“IN TYMPANO REX NOSTER TYMPANIZAVIT”:
FRAME DRUMS AS MESSIANIC SYMBOLS IN MEDIEVAL SPANISH
REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TWENTY-FOUR ELDERS OF THE APOCALYPSE

MAURICIO MOLINA

In a representation of the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse sculpted between 1235 and 1240 in the archivolts of the Sarmental portal of the Cathedral of Burgos (Castile) the characters mentioned in the Revelations of Saint John have been portrayed playing on an array of musical instruments such as the lute, the fiddle, and the bagpipes. And while twenty-two of these bearded male figures appear holding easily recognizable instruments, the two remaining are shown gripping puzzling objects: one a circular piece with a floral design [fig.1], the other a simple square item [fig. 2].

Similarly, in the archivolts of the Majestad portal of the thirteenth-century collegiate church of Santa María la Mayor in Toro (Castile), where the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse are also portrayed performing on contemporaneous musical instruments, one appears to be holding a square artifact [fig. 3].

While our first reaction might be to interpret the round object from Burgos as a plate or a mirror, and the square pieces from both Burgos and Toro as books or big tiles, the musical context of the representations should prevent us from such an error and guide us instead to acknowledge them as musical instruments. In fact, the artifacts held by these elders are nothing other than one round and two square frame drums, hand-held percussion instruments that consist of a membrane stretched over a frame or hoop and that were known in medieval Spain as tympana in Latin and as panderos or adufes in Castilian.

The sculptural programs from the archivolts of Burgos and Toro where we see elders playing frame drums are meant to represent the text from Revelations 5:8–9 which says how some mysterious characters, described as “the twenty-four elders”, worship the Lamb of God by singing in his honor:

And when he had opened the book, the four living creatures and the four and twenty ancients fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps [citharas] and golden vials full of odors, which are the prayers of saints. And they sung a new canticle, saying: Thou art worthy, O Lord, to take the book and to open the seals thereof: because thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God, in thy blood, out of every tribe and tongue and people and nation.

The representations from the two Castilian churches greatly differ from the original biblical text that they are supposed to represent. While in the book of Revelations the twenty-four Elders are described as accompanying their song of praise only with the plucked string instruments known as citharae, commonly translated into English as harps and represented in medieval art as different types of string instruments, in the archivolts of Burgos and Toro they are depicted performing on a collection of wind, string, and percussion instruments. And, while it is still disorienting to find musical instruments other than string in the representations of the biblical passage, the portrayal of frame drums in the hands of an Elder is even more puzzling since these particular types of percussion instruments were commonly associated in the medieval Iberian Peninsula with carnal desire and paganism. However, biblical mention of their use in relation to the worship of God and some particular allegorical interpretation of their materials by Church Fathers and Psalm
commentators indicate that frame drums were stripped of their negative connotations and were understood as messianic symbols in the context of the representations of Revelations 5:8–9.

Iconographical and literary sources show that in the medieval Iberian Peninsula frame drums were mainly associated with professional female performers such as singers, dancers, or instrumentalists. Because these entertainers worked for money (soldada), they were generally considered to be sinful in both religious and secular spheres. Besides this connection with contemporaneous performers, frame drums also had a dark past that was recorded in the writings of the Church Fathers and remnants of ancient art: they were principal tools in the religious ceremonies of the fertility cults dedicated to the female deities of the pre-Christian eras.

For these two reasons frame drums are found operating in both religious and secular art and literature as symbols of lust, seduction, and paganism. A good example is an illumination in one of the Pamplona Bibles (Amiens, Bibliothèques Métropole, MS108, fol. 64v) [fig. 4] that illustrates Numbers 25:1–2, a passage in which the Israelites are described committing fornication with the pagan Moabite women:

And Israel abode in Shit‘-tim, and the people began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab. And they recalled their people into sacrifices of their gods: and the people eat and bowed down to their gods.
In this depiction we observe a group of women and men undressing and engaging in sensual caresses. In the upper left corner of the illumination a woman appears playing a square frame drum while a man dances to its music. Here, although the text has no mention of a drum being used as part of the occasion, the artist has added it to emphasize the erotic and pagan character of the scene. In this context, a frame drum with its connections with female sexuality and paganism, and in the hands of a woman who entices a man to dance to her music, was meant as a clear symbol of lust, seduction, and the worshiping of other gods.

The notorious connotation of frame drums in the medieval Iberian Peninsula is also clearly shown in secular literature, such as in verses 469–472 of the fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor*, in which a *cantadera*, female professional performer, is described as singing and dancing to the accompaniment of the round frame drum *pandero*:

Who can understand the disposition shown by women, or their wicked behavior and evil knowledge; whenever they are hot and want to do some evil, they let body and soul and their reputation go to ruin. After a gambler loses his shyness at the playing table, if he loses his cloak he then bets his underwear; after the cantadera sings the first song, her feet always move and the *pandero* [frame drum] suffers.

3. Elder of the Apocalypse, 13th century. Toro (Castile), archivolt of the *Majestad* gate of the collegiate church of Santa María la Mayor. Photo: Alice Margerum.
In this text the frame drum played by a professional female performer operates as a symbol of lust and seduction that together with other elements of the poem enhances the passage’s sexual and even misogynous message.

After examining sources indicating that frame drums were used in medieval Spanish art and literature as emblems of lascivious women and as symbols of lust, seduction, and paganism, we should wonder why such notorious musical instruments were sculpted in the hands of the respected Elders of the Apocalypse in the archivolts of Burgos and Toro. It is possible that their depiction was the product of the gothic artists’ concern to make the religious message of the era accessible and familiar to a wide audience. Thus, the sculptors who worked in the Castilian archivolts chose to represent these types of frame drums among other contemporaneous musical instruments because they were merely trying to replace and actualize the instruments mentioned in the Scriptures with those easily recognized by their fellows. However, considering the tremendous and complex symbolic character not only of medieval art but also ascribed to the book of the Apocalypse, the frame drums depicted in the hands of these elders might not only correspond to a modernization of the scene, but also to a well-calculated language of symbols. In fact, it already has been suggested that in the context of the representations of the Elders of the Apocalypse string instruments were understood as representation of Christ on the cross. Thus, in addition to their role as contemporaneous musical instruments, the medieval round and square frame drums might have been chosen to be represented in the context
of the Apocalypse because they already operated as symbolic or emblematic objects that stood for and suggested something else that was not intrinsically connected to them. In a search for the symbolism of frame drums in the hands of Elders of the Apocalypse we need to examine other representations of biblical passages in which these types of instruments were represented in medieval Iberian art that might have served as models and reference points to the artists from Burgos and Toro and their audience. Also, we need to look for information about the situation of these instruments in connection with biblical texts in the writings of Church Fathers and Psalm commentators since their interpretation was influential in all aspects of medieval Christian culture.16

The frame drum, denominated as *tof* in Hebrew and translated as *tympanon/tympanum* in the Greek and Latin versions of the Old Testament, is mentioned in the Bible no less than fifteen times, most of them in connection with the worshiping of the Lord. For example, in Psalm 67:26 we find a description of a religious pageant: “. . . singers ahead, musicians behind, in the middle come young female frame drum players”,17 and in Psalm 80:3–4 we read: “Acquire a song and beat the *tympanum*, play the melodious *psalterium*, and the *cithara . . .* for our feast day.”18 Similarly, we find in Psalm 149:1–3: “Sing a new song to Yahweh . . . play to him on *tympano* and *psalterio*”, and in Psalm 150:3–4, God is described as being worshiped with: “. . . *tympano . . . cordis et organo*”.19 The invocation of the instrument in the context of religious praise can also be found in other biblical passages such as Job 21:12 and Isaiah 24:8, in which God is thanked with frame drum and string instruments: *tympanum et cithara*.

Among the biblical texts in which frame drums are mentioned in connection to the worship of God we find the text of Exodus 15:20 in which Miriam and other Israelite women are described as praising God after the safe crossing of the Red Sea. The passage reads: “The prophetess Miriam, Aaron’s sister, took a *tympanum*, and all the women followed her with *tympanis* and dances.”20 The use of frame drums instead of other

---

5. Miriam and Hebrew women playing round frame drums. Second Bible of León, 12th century. León, Biblioteca de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, MS 3, fol. 38v.
percussion instruments to represent the *tympanum*/*tympanis* mentioned in the Vulgate shows a careful under-
standing of the meaning of the noun *tympanum*. This care should not come as a surprise to us since in Spain 
biblical texts were considered not only to be the carriers of a religious message, but also to be historical docu-
ments (*veritas hebraica*). In a Romanesque Bible, known as the Second Bible of León, that belongs to the 
library of the church of Saint Isidore in León (Biblioteca de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, MS 3, fol. 38v), 
we find a depiction of Miriam and the Israelite women playing frame drums [fig. 5]. The figures are labeled 
to show that the females holding frame drums were Miriam (*Maria*) and her companions (*mulieres*). This 
might have been done to avoid any confusion between these biblical heroines and the medieval Spanish ill-
reputed *cantaderas* who used frame drums to accompany their acts. The instruments depicted show painted 
designs on their membranes that remind of the one found in the hands of the Elder sculpted in the archivolt 
of the Cathedral of Burgos. The frame drum was used here as an emblem for Miriam and as a symbol of bibli-
ical worship. This was achieved by placing it as part of contexts that stimulated positive religious reading.

Further clues about the symbolism of frame drums in the representations from Burgos and Toro can be 
found in the writings of the Church Fathers and Psalm commentators. In these texts we find that the situation 
of the instrument in the medieval world was nothing but complex. This was caused by the fact that the 
Christian writers had to conciliate the sexual and pagan connotations of the instruments inherited from pre-
Christian times with their pious use by the ancient Hebrews in the worshiping of God. At least in the West, 
following the steps of a school originated in Alexandria, the Christian writers viewed the musical instru-
ments mentioned in the Bible not as real objects but as allegorical symbols. Authors such as Hilarius of Poi-
tiers (315–367), St. Augustine (354–430), Cassiodorus (490–580), and Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604), among 
many others, demonstrated little interest in the historical or literal meaning of the Bible and established a 
principle in which the information contained in the Old Testament had to be deciphered to find its mystical 
content. This approach to the Scriptures is known today as allegorical exegesis.

The allegorical interpretation of the frame drums in the biblical context given throughout the Middle 
Ages by these writers and by other Christian leaders who followed allegorical exegesis was varied. Some of 
them were prompted by the instruments’ connection with pagan rites. For example, St. Augustine under-
stood the *tympanum* as a symbol for the old religious order. In his commentary about the opening Psalm 80, 
“psumite psalmum et date tympanum”, he interprets this text as a request to the faithful to break with the 
old pagan tradition, symbolized by the frame drum, and to embrace the new order of the Christian Church 
in which the new followers of Christ worship with spiritual chants. Other interpretations were the result 
of the instrument’s materials: a frame made out of wood and a vibrating membrane made out of animal 
skin. For example, St. Augustine comments that “the *tympanum*, since it is made out of hide, relates to the 
flesh”, and Gregory the Great tells us that since “the instrument is made out of stretched dead animal skin, 
it allegorizes the dead of our own flesh.” Similarly, the Psalm commentator Bruno of Cologne (1037–1101) 
tells us that “the *tympanum* refers to the doctrine of the mortification of the flesh and in this way a sweet song 
dedicated to the Lord.” Thus for these writers the frame drum maintained the symbolism of the worldly, 
embodying, among other things, sex, passion, and desire, elements that bring us back to the instruments’ 
original connection with women and pagan fertility rites.

Other, more positive interpretations were also advanced by the pious writers. In their search for 
allegorical exegesis and a typological connection between events of the Old and New Testaments, the com-
mentators gave a powerful interpretation to the nailing of the animal hide to the wood of the instrument’s 
frame. In this common manner of keeping the instrument’s membrane in position, the Church Fathers saw 
the flesh of Christ himself nailed to the wood of the cross. Examples of this interpretation are found in St. 
Augustine’s commentary on Psalm 149: “In the *tympanum* [there is] the crucified flesh”, and in Psalm 150 
“(Christ] played the frame drum as he was crucified, extended on wood [of the Cross].” Also, the Psalm 
commentator Rupert of Deutz (d.1129), when referring to Jesus in his commentary on Psalm 150, indicates 
that “our David played the frame drum (*tympanizabat*) as he was hanging from the cross”, and Gerhoh of 
Reichersberg (1093–1169), in his commentary of John 10:17–18, explains that “our king played upon the frame 
drum when he prayed for his crucifixion on the wood of the cross.”
Thus, the representation of frame drums in the hands of biblical figures seems to take a dimension of messianic symbolism since they represent the culmination of Christ’s life and stand as an allegory for his sacrifice and the forgiveness of our sins, an act that following medieval typological understanding of the Scriptures was already prophesized in the Old Testament.\(^3\) In this light and in the framework of the Psalms, the frame drums lost their negative connotations and became messianic symbols. Based on this premise, I would like to suggest that in the hands of the Elders of the Apocalypse, in the mind of a viewer who knew the writings of the Church Fathers and the commentaries on the Psalms, frame drums triggered not the image of the sensual flesh of a female performer, but rather the flesh of Christ stretched on the cross.

Obviously, in typological terms the messianic meaning of the frame drums would have been stronger and more direct if they would have been portrayed in the hands of Old Testament characters rather than in those of the Elders of the Apocalypse. Nonetheless, even though these twenty-four characters are only mentioned in the Christian Bible by John the Evangelist, some of them seemed to have been understood during the Middle Ages as representations of Old Testament figures. In popular exegetical commentaries that circulated in medieval Iberia, such as the one by Haymon of Auxerre (ca. 850), the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse were identified as the twelve prophets of the Old Testament and the twelve Apostles of the New Testament.\(^3\) In other words, in the medieval imagination these characters personified a union between the pre-Christian and post-Christian sections of the Bible. This juxtaposition is clearly stated in an inscription found in the crypt of the French cathedral of Anagni that reads: “The elders that worship the lamb are twenty-four; they are the doctors of the old and new law.”\(^\#\) Thus, in the juxtaposition between the old and the new laws represented by the Elders of the Apocalypse, frame drums take on a new meaning. Because of their association with Miriam and the Psalms, and because of their connection with the old ways in Augustine’s commentary of Psalm 80, the instruments become an emblem of the Old Testament and its people. Thus, since the Elders of the Apocalypse were interpreted as the combination of the Old Testament prophets and the New Testament apostles, I suspect that a frame drum in the hands of one of these crowned figures from Burgos or Toro helped identify him as a pre-Christian “doctor”, who, as described in the text of revelations, “sings a new song to the Lord” in recognition of the new order.\(^3\)

Thus, it seems that frame drums in the archivolts of the Cathedral of Burgos and the collegiate Church of Toro found their most complex role as symbols in medieval Spanish Christian art. At a primary level, in the context of the Apocalypse and in the hands of men, the instruments’ association with the worship of God described in the Psalms and conducted by Miriam after crossing the Red Sea prompted its recognition not only as a symbol of biblical adoration, but also of Old Testament prophecy. With this, the juxtaposition of the Old and New Testaments ascribed to the depiction of the Elders of the Apocalypse was further emphasized. At a deeper level, the interpretation of the instrument as Christ stretched on the cross, especially in connection with a “pre-Christian doctor”, supported typological interpretation that bestowed the scene with a clear and direct messianic meaning that is now lost to us.

**NOTES**

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

2. Stylistically, this archivolt is related to the one from the cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo or the Cathedral of Burgos. It is possible that this is the work of Roy Martínez de Bureba or a workshop located in Carrión de los Condes that was aware of the stylistic trends of León. See Ricardo Puente, La Colegiata de Toro Santa María la Mayor (León: Albanega, 2001), 26-30.

3. These instruments are popularly known in English as tambourines. While the term panders, a development of the Latin term pandorium, was utilized to refer to frame drums of round shape, the apppellative adufe, a mere absorption of the Arabic article–noun al-duff into Castilian, was employed to refer to the instruments of square shape. Following the Hornbostel-Sachs classification system, these instruments can be largely classified as membranophones because they produced sound by the vibration of a stretched membrane and more specifically as frame drums because the depth of their shells is equal or smaller than the radius or half of the total extension of their heads. For a study of the terminology of medieval Iberian frame drums, see Mauricio Molina, “Frame Drums in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula” (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York Graduate Center, 2006), 82-117.
4 The tradition of representing the twenty-four Elders playing musical instruments in the tympana of churches and cathedrals was first developed in France during the first half of the twelfth century. The earliest examples can be found in the cathedrals of Moissac, Oloron, and Aulnay. In these cases the Elders are always portrayed holding a single type of bowed string instrument. Different to the examples of Burgos and Toro, in these sacred buildings the artists seemed to have tried to remain as faithful as they could to the biblical text by portraying string instruments of the same kind. See José López Calo, *La música medieval en Galicia* (La Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrie de la Maza, 1982), 79-85.

5 “Et cum aperuisset librum quattuor animalia et virgini quattuor seniores ceicerunt coram agno habentes singuli citharas et fialas aureas plenas odoramentorum quae sunt orationes sanctorum et cantant novum canticum dicentes dignus es accipere librum et aperiere signacula eius quoniam occisus es et redemisti nos Deo in sanguine tuo ex omni tribu et lingua et populo et natione.” The translation is taken from the King James Bible, a translation of the Vulgate published in 1611 in England.

6 See footnote 4.

7 Examples of professional female entertainers performing on frame drums can be found in some of the illuminations that accompany the Cantigas de Amigo recorded in the thirteenth-century Cancionero da Ajuda (Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda). Another good example can be found in the fourteenth-century Libro de la coronación de los Reyes de Castilla (Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, Ms. III.3). For a discussion of this depiction see Mauricio Molina, *La música medieval en España* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2001), 101-102. Professional female frame drum players can also be seen sculpted in stone, as in a relief of a capital from the fourteenth-century cloister of the cathedral of the apostle Saint Peter in Vic in which a female minstrel plays a round frame drum in a duo with a bowed string instrument player. For more examples see Molina, “Frame Drums in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula”, 10-57.

8 Scholars have indicated that this was not necessarily prompted by their specific professions, but by the performer’s challenge to contemporaneous cultural conventions of female propriety. For discussions about the different constraints on females during the Middle Ages, see Judith R. Cohen, “Ca no soe jologreasa: Women and Music in Medieval Spain’s Three Cultures” *Medieval Women’s Song: Cross-Cultural Approaches*, Ed. by Anne L. Linck & Ann Marie Rasmussen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 66-80; Cristina Segura, “Mujeres públicas/malas mujeres: Mujeres honradas/mujeres privadas”, *Arabes, judías y cristianas: Mujeres en la Europa medieval*, Ed. by Cristina del Moral (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1993), 53-62; and Lisa M. Bitel, *Women in Early Medieval Europe 400–1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 103.


10 This translation is taken from the King James Bible.

11 The pagan character of the scene becomes clear with the text. In the Bible it is explained that the Moabite women tempted the Hebrew men because they wanted them to worship the pagan goddess Baal.

12 I suspect that, since in the Middle Ages religious and secular precepts were directly or indirectly based on the ascetic and patriarchal teaching of the Church Fathers, the figure of the sensual woman might have always been understood in these spheres as the personification of temptation. It will suffice to quote a passage from the celebrated biography of St. Thomas Aquinas written by Bernard Guì (ca. 1262–1331). In this work the author comments that for Aquinas the sight of a “beautiful, imprudent girl, [was] as though [seeing] a serpent with a human face”. See Bernard Guì, “Vita S. Thomae Aquinatis”, *Fontes vitae Thomae Aquinatis*. Ed. by D. Prümmer (Toulouse: Privat Bibliopolam, 1929), fasc. 3, 174-175.

13 “Talente de mugeres quien lo podria entender, / sus malas maestrias e su mucho malsabre: / quando son encendidas e mal quieren fazer, / alma e cuerpo e fama, todo lo dexan perder. / Desque pierde verguença el tafur al tablero, / si el pellote juega, jugarâ el braquero; / desque la cantadera dize el cantar primero, / siempre los pies le bullen e mal para el pandero.” For a study and commentaries of this text, see Juan Ruiz Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*. Ed. by Alberto Blecua (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996), 124; and Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen amor*. Ed. by Joan Corominas (Madrid: Gredos, 1967), 199-200.


15 The *cithara* was allegorically associated with the passion of Christ by medieval exegetes such as Haymo Halberstätensis (ninth century). It has been suggested that the depiction of this type of instrument in connection with representations of the crucifixion was meant to create a correlation between the two. See Francesc Vicens Vidal, “La idea de la Pasio Christi en la iconografía musical románica: Textos y contextos para una interpretación allegórica”, *Codex Aquilarenensis* 21 (2005), 90-106.

16 The Middle Ages was most concerned with perpetuating established values rather than with originality of interpretation. This age, firmly established on faith, had almost no place for the reinterpretation of truth but the confirmation and corroboration of theological precepts. See Norman Cantor, *The Medieval Reader* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994), 91.

17 “...praeverenter principes coniuncti psallentibus in medio juvencularum tympanistriaramur.”

18 “...psmite psalmum et date tympanum psallerium iucundum cum cithara...dse solummuntatiss nostrae.”

19 “Cantate Domino canticum novum...laudent nomen eius in choro in tympano et psallerio psallant ei.”

20 The text in the Vulgate reads: “Summis ergo Maria prophetis soros Aaron tympanum in manu egressaque sunt omnes mulieres post eam cum tympanis et chorus.”

21 Examples of representations of Exodus 15:20 in which Miriam plays a cylindrical drum (tabl) instead of a frame drum can be found in the corpus of Byzantine art. Good examples can be seen in an eleventh-century Octateuch from the collection of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Gr. 746, fol. 194, and in a thirteenth-century Psalter housed at Berlin’s Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms.78 A.9, fol. 243v.

22 This prompted the use of their information in historical chronicles such as the *General Estoria de Alfonso X*. See Jesus Menédez Pelayez, *Historia de la Literatura Espanola. I: Edad Media* (Madrid: Everest, n.d.), 260.
Another school of thought was established in the East. This school, formed in Antioch, saw the musical instruments mentioned in the Bible as real historical objects that were in fact used by the ancient Hebrews in the worshipping of the Lord. This approach is well exemplified by John Chrysostom (d.407), who offers a solution for the appearance of musical instruments in Psalm 149 by explaining that "the Ancients [Hebrews] used these instruments because of the slowness of their understanding and to keep themselves from idols. Just as he [God] received sacrifices he allowed those things because of their weakness."


Hammerstein, Diabolus in Musica, 29-30.

"Typypanum, quod de corio fit, ad carnem pertinent." PL 37, 1035.

"Qui de motui animalis corio tenditur, in eo non inconvenient carnis nostra mortificatio figuratur." PL 79, 291. Other influential writers who connected the vibrating membrane of the instrument with the death of the flesh include Casiodorus, PL 70, 471; the Venerable Beda (673-735), PL 93,921 and 93,1101; Hono-

ratus from Autum (1080–1156), PL 172,306; Petrus Lombardus (ca. 1095–1160), PL 191,769; 191,1292-93; and Petrus Abaelardus (1079–1142), PL 178,535. For a complete list, see Giesel, Studien zur Symbolik, 163-165.

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

"Typyanizabat id est crucifigebatur, in ligno extendebatur." ML 36,306.


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

Typology is a theological doctrine that interprets some characters and stories of the Old Testament as allegories foreshadowing the New Testament.


“Qui laudant Agnum Seniores bis duodeni, Hos Vetus et Nova lex doctores contulit aevi”. For this text and interpretation, see Réau, Iconographie de l’art chrétien, 690.

If this is correct, other instruments that appear in the hands of the Elders may also operate as such identifiers, but this is beyond the scope of my study.