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La Cetra Cornuta : the horned lyre of the Christian World

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CHAPTER 3 - Catalog of Sources in the Visual Arts c. 1100 - c.1535

Objective:

The objective of the catalog is to collect any visual source, or record thereof, containing an image definable as a cetra. The following is a list of criteria which an image may present to qualify for inclusion in the catalog:

- Plucked instrument; the absence of a bow is requisite, but may not prove, finally, how the instrument is played.
- Spatulate or ovoid body form.
- Presence of horns on shoulders following standard models; exceptionally without.
- Strings attached at body end to projection or base.
- Peg-head with frontal pegs; exceptionally: lateral, if so, with carved head.
- Sound-hole with rosette, or circle of small holes; exceptionally: curved holes as pair.
- Normal frets or kollopes-frets; exceptionally unfretted.
- Neck length does not exceed resonator length.
- Back of resonator is flat or keeled.
- Depth of resonator uniform; during the 15th-16th c. some examples feature shallowing depth toward bottom of resonator.
- Presence of plectrum; exceptionally without.
- Iconographical identity: Italian provenance, varying according to period and context.
- Instrument can be excluded to be a lute or a gittern.

Authenticity and Dating:

A cautionary remark is in order regarding authenticity. The images of musical instruments to be interpreted in this study are found in different kinds of artifacts such as sculptures, relief carvings, painted panels, frescoes, manuscript illumination and printed images. The first four of these medium types are more often subject to conservator intervention than the last two. To assess with confidence whether an item has been restored or not, and if so, to obtain access

to reliable information about the nature of the restoration, can present a major challenge. Any restoration is of course an interpretation in itself, and may follow national or regional schools of practice, as well as period fashions. A restoration or series of restorations may alter structural details of an artifact quite radically, or not at all. While it has not been practically possible for me to unearth every detail of every historical stage of every restorative process for every item in the catalog which has in fact undergone restoration, whether known to us or not, I have taken pains to find out the relevant background for a number of central works which I regard as milestones in cetra history.

It is worth underscoring that, regarding the limited number of catalog sources reliably datable to the Romanesque, and in some cases later periods, manuscript illumination will generally provide untampered data, whereas frescoes and paintings may be more liable to have undergone some kind of restorative work unknown to the viewer.

The problem of dating an entry in the catalog will also be briefly touched upon here. Because a majority of sources present a 'best guess' situation in establishing a precise date of origin, recent art historical literature has been consulted and used wherever possible, and multiple opinions have often been included to present a cross-section of opinion. All catalog entries have been listed in chronological order, with full awareness that subjective opinion on matters of dating has been of relevance to the list.

Reservations:

Concerning catalog entries, inevitably there have been sources considered for inclusion which are questionable in terms of fulfilling the criteria looked for as outlined above. Appendix I presents instruments which may be relevant to the cetra in some way, but which themselves are clearly not examples of that instrument. Other cases are less straightforward, as the following examples of entries in the Catalog may illustrate:

CE 2: A fresco series situated today in France but of Catalan culture, these may well be bowed instruments without their bows, for none is actually being played. Their similarity with **CE 4** and Roman-Byzantine heritage seem to justify inclusion in the catalog.

CE 11: Vielles without bows? The same artist (Jacopino da Reggio) painted a cetra in **CE 12**, much larger than these tiny images, so the cetra is at least known in his work.

CE 23: The lute-style peghead is obviously problematic, but see comments in the text of the entry.

KEY: Catalog Entry Terms / Definitions

Location: Current location of monument / artifact.

Medium: Type of artifact.

Dating: Date of object according to publication reference.

Artist: Artist or workshop.

Provenance: Association with place and time for artistic style / influence.

Iconographical context: Iconographical theme.

Number of cetre: Number of images, within the work, of instruments with salient cetra features, including evidence of oval or spatulate body, shoulder horns, articulated projection at lower body end, flat peghead of roundish or mutiple-sided form, wooden frets (also in block form), general neck length not significantly longer than body length (often shorter), strings attached at end projection. In exceptional cases, images with just one or two of these features have been included in the catalog, with accompanying comment.

S***ize:*** Approximate actual size of cetra image(s) where measurement has been possible. If blank, measurement unknown to this study.

Comments: May further elaborate upon any of the terms given above, but will more typically point out relevant organological points of interest specific to the image(s).

BibliographyA: Modern publications which discuss the object within the context of art history; a complete art history bibliography would fall outside the scope of this dissertation.

BibliographyM: Modern publications which discuss the object within the context of music history.

CE (Catalog Entry) Number	Object	Page
(c. 1080 - c. 1200)		
1	Vat. lat. MS Barb. lat. 587	176
2	Master of Fenollar	181
3	Hamilton Psalter	192
4	Anagni Elders	207
(c. 1200 - c. 1300)		
5	Parma Baptisterium	236
6	Vatican lat. 39 MS	240
7	Breslau Psalter	247
8	Ferrara Duomo	253
9	Puy-en-Velay	270
10	Cimabue Assisi	274
11	Bible of Clement	280
12	Smith-Lesouëf 21	283
13	Escorial Bible	287
(c. 1300 - c. 1400)		
14	Giotto Scrovegni	290
15	Assisi Elders	294
16	Clement Bible	315
17	Geneva Bible	319
18	Vienna Bible 1191	322
19	Giusto de' Menabuoi	325
20	Seneca Naples MS	330

(c. 1400 - c. 1500)

21	Gentile da Fabriano	339
22	Lorenzo di Niccolò	344
23	Galatina	348
24	Luca della Robbia	353
25	Rimini	359
26	Ortona	373
27	Padova choir stall LOST 1462	378
28	"E H" LOST 1462	379
29	Tarocchi	381
30	Schifanoia	387
31	Cortona	393
32	Gubbio	397
33	Dai Libri V-A	405
34	Sforza Book of Hours	411
35	Tolmezzo	415
36	S Maria in Organo *intarsia*	418
37	S Maria in Organo fresco	426

(c. 1500 - c. 1535)

38	Girolamo di Benvenuto Montalcino	431
39	Monte Oliveto Stall 18	437
40	Lo Spagna	446
41	Villa Sormani	451
42	Luini Brera	454
43	Monte Oliveto Stall 10	459
44	Selva Convento Benvenuto	465
45	Giulio Campagnola 'Daphnis'	468
46	L'Aquila	473
47	S Maria in Organo carving	478
48	Torrita di Siena 1525	485
49	Dai Libri S Giorgio Verona 1526	489

50	Lugano Luini 1529	495
51	Saronno Ferrari 1535-36	498
52	Wien *Cassone*	508

CE 1

CE 1

Location: Roma, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Barb. lat. 587, f. 194 (Bibbia di Santa Cecilia Trastevere).

Medium: Miniature

Dating: c. 1080, possibly 1073? (Ayres 2004); last quarter 11th c. (Tomei 1999).

Artist: Anonymous

Provenance: Rome? (Supino Martini 2000; Ayres 1993, 2004); S. Salvatore di Monte Amiata or nearby (Gorman 2002; Yawn 2010).

Iconographical context: Byzantine - Romanesque. David and musicians, musician Ethan with relevant instrument. David's lyre is also of interest regarding animal horn arms, indicating probable Roman heritage.

Number of cetre: 1

Size: 3.6 cm

Comments: Important early source for spade-shaped, short-necked plucked chordophone in Umbro-Roman context, especially to establish confidence in positing the presence of the proto-cetra in Umbro-Roman Italy in the 11th century. Note plectrum tether (see comment under **Plectrum** in **Chapter 4**).

One of the so-called "Italian Giant Bibles," all of which, according to Ayres, were copied from a common source "most likely in Rome" (Ayres 2004, 20). This is the so-called "Lateran" origin theory for these 11th-century bibles, which accordingly places their production under the influence of the rule of Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085); there is an extensive bibliography in art history research supporting the theory, which includes Ayres and Supino Martini as supporters. See Schapiro 1964, 42, for a brief account of this period of the influence of

Byzantine art in Italy, specifically via the sphere of Abbott Desiderius in Monte Cassino (1057 - 1087).

Other researchers such as Lila Yawn and Michael Gorman have argued strongly for S. Salvatore di Monte Amiata (or vicinity in southern Tuscany / western Umbria) as the place of origin for the early Giant Bibles.

BibliographyA: Schapiro 1964, 41-43; Berg 1965, 167-176; Cahn 1982; Ayres 1993/94; Tomei 1999; Martini 2000; Ayres 2004; Yawn 2011.

Bibliography M:

CE 1

CE 1

CE 2

CE 2

Location: Fenollar, Sant Marti de Fenollar (Chapel of St. Martin of Fenollar).

Medium: Fresco

Dating: c. 1120-30 (Pagès 2013, 50); elsewhere 12th century (Princeton Index).

Artist: Master of Fenollar

Provenance: "Mainly inspired by the art of early Christian Rome and that of Gregorian reform, yet also by Byzantine sources and by Lombard and Germanic prototypes" (Pagès 45); Stylistic similarity with Anagni (**CE 4**).

Iconographical context: Elders of the Apocalypse; originally there were seven Elders on each of the two side walls, and two on each side of the window at the end, making a total of eighteen Elders.

Number of cetre: 10 in various states of preservation, with a remaining 8 originals lost.

Size:

Comments: This is the only example in the catalog of a proto-cetra fresco outside of Italy, with cornered shoulders, articulated string holder at the bottom of the body, frontal pegs, soundhole(s), absence of bow. Elders 5 and 4 on the left wall hold instruments with smallish shoulder projections. See comment of Pagès on provenance (Pagès 2013).
For comment on the Elders holding the instruments upside down, see Footnote 172.

BibliographyA: Pagès 2013; Ponsich 1974.

BibliographyM: Panum 1940 (1915); Winternitz 1979, Pl. 11.

Photos: http://www.romanes.org/Fenollar/Saint-Martin_de_Fenollar_0042.html

Placement of Elders in Chapel

(Left: Elders 9 - 3) (L. front: E 2 - 1) (R. front: E 1 - 2) (Right: E 3 - 4)

All of the Elders are painted on the left and right walls, as well as the front wall with the window, at a level slightly higher than the window. The seven on the left are more or less intact, but those on both sides of the window are entirely missing below the heads, with the exception of the second Elder on the right, whose instrument is visible. The first two Elders on the right wall are intact, the rest are by and large gone.

CE 2

Left wall: Elders 9 - 6

CE 2

Left wall: Elders 5 - 3

CE 2

Left wall: Elder 3, left front wall: Elders 2 - 1 (partly missing).

CE 2

Right front wall: Elders 1 - 2, (partly missing); right wall: Elder 3.

CE 2

Right wall: Elders 3 - 4 (5 - 9 missing).

CE 2

Right wall, Elder 3, detail.

CE 2

Right wall, Elder 4, detail.

CE 2

Left wall, Elder 3, detail.

CE 3

sunt contra eos lingue eorum. Omnis homo.
Conturbati sunt omnes qui videbant eos. et timuit
et annuntiauerunt opa dei. et facta eius intellexerunt.
Letabitur iustus in domino et sperabit in eo. et archol.
od ludebat ante archa
percus
so
iocia
domino.
laudabuntur omnes recti corde Oratio.
Tuela omnium credentium deus. custodi ecclam tuam

CE 3

Location: Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 A5 ("Hamilton Psalter").

Medium: Manuscript miniature

Dating: Copied c. 1175 (Kupferstichkabinett's official description of manuscript, 2017); Miniatures copied from a north Italian model or models probably from the second half of the 11th c. (Augustyn 1989, 119).

Artist: Unknown. In my opinion, after examining the manuscript on 07. 03. 2017 and without going into lengthy arguments, there were at least three different miniaturists. Artist A was responsible for the opening miniature with King David playing a harp. Artist B was responsible for the large majority of miniatures in the manuscript, including all six images of chordophones. Artist C worked perhaps somewhat later than A and B and did the miniatures on folios 71r, 84r and 96v, which show a distinctly more vibrant use of colors and shading which seems to foreshadow stylistic aspects of the 13th-c. Bolognese school of illumination.

Provenance: Vallombrosian monastery in the region of Florence or Fiesole (Augustyn 1989); Toscana or north Italy (Kupferstichkabinett 2017); possible Italo-Byzantine influence (Schapiro 1964).

Iconographical context: Psalter illustrations

Number of cetre: 6

3a: f. 40r
3b: f. 50r
3c: f. 55r
3d: f. 88r
3e: f. 94v
3f: f. 125r

Size: 3a: 3 cm
3b: 3.8 cm
3c: 2.7 cm
3d: 2 cm
3e: 2.5 cm
3f: 2.1 cm

Comments: An important source which may be considered to be the earliest group of instruments carrying the main features of Antelami's early cetra (see **CE 5**), with the exception of large wooden frets. The nearest any of these instruments come to showing frets is **3b**. While **3b** shows fingerboard markings which seem mainly of decorative significance, rather than having any real functionality as frets, **3a** shows a fingerboard which widens slightly before the narrower peg-head joint. As if to emphasize the distinction between fingerboard and peghead, the artist has playfully colored the peg-head green to match David's garment. The apparent discrepancy in width between the end of the fingerboard and the peg-head joint might suggest that the front surface of the peg-head is slightly angled back and not on the same plane as the fingerboard, although this is inconclusive.

3b, with its long neck, displays a certain resemblance to the surviving Byzantine instruments, and is in this regard unique in the group of chordophones in this manuscript. It may suggest that multiple sources, some quite archaic, others more recent, were used as models for the miniatures.

BibliographyA: Augustyn 1989; Augustyn 1996.

BibliographyM:

3a

auuo de se onō clamat q
thara domino canat.
fontem petu luminis

3a

3b

3b

3c

sunt contra eos lingue eorum. Omnis homo.
Conturbati sunt omnes qui videbant eos. et timuit
Et annuntiauerunt opa dei. et facta eius intellexerunt.
Letabitur iustus in domino et sperabit in eo. et omnes
dō ludebat ante archā
pcus
so
ioca
dnō.
Laudabuntur omnes recti corde. Oratio.
Tutela omnium credentium ds. custodi ecclam tuā

3c

3d

Misericordia autem domini ab eterno et
usque in eternum super timentes eum. Et
justitia illi in filios filiorum
testamentum eius. Qui
Et memores sunt mandatorum
Dominus in celo paravit sedem
ipsius omnibus dominabitur
Jhs xps.
celis bndi
ca uno rex
ange
lus dic
bndicte
re deum.
Benedicite domino angeli eius
facientes verbum illius.
sermonum eius. Qui
Benedicite domino omnes
Benedicite domino omnia

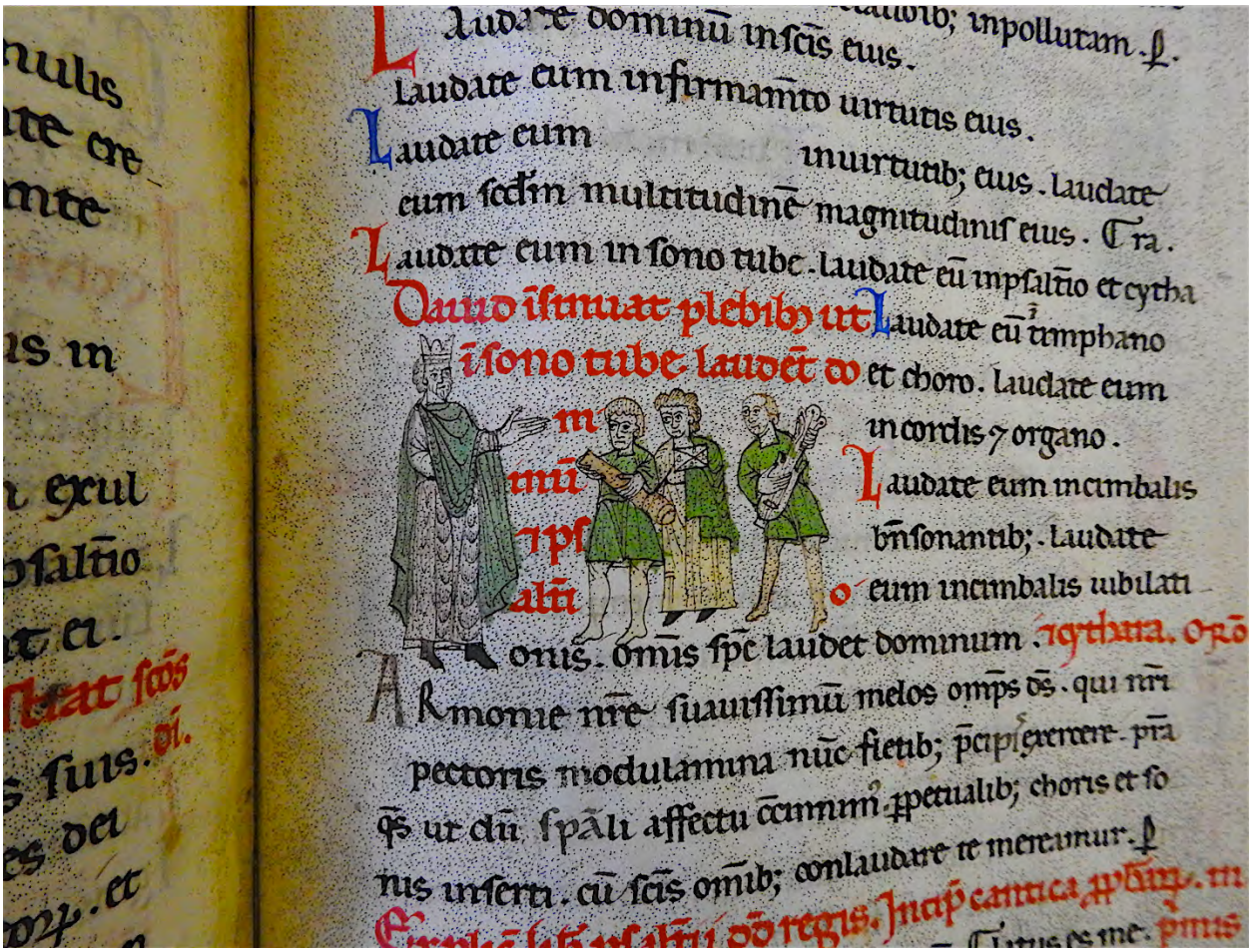
3d

3e

Exaltare sup celos ds
Dauid rex dñi loc
ut liberentur dil
Saluum fac dextra

3e

3f



Laudate dominum in sanctis eius.
Laudate eum in firmamento virtutis eius.
Laudate eum in virtutibus eius. Laudate
eum secundum multitudinem magnitudinis eius. Tra.
Laudate eum in sono tube. Laudate eum in psaltrio et cytha
Laudate eum in tymphano
et choro. Laudate eum
in cordis & organo.
Laudate eum in cymbalis
bene sonantibus. Laudate
eum in cymbalis iubilationis.
Omnis spiritus laudet dominum.
Harmonie mire suavissimum melos omnipotens. qui mirabili
pectoris modulamina nunc fletibus, nunc exercere. pra
ecipis ut cum spiritu affectu cum mente perpetualibus choris et so
nis inserta. cum sanctis omnibus conlaudare te meremur.

3f

CE 4

CE 4

Location: Anagni, Cattedrale di Santa Maria Annunziata, Cripta di San Magno.

Medium: Fresco

Dating: c. 1180-1220? Problematic. Varying opinions have placed the frescoes as early as c. 1100 (among others: Klein 1992, 180-181: "The Anagni crypt frescoes have been traditionally assigned to the middle of the 13th c., but recently these frescoes have been dated with good reasons in the time around 1100;" see also Boskovits 1979) and recently as late as 1237 (http://www.sacred-destinations.com/italy/anagni-cathedral; accessed 08.01.2018). Also compare Kottman 2007 (17, footnote 39): "Ein Extrembeispiel der Fraglichkeit von Datierungen bieten die Wandmalereien des 'ersten Meisters' der Krypta von Anagni, deren zeitliche Eingrenzung von 1104 als Terminus ante quem und 1231 als Terminus post quem variiert."
The dating offered above (c. 1180-1220) is based on three things, an overview of published research, a comparison of the instruments with other sources, and a helpful private conversation in December 2017 with researchers currently working at the Cathedral, in particular, Davide Angelucci, to whom I am most grateful.

Artist: Anonymous workshop? According to the website listed above, without specific reference, the frescoes were painted "by Friar Romanus, who also painted the frescoes at San Benedetto in Subiaco, and two other unknown masters."

Provenance: Byzantine - Romanesque influence. If a late dating is accepted for the work (1220's or 30's), the question of a possible Franciscan influence on the *citharae* should be further examined, also in light of the general stylistic similarity with San Benedetto in Subiaco, where Franciscan iconography is present.

Iconographical context: Elders of the Apocalypse, in two groups, left (12) and right (12).

Number of cetre: 24 total, in two groups of 12 each (Elders on left = L, Elders on right = R), instruments labelled a, b, c etc. from left to right in each group.

Size: c. 25-35 cm

Comments: Frescoes underwent restoration in the late 1980's and early 1990's. A comparison with earlier photos shows very little intervention in terms of instrument details.

All cetre are three-stringed, and this is the only fresco which I have seen which uses wavy lines to depict musical strings which vibrate. Many instruments, especially in the Elder group on the left, have a small bridge-tailpiece and end projection. Cetra **4R-i** (see reproduction below) may have small horns on its shoulders, although this is not unequivocally clear.

This source is important, showing instruments are in three distinct types - oval, square-shouldered and slight-waisted with four c-shaped sound-holes. Spade-shaped, short-necked instruments with defined shoulder points, some with end projections, are of particular relevance. The oval resonators seen here are similar in form to the surviving lute body c. 1000 from Corinth (**Pl. 49**).

BibliographyA: see above under ***Dating***.

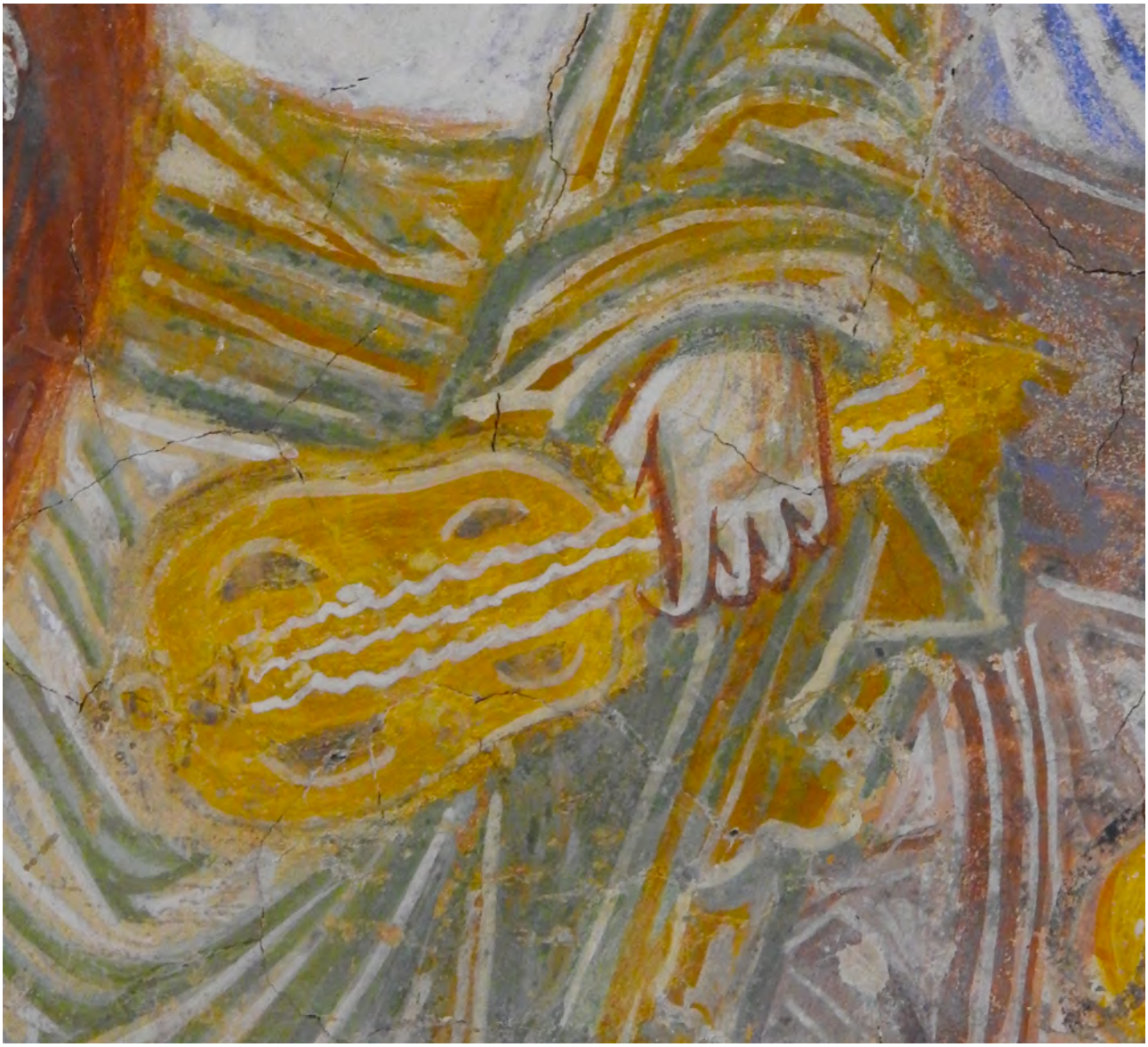
BibliographyM:

CE 4L (Group)

CE 4R (Group)

4L-a

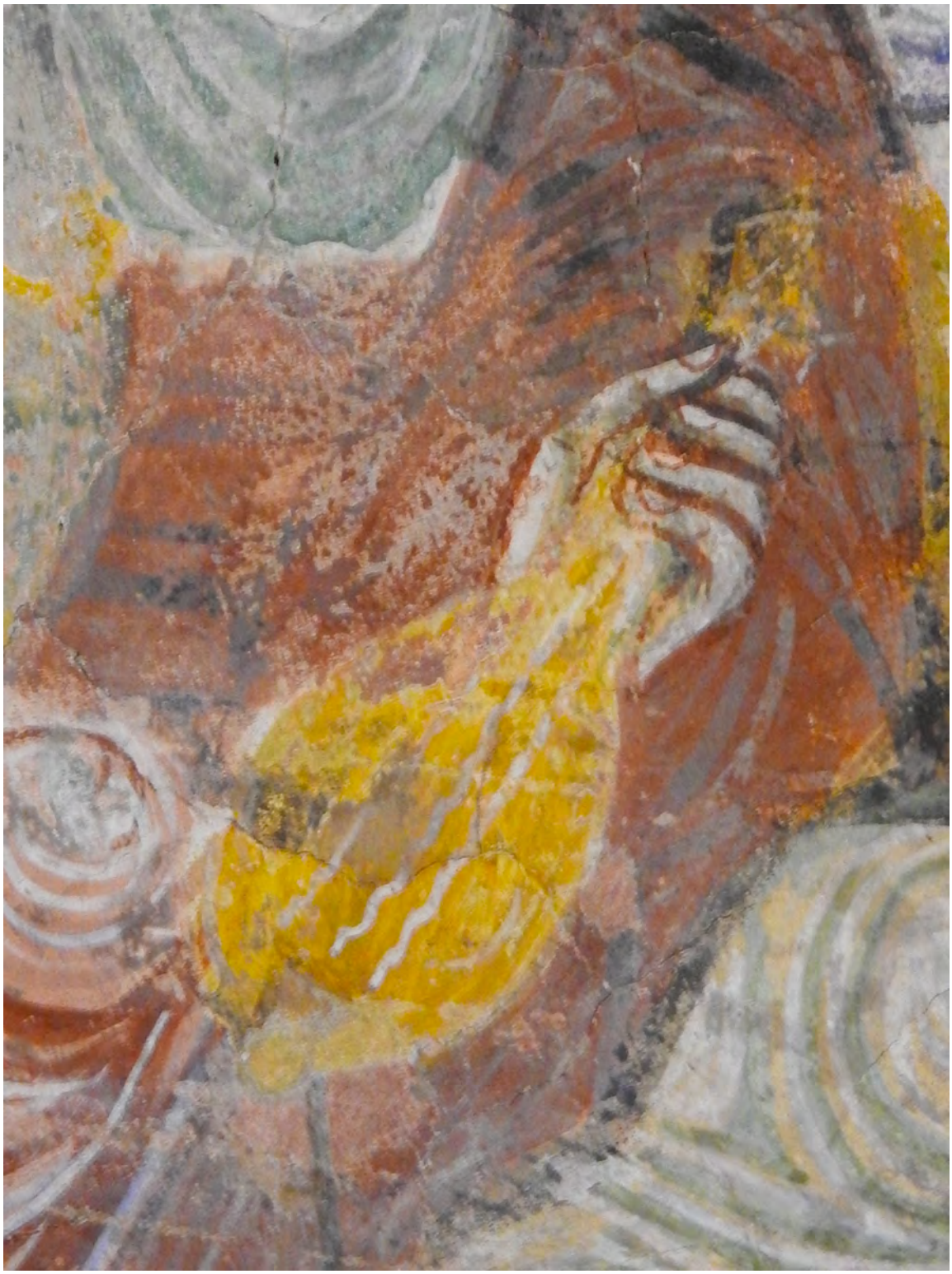
4L-b



4L-c

4L-d

4L-e



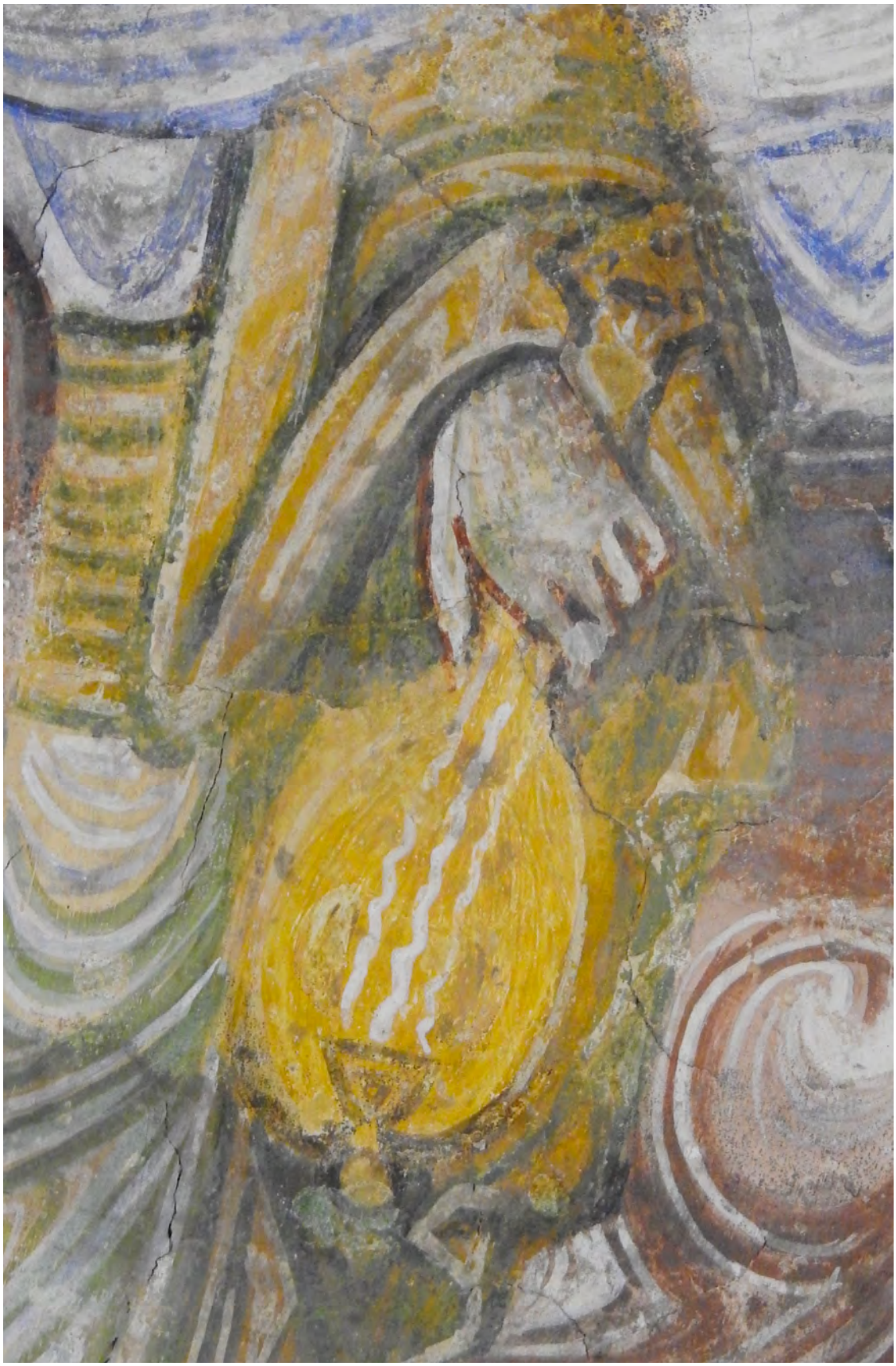
4L-f

4L-g

4L-h

4L-i

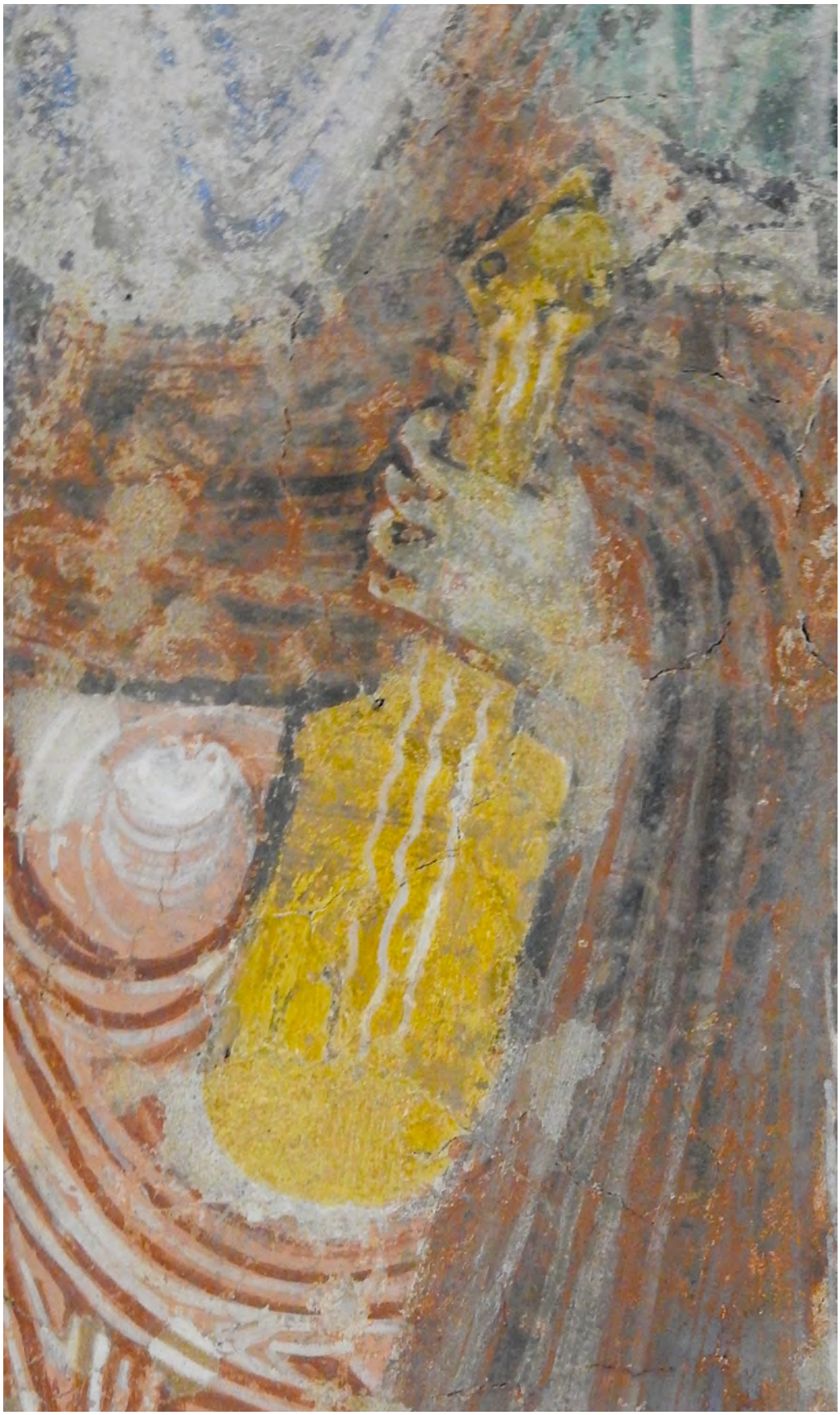
4L-j



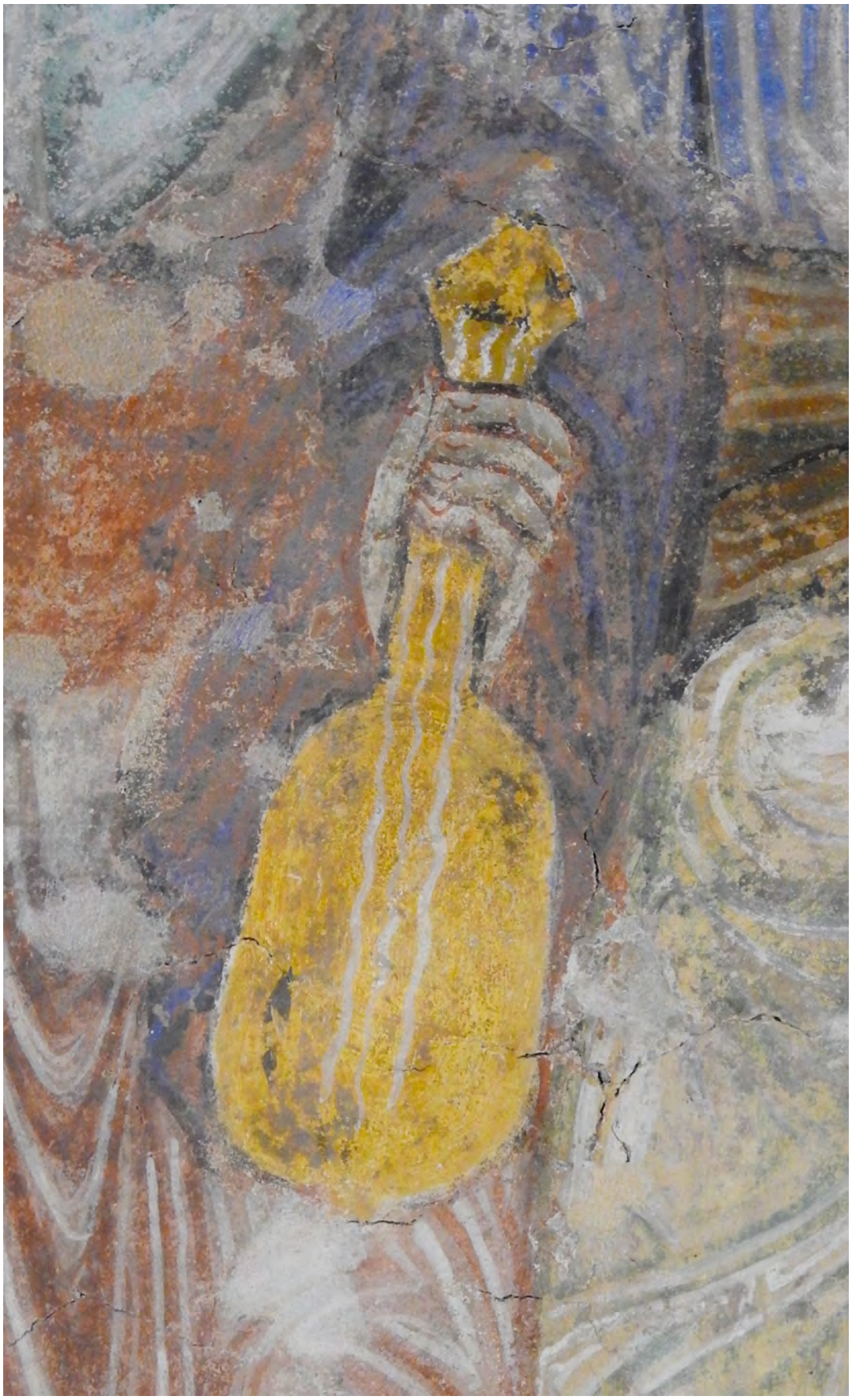
4L-k

4L-l

4R-a



4R-b



4R-c

4R-d

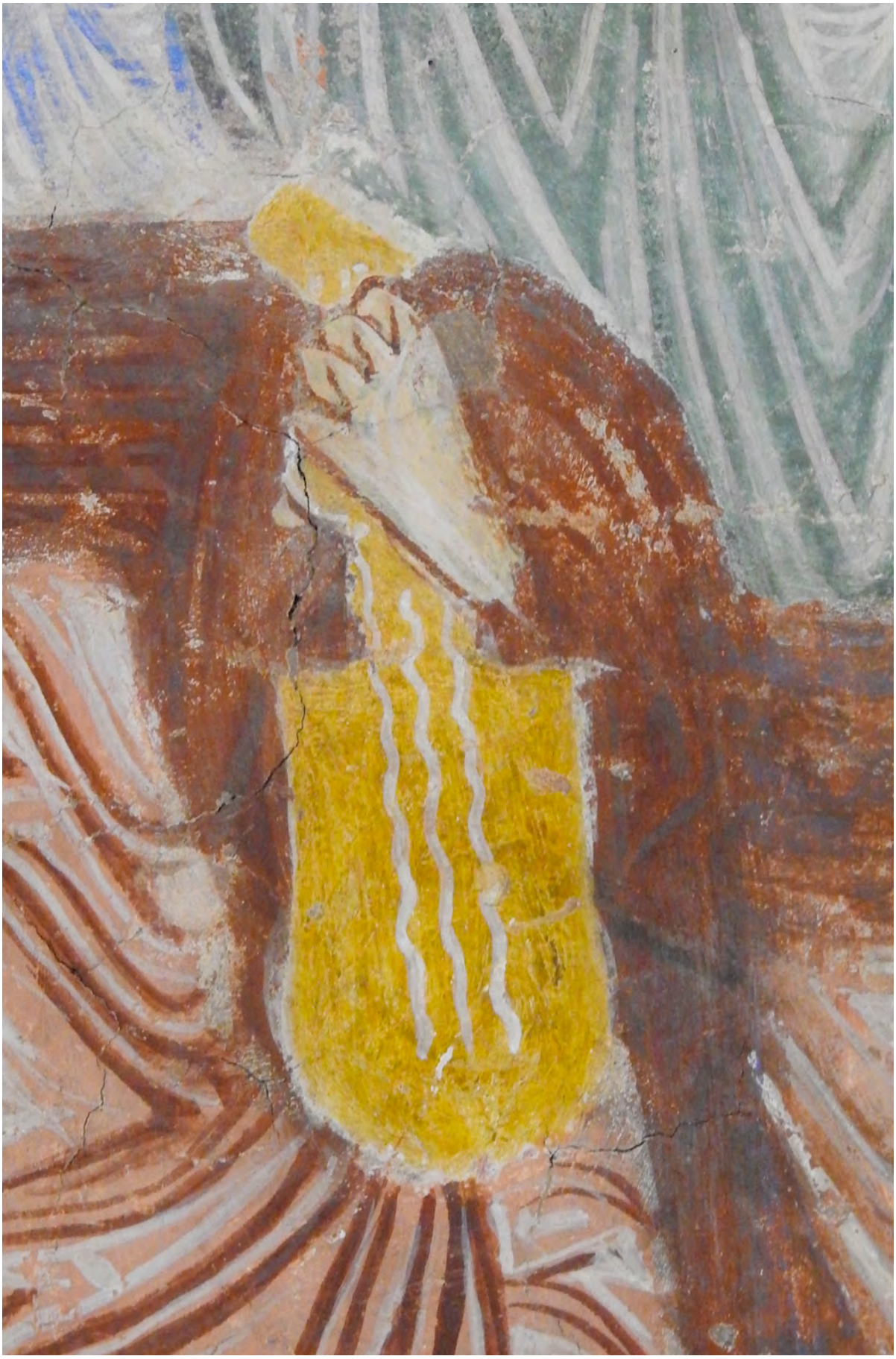
4R-e

4R-f

4R-g

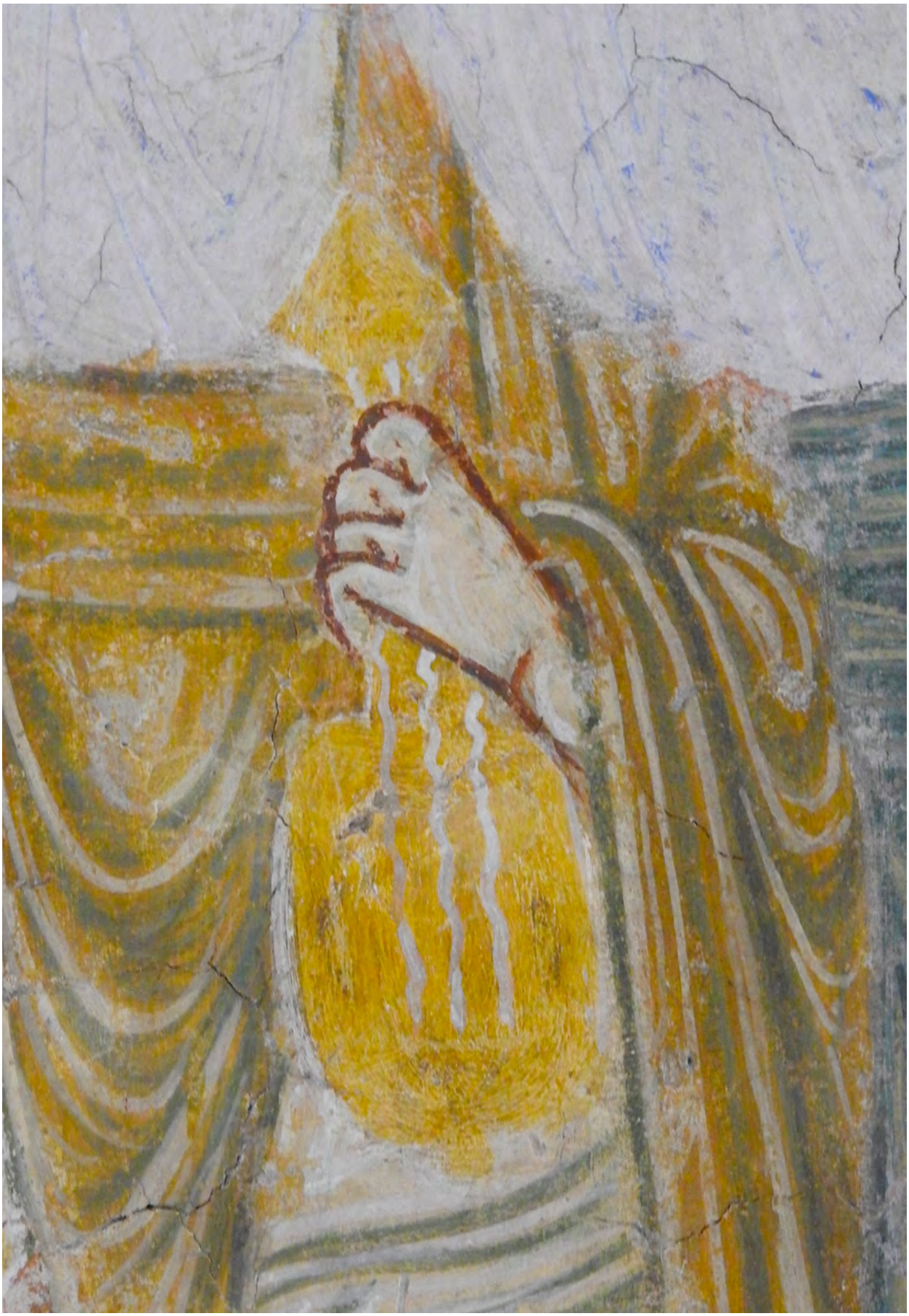
4R-h

4R-i



4R-j

4R-k



4R-1

CE 5

CE 5

Location: Parma, Baptistery, inner west portal.

Medium: Stone relief carving

Dating: c. 1200 (1196-1214; Woelk 1995, 99).

Artist: Benedetto Antelami

Provenance: North Italian, Romanesque style.

Iconographical context: David with three musicians, three dancers.

Number of cetre: 1

Size: c. 38-43 cm

Comments: Woelk 1995 describes scene as David with three musicians and three dancers - left of D: fiddle player, then dancer lifting his gown, then syrinx player who may also play percussion instr; on the other side, a Zupfgeigenspieler and two dancers (Woelk 1995, 130). There are four strings, four pegs and four frets; these elements total twelve in number, reminiscent of Biblical symbolism (see next entry) but also this is the number containing the proportions of the Boethian Quadrichord of Mercury (2:1, 3:2, 4:3, 9:8).

BibliographyA: Woelk 1995.

BibliographyM: Winternitz 1961, repr. 1979, 62; Steger 1961, 249-250; Grunfeld 1969, Pl 17.

CE 5

CE 5

CE 6

CE 6

Location: Roma, Vatican lat. 39, f. 158 - 158v.

Medium: New Testament, miniatures from Apocalypse.

Dating: Second quarter 13th c. (Eleen 1987, 222).

Artist: Franciscan-influenced workshop trained in the Veneto (?) (Eleen 1987, 223-235). As Luba Eleen wrote in her publication of 1987 regarding the saints' calendar contained in this New Testament and the provenance of the manuscript, "Another important link with Verona can be seen in the two commemorations of Firmus and Rusticus, Veronese martyrs whose relics were translated in the mid-eighth century to the church of S. Fermo Maggiore...Vat. Lat. 39's calendar also has later additions celebrating the newly-canonized Franciscan saints, Francis and Anthony of Padua. These commemorations accord with the history of the church of S. Fermo Maggiore, awarded by the pope in 1249 to the Franciscans, who took possession finally in 1261. Again, the suggestion can be put forward that the calendar was created for an individual who worshipped privately in S. Fermo, or who participated in a confraternity that met there, eventually coming under the supervision of the Franciscans."

Provenance: Verona (Eleen 1987, 223); other proposals have included Venice and southern Italy (Zabughin 1921, 18; Morello/Pace 1984, 38-39). Eleen gives an excellent summary of the shortcomings of provenance proposals in the Italian / German facsimile editions published in 1984 (Morello/Pace 1984; Morello/Stockmann 1984). Most commentators agree that a Byzantine influence is stylistically in evidence for the miniatures.

Iconographical context: Elders of the Apocalypse, Last Judgement

Number of cetre: 24 (f. 158: 14; f. 158v: 10, grouped as 6 in the left margin, 4 in the right margin). Due to the close similarity of all of the instruments, they are not numbered here individually.

Size: c. 1.8-2 cm (page size = 19.5 x 14.3 cm)

Comments: This is the earliest tulip-shape source, with similarity to **CE 8**, **14** and **15**.
On f. 158, ten of the fourteen cetre have roses comprised of nine holes (eight surrounding one central hole). One further example shows ten holes, another has eight holes, yet another is faded but seems to show six, and the last is cut off at the page edge. Meanwhile, seven of the fourteen seem to have four pegs, the rest are unclear or out of view. All instruments have shoulder horns and end projections at the bottom of the body, while none show frets. Bent-back pegheads are shown via flattened side-perspective, a feature occasionally seen in illuminations of this period, in particular, Beatus miniatures (for example, Morgan MS 429; see Young 1984) showing Byzantine influence.

On folio 158v, in the left margin, four of the six cetre show eight-holed rosettes, while in the right margin, two of four do. Eight out of the total ten instruments on this folio show four pegs.

The shapes of the hanging censer vessels are a graphic parallel to the cetre; for a discussion of censers and instruments in the Vulgata text and iconography of the Apocalypse, see Young 2015.

BibliographyA: Toesca 1927, 1088; Morello 1984; Eleen 1987. Facsimile: see Digivat page https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.39, including extensive bibliography (accessed 08.01.2018).

BibliographyM:

I wish to express my gratitude to Marc Lewon, who made me aware of this interesting source for the cetra.

CE 6

Folio 158

CE 6

Folio 158v

CE 6

158v, detail left

CE 6

Folio 158v, detail right

CE 7

NOSTRO IUBILATE DEO IACOB
IN PSALMIS ET LAUDIBUS IN PA
LVM PSALTERII IOCUNDUM

CE 7

Location: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 36-1950 f. 88 ("Breslau Psalter").

Medium: Bible, miniature

Dating: c. 1255 - 1267 (http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/illuminated/manuscript/discover/the-breslau-psalter/artist/hand-f/folio/folio-88r/section/undefined; accessed 10.12.2017).

Provenance: Made in Silesia, Breslau, under influence of Padovan-Venetian school of Giovanni da Gaibana.

Artist: Hand F (http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/illuminated/manuscript/discover/the-breslau-psalter/artist/hand-f/folio/folio-88r/section/undefined; accessed 10.12.2017); influence of the Master of Giovanni da Gaibana, described on website as "This artist illuminated a manuscript copied in 1259 for the Cathedral of Padua by the scribe Giovanni da Gaibana, hence his name. The manuscript is still in Padua (Biblioteca Capitolare, MS E2) and the Gaibana Master must have travelled north of the Alps after its completion, bringing with him the 'precious' style and Byzantine iconography prevalent in the Veneto at the time. His migration has been associated with Duke Henry III's brother, Vladislav, who studied at the University of Padua and probably brought the Italian artist with him when he returned north of the Alps to become Archbishop of Salzburg in 1265."

Iconographical context: Psalm 80, historiated initial E; five musicians with cetra, straight trumpet, drum, harp, transverse flute.

Number of cetre: 1

S***ize***: c. 2.5 - 2.7 cm

Comments: Four-stringed cetra with interesting details including broadish neck-fingerboard, shoulder horns, prominent base and thin white shoulder cord to support the instrument, the only example of such a device in the entire catalog.

BibliographyA: Pfändtner 1996, 94-96.

BibliographyM:

CE 7

CE 7

CE 7

CE 8

Photo above: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kathedrale-Ferrara-1.jpg (accessed 01.06.2017)

CE 8

Location: Ferrara, Basilica Cattedrale di San Giorgio Martire (West facade, porch-portal, second-third stories).

Medium: Relief sculpture

Dating: c. 1260 - c. 1300 (see Comments below).

Artist: Anonymous

Provenance: Ferrara / Venice

Iconographical context: Last Judgement, Elders of the Apocalypse.

Number of cetre: 1

Size: c. 60-75 cm

Comments: The dating of the Last Judgement relief is problematic due to the anonymity of the sculptor(s) and the uniqueness of source as a 13th-c. iconographical scene decorating a Romanesque cathedral in Italy, or as one researcher put it, "In view of the unorthodox Gothic architecture and iconography, it is not surprising to find that the Ferrara sculpture has no single, clearly related source."[1] It has been dated as early as the 1230's by Valentiner, to as late as the 15th c. ("13th-15th c." according to Princeton Index online 2017).[2] Apart from a large number of tourist-guide citations, a handful of researchers have offered extended analyses of this important monument.[3] In addition to the datings given above, Zavin supports a date in

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[1] Zavin 1972, 197.

[2] Valentiner 1954, 119; Toesca 1927, 894, dated the work late 13th - early 14th century, to which result the present author was also led, via a different path as outlined below. For the Princeton Index online, see https://ica.princeton.edu/hayward/display.php?country=Italy&site=203&view=site&page=2&image=6392

[3] See for example *Ferrara and Its Province: Towns, Lidi di Comacchio the Po and the Delta Park*, Milano: Touring Club of Italy (2006), p. 26, which dates the Last Judgement to the late 13th century.

the "second half of the thirteenth-century".[4] Marta Boscolo Marchi published additional information in 2011 on the cathedral facade, seeing the Last Judgement as "the crowning sculpture, the porch, done by French workers summoned from Reims and Amiens c. 1235 - 40", possibly with finishing work by Venetian sculptors of the 1260's/70's.[5]

There is broad agreement on the French inspiration of this work, following similar iconographical programs found on cathedrals at Paris, Amiens, Reims, Chartres and others.[6] At the same time, there are notable differences. The decorated surfaces of the Ferrara porch are brought out into the foreground space, in front of the building's facade, in what might be called extroverted fashion. They project out to greet the viewer, rather than the decorated concentric rings - more introverted - which pull the viewer into the church through the doors of the French cathedral portals.[7]

A clear symbolic element is in evidence in Ferrara which is absent from any French monument. The commentaries of the early Christian Church Fathers include the idea that the cithara is a symbol of the Church, which is comprised of the faithful flock's many voices united in glorious harmony to give praise to God. The form of the Ferrarese porch-portal calls forth the likeness of the cithara - albeit with inverted spade resonator - as we have seen in **Pl. 13a/b**. The cithara's triangular crown in **Pl. 13a/b** is analogous to the porch's triangular, cross-topped crown, representing Heaven and placed above the wide rectangular panel of human souls below, risen from their earthly graves, facing the act of judgement.

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4 Zavin 1972, 205.

5 Marchi 2011, 245. Marchi is the first author to refer to the stringed instrument on the lower right as "probably a cetera", citing the book of David Munrow as her source of information on the instrument (*Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, London 1976).

6 Zavin 1972, 199, states that "in many respects, the Chartres tympanum seems the most likely candidate for the Ferrara prototype."

7 Zavin 1972, 203: "Despite many relationships to northern sources, the ultimate product is not...'ultimately French'. It is 'Ferrarese Gothic' and uniquely indigenous."

The limestone sculptures have suffered substantial damage over the centuries, especially from acid rain, and had restoration work done in the 1980's.[8] Some figures have been more severely affected with deterioration, others less. The Elder holding the cetra near the lower right-hand corner of the triangular border has been spared the disfigurement that some of his colleagues have suffered, apparently being slightly more protected from the elements than other figures. Was there a restorative intervention specifically focused on the cetra?

Thanks to the publication of a photo by Hilde Bauer of Munich in Valentiner's seminal article (see "HB Photo" below; date c. 1953), we can ascertain what the instrument carving looked like in 1954. In the extensive documentation published by Marchi (2011 / 2016) on the history of any interventions or restorative campaign, there is no record of any work which might have altered the form of the cetra other than the intervention of Ottorino Nonfarmale in the 1980's. The cetra appears, however, to have been unmolested by Nonfarmale, for detailed photos from 2016 show virtually the same object in the same condition as found in Valentiner.

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[8] Zavin 1972, 187, mentions that the Last Judgement sculptures were cleaned in 1968 and a protective, waterproof barrier was installed "semi-permanently." She further reports that although a complete set of photographs was made by Biancolli of Ferrara in 1966, "the photographs taken before the sculpture was lost to view form an inadequate record.....close-up views of many of the details are not available. Much of the the sculpture was not photographed despite the opportunity of an exterior scaffolding in place for a general cleaning and repair of the facade. The photographs are lacking in clarity and generally inadequate for the purposes of stylistic analysis." Reproductions of black-and-white photos supplied in Zavin's dissertation are low resolution and of limited use.
The restoration work in the 1980's was done by Ottorino Nonfarmale; see Marchi 2011.

"HB Photo" c. 1953 by Hilde Bauer (Munich) of Elder with cetra, Ferrara Last Judgement, published in Valentiner 1954.

A Re-Evaluation of Dating

There has been, generally speaking, one line of argument for the mid-13th c. dating proposed by the studies mentioned above, which is the iconographical and stylistic similarity between the Ferrara Last Judgement and the same scene depicted on the French cathedrals at Reims and Amiens during the first half of the 13th century. It has thus been argued that French

artisans were brought in during the years 1235 - 40 (Marchi 2011) or that an Italian sculptor who had been educated in northern France was responsible for the work.

The master responsible for the cetra - I would argue that the entire Last Judgement was done by the same master or workshop, considering the stylistic consistency within all of the images - was very likely Italian, as will be argued further below. One of the proposals of the present study maintains that a French artisan had no first-hand knowledge of the cetra, because the instrument did not exist in France. We do not know whether the commission for the work included a specific list of which instruments were to be depicted.

On the general iconography, it is clear that whoever ordered the commission wished for a Last Judgement after French Gothic style, specifically, a combination of Christ in majesty, with Mary, saint (John?) and archangels (Michael), plus the Elders and other angel attendants.[9] The master who was invited to execute the carvings must have been thought to have had some knowledge or experience of that style. There is no reason why Italian artists would not have qualified for this requirement, and the mixture of creative elements in the Ferrara Last Judgement, including the compression of the elements of 24 Elders (6 Elders with instruments, plus 18 background Elder faces only) into a much smaller, flatter are than the deep, multi-leveled French cathedral portals, and the different facial features and expressions of the figures, confirm the Italian qualities of the work here executed.[10]

While there is no compelling reason why this work could not have been executed five or more decades after the French examples were finished in the first half of the 13th c., pushing the field of dating for Ferrara towards the end of the century, there is another reason why the Ferrara work may not be so late. In addition to being a unique Italian example of a church decorated with the Last Judgement in external stone carving, this monument is also unique in that it clearly mixes two elements, the Elders of the Apocalypse and Psalm 150. The instruments held by the Elders are not exclusively *citharae* as they are described in the Revelation text, but follow exactly those of Psalm 150: *tuba* (curved horn), *psalterio* (psaltery), *cithara* (cetra), *tympano*

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[9] The Christ in Majesty (Majestas Domini) iconography is discussed in Zavin 1972, 189.

[10] See Zavin 1972, 196-198, for a discussion of emotive elements.

(square frame drum), *organo* (portative organ) and *cymbalis* (bells), as well as *choro*, two singers.[11] Of special interest among these instrument forms is the square frame drum (left border, third Elder from bottom), found in just two northern Spanish examples: the carvings of the Elders at the Cathedral of Burgos (1235-1240) and the collegiate Church of Toro.[12]

Ferrara Duomo, Last Judgement, Elders with (l. to r.) psaltery, bells and square frame drum.

The frame drum is an extremely rare instrument in Italian iconographical sources, but it can be found in Christian iconography of France and Spain.[13] Similarly, the Ferrara Elders display mixed instrument types, a feature also seen in Last Judgement cycles from France and Spain.[14]

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[11] Marchi 2016, 280, sees the square instrument as "perhaps a syrinx", i.e., panpipe.

[12] Molina 2007, 94-95, gives photos of both. See Deknatel 1935, 389, for the reasons that Spanish cathedral carving was influenced by French, and in particular, Burgos influenced by Amiens.

[13] I am grateful to Dr. Camilla Cavicchi for drawing my attention to an illustration in a late-13th- or early 14th-c. French manuscript, the *Credo de Joinville* (BNF, MS. Latin 11907, f. 232v) showing a square frame drum and citole in a scene of the Elders of the Apocalypse; see also Molina 2007, 93.

[14] Molina 2007, 94-95.

The presence of the frame drum clearly points to an iconographical element from French usage, but it seems more likely that local artists, rather than French sculptors, were responsible for the Last Judgement. As Shirley Anne Zavin wrote in her dissertation of 1972,

> "To bring the Gothic program (of the Ferrara façade) to a triumphant conclusion, it was decided to replace the exterior sections of the porch with the present more magnificent structure. An even more important factor, however, was the desire to display at Ferrara a sculptural cycle like those then being created for the portals of the great Northern cathedrals. The choice of subject – a Last Judgment cycle – demonstrates the same desire for modernity as the forms used in the upper galleries."[15]

> "Builders of the upper story....had to depend on vaguely remembered or incompletely transported Gothic prototypes for both architecture and sculpture. By northern standards, the upper story of the Ferrara façade is an absurdity; its logic as a conclusion to the lower stories is its least admirable feature. It should be judged, however, primarily as a purely local product, designed by regional architects to fill a particular need. It is informed by a specifically local and definable sensibility. Inventiveness, a willingness to create new forms as required, is another facet of that sensibility... it is the same sensibility which may be detected in the Gothic sculpture which, together with the architecture of the upper galleries, makes it possible to define a 'Ferrarese Gothic' style...uniquely indigenous."[16]

If Zavin's assertions are correct - as I believe they are - then it would be useful to understand what sort of prototype or model might have been available to the regional workshop who executed the carving of the Last Judgement. A bifolio now in Paris may provide a clue. Copied in Champagne (or Acre) during the last quarter of the 13th c., the source shows model-book drawings which illustrate the *Credo de Joinville* text, apparently intended as a guide for mural decoration:[17]

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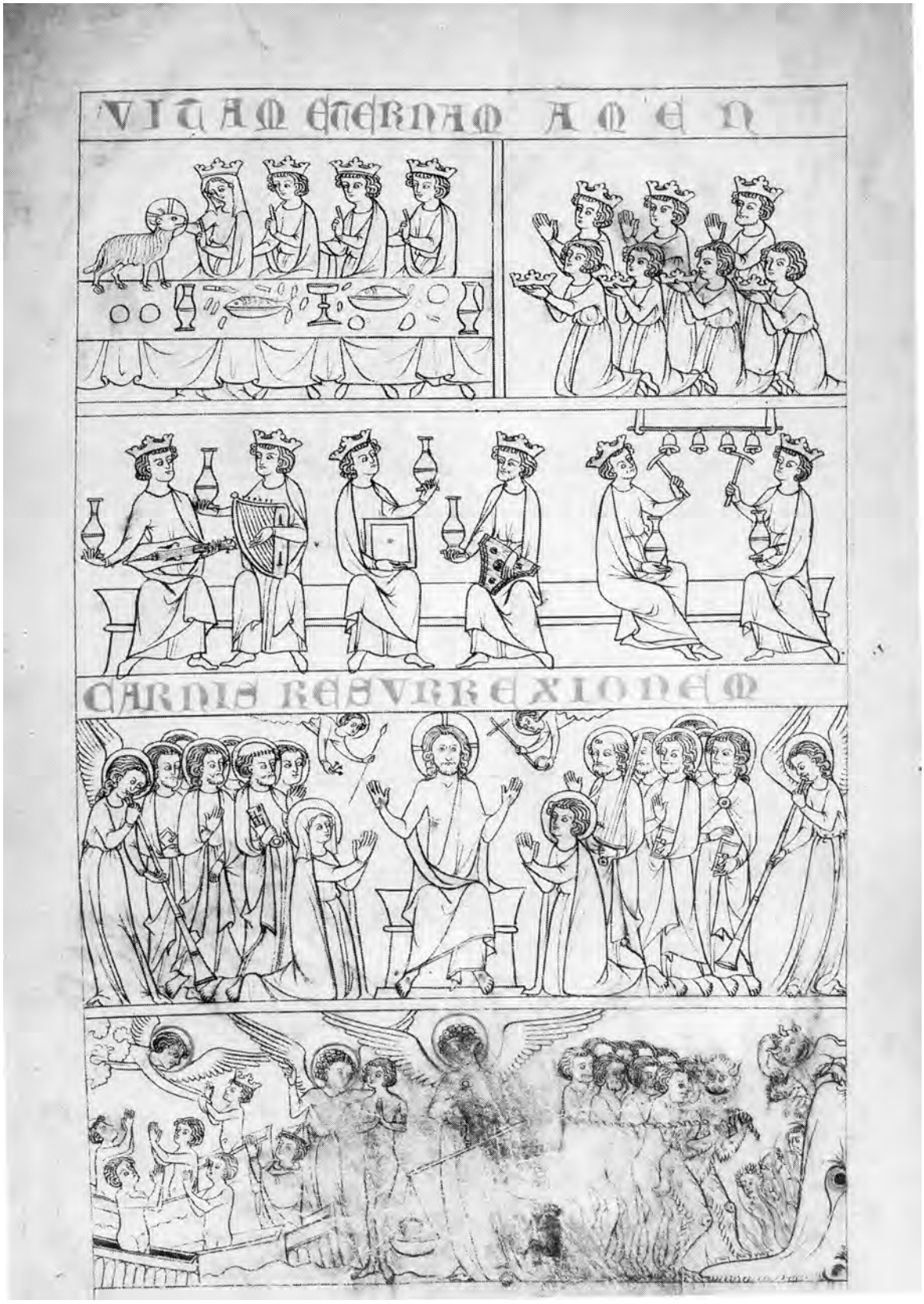
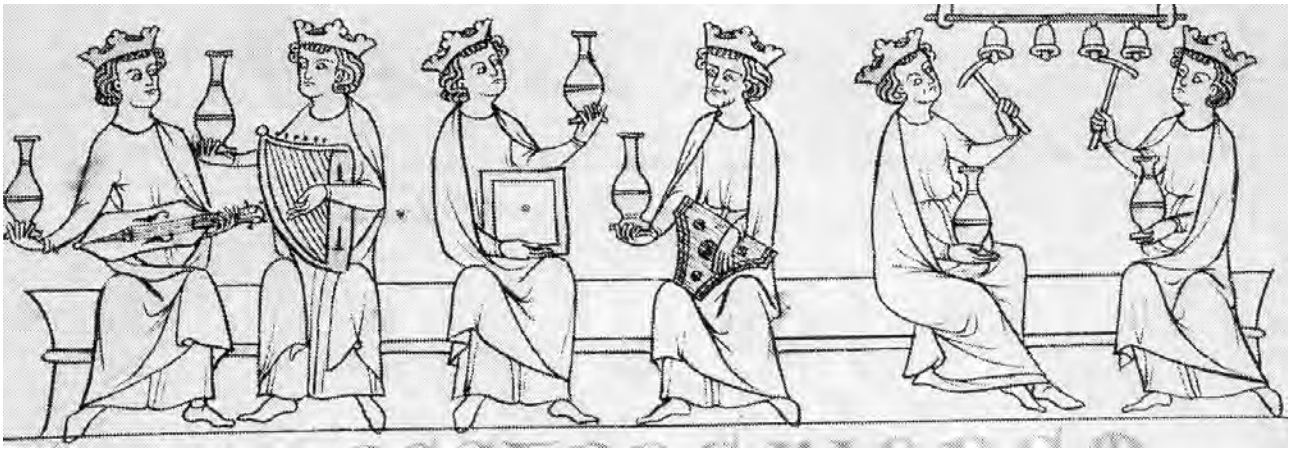
[15] Zavin 1972, 185.

[16] Zavin 1972, 178-179, 203.

[17] On Joinville's *Credo*, see Friedman 1958. For his commentary on the section concerning the Last Judgement, see 80. See also Scheller 1995, 194-200.



Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Lat. 11907, f. 232v, (Champagne or Acre, last quarter 13th c.); sketch for mural painting of Last Judgement described in the *Credo de Joinville* (second redaction, 1287).



Detail of Ms. Lat. 11907, f. 232v, showing Elders with (l. to r.) citole, harp, frame drum, psaltery, bells.

We may presume that the workshop who executed the sculptures in Ferrara worked from a model or models of some kind.[18] The detailed rendering of the cetra on the Duomo (see photo of Hilde Bauer above), consistent with the body of Italian iconography for the instrument down to the details of bordun (with the extended nut and bridge) and rose, confirms that whoever was responsible for the work knew the cetra well. The instrument shown on the left in the detail above is not a cetra, it is a French citole of fundamentally different form and construction.[19] Like the square-framed drum, the citole is an integral part of this particular French iconographic program for illustrating the Last Judgement during the 13th century.

A further argument against a French artist working in Ferrara now takes shape: if the (French) artist did not change the square drum to suit local taste (the instrument was more or less unknown to Italian musicians), why did he "change" the citole into a cetra? Or, similarly, if the square drum was a fashionable nod to Northern cathedral style, why was a citole not included for the same purpose? Taking these questions and the proposals of Zavin given above into account, the work was unlikely to have been carried out by imported French craftsmen.

[18] Wooden models may also have been used to carry out the sculpture. For a discussion of the use of wooden models by medieval sculptors, see Marchi 2011, 217.

[19] See the in-depth citole study of Margerum 2010.

The Ferrara Duomo cetra exemplar shares certain characteristics with **CE 6**, **14** and **15**. Although **CE 14** (Giotto, Scrovegni Chapel in Padova) is an incomplete image - only the upper part of the body, neck and peghead are shown in the fresco - what is shown is almost identical to the Ferrara cetra, and we have a very specific date for Giotto's work, 1305-1307; we will surely want to take this into consideration before proposing a date for Ferrara. If Valentiner's dating of 1230-1240 were correct, then the Ferrara instrument would be only 30 - 40 years after Antelami's work (**CE 5**), yet there are substantial differences between the two. Ferrara's body shape features incurved sides with curved, tulip-leaf horns. Antelami has nearly-straight sides, with just a hint of incurvature, and concave lines from horn-tip to neck joint, rather than the slightly convex lines forming the horns of the Ferrara example. Tulip horns are especially prevalent in the Giotto fresco mentioned above and the Assisi cycle c. 1310-1315 (**CE 15**). Ferrara has a more prominent body base and massive bordun nut and bridge (both are exaggerated in size, presumably because of the carved stone medium), which is not found on the Parma cetra (although Antelami's vielle, from the same carving, has a well-defined bordun string which could as well have been represented on the cetra, had this feature been, for Antelami, a salient one). Twelve pegs (Ferrara) rather than four (Parma) is a feature shared with the Cimabue cetre in Assisi of c. 1280 (**CE 10**) and the Giotto cetra in Padova, 1305-1307, (**CE 14**).

All in all, the likelihood of a closer chronological proximity to Antelami (c. 1200) than to Giotto seems small. Marchi 2011 sees a stylistic closeness with Venetian sculpture of 1260's and 70's, which is concordant with Eleen's assessment of a postulated Venetian provenance of **CE 6**.[20] The cetre in **CE 6** share important features with the Ferrara Last Judgement, with the exception of four rather than twelve pegs on the peghead. This variance might be explained by the very small physical size of the images in the miniatures, as a simple practical consideration.

[20] Eleen 1987.

There is one more element to be factored in before concluding with a date proposal for the Ferrara Last Judgement. Although the rise of the cetra during the 13th c., continuing into the 14th c. and in some cases later, was a undeniably Franciscan phenomenon, as outlined in **Chapter 2,** the earliest unequivocal Franciscan iconographical manifestation is **CE 10**, Cimabue c. 1280 at San Francesco in Assisi. The Ferrara Duomo was not a Franciscan church per se, but it was on the so-called *Via Romea Germanica*, the main pilgrim road between Germany and Rome (also connected with Assisi). This could explain the presence of the cetra as an iconographical symbol usually found in this period in a Franciscan context, as a general observation. The quintessential Franciscan Elders monument, **CE 15**, does not show the Elders with mixed instruments, but all with cetre. This could argue against the Ferrara work having a Franciscan iconographical connection.

Taking all factors into account, in summation, the Last Judgement was probably executed sometime during the period c. 1260 - c. 1300. The cetra is stylistically indebted to **CE 6**'s tulip form, which very likely antedates it, and quite similar to **CE 14** and **15**. It is contemporary with **CE 10** (Cimabue), or slightly earlier, but does not manifest **CE 10**'s austere, straight horns. The tulip-horn shape seems to be a Venetian or Veneto-related style (including Padova and Ferrara, not far away), and it finds its way, perhaps via Giotto's influence, back to the Lower Basilica frescoes in Assisi of c. 1310-1315 (**CE 15**).

Regarding the symbolism of specific features of the cetra, we begin with the 12 pegs / strings, which represents a dramatic increase in number over four strings on Antelami's cetra. The choice of 12 as the number of strings is heavily symbolic, from both Biblical and music theory standpoints. In the Apocalypse setting, the 24 Elders can represent 12 Apostles and 12 chieftains of the tribes of Israel.[21] The multiplication formula 12 x 12 = 144 suggests the 144000 blessed souls saved after the Last Judgement. In the geometry of the Ferrara triangular Last Judgement scene, the 24 Elders are divided into two groups, 12 on the left border and 12 on the right (although there appear to be three on the left and three on the right, each one has three small Elder faces hiding behind them, making the total number of Elders depicted 24, although only six are shown with instruments).

[21] Marchi 2011, 214.

The number 12 includes the fundamental proportions of the Pythagorean monochord: 12:6 = 2:1 (octave), 9:6 = 3:2 (fifth), 12:9 = 4:3 (fourth) and 9:8 (whole tone). Then there are the elements of the frets and the tiny soundholes. The frets number six, including the nut, which could represent ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, the six syllables of the hexachord.

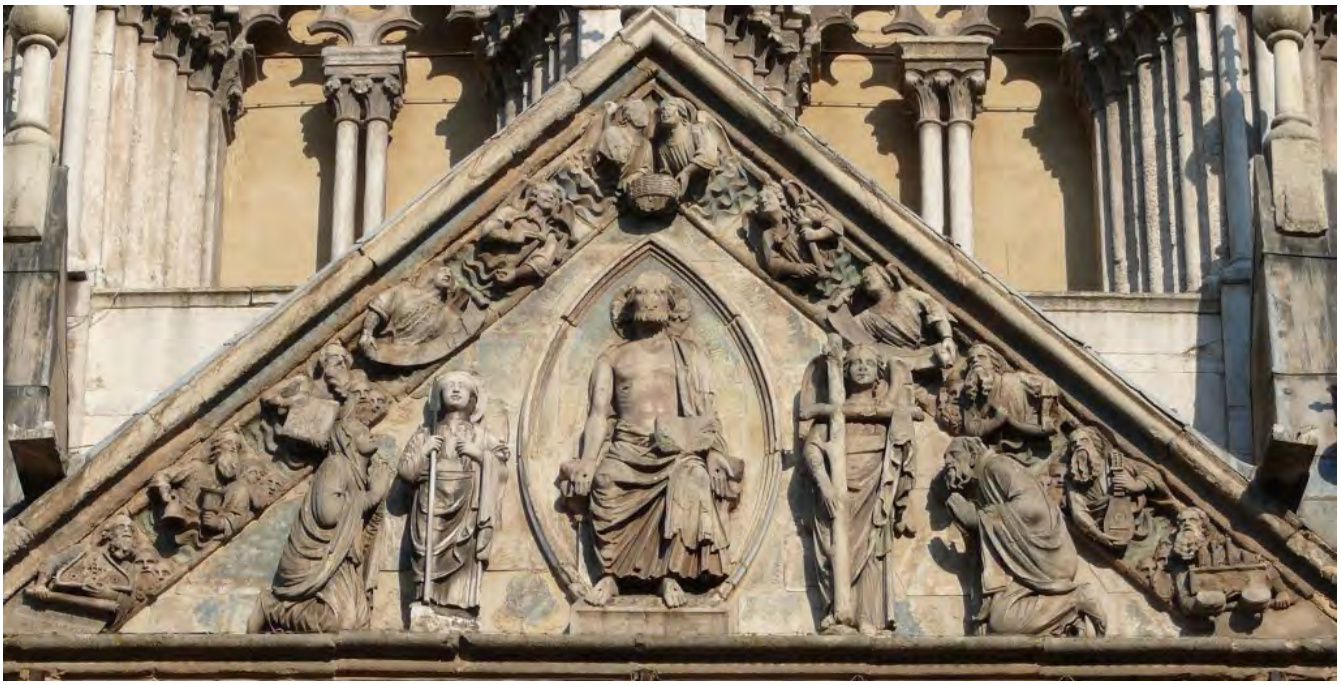
Meanwhile, 18 holes comprise the circular rose in the middle of the soundboard, which establishes a relation based on the first three prime numbers and/or the Trinity 1/2/3 (6 frets / 12 pegs / 18 holes; 6 frets + 12 pegs = 18 holes).

Unlike Antelami's cetra, with four strings carved in stone, there are no actual strings depicted, for obvious practical reasons related to the medium, as well as the distance from the viewer, who does not need there to be twelve carved strings in order to recognize the object. The twelve pegs are clearly grouped into three rows of four pegs each. Placing four pegs in a row would be not ideal for practical tuning, as the string attached to each of the four, with the exception of the peg nearest the nut, would rub against another peg or pegs. Thus it would seem that this detail of the sculpture might not have been completely accurate, and that a real instrument would have staggered pegs to facilitate tuning stability. Could this cetra have had three courses of four (unison) strings each? (After all, Gioacchino da Fiore, the 12th c. Calabrian mystic mentioned in **Chapter 2**, had described the cithara as having three strings). It is not impossible, although a four-string course would be unprecedented on any necked chordophone in the Middle Ages or Renaissance, and it would raise the question, why four strings, rather than three or two, for each course? For a discussion of string configuration on 13th c. cetre, see **Chapter 4** below.

BibliographyA: Toesca 1927; Valentiner 1954; Zavin 1972; Marchi 2011; March 2016.

BibliographyM:

CE 8



CE 8

CE 8

CE 8

CE 9

CE 9

Location: Puy-en-Velay (Le), Bibliothèque municipale, MS 0001, f. 173v.

Medium: Bible, miniature

Dating: 13th c.

Artist: Anonymous

Provenance: Bolognese ? Not included in Pfändtner 1996; the miniaturist is clearly working in north Italian style, presumably under Bolognese influence.

Iconographical context: Psalm 80 (Vulgate 81), Initial E (Exultate).

Number of cetre: 1

Size:

Comments: Body shape is close to **CE 5**. Three strings, circle-of-holes rose, trace of frets. Pfändtner 1996, 46-48, gives an account of the iconography related to Psalm 80, helpful to understand any contemporary miniature source illustrating that psalm, although the only neck chordophones mentioned by him are "fiddle" and "lute".

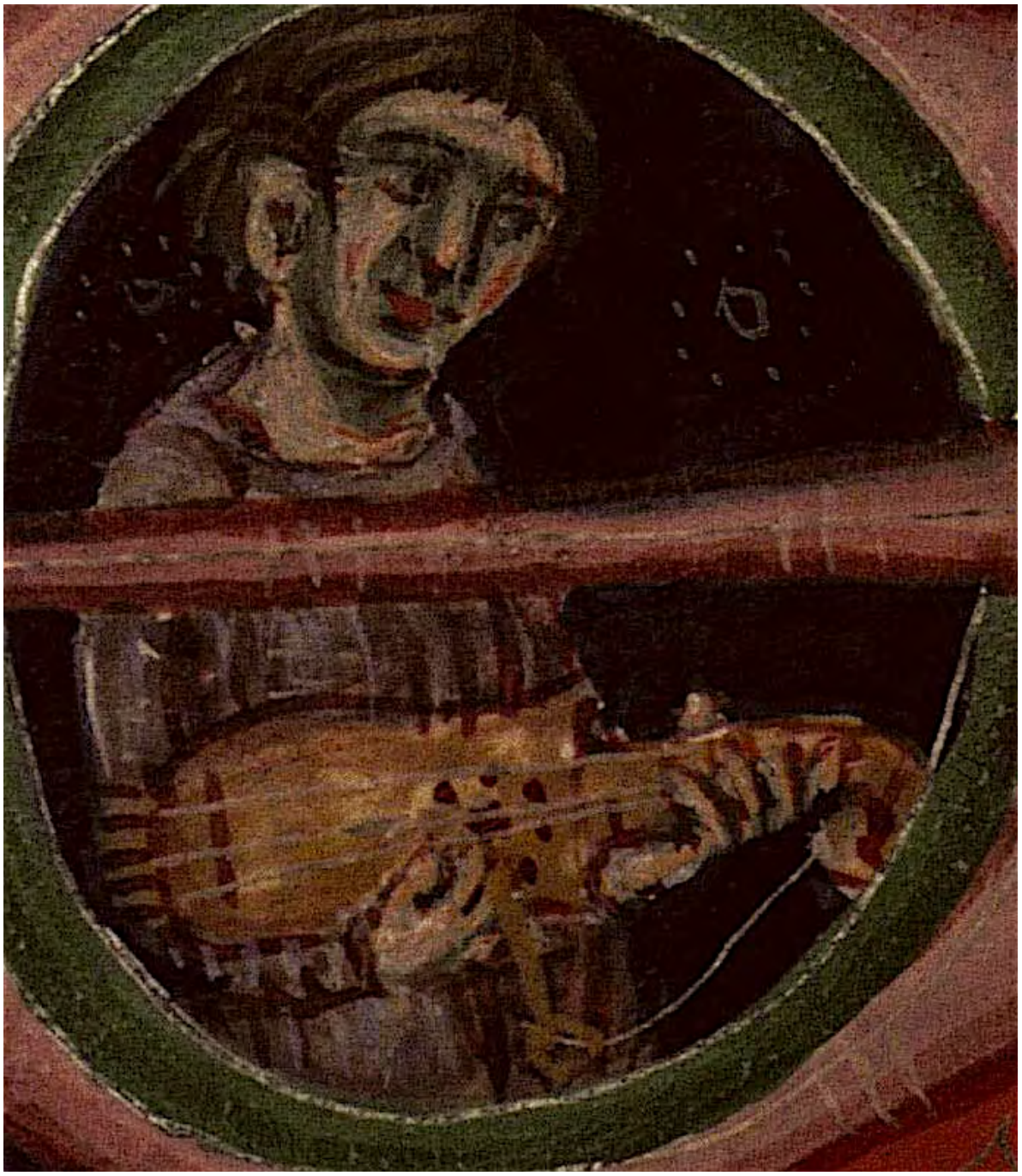
BibliographyA: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?mode=ecran&panier=false&reproductionId=8835&VUE_ID=1272333&carouselThere=false&nbVignettes=4x3&page=2&angle=0&zoom=petit&tailleReelle=
(accessed 10.12.2017)

BibliographyM: Margerum 2010, II, 291.

Photo: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/deed.fr (accessed 12.12.2017)

CE 9

CE 9



CE 10

CE 10

Location: Assisi, Basilica superiore di San Francesco, transept, south wall, panel on far left.

Medium: Fresco (damaged)

Dating: 1277-1280 (Bonsanti 2002; Evans 2004; Malafarina 2005); c. 1280-1283 (Brown 1984).

Artist: Cimabue (Cenni di Pepo)

Provenance: Assisi

Iconographical context: Apocalypse: Vision of the throne and adoration of the Lamb with Elders.

Number of cetre: 2 (**10a** = on the left; **10b** = right)

Size: c. 30 cm

Comments: Despite their damaged state these clearly show cetra features.

10a on the left features an oval body with pronounced longish horns at the neck intersection, five or (more likely) six block wooden frets, frontal, roundish peghead with no pegs discernable, large round soundhole / rose, and strings attached at end of body. There are at least eight strings, although the damaged state of the fresco makes it difficult to be sure of the exact number, which may have been as many as twelve. Strings seem to have been grouped into either four or five courses, with one lower course consisting apparently of three strings.

10b on the right shows eleven or twelve finely drawn strings running over a wide bridge, including two off-the-fingerboard bordun strings off the left-hand edge of the neck. A projecting line extending laterally off the peghead to the right might be interpreted as a nut elongated for a bordun course off the fingerboard, however this is on the opposite side (right) to the pair of strings off the fingerboard to the left. This cetra, like its sister instrument, has

presumably six block frets and a circular soundhole or rose. The left shoulder (damaged) suggests that it had a prominent horn, now unclear; no horn is in evidence on the right shoulder. Important similarities with **CE 8** (Ferrara Duomo) include general size, proportion of neck-fingerboard to body, wide bridge and bordun strings, and large number of strings (**CE 8** shows twelve pegs). A circular soundhole seems represented (rather than f - holes on either side of the strings). The instrument on the left seems to show traces of frets, perhaps the darkened spaces in between the frets? The same instrument has possibly an ovalish peghead.

See **Chapter 4**, "Frets", for a discussion of fret types. It is not clear whether these instruments featured Antelami-style thinner slat-type frets, or the wider style seen in the 15th century. If these are indeed wider-block style, they are not yet kollopes-frets, for they do not seem to project off the edge of the neck.

Established influence of this cycle upon the work of Giotto raises the question of whether Giotto's cetra in Padova (**CE 14**) can suggest certain details of Cimabue's models, for example, the tuliped horns.

Brown guessed correctly that the instrument on the left "may be a cittern," but denoted the instrument on the right (with better preserved detail) as a "fiddle with no bow." Note form similarity with phials, as seen in many other depictions of same scene.

BibliographyA: Poeschke 1985, Pl. 76; Bonsanti 2002, 561-562 (commentary section), 962 (photo section).

BibliographyM: Brown 1985, 230-231 (Entry 84); Margerum 2010.

CE 10

CE 10a

CE 10b

CE 11

CE 11

Location: Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS latin 18, f. 427v ("Bible of Clement VII").

Medium: Bible, miniature

Dating: c. 1275-1300

Provenance: Bologna (so-called "Second Style" period).

Artist: Jacopino da Reggio

Iconographical context: Apocalypse, 24 Elders sit below Throne of God.

Number of cetre: 4

S***ize***: c. 7-9 mm

Comments: This source should not be confused with another so-called Bible of Clement (BL MS Add. 47672, Neopolitan c. 1330, see Appendix).

Do these represent plucked cetre, or are they intended as bowed instruments? This is a sister manuscript to **CE 12**, with miniatures by the same artist Jacopino da Reggio. His work shown in **CE 12** is an unequivocal cetra, and although these images do not display clear horns on the shoulders, or end projections, they are included in the Catalog as legitimate cetra candidates, with full awareness that they might in fact depict vielles without bows. A lack of more specific features must have to do with the tiny physical size of these images.

Jacopino da Reggio is thought to have been influenced by works at the Basilica of San Francesco in Assisi during his period of activity, c. 1265-1285 (Alessandro Conti, Grove Online 210917 http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T043119?q=jacopino+da+reggio&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit) (accessed 14.10.2017).

This might suggest that he was familiar with Cimabue's work in the cathedral, including **CE 10**.

BibliographyA: Pfändtner 1996; Fleck 2006.

BibliographyM:

CE 12

Cantate domino
canticum nouum.
quia mirabilia
fecit. Saluauit
sibi dextera eius
et brachium sanc
tum eius. Notum
fecit dominus salutare suum. in o
spectu gentium reuelauit iustitia
am suam. Recordatus est mise
ricordie sue et veritatis sue domui israel.
Viderunt omnes fines terre salu
tare dei nri. Iubilate deo omnis
terra. cantate et exultate et psallite.
Psallite domino in cithara in cithara
et voce psalmi. in tubis ductilibus et voce tube cornee. Iubilate

CE 12

Location: Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS Smith-Lesouëf 21, f. 145v (Psalter).

Medium: Manuscript miniature

Dating: c. 1280 (Pfändtner 1996).

Artist: Jacopino da Reggio

Provenance: Bologna

Iconographical context: Psalm 97

Number of cetre: 1

S***ize***: c. 1.5 cm

Comments: Note similar body shape with **CE 3a** and **3e**. Image shows a clear bordun-string off the fingerboard; this feature, together with the general body shape, offers some similarity to examples from the Assisi cetra group (see **CE 15**). Pfändtner 2004, 191, erroneously describes the musician as a "fiddler", whereas in Pfändtner 1996, "Liste A 5," the same figure is described as a "hockender Lautenspieler" (squatting lute player). Four strings, five pegs (?).

Pfändtner speaks of a "more independent style of figures" in this manuscript than in its sister manuscript MS 346 as regards Byzantine models. Despite the focus upon a certain Byzantine influence in the iconography of both sources, a survey of 11th-13th c. Byzantine Psalters has thus far not produced a horned-shouldered instrument with any real similarity to the cetra found on folio 145v of the Smith-Lesouëf manuscript. See for example the extensive survey in Cutler 1984.

Jacopino da Reggio is thought to have been influenced by works at the Basilica of San Francesco in Assisi during his period of activity, c. 1265-1285 (Alessandro Conti, Grove Online

21.09.17 http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T043119?q=jacopino+da+reggio&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit). This might suggest that he was familiar with Cimabue's work in the cathedral, including **CE 10**.

BibliographyA: Pfändtner 1996, lxxiii-iv; Pfändtner 2004, 191; Evans 2004, 472-473.

BibliographyM: Margerum 2010, II, 291.

CE 12

CE 13

CE 13

Location: San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca de El Escorial, MS. a.I.5., f. 235

Medium: Miniature

Dating: c. 1290 (Pfändtner 1996, xx); c. 1295-1300 (Conti 1981).

Artist: Anonymous; one artist, out of at least three in total, responsible for a large percentage of the miniatures, including f. 235 (Pfändtner 1996, xx).

Provenance: Bologna, "late Second style" of Bolognese manuscript illumination (Pfändtner 1996, xx).

Iconographical context: Bible; Psalm 80, musicians in marginal medaillons

Number of cetre: 1

S***ize***: c. 2.2-2.3 cm

Comments: The body shape is reminiscent of **CE 5**. Due to the artistic convention of depicting the oval peg-head in a particular manner in this period (see Appendix I, Ex. 12) the illustration requires some orientation to interpret, and has been consistently misinterpreted in publications (since Young 1984) as a unique possible source for the argument of a "thumb-hole cetra", in other words, a citole in a source of Bolognese illumination. By comparing with the sources named above, the artist's intention to paint a peg-head is clear, although he has attached the elongated ovoid - with seven pegs - directly to the body and neglected any sort of fingerboard.

Instrument referred to as "lute" by Pfändtner (Pfändtner 1996, Liste A 5).

BibliographyA: Pfändtner 1996, xx-xxi.

BibliographyM: Young 1984.

CE 13

CE 14

CE 14

Location: Padova, Scrovegni Chapel

Medium: Fresco

Dating: 1305-1307

Artist: Giotto

Provenance: Tuscan-Umbrian

Iconographical* c*ontext: Dio manda Gabriele alla Vergine / God sends Gabriel to the Virgin.

Number of cetre: 1

***Size*:**

Comments: This source contains a partial view of cetra: the upper half of the body, neck and peghead are visible. The shape is similar to **CE 8**. With twelve T-shaped pegs, the peghead has slight curve backwards. The strings are shown, but are very lightly present; there are four-six strings on the treble side, possibly grouped in pairs (three courses are apparently visible), but any lower strings are harder to recognize on the fingerboard. The frets are either severely faded or absent altogether. The bordun string(s) are not recognizable in the present state, although given the placement of the pegs, a possibility of a bordun is present.

BibliographyA: Jacobus 2008.

BibliographyM:

CE 14

CE 14

CE 15

CE 15

Location: Assisi, Basilica inferiore di San Francesco, vault ribs of presbytery.

Medium: Fresco

Dating: c. 1310-1315 (Settis 2002; Malafarina 2005).

Artist: Workshop of Giotto (*Parente di Giotto* and *Maestro delle vele*).

Provenance: Assisi

Iconographical context: Elders of the Apocalypse. The frescoes are located on both sides on each of the four arms of the X - shaped crossing of the vault of the presbytery of the Lower Basilica (see images below). The four sections of the vault show St. Francis in Glory and the three principal Franciscan virtues, Poverty, Obedience and Chastity. At the center of the X is a circle with the image of God.

Number of cetre: 16, labelled alphabetically here as **15a, 15b, 15c**, etc.

Size: Largest full-body image = c. 50-70 cm.

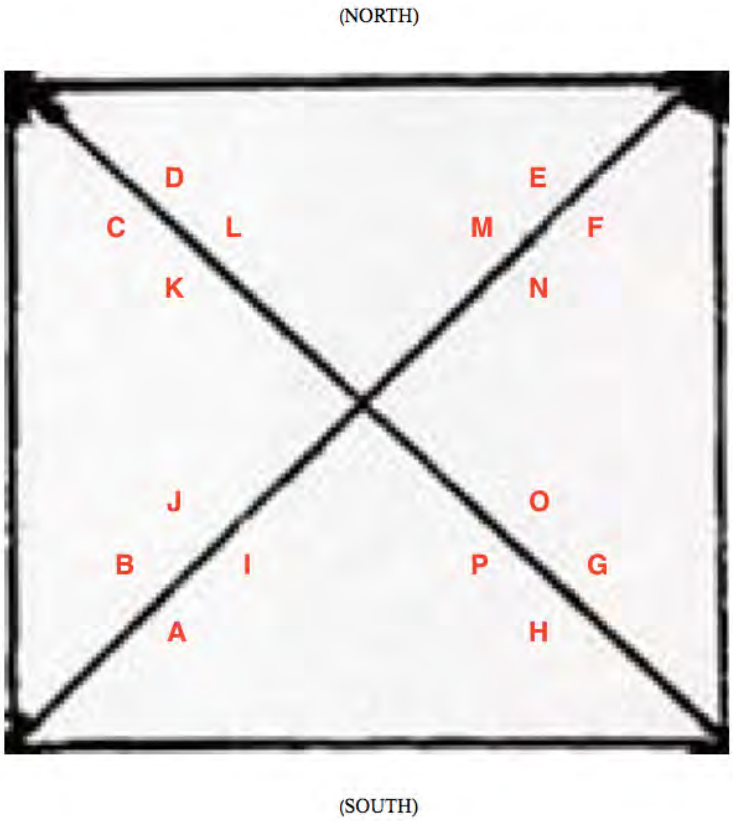
Comments: This is an important cycle of Elders representations. The twenty-four Elders are uniformly depicted with crown and halo. The three different stages of action which they depict as the eye ascends the vault partitions towards God (instrument held, then played, then playing stopped) is suggestive of the narrative progression of John's vision. The sixteen cetre are depicted in surprising detail, many showing unique details including several different fret arrangements. **15a-15h** are only partially shown, due to the facing positions of the Elders, the remainder **15i-15p** are frontal and fully shown. **15k** shows an intimate familiarity of the artist with the cetra, possibly as a player: each string pair is strung from one long string, with precise details of attachment at the pegs and shared string-holder projections.

The following photos show the location of the Elders with the cetre.

Lower Church, Transept, facing north, showing four vault partitions joining at center of vault.

Both sides of each of the four vault partition arms leading up to God (= eight sides in total) feature the same pattern of eight figures enclosed within circles. These figures are, from low to high: 1 - angel, 2 - angel, 3 - angel holding golden vessel, 4 - Elder turned sideways in the direction of God, holding upright a partially visible cetra in one hand while the other hand is held up in an indicative gesture toward God (i.e., the instrument is being held only, not being played or tuned), 5 - Elder with frontally-held, fully visible cetra, all in the act of playing, with the exception of one Elder who is tuning his instrument (see 14L below), 6 - Elder without instrument, 7 - oil lamp, 8 - candlestick.

Lower Church, Transept, vault partition: Eight ascending medallions showing, left to right, angel, angel, angel, Elder, Elder, Elder, censer, cherub; red arrows show positions of Elders with cetre.



This diagram shows the position of each Elder.

The twenty-four Elders are uniformly depicted with crown and halo. The three different stages of action which they carry out as the eye ascends the vault partitions towards God (instrument held, then played, then playing stopped) is suggestive of the narrative progression of John's vision.

Winternitz 1961, 57-65, calls the Elders prophets: "A number of medaillons in the lower church in Assisi, S Francesco, shows prophets (*sic*) holding cittern-like instruments painted by followers of Giotto."

BibliographyA: Emerson / MacGinn 1992, 238-239; Bonsanti 2002; Malafarina 2005; Malafarina 2014.

BibliographyM: Brown 1978, 139 (footnote 43: "A number of medallions in the lower church in Assisi, S. Francesco, show prophets holding cittern-like instruments painted by followers of Giotto"); Young 1984; Della Porta/Genovesi 1984; Brown 1985 Corpus; Beck 2005, 155; Margerum 2010.

CE 15a

CE 15b

CE 15c

CE 15d

CE 15e

CE 15f

CE 15g

CE 15h

CE 15i

CE 15j

CE 15k

CE 15l

CE 15m

CE 15n

CE 150

CE 15p

CE 16

CE 16

Location: London, British Library, Additional MS 47672, f. 471 (Bible of Clement VII).

Medium: Miniature

Dating: c. 1330 (Fleck 2010, 115).

Artist: Pietro Cavallini

Provenance: Naples

Iconographical* c*ontext: Elders of the Apocalypse

Number of cetre: 3

Size: MS: c. 1.1-1.3 cm

Comments: The cetre on the left and in the middle have three strings, while the one to the right has four. The tiny image size precludes detailed depiction. The color of the plectra, white, matches the strings and suggests that old string pieces were used as plectra, as in previous source **CE 15**. There are possible very faint traces of fret marks (?), and the artist's efforts were constrained because of size limitations. The body shape is that of an elongated Antelami form (**CE 5**).

BibliographyA: Fleck 2010

BibliographyM: Remnant 1980

Photo: <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_47672_fs001r> (accessed 19.12.2017.).

CE 16

CE 16

CE 17

CE 17

Location: Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, Comites Latentes 15, f. 78.

Medium: Psalter, miniature

Dating: 1335-1350

Artist: Workshop of Cristoforo Orimina

Provenance: Naples

Iconographical* c*ontext: Psalms of David

Number of cetre: 1

Size: 1.1-1.2 cm

Comments: The apparent presence of a carved head (or trefoil?) makes this the earliest iconographical cetra source to show this feature. The body seems lightly shouldered, but is not clear in detail. The strings run in any case to the end.

BibliographyA: Musto 2013.

BibliographyM:

CE 17

CE 18

CE 18

Location: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 1191, f. 453v.

Medium: Bible, miniature

Dating: Third quarter 14th c. (Lenzo 157).

Artist: Cristoforo Oriminia

Provenance: Naples, court of Giovanna I (d. 1382).

Iconographical context: Apocalypse

Number of cetre: 1

S***ize***:

Comments: As with other Neapolitan sources, image size is exceedingly small and details are lacking regarding features of these instruments. These are plucked ovoid instruments with a clear morphological similarity with **CE 11**.

BibliographyA: Hermann 1930; Schmitt 1970.

BibliographyM:

CE 18

CE 19

CE 19

Location: Padova, Baptistry of Duomo, cupola.

Medium: Fresco

Dating: 1376-1378 (Brown 1985, 226); third quarter 14th c. (Lenzo 157).

Artist: Giusto de' Menabuoi

Provenance: Florentine

Iconographical context: Christ Pantocrator (Paradiso).

Number of cetre: 1

S***ize***:

Comments: This image is difficult to assess. The upper section of the body (neck joint area) and neck, if there is one, are completely hidden, making a conclusive identification of the instrument as a cetra impossible. The visible shape, however, is unlike any psaltery image that I have seen, and I would propose a cautious possibility that this is indeed an image of a cetra. It should at least be considered as a possible sub-type of plucked chordophones with corners on all four body bouts (compare **CE 22;** Appendix I, Ex. 16, 21, 26).

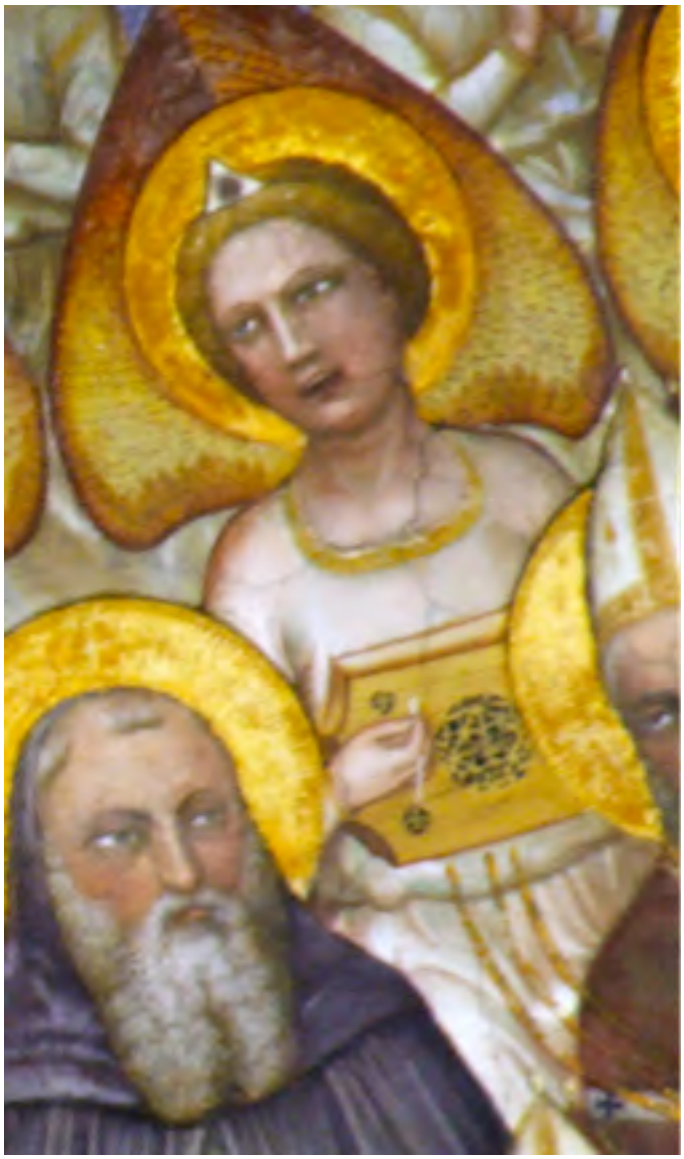
BibliographyA: Foffani 1988; Spiazzi 1989.

BibliographyM: Brown 1985, 226-227; Facchin 1996.

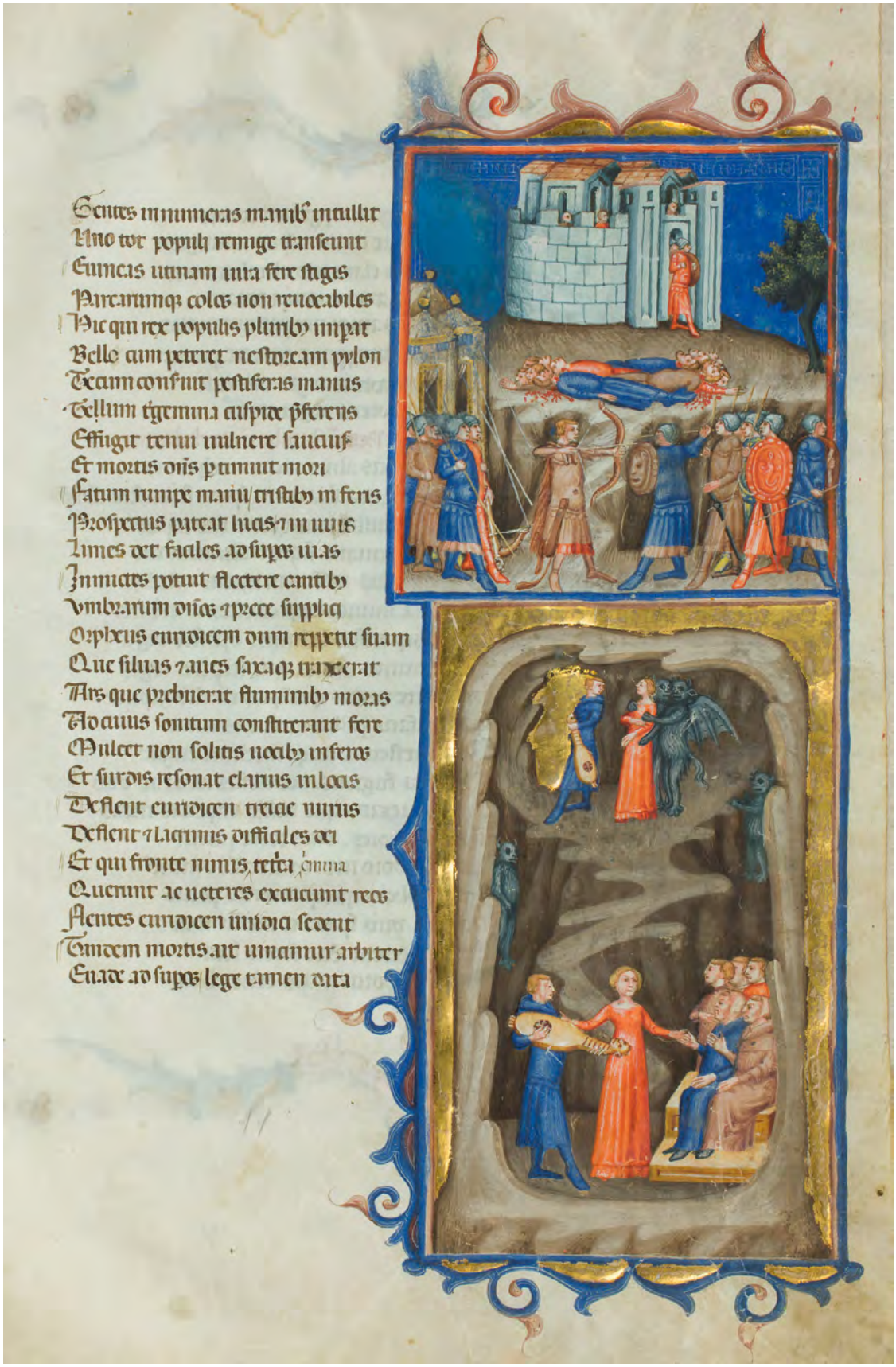
CE 19

CE 19

CE 19



CE 20



Centum innumeras manib' intullit
Uno tot populi remige transeunt
Cuncta uanam intra fere stagis
Parcaumq; colos non reuocabiles
Hic qui rex populis plurib' impat
Bello cum petiret nestoream pylon
Team confunt pestiferas manus
Tellum tigrinna cuspide pferens
Effugit tenui uulnere sauauf
Et mortis oris p tamnit mori
Fatum rumpe manu tristib' m feris
Prospectus pateat luas 7 m uuis
Limes det fatales ad supos uias
Inmiats potuit flectere cantib'
Umbranum oris 7 precet supplicq
Orpheus eurodicem dum reperat suam
Que silvas 7 aues saxaq; traxerat
Ars que prebuerat flumimib' mors
Ad cuius sonitum constiterant fere
Mulcet non solus uocib' inferos
Et surdis resonat clarus in locis
Deflent eurodicen triac numis
Deflent 7 lacrimis diffiales oci
Et qui fronte nimis tetra gnma
Quenimt ac neteres exacuunt reos
Flentes eurodicen iniqua secent
Tamcem mortis aut unamur arbiter
Eurac ad supos lege tamen data

CE 20

Location: Napoli, Biblioteca Governativa dei Girolamini, Codice CF 2-5, f. 9r, f. 11r.

Medium: Miniature

Dating: Second half 14th c. (Lenzo 2011, 157).

Artist: Master of Seneca

Provenance: Naples, court of Giovanna I (d. 1382).

Iconographical context: Tragedies of Seneca

Number of cetre: 3 (**20a** = Verse 451; **20b/c** = Verses 569-571, 589).

Size: largest (**20c**) = c. 3 cm.

Comments: This represents the earliest Humanist cetra source in the catalog, if "Humanist" may be - at least partly - defined as "manifesting a new intensity of interest in Classical literature"; as seen, for example, in the figure of Petrarch. Petrarch visited in Naples 1341-1343, a visit which "laid the foundations of Humanism in the Angevin kingdom" (Lenzo 2011, 164).

This is an early source in the catalog featuring a cetra with a carved head (see also **CE 17**), which may have been a Neapolitan innovation; it will become common in the 15th-century. The frets are presumably wooden, as they are clearly not tied-on, lute-style frets. 21a has trefoil carvings in the rose and a three-pronged string-holder. 21c has six distinct frets, while 21b has five. 21a has a few fret marks in evidence. All bodies show no tapering depth as on some later 15th-c. examples.

Regarding the context: a group of nine tragedies have survived, assigned by tradition to Senecan authorship. The place of the tragedies of Seneca in literature is unique. They stand, with the exception of a few fragments, as the sole surviving representatives of an extensive

Roman product in the tragic drama. They therefore serve as the only connecting link between ancient and modern tragedy. They parallel more or less closely the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides ; and the Greek and Roman product in literature along similar lines cannot be better studied than by a comparison of these Senecan plays with their Greek prototypes — a comparison which is not possible in comedy, since, unfortunately, the Greek originals of Plautus and Terence have not come down to us, except in comparatively scanty fragments.

Verse 451: *Pastor Phereos Delius pavit greges* ("the Delian as a shepherd tended flocks at Pherae" - Apollo came from Delius). In miniature 44 (Lenzo 2011), the moment when Apollo was a keeper of the flocks of Admetus is depicted. The god of the sun is represented colored red, color of fire, and the lyre, his traditional attribute, in the thumbnail appears, moreover, a woman not named in the text, probably Alcestis.

Verses 569-571, 589: The miniature 61 depicts the myth of Orpheus and Eurydice. The figure recounts the events in sequence: in the foreground Orpheus with his lyre and Eurydice convince an assembly, in which you see two men dressed as judges; Orfeo on the background, that began towards the exit, turns watching his beloved. Devils are an addition to the artist place the afterlife scene. The figure of Orpheus was interpreted as Figura Christi. Orpheus, in fact, is for medieval man a metaphor for the Good Shepherd, and therefore for Christ. (from https://archive.org/stream tragedieswithengo1seneuoft/ tragedieswithengo1seneuoft_djvu.txt)

BibliographyA: Lenzo 2011

BibliographyM: Testi, Flavio, *La Musica Italiana nel Medioevo e nel Rinascimento*, 1969; Young 1984, 79.

CE 20a

Numinum liquet repetit. mentimur iouem.
Junonis odio creta. Iacis. Quo molas iouem
Mortale celo non potest iungi genus
Amph. Communis ista plibus causa deis
Iacus Semiuiri ne fuerant ante q̃ fieret deo
Amph. Pastor phereos. delui pauit gregis
Iac. Sed non omnes exul errauit plagis
Amph Quem profugi tra mari errantes edidit
Iacus Aum monstra seua phebus aut timuit fera
Amph Primus sagittas imbuit phebi draco
Quam grauia parvus tullerit ignoras mala
Ematris utero fulmine eiectus puer
Mox fulminati proximus patri stetit
Quid qui gubnat astra qui nubes quatit
Non latuit infans nuppis excesse sycai
Soluta tanti pecta natales hint
Semperq; magno constitit nasci deum
Iacus. Quecaiq; miser uideris hominem sacas
Amph Quemcaiq; fortez uideris miser negres
Iacus Fortem uocemus amus ex humeris leo
Domum puelle factus 7 clauia excidit
Fulsitq; pictum uestis syrorum latus
Fortem uocemus amus horrentes come
Mouere nardo lauae qui notas manus
Tympano uirilem tympani mouit sonum
Mitram ferocem barbara frontem premens
Amph. Non euitesat bachus effusos tener

CE 20a

CE 20a

CE 20b/c

CE 20b

CE 20c

CE 21

CE 21

Location: Milano, Pinacoteca di Brera, Valle Romita Altarpiece.

Medium: Tempera on wood

Dating: 1408 (De Marchi 2011); 1412 (Christiansen 1978, 5).

Artist: Gentile da Fabriano

Provenance: Commissioned by the Zoccolanti (Observant Franciscans) at the hermitage of Valle Romita Chiavelli, or by Chiavello Chiavelli, Lord of Fabriano; painted by GdF in Venice; GdF had been supported by the lord of Fabriano Chiavello Chiavelli (died in Venice 1412) who had a close relationship with Gian Galeazzo Visconti; GdF was in Milan in 1395, he trained in Pavia. "Evidently painted for the high altar of Santa Maria di Valdisasso near Fabriano" (Christiansen 1978, 5).

Iconographical* c*ontext: Altarpiece: polyptych of Coronation of the Virgin flanked by Saints Jerome, Francis, Mary Magdalene and Dominic and scenes from the lives of the saints.

Number of cetre depicted: 1

Size: c. 5-6 cm

Comments: Source of importance for early Humanist cetra. Eight angels are at the feet of God and Virgin, two outermost face the viewer as a kind of invitational interface to join in praise.

BibliographyA: Degenhart 1960; Berenson 1968; Christiansen 1979; De Marchi 2011.

BibliographyM: mentioned in Brown 1978, 131: "The cittern with its characteristic winged tips in Gentile da Fabriano's Coronation of the Virgin in Milan may be some sort of missing link between earlier and later Italian citterns."

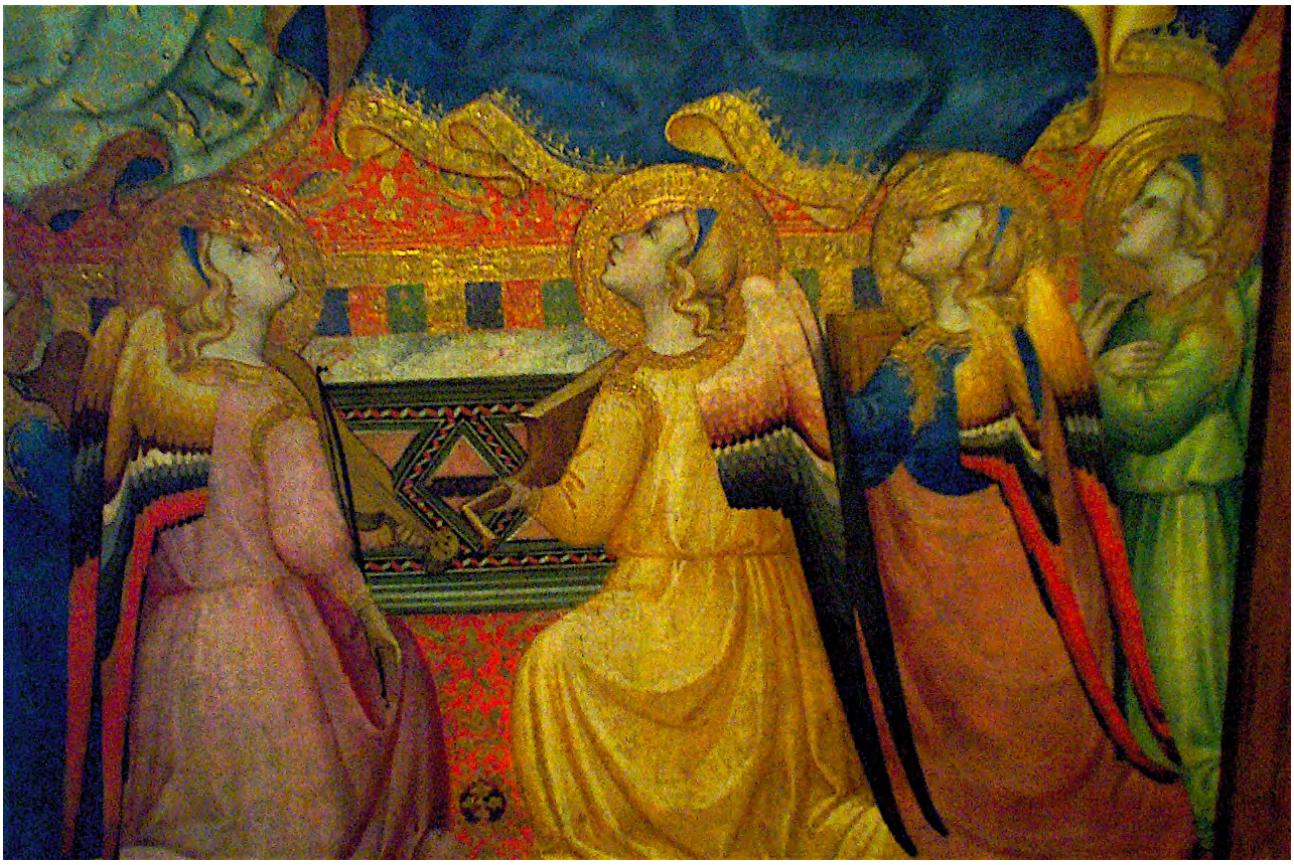
Billiet 2008, 114, does not interpret this instrument as a cetra: "A *guiterne*, or a type of lute of four single strings or courses, serves as a counterpart to the gittern placed at the extreme left of the panel, but the two instruments are not rigorously identical. The instrument could be a *mandore*, called *mandora* in Italian, according to the questionable hypothesis of certain organologists: the oval soundboard, the strongly arched back, the short neck, the fretted fingerboard are common characteristics with the lute. But its dimensions were smaller than those of that instrument. The bridge did not resemble a lute bridge. It was easier to play than the lute." (A specific reference to the *mandora* hypothesis is not provided.)

A second article in the same volume (Lacchè 2008) devoted to Gentile da Fabriano and music, Herczog 2008, 96, mentions "la cetra" in a footnote reference to the symbolic meaning of the cithara for Rabanus Maurus and Albertus Magnus, but does not use the term to describe the instrument in the painting of Gentile discussed above.

CE 21

CE 21

CE 22



CE 22

Location: Firenze, S. Croce, Cappella Medici.

Medium: Fresco

Dating: c. 1408-1409

Artist: Lorenzo di Niccolò

Provenance: Florentine

Iconographical context: Coronation of the Virgin

Number of cetre: 1

S***ize***:

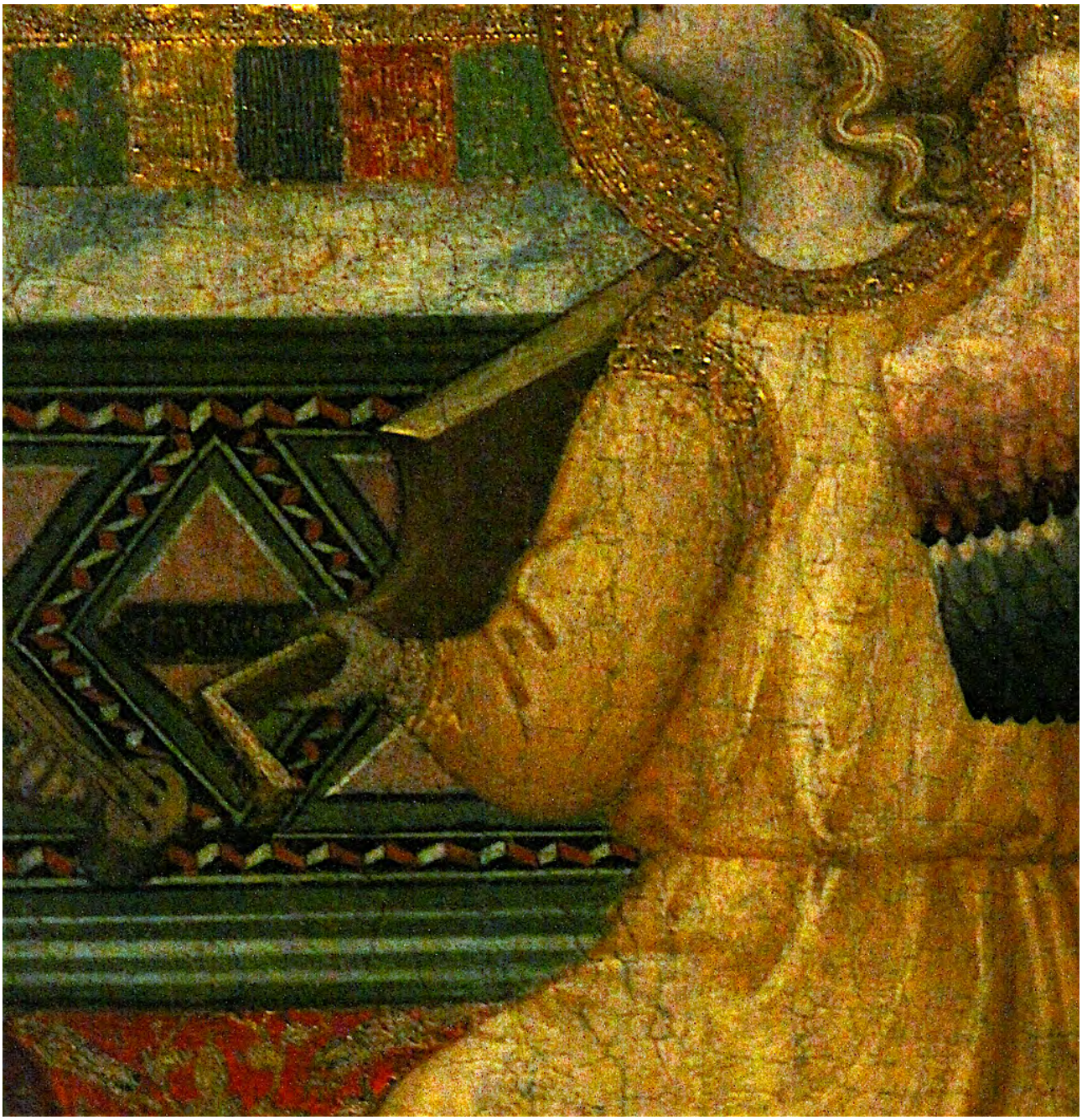
Comments: This instrument is only partly seen from behind, showing pointed upper bouts on a flat-backed body, suggestive perhaps of another Florentine source, **CE 19**. While the lute-style peg-head is unexpected on this type of body, it does occur on two other later sources given in Appendix I, Ex. 18 and 26. For further comment on this body form as a Florentine variant of spatulate cetra form, see **Chapter 4**.

BibliographyA: Berenson 1963, I, 122.

BibliographyM: Brown 1985, 252-253.

CE 22

CE 22



CE 23

CE 23

Location: Galatina, Basilica di Santa Caterina di Alessandria.

Medium: Fresco

Dating: c. 1390's-1430; scholars have not found a consensus on the precise dating, although restorer Sergio Fusetti gives a date of 1420's, which I find convincing (private communication, Fusetti 2017).

Artist: Workshop of Francesco d'Arezzo

Provenance: Franciscan church built 1390; frescoes Marche school, Giotto influence (private communication, Fusetti 2017).

Iconographical context: For the cetra image, the context is the Genesis cycle (Ciclo della Genesi), with angels with instruments in diamond-shape medaillons. Some 40 musical instruments have been depicted with great care, and the entire church is a magnificent kind of visual encyclopedia of late medieval knowledge.

Number of cetre depicted: 1

Size:

Comments: This cetra shows five (possibly six?) courses: from top to bottom, 1 (or 2?) / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / ? 1 or 2 bordun ? Exceedingly thin horns and squared-off base might suggest a built-up construction, with each side glued to end block and heel block, although this is not conclusive. The nut end of the fingerboard seems to be missing the first fret; see **CE 36** for a possible explanation of this feature.

The upper side of the instrument shows a mark which might be taken as a side-hole; if this interpretation is correct it might then be indicative of built-up construction, as is assumed to have been the case with **CE 30** and **CE 32**.

BibliographyA: Russo 2005; Castaldo 2006; personal communication with Sergio Fusetti who restored the frescoes in S. Caterina during the 1980's (13.04.2017).

BibliographyM:

Photo: Giordano Ceccotti

CE 23

CE 23

CE 24

CE 24

Location: Firenze, Museo dell'Opere del Duomo.

Medium: Relief sculpture

Dating: 1432-1438 (Hammerstein).

Artist: Luca della Robbia

Provenance: Florence. Della Robbia would have known the works of Gentile da Fabriano. As the Humanist architect Leon Battista Alberti wrote in 1436, Della Robbia was one of the major figures of the Florentine artistic "rebirth".

Iconographical* c*ontext: So-called *Cantoria* ("loft for singers"), this was originally positioned above the portal of the North Sacristy of the Duomo; it shows instruments, as well as singers and dancers, in like-groups following the Psalms' descriptions of instruments given in the plural.[22] See Hamm, 251.

Number of cetre depicted: 2 (**24a** - left, **24b** - right).

Size: c. 40-60 cm

Comments: One of a total of five existing three-dimensional cetra sources (**CE 5**, **8**, **24**, **25**, **47**), this item's chronological predecessors **CE 5** and **8** pre-date it by two centuries or more. On both instruments **24a** and **24b**, the profile of the body sides below the edges of the soundboard may suggest curved profile of the back; such an interpretation is by no means unequivocal, but if it were, then this source is unique in representing a curved or ridged profile to the back (a ridged profile is well-known from representations of various forms of ancient kithara). **24a** shows nine pegs and ten strings (5 x 2) whereas **24b** has nine pegs and nine strings in five courses with a single top. Both instruments feature carved female

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[22] For a similar iconographical monument, see the miniature program of the 13th-c. Cantigas de Santa Maria, Biblioteca de El Escorial MS B.I.2

heads, presumably symbolic for the Muses, as led by Apollo Musagetes; see also the catalog entries under **CE 25**.

These well-known carvings are perhaps the best examples of projecting frets on the upper edge of the fingerboard, the function of which has puzzled many observers. One early commentator who mentioned the Della Robbia cetre, including the prominent, elongated frets was Valentin Denis (Denis 1944).[23] For a discussion of the interpretation of this feature, see Chapter 4.

BibliographyA: Gentilini 2003.

BibliographyM: Denis 1944, 117-120, Pl 114; Winternitz 1961, Plate 13b; Buchner 1981; Hammerstein 1962, 248 - 252**.**

Photos: Winternitz Archive at RESEARCH CENTER FOR MUSIC ICONOGRAPHY (RCMI) at Graduate Center CUNY, Zdravko Blazekovic.

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[23] Denis comments (117) "Another also essential Italian plucked instrument is the cittern. It comes from the East. In the early Middle Ages it is a plucked fiddle; the body has the same shape as the fiddle. In the 15th century it is more independent. Luca della Robbia depicted the cittern twice in his famous Cantoria in S Maria del Fiore in Florence. It is thanks to this sculpture, and other art works, that the 15th c cittern can be clearly defined. The body is oval, the flat soundboard and back are connected by side pieces. The neck is clearly separated from the body, it is not, like on most plucked instruments, equipped with gut frets or thin frets (saddles), on the contrary, small grooves which divide the neck in four or five boxes. Nine pegs are in the trapezoid-form peghead, with carved human head at the top end. Four courses plus a single top are attached to a comb (at the end of the body). The plucking hands of the two female musicians cover the soundholes, whose existence however cannot be doubted. In contrast to the lute and mandora, these citterns are plucked with the fingers."
Denis adds (p 120) that Della Robbia's cittern "indeed has a neck, which not only is divided into four or five boxes by grooves - which makes of each box, as it were, a fingerboard, but each of these frets is lengthened on the left side. (footnote: 'The real purpose of this lengthening is not yet clarified.') The more or less same system can be seen on two Florentine prints from about 1485 (Pl 116 - drawing). Here one counts six of those enigmatic keys. With the exception of this feature and the use of the plectrum, this six-string plucked instrument has nothing in common with the cittern. The general profile, stringholder and sound hole are fully like the guitar. Thus we have a real instrument type, a guitar-cittern, that was soon abandoned by instrument makers."

CE 24

CE 24a

CE 24b

CE 25

CE 25

Location: Rimini, San Francesco ('Tempio Malatestiano').

Medium: Relief sculpture

Dating: c. 1456 (Pozza)

Artist: Agostino di Duccio

Provenance: Florentine, born 1418; would have seen the della Robbia cantoria; studied sculpture in Venice in 1446, worked at Tempio in Rimini 1449-1457.

Iconographical* c*ontext: Zodiac (Mercury), Allegory (Musica), Mythology (Apollo).

Number of cetre depicted: 3 (**25a** = Musica; **25b** = Apollo; **25c** = Mercury).

Size: **25a** = 33 cm; others similar.

Comments: Noticeable relative small size of all three, which is uncomfortably small if taken literally; all three show wing-block-joint, making built-up construction likely.

CE 25a has six strings, a flower- shaped rose, but also elaborate carving (or painting?) on the soundboard. There are two side smaller roses with portrait carvings, with the rest of the decoration possibly being painted. There are seven fret blocks and a clear horn-block-body joint construction; one could conceivably argue that the elaborate decoration of the soundboard was justified to the up-close proximity of the viewer at floor level, whereas the other two cetre in the church are further distanced and less scrutinized.

CE 25b has a carved head which looks like a child /putto /angel? rather than a woman. It has seven (possibly eight?) kollopes-frets.

CE 25c has four strings, a rosebud (?) peg-head carving; a flower-like rose design; the projecting side of frets is reversed, but this can be explained by the symmetry with two other

instruments, that is, this one is turned upside down. While the distances between the frets increase correctly for this angle, the exposed fret ends have been treated as if the instrument were held like the others.

Church was heavily damaged in WWII; there are no obvious signs of restorative intervention on the three cetre.

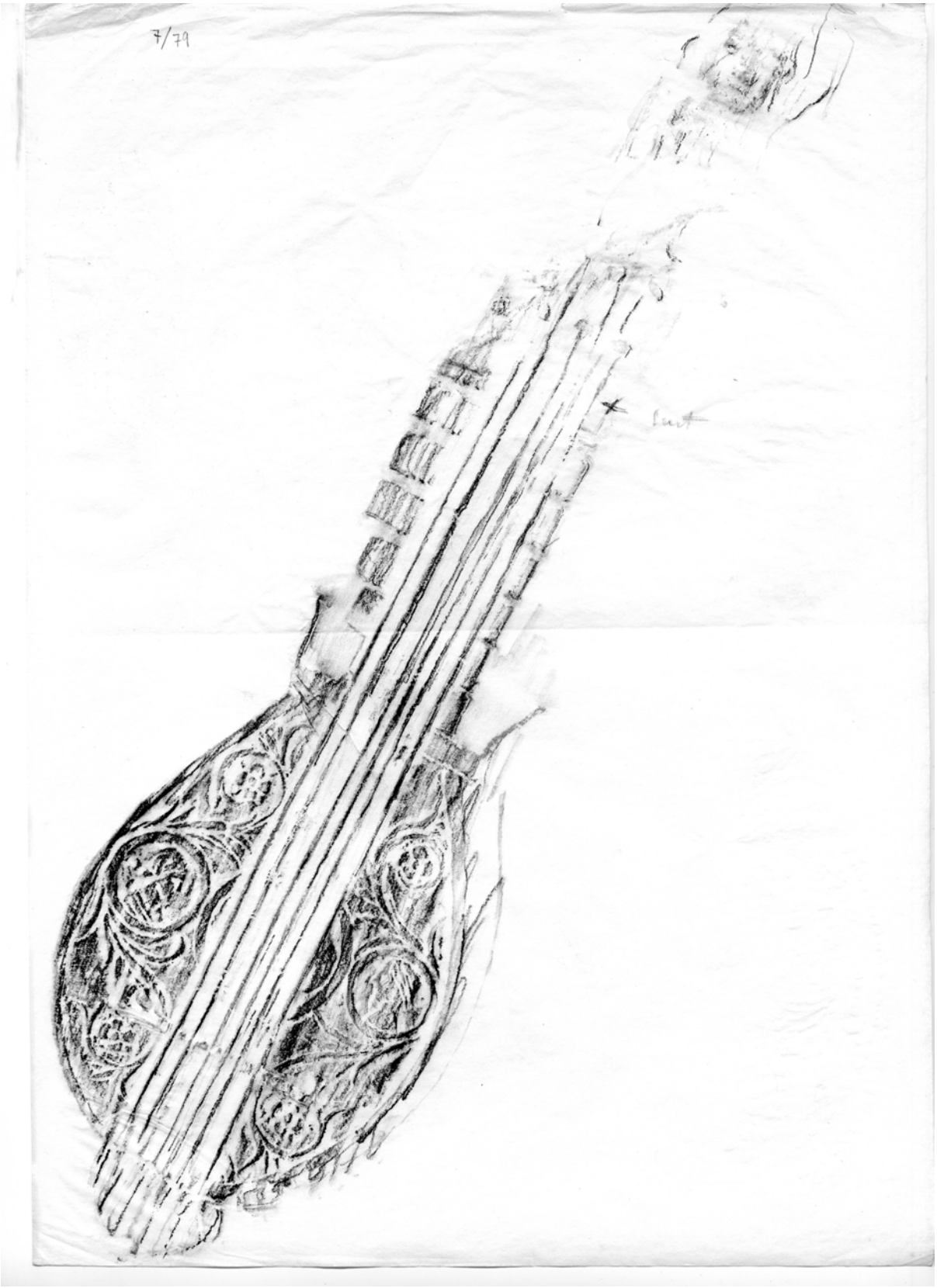
BibliographyA: Settis 2011.

BibliographyM: Winternitz 1961.

Photos: author's photos below include in situ pencil rubbing of **25a**.

CE 25a

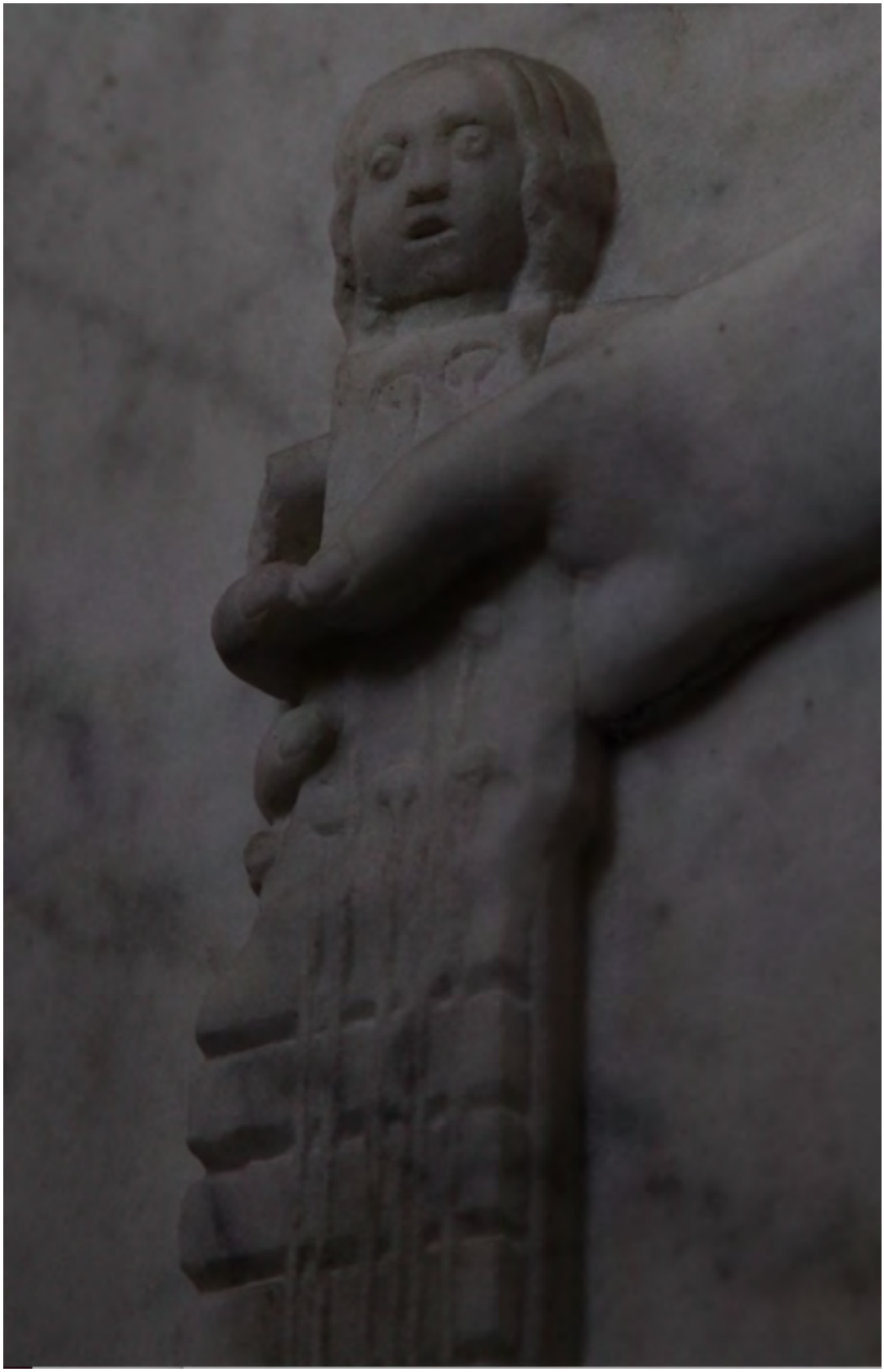
CE 25a



CE 25a

CE 25a

CE 25a



CE 25b

CE 25b

CE 25b

CE 25b

CE 25c

CE 25c

CE 26

CE 26

Location: Ortona, Museo Diocesano.

Medium: Painting

Dating: Mid-15th c., 1440-1450?

Artist: Unknown

Provenance: Cappella del Salvatore della Cattedrale of Ortona, originally the family chapel of Riccardi family from Lucca.

Iconographical c*ontext*: Volto Santo di Lucca / Holy Face of Lucca, Legend of the Fiddler. Thematic relation with Franciscan *Joculatores Domini* (see Loewen 2013, 57-60).

Number of cetre depicted: 1

Size: c. 40-50 cm

Comments: The painting shows apparent metal strings (gold color, different from lute strings).

BibliographyA: https://www.museodiocesanoortona.it/en/visit-the-museum/museum-guide/il-volto-santo-di-lucca

BibliographyM: (CD-ROM)Alessandra Bonomo, Sacred Music: Image and Reality, Innsbruck : Universität Innsbruck. Institut für Musikwissenschaft, cop. 2003.; Olimpia Goldys, "Ein Mysteriöser Spielmann: zu den kulturgeschichtlichen Aspekten der 'Spielmanns-Ikonographie' in den Volto-Santo-/ Kümmernis-Darstellungen vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert," *Music in Art,* Vol XXXIII, no. 1-2 (2008), 149-167.

I owe many thanks to Ivo Magherini, who kindly gave me a poster which included this image many years ago.

CE 26

CE 26

CE 26

CE 27

Location: Padova, Basilica del Santo, choir stalls; **LOST** (burned 1749).

Medium: Intarsia

Dating: 1462 (Beck 2001, 5)

Artist: Lorenzo Canozi (1425 - 1477), Cristoforo Canozi.

Provenance:

Iconographical* c*ontext: Depictions of musical instruments: "*cetera, liuto, la chiarina, il monochordo, la sampogna,i timpani, la tromba*" (cetra, lute, clarion, monochord, bagpipe, timpani, trumpet).

Number of cetre depicted: 1

Size:

Comments: Lorenzo Canozi worked as an *intarsiatore* on the *studiolo* at *Belfiore* for Leonello d'Este between 1449-1453/4 (work now lost);

BibliographyA: Gonzati, La Basilica si S. Antonio di Padova, p. 71.;

BibliographyM: Beck 2001.

CE 28

Location: Private collection of Dr. Karl Voll (1867-1917, München); whereabouts unknown (lost?).

Medium: Stringed instrument "Cister" (cittern)

Dating: 1462

Artist: "E. S. MCCCCLXII" on label inside instrument (Zuth 1926, 257); Zuth suggested the maker was therefore Erhard Smid, a famous organ builder from Pressenberg in Bavaria during the middle of the 15th century, an idea apparently influenced by Lütgendorff. Lütgendorff 1922 documents Smid in 1433: "Smid, Erhard - Peissenberg (Bayern) 1433.....Vielleicht ist die E.S. gezeichnete Cister Dr. K. Volls in München eine Arbeit E. Smids."

Provenance: Unknown

Iconographical context: Surviving musical instrument

Number of cetre: 1

Size: Unknown

Comments: An exhibition "6. Gitarristentag" took place in the Rathaussaal in München in 1904 with "approximately 20 original lutes, the majority from the collection of Paul de Wit", according to Chauvel 1999.

Zuth wrote in 1926 that the instrument had a Gothic rose made of parchment, as well as "Kopf und Säulen am Griffbrett waren im romanischen Stil gearbeitet," which I take to mean a carved head on the pegbox (?) and "columns" (= block frets?) on the fingerboard, fashioned in Romanesque style (?).

That an actual instrument from the 15th c. might still exist is, of course, an exciting idea. Zuth saw the instrument sometime before 1926, so there was an existing object at least until then. The description of mixed Romanesque and Gothic style elements is problematic (although what those terms meant exactly is an open question), and if the rose was made of parchment only, one might think of later rose styles from the Baroque period or after, but again, the precise meaning of Zuth's term is unclear. "Columns" might suggest projecting block frets, or have a different meaning altogether. Indeed, the provenance of the missing instrument is the first question: a cetra would have been built in Italy, rather than in Germany, although a German builder living in Italy (or one who had lived there) would not be out of the question. Then again, there is no proof of what name the initials E.S. really stood for.

BibliographyA:

BibliographyM: Lütgendorff 1922; Zuth 1926; Bletschacher 1978.

CE 29

CE 29

Location: Milano, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana (E series);
London, British Museum (Dept. of Prints and Drawings), Bartsch Collection (XIII.133.30) Number 13. Vienna, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung Albertina DG1935/891 (S Series).

Medium: Print

Dating: c. 1460-1465 (E series); c. 1470-1475 (S series); first series "engraved no later than 1467" (Grunfeld 1969).

Artist: Two different artists: "Master of the E Series Tarocchi" / Anonymous ("S" Series).

Provenance: Ferrara or possibly Venice (?)

Iconographical* c*ontext: "Terpsichore XIII" (E series), "Tersichore XIII" (S series). Image of Terpsichore from so-called "Mantegna Tarocchi" cards, these are not Tarocchi cards at all but rather Humanist education aids. "E series" = Estates of Man, "S series" = Stations of Man.

Number of cetre depicted: 2 (29**a** = E series, 29**b** = S series)

Size:

Comments: See commentary of Denis 1944, 120.

BibliographyA: Hind 1938.

BibliographyM: Denis 1944, Pl. 116; Grunfeld 1969, Pl. 21 / 22; Salmen 1998, 83.

CE 29a

CE 29a

CE 29b

CE 29b

CE 30

CE 30

Location: Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia, Salone dei Mesi, Month of May, Triumph of Apollo.

Medium: Fresco

Dating: c. 1470 (Travagli 1994, 51); 1476-1484, http://www.wga.hu/html_m/c/cossa/schifano/3may/index.html.

Artist: Francesco del Cossa (c. 1435-c. 1477).

Provenance: Ferrara

Iconographical c*ontext*: Apollo; cetra hangs via cord from A's right wrist with right arm extended, holding the circular image of the sun (?). The depiction brings Martianus Capella's description of Musica to mind, who has small models of instruments dangling from her hand as attributes while she holds a circular shield from which "poured forth a concord of all the modes"....."In her right hand Harmony bore what appeared to be a shield, circular over-all....from her left hand the maiden held, suspended at equal length, several small models of theatrical instruments, wrought of gold." (William Harris Stahl and Richard Johnson, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts, Volume II, The Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, Columbia University Press 1977, 352-53). Apollo sits on a cithara-shaped throne.

Number of cetre depicted: 1

Size: c. 25-35 cm

Comments: Eight narrow-edge frets, similar to Ortona (**CE 26**). Hook with hole, but string attaching the cetra to Apollo's wrist does not seem to run through the hole. Thin horns are similar to Gubbio (**CE 32**). Possible tapering body depth (?), although definitive view is blocked by Apollo's leg. Inlaid rose (?). Apparent hole in side of body is reminiscent of Gubbio. Dark-colored binding on edge of soundboard. Exact number of pegs impossible to discern but size and placement suggests twelve (?). Carved, open-mouthed animal head

could be a lion, is also suggestive of monster's head below Apollo's feet. Built-up construction seems possible if not probable.

The frets are depicted in an unclear fashion, although they may represent blocks shown as if the viewer were standing below, looking up to the cetra in a frontal view. In other words, the (flat) top of each fret block is shown as well as the front side of the block facing the bridge.

A second interpretation could suggest fret blocks with noticeably narrower top surfaces than most seen so far; **CE 29a** might be taken as being suggestively similar. While the unique triangular frets seen in the Assisi cycle **CE 15** have apparently no flat surface areas on top, they may have been imperceptibly flattened to reduce string wear. In any case, **CE 30** is some 150 years later and may be assumed to feature metal strings. According to the writer's experience, the stability of intonation with metal strings is lessened if the space behind the fret edge is too wide, and it would be quite surprising to see triangular frets on a metal-strung instrument.

BibliographyA: Travagli 1994; Settis et al. 2007.

BibliographyM:

CE 30

CE 30

CE 30

CE 31

CE 31

Location: Cortona, Museo Diocesano.

Medium: Tempera on panel

Dating: c. 1473-1475 (Martini, 136) or later? Note that Martini writes "To understand the Assumption properly one must bear in mind that the two kneeling saints in the foreground and the second row of angels at the top are vulgar later additions; let us hope that a restoration will establish the original integrity." (Martini, 136-137) No specific source for this claim is given and it is unclear whether Martini means the upper row of angel musicians, who look just the same as the four angel musicians below (left to right, with lute, hammered dulcimer, harp and viola / lira), or the red seraphim bordering the Virgin.

Artist: Bartolomeo della Gatta (1448-1502) born in Florence, became Camaldolese monk; worked on Sistine Chapel as assistant of Perugino and Signorelli.

Provenance: Church of San Domenico, Cortona.

Iconographical context: Assumption; Virgin of Assumption Gives St Thomas her Belt.

Number of cetre depicted: 1

Size: overall size of panel: 317 cm (125 in) x 221 cm (87 in)

Comments: neck almost entirely blocked by head / halo of another angel playing smaller bowed instrument with horns also; highest fret at body-neck joint visible; body may have taper profile (?) Inset rose.

BibliographyA: Martini 1960.

BibliographyM:

CE 31

CE 31

CE 32

CE 32

Location: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gubbio studiolo.

Medium: Intarsia

Dating: c. 1478-1482 (Raggio 1996, 35).

Artist: Giuliano da Maiano (1432-1490, Florentine); attribution not definitive but likely.

Provenance: Gubbio

Iconographical context: *Studiolo*, commissioned by Federico Montefeltro.

Number of cetre depicted: 1

Size: c. 35-36 cm from left-hand corner of base (string-holder) to intersection of hourglass / book

Comments: There have been multiple restorations over the years, most recently in the 1990's. Wilmering's dedicated study of that restoration (Wilmering 1999) mentions nothing of relevance for the cetra.

Important source showing many details in unique perspective / detail. It may have relevance for providing information on construction techniques; the thin wings and varying grain directions of the inlaid pieces of wood around the heel of the neck might point towards built-up construction, including a neck which is attached to the body and not carved out of the same piece of wood as the sides of the body. It seems to this writer that the arguments for interpreting this cetra as exemplifying built-up construction are more persuasive than understanding it as having been carved from one piece.

The view expressed by Peter Forrester concerning the presence of small holes on the sides of the *chitarra battente* could make sense as an explanation for the pair of holes on this cetra (see **Chapter 4**), that is, to fasten the sides to a mold when bending them or otherwise

keeping them stable in order to glue them to other parts of the instrument (back, neck block, sound-board). If the body of this cetra had been carved out of one piece, and the back and sides were thus joined, there would have been no need for the stabilizing holes. In other words, the presence of the holes, together with the added-on horns and glued-on neck, furnish the best evidence we have, from any iconographical source, that this shows a cetra of built-up construction. At the very least, it shows (1) that the sides and back were glued to each other and not carved out of the same piece of wood, (2) that the sides were very likely formed by heating and bending one long strip of wood into a U - shape, and (3) the neck was joined to the sides after they had been bent and attached to the mould via two wooden dowels on each side.

Not every observer interprets this intarsia in the same way, and it has been pointed out to me that the perspective given to the side of the body, narrowing as it nears the lower end, could suggest a carved (from one-piece) back-and-sides, to which the neck was then attached; or both body and neck were carved out of the same piece, as in the three other instruments constructed in **Chapter 6** of this study.[24]

The six fret blocks on **CE 32** offer useful, unequivocal information about their height relative to each other - which is equal - and the profile of the top of each fret. The fret tops are flat, with all four edges of equal height. They are neither slanted (one edge higher than the other), producing a series of saw-toothed frets, nor rounded or humped on top.

The width and placement of the frets bring up the question of whether they produce a chromatic or diatonic scale when stopped. Neither possibility works out if the bridge placement is taken literally, but if the bridge is moved lower on the soundboard, the frets appear to be significantly closer to a diatonic fretting than to a chromatic one (see Comments to **CE 36** and **Chapter 4** for an extended discussion), thus establishing **CE 32** as a primary candidate for a diatonically fretted cetra, during a period when most sources suggest a chromatic layout. Of the detailed perspective studies called *intarsie*, this source alone is the strongest evidence for a diatonic fret system.

BibliographyA: Raggio and Wilmering 1996; Raggio and Wilmering 1999.

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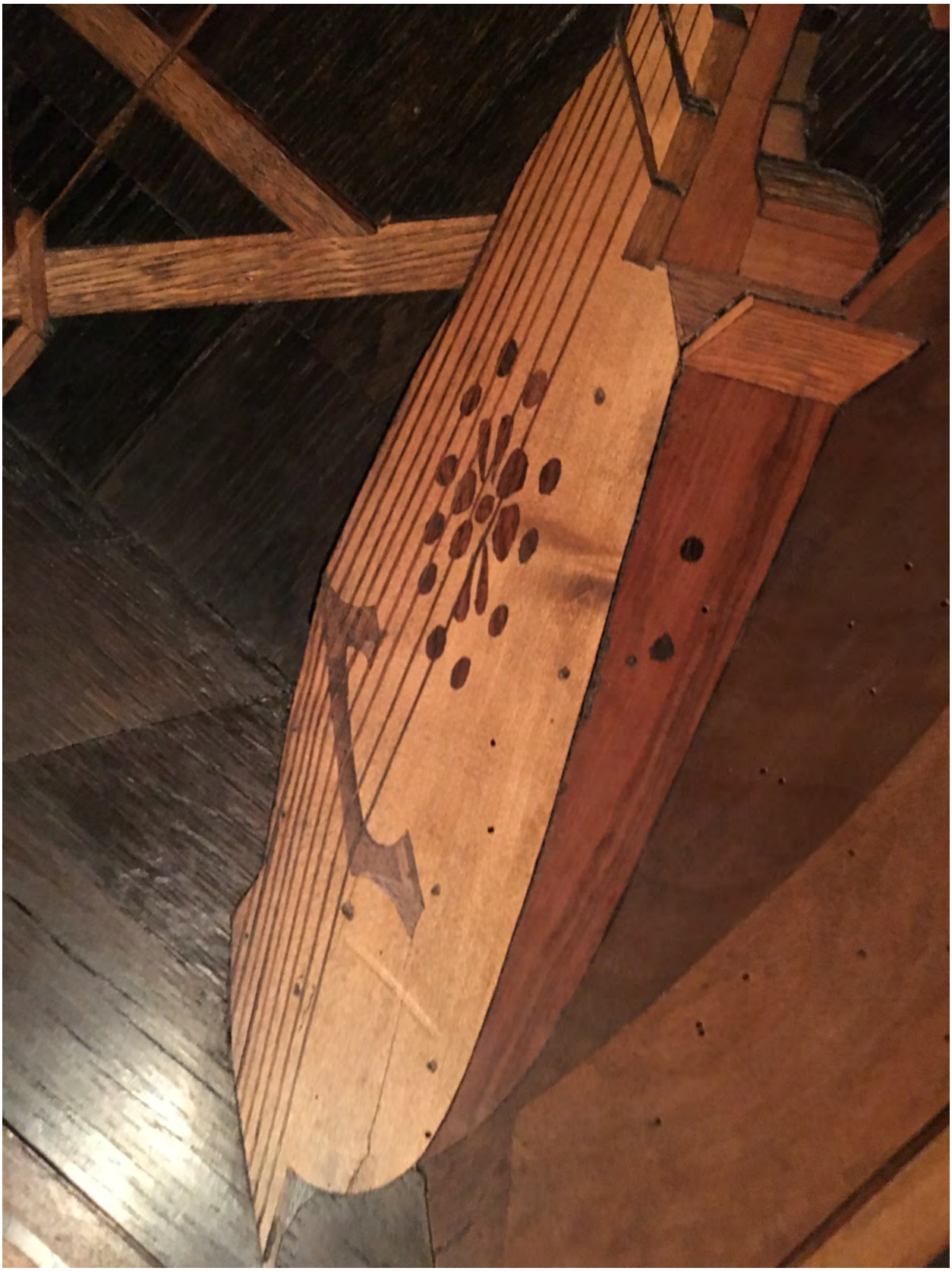
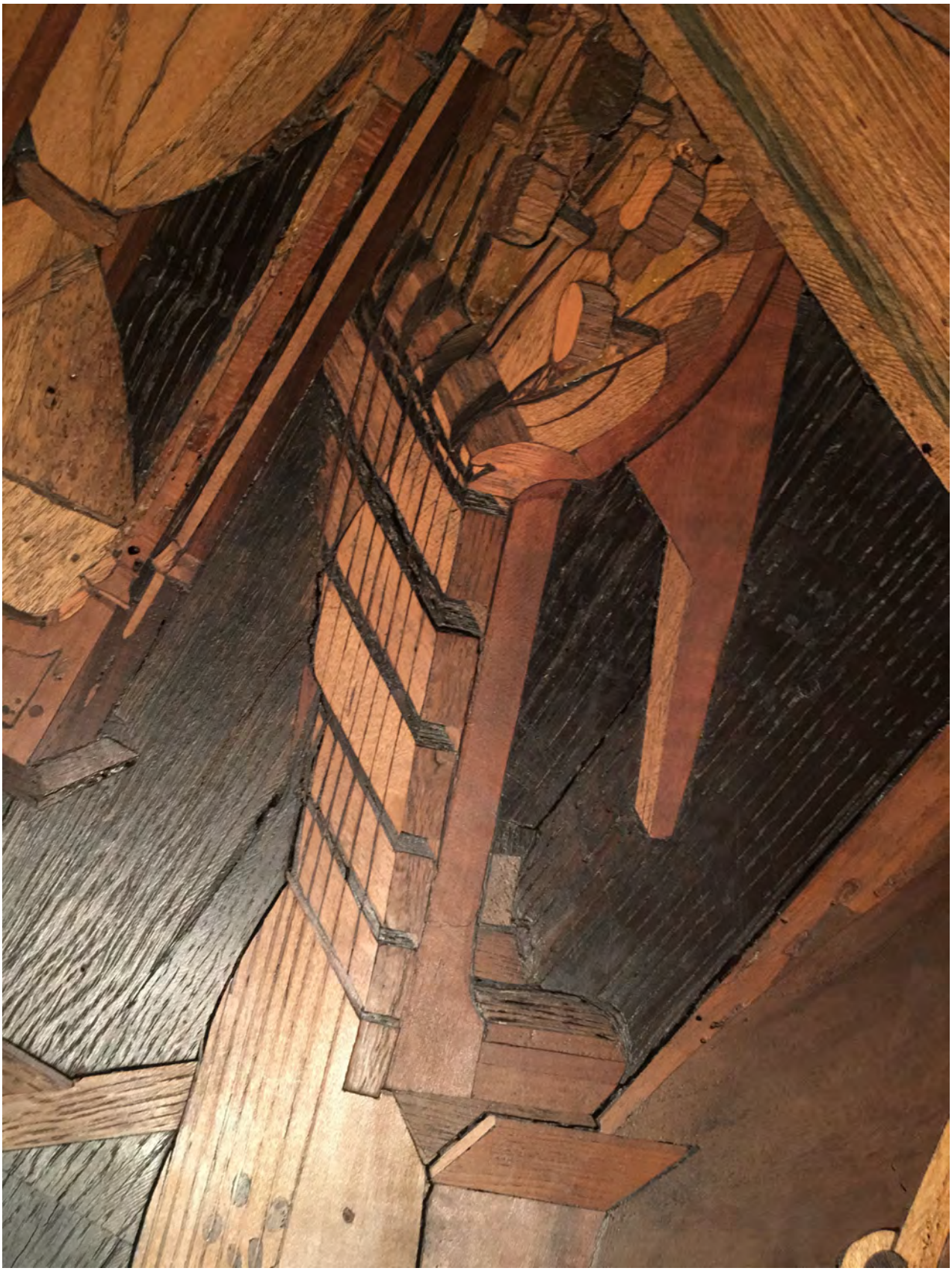
[24] Personal communication from Luca Piccioni in 2017.

BibliographyM: Wint 1942; Wint 1961.

CE 32



CE 32



CE 32

CE 32

CE 33

CE 33

Location: London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E. 1168-1921.

Medium: Manuscript illumination (choir book initial).

Dating: 1480-1490 (Victoria and Albert Museum, 2016); c. 1495 (Alexander, 1995).

Artist: Girolamo dai Libri

Provenance: Verona, perhaps commissioned for Santa Maria in Organo (V & A, 2016); "Possibly the miniature in a psalter for which Cirolanodai Libri was paid on October 7, 1502, by S. Maria in Organo" (Levi d'Ancona 1969, 21).

Iconographical c*ontext*: Initial letter B (Beatus), King David sits playing instrument, behind him stand four men (temple musicians without instruments).

Number of cetre depicted: 1

Size: c. 5.5 cm

Comments: This source shows a cetra of strikingly large size. The frets are seemingly carved out of one block of wood (same as body-neck-peghead?); the fret width increases on both sides of the fingerboard as they ascend; metal strings depicted by color? The string-holder is atypical, no comb or projection is seen at the body end. The bridge arrangement is not clear. There are two possibilities, one as 'normal' with the strings running over the bridge, attached at the end of the body, or the strings are attached near the end of the body to the second piece which looks also like a bridge. The condition of the miniature is very faded, but it seems to show an inlaid main rose and smaller roses at the ends of the bridge feet (?). There are seven or eight frets, depending whether the first is the nut or an actual fret.

Apparently the position of the rose was changed. Blurring or smearing is apparent in the center part of the top (see black and white photo below).

Stefano Pio refers to this instrument as “bastardized, contaminated model [of a viola da mano]” (Pio 2011, 201).

BibliographyA: Levi d’Ancona 1969; Alexander 1995, 219; Castiglioni e Peretti 2008; http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O89301/manuscript-initial-b-with-david-playing/ (accessed 15.03.2018).

BibliographyM: Pio 2011, 201.

CE 33

CE 33

CE 33

CE 34

CE 34

Location: London, British Museum, et al.; Hind 1948, V, lists six existing copies of the print.

Medium: Engraving

Dating: c. 1490 (Payne, 77)

Artist: Giovanni Pietro da Birago; also called Master of the Sforza Hours.

Provenance: Milanese

Iconographical context: Virgin of the Rocks with Child, with wingless angel musicians, St Jerome in background; John the Baptist child presents Jesus with lamb. At middle of bottom, inscription DIVE / MARIE VIR / GINI.

Number of cetre depicted: 1

Size: c. 6 cm

Comments: Seven pegs. The fingerboard similar to CE 40 in that it extends onto the sound-board. There is a clear joint between the sound-board and block from which the horns are cut, which could be an indication for built-up construction. This prominent joint across the sound-board suggests the cross-bar, i.e., yoke of the kithara. The instrument lacks a rose entirely. In general this seems quite a large instrument, with an elongated comb. It is being played with quill similar to **CE 40**. The excessively wide spacing of the (six?) frets could suggest diatonic frets, although other fretted instruments are found depicted by the same school and medium which feature unrealistically wide fret placement, thus a word of caution is in order when interpreting these frets. Lines drawn on top under hand area look a bit like grain marks in the wood, but may have been done simply as shading. No strings are shown. The thickish plectrum suggests a writing quill. Sides have been added in perspective which seem to indicate little or no taper in depth towards the bottom end of the resonator, although this cannot be conclusive given the limitations of the medium.

BibliographyA: Hind 1948, V, 78; Payne 1978, 77. Lambert 1999, inv. 499.

BibliographyM:

RCMI Graduate Center New York: Winternitz collection, unpublished (R BK III: 18).

CE 34

CE 35

CE 35

Location: Venezia, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

Medium: Painting

Dating: 1485-1495

Artist: Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo (Giovanni Francesco / Gianfranco del Zotto) 1450-1510 (Friuli-Venice).

Provenance: Venice

Iconographical c*ontext*: Madonna and Child

Number of cetre: 1

Size:

Comments: Nine frets and ten frontal pegs are visible. In terms of string groupings, the configuration seems to be 2 x 5. A carved animal head is present. Surely these are chromatic frets, many within a short space; they are very close to correct placement. There is a marked similarity to the L'Aquila **CE 46** instrument, but see also Appendix I, Ex. 28, which may have used **CE 35** as a model.

BibliographyA: Berenson 1968, Pl 330.

BibliographyM: Ravizza 1970.

CE 35

CE 36

CE 36

Location: Verona, Santa Maria in Organo.

Medium: *Intarsia*

Dating: 1494-1499 (Bagatin, 88).

Artist: Fra Giovanni da Verona

Provenance: Verona

Iconographical* c*ontext: Inlaid choir stall, instruments of Psalms.

Number of cetre: 1

Size: c. 42 cm

Comments: This instrument has twelve pegs, consistent with the one other source by this artist where the entire peghead is visible (**CE 39**). Note the problems of perspective with the frets, also with the absence of the right-hand horn. Although the frets, looking at the right-hand edge of the fingerboard, appear to increase in height as they approach the body (*sic*), this would be impossible on a real instrument. It has been argued by more than one modern researcher that the height of the frets must decrease as they go up the neck toward the body (including Bugini 2014, 125, 169), but the general conclusion of this study is that the flat tops of the block frets are all at the same height (see **Chapters 4** and **6**), without exception. The left-hand finger of the player presses down over the space between the frets, causing the back edge of the block higher up the fingerboard to function as the actual stopping point for the string. This is a simple and viable system for fretting, and produces a clear tone as long as the spaces between the frets are slightly narrower than the width of the finger. If the spaces are too narrow (say, half a finger width or less), then it is no longer possible to push the string very slightly down into the gap and a clear tone is not produced. If the spaces are wider than a finger, or much wider than a finger, then the intonation of the metal string can be tricky to manage consistently, and somewhat instable for the intonation. But with the right distance

between the blocks, both blocks allow the finger to press the string into the gap only so far, just enough to achieve a clear tone for the note.

This is one of three *intarsie* by fra Giovanni, all three of which seem to follow the same model with problematic fret perspective (**CE 36, 39, 43**).

Fretting - Chromatic or Diatonic? A second point of interest found here is the noticeably large spacing between the first two frets, a feature mentioned on an earlier cetra from the 1420's, **CE 23**. Could it be possible that **CE 36** shows a chromatic fretboard without the first fret? One reason for omitting the first fret is that, on a smaller sized instrument with a short string length, stopping the string cleanly just after the nut is tricky, but the more important reason is that, as Tuning Test #4 shows (**Chapter 4**), the first fret provides unneeded chromatic pitches and is redundant in musical function. **CE 36** thus presents evidence for an altered chromatic fretting, in contrast to the diatonic system of **CE 32**.

Do either of Giovanni's two other cetra panels show a similar configuration? No, both **CE 39** and **CE 43** show a regularity of fret positions associated with fully chromatic frets. When examining an iconographical source for accuracy of fret placement, it is wise to remember that there are two interdependent fields of measurement, the section with the frets (their distance apart from each other), and the entire string length. The string length is the measurement from the nut to the bridge. On numerous sources such as **CE 32**, but especially those of Giovanni and, even more specifically, on his *intarsie*, the bridge is placed too high on the soundboard, that is to say, it is closer than it should be to the rose to produce a mathematically correct series of fret placements. In reality, it would have to be somewhat closer to the end of the instrument, and this has been correctly done on **CE 37**, Morone's painting of the same instrument as Giovanni's **CE 36**. While Giovanni's string-less cetre apparently are meant to symbolize the vanity of earthly pleasures and the brevity of earthly existence, they are completely unrealistic in one sense: a cetra bridge can only remain on the soundboard if held there by the pressure of the strings. Therefore a stationary bridge on a cetra in a vertical position, as shown on Giovanni's panels, would elude the laws of physics.

CE 36 also seems to show that the neck under the frets is positioned under the treble-side of the fingerboard, i.e., off-center as suggested by later cittern neck profiles. As such this would

represent an early, unique source which presents an off-center neck structure; for further discussion of neck profile, see **Chapter 4**.

The circle-of-holes rosette has received a unique treatment of detail, in that (1) trouble has been taken to show the soundboard thickness at the edge of individual holes, and (2) small cracks (following the realistically-represented longitudinal grain of the wood) have apparently been added in between some of the holes, as they might have occurred during the process of drilling the holes in the one-piece soundboard. If intentional, and not an unplanned occurrence for the *intarsiatore*, they represent extraordinary attention to detail.

Giovanni's cetre total four (**CE 36, 39, 43,** plus his single woodcarving**, CE 47**), and, as mentioned above, none of the four are equipped with strings. In contrast, his bowed instruments are always fully strung. Four out of ten lutes are strung, although no example seems to have an accurately complete set, including missing or broken strings; the other examples have none. His single harp seems fully strung, possibly with one string broken, and his string keyboard has complete strings.

Broken strings and the intentional imperfections outlined above may be consistent with the artist's predilection for showing the vanity of sensual pleasure and earthly pursuits, but it is also possible that the cetre lack strings (twelve in total) because accommodating this number would have covered or compromised the painstaking details of the roses, including the rose of this example with the details described above. In any case we must assume that a stringless cetra in an upright position would in real life be without a bridge, which was only held in position by the downward pressure of the strings. For a discussion of the lack of strings on this and other instruments by Giovanni, see Bugini 2014, 125.

The flower (or acorn?) ornament on the end of the peghead is unique in all cetra depictions. It answers the tailpiece ornament on the small bowed instrument (violeta, ribechina) shown directly above the lute in this panel, and also in Stall 32 at Monte Oliveto Maggiore and in Stall 17 at the Duomo in Siena. Capping the cetra peghead, the ornament brings to mind the acorn on the gittern peghead in the collection of the Wartburg (Eisenach), presumed to have been made by Hans Ott in Nürnberg c. 1450.

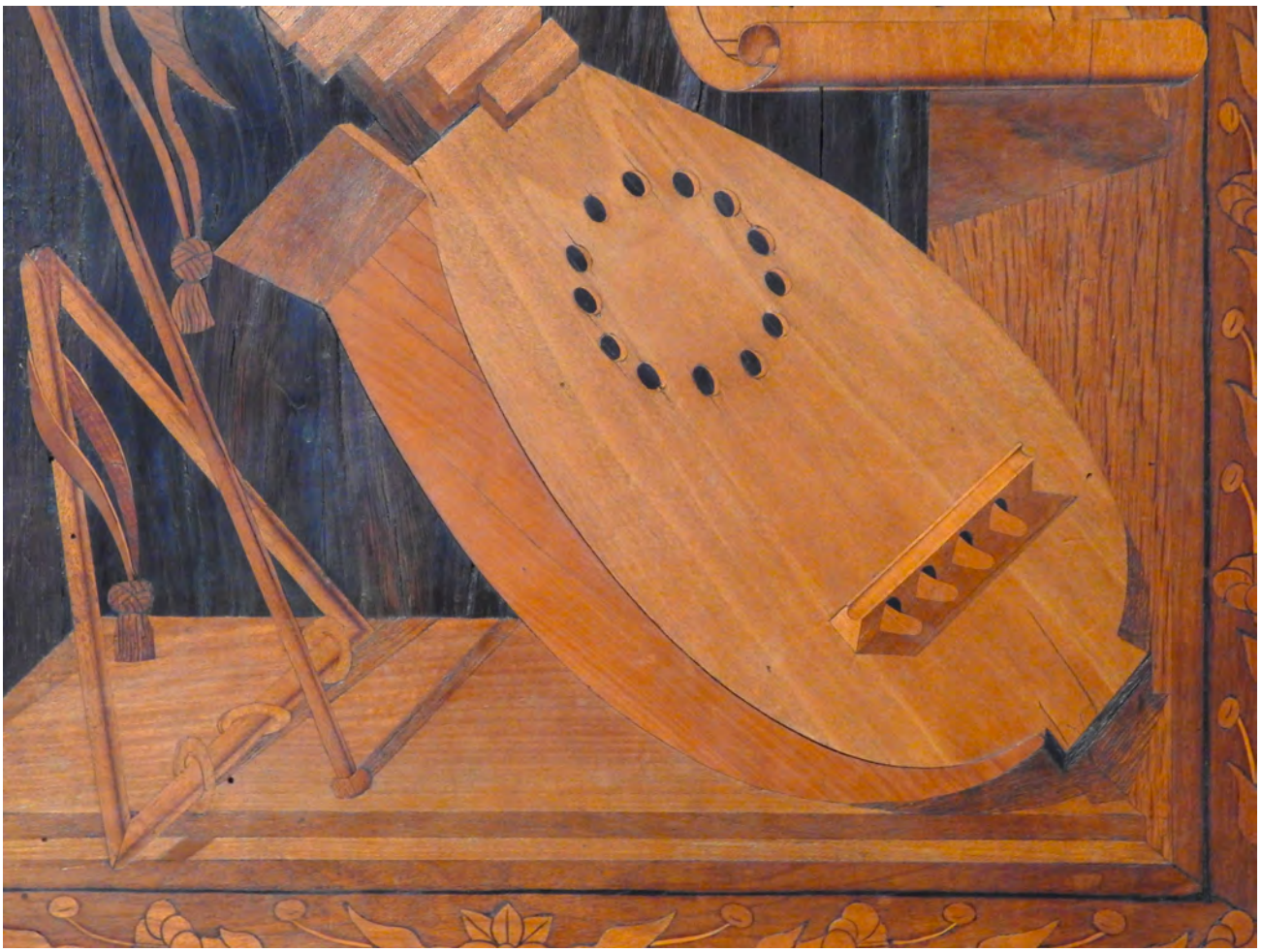
For comment on the cord threaded through the hole in the hook, see **Chapter 4**. The music notation contains a 3v-piece which has eluded identification. Bugini 2011, 66, describes the work as "polifonia a tre voci con ritmo di danza" and sees the main musical function of the cetra as "per l'accompagnamento della danza", as an instrument belonging to the "loud" instruments in the medieval categorization of loud and soft types (Bugini 2014, 157). Accompanying popular singing, and playing for dancing were indeed the two musical functions for the cetra named by Tinctoris (Appendix II, XV-8), but the claim that the cetra was understood as being a "loud" instrument is without any documentation or clear reason.

BibliographyA: Bagatin 2000, 37-72; Benetti 2016.

BibliographyM: Bugini 2014.

CE 36

CE 36



CE 36

CE 37

CE 37

Location: Verona, Santa Maria in Organo, cupola.

Medium: Fresco

Dating: c. 1496-1498 (Bugini 2014).

Artist: Domenico Morone

Provenance: Verona

Iconographical* c*ontext: Musical angel

Number of cetre depicted: 1

Size:

Comments: Restoration was completed in 1984 (Bugini 2014, 166). This instrument is strikingly similar to the cetra in the choir stall *intarsia* in same church (as pointed out by Bugini 2014, 169), and was painted during the same period as the creation of the wood inlay panels. It is even more similar to **CE 39**. A common model may have been shared by Giovanni da Verona and Domenico Morone. The features suggested in the fresco are six or seven frets, a circle-of-holes rosette, aqueduct-style bridge like the intarsiated cetra in the choir stall below, horns on the same instrument below, dorsal hook behind the peg-head, and a modest-sized string-holder/base. The precise number of pegs is difficult to ascertain, perhaps eight or nine. The rectangular face of peg head looks flat (unfaceted) and possibly of glued-on construction.

This source, together with **CE 36** and **39**, represent a unique pair of documents within this catalog: two artists used the same precise model for their cetra depictions.

BibliographyA:

BibliographyM: Bugini 2014.

CE 37

Location of angel with cetra in cupola

Cetra

EAST, facing altar/choir

CE 37

CE 37

CE 38

CE 38

Location: Montalcino, Museo Diocesano.

Medium: Painting

Dating: 1498 (National Gallery of Art).

Artist: Girolamo di Benvenuto

Provenance:

Iconographical c*ontext*: Assumption of the Virgin

Number of cetre: 1

Size: c. 50-60 cm

Comments: This instrument seems to be a cetra with atypical bulges at the neck-body joint instead of horns. The peg-head is unusual, with eight lateral and two frontal pegs and a carved head. There are 6 x 2 strings, yet 10 (?) pegs. The base of the instrument is blocked, therefore no comb is visible.

This is one of the few fret system depictions in the Catalog where the distances at the fourth and fifth frets are correct for chromatic frets. For specifics of how these frets are stopped by the left hand, see Comments to **CE 36**.

The carved lion's (?) head is similar to **CE 26** and **30** but is found here some 40-50 years later than those.

The sides of the body are scalloped, and the body has no taper.

There may be a hook behind peg-head, although this is not unequivocal.

There are 9 frets, clearly chromatic. The fingerboard looks more like separate blocks, although it might be one piece of wood, with cut-out spaces between frets. The block frets have varying spacings in between them, decreasing as they ascend.

BibliographyA:

BibliographyM: Nickel 1972, Pl 105.

CE 38

CE 38

CE 38

CE 39

CE 39

Location: Asciano, Abbazia di Monte Oliveto Maggiore, Choir Stall 18 (Brizzi 1989).

Medium: *Intarsia*

Dating: 1503-1505 (Brizzi, 10-11; Bagatin, 88).

Artist: Fra Giovanni da Verona

Provenance: Similar to **CE 36** (Verona)

Context: Musical instruments, symbolizing heavenly praise and earthly vanity.

Number of cetre: 2, treated here individually due to dating difference.

Size: c. 40 cm

Comments: This instrument has a one piece soundboard which has cracked. It is impossible to say when this happened. It is interesting to speculate whether this crack appeared when the *intarsia* was still relatively new (?), thus influencing the choice of three-piece top for the second instrument of 1511-1512. This detail is a striking difference between two otherwise very similar cetre.

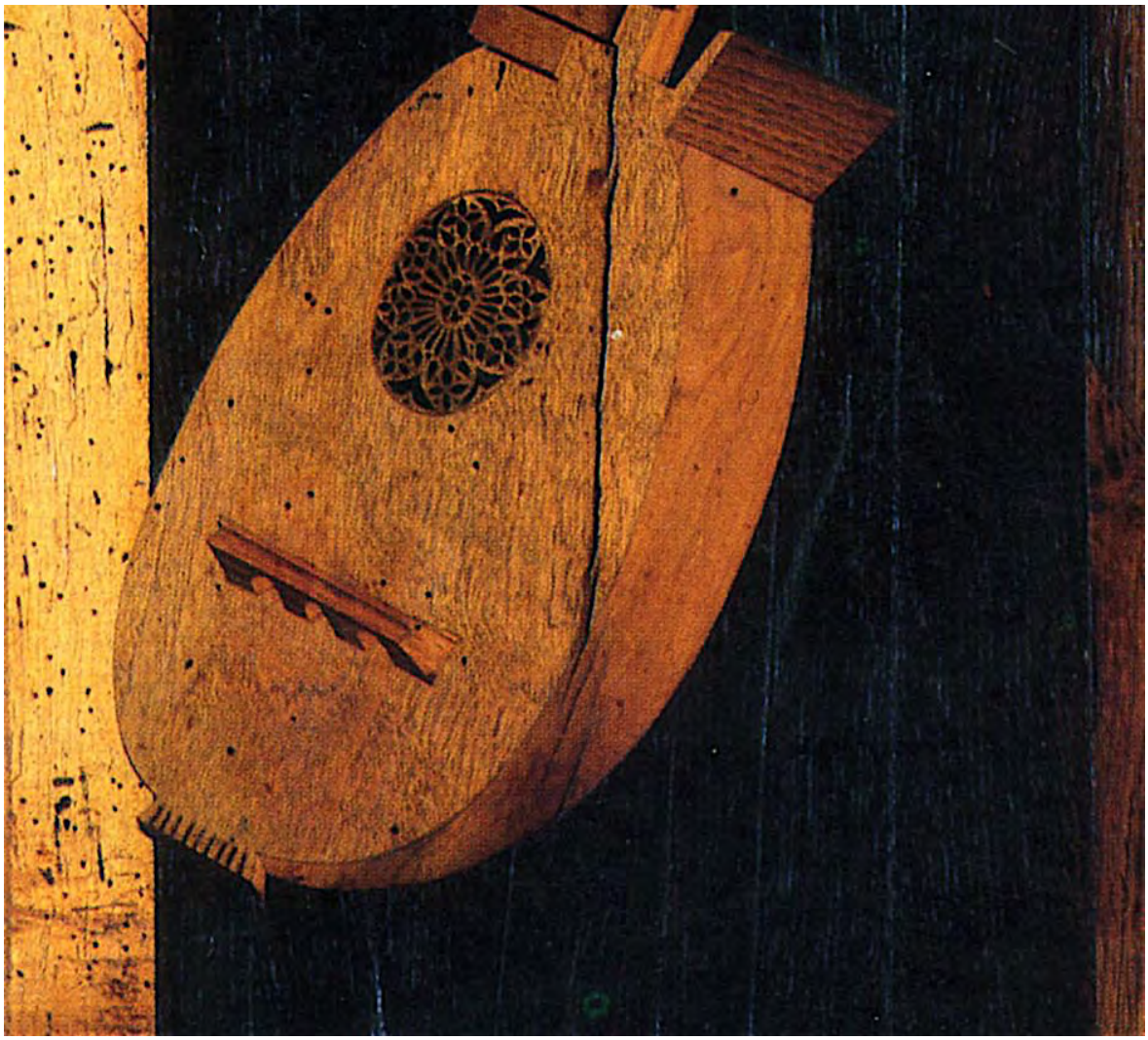
The instrument is depicted without strings, which could invite various symbolic interpretations, including the vanity of earthly pleasures or brevity of earthly existence. A real cetra, without any strings and hanging at this angle, would not have a bridge fixed to the sound-board, for on the real instrument, the bridge position on the sound-board was secured only by downward string pressure. The bridge, as far as we know, was not normally glued to the top (if 16th-c. existing citterns are anything to go by).

For specifics of how these frets are stopped by the left hand, see Comments to **CE 36**.

BibliographyA: Brizzi 1989, Pl. 18; Bagatin 2000.

BibliographyM: Young 1984.

CE 39



CE 39

CE 39

CE 39

CE 39

CE 39

CE 40

CE 40

Location: Roma, Museo di Roma, Palazzo Braschi, Sala della Magliana o delle Muse.

Medium: Fresco

Dating: c. 1505-1510

Artist: Long attributed to Giovanni Lo Spagna, but recently to Gerino da Pistoia (Gerini di Pietro Gerini). Bury 2012, 227, states: "Finally, there was the room of the Muses at the papal hunting lodge of La Magliana, from which the frescoes of *Apollo and the Nine Muses*, now in the Museo di Roma, were removed. These are strongly Peruginesque. They were formerly attributed to Lo Spagna, although that attribution has been rejected; more recently they have been give to Gerino da Pistoia. They may have been commissioned by cardinal Alidosi, who died in 1511, for his name appears on the door into the room." Massafra 2002, Pl 74, shows a photo of the room c. 1961-1962.

Provenance: Papal hunting lodge Villa della Magliana (Casino Papale di Caccia della Magliana), possibly commissioned for Cardinal Alidosi, d. 1511.

Iconographical context: Affreschi di Apollo e le Muse: la Musa Tersicore

Number of cetre: 1

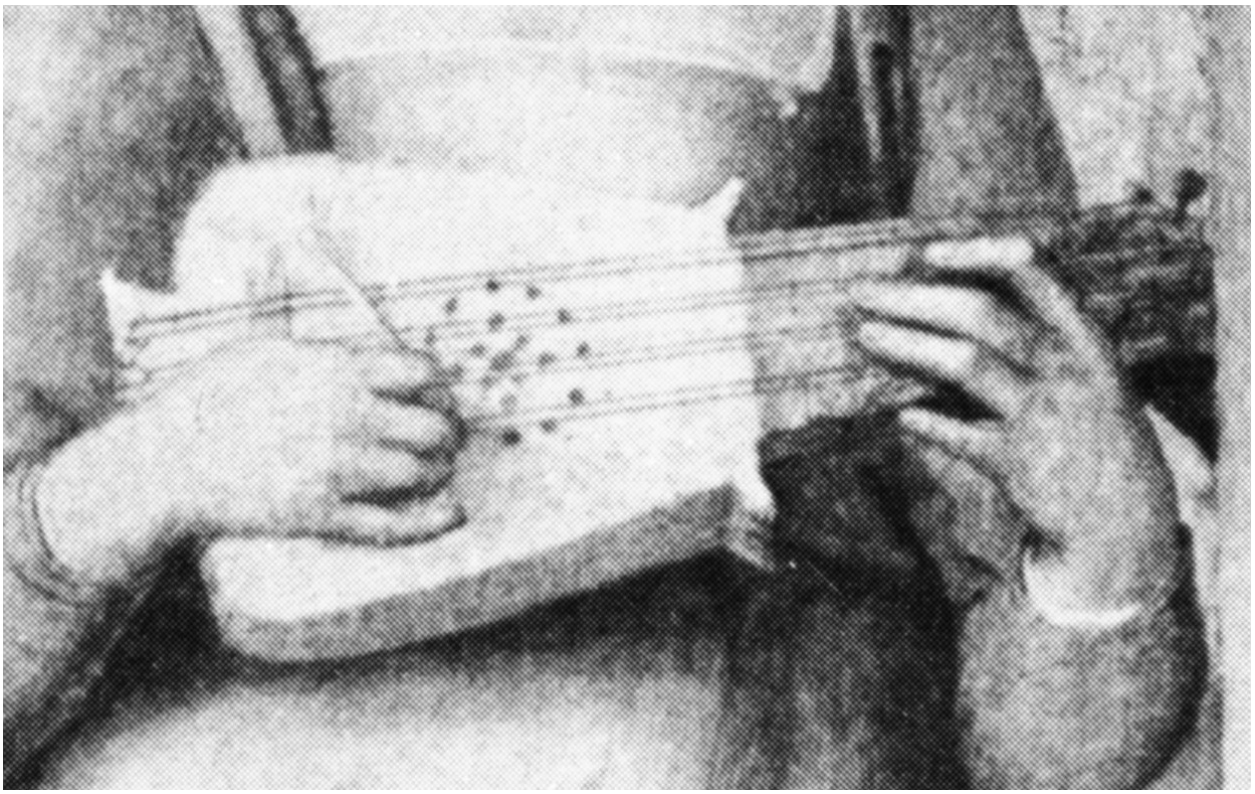
Size:

Comments: A heavy quill (goose feather?) is shown in good detail. There is either a non-tapered body depth, or just a very slight taper. This is perhaps the earliest source for what seems to be close to a later fret system, i.e., thin metal or wooden fillets inlaid into a one-piece fingerboard with (?) a slight scalloping between the frets (or possibly the fret surfaces are inclined, ascending toward the bridge). No spaces are seen in between separate blocks.

BibliographyA: Bury 2012.

BibliographyM: Young 1984.

CE 40



CE 40

CE 41

CE 41

Location: Lurago d'Erba, Villa Sormani.

Medium: Tempera on panel

Dating: 1507-1508

Artist: Bernardo Zenale (c. 1460-1526)

Provenance: Milan, Santa Maria di Brera, organ 'parapet' acc. to Meuci 2002.

Iconographical c*ontext***: Angel musicians

Number of cetre: 1

Size:

Comments: This instrument shows no body taper, and no strings or bridge are shown. We note the pointed ends of frets, coming clearly from the idea of kollopes-frets; on some ancient sculptures, the kollopes show a similarity to 'sticks'.

BibliographyA: Meucci 2002.

BibliographyM:

CE 41

CE 42

CE 42

Location: Milano, Pinacoteca di Brera.

Medium: Fresco

Dating: 1509-1514

Artist: Bernardino Luini

Provenance: Originally in the Villa Pelucca (Sesto San Giovanni / Milan).

Iconographical* c*ontext: Passage of the Red Sea

Number of cetre: 1

Size:

Comments: Though much of the cetra is blocked by the figures of other musicians, the following details are visible: comb-style string-holder, bridge, inlaid rose, plectrum guard, purfling on the soundboard inset from the edge. Eight strings, in no clear courses-grouping.

The plectrum guard is of interest inasmuch as this is the only source in the entire catalog which shows this feature. The existing gittern from the collection at the Wartburg in Eisenach, thought to date from the mid-15th century, also had a plectrum guard affixed to the sound-board between the bridge and the rose; now missing, it has been impossible to say whether the instrument initially had the guard or whether it was added later.[25]

BibliographyA:

BibliographyM: Geiringer 1943, pl. XX.

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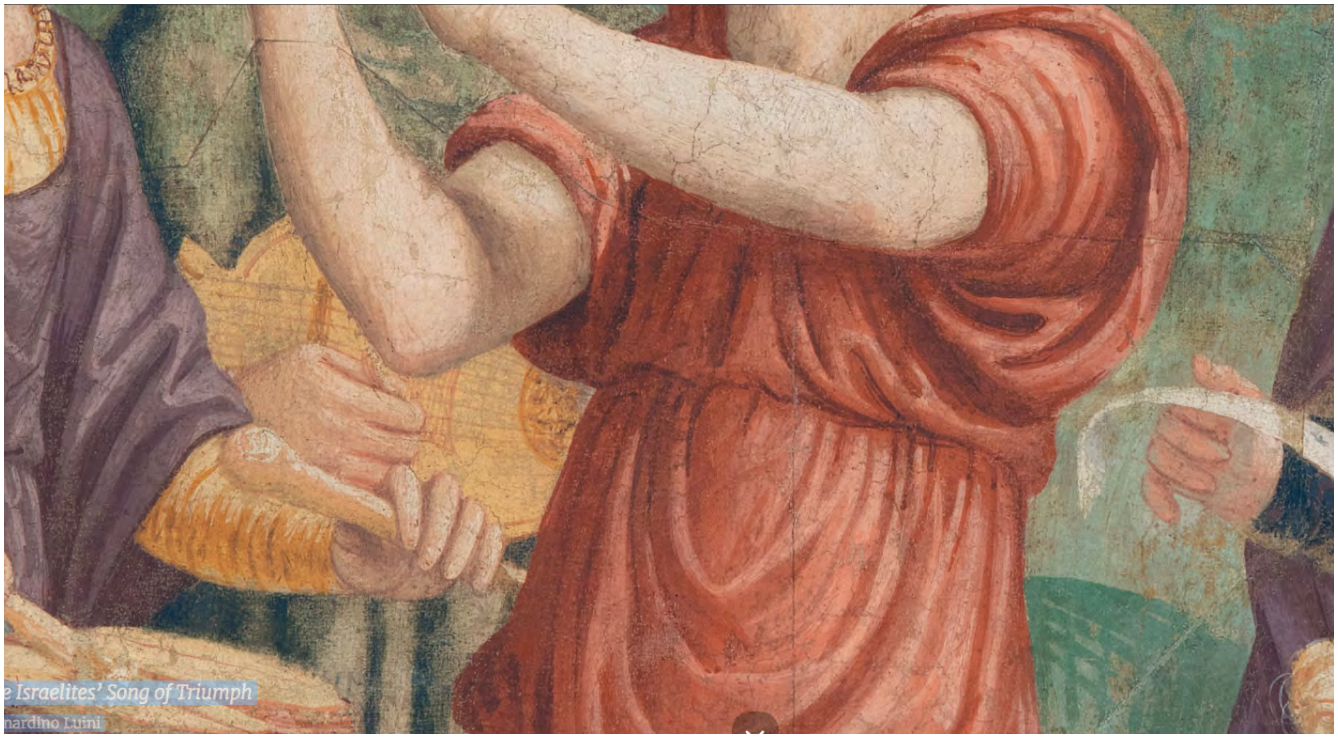
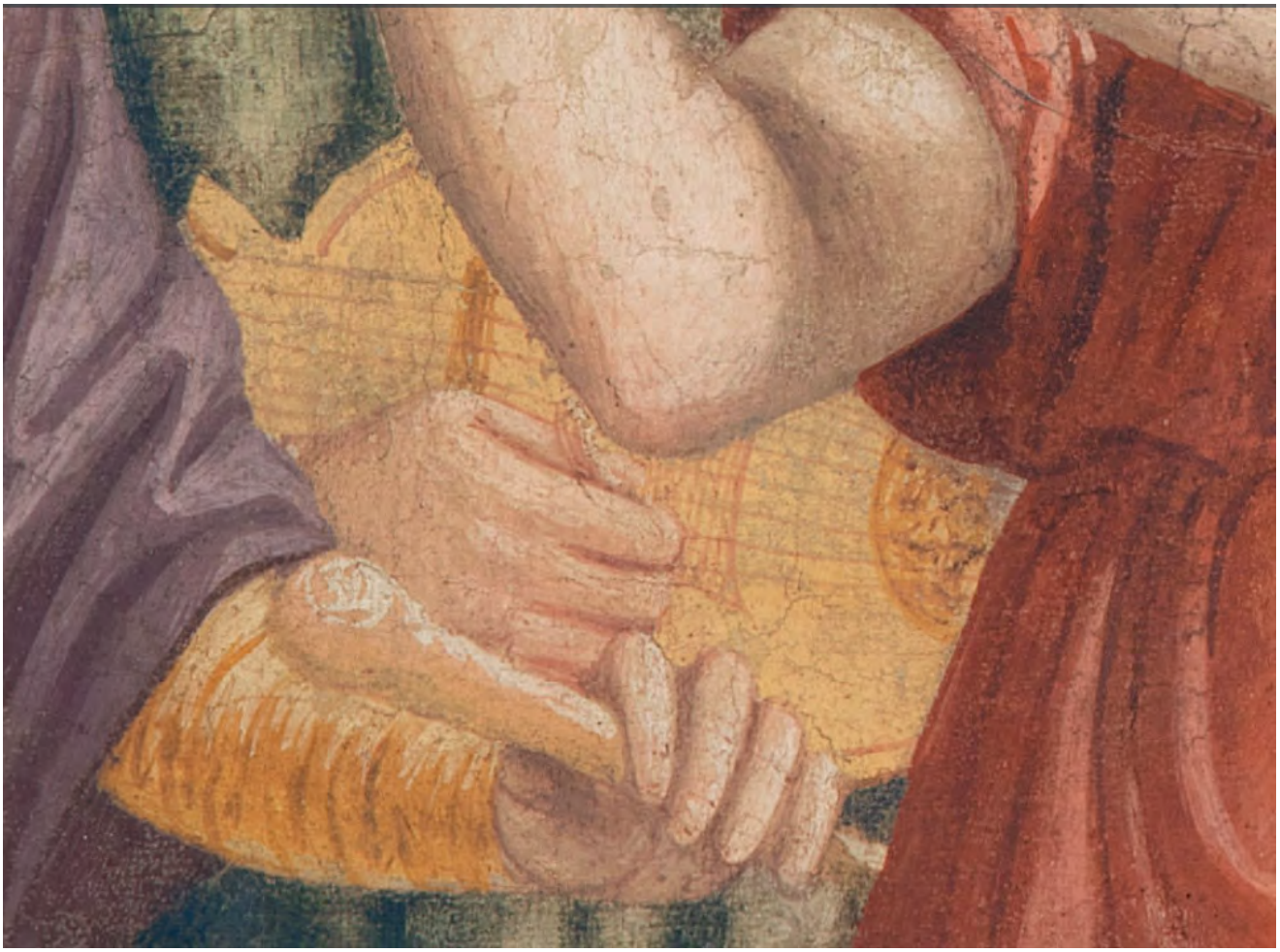
[25] For photos and comment on the Wartburg instrument, see Young 2000, 367-368.

CE 42

CE 42



CE 42



CE 43

CE 43

Location: Asciano, Abbazia di Monte Oliveto Maggiore, Choir Stall 10 (Brizzi 1989).

Medium: *Intarsia*

Dating: 1511-1512 (Brizzi 1989, 10-11; Bagatin, 88)

Artist: Fra Giovanni da Verona

Provenance: Similar to **CE 36** (Verona)

Context: Musical instruments, symbolizing heavenly praise and earthly vanity.

Number of cetre: 2, with individual catalog entries due to dating difference.

Size: c. 40 cm

Comments: This cetra features an inlaid rose and a three-piece soundboard. See comments for **CE 39** concerning the lack of strings and bridge. Realistic perspective rendering of frets is somewhat problematic in this *intarsia*. Unsuccessful rendering of highest frets seems to be a simple mirror-image-reversal of earlier *intarsia*. Depiction of neck structure under frets seems suggestive of full-width design rather than later off-center treble-centered contour (see **Chapter 4** for general discussion of features related to neck structure). The music notation is an anonymous two-part *Verbum caro factum est*, fittingly for a cetra, a *lauda*, or devotional song of praise, as pointed out by music Gustave Reese. He credited his colleague Dragan Plamenac with the identification of the Superius as belonging to a 3v setting in the manuscript Firenze, Panciatichi 27, f. 109v, but only the opening short phrase of the Superius is the same as the 3v setting identified by Plamenac; the rest of the Superius is not the same, and the Tenor is completely different.

BibliographyA: Brizzi 1989; Bagatin 2000.

BibliographyM: Reese 1959, Pl. 11; Winternitz 1961.

CE 43

CE 43

CE 43

CE 44

CE 44

Location: Pitigliano, Museo Diocesano di Arte Sacra.

Medium: Painting

Dating: c. 1500-1510

Artist: Girolamo di Benvenuto

Provenance: Painted for Convento della Santissima Trinità alla Selva (Grosseto)(Selva di Santa Fiora).

Iconographical context: Altarpiece: Assunzione della Vergine con santi Girolamo, Tommaso e Francesco.

Number of cetre: 1

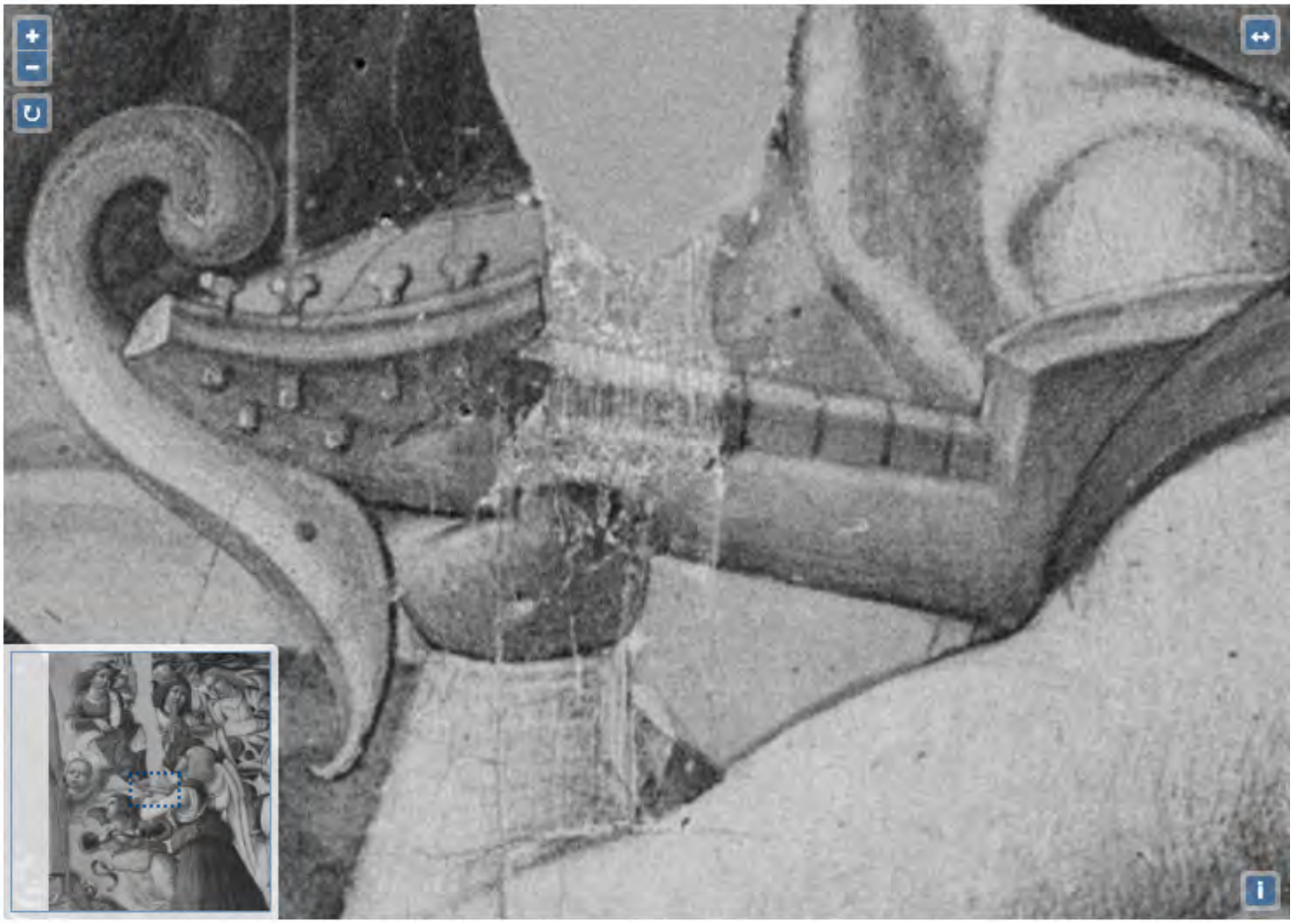
Size:

Comments: An angel plays a cetra, and only the back of the neck and peghead are visible. This is a unique and important source for the back of the neck perspective. The cetra has twelve pegs total (assuming the hook ornament represents the middle line of the peg-head, as six pegs are visible on this side). Also, the neck does not look offset, i.e., frets are still individual blocks and neck is still in the old style. The sides of the body might be somewhat scalloped.

BibliographyA:

BibliographyM:

CE 44



CE 45

7. Here attributed to Giulio Campagnola, «Daphnis», Munich, Alte Pinakothek

CE 45

Location: München, Alte Pinakothek.

Medium: Painting

Dating: c. 1510-1520

Artist: Giulio Campagnola (Brown 2010); formerly Palma Il Vecchio.

Provenance:

Iconographical context: Daphnis depicted as young shepherd (Brown 2010); formerly titled 'Young Faun' with various attributions, most commonly until Brown, Palma Il Vecchio.

Number of cetre: 1

Size:

Comments: This represents a unique source because it is now known that the artist himself actually played the cetra (Brown 2010), thus aspects of realism of the instrument cannot be questioned. The carved animals head is unclear in form, but is perhaps a bird or a dragon (?). The peg-head form is slightly reminiscent of the fresco in **CE 30**, Palazzo Schifanoia. It seems that there are noticeable spaces between the block frets. The hook is not the thin type seen, for example, on **CE 39**. Overall this seems to be a rather small instrument.

BibliographyA: Brown 2010.

BibliographyM: Winternitz 1961, 224.

CE 45

CE 45

CE 45

CE 46

CE 46

Location: L'Aquila, Palazzo Carli Benedetti.

Medium: Fresco

Dating: c. 1510-1520 (Francesco Zimei, private communication 2015).

Artist: Unknown

Provenance: L'Aquila

Iconographical c*ontext***: Swan attracted to the sound of the cithara.

Number of cetre: 1

Size:

Comments: The damaged condition of the fresco (undergoing restoration) seems to show bridge-tailpiece as one unit, although this is not conclusive. The presence of an on-body tailpiece could possibly suggest an interpretation of this cetra as a bowed instrument, however, there is no bow present, and if it were indeed bowed, it is a unique example in the entire body of iconography to have block frets. Therefore, it is assumed to represent a plucked cetra.

There are eight pegs, with strings grouped in a 4 x 2 configuration. The neck width under the frets is centered, not off-centered as on later cittern necks. The body sides show no shallowing taper of depth towards the bottom of the instrument. The sides are scalloped as on a *lira da braccio*, and this instrument has an inlaid rose. This features an interesting combination of disc-shaped peg-head and carved head (animal unknown). The straight-sided body is reminiscent of **CE 33** and **35,** both from the Veneto.

One may note the physical proximity to the horned *lira* or hurdy gurdy.

BibliographyA:

BibliographyM: Zimei 2016.

I wish to express my gratitude to Francesco Zimei, who alerted me to this source.

CE 46

CE 46

CE 47

CE 47

Location: Verona, Santa Maria in Organa, Sacristy / Sagrestia.

Medium: Wood carving (oak).

Dating: 1519-1523

Artist: Giovanni da Verona

Provenance: Verona

Iconographical context: These stunningly carved wooden columns separate ten intarsiated panels on the left-hand wall as one enters the sacristy. These panels are found on the wall immediately above a counter built along the left wall. Each *intarsia* is bordered on both sides by one column, thus two columns are found between any two *intarsie*. The columns are carved near their bases with Classically-inspired decoration, patterns, figures and natural objects; among the objects are household items of all kinds, tools and implements, armor, and musical instruments.

The cetra, in addition to many other musical instruments, is carved on the column to the right of the tenth *intarsia*.

Number of cetre: 1

Size: 8.5 - 9 cm (over gently curved surface following contour of column surface)

Comments: The neck shaft under the frets is centered, not off-set. There are eight frets. Eleven peg-holes are visible in four lateral rows of 3 / 3 / 3 and 2 as the face of the peg-head narrows towards the end. The end is not visible (with possibly a carved head). There are very large, prominent horns. The circle-of-holes rose is comprised of thirteen holes, placed very low on the soundboard, near the bridge. The body features a tapering body depth, and there is a prominent hook on back of the peg-head.

BibliographyA: Bagatin 2000.

BibliographyM:

I am extremely grateful to Annemies Tamboer, who gave me a photograph of this important iconographical source many years ago.

CE 47

CE 47

CE 47

CE 47

CE 48

CE 48

Location: Torrita di Siena, Oratorio della Santa Maria delle Nevi.

Medium: Fresco

Dating: 1525

Artist: Girolamo di Benvenuto

Provenance: Siena

Iconographical* c*ontext: Virgin and St. Thomas

Number of cetre: 1

Size:

Comments: There are four pegs (*sic*), with nine strings, possibly grouped as 2 / 2 / 3 / 2. The body has tapering depth, and the sides may be scalloped.

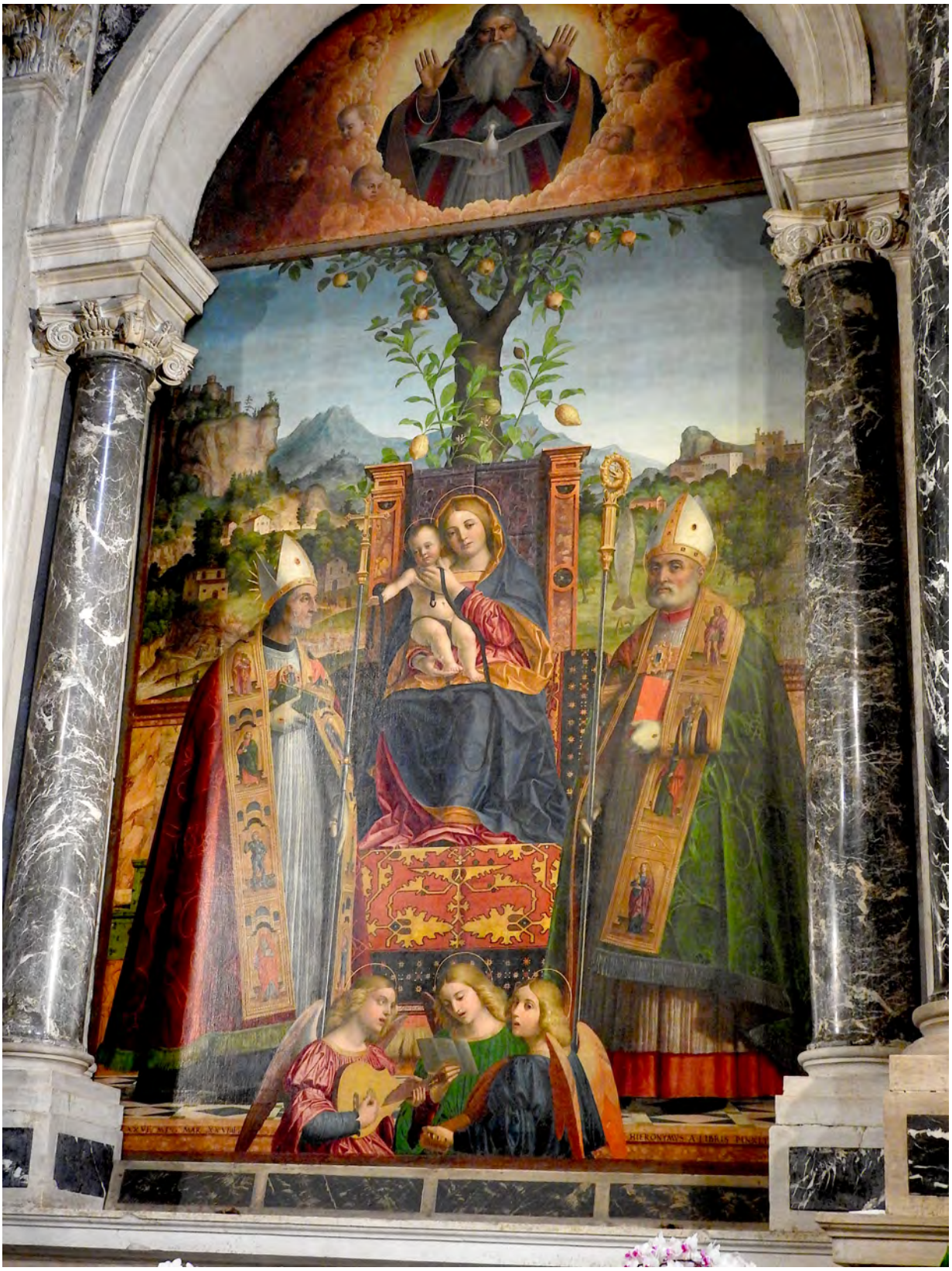
BibliographyA:

BibliographyM: Young 1984.

CE 48

CE 48

CE 49



CE 49

Location: Verona, San Giorgio Maggiore.

Medium: Altar painting

Dating: 1526 (date legible on peg-head of cetra).

Artist: Girolamo dai Libri

Provenance: Verona

Iconographical* c*ontext: Madonna with two saints, angel in foreground plays cetra.

Number of cetre: 1

Size: c. 50-60 cm

Comments: Denis 1944, 119, comments on the new features of this cetra compared with **CE 24** Della Robbia. As pointed out in Grijp 1981, this source is the earliest known showing "half frets", that is, diatonic frets with chromatic half-frets. Nine strings, in no obvious grouping. The instrument is rendered in stunning detail, including the date inscribed on the peg-head (see enlargement below). Although many aspects are ultra-realistic, the string-spacing and the fret configuration seem lacking in this regard. The body depth looks tapered.

See Appendix I, Ex. 1, for a suspiciously similar instrument in shape.

BibliographyA:

BibliographyM: Denis 1944; Grijp 1981.

CE 49

CE 49

CE 49

CE 49

CE 50

CE 50

Location: Lugano, Santa Maria degli Angioli, transept wall.

Medium: Fresco

Dating: 1529

Artist: Bernardino Luini

Provenance: Milano

Iconographical c*ontext***: Crucifixion scene with David in border below.

Number of cetre: 1

Size:

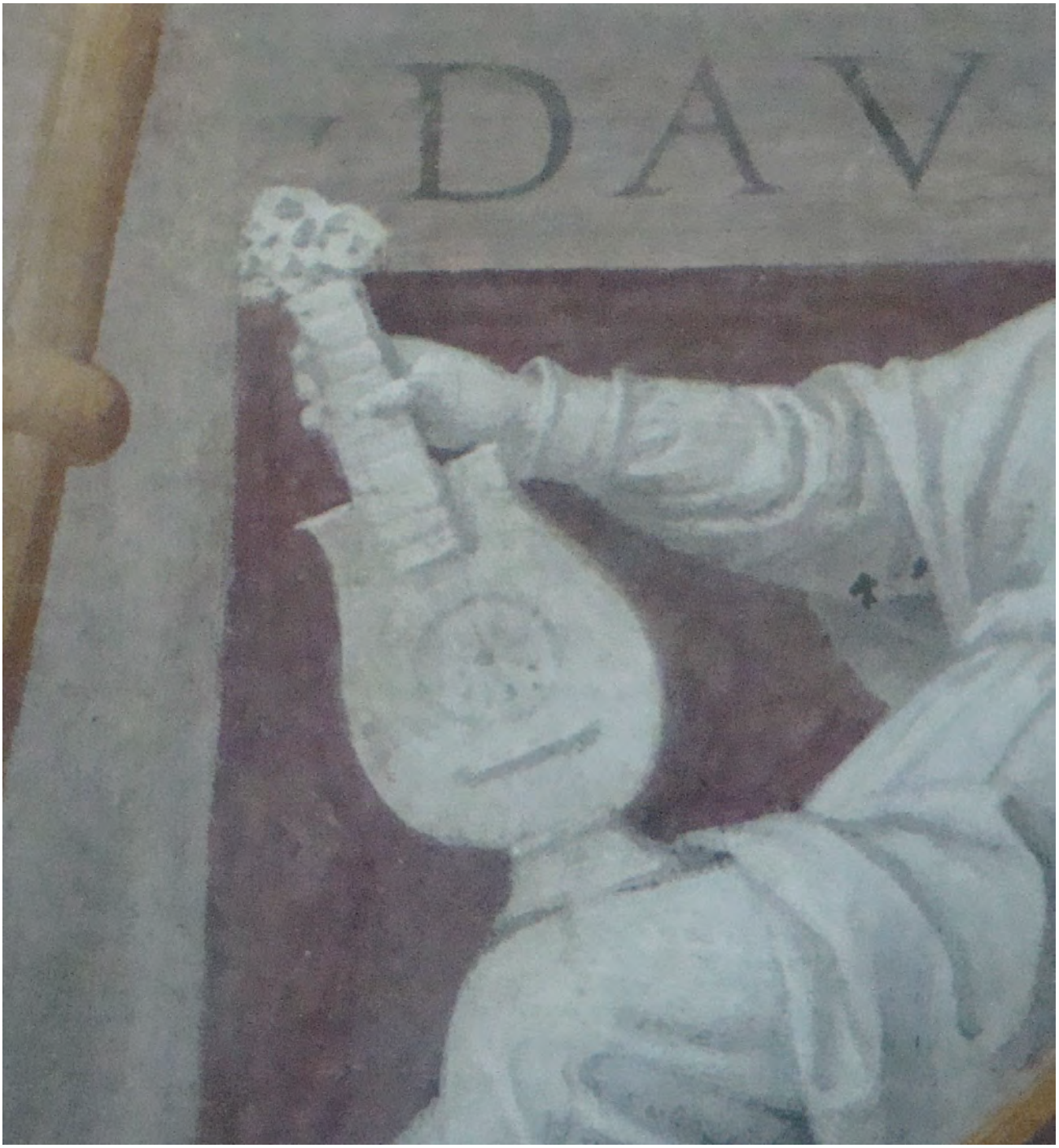
Comments: Scalloped frets, an inlaid rose, a prominent base, eight strings, and a small size are all features of this instrument. The fingerboard looks to be made out of one piece of wood, although this cannot be proven.

BibliographyA:

BibliographyM:

My thanks go to Marc Lewon, who alerted me to this cetra source.

CE 50



CE 51

CE 51

Location: Saronno, Santa Maria dei Miracoli, dome of Santuario.

Medium: Fresco

Dating: 1535-1536

Artist: Gaudenzio Ferrari

Provenance: Milano

Iconographical* c*ontext: Glory of angels, Angel concert.

Number of cetre: 1

Size:

Comments: The instrument seems to have had strings depicted at one time, as the fingerboard shows traces of them, but they may have been covered over or lost in restoration of the body. This cetra interesting but rather strange configuration of frets, four until the neck joins the body, the frets are wide, but suddenly get very narrow with the three smaller body frets, which also look stepped, or of a varying height. The detailed photo below shows a binding inlay (or painted line?) near the edge of the sound-board.

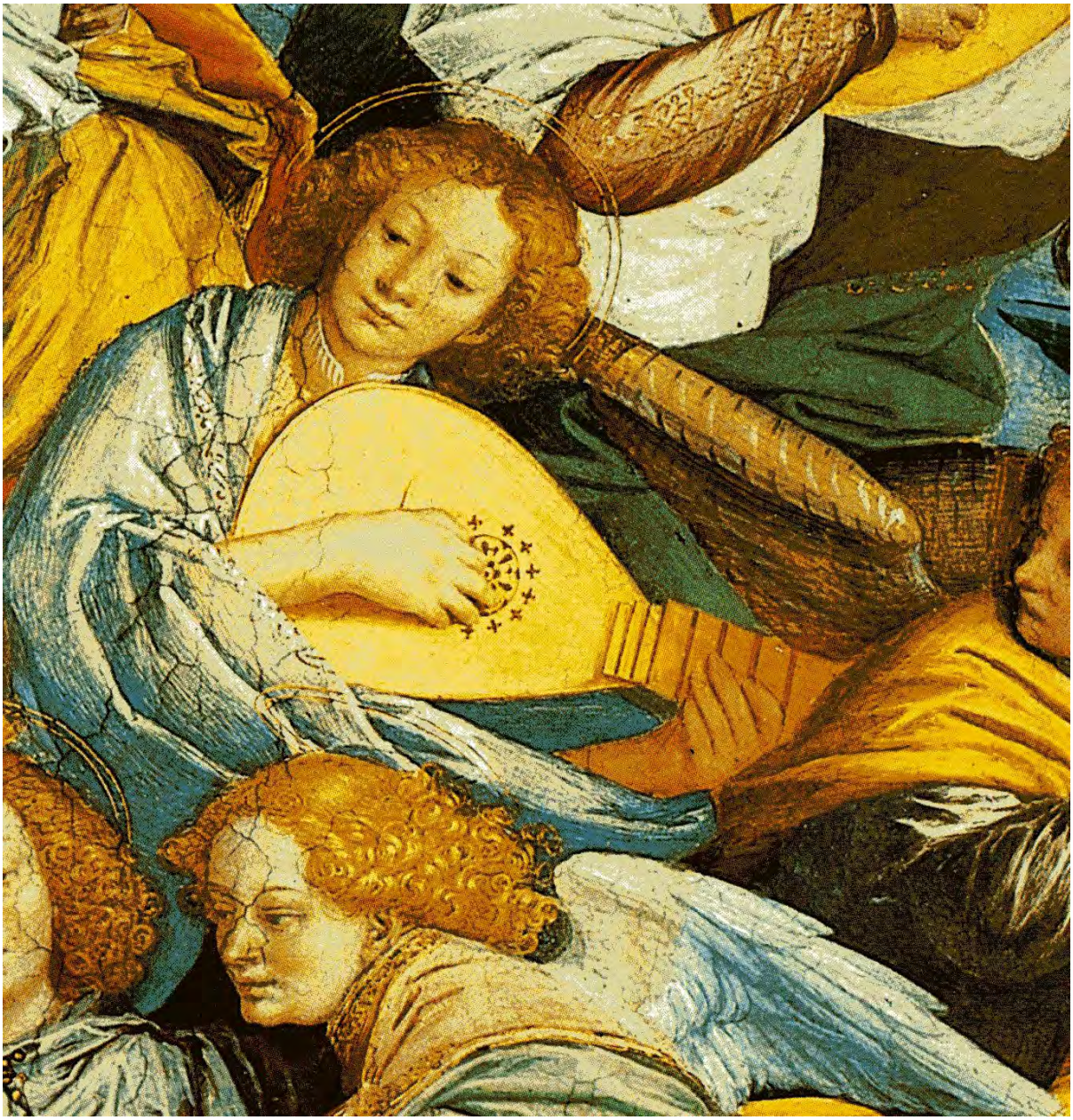
Winternitz 1961 mentions the work but misses this image, calling a smaller leafed instrument a cittern.

BibliographyA:

BibliographyM: Winternitz 1961.

CE 51

CE 51



CE 51

CE 51

CE 51

CE 51

CE 51

CE 52

CE 52

Location: Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemaeldegalerie.

Medium: *Cassone* painting (oil on wood).

Dating: 1545-1548

Artist: Tintoretto, Jacopo Robusti

Provenance: Venice

Iconographical* c*ontext: Transport of the Ark of the Covenant

Number of cetre: 1

Size:

Comments: This instrument lacks shoulder horns. The very broad fingerboard width is suggestive of block frets (kollopes) on an instrument depicted in a work from the 1540's, and it is interesting to note that, according to historian Erasmus Weddigen, Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti, 1518-1594) had a brother who played the cetra ("che suonava la cetra"; Weddigen 1984, 68). Thus the artist would presumably have been familiar with the appearance of the cetra. A second painting of inconclusive date (1576-1586?) by Tintoretto, "Women Playing Music" (Gemäldegalerie Dresden), shows a woman playing a six-course cetra from behind, where only the back of the bottom of the body is visible. The back appears to be ornately carved, although painted decoration is not out of the question as well. The body size looks to be relatively large and longish, judging by the amount of straight sides shown.

BibliographyA:

BibliographyM:

CE 52