almohade*” (late Almohad) ceramics (end of the 13<sup>th</sup>–beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>9</sup> This period corresponds to the first century of the Nasrid Emirate, since the Nasrids established their capital in Granada in 1237.

Clay drums are not only numerous, but also seem to have been common throughout Andalusí history. However, musicological research on al-Andalus has paid very little attention to this important corpus of musical instruments. When the first iconographies of clay drums were analyzed (those of the Cantigas and the Beatus, both produced in the Christian kingdoms but with iconographic or thematic Islamic influences),<sup>10</sup> they were either believed to be marginal (as they were not mentioned in the chronicles or depicted on luxury iconographies) or to have an eastern Mediterranean origin.<sup>11</sup> Until recently, publications presenting archaeological drums did not seek a deeper interpretation, and usually gave them the anachronistic name of *darbūka*.<sup>12</sup> Besides, the few works that aimed to provide a musicological interpretation were based on a very limited number of findings. Álvarez and Rosselló Bordoy’s article, the first ever published on the subject, considered only the three drums known at the time: the example discovered in the Batéguier shipwreck, one from Benetússer and the one from Castillejo de Los Guájares.<sup>13</sup> Later, Rosselló Bordoy added four new fragments,<sup>14</sup> two from Malaga’s Roman theater<sup>15</sup> and two larger pieces found in emergency excavations in Palma de Mallorca. Some drums found in Madrid were also mentioned by Cortés García in her article on Andalusí organology.<sup>16</sup> She links these instruments to the *naqarat*, which she describes as an ethnographic clay drum from Iraq. She also reminds us that a similar name, *nuqayr*, appears in *zéjel* number twelve of the Cordoban poet Ibn Quzmān (d. 1160).<sup>17</sup> For the first time, a musicologist attempted to give a name to the instrument more in accordance with the sources. However, the identification is not easy. According to the 16<sup>th</sup> century *Vocabulista*,<sup>18</sup> *nuqar* may have designated frame drums (*pander* or *pandereta*) or a type of kettle drum (*atabal*) since one of the translations of the term *atabalía* (the profession of playing the *atabal*) is *nocāira* o *nocairīt*. Nowadays, *naqqāra* still means *atabales* or kettledrums. However, we are aware of how confusing the names of musical instruments can be, and how their meanings can change through time and place, so we should keep in mind her suggestion. Nevertheless, the author did not attempt

to provide us with a contextual interpretation or explain the lack of other iconographical or written sources. It is an accurate testimony to the dilemma faced when confronted with clay drums.

In general, musicologists have focused on the musical behaviors of the elites, as revealed in a study of literary and iconographic sources that describe the musical life of the Andalusí courts. Musicologists and Arabists have paid attention to the birth of Arab musical practices at the court of the Umayyad emirs and their development under the Umayyad caliphs and the Taifas dynasties.<sup>19</sup> They have worked on the appearance and codification of the *nawba*, its diffusion to North Africa and the central role it now plays in the so called ‘Arabo-Andalusian’<sup>20</sup> musical traditions of cultured circles.<sup>21</sup> This musicological focus on the elites’ practices was in no way unique and was part of a larger movement. The first Orientalists and Arabists working on al-Andalus were indeed primarily interested in its political and dynastic events. When they extended the scope of their research to cultural matters in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was mainly to study cultural phenomena within the circles of power.<sup>22</sup> This explains why the first edited and translated sources were mostly poetry and chronicles, which offered an insight into political history and the life of the elites. These sources, which tended to be silent on the question of per-

<sup>9</sup> García Porras 2001, 450–454.

<sup>10</sup> See following pages.

<sup>11</sup> Álvarez 1987, 85–86; Álvarez 1993, 217.

<sup>12</sup> Jiménez Pasalodos – Bill 2012, 18, 34–37.

<sup>13</sup> Álvarez – Rosselló Bordoy 1989.

<sup>14</sup> Rosselló Bordoy 1996.

<sup>15</sup> There is in fact only one drum fragment from Malaga’s Roman theater. The two mentioned by Rosselló Bordoy are an erroneous identification (Rosselló Bordoy 1996, 29, 36–37). Ación Almansa, who studied Malaga’s Roman theater pottery, presents the two pieces reproduced by G. Rosselló Bordoy as fragments of containers (Ación Almansa 1988, 234 nos. 115–116, fig. 6) and another fragment as a drum.

<sup>16</sup> Cortés García 1990, 308–309.

<sup>17</sup> Cortés García 1990, 309.

<sup>18</sup> Alcalá 1505.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Ribera 1922, 53–75; or Cortés García 2009.

<sup>20</sup> The expression *musique arabo-andalouse* was used for the first time by the French musicologist Jules Rouanet (Poché 1995, 13) and is now commonly used in French and, translated to English, in English publications to refer to contemporary Maghreb musical traditions of Andalusí origin. In Spanish, these traditions were called *hispano-árabe* for a long time, which was a way of highlighting the Hispanic genius, in answer to the political and academic context of the time (see Marín 1992, 387–389). They are now referred to as *música andalusí*, which closely resembles one of the Arabic ways of naming them *andalusī* – stressing the link between these traditions and al-Andalus.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Cortés García 1996 or Guettat 2000.

<sup>22</sup> For an analysis of the focus of Spanish scholarship on al-Andalus, see Monroe 1970.

cussion instruments, were the sources upon which studies of Andalusí music were mainly based. This explains both their singular focus on the music of cultured circles and the lack of studies on clay drums. The fields of historical study have considerably broadened since then and many new sources have been discovered, but musicological research has been slow to follow up the emerging leads. It has only recently begun to focus on new lines of research and new sources.<sup>23</sup>

The chronological discrepancy between historical and musicological research may also be explained by the sensitive nature of the identity issues linked with the questions of Arabo-Andalusian traditions, which is very often the prism through which Andalusí music is studied. Indeed, the Andalusí and further Arab origins of the cultured musical practices of North Africa are a matter of deep pride for both the musicians and the population.<sup>24</sup> Al-Andalus is still considered a highly valued cultural reference, while popular and Berber traditions tend to be underestimated or even scorned. This opposition between al-Andalus and the Maghreb was shaped by Andalusí sources (see al Šaqundī)<sup>25</sup> during the Middle Ages, at a time when al-Andalus was militarily and politically dominated by Berber dynasties. In those sources, al-Andalus symbolizes everything that is cultured and Arab, and the Maghreb everything that is Berber and therefore uncouth. The impact of this ideological construction still affects the way different cultural phenomena are perceived. Musicologists therefore tend to focus principally on Arabo-Andalusian musical tradition and its Andalusí origins. Thus, they forget other musical practices more linked with popular behaviors, sometimes connected to the Berber roots of an important part of the population. How then to study an instrument about which traditional Andalusí musical sources were completely silent? We propose a methodological approach that considers the archaeological evidence, the context of the findings, historical sources that are not traditionally used by musicologists, and ethnographic comparisons with popular Maghrebian practices and not with modern Arabo-andalusian ensembles.

## Islamic Clay Drums: Description and Playing Techniques

These membranophones are single headed goblet drums made of clay. They can be classified into two main types, considering the shape of the cup (hemispheric or conic-frustum), with three different types of bases (conical, cylindrical or fusiform). So far, excavated drums with a hemispheric cup are dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries and come from the northern half of the al-Andalus territory,

while there seem to be no such chronological and geographical restrictions concerning drums with a conic-frustum cup.<sup>26</sup> However, despite some exceptions that could be explained by dating issues, we can detect a tendency to abandon goblet drums (with hemispheric cups). This fact matches the ethnographic Maghrebian shapes, which mainly show conic-frustum cups. Nevertheless, these observations may change as we add more artefacts to our survey. The smaller complete examples measure 7.9 cm and 8.54 cm in height (drums from the Museum of the Roman theatre of Caesar Augusta) and the largest ones can be up to 32.3 cm high, such as the drum of Castillejo de los Guájares.<sup>27</sup> The absence of devices or marks to facilitate the attachment of the skin indicates that it was glued to the sound box.

Due to the small size of some of the findings, some archaeologists have suggested that these instruments may have been toy drums, too small to be played by adults or to produce significant sounds.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, even the smallest drums are perfectly functional from an acoustical point of view, as they have a shape and size similar to contemporary Moroccan clay drums such as the *ta'rija* and *akwāl* (Fig. 6), whose height varies from 12 cm to 35 cm. It is also important to comment that the Moroccan *ta'rija* usually shows one or two resonant strings or snares under the membrane, which produces a particular timbre and makes small examples sound remarkably loud. Despite the absence of archaeological evidence of these devices, which were usually made of organic material, we shall consider this possibility for some of the medieval clay drums.

<sup>23</sup> Dwight Reynolds describes in a recent article the new written sources available for the study of music in al-Andalus, the new perspectives they open and the new lines of research that have recently been developed (mainly, the study of the links between musical practices and the society in which they develop), see Reynolds 2009.

<sup>24</sup> See Poché 1995, 19–23.

<sup>25</sup> The *Risāla fī fadl al-Andalus*, or Epistle in Favour of al Andalus, was written by the Andalusí *al-Šaqundī* (d. around 1231/1232) to praise the cultural superiority of al-Andalus in comparison with the Maghreb.

<sup>26</sup> For more on this point see Bill – Jiménez Pasalodos – García Benito 2013, 1097–1104.

<sup>27</sup> García Porras 2001, 616.

<sup>28</sup> Works on ceramics tend to classify the drums as ‘toys’ or, at best, ‘entertainment’. For instance, H. Catarino classifies the drums amongst different toys under the category “*os-artefactos lúdicos*” which means toy or entertainment artefacts (Catarino 1998, 381) and A. García Porras describes the drum from the Castillejo de los Guájares in the section dedicated to “*juego y esparcimiento*”, which means game and entertainment (García Porras 2001, 330–332). We were also invited, due to our research on these instruments, to participate in a Conference on Medieval Islamic toys (Colloque: “*Jeux et jouets au Moyen Âge en terre d’islam*”, 15 March 2013, Lyon).

It is likely that due to their popularity and widespread use these instruments were made by professional potter artisans. In fact, some of the finds come from kilns and potter's workshops, such as the drums of Calle San Pablo in Zaragoza or the ones from Benetússer.<sup>29</sup> All the fragments show potter's wheel marks, and the quality of the ceramic materials and the finish of the drums vary enormously from one example to another. This quality diversity is found in all the drums' archaeological contexts, regardless of their type (such as potter's workshops, dumps or houses).

The small size of the drums in comparison with better-known goblet drums from other Islamic contexts such as the *darbūka* or the *doumbek* requires a different playing technique. The *darbūka* is usually played by placing the instrument on the leg of the performer and hitting the membrane with both hands. However, this position would be very difficult for the small archaeological drums. For the smaller examples, the playing technique would be similar to contemporary Maghrebian practice, consisting of holding the drum upside down at its narrowest part with one hand while playing with the other, thereby avoiding blocking the vibrations from the resonant box. It is interesting to note that we have an early medieval depiction of this particular playing posture in the illumination of the Nebuchadnezzar orchestra of the *Beatus* of Valcavado or *Beatus* of Valladolid, which dates back to 970 (fol. 199 V; Fig. 7). This miniature is copied with minor variations in two later *Beati*, in the Seu d'Urgell, from the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (ca. 975?, fol. 213 V) and in the *Beatus* of Fernando I, from 1047 (fol. 275 V). This Christian miniature was probably intended to represent non-Christian musicians, as the musicians that are praising the idol of Nebuchadnezzar are playing Islamic and pagan musical instruments. The artist, the monk Oveco, was likely a Mozarab (an Arab Christian), which may explain how he knew about the technique for playing the drums.<sup>30</sup>

In the case of larger drums, iconographies also throw light on their possible playing techniques. The Tavira vase (end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century–beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century; Fig. 8),<sup>31</sup> one of the few with figurative representations from the Almoravid period in al-Andalus, depicts a musician holding a drum under one arm and playing it with the other hand. A second example, a beautiful clay figurine of a drum player, produced almost a century later in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Almohad period; Fig. 9) in a potter's workshop in Cordoba,<sup>32</sup> hints at another playing technique. It shows a musician holding the drum upside down between the knees, while playing with both hands. Finally, a Jewish female player<sup>33</sup> from the illumination of the *Cantiga* 300 of Alfonso X el Sabio (Fig. 10) is por-

trayed placing the drum on her shoulder and playing it with both hands. All these techniques can also be seen in ethnographic and popular contexts in present day Morocco.

## A Popular Musical Instrument? Drum Contexts and Sources

Most of these drums have been found in residential contexts along with everyday pottery, which gives us valuable information about their context of use. Several drums, such as those from Balaguer,<sup>34</sup> Madrid<sup>35</sup> or Torrevieja near Villamartín,<sup>36</sup> were found in holes or silos used as dumps or for storage within houses, amongst the remains of common pottery and food, which tends to indicate that they were considered and used as common furnishing, such as we see in present day Maghreb. Others were found within the rooms of dwellings, such as the drum from the Castillejo de los Guájares, which was discovered in the house of a rural fortified village, along with cooking and eating vessels,<sup>37</sup> while Alcoutim and Silves drums and fragments were found in residential units within the castle walls.<sup>38</sup> As for the Batéguier drum, found in a shipwreck in the waters of the French Mediterranean, it was part of a commercial cargo consisting of a large variety of common eating and drinking vessels, as well as containers.<sup>39</sup> All these archaeological contexts tend to indicate that these drums were relatively common, were not considered as luxury or very valuable items, and were produced in regular potters' workshops, following the same production process as regular pottery, and not produced by a specialised instrument maker. The domestic contexts imply their use in popular day-to-day musical performances, a fact that seems to be confirmed by iconographic and written sources. The only two Andalusí drum iconographies, the Tavira vase and the drum player figurine, are both clay artefacts that have been excavated in contexts

<sup>29</sup> Francisco de Asís Escudero: Los tambores musulmanes del alfar de la calle San Pablo 95–103 de Zaragoza. Salduie (forthcoming) and Escribà 1987, 315.

<sup>30</sup> Jiménez Pasalodos (forthcoming).

<sup>31</sup> The excavation context of this vase does not provide us with an absolute chronology, García Pereira Maia 2012, 6–9. Therefore, we follow the dating supported by the Louvre in the catalog of its latest exhibition, Lintz – Déléry – Tuil-Leonetti 2014, 398.

<sup>32</sup> Salinas 2012, 365–368.

<sup>33</sup> Katze 1992, 106.

<sup>34</sup> Alòs *et al.* 2007, 282.

<sup>35</sup> Cabellero Zoreda – Priego Fernández del Campo – Retuerce Velasco 1985, 178–180.

<sup>36</sup> Gutiérrez López 2002, 127. 131.

<sup>37</sup> García Porras 2001, 102–109. 144–153. 616.

<sup>38</sup> Varela Gomes 1988, 70–76; Catarino 1998, 331. 381–382.

<sup>39</sup> Vindry 1980, 221–222.

very similar to those of the drums. For instance, the drum player was found in a potter's workshop with a large variety of common eating and cooking vessels.<sup>40</sup> They thus clearly come from a popular context and their iconographical interpretations tend to hint at a Berber cultural background.<sup>41</sup>

As for written sources, we have already seen that the literature traditionally used by Andalusī musicology, poetry and chronicles, tends to ignore percussion instruments or to look down upon them.<sup>42</sup> One of the few occurrences we have found so far is the already mentioned poem of Ibn Quzmān (d. 1160), renowned for the musical themes and rhythmic quality of his poetry<sup>43</sup> and also for his Andalusī dialect, which mixes Arabic and words of Romanic and sometimes Berber origin.<sup>44</sup> In this *zejel*, the poet describes a minstrel's ensemble. The dancer is accompanied by several musical instruments: the *nuqayra*, the *duff*, the *bandayr* and the *zamīr*.<sup>45</sup> The instruments mentioned here are membranophones except for the *zamīr*, whose name derives from the same root as *mizmār*, usually used for instruments of the wind family or more specifically for reed instruments.<sup>46</sup> The *duff* and *bandayr* generally designate frame drums<sup>47</sup> while the *nuqayra* tend to refer to a drum-shaped instrument. It is also interesting that this group is completely different from the classical Arabo-Andalusian ensemble, which makes us think that the poet was probably describing a popular musical performance. In fact, Quzmān's minstrel group is very close to those found in Maghrebian popular musical contexts from later periods up to the present. These kinds of ensembles can indeed be found in historical sources since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, such as *The Description of Africa* by Al-Ḥasan bin Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Fāsī, better known as Leo Africanus (1488–1554). This Andalusī scholar and traveler from a noble Grenadian family migrated to Fez after the Christian conquest of Granada. After being made prisoner during one of his travels, he entered the service of Pope Leo X, who asked him to compile an account of his experiences in Africa. In his work, he describes, for instance, a wedding in Fez: "...she is carried by porters, her parents and kinsfolk following with a great noise of trumpets, pipes and drums, and with a number of torches."<sup>48</sup> Domingo Badía (1767–1818), a Spanish traveler who toured Muslim countries from Morocco to Mecca disguised as a Syrian Prince, also describes the same kind of ensembles in Tanger. For instance, in his diaries published under the name of Ali Bey we read: "The ghaita<sup>49</sup> players [a double reed single pipe aerophone] [...] are usually accompanied by a big drum [...] and normally play in weddings, circumcisions, and festivities, but are not allowed to enter the mosques and their art is not part of the cult".<sup>50</sup> We find again the same descriptions at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Frame drums and ghaitas

are said to be played during the festivity of Achoura in Fez "...for several days we only hear, everywhere in the city, the sound of the frame drums and ghaitas"<sup>51</sup> or in the market place at Rabat.<sup>52</sup> We can find another literary reference to a possible cylindrical drum in the *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus*, or *Epistle in favour of al-Andalus* composed by the jurist and cultured writer al-Šaqundī (d. around 1231/1232). The author, while praising al-Andalus' cultural superiority, gives us a list of Andalusī and Maghrebian musical instruments:

"You have also heard about the well-made musical instruments that there are in this country [Seville], such as the *ḥyāl*, the *ūd* [...]. Even if they can be found in other cities of al-Andalus, there are more there. And there are no such things in the Maghreb, except what was brought there from al-Andalus, and the instruments that can be attributed to them are: the *duff*, the *ʿaqwāl*, the *yarqā* the *ʿabū-qarn*, the *dabdaba* of the Sudanese and the *ḥamāqī* of the Berbers."<sup>53</sup>

Most of the instruments listed are hard to recognize, however, the term *ʿaqwāl* can probably be identified with the modern *ʿakwāl*, a cylindrical clay drum larger than the *taʿrīja*, quite similar to some of the archaeological findings. Al-Šaqundī is not claiming this clay instrument as Andalusī. On

<sup>40</sup> Salinas 2012, 365.

<sup>41</sup> García Pereira Maia 2012, 27.

<sup>42</sup> For instance, one of only two percussion instruments discovered in the very rich 11<sup>th</sup> century poetical corpus by H. Pérès was in a derogatory context (Pérès 1953, 380–381).

<sup>43</sup> García Gómez insists on the musicality of Ibn Quzmān's *zejels* in the prologue to his translation (García Gómez 1972, IX–X).

<sup>44</sup> See Ferrando 2006, 423.

<sup>45</sup> Ibn Quzmān, edition Corriente 1995, 60 (there are other editions, in particular the one joined to García Gómez's translation, but this one is the most recent and accurate we know of). The translators disagree on whether the word *šiz* means castanets (translation by García Gómez 1972, 65) or drumsticks (translation by Corriente 1989, 60).

<sup>46</sup> See Farmer 1991, 206–210.

<sup>47</sup> See Farmer 1957, 620–621.

<sup>48</sup> Africanus 1550, translation by Pory 1896, 450.

<sup>49</sup> In the French edition, the first printed work of his diaries, the author says *musette*. This term could mean both *musette de cour* (a kind of bagpipe) or *oboe musette*, sometimes only known as *musette*, a double reed single pipe instrument. He is for sure referring to the Moroccan *gayta* (Moroccan traditional oboe).

<sup>50</sup> Bey 1814, 46 (our translation).

<sup>51</sup> Aubin 1904, 287 (our translation).

<sup>52</sup> Aubin 1904, 303 (our translation).

<sup>53</sup> Al-Šaqundī transmitted by al-Maqqarī, ed. Dozy *et al.*, 143–144 (our translation). Unless otherwise specified, the translations are ours. We will however mention in the bibliography any existing translations in European language if they exist and are still usable.

the contrary, he describes it as a poorer instrument of Maghrebian or Berber origin. Consequently, Ibn Quzmān's poem and Al-Šaqundī's epistle, two of the few literary references to drums, are not speaking about the cultured music of elite circles. However, most literary sources of great musicological interest are silent about the use of percussion instrument; other written sources more closely linked with day-to-day life, such as juridical writings and dictionaries, do mention them. The status of music was, and still is, a largely debated question from an Islamic point of view, especially since the Quran, the primarily source of Islamic law, is silent on the subject.<sup>54</sup> Therefore, the arguments for music's lawfulness or lawlessness are based on the way the Quran was later interpreted and on *ḥadīṭ*-s, which are the traditions of what the Prophet Muḥammad said and did. Since it is possible to find *ḥadīṭ*-s forbidding music and others defending it, the status of music in different Islamic societies depends on the view of the most prominent legal experts of the place and time. In al-Andalus, the Mālikī school, based on the traditions of Medina's imam Mālik (d. 796) and his disciples, has dominated the juridical landscape since the beginning of the 9th century.<sup>55</sup> During all of Andalus history, there is a consensus amongst Mālikī jurists on the prohibition of musical instruments and musical practices, except for the use of some percussion instruments during weddings and, sometimes, other ceremonies. The details of what exactly could be tolerated, and when, and what had to be prohibited, were discussed and varied slightly depending on the opinions of the different jurists. However, the general interdiction in most contexts was widely agreed upon within the Mālikī frame. Yaḥyā Ibn 'Umar (d. 901), an Andalusī jurist who lived most of his life in Kairouan, North Africa, during the 9th century, gives us one of the first testimonies on this matter.<sup>56</sup> This jurist, who followed the teaching of the Mālikī doctrine masters and played a key role in its diffusion in al-Andalus, authored a *ḥisba* treatise, a part of which addressed the question of the lawfulness of instrumental music.<sup>57</sup> He relates traditions of the Prophet and different renowned Mālikī jurists<sup>58</sup> on the prohibition of music and the exceptions to this prohibition: "ʿAṣbaḡ<sup>59</sup> said: 'I heard that Ibn al-Qāsim<sup>60</sup> was asked about a man invited to a dinner and he finds music there: 'Should he enter? He answered: if it is insignificant instruments such as the *duff*<sup>61</sup> and the *kabar*<sup>62</sup>, or the ones played by women, then I see no harm in it'. And it is said that Mālik saw no harm in the *duff* or the *kabar*. ʿAṣbaḡ said: 'During weddings they are for women and the wedding's advertisement. And 'īsā Ibn Yūnus told me from [...]'<sup>63</sup> 'Ā'īša, the Prophet's wife [...], that the Prophet said: 'Advertise the marriage and play the *ḡirbāl*<sup>64</sup> for it'.<sup>65</sup>

The different traditions collected by Yaḥyā Ibn 'Umar all agree that the *duff* and the *kabar*, respectively frame drums and drums, were considered lawful instruments by the highest authorities of the Mālikī school, while it is implied that other instruments were not to be tolerated. These opinions are strengthened by the Prophet's approval of the use of the *ḡirbāl*, another kind of frame drum, during weddings. The information given by Yaḥyā Ibn 'Umar is confirmed in later periods and shows us that the Mālikī norm did not evolve over time. At the beginning of the 12th century, Ibn Rušd (d. 1126), the greatest Mālikī jurist of the Almoravid period in al-Andalus and Averroes' grandfather, confirmed what we have learned from the earlier juridical treatises. In a commentary of an earlier treatise, he explicitly condemned musical instruments except for some percussion instruments during weddings.<sup>66</sup> However,

<sup>54</sup> When arguing about whether music has to be tolerated or forbidden, legal experts often refer to some verses of the Quran. In the case of instrumental music, the most cited verse is Sura, verse 6 (XXXI, 6). However, the reference to music is not at all explicit and only derives from the way the term *lahw*, meaning entertaining or amusing, was later interpreted in the different legal traditions. On this question, see Shiloah 1995, 31–33.

<sup>55</sup> For the diffusion of the Mālikī school in al-Andalus, see Talbi 1962.

<sup>56</sup> Marin 1985, 46–47.

<sup>57</sup> As an Islamic principle, the *ḥisba* means promoting good and forbidding evil. In Islamic societies the application of this principle led to "the supervision of moral behavior and more particularly of the markets" (Cahen – Talbi 1967, 485). Treatises were written to help the *muḥtasib*, the person entrusted with the *ḥisba*'s enforcement, in his duties. Musical practices, as phenomena that could disrupt public morality, were one of the many subjects that Yaḥyā Ibn 'Umar addressed in his treatise.

<sup>58</sup> In juridical Islamic literature, the jurist rarely provides us with his own opinion and tends to collect the opinions of his masters and the teaching of the juridical school's founders on the subject at hand.

<sup>59</sup> ʿAṣbaḡ (d. 224/838) was a Mālikī jurist who played an important role in the transmission of Mālik's traditions in al-Andalus, Cottart 1987, 279.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn al-Qāsim (d. around 191/806) was "the most prominent disciple of Mālik b. Anas (the founder of the Mālikī juridical school), and considered the most reliable transmitter of Mālik's opinions" (Schacht 1968, 817).

<sup>61</sup> Farmer 1957, 620–621.

<sup>62</sup> Farmer 1998, 32–34.

<sup>63</sup> In order to simplify the reading we did not include the *ʿisnād* of the Arabic text, which details the transmission chain of the *ḥadīṭ*. As with every *ḥadīṭ*, this saying of the Prophet can be traced back through a transmission chain of people having learnt it to the person who actually heard it in the first place, in this case, his wife 'Ā'īša.

<sup>64</sup> Farmer 1957, 620–621.

<sup>65</sup> Yaḥyā Ibn 'Umar, ed. Makkī 1956, 120–121 (our translation).

<sup>66</sup> In the *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-l-taḥṣīl wa-l-šarḥ wa-l-tawḡīḥ wa-l-ta'īl fī masā'il al-Mustabraqa*, Ibn Rušd transmits and comments one of the earliest and most important Mālikī treatise, the *Mustabraqa*, by the Cordoban jurist al-'Utḥī (d. around 869). This treatise played an important role in the diffusion of the Mālikī doctrine in 9th century al-Andalus.

he acknowledged the fact that his predecessors did not all agree on which percussion instruments were prohibited and which were acceptable. According to him, there were no doubts about the *duff*'s lawfulness but the case of the *kabar*, the drum, was more discussed. Its tolerance depended on the tradition considered.<sup>67</sup> The general agreement on the *duff*'s lawfulness is not surprising since it was supported by a *ḥadīth* relating the Prophet's encouragement to use a specific frame drum during weddings. Without the support of a *ḥadīth*, it is not extraordinary that the drums were not considered favorably by the jurists. However, their acceptance by some of the most prestigious of them guaranteed that it was very likely always permitted to use them in day-to-day life. It is difficult to determine to what extent those legal treatises were a true reflection of the musical practices of the time. As with all normative sources, they tell us more about what should have been than about what actually was. Popular musical practices must have been much more varied than those specifically allowed by those treatises or we would not find the same prohibitions repeated over and over again. However, the fact that membranophones were considered to be the only lawful instruments is very interesting as it informs us that they were of common and frequent use – likely amongst other instruments – during weddings and other ceremonies. During the first centuries of Islam, jurists had to take a stand on matters that were not addressed in the Quran but were essential to the structure of the developing Islamic society. If the Mālikī school's highest authorities gave their opinions on the status of music and on the lawfulness of percussion instruments, it was to answer a social need. It hints at musical practices that could have been common at the time. The fact that famous jurists such as Ibn Rušd take the time to comment on the same questions shows that they were still relevant in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, juridical literature confirms what the archaeological contexts infer: membranophones were regularly used in popular contexts. The performative context of the so-called *kabar* corresponds well with the organological characteristics of the clay drums, which are generally small and therefore not made to be played alone or in large musical ensembles. According to *ḥisba* treatises, the *kabar* and *duff* were played together, possibly without any wind or string instruments.<sup>68</sup>

The other important written source that shows us the significant presence of membranophones in medieval Islamic Spain does not come from the Islamic world, but from the Christian kingdoms. The same way iconographical Christian sources were a valuable clue to understanding clay drums, the preserved ancient Latin-Arabic dictionaries, the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries) and the *Vocabulista in arabico* (second half of the

13<sup>th</sup> century), show a large number of Arabic terms referring to musical instruments and more specifically to percussion instruments. There are approximately twenty-five<sup>69</sup> different Arabic names of musical instruments in these two glossaries from the Christian kingdoms of the northern Peninsula. Of those twenty-five names, eight different Arabic terms referring to membranophones were used as a translation for only one Latin word in the two dictionaries, *tympanum*, which means either tambourine or drum.

	<i>TYMPANUM</i> <sup>70</sup>
<i>Glossarium latino-arabicum</i>	<i>Mizhar</i> <sup>71</sup>
<i>Vocabulista in arabico</i> <sup>72</sup>	<i>Bandīr</i> ; <sup>73</sup> <i>tiryāl</i> ; <sup>74</sup> <i>duff</i> ; <sup>75</sup> <i>šaqf</i> ; <sup>76</sup> <i>tabl</i> ; <sup>77</sup> <i>tarr</i> ; <sup>78</sup> <i>naqīra</i> <sup>79</sup>

Once more, the apparent silence of more cultured sources about percussion seems to be in opposition to the apparent abundance of these types of instruments in popular context. The dictionaries were indeed not conceived in order to translate poetry or literature, but to help communication between Christians and Muslims. The context in which the *Glossarium* was created is unknown, but the *Vocabulista* was written in Dominican circles whose mission in Spain in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century was to convert the Muslims of the

<sup>67</sup> Ibn Rušd al-Ġadd, ed. Haġġī 1988, vol. 7, 472–473.

<sup>68</sup> We can also infer that, since they were played during festive occasions, they were used by many people, which would corroborate our hypothesis of the popular and common use of the drums. That they could have been used by many people in different contexts is supported by ethnographic data: in today's Morocco clay drums are played by children during the festivity of Ashura, and hundreds of *ta'rija*-s are sold in the market places every year, being by far the most common musical instrument in a Moroccan household.

<sup>69</sup> The number depends on whether or not variations around the same original root are counted as different words, which we do not.

<sup>70</sup> The term appears in the *Glossarium*, as *tinfanum*, which must mean *tympanum* (ed. Seybold 1900, 508). The Latin-Arabic section of the *Vocabulista* gives the exact same translations for *cymbalum* (ed. Schiaparelli 1871, 291) and *tympanum* (ed. Schiaparelli 1871, 610).

<sup>71</sup> *Glossarium*, ed. Seybold 1900, 508.

<sup>72</sup> The vocabulary found in the first section, Arabic-Latin, is reproduced here. The Latin-Arabic section of the *Vocabulista* gives the exact same translations for *cymbalum* (ed. Schiaparelli 1871, 291) and *tympanum* (ed. Schiaparelli 1871, 610).

<sup>73</sup> *Vocabulista*, ed. Schiaparelli 1871, 41.

<sup>74</sup> *Vocabulista*, ed. Schiaparelli 1871, 54.

<sup>75</sup> *Vocabulista*, ed. Schiaparelli 1871, 99.

<sup>76</sup> *Vocabulista*, ed. Schiaparelli 1871, 125.

<sup>77</sup> *Vocabulista*, ed. Schiaparelli 1871, 134.

<sup>78</sup> *Vocabulista*, ed. Schiaparelli 1871, 135.

<sup>79</sup> *Vocabulista*, ed. Schiaparelli 1871, 207.

recently conquered areas. In this perspective, Dominicans had to learn Arabic and the dictionary was created to provide monks with the necessary tools to facilitate the Christianization: the vocabulary was therefore carefully selected for its usefulness in daily life. In this perspective, the presence of names for musical instruments, specifically membranophones, is extremely significant. It shows us that these instruments were of rather common use at the time in al-Andalus and the number of Arabic translations for the Latin *tympanum* suggests a very rich instrumental corpus.

The variety of percussion instruments is also striking in a somewhat later dictionary, Pedro de Alcalá's *Vocabulista in arauigo en letra castellana*,<sup>80</sup> published in 1505, a few years after the expulsion of the last Islamic ruler of the Peninsula. Even if this Spanish-Arabic dictionary may seem too recent for explaining the importance of membranophones in the previous centuries, it does provide us with a unique Spanish translation of those terms which in Latin dictionaries were all simply translated as *tympanon*.

Spanish	Arabic
<i>Pandero</i> (frame drum)	<i>Pandāir, panādir, tarr, torōr, duff, adffif</i>
<i>Panderetero/Panderetera</i>	<i>Daffif, daffifin, naquir, nucār/dafifa, daffifin, naquira, nuccārr</i>
<i>Atabal</i>	<i>Tābal, atbāl</i>
<i>Atabalero/Atabalera</i>	<i>Tabbāl, tabbalin/Tabbāla, Tabbalin</i>
<i>Atabilia</i>	<i>Tabbāyal, tabayalīt, Nocāira, nocairīt</i>
<i>Atanbor</i>	<i>Duf, adfif</i>
<i>Tanboril</i>	<i>Tābal, atbāl</i>
<i>Tañedor de tabal o atanbor</i>	<i>Tabbāl, tabbalin</i>
<i>Tañedor de pander adufre</i>	<i>Daffif, daffifin</i>
<i>Tañedorassi</i>	<i>Nāqr, naqrin, tarrār, tarrarin</i>
<i>Tañedora de estos instrumentos</i>	<i>A'arifa, v'urafī<sup>81</sup></i>
<i>Tañedoraassi</i>	<i>Uztīda, uztidacī</i>

It stresses the actual presence and importance of this type of instrument in everyday life to the extent of giving us several terms that indicate an instrument's name and the professions attached to it. It is also important that, when translating the word used to name the musician who plays the instru-

ment (*tañedor de*), it also sometimes gives us the feminine version (*panderetera, atabalera, tañedora de estos instrumentos*), which is not the case for the players of other instruments mentioned in the dictionary, such as *gayta, añafiles* and trumpets. Once more, the relationship between women and percussion instruments is highlighted, and once more, it is not only strictly connected with frame drums, but also with other types of membranophones.

## Clay Drums and Women: Weddings, Celebrations and Ritual Practices

The information given by the treatises about the presence of drums and frame drums during weddings seems to be confirmed by the iconography of the already mentioned Tavira vase (Almoravid Period, 12<sup>th</sup> century), which is one of the very few musical iconographies that we can find in Andalusí popular art. This object is a ritual vase showing anthropomorphic and zoomorphic moulded figurines that have been interpreted as the representation of the ritual kidnapping of a Berber bride.<sup>82</sup> Various figures represent a female character riding a horse, surrounded by two mounted warriors, four animal figures and two musicians, one playing a square frame drum and the other a small single-headed cylindrical drum. Both the depiction of percussion instruments played during a wedding and the combination of frame drum and clay drum is noteworthy. It corroborates the information given by the legal treatises. Women playing during weddings are also mentioned in other sources. Music and dance seem to have been present during the banquet, and women participated as singers or dancers, even if this was not well accepted according to Islamic morals. Although jurists tolerated the playing of the drum and frame drum, other musical practices were banned and professional musicians and dancers were considered to be women of loose morals. For instance, Manuela Marín draws our attention to the fact that in his *Muğrib*, Ibn Sa'īd (d. 1286) described as *'āhir*, or a libertine woman, someone who danced at weddings accompanied by her husband (a famous erudite poet) playing the frame drum.<sup>83</sup> This strong relationship between drums and female players (professional or semi-professional) performing at weddings or other festivities can still be seen in to-

<sup>80</sup> Alcalá 1505.

<sup>81</sup> We use 'a and 'u to reproduce a specific kind of accent that we interpret as the reproduction of the Arabic letter 'ayn.

<sup>82</sup> Torres 2004, 18–22.

<sup>83</sup> Ibn Sa'īd, ed. dayf 1953, vol. 1, 384. For other references about the anecdote, especially the frame drum playing by the husband, see Marín 2000, 300, 423.



day's Maghreb. For instance, the *ṣībāt* (professional female musicians) who sing accompanied by *ta'rija*-sin Morocco and other female musical ensembles whose songs are accompanied by frame drums and clay drums are hired to play at different festive occasions, including weddings.<sup>84</sup> These contemporary ensembles are supported by a long oral tradition. We have already seen in Leo Africanus' 16<sup>th</sup> century *Description of Africa* that, in Fez, the bride was carried by porters and accompanied by trumpets, pipes and drums.<sup>85</sup> Some paragraphs later he also describes how dancers, singers and minstrels took part in the celebration:

“The same night which we said was spent in dancing, there are present at the bridal-house certain minstrels and singers, which by turns sometimes use their instruments and sometimes voice-music: they dance always one by one, and at the end of each galliard they bestow a largesse upon the musicians. If anyone will honour the dancer, he bids him to kneel down before him, and having fastened pieces of money all over his face, the musicians presently take it off for their fee. The women dance alone without any men at the noise of their own musicians.<sup>86</sup> All these things use to be performed when the bride is a maid.”<sup>87</sup>

From this description, we can deduce that female dancers only danced to the tune of female musicians, since they were separated from men. At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century we also see women taking part in weddings. Ali Bey says that bands of “shouting women” participated in wedding parades, together with musicians playing drums and ghaitas.<sup>88</sup> He also mentions, when discussing the science and culture in Fez, that: “we also know that Muslim solemnity abandons the practice of music to women and the lower classes of the population”,<sup>89</sup> so we can also deduce that some of the musicians he was speaking about were in fact women. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century we also find sources showing the presence of female drum players at marriage celebrations. For instance, in the 1914 volume entitled *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, the author describes several musical scenes in which frame drums, *ta'rija*-s and other membranophones were played by women during different phases of the marriage ritual. The following description of women playing *ta'rija*-s is particularly interesting:

“In front of him [the bridegroom] is sitting a crier [...] who, with words of blessing, calls out the names of the donors; and their praises are in addition sung by four women singers, who stand behind the bridegroom each with a tambourine (*ta'rija*) in her hand.”<sup>90</sup>

But how can this information help us understand the disappearance of clay drums from Iberian traditions? These membranophones seem to have been very abundant in the Islamic medieval Peninsula and were present all over Andalusian territories until at least the 14<sup>th</sup> century. However, they vanish with the arrival of Christian rulers, completely disappearing from Iberian soil. Many medieval instruments have survived, more or less modified, in the traditional music of the Iberian Peninsula while others were transformed and modified to create new instruments over the next centuries. Clay drums, however, completely disappeared not only from the archaeological record, but also from written sources and iconography. There are also no traces of the use of any type of clay drum in the ethnographic traditions of the Peninsula.

If we consider the previous facts, we can conclude that their use was linked to popular rituals of Islamic populations or to festive contexts, and thus they may have had a cultural and identitarian meaning. The possession or production of clay drums would identify the subjects as Muslims, so the instruments were obviously doomed to disappear with Christianization. It is also possible that the Christians' intent was not to eliminate an actual Islamic practice, but to extirpate a ritual practice that they identified with Islamic religion. To that extent, we have to stress that Christians were creating a narrative of the Other, in which Islamic ritual practices were highly altered (one example is the famous opening of the *Chanson de Roland*, where Muslims are said to praise both Mohammed and Apollo).<sup>91</sup> We mention here the work by Domenico Staiti<sup>92</sup> and Silvia Bruni<sup>93</sup> about women's and effeminate's musical ensembles from Meknes.<sup>94</sup> Those

<sup>84</sup> Ciucci 2005, 183–200. To know more about female and effeminate professional or semi-professional musicians see the chapter in Staiti 2012: “Uninizio di ricerca in Marocco: i ‘figli di Melika’” and Bruni 2013.

<sup>85</sup> Africanus 1550, translation by Pory 1896, 450.

<sup>86</sup> In the French version, translated from the Tuscan in 1554, it says: “chantresses et ménestriers”, meaning female singers and female players (Africanus 1550, French translation by J. Temporal 1556, 171–172).

<sup>87</sup> Africanus 1550, translation by Pory 1896, 451–452 modernized by us.

<sup>88</sup> Bey 1814, 36.

<sup>89</sup> Bey 1814, 133.

<sup>90</sup> Westermarck 1914, 105. It is interesting to see how in this volume the English term tambourine is used with different kinds of membranophones, both frame drums and clay drums, always specified in brackets by the author.

<sup>91</sup> *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Brault 1997, 1. 5.

<sup>92</sup> Staiti 2012.

<sup>93</sup> Bruni 2013.

<sup>94</sup> Their research is conducted under the frame of the Marie Curie Project DRUM: Disguise Ritual Music (2013–2016), under the coordination of Domenico Staiti at the University of Bologna and with the participation of the universities of Naples, Valladolid, Rabat and Meknes.

ensembles are hired to perform in different festivities in which, while singing and playing frame and clay drums, they invoke the *ǧinn*-s, cause some of the participants to dance, and in some occasions, to enter trance states. Staiti and Bruni relate these practices to Cybele's rites.<sup>95</sup> These rituals, in connection with females and percussion instruments, were a practice that extended all over the Mediterranean Basin since Antiquity. We have no direct information about the existence of these practices in ancient Hispania, but there are iconographical depictions that show female frame drum players, usually linked with ritual practices. It could also be possible that populations of northern African origin were still practicing a type of feminine and effeminate trance ritual, and brought them back to the Iberian Peninsula with the addition of a new instrument, the clay drum. The tolerance of percussion

instruments played by women during weddings and other festivities that is shown in the *hisba* treatises and Islamic jurisprudence may have protected this ancient practice from disappearance under the Islamic rulers (even if they were probably not well regarded by Islamic authorities, as is the case in modern Morocco). Upon the arrival of Christianity, the clay drums and the rituals in which they were used would have been identified with non-Christian customs and their eradication was ensured, whereas they could persist in the Maghreb until the present. Consequently, the drums are not only a simple and common clay sound artefact used in everyday life, but a musical instrument that could let us access deeper symbolic and cultural behaviours. They may be a key to understanding the changes, continuities and disappearances of certain musical ritual practices from Antiquity to the present.

---

<sup>95</sup> See Bruni 2013, 131 and Staiti 2012.

## Arabic Sources

IBN QUZMĀN

d. 1160 *Dīwān* [Poetry Collection], in: *Dīwān Ibn Quzmān al-Qurṭubī* [Ibn Quzmān al-Qurṭubī's Poetry Collection]. Ed. by F. Corriente (Cairo 1995).

-*Spanish Transl.* E. García Gómez, *Todo Ben Quzman* (Madrid 1972).

-*Spanish Transl.* F. Corriente, *Cancionero Andalusi* (Madrid 1989).

IBN RUŠD AL-ĠADD

d. 1126 *Kitāb al-bayān wa-l-taḥṣīl wa-l-šarḥ wa-l-tawḡīḥ wa-l-ta'īl fī masā'il al-Mustaḥraġa* [The Book on the Clear Exposition, the Study, the Guidance and the Explanation of the Questions in the *Mustaḥraġa*]. Ed. by M. Ḥaġġī (Beirut 1988).

IBN SA'ĪD

d. 1286 *Al-Muġrib fī Ḥulā l-Maġrib* [The Extraordinary Book on the Adornments of the West]. Ed. by Š. Dayf (Cairo 1953–1955).

AL-ŠAQUNDĪ

d. 1231/ *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus* [The Epistle on al-Andalus' Virtues], in: *al-Maqqarī, Kitāb naḥḥ al-ṭīb min ġusn al-Andalus al-raṭīb* [The Scented Breeze from the Tender Branch of al-Andalus], in: R. Dozy – G. Dugat – L. Krehl – W. Wright (eds.), *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne* (Leiden 1861), 126–150.

-*Spanish Transl.* E. García Gómez, *Elogio del Islam Español* (Madrid 1934).

YAḤYĀ IBN 'UMAR

d. 901 *Kitāb' Aḥkām al-Sūq* [The Book of the Sentences on the Market]. Ed. by M. A. Makkī, *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* IV(1–2) (1956), 59–151.

-*Spanish Transl.* E. García Gómez, *Unas "Ordenanzas del Zoco" del siglo IX. Traducción del más antiguo de los tratados andaluces de "ḥisba" por un autor andaluz, Al-Andalus* 22(2) (1957), 253–316.

## Latin and European Sources

AFRICANUS, L.

1550 *Della descrizione dell' Africa*.

-*French Transl.* J. Temporal, *Historiale description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde*. Imprimerie de C. Plantin, Anvers (1556).

-*English Transl.* J. Pory (1600), *The History and Description of Africa*, Vol. 2. Ed. by R. Brown (London 1896).

ALCALÁ, PEDRO DE

1505 *Vocabulista in arauigo en letra castellana* (Granada). Digitalised edition of the Library of the Universidad Complutense of Madrid.

BEY, A.

1814 *Les Voyages d'Ali Bey el Abbassi en Afrique et en Asie* 1 (Paris).

GLOSSARIUM

10<sup>th</sup>– 11<sup>th</sup> c. *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum ex unico qui exstat codice Leidensi undécimo saeculo in Hispania scripto*. Ed. by C. F. Seybold (Berlin 1900).

LA CHANSON DE ROLAND

12<sup>th</sup> c. *La Chanson de Roland*. Ed. and transl. by G. J. Brault (Pennsylvania 1997).

VOCABULISTA

13<sup>th</sup> c. *Vocabulista in arabico*. Ed. by C. Schiaparelli (Florence 1871).

## Bibliography

ACIÉN ALMANSA, M.

1988 *La cerámica medieval del teatro romano de Málaga, Mainake VIII–IX* (1986–1987), 225–240.

ALÒS, C. – CAMATS, A. – MONJO, M. – SOLANES, E. 2007 *Les cases andalusines del Plad'Almatà* (Bilaguer, La Noguera), *Tribuna d'Arqueologia* 2006, 273–290.

ÁLVAREZ, R.

1987 *Los instrumentos musicales en los códices alfonsinos: su tipología, su uso y su origen. Algunos problemas iconográficos*, *Revista de Musicología* 10(1), 67–104.

1993 *La iconografía musical de los beatos de los siglos X y XI y su procedencia*, *Anuario del departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 5, 201–218.

- ÁLVAREZ, R. – ROSSELLÓ BORDOY, G.  
1989 Hallazgo de tambores de la España islámica (siglos X al XIV), *Revista de Musicología* 12(2), 411–421.
- AUBIN, E.  
1904 *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui* (Paris).
- BIENES CALVO, J. J.  
1987 Introducción al estudio de la cerámica musulmana en la ciudad de Tudela, *Turiaso* 7, 115–158.
- BILL, A. – JIMÉNEZ PASALODOS, R. – GARCÍA BENITO, C.  
2013 A Classification of Clay Drums from Al-Andalus (9<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> Centuries), in: L. Bombardieri – A. D'Agostino – G. Guarducci – V. Orsi – S. Valentini (eds.), *Identity and Connectivity. Proceedings of the 16<sup>th</sup> Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, BAR International Series 2581(II)* (Oxford), 1097–1104.
- BRUNI, S.  
2013 *Confraternite e riti femminili in Marocco: masmūdi e sūssiā* (unpubl. Master thesis, Università di Bologna).
- CABALLERO ZOREDA, L. – PRIEGO FERNÁNDEZ DEL CAMPO, M. DEL C. – RETUERCE VELASCO, M.  
1985 Informe de la excavación arqueológica realizada durante los meses de abril y mayo de 1984 en la calle Angosta de los Mancebos, 3 de Madrid, *Estudios de Prehistoria y Arqueología Madrileñas* 4, 177–181.
- CAHEN, CL. – TALBI, M.  
1967 s. v. *Ḥisba*, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 3 (Second Edition), 485–489.
- CIUCCI, A.  
2005 Les musiciennes professionnelles au Maroc, *Cahiers d'ethnomusicologie* 18, 183–200.
- CORTÉS GARCÍA, M.  
1990 Organología Oriental en Al-Andalus, *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 26, 303–332.  
1996 Pasado y presente de la música andalusí (Sevilla).  
2009 La música en la Zaragoza islámica (Zaragoza).
- COTTART, N.  
1987 s. v. *Mālikiyya*, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 6 (Second Edition), 278–283.
- ESCRIBÀ, F.  
1987 La cerámica musulmana de Benetússer, in: G. Rosselló Bordoy (ed.), *V Jornades d'Estudis Històrics Locals. Les Illes Orientals d'al-Andalus i les Seves Relacions amb sharq al-Andalus, Magrib i Europa Cristiana (ss. VIII–XIII)* (Palma de Mallorca), 331–337.  
1990 La cerámica califal de Benetússer (Madrid).
- FARMER, H. G.  
1957 s. v. Duff, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2 (Second Edition), 620–621.  
1991 s. v. Mizmār, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 7 (Second Edition), 206–210.  
1998 s. v. Ṭabl, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 10 (Second Edition), 32–34.
- FERRANDO, I.  
2006 s. v. Ibn Quzmān al-Aṣḡar Abū Bakr, in: *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* 4, 416–424.
- GARCÍA PEREIRA MAIA, M.  
2012 Vaso de Tavira (Tavira).
- GARCÍA PORRAS, A.  
2001 La cerámica del poblado fortificado medieval de “El Castillejo” (Los Guájares, Granada) (Granada).
- GÓMEZ MARTÍNEZ, S.  
1998 A cerâmica no Gharb al-Āndalus, in: *Museu Nacional de Arqueologia* (ed.), *Portugal islâmico. Os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo* (Lisbon), 121–131.
- GUETTAT, M.  
2000 La musique arabo-andalouse. L’empreinte du Maghreb (Paris).
- GUTIÉRREZ LÓPEZ, J. M.  
2002 Intervención arqueológica de urgencia en el yacimiento de Torreveja (casco urbano de Villamartín, Cádiz), *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía* 1999 (III.1), 122–141.
- JIMÉNEZ PASALODOS, R.  
(forth-coming) The Illumination of the Musicians of Nebuchadnezzar of the Book of Daniel. An Example of Anti-Islamic Rhetoric in the Beatus Illuminations.
- JIMÉNEZ PASALODOS, R. – BILL, A.  
2012 Los tambores de cerámica de al-Andalus (ss. VIII–XIV): una aproximación desde la arqueología musical, *Nassarre: Revista aragonesa de musicología* 28, 13–42.

- KATZE, J.  
1992 The Music of Sephardic Spain. An Exploratory View, in: C. E. Robertson (ed.), *Musical Repercussions of 1492. Encounters in Text and Performance* (Washington), 101–129.
- LINTZ, Y. – DÉLÉRY, C. – TUIL-LEONETTI, B.  
2014 *Le Maroc médiéval. Un empire de l’Afrique à l’Espagne* (Exhibition catalogue, Paris).
- MARÍN, M.  
1985 Ifriqiya et Al-Andalus. À propos de la transmission des sciences islamiques aux premiers siècles de l’Islam, *Revue de l’Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 40, 45–53.  
1992 Arabistas en España: un asunto de familia, *Al-Qanṭara* 13(2), 379–393.  
2000 Mujeres en al-Andalus, *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus* 11 (Madrid).
- MONROE, J. T.  
1970 *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship. Sixteenth Century to the Present* (Leiden).
- NAVARRO POVEDA, C.  
1990 Tradiciones culturales islámicas. Hallazgo de una darbuka, *Revista de Moros y Cristianos*, 22–24.
- PÉRÈS, H.  
1953 La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ses principaux thèmes et sa valeur documentaire (Paris).
- POCHÉ, C.  
1995 *La musique arabo-andalouse* (Paris).
- REYNOLDS, D.  
2009 New Directions in the Study of Medieval Andalusí Music, *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1(1), 37–51.
- RIBERA Y TARRAGO, J.  
1922 *La música de las Cantigas. Estudio sobre su origen y naturaleza con reproducciones fotográficas del texto y transcripción moderna* (Madrid).
- ROSSELLÓ BORDOY, G.  
1996 Instrumentos musicales en barro cocido: una pervivencia medieval, *Música oral del Sur* 2, 28–51.
- SALINAS, E.  
2012 Las producciones cerámicas de un alfar del siglo XII en Córdoba (España), in: S. Gelichi (ed.), *Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale sulla Ceramica Medievale nel Mediterraneo* (Florence), 365–368.
- SCHACHT, J.  
1968 s. v. Ibn al-Ḳāsim, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 3 (Second Edition), 817.
- SHILOAH, A.  
1995 *Music in the World of Islam. A Socio-Cultural Study* (Detroit).
- STAITI, D.  
2012 *Kajda. Musiche e ritifeminili tra i rom del Kosovo* (Roma).
- TALBI, M.  
1962 Kairouan et le mālikisme espagnol, in: *Études d’orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, 2 vols. (Paris), 317–337.
- TORRES, C.  
2004 *O Vaso de Tavira: uma proposta de interpretação* (Mértola).
- VARELA GOMES, R.  
1995 Cerâmicas Muçulmanas, de Silves, dos séculos VIII e IX, in: *Câmara Municipal de Tondela* (ed.), *Primeras Jornadas de Cerâmica Medieval e Pós-Medieval. Métodos e resultados para o seu estudo* (Tondela), 19–32.  
2003 Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb Al-Andalus: a Alcáçova, *Trabalhos de Arqueologia* 35 (Lisbon).
- VINDRY, G.  
1980 Présentation de l’épave arabe du Batéguier (Baie de Cannes, Provence Orientale), in: *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (ed.), *La céramique médiévale en Méditerranée occidentale. X<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Actes du colloque n° 584 du CNRS* (Paris), 221–226.
- WESTERMARCK, E.  
1914 *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London).

Drum or Fragments of one drum			
Archaeological site	Number of identified drums	Location	Chronology
Alcazaba	1	Almería, Spain	8 <sup>th</sup> –14 <sup>th</sup> century
Antiguo Convento de Capuchinos	1	Palma de Mallorca, Islas Baleares, Spain	11 <sup>th</sup> century
Avenida Ollerías	2	Córdoba, Spain	11 <sup>th</sup> –12 <sup>th</sup> century
Batéguier	1	Cannes, Alpes-Maritimes, France	10 <sup>th</sup> century
c/ Almacenes 6	1	Málaga, Spain	10 <sup>th</sup> –11 <sup>th</sup> century
c/ Angosta de los Mancebos	2	Madrid, Spain	9 <sup>th</sup> –11 <sup>th</sup> century
c/ Contamina 24	1	Zaragoza, Spain	11 <sup>th</sup> century
c/ Justicia 34	1	Jerez de la Frontera, Cádiz, Spain	12 <sup>th</sup> century
c/ Martín Carrillo/Órgano/Universidad/Torrellas/Asso	2	Zaragoza, Spain	11 <sup>th</sup> century
c/ Salas 8 (esquina con c/ Justicia)	1	Jerez de la Frontera, Cádiz, Spain	12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> century
c/ San Pablo 95–103	15	Zaragoza, Spain	11 <sup>th</sup> century
Calatalifa	2	Villaviciosa de Odón, Madrid, Spain	10 <sup>th</sup> –11 <sup>th</sup> century
Can Oms	1	Palma de Mallorca, Islas Baleares, Spain	11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castelo de Silves	1	Silves, Algarve, Portugal	9 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> century
Castelo Velho	2	Alcoutim, Faro, Portugal	9 <sup>th</sup> century
Castelo Velho	7	Alcoutim, Faro, Portugal	11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castillejo de los Guájares	1	Los Guájares, Granada, Spain	End of the 13 <sup>th</sup> century–Beginning of the 14 <sup>th</sup> century
Cercadilla	2	Córdoba, Spain	9 <sup>th</sup> century
Cercadilla	2	Córdoba, Spain	Second half of the 10 <sup>th</sup> century–Beginning of the 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Cerro de Santa Bárbara	1	Tudela, Navarra, Spain	12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> century
Estacada de Alfaro	1	Puebla del Río, Sevilla, Spain	Middle of the 12 <sup>th</sup> century–Middle of the 13 <sup>th</sup> century
Iglesia de San Martín	1	Lleida, Spain	12 <sup>th</sup> century
Medellín	1	Romangordo, Cáceres, Spain	Islamic Period
Norte de Palancia	1	Sagunto, Valencia, Spain	11 <sup>th</sup> century

Drum or Fragments of one drum			
Archaeological site	Number of identified drums	Location	Chronology
Palacio de Pinohermoso	1	Orihuela, Alicante, Spain	11 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> century
Paseo de la Independencia	1	Zaragoza, Spain	11 <sup>th</sup> century
Paseo de la Independencia	1	Zaragoza, Spain	First third of the 13 <sup>th</sup> century
Pla d'Almatà	1	Balaguer, Lleida, Spain	11 <sup>th</sup> century
Plaça de Baix 10	1	Petrer, Alicante, Spain	Second half of the 10 <sup>th</sup> century – Beginning of the 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Platería 14	1	Murcia, Spain	11 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> century
Plaza Belén	1	Jerez de la Frontera, Cádiz, Spain	10 <sup>th</sup> century
Plaza de la Iglesia	3	Benetússer, Valencia, Spain	10 <sup>th</sup> –11 <sup>th</sup> century
Teatro Fleta de Zaragoza	1	Zaragoza, Spain	8 <sup>th</sup> –14 <sup>th</sup> century
Teatro Romano	1	Málaga, Spain	13 <sup>th</sup> –14 <sup>th</sup> century
Teatro Romano de Caesaraugusta	10	Zaragoza, Spain	11 <sup>th</sup> century
Torre vieja	3	Villamartín, Cádiz, Spain	10 <sup>th</sup> century
Unknown	1	Murcia, Spain	First half of the 13 <sup>th</sup> century
Vascos	3	Navalmorejo, Toledo, Spain	8 <sup>th</sup> –11 <sup>th</sup> century
Fragments of one or several drums			
Archaeological site	Number of fragments	Location	Chronology
c/ San Pablo 95–103	135	Zaragoza, Spain	11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castillejo de los Guájares	Several fragments	Los Guájares, Granada, Spain	13 <sup>th</sup> –14 <sup>th</sup> century
Platería 14	13	Murcia, Spain	10 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> century
Plaza de la Iglesia	7	Benetússer, Valencia, Spain	10 <sup>th</sup> –11 <sup>th</sup> century
Teatro Romano de Caesaraugusta	62	Zaragoza, Spain	11 <sup>th</sup> century

Tab. 1 Findings of individual drums (complete, almost complete and single drum's fragments) and drum fragments.

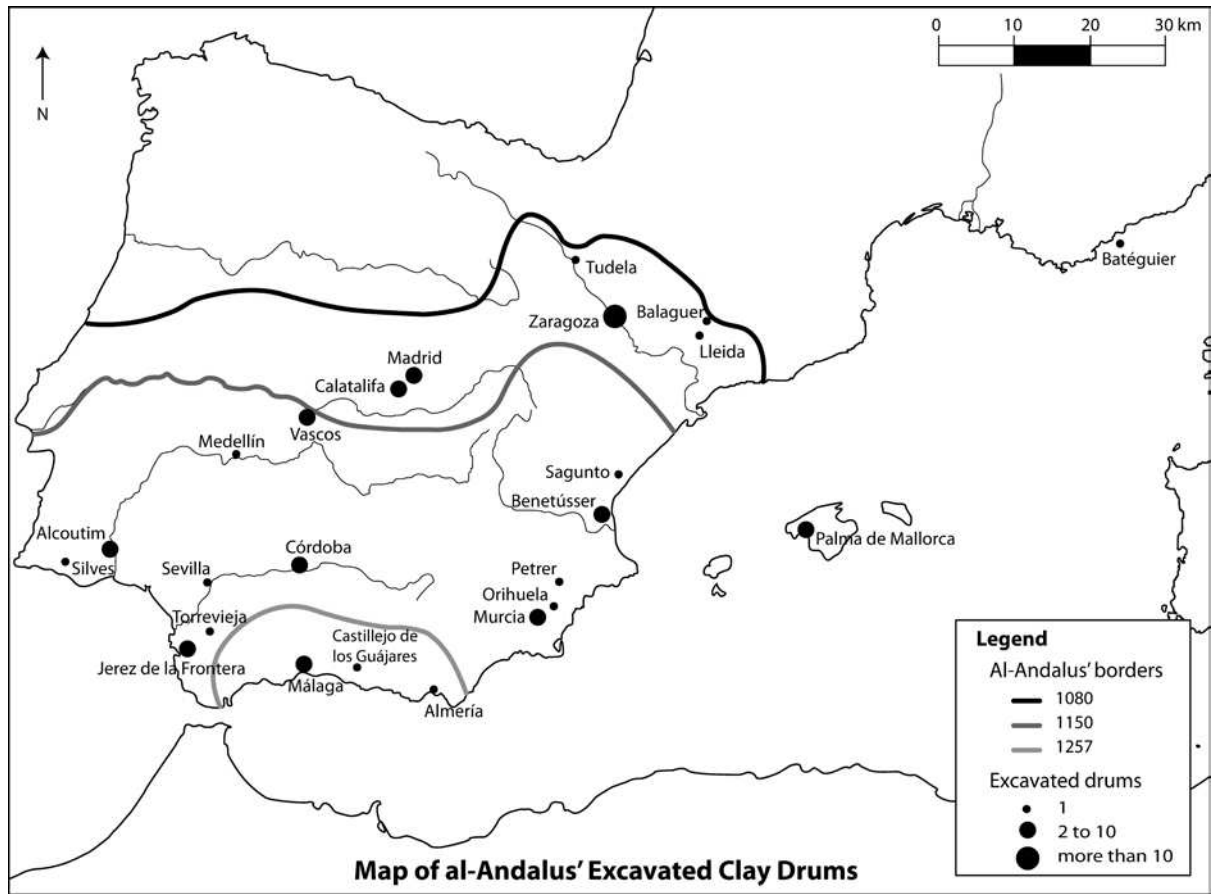


Fig 1 Map showing the different phases of Islamic occupation and the drum finds.



Fig. 2 Drum of Torrevieja. 10<sup>th</sup> century. 25 × 11 cm (photo: Museo Municipal de Villamartín).



Fig. 3 Drum of Plaça de Baix, Petrer, Alicante. 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century. 29 × 8.3 cm (photo: Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico Dámaso Navarro).





Fig. 4 a. Drum of Plaza Belén. 10<sup>th</sup> century. 11.5 × 10.8 cm – b. Drum of Calle Salas. 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century. Jerez de la Frontera, Cádiz. 15 × 7.3 cm (photo: Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Jerez de la Frontera).



Fig. 5 Drum of el Castillo de los Guájares. End of 13<sup>th</sup> century – beginning of 14<sup>th</sup> century. 32.2 × 9.4 cm. Currently at the Laboratory of Archaeology of the University of Granada (photo after García Porras 2001).



Fig. 6 Modern Moroccan Ta'arijas, measuring between 12 and 36 cm in height.



Fig. 7 Beatus of Valcavado, fol. 199v (detail). 970. Biblioteca Histórica de Santa Cruz, Universidad de Valladolid.



Fig. 8 Tavira's vase. Museu Municipal de Tavira. End of 11<sup>th</sup> century – beginning of 12<sup>th</sup> century. 36 × 42 cm (photo: António Cunha).



Fig. 9 Almohade musician. 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century. 11.7 × 4 cm (photo: Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Córdoba).



Fig. 10 Cantiga 300, fol. 268V Alfonso X el Sabio.