



THE ART OF THE POOR

The Aesthetic Material Culture of
the Lower Classes in Europe, 1300-1600

—
EDITED BY REMBRANDT DUITS

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Identifying popular musical practice

Instruments and performance in the iconography and archaeology of the medieval and Renaissance period in Europe

Roger Blench

Using iconography as evidence for societal practice faces a common problem across the world, in that pictorial art is typically created by social or religious elites, and thus reflects their taste and practices. As with other categories of representation, musical instruments played by the elite, both secular and religious, are over-represented in the art of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.¹ Only with Michael Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum*, and in particular part II, *De Organographia* (1618), do we get an overview of instruments at all levels of society (and the first acknowledgement of the music of non-European cultures). Nonetheless, insights into popular instruments can be gained from unexpected or marginal representations. For example, in a more egalitarian society such as Sweden, the church paintings of Albertus Pictor (1440–1507) show a wide range of popular instruments. Archaeology has begun to make an important contribution; a survey of finds of Jews' harps in medieval Europe suggests it may have been the single most popular instrument of the period, despite being rarely depicted in painting. Textual references are very limited, but the remarkable *Yconomica* of Konrad of Megenburg (ca. 1350) specifically links poverty to musical practice. Surviving folk traditions are another source of information; instruments such as the shawm remain widely played in folk contexts, despite having disappeared from the classical repertoire. This chapter aims to establish a popular instrumentarium for medieval Europe through an assessment of the available sources, to sum up what is known about performance practices and to suggest directions for future research.

Since at least the tenth century, religious buildings in Europe have been the locus of highly personal stone carving. Carvings in buildings from before this period seem to be more constrained, with only religious imagery permitted. Why the change occurred is unclear, but the fact is that when local carvers were let loose on both exteriors and interior capitals, these seem to have been a zone of tolerance, both for representing popular practice and images from a suppressed folk iconography deriving from spiritual

concepts older than the official church. The undercroft of Canterbury Cathedral (1070 AD onwards) has capitals with a variety of animals playing musical instruments, which are notably absent in more prominent locations in the same building (Figure 10.1).

Among such images, there are significant variations in the representation of musical practice in different places. For example, the rich repertoire of capitals in the cloister at Monreale in Sicily (ca. 1200 AD) includes both scenes of daily life and images from pre-Christian mythology, but not a single musical instrument. By contrast, the exterior of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, which is characterized by images from different trades, as well as food processing, has numerous musical instruments, some played by angels, others by comically dressed characters, probably jester-musicians. The ground-floor arcade capitals belong to fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although some have been replaced with nineteenth-century copies.

The well-preserved wooden bosses of Norwich Cathedral, created across the fourteenth century, include numerous scenes of ordinary life, and several of folk musicians (Figure 10.2).² The example reproduced here shows a boss in the east walk of the cloister, representing a shawm and a frame-drum, with costumes clearly intended to indicate these are popular entertainers. Another boss from the same period in the south walk of the cloister illustrates a rebec and a long trumpet. The status of the performers in this case is less clear, since the robes they wear may indicate clerical roles.

Medieval wall paintings are far more rarely preserved than carvings. Religious change and iconoclasm have encouraged destruction, particularly in England, and



Figure 10.1 English, carved capital in the undercroft of Canterbury Cathedral, late eleventh century. Photo: author.



Figure 10.2 English, carved boss in Norwich Cathedral, fourteenth century. Photo: author.

paintings are often the victim of climate, fire and water damage. Perhaps the richest heritage of such paintings is preserved in Scandinavia, especially Sweden. The painted churches of Uppland remain in remarkable condition, all the more surprising given the contrast with their austere exteriors. One painter in particular, Albertus Pictor (ca. 1440–ca. 1507), was responsible (perhaps with apprentices) for nearly all the paintings which show scenes of daily life.³ Albertus Pictor inspired the film director Ingmar Bergman and makes an appearance in the film, *The Seventh Seal* (1957); the famous scene of the knight playing chess with death is drawn directly from an Albertus Pictor painting in Täby Kyrka. Scenes of village life are mixed with more conventional religious representations in a quite unusual fashion, and can be contrasted with the equally well-preserved paintings in nearby Sigtuna, where no idiosyncratic representations occur anywhere in the church. Albertus Pictor makes it plain through the costumes that the musicians in his paintings are popular entertainers. Angels are shown playing more established church instruments such as the portable organ (although there is also one painting of a pig playing the organ).

Outside of Sweden, relevant paintings include works such as the fifteenth-century *Dance of Death* by Bernard Notke in the Nikolaikirche at Tallinn. This painting shows

the bagpipe, another instrument which clearly belongs to the folk tradition then as now (Figure 10.3). Its raucous sound and drone was highly suitable to accompany dancing but was unlikely to induce spiritual responses in the congregation, and it was thus always illustrated in secular contexts.

Music Archaeology is a rich tradition in Europe, and the oldest finds (flutes) date back to as far as 40,000 BP.⁴ Scandinavia represents a particularly rich tradition, with numerous types of instruments preserved extremely well.⁵ An increasing density of excavation and better identification of fragmentary instruments has meant that we can begin to make assertions about popular instruments with some confidence.



Figure 10.3 Bernard Notke, *Dance of Death* (detail), 1466, Tallinn, Nikolaikirche. Photo: author.

Preservation bias (taphonomy) affects the type of instruments which can be recovered, with bronze and metal more likely to be found than organic materials. Archaeology, however, has the advantage that it is not biased towards the instrumentarium of the elite. Despite being hardly depicted in painting, a survey of finds suggests the Jews' harp may have been the single most popular instrument in medieval Europe (Figure 10.4).⁶ Far more surprising is a terracotta ocarina (Figure 10.5). Ocarinas with a duct-

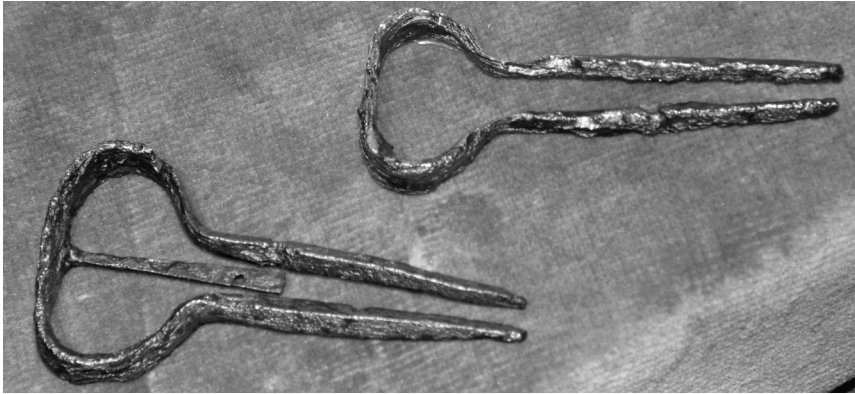


Figure 10.4 Jews' harps, Stockholm, Medeltidsmuseum. Photo: author.



Figure 10.5 Ocarina, Stockholm, Medeltidsmuseum. Photo: author.

flute embouchure are widely found in modern European folk music, but are hardly reported in the archaeological literature and never depicted in iconography. More common everywhere is the bone flute. This type of flute, apparently with a notched embouchure, similar to those in South America, has been found in contexts dated as early as the Aurignacian (43,000–35,000 BP).⁷ Until recently, such flutes were played by folk performers, for example on the Greek islands.⁸

Apart from archaeology, there are direct survivals: instruments preserved in elite houses or churches. Surviving medieval instruments are few in number, but those that remain provide valuable information about construction and appearance, although not social context.⁹ A so far unique find is the three-holed end-blown horn made from a deer antler found in Thuringia and considered to be dating to the thirteenth century.¹⁰ We cannot be certain of the embouchure, and it is possible that it was a bladder-pipe, but the weight of iconographic evidence points to a detachable cup mouthpiece. One of the most remarkable survivals is the Brian Boru harp, now owned by Trinity College, Dublin. Although the doubtful attribution to Brian Boru, High King of Ireland (941–1014), was dismissed long ago, its exact history is unclear. It is now generally considered to be fifteenth century. The harp is one of those instruments that seems to have crossed social barriers. Played for courtly ensembles, represented as the instrument of angels because of the spurious association with King David,¹¹ it was also played by travelling harpers, of whom Turlough O'Carolan (1670–1738) was the most famous, moving around Ireland in search of patrons.

Although textual references to non-elite musical performance are extremely sparse until the Renaissance, much earlier written texts with accompanying illustrations can provide valuable insights into performance practice. One of the most remarkable of these is the Catalan *Biblia de Rodes* (1010 onwards) now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (lat. 6, III). Folio 64v shows an array of *ioculatores*, or popular entertainers, both juggling and swallowing swords, as well as a plausible ensemble of musical instruments including lyre, harp, portative, cymbals, double clarinet and horn (Figure 10.6). Christopher Page has drawn attention to the remarkable *Yconomica* of Konrad of Megen burg (ca. 1350), which is a guide to household management, not a musicological treatise.¹² Konrad distinguishes professional musicians from *ioculatores*, for whom 'ability exercised for gain is beggarly' (*facultas lucri cupida mendica est*), and notes rather scathingly that paupers must 'sweat at their instruments', developing musical skills 'because they are poor' (*propter indigencias suas*). The role of music in the quadrivium meant that high status was accorded music theory; consequently, the early texts, such as the *Micrologus* of Guido d'Arezzo (991/992–after 1033) hardly describe performance. In the *Musica getuscht und angezogen* by Sebastian Virdung (born ca. 1465–after 1511), some reference is made to non-elite practice. The *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1528 and 1545) of Martin Agricola (1486–1556) also includes references to popular instruments. Yet only in the volumes of Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum* (specifically volume II, *De Organographia*, 1618) are images presented; the plate illustrated here shows some of these, including pellet and clapper-bells, gemshorns, hunting horns, timbrel, triangle, Jews' harp, glockenspiel, hurdy-gurdy, Hardanger fiddle and some type of viol (Figure. 10.7).



Figure 10.6 Varied musical instruments, from the *Biblia de Rodes*, Catalan, after 1010, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, lat. 6, III, fol. 64v. Image out of copyright (The Warburg Institute, Photographic Collection).

All across Europe, extant folk traditions can provide hints and sometimes surprising survivals which provide insight into medieval performance practice. In some regions, folk traditions pass through bottlenecks, losing their instruments and leaving only vocal music. England forms an example of such a bottleneck; the rich instrumentarium recorded in the iconography of the Middle Ages has completely disappeared. Partly, this may be the consequence of anti-musical attitudes of the Puritans during the seventeenth century, which caused church organs to be smashed and secular musical performance to be restricted to vocal music. When attitudes relaxed in the eighteenth century, instruments such as the violin, borrowed from the more classical, urban traditions were adopted in rural areas. The ‘church bands’, ad hoc ensembles used in churches in lieu of organs and memorialized in the novels of Thomas Hardy, represent the slow rebuilding of an instrumentarium in the English folk tradition.

In Catholic areas of Europe, where no prejudice against music existed, there are medieval instruments that survive in folk practice. Particularly striking is the *launeddas* of Sardinia, a triple-pipe or idioglot clarinet with two drone pipes.¹³ It is a clear descendant of the classical *aulos*, and similar instruments also survive in Maghrebin folk culture. Images appear on tombstones in the British Isles in the eighth and ninth centuries, and there is a literary reference from the tenth century.¹⁴ However the triple pipe has disappeared entirely from the European mainland, so the Sardinian instrument represents a striking survival which illuminates a tradition that was once present throughout Europe.

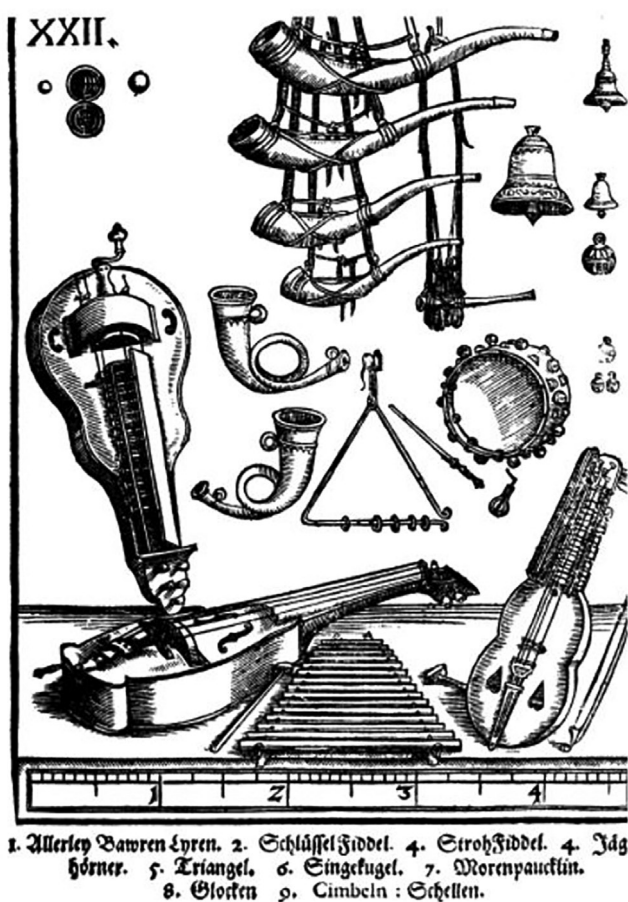


Figure 10.7 Varied musical instruments, from Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum* (vol. 2, *De Organographia*, 1618). Image out of copyright (The Warburg Institute, Photographic Collection).

Another remarkable survival are the shawm and bagpipe ensembles which perform Christmas carols in Southern Italy, from the Marche southwards, and especially in Naples. The shawm, known as *piffaro* or *ciaramella*, is played together with a very large bagpipe, the *zampogna*, and players go from house to house asking for money. The shawm entered Europe during the twelfth century, brought back by the armies of the Crusaders, and rapidly became popular in many regions, partly because its loud volume made it ideal for accompanying dance. It was soon paired with the bagpipe, a possibly older instrument,¹⁵ as ideal street instruments. These traditions largely disappeared when the shawm was developed into the classical oboe in the seventeenth century, but survives in Italy and parts of Eastern Europe.

A further intriguing instrument is the cog-rattle, familiar to English readers as the 'football rattle', a type of ratcheted wheel spun around on a handle, making a clacking

sound. Curiously, these first appear in the record in a sacred context, as they were played instead of bells during the *Paschal Triduum*, the three days before Easter Day. A remarkable example from the fourteenth century survives in the convent of Escaladieu, carved with religious iconography. A similar instrument is used in the Jewish tradition, the *ragger* or *gragger* (Yiddish: גראַגער). The *gragger* is used every time Haman's name is mentioned during the reading of the Megillah. Very large rattles are carried by masked figures in the *Ecce Homo* procession in Holy Week in Portugal. This instrument, which may at first sight appear to be entirely marginal, is clearly at the core of European tradition and neatly bridges the divide between secular traditions and folk religious practice.

Individual instruments can obviously be the subject of book-length monographs, so the existing evidence must be summarized. Overviews such as those by Munrow or Montagu provide essential resources.¹⁶ Table 10.1 presents a list of the instruments which can be associated with popular culture, when they first appear, and what type of evidence is available. There are, of course, many more instruments found in medieval iconography, but their popular status is doubtful. Also, many images either appear only once or are hard to interpret.

Reconstructing other aspects of musical practice is significantly more difficult than establishing which musical instruments were played. A picture of bagpipes may not tell us much about their context of performance, unless the piper is accompanying dancing peasants. If animals are shown playing instruments, we can surmise the moral associations of an instrument, but not necessarily its social context. Images often do not show realistic ensembles; angel musicians are particularly unreliable in this respect. Again we can make inferences from manuscripts, and from folk practice. As mentioned earlier, treatises on music in the Middle Ages were largely theoretical and make little reference to performance. The earliest treatise on music in Europe, the *Micrologus* (1025 AD) of Guido d'Arezzo (991/992–after 1033) records the system of solmization developed to teach monks to remember Gregorian chant.

Broadly speaking, court music and religious music can be excluded from the popular category. Major manuscript song collections, such as the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso el Sabio (reigned 1252–84), which include a wealth of images concerning performance, consist entirely of praise-songs to the Virgin Mary, and must be used with care as they evidently represent elite practice. However, there are intriguing cases where popular practice leaks into the religious sphere. For example, the *Carmina Burana* manuscript (ca. 1230), found at Benediktbeuern, includes a *Missa Ludorum*, a remarkable popular parody of the Mass text, in which key spiritual terms are replaced by references to gambling. This was part of the once annual 'reversal' performances, where ordinary people mocked the solemnity of the monasteries. Table 10.2 lists the major popular genres of the period and some of the key manuscripts which provide texts.

One of the first writers to acknowledge the existence of dance songs was Johannes de Grocheio (Grocheo) (ca. 1255–ca. 1320), a Parisian musical theorist. His treatise *Ars musica* (ca. 1300) divides music into three categories:¹⁷

Musica vulgaris (popular music)

Mensurata (music using metrical rules; learned music)

Ecclesiastica (church music)

Table 10.1 Popular Instruments and Their First Appearance

Instrument	First Record	Type of Evidence
Idiophones		
Asses' jawbone	Seventeenth century	First depicted in an English miniature but still found widely in folk traditions across Europe.
Cog-rattle, ratchet	Fourteenth century (surviving example)	Still found widely in folk traditions across Europe, especially in Poland and neighbouring areas. Also used in churches and synagogues.
Castanets	Thirteenth century	Depicted in the 'Cantigas' manuscript. Probably never spread outside of Spain.
Triangle	Fourteenth century	Mersenne (1636) notes they were played by beggars, but medieval images show angelic performers.
Xylophone	1511	First shown in a Holbein engraving of 1523. Probably introduced by sailors from West Africa.
Membranophones		
Frame-drum	Seventeenth century	The Irish <i>bodhrán</i> strongly resembles North African frame-drums, such as the Moroccan <i>bender</i> . However, its use in Ireland can only be documented relatively late, and its widespread use only dates from the 1960s. In England, it was known as the 'riddle-drum' and developed from circular grain sieves.
Tambourine	Known from antiquity	Origin in the Near East and represented in classical antiquity, associated with popular ecstatic cults. Only surviving in folk culture along the southern edges of Europe. Unclear whether the tradition is continuous from antiquity to medieval period.
Friction-drum	1559(?)	Depicted in <i>The Battle between Carnival and Lent</i> by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1559). Found widely in folk traditions. May be an introduction from Central Africa.
Chordophones		
Lyre	Tenth century	Known throughout the ancient Near East and in Classical Antiquity. Would have been the actual instrument played by King David, not the harp. The oldest known example in Europe (2300 BP) was excavated on the Isle of Skye in 2010. Existed in both plucked and bowed forms. A folk instrument around much of Europe, it disappeared as an accompaniment to song by the twelfth century. However, it survived into modern times in Wales (<i>crwd</i>) and Poland.
Hammer dulcimer	Fourteenth or early fifteenth century	Developed from plucked psalteries and the inspiration for the modern pianoforte. Although much represented in angelic orchestras, not found in secular traditions. Survives widely in folk traditions from Europe to China. ^a
Gittern	Thirteenth century	First represented in an anonymous manuscript from Avranches, Manche, France. ^b Disappears by the sixteenth century (or morphs into the early guitar).

Instrument	First Record	Type of Evidence
Hurdy-gurdy, symphony	Tenth(?)/Twelfth centuries	First described in the treatise <i>Quomodo organistrum construatur</i> , attributed to Abbot Odo of Cluny (d. 942). First represented in a stone carving on the Porta da Gloria, Santiago da Compostela. Instruments with a lute-like body survived in Western European folk traditions.
Psaltery	Twelfth to fifteenth century	Gorleston psalter (ca. 1310).
Vielle, fidel	Twelfth century	The seal of Bertan II, Count of Forcalquier, France, dated 1168, shows him playing a vielle. Develops into the viol family in the sixteenth century.
Rebec	Twelfth century	Early textual sources conflate references with the vielle. Survives in folk traditions in Eastern Europe and Greece.
Aerophones		
Transverse flute	Known from antiquity	Perhaps disappears and is then reintroduced from Byzantium in the twelfth century. ^c First depicted in Rudolf von Ems's <i>Weltchronik</i> (ca. 1255–70).
Duct-flute, recorder	Fourteenth century	At least eight duct-flutes have been recovered from fourteenth-century archaeological sites. ^d However, whistles operating with ducted embouchures are much older, and some references place them in Ireland in the seventh century. Pipe and tabor instruments are also usually duct-flutes. Disappears from the classical tradition in the eighteenth century until revived as a school instrument in the twentieth century.
Panpipe	Known from antiquity	Depicted on the Vače situla from Slovenia (fifth century BC) and in late Roman representations and then from the eleventh century onwards. Probably survived in folk traditions in the intervening period. Never widespread in Europe; it is occasionally played by angels. Survives in Eastern European folk traditions.
Ocarina	'Medieval'	At least one Neolithic example found at Runik in Kosovo. Modern-looking globular ocarinas of terracotta with duct-flute embouchures found in Sweden, probably derived from terracotta animal whistles found today in Eastern Europe.
Shawm	Twelfth century	Origin disputed. Known in classical antiquity, but medieval traditions in Western Europe date from the period of the Crusades.
Bagpipe	Known from antiquity	Assuming the identification of the <i>utricularius</i> played by the emperor Nero is accurate. First represented in medieval Europe in the 'Cantigas' manuscript, where several types are depicted. Mentioned in Chaucer (ca. 1380 AD).
Idioglot clarinet	Known from antiquity	Widely represented in Western Europe from the eight to the tenth centuries, then it appears to die out. The characteristic modern European form is the <i>launeddas</i> or Sardinian triple pipe and the Basque <i>alboka</i> .

(Continued)

Table 10.1 (Continued)

Instrument	First Record	Type of Evidence
End-blown horn, cornetto	Eleventh century	Undercroft of Canterbury Cathedral. Survives in folk traditions, but disappears in Western Europe in the sixteenth century, except for the serpent (a bass cornetto).
Lamellophone		
Jews' harp	Early Eurasia	Extensive archaeological finds, but first represented in the fifteenth century. Never adopted into the European classical tradition, but continuously popular.

^a Paul M. Gifford, *The Hammered Dulcimer: A History* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2001).

^b L. Wright, 'The Medieval Gittern and Citole: A Case of Mistaken Identity', *The Galpin Society Journal* 30 (1977): 8–42.

^c H. Hickmann, 'The Antique Cross-Flute', *Acta Musicologica* 24, no. 3/4 (1952): 108–12.

^d Nicholas S. Lander, *Recorder Home Page: A Memento: The Medieval Recorder*, <http://www.recorderhomepage.net/instruments/a-memento-the-medieval-recorder/> (accessed 18 May 2019).

^e Canterbury Tales, General Prologue, lines 567–8: 'A baggepype wel coude he blowe and sowne/And ther-with-al he broghte us out of towne'.

Table 10.2 Popular Genres and Key Manuscripts

Genre	Key Manuscripts
Dance songs	Llibre Vermell de Montserrat
Lyric songs	Carmina Burana, Carmina Cantabrigensia
Secular amusement songs	Carmina Burana, Carmina Cantabrigensia
Instrumental dances	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 844c British Library, Additional ms 29987

De Grocheio describes the *rotundellus*, the round dance with sung accompaniment, as popular in Paris.

One of the most precious survivals from the late Middle Ages is the Catalan *Llibre Vermell de Montserrat* (compiled 1399), a collection of dance songs for pilgrims. The particular interest of this collection is that the compiler includes a description of performance:

Because the pilgrims wish to sing and dance while they keep their watch at night in the church of the Blessed Mary of Montserrat, and also in the light of day; and in the church no songs should be sung unless they are chaste and pious, for that reason these songs that appear here have been written. And these should be used modestly, and take care that no one who keeps watch in prayer and contemplation is disturbed.¹⁸

The Latin text of the song *Mariam matrem virginem* is illustrated here (Figure 10.8). In addition, several songs are in the vernacular, including the motet *Imperayritz de la ciutat joyosa / Verges ses par misericordiosa* (fol. 25v), where Catalan and Latin texts are sung simultaneously. Remarkably, the tradition that gave birth to these dance songs still

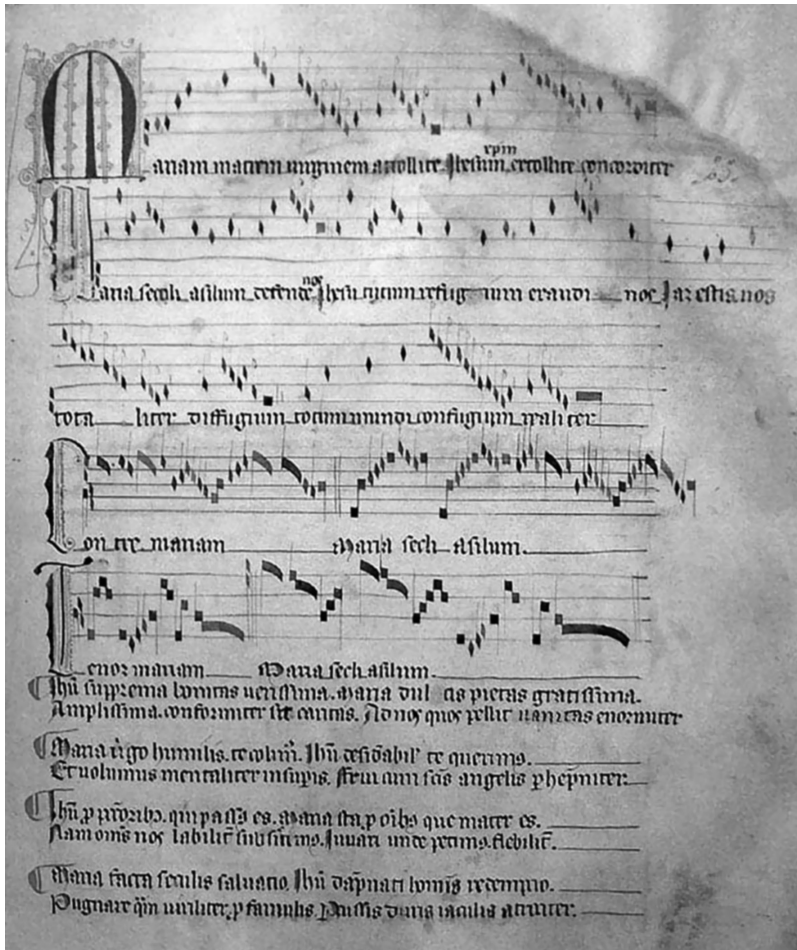


Figure 10.8 The Latin text of the song *Mariam matrem virginem*, from the *Llibre Vermell de Montserrat*, 1399, Barcelona, Monastery of Montserrat. Image in the public domain.

survives in Barcelona. On Sundays, *cobla* ensembles play in front of the cathedral in the Barrio Antiguo, while passers-by are encouraged to join in round dances, *sardanas*. The original *cobla* ensemble consisted of pipe and tabor, shawm and bagpipes, about as medieval a grouping as remains in modern Europe.

One of the most distinctive aspects of vocal music in southern Europe is the use of polyphony, the simultaneous sounding of multiple musical lines. Polyphony in the classical tradition developed from the *organum* pioneered by Pérotin in Paris in the twelfth century. By the time of Guillaume de Machaut (ca. 1300–77), it was fully developed; it has remained a basic compositional tool ever since. Across all of Northern Europe, the characteristic structural type is monophonic music. However, in southern Europe, folk polyphony persists, especially on the islands of the Mediterranean, quite

Table 10.3 Southern European Traditions of Vocal Polyphony

Place	Reference	Comment
Corsica	Macchiarella (2008) ^a	Records of <i>cunfraternitá</i> (singing brotherhoods) go back to the twelfth century, although the current style may be of fifteenth-century origin.
Sardinia	Macchiarella (2008)	
Sicily	Macchiarella (2008)	
Balkans	Ahmedaja and Haid (2008) ^b	This tradition spreads from Montenegro to Macedonia and Epirus.
Albania	Ahmedaja and Haid (2008)	Albanian migrants, such as the Arberesh in Southern Italy, have carried the polyphonic tradition with them.

^a I. Macchiarella, 'Harmonizing on the Islands: Overview of the Multipart Singing by Chording in Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily', in *European Voices: Multipart Singing on the Balkans and in the Mediterranean*, ed. A. Ahmedaja and Gerlinde Haid (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2008), 103–58.

^b A. Ahmedaja and Gerlinde Haid (eds), *European Voices: Multipart Singing on the Balkans and in the Mediterranean* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2008).

different from classical polyphony, which suggests it is both ancient and was once more widespread. Table 10.3 lists extant traditions of folk polyphony. Documentation for the antiquity of these traditions remains weak, although their distribution (and relatives further afield in Georgia and Armenia) suggests it is a type of singing that preceded the dominant monophony.

Iconography suggests that instrumental music, especially to accompany popular dancing, was widespread across Europe in the Middle Ages. However, the nature of the repertoire was such that it was rarely written down, or else the dance tunes survive as popular song-texts rather than as strictly instrumental forms. Yet, we know of many dance types such as the *estampie*, *saltarello*, *ductia*, *rota* and *nota*. Timothy McGee, who has presented the most recent overview of all existing manuscripts, counts some forty-seven dances, across twelve manuscripts, including one unique example in a Czech codex.¹⁹ All of these are monophonic, except for some of the *ductia*, and none include indications for instrumentation. Clearly, these dance tunes represent a very rich popular tradition of which only fragments can now be recovered, strongly biased towards French and Italian examples.

To sum up, although in some ways the iconography of the Middle Ages and Renaissance would appear to be well-explored, the inventory of stone- and wood-carvings on religious buildings across Europe has barely begun. For no country has a comprehensive list been compiled of the existence, dates, state of preservation and interpretation of such carvings. Yet, they remain crucial to the reconstruction of daily life in a period when texts have little or nothing to say. Elite forms of iconography, such as painting, typically do not represent ordinary life, with a few exceptions. In the study of popular music and its performance in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, evidence from iconography can be supplemented with that from archaeological finds and still extant folk-music traditions. The systematic assessment of the available evidence, however, has only just begun, and if we want to better understand the contexts of music in the medieval period and its relationship with broader societal trends, much work remains to be done.

- 20 Ulinka Rublak and Maria Hayward (eds), *The First Book of Fashion: The Books of Clothes of Matthäus & Veit Konrad Schwartz of Augsburg* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2015).
- 21 Ulinka Rublak, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- 22 Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination, and Innovation', 152–8. See also the forthcoming ERC-Refashioning the Renaissance database, recording artisan dress from Siena, Florence and Venice, 1550–1650 at <http://refashioningrenaissance.eu>.
- 23 Elizabeth Currie has argued that tailors began to propose new styles actively rather than simply making garments according to models provided by their clients in the sixteenth century. See Elizabeth Currie, 'Diversity and Design in the Florentine Tailoring Trade, 1550-1620', in *The Material Renaissance*, ed. Michelle O'Malley and Evelyn Welch (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 154–73, esp. 163–5. For a discussion of the status of artisans in early modern Europe, see also Margaret Pappano and Nicole R. Rice (eds), 'Medieval and Early Modern Artisan Culture', *Special Issue, Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 43, no. 3 (2013): 480–1.
- 24 Currie, 'Diversity and Design', 157–8; Monica Cerri, 'Sarti toscani nel seicento: Attività e clientela', in *Le trame della moda*, ed. Anna Giulia Cavagna and Grazietta Butazzi (Rome: Bulzoni, 1995), 421–33, 423.
- 25 For his inventory and shop, see ASS, *Curia del Placito* 733, no. 273 (1549). His wealth is recorded in ASS, *Lira* 132 (1548), 82v. For discussion, see Hohti-Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects, and Everyday Life in Renaissance Italy*, Chapter 3.
- 26 By the end of the sixteenth century, black had become the most important colour of rank and power. For a discussion of black, see Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity*, 98–108; and for the different types of black and their creation and meanings, Susan Kay-Williams, *The Story of Colour in Textiles: Imperial Purple to Denim Blue* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2013).
- 27 Cited in Patricia Fortini Brown, *Art and Life in Renaissance Venice* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 1997), 149.
- 28 ASS, *Curia del Placito* 279 (1637), 109v: Inventory of the shoemaker Giovanni di Pavolo.

Chapter 10

- 1 The first version of this chapter was presented at the Symposium *The Art of the Poor in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, held at the Warburg Institute, London, 14–15 June 2018. I would like to thank the audience for their comments.
- 2 V. Sekules, 'Religious Politics and the Cloister Bosses of Norwich Cathedral', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 159, no. 1 (2006): 284–306.
- 3 Tord Harlin and Bengt Z. Nordström, *Härkebergas rika skrud: möte med målaren Albertus Pictor* (Enköping: Enköpings kyrkliga samfällighet, 2003).
- 4 A. Schneider, 'Archaeology of Music in Europe', in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, ed. T. Rice, J. Porter and C. Goertzen (London: Routledge, 2017), 34–45.
- 5 Cajsa Lund, 'The Archaeomusicology of Scandinavia', *World Archaeology* 12, no. 3 (1981): 246–5.
- 6 G. Kolltveit, *Jew's Harps in European Archaeology* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006).
- 7 Nicholas J. Conard, Maria Malina and Susanne C. Münzel, 'New Flutes Document the Earliest Musical Tradition in Southwestern Germany', *Nature* 460 (August 2009): 737–40.

- 8 F. Anoyanakis, *Greek Folk Musical Instruments* (Athens: National Bank of Greece, 1979).
- 9 F. Crane, *Extant Medieval Musical Instruments: A Provisional Catalogue by Types* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1972); an updated version with extended bibliography by J. G. Hurst has been issued.
- 10 D. Hakelberg, 'A Medieval Wind Instrument from Schlettwein, Thuringia', *Historic Brass Society Journal* 7 (1995): 185–96.
- 11 If King David played any chordophone, it would most likely have been the lyre.
- 12 C. Page, 'German Musicians and Their Instruments: A 14th-Century Account by Konrad of Megenberg', *Early music* 10, no. 2 (1982): 192–200. See also S. Kruiger (ed.), *Konrad von Megenberg. Werke. Ökonomik (Monumenta Germaniae historica. Staatsschriften späteren Mittelalters III/5, 1–2)*, (Stuttgart: Hiersemann Vlg., 1973 and 1977).
- 13 A. F. W. Bentzon, *The Launeddas: A Sardinian Folk-music instrument* (Copenhagen: Akademisk forlag, 1969).
- 14 E. Hickmann and R. Eichmann (eds), *Symposium Musikarchäologische Quellengruppen. Bodenurkunden, mündliche Überlieferung, Aufzeichnung* (International Study Group on Music Archaeology) (Rahden, Westfalia: M. Leidorf, 2004).
- 15 There is some debate as to whether the *tibia utricularius*, played by Nero (not the lyre!), was in fact a type of early bagpipe, as suggested by the first century AD writer Dio Chrysostom.
- 16 David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976); J. Montagu, *The World of Medieval & Renaissance Musical Instruments* (New York: Overlook Press, 1976).
- 17 Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars Musicae*, ed. and trans. Constant J. Mews, John N. Crossley, Catherine Jeffreys, Leigh McKinnon and Carol J. Williams (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2011).
- 18 'Quia interdum peregrini quando vigilant in ecclesia Beate Marie de Monte Serrato volunt cantare et trepidiare, et etiam in platea de die, et ibi non debeant nisi honestas ac devotas cantilenas cantare, idcirco superius et inferius alique sunt scripte. Et de hoc uti debent honeste et parce, ne perturbent perseverantes in orationibus et devotis contemplationibus.'
- 19 Timothy McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 2014).

Chapter 11

- 1 A. H. Church, *English Earthenware* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1884), 11.
- 2 R. L. Hobson, *A Guide to the English Pottery and Porcelain in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities: British Museum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910), 5.
- 3 W. B. Honey, 'Foreword', in Bernard Rackham, *Medieval English Pottery*, 2nd edn (London: Faber & Faber, 1972), v.
- 4 Rackham, *Medieval English Pottery*, 1.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 2–3.
- 6 J. E. Pearce, A. G. Vince and M. A. Jenner, *A Dated Type-Series of London Medieval Pottery, Part 2: London-Type Ware*, London Middlesex Archaeological Society Special Paper 6 (London: London Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1985), 127.
- 7 For example, Pearce et al., *London-Type Ware*, 27–8, figs 10–24, pls I–IV.
- 8 G. C. Dunning, 'Pottery', in J. B. Ward Perkins, *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* (London: HMSO, 1954), 212.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 212.

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