Jew's Harps in European Archaeology

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For title page verso:
The cover photo:
Jew's harps excavated at Hallwil
Castle, Switzerland.
Photo: Gjermund Kolltveit. Courtesy
of Swizz National Museum, Zürich.

Dedication: *For Agnes and Jo*

Preface

Viewed in a psychoanalytical and evolutionistic perspective, this monograph can be seen as a release of my propensity to be a *hunter-gatherer*, since the quantitively largest part of the work has been to make a collection, gathered through extensive hunting trips in various museums and institutions in Europe. The effort of collecting also gave me the opportunity to re-experience my own childhood. As many other children, I was busy with collecting and classifying insects, napkins, football cards and other items. Among things I did not collect, however, were jew's harps.

The fact that this work is based on a collection of one single artifact, does not, however, exclude wider perspectives and an intention to be "culture-centred" instead of "artifact-centred". The compilation of excavated jew's harps is hence not the goal in itself, but a means to discuss cultural, social and historical issues, also when employing a narrow focus on the material objects themselves and their technology.

It is not an unconscious choice that the artifact in question here is a musical instument. Although the monograph does not explixitely focus on music, my attraction to jew's harps from archaeological contexts arose from an interest in music and sounds of the past. More specifically, my interest in music combined with archaeology started during my undergraduate studies at the University of Oslo. I had been living as a professional violinist for some years, and had decided to take a break to start studying archaeology. I soon realized, however, that it was impossible to simply quit my musical career. Therefore, it was fascinating to become aware of the works of the archaeologist Cajsa S. Lund of Sweden, who was one of the pioneers in the field of music archaeology or archaeomusicology. I eventually specialised my studies in the direction of music archaeology, because it was a way to combine my interests, and because I found it fascinating and important to explore problems and issues in the intersection between musicology and archaeology. I was fortunate to get Cajsa S. Lund as an external supervisor for my MA studies at the Department of Musicology. It was she who advised me to look closer at the archaeological material of jew's harps. I am thankful for her help and inspiration.

A period of almost ten years with research on jew's harps is brought to the end with this volume, appearng here as a revised version of my doctoral thesis with the same title (University of Oslo, 2004). The doctorate was made possible through funding from The Norwegian Research Council. I was offered a working place at The Norwegian Folk Music Collection, which is a branch of The Department of Musicology. My supervisor Tellef Kvifte guided me through the work. He has showed me confidence, and deserves thanks for always being available for advice and help, in his efficient, professional and safe way.

I appreciated the opportunity to be a part of the vital community of doctoral students at the Department of Musicology. Especial thanks are due to Eva Falck and Odd Skårberg for stimulating conversations.

I have also benefitted from the training program for researchers at the University of Oslo, and I have appreciated the supportive atmosphere at the seminars led by Ståle Wikshåland, Trygve Nergaard, Knut Kjellstadli and Tellef Kvifte.

Fredrick Crane, Iowa, has meant much to this study, both scholarly and as a friend. He has sendt me data on finds and offered valuable comments throughout the work. I am greatful to him for sharing his enormous knowledge of jew' harps and for believing in me.

I wish to thank the archaeologists Christian Keller for comments on the typology chapter and Knut Paasche for information on archaeological surfaces and metallurgy. From the Norwegian Jew's harp scene I would like to thank Bernhard Folkestad for constructive remarks.

My effort of documenting archaelogical Jew's harp finds has brought me to several countries and allowed me to become aquainted with a lot of people. I hereby express my deepest gratitude to curators, archaeologists and others who have helped me to collect the material. I would also like to thank Graeme Lawson (England), Thomas Repiszky (Hungary), Annemies Tamboer (The Netherlands), Cristoph Bizer (Germany) Gorm Jessen (Denmark), Tenna Kristensen (Denmark), Igor Tonurist (Estonia), Martin Boiko (Latvia) and Timo Leisiö (Finland) for sharing material and for valuable information. Thanks is also due to Uta Hennig (Germany), who showed me her collection of music iconographical sources and Werner Meyer (Switzerland), who provided useful information on Swiss archaeology. Furthermore, I want to thank Andreas König, Andreas Heege (both Germany) and Jim Spriggs (England) for hospitality.

Not only individuals, but also institutions deserve my gratitude. The material could not have been studied and presented in this way without kind permission from the many museums and institutions in possession of the finds. Thus, the reproductions displayed in the Catalogue and elsewhere in the work should be regarded as copyrighted material, belonging to the possessory institutions.

I am thankful to the following people for helping with translations: Morten Abildsnes has translated some Slavonic text sections and commented on materials from Eastern Europe. Hans-Hinrich Thedens translated an inquiry letter into German. Marthe Disen, Alfredo Barbuti and Eva Falck assisted with Italian texts. Sandor von Körtvelyessy proofread Hungarian place names.

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Finally I would like to express my deepest appreciation to the examining commitee appointed by the University of Oslo, consisting of Graeme Lawson (Cambridge), Gunnar Ternhag (Falun) and Gisela Attinger (Oslo), for their constructive responses and comments.

Nesodden, March 2006
Gjermund Kolltveit

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1. Introduction

Aim and approach

The subject of this monograph is the archaeology of the jew's harp in Europe. It is based on archaeological finds collected from various sources and compiled into a database. This compilation – which is appended to the thesis as the Catalogue – is itself a major part of the work, connected as it is to the main aim of documenting the finds and thus contributing to an understanding of the early period of the jew's harp in Europe.

The basic approach to typology and chronology adopted here represents an attempt to bring coherence to an apparently chaotic situation. First, scholars disagree on when the jew's harp became established in Europe. Some publications state that it first appeared in the 14th century, whereas others claim that the instrument has existed in the region for 2,000 years. Second, the archaeological material is large and varied, with the connections and continuity between finds obscure. The number of identified jew's harps on which this thesis is based is 830, and new finds are reported all the time. Although the instrument has changed little in basic appearance over the last eight hundred years, we find variation between individual instruments in terms of construction materials and techniques, size, form, and so on. What is lacking is an understanding of how the various finds are related and of the typological developments among them. Until some degree of organization and clarity can be brought to bear on this somewhat chaotic situation of types and datings, the cultural significance of the instrument may remain poorly understood.

The cultural significance and social context of the finds are also major issues in this thesis. The material objects, of course, cannot speak for themselves. But all the finds and their contexts play an important part in my interpretations, together with other sources, such as iconographical representations and various historical and ethnographical sources. The conclusions should be taken as interim statements. This is not because they are unsound or based on weak evidence, but because I believe it is better to regard this area of research as open-ended rather than amenable to final, definitive answers. This is also a reason why I have used dialogue form in two places in the thesis, as it allows discussion of issues that are open to interpretation from conflicting angles.

In the main approaches used in this work, ideas and questions are brought into dialogue with the material objects. At some stages it is necessary to go into detail – for instance, through a study of the different cross-sections of the metal frame of the instrument near the attachment of the lamella. At other stages we turn away from the objects to develop and articulate ideas and questions. This is a dialectical process between the particular and the general, between empiricism and theory. In this kind of research such reasoning moves tend to be very evident.

The work is arranged as follows. The first chapter consists of an introduction to the jew's harp and to music archaeology as a field of research. It also has a description of how information on the various finds in the database was collected. This section, which accounts for the European countries in succession, also lists the finds. The tables of this section (tables 1.1–1.7) are also tools for browsing and searching for finds from particular places or sites. (The entries in the Catalogue are arranged by chronological identificaton numbers, not by geography.)

The second chapter is about technology. Knowledge of the way the instruments were made and the materials used to make them allows one to dig beneath the surface, to understand the makers' intentions and capabilities. Simply observing without asking why the objects look like they do cannot really lead us a deeper understanding of the instrument.

Chapter three, which considers the typology of the harps, builds on the approach developed in the preceding chapter. The chapter starts with a general discussion of typology and classification because these concepts provide the basis of the work.

Chapter four, on distribution, discusses the distribution of the finds in Europe, and how the prodution and trade of the items were organized.

In the fifth and final chapter I approach the contexts of the finds – i.e., their archaeological setting and, in a wider perspective, their social and cultural significance. Here the sources are scarce, but by drawing analogies from various sources, such as written and ethnographical materials, it is possible to form ideas about the place and functions of the instrument in medieval Europe.

Some important issues are covered in two dialogues between two fictional scholars, Dr Harper and Dr Trumper, who specialize in questions relating to the archaeological material on jew's harps. Their backgrounds are fairly similar. In one respect, both represent myself, although in reality I would not always defend the positions of either. Their discussion is a way of representing an internal dialogue of my own and of establishing positions and ideas.

One intention of this procedure is to break up the traditional academic style. It is, however, not intended merely to give some breathing space from the rest of the text, but to provide a means of approaching central questions in a different style. My purpose is to illustrate how theories, positions and ideas are, to a greater or lesser extent, embodied in an individual and so cannot avoid an element of the personal and subjective. Through the dialogues I am able to stage my

reasoning, with Dr Harper and Dr Trumper as actors.

The first dialogue follows chapter two. It considers the question of when the instrument first appeared in Europe and provides a history of the research relating to this question. As this issue also proves to be a question of ideology, or at least reveals other, hidden intentions, Dr Harper and Dr Trumper sometimes turn to theoretical questions about how we approach the past and how we write history. The dialogue precedes the chapter on typology because the disagreement concerning the early datings illustrates the importance of working with the finds typologically.

In the second dialogue, which follows chapter four, the two doctors concern themselves with sources, methods, research traditions, disciplines and interdisciplinarity. One question they consider is whether the earliest history of the jew's harp, for which no music or musical manuscripts are extant, represents a fundamentally different situation than is faced by other historical musicologists. What they have to say on this matter serves as an introduction to the last chapter, which presents a discussion of the social and cultural position of the instrument.

Throughout the text there are references to the Catalogue, which lists the finds that provide the material basis for the thesis. The Catalogue is based on a database that has been run continuously as finds were located in museums and publications and relevant information was collected. The Catalogue is not identical to the database but consists of information selected from it. The database is a working tool, and will be actively used as such in the future, whereas the Catalogue is a finished entity with selected information relevant to the thesis.

Excavated music[1]

My hope is that this thesis will find its place within a musicological as well as an archaeological tradition. I also hope that it will contribute to the field of study referred to as music archaeology. Broadly speaking, this is an interdisciplinary research area that seeks to explore problems related to music or musical instruments on the basis of archaeological materials.

There is a long tradition of studies of excavated musical artifacts. Especially magnificent instruments, such as the Scandinavian lurs of the Bronze Age (most of them found in the 19th century, see Lund (ed.) 1986, Vol. 2) or the Mesopotamian lyres from Ur (excavated early in the 20th century, Rimmer 1969; Schauensee 2002), have received much attention from archaeologists as well as musicologists. The Swedish archaeologist Cajsa S. Lund was among the first to carry out systematic and continuing research on sound tools from European archaeological materials. She started to compile inventories of materials in Scandinavian museums from the early 1970s (Lund 1980) and was one of the pioneers who contributed to the formation of the international community of music archaeologists.

In 1977 the first step towards formalization of the subject was taken when the International Musicological Society included a round table called "music and archaeology" at its meeting at Berkley. The gathering stimulated much response, and in 1981 various scholars encouraged by the meeting established the Study Group of Music Archaeology within the ICTM (International Council of Traditional Music). Since then there have been several conferences devoted to various topics (for example, Lund (ed.) 1986; Hickmann and Hughes (eds) 1988; Homo-Lechner *et al.* (eds) 1994; Hickmann and Eichmann (eds) 2000, 2004; Hickmann, Laufs and Eichmann (eds) 2000); Hickmann, Kilmer and Eichmann (eds) 2002).

There is no accepted narrow definition of music archaeology. Individuals representing different academic traditions and perspectives have contributed to and maintained the subject. However, there is no doubt that the majority of music archaeologists give special attention to the ancient, classical "high cultures" of Mesopotamia, the Middle East, Egypt, China, etc. The research here benefits from a richness of written and iconographical sources.

Music archaeology's primary source material is the physical remains of musical instruments and sound tools. However, it is always an advantage to include a variety of data and theory in the research in order to promote a broad and contextual understanding of the material objects. Scholars studying the classical cultures have more sources available to them than, for instance, those researching the Scandinavian Palaeolithic. Nevertheless, there are always possibilities, and the further back in time we go the more *need* there is for interdisciplinary approaches. An investigation of the very earliest indications of musical artifacts, for instance, would hardly rely on material artifacts alone but would turn to anthropology (physical and social), biology, linguistics, psychology, acoustics and so forth (Lawergren 1988, Wallin, Merker and Brown 2000).

Although the main efforts of music archaeology have centred on antique and prehistorical materials, both medieval and post-medieval times have been the subject of research projects. Examples of the latter include studies of material from the shipwrecks of the English 16th century warship *Mary Rose* (Lawson 1986) and the Swedish 17th century flagship *Kronan* (Lund 1986). In both cases the marine archaeologists recovered several musical instruments, including chordophones, aerophones and idiophones.

The present study also demonstrates that music archaeology is concerned with more than just prehistorical times. There is no scarcity of non-archaeological sources from the period to which the jew's harp material belongs. Archaeology is the chosen approach not because it is the only required approach but because it is a deliberate choice.

To rely on other types of source would result in other conclusions. A departure from written documents, for instance, would reveal only sparse indications of people

1 Title inspired by Annemies Tamboer's book Ausgegrabene Klänge (Tamboer 1999).

playing the jew's harp. The archaeological sources bring forward a totally different situation. This is partly because those who wrote the documents were not interested in this insignificant artifact. But this also illustrates a more fundamental point: that material culture gives a quite different picture of the societies under consideration.

A history of music which seeks out material culture rather than confining itself to written documents or "works of art" produces a wider perspective of the musical past that is generally more oriented towards the culture of everyday life and of ordinary people. Furthermore, the mixed nature of material culture is suggestive of a wide range of activities. An archaeological approach to historical musicology presupposes a wide understanding of "music" and "musical instruments". If we are not willing to open up to broader perspectives, there is no point in this kind of research.

Music archaeology represents a refreshing contribution not only to the history of music but to archaeology as well. Too often, the impression we get from archaeology is that the past was silent. But is it possible to use archaeological material to explore the sounds of the past? The sounds themselves are gone. So it would appear that an understanding of the sounds of the (distant) past must be based on conjectural interpretation alone, perhaps with a portion of imagination and personal experience. From one point of view we should admit that there are some major problems here. There are few data, and the very scarce sources with any relevance offer very little for an understanding of music, its functions and meanings. From another point of view, archaeologists do not always construct their knowledge of the past on much safer grounds. As the Norwegian archaeologist Arne B. Johansen reminds us, archaeologists can excavate "neither social organisation nor economy, nor types of arrows, … they are as excavated as a flute sound" (cited in Lund 1998: 17). Social organisation is not present in the archaeological record, waiting to be recovered. The critical point is that artifacts always need to be interpreted. For archaeology, as for all the humanities, knowledge is always based on interpretations that are founded, to a greater or lesser extent, on an input of imagination and experience.

Regardless of such philosophical questions, one reason for a somewhat sceptical or indifferent attitude from general archaeology towards music archaeology (Lund 1998) is perhaps a tendency to see music as a notably modern phenomenon and to believe that it is impossible to work with music as long as it is not available in written form. Moreover, archaeologists often fail to see that music is integrated with a range of practical and ritual functions.

The tendency to believe that a "real" archaeology of music is impossible also accounts for various other uses of the term *music archaeology*. One example is a "meta-understanding" of the term, expressed either in accordance with Foucault's conception of archaeology (Tomlinsson 1993), or – less seriously – as a prehistory of music in our minds or similar (New Age). Another is that the term denotes the history of music on the basis of written music that is physically fragmented or hidden and antiquated. This use of the term conforms to a more common understanding of music as applied by traditional historical musicology.

Yet, to carry out actual research should be more important than to defend disciplines and terms. Whether we use the term *music archaeology*, *archaeomusicology*, *archaeo-organology* or *palaeo-organology* has only minor consequences. What we choose to call our field of study is less important than the questions we ask and the issues we deal with.

The central issue of the present study is a classification and typological analysis of jew's harps. This is indeed far from sounds and music. Nevertheless, I feel that my source material is excavated sounds.

No one, of course, would claim that one can literally excavate sounds. The 14th century sound of a 14th century jew's harp, for instance, is forever gone because of the simple but important fact that the 14th century is gone. When we listen to "authentic" or "reconstructed" sounds, we listen as modern humans. What we hear will always be filtered through our modern ways of perception, whether culturally, individually or emotionally.

But irrespective of the impossibility of making the past re-sound today, I would still dig for the jew's harp's "sounds, their settings and significance", to cite Shelemay's definition of soundscapes (2001). I am interested in the total sound environment (Schafer 1994) of the medieval castles and other places where people played their harps. I am interested in the physical, social and even cognitive soundscapes of which the jew's harps were part. Indeed, were it not for this interest in excavated sounds, I would not spend time collecting and classifying corroded and fossilized iron objects.

The jew's harp – some essential background

Construction, acoustics and playing technique

The jew's harp is a mouth-resonated musical instrument consisting of an elastic lamella (tongue, spring) which is either joined to, or part of, a frame. The sound is produced by the vibration of the lamella between the two parallel arms of the frame. The turbulence this produces is essential, according to one current explanation, because it generates a feasible harmonic spectrum from which the player articulates particular overtones (Ledang 1972). The articulation and the amplifying of tones are complicated processes that involve the player's oral cavity, tongue, cranium, throat and stomach.

The lamella has one fundamental, and only the corresponding overtones (partials) can be used to play melodies. This is analogous to other overtone instruments, such as the mouth bow. With the jew's harp the fundamental serves as a drone.

The jew's harp is found in a remarkable variety of forms and shapes, accompanied by different playing techniques, which include many ways of initiating the vibration of the lamella. Especially in Asia there is a diversity of instruments, made of organic materials such as bamboo, palm wood, ivory and bone, but also metals. This thesis is concerned with the European version of the instrument. In his pioneering article on the development and typology of the instrument in a worldwide perspective, Curt Sachs (1917) referred to this version as *Bügelmaultrommel* (bow-shaped jew's harp), as opposed to *Rahmenmaultrommel* (frame jew's harp), which is found throughout Asia. Furthermore, he regarded the European forms *heteroglottic*, which means that the lamella is made separately from the frame, as opposed to the *idioglottic* types found in Asia, where the lamella and frame are made from the same piece of material.

Sachs' typology, which was buildt exclusively on morphological criteria, followed an evolutionary scheme, where the earliest and simplest forms were made from organic materials. According to him, the jew's harp originated in Southeast Asia and spread slowly eastwards and northwards, accompanied by a development from simple to complex forms. The latest forms were the metal versions that appeared in Europe in the High Middle Ages.

Geneviève Dournon-Taurelle's thesis on the jew's harp (1975) approached the instrument from a worldwide ethnological perspective. She included functional and musical features, and integrated form, material and function in a typological classification. This does not have to correspond to a historical development. The same ideas were used in the catalogue of the jew's harps in the *Musée de l'homme* in Paris (Dournon-Taurelle and Wright 1978). The European version corresponds to their *type à languette hors du cadre*, where the lamella is longer than, and sticks out from, the frame.

The bow-shaped and heteroglottic jew's harp found in Europe is played by pressing the frame firmly against the front teeth, but so that the teeth do not prevent the free vibration of the lamella. The lamella is then plucked directly by the player's finger (or, rarely, by the player's tongue) at the tip on the free end of the instrument.

Classification of the jew's harp has been a matter of dispute. Hornbostel and Sachs group the instrument as a plucked idiophone in their established classification system (1914) because of the primary sound-producing impulse of the lamella. Frederick Crane (1968) and Ola Kai Ledang (1972) stress the importance of the turbulent air stream created by the vibration of the lamella between the arms. Their opinion is that the instrument should, rather, be classified as an aerophone.

Laurence Picken (1975: 584–5) holds that the bamboo instruments from Eastern Asia are made with considerable sophistication – with an extremely precise adjustment of the lamella – and that they should therefore be regarded as in a class of their own. "In their neglect of this refinement, the iron and steel Jew's harps of Central, South and West Asia, and of Europe as well, must be regarded as degenerate" (*ibid.*).

Geographical distribution

The distribution of the jew's harp is now worldwide. It is indigenous to the Eurasian landmass, Southeast Asia, Polynesia and Oceania. The established theory, derived from Sachs (1917) is that it originally appeared in Southeast Asia and Polynesia and only later spread to Europe. The instrument then found its way to Africa and the Americas through European contacts during the 16th century and after.

The jew's harp is referred to by a remarkable variety of names. Leonard Fox (1988) has recorded more than 250 different names from around the world, but the list should probably be much longer. European names include *guimbarde* (French), *scacciapensieri* (Italian), *Maultrommel* (German), *birimbao* (Spanish), *mungige* (Swedish), *mundharpe* (Danish), *doromb* (Hungarian), *drombulja* (Serbian) and *vargan* (Russian). In Latin the instrument has been referred to as *crembalum* and, possibly, *trombula*. Variants of *trump* and *trompa* seem to be among the earliest terms used in European texts, found in documents dating back to the late Middle Ages (Crane 2003b). However, it is often difficult to clarify which terms referred to the jew's harp and which referred to other instruments in the verious sources.

History

The origin and earliest history of the jew's harp remain shrouded in darkness. It is probably a very ancient instrument. Very plausibly, the forms made of organic materials are the oldest, as is commonly believed. The manufacture of such objects would not demand skills in metal technology. The earliest pieces to have been discovered come from Mongolia. One from Xiongnu[2] dates from around the first century BC to the first century AD.[3] The other is from near Chifeng, Inner Mongolia, and dates from the eight to the eighth fifth century BC.[4] Of the heteroglottic metal harps, the oldest so far are two specimens from Japan, these were excavated from archaeological settings that place them in the Heian period, or 1000 AD (Tadagawa 1996).

Throughout the ages and continents the jew's harp has been connected with a variety of functions and meanings. Today it is used mostly as a folkloristic melody-instrument. In some places in Asia the jew's harp is a "speech-tone" instrument, used ritually to disguise the voice (Pugh-Kitingan 1977, 1984). Its connection with shamanism is well known, especially in Siberia.

2 Kaogu Xiebao 1974: 140, fig. 8 and plate 17
3 Frederick Crane, pers. comm.
4 Ibid

European history and archaeology

As this thesis will show, the earliest archaeological and written sources from Europe go back to the 13th and 14th centuries, suggesting that the jew's harp was well established in the High Middle Ages.

Professional artisans were already making the instrument in the 13th century, as attested by master's marks that are punched into the frame of some jew's harps. From the 16th century there is written documentation of mass production. The best known production centres were Molln in Upper Austria, Boccorio in Italy and Birmingham, England. The production served large markets, both domestic and overseas.

Iconography also demonstrates that the jew's harp was a common European instrument. Frederick Crane has published a book presenting iconographic material from Europe and America (Crane 2003b). The depictions include seals, watermarks, manuscripts, paintings and sculptures. The earliest visual representations appear in the mid-14th century, but from the 16th and 17th centuries the material is especially rich, including paintings by Dutch and Flemish painters like Burgkmair, Brueghel and Vrancx (Crane *op. cit.*; Boone 1972, 1986). The Benelux countries are probably the region with most iconographic material, but there are sources from almost all European countries. The iconographic sources will frequently be referred to throughout the thesis, especially in the chapters on typology and context.

Ethnographic sources will also frequently be consulted. Among these are the works of Reidar Sevåg (1970, 1973) on the jew's harp in Norwegian folklore, and the work of Birgitte Geiser (1980) on Swiss material.

Turning to the archaeology of the instrument, there have been some regional studies – from Sweden (Rydbeck 1968), Switzerland (Meyer and Oesch 1972), Ireland (Buckley 1986), Hungary (Repiszky 1996) and Scandinavia (Kolltveit 1996) – and these will be introduced in the section "Collecting material" below. Some authors have treated jew's harp finds in an international perspective, but there is no publication that covers Europe as a whole. However, one book includes archaeological jew's harps among other medieval instruments in a Europe-wide context. This is *Extant Medieval Musical Instruments* by Frederick Crane (1972), which lists 79 jew's harps from archaeological contexts.

Crane, drawing on finds from England, the Netherlands and France, suggested that the jew's harp existed in Europe as far back as Roman times. This is almost one and a half millennia earlier than was proposed in the previous theory, derived from Sachs, who asserted that the instrument appeared in Europe in the 14th century (Sachs 1913/1964: 255; 1917: 196). J. V. S. Megaw (1968) also agreed with Crane on such an early origin of the jew's harp in Europe. In 1976 Crane and Megaw's position was challenged by the Dutch archaeologist J.Ypey, who denied the reliability of the early datings, and asserted that in Europe the instrument was a much later phenomenon (Ypey 1976). He argued that the English and Dutch finds had not been excavated with stratigraphical or other relevant data that allowed a competent dating. According to Ypey, the oldest safely dated European finds are from the 13th and 14th centuries.

The debate over the introduction of the instrument into Europe has continued since Crane's and Ypey's contributions in the 1970s. The individual finds and groups of finds that provided the basis for the core of the debate will be introduced in the following pages, under the countries in question. Moreover, the debate will be subjected to close scrutiny in Dialogue one: "When did the jew's harp become established in Europe?" (pages 51–64)

Revival

Recent years have seen a revival of interest in the jew's harp. CDs, festivals, books and journals, including the *Vierundzwanzigsteljahrschrift der Internationalen Maultrommelvirtuosengenossenschaft* (VIM) and the *Koukin Journal*, are devoted to the instrument. This is a worldwide tendency, but some communities of jew's harpists have been motivating forces in the development, notably in Siberia (Yakutia), Austria, the USA, the Netherlands and Norway. The international jew's harp festival in Rauland, Norway, in 2002 saw the foundation of the International Jew's Harp Society (IJHS), which issues its own journal.

Collecting material

The material on which this thesis is based consists of archaeological jew's harps – that is, finds from established archaeological excavations and chance finds. A chance find is understood here as a find that has come to light in any other way than intentional excavation. It has been appropriate to consider both categories, as is normal with most archaeological materials, which are usually a mixture of various finds. Common to the jew's harps considered in the study is that they were found in the earth.

It has not been possible to assign much of the material to a precise time period as a large number of the specimens have proved difficult to date. However, there is no doubt that most are medieval and post-medieval, belonging to the period from about 1200 to 1700. As a rule I have not included instruments with a confirmed 19th or 20th century origin.

The material is of a mixed nature, consisting of finds acquired from various sources. Some of the finds have not previously been published, while others are well known in the archaeological or organological literature. Sometimes the information and documentation for the objects are based on my own studies in museums and archaeological institutions, while for others the information comes from publications only. The documentary evidence in published sources varies greatly. Some publications do not give the museum or possessor of the finds, and in some of these cases the possessor is still unknown to me. Furthermore, publica-

tions provide various kinds of documentation of the appearance of finds, their provenance, the details of excavation and the like.

I have used different methods to collect information on the material: searches in published sources, such as monographs or journals; direct enquiries to museums and archaeological institutions; searches and activities on the internet; and, finally, by following up suggestions from colleagues, museum staff and others. The work of gathering information about a group of artifacts from numerous sources and countries has produced documentary evidence that I find intrinsically valuable. I consider the process of collecting this information to be an important task, and not only because it provides the foundation for my own analyses. The resulting Catalogue should be regarded as a major part of the present work.

It has been a challenge to arrive at a general overview because of the extent of the geographical area and the amount of archaeological activity that is being undertaken. As mentioned before, this is a work in progress, with no claim to completeness. It is impossible to keep fully abreast of the field at any given time, and to attempt any final conclusions would certainly be a mistake. In the Catalogue I have listed all archaeological finds of jew's harps from Europe that are presently known to me. There are certainly more harps around, and new ones are continually being excavated.

The information has been collected with varying attention to different parts of Europe. Some countries have been investigated with care, by searching in the literature and by sending letters and e-mails of enquiry to museums. In other cases only limited efforts to acquire material have been made. A consequence of this somewhat inconsistent coverage will very probably be that, as a basis for analysis, the material suffers from problems of imbalance and unrepresentativeness. Having said that, my analyses and discussions bear these problems in mind. However, I find it relevant to describe in more detail how the finds have been located and the information about them gathered. The section below deals with the regions and countries of Europe in succession. It also describes earlier surveys and studies of archaeological jew's harp finds, and is therefore also a history of research on the topic.

The Nordic Countries

My own MA thesis (Kolltveit 1996) is based on 144 finds from Scandinavia (Denmark, Sweden and Norway) which I learned about through published sources and letters of enquiry to museums and archaeological institutions. The main scope of the thesis was to elucidate the time of the instrument's introduction into Scandinavia. The conclusion was that no dated finds are earlier than the 13th century. Despite some possibly earlier pieces, it is most reasonable to conclude that the instrument became established in the period after 1200.

In the Catalogue of the present work I have entered 170 Nordic finds; these comprise the specimens listed in my MA thesis together with others located through further correspondence with museums and institutions in Scandinavia, Finland, and Iceland. There is much medieval archaeology going on in this region, and I suspect there are more finds than I have been able to trace.

The Catalogue includes 30 finds from Denmark. The most important source for these has been Tenna Kristensen's work on medieval musical instruments (Kristensen 1994). Her work was an undergraduate thesis on medieval archaeology, completed at the University of Aarhus, that surveyed musical instruments in Scandinavian archaeology. She lists 79 jew's harps from the Scandinavian countries, of which 14 are from Denmark. The thesis also briefly discusses the instrument's morphology and the social context of the finds.

Another source for the Danish finds is Gorm Jessen, of Slagelse, who has researched archaeological jew's harps in Denmark and Skåne. The quality of the documentation in his still unpublished material is exceptional high. I am grateful to Mr Jessen for sharing some of his material and knowledge with me.

The number of finds recorded for Sweden is 118, which is the third largest country count for this category of artifacts. What is remarkable about the Swedish finds is that almost all of them have been excavated by archaeologists, although most come from old excavations. Unfortunately, these finds are usually dated inaccurately.

My information on the Swedish finds has been gathered from publications and through direct enquiries to archaeological institutions. In addition, the Swedish music archaeologist Cajsa S. Lund, Åkarp, kindly allowed me access to her material collected during the Swedish project "Riksinventeringen", which was undertaken in the 1970s. This was a comprehensive survey of musical instruments and sound tools initiated by the Musikmuseet (Music Museum) in Stockholm (Reimers 1979). The Riksinventeringen material consists of about 60 jew's harps, information on which is kept in a card catalogue. The report on jew's harps from the project (Reimers 1977) lists the finds and discusses problems of forms, materials of manufacture and datings. It concludes that the Swedish material dates to the period about 1200–1600.

Monica Rydbeck reached the same conclusion in an earlier, well-known article that considered Swedish jew's harps found in archaeological excavations (Rydbeck 1968). The article includes around 35 items from Swedish castles, monasteries and cities. At the time of publication as many as three-quarters of the finds were from castles and monasteries, with one-third of the total found in cities. Like other scholars, Rydbeck expressed regret that the finds from castles and monasteries in particular could only be dated within wide ranges of time, following the period of existence of the sites from which they came.

Apart from these contributions treating Sweden as a whole, one article by Waldemar Falck (1974) introduces seven excavated pieces from the Hansa port of Visby, in

Gotland. These were dated stratigraphically to the period from the 13th/14th century to the 16th century. Additionally, the archaeological institution in Visby[5] and the Riksinventeringen project have reported four more pieces, bringing the number of items from Visby to eleven. Unfortunately, all the Visby harps had been lost when I travelled in Sweden in 1996.[6] This illustrates the importance of documentation and publication of archaeological material; without Falck's article and the Riksinventeringen survey we would know little of the jew's harps from Visby.

In 1996 and 1997 I visited the largest museums in Sweden and had the opportunity to study several of the Swedish finds in detail. I visited museums and archaeological institutions in Malmö, Lund, Växjö, Jönköping, Stockholm and Uppsala.

Norway is the country I have investigated most thoroughly. As only a small number of Norwegian museums have archaeological material, it is fairly easy to get an overview of the catalogued finds in the museums. Moreover, an obvious course for me has been to draw on personal relationships, whether with museum staff, jew's harp players or others.

I have been able to identify 23 harps, of which only seven are from archaeological excavations. With one exception, the excavated pieces are from the three largest cities, Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim. The rest are casual finds with essentially no contextual documentation. Three surface finds from Lom (nos. 134–136) resemble traditional jew's harps from recent times. However, their origin is not known, and since they were found in the ground I have found it difficult to exclude them from the selection.

One entry in the Catalogue (no. 144) refers to a description from 1643 by the Danish antiquarian Ole Worm. He tells of a jew's harp found in a burial urn near the town of Mandal, in Vest-Agder county. The description indicates a pre-Christian jew's harp. However, it has not been possible to trace the instrument itself either in Denmark or in Norway.

It has been suggested that some objects from excavations in Norway of sites of Viking Age are jew's harps. Among these are two heavily corroded iron objects from Grønneberg, in the county of Tjølling in Vestfold.[7] These were tentatively identified as jew's harps in 1974 (Løken 1974), and later Lund also interpreted them as possible jew's harps (Lund 1974, 1981, 1984/1987). In connection with my MA thesis I analysed the objects and had x-ray photographs taken.[8] I also analysed a similar ninth century iron object from Berger, in the county of Åmot in Hedmark.[9] The analyses gave no indication that these objects were jew's harps (Kolltveit 1996: 41), and the x-ray images showed no signs of the point where the lamella would have been attached to the frame. For the purposes of the present study, therefore, they will not be regarded as jew's harps and they do not appear in the Catalogue.

The material from Finland is small but higly interesting. An article published in 1978 describes three finds from the bishop's castle of Kustö (Kuusisto) (nos. 290–292; Taavitsainen 1978). This is the only printed work known to me that reports jew's harps from an archaeological setting in Finland.

After a visit to the museum in Turku (Åbo) Castle I was told about four more Finnish finds.[10] Furthermore, one piece excavated in Åbo in 2005 (no. 830), is included, bringing the total number to eight. I have not seen or studied any of these specimens apart from one I saw exhibited in Turku Castle. Nor have I attempted to determine whether other archaeological finds have been made in Finland.

As for Iceland, jew's harps are unknown to the organological literature. I sent an enquiry letter to the National Museum in Reykjavik, and I got information about one excavated specimen from the farm site at Stóraborg on the South coast (no. 819; Snæsdottir 1991: 24–5). I have not been able to check further for unpublished or unknown material from Iceland.

Table 1.1: **The finds from the Nordic Countries**

Region	Place	Site	Id. No.
Denmark			
Fredriksborg County	Store Valby	Farm no. 3	13
		Farm no. 17	14
Fyn County	Sandhagen (Langeland)	House VII:A	7
Greenland	Near Nuuk	Hope Colony	150
København County	Dragør (Amager)	Stakhaven	16–18
	København	Holmens kanal - Laxegade	15
Ribe County	Ribe	Korsebrødregården	6
Roskilde County	Roskilde	Algade	10
		Hersegade	9
Sønderjylland County	Haderslev	Møllestrømmen	5

5 Riksantikvarieämbätet, UV-Visby.

6 Information from Riksantikvarieämbätet, UV-Visby.

7 The University Museum of National Antiquities (Oldsaksamlingen), Oslo, acc. no. C 16490.

8 The x-ray photographs were made by Torunn Klokkernes at the Conservation Department of the University Museum of National Antiquities (Oldsaksamlingen), Oslo.

9 The University Museum of National Antiquities (Oldsaksamlingen), Oslo, acc. no. C 1345.

10 Antti Suna, Museiverket, Turku, pers. comm.

Storstrøms County	Moseby	Moseby	8
Vejle County	Horsens	Fugholm Street	1
	Kolding	Vestergade	2
		Vestergade 20-22	3
		Rendebanen, Vestergade	4
Vest-Sjælland County	Halsskov (near Korsør)	Tårnborg Manor	815
	Holbæk	Ahlgade 49	800
Århus County	Emborg	Øm Monastery	11, 12

Finland

Turku ja Pori	Åbo (Turku)	Cathedral Park (Domkyrkoskvären)	287–8
		Åbo Castle	287–8
	Kuusisto (Kustö), near Kaarina	Kuusisto Castle	286, 289–92

Iceland

Suðurland (Southland)	Rangárvallasysla	Sróraborg	819

Norway

Aust-Agder	Setesdal: Bygland	Austad søndre: Viki	143
	Setesdal: Bykle	Strond (by Bossvatn)	505
		Nedre Dysje (by Bossvatn)	506
Hedmark	Finnskogen		138
Hordaland	Bergen	Bryggen: Building belonging to Gullskogården	133
Nord-Trøndelag	Snåsa	30 m north of Snåsa Church	635
Oppland	Dovre	Vigenstad	334
	Fåberg, Vingrom	Øvre Gilberg	137
	Garmo, Lom		136
	Lom		134–5
	Vardal (Gjøvik county)	Bråstadsetra (summer pasture)	390
	Øystre Slidre	Langedal	824
Oslo	Ekeberg	Jomfrubråtveien	140–1
	Gamlebyen (The Old City)	Mindets tomt	139
Sør-Trøndelag	Trondheim	Erkebispegården	147
		Erling Skakkesgate 1	130
		Folkebibliotekstomta	132
		Televerkstomta	131
Telemark	Gransherad	Lie	142
	Vinje		504
Vest-Agder	Near Mandal	"Hollojen"	144

Sweden

Bohuslän	Inlands Södre County	Ragnhildsholmen Castle	107
Gotland	Roma	Timans	96
	Visby	Botanical Garden	95
		Kruset 14	86–7
		Kv. Priorn 4	85
		Kv. Residenset 6	89
		Kv. Residenset 5 and 6	90
		Kv. St. Michael 9	91
		Kv. Systemet 4	94
		Kv. Säcken 7	88
		Kv. Tunnbindaren 1	92–3
Lappland	Jokkmokk: Kvikkjokk	Silververket 19A	129
Närke	Laxå County	Ramundeboda Monastery	108–10
	Örebro	Kv. Bodarna no. 6	111
Öland	Borgholm	Borgholm Castle	83–4
Östergötland	Alvastra	Alvastra Monastery	98–101
	Vadstena	Vadstena Birgittine Convent	102–4
		Kv. Hotellet	106
		Unknown (Vadstena)	105
	Vreta	Vreta Monastery Church	97
Skåne	Falsterbo	Falsterbo Castle	19–20
	Helsingborg	Kärnan Södra 3	502
		Ruuth 44	503
	Kävlinge (county), Dagstorp Parish	Huvudstorp	816
	Lund	Kv. Altona 7	53

		Apotekaren	50
		Kv. Färgaren	57
		Helgonabacken	55
		Gyllenkronas allé	51
		Prennegatan	59
		Kv. St. Botulf 2	54
		Kv. St. Clemens 9	58
		Kv. St. Laurentius (Stortorget 110)	52
		St. Peter 27	56
		Unknown (Lund)	46–9, 60
	Malmö	Adelsgatan 35B	45
		Kv. Gyllenstjärna	44
		Kv. Humle	38
		Nils Kuntze's house	35
		Kv. Rundelen	37
		Kv. St. Gertrud	41–3
		Kv. Söderport	40
		Thomsons väg	34
		Kv. Tranan	39
		Kv. von Conow	36
	Skanör	Skanör Castle	21–4
	Skanör (city)	Kv. Haren	26
		Market Place	25
	Svedala (county)	Lindholmen Castle	27–33
Småland	Eksjö town	Kv. Trasten (Ärlan)	81
	Island in lake Bolmen	Piksborg Castle	61–5
	Jönköping	Kv. Galeasen	73–5
		Kv. Gladan	76
		Kv. Harven	77–8, 145
		Kv. Hemmet	79–80, 146
	Kalmar	Kläckeberga Church	82
	Kronoberg	Kronoberg Castle	66–72
Stockholm	Stockholm City	Kv. Thalia (Dramaten)	112
		Helgeandsholmen	113–15
Södermanland	Nynäshamn County, Sorunda Parish	Fållnäs, House II	817
Uppland	Sigtuna	The Dominician Monastery	117
		Kv. Koppardosan	116
	Uppsala	Kv. Disa	121–2
		Kv. Kransen	119–20
		Kv. Pantern	124
		Kv. Rådhuset	118
		Kv. Rådstugan	123
Västmanland	Norberg	Lapphyttan blast furnace	125–6
	Västerås County	Lista	127
Östergötland	Norrköping (county)	Borgs säteri (Borg manor)	818
Ångermanland	Ådals-liden County	Ställverket	128

Ireland and United Kingdom

For the Republic of Ireland my starting point has been an article by Ann Buckley (1986), which includes descriptions of 27 harps. Most of these were found in excavations of the 1970s and 1980s. For more details of the harps and the circumstances in which they were found I consulted published excavation reports. No steps were taken to acquire details of material from more recent excavations in Ireland.

The locations of the Irish finds, which are castles, priories and dwelling houses, are scattered throughout the country. The material dates from the period between the 14th and 18th centuries, with the majority of finds attributed to the 16th and 17th centuries.[11] With one exception the Irish harps are made of iron and, typically, they have a rounded or oval shape to the bow.

Data from United Kingdom indicate an earlier introduction of the jew's harps than in Ireland, but not much earlier. A number of articles on "the antiquity of jew's harps" which appeared some decades ago in Archaeologia Cantiana (Elliston-Erwood 1943, 1947; Grove 1955, 1956) suggested that the instrument existed in England in Saxon and perhaps even in Roman times. The authors introduced several finds from archaeological settings, of which the majority were undated surface finds, some with proximity to Saxon or Roman sites. Four pieces (nos. 178–181) from Surrey and Kent are notably interesting because they were found in Saxon cemeteries. However, only one of these (no. 180, Sarre) is recorded as found in a grave. This single find can

11 One of the pieces mentioned in Buckley's article, from Carrickfergus, Northern Ireland, UK (no. 429), is dated to the 13th/14th centuries.

hardly be used as evidence for such an early appearance of the instrument in view of the soil disturbance often found in cemeteries and the lack of stratigraphical records for the excavation itself, which took place as long ago as 1863. However, the articles mentioned above are frequently referred to and have produced confusion about the chronological significance of jew's harps. New finds of the same type (copper alloy, circular bow) have proved to be of late medieval and post-medieval date.

Apart from these, British finds reported in the literature include pieces from Winchester (no. 282) and Fast Castle, Berwickshire (no. 381), which have been informatively described in archaeological publications by Graeme Lawson (1990, 2001). Some jew's harps have also been reported from excavations in medieval London (Wardle 1998).

When I started my work I knew of remarkably few jew's harps from the United Kingdom, so I decided to contact museums with enquiries. To select relevant museums I began with the internet, but after a while I realized that the electronic sources I was relying on (MuseumsNet and other sites) did not cover all the museums for this area of research. I ended up by gathering addresses from the *Museums Yearbook*, the printed publication of the Museums Association (Wright (ed.) 1997), which contains a comprehensive directory of museums in the British Isles. In 1997 I sent letters of enquiry to approximately 300 museums, mainly those with archaeological collections. I received replies from about 180, or 60 per cent. About 35 institutions replied that they had jew's harps from archaeological settings in their collections. In 1997 and 1998 I made two journeys to England, Scotland and Wales to study a selection of the material.

To summarize, the material from the UK consists of the finds I encountered during my museum survey together with other finds for which there are published accounts in the literature. The total of 173 recorded pieces represents the largest quantity for a single country. This is probably due to the large number of undated chance finds, especially jew's harps dug up by amateur metal detector users. Most of these are cast from copper alloys and typically have a circular shape to the bow. The claimed Saxon harps referred to above are of this type. Most of the metal-detected pieces are found in central and southern parts of England.

The banks of the River Thames are a popular site for users of metal detectors. Known as "mudlarks", these artifact collectors who search the mud of the river foreshore at low tide have uncovered quantities of objects from various periods, including jew's harps. Although some have ended up in the antiquities dealers' markets, many are now in the safekeeping of museums. The Museum of London has some 16 pieces from the Thames foreshore (nos. 205–221), while the Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, Oxford, possesses eight pieces yielded up from the same place (nos. 264–271).

Table 1.2: **The finds from United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland**

Region	Place	Site	Id. No.
The Republic of Ireland			
Co. Clare	Ballycally	Shannon Airport ("Thady's Fort")	456
Co. Cork	Dunboy	Dunboy Castle	441–2
	Glanworth	Glanworth Castle	443
Co. Dublin	Ballyman	Artisan area near church site	428
Co. Galway	Clontuskert	Clontuskert Priory	435–8
Co. Kilkenny	Kells	Kells Priory	444–50
Co. Limerick	Lough Gur	Knockadoon: Site J of a 17th century house	451
		Picnic Area II	452
		Car Park Area II	453
Co. Meath	Nevinstown	Burial Mound, Site I	454
	Trim Castle	Fosse West, layer C	457–8
Co. Monaghan	Unprovenanced		393
Co. Tipperary	Drumlummin	House site	439–40
	Rochestown		455
Unprovenanced (Ireland)			459
United Kingdom			
Aberdeenshire (Scotland)	Rattray (parish)	Rattray Castle	365
Argyllshire (Scotland)	Isle of Islay	Loch Finlaggan	380
	Isle of Lismore	Achandun Castle	377–8
	Near Tarbert	Castle Sween	379
Bedfordshire	Bedford	Bedford Castle	284
		High Street (?)	285
	Chicheley, northeast of Newport Pagnell		367
	Leighton Buzzard	Grove Priory	248–50
	Unprovenanced		251
Berwickshire (Scotland)	Near Coldingham	Fast Castle: Lower Courtyard	381
Buckinghamshire	Addington		797
	Chenies		366
Cambridgeshire	Near Cambridge		782–3

Montgomeryshire (Wales)	Montgomery	[English Civil War Battlefeld]	383
Norfolk	Near King's Lynn: Middleton		149
North Hertfordshire	Unprovenanced		375–6
Northamptonshire	Northampton	Black Lion Hill	238
Northern Ireland, Co. Antrim	Carrickfergus	Irish Quarter	429, 432–4
		Market Place	430–1
Nottinghamshire	Near Bingham		774
	Unprovenanced		773
Oxfordshire	Near Diddcott	Harwell	246
	Near Bicester	Middleton Stoney	244–5
		Woodperry	252
Perthshire (Scotland)	Perth	Meal Vennel	368
		High Street	408–9
Portchester	Portchester Castle		241
Shropshire	Wroxeter City		239
Staffordshire	Stafford	Stafford Castle	261–2
	Stoke-on-Trent: Lightwood Langton	Lightwood Road	247
Suffolk	Dunwich		234–5
	Mildenhall		260
	Near Aldeburgh: Iken	Meadow Cottage	233
	Sutton Hoo	Settlement site	385
	Walberswick	Walberswick church ruin	236
	Wangford		197
	Woodbrigde?		384
Surrey	Guildford	Guildown Saxon Cemetery	179
	Near Leatherhead	Hawks Hill (Saxon cemetery)	178
Sussex	Chichester	East Row no. 1	148
	Pulborough	"The Old House"	793
Warwickshire	Hunningham, near Leamington Spa	St Margaret's Church	372
	Warwick		421
Wigtownshire (Scotland)	Whithorn	Whithorn Priory	237
Wiltshire	Yatesbury, near Cherhill		255
	Chilton Foliat		256
	Edington		253
	Mildenhall, near Marlborough		254
	Near Salisbury	Clarendon Palace	275
	Upavon		263
Yorkshire	Dunnington		420
	York	Bedern	257
		St. Marys Hospital	258
	Wharram Percy		466
Unprovenanced (West Riding)			386–7
Unprovenanced (London?)			208
Unprovenanced (Winchester?)			281
Unprovenanced (England)			204, 775–6

The Low Countries

Five jew's harps from Niemegen, the Netherlands (nos. 662–666), were published by Crane (1972: 22), who wrote that they most likely dated from the Roman era, from the first to the fourth century. The reason for this suggestion was that the museum holding these artifacts[12] presumed that they had originated from Roman graves in the vicinity. This early dating has been repeated by later authors (e.g. Rimmer 1981: 242, 245). However, according to Ypey (1976: 216), since the objects have no provenance they cannot be dated from their context.

Ypey's article referred to several finds, some of which had been published earlier but with others new to the literature, such as examples from Rossum (no. 686) and Vianen (no. 692). Five pieces are described in a book on archaeological excavations in Amsterdam (Baart *et al.* 1977). These finds, which are of various types, were recovered from layers deposited between the 14th and 17th centuries. More recently eight iron harps, all from the 14th century, have been reported from Amersfoort (Tamboer 1999).

Hubert Boone's publications (1972, 1986) give an account of the instrument's historical and ethnological status in the Netherlands and Belgium. He reports that iconographical records go back to the 15th century, while written and archaeological records are available for the 14th century and onwards. In his 1972 publication Boone lists 68 jew's harps, representing a mix of ethnographical and archaeological materials. It is difficult to determine from the list which of the harps were excavated and which were not. I have included those items from Boone's list which I have been able to identify positively as archaeological finds.

12 The Museum Kam at the time Crane's book was published. These artifacts are now in the possesion of the Museum Het Valkhof.

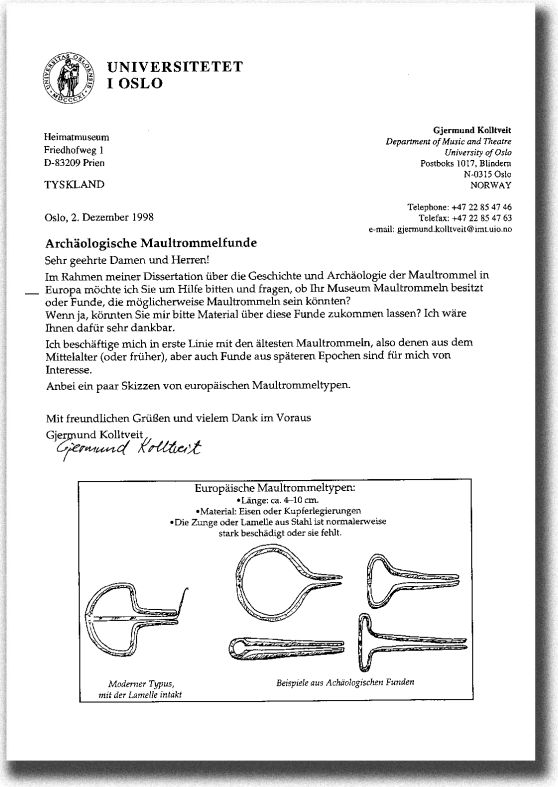
Besides this published material, I have corresponded with Annemies Tamboer, of Driebergen in the Netherlands, who is currently conducting a survey of archaeological materials from that country and has kindly shared the preliminary results of her inventory. Since about 60 finds in the Catalogue are from Tamboer's survey, her contribution has been very valuable. Unfortunately, lack of funds and time prevented me from travelling to the area to search for and study material myself.

Table 1.3: **The finds from the Low Countries**

Region	Place	Site	Id. No.
The Netherlands			
Friesland	Leeuwarden		748
Gelderland	Bemmel		716
	Near Tiel	Bergakker	736
	Nijmegen		662–666, 751
	Rossum (near Alem)		686–9
	Wijk by Duurstede (Dorestad)		693
Limburg	Heel		744
	Heerlen		745
	Maastricht	Pandhof St. -Servaas	685
	Unknown (Limburg)		750
Noord-Brabant	's Hertogenbosch		746–7
	Eindhoven		740
Noord-Holland	Amsterdam	Damrak 69-79	667
		Korte Houtstraat 9-13/Lange Houtstraat 39-49	668
		Zandstraat/Jodenbreetstraat	669
		Keizersgr. 76/Weesperstraat	670
		Weesperstraat	671
		Unknown (Amsterdam)	672–6
	Haarlem	Frankestraat	743
Overijssel	Deventer		715
	Lemselo		749
	Westenholte (Zwolle)		756–7
Utrecht	Amersfoort	Market Place	677–84
	Vianen	Castle "De Bol"	692
Zeeland	Haamstede, Schouwen		690
	Zuid-Beveland		758
Zuid-Holland	'sGravenhage (The Hague)		741–2
	Delft	Altena Castle	717
	Delft?		730–5
	Dordrecht	Huis Scharlakers	721
		Unknown (Dordrecht)	719–20
	IJsselmonde: Slikkerveer	Huis te Woude	718
	Near the Hague: Ockenburg		752
	Rotterdam		753–55
	Rozenburg	Europoort	691
Unprovenanced (The Netherlands)			759–72, 777, 806
Belgium			
Antwerpen (Antwerp)			784–5
Liège	Near Vieuxville	Logne Castle	723
Luxembourg	North of Aarlen (Arlon)	Herbeumont Castle	724–9
	Unknown (Luxembourg)		786
Oost-Vlaanderen (East Flanders)	Hamme		714
	Klein Sinaai		787
	Unknown (Oost-Vlaanderen)		788–791
West-Vlaanderen (West Flanders)	Damme	Medieval harbour basin	706–13
Unknown (Damme)			704–5
Unprovenanced (Belgium)			694–703

Germany

Three jew's harps excavated in the ruins of Tannenberg Castle, near Darmstadt in Hessen, are probably the most reported finds of all (nos. 152, 153, 500). They were first recorded in the middle of the 19th century (Hefner and Wolf 1850: 91). The castle was destroyed in 1399, and the harps were found in association with other 14th century artifacts. Sachs wrote that the jew's harps were the oldest to have been discovered in Europe (Sachs 1913/1964: 255; 1917: 196). Several authors have repeated his conclusions in dictionaries and other publications, often accompanied by a reproduction of the illustration of the harp that was depicted in 1850 (no. 500).



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Archäologische Maultrommelfunde

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren!

Im Rahmen meiner Dissertation über die Geschichte und Archäologie der Maultrommel in Europa möchte ich Sie um Hilfe bitten und fragen, ob Ihr Museum Maultrommeln besitzt oder Funde, die möglicherweise Maultrommeln sein könnten?
Wenn ja, könnten Sie mir bitte Material über diese Funde zukommen lassen? Ich wäre Ihnen dafür sehr dankbar.

Ich beschäftige mich in erste Linie mit den ältesten Maultrommeln, also denen aus dem Mittelalter (oder früher), aber auch Funde aus späteren Epochen sind für mich von Interesse.

Anbei ein paar Skizzen von europäischen Maultrommeltypen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen und vielem Dank im Voraus

Gjermund Kolltveit

Europäische Maultrommeltypen:
•Länge: ca. 4–10 cm.
•Material: Eisen oder Kupferlegierungen
•Die Zunge oder Lamelle aus Stahl ist normalerweise stark beschädigt oder sie fehlt.

Moderner Typus, mit der Lamelle intakt

Beispiele aus Archäologischen Funden

Fig. 1.1: **Facsimile of the standard letter sent to museums in Germany**

Apart from this, notably little has been written about the early period of the jew's harp in Germany. When I began my study I was aware of only two archaeological pieces, from Hamburg (no. 481) and Stendal (no. 482), respectively. Both are mentioned by Ypey (1976). I found it remarkable that, as a country with an abundance of archaeology and museums – not to mention its position between the two jew's harp regions of Scandinavia and the Alpine countries – Germany had no more material of this kind. Was Germany really for some reason almost bereft of jew's harp finds from the Middle Ages? I decided to investigate the situation by mailing museums with requests for information. I used the book *Museums of the World* (Bartz and Schmidt (eds) 1997), selecting all museums that claimed to cover archaeology and local history ("Heimatmuseen"). This resulted in a mailshot of almost 1600 letters, sent in 1998 and 1999. To ensure a response from as many museums as possible, the letter was written in German.[13]

Several of the museums forwarded my letter to archaeological institutions or other museums. Due to the organizational structure of German museums, it is difficult to determine exactly how many individual museums replied to the enquiry. For instance, letters to five local museums would sometimes result in one answer from a central governing museum. However, the number of replies – between 500 and 600 – was satisfactory. Most, of course, were negative. Several simply suggested references in the literature or gave the names of contact persons or institutions; others offered information about finds relating to the ethnography and later history of the jew's harp in Germany; and finally, some confirmed that they held relevant archaeological material. The end result was a count of 59 German jew's harps. If, for the sake of comparison, we disregard the English copper-alloy harps found with metal detectors, the number is approximately the same as for the United Kingdom.

In 1999 I travelled to the central and southern parts of Germany to inspect a selection of the material. Among the finds I studied some were unknown to the organological and archaeological literature. These include ten undated and partly unprovenanced pieces in the Musikinstrumentenmuseum Walter Erdman in Goslar (nos. 159–168). Others are archaeologically well documented, such as two pieces from Einbeck (nos. 157–158), one from Höxter (no. 155), one from Schauenburg near Dossenheim (no. 154), one from Paderborn (no. 156; Eggenstein 2000: 44), and others. In Oberlenningen I met Christoph Bizer, a retired teacher who has specialized in the medieval castles of the Swabian Alps. He drew my attention to some jew's harps excavated at those castles (nos 171–3, 488–90).[14]

Table 1.4: **The finds from Germany**

Region	Place	Site		Id. No.
Baden-Württemberg		Near Dossenheim (Rhein-Neckar-Kreis)	Schauenburg	154
		Near Kirchheim u. Teck (Schwäbische Alb)	Bittelschieß Castle	171
			Kallenberg 2	172
			Lichtenstein Castle	488–9
			Wielandstein Castle	490
			Unknown (near Kirchheim)	173
		Konstanz	Fischmarkt Excavation	491–2
		Rickenbach, Hotzenwald (Schwarzwald)	Wieladingen Castle, lower part	477
		Sulz am Neckar (Schwarzwald-Baar-Heuberg)	Albeck Castle	472–3
Bayern		Erharting (Mühldorf a. Inn)	Erharting Castle	474–6
		Oberwittelsbach (Aiach)	Oberwittelsbach Castle	498
		Passau (Eastern Bayern)	The Veste Oberhaus, chapel	494–5
		Regen: Geiersthal (Eastern Bayern)	Altnussberg Castle	471
		LdKr. Hof	Waldstein Castle	176

13 My thanks to Hans-Hinrich Thedens for the translation.

14 I also visited Uta Henning, Ludwigsburg, who kindly allowed me access to her large collection of iconographical material with musical motives.

	LdKr. Roth	Hilpoltstein Castle	175
	Sonthofen (Allgäu)		499
	Sulzbach City-Rosenberg (LdKr. Amberg-Sulzbach)	Sulzbach Castle	174
	Treuchtlingen (Franken)	Obere Burg	496–7
Hamburg	Hamburg	The Old City of Hamburg	481
		Unknown (Hamburg)	166
Hessen	Eppstein (Taunus)	Eppstein Castle	151
	Frankenberg		159
	Kr. Hersfeld-Rotenburg	Lautenhausen	169
		Wildeck-Raßdorf: Wildeck Castle	170
	Seeheim-Jugenheim (south of Darmstadt)	Tannenberg Castle	152–3, 500
	Oberursel (Taunus)	Bommersheim Castle	501
	Seligenstadt	The Old City of Seligenstadt	478
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Greifswald	Steinbecker Straße 26	468
		Market Place	469–70
Niedersachsen	Einbeck (Landkreis Nordheim)	Petersilienwasser	157
		Knochenhauerstr. 19-23	158
	Lüneburg	Große Backerstraße 27	828
	Unprovenenced (Niedersachsen)		168
Nordheim-Westfalen Duisburg	Alter Markt, Schwanenstraße or Innerhafen		480
	Höxter	Rosenstraze	155
	Köln	Alte Hafenstraße	483–7
	Olpe (Südsauerland)	Attendorn: In der Nette	479
	Paderborn	Balhorner Feld	156
Sachsen-Anhalt	Stendal	Petersburg-Schusterschwemme	482
Schleswig-Holstein	Lübeck	An der Untertrave/Kaimauer	493
Thüringen	Meiningen		161
Unprovenanced (Germany)			160, 162–3, 165

Austria, Switzerland and Liechtenstein

Austria is known as one of the most important jew's harp countries in Europe, especially by virtue of the tradition of manufacture in Molln in Upper Austria (Oberösterreich). The people of Molln have made harps since the 17th century, perhaps longer. A jew's harp guild was established in 1679, and in terms of quantity the production was enormous (Klier 1956). Accounts of the history of jew's harp manufacture in Molln has been published by Klier (op. cit.), Otruba (1986) and Mohr (1998). There is also an article about archaeological finds of jew's harps in Oberösterreich (Mohr 1999). This publication was my only source for material from Austria, until I received a very informative article which considers eight archaeological pieces from Tirol (Schick 2001).[15] These items (nos. 807–814) are all well dated from their archaeological context. The oldest dates from the late 13th or early 14th century, while the two youngest are dated to the fourth quarter of the 18th century. Twenty-seven examples from Austria appear in the Catalogue.

The jew's harp is well known in the history and ethnography of Switzerland (Geiser 1980, Bachmann-Geiser 1981). Werner and Hans Oesch have covered the archaeology in a comprehensive article (1972). They introduced a large amount of material, most from medieval castles, but with some finds from Alpine mountain dairy huts. At Hallwil Castle alone 85 jew's harps were reported to have been excavated. Apart from this, single pieces were usually found at each castle. As a rule, dating of the specimens follows the period of existence of the construction where they were found, which in general covers the time span from the 12th to the 16th/17th centuries. The earliest specimen, a single piece from Alt-Bischofstein Castle, Basel-Land (no. 613), was reported to date back to the last part of the 12th century. These authors also included one harp found at Neu-Schellenberg in Liechtenstein (no. 617).

Meyer and Oesch also developed a typological classification of the material based on the shape of the instrument's bow. In addition, their article discusses the social context of the jew's harp in medieval times. The authors place the instrument in a rural setting associated with the culture of shepherds. The archaeological contexts of the finds indicate that in Switzerland the harp was part of a pastoral culture connected to the castle.

I went to Switzerland to study some of the finds because I was curious about the various finds and types introduced by Meyer and Oesch, which have the additional interest of spanning the entire period from the 12th to the 17th century. I also wanted to see the material from Hallwil because it is rather exceptional for 85 pieces to be excavated at one single location. What was the condition of the pieces, and what was the typological variation between them? Were there any indications of jew's harp production at Hallwil? Finally, I was curious about the pieces from Bischofstein because one of them (no. 613) was purported to date from the late 12th century. That would make it the oldest in Europe, apart from the

15 I am grateful to Annemies Tamboer for drawing my attention to this article.

alleged Roman, Gallo-Roman and Saxon finds. I visited the Schweizerische Landesmuseum in Zürich for the Hallwil finds, and Liestal, where I had traced the Bischofstein harps.[16]

Seven of the pieces from Hallwil turned out to be stored in Stockholm at the Hallvylska Museet. In Zürich I documented 79 pieces (bringing the number for Hallwil up to 86). The specimens were generally in good condition. They were stored according to the classifications made by the Swedish archaeologist Niels Lithberg, who introduced his classificatory scheme in volume three of his comprehensive publication on the excavations at the castle (Lithberg 1932).

The Bischofstein finds were indeed interesting to inspect and study. The excavations and finds of the castle ruins at Alt- and Neu-Bischofstein had been restudied by Felix Müller (1980). Through a reading of this report I realized that there is no evidence for the claimed 12th century dating of the piece from Alt-Bischofstein (no. 613), the correct dating for which should be given as 1150–1350 (*op. cit.* 75; cf. Dialogue one, p. 30).

In addition to my journey, I selected a number of museums and archaeological units in the Swiss cantons (counties) for direct enquiries by letter and e-mail. Surprisingly, I received information on several pieces as a result, bringing the total number of finds from Switzerland up to 137.

Table 1.5: **The finds from Austria, Switzerland and Liechtenstein**

Region	Place	Site	Id. No.
Austria			
Eastern Tirol	Near Lienz	Bruck Castle	810
Oberösterreich (Upper Austria)	Enns		335, 337–8
		Parz. 1132	336
	Molln	Below "Ebner Wirt" (Sonnseite 26)	348
		Sperrboden: Front of F. Wimmers' house	349–50
		Near Haus, Ennsthal Plankenalm	351–3
	Gemeinde Schönau: Near the ruins of	Prandegg Castle	342–3
	Gemeinde Tragwein: Near the ruins of	Reichenstein Castle	341
	Windischgarsten	Lot no. 441, south of "Hafnerbank"	344
	Near Leonstein Castle		339–40
Salzburg (county)	Kniepaß bei Lofer	Kniepaß Fort	345–7
Tirol	KG Alpbach (PB Rattenberg)	Untererlbach-Hof	812
	Near Erpfendorf (BH Kitzbühel)	Erpfenstein Castle	811
	Kufstein Fort (BH Kufstein) "Josefsburg"		813–4
	Seefeld (BH Innsbruck-Land) Schloßberg		807–9
Liechtenstein			
Schellenberg	Schellenberg Castle	Obere Burg, Field 2	617
		Obere Burg, Field 13	650
Switzerland			
Aargau (AG)	SE of Koblenz	Zurzach	647
	Oftringen (near Olten)	Alt-Wartburg	293–4
	Near Rheinfelden	Höflingen, Stone setting F3	509
	Seethal: Near Seengen	Hallwil Castle	526–610, 636, 648
Basel Land (BL)	Near Sissach	Alt-Bischofstein (Hinterer Burg)	613
		Neu-Bischofstein (Vorderer Burg)	614, 637–8
Bern (BE)	Bern	Bümpliz Old Castle	611
	North of Delémont	Löwenburg	615
	Zihl (Thielle) Canal	Foreshore of Zihl (Thielle)	619
Glarus (GL)	Above Braunwald	Bergeten	510
Graubünden (GR)	Chur	Brauerei	656
	Haldenstein	Castle at Haldenstein	653
	Medel valley: Lukmanier	Lukmanierhospiz Sta. Maria	508
	Prättigau: Schiers		507
	Near Savognin	Riom-Parsonz	651
	S-chanf	Chapella	654
		San Güerg	657
	Silvaplana/Surley	Via Ruinas	655
	Tomils/Tumegl	Sogn Murezi	652
Obwalden (OW)	Melchsee-Frutt		620
Sankt Gallen (SG)	Oberhelfenschwil	Neutoggenburg Castle	525
Schwyz (SZ)	Illgau	Balmis (Balmli)	640
	March: Near Schübelbach	Mülenen Castle	512–24
	Steinen Au	Convent "Auf der Au"	639
Thurgau (TG)	Diessenhofen	Unterhof Castle	649

16 I also went to Basel, where I met the archaeologist, Prof. Dr. Werner Meyer, who kindly gave me the benefit of his expertise during a discussion of the Swiss material.

	Kradolf-Schönenberg: Near Buhwil	Anwil Castle	658
Ticino (TI)	Bellinzona	Castel Grande	511
	Val Bavona	La Presa	646
Valais (VS)	Lötschenthal: Wiler (Lötschen)	Giätrich: structure 6, level 18	618
	Sion	Valere Castle	645
Zürich (ZH)	Near Dietikon	Schönenwerd Castle	612
	Furttal: Near Regensdorf	Alt-Regensberg	641–4
	Betweeen Wädenswil and Richterswil	Alt-Wädenswil Castle	634

France, Iberia and Italy

In France the situation is somewhat similar to that in England inasmuch as early archaeologists excavated jew's harps at sites that were taken to indicate a Gallo-Roman origin. The best known of these are the four pieces from Rouen (nos. 325–328). The others are single finds from Levroux (no. 329), Issoudun (no. 330) and Cimiez (no. 621). On the basis of a re-examination of these finds, Catherine Homo-Lechner (1996; Homo-Lechner and Vendries 1993) has concluded that the objects were excavated in settings that do not substantiate the suggested early datings.

Homo-Lechner has also published other French finds, from Paris and elsewhere (Homo-Lechner 1987a, 1987b, 1996). The largest number were found at Cour Napoleon, at the Louvre, Paris, where 18 pieces from the 15th to the 17th centuries were unearthed (nos. 305–324).

Apart from these, the Centre d'Archéologie Médiévale de Strasbourg reported ten jew's harps in the 1970s (nos. 625–633, 659). These were dated stratigraphically to the period from the 13th to the 16th century (Rieb and Salch 1973, 1976).

These and other published finds from France bring the total number of discoveries up to 53. I have been unable to devote further effort to gathering or researching French material due to lack of time and resources. The only French jew's harp I have seen myself is no. 621 from Cimiez, which I viewed in the exhibition of the Archaeological Museum at Cimiez, Nice.

We know that the instrument has been used in Italy and the Iberian Peninsula at least since the 16th century. Some regions exhibit strong and surviving traditions. The status of the jew's harp in Spain and Portugal is largely uncovered in the literature, at least in publications in the English language. There is current playing activity in Gallicia, where a seminar devoted to the instrument was held in 2003 (Melhus 2003). How far back this folk-musical tradition goes remains an open question. Excavations of a Spanish settlement in Argentina, inhabited from 1573 to 1660 (Pignocchi 2005), might indicate export of jew's harps from Spain, though we do not know if the specimens in question were manufactured locally in Argentina.

However, I was unable to acquire information on finds from Spain or Portugal, and archaeological harps for which there is published material are unknown to me. Consequently, the Catalogue has no entries for the Iberian Peninsula.

Italian traditions are well known, especially those from Sicily and Sardinia, where there is a powerful style of playing on characteristic large iron instruments with open and wide bows. For northern Italy there is written documentation on the forging of ribebas going back to the 16th century in Valsesia, where Boccorio was the most important manufacturing place (Lovatto 1983, 2004). Here there was mass production on a similar or larger scale than in Molln in Austria. The Italian language has several terms for the instrument, of which scacciapensieri is the best known.

In the search for archaeological material I sent my standard enquiry letter to some important museums. From a mailing of approximately 80 letters, translated into Italian,[17] I received about 30 answers, but there were no reports of excavated harps.

However, I later discovered a single archaeological specimen (no. 796) on the internet. This was excavated at the castle of Montereale east of Udine in the Friuli region (Grattoni d'Aranco 1987). It is dated to the 16th century.

Table 1.6: **The finds from France and Italy**

Region	Place	Site	Id. No.
Alsace	Leimental	Landskron Castle	616
	Petit Landau, Butenheim		624
	Rathsamhausen-Ottrott	FB5, field F (9 L 1)	625
		FB5, field B (9 L 2)	626
		FB5, field A (9 L 3)	627
		FB 3-4, Field D (9 L 4)	630
		BC III, Field A (9 L 5)	633
	Saverne, Haut-Barr		623
	Selestat	Ortenbourg Castle	628–9, 631–2
Centre Val de Loire (Central Loire Valley)	Indre: Levroux		329
	Indre: Near Issoudun		330

17 My thanks to Eva Falck for the translation.

	Cher: Mehun-sur-Yèvre	Castle of duke Jean de Berry	333
Cote d'Azur	Nice (Alpes-Maritimes)	Cimiez	621
	Rougiers (Var)	(Grotte G)	622
Ile de France	Chevreuse		303
	Saint-Denis		302
Paris	Cour Napoléon, Grand Louvre		305–24
Languedoc-Roussillon	Montségur	Montségur Castle	304
Lorraine	Metz	Place de la Comédie	825
	West of Moutmédy	Chauveney-le-Chateau	722
Midi-Pyrénées	Toulouse	Gúe de Bazacle	801–5
Normandie	Rouen	Grosse-Horlogne/Place du Vieux-Marché	325
		Rue de l'Hôtel de Ville	326
		Rue Rollon/rue de l'Impératrice	327
		Unknown (Rouen)	328
Rhône-Alpes	Gironville (Near Ambronay)		332
	Brandes-en-Oisans (Isère)		331
Italy			
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	Montereale (Cellina Valley)	Montereale Castle	796

The Balkans

In the Balkans (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Albania and Greece) I have not come across any finds from archaeological settings, although I made no special effort to determine if there are any.

Anna Gojkovic has written about the jew's harp in the former Yugoslavia in two articles (Gojkovic 1981, 1989). She states that in Serbia the jew's harp was played, but that it was not known before the end of the 18th/beginning of the 19th century, when it was brought in from Austria and Hungary.

Ethnographical sources report that the instrument has been known in Bulgaria too (Todorov 1973: 30–1). Jew's harps were made in Gabrovo until 1938. They were sold in Balkan shops and markets as a toy for children (*ibid*.). How far back the history of the instrument goes in Bulgaria remains unknown.

I do not know any reports about indigenous jew's harp traditions from Greece, and the lack of archaelogical finds is therefore no surprise. This is similar to the situation in Turkey, where there is no known tradition of making or playing the jew's harp (Picken 1975: 584). However, it is very unlikely that no instruments from the large-scale production centres of the Alpine region and elsewhere reached these countries.

The central and eastern parts of Europe[18]

My efforts to collect material from the central and eastern parts of the continent have been so limited that I feel these areas should not be included in this work at all. The fact is that I have focused on the northern and western parts of Europe, and it has to be admitted that to refer to this somewhat restricted area as "Europe" is questionable insofar as it maintains a view of Europe that is simply geographical incorrect. A friend of mine in Siauliai, Lithuania, claims that he lives in the middle of Europe. A glance at the map proves that he is right.

Despite these critical remarks, I have decided nevertheless to consider material from the whole of Europe because I want the central, southern and eastern regions to be part of the story. I feel that this is justified as long as my interpretations acknowledge the geographical imbalance of the survey. In principle, the situation is little different for certain individual countries where I have done little to collect material (Denmark, France, Austria and others).

Another reason for including countries and regions with a small number of known finds (or where I have made no special efforts to collect material) is the hope that people will be motivated to search in museum holdings, excavation reports and even in the earth so that the "white areas" of the map can be filled in.

Having said this, the central and eastern regions are not totally devoid of finds, as will be illustrated in the following paragraphs. I have made no investigations in Romania, but I have noted six published pieces from Romania, all from the Moldova region. Five appear in a book on Romanian music history (nos. 461–5; Cosma 1977: 34), while the last example is from an archaeological publication (no. 660; Ursachi 1995, Pl. 343).[19]

The Hungarian archaeologist Thomas Repiszky has kindly provided information on ten jew's harps excavated in Hungary (Repiszky 1996, and pers. comm.). Descriptions of some of these have been published by their excavators (nos. 359, 360, 362–364).

Repiszky is currently working on an updated article about the history and archaeology of the jew's harp in Hungary, and he will also consider other countries of the same region. This is especially welcome because very little is known about the

18 The central parts of Europe are understood to mean Poland, The Czeck Republic, Slovenia and Hungary. Although the choice of geographical terms are never entirely neutral, they are used here for the sake of clarity in this material.

19 Dr Danica Stassikova-Stukovska, Nitra, drew my attention to this find.

instrument's status in the Middle Ages here, as noted above.

Five examples found in the present Slovakia have come to my knowledge. One (no. 361) was dug up at the castle of Fülek in 1944, when the area belonged to Hungary,[20] another is from Bratislava Castle (no. 460; Polla 1979: 248, 249; Elschek 1983: 58), and a third comes from the village of Branc, from an excavation for an oil pipeline (no. 467; Ruttkay, Cheben and Ruttkayova 1994; Ruttkay 1995). In addition to theese, two unpublished harps from Slovakian castles are included (nos. 826–7).

Poland was a country with no finds that I knew of until I sent off 20 letters of enquiry (in German) to the main archaeological museums and institutions in the provinces. As a result I received information on four relevant finds. Three are from Lower Silesia – one from Szczerba Castle (no. 737) and two from Wroclaw City (nos. 738–739). The fourth is from Gdansk (no. 792).

Similarly, it is very likely that jew's harps have been unearthed in the Czech Republic. However, I have no information on any, but nor have I made enquiries in that country.

In the Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia) several archaeological jew's harps have been found. These came to my knowledge in the first instance through personal communication with ethnomusicologists. Descriptions of most of the items have been published. Nine finds are noted from Estonia (Tõnurist 1996), 15 from Latvia (Urtans 1970, Priedite 1988), and two from Lithuania.[21]

Four specimens from Belarus (nos. 820–3), that came to my knowledge by chance, show that the jew's harp was known there as well. They were all been excavated at medieval castles. I have done no further survey of the situation in Belarus.

I know of no finds from Ukraine and I have not sent letters of enquiry or searched in other ways. However, from ethnographical sources the instrument is known to have existed there. For instance, the Hutsul people of Ukraine still have a lively tradition that includes the manufacture and playing of instruments. One of their instruments is of the double type, with two lamellae (Dallais *et al.* 2002: 20–1), very similar to pieces excavated in Austria (no. 349) and Switzerland (no. 542). Vertkov (*et al.* 1987: 41) reports that ensembles playing on jew's harps of different sizes may occasionally be encountered in Ukraine.

In many parts of Russia the jew's harp has had a particularly strong position in traditional music. Several ethnic groups have used it, and there is a great typological diversity, including idioglottic instruments made of organic materials (Vertkov *et al. op. cit.*). Five pieces are known from excavations at Novgorod (nos. 295–299; Povetkin 1992: 21). Another was found in the medieval layers during excavations at Bryansk in central Russia (no. 799; Ravdina 1973).[22]

Single finds can sometimes be very important – for example, because of their chronological significance. Thus, interestingly, a jew's harp was excavated in a ninth century burial mound in Idelbayev, Bashkortostan, Russia (no. 300). My only source of information on this was for quite some time a CD cover (Shurov 1995) where the find is mentioned. Only recently I learned about a Russian article by its excavator N. A. Mazhitov (1981) that illustrates the specimen. This is not a jew's harp of the common heteroglottic, bow-shaped type found throughout Europe, but an idioglottic example, made of one flat piece of silver. Although it diverges from the remaining material here and belongs to the Ural-region I decided to include it in the Catalogue.

Another interesting find is known from the town of Yekimauts in the Republic of Moldova (no. 301). It is dated to the ninth or tenth century according to publications in a Russian archaeological journal (Fedorov 1954, Kolchin 1959). The instrument has an oval shape to the bow and is very similar to a modern piece from a village in the vicinity, as illustrated in one of the publications (Fedorov, *op. cit.*).

Table 1.7: **The finds from the central and eastern parts of Europe**

Region	Place	Site	Id. No.
The Republic of Belarus			
Grodno region	Lida	Lida Castle	821
Mogilev region	Drutsk	Drutsk Castle	820
	Mstislavl	Mstislavl Castle	823
Vitebsk region	Vitebsk	Vitebsk Castle	822
Estonia			
Harju county	Lehmja		414–15
	Tallinn	St. Brigitta's Convent	412, 416
		Nigulisbe, old cemetery of St. Nicolai's ch.	413
Pärnu county	Pärnu	Munga Street 2	411
Tartu county (South Estonia)	Tartu		418, 659
Valga county (Southeast Estonia)	Otepaa	Otepaa Castle	417
Hungary			
Alföld (Great Hungarian Plain)	Muhi		359–60

20 Thomas Repiszky, pers. comm.

21 R Apanavicius, Vilnius, pers. comm.

22 Frederick Crane, Mt Pleasant, Iowa, USA, informed me about this find.

	Near Cegled	Nyúlfülehalom	364
	Tiszaörvény		355
	Túrkeve		354
Borsod-Abaúj (Northern Highlands)	Szuhogy	Csorbak Castle	356
Budapest	Budapest: Buda Castle		357
Dunántúl (Transdanubia)	Visegrád	Visegrád Castle	362
Kisalföld (Western Lowlands)	Szentmihály		363
Unprovenanced (Hungary)			358
Latvia			
Maliena	Aluksne	Aluksne Castle	407
North Kurzeme	Ventspils	Ventspils Castle, Commanders room	829
	Sabile (Talsi county)	Sabile senpilseta	396
Vidzeme	Cesis (Cesis county)	Cesis Castle	404–6
	Lielvarde (Aizkraukle county)	Lielvarde pilskalns	399
	Turaida (Riga county)	Turaida Castle	397–8, 400
	Valmiera (Valmiera county)	Valmiera Castle	401–3
	Vecdole (Riga county)	Vecdole Castle	394–5
Lithuania			
Aukstaitija: Kaunas region	Trakai Trakai Castle		426
Dzukija: Vilnius region	Vilnius	Vilnius Castle	427
Poland			
Dolny Slask (Lower Silesia)	Wroclaw (Breslau): The Old City		738–9
	Miedzylesie (Glatz)	Szczerba Castle	737
Pomorze	Gdansk	Site no. 103, "Green Gate"	792
The Republic of Moldova			
Orhei	Yekimauts (Between Orhei and Rezina)		301
Romania			
Moldova	Bacau: Brad (Zargidava)		660
	Unknown (Moldova)		461–5
Russia			
Central Russia: Bryansk region	Bryansk		799
Northwest Russia: Novgorod region	Novgorod		295–9
Ural region: Bashkortostan	Salavat district: Idelbayev	Idelbayev Burial Mound	300
Slovakia			
Bratislavsk˘	Bratislava	Pozsony Castle?	460
Middle-South Slovakia	Filakovo (Fülek)		361
Nitra region	Branc village (south of Nitra)	Velka Ves; Position Arkus I	467
Unprovenanced (Slovakia)			826–7

Documentation

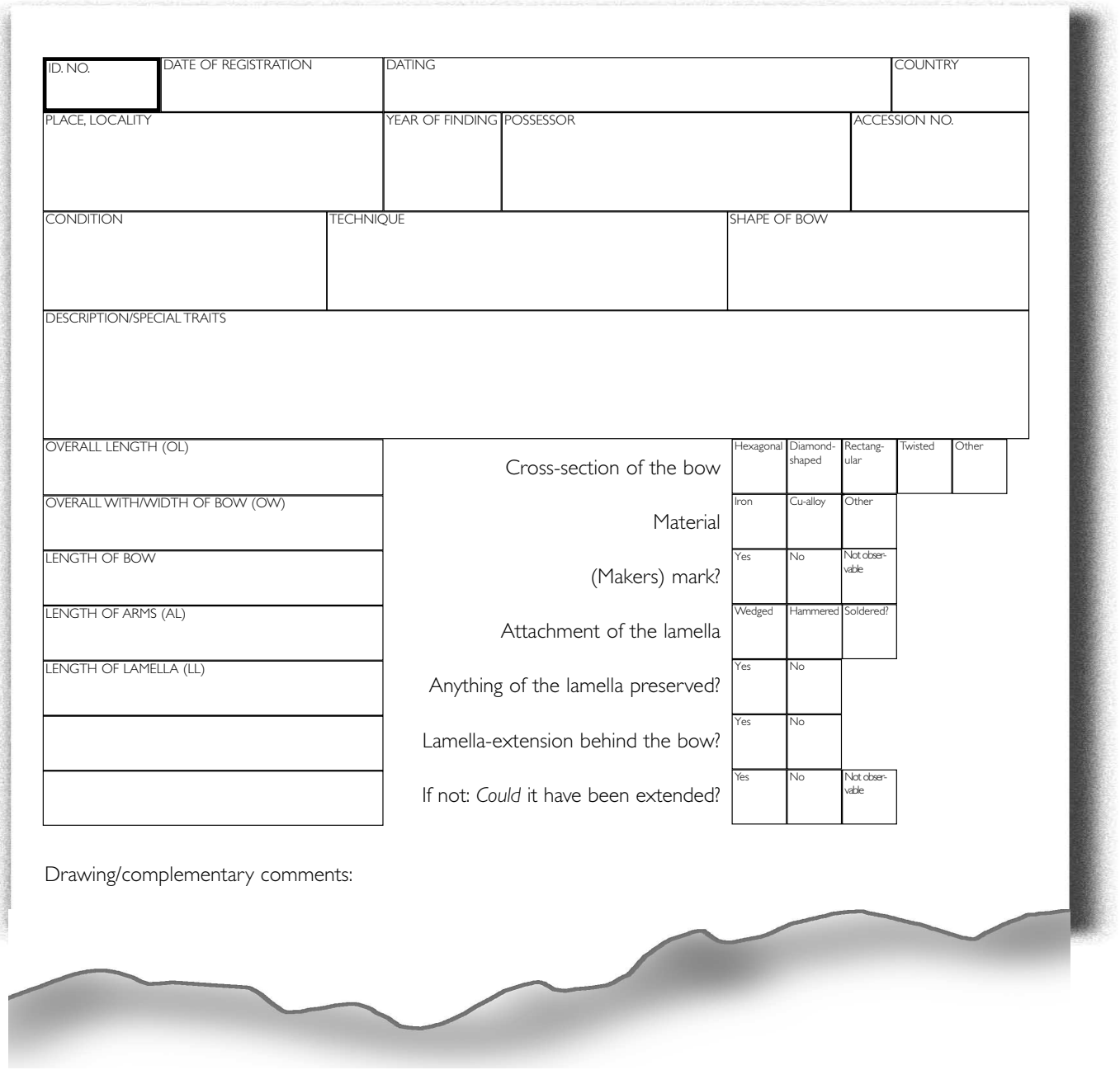
To recapitulate, the material on archaeological finds of jew's harps presented in this thesis comes from a range of sources, with only some of the finds documented by myself. In those cases where I had the opportunity to study the objects I aimed to set a standard of documentation that ensured accuracy and uniformity throughout. A recurring challenge has been to find a balance between being as thorough as possible on the one hand, and not falling into blind documentation of every little detail on the other. The problem arises because it is important to collect *relevant* information in the framework of a guiding question or focus, yet it is in the nature of this kind of research that the questions one asks may change during the process. One should therefore approach the research material with a wide perspective and accept that it is better to err on the side of overdocumentation. When studying artifacts held in distant institutions this is of course especially important for practical reasons. Another argument for making detailed and thorough records is that future researchers may take different approaches to the material.

My own method for making good, reliable records in the field has been to make notes, often of an associative kind; to make measurements and observations of technical details according to a uniform standard; to take photographs; and finally, to make drawings. To facilitate the standardization I used a form that has turned out to be very efficient (Fig. 1.2). For terminology and descriptions of the various features of the specimens, the reader is referred to Chapter two on technology and Chapter four on typology.

Not being a photographer or illustrator I have had to learn to cope with the visual side of things. It is difficult to take good photographs of objects as small as a jew's harp.

Although I have learned much during the process, I would ideally have left this aspect of the work to professional photographers. The same can be said of the processing of images in a computer.[23] Regarding technical illustrations, time did not usually allow detailed drawings of the artifacts. The purpose of my field drawings was not to make polished illustrations for publication but to help to identify the pieces during later work with them, and sometimes to illustrate important technological details.

The field notes and photos have been entered into my database, which is based on *4th Dimension* software. The database consists of selected information from my field notes along with information from other sources. As explained earlier, the Catalogue consists of selected information from the database. This information is selective in that some notes in the database are not relevant to the thesis. The Catalogue corresponds to the various analyses and discussions in the text.



ID. NO.	DATE OF REGISTRATION	DATING		COUNTRY
PLACE, LOCALITY		YEAR OF FINDING	POSSESSOR	ACCESSION NO.
CONDITION	TECHNIQUE		SHAPE OF BOW	
DESCRIPTION/SPECIAL TRAITS				

OVERALL LENGTH (OL)	Cross-section of the bow	Hexagonal	Diamond-shaped	Rectang-ular	Twisted / Other
OVERALL WITH/WIDTH OF BOW (OW)	Material	Iron	Cu-alloy	Other	
LENGTH OF BOW	(Makers) mark?	Yes	No	Not obser-vable	
LENGTH OF ARMS (AL)	Attachment of the lamella	Wedged	Hammered	Soldered?	
LENGTH OF LAMELLA (LL)	Anything of the lamella preserved?	Yes	No		
	Lamella-extension behind the bow?	Yes	No		
	If not: *Could* it have been extended?	Yes	No	Not obser-vable	

Drawing/complementary comments:

Fig. 1.2: **Facsimile of the standard form used for documentation**

23 Thanks to Ann-Turi Ford for guiding me through the technical problems and possibilities of computer graphics.