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## **La Cetra Cornuta : the horned lyre of the Christian World**

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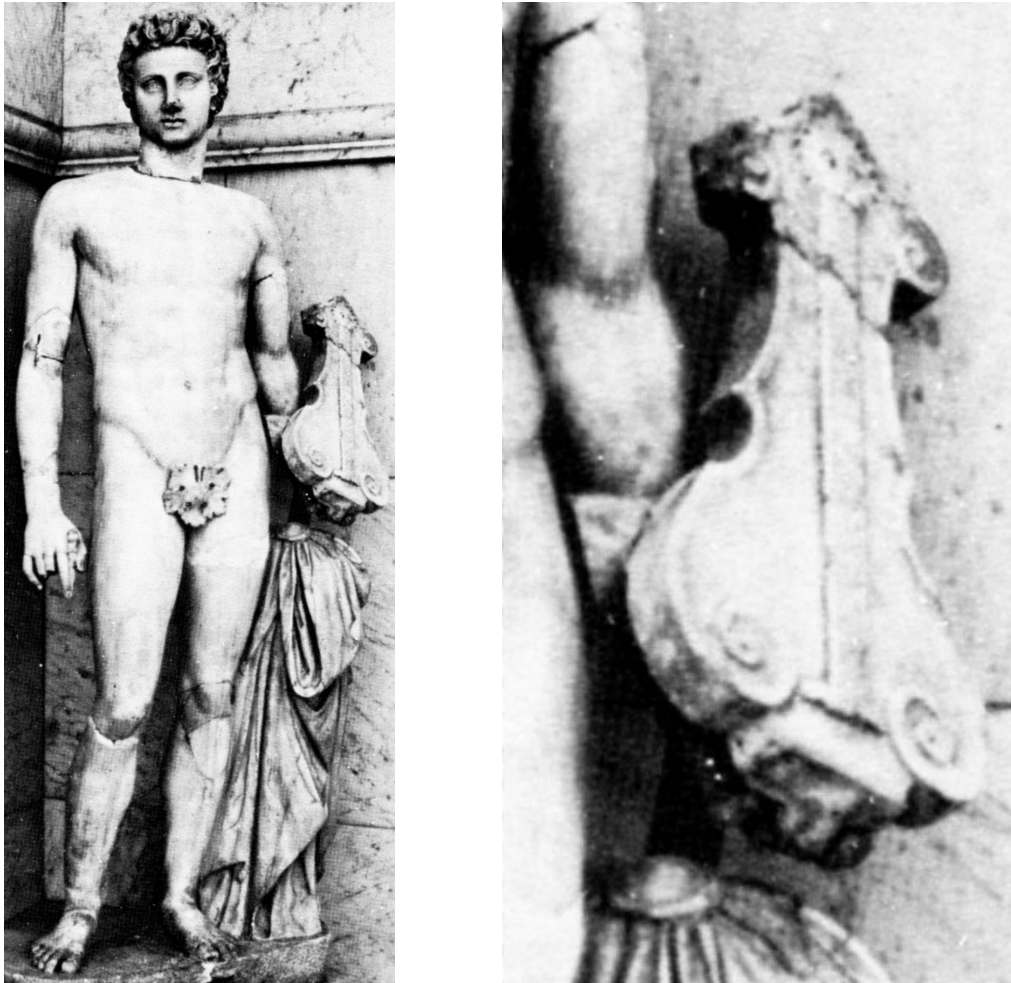


## APPENDIX I - Catalog of Related Sources: Visual Arts

Related sources of relevance to the study of the cetra, although they do not fulfill the criteria for identification as proper examples of that instrument, are given here.

<u>Example</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>page</u>
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**Ex. 1**

**Source:** Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Apollo (Rome, 2nd. c.?)

**Artist:** unknown

**Published:** Grunfeld 1969, Pl. 9

**Relevance:** Dating? General similarity to CE 50.

**Comment:** Grunfeld 1969, 14, mentions questionable authenticity of the statue, without any further specifics or sources. If the sculpted instrument is later, it must be from before the 17th c., because an existing German zither has virtually the same shape and was very likely copied from this sculpture. This zither belongs to the collection of the museum of the Cité de la Musique in Paris, inventoried as E. 1652. Photos of this instrument are

available at <<http://collectionsdumusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/doc/MUSEE/0158061>>, (accessed 13.01.2018):



Also note the general similarity of body form with **CE 50**, a source dated 1526.

## Ex. 2



**Source:** Bibliothek der Universität Heidelberg: Montfaucon, Bernard de, *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures / Antiquitas explanatiore et schematibus illustrata, Supplément Tome Premier: Les dieux des grecs et des romains / Supplementum Tomus Primus: Dii graecorum et romanorum*, Paris 1724, XXXIV. Pl. du Tom. I.

**Artist:** unknown

**Published:** Photo source: <<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/montfaucon1724/0225>>

**Relevance:** Antique model for Humanist cetra (?), including kollopes-frets

**Comment:** Labelled as Number 6 under the title “Apollon Soleil Et Les Muses”, the statue shown in this engraving was described by Montfaucon as being in Rome, where he presumably saw it. Further information about the sculpture, including its history since 1724, has eluded me. The strings appear to pass over elongated frets before being fixed at the upper end of the instrument, although it is unclear whether the sculptor’s intention was to depict functional frets. Could this monument have been accessible to painters in Quattrocento Rome as a model for study, influencing such works as **CE 24**?

## Ex. 3



**Source:** Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart: Cod. bibl. 2° 56-58 (Passionale, Zwiefalten Kloster c. 1120-1135)

**Artist:** unknown

**Published:** Nickel 1972, Pl. 36

**Relevance:** Dating from the 12th c. with Italian influence is of interest, although the lack of shoulder horns and neck length may suggest more relevance for Spanish Beatus instruments, either as an influence upon this image, or that the Spanish instruments and this source share a common influence from Byzantine waisted forms transmitted via Italy. See discussion of the Beatus sources in **Chapter 1**, 126.

**Comment:** South German provenance showing Italianized Byzantine influence, according to Borries-Schulten 1989, 460. Waisted body form shows distinct Byzantine influence (compare **Pl. 73**, Bristol Psalter) and possibly earliest occurrence of round sound-hole?

This work is a collection of legends of saints, listed in the order of feast days of the church year, including this miniature from the first volume, i.e. winter section. The scene shows St. Pelagia of Antioch to the left, riding a donkey and holding a lyre in Alemannic style, and two musicians to the right with harp and necked chordophone.



## Ex. 4



**Source:** Paris Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 2508, f. ov (IIv) (Psalm commentary, Italy 12th c.)

**Artist:** unknown

**Published:** Bachmann 1969, Pl. 23 (Photo source: Bachmann); Seebass 1973, 183, Pl. 105.

**Relevance:** This miniature shows an evolutionary connection of the vielle with the fingerboard lyre played on the shoulder with a bow. It also shows the close connection between the early vielle and the cetra.

**Comment:** Compare with Pl. 71.

## Ex. 5



**Source:** Mantova, Bibl. civica, PS C III 20, f. 1v (Psalter, Italy 12th c.)

**Artist:** unknown

**Published:** Bachmann 1969, Pl. 26; Seebass 1973, 183, Pl. 106. (Photo source: [lessingimages.com](http://lessingimages.com)).

**Relevance:** This vielle is close to the previous example (Ex. 4), without the upper arm that is seen in Ex. 4.

**Comment:** Compare with CE 1.



Ex. 6



**Source:** Palermo, Cappella Palatina (ceiling painting, Sicily, mid-12th c.)

**Artist:** unknown

**Published:** Kapitaikin 2011

**Relevance:** Spade-shaped body, shares formal similarities with surviving Byzantine *pandurae* (Pl. 37).

**Comment:** Kapitaikin: “The study presents new stylistic and iconographic evidence to show that the painters of the ceilings came mainly from Fatimid Egypt, and that the paintings could reflect also some impact of the Christian arts of that country, if not the

actual participation of Coptic artists in their production....The 'Islamicate' – rather than Islamic – ceilings and their imagery were thus adapted to the Christian setting within the palatine chapel of the Norman monarchs.”

## Ex. 7



**Source:** Manchester, The John Rylands University Library, Latin MS 8, f. 89 (Rylands Beatus, Burgos?, c. 1175)

**Artist:** unknown

**Published:** Nickel 1972, Pl. 35; Klein 1990; (Photo source: < <http://enriqueta.man.ac.uk/luna/servlet/detail/Man4MedievalVC~4~4~989601~142710?qvq=q:MS%2Blat%2B8&mi=4&trs=74>> accessed 10.01.2018)



**Relevance:** See section on Beatus miniatures in **Chapter 1**, 126, and comments to Ex. 2 of this Appendix. These Spanish *cithara* forms are not cetre, per se, but are within the wider sphere of influence of the cetra.

**Comment:** One of the Beatus manuscripts from northern Spain, generated from the Apocalypse commentary *Beatus Super Apocalypsim* by Beatus of Liébana (750-798). Note similarity with CE 6 concerning peg-head angle (see Comments to CE 6).







## Ex. 8



**Source:** Nepi, Basilica di Sant'Elia (Apocalypse frescoes, Italy 12th c.

**Artist:** unknown

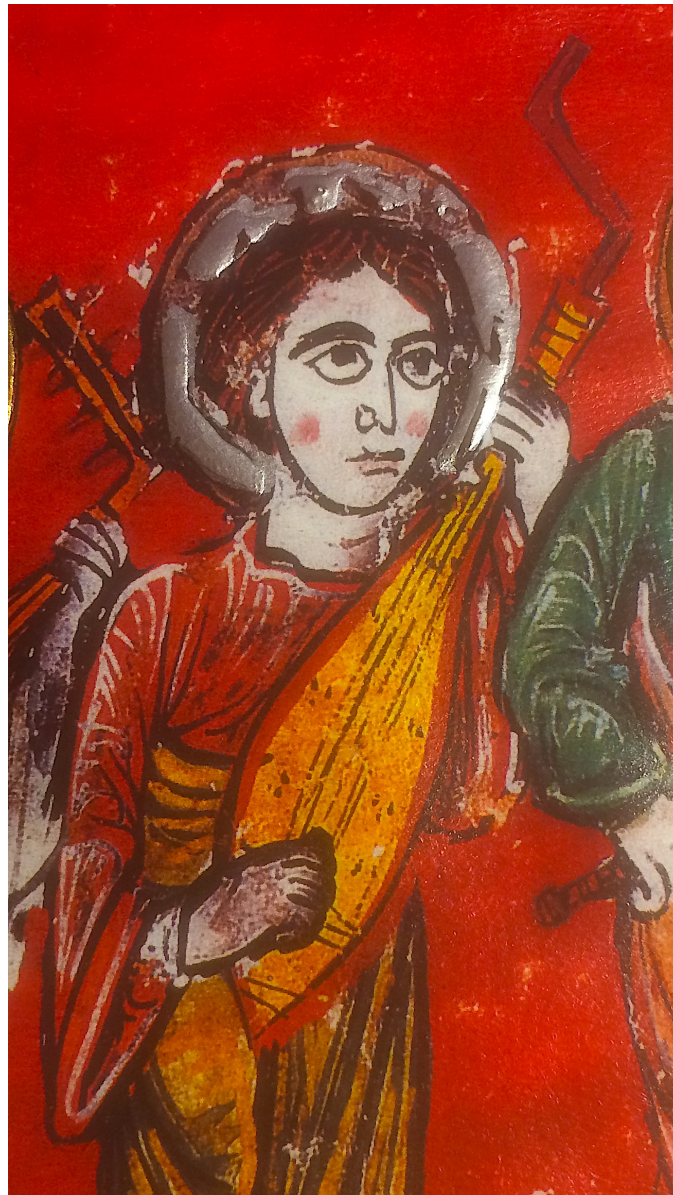
**Published:** Photo source: Author.

**Relevance:** Are these images in the border medallions musical instruments?



**Comment:** Although they seem to be necked chordophones with horned shoulders, a close inspection reveals that these are not musical instruments! Rather, these are peacocks, Christian symbol of immortality.



**Ex. 9**

**Source:** New York, Morgan Library, MS 429, f. 112 (detail, Beatus manuscript, Toledo? 1220)

**Artist:** unknown

**Published:** Young 1984

**Relevance:** Wooden frets (?)

**Comment:** Necked chordophone showing wide-fretted fingerboard - artistic convention for equal-width fingerboard-peg-head? For the context of the source, see above Ex. 2 and 6, as well as **Chapter 1**, 126.



Ex. 10



**Source:** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. latin 7330, f. 6 CHECK, (Georgius Zothorus Zaparus Fendulus, *Liber astrologiae*)

**Artist:** southern Italy or Sicily, 2nd quarter 13th c.

**Published:** Blažeković 1997

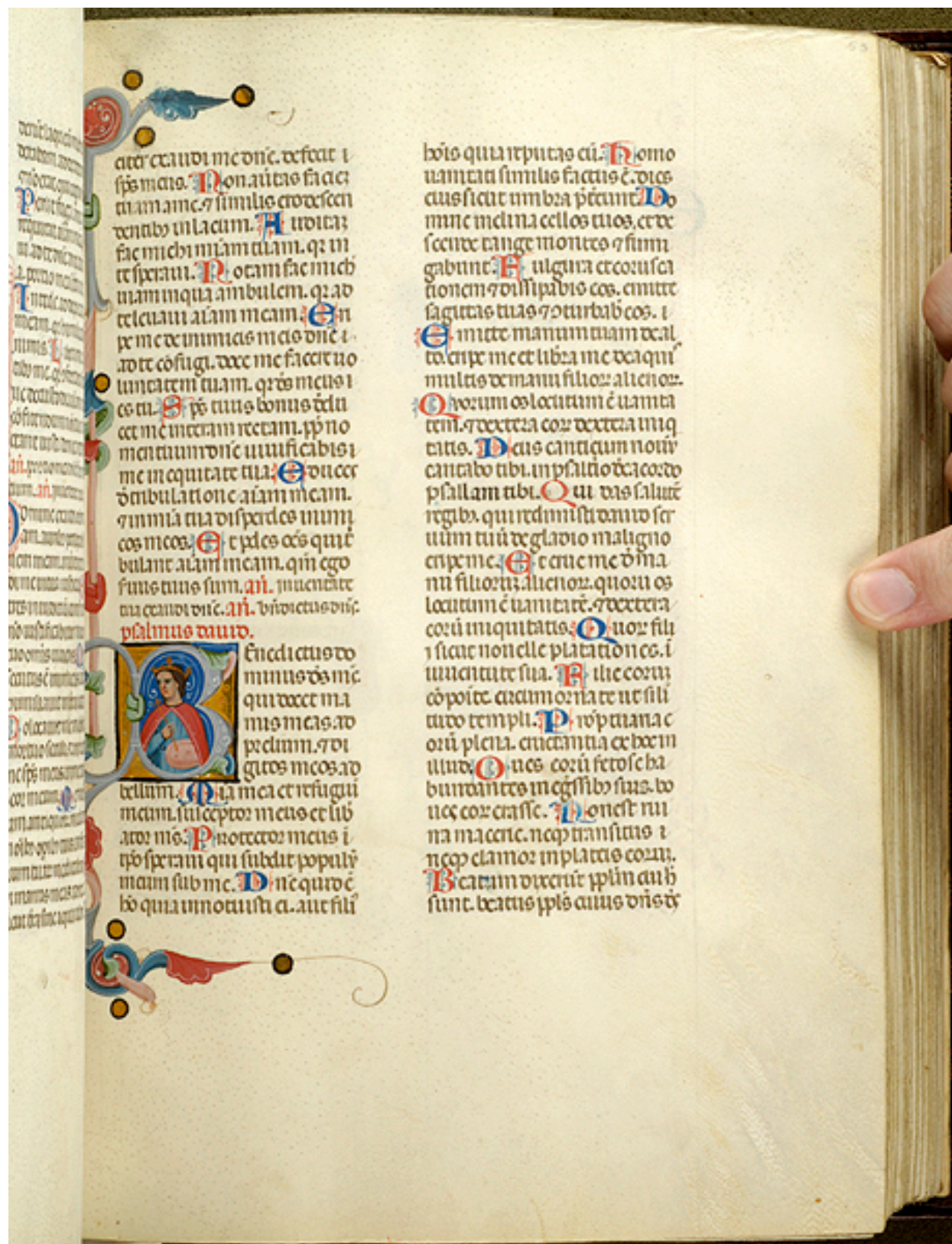
**Relevance:** Possible cetra candidate

**Comment:** This instrument might be categorized as a cetra form, or possibly vielle without a bow. The second set of perpendicular lines to the strings, close to the neck, may be an indication that this instrument's musical function was that of a string drum, and that it was not used for melodic play. Further evidence is needed to confirm such a function.









atq; exaudi me dñe. defecit i  
 sps meus. **N**on autem fac  
 tuam a me. 7 similis exortescen  
 denabo in lacum. **A**udite  
 fac michi misericordiam. q; in  
 te speravi. **R**ocam fac michi  
 misericordiam in qua ambulem. q; ad  
 te levavi animam meam. **E**n  
 pe me de inimicis meis dñe i  
 ad te confugi. doce me facere vo  
 luntatem tuam. q; rōs meus i  
 es tu. **S**p̄s tuus bonus dñe  
 cet me in caritatem rectam. p̄p̄ no  
 men tuum dñe iustificabis i  
 me in equitate tua. **E**ruer  
 de tribulatione animam meam.  
 7 in misericordia tua disperdes inimi  
 cos meos. **E**t p̄des oēs qui  
 bulant animam meam. q; in ego  
 finis tuus sum. **an.** in ueniente  
 tua exaudi dñe. **an.** bñdictus dñs.  
**psalmus dauid.**

**B**enedictus to  
 minus dñs me  
 qui docet ma  
 nus meas ad  
 pedum. 7 di  
 gitos meos ad  
 bellum. **M**an  
 u mea et refugiu  
 meum. suscep  
 tor meus et li  
 ator m̄s. **P**ro  
 teator meus i  
 t̄p̄o speravi qui  
 subdat populu  
 manu sub me.  
**D**ñe quid ē  
 bō quia innotuisti ei. aut fili

bōis quia reputas ei. **H**omo  
 uanitati similis factus ē. dñs  
 autem sicut umbra p̄cunt. **D**o  
 mine inclina celos tuos. et re  
 sponde tange montes 7 simi  
 gabunt. **E**ulgora et coruscationem  
 7 dissipabis eos. emitte  
 sagittas tuas 7 turbabis eos. i  
**E**mitte manum tuam de al  
 to. eripe me et libera me de aq̄  
 multis de manu filiorum alienorū.  
**Q**uorum os locutum ē uanitati  
 tem. 7 dextera eorum dextera iniqui  
 tatis. **D**ñs canticum nouū  
 cantabo tibi. in psalmo dñi corde  
 psallam tibi. **Q**ui eas saluū  
 regib; qui redimisti dauid ser  
 uum tuū de gladio maligno  
 eripe me. **E**t erue me dñe  
 filiis alienorū. quorum os  
 locutum ē uanitati. 7 dextera  
 eorum iniquitatis. **Q**uorū fili  
 i sicut nonelle placentia eos. i  
 uanitate sua. **P**lie cornū  
 cōpoite arcum ornate ut fili  
 tute templi. **P**ropterea c  
 orū plena. cunctantia et boem  
 ulude. **Q**ues corū fetosē ha  
 bundantes in eḡslib; suis. bo  
 ues corū crasse. **N**onest ni  
 na macerit. neq; transitis i  
 neq; clamor in plateis eorum.  
**B**eatam dixerūt ip̄m au h  
 sunt. beatus ip̄s cuius dñs ē



**Source:** New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 373, f. 53 (Psalm 144, Initial B)

**Artist:** Bolognese, 1310 - 1330

**Published:**

**Relevance:** Cetra?

**Comment:** David as musician. Note the prominent plectrum with Classical features (pointed tip, trefoil end), which is not a typical lute plectrum. Identification as cetra is conjectural, however the detail of the plectrum lends credence to the idea. For examples of pointed plectra on Classical sculptures, see Vendries 1999, 161-165.









## Ex. 12



**Source:** Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 E 3, f. 463 (Hamilton Bible)

**Artist:** Naples, c. 1345-1360; Cristoforo Orimina workshop

**Published:**

**Relevance:** These instruments show intriguing cetra-like features.

**Comment:** The depictions seem to represent hybrid instruments. The body shape is lute-like, perhaps closest to a gittern. The oval peg-head is seen on one clear cetra image (CE 13) and it occurs also on vielle depictions of 14th-c. Neapolitan miniatures. This provides an unequivocally negative answer to the question of whether CE 13 could represent a thumb-hole instrument. The circle-of-holes rose type shown here is a cetra feature. All in all, these instruments have more cetra features than gittern features, and cetra would be the more expected instrument type within this specific iconographical context.



## Ex. 13



**Source:** Mantova, Chiesa di San Francesco

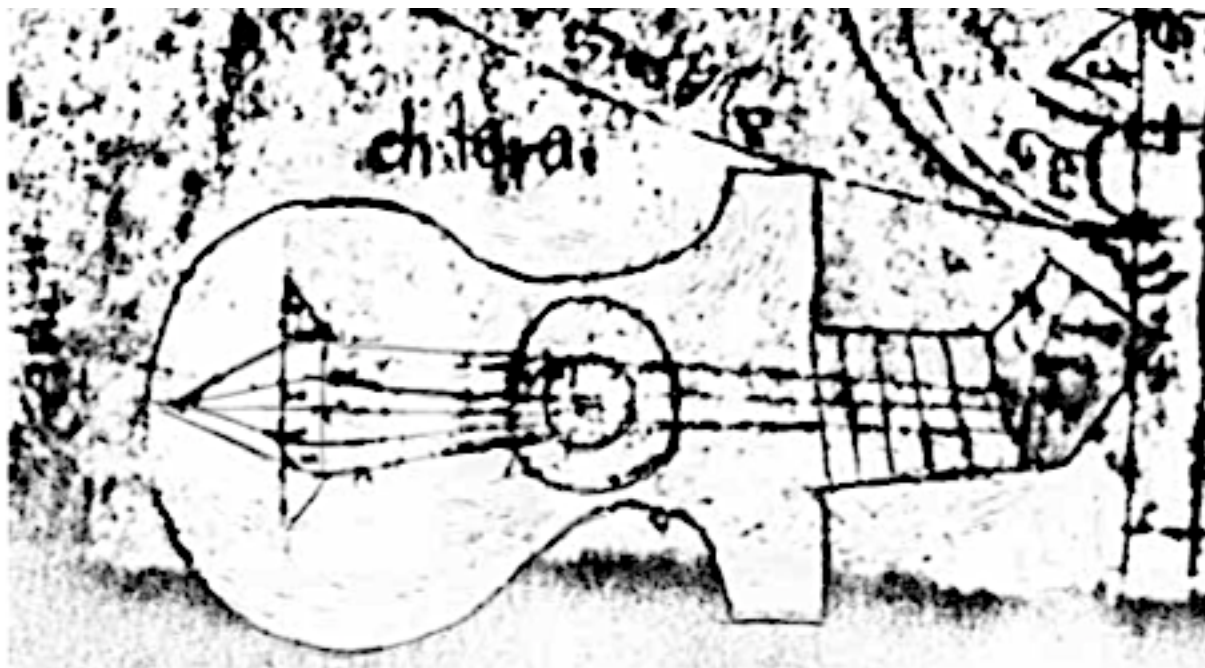
**Artist:** Tomasso da Modena, Serafino de' Serafini, 14th c.

**Published:**

**Relevance:** This interesting hybrid instrument combines a gittern with a psaltery.

**Comment:** Were such hybrid instruments real or purely artistic fantasy? This is a plausible instrument which could easily have been a new, experimental type which did not catch on. It may show a willingness for experimentation in 14th-c. lutherie.

## Ex. 14



**Source:** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms lat. 7378A, f. 45v.

**Artist:** unknown (Paris, 1362)

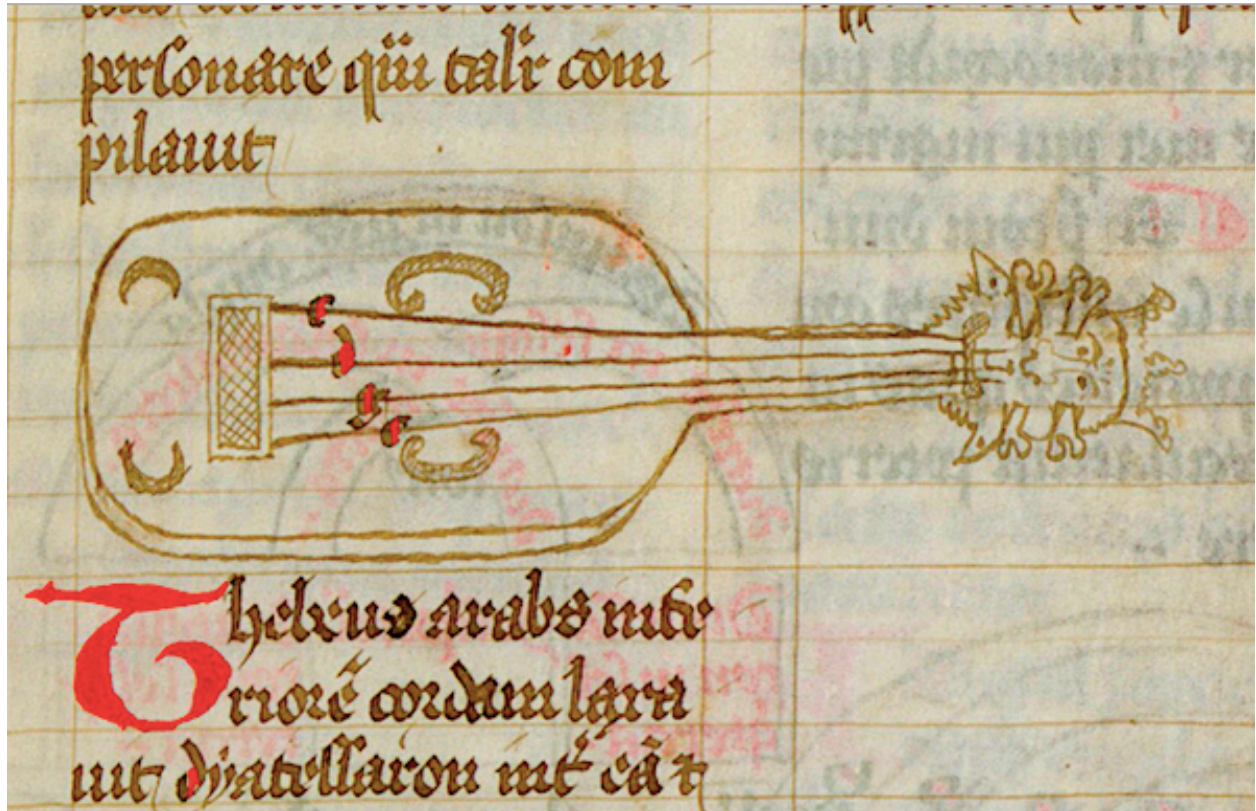
**Published:** Young 2015, 98.

**Relevance:** possible *guiterne latine* (?)

**Comment:** Parisian provenance; Franciscan sphere (?); labelled *chitarra*, which may suggest Latinized spelling (?).



## Ex. 15



**Source:** Berkeley, University of California, Ms 744, p. 52.

**Artist:** unknown (Paris, 1375)

**Published:** Young 2015, 97.

**Relevance:** This depiction shows what may be a *guiterne latine* (?).

**Comment:** Parisian provenance allows speculation that this might have been produced within a Franciscan educational sphere. See **Chapter 4** for a discussion concerning this image.

**Ex. 16**

**Source:** Prague, Karlštejn Castle, fresco, Elders of the Apocalypse

**Artist:** Magister Theodoricus (c. 1360 - 80; known for Italian - French style)

**Published:** Young 2015, 99.

**Relevance:** Rectangular body shape; paired with *guiterne mouresque* (gittern).

**Comment:** There is clearly a connection between this body type and Ex. 17 and 20 shown below. Intended as plucked instrument, or bowed?

**Ex. 17**

**Source:** New York, Metropolitan Museum, collection of Irwin Untermyer

**Artist:** Unknown, very probably north Italian (Milano?), early 15th c.

**Published:** Crane 1972, 16. Photo source: <https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/64.101.1409/> (accessed 09.03.2018).

**Relevance:** This shouldered, rectangular-bodied chordophone has morphological similarities with Ex. 16.

**Comment:** Plucked or bowed? Similarity of form with Ex. 20 suggests use of bow.



Ex. 18



**Source:** Padova, Salone della Ragione, (1425 - 1440), Astrological cycle

**Artist:** unknown

**Published:** Beck 1999

**Relevance:** This may possibly represent an early example of a *viola da mano*.

**Comment:** The image is found under the month of October.





## Ex. 19



**Source:** Firenze, Bibl. Riccardiana, MS Ricc. 492, f. 75 (Vergilius Publius Maro, so-called 'Riccardiana Virgil', *Aeneid*, 1450-1460)

**Artist:** Apollonio di Giovanni

**Published:** Bowles 1977, Pl. 31; (Photo source);

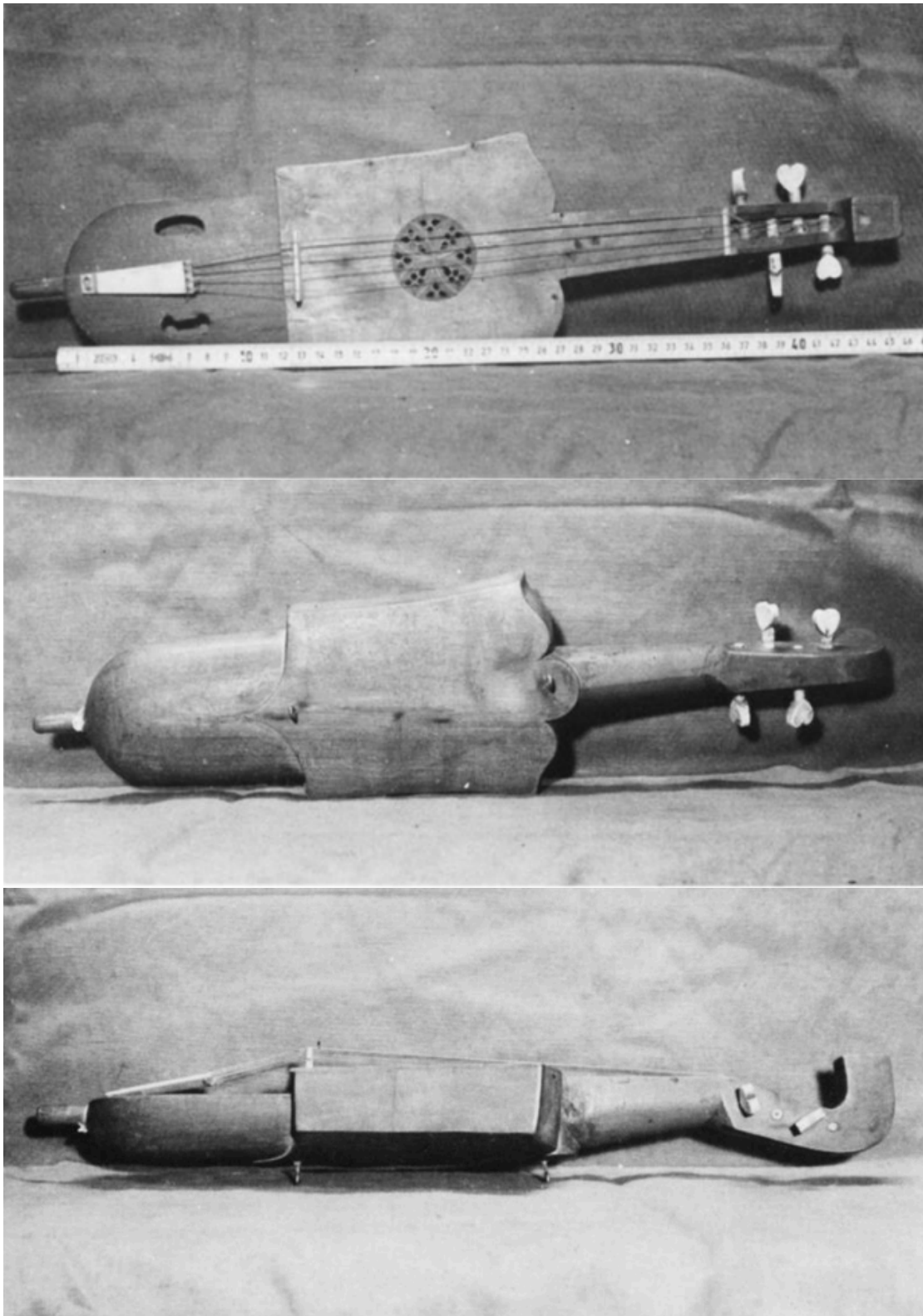
**Relevance:** Singer with cetra (?)

**Comment:** In this miniature by Apollonio di Giovanni, a singer (*canterino*, identified also by his distinctive hat) accompanies himself at a feast with a plucked instrument (see detail below). This could be taken for an early viola da mano, or - given the peg-head - is it rather a cetra?





Ex. 20



**Source:** Bologna, Chiesa del Corpus Domini: bowed instrument with 4 strings, so-called "Violeta of S. Caterina de' Vigri"

**Artist:** unknown

**Published:** Crane 1972, 17; Tiella 1975

**Relevance:** Square-shaped body is similar to previous examples.

**Comment:** The violeta was in the possession of S. Caterina when she died in 1463, according to a nun who knew her and wrote an account in 1492 (Tiella 1975, 60). It is not clear when the saint first had the instrument, which could also have been made sometime before the mid-15th century.



**Ex. 21**

**Source:** Mantova, Palazzo Ducale, Camera degli Sposi (ceiling vault, *Arion*, 1465-1474)

**Artist:** Andrea Mantegna

**Published:**

**Relevance:** Body shape is reminiscent of earlier Florentine sources.

**Comment:** Mantegna's studied works of the Florentine school, which would explain why this particular instrument form turns up in his work (compare **CE 20, 23, 46**). The form of the peg-head is vague; it is not a classic lute-type as seen, for example, on **CE 23**. If it carries lateral pegs, then a flattened sickle-shape as seen on a number of viola da mano images is a definite possibility. Frontal pegs, indicating a disc-form peg-head, do not seem to be in evidence here.



**Ex. 22**

**Source:** Oxford, Ashmolean 541

**Artist:** Raphael, preliminary sketch of Apollo and Muses on Mt Parnassus, 1507

**Published:** Winternitz 1979, Pl. 80 (photo source).

**Relevance:** End section of cetra (?) shown from behind, played left-handed.

**Comments:** The sketch apparently shows a cetra held by a Muse, shown from the back as she plays it. Although ultimately inconclusive, the projecting trapezoidal base and oval-shaped end of the body are features of the cetra. The back of the body might be taken to represent a bowl-shaped form, without articulated sides; again, the viewer is unsure whether this was the artist's intention. A lute would have longitudinal ribs, which here is not the case. All in all, the cetra remains the best guess for the instrument type glimpsed

here. This did not escape the careful eye of Winternitz, who proposed the cetra identification in the early 1950's.

## Ex. 23



**Source:** Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, (Venice, 1499), woodcut from Book I

**Artist:** unknown

**Published:** Denis 1944, Abb 121; Colonna 1999, 178.

**Relevance:** Stylized cetra?

**Comment:** Poliphilo and Polio with nymphs beside the Sacred Spring behind the Tomb of Adonis, with instruments “played by nymphs for metrical story-telling and dancing”, lute, lira da braccio or viola, harp, and cetra (?). The first three of the instruments listed here represented in the woodcut by recognizably realistic images, but the cetra (?) shows less realism. The body has horned shoulders, but the strings are attached at the bridge, no frets are visible (there is hardly any neck to speak of), and there is no recognizable peg head



(the woodcut artist apparently had no realistic image or model of a cetra to refer to). The text refers to “lira” and “cithara” (Colonna 1999, 343).

**Ex. 24**

**Source:** Private collection Foresti, painting, oil tempera on poplar (Mantova, 1506)

**Artist:** Andrea Mantegna

**Published:** Photo source: <https://hampel-auctions.com/a/Andrea-Mantegna-1431-Isola-Mantegna-bei-Piazzola-sul-Brenta-1506-Mantua.html?a=92&s=324&id=511252> (accessed 18.08.16).

**Relevance:** This bowed instrument has a cetra-form body, thin neck and peg-head with lateral pegs.

**Comment:** Many late 15th- and early-16th-c. depictions show cetra-shaped instruments being played on the shoulder with a bow. Some may be fretted, but I have never seen kollopes-frets on any example.

The spectrum of shape-types of bowed instruments increases markedly after the 14th c., and continues to increase in the first decades of the 16th century. In my opinion, an in-depth study is much needed to classify and trace the evolution of bowed instruments during these decades. The main forms include viola (vielle), rebec, lira da braccio, and violeta, but there are other lesser-known types such as the *cetera d'arco* (my term). The cetra and the viola were related types since at least the Romanesque period, as stated elsewhere in this work.

## Ex. 25



**Source:** Casa Marta, Castelfranco (Veneto, c. 1510)

**Artist:** (Andrea Mantegna?)

**Published:.**

**Relevance:** Bowed cetra?

**Comment:** This represents an interesting bowed variant of a cetra with sharply-incut sides to accomodate the bow, and what may be a dovetail joint between the neck and the body.



**Ex. 26**

**Source:** Bologna, Chiesa dei Ss Vitale e Agricola, Altare della Madonna degli Angeli

**Artist:** Francesco Francia (c. 1450 - 1517/18)

**Published:.** (reference: Winternitz collection)

**Relevance:** This shape suggests a holly-leaf citole, which may be purely coincidental (?).

**Comment:** Bolognese-Tuscan



Ex. 27





**Source:** Firenze, Santa Maria Novella, Strozzi Chapel (Tommaso Strozzi), fresco, Paradise (Christ and the Virgin in Glory, 1354-1357).

**Artist:** Nardo di Cione

**Published:** Brown 1978; Brown 1985; Photo: <http://www.wolffchronicles.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/20150622-45.jpg> (accessed 05.11.2017).

**Relevance:** Brown 1986, 122: “guitar (sic)”; any relevance to the cetra is uncertain.

**Comment:** This deteriorated fresco shows an angel with a rectangular-bodied plucked chordophone of unusual shape, with squared upper shoulders and lower shoulders, presumably flat-backed. Only one side of the body is visible (the upper side, when held in horizontal playing position), and there is a subtle outward projection in the side above the position of the large soundhole on the soundboard. A neck and peghead, very faded, extend apparently out to the right of the body.

An explanation for the odd shape of the body is not straightforward, but a few possibilities come to mind. Because of the frequent pairing of cithara and psalterium in the Psalms (see **Chapter 1**), the bulging uppermost side of this instrument could suggest a psaltery-like body, at least on one side. The neck - if indeed it is a neck - appears to terminate in a frontal peg-head of similar form to the Giotto and Assisi examples, and there may be remaining outlines of block frets, in particular, projecting slightly past the upper edge of the neck, although one cannot be certain that this was the original form. The right hand seems to be holding a longish plectrum in a similar playing position to the neighboring psalteries. There looks to have been a bridge under the wrist with the remnants of strings passing over this to the end of the instrument.

Brown 1978, 131, called this a “guitar-like instrument....it may be the product of some modern restorer’s fancy....” (although it does not appear to have been restored, and Italian art restorers, in general, take great pride in using respectful, non-molesting techniques of restoration which do not alter an image’s form); in Brown 1986, 122, he refers to the same instrument as “guitar (sic)”.



Ex. 28





**Source:** Cleveland, Museum of Art, Inventory CMA 1960.36, *tazza* (enamelled glass bowl) showing *putti* with instruments

**Artist:** Anonymous, Murano (Venice), 19th century

**Published:.** (reference: Winternitz collection)

**Relevance:** Cetra

**Comment:** According to the website of the Cleveland Museum of Art, this glass bowl was made during the 19th-century. The decoration shows a cetra, however, with certain structural details such as kollopes-frets, which are consistent with 15th-c. sources. That is to say, the artist who painted this bowl must have had access to a painting or other artifact which provided a model for the images of musical instruments shown on this bowl. If this bowl indeed comes from Venice, the question arises whether the painting in the Galeria dell'Accademia of Tolmezzo (CE 37) may have provided the models for musical instruments depicted on the bowl. The groupings of instruments played by angels in the painting show similarities.







**Ex. 29**

**Source:** unknown

**Artist:** unknown

**Published:** unknown

**Relevance:** Cetra

**Comment:** There is a clear relationship with CE 40; could this be a 19th-c. copy?



## Ex. 30



**Source:** Paris, Musée du Louvre, Le prophète David dans la lettre "B" (late 15th-c.?)

**Artist:** anonymous

**Published:** unknown

**Relevance:** Cetra similarity

**Comment:** The instrument shown in this 15th-c. miniature of King David bears a superficial similarity to a cetra. It is a hurdy-gurdy with keys shown on the lower side of the neck, suggestive perhaps of kollopes-frets which, in the case of the cetra, be projecting out from the other side of the neck. The hurdy-gurdy normally featured a handle held by the right hand which turned the internal wheel to sound the strings, although a variant type was sometimes played with a bow as a keyed fiddle. In any case, iconographical examples of King David playing a hurdy-gurdy are much less common than other string instrument types.



**Ex. 31**

**Source:** Brescia, location unknown

**Artist:** Unknown (mid-16th c. or earlier, presumably restored?)

**Published:**

**Relevance:** Two instruments

**Comment:** The larger instrument may be a cetra with some similarity to CE 33, being played either with a large plectrum or possibly a small bow (?). The smaller instrument, bowed and held on the shoulder, also has some similarity to CE 33, including a border near the edge of the soundboard. The morphological relation between plucked and bowed forms is nicely presented in this image.

This source was provided by Peter Forrester, to whom I am very grateful for sharing it.







## Ex. 32



**Source:** Cortona (CE 31)

**Artist:** Bartolomeo della Gatta

**Published:**

**Relevance:** Bowed cetra form

**Comment:** The proximity of the cetra with a bowed instrument (with tied-on gut frets) of similar shape again underscores the close relationship of the two forms. We note the similarity between this bowed instrument and Examples 17 and 20 of this Appendix.

The terminology for such a bowed instrument has thus far found little consensus amongst researchers. *Viola*, *violeta* or *lira* would be possibilities, while *cetra* would also be a logical name; *rebec* or a related form should not be excluded from consideration. While an in-depth examination of the terms for 15th- and early-16th-c. bowed instruments is outside the scope of the present study, further work is needed to determine which bowed instruments were in use in Italy during these decades, and what they were commonly called. Whereas the *lira da braccio* is the first bowed instrument to be associated in modern research with Humanist culture, one must recognize that other bowed instruments were used concurrently, so that it is but one of four or five types: the *vielle* (*viola*), usually with single strings and a bordun, more typically oval-shaped, but sometimes waisted; the *lira da braccio* with strings in courses (pairs) and a bordun pair of strings, with a waisted body; the rebec; the bowed cetra, and (possibly to be classified as a form of the bowed cetra), the instrument type associated with S. Caterina de' Vigri, Ex. 20 above.

## APPENDIX II - A Selection of Italian Literary Sources

The following list of sources offers an overview to facilitate an impression of the use of the term “cetra” (or related spellings) within the context of Italian literature from the 12th - 16th c.; it has not been my intention to make anything like a complete catalog of references. The purpose of the list is also to make it clear that there is a wide range of meanings and contexts for the various cetra terms, some completely general and abstract, others quite specific to a real instrument. The presence of both should help to demonstrate the ubiquity of the term in Italian culture, also as a common contemporary object. This is not an in-depth linguistic study, for that has not been the purpose of this thesis, and it would require far more expertise than I am able to provide. The translations given here are not always unequivocal as regards their meaning, and some readers may disagree with the English translation which has been provided. Regarding the use of lyra or lira as a possible term indicating a cetra, see p. 11 (including footnote 18) and the Glossary.

The entries have been divided into types regarding their content:

**Performative:** including a description of a performance with the cetra.

**Biblical:** referencing the Bible, typically the Psalms.

**Figurative:** rhetorical or allegorical use of the word cetra.

**Classical:** referencing myth or other Classical stories.

**Definitive:** including a description of the physical form or another aspect of a cetra.

**Legal:** archival document made for legal purposes.



**(12th century)**

XII-1

(Performative)

*Ritmo di Sant'Alessio*, 119, pag. 22 (Anonymous, Marche, late 12th c.):

“Oveunque eranu iullare / tutti currunu per iocare / **cythari** cum timpani et sambuci / tutti gianu cantando ad alta voce.”

(“Everywhere were jesters / all running to play / cetre with drums and sambuci / all went singing in a loud voice.”)

Edition: Contini 1960, 17-28.

**(13th century)**

XIII-1

(Biblical)

*Officio ritmico e vita seconda* (Giuliano da Spira, first half 13th c; text for Antiphon for Vespers, antiphon to Psalm 150):

“Al suono della tromba, del timpano, della **cetra**, del salterio”

(“To the sound of the trumpet, drum, cetra, psaltery”)

Edition: Gamboso 1985, 213-215. Beck 2005, 204.

XIII-2

(Figurative)

*Proverbia pseudoiacoponici*, 44, pag. 28 (Anonymous, Abruzzo, 13th c.):

“Quello ke non convèsete, guàrdate no lo fare: / Né mess'ad omo ladecu, né a pprevete saltare, / Né la spad'a la femina, né a mmasculu filare, / Né lo saltare all'asinu, né a bove ceterare”

(“What is not related to your nature, do not do it / the layman doesn't say Mass, the priest does not dance / nor the sword to a woman, or spin wool by a man / nor a donkey dance, nor an ox play the cetra”)

Edition: Bigazzi 1963, 26-39.

XIII-3

(Classical)

*Novellino*, 12, pag. 156.5 (Anonimo, Florence, 13th c.):

“Antigono prese la cetera e ruppela e gittolla nel fango, e disse ad Alexandro cotali parole: ‘Al tuo tempo et etade si conviene regnare, e non ceterare’”

(“Antigone took the cetra and broke it and threw it into the mud and said to Alexander thus, At this moment and at your age it is better to reign and not play the cetra”)

Edition: Gualteruzzi da Fano 1572.

XIII-4

(Classical)

*Novellino*, 12, pag. 156.11 (Anonimo, Florence, 13th c.):

“Re Poro, il quale combatté con Alexandro, a un mangiare fece tagliare le corde della cetera a un ceteratore e disse queste parole: ‘Meglio è tagliare che sviare: ché per dolcezza di suoni si perdono virtudi’”

(“King Poro, who was fighting with Alexander, cut the strings of a cetra player’s cetra, saying: It is better to do this than to leave the right path: because of the sweetness of sounds you lose virtue”)

Edition: see XIII-3.

XIII-5

(Figurative)

*Il Tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato da Bono Giamboni* L. VI, cap. 4, vol. 3, pag. 21.8 (Anonymous, Florence, 13th c.):

“lo buono ceteratore, quando cetera bene, si è degno ch'egli abbia compimento di quell'arte..”

(“the good cetra player, if he plays well, deserves to be recognized in that art...”)

Edition: Chabaille 1878-1883.

XIII-6

(Definitive)

*Arte della guerra di Vegezio Flavio volgarizzata*, L. IV, cap. 21, pag. 166.3 (Bono Giamboni, Florence, 1292):



“La sambuca è detta a similitudine della cetera, perchè, secondochè nella cetera sono corde, così nelle travi che per lungo allato alla torre si pongono, sono funi...”

(“The sambuca is said to be similar to the cetra because, where in the cetra you have strings, like this the beams that you put in the long side of the tower, are ropes...”) (?)

Edition: Fontani 1815.

XIII-7

(Biblical)

*De Ierusalem celesti*, 167, pag. 633 (Giacomino da Verona, Verona, 13th c):

“E ben ve digo ancora en ver, sença bosia, / ke, quant a le soe voxe, el befe ve paria / oldir cera né rota, organ né simphonia / né sirena né aiguana né altra consa ke sia...”

(“And I say to you truthfully without (?) / that when you hear his voice (it is so beautiful that?) / neither cetra nor rotta organ nor simphonia / nor a siren nor a wood nymph nor other thing that exists...”)

Edition: Contini 1960, 627-637.

XIII-8

(Biblical)

*Il Trattato di Virtù e di Vizi* cap. 31, pag. 152.28 (Bono Giamboni, Florence, 1292):

“E però possono dire come disse Iob: «Convertita è in pianto la cetera mia, e gli organi miei in boci di guai...”

(“And they can say like Job: My cetra has changed to weeping, and my organs to troubled voices...”)

Edition: Segre 1968, 123-156.

### XIII-9

*L'Intelligenza* Stanza 294 (Anonymous Tuscan, late 13th-early 14th c.):

“Audivi d’un leuto ben sonare  
 ribebe e otricelli e **ceterare**  
 salteri ed altri strumenti triati”

(“I was listening to a well-played lute, rebecs and bagpipes and someone playing the cetra, psalteries and other instruments well-sounded”)

McGee 2009, 59, translates **ceterare** as “small lute”.

Edition: Berisso 2000.

### (14th century)

#### XIV-1

(Legal)

*Not. Marsilio Roverini di Padova* (Marsilio Roverini di Padova, Padova, 1372):

“I maestri, abitanti a Padova, Francesco del q. Vanezio e Giovanni Razio del q. Simeone fanno fra loro società per insegnar a suonare i liuti e le **cetre...**”

("The masters, living in Padua, Francesco di Vannozzo and Giovanni Razio di Simeone make an association to teach and play lute and cetra...")<sup>1</sup>

Edition: Sartori 1977, p. 182.

XIV-2

(Performative)

*Dittamondo* L. IV, cap. 12.6, pag. 287 (Fazio degli Uberti, Tuscan, c. 1345-1367):

"E ciò ch'io veggio e per vero odo, impetro / ne la mia mente, e poi così lo noto / in questi versi con ch'io sono e **cetro**"

("And what I truly see and hear, I implore / my mind and after I can write it in these verses that I sing to the cetra")

Edition: Corsi 1952.

XIV-3

(Biblical)

*Leggenda Aurea* cap. 114, *Assunz. Maria* vol. 3, pag. 993:13 (Anonymous, Florence, 14th c.):

"Oggi la vergine beata ricevettero i cieli rallegrando, gli Angeli gaudendo, gli Arcangeli giubilando, li Troni esultando, le Dominazioni salmeggiando, li Principati armonizzando, le Podestadi **ceterando**, li Cherubini e ' Serafini innizzando e menandola infino a la sedia de la supernale maestade di Dio"

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<sup>1</sup> Francesco di Vannozzo was a courtier who exchanged sonnets with Petrarch, Giangaleazzo Visconti, Marsilio da Carrara (brother of Francesco da Carrara, lord of Padova).



("Today the Heavens are receiving the Blessed Virgin, the Angels rejoicing, the Archangels rejoicing, the Thrones exulting, the Dominations praising with song, the Principles harmonizing, the Powers sound the cetra, the Cherubim and Seraphim singing hymns and caroling before the seat of the supreme majesty of God")

Edition: Levasti 1924-1926.

XIV-4

(Figurative)

*Paradiso* Canto XX, 22,3 (Dante Alighieri, Florence, c. 1315-1320):

"E como suono al collo della **cetra**  
prende sua forma, e si com'al pertugio  
de la sampogna vento che penètra  
così, rimosso d'aspettare indugio,  
quel mormorar de l'aguglia salissi  
su per lo collo, come fosse bugio"

("And as the sound takes its form at the neck  
of the cetra, and as the wind which enters the reed-pipe  
takes its form at the finger-hole,  
so, all delay of waiting abandoned,  
the eagle's murmur rose up  
through its neck, as if it were hollow")

Translation: Wright 1977, 27.

XIV-5

(Figurative)

*Convivio* I, cap. 9, 38.3 (Dante Alighieri, Florence, 1304-1307):

“si come non si dee chiamare citarista chi tiene la cetera in casa per prestarla per prezzo, e non per usarla per sonare”

(“ as how we should not call a cetra-player someone who keeps a cetra in his house to rent out, as opposed to use it for playing”)

Edition: Brambilla 1995, III, 1-456.

XIV-6

(Figurative)

*Convivio* I, cap. 11, 11 (Dante Alighieri, Florence, 1304-1307):

“sì come lo mal fabro biasima lo ferro apresentato a lui, e lo malo citarista biasima la cetera, credendo dare la colpa del mal coltello e del mal sonare al ferro ed alla cetera, e levarla a sé”

(“for example, a bad blacksmith blames the iron supplied to him, trying to put the blame for a bad knife on the iron, and the bad cetra player blames the cetra and not himself”)

Edition: see XIV-5.

XIV-7

(Classical)

*Convivio* II, cap. 1, 65.5 (Dante Alighieri, Florence, 1304-1307):

“ sì come quando dice Ovidio che Orfeo facea colla cetera mansuete le fiere, e li arbori e le pietre a sé muovere...”

(“thus Ovid says that with his cetra Orpheus tamed wild beasts and made trees and rocks move toward him...”)

Edition: see XIV-5.

## XIV-8

(Classical)

*Trattato de regimine rectoris*, cap. 29, pag. 38.18 (Paolino Minorita, Venice, 1313-1315):

“Enpremeramentre Apollo, lo qual fo reputadho grando domenedio appresso li Paganni, atrovà la çétara..”

(“Firstly Apollo who was reputed as a great god among heathens found the cetra”)

Edition: Mussafia 1868.

## XIV-9

(Figurative)

*Chiose alla Commedia di Dante Alighieri. Paradiso*, cap. 20, 16-30, pag. 448, col. 1.13 (Jacopo della Lana, Bologna, 1324-1328):

“al collo de quello strumento che cum dide se sona, come cedera, o ver chitarra, o ver leuto o viola...”

(“at the neck of that instrument that is played with fingers, such as cetra or gittern or lute or viola...”)

Edition: Biagi 1939.

XIV-10

(Classical)

*Metamorfosi d'Ovidio volgarizzate (libri I-V).*, L. V, vol. 1, pag. 212:23 (Arrigo Simintendi, Prato, 1333):

“insino a qui una di quelle avea parlato sonando la sua cetera”

(“until here one of those had spoken, playing her cetra”)

Edition: Basi 1846; Basi 1848-50, 1-4.

XIV-11

(Classical)

*Eneide volgarizzata*, L. I, pag. 31.30 (Ciampolo di Meo degli Ugurgieri, Siena, c. 1340):

“Joppa col capo bello suona coll'aurata cetera...”

(“Joppa with her beauty plays with golden cetra...”)

Edition: Gotti 1858.

XIV-12

(Biblical)

*Esposizione del Simbolo degli Apostoli*, L. II, cap. 19, vol 2, pag. 308.29 (Domenico Cavalca, Pisa, c. 1342):

“E che egli delli canti, e delli suoni spirituali si contristi, e partasi, mostrasi in ciò, che sonando David la sua citara, cacciava lo demonio dal re Saul...”



(“And that he [the devil] becomes gloomy and sad listening to songs and spiritual sounds, and departs, is shown in that David, playing his cetra, expelled the demons from King Saul...”)

Edition: Federici 1842.

XIV-13

(Biblical)

*Parafrasi pavese del "Neminem laedi nisi a se ipso" di s. Giovanni Crisostomo, cap. 16, pag. 78.26 (Anonymous, Pavia, 1342):*

“gli salterion lo dexecordo laudi cytare organ cembali corni trombe nachare tympani zaramele sinfonie...”

(“[Praise with] the psaltery of ten strings cetra organ cembali horns trumpets small drums cymbals shawms sinfonia...”)

Edition: Stella 2000.

XIV-14

(Biblical)

*Spirito Santo che dal ciel discendi /capitolo/, 72, 117 (Bosone de' Raffaelli da Gubbio, Gubbio, 1345):*

“troppo averem che far considerando / a quante cetr'artiraran le corde”

(“and we will have a lot to do considering / how many cetra must be tuned”)

Edition: Allacci 1661, 114-21.

XIV-15

(Biblical)

*Libro di varie storie*, cap. 6, pag. 29.31 (Antonio Pucci, Florence, 1362):

“Anon fu il primo che trovasse cetere, organi e altri stromenti e Caino fu il primo lavoratore di terra...”

(“Anon [? Jubal] was the first who made cetre, organs and other instruments and Cain was the first to work the ground...”)

Edition: Varvaro 1957, 3-312.

XIV-16

(Classical)

*Rime d'amore*, 3.13, pag. 7 (Fazio degli Uberti, Tuscan, 1367):

“né contr' a Marzia d'Appollo le cetre...”

(“nor against Marsyas of the cetre of Apollo...”)

Edition: Corsi 1952, Vol. II, 3-20.

XIV-17

(Classical)

*Expositione sopra l'Inferno di Dante*, cap. 32, pag. 64.2 (Guglielmo Maramauro, Naples or Padova-Venice, 1369-1373):

“Le muse elexero, de' loro compagni, alcuni, [sì] che, con lo canto e col sono de la citara de Amfione, [Amfione] fornì el so murare.”

(“The Muses elected among their friends some, who with the sound of their singing to the cetra of Amphion, provided his building (moved the stones)”

Edition: Pisoni 1998.

XIV-18

(Biblical)

*Sposizione del Vangelo della Passione secondo Matteo*, cap. 21, par. 7, vol. 2, pag. 93.24 (Anonymous or Niccolò Montaperti o Casucchi? Sicily, 1373):

“eccu, la citara di la cruchi canta cum septi cordi, VII paroli, VII canti, VII virtuti bastanti ad omni homu lu quali cherca la via di Deu..”

(“Here the cetra of the cross sings with seven strings, seven words, seven songs, seven virtues, that are needed by every man who is seeking the path of God...”)

Edition: Palumbo 1954.

XIV-19

(Biblical)

*Il Centiloquio*, Prologo, par. 3, vol. 1, pag. 109.9 (Antonio Pucci, Florence, 1388):

“Tubal, il quale fu il primo inventore d'organo, di cetere, e di tromba...”

(“Tubal, he who was the first inventor of organ, cetra and trumpet...”)

Edition: San Luigi 1772-1775.

XIV-20

(Definitive)

*Glossario latino-eugubino*, pag. 108.6 (Anonymous, Gubbio, 14th c.):

“Hec lira, re id est la cetra.”

(“This lira, it is in reality the cetra”)

Edition: Navarro Salazar 1985, 21-155.

XIV-21

(Classical)

«*Cronaca volgare*» isidoriana, pag. 144.20 (Anonymous, Abruzzo, 14th c.):

“Loth regnao anni LXXX. Nel cui tempo foro composte le fabule de Cerbaro cane infernale et de Amphione, lo quale con lo canto della cetera comoxe le prete et li saxi.”

(“Loth reigned 80 years. At that time the fables of Cerberus the infernal dog were composed and Amphion who with the sound of the cetra moved boulders and rocks”)

Edition: D’Achille 1982.

XIV-22

(Classical)

*Metamorfosi d'Ovidio volgarizzate (libri I-V).*, IV, vol. 1, pag. 187.13 (Arrigo Simintendi, Prato, 1333):

“e per ogne luogo risuonano le cetere e le trombe e le canzoni, avventurati argomenti de' lieti animi.”

(“and everywhere resound the cetre and the trumpets and the songs, fortunate themes of glad lovers”)

Edition: Basi 1846; Basi 1848-1850, 1-4.



XIV-23

(Classical)

*Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine* cap. 7, par. 10, pag. 695.24 (Giovanni Boccaccio, Florence, 1341-1342):

“e l'allodole, imitanti l'umane cetere col lor canto, gaie, cominciarono a riprendere il cielo...”

(“and larks imitating the cetre of humans with their gay singing started to fly towards the sky”)

Edition: Branca 1964, 678-835.

XIV-24

(Figurative)

*Lo Libro d'Arrighetto fiorentino disposto di grammatica in volgare*, pag. 179.20 (Anonymous, Tuscan, 14th c.):

“O buona prosperità, ove se' tu ora? la mia cietera è convertita in pianto ed è fatta lacrimosa lira.”

“O prosperity, where are you now? My cetra has changed to weeping and has become a teary lira”)

Edition: Bonaventura 1912-1913, 110-92.

XIV-25

(Figurative)

*Canzoniere (Rerum vulgarium fragmenta)* 292.14, pag. 366 (Francesco Petrarca, Florence, 1374):

“Or sia qui fine al mio amoroso canto: / secca è la vena de l'usato ingegno, / et la cetera mia rivolta in pianto.”

“And now this is the end of my love song / dry is the vein of the wit/ and my cetra is changed to playing tears”)

Edition: Santagata 1996.

XIV-26

(Classical)

*Arte Am. Ovid* L. I, pag. 479.13 (Venice, 14th c.):

“Lo fiolo o nievo de Filiro amaistrà in la citara Achille e corrompé li feri animi cum piasevele arte...”

(“The son or nephew of Filiro had mastery in the cetra of Achilles and can manipulate the proud souls with delightful art...”)

Edition: Tesoro della lingua Italiana delle Origini (<http://tlio.ovi.cnr.it/TLIO/>)  
(accessed 15.01.2018)

XIV-27

(Biblical)

*Capitolo dei Bianchi* (Franco Sacchetti, Florence, late 14th c.; iconographical program of frescoes in Orsanmichele):

“...ne la volta di spora stellifera, atorniato con storrenti e citera,  
son pinti i tuo’angeli, che suonano, e ne pilastri ancora, che t’adorano.”

(“...on the vault (of the church) with stars, encircled by instruments and cetre,  
are painted Your angels who played and also in the pillars that worships You.”)

Edition: Brown 1978, 113.

XIV-28

(Figurative)

*Tu che martiri* (Manfredino, Perugia, 14th c.):

“Tu che martiri tanto la persona per l’aspro sòn che la donna ti cetra  
e che porta de stragl’ cent’ a faretra sol per contrariar quel ch’en te sona”

(“You that martyred, the person that the lady serenades with the cetra of  
bitter sound, and who brings a hundred arrows from one bow only to be  
against what you sound...”)<sup>2</sup> (Ed: The possible context may be a courtly love  
complaint?).

Edition: Mancini 1996-97.

XIV-29

(?Figurative)

*Rime / tre sonetti* (Gillio Lelli, Perugia, 14th c.):

“ché s’él te bisognasse un calciaretto sonarà sempre simigliante cetra.”

(“if you need a calciaretto [?] it will sound very similar to the cetra”)

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<sup>2</sup> Literally “cetras you with”, in other words, cetra as a verb.

Edition: Marti 1956, 767, 789, 792.

### (15th century)

XV-1

(Performative)

*Il Sollazzo* xxv, 9-12 (Simone Prodenzani, Orvieto, early 15th c. ):

“Con la chitarra fe’ suoni a tenore  
con tanta melodia che a ciascuno  
per la dolcezza gli alegrava ‘l core;  
con la cetera ancor ne fece alcuno”

(“With the gittern he played the tenor  
with such a sweet melody that it warmed  
everyone’s heart. An with the cetra  
he played some other pieces”)

Edition: DeBenedetti 1922.

XV-2

(Performative)

*Novella di Scopone* (Gentile Sermini, Siena, c. 1424):

“che con un liuto e una fina cetera al collo al famiglio”

(“that with a lute and a fine cetra at the neck [hanging over the  
shoulder?] of the servant”)



Commentary: Castelli, Mingardi, Padovan 1987, 142.

XV-3

(Performative)

*Letter to his father concerning a performance of Antonio di Guido (Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Florence, 1459):*

“Dopo el disinare reductome in una camera con tuttal la compagnia:  
ò ‘Idito cantare con la citara” uno Maestro Antonio che credo che Vostra Exc  
debba se non cognoscere, almancho havere oldito nominare...narrò ogni cosa  
con tanta dignità et modo, che ‘i maggiore poeta né oratore che sia al mundo,  
se l’havesse havuto a fare tale acto, forse non ne saria uscito con tanta  
commendatione da ogni canto del dire suo....or a dire di costui saria  
grandissima impresa”

(“After dinner, we retired to a room with all of the guests. We heard a Maestro Antonio sing with the cetra, and if your Excellency does not know him at least you must have heard of him. He sang with such dignity and style that the greatest poet or orator in the world, presented with such a task would perhaps not have earned such praise for performing it.... I was greatly impressed by him”)

Edition: McGee 2009, 87, 261; McGee’s translation, given above, uses “with the *citara*, [probably a lute]” which I have changed to “cetra”.

XV-4

(Performative)

*Dialogus de neapolitana profectioe* (Ludovico Carboni, Ferrara, 1473):

“Ego certe versus meos ut plurimum facio apolleneam cytharam in manu tenens”

(“Indeed I perform as I usually do, with my Apollonian cithara in my hands”)

Commentary: Gallo 1995, 70.

XV-5

(Figurative)

*I Commentarii* (Lorenzo Ghiberti, Florence, c. 1447):

“Le figure erano in detta cornuola uno vecchio a sedere in su uno scoglio era una pelle di leone, et legato, colle mani drieto, a uno albero; a' piedi di lui era uno infans ginochioni coll'uno pie, e guardava uno giovane il quale aveva nella mano destra una carta et nella mano sini stra una citera. Pareva lo infans addimandasse doctrina al giovane queste tre figure furon fatte per la nostra età...”

(“In this carnelian were figures, an old man sitting on a rock with a lion’s skin, tied by his hands to a tree; at his feet was a boy, in pious attitude, who kneeled before a young man with a document in his right hand and in his left hand a kithara (or: cetra or lute).<sup>3</sup> It seemed that these three figures represented the stages of life...”)

Edition: Schlosser 1912, 47; Poeschke 2000, 161.

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<sup>3</sup> See Poeschke 2000, Pl. 40, for a photo of this famous gem, owned by Lorenzo de’ Medici, which depicted Apollo and Marsyas. Poeschke points out that the gem inspired many other works, including ones showing other instruments, such as the lute, rather than the antique kithara.

XV-6

(Performative)

*Concistoro, Deliberazione* vol. 539, f. 89 (Palio festivities, payment list for musicians, Siena, Agosto 20 1456):

“Uno tamburino del padovano che sono la cetura”

(“A tabor player from Padua who played the cetra”)

Edition: Cellesi 1906, 71; D’Accone 1997, 688, translates the passage as “who played the citole”, without citing the original Italian passage including the term *cetura*.

XV-7

(Performative)

*Sforziade* Canto VIII, 25-27 [“Laudes Petri Boni Cythariste”] (Antonio Cornazano, Ferrara, 1459):

“Cantava in cetra ad ordinata frotta  
l’amor d’alcun moderni chi s’appretia:  
come el Signor d’Arimini hebbe Ysotta”

(“He sang with the cetra to an attentive audience  
contemporary love stories of how the Lord of Rimini  
conquered Isotta degli Atti”)

Edition: Pirrotta 1966, 144.

XV-8

(Legal)

*Inventory of Choir Stall Intarsie by Lorenzo Canozi (1425 - 1477) and Cristoforo Canozi (Padova, Basilica del Santo, 1462)* (ed.: Lorenzo Canozi worked as an

*intarsiatore* on the *studiolo* at *Belfiore* for Leonello d'Este between 1449 - 1453/4 - work now lost):

“**cetera**, liuto, la chiarina, il monochordo, la sampogna, i timpani, la tromba”

(“cetra, lute, straight trumpet, monochord, bagpipe, timpani, slide trumpet”)

Commentary: Gonzatti 1852-1853, p. 71.; Beck 2001.

XV-9

(Figurative)

*Stanze I, XLVI [Stanza Cominciate per la Giostra del Magnifico Giuliano de' Medici]* (Angelo Poliziano, Florence, 1478):

“Sembra Talia se in man prende la **cetra**  
sembra Minerva se in man prende l'asta  
se l'arco ha in mano, al fianco la faretra  
giurar potrai che sia Diana casta.”

(“She would resemble Thalia if she took  
a cetra in hand, Minerva, if she held a spear;  
**if** she had a bow in hand and a quiver,  
you would swear she was chaste Diana.”)

Edition: Poliziano 1979, 24-25.



XV-10

(Definitive)

*De inventione et usu musice* (Johannes Tinctoris, Naples, written c. 1480 or earlier):

“Quid sit lyra populariter leutum dicta, quid etiam quelibet instrumentalis species ex ea producta, utpote (iuxta linguam vulgarem) viola, rebecum, ghitterra, **cetula**, et tambura; a quibus omnia hec inventa; quot chordas et qualiter ordinatas primum habuerint et nunc habeant.”

(“What the lyra popularly called the lute is, likewise all the kinds of instrument derived from it, such as - in the vulgar tongue - the viola, the rebec, the gittern, the cetra, and the tambura; by whom all these were invented; what strings and how arranged they had at first and have now.”)<sup>4</sup>

“Ab ipsa etiam lyra instrumentum aliud processit, ab Italis, qui hoc compererunt, **cetula** nominatum, super quam quattuor enee vel calibee chorde, ad tonum, diatesseron, ac rursus tonum, communiter disposite tenduntur, pennaque tanguntur. Et hec ipsa **cetula**, plana existens, quasdam elevationes ligneas quas populariter tastas appellant in collo proportionaliter habet ordinatas, contra quas chorde digitis compresse sonum vel sublimiorem vel humiliorem efficiunt.”

(“From the *lyra* likewise proceeded another instrument, named by the Italians, who devised it, a cittern, upon which four brass or steel strings, commonly disposed by a tone, a fourth, and back a tone, are stretched. And this cittern itself, being flat, has certain wooden raised parts that are

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<sup>4</sup> This and the following English translations of Tinctoris are from <http://earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/deinventioneeetusumusice/#paneo=Translation> (accessed 08.01.2018).

popularly called frets arranged proportionally on the neck, against which the strings, pressed down by the fingers, make the sound either higher or lower.”)

“**Cetula** tantum uti quosdam rusticos ad eam nonnullas leves cantilenas concinentes choreas quoque ducentes in Italia quandoque comperi.”

(“I have sometimes known peasants to use only the cittern, singing some light songs to it and also leading dances in Italy.”)

Edition: Baines 1950. Also see footnote for English translation above.

XV-11

(Performative)

*Ordine et officij de casa de lo Illustr. signor duca d’Urbino* (... time of Guidobaldo Montefeltro, c 1490?):

“De li sonatori capitolo xlvi. Li sonatori vogliono essere in casa e eccellenti e maxime doi o tre che cantino sotto voce e cum dolceza e al mio giusto a la castigliana e che sapessino sonare liuti e **cetere**...”

(“Concerning the musicians Chapter xlvi. The musicians must stay in the house and be excellent, and above all there must be two or three who can sing softly, sweetly, and in Castilian according to my taste and they must be able to play lutes and cetre...”; transl. Piperno 2011, 82)

Edition: Eiche 1999; Piperno, 2011.

XV-12

(Definitive)

*Letter* (Isabella d'Este to Atalante Migliorotti, Florence, 22 June 1493; letter of Isabella to Florentine improviser, asking him to find a *cithara* of as many strings as he thought appropriate):

“bona **cithara** piccola per uso nostro”

(“a good small cetra for my use”)

Edition: Prizer 1982, 107.

XV-13

(Definitive)

*Letter* (Francesco Bagnacavallo to Isabella d'Este, Ferrara, 24 October 1491; letter from Bagnacavallo [courtier of Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este in Ferrara] suggesting a singing teacher for Isabella):

“Illustrissima Madama, a Vostra Signoria me aricomando.... A li di passati scripssi a Vostra Signoria de uno cantore che era venuto de Hongaria che aveva dicisi insignato al Reverendissimo monsignore vostro frate, il quale dice che non ha grande vocce da capella, ma che da camara e suficienti, et dice che canta bene in uno liuto, una **citera**, una viola; in tali istormenti sa cantare bene...”

(“Recently I wrote to your Ladyship concerning a singer who had come from Hungary and who, as I told you, taught the most Reverend Monsignor [Ippolito]. Your brother says that he does not have a large choir voice, but that he is sufficient as a chamber singer and says that he sings well to the lute, cetra, [and] lira; he knows how to sing well with such instruments...”)

Edition: Prizer 1999, 14.

XV-14

(Performative)

*L'Arcadia*, 106-108, (Jacopo Sannazaro, Naples, c. 1480):

“Non era sollacciandosi / movean i dolci balli a suon di cetera / e 'n guisa di colombi ognior basciandosi”

(“They stood together not as mere friends but as lovers, they were making sweet dancing to the sound of the cetra / and like two doves they were sometimes kissing each other”)<sup>5</sup>

Source: Tomassini, Stefano, *La danza dei secoli XIII e XIV: danza e poesia*.<sup>6</sup>

## (16th century)

XVI-1

(Figurative)

*Orlando furioso*, Canto Sedicesimo, stanza 72 (Ludovico Ariosto, Ferrara, 1516):

“un giovinetto che col dolce canto,  
concorde al suon de la cornuta cetra,  
d'intenerire un cor si dava vanto,  
ancor che fosse più duro che pietra”

(“a youth who with sweet note,  
sang to the sound of the horned cetra  
to soften a heart yet proud,

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<sup>5</sup> My gratitude goes to Dr. Paul van Heck for his translation of this passage.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.oilproject.org/lezione/la-danza-dei-secoli-xiii-e-xiv-danza-e-poesia-19292.html>



though it were harder than stone”)

Edition: <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/3747/3747-h/3747-h.htm>>  
(accessed 23.12.2017).

XVI-2

(Performative)

*Baldus*, Liber XXIII, vv. 563-565 (Teofilo Folengo 1491 - 1544, Mantova, 1517;  
from a list of instruments playing for dancing at fictional court of *Gelfora*):

“cethras”

(“cetre”)

Edition: Folengo, Teofilo, *Baldo*, Volume 2, (Books XIII-XXV), Mullaney, Ann,  
transl., (I Tatti Renaissance Library 36).

XVI-3

(Performative)

*Triumphs de gli mirandi spettacoli*, (H. de Beneditti, Bologna, 1519):

“Et havean loro un che con rime nove / Al modo rusticano in una cetra , /  
Facea stupende e gloriose prove”

(“And with them there was someone who was making new rhymes in the  
rustic mode with a cetra, he was proving his art”)

Edition: Cardamone 1981, 239.

XVI-4

(Definitive)

*Scintille di musica*, 139-140 (Giovanni Lanfranco, Brescia, 1533):

“Della Cethara. Nella Cethara poscia, cio e in quello instrumento che da Peruggini Cethara e chiamato: lo Hessachordo maggiore nella differentia delle sue chorde (che solamente sono sei) si ritrova. Ma dico sei per cio che due positioni di essa Cethara sono accompagnate di maniera: che ciascuna di loro per una sola da noi vien tolta: perche l'una in ottava con la sua compagna: & l'altra in unisono si concordino. Per tanto in quella chordata cui si da l'ottava, in acuto: segnata A, per esser la piu bassa di suono: havemo posta la nota ut nota ut, come quella: che fondamento e dell detto Hessachordo: nelle sei chorde compreso. Ma il re, si da a quella: che possede il B, perche dall'una all'altra il Tuono Sesquottavo si ode. Et il mi, a quella che e asscritta alla lettera C, perche la medesima differentia del detto Tuono fra la B, & C, si vede. Ma il fa, si pone nella chorda del D, perche il suono, che e fra C, & D, e lo intervallo proprio del Semituon minore. Il sol, poscia habbiamo messo nella E, perche dal D, alla E, di nuovo e ritornato il Tuono. Ulimatamente il la, si pone nel suono piu acuto: che e nella chorda segnata F, Per tanto col mezzo di ut re mi fa sol la, che fanno la compositione detto Hessachordo: la detta Cethara si puo accordare. Le chorde della qual (per noi darle denominatione forse piu strana che la nostra) con sei lettere habbiamo annotate: a ciascuna chorda dando la sua: & ritiranso le due chorde accompagnate sotto una medesima lettera: come nella seguente figura si dimostra. La qual Cethara e divisa per tasti: per il che molte voci per essi tasti caminando si possono trovare. Ma dalla B. alla F. & dalla A. alla E. la quinta si forma.”

(“Of the cetra, that is, on that instrument called Cethara by the Perugians, the major hexachord is found in the differentiation of its strings [which are

only six]. But I say six, because two strings of this cetra are arranged in a manner such that each of them is taken for only one by us; because the one in octave with its companion and the other in unison are concorded.<sup>7</sup>

However, on that string to which is given the octave designated A in order to be the lowest in sound, we have put the note-name ut, as that which is the foundation of the said hexachord contained in the six strings. But the re is given to that which possesses the B, because from the one to the other is heard the Sesquioctava tone; and the mi to that which is ascribed the letter C, because the same differentiation of the said whole tone is seen between B and C. But the fa is put on the D string, because the sound that is between C and D is the very interval of the lesser semitone. The sol, then, we have put on the E, because from D to E the whole tone is again returned. Lastly, la is put on the highest sound, which is on the string designated F. However, by means of ut re mi fa sol la, which makes the composition of the hexachord, the said cetra can be tuned. The strings of which (in order not to give them denominations perhaps more strange than ours) we have annotated by six letters, giving to each string its own letter and withdrawing the two strings accompanied under a similar letter, as is shown in the accompanying figure. The which cetra is divided by frets by which many different notes can be played by stopping different frets. But from B to F and from A to E, the fifth is made.

Edition: Lee 1961, 254-255. (English translation above is my corrected version of Lee's edition.)

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<sup>7</sup> In his diagram Lanfranco shows a "six string" cetra comprised of a total of eight strings: the first course (on the treble side of the fingerboard) is single, the second is a double course at the unison, the third is a double course at the octave, and the remaining three are single strings. The capital letters in the text refer to the alphabetical order of the strings going, in pitch, lowest to highest. They do not, of course, refer to pitch names.

XVI-5

(Definitive)

*Dialogo di Vincentio Galilei Nobile Fiorentino Della Musica Antica, et Della Moderna*, 129-130, 147 (Galilei, Florence, 1581):

(129-130)

“Alle quali openioni diverse intorno all’inventione della Lira, aggiugneremo quella di Filostrato il quale vuole che la prima si facere delle corna di capra insieme con l'osso di mezza la fronte & che il legno che vi si adoperava intorno per qual si voglia bisogno, vuole che di bosso fusse il meglio che adoperare vi si potesse....Et una simile ne descrive Luciano in mano Polifemo, fatta delle corna & di mezza la fronte d'un cervo; la forma della quale (secondo che piace a Plutarco) fu migliorata poi & ridotta nel la vera sua proporzione da Cepione scolare di Terpandro, detta ancora Asia; perche i sonatori di Lesbo habitatori d'Asia Città di Lydia usarono di quella forma & d'ivi in Lesbo fu si asserita dal detto Cepione in assai miglior forma quella che qui si vede: per cagione di che forse il Divino Ariosto disse, Concorde della cornuta cetra, ancora che Giulio Polluce chiama corna quelli due viticci della somità di essa Lira, i quali sportano in fuore à guisa d'orecchie.”

(“To these diverse opinions concerning the invention of the lyre we add that Philostratus, who holds that the first lyres were made of the horns of sheep, along with the bone in the middle of the forehead and that the best wood for any purpose was boxwood....Lucian describes a similar one in the hand of Polyphemus made from the horns and the middle of the forehead of a stag. Its form according to Plutarch was improved and accommodated to its true proportion by Cepion, pupil of Terpander, also named Asias, because the players of Lesbos who lived in Asia, a city in Lydia, used it in that form, and Cepion transported it to Lesbos in a better form than that which is seen. For this reason, perhaps, the divine Ariosto said: Make consonance with the



sound of the horned cetra. Julius Pollux, however, calls ‘corna’ the two tendrils [spirals] at the top of the liar that stick out like ears.”)

(147)

“Fu la cetera usata prima tra gli Inglesi che da altre nationi, nella quale isola si lavoravano già in eccellenza; quantunque hoggi le più reputate da loro, sono quelle che si lavorano in Brescia; con tutto questo è adoperata & apprezzata da nobili, & fu così detta dagli autori di essa, per forse resucitare l’antica Cithara...”

(“The English, before other nations, first used the cetra. On their island they made excellent ones, although today the most famous are made in Brescia. It is used and appreciated by the nobility. It was called cetra by its inventors perhaps to recall the ancient kithara...”)

Edition: Galilei 2003; the English translations given above are taken from this work.