Situating the Citole
c.1200-1400

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ABSTRACT

The citole, one of the foremost plucked musical instruments of the High Middle Ages, has been largely overlooked by modern scholars. This is due, in part, to disagreement as to which instrument type should be identified by that term. This work verifies and refines the definition of citole by examining three texts which link the terms *citole*, *sitola* and *çitola* to illustrations of necked chordophones with a holly-leaf shaped body outline. By consideration of similar depictions, I propose that this strict definition should be expanded to include related body shapes and that the defining characteristics of the citole are that it is a plectrum-plucked, distinct-necked chordophone with a body-outline that is not oval.

Beyond offering a definition of the citole based on the correlation of name and image in medieval sources, this thesis provides an unprecedented body of evidence from c.1200-1400 relating to this instrument type and demonstrates what sorts of information about the citole can be gleaned from these sources. There has been no comprehensive study of the citole, its morphology, use and social position, despite the wealth and variety of period sources. Each of the classes of evidence, however, has limitations and must be examined not just for content but also context. Comparison of these diverse sources shows that the citole was not an obscure 'minority interest' instrument in Western Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Documentary evidence, literary sources, and images suggest that players of the citole had a discernable social position and that the citole was considered to be an instrument which required skill, and which was usually played solo or in small consort. This is a study of whether, and in what ways, contemporaneous documentary, literary, iconographical, and material evidence are reliable and informative about instruments and what they demonstrate in the case of the citole.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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[1] British Academy and Publishers Association (joint working party), 'Joint Guidelines on Copyright and Academic Research', British Academy, and Publishers Association (2008) <www.britac.ac.uk/policy/joint-copyright-guide.cfm> [accessed 15 November 2009], pp 18 and 20.

ABBREVIATIONS

Date conventions:

Where possible specific dates will be given, according to the modern convention that January 2010 precedes October 2010.

Use of a slash between the final digits (1336/7) indicates the difference between the calendar of the period, which began in April and in which October 1336 would precede January 1336. Whenever possible specific dates will be given so 15 January 1336/7 will be listed as 15 January 1337. When the exact date is not known, this split date form may appear.

Use of a hyphen (1336–7) indicates a time span.

Abbreviations:

BM	Bibliothèque municipale
Brussels, KBR	Koninklijke Bibliotheek / Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique
CA	*Discovering Church Architecture, A Glossary of Terms*
CBN	Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional
CV	Cancioneiro da Vaticana
Edw. II	Refers to a regnal year of the reign of Edward II
Edw. III	Refers to a regnal year of the reign of Edward III
EETS	*Early English Text Society*
GSJ	*Galpin Society Journal*
HMSO	Her/His Majesty's Stationery Office
ICA	Index of Christian Art, Princeton University
JAMIS	*Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*
London, BL	London, British Library
London, NA	London, National Archives
MBA	Das Deutsche Dokumentationszentrum für Kunstgeschichte–Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Phillips Universität
NYPL	New York Public Library
Paris, AN	Paris, Archives Nationales
Paris, BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
Paris, BnF, fr.	Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français,
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
RCMI	Research Center for Music Iconography (CUNY)
SoAL	Society of Antiquaries, London
(Text X._)	Indicates a reference to a text for which there is a more extensive citation in *Appendix A: Documentary and Literary References*
(Ill._)	Indicates a reference to an image that is reproduced in *Appendix B: Illustrations*

1. INTRODUCTION –

This study is not intended to offer the final word on the citole but to enliven the discussion. Although this began as a study of the distribution, dispersal and decline of an instrument type, it became clear that before that would be possible a study was needed to determine what contemporaneous evidence had survived relating to the citole and what could be learned from that. Because there has been so much misunderstanding and speculation related to this instrument type it is necessary to return to the medieval sources to consider what can be demonstrated about the citole. This work presents and interrogates a large collection evidence relating to the citole, c. 1200-1400.

The questions addressed by this study are quite fundamental. According to medieval sources, what was a citole? What were its characteristic features? By whom, in what situations, and in which instrumental combinations was the citole played? Where and when was it popular?

Documentary, literary, iconographical and material sources are included in this analysis. In considering this evidence the seven imperatives of the didactic method used in medieval universities, the *circumstanciae,* offer useful guidelines:[1] by whom, for whom, in what manner, for what purpose, where and when was this evidence produced. The purpose of the term *citole* or the reason for the occurrence of the chordophone in the work must also be considered and what symbolism they might carry. This study is an interrogation of the material relating to this instrument type as surviving in the diverse classes of evidence. Each type of evidence reveals different aspects of how the citole was perceived, what aspects of it were considered characteristic, and with what sorts of players or performances the citole was associated.

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[1] Relating to texts, Ruys explains these as 'who wrote the text, what was written, for whom was it written, for what reason in what manner and where and when.' Juanita Feros Ruys, *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods* (Turnhaut: Brepols, 2008), p. 3.

There has been no comprehensive study of the citole, its morphology, use and social position, despite the wealth and variety of period sources. That it was a common instrument in parts of Western Europe is attested to by the large amount of surviving evidence. More than thirty individual citolers are named in documents, the instrument is referred to in over one hundred literary sources, scores of sculptures and paintings have captured details of its form, and a citole is among the very few surviving medieval stringed instruments, and yet this instrument type has been largely overlooked.

The neglect of the citole in recent scholarship might have been caused in part by conflicting opinions, on the part of modern scholars, as to which medieval instrument should be classed as a citole. As Young commented in 2000, 'modern research has been slow to find a consensus regarding both clearly defined forms and modern historical names of medieval instruments.'[2] Within the past century and a half, several phases of misattribution of instrument type-to-name have hindered the comparison of the various classes of evidence (textual, pictorial and material). These contradictory identifications have created confusion regarding the citole, its use and place in medieval society.

The need for this study might be questioned given that Laurence Wright proposed a revolutionary and now widely accepted definition of the citole in 1977,[3] and expanded that definition in 1984.[4] Appropriate credit must be given to Wright's seminal works but both are brief and neither was meant to be comprehensive. In his Grove dictionary definition Wright raises questions that have not yet been addressed fully. Although many of the findings in this study verify points made by Wright,

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[2] Crawford Young, 'Lute, Gittern, and Citole', in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. by Ross W. Duffin (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), pp. 355-75 (p. 355).
[3] Laurence Wright, 'The Medieval Gittern And Citole: A case of mistaken identity', *GSJ*, 30 (1977), pp. 8-42.
[4] Laurence Wright, 'Citole', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 3 vols (London: MacMillan, 1984), I, pp. 374-79. The same entry is reprinted in the subsequent edition: Laurence Wright, 'Citole', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrell, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), V, pp. 872-76.

some are shown to be 'not proven' and others, notably the association of *cetra* (or *cedra*) related terms and instruments with a spade-shaped body-outline to the term citole, are cast into doubt. Since Wright is the most influential writer on the subject of the citole, this study necessarily addresses his work. This is not fundamentally a critique of Wright however. The identity of the citole, its use and social position proposed here are derived from what is demonstrated by the surviving evidence, and then related to the comments of modern scholars rather than being based on them.

The surviving citole in the British Museum, which offers invaluable evidence regarding this instrument type, has already been the subject of significant study. A brief study by Remnant and Marks,[5] and recent articles by Buehler-McWilliams (2007) and members of the British Museum's Department of Conservation and Scientific Research (2008) make in-depth discussion here somewhat redundant.[6] Since the British Museum's citole is a unique exemplar of extraordinary craftsmanship, it cannot be assumed to represent a typical citole of its time. The single material exemplar of this instrument type has survived in a much altered state, not for its inherent qualities as a musical instrument but rather because it is an exceptional decorative object. Information obtained from it must be considered to be particular to it and not necessarily generally applicable. Nonetheless, since it was made to be a playable instrument,[7] it offers unparalleled details about construction and morphology against which contemporaneous sculpture can be compared.

The inclusion of the British Museum's exemplar, and other citoles, in general studies of the development of stringed instruments have overshadowed the study of the instrument-type in its own right. Some assumptions about the citole are based on

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[5] Mary Remnant and Richard Marks, 'A Medieval Gittern', *Music and Civilisation: The British Museum Yearbook,* 4 (1980), pp. 83-134.
[6] Kathryn Buehler-McWilliams, 'The British Museum Citole: An Organological Study', *JAMIS,* 33 (2007), pp. 5-41. P. Kevin, and others, 'A Musical Instrument fit for a Queen: The Metamorphosis of a Medieval Citole', *The British Museum Technical Bulletin,* 2 (2008), pp. 13-27. It is hoped that further details of the conservation work will be presented publicly at the conference relating to the British Museum's citole proposed for November 2010.
[7] Buehler-McWilliams, 'The British Museum Citole' (2007), p. 34. (See also §8.10.)

information relating to these later instruments.[8] Although often considered as a stepping-stone in the evolution of later instrument types, by the second half of the thirteenth century the citole was a fully developed instrument type with continued usage for a century thereafter.[9] The citole had recognizable physical characteristics,[10] discernable areas of use and specific associations.

This work will consider the citole only from approximately 1200 to 1400 the period of its greatest popularity. A number of modern musicologists (Geiringer,[11] Schlesinger,[12] Bachmann,[13] and most recently Burzik[14]) have studied the development of stringed instruments prior to this date. The specific origins of the citole might never be proven conclusively. The identification of vernacular instruments in literature is obscured by the use of Latin terminology. Obstacles in the use of iconography include conclusively differentiating the citole from earlier types of chordophone and determining at what point the defining characteristics were all present in an instrument type that continued to be in use through to the thirteenth century.[15] Distinct-necked chordophones, with non-oval body-outlines played with a plectrum are depicted in Hittite and ancient Egyptian art but there is insufficient evidence to support their uninterrupted use through to the European

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[8] Those authors who assume that the citole was wire-strung seem to do so based Tinctoris' late fifteenth-century description of the *cetula*. Anthony Baines, 'Fifteenth-century Instruments in Tinctoris's "De Inventione et Usu Musicae"', *GSJ*, 3 (1950), pp. 19-26. (See §9.3).

[9] Fully developed, finished or complete in the same way that Stauder describes the cittern: 'Da die Cister in der 1. Hälfte des16. Jahrhunderts bereits als fertiges instrument vorliegt, ...' Wilhelm Stauder, 'Zur Entwicklung der Cister', in *Renaissance-Studien Helmuth Osthoff zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979), pp. 223-55 (p. 226).

[10] See §3.1.4.

[11] Karl Geiringer, *Musical Instruments, Their History in Western Culture from the Stone Age to the Present Day*, ed. by W.F.H. Blandford, trans. by Bernard Miall, 2nd edn (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1945).

[12] Kathleen Schlesinger, *The Precursors of The Violin Family: Records, Researches and Studies*, The Instruments of the Modern Orchestra and the Early Records of the Precursors of the Violin Family, 2 vols (London: William Reeves, 1910), II.

[13] Werner Bachmann, *The Origins of Bowing* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969).

[14] Monika Burzik, *Quellenstudien zu europäischen Zupfinstrumentenformen*, ed. by Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung (Kassel: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1995).

[15] Stauder justifiably criticizes Winternitz for assuming continuity despite large temporal gaps between his sources. Stauder, 'Zur Entwicklung der Cister', p. 226. See also Emanuel Winternitz, 'The Survival of the Kithara and the Evolution of the English Cittern: a Study in Morphology', in *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), pp. 57-65.

Middle Ages.[16] Some early medieval sources show instruments that fit the criteria
for the instrument type discussed in this study,[17] but these images also can not be
conclusively linked with the term *citole* nor are they numerous enough to
demonstrate continuous use of this instrument type. As manufactured objects, the
form, disposition and use of instruments may be influenced by many factors. While
the structure of chordophones needs to conform to their intended function and the
physical parameters imposed by their constituent materials, instruments are also
subject to tradition or aesthetic trends and elements that may be consciously
borrowed from archaic models.[18]

There has been much debate about whether the medieval chordophone discussed
here was the ancestor of the *guitar* or of the *cittern*. Linguistically, the term *citole* is
usually linked to the *cittern*. Based on morphological features, theories vary
regarding the chordophone's relation to the later instrument types. While the
incurving body-outline is the main criterion used to place these distinct-necked
chordophones within the ancestry of the guitar, examples displaying a distinct
overall body-depth taper have been cited as ancestors of the *cittern*.[19] Panum,
Grunfeld, Bellows and Madriguera all consider the instrument form studied here as
the ancestor of the *guitar*.[20] Winternitz, however, focuses on the shoulder

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[16] For a Hittite example, see Schlesinger, *Precursors of The Violin Family* (1910), II, frontispiece.
[17] Among the most notable example is the ninth-century French manuscript known as the Stuttgart
Psalter. It contains ten images of distinct-necked chordophones with non-oval body outlines and
sizable end protrusions. In almost all most cases the instrument is held in a horizontal playing
position by David (as psalmist) and plucked with a substantial plectrum. See De Wald facsimile,
folios 55, 69, 83, 97v, 108, 112, 125, 155v, 161, 163v. Ernest T. De Wald, *The Stuttgart Psalter:
Biblia Folio 23 Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart* (Princeton: Department of Art and
Archeology Princeton University, 1930).
[18] Such as the nineteenth-century lyre-guitar, the classical features of which did not follow a lineal
descent from the antique lyre but were revived.
[19] Stauder, 'Zur Entwicklung der Cister', pp. 223-55.
[20] Most of these authors describe the distinct-necked chordophone as a *gittern* or *guitara latina*.
Although Panum does not assign a name, she briefly mentions forerunners of the guitar (*primitive
Guitar-lignende Instrumenter*). Hortense Panum, *Illustreret Musikhistorie* (København: Nordisk
Forlag, 1905), I, pp. 27-28. Frederic Grunfeld, *The Art and Times of the Guitar: An Illustrated
History of Guitars and Guitarists* (New York: Da Capo, 1974). Alexander Bellows, *The Illustrated
History of the Guitar* (Rockville Center, NY: Belwin, Mills, 1970). Enric Felix Madriguera, 'The
Hispanization of the Guitar: From the *guitarra latina* to the *guitarra española*' (unpublished doctoral
dissertation, University of Texas at Dallas, 1993).

projections to assign it to the *cittern* lineage.[21] Similar body outlines are suggested as indications that the earlier instrument form could have developed into the later. Unfortunately, these trans-millennial studies, by necessity, offer only small amounts of evidence. Aspects of the citole may well have influenced the development of both the *guitar* and *cittern*. Here, however, the citole will not be considered to be the 'ancestor' of either. As mentioned earlier, musical instruments are manufactured items, the design of which is subject to tradition but also to the ingenuity of the maker; features of later instruments can not be assumed to have existed on earlier ones.

Research into the use of any medieval musical instrument type calls for critical examination of surviving evidence that is incomplete and not necessarily representative. The classes of evidence considered in this study are: documentary, literary, iconographical and material. Recorded on or consisting of degradable materials (wood, paper, parchment or stone), all of these types of evidence have had their quantity and quality depleted over the centuries, either through decay,[22] accidental loss,[23] or intentional damage.[24] In some cases false evidence has been created.[25] Given the unreliable nature of many of the individual pieces of evidence it is necessary to survey a large sample. Synthesis of the information gleaned from the surviving examples of the various types of evidence provides a more complete picture.

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[21] Winternitz, 'The Survival of the Kithara', pp. 57-65.

[22] Exterior sculptures degrade under the effects of weather. An extreme example of weathering is the *Porta de Loreto* of the collegiate church, Orihuela, Spain, which might have contained the southern most depictions of early fourteenth-century citoles but they also might have shown a different instrument type: the instruments are undecipherable. Although Taylor describes two of the lowest figures as playing 'small lute or cittern' and 'small guitar or cittern' erosion of the sculptures makes it impossible to determine body shapes conclusively. Thomas F. Taylor, 'The Twenty-four Elders in the South of Spain', in *Music from the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Gwynn S. McPeek*, ed. by Carmelo Peter Comberiati and Matthew Clark Steel (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1988), pp. 297-313 (pp. 306-7). (See Appendix B, Ill. 176a-b.)

[23] Fires and bombing reduced the number of surviving medieval structures and documents.

[24] Durable stone sculptures were greatly reduced by iconoclasts destroying images and less malicious destruction caused by renovators. Books were destroyed for political reasons or outdated parchment documents scraped for reuse.

[25] The conversion of the British Museum's instrument to a violin is an obvious example of original material being lost in favour of misleading elements. Architectural restoration to sculptures is not always as obvious in its alterations. (See §8.2.1.)

One of the purposes of this study was to gather together a body of diverse source material: documentary, literary and iconographical. This has not been an attempt to locate every example but to collect a suitable body of evidence for comparison. Much of the work that has touched upon this instrument type has cited only a small number of sources. This practice might have led to the popular belief that there is a dearth of surviving information relating to this instrument type, and that the citole was not a common instrument. It has also given credence to a small number of well-known examples, whether they are exemplary or not.

This thesis is at least as much an epistemological as an ontological study. That is to say, it considers the surviving evidence and explores the ways in which information about the citole can be gleaned from fragmentary evidence. There are no explicit sources stating the criteria for what would or would not have been considered a citole, what types of people would and would not have played them, nor how the instrument was played. No known texts describe the stringing, tuning, playing technique or construction of the citole. While extant contemporaneous treatises describe aspects of other specifically named instruments, [26] usually focusing on their tuning and stringing or the music best suited to them, these have no direct relationship to the citole. Specific details about instruments seem to have been less important than those of the music to medieval scholars. Johannes de Grocheo attitude is not atypical when he states, in his early fourteenth-century *De Musica*:[27]

> We, nevertheless, do not intend to discuss the construction or classification of instruments except in terms of the variety of musical forms which are performed on them.

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[26] For example, the *viella* and *rubeba* in Jerome of Moravia's *Tractatus de Musica* and the harp mentioned by Paulus Paulinirus. A number of texts in Arabic, Persian and Turkish discuss the 'ūd. Christopher Page, 'Jerome of Moravia on the Rubeba and Viella ', *GSJ*, 32 (1979), pp. 77-98. Stanley Howell, 'Paulus Paulirinus of Prague on Musical Instruments', *JAMIS*, 5/6 (1979/80), pp. 9-36. Eckhard Neubauer, 'Der Bau der Laute und ihre Besaitung nach Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Quellen des 9 bis 15. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften*, 8 (1993), pp. 279-378.
[27] Johannes de Grocheo, *Concerning Music*, ed. by and trans. Albert Seay (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1974), p. 19.

Unlike Johannes' work, this study discusses the classification and morphology of the citole and touches only lightly on the musical forms associated with it.

This work is based on inductive, rather than deductive analysis. During my M.A. by project,[28] I became aware of the need for a comprehensive study of the citole to clarify this instrument type. Due to the persistent confusion regarding the citole, it seemed necessary to test the previous definitions of the citole by analyzing the medieval evidence, rather than relying upon modern scholarship, to show what can be proven about the citole.

The weaknesses of one class of evidence are often compensated for by the strengths of another. While documentary and material evidence are factual, they are very narrow. Literary and iconographical sources are much broader but lack verity. Tax and rent records indicate where a player lived in a given year but epics and romances suggest at what types of occasion a citoler of that time might have played. The British Museum's single surviving much-altered material exemplar demonstrates the form of one citole while paintings and sculptures indicate other possible shapes and sizes. Each type of evidence finds complement in the others.

Relevant text sources were identified partly from the writings of previous scholars, dictionaries of medieval languages, published concordances and Internet databases. Modern published transcriptions of texts are used in all citations. This is both to benefit from expert palaeography and to allow the reader access to published versions. Reference citations favour print editions rather than on-line publications, since URL can be unstable and the information given on websites may change. Where possible, more than one transcription of a text was consulted. Preference was given to diplomatic editions or to critical editions that clearly cited each *citole* reference to an individual manuscript. Where there was some discrepancy, facsimiles or original documents were viewed, if possible.

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[28] The MA project involved reconstructing a typical fourteenth-century English-style citole based substantially on the British Museum's surviving exemplar, with additional information drawn from contemporaneous iconography. Alice Margerum, 'Citole: Research and Reconstruction' (unpublished master's thesis, London Metropolitan University, 2004).

The earliest copy of a manuscript using a *citole* term is the one cited for each given text, in an attempt to record actual usage. Since translators often change or explain musical terms for the ease of contemporary readers, modern translations are used only as an aid to understanding but never in place of a transcribed text. In the modern translations quoted, the translator's term is sometimes replaced in square brackets by the original untranslated one. Wherever possible, prose translations of poems are cited in preference to those that attempt to preserve the rhyme scheme or meter of the original.

The images studied here were gathered from various sources, initially those reproduced by other scholars or mentioned in musicological studies. Appendix B does not include all of the representations of citoles so far identified but offers sufficient quantity and diversity of depictions to assist the reader and to demonstrate the frequency of specific features. To facilitate comparison, I devised a cataloguing method to record details of the iconographical sources. This involved redesigning the database record that I created as part of my MA incorporating many of the fields used on the 1993 Standard Cataloguing forms of the Répertoire International d'iconographie Musicale (RIdIM) and Research Center for Musical Iconography (RCMI). Specialist musical iconography research method guides by Brown and LaScalle, Baldersee, and Heck et al., assisted the development of the methodology that was employed in the analysis of depictions. Unlike the RIdIm/RCMI forms, which were designed to record general descriptions of depictions rather than the specific details of the instruments shown within them, these data sheets include detailed information about the instruments depicted as well as the source. This database was used to compare objectified features of the numerous depictions. Given that medieval philosophy, symbolism and artistic practice can affect the manner in which an instrument is portrayed and the context within which it is shown, these elements were taken into some consideration.

In searching for a unifying scholarly approach to both literature and iconography, I gravitated towards methodologies that consider works within their context and

environment.[29] The methodology that best seemed to relate to the study of a physical object within its society and as a product of it was Material Culture. Gorenstein defines material culture as 'manufactured things spawned by a community and as characteristic of it as its language, behaviour, and oral and written knowledge.'[30] This study adopts the premise that the way in which the citole is represented reflects its social position and usage in different places and at different times and that the citole was characteristic of the societies in which it appeared. Although it might seem perverse not to centre this study on the sole surviving exemplar, that instrument is highly decorated and much altered. On its own, the British Museum's citole cannot provide an accurate appraisal of the general instrument type and its place in society; it can only speak about itself. This study will consider it as well as the other manufactured things (documents, literature and art) that have recorded details of citoles and citole players, and which together provide a fuller picture of the instrument type and its use.

With regard to literature and art, the simple question that seems to yield the most fruitful results is: what purpose does the *citole* serve in the relevant occurrence, both for the creator and the intended audience? The term *citole* used as a direct translation, or a citole-type instrument used in the illustration of a biblical or antique story must be considered in a different manner than those that describe or depict contemporaneous situations.

This study both offers a definition of the citole,[31] based on the correlation of name and image in medieval sources, and clarifies the citole's relative social position and usage by examining the various classes of relevant evidence. The large number of surviving sources shows that, in western Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth

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[29] While foremost among these is 'New Historicism', analyzing all of the sources within their full geo-political socio-economic spectrum of influences, did not seem entirely relevant.
[30] Shirley Gorenstein, 'Introduction: Material Culture', *Knowledge and Society*, 10 (1996), pp. 1-18 (p. 2).
[31] In many respects, my definition agrees with those proposed by Coussemaker and Wright but further refines them and offers additional corroborating evidence. C. E .H. de Coussemaker, 'Les instruments de musique au Moyen Âge: lyre, luth, mandore, guitare, cithare, citole et pandore', *Annales Archéologiques*, 16 (1856), pp. 98-110 (pp. 105-6 & 108-9), L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), pp. 23-30, and L. Wright, 'Citole', *New Grove Instruments* (1984), I.

centuries, the citole was not an obscure 'minority interest' instrument. Documentary evidence, literary sources and images suggest that players of the citole had a discernable social position and that the citole was considered to be instrument that required skill and which was usually played as a solo instrument or in small consort. Images suggest that although some characteristics of the citole, such as body outline, varied by place and time many other features remain consistently depicted.

1.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE

LITERATURE AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

The literature and historiography section explores the causes of the modern confusion regarding which medieval instrument was called a citole. The most influential theories will be addressed in chronological order, identifying the writings of the earliest major theorist to suggest them. The sources for those theorists will also be considered, including early modern dictionary definitions and the ways in which the citole has been placed into the histories of more modern instruments.

IDENTIFY THE CITOLE

Since the literature review discusses a number of definitions for 'citole', this chapter examines period sources to identify which type of instrument was called a citole during the Middle Ages. This section discusses three texts that link the terms *citole*, *sitola* and *çitola* to necked chordophones with a particular body-outline. The texts are unrelated and yet the corresponding illustrations clearly indicate the same type of instrument. First, the details of the plucked instruments depicted are compared, to offer a conservative definition for what can be demonstrated to have been considered a citole by these medieval artists. These three sources are then compared with other contemporaneous illustrations to propose broader identifying criteria. This is followed by a discussion of three categories of nomenclature that have been linked to citole to determine which are applicable to this study.

DOCUMENTARY RECORDS FOR CITOLERS IN ENGLAND (AND PARIS)

Documentary evidence preserves reliable,[32] dated, accounts of the location of individuals known as 'le citoler'.[33] Most of these documents record financial or legal transactions: taxes, rents, inquests, fees or gifts. These offer some indication as to the social status of the players, but not much detail about their instruments nor how the musicians used them.

LITERARY SOURCES

First the importance of dating citations based on surviving manuscripts is stressed through the discussion of examples of citoles that are lost from or added to later manuscripts. Literary evidence offers greater detail as to the situations in which citole playing might have been considered suitable. These situations are fictional or fictionalised. An author's choice of instruments may show the influence of earlier writers or some situations, such as that of heavenly choirs, might describe instrumental groupings that are contrary to contemporaneous practice. The specific instruments included are also often incidental; a name may be chosen for rhyme, meter or assonance. Literature does, however, preserve that the author or scribe had some familiarity with the citole and considered it as suitable for inclusion in the situation described. Even in situations in which a citole-related term appears in a translation of a Latin text, however, the selective use of the citole can offer insight into the translator's perceptions of the status or use of the instrument.

MATERIAL EVIDENCE

Although substantially altered, the British Museum's citole is the only surviving example of a citole. Since this object has already been the subject of other studies, this section discusses a few less-examined aspects of the British Museum's Citole and proposes a geometrical system of layout for the outline of this artefact.

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[32] For the purpose of this study it is assumed that the documents were intended to be accepted as truthful and that forgery or other tampering need not be considered.
[33] Citolur, Cytelur, citoléeur, Cytoler, Setoler, Cetoler, Sitoler ... etc.

ICONOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Iconography offers the most varied evidence for the morphology of the citole, which features were characteristic, and whether there was regional diversity. The evidence, however, is often unreliable. Details in pictorial sources are not necessarily accurate and may reflect artistic invention, convention or omission. Many sources are damaged or incomplete. Modern restorations also may insert details during reconstruction. A few depictions of citoles are entirely modern inventions. The available corpus of depictions has been diminished by the loss of images especially in areas of iconoclasm. This certainly has altered the perception of where citoles might have been known. The influence of subtext on depictions of musical combinations and use are considered with regard to Biblical, angelic and monstrous citolers.

COMPARATIVE MORPHOLOGY

Comparison of a large number of images, with particular emphasis on sculpture, indicates a variety of forms in which the instrument might have been found and which characteristics might have been considered typical, and in what regions. Where relevant, these will be compared against the British Museum's exemplar discussed in the previous section.

CITOLE PLAYERS IN LITERATURE AND ART – CONTEMPORANEOUS SETTINGS

This section considers the depictions and descriptions of citole players who appear in art and literature. It considers the general social position of minstrels and the citole as one of the attributes of a skilled professional. It also discusses which other kinds of people play the citole in true-to-life fiction. The relation between Iberian texts and manuscripts is addressed at some length.

CET(E)RA AND *CEDRA* & ITALIAN INSTRUMENTS

This section briefly considers Italian terminology and the morphology of an instrument type that has been associated with the citole by modern scholars but which, during this period, is found almost exclusively in Italy. The earliest depiction of this Italian instrument type is shown in the hands of one of King David's musicians, carved by Benedetto Antelami, at the Baptistery in Parma. Since modern studies of the citole usually include Tinctoris's description of the 'cetula', although that reference dates from the late fifteenth century, it is also discussed in this section. This section proposes that these probably do not relate to the citole as found elsewhere but represent a distinctly different instrument type or at least a significant regional variation.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOUND AND USE

This section considers a few aspects of the citole as a sound-producing object. The discussion begins with a consideration of the sources that relate to the use of the citole in the performance of songs and dances. Because no direct evidence relating to the stringing or tuning or playing of the citole survives from before 1400, some sources related to other instrument types will be considered here.

2.   HISTORIOGRAPHY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Most of what has been written about the citole in the past two hundred years can be shown to be incorrect to some extent. Galpin's 1910 comment 'In the CITOLE...we have an instrument which has been much misunderstood' is still valid.[1] Confusion has arisen from both misidentification and methodological flaws. Although many aspects of the secondary literature relating to iconography are valid, assigning the name *citole* to the wrong instrument type and applying the wrong name to the holly-leaf-shaped chordophone obliges the researcher to dirempt visual evidence from the erroneous instrument names associated with it. Studies that discuss citole-related terminology in literature have been distorted by the assumption that texts are inviolate. Since most modern scholars have tended to date texts containing citole references by the proposed date of authorship rather than by the date of surviving manuscripts, the stated chronology of the citations is based upon assumption rather than the surviving evidence. Only the studies attempting to identify or classify the citole will be considered in this section; the importance of dating by surviving manuscript rather than by date of proposed authorship is discussed in a later section.[2]

One of the reasons that the citole has not been the subject of thorough study is that, since the mid-nineteenth century, multifarious and contradictory definitions have been proposed for the term *citole* and its variants. The authors of these definitions then became the authorities from whom other scholars drew their information, spreading contradictory theories, many of which remain influential.[3] The term *citole* has been applied to types of box-zither,[4] necked-chordophones, or both.[5]

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[1] Francis W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music: Their history and character* (London: Methuen, 1910), p. 25.
[2] See § 5.1 'Dating of Citations and the Influence of the Scribe'.
[3] The persistence of a discredited usage can be shown by the still frequent translation of *citole* as *zither*. Even though this definition fell out of musicological favour almost a century ago, the *citole=zither* translation still appears in studies of medieval literature. For recent examples see Gonzalo de Berceo, 'The Life of Saint Aemilianus', in *The Collected Works of Gonzalo de Berceo in English Translation*, ed. by and trans. Annette Grant Cash (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), pp. 321-82 (p. 328), and Guillaume de Machaut, *La Prise d'Alixandre (The Taking of Alexandria)*, ed. by R. Barton Palmer, trans. by R. Barton Palmer (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), p. 87.
[4] A. J. Hipkins, 'Citole', in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by J. A. Fuller Maitland, 5 vols (London: MacMillan, 1904), I, pp. 539-40.

Additionally, the various necked-chordophones proposed as *citoles* have been distinguished by body outlines that are either oval with a flat back,[6] holly-leaf shaped,[7] or a variety of shapes.[8] Meanwhile, images of the instrument type examined in this study (plucked, distinct-necked, non-oval-bodied chordophone) have been referred to variously as *cithare*,[9] *gittern*,[10] *guitarra latina*,[11] *vihuela*,[12] *medieval guitar*,[13] *cister*,[14] and *citole*.[15] Near the end of the twentieth century the definition of *citole* as a distinct-necked waisted chordophone gained the acceptance of musicologists, although adoption of this term has been slow.[16]

In order to study an instrument, it is first necessary to identify it and to determine what evidentiary material is relevant to it. This chapter does not seek to identify the citole (see § 3: 'Identifying the Citole') but to review the main threads of scholarship

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[5] Edgerly adopted both definitions with rather bewildering results. Beatrice Edgerly, *From The Hunter's Bow: The history and romance of musical instruments*, ed. by Boris Erich Nelson, 2nd edn (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942), p. 389. See also pp. 263, 276 and 281.

[6] To be more precise, the flat-backed instruments are often described as either oval or pear-shaped. See Galpin, *Old English Instruments* (1910), p. 20. In 1843, Way offered an insightful description of the piriform instrument and recognized it as a *guiterne*. Galfridus Anglicus, *Promptorium Parvulorum: the first English-Latin dictionary*, ed. by A.L. Mayhew, EETS (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1908), p. 196, footnote.

[7] C. E .H. de Coussemaker, 'Les instruments de musique au Moyen Âge: lyre, luth, mandore, guitare, cithare, citole et pandore', *Annales Archéologiques*, 16 (1856), pp. 98-110 (p. 109).

[8] L. Wright, 'Citole', *New Grove Music* (2001), V, p. 872.

[9] Coussemaker, 'Les instruments de musique au Moyen Âge', p. 108.

[10] Galpin, *Old English Instruments* (1910), pp. 20-25.

[11] The earliest modern use of this term seems to be by Fuertes. The term persists especially in the study of medieval Iberian instruments displaying similar shape to the modern guitar. Mariano Soriano Fuertes, *Historia de la música española desde la venida de los fenicios hasta el año de 1850*, 4 vols (Madrid: Martin and Salazar, 1855), I, p. 188.

[12] Kathleen Schlesinger, *The Precursors of The Violin Family: Records, Researches and Studies*, The Instruments of the Modern Orchestra and the Early Records of the Precursors of the Violin Family, 2 vols (London: William Reeves, 1910), II, p. 248 and Roger Bragard and Ferdinand J. De Hen, *Musical Instruments In Art and History*, trans. by Bill Hopkins, English-language edn (New York Viking Press, 1968), p. 55.

[13] Panum (Pulver's translation) discusses primitive and gothic guitar-types. Hortense Panum, *Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages: Their Evolution and Development*, trans. by Jeffrey Pulver (London: William Reeves, 1940), pp. 442-448. Remnant was cautious about accepting Wright's 1978 re-attribution and in 1980, used the term *medieval guitar* as a compromise. Mary Remnant and Richard Marks, 'A Medieval Gittern', *Music and Civilisation: The British Museum Yearbook*, 4 (1980), pp. 83-134.

[14] Wilhelm Stauder, 'Zur Entwicklung der Cister', in *Renaissance-Studien Helmuth Osthoff zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979), pp. 223-55.

[15] Laurence Wright, 'The Medieval Gittern And Citole: A case of mistaken identity', *GSJ*, 30 (1977), pp. 8-42, and L. Wright, 'Citole', *New Grove Instruments* (1984), I, pp. 374-79.

[16] The turning point was undoubtedly the acceptance of Wright's terminology by the New Grove Dictionaries. Despite widespread acceptance, it is still questioned by some authors such as Robert E. Boenig, 'Musical Instruments as Iconographical Artifacts in Medieval Poetry', in *Material Culture and Cultural Materialisms in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), pp. 1-15.

that have attempted to identify, classify, and examine either the medieval linguistic variants of the terms *citole* and *cetra* or the distinct-necked plucked chordophones with non-oval body-outlines. Whenever possible, the modern author who originated, or popularized, a theory is identified.

2.1   THE EPISTEMOLOGY OF AGNOLOGY (OR - HOW MODERN SCHOLARS CAME TO BE SO CONFUSED ABOUT CITOLES)

The historiographies of many instruments have involved some confusion. Names can be misleading: for example, modern references to the 'blues harp' are rarely, if ever, meant to indicate a stringed instrument. When the context is not specified, it can become unclear as to whether a 'harp' produces pitched sounds by the activation of strings, reeds, a lamella, or whether it is a non-musical part of a lamp.[17] In the case of the citole, however, the causes of these misunderstandings are not quite as simple as the use of evocative but misleading terms, and the confusion has been compounded over time. While the body of this study will not specifically discuss the time periods outside AD 1200–1400, in the literature review it is necessary to do so, as it will explicate the origins of some modern attribution of terms. A number of factors are responsible for the modern misattribution of name to instrument type: the use of instrument names without description or depiction, reliance upon earlier authorities, the tendency of medieval scholars to explain an earlier instrument by equating it with one from their own period and the inconsistent translation of an earlier term to a more modern one. Although these practices relate specifically to medieval scholarship, to some extant they have also persisted through the twentieth century.

2.1.1   MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

This confusion about instruments, their physical characteristics and correct nomenclature is not a recent phenomenon. Long before modern musicology sought to clarify and classify, glossed manuscripts and biblical commentaries sought to elucidate. Some earlier Christian writers such as Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville and

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[17] A 'mouth harp' can either be an aerophone (also known as a 'blues harp' or harmonica), or a lamellaphone (also known as 'jews' harp'). A lamp harp is the wire fixture that holds up a lampshade.

Pseudo-Jerome[18] attempted to describe and explain the nature of musical instruments of the Bible. Based on these early authorities, later scholars attempted to equate instruments of their own time to these descriptions of the *lira* or *cithara*. The medieval convention of using Latinate biblical terms even when referring to contemporaneous instruments did not aid clarification. As Schwartz comments, 'Musical terms are used so carelessly in ancient literature that we are not at all sure what instruments are referred to.'[19]

When not accompanied by a depiction, it can be almost impossible to interpret conclusively which specific instrument is intended by the use of a biblically derived musical term in a medieval text. *Lira* and *cithara*, which are derived from the Vulgate, are the most common Latin names associated with *citole*. In the fourth century, St. Jerome translated the Old Testament Hebrew *kinnor* (*chinnōr*) and *nebel* both variously as *lira, cithara* or *psalterium*.[20] In the Middle Ages these terms were applied to a diverse range of stringed instruments including necked chordophones as well as harps, lyres and zithers.[21] Although the term *cithara* is usually associated with chordophones, in Iberian sculptural sources the use of the term seems to have extended to aerophones and membranophones as well.[22] Even after the mid-thirteenth century, when colloquial terminology began to be more widely used, the scholarly practice of assigning Latinate biblical terminology to instruments in current use was still common.[23]

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[18] The influential Pseudo-Jerome epistle to Dardanus, an illustrated manuscript that sought to clarify the instruments described in the Bible, was copied throughout the Middle Ages and into the eighteenth century. Although the document was ascribed to Saint Jerome, translator of the Vulgate, no copies have survived from before the early ninth century, and it is believed to have been composed during the early ninth century. Regardless of actual authorship the text carried the authority of St Jerome by its attribution. Jeremy Montagu, *Musical Instruments of the Bible* (Lanham MD and London: Scarecrow Press, 2002), pp. 50-51. Christopher Page, 'Biblical Instruments in Medieval Manuscript Illustration', *Early Music*, 5 (1977), pp. 299-309 (p. 302).

[19] H. W. Schwartz, *The Story of Musical Instruments from Shepherd's Pipe to Symphony* (New York: Doubleday, Duran, 1939), p. 292.

[20] Although *kinnor* (*chinnōr*) was most frequently translated as *cithara*, and *nebel* (*nēvel*) as *psalterium*, Martin van Schaik, *The Harp in The Middle Ages: The Symbolism of a Musical Instrument* (Amsterdam: Ropodi, 1992), p. 67, and J. Montagu, *Musical Instruments of the Bible* (2002), pp. 11-15 and 38-39.

[21] For clarification of these term, as I mean them, see Hornborstal-Sachs class '322.2 Frame harps', '321.2 Yoked lutes or lyres' and '314.122...(box zither)'. Erich M. Von Hornborstel and Curt Sachs, 'Classification of Musical Instruments, translated by Anthony Baines and Klaus P. Wachsmann', *GSJ*, 14 (1961), pp. 3-29 (pp. 21-3).

[22] See Appendix B, Ill. 7-14 for some examples.

[23] Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental practice and songs in France 1100-1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 53.

Although some medieval authors cross-reference their terminology, most do not and the interpretations vary greatly among those who do. In the late fourteenth century, Nicolas Oresme, Bishop of Lisieux, seems to clarify that a *cithare* and a *citole* are the same thing: 'cithare, ce est cythole, et lira, ce est harpe'.[24] This appears to be corroborated by an illustration in a fourteenth-century Parisian manuscript, MS Paris, BnF, Lat. 7378A, fol. 45v, showing a necked chordophone with a waisted body-outline, that has written beside it, *chitara*.[25] Unfortunately, not all medieval scholars appear to have agreed with this designation. The term *cythara* is illustrated as a box-zither (psaltery) in an early thirteenth-century English copy of *Topographia Hibernica*.[26] The depictions most often labelled as *cithare* in medieval sources are triangular-frame harps,[27] but this is not exclusive. The Elders mentioned in the Book of Revelation are frequently depicted with their *citharae*: sometimes displaying a single instrument type but more frequently a variety.[28] The term *lira*, or *lyra*, is also used to denote almost any stringed instrument. Downie suggests that *lira* was used as a term for a piriform bowed instrument.[29] A fourteenth-century treatise on instruments and tunings, Berkeley MS 744, depicts a piriform instrument with a sickle-shaped peg box that is labelled *lyra*.[30] *Lira* was also used to denote triangular-frame harps.[31] A marginal gloss in another late fourteenth-century manuscript uses both terms, stating that the *sitola* is a *lira*, which is a species of *cithare*, and illustrates the gloss with a sketch of a holly-leaf-shaped necked chordophone.[32] Both the terms *cithara* and *lira* were used in relation to the *citole* but also to denote a variety of other instruments.

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[24] Albert Douglas Menut, 'Maistre Nicole Oresme: Le livre de Politiques d'Aristote, published from the text of the Avranches Manuscript 223', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 60 (1970), pp. 1-392 (p. 354).

[25] This source will be discussed at length in § 3.12. See also L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), pp. 28, 32 and Pl. II.

[26] MS London, BL, Royal 13 B. VIII, folio 26 is an English manuscript believed to originate from Lincolnshire c.1220.

[27] As in the c.1400 *Breviarum reglare musicae* of Willelmus, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 842, fol. 66v. Schaik, *The Harp in The Middle Ages*, p. 36 and Ill. 4.

[28] All of the Iberian Last Judgment portals shown in Appendix B display a variety of instruments.

[29] Margaret Anne Downie, 'The Rebec: An Orthographic and Iconographic Study' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, West Virginia University, 1981), Introduction.

[30] Christopher Page, 'Fourteenth Century Instruments and Tunings: A Treatise by Jean Vaillant? (Berkley, MS 744)', in *Music and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Studies on Texts and Performance* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), pp. 17-35.

[31] As depicted in the early fourteenth-century astrological tract MS London, BL, Sloane 3983, fol. 13r. Schaik, *The Harp in The Middle Ages*, Illustration 3.

[32] MS Brussels, KBR, 21069.

This inconsistent correlation of a medieval term with a biblical one continues into the fifteenth century. One fifteenth-century Latin/English vocabulary, under the heading 'Nomina Ludorum', suggests that a *psalmatus* is a *sytalle*,[33] while another offers that a *sambucus* is a *sytholle*,[34] and another that a *sambuca* is a *gytterne*.[35] Further imprecise use of multiple vernacular terms to define a single Latin term also clouded the definitions. Since the verb '*Vidulo*' is defined as 'vydele crowthe & sytole', is can be interpreted as misleadingly indicating that, by association, the *sytole* was a bowed instrument.[36] Circular, or seemingly self-referential, definitions also offer no clarification, such as '*Citola, an^{ce}* a cytole',[37] or '*Hic citolator*, a cytolerer'.[38]

In the early modern period, when a newer instrument reuses the medieval name *citola* there is further potential for confusion. By the end of the sixteenth century, the name *citola* in Spain seems to have been employed to indicate a type of cittern. In 1599 John Minsheu translates the Spanish term Citola as '*Citola*, f. a citterne' and 'Citolero, m. a maker of citterns.'[39] A 1575 inventory of a Toledo instrument-maker's workshop indicates that these sixteenth-century *citola* were constructed using moulds but their shape is not described.[40] Cerone, in *el Melopeo y Maestro*,

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[33] Transcribed from 'a manuscript in the collection of Joseph Mayer, Esq. F.S.A. of Liverpool' by Thomas Wright and Richard Paul Wülker, 'XIX - a Nominale', in *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, 2 vols (London: Trübner, 1884), I, Text XIX, Column 738, line 18.

[34] MS London, BL, Reg. 17, C. XVII, fol. 21r by T. Wright and R. P. Wülker, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, I, Text XVIII, column 666, line 43.

[35] Transcribed as 'XV - A Latin and English Vocabulary', from a manuscript at Trinity College Cambridge, by T. Wright and R. P. Wülker, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, I, col. 609, lines 9 -11.

[36] It should be assumed, since there is no firm evidence that the citole was played by bowing, that the interpretation of the term *vidulo* should be read as '– to play upon a stringed instrument'. T. Wright and R. P. Wülker, 'XV - A Latin and English Vocabulary' in *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, I, column 619, line 22.

[37] T. Wright and R. P. Wülker, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, I, Text XV, vol. 1, column 573, line 15.

[38] MS London, BL, Roy.17.C. XVII. T. Wright and R. P. Wülker, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, I, Text XIX, column 697, line 10.

[39] 'A dictionarie in Spanish and English, first published into the English tongue by Ric. Perciuale Gent. Now enlarged and amplified with many thousand words, as by this marke* to each of them prefixed may appeere', reproduced in Graham Strahle, *Musical Terms from British Sources 1500-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 70.

[40] Mateo de Arratía's tools, wood and instruments, include 'sixteen moulds, three to make citolas and the others for guitars and vihuelas' (Diez y seys moldes tres de [a]zer citolas y los otros de guitarras hi viguelas). MS: Archivo Municipal Provencial de Toledo, 30-06-1575, Pro: 1564, ff. 930-933r. Jóse L. Romanillos Vega and Marian Harris Winspear, *The Vihuela de Mano and The Spanish Guitar: A*

describes the way in which the six courses of the *citola* relate to hexachord species.[41] Although Galpin, to some extant, based his description of a *citole* on Cerone's work, the early seventeenth-century *citola* can not be assumed to be the same as the *citola* of the thirteenth and fourteenth century.[42]

2.1.2 MODERN AUTHORITIES

Modern translation practices and scholarly conventions have allowed confusion to persist. Just as medieval scholars relied upon Boethius and Isidore of Seville, modern scholars rely upon authorities, such as Galpin and Wright, who offer conflicting definitions. The substitution of more familiar terms for archaic ones in a literary translation is still common practice, as is a single translator offering varying translations of *citole* in the same work. Some translators favour substituting modern instrument names for *citole*, such as Eichmann and Duval, in an edition of poems by Rutebeuf who offer *guitar* in *De Frere Denise* but *zither* in *Le Pet Au Vilain*.[43] Others such as, Barrette and Baldwin, in a recent translation of *Li Livre dou Tresor*, prefer to offer the evocative names of early instruments like *viol, lyre, citharas,* or a generic phrase like *stringed instrument,* as translations of *citole*.[44] A term may also be chosen because it has pleasing assonance, such as the translation of 'la çitola albordana' to 'the giddy gittern'.[45] Presumably these alterations in musical

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dictionary of the makers of plucked and bowed instruments of Spain 1200-2002, string makers, shops dealers and factories (Guijosa: Sanguion, 2002), pp. 23 and 479-482.

[41] The terms *citola, cythara* and *cethare* are used synonymously in the same passage. Pedro Cerone de Bergamo, *El melopeo y maestro: tractado de musica theorica y pratica, en que se pone por extenso, lo que uno para hazerse perfecto musico ha menester saber; y por mayor facilidad, comodidad, y claridad del lector, esta repartido en XXII libros* (Napoles: Iuan Bautista Gargano, y Lucrecio Nucci, 1613), Book 22, ch.16, pp. 1054-55. See also Juan José Rey and Antonio Navarro, *Los instrumentos de púa en España: Bandurria, cítola y «laúdes españoles»* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1994), p.177.

[42] Especially given the lack of evidence for continuous usage.

[43] Rutebeuf,'Le Pet Au Villain', and 'De Frere Denise' in *The French Fabliau B.N. MS. 837*, ed. by Raymond Eichmann and John Duval (New York: Garland, 1985) II, pp. 242-45: *zither* in 'Le Pet Au Villain', *guitar* in 'De Frere Denise', pp. 245 and 257. (See Appendix A, B.12 and B.13)

[44] Admittedly, *lyre* was probably chosen because it reverts back to Latini's original sources, which used the term *lira* for the instrument played by a siren (see discussion §3.). Not all of Barrette and Baldwin's translation follow this pattern, however, since use of *citharas and viols* in *Tresor* Book II, Ch. 63, does not recall Jesus Sirach's *tibiae et psalterium* (Vulgate, Ecclesiasticus 40:20). Brunetto Latini, Brunetto Latini, *The Book of Treasure (Li Livres dou Tresor)*, trans. by Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin, Garland Library of Medieval Literature (New York and London: Garland, 1993), pp. 15, 107, 187, 206 and 212. (App. A, B.6a)

[45] Juan Ruiz, *The Book of the Archpriest of Hita (Libro de Buen Amor)*, ed. by and translated by Mark Singleton (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1975), p. 119.

instrument names are not intended to describe the *citole* but rather to make the translated passages more understandable to the reader (or listener) of the time.

The main portion of this section summarizes the published work of musicologists attempting to explain what a *citole* is and what name should be applied to the type of instrument exemplified by the British Museum's fourteenth-century artefact. The most straight-forward method of outlining the trends in usage is chronologically. This is not an exhaustive survey but it does try to identify the originator of the various theories and to track their influence through some later sources. Although dictionaries of music are probably the most influential authorities, they necessarily lag behind scholarly innovation. Dictionary entries often do not record the most recent scholarship but rather conservatively present definitions that are already accepted by experts in the field. Other influential contributors, or early proponents of a given term, are interspersed among the dictionary definitions to show the currency of various definitions and because subsequent writers derive their information from a variety of authorities.

Confusion in the study of the citole seems to have been a persistent trend, although the nature and the causes of this confusion have changed. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries scholars attempted to identify medieval instruments and to assign names to the forms depicted and yet could not achieve consensus as to which instrument should be called a *citole* and what name should be applied to the holly-leaf shaped plucked chordophone. In order that the different attributions of nomenclature may be followed more easily, these sources are summarized in a chronological list:

2.1.2.1 MILESTONES IN CITOLE RESEARCH: PUBLISHED SOURCES 1776-2009

1776

(reprinted in

1875 / 1969)

Hawkins quotes Gower's *Confessio Amantis* vv. 828-30 and explains in a footnote that the citole is 'derived from CISTELLA, a little chest, and probably means a dulcimer, which is in truth no other than a little chest or box with strings on the lid or top.'[46]

The surviving exemplar, now in the British Museum, he describes as a violin 'of a very singular form' believing that it dated from 1578 based on the inscription on the silver button. He provides an engraving of the instrument and a description with measurements.[47]

1808

In his glossary, Barbazan defines *citole*, with regard to line 38 of *Dou Pet au Vilain*, simply as 'Instrument de musique à cordes'.[48]

1821

De Roquefort questions Barbazan's equating *citole* with the Latin *cithara* but de Roquefort does not offer any definition of *citole* other than that it was a string instrument with a soft tone and not the same as a harp.[49]

1826

Sholto and Ruben Percy cite Hawkins (1776) and describe the citole as a box with strings stretched across it, and which later developed into the spinet.[50]

1852

Kastner suggests that the citole is an archaic type of *cistre* or *cithre*, and that it is a wire-strung instrument plucked with a plectrum, which has a figure-of-eight-shaped body more elongated than that of

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[46] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols (London: T. Payne and Son, 1776), II, p 106 and reprint John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776; repr. London: Novello, Ewer, 1875), I, p. 206.

[47] Hawkins, *General History* (1776), IV, pp. 342-344, and plate 343. See Appendix B, Ill. 195.

[48] Étienne Barbazan, *Fabliaux et contes des poètes françois des XI, XII, XIII, XIV et XVe siècles: tirés des meilleurs auteurs*, 4 vols (Paris: B. Warée, 1808), III, p.68 and 486.

[49] Although de Roquefort claims that Barbazan equates the *citole* with the *cithara*, I can not find this comment. de Roquefort's basis for the citole not being the same as the harp is from the Roman de la Rose v 21346. B. de Roquefort, *De l'etat de la poésie françoise dans les XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, 2nd edn (Paris: Audin, Pluquet, 1821), pp. 110-1.

[50] 'This citole (from citolla, a little chest) Sir John Hawkins supposes to have been "an instrument resembling a box, with strings on the top or belly, which, by the application of the tastatura, or key board, borrowed from the organ and sacks, became a spinet." Sholto Percy and Ruben Percy, *The Percy Anecdotes*, 20 vols (London: Cumberland, 1826), XVII, p. 11.

the guitar.[51]

1855   Fuertes associates depictions of distinct-necked chordophones in
            medieval Castile,[52] and the term *guitarra latina* as used by the
            Archpriest of Hita.[53] This connection seems to originate with
            Fuertes.

1856   De Coussemaker derives unique definitions from his own
            interpretation of marginal illustrations found in two medieval
            manuscripts. He reproduces depictions of several distinct-necked
            waisted chordophones, re-drafted from the original sources, offering
            three possible names for them: *guitare latine* and *citole* (based on a
            manuscript from Doaui belonging to Baron de Reiffenberg)[54] and
            cithara (based on Paris, Bibliothèque impériale MS 7368 A.[55]).

1859   Coleridge links the *citole* to the guitar. In reference to line 1043 of
            Kyng Alisaunder, he states 'Sytoling, sb. = playing on the citole or
            guitar'.[56]

1860   Rimbault proposes that the citole, derives its name from the Latin
            cistella, meaning 'little chest', and was a type of small box-psaltery
            plucked with the fingers.[57] This appears to be based on Hawkins
            (1776).

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[51] Georges Kastner, *Les danses des morts* (Paris: Brandus, 1852).

[52] Relevant images can be found in Appendix B, Section II, General Survey: Iberia.

[53] Mariano Soriano Fuertes, *Historia de la música española desde la venida de los fenicios hasta el año de 1850,* 4 vols (Madrid: Martin and Salazar, 1855), I, p. 188.

[54] Now MS Brussels, KBR, 21069, fol 39-39v. The *guitare latine* and *citole* from this source are discussed in § 3.1.2. Coussemaker, 'Les instruments de musique au Moyen Âge', p. 108-9. These are the same manuscripts photographically reproduced in L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977).

[55] According to Wright this is MS 7378. L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), p.28.

[56] This does not indicate any special knowledge on Coleridge's part and might just be a modernization of terminology. There would have been an awareness that *guitar* could refer to a variety of plucked instruments, although the nineteenth-century English reader would probably have been more familiar with a gut-strung waisted guitar rather than the wire-strung piriform 'English guitar'. Herbert Coleridge, *A Glossarial Index to the Printed English Literature of the Thirteenth Century* (London: Trübner, 1859), p. 81.

[57] Rather than with a plectrum. Edward Francis Rimbault, *The Pianoforte : its origin, progress and construction; with some account of instruments of the same class which preceded it ... to which is added a selection of interesting specimens of music ...* (London: R. Cocks, 1860), p. 25.

1871	Viollet-le-Duc is uncertain what form to assign to the citole, considering both piriform and waisted plucked necked-chordophones as *guiterne*.[58]
1873	Littré states that *citole* was the medieval name for the antique *cithare*, but does not clarify whether he means *cithare* as type of lyre or in a more generic sense.[59]
1899 (*Dictionary of Music, ed. Grove*)	Hipkins describes the citole as a type of psaltery, citing Rimbault as the authority.[60] The *guitarra latina* and the *gittern* do not have their own entries.
1904-6 (*Grove's Dictionary*)	Hipkins quotes some additional medieval texts but maintains the same definition of *citole* as type of psaltery. Based on Wycliffe's translation of 'citharis et lyris et tympanis' to 'Harpis and sitols and tympane', he suggests that the citole might be a type of *Rota*.[61] In a separate entry in volume 2 (1906) Kidson cites E. Coles' 'An English Dictionary' (1713) as describing the *gittern* as 'a small kind of cittern' but does not attempt to describe its form and mentions the use of *guitarra latina* and *guitarra moresca* in fourteenth-century Spain by the Archpriest of Hita.[62]
1910	Schlesinger does not offer a definition of the term *citole*. She is cautious in her attribution of the terms *guitarra latina* and *guitarra morisca* to iconography but suggests that the left-hand figure illustrated above Cantiga 150, (Cantigas de Santa Maria, San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Escorial, B. I. 2, see Appendix B, Ill. 21)

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[58] 'CITOLE, s.f. (*citole*). Instrument à cordes dont la sonorité était rès-douce... Nous n'avons pu réunir sur la forme de la citole des documents précis.' E. Viollet-Le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné de Mobilier Français: De L'epoque Carlovingienne a la Renaissance*, 6 vols (Paris: V. A. Morel, 1871), II, p. 253, and 'Guiterne' pp. 276-81.

[59] Under the heading *Cithare*, Littré refers only to the antique *cithara*, but in the etymology gives a selection of *citole-* and *cedra-*related derivations. Littré cites Oresme '*cithara*, ce est cythole'. Émile Littré, 'Citole', in *Dictionnaire de la langue française* 4 vols (Paris Librairie Hachette, 1873), I, p.631.

[60] A. J. Hipkins, 'Citole', in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450-1889)*, ed. by George Grove, 4 vols (London: MacMillan 1899), I, p. 359.

[61] A. J. Hipkins, 'Citole', in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by J. A. Fuller Maitland, 5 vols (London: MacMillan, 1904), I, pp. 539-40. Unfortunately, Hipkins does not offer his own definition for Rota. On page 164, volume 4 of the same edition, Maitland offers a definition for 'Rota' that is both 'of the psaltery class' and 'allied to the ancient lyre'.

[62] Frank Kidson, 'Gittern', and 'Guitar' in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by J. A. Fuller Maitland, 5 vols (London: MacMillan, 1906), II, p. 173, and 260-1.

might be a *guitarra latina* in contrast to the right-hand figure who might play the *guitarra morisca.*[63]

1910

Galpin attempts to clarify the terminology by classifying instruments by shape: waisted ones being considered *gitterns* and piriform instruments, providing they had flat backs, are nominated *citoles.*[64] Galpin's determination was based not merely on the similarities of body-shape with later instruments but also on Pedro Cerone's early seventeenth-century writing about the *citola.*

1915
(trans. 1940)

Panum comments that the 'primitive' or 'gothic' *guitar* must have been widely distributed in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, given the frequency with which it was depicted, and that although the *cistole*, assumed to be an early cittern, appeared in literature, historians of her time could not recognise it with any certainty in pictures earlier than the sixteenth century.[65]

1927
(Grove's
Dictionary)

Galpin suggests that the *citole* was a medieval instrument with wire strings plucked by the fingers or with a plectrum but the cited illustration shows an eighteenth-century oval-bodied cittern.[66] Since Galpin's description of the *gittern* has been so influential, it is worth quoting the relevant text:

> ...usually strung with four gut strings and played with a plectrum. One of the earliest illustrations in manuscripts of English workmanship will be found in the Ormesby Psalter (Bodl. Lib.). By continental writers it is called the chitarra latina, or the guitare latine, to distinguish it from the chitarra sarracenica or guitare moresque which, with its long neck, rounded back and oval-shaped body was introduced into Spain...The strings were attached to an ornamental button at the end of the body and passed over a bridge as in the violin: in the front table there was either a large round soundhole, as in the ordinary guitar, or small curved slits on either side of the bridge. In the earlier form of the instrument the neck, instead of

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[63] Schlesinger, *Precursors of The Violin Family* (1910), II, p. 248.

[64] Galpin, *Old English Instruments* (1910), p. 25. Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (1613), Book 21, Ch. 16, pp. 1054-55.

[65] I am uncertain of the exact terms used by Panum, as I have not yet been able to view a copy of the 1915 original Hortense Panum, *Illustreret Musikhistorie* (København: Nordisk Forlag, 1905), I, and am relying upon Pulver's translation. Hortense Panum, *Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages: Their Evolution and Development*, trans. by Jeffrey Pulver (London: William Reeves, 1940), pp. 445 and 459.

[66] Plate I, number 1 shows a cittern by P. Wisser 1708 from Galpin's collection. Francis W. Galpin, 'Citole', in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by H. C. Colles, 5 vols (London: MacMillan, 1927), I, p. 653 and Plate I, figure 1, (facing p. 40).

being free from the body as at the present time, was in one piece with it and the depth of the body extended to the pegbox: immediately behind the finger-board an oval-shaped hole was pierced, through which the player passed his thumb. An excellent illustration will be found in an early 14th c. manuscript of English workmanship (B.M. Arundel, 83); but, more interesting still, an actual specimen of the gittern is preserved at Warwick Castle. It is said to have been presented by Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Leicester, and a full description can be found in Engel's *Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum* where a facsimile is exhibited. It bears some the date of some 16th-century restoration (1578), for the exquisite carving of the body, neck and peg box is of the early 14th century. Unfortunately, at a yet later date it was mistakenly transformed into a violin; but it is undoubtedly a medieval gittern, played with a plectrum.[67]

The information regarding the *guitarra latina* is the same as found in *Grove's Dictionary* (1904-6).

1940
(Grove's Dictionary)

This edition offers the same definition as *Grove's Dictionary* (1927) for the *citole* and *gittern* and the revised entry of the guitar offers no new information regarding the *guitarra latina*.[68]

1942

Edgerly follows two separate definitions for *citole*-related terms:

The *cistre* was the flat-backed *cithera* or *cetera*, strung with wire and plucked with a plectrum like the *mandoline*. It was also called *cytholl, cytol, sitole* and *sytholle*, not to be confused with the *citall* or *citol*, the psaltery...[69]

Although not the most influential author listed here, her work highlights the problem of associating a name with an instrument type based on conflicting authorities.

1954
(Grove's Dictionary)

Thurston Dart rewrote or revised the entries by Galpin.[70] The extremely brief entry for *citole* describes it as a 'medieval ancestor of the Cittern, fig-shaped in outline, with flat back and four wire strings' usually played with a plectrum, which is often depicted but is mentioned in 'several' fourteenth and fifteenth-century texts. The

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[67] Galpin, 'Gittern ', *Grove's Dictionary* (1927), II, p. 388.
[68] Francis W. Galpin, 'Citole' and 'Gittern', in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by H. C. Colles, 6 vols (London: MacMillan, 1940), I, pp. 653-4 and II, p. 388 and Hipkins, 'Guitar', Grove's Dictionary (1940), II, p. 481.
[69] Beatrice Edgerly, *From The Hunter's Bow: The history and romance of musical instruments*, ed. by Boris Erich Nelson, 2nd edn (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942), pp. 389.
[70] Thurston Dart, 'Citole' and 'Gittern', in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Eric Blom, 9 vols (London: MacMillan, 1954), II, p. 312, and III, pp. 652-3.

description of the *gittern* is almost exactly as described by Galpin in *Grove's Dictionary* (1940). The entry for *guitar* reprints the same information about the *guitarra latina* from *Grove's Dictionary* (1906).[71] Plate 22, which reproduces illustrations from the 'E' Codex of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* labelled 'Italian Guitar', offers probably the least appropriate name applied to this instrument type since it rarely appears in Italy.[72] Presumably the term was offered as a translation 'Guitarra latina', which appears directly after it in parenthesis.

1964   Marcuse cites Galpin's 1910 definition of *citole*. The only difference is Marcuse's description of the citole having frontal pegs that were inserted into a flat peg disc.[73]

1965   Remnant offers a very brief but well considered iconographical study of the distinct-necked waisted chordophone in England although under the name of *gittern*.[74] This is one of the authoratative studies of the iconography of this instrument type in England.

1966   In discussing musical instruments in manuscript marginalia, Randall labels images of both piriform and waisted instruments as 'gitterns.'[75] Given that she uses the term *mandola* in text descriptions, she is probably influenced more by Galpin than by Viollet-le-Duc (1871).

1967   Winternitz suggests that instruments such as the Parma baptistery spade-shaped instrument, the plucked chordophones in the Queen Mary Psalter, and one of the sculptures from Strasbourg Cathedral

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[71] Frank Kidson, 'Guitar', Grove's Dictionary (1954), II, pp. 846-49..
[72] The miniatures labelled 'Italian Guitar' relate to Cantiga X and CL (see appendix B. Ill 22-23) from Escorial, MS B. I. 2. Grove's Dictionary (1954), II, pl. 22, figs. 3 and 4 (opposite p. 848).
[73] Sibyl Marcuse, *Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary*, second edn (London: Country Life Limited, 1966), p. 103.
[74] Mary Remnant, 'The Gittern in English Mediæval Art', *GSJ*, 18 (1965), pp. 104-09.
[75] Although in descriptions accompanying the published illustrations the term *mandola* is applied to the piriform plucked chordophones (ill 516) and *gittern* to the waisted ones (ill 566), the term *gittern* is used for images showing either body outlines in descriptions of manuscripts not reproduced there (such as MS Bodley 264, folios 17v, 102, and 109v, which show piriform instruments and MS Paris, BnF, fr. 95, fol 106v, which has a waisted one). Lillian M.C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, California Studies in the History of Art (Berkeley: California University Press, 1966).

are all early forms of cittern.[76] This theory is based on 'the assumption that it is non-functional features of an instrument – as of other artefacts – that reveal its evolution.'[77] Winternitz proposes that decorative projections at the base of the neck, or shoulders of the instrument, which appear on some medieval plucked distinct-necked chordophones and the renaissance cittern, are vestigial structures indicating a survival from the ancient kithara. These features, however, appear to be 'a deliberate and conscious selection', rather than a part of a 'hidden underground stream of tradition'.[78] Winternitz also discusses the term *cetra* mentioned by Dante,[79] linking it with these types of instruments.

1968   The term favoured by Bragard and De Hen for the distinct-necked waisted chordophone of the High Middle Ages, seems to be 'vihuela', which they claim arose out of the twelfth century *guitarra latina*. Bragard and De Hen's assertion that a 'distinction' existed between the *guitarra morisca* and the *guitarra latina* as early as the twelfth century seems questionable, at least on linguistic grounds, since neither of these terms is known to date from before the fourteenth century.[80]

1976   Birch does not deal with medieval instruments except to cite the British Museum instrument as an example of a gittern and to include it in the early history of the guitar. The text, however, does not clearly delineate time periods and it seems to confuse the proper disposition of the fourteenth-century British Museum specimen with

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[76] For relevant images see Appendix B. Ill. 144, 106 and 179.
[77] Emanuel Winternitz, 'The Survival of the Kithara and the Evolution of the English Cittern: a Study in Morphology', in *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), pp. 57-65 (p. 58).
[78] Winternitz, 'Survival of the Kithara', p. 61.
[79] Winternitz, 'Survival of the Kithara', p. 57. See also Canto XX: 22. Dante Alighieri, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, ed. by Giorgio Petrocchi, Le Opere di Dante Alighieri, Edizione Nazionale a cura della Società Dantesca Italiana, 4 vols (Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1967), IV, pp. 329-30.
[80] '...the guitarra latina, for its part, gave rise in the thirteenth century to the *vihuela*, an instrument that was to remain typically Spanish, with a flat sound-box, a short neck that was bent backwards, and a pegbox mounted at an angle. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century the vihuela itself was of three types; one sort played with a plectrum, another one bowed, and the third played with the fingers.' Bragard and De Hen, *Musical Instruments*, p. 55.

the stringing and tuning of a sixteenth-century gittern.[81]

1977   In his article 'The Medieval Gittern and Citole: A case of mistaken

identity', Wright rejects Galpin's definitions of those terms,

favouring instead variations of the ones suggested by Coussemaker.

Wright reconsiders, and prints photos of, the two manuscripts cited

by Coussemaker. In one of these the term *sitola* was applied to a

drawing of a necked chordophone with incurving sides, and in the

other the label *guisterne* was applied to a chordophone with the oval

body outline. Wright further supports these attributions by studying

the frequency and periods of the use for terminology in

contemporaneous literary sources.[82]

Wright provides a credible explanation of the terms *guitarra morisca*

and *guitarra latina* as variants of *gittern*. These terms appear only

rarely in the Middle Ages and neither of these terms relates directly

to the instrument being studied here.[83]

In his summation, Wright cites two extant instruments as exemplars.

Both are of monoxyle construction and, although somewhat altered,

serve to represent distinct types of chordophone. Wright proposes

that the round-backed instrument with the piriform body and sickle-

shaped pegbox in the Wartburg collection in Eisenach should

properly be termed a *gittern*. He also argues that the instrument in

the British Museum, displaying a tapering body elevation, projecting

shoulders and 'filled in' neck with thumbhole, should be referred to

as a *citole*. Wright follows Winternitz in considering the citole as an

early form of cittern, including the Parma Baptistery example and

Tinctoris' *cetula* in his discussion.

The three linguistic groupings (*cithara, cet(e)ra, citole*) that Wright

links to the term *citole* are described further in §3.2.2. Wright

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[81] Albert Birch, 'Fretted Instruments II: The Guitar And Other Fretted Instruments', in *Musical Instruments Through The Ages* ed. by Anthony Baines (New York: Walker, 1967), p. 153.
[82] L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), pp .8-42.
[83] Modern scholars, following Fuertes (1855) or various editions of *Grove*, almost exclusively cite the fourteenth-century *Libro de Buen Amor* by the Archpriest of Hita for the use of these terms (See Appendix A, B.56).

concentrates on the third group, since the usage of names in this group seems less ambiguous, usually denoting a specific contemporaneous necked chordophone, except in later references. His dates of usage, however, are based on date of authorship, so his discussion of 'earliest reference' is based on speculation.

Since Wright's scholarship fundamentally changed accepted terminology as applied to the instrument types considered here, a fuller discussion of his definition will be given with reference to his 1984 *New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* entry below.

1979   Stauder, focusing on the tapering body-depth, manner of string attachment, and playing technique, proposed that a number of sculptural depictions and the British Museum's exemplar should be considered as early citterns.[84] Although using the term *cister* for these examples, Stauder seems to agree with Galpins' terminology of flat-backed piriform *citole* and vaulted-backed piriform *mandola*.[85]

1980   Ian Harwood offers a very brief entry for 'citole', which accepts
(New Grove)   Wright's definition of *citole* and cites the instrument in the British Museum as a fine example.[86]

1980   Since Remnant is uncertain of whether to accept Wright's nomenclature and uses instead the term *medieval guitar*, she offers no discussion of text sources. Remnant provides a brief iconographic survey of *guitars* from c. 1400 BC–AD 1500, including the Santiago Cathedral and Parma Baptistery examples.[87] She also discusses various morphological details as they appear in fourteenth-century pictorial sources from a geographically wide selection. While her

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[84] Except for one (Strasbourg), all of the tapered-body examples mentioned by Stauder as forerunners of the *cister* have a rounded lower bout (El Burgo de Osma, Sasamon, Toro, la Hinesta, Cuidad Rodrigo, Valencia, Burgos and the British Museum's citole). Whether Stauder intentionally omitted depictions of instruments with holly-leaf shaped bodies is uncertain. Stauder, 'Zur Entwicklung der Cister', pp. 223-55, 228-236 and Abb. 2-11.
[85] Following Praetorius' definition, and depiction of the twelve- and six-course' cither', Stauder includes both oval bodied and waisted chordophones in his discussion of early citterns. Stauder, 'Zur Entwicklung der Cister', plate VII.
[86] Ian Harwood, 'Citole', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 20 vols (London: MacMillan, 1980), IV, p. 414.
[87] See Appendix B, Ills. 174a-c and 144.

observations are accurate, the small number of examples cited makes it difficult to determine which of these features are typical. Remnant suggests a tuning for medieval guitars but this is not based on the string length of the British Museum example. Possible repertoire drawn from surviving thirteenth- and fourteenth-century secular music, and instrumental combinations based on iconography are also considered. Remnant also offers a description of and comments on the 'Warwick Castle Gittern'as it was then called. Remnant's article is followed by a discussion by Richard Marks of the decorative carving, which sets the instrument's decoration into context with similar images in manuscript sources, and technical notes by Charles Beare that comment on the alterations, and suggests dates for the changes.

1984   Young seeks to classify medieval plucked necked chordophones and clarify the terminology relating to them. In this article, Young's method of examining these different types of instruments is to form a preliminary definition, based on those proposed by modern authors,[88] and then check this by dividing the nomenclature into groups, according to date of authorship and comparing these terms to contemporaneous images to see which correspond.[89] A number of additional sources are identified by Young. Young divides the instruments into two main groups by physical characteristic: 'A' the oval group, with four sub-groups and 'B' the non-oval group, with five sub-groups. The morphological features, as demonstrated in works of art, are charted by century and region. Similarly, the variant musical instrument terms, as occurring in works of literature, are grouped by language and charted by date of proposed authorship.

In his analysis of the correspondence of body-shapes and literary terms by date and area of usage, Young proposes three groups relative to this study: II.E. "Citole" (B.1. type); II.F. "Cetra", "Viola"

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[88] The relevant definitions are based primarily on Wright and Stauder, less so Winternitz and Galpin.
[89] Crawford Young, ' Zur Klassifikation und Ikonographischen Interpretation Mittelalterlicher Zupfinstrumente', *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis*, 8 (1984), pp. 67- 104 (p. 75).

(B.2 type);[90] and II.G. "cetra" (B.3 type) . The morphological group B.1, that he links to the term *citole* can be paraphrased as:

> B.1. Instruments with straight or recessed sides, shoulders with or without ornaments, with a projection at the lower end, which normally serves as attaching point for the strings. The pegbox is bent back from the fingerboard.The pegbox is often significantly deeper than the connection point of the strings at the lower end. Construction: from one piece, normally with thumb-hole.

Young suggests that the B.2 type of instrument, although now commonly referred to as 'plucked fiddles',[91] constitutes a second category of *citole*. He proposes that this type was not called *citole*, however, but rather *cetra* in Italy and possibly *viola* elsewhere. Young's definition of group B.2, associated with the terms *cetra* and *viola,* can be paraphrased as:

> B. 2. Instruments with in-curved, straight or even rounded sides, shoulders with and without projections, uniform body-neck-pegbox-depth (pegbox normally flat) made from one piece, similar to the *fiedel.*

Group B.3, also linked to the term *cetra,* can be paraphrased as:

> B.3. Instruments with in-curved, straight or even rounded sides, shoulders or wings; also decreasing in depth toward the lower end, wooden frets, flat or crescent-shaped eddy box; Construction: normally built-up, limited to Italy, 15th century.

Young's study is exemplary in separating the linguistic terms from morphological characteristics, but dating by authorship rather than by surviving exemplar skews some of his analysis, as does the use of two heavily restored sculptures as the basis for several of his observations.[92]

1984
(Grove Instruments)

In the entry for *citole*, Wright expands upon his definition proposed in 1977. The body and neck types are described as:

> The belly outline shows considerable variety, but there are four common types: (1) the 'spade-fiddle' shape, with the shoulders swept upwards to form points (*e.g.* the carving at the Baptistery of

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[90] A paraphrase of the definition for group B.2, linked to the *cetra* can be seen below in § 10.1 'Italian Depictions'

[91] 'B.2. - Instrumente sind oft mit dem Allerweltsnamen 'gezupften Fiedeln' versehen worden.' C. Young, 'Klassifikation' (1984), p. 76.

[92] See § 8.6.1 Secondary Bridges, for more detailed discussion of these two sculptures.

Parma); (2) the 'fiddle' shape, an oval with sides either straight or slightly waisted; (3) the 'holly-leaf' shape, with sides forming points at the intersections of six concave curves or straight lines; and (4) the 'shouldered' shape, with the lower part rounded as in the second type and the upper part forming shoulders as in the third...The pegbox is either bent back from the neck at an angle varying from a few degrees to a right-angle, or curved forwards from the neck, terminating in an animal's head. The bent-back pegbox may take three forms: a solid board, circular or straight-sided; a circular box hollowed from underneath with pegs inserted from the top and strings passing underneath (as on many fiddles); or a narrow, straight-sided box with pegs inserted laterally (as on the British Museum citole and on instruments with a sickle-shaped pegbox like the gittern)...[93]

Wright also allows the possibility that some citoles during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may have been pear-shaped and characterizes the citole as an instrument of monoxylic construction.

The two main origin theories are also discussed, suggesting that neither fully explains the instrument's origins. Wright accepts the citole as a precursor to the cittern, with Tinctoris' reference to the *cetula* being quoted. Wright does not make a distinction between the *citole* and the *cetra* but raises several points that cast doubt upon their being equated. Wright's discussion of literature is based on date of authorship so his 'earliest occurrence', although written in the late twelfth century, survives in only one mid-fourteenth-century manuscript.

1993   Madriguera discusses and accepts Wright's definition for the term *gittern* as a name for piriform instruments, but is silent about Wright's determination that the distinct necked waisted chordophone should be called a *citole*.[94] Madriguera uses instead the term *guitarra latina*.

1994   In a study of the plucked instruments of Spain, Rey discusses the *cedra, cítola* and *citolon*.[95] Due to the lack of direct evidence, Rey does not offer a description for the *cedra*. Although the discussion of

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[93] L. Wright, 'Citole', *New Grove Instruments* (1984), I, pp. 374-79.
[94] Enric Felix Madriguera, 'The Hispanization of the Guitar: From the *guitarra latina* to the *guitarra española* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Dallas, 1993).
[95] Juan José Rey and Antonio Navarro, *Los instrumentos de púa en España: Bandurria, cítola y «laúdes españoles»* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1994).

the term *cedra* relies upon the date of surviving manuscripts, the consideration of the *citola* in literature is based upon date of authorship. Rey identifies the *citola* as the instrument played by San Millan in poem and depiction.[96] Rey also supplies a useful list of sculptural depictions of citoles in Spain.

1995   Burzik's study of the development of plucked instruments discusses theories by several modern authors relating to the citole as part of the histories of later instruments (Winternitz, Stauder, Wright).[97] Primarily a morphological study, based largely on iconography, Burzik places the citole into the development of the *rubāb* group of instruments and as a precursor to the cittern.

1999   Segerman accepts Wright's terminology and within a discussion of the development of the cittern suggests that a distinction existed between the *citole* and *cetra*. Segerman discusses the citole as a derivative of the plucked fiddle.

2000   Young simplifies his classifications combining former subcategories B.1-3 into a group labelled 'B - non-pear-shaped frontal form'.[98] Although specifying that the 'citole and related names' apply to instruments characterized by 'straight or in-curving sides' his illustration of a citole from a fresco by Girolamo Benvenuto, confusingly, shows an instrument with an oval body outline.[99]

2001   In the second edition of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, the
(New Grove)   entry for 'citole' is essentially a reprint of Wright's definition from the 1984 *New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*.[100]

2005   Ferreira discusses the musical instrument terms that appear in Galician-Portuguese poetry, and whether there is any association

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[96] See § 3 for further discussion of this source.
[97] Monika Burzik, *Quellenstudien zu europäischen Zupfinstrumentenformen*, ed. by Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung (Kassel: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1995), pp. 363-368 and 415-431.
[98] In this work, Young also combines his earlier groupings A.1 with A.2 and omits group A.4. Crawford Young, 'Lute, Gittern, and Citole', in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. by Ross W. Duffin (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), pp. 355-75.
[99] C. Young, 'Lute, Gittern, and Citole' (2000), p. 370, Ill. 25.
[100] L. Wright, 'Citole', *New Grove Music* (2001), V, pp. 872-76.

between instruments and sung poetry.[101] Ferreira suggest that the terms *citola* and *citolon* are not synonymous. He proposes that the term *citola* might have been used a generic term for stringed instruments in early sources, but later 'the name *citola* corresponds to the chordophone with incurving sides',[102] and the *citolon* was a large bowed chordophone. Although Ferreira's presentation of the material is quite thorough, his argument is marred by reliance upon the date of proposed authorship for the chronology of text sources.

2007   Buehler-McWilliams publishes an article devoted to the structure and history of the British Museum's material artefact, recently acknowledged by the British Museum as a citole.[103] This is a study of the fourteenth-century parts of the instrument as well as its later accretions, rather than the instrument type in general. There is no discussion of contemporaneous literature.

2008   Following recent conservation work the British Museum published a report of some of their findings.[104] It discusses aspects of the material artefact and the impact of earlier alterations. Given that it is a technical report of the conservation of the object, it is largely concerned with the recent conservation that was undertaken. It presents a number of fine detailed photographs as well as positive images of the recent x-rays.

2.1.3 CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH

Perhaps one of the most serious difficulties in the way of the inquiring antiquarian of the present day is that writers on music have been so often tempted to derive their information from the works of other writers, without going directly to the sources or taking the trouble to verify statements for themselves, thus multiplying errors.

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[101] Manuel Pedro Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus: 7 Cantigas, d'el-rei Dom Dinis*, trans. by David Cranmer, DeMusica (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2005), pp. 198-229.
[102] Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus*, p. 205.
[103] Kathryn Buehler-McWilliams, 'The British Museum Citole: An Organological Study', *JAMIS*, 33 (2007), pp. 5-41. Her M.A. thesis is not included in this list because it is not a published source and is largely superseded by her later article. Kathryn E. Buehler, 'Retelling the Story of the English Gittern in the British Museum: An Organological Study, ca. 1300 - Present' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Minnesota, 2002).
[104] P. Kevin, and others, 'A Musical Instrument fit for a Queen: The Metamorphosis of a Medieval Citole', *The British Museum Technical Bulletin*, 2 (2008), pp. 13-27.

> Faulty drawing from sculpture and paintings have been propagated in the same way.
> - Kathleen Schlesinger[105]

The state of the research, relating to the citole, is that it remains ongoing. It is anticipated that the forthcoming symposium hosted by the British Museum in November 2010, entitled 'The British Museum Citole: New Perspectives' and the subsequent printed proceedings will further clarify and illuminate the study of the citole.

As of 2010, most of what has been written about the citole is based on a few modern authorities. Given that these authorities disagree confusion persists. Although many musicologists accept that instruments of the type exemplified by the British Museum's fourteenth-century material artefact should be called a *citole*, due to the reliance upon earlier authorities, the use of alternate definitions recurs. The British Museum's citole is still better known by the misleading epithet 'the Warwick Castle gittern', and similar instruments in images continue to be identified as *guitarra latine*. Some modern translators of medieval literature, conscientiously following an earlier authority, continue to offer the *zither* as an equivalent for *citole*. Even the authorities who align the name *citole* with instruments like the British Museum's exemplar do not offer clear evidence-based definitions of what does and what does not constitute a citole. There is no consensus as to whether *cetra* and *cetula* terms are merely translations of the term *citole*, sub-categories of citole, or whether these are distinctly different instrument types. Based on these authorities, exactly what characterizes a citole is still unclear.

There have been several valuable studies related, directly or indirectly, to this instrument type but all are brief or narrowly focused. The one surviving material exemplar has recently undergone extended investigation,[106] but other general aspects of the instrument type have only been addressed briefly. Iconography of distinct-necked waisted chordophones has undergone careful study but there has been no

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[105] Schlesinger, *Precursors of The Violin Family* (1910), II, p. 219.
[106] This instrument has been studied in two works by Buehler-McWilliams, Buehler, 'Retelling the Story of the English Gittern', and Buehler-McWilliams, 'The British Museum Citole' (2007) and more recently by P. Kevin, and others, A Musical Instrument fit for a Queen' (2008). Although the official publication date was 2008 this work was not available until after the original submission date for this thesis. The British Museum's artefact will also be the subject of future discussion at the symposium 'The British Museum Citole: New Perspectives' scheduled to take place at the British Museum 4-5 November 2010.

attempt to discern any region differences in the occurrence of features.[107] Aspects of the instrument type have been especially well studied in English and Iberia sources, but this may skew popular perception, about regarding where the citole was well known. While these identify valuable sources and offer a starting point for this thesis, they have usually focused on narrow topics, choosing a specific geographical area or class of evidence. Additionally, these studies are also often marred by the misattribution of the term *citole* to an inappropriate instrument type or by the dating of literary use of terms by date of authorship rather than by date of surviving manuscript. Most of the consideration of the citole has been cursory, relying upon a small number of medieval sources and the scholarship of other modern authors. A small number of oft-repeated sources dominate the discussion of the citole in modern studies, not because they are the most representative but because they are the best known. Reliance upon so few sources has also created the false impression that the citole was an uncommon instrument. Until now, there has been no extensive investigation of the citole, examining a large number of sources, from a variety of classes of evidence, drawn from different geographical areas.

Initially this study confirms which type of medieval instrument can be demonstrated to have been known as a *citole* during the Middle Ages. For the first time, three diverse sources that each includes a citole-related term and an accompanying illustration of a necked-chordophone with roughly holly-leaf-shaped body-outline will be presented together. Because these testimonies are not based on the same source, these correlations of text-with-image verify the holly-leaf-shaped instrument was known by citole-related terms in France, Castile and Flanders.

Then, by examining a significantly large body of evidence related to the citole, interpreting what thirteenth- and fourteenth-century evidence reveals about this instrument type, its use and associations.

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[107] While the work of iconographers in many cases is valid, the further scrutiny undertaken here benefits the field by verifying or disproving theories in the light of additional evidence.

3. IDENTIFYING THE CITOLE

Because previous scholars have disagreed regarding which instrument type should be acknowledged by the term *citole*, it is necessary to draw attention to medieval sources that show what was considered to be *citole* then, and to define the parameters for *citole* in this study. This section has two distinct parts, the first (§3.1) discusses which instruments can be demonstrated to have been considered citoles during the Middle Ages based on three key medieval texts, and the second (§3.2) details the parameters for citoles in this study. The three texts, and five images related to them, that demonstrate that plucked chordophones with a holly-leaf-shaped body outlines were known as *cistole*, *sitola* or *çitola*, have not been considered in relationship to one another in any previous study.[1] Although these sources are not contrary to the current definition in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*,[2] the comparison of them offers further verification and clarification of which instrument types can be shown to have been regarded as citoles during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Sections 3.1.1-3.1.3 consider each of these texts and the details of their depictions, individually in turn, to verify and refine which of the physical features seem to have been regarded as characteristic. Each source is also examined to determine whether it offers credible evidence. This is necessary because the best-known of these works, which formed the basis of both Coussemaker's and Wright's definition of *citole*, has also been associated with bowed instruments (§ 3.1.2). Due to the small number of works that offer text-to-image correlation, and since none of those were intended by their creators for the purpose of defining the instrument type, it can not be assumed that

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[1] Two of the sources have been discussed previously, but not together, and Latini's citole-playing sirens seem to have escaped the notice of musicologists. C. E .H. de Coussemaker, 'Les instruments de musique au Moyen Âge: lyre, luth, mandore, guitare, cithare, citole et pandore', *Annales Archéologiques*, 16 (1856), pp. 98-110. Laurence Wright, 'The Medieval Gittern And Citole: A case of mistaken identity', *GSJ*, 30 (1977), pp. 8-42 (p. 28-9). Juan José Rey and Antonio Navarro, *Los instrumentos de púa en España: Bandurria, citola y «laúdes españoles»* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1994).

[2] This is a narrower definition corresponding only to Wright's belly-outline #3 'the "holly-leaf" shape, with sides forming points at the intersections of six concave curves or straight lines'. Laurence Wright, 'Citole', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrell, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), V, pp. 872-76 (p. 872).

their details are comprehensive. Other physical features, therefore, will be extrapolated from additional images of holly-leaf–shaped instruments to provide guidelines for what is considered a citole in this study. This is followed by a consideration of three categories of musical instrument nomenclature that have been linked to the citole (*Cithara* §3.2.2.1; *Cet(e)ra/Cedra* §3.2.2.2; *Citole* §3.2.2.3) to determine which are applicable to this study.

3.1 MEDIEVAL ILLUSTRATIONS IDENTIFYING CITOLES – CORRELATION OF TEXT AND IMAGE

Very little medieval evidence unequivocally identifies the image of any particular musical instrument by its vernacular name. The manuscripts in Page's list of sources with 'Labelled Illustrations' use either exclusively Latin terminology or include a mixture of both Latin and vernacular terms.[3] This use of Latin nomenclature often obscures colloquial terminology. Fortunately, three medieval texts correlate depictions with the vernacular names *cistole (cistoile)*,[4] *sitola* and *çitola*. These sources are unrelated to each other. Since the three texts show no obvious common influence, it is unlikely that they have copied an introduced error that might have compromised the identification of the instrument. Each independently identifies similarly-shaped instruments with one of these related terms. One source is an illustrated bestiary forming part of a French-language encyclopaedia written by an exiled Florentine, the second is a Franco-Flemish illustrated marginal gloss of a Latin allegorical work, and the third is a retable painting based upon a Castilian verse hagiography.

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[3] Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental practice and songs in France 1100-1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 142-44.
[4] *Cistole* is the term used in one illustrated copy of *Li Livres Dou Tresor* (MS 'L2': St. Petersburg, National Library, Fr. F.v.III N 4) and *cistoile* occurs in another (MS 'YT': London, BL, Yates Thompson 19). Here they are considered as variants of one text, rather than two individual texts.

3.1.1 Brunetto Latini's *Li Livres Dou Tresor*, a Bestiary Within An Encyclopaedia
(Appendix A, Text B.6a / Appendix B, Illustration 1-2)

The earliest and least ambiguous of the texts with accompanying images is Brunetto Latini's *Li Livres dou Tresor*, an encyclopaedia written while he was in exile in France (1260-67). In 1260, as Chancellor of Florence, Latini undertook a diplomatic mission to the court of Alfonso X in Seville, to seek aid against the armies of Manfred (son of Frederick II) and the Sienese Ghibellines.[5] Latini's appeal was made too late; the Ghibellines defeated the Guelphs on 4 September 1260 and Latini was exiled. During his exile, Latini wrote *Li Livres dou Tresor* but it is not known for whom nor exactly where *Tresor* was composed.[6] During this period, Latini is known to have been at Arras, Paris and Bar-sur-Aube and rumoured to have been in Oxford.[7] Latini comments, at the end of his preface, that the work was written in the language of France, not merely because that was where it was composed, but also because French was the most widely understood language of the day.[8] It is fundamentally a secular work, which Roux suggests was written for lay intellectuals.[9] Like many secular texts written in the Middle Ages, the *Tresor* invites reflection and moral interpretation.[10] It draws upon scriptural and classical material as well as earlier commentaries such as those by Cassiodorus, Boethius and Martianus Capella. Since Latini had recently been at the court of Alfonso X, he might have been influenced by the instruments he saw, or by some of the works

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[5] The republic of Florence was Guelph controlled. Alfonso had recently been elected Holy Roman Emperor and, it is believed, Alfonso's sympathy toward the Guelph cause is one of the factors that prevented Alfonso's validation as emperor by the papacy, which favoured the Ghibellines.

[6] Holloway proposes that *Tresor* might have been written to appeal to Charles of Anjou to champion the cause of the exiled Guelphs. Julia Bolton Holloway, *Twice-Told Tales: Brunetto Latino and Dante Alighieri* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), pp. 60-4.

[7] Holloway verifies Latini's presence in these French locations from surviving documents. Holloway, *Twice-Told Tales*, p. 55. Carmody suggests Latini might have been in Oxford. Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor*, ed. by Francis J. Carmody (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948), p. xvii.

[8] This passage appears in Book I.i.7. For discussion see L.I. Kisseleva, 'Codicological and Paleographical study of the 'Li Livres dou Tresor' by Brunetto Latini', in *Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. by Maria Algàs and Mónica Miró, 2 vols (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2000) II, pp. 15-82), p. 19.

[9] Brigitte Roux, 'L'iconographie du Livre du Tresor: diversité des cycles', Florin website (1997-2010) <http //www.florin.ms/beth5.html#stones> [accessed 15 March, 2008].

[10] Christopher de Hamel, 'Are Bestiaries Really Psalters, and Vice Versa? (Plenary Lecture)', in *International Medieval Congress* (Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo. MI: unpublished 2008, 10 May).

being compiled and translated by the scribes there. The completed encyclopaedia is more than just a slavish compilation, however, containing original interpretations of earlier works and material authored by Latini.

Li Livres dou Tresor was very popular during the Middle Ages; including fragments, more than eighty French-language manuscript copies have survived.[11] One of the oldest surviving manuscripts, possibly the earliest second-redaction, ('M3', Madrid, Escorial L.II.3.) is believed to have been sent by Latini to Alfonso X shortly after Latini's return to Florence.[12] The esteem with which *Tresor* was held can be demonstrated by its place within a magnificent manuscript presented by Philippa of Hainault to Edward III upon their betrothal (MS 'P', Paris BnF, fr. 571, fols. 2-122).[13] The text was popular throughout western Europe, not merely in francophone areas: at least three dozen Italian-language manuscripts are known to have survived; thirteen in medieval Castilian;[14] four in Catalan; and single examples have been identified in Aragonese,[15] Latin, and Occitan.[16]

Li Livres dou Tresor contains the most numerous and varied uses of the term *citole* of any surviving medieval text, perhaps because it is a compendium. Of the ten occurrences common to most of the manuscripts, four appear in Book I, five in Book

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[11] Julia Bolton Holloway, *Brunetto Latini, An Analytical Bibliography*, ed. by A.D. Deyermond, J.R. Little and J.E. Varey, Research Bibliographies and Checklists no. 44 (London and Wolfeboro NH: Grant and Cutler, 1986), pp. 19-25.

[12] Although M3 is sometimes classed as a second redaction manuscripts because of the interpolations, Marshall suggests that this is a first redaction work to which the second redaction additions were added, after Latini returned to Florence, making this a link between the two redactions. Jennifer Marshall, 'The Manuscript Tradition of Brunetto Latini's Tresor and its Italian Versions' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2001), p. 76. For a full discussion of the provenance of this MS. see Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor: Edition and Study*, ed. by Spurgeon Baldwin and Paul Barrette, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003), pp. xxxii-xxv.

[13] Michael A. Michael, 'A Manuscript Wedding Gift from Philippa of Hainault to Edward III', *The Burlington Magazine*, 127 (1985), pp. 582-99.

[14] According to Baldwin & Barrette, the majority of the Castilian manuscripts are based on the first redaction and therefore are not derived from the previously mentioned MS 'M3'. Brunetto Latini, *Libro del Tresor: Versión castellana de Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. by Spurgeon Baldwin (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1989), p. xi.

[15] For a full transcription and commentary see Brunetto Latini, *The Aragonese Version of Brunetto Latini's 'Libro del trasoro'*, ed. by Dawn E. Prince (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995).

[16] Holloway, *Analytical Bibliography*, pp. 30-1.

II, and one in Book III. Book I, based on the *Physiologus*, the Bible and exegetical texts, is composed of a scriptural history, some astronomy, and a bestiary. The first relevant citation names citoles, organs, and other harmonious instruments as a means by which Music is learned as part of the quadrivium (I. iii).[17] In the scriptural history *Jubabal*'s (Jubal's) brother *Anom*, is described as the first man to play upon *citoles* and other instruments (I.xx).[18] Two *citole* references occur in the bestiary, in the sections relating to sirens (I.cxxxvi) and swans (I.clxi). In Book II, which is largely derived from Latini's own translation of parts of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*,[19] the five *citole* references occur in metaphors or analogies. In Book III, which is concerned largely with Cicerone politics and rhetoric, the single *citole* reference appears in a simile within the discussion of contemporaneous Italian practices of government, a section believed to have been composed by Latini himself. Latini's use of *citole* as a translation of a Latin instrument name,[20] and in metaphors,[21] will be discussed in other sections.

The current section considers only the passage relating to the sirens (I.cxxxvi) and the manuscript illustrations that offer text-image correlation. Typically, the bestiary is the most highly illustrated section of *Tresor* manuscripts, and at least two late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century northern-French copies include miniatures that depict sirens playing musical instruments.[22] Both of these include a citole-

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[17] 'La segonde est musique, qui nous enseigne fere vois & sons, en chanter & en citoles & en orguenes & en autres estrumens acordables..' Latini, *Tresor: Edition and Study*, ed. Baldwin and Barrette (2003), p. 4.

[18] 'Anom son frere fu le premier hom qui onques trove citoles & ces autres estrumens.' Latini, *Tresor: Edition and Study*, ed. Baldwin and Barrette, p. 16. This passage, as a biblical translation, is discussed in §5.3.3 'Other Biblical *Citharas* and *Liras*.'

[19] Kisseleva, 'Codicological and Paleographical Study', p. 19. For a brief discussion of this and Oresme's version of *Ethics* see §5.3.4 'Translations of Latin Secular Text'.

[20] See also §5.4.3 'Other Biblical *Citharae* and *Lirae*' and §5.3.4.

[21] Latini's metaphorical uses of *citole* are discussed in various sections, including §9.1 'Minstrels and The Social Position of Instrumentalists' and §11.3 and §11.7.4 .

[22] Stones has examined the distribution of illustrations in the early *Tresor* manuscripts. She mentions an illustration in this section of the bestiary in the fourteenth-century Picard MS 'R3' (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Reg. Lat. 1320, fol. 51) but does not describe it. Due to the current closure of the Vatican library, I have been unable to confirm the contents of the miniature and accompanying text of MS 'R3'. Other early copies either do not include a miniature of the sirens or show non-instrumentalist sirens imperilling sailors. Alison Stones, 'A Note on North French Manuscripts of Brunetto Latini's Trésor', in *Tributes to Lucy Freeman Sandler*, ed. by Kathryn A. Smith and Carol H. Krinsky (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 67-90.

related term and illustrate a siren who is shown in the attitude of plucking the strings of a holly-leaf-shaped necked-chordophone by means of a substantial plectrum. In the manuscript believed to be closest to Latini's original text, MS 'M3',[23] the relevant passage describing the nature and attributions of sirens, reads:

> Dont la primiere chant mervoilleusement, l'autre de flaüt & de canon, la tierce de citole

Trans:

> The first sang marvellously with her mouth like the voice of a woman, the second with the sound of flute and canon, the third of a citole. [24]

Latini's description of the sirens, while influenced by earlier authors, is not an exact copy of any pre-existing text.[25] The occurrence of *citole* seems to be consistent throughout the French language *Tresor* manuscripts, although the other instrument names vary occasionally.[26] A number of other bestiaries illuminated in northern France during the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century also offer vernacular terminology with depictions of sirens holding contemporaneous instruments,[27] but

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[23] MS 'M3': Biblioteca del Escorial, L-II-3, MS 'M3': Biblioteca del Escorial, L-II-3, late thirteenth century. Marshall, 'Manuscript Tradition', p. 76. Latini, *Tresor: Edition and Study*, ed. Baldwin and Barrette (2003), p. xxxiv. For the relevant passages of the text of 'M3', see Appendix A, Text B.6a.

[24] Translation by Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'Sirens in Antiquity and the Middle Ages', in *Music of the Sirens*, ed. by Inna Naroditskaya and Austern Linda Phyllis (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2006), pp. 16-51 (p. 34).

[25] The influence of Philippe de Beauvais is shown by the sirens being partially fish, rather than the classical half-bird variety. The moralising conclusion is taken from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologia*. William T. Travis, 'Of Sirens and Onocentaurs: A Romanesque Apocalypse at Montceaux-l'Etoile', *Artibus et Historiæ*, 23 (2002), pp. 29-62 (pp. 32-42). Sundby shows parallels between the writings of Isidore and a number of other passages in the *Tresor*, especially Book I. Thor Sundby, *Della Vita e Della Opera Brunetto Latini* (Firenze: Successori le Monnier, 1884), pp. 89-96.

[26] According to Chabaille, 'flaut' is exchanged for 'chalemel' in MS 'K' and 'tabour' MS 'A2'. The other terms, *citole* and *canon,* appear in all the first and second redaction MSS described by Carmody, Chabaille, and Baldwin and Barrette. MS 'YT', discussed later in this section, varies the spelling of both terms in this passage to *canom* and *cistoile*. Latini, *Tresor*, ed. Carmody (1948), pp. 131-32; Latini, *Tresor: Edition and Study*, ed. Baldwin and Barrette (2003), p. 112; Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou tresor; publié pour la première fois d'après les MSS. de la Bibliothèque impériale, de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal et plusieurs MSS des départements et de l'étranger,* ed. by P. Chabaille (Paris: Imprimerie Impérale, 1863), p. 189.

[27] Illustrations of instrumentalist sirens in northern French copies of Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'amour* also offer text-image correlation, although the instruments listed in the standard text of *Bestiaire d'amour* are *buisine* and *harpe*. Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'Amour suivi de la Response de la Dame,* ed. by Célestin Hippeau (Paris: Auguste Aubry, 1860), p. 16. These are named and depicted in the late thirteenth-century MS Paris, BnF, Français 1444, fol. 259 and the late thirteenth or early fourteenth c. MS Paris, BnF, Français 12469, fol. 6v. See the Bibliothéque national de France website <www. mandragore.bnf.fr>. An early fourteenth-century copy of Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'amour* (MS Dijon, Bibl. Municipale, 0526, fol. 23v.) shows one siren bowing a distinct-necked chordophone held *a braccio* and another with a triangular frame-harp. The accompanying text appears to read *les unes en uijeles · les autres en harpes* with an additional panel

the inclusion of the *citole* seems to occur only in Latini's narrative. That all three of

the sirens play instruments, and the choice of these instruments, also seems to

originate with Latini.

The first of the two relevant illustrated *Tresor* manuscripts, MS 'L2' (St. Petersburg,

National Library Fr. F.v.III N 4),[28] is written in the Picard dialect, in northern

French script, and is believed to have been produced near Thérouanne or Arras

around 1300.[29] The text beginning at the bottom right-hand column of fol. 47r, line

38, reads:

<blockquote>
la p[re]mere ca[n]toit
mervilleuʒement · car liplusieur di-
ent q[ui] elles cantoient les unes end[ro]ite
vois de fem[inin]e · Lautre en vois de flaut et de
canon · La terce de cistole · [30]
</blockquote>

Translation:

<blockquote>
The first of them
sang marvellously, and many (or most)
said that they sang the one with the voice of
a woman; the second with the voice of a *flaut* and of
a *canon*; the third of a *cistole*.[31]
</blockquote>

The miniature on folio 47r (Appendix B, Ill. 1) shows three sirens each of whom

holds an instrument in a credible playing position. From right to left, the instruments

illustrated are a slightly conical end-blown wind instrument, a triangular frame-harp,

and a holly-leaf–shaped plucked chordophone. It can be assumed that the

instruments shown are meant to represent those mentioned in the text. Although the

depictions of the *canon* and *flaut* are not quite what one might expect, it can be

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showing the third, non-instrumentalist, siren attacking a sailor. An image of folio 23 verso can be viewed on the website of the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (CNRS), 'L'animal', *Le Moyen Âge en Lumière* <<www.moyenageenlumiere.com/image/index.cfm?id=410>> [13 April 2008]

[28] The sigla for these manuscripts are generally agreed and follow Chabaille. Although Holloway introduces a unique system of classification she cross-references to Chabaille. Latini, *Tresor*, ed. Chabaille (1863); Holloway, *Analytical Bibliography*, pp. 19-25.

[29] Kisseleva, 'Codicological and Paleographical Study', pp. 15-82.

[30] Transcribed by Margerum from Brunetto Latini, Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresor*, 2 vols (Barcelona: Moliero, 2000), vol. 1: facsimile, fol. 47r-48v.

[31] This version is based on a translation made by Dr. Norris Lacy, Penn Sate University, of the MS '*YT*' Tresor text (personal communication, September 2008).

assumed that the wind instrument illustrates the *flaut*, while the plucked instrument with strings of varying lengths suggests the *canon*.[32] The representations of these two sirens seems to have been influenced by a pre-existing artistic convention that associates the harp and an end-blown wind instrument with the sirens.[33] The use of vernacular terminology for these instruments occurs in contemporaneous depictions of the *buisine* and *harpe*-playing sirens who appear in contemporaneous manuscripts of Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'amour*.[34] It is this remaining siren (the one does not have a recognizable archetype) who is interesting to the study of the citole, since both a siren with this type of distinct-necked plucked chordophone and the use of a citole-related term seems to be unique to the bestiary in Latini's *Tresor*.[35]

Although the text of the 'L2' *Tresor* is believed to be the work of one scribe,[36] he uses two different citole-related terms: *cistole* and *cystole*. In the 'L2' *Tresor* the most frequently used form of the term is *cystole*.[37] The inclusion of the 's' before the 't' in variants of the term citole seems to occur primarily in Picard manuscripts.[38]

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[32] The use of *canon* as a contemporaneous medieval term is not uncommon but, rather than a harp, it is usually associated with a box-zither such as that shown in MS Paris Bibl. Nat. Lat. 7378A, fol.45v. L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), Plate I.

[33] An early thirteenth-century English bestiary (Cambridge University Library, MS K.k.4.25, fol. 77r.) contains an illustration of three sirens: one who sings with her voice, the second with the *tibiis* (shown as double pipes) and the third with the *lira* (shown as a triangular frame-harp). Elizabeth Eva Leach, '"The Little Pipe Sings Sweetly while the Fowler Deceives the Bird": Sirens in the Later Middle Ages', *Music and Letters*, 87 (2006), pp. 187-211 (p. 194).

[34] The terms *buisine* and *harpe* seem to have been influenced by the *tibia* and *lyra* in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*. Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'Amour*, ed. Hippeau, p. 16. Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi, Etymologiarum Sive Originum*, ed. by W.M. Lindsay, Scriptorum Classicorum, Bibliotheca Oxoniensis, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), II, vol. II, xxii, pp. 2-3.

[35] A piriform plucked-necked-chordophone does appear in at least one tenth-century *Physiologus* depiction of sirens (MS Brussels, BR, lat.10074, fol. 146v.) but this does not seem to relate to the sorts of scenes considered here since there is only one musical siren and the other two attack a sailor. Travis, p. 49.

[36] Kisseleva, 'Codicological and Paleographical Study', p. 57.

[37] The term *cystole* is used in folios 6r (I.iii), 10v (I.xx), 83v (II: lxiii), 85v (II.lxvii) and 139v (III: lxxv.) whereas *cistole* is used on 47r.(Icxxxvi) and *cistoler* is used on fol. 61v (II.x). Which form is used on fol 75r. (II: xxxxvi) is unclear due to the text being damaged. Several chapters of the bestiary are not present (I, clvi – clxvi) omitting the swans (I.clxi) and the simile including the instrument is also missing from folio 60v. See Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresor* (2000), vol. 1: facsimile, (folios as described).

[38] Other Picard manuscripts to use the term *cistole* include the two texts of L.N. Bocca, ed., *Li romans de Bauduin de Sebourc, IIIe roy de Jhérusalem: poëme du XIVe siècle publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale*, Romans de Croisades, 2 vols (Valenciennes: B. Henry, 1841), I, p. 53.)

The *cistole* in the 'L2' *Tresor* is depicted as a plucked chordophone with a distinct neck-body juncture and a strongly-pointed holly-leaf-shaped body-outline. The neck type — unclear since it is largely obscured by the player's left hand — appears to curve sideways as do the strings. The peg-end finial is large but the details are indistinct and it could be meant to represent a figurative head. The pegholder and the pegs are not shown clearly. The fingerboard is long (roughly half the length of the strings) and extends beyond the neck/body juncture to the area approximately level with the upper bout corners. Frets are depicted by three pairs of perpendicular lines across the fingerboard.[39] The soundhole is large and located slightly below the mid-point of the body at the centre of the waist. The number of strings is inconsistently illustrated: three are shown between the left and right hand, but only one string appears from beneath the plucking hand to cross over the bridge and attach to the triangular tailpiece. The wide rectangular-outline bridge is located in the lower third of the soundboard. The tailpiece appears to be connected to a loop or ring that encircles the rounded end-projection. The siren holds a long and thin plectrum between her index and middle fingers. Although this is a small drawing, its schematic quality might indicate which features the artist considered to be characteristic of the *cistole*.

The other *Tresor* copy to contain a depiction of instrumentalist sirens, MS 'YT',[40] (London, BL, Yates Thompson 19, folio 50v.) is associated with the same artistic school. It is also from north-eastern France, and probably Picard. Unfortunately scholars disagree about the date of origin, so it is unclear whether this copy post- or ante-dates the 'L2' *Tresor*.[41] In 'YT' the text of the right-hand column on fol. 50v, beginning with line 4, reads:

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[39] Whether each of these pairs of lines might be meant to depict two thin individual frets or the edges of a wide fret is discussed in §8.3 'Fingerboards and Frets'.

[40] Marshall refers to this manuscript as 'YT', in Marshall, 'The Manuscript Tradition of Brunetto Latini's Tresor' (2001). This manuscript is not mentioned by Chabaille or Carmody. Holloway gives it the siglum 'Bbl.74.EO' on the bibliography page of the Florin website <www.florin.ms/BrunLatbibl1.html> [viewed 13 July 2008] but it does not seem to appear in Holloway, *Analytical Bibliography*, where it should appear in pp. 19-25.

[41] Holloway suggests that this is a late thirteenth-century manuscript. The British Library website offers two different fourteenth century dates: c.1315-25 and c.1320-9. The British Library's 'Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts' suggests the slightly earlier of the fourteenth century dates,

la p[re]mie-
re chantoit m[er]veilleusem[en]t · q[ui] liplusior
dient q[ui] le cantoit endroite vois de
feme · lautre en vois de flaut et de ca-
nom · la terce de cistoile ·

At the bottom of the left-hand column on the same folio, the illuminated panel containing the sirens is small but full of detail (Appendix B, Ill. 2). The illustration, comparable to that in the 'L2' *Tresor*, shows a distinct-necked plucked chordophone and end-blown wind instrument, but does not include the harp. The two instruments are held in a playing position while the third siren appears to be singing. The wind instrument appears to be cylindrical but with a flared bell at the very end and possibly a wider mouthpiece.

The 'YT' *cistoile* is depicted as a holly-leaf–shaped chordophone with an easily discernable neck/body juncture. The body shape is not as severely waisted as the one in the L2 *Tresor*. It is held almost horizontally, high across the chest of the left-hand siren, who plucks it with a substantial plectrum held between her index and middle fingers. The plectrum is parallel-sided for most of its length but the tip is cut askew to form a point.[42] Although the citole's neck is shown curving sideways this is most likely not meant to be realistic but rather employs a convention of depiction for some type of bent-back headstock. The peg-end terminates with a large animal head, shown in profile. The nut, upper-string–attachment and many details of the pegbox are obscured by the player's left hand. The heads of two pegs are visible but their placement is unclear, suggesting either lateral or anterior insertion. The single large soundhole, which contains an indication of an interior pattern,[43] is placed slightly below the centre of the soundboard. The fingerboard extends beyond the neck/body juncture and shows three pairs of parallel lines indicating frets. The entire

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probably based on the similarity to the 'Lancelot group' manuscripts. The British Library 'Images Online' offers the later date. Julia Bolton Holloway bibliography page of the Florin website <www.florin.ms/ BrunLatbibl1.html> [viewed 13 July 2008], British Library, Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts <www.bl.uk/ catalogues/ illuminatedmanuscripts> and 'Images Online' <www.imagesonline.bl.uk> [viewed 8 Aug 2008].

[42] This is similar to the tip of the plectrum of the Lincoln Cathedral stained glass (Appendix B, Ill. 140a).

[43] The pattern suggests a carved rose rather than an open sound-hole.

instrument is coloured a pale brown except for the bridge, which appears to have been left untinted. The bridge is quite large, wider than the width of the band of strings and roughly rectangular in shape, although the short sides appear to have a slight incurve. The strings appear to continue beyond the bridge, although this is not clearly depicted and their number is inconsistent:[44] two appear below the bridge, four between the bridge and plectrum, and three across the fingerboard. The strings at the lower end appear to attach to a loop around the narrow part of the large, three-lobed, end-protrusion. Although somewhat different from the *cistole* in the 'L2' *Tresor*, this *cistoile* shares many features.

The lack of a third instrument in the depiction seems to indicate that the artist either did not think the *canom* was important enough to include, was influenced by the text of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologia* (Book 11, 3:30, which mentions only two instruments: *tibiis* and *lyra*),[45] was not sure how to depict a *canom*, or did not recognise *canom* as an instrument. The illustrator may have read *canom* as a Latin word describing this siren as 'aged', which would explain why the third of the sirens has a white covering over her hair in the fashion of an older woman.[46] If so, the illustration shows what the text describes: one siren singing with the voice of a woman, the other with the voice of the *flaut* and the white-covered one (*canom*), the third with the *cistoile*.

Foster explains that the medieval symbolism of the three musical sirens represented the vices of Avarice, Pride and Luxury.[47] The twelfth-century *Hortus delicairum* by Abbesse Herrad von Landsperg explains these associations and, like the 'YT' *Tresor,* shows only two of the three sirens with instruments: flute and harp. The

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[44] Since the strings are not shown crossing the bridge, it could be argued that this is meant to depict a horizontal trapeze-type tailpiece.

[45] Isidore of Seville, Etymologiarum Sive Originum, ed. Lindsay (1911), II, xxii. 2-3.

[46] *Canom* is an acceptable archaic variant of the *canus* meaning grey haired, aged, or something with a white covering, although the use of the accusative singular tense in this phrase is odd. Alexander Souter and J.M. Wyllie, 'Canus', in *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 7 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 268.

[47] Genette Foster, 'The Iconology of Musical Instruments and Musical Performance in Thirteenth-century French Manuscript Illuminations' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, City University of New York, 1977), pp. 79-80.

Hortus delicairum clarifies that the voice represents Avarice, the flute signifies Pride, and the harp is a symbol of Luxury.[48] If these symbolic attributions were as widely accepted as Foster suggests, then the citole in the 'YT' *Tresor* represents Luxury.

The 'L2' and 'YT' illustrators clearly did not associate *cistole/cistoile* with an antique instrument but with a familiar contemporaneous one. The sirens and their instruments, in both cases, show the influence of the text's description rather than being copied from classical models. That the citole in this section of the *Tresor* might have been meant as a translation for the Latin *lira* is irrelevant, since medieval instruments are named in the text. Referring specifically to the 'L2' manuscript, Mokretsova comments that the framed miniatures in this bestiary contain no secondary meaning but are direct illustrations of the text,[49] and indeed, these miniatures appear to be depictions of the named instruments as the artist understood them at the time.

3.1.2 ALANUS DE INSULIS' *DE PLANCTU NATURAE*, MARGINAL GLOSS WITH DIAGRAM (APPENDIX A, TEXT B.43 / APP. B, ILL. 3A-B)

Of the three illustrated texts discussed in this section, the marginal glosses and sketches in a fourteenth-century copy of Alanus de Insulis' *de Planctu Naturae* (MS Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium (KBR), 21069, fol. 39) is the most often cited by modern musicologists (Appendix B, Ill. 3a-b). The attention given to this manuscript is due to its numerous illustrated glosses of musical instruments and colloquial translations of Latin terms. There are two necked chordophones with non-oval body-outlines depicted on this leaf. Both Coussemaker and Wright, more than a century apart, identified the relationship between text and one of the sketches on the recto side as evidence that the chordophone with the holly leaf-shaped body-outline

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[48] Travis mentions that these three vices *Avaritia, Jactantia* and *Luxuria* are also associated with the three sirens in a sermon 'Domenica in Septuagesima' by Honorius Augustodunensis c. 1101-2, although the instruments are not mentioned. W. T. Travis, 'Of Sirens and Onocentaurs', p. 40 and 57.
[49] I. P. Mokretsova, 'Artistic and Iconographical Traits of the Saint Petersburg Manuscript', in *Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. by Maria Algàs and Mónica Miró 2 vols (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2000) 2, pp. 83-136 (p. 102).

and plectrum should be called *sitola*.[50] Coussemaker also cites a sketch of a distinct-necked chordophone on the verso side of folio 39 as an illustration of a *guitare latine*. During the century intervening between the two authors who agreed that the *sitola* was a plucked instrument, the recto diagram was included in the study of bowed string-instruments.[51]

De Planctu Naturae was another widely copied text; more than two dozen thirteenth- or fourteenth-century manuscript copies survive in European libraries.[52] The complexity of Alan of Lille's original twelfth-century Latin text, with multiple layers of meaning and internal puns, might explain the manifold glossing of the Brussels copy.[53] This folio shows the hand of several glossators attempting to elucidate chapter 17 and the eleven instruments mentioned in it. It is not the multiple levels of meaning in the Latin that have caused modern musicological scholars difficulty, but rather these later elucidations and their orthography.

Eleven instruments are named in chapter 17 of *de Planctu Naturae*. After accepting a mission from the personification of Nature, Hymenaeus calls upon his companions to rouse themselves and asks those with instruments to sound them in celebration. In the margins of folio 39-39v of this manuscript, the instruments named are glossed in the same order in which they appear in the text. The two that relate to necked chordophones with non-oval body-outlines are the *lira* and the *pentafone*.

3.1.2.1 FOLIO 39 V. PENTAFONE ('GUITERNE' OR 'QUINTERNA')

The sketch on the verso side of folio 39 deserves consideration because Coussemaker uses it to support the *guitare latine* denomination for waisted chordophones.[54] Since the modern use of *guitare latine* to describe non-oval bodied

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Coussemaker, 'Les instruments de musique au Moyen Âge', p. 109. L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), p. 28-9.
[51] Schlesinger, *Precursors of The Violin Family* (1910), II, pp. 248 & 427.
[52] G. Raynaud de Lage, *Alain de Lille Poète du XII Siècle* (Montreal: Institut d'Etudes Medievales, 1951), pp. 182-4
[53] Alan of Lille, *The Plaint of Nature*, trans. by James J. Sheridan, Medieval Sources in Translation (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1980), foreword. For a translation of the relevant passage including the description of these instruments see pp. 210-11.
[54] Coussemaker, 'Les instruments de musique au Moyen Âge', p. 106.

chordophones is still in popular use, it is worth clarifying this erroneous attribution.[55] To the right-hand side of the text appears a column of sketches of instruments. In a column to the right of these appear a series of glosses, most contain only two words: the upper restating the Latin instrument named in the text and the lower offering a Flemish translation (*tuba* : *basurn*,[56] *cornu* : *horn*, *cithara* : *harp*, and so on). Adjacent to the passage that mentions the pentafone is a drawing of a distinct-necked chordophone with a waisted body and rounded bouts. Although the upper word of the glossed pair (beside the drawing) is difficult to discern, it is clearly not *pentafone*. The lower word, *lute*, can be assumed to be the Flemish translation. Although this does not follow the pattern of the other glosses, by not repeating the term listed in the main text, it appears that this Greek-derived term may have been replaced by another more akin to the other Latin instrument names. Coussemaker offers the reading *guiterne*, Wright suggests *quinter[na].*[57] In this context, Wright's suggestion of *quinterna* is the more credible substitution for *pentafone*, as both words use the Latin and Greek stems for 'five'.[58] This *quinter[na]* : *lute* label, however, does not refer to the drawing and seems merely to offer translations of *pentafone*.

There are at least two independent sets of annotation present. As Wright identifies, the marginal Latin/Flemish glosses do not relate in any way to the instrument sketches but refer directly to the text.[59] Written above the word *pentafone*, in the body of the text, is the word *vidule*. Coussemaker, however, does not mention this interlinear interpolation.[60] Since the diagrams also gloss the main text,[61] the depiction must relate either to the term *pentafone* or *vidule*.[62] The distinct-necked waisted chordophone in this picture therefore illustrates none of the terms mentioned

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[55] Wright clarifies that the *guitare latine* was variant term for the piriform gittern. L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), p. 20.

[56] I am not certain of my reading of this term.

[57] There does not appear to be another 'q' or 'g' in the same hand for comparison on that folio.

[58] *Quinterna* is also more logical because it is Latin, as are the other first words in the glossed pairs.

[59] L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), p. 20.

[60] This is perhaps because he was unable to view the original document and relied upon drawings sent to him by the owner, at that time, Baron de Reiffenberger; Coussemaker, 'Les instruments de musique au Moyen Âge', p. 106.

[61] It is unclear to me whether the interlinear *vidule* is by the same hand as the sketches or not.

[62] Being a depiction of a five-stringed instrument, it could be either.

in the text to its right, (neither *guiterne*, *quinterne* nor *lute*) but the artist's impression of a *pentafone* or a *vidule*, the names appearing to its left in the main text.

3.1.2.2 FOLIO 39 RECTO *LIRA* ('*FITOLA*' OR '*SITOLA*')   (APP. B, ILL. 3B)

Although the marginal annotation on folio 39r offers the best-known illustrative evidence as to which body-shape should correspond to the name *sitola*, this source has also been interpreted as describing a bowed instrument.[63] This is the annotated image upon which both Coussemaker (1856) and Wright (1977) based their definitions of *citole*. During the period between these definitions, however, the text was cited as reading *fitola*, and relating to an ancestor of the violin. This shift from *sitola* to *fitola* involves two points of disagreement: whether the initial consonant should be interpreted as *f* or *s*, [64] and whether this refers to a plucked or a bowed instrument.

The discrepancies lie in the interpretation of the text, not the image. The gloss illustration shows a distinct-necked instrument of roughly holly-leaf–shape with projecting shoulders and a trefoil-shaped end-protuberance. Although it is not depicted being played, attached to the instrument is what can be interpreted as a large arrow-shaped plectrum. The fingerboard extends beyond the neck-body juncture. The neck is short and widens to a semi-circular pegbox,[65] showing possibly as many as six dots to indicate pegs, and a rounded finial. It is clear that Coussemaker and Wright are both referring directly to this image since the engraving published by Coussemaker, based on a drawing provided by the

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[63] An engraving of this gloss was reproduced by Coussemaker and a photograph by Wright: Coussemaker, 'Les instruments de musique au Moyen Âge', p. 109; L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), plate II, p. 32.

[64] Which is difficult to discern, even when compared to *fistula* appearing in a gloss lower on the same folio.

[65] This unusual neck or pegbox might be meant to represent some sort of supported neck, like that shown on the Bologna cope (Appendix B, Ill. 100) but this is not certain.

manuscript's owner, Baron de Reiffenberg, is consistent with Wright's photographs of MS Brussels, KBR 21069, fol. 39.[66]

Wright offers a concise orthographic interpretation of the text and glossing of this manuscript (Appendix A, Text B.43).[67] Wright identifies the glossing of the text as having been undertaken by a number of hands, and allies the sketch to the extended gloss to the word *lira*, which he transcribes as:

> Lira est quoddam genus cithare vel est sitola alioquin deficeret hic instrumentum illud multum vulgare[68]

and translates it as:

> Lira is a certain type of cithara or is a sitola; otherwise that very common instrument would be lacking here.[69]

This text appears to be written in the same hand as the drawing. The sketch, drawn in the same light, loose hand as the extended gloss, therefore was meant to illustrate the *sitola*.

Wright offers a convincing explanation for how this co-exists with the seemingly contradictory glossed pair 'lira: vedel', which appears above this note and sketch. Since they were written by different hands, they are not meant to serve the same function: the shorter offers a Latin/Flemish translation of a term in the text, the longer an different translation and explanation of the sketch.

The possibility that this passage of the manuscript describes a bowed instrument must be addressed because, for most of the twentieth century, musicologists accepted that interpretation.[70] Current accessibility to these modern authorities,

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[66] The proportions are somewhat different but the general outlines agree. In Coussemaker's engraving the upper bout corners are too large and wide, the lower bout too small, the end protrusion too large and the strings have a nonsensical relationship to the fingerboard.

[67] L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), p. 28.

[68] L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), p. 28. Coussemaker, 'Les Instruments de musique', p. 109.

[69] Translation by L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), p. 28.

[70] The association of the term *fitola* to bowed instruments occurs during a period from from at least 1910-1979. *Fitola* was still considered as a late Latin term for *fidel* or *viola* in Curt Sachs, 'Fitola', in *Real-Lexikon Der Musikinstrumente, zugleich ein Polyglossar fur das gesamte Instrumentengebiet* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1979), p. 141.

especially via the internet, means that superseded theories might regain currency and should be addressed here. Under the entry 'Fiddle', in the authoritative 1911 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Schlesinger describes this as a marginal note of the thirteenth century that offers both *vioel* as the equivalent to *lira* and which additionally defines *lira* as:

> Lira est quoddam genue citharæ vel fitola alioquin de roet. Hoc instrumentum est multum vulgare.[71]

This reading equates the terms *lira, vioel,* and *fitola* as a subcategory of *cithara* or *roet*, as Schlesinger makes clear in her previously published translation of the gloss:

> The lira or fitola is of the genus of citharas, otherwise of the rota. This instrument is very common.[72]

Although Schlesinger quotes Coussemaker's *Mémoire sur Hucbald* for this transcription, Coussemaker's text reads:

> Lira Vioel. Lira est quoddam genus cytharae vel sitola, alioquin de Roet. Hoc instrumentum est multum volgare

and Coussemaker describes the accompanying illustration as depicting a plucked instrument, since it shown with a stylus or plectrum.[73] The errors in Schlesinger's interpretation, in addition to the reading of *sitola* as *fitola*, are the false association of the two-word Latin/Flemish gloss with the extended explanatory gloss, and the disregard for the illustration of the instrument. While the manuscript does offer *vioel* (or *vedel*)[74] as the equivalent to *lira*, in a short gloss, and defines *lira* in a longer annotation, the two glosses each refer to the *lira* in the main text and not to one another.[75] Within Schlesinger's influential study of violin precursors, *fitola* is considered as a variant of *fidel*, and described as a transitional term between the late Latin *fiducula* and the modern *fiddle*.[76] This interpretation of the *sitola/fitola* gloss

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[71] Kathleen Schlesinger, 'Fiddle', in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1911), 10, p. 320.p. 320.

[72] Schlesinger, *Precursors of The Violin Family* (1910), II, p. 427.

[73] C.E.H. de Coussemaker, *Mémoire sur Hucbald et sur ses traités de musique* (Paris: J. Techener, 1841), p. 174.

[74] *Vedel* is Wright's transcription. L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), p. 29.

[75] See above, 'folio 39v. *pentafone* ', for further discussion of the multiple glossators.

[76] The specific term *fitola* does not seem to appear anywhere other than this manuscript. Schlesinger, *Precursors of The Violin Family* (1910), II, p. 248.

seems to have been based on Isidore of Seville's *Etymologia,* Book III.22.3-4,[77] which describes the *lira* as one of the many types of *cithara* and states that the ancients referred to the *cithara* as *fidicula*. Schlesinger makes no mention of Coussemaker's 1856 article nor the illustration that accompanies the text gloss. This suggests that the association of the *fitola* to bowed instruments is based on the text alone. Unfortunately, Coussemaker's work was overshadowed by Schlesinger's authoritative writings, and many subsequent scholars seem to have been unaware of Coussemaker's 1856 article that clarifies that this gloss illustrates the *sitola* as a holly-leaf-shaped plucked chordophone.[78]

3.1.3 San Millán in Hagiography and Retable
(App. A, Text B.32 / App. B, Ill. 4-4d)

In the case of San Millán de Cogolla, the relation between text and image is offered by separate pieces of evidence. During the fourteenth century, the monastery of San Millán produced both a decorated copy of Gonzalo de Berceo's verse hagiography *La Estoria de San Millán* and a painted retable depicting scenes from the saint's life. One mentions 'una çitola' and the other twice depicts a distinct-necked chordophone with a holly-leaf-shaped body.

Citing the date of authorship, *La Estoria de San Millán* is often described as the earliest use of *çitola* in Castilian literature but there is no evidence that Gonzalo de Berceo ever knew or used the term.[79] Although Gonzalo de Berceo was one of the most important early authors in Castilian and composed the original work around

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[77] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville,* ed. by Steven A. Barney, and others (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 2006) p. 98.

[78] Schlesinger's *Precursors of the Violin Family* was certainly far more widely read than Coussemaker's 'Les Instruments de musique'. Even the *fitola* reading was not questioned until 1965. Carl Engel, *Researches Into the Early History of the Violin Family* (Amsterdam: Antiqua, 1965), pp. 62. Since the 11th Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911), which includes Schlesinger's reading of this passage including *fitola* under the entry 'fiddle', is now freely available on the internet, this interpretation may revive. <www.1911encyclopedia.org/Fiddle> [accessed 28 Aug 2010].

[79] The generally agreed date of authorship, *c.* 1234, is cited by numerous musicologists, including J. J. Rey and A. Navarro, *Los instrumentos de púa en España,* p. 35, and L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), p. 37.

1234, no thirteenth-century manuscript of this work is known to survive. Until the early nineteenth century,[80] two medieval copies of this work resided at the monastery of San Millán de Cogolla, one in quarto (MS *Q*), and one in folio (MS *F*)[81] along with eighteenth-century transcriptions.[82] Of the three surviving eighteenth-century full transcriptions,[83] two are based on the earlier quarto manuscript and include the term *cítara* - not *çitola*.[84] Since the current location of *Q*, which is believed to date from *c.*1250-60, is unknown, most modern editions are based on the eighteenth-century copy by Father Ybarreta.[85] It is the fourteenth-century folio manuscript, which resurfaced in 1924, that specifically names the *çitola*.[86]

La Estoria de San Millán is based on Saint Braulio of Saragossa's seventh-century Latin hagiography *S. Aemiliani Confessoris Cognomento Cucullati.* Dutton suggests that Berceo, as notary for the monastery, chose to translate Braulio's biography of their founder into Castilian, and modify aspects of it, to appeal more directly to the monastery's donors.[87] Braulio's text includes an introductory description of the use

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[80] During nineteenth-century governmental suppression of the monasteries, both of the early mss, the eighteenth century transcriptions, and other assets, like the ivory reliquary mentioned below, were confiscated.

[81] Marden uses the siglum 'A' for this manuscript but Menéndez Pidal prefers 'E', and Dutton 'F'. Following Dutton, MS Madrid, Real Academia Española 4 will be referred to as MS 'F'. Gonzalo de Berceo, *Cuatro poemas de Berceo: (Milagros de la iglesia robada y de Teófilo, y Vidas de Santa Oria y de San Millán): nuevo manuscrito de la Real Academia Española,* ed. by C. Carroll Marden, Revista de filología española (Madrid: Hernando, 1928); Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Crestomatía del español medieval,* 2 edn (Madrid: Gredos, 1965); Gonzalo de Berceo, *La Vida de San Millan de la Cogolla. Estudio y edicion crítica,* ed. by Brian Dutton, Obras Completas, 2 edn, 5 vols (London: Tamesis, 1984), I, p. 63-67.

[82] These are mentioned by Father Sarmiento in a work published posthumously. Del Rmo. P. M. Fr. Martin Sarmiento, *Memorias Para La Historia de la Poesia, y Poetas Españoles: por el Monasterio de S. Martin de Madrid* (Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1775), p. 258.

[83] These are attributed to Fathers Diego de Mecolaeta (MS *M*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 13149, dated 1740-49); Martin Sarmiento (MS *S*, Archivo de los Benedictinos de Valladolid, vol. 36, folios 147r-172v, dated before 1772) and Domingo Ybarreta (MS *I*, la Real Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos 110, dated 1774-79). These are Dutton's sigla, used by him from 1978 onwards, correcting details of his 1967 critical edition. Dutton offers codicological information for these and a few fragments. Berceo, *San Millan,* ed. Dutton (1984), pp. 67-74.

[84] Dutton describes MS *M* as being based on both *Q & F* and including the term *citola.*

[85] First published by Tomas Antonio Sánchez, *Colección De Poesias Castellanas Anteriores al Siglo XV* (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1780), II: *Poesias de Don Gonzalo de Berceo.*

[86] Marden produced a diplomatic edition shortly after the manuscript was rediscovered. Berceo, *Cuarto Poemas,* ed. Marden, p. 96.

[87] Berceo, *San Millan,* ed. Dutton (1984), p. xiii.

of a *cithara* by Saint Aemilianus to aid spiritual contemplation.[88] In Berceo's version, San Millán uses his instrument more pragmatically to help himself stay awake. If accurately transcribed from the lost thirteenth-century manuscript of *La Estoria de San Millán* (MS Q),[89] the term *cítara* might have been a vernacular term for a specific contemporaneous instrument, but is more likely a vulgarization of Braulio's *cithara*. In either case, it is impossible to know whether or when there was scribal alteration and which instrument name Berceo originally chose.

The earliest datable reference associating a *çitola* with San Millán appears in the surviving early fourteenth-century folio manuscript.[90] It is a decorated but not illuminated work dated to *c.*1325. Dutton suggests that this manuscript modernized and Castilianized the language of Berceo's original.[91] Stanza 7 reads (Appendix B, Text B.31):

> Auia otra costunbre el pastor que uos digo:
> Por uso vna **çitola** traya siempre consigo
> Por referir el suenno, que el mal enemjgo
> Furtar non li podiesse cordero njn cabrito[92]

Translation:
> The shepherd of whom I speak to you had another custom,
> He always carried with him a [çitola] to use
> to banish sleep, so that the wicked enemy
> would not be able to steal from him either lamb or kid.[93]

There is evidence that San Millán's instrument, whatever it was called, was considered to have been a necked chordophone as early as the eleventh century. An ivory plaque, dating from c. 1060-80, taken from a reliquary decorated with scenes

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[88] For Braulio's version see Sancti Braulionis, 'Vita S. Æmiliani Confessoris Cognomento Cucullati', in *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, ed. by J.P. Migne (Paris: 1850) LXXX, pp. 699-716.

[89] T. A. Sánchez, *Colección De Poesias Castellanas Anteriores al Siglo XV* (1780), II, p. 114.

[90] Removed from the monastery in the nineteenth century, MS *F* was lost until 1924. It was acquired by the Real Academia Española in 1925 (MS Real Academia Española, 4).

[91] Gonzalo de Berceo, *La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, ed. by Brian Dutton, Obras Completas, 5 vols (London: Tamesis, 1978), IV, p. 20.

[92] Berceo, *Cuarto Poemas*, ed. Marden, p. 96.

[93] Keller's translation, based on one of the eighteenth-century transcriptions, uses the term *çitara*. John Esten Keller, *Gonzalo de Berceo* (New York: Twayne, 1972) p. 75.

of the saint's life shows his stringed instrument as a long-necked, oval-bodied chordophone with a diamond-shaped head, which is shown slung over his shoulder while he blows a curved horn.[94] (Appendix B, Ill. 5) The inscription above the scene, FUTURUS PASTOR HOMINM ERAT PSTR OVIUM ('the future shepherd of men was a shepherd of sheep'), indicates that this illustration was based on Braulio's text.[95]

Later in the fourteenth century, a painted altarpiece with wings depicting scenes from the life of the saint was also produced at the monastery. At that time, the most recent copy of Gonzalo de Berceo's *Estoria de Sennor Sant Millan* in their monastery library was probably the luxurious folio manuscript from c.1325 (MS 'F') naming the instrument as *çitola*. While the manuscript's copyist might simply have inserted a more familiar colloquial name in place of one with which he was less familiar (*çitola* for *cithara*), the painter seems to have had a specific instrument in mind. Although the brushwork is imprecise, the illustration displays a necked chordophone with holly-leaf–shaped outline played with a substantial plectrum.

Now in the Museo de La Rioja, the outer wings of this altarpiece, the *Tablas de San Millán* (inv. 399 & 400), are believed to date from the late fourteenth century (Appendix. B, Ill. 4-4d).[96] These two large wooden panels, over five feet in height, are illustrated on both sides. The exterior faces are each divided into a large upper scene, which combined shows three supplicants on one panel and a 'Virgin and Child Enthroned with musical angels' on the other, beneath this are smaller scenes depicting episodes from the life of Saint Millán. On the left hand panel, the first of the smaller scenes shows the shepherd playing his *çitola* by plucking it with a large, relatively wide, tapering plectrum (Ill. 4a-b). In the second, the *çitola* is resting on the ground (Ill. 4c-d). The paint is rather freely applied and the illustrations lack fine

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[94] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 'Reliquary of Saint Aemilian', the Cloisters Collection, Acc. No. 1987.89.

[95] Sancti Braulionis, 'Vita S. Æmiliani Confessoris Cognomento Cucullati', in *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, ed. by J.P. Migne (Paris: 1850) LXXX, pp. 699-716, p. 703.

[96] The painting style used on the *Tablas* is usually described as being in the fourteenth-century gothic style. Based on features of the clothing, Sanchez suggests that it can be no earlier than the second third of the fourteenth century and possibly as late as 1390. María Teresa Sánchez Trujillano 'Estudio Ambiental de las Tablas de San Millán, Indumentaria', in *Segundo Coloquio sobre Historia de la Rioja* (Logroño: Colegio Universitario de La Rioja, 1986), pp. 83.

detail but the holly-leaf-shaped body-outline of the instrument is clear. Both depictions show three courses of strings running parallel to one another but the left-hand instrument has a total of six strings and the right-hand one five. The strings also do not have any obvious attachment method at either end and only the centre pair crosses over the neck. It is difficult to distinguish what type of neck this is meant to illustrate. The light coloured area between the animal head finial and the soundbox, however, might be an attempt at depicting a fingerboard over a thumbhole-type neck. Rodríguez speculatively interprets the depiction as having a sickle-shaped pegbox with anterior pegs.[97] There are no frets, no clear fingerboard and no additional protuberance beyond the pointed lower end of the body. The playing position is less horizontal than that shown in the sirens illustrations discussed previously.[98]

In these two scenes, the holly-leaf-shaped cítola seems to be used as an attribute of the saint as well to illustrate the hagiography. Although the cowl is the primary symbol of San Míllan de Cogolla (St. Aemillianus of the cowl), the *citola* here appears to signify the early secular portion of the saint's life. The musical instruments shown in other sections of the retable are of distinctly different types from the one played by the saint. The large upper scene on the opposite exterior panel shows a 'Virgin and Child Enthroned', which includes six angels who play various instruments: a small piriform bowed instrument held upright; an oval-bodied plucked chordophone; a waisted chordophone bowed abraccio; a small box-zither and two end-blown wind instruments.[99] On the heavily gilded interior, two angels flank a 'Coronation of the Virgin' scene: one playing a piriform instrument bowed vertically and the other an oval-bodied plucked chordophone.[100] Both of these distinct-necked plucked instruments have very round soundboard outlines and long unsupported necks ending in rectangular, bent-back pegboxes. Therefore, it is clear

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[97] Rey and Navarro include a drawing by Teresa Rodríguez that introduces details which are not present in the painting, such as pegs and a bridge, and corrects illogical ones, such as the lack of attachment points for the strings. J. J. Rey and A. Navarro, *Los instrumentos de púa en España*, p. 36.
[98] This position is not unlike the citole-playing elder at Sasamon (Appendix B, Ill. 12a).
[99] I would identify these instruments as: rebab, lute, fiddle, psaltery, a straight horn and a curved horn.
[100] These are also a rebab and lute.

that the holly-leaf–shaped chordophone is reserved for use by the saint who is reputed to have played the çítola as a young man.

3.1.4 DEFINITION OF *CITOLE*, BASED ON AGREEMENT OF FEATURES

The sources discussed in sections 3.1.1- 3.1.3 can not in themselves provide a comprehensive definition for the term *citole*. The three texts mentioned above provide reliable names for the instruments depicted but these depictions are too limited in number, scale and detail to provide reliable guidelines for the use of the terminology. Five images, from four sources, cannot be assumed to offer a representative sample. All the sources are two-dimensional and the majority of them are miniatures, meaning that details are necessarily missing or disproportional. Given their small size, some of the features are probably exaggerated: more caricature than characteristic. Although holly-leaf–shaped chordophones have been demonstrated to have been called citoles, this does not prove that all citoles were holly-leaf–shaped.

Since none of these examples can be said to illustrate the use of the citole in true-to-life situations, these can also not be used to indicate the instrument's use in medieval society. The gloss isolates the instrument from its environment so that even its size is unknown. Latini's Bestiary places the instrument into the hands of mythological creatures whose description was derived from classical sources and earlier authorities, so the instrumental combination shown is unreliable. Although a shepherd watching his sheep seems a commonplace scene of medieval life, the story of San Millán is steeped in the symbolism of the *cithara*. In all of these examples there is some link to the ancient *lira* or *cithara* and the symbolism that those carry. Although the setting is unreliable there is no reason to believe that the depiction of the instruments is in any way fantastic.[101]

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[101] For further discussion about the reliability of images see §6.

Aside from the outline shape and playing method, the depictions do not accord as well on other features. Several seem to indicate three courses of strings but the number of strings is not always consistently depicted even within the same depiction. Clear details of pegs and upper string-attachment-method are missing from all the images. Although the pegbox finial often suggests an animal-head terminus, this is not ubiquitous. Fingerboards and frets appear in some depictions but not in others. Obscured or indistinct details mean that not enough information is available to determine typical shape and placement for the bridge or soundhole(s). In all cases, the body outline has some sort of projection at the lower end but the form of it is not standardized in shape nor is the size. All five images show peculiarities to the depiction of the neck. Even the playing position shows two variants.

Although all of these depictions exhibit some sort of lower-end-projection, these will not be considered among the determining criteria for a *citole* in this study because they show too much variation. In two of the illustrations of citoles in the text-image-correlation examples, the lower end of the soundbox displays a large but relatively narrow protuberance ending in a trefoil,[102] whereas in two others the soundbox itself comes to a steep point.[103] Since there is no consensus among the base sources, this feature will not be considered a defining characteristic.

The illustrations accompanying these three texts verify that distinct-necked, plectrum-plucked, chordophones with an approximately holly-leaf-shaped body-outline were known as *cistole, cistoile, sitola* or *çitola*. Each of the depictions agrees on these features.[104] Although not a revolutionary redefinition, this provides minimum criteria for characteristics that can be demonstrated to have been associated with the citole during the Middle Ages. This definition will be expanded in the next section.

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[102] See Appendix B. Ill. 2-3b.
[103] See Appendix B. Ill 1 and 4d.
[104] The instrument in the gloss is not shown being played but the plectrum is depicted.

3.2. EXPANDED PARAMETERS FOR THE *CITOLE* IN THIS STUDY

For the purpose of this study, the definition of a *citole* will not be as narrow as derived from the three texts described in the previous section (distinct-necked, plectrum-plucked, chordophone with an approximately holly-leaf–shaped body-outline) but that is the starting point. Although it would be possible to consider only instruments with a strictly holly-leaf–shaped body outline as citoles, this would eliminate many illustrations generally accepted as belonging to this same instrument category, not only most of the Iberian images but also the only surviving exemplar.[105] Limiting terms to those variants names already mentioned, *cistole, cistoile, sitola,* would eliminate all of the Germanic text references, and many other regional variants, including the term *citole*. The defining parameters for what will, and will not, be considered a *citole* in this study are discussed in the following sub-sections.

3.2.1 PARAMETERS FOR CITOLES IN DEPICTIONS –
MORPHOLOGY IN ICONOGRAPHY

Given the diversity of stringed instruments depicted in medieval art, it is necessary to determine parameters for what will be considered as a citole in this study. It is also necessary to state these criteria since there is no consensus as to which organological features should be used to differentiate medieval chordophones. A few methods of instrument classification are cited in this section either for comparison or to offer clarification.

While body-outline is not the only method of distinguishing instrument types in depictions, it is a straight-forward method and has been accepted as a method of distinguishing later instrument types.[106] Construction method as a determinant

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[105] Although there have been disagreements about terminology and lineage, it is generally accepted that the British Museum's instrument is in the same category as holly-leaf–shaped instruments and vase-shaped instruments (such as those shown in the Cantigas de Santa Maria).

[106] During the sixteenth century, lutes and vihuelas sometimes shared the same stringing material, playing technique, and tuning, but were distinguished from one another based on body shape.

feature is not applicable to images, since it is often not clearly discernable. Other criteria can be used to distinguish stringed instrument types from one another, such as string disposition or stringing material, but these are less evident in illustrations and difficult to employ with certainty.[107]

The Hornborstel-Sachs classification system, which is useful for categorizing extant instruments, does not provide sufficient limits for distinguishing one type of distinct-necked chordophones from another in imagery. Following the Hornborstel-Sachs system the instruments considered here fall into category 321.32.[108] Category 321.32 describes a chordophone of which the 'string bearer and a resonator are organically united and cannot be separated without destroying the instrument', on which the 'plane of strings runs parallel with the sound table', and the 'string bearer is a plain handle...attached to or carved from the resonator, like a neck.' The next subdivision, however, relates to whether the resonator of the instrument is carved from a solid piece or built-up from many pieces. While it is likely that most citoles would have had monoxylic construction (as do most surviving medieval instruments, including the British Museum's citole) this cannot be proven, or distinguished in depictions. The Hornborstel-Sachs system is therefore not very useful for classifying instruments in images.

Many musicologists do not state the initial determinant criteria before discussing the typical characteristics of a chordophone. Where there is long-established consensus regarding the gross features of an instrument-type, this might not be required. The confusion surrounding the terminology and instrument type makes this necessary for the citole. The criteria for what currently characterizes a citole have not been clearly

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[107] Prideaux seems to have considered stringing material, and neck depth, as the primary factors that distinguished a citole (wire strings) from a gittern (gut strings), not body outline. Kartomi describes the number of strings as one of the main criteria for distinguishing different types of 'cithara instruments' in an 'alchemical Byzantine classification' of musical instruments, preserved in a nine-century treatise. Edith K. Prideaux, 'Carvings of Mediaeval Musical Instruments in Exeter Cathedral Church', *The Archaeological Journal*, 72 (1915), pp. 1-35 (p. 12). Margaret J. Kartomi, *On Concepts and Classifications of Musical Instruments*, Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 144.

[108] This encompasses the delimiting sub-categories of: composite chordophone; lute; handle lute; necked lute. Erich M. Von Hornborstel and Curt Sachs, 'Classification of Musical Instruments, translated by Anthony Baines and Klaus P. Wachsmann', *GSJ*, 14 (1961), pp. 3-29 (pp, 22-3).

codified. Nonetheless, modern authors have offered usable descriptions of typical morphological characteristics. Young offers a non-oval category 'B.1':[109] Panum identifies a sub-group of plucked fingerboard instruments played in a horizontal position that have a neck, flat back and slightly incurving sides.[110] Wright's definition of the structure of the citole is overly complex for use as guidelines: including four main body-shapes as well as several possible types of neck and pegbox.[111] Although many of Wright's variants will be included in this study, the oval body-outline with straight sides will be excluded and the spade shape will be addressed later.

Playing method (plucked), neck-type (distinct), and body-outline (holly-leaf) have already been identified as the starting point for citole characteristics used in this study. Briefly these three aspects will be considered here to determine whether the specific criteria should be modified. Although it is tempting to use the British Museum's material artefact as a basis for the morphological criteria, it would be somewhat tautological to do so. Since the instrument does not display a holly-leaf-shaped body outline, it does not agree with the text-image sources, and expanding the definition without justification is not good practice. First, the defining criteria for a citole must be established, and then it can be determined whether the British Museum's instrument is a citole. Even if the instrument meets those criteria, it might exhibit atypical features that should not be allowed to limit the survey. The text-

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[109] Original text: 'Instrumente mit geraden oder eingebuchteten Seiten, die schultern mit oder ohne Verzierungen, mit einem Vorsprung am unteren Ende, der normalerweise als Saitenhalter dient. Der Wirbelkasten ist vom Griffbrett abgewinkelt, wobei das Ende des Wirbelkastens oft bedeutend tiefer liegt als der Saitenhalter. Konstruktion: aus einem stück, normalerweise mit Daumenloch.' Young also distinguishes between types of non-oval bodies chordophones in classifications B.2 & B.3, based in part on construction method, but monoxylic construction cannot be assumed in depictions and would only apply to surviving instruments. Crawford Young, ' Zur Klassifikation und Ikonographischen Interpretation Mittelalterlicher Zupfinstrumente', *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis*, 8 (1984), pp. 67- 104. Young's criteria are less specific in his later analysis, in which he eliminates the distinctions between the non-oval groups B.1, B.2, & B.3. Crawford Young, 'Lute, Gittern, and Citole', in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. by Ross W. Duffin (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), pp. 355-75 (p. 356).
[110] Although Panum uses the term 'Square Guitar-types' she then modifies this to include instruments with a rounded lower bout. Hortense Panum, *Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages: Their Evolution and Development*, trans. by Jeffrey Pulver (London: William Reeves, 1940), p. 445.
[111] Laurence Wright, 'Citole', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 3 vols (London: MacMillan, 1984), I, pp. 374-79, pp. 375.

image sources previously discussed are the only secure evidence for what was considered a citole during the Middle Ages, and the features that they share will remain the primary characteristics considered.

Thus the following criteria are offered as defining characteristics for identifying citoles in depictions: playing method, neck-type, and body-outline.

3.2.1.1 PLAYING METHOD – PLUCKED

Only depictions that indicate the strings would be set in motion by means of plucking will be considered citoles. The instrument must be shown either in the act of being played, depicted with an accompanying plectrum or in proximity to other similar instruments that are being plucked. Absence of a bow in a depiction does not necessarily indicate that the depiction was intended to represent a plucked instrument but such examples might be considered if they are shown near to dissimilar necked-chordophones that are being bowed.[112] Holly-leaf-shaped chordophones appear at rest in several depictions in which King David plays another instrument.[113] Since it is not possible to determine whether these are meant to indicate plucked or bowed instruments they can not be included in this study.

3.2.1.2 NECK TYPE – DISTINCT, SHORT

The differentiation of instruments displaying a 'clear distinction between the neck and body' from those with a gradual transition was suggested by Remnant as a means of distinguishing bowed instruments.[114] Another way to phrase this criterion might be to say that the citoles have clear upper-bouts or shoulders. Some depictions

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[112] Although the holly-leaf-shaped instruments in the depiction of 'Musica Instrumentalis' in the *Antiphonarium Medicieum*, MS Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 29. I. f. A. (Appendix B, Ill. 41), are shown as if hanging on the wall. They are clearly different from the bowed instrument that is being played.
[113] Examples of holly-leaf-shaped instruments shown not being played include MS New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M.109-111, part II, folio 54r (Appendix B, Ill. 177), in which David plays the harp, and MS Morgan Library G2, folio 106r, in which he strikes bells (Appendix B, Ill. 178).
[114] This is proposed as one of the main criteria for distinguishing the *fiddle* from the *rebec*. Mary Remnant, *English Bowed Instruments from Anglo-Saxon to Tudor Times*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. xxii.

that have been identified as citoles in previous studies, such as the lead figurine found near Thetford (Ill. 185),[115] do not have a clearly depicted neck-body juncture, and might be intended to be piriform, so they are not considered as citoles here. A few Iberian depictions do not have a sharp change of angle at the base of the neck, blurring the exact point of juncture with the body but, in these few cases, the rapid widening to the shoulders indicates the approximate end of the neck, and they display a clear upper bout.[116] Where the neck has been lost or obscured, body-shape and manner of playing will be given precedence as determining factors.[117]

Instruments that have a suitable body-outline will only be considered among possible citoles if the length of the neck, excluding the pegbox, is less than the length of the soundbox.[118] In depictions it is usually easy to determine whether the neck length is longer or shorter than the length of the body unless the image is damaged or obscured. Where there is some doubt, such as with the *Petites Heures de Jehan Duc de Berry*, fol. 53r (Ill. 91),[119] this is usually due to elongated or enlarged pegboxes. Therefore the pegbox is not included when determining the length of the neck. A depiction of an instrumentalist on a twelfth-century Persian ceramic bowl, now in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, is eliminated from consideration as a citole because of its long neck, not because of its place of origin.[120] Long-necked chordophones will not be included in this study, regardless of the body-outline or playing technique. Only instruments with relatively short, distinct necks (or clearly

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[115] Margeson identifies this as a 'gittern', which seems more accurate. S. Margeson, 'A Medieval Musician from Near Thetford', *Norfolk Archeology*, 40 (1989), pp. 325-6, pp. 325-6.

[116] Similar to San Millán left panel (Ill. 4d), Sasamon Elder 2 (Ill. 12a-b), La Hiniesta Elder 13 (Appendix B, Ill. 32d-f).

[117] Several sculptural examples have damage to the neck end of the instrument, such as La Hiniesta Elder 3 (Appendix B, Ill. 32a-c). In some manuscript examples, such as MS New York, Morgan Library MS M 729, folio 342r, the neck of the instrument is hidden behind the decorative border. (Appendix B, Ill. 51).

[118] For comparison, the length of the British Museum's citole, including pegbox, is equal to 2/3 of the overall length of the instrument. Since the position of the nut has been altered, the exact original length of the neck not including the pegbox and finial is uncertain. See §8 Material Evidence, below.

[119] (Appendix B, Ill. 91) MS Paris, BnF Lat. 18104, fol. 53r.

[120] An image of the bowl is shown in Alexander Bellows, *The Illustrated History of the Guitar* (Rockville Center, NY: Belwin, Mills, 1970), p. 15. Burzik discusses a number of earlier long-necked chordophones from various cultures Monika Burzik, *Quellenstudien zu europäischen Zupfinstrumentenformen*, ed. by Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung (Kassel: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1995), Chapter 2.

indicated upper bout shoulders) will be considered as possible citoles in this study.

3.2.1.3 BODY OUTLINE – NOT OVAL

The starting point for acceptable body outlines is the holly-leaf shape, based on the sources already cited, but at least three additional related shapes can be extrapolated. The citole in the 'YT' *Tresor* has a very shallow inward curve to the centre bout, indicating that straight sides should be considered as well. Two marginal illustrations in the *Howard Psalter* demonstrate that the upper and lower bouts of citoles could also be rounded; the holly-leaf–shaped, plectrum plucked chordophone on fol. 63 (Ill. 119) is almost identical in all other aspects to one depicted on fol. 33v. (Ill. 118) except that the latter has rounded upper and lower bouts. Given the evidence that a citole can exhibit bouts that are both pointed or both rounded, it will be assumed that one may be pointed while the other is rounded.[121] Regardless of the shape of the bouts, the upper and lower bout are clearly discernable in all of these examples.

The specific descriptors used in this study to describe body-outlines are:
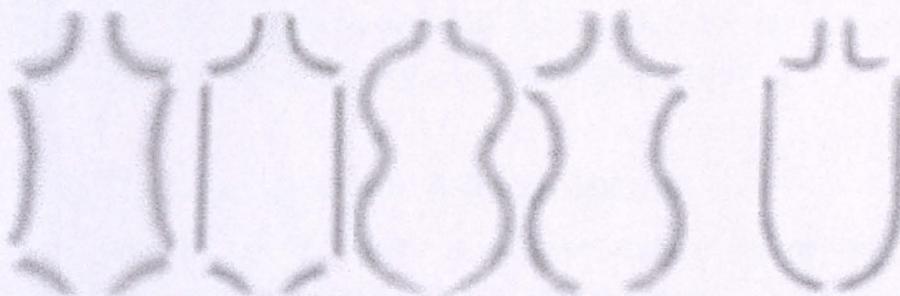
holly-leaf,   hexagonal,   hourglass,   vase-shaped, and   spatulate.[122]

The diagrams above indicate approximate body outlines, proportions might vary.

The corners of the upper and/or lower bout also might display decorative

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[121] No images have been identified which display a rounded upper bout and a pointed lower bout, so that shape is not mentioned.

[122] Since many scholars have considered instruments with spatulate body-outlines to relate to this instrument type, that term must also be defined here. Spatulate Italian instruments will be discussed in greater depth in §10.

projections. When they occur, typically these projections are round (Ill. 42b-c)[123] or fleury (Ill. 54).[124]

Since a strong case has not yet been made for the correlation of oval-bodied chordophones to the term *citole*, they will not be considered as citoles this study. A few images of oval-bodied chordophones are included in Appendix B, section VIII, because they offer some useful point for comparison. Since the relevant body-shapes include numerous variations, it is easiest to generically describe them as 'non-oval' or 'waisted'. Spade shaped instruments such as that at the Parma Baptistery (Appendix B, Ill. 144-144c) will also be discussed since they are often associated with this instrument type by modern scholars.

3.2.1.4 SUMMARY

For the purpose of this study, only plucked chordophones displaying the following features will be considered as *citoles:* a distinct juncture between the neck and body, a body outline that has straight or incurving sides, and a neck whose length is less than the length of the body.[125] Beginning with the definition of citoles as plucked, distinct-necked chordophones with non-oval body-outlines might seem overly simplistic, but broad criteria allow the innate characteristics of the instrument type to reveal themselves rather than having rigid criteria imposed upon them.

3.2.2 PARAMETERS FOR CITOLES IN TEXTS - TERMINOLOGY

It is also necessary to provide specific guidelines for which terms will be considered relevant to the citole in this study, particularly since the range of terms considered here is somewhat different than those used by many scholars. The terms specifically provided by the initial three texts (*cistole, cistoile, sitola* and *çitola*) are not

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[123] Rounded projections occur on the corners of an otherwise holly-leaf-shaped citole on the west façade of Rheims cathedral. (App. B, Ill. 42b-c.)
[124] Fleury upper bout corners appear as the upper corners of the holly-leaf-shaped instrument depicted in MS London, BL, Egerton 274, fol. 7v. (App. B, Ill. 54.)
[125] L. Wright, 'Citole', *New Grove Music* (2001), V, p. 375, includes 'the "fiddle" shape, an oval with sides either straight or slightly waisted', but that description seems to contradict itself.

sufficiently broad. Wright identifies three groups of terms that have a connection with the citole and these offer a usable framework for discussion.[126] The first involves direct derivations of the Latin *cithara*. The second group includes *cet(e)ra* and *cedra* related terms. Only the third category, comprising a wide variety of vernacular terms related to *citole* will be included in the main study. In this section all three are considered briefly and the reasons for omitting the first two groups are explained.

3.2.2.1 CITHARA TERMS

Latin: cithara, cithare
Castilian: cítara, açitaras,
Italian: citare
French: kitaire[127]

Although terms related to *cithara* were applied to distinct-necked chordophones during the Middle Ages, the application of these terms was inconsistent. Care must be taken in associating them with any specific contemporaneous instrument. The medieval use of Latinate/biblical terminology, such as *cithara*, *lira*, and *choro* to designate contemporaneous instruments can be almost impossible to interpret conclusively. The mention of *açitaras* in the *General Estoria I* by Alfonso X, might refer to a contemporaneous instrument or a classical *cithara*.[128] In some slightly later Italian sources such as Dante's *Convivio*, a *citarista* clearly indicates the player of a *cetera* since both terms are used.[129] Even when used to describe contemporaneous instruments,[130] the use of these terms is inconsistent. In medieval sources, *citharae*

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[126] L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), pp. 23-4.
[127] Wright also lists *cithare* as a French term but states that this is not used colloquially until the fifteenth century. Wright, L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), pp. 23 & 30.
[128] Alfonso X el sabio, *General estoria: primera parte*, ed. by Antonio G. Solalinde (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1930), I, fol. 172v, line 29 (See Appendix A. texts B.11 and D.3).
[129] Dante Alighieri, *Convivio*, ed. by Franca Brambilla Ageno, Li Opere di Dante Alighieri, 2 vols (Firenze: Casa editrice Le Lettere, 1995), II, p. 38 (See Appendix A, D.12).
[130] Colloquial use as generic Latin terms is recorded even as late as July 1438, when an inventory of items discovered in the locked Oxford College room of Master Thomas Cooper lists '*una antiqua cithara*'. It is impossible to know conclusively what type of instrument this was except that, since the next item on the inventory is '*una "lute" fracta*', it probably was not a lute. Rev. Henry Anstey, *Munimenta academica: or, Documents illustrative of academical life and studies at Oxford*, Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1868), II, p. 515.

could be depicted as a variety of instruments and might be used to evoke biblical or classical symbolism. Even when a text is directly accompanied by an illustration, the artist's interpretation of a *cithara* might be different from an earlier author's intention.

The fourteenth-century copy of Johannes de Muris' *De musica speculativa* (MS Paris, BnF, Lat. 7378A, fol. 45v.) reproduced by Wright seems both to show contemporaneous instruments and to label them with vernacular terms.[131] A distinct-necked chordophone with a non-oval body-outline is labelled *chitara* and a piriform necked chordophone is labelled *guisterna*. While this offers the possibility that in some dialects *chitara* might have indicated citole-type instruments,[132] vernacular terms are not exclusively used in this diagram: the triangular-frame harp at the top of the page is nominated *lira*.[133] The term *lira*, like *cithara*, was used by medieval scholars to denote diverse stringed instruments.[134] Since the scribe who glossed this copy of *De musica speculativa* applied the scholarly Latin *lira* to the triangular frame-harp, rather than a more specific vernacular term, then the colloquial use of *chitara* as an explicit term must also be doubted.

Although Wright accepts musical instrument names derived from the vulgar Latin *citera* as relating to the citole when an instrument with a neck is indicated,[135] some sources suggest that these terms might also have applied to other instruments. The Latin late thirteenth–century music theory treatise by Magister Lambertus (MS Paris,

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[131] L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), pp. 17, 29 & plate I.

[132] While I accept Wright's assertion that *chitara* is likely a scribal error and should read *cithara*, I have not changed the spelling since I am quoting the scribe. If this indicates a regional variation rather than a misspelling it is worth preserving.

[133] MS London, BL, Sloane 3983, folio 13r, a mid-fourteenth century astronomical treatise seems to offer the label *giga vel lira* for a triangular-frame harp, although naming a similar instrument on fol. 4r as *arpes*.

[134] The fourteenth-century treatise on instruments and tunings, Berkeley MS 744, depicts a piriform instrument with a sickle-shaped peg box labelled *lyra*. Christopher Page, 'Fourteenth Century Instruments and Tunings: A Treatise by Jean Vaillant? (Berkley, MS 744)', in *Music and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Studies on Texts and Performance* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), pp. 17-35. According to Downie, piriform bowed chordophones with flat peg heads were frequently termed 'lyra' before the term 'rebec' came into use. Margaret Anne Downie, 'The Rebec: An Orthographic and Iconographic Study' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, West Virginia University, 1981), Introduction.

[135] L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), p. 23-4.

BnF, Lat. 6755, Appendix A, Text B.7),[136] for example, lists the *cytole*, *cythare* and *viele* as instruments that, like Boethuis' monochord, can be used to demonstrate that the division of a string into whole number ratios will produce consonant intervals. Although this might indicate that the *cythare*, in this text, is meant to denote a necked chordophone, given the context, the *cythare* is not a *cytole*.

In some cases *cithara*-related terms, such as the Greco-Arabic–influenced *kitaire*, are clearly not related to the citole but to another contemporaneous instrument. In the late thirteenth-century romance *Cleomadés*, Adenet le Roi includes *kitaires* among a long list of instruments of celebration and as a solo instrument played at court by a *ménestrés*.[137] These *kitaires* possibly equate to the *quitaires* mentioned in v. 7250 'leuus, quitaires et citoles',[138] indicating that *quitaires* (and *kitaires*) are probably not *citoles*.

Even after the mid-thirteenth century, when colloquial terminology began to be more widely used, the scholarly practice of assigning Latinate biblical terminology to instruments in current use was still common. This does not necessarily demonstrate an ignorance of the vernacular terms. Use of Latin terminology might indicate scholarly convention, simple non-translation of terms, preference for authoritative sources or a show of erudition. The Latinate names *cithara* and *lira* were familiar to medieval scholars from their use in the Vulgate, classical literature and the earlier commentaries on those works. Nicole Oresme's late fourteenth-century gloss on a passage in Aristotle's *Politics*, makes reference to both Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the Biblical Book of Isaiah when he confidently states that the

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[136] Pseudo-Aristotle, 'Tractatis de musica', in *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi*, ed. by Edmond de Coussemaker 4 vols (Hildesheim: Olms, 1864) I, pp. 251-81), pp. 251-81, p. 253.

[137] *Kitaires* appears in the wedding/coronation festivities (v.17285) and played by single musician Pinçonnés, with his *kitaire*, providing after dinner entertainment (v.10335). The second instance is in a rhyme position: *jous un pou de la kitaire* rhymes with *Ne couvint pas priier de taire*. Adenet le Roi, *Les œuvres d'Adenet Le Roi*, ed. by Albert Henry, Travaux de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Bruxelles,, 5 vols (Bruxelles: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1971), V, pp. 312 & 512.

[138] These three instruments form part of an extensive list of minstrel's instruments. Adenet le Roi, *Les œuvres*, ed. Henry (1971), V, p. 223.

Latin term *cithara* is *cythole* and *lira* is *harpe*.[139] Oresme is not, however, equating these terms; he is translating them. Although *cithara* might be translatable as *cythole* by some authors, this is not universal.

3.2.2.2 CET(E)RA / CEDRA TERMS

> Occitan: cidra, sedra
> Castilian: cedra, çedra, cedrero
> Italian: cetra, cetera, ceterare, ceteratore, citarista, citare

It seems unlikely that *citole* and *cetra* were synonymous during the Middle Ages.[140] Although Wright cautiously allows terms from this group into his discussion of the citole (providing that the context indicates a clear reference to contemporaneous instruments or an instrument with a neck),[141] this group of terms is not included in the main body of this study.[142] *Cet(e)ra* and *cedra* terms are excluded from being considered as variants of *citole* here because they seem to refer to a different contemporaneous necked chordophone.

In some linguistic areas, the terms *cedra* and *citole* seem to indicate different but co-existing necked-chordophones. *Cedra* and *cidra* (*sedra*) appear in some Occitan and Iberian manuscripts that also contain citole references. The inclusion of different terms in unrelated parts of the same manuscript may be dismissed as the influence of different scribes.[143] Occasionally, however, both citole and cedra names appear in close proximity. Although this would not be inappropriate for amplification of

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[139] '*cithara*, ce est cythole, *et lira*, ce est harpe.' Albert Douglas Menut, 'Maistre Nicole Oresme: Le livre de Politiques d'Aristote, published from the text of the Avranches Manuscript 223', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 60 (1970), pp. 1-392 (p. 354).

[140] Cerone's comment equating *citola* and *cethara* in the early seventeenth century does not apply. It relates to a much later instrument called *citola* and the term *cethara* is clearly a variant cythara, as stated in the marginal synopsis. Pedro Cerone de Bergamo, *El melopeo y maestro: tractado de musica theorica y pratica, en que se pone por extenso, lo que uno para hazerse perfecto musico ha menester saber; y por mayor facilidad, comodidad, y claridad del lector, esta repartido en XXII libros* (Napoles: Iuan Bautista Gargano, y Lucrecio Nucci, 1613), p. 1054.

[141] L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), p. 23-4.

[142] For comparison, sections D and E of Appendix A include literary citations to *cet(e)ra* and *cedra* terms.

[143] In Alfonso X's, *General Estoria IV* (MS Rome, Vaticana Urb. Lat. 539) *cedra* appears on folio 62r and *citholas* on folio 271v. Lloyd A. Kasten and John J. Nitti, eds, *Diccionario de la Prosa Castellana del Rey Alfonso X*, 3 vols (New York: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 2002), I, p. 420.

grandeur, such as in the *Poema de Alexandro*,[144] it would be nonsensical in a list of accomplishments. If they were variant names for the same instrument, Giraut de Calanson would appear foolish to instruct Fadet that he needs to learn to play both the *çitola* and, five lines later, the *cidra*.[145] That this might have been repetition, used as reinforcement, is undermined by the use of the different names.

The Castilian term *cedrero* might or might not apply to players of the citole, since it might have been a generic term for musician. Ferreira suggests *cedrero* might have been a catch-all term used in Castilian-Leónese sources to indicate any itinerant singer who played a stringed-instrument, not merely players of the *cedra*.[146] The earliest documented use is of the term *cedrero* is in the by-laws of Madrid (1170-1202),[147] which places a limit on the level of remuneration for the *cedreros* who come to town to sing, as do the by-laws of Alfaiates (first half of the thirteenth century).[148] Since the Madrid statute mentions that *cedrero* arrive on horseback, *cedrero* were probably high-status performers. A similar reference to mounted musicians appears in Gonzalo de Berceo's *La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, in which a *cavallero* who is paid to travel with his master (señor) but is described as neither a *joglar* nor a *cedrero*.[149] The association of *cedrero* to legal statutes regarding payment indicates that they were professional musicians but whether they played other instruments like the citole, or merely the *cedra*, is uncertain.

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[144] Tomas Antonio Sánchez, *Coleccion de poesias castellanas anteriores al siglo XV*, 4 vols (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1782), III: Poema de Alexandro Magno, p 197. See Appendix A: B.20a & B20b.

[145] The exact terms used are *citolar & cidra* in MS 'D' and *sitolar & sidra* MS 'R'. Wilhelm Keller, 'Das Sirventes "Fadet Joglar" des Guiraut von Calanso', *Romanische Forschungen*, 22 (1908), pp. 99-238 (pp. 143-44). See also Appendix A: B.1.

[146] Manuel Pedro Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus: 7 Cantigas, d'el-rei Dom Dinis*, trans. by David Cranmer, DeMusica (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2005), p. 205.

[147] Transcribed in Menéndez Pidal, *Crestomatía del español medieval*, p. 70.

[148] Ferriera comments that the *Foros de Alfaiates* were derived from the statues of Cuidad Rodrigo. Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus*, pp. 205-6.

[149] This hagiography appears in the same fourteenth-century manuscript (MS 'F') copy of the works of Gonzalo de Berceo's which places a *çitola* in the hands of San Millán but the two texts are not otherwise related. Berceo, *Santo Domingo*, Ed. Dutton (1978), pp. 19-20.

In Italy, where *citole* rarely appears as a musical instrument name,[150] the holly-leaf–shaped chordophone is also scarce. In Italy, *cet(e)ra* terms are used almost exclusively and the distinct-necked plucked chordophones depicted in Italian art have a number of characteristics at variance with the *cistole (cistoile), sitola* and the *çitola* as identified in §3.1.[151] Given that Italian *cet(e)ra* related terms and spatulate-bodied chordophones are often associated with the citole in other studies,[152] it seems necessary to discuss them in this work. However, since they are probably not citoles (or are at least a distinct regional subgroup), they will be considered in a separate section (§10).

3.2.2.3 CITOLE TERMS

> Castilian: citola, çitola, çítola, cithola, çitula
> Old-French: citole, cistole, cistoile, cytole, citoler, citolent, sitole, cythole,
>   cithole, chitole, chistole, citolle, cytolys, chytoll, citotle, citule,
>   citoulere, cuitolle[153]
> Occitan: citolar, sitolar, citole, (siula?)
> English: sitol, sitole, sytole, sithol, chytole, sytall, sotile, cytholle, sytholle,
>   cytole, sytalle, cetoyle, citolla, setole, sotele, sythol, sytole, sytolphe,
>   sytholl, sitoff, sital,
> German: zitolîn, zytole, zitolen, zitorie,
> Medieval Latin: cytole, citola, citolla, cistolla
> Galego-portuguese: cítola, citolon, Cistel[154]
> Catalan: çitola

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[150] Many medieval Italian *citole* or *citola* references relate to the verb 'citare' meaning 'to cite, to quote or to mention.' 'Cito+la' and 'cito+le' appear in texts as first person present tense contractions of '(I) quote the', '(I) quote her' or '(I) quote them' The pronoun 'la' and 'le' being the definite articles for feminine singular and feminine plural respectively.

[151] This topic is discussed in §9.

[152] Galpin states that the citole 'was identical to the cetera' believing both to be oval-bodied early citterns. Wright includes *cetra* and *cetera* in his definition of citole but proposes a number of questions regarding Italian sources. Francis W. Galpin, 'Citole', in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by H.C. Colles, 5 vols (London: MacMillan, 1927), I, p. 653. L. Wright, 'Citole', *New Grove Music* (2001), V, pp. 872-6.

[153] Kastner suggest that the form *cuitolle* appears in Machaut's *La Prise d'Alexandrie*, but does not cite the specific manuscript. Winternitz mentions the variant *cuitole* but does not identify the source. All of the other terms listed here appear in texts in Appendix A. Georges Kastner, *Les danses des morts* (Paris: Brandus, 1852), p. 287. Emanuel Winternitz, 'The Survival of the Kithara and the Evolution of the English Cittern: a Study in Morphology', in *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), pp. 57-65 (p. 58).

[154] This is a proper name, which appears in a cantiga d'escarnho by Arias Nunes. Manuel Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer dos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses*, Colección filolóxica, 2nd edn (Vigo: Editorial Galaxia, 1970), pp. 115-6 (See Appendiz A, B.99).

Although displaying a number of variations, this group can be characterized by c*t*l, s*t*l, or z*t*l.[155] The initial sibilant consonant and the specific choice of vowels seems to be determined by linguistic group.[156] The first vowel sound is usually represented by an 'i', 'y', or 'e', the second is most frequently an 'o' and only rarely a 'u' or 'a'.

Since the main body of the text will discuss the use of these terms, only the etymology will be discussed in this section. Modern scholars seem to agree that the term *citole* is derived from a Latin term, but not *which* Latin term. Hawkins, Hipkins, and Sachs suggested that it comes from *cistella* (little box).[157] Wright suggests that nomenclature related to *citole* is derived from the Latin *cithare*.[158] Marcuse offers both etymologies.[159]

The vernacular parent language for these terms is also debated, but usually in negative terms. Wright suggests that the origin is neither Castilian nor Occitan since the intervocalic –t- following the vowel –i- in those variants shows a learned influence.[160] The accented first syllable, which is common to many of the Iberian variants, is a further indication that *citola* is not native to that linguistic group. Alternately, these proparoxytone versions may indicate a survival from *citara* as it

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[155] Some spellings might indicate regional conventions in spelling. The 'th' in Northern French and Anglo-Norman variants probably indicating an aspiration after the 't' and before the vowel rather than the equivalent of a Þ (thorn).

[156] Although Thuresson lists the Middle English 'citoler' phonologically under 'K', this seems to be in error given the common use of the alternate 'sitoler'. Bertil Thuresson, *Middle English Occupational Terms*, ed. by Olof Arngart, Lund Series in English (Lund: Gleerup, 1950), p. 280.

[157] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776; repr. London: Novello, Ewer, 1875), I, p 206 (note); A. J. Hipkins, 'Citole', in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by J. A. Fuller Maitland, 5 vols (London: MacMillan, 1904), I, pp. 539-40; Curt Sachs, 'Citole', in *Real-Lexikon der Musikinstrumente* (New York Dover, 1964), p. 84.

[158] Wright contrasts this with the earliest *gittern* related terms (*guisterne, quita[i]re, quinterne*), which originate with *qitara*, the Arabic form of the ancient Greek term κιθάρα and appear in French literature around 1270. L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), pp. 23-4.

[159] Sibyl Marcuse, *Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary*, 2nd edn (London: Country Life Limited, 1966), p. 103.

[160] L. Wright, 'Citole', *New Grove Instruments* (1984), I, pp. 374-9.

was vulgarized into *citola*.[161] Salloum indicates that the term *citole* is not of Arabic derivation, because it does not have the correct linguistic hallmarks.[162] If it is a corruption of *cithara*, it seems unlikely that *citole* is of Basque origin, since medieval Basque is prone to rhotacism and the intervocalic /l/ in words borrowed from Latin tends to develop into /r/ but not the reverse.[163] Rayounard proposes that the Occitan *cithola* is derived from the ancient Spanish *citola* and that the Occitan *cidra* comes from the ancient Catalan *citra*.[164] De Forest suggests that the 'Old Spanish' *çitola* is derived from the Old French *citole* or *citale*, and that *çedra* is the regular Spanish reflex of *cithara*.[165]

Another possibility is that the term *citola* might have arisen from a pun on the Latin terms *cithara* and *situla* (water jug).[166] According to Smith, *situla* was an antique term for a narrow-necked vessel used for drawing lots.[167] In his twentieth-century 'glossary of Latin words found in records and other English manuscripts, but not occurring in classical authors', Martin lists '*citolla*: - a cittern' and '*citula*: - a jug'.[168] The modern archaeological term *situla* usually denotes a bucket-shaped baptismal vessel, although this might not reflect medieval usage.[169] It is certain that

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[161] As seems to have happened with Gonzalo de Berceo's *'Vida de San Millan de la Cogolla'* discussed above in §3.1.3.

[162] Muna Salloum, Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology, University of Toronto (personal communication, October 2005).

[163] R. L. Trask, *The Dictionary of Historical and Comparative Linguistics* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000), pp. 161 & 288.

[164] Presumably by 'Spanish' Raynouard means Castilian. Rayounard also suggests that *citara*, *cidra* and *cithola* are not synonymous but describe different instruments: citara = harpe, cidra = guitare and cithola = citole. François-Juste-Marie Raynouard, 'Cithara', *Lexique Roman ou Dictionnaire De la Langue Des Troubadours*, 6 vols. (Paris: Chez Silvestre Libraire, 1836 & 1844), vol. II, p. 399 & Index, vol. VI, p. 14.

[165] John B. De Forest, 'Old French Borrowed Words in the Old Spanish of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, with special reference to 'the Cid', Berceo's Poems, the 'Alexandre' and 'Fernán González'', *The Romantic Review*, 7 (1916), pp. 369-413 (p. 387).

[166] This confusion between instruments and vessels also occurs in the case of the Elders of the Apocalypse and their vials. See *'vielle et phiale'* in the *Summa Musice*. Christopher Page, ed., *The Summa Musice: a thirteenth century manual for singers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 61-2.

[167] 'The vessel used for drawing lots was also called *urna* or *orca* as well as *Situla* or *Sitella*'. William Smith, 'Situla', in *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London: John Murray, 1875), p. 1048.

[168] Charles Trice Martin, *The Record Interpreter: A collection of abbreviations, Latin words and names used in English historical manuscripts and records*, second edn (London: Stevens and Sons, 1910), p. 215.

[169] The use of this term is to denote ceremonial bronze buckets of the Iron Age or earlier, often used

there would have been some familiarity with *situla* as a container for pouring water, from Numbers 24:7 and Isaiah 40:15.[170] In the 'Códice Rico' manuscript of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*,[171] the illustrations of *Cantiga* 107 and 108 show this shape of vessel used in baptism.[172] The profiles of water jugs depicted in thirteenth-century Spanish manuscripts resemble the typical outline of distinct-necked waisted-body chordophones in that region and the thumbhole type neck construction suggests a handle.[173] Another illustration in the same *Cantigas* manuscript (Cantiga 37: 'This is how a minstrel wanted to mimic the image of Saint Mary'), shows two figures standing together, one with a *viola* and the other with this type of water jug.[174] This *viola/situla* pairing suggests a parody of the *viola/citola* on folio 47.

Only one manuscript has been identified that attests to the use of *citole* before the middle of the thirteenth century. That is a copy of John of Garland's *Dictionarius* in which *citole* is offered as a French translation of *citola*, and which seems to be treated as a Latin term.[175]

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with an asperge, seems to have arisen in the nineteenth century. It is also applied to later vessels of the same shape, such as the Carolingian ivory-covered bucket-shaped vessel in the New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.45)) also see Timothy Darvill, 'Situla', in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 392, p. 392.

[170] Numbers 24:7, "fluet aqua de *situla* eius et semen illius erit in aquas multas tolletur propter Agag rex eius et auferetur regnum illius" (Vulgate); "Water shall flow out of his *bucket*, and his seed shall be in many waters. For Agag his king shall be removed, and his kingdom shall be taken away." Isaiah 40:15, "ecce gentes quasi stilla *situlae* et quasi momentum staterae reputatae sunt ecce insulae quasi pulvis exiguus" (Vulgate); "Behold, the Gentiles are as a drop of a *bucket*, and are counted as the small grain of a balance: behold, the islands are as a little dust". *Biblia Sacra, Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. Pontificis Maximi Jussu Recognita et Clementis VIII* (Paris: Apud Lefevre, 1830), p. 98 & p. 416. *The Holy Bible, Translated From The Latin Vulgate* (Dublin: R. Coyne, 1833), p. 142 & p. 686.

[171] Códice Rico T.I.1. John Esten Keller and Annette Grant Cash, *Daily Life Depicted in the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Studies in Romance Languages (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1998), Cantigas 107 and 108.

[172] Keller and Cash, *Daily Life Depicted in the Cantigas*, plates 67 & 19.

[173] Although this shape of jug appears in manuscripts from England and France, the body shapes of citoles in those areas are more variable as discussed in the Morphology Section, below.

[174] I suggest that the oval-bodied bowed chordophone should be called *viola* since that is how it is described in Cantiga 8 of the Codice Rico. Keller and Cash, *Daily Life Depicted in the Cantigas*, Plate 11.

[175] (App. A, B.1) MS Paris, BnF, Latin 11282. See Appendix A, text B.1 also H. Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel: d'après des documents originaux et notamment d'après un manuscrit contenant "Le Rôle de la Taille" imposée sur les habitants de Paris en 1292* (Paris: Crapelet, 1837), p. 611.

3.3 SUMMARY (WHAT IS A CITOLE?)

For the purpose of this study only instrument names characterised by the sequence of consonants c*t*l, s*t*l, or z*t*l will be considered to be citole-related terms and only plucked distinct-necked chordophones with relatively short necks and non-oval body outlines will be considered to be citole-type instruments. Although the three medieval examples of word-image correspondence, which provide the most concrete evidence of citole shape in the Middle Ages, only prove that distinct-necked plucked chordophones with holly-leaf–shaped body outlines were known as a *cistole, cistoile, sitola* or *çitola*, this study of the citole will not be restricted to these names nor this morphology. The main discussion will include texts in which terms identified as belonging to the *citole* group occur (as described in §3.2.2.3) and depictions of plucked distinct-necked chordophones that have non-oval body outlines (as specified in §3.2.1). The *cet(e)ra* and *cedra*-related terms and spatulate instruments will also be considered briefly in §10.

4. DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR CITOLERS IN ENGLAND (AND PARIS)

Documentary records provide the most reliable evidence for where and when citole players existed. They also offer some indication of the social and economic positions of the citolers named in these documents. As the purpose of these records was to preserve financial or legal transactions, there should be no underlying symbolism; the author and audience are clear. These records shall be presumed to be truthful and not forgeries. Even intentional falsification in these types of document, would be intended to be regarded as trustworthy and accurate by the reader. As in the case of Richard/William tenant at Bugbrooke, discussed later in this section, the scribes were endeavouring to make a factually accurate record, even if the information supplied was flawed. The accounts discussed here are therefore considered to be credible records of events involving persons identified as *citoler*.

A thorough investigation of the records relating to citolers across Europe would be a *magnum opus* in its own right; in order to constrain the scale, while still considering a variety of document types, this chapter focuses on records from one kingdom: England.[1] By concentrating on a single country it is easier to consider the historical, legal, and social influences that might have affected the sorts of information that were recorded. England was chosen because it offered a sufficiently large group of documents from one geographical and legislative area to support meaningful analysis,[2] undertaking the investigation was logistically viable, and English citolers had not yet been studied in depth. Seven English citolers[3] and one budget document currently dominate the discussion of documentary evidence for the citole in

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[1] Latin and Anglo-Norman sources will be discussed since both were languages of record in England at the time. The famous late thirteenth-century Paris tax accounts will be also be considered briefly.
[2] Studies by modern historians and musicologists, as well as the calendaring of English State papers were invaluable in identifying relevant sources. Especially useful were studies by Bullock-Davis, Rastall and Salter. Constance Bullock-Davies, *Register of Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels 1272-1327* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986). George Richard Rastall, 'Secular Musicians in Late Medieval England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Victoria University of Manchester, 1968). Richard Rastall, 'Minstrels in the English Royal Households, 25 Edward I - 1 Henry VII: An Inventory', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 4 (1964), pp. 1-41. Rev. H.E. Salter, ed., *A Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist*, Oxford Historical Society 3 vols (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1914-7).
[3] These seven (William 1269, Janin 1306, Agnes 1311, Robert 1339, Ivo Vala 1313 and 1344-6, Thomas 1319 and 1334-6, and John 1361) are mentioned by Wright with relation to nine documents. Laurence Wright, 'The Medieval Gittern And Citole: A case of mistaken identity', *GSJ*, 30 (1977), pp. 8-42 (p. 24). Wright is the authoritative source for subsequent studies such as Mathew Spring, *The Lute in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 11-12.

England.[4] For the most part, modern authors attempted to draw conclusion about the use of the citole in England and its place in English society based upon a very small number of documents relating to these best-known citolers. This section introduces more than a dozen additional English citolers, from diverse parts of England, as well bringing together additional information about the citolers already well known. A short discussion of the oft-cited late thirteenth-century Paris tax records also appears because meaning of the term *citoléeur,* as used therein, is debated and because this source offers some instructive comparisons. Except for the brief consideration of the Paris tax records, the documentary evidence considered in this section relates to where, when and why citolers were recorded in England.

This section will deal only with documentary evidence relating to named citolers. Literary references, specifically the Galician-Portuguese verses in which several Iberian *jograr* are identified as players of the *citola,* or *citolon,* will be considered separately (see §9 Citole Players in Literature and Art – Contemporaneous Settings).[5] Although these might contain the names and accurate portrayals of thirteenth-century performers, literary sources are not included in this chapter because their object is not verity but poetic verisimilitude.

This overview of records does not provide a complete picture of the role of citoles or citole players in England during this period. There are several reasons for this: it is unlikely that medieval accounts recorded every amateur or professional citole player; only a small portion of the documents from this period have survived; and, the documents discussed here are drawn only from those mentioned in published sources. While documentary evidence is accurate, it is rarely complete, both because records have been lost over time and because legal and financial accounts preserve

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[4] This is the 1344-7 budget written by Walter de Wetewang, which only survives in later copies. This source is discussed in §4.8.7, below. Also see Rev. Dr. Lort, 'The Household of King Edward III in Peace and War, from the 18th to the 21st year of his Reign', in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household made in divers reigns from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary also Receipts in Ancient Cookery* (London: John Nichols, 1790), pp. 1-12.

[5] These individual names are only contained within the satirical insult poetry, the *cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer.* Although written in the thirteenth century, the relevant texts are preserved only in two late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century transcribed collections, without music. For a critical edition comparing the texts, see: Manuel Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer dos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses,* Colección filolóxica, 2nd edn (Vigo: Editorial Galaxia, 1970). See also Appendix A, Texts B.92-103.

only selected details of certain types of transaction. For the most part, records discussed here were kept by and/or for the literate and propertied, to record the details of transactions that preserved their interests. While a variety of types of record are present here (pardons, tax records, inquest reports, cartularies, assizes, payment records and the record of a letter of protection), they address only a small section of human activity. Also, since the largest proportion of surviving manuscripts are those that have been housed in the archives of royalty, religious institutions, towns and aristocratic families, few records have survived relating to lower socio-economic sectors of society. As discussed below (§4.7, English Royal Accounts), even changes in the conventions of book-keeping can influence whether a specific individual is named in a record. The records discussed in this section are weighted towards legal transactions and, although they contain little information about the social or performative life of a person identified as a 'citoler', they do authenticate places and dates where real individuals associated with the citole are known to have existed.

Even payment records, which are vital in identifying professional musicians, do not preserve the identity of every performer.[6] General payments to minstrels, or payments made through a third party, can hide the use of specific instruments.[7] Sometimes the name listed in an account book is the person to whom the payment was given for distribution, with no reference to the actual performers.[8] Other records

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[6] There is not space here to fully discuss the concept of 'professional' status among musicians in the Middle Ages. Here the term is merely used to indicate individuals who are compensated for performing, either with goods or fee. See Walter Salmen, *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th century*, ed. by Walter Salmen (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983), pp. 1-29.

[7] One of the most dramatic examples of this is a payment by Walter de Stouton, the King's harper, to 426 minstrels involved in the wedding festivities of Edward I's daughter Margaret in July 1290. The details preserved were primarily those of financial relevance, although it is stated that the minstrels were both English and foreign. London, NA, C47/4/5, fol. 48r. Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: medieval courts and culture in north-west Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 293.

[8] For example, a clerk named Rogero de Wellesworth was paid on behalf of minstrels who played in May and June 1300, but the minstrels are not named.

> Rogero de Wellefworth, clerico, pro den' per ipfum lib' diverfis tam menestrall' quam aliis de dono Domini Edwardi filii Regis per perceptum ejufdem filii, inter 12 diem Maii et 9 diem Junii, videlicet, 2 meneftral' facientibus menestralcias fuas coram dicto Domino Edwardo apud Sanctum Edmundum dicto 12 die Maii, 3 ʃ.–

John Topham, 'Observations on the Wardrobe account of the 28th year of King Edward the First', in *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae* (London: J. Nichols, 1787), p. 163.

state merely that unspecified minstrels were given gifts for performing.[9] Even when an individual performer is named, the instrument or other skill exhibited is not specified.[10] In such cases the names of the minstrels and/or the indication of which instruments they might have played are lost.

When a specific individual is named, the form of the name used can hide the instrument associated with a minstrel. Musicians might be unrecognizable as citolers if they were described by a geographical appellation,[11] or linked to the person for whom they usually worked,[12] or if they were known by distinctive epithets. The English royal minstrel Vala, for example, whose forename is variously listed as 'Ivo', 'Jirome', 'Johannes' or 'Yomi', is explicitly named as a citoler in only three accounts, dated 1313,[13] 1324,[14] and 1326,[15] but he is listed without any specific instrument in 1320,[16] 1325,[17] 1327,[18] 1327/8,[19] 1330,[20] 1334,[21] and 1337.[22] Without the three specific descriptions, Vala could be easily have been omitted from the list of known citolers.[23] The surviving evidence, however, links him to no instrument other than the citole. It can be assumed that when the name of an instrument was attached to the name of a musician, that the instrument was either one on which

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[9] See the entry for 'Anonymous minstrels' in Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, pp. 116-121.

[10] Thomas Purchas, for example, is specified as a minstrel in a few documents and appears among the minstrels in exchequer accounts for almost thirty years, but it is not clear what instrument he played, if any. Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, p.156 and G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 90, 91, 92, 96, 98, 101, 102, 104 and 109.

[11] Some of the English royal minstrels, like the trumpeters John Scot and Peter de Baion (Bayonne), had geographical appellations. Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, p. 184-5. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II. pp. 91, 96 and others. I am not aware of any citolers being identified by their place of origin except for Arnaut Guillem de Ursua, in fifteenth-century Navarrese accounts. José Ramón Castro, *Catálogo de la sección de comptos, Archivo General de Navarro: anos 842-1780*, Catálogo del Archivo General De Navarra, 52 vols (Pamplona: Editorial Aramburu, 1962), XXX, pp. 245 and 253-4.

[12] For example, Jakeninus de Gaumbray, minstrel of Dominus Robert Daunget, performed before Edward I in Peebles during August of 1301, but without specific details. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 24 and 26.

[13] (Text A.14) London, NA, E101/375/8, fol. 29v.

[14] (Text A.23) London, NA, E101/380/4, fol. 11r.

[15] (Text A.23) London, NA, E101/380/4, fol. 31r.

[16] (Text A.20) London, SoAL MS 121, folio 130 and London, BL, Add. 17362, fol. 57v.

[17] (Text A.25) London, NA E101/381/11, membrane 42.

[18] (Text A.29) London, NA, E101/381/6, fol. 4v.

[19] (Text A.21) London NA, E101/383/8, fol. 18, column 1.

[20] (Text A.33b) London, NA E101/385/4, main roll and receipt group 1, number 30.

[21] (Text A.36) London, NA, E101/387/5, fol. 13v and London, BL, Add. 35181, fol. 13v.

[22] (Text A.40) London, NA, SC/8/80/3990.

[23] Vala will be discussed in greater depth in the section 'The citolers of Edward III'.

he/she specialized, the instrument type was unique to him/her,[24] the instrument strongly enough associated to this individual to clearly differentiate him/her from other musician with a common given name,[25] or it was the specific instrument that he/she played on a particular occasion.[26]

It is worth considering the manner in which sobriquets might have been used. Although an instrument-related appellation, such as 'citoler' might indicate a professional musician it might also be a nickname. 'John le Harper', for example, appears in the exchequer accounts of Henry III, not as a minstrel but among the masons working on the palace of Westminster in 1259.[27] Since the citolers mentioned in the fourteenth-century royal payment records are regularly listed among other minstrels, it does not seem likely that they were otherwise employed. Several of the citolers mentioned in the legal documents, however, might have played the citole for recreation rather than as part of their vocation.

Some later persons called 'Citoler' might have inherited the surname without being musicians themselves. Although uncommon, both 'Citoler' and 'Sitoler' have survived into modern times as surnames.[28] Benham discusses how, during the course of the fourteenth century, the use of inherited surnames gained prevalence over patrinomal,[29] vocational or locational nicknames,[30] to facilitate record keeping. Late references that might or might not represent an inherited surname include Henry

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[24] As with John le Lutour, who appears to have been the only named lute player recorded in London during the reigns of Edw. I. and Edw. II. See John Southworth, *The English Medieval Minstrel* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), p. 73.

[25] Thomas le citoler, who appears in the accounts of Edward II and Edward III, might be identified by his instrument in so many records to distinguish him from Thomas Purchase, Thomas the Waffrer, Thomas the Trumpeter and Thomas Betoigne. For Thomas Purchas see above and see G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, Thomas the Waffrer, pp. 99 and 106; Thomas the Trumpeter p. 97; and Thomas Betoigne pp. 102 and 104.

[26] For example it is assumed that Janyn Le Citoler played the citole at the Pentecost festivities, although it is not known whether this was his usual instrument. Constance Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum Multitudo* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978), p. 120.

[27] Frederick Devon, *Issues of The Exchequers; being a collection of the payments made out of His Majesty's revenue* (London: John Murray, 1837), p. 49.

[28] The noted photographer Pilar Citoler would probably be the best known example of the use of 'citoler' as a modern surname.

[29] 'Patrinomal' in this case refers to those making direct reference to the father but not inherited from him, such as Simon son of Walter of Baleburk, who will be mentioned later in this section.

[30] Sir W. Gurney Benham, *The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester* (Colchester: Essex County Standard, 1907), p. v-vi.

Chitoler who was given a pardon of special grace in 1352;[31] Roger Sitoler whose will was probated in 1367;[32] the Bottisham guild member William Sitoler recorded in 1378;[33] Henr. Sitoler who paid poll tax in Chichester in 1380;[34] Johannes Sitoler tenant in Dunolm near Durham (c.1377-80);[35] and Johannes Soutolyer who paid a poll tax in Heton, West Yorkshire in 1379.[36] These individuals are still worth noting because even if they are not citolers themselves, they are likely to be the sons of citolers. Since there is not enough evidence to make a determination in such cases, this chapter will focus on names including a determinant article (usually 'le' or 'la'), which are more likely to indicate the name of an individual, either a nickname or indicator of vocation, than to identify them as part of a family.

One contemporaneous individual, who has been identified in modern scholarship as a player of the citole, will not be included in this study. Gillet de Toul is excluded because no corroborating evidence has been located for the claim that Gillet de Toul received payment from Phillip II, the Duke of Burgundy, in 1369 to buy a new citole. Bowles cites Brenet for this information,[37] but the instrument referred to by Brenet is a *quitterne*.[38] Brenet mentions a payment to Gillet de Toul dated 25 July 1368, where Gillett de Toul, menestrier, receives 2 francs for playing *quicterne* many times, and another payment of 3 francs to 'menestrier de Jehan mons[r] pour

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[31] Great Britain Public Record Office, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward III, A.D. 1350-54*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: HMSO, 1907), p. 307.
[32] Isaac Herbert Jeayes, ed., *Court Rolls of the Borough of Colchester, Vol. 2: 1353-1367* (Colchester: Town Council of the Borough of Colchester, 1938), p. 224. (Text A. 64b)
[33] Edward Hailstone, *Supplement to the History and Antiquities of the Parish of Bottisham and the Priory of Anglesey in Cambridge*, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Octavo Publications (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, 1878), p. 11-12.
[34] This Henry might be a descendant of Will. Sitoler mentioned in the Chichester subsidy rolls of 1331 (see Appendix A, A.35). William Durrant Cooper, 'Former Inhabitants of Chichester', *Sussex Archaeological Collections Relating to the History and Antiquities of the County*, XXIV (1872), pp. 63-84 (p. 69).
[35] Rev. William Greenwell, ed., *Bishop Hatfield's Survey: A record of the possessions of the See of Durham, made by order of Thomas de Hatfield, Bishop of Durham*, Publications of the Surtees Society (London: George Andrews, 1857), p. 163.
[36] Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Society, 'Rolls of the Collectors in the West Riding of the Lay Subsidy (Poll Tax) 2 Richard II', *Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal*, 7 (1882), pp. 145-68 (p. 152).
[37] E. A. Bowles, 'Instruments at the Court of Burgundy (1363-1467)', *GSJ*, 6 (1953), pp. 41-51 (p. 44).
[38] Michel Brenet, *Musique et musiciens de la vieille France* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1911), p. 8.

acchetter une quitterne'. The citole does not seem to appear in association with Gillet de Toul nor in the published inventory of the Duke of Burgundy.[39]

Given that many of these citolers are mentioned in records only once, a fuller picture of the lives and social position of citolers in general is revealed only when the citations are gathered into groups and considered in comparison to one another. Property-related records are considered first, then legal records and finally payment records. Within these groups, the records are discussed in roughly chronological order and under the headings of thirteenth-century Paris *Citoléeurs*; Citolers in Oxford; female citole players; miscellaneous property-related records; legal records; and payment records.

4.1   THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PARIS *CITOLÉEURS*   (APP. A, A.7A-B)

Although outside the geographical area considered in the rest of this chapter, the earliest Parisian tax accounts are mentioned because they offer a valuable example of how an entire class of people can cease to be mentioned in accounts. Also since French was one of the languages of record for English documents it seems necessary to consider whether the French term *citoléeur* was synonymous with *citoler*. The earliest surviving document to associate the citole with specific street addresses is the 1292 tax records for Paris, which includes payments by four *citoléeurs*.[40] This tax account will be compared with the few surviving Paris tax records from the following decades (1296, 1297 and 1313). Although the veracity of the records themselves are not questioned, the meaning of the term *citoléeur* has been debated will also be discussed first.

Although it has been argued that the term *citoléeur,* used in the 1292 tax record, designates a maker of citoles, this is not certain. The *–éeur* ending seems to reflect a scribal convention of the time, rather than offering a subtle distinction between instrument makers and players. In the same document, the -éeur ending is used quite

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[39] Bernhard Prost, ed., *Inventaires Mobiliers et Extraits des Comptes de Ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois (1363-1477)*, 3 vols (Paris: E. Leroux, 1902), I, n° 930 and 1577, pp. 163 and 291.
[40] Paris, BnF, fr. 6220, transcribed in H. Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel: d'après des documents originaux et notamment d'après un manuscript contenant "Le Rôle de la Taille" imposée sur les habitants de Paris en 1292* (Paris: Crapelet, 1837), pp. 151, 165, 172. (Appendix A, Text A.7a-b)

frequently, and not just for music-related professions such as *taboréeur, fleutéeur,* and *jugléeurs.*[41] Géraud suggests that the terms *citoléeur, taboréeur,* and *viellier* indicate makers of those instruments, but that *trompéeur* clearly indicates a player, rather than maker, and that a *fleutéeur* might be either.[42] While it can be argued that any of occupations ending in *–éeur* denote a manufacturer of physical objects, this is not true of the *jugléeurs*. Pierre states that the three *trompéeur* listed in the 1292 appear as 'feseeurs de trompes' in 1297, and suggests, perhaps based on parallel usage, that since *trompéeurs* are makers *citoléeurs* would also be makers.[43] This unequivocal phrase 'feseeurs de trompes', however, does not seem to appear in any of the tax accounts for 1292, 1296 or 1297. Another document, from August of 1297, names three *feseeurs de trompes* who appeal to be admitted to the guild of cutlers, but these individuals are not the same as the three *trompéeur* named in the 1292 tax record.[44] In the mid-fourteenth century, the scribe who copied Nicole Oresme's translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* (Brussels, KBR, 2902) further undermines the definition of *citoléeur* as citole maker.[45] In a single sentence he uses of the term *citholëeur* and *citholeur* interchangeably, indicating that the addition or modification of a penultimate 'e' does not necessarily indicate a change in meaning.[46] Later in the same paragraph the text states that the work of a *citholëeur* is to *citholer* (play the

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[41] Also *ampoléeurs, conréeurs, doréeurs,* and *enluminéeurs*. For full descriptions of trades see Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-Le-Bel* (1837), pp. 483-548.

[42] Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-Le-Bel* (1837), pp. 543, 496, 538, and 548.

[43] Given that there is no record of an instrument-making guild, Pierre suggests that these craftsmen may have belonged to a craft guild requiring similar skills. Constant Pierre, *Les facteurs d'instruments de musique, les luthiers et la facture instrumentale* (Paris: E. Sagot, 1893), p.7.

[44] Bertaut, Guillaume, and Bernart are the three *trompéeur* named in 1292. Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-Le-Bel* (1837), pp. 61, 62, 68. The 1297 reference to 'Hen. l'Escot, Guill^e de Amiens, et Rog. L'Englois, feseeurs de trompe' occurs in MS Paris, BnF, fonds de Sorbonne. Etienne Boileau, *Réglemens sur les arts et métiers de Paris, rédigés au XIIIe siècle,* ed. by G.B. Depping (Paris: Crapelet, 1837), pp. 360-1. The only one of the three that might appear in both records is Guillaume le trompéeur who maintains a constant residence from 1292 throughout this period but is listed as *le trompeeur* in the tax records of 1296 and 1297 and never described as 'de Amiens'. The loss of the accent over the initial *e* might be a change in fashion or individual scribal choice. MS Paris, AN, KK 283, fol. 13c and 76c, Karl Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an 1296,* Acta Universitatis Gotoburgensis: Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1958), p 89, and Karl Michaëlsson, *Le Livre de la taille de Paris, l'an 1297,* Acta Universitatis Gotoburgensis: Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1962), p. 300.

[45] See also §5.3.4 'Translations of Latin Secular Texts'. Nicole Oresme, *Le livre de Éthiques d'Aristote, published from the text of MS. 2902, Bibliotheque Royale de Belgique,* ed. by Albert Douglas Menut (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1940), p. 121.

[46] Given the context, this passage only makes sense if the *citholeur* and *citholëeur* have the same meaning. (Text B. 52) Menut cites this and *flateur/flatëeur* as examples of the scribe's inconsistent use of hiatus in words ending 'eur' in MS Brussels, KBR, 2902 and comments that it is not possible to determine to what extent this reflects the scribe's own pronunciation or the use of conventionalized spellings. Oresme, *Le livre de Éthiques d'Aristote,* ed. Menut, p. 62.

citole).[47] Given the inconsistent notation of variant terms, unless the context in which a term like *citoléeur* appears is clear, which it is not the case with the 1292 tax accounts, it is most prudent to follow Franklin's general definition of the term *citoléeur* as a maker, teacher, or player of the citole.[48]

In 1292, four men described as *le citoléeur* appear in the Paris tax records: Mestre Thomas,[49] Adam de Troies, Jehan du Bois, and another Thomas. All four resided south of the Seine: the first three within the walls of the city, centrally and not very far from the bridge, and the fourth, Thomas, outside the city walls to the west, on the road between the Poterne des Frères-Meneurs and the Abbey of St. Germain. The tax paid by Master Thomas, Jehan and the other Thomas was 2 sous each, a quite common and relatively low rate. Adam appears to have paid tax at the lowest level, 12 deniers, also a frequently recorded amount. Although low payments suggest that none of these men was wealthy, the fact that they were mentioned in the list, indicates that they were sufficiently settled and prosperous to be householders and liable for taxation.

Four years later, in the 1296 *taille*, the term *citoléeur* does not appear and Master Thomas, Adam de Trois and Thomas are not evident. Jehan du Bois appears, not in the parish of Saint-Nicholas de Chardonnay but rather in the parish of Saint-Severin, on the Rue Garlande, near to where Master Thomas and Adam de Troies had been. Michaëlsson notes that in the 1296 record Jehan's name was crossed out and in a different hand the amount is registered as 'nichil' ('nothing').[50] The reason for this is unclear but Jehan du Bois is listed at that same position in the 1297 accounting, paying 13 sous.[51] In neither of those cases is his occupation specified.

In 1313, there are also no *citoléeurs* listed, A 'Jehan du Bois, tavernier' appears in the parish of Saint-Jehan, but given that both 'Jehan' and 'du Bois' are common

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[47] 'l'oeuvre du citholëeur, c'est citholer'. MS Brussels, KRB, 2902, fol. 10. Oresme, *Le livre de Éthiques d'Aristote*, ed. Menut, p.121.

[48] Based on Boileau, Franklin suggests that *trompéeur* describes only a maker of trumpets. Alfred Franklin, *Dictionnaire historique des arts, métiers et professions* (Paris: H. Welter, 1906), p. 174.

[49] It is unclear whether the title *Mestre* indicates that Thomas was a teacher. There are other possibilities, such as a doctor of theology, law or medicine, but they seem less likely. Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*, 11 vols (1982), V, p. 310.

[50] Paris, AN, KK 283, fol. 28c, Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an 1296* (1958), p. 218.

[51] Paris, AN, KK 283, fol. 62d, Michaëlsson, *Le Livre de la taille de Paris, l'an 1297* (1962), p. 202.

names, there is no guarantee that this is the same person.[52] There is, however, one *citoleresse* (who will be discussed below in §4.3 'Female citole players').[53]

If these *citoléeurs* were settled enough to be listed as householders in 1292, why did they disappear within a few years? It seems unlikely that playing the citole died out so early in Paris.[54] The answer seems to be linked to the disappearance of other instrumental sobriquets from these accounts as well. With both a *Rue de la Harpe* and a *Rue Aus Jugleurs*, it would seem that the Paris records should be full of musicians' names. In the tax roles of 1313, however, there are surprisingly few instrument-derived appellations. The *taboréeurs, fleutéeurs* and *jugléeurs* of the last century seem to have disappeared and there are only single listings for *violeur, harper*, and *menestral.*[55] It seems extremely unlikely that, in 1313, there were only five musicians in all of Paris. There are neither *citoléeurs* nor *trompéeurs* but there is a single *citoleresse* and a *tromperesse.*[56] Regardless of whether the *citoléeurs* were makers or players, the most likely explanation for their disappearance is that they were absorbed into a related guild.[57] For whatever reason, the majority of the minstrels or instrument makers in Paris, and presumably any male *citoléeurs* among them, seem to disappear by the time of the 1311 account, or at least were not recorded among those individually liable for that tax.

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[52] See fol. 31a. Karl Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an de grâce 1313*, Acta Universitatis Gotoburgensis: Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift (Göteborg: Wettergren and Krebers, 1951), p. 167.

[53] De Beauvillé claims that *citoleux* and *citorel* also appear as vocational names in Taille 1313 but I have not been able to locate these entries and they do not appear in Michaëlsson. G. de Beauvillé, 'Les noms de famille tirés de noms de métiers *(suite et fin)*', *Revue Internationale d'Onomastique*, 7 (1955), pp. 289-303 (p. 295).

[54] Although not specifically Parisian, manuscript and sculptural depictions of citoles in the Ile-de-France continue until the late fourteenth century. For one of the latest, in the 'Petites Heures de Jean de Berry' (Paris, BnF, Latin 18104, fol. 53r.), see Henry Martin, *La Miniature française du XIIIe au XV siecle* (Paris: G. van Oest, 1923), fig. 95. (Appendix B. Ill. 90 and 91)

[55] Robert le violeur (fol. 32c, paid 31 *s*. 6 *d*.), Adam le harpeur (fol. 42a, paid 18*d*.), and Girart le menestrel (fol. 42a, paid 7*l*., 10*s*.). Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an de grâce 1313* (1951), pp. 11, 176 and 224.

[56] 'Bienvenue la tromperesse' (fol. 2c, paid 13*s*.), Rue des Poulies, parish of Saint-Germain, and 'Marie la citoleresse, regratiere,' (folio 46a, paid 15*s*.) Rue Du Bon Puis, parish of Saint-Genevieve. Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an de grâce 1313* (1951), pp. 11 and 247.

[57] The Parisian musicians guild, the Confrérie de St Julien-des-Ménétriers, is documented from 1321 but believed to be older. Heinrich W. Schwab, 'Grove Music Online', *Oxford Music Online* <http//www.oxfordmusiconline.com /subscriber/article /grove/music /11976> [accessed 1 June, 2010].

4.2 CITOLERS IN OXFORD

Oxford records name at least six individual citolers (Nic. le Cytoler; Richard le
Citoler; Agn' la Citoler; I. Sitoler, Mag.; and Robert le Cetoler) over the course of
five decades. The only English female citoler identified, Agn. la Setoler, will be
discussed in §4.3. The majority of the records that name the male citolers are rent
records, which also include three references to an unnamed citoler. Because each
specific name appears in only one document, very little is known about any of these
individuals, except for the areas in which some of them lived and their possible
social standing.

4.2.1 NIC. LE CYTOLER   (APP. A, A.8)

Nicholas, one of the few citolers named in English thirteenth-century sources,
demonstrates that, in at least some cases, citolers could be respectable and
responsible citizens. He seems to have been a resident of Oxford in good standing,
appearing as a town bailiff in the record of an inquest concerning a disturbance that
occurred in Harehallo,[58] Oxford on 11 November 1298.[59] At this early date there is
little doubt of the use of 'cytoler' as either a vocational appellation or nickname.[60]
While it is unknown whether he played citole as an amateur or professional, he was
notable because of it, and seems to have been a respectable member of society.

4.2.2 RICHARD LE CITOLER   (APP. A, A.11)

Richard le Citoler has been defamed in modern times. The accusation that he was
involved in a murder is purely guilt by association (and due to a mistranslation).
Although Richard is mentioned in an Oxford coroner's court record of May 29,
1307, he probably had no involvement in either the death nor the inquest.[61]

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[58] This is the same neighbourhood in which another citoler lived from at least 1325 to 1346. Salter,
Hospital of St. John (1917), pp. 56, 63, 72 and 79.
[59] Rev. H. E. Salter, ed., *Record of Mediæval Oxford: Coroners' inquests, the walls of Oxford, Etc.*
(Oxford: The Oxford Chronicle Company, 1912), p. 52.
[60] Most of the other bailiffs listed have geographically derived names, although there are four known
by their profession: three 'le Flecher' and one 'le Herber'.
[61] Thorold Rogers questions the date of May 29, suggesting that this should read 26, the Feast of St
Augustine of Canterbury. J. E. Thorold Rogers, ed., *Oxford City Documents: Financial and judicial,
1268-1665*, Oxford Historical Society (Oxford: Clarendon, 1891), p. 166.

The record of the inquest into the death of John the son of Lord Miles de Stapleton (Johannes filius domini Milonis de Stapleton), convened by John Wyth in the parish of St. Peter Orient, names a group of men who attacked the victim:

> ... Robertus de Knotton scriptor, Johannes Saxendale, Nicholas Kirkham, Johannes de Eboraco, clerici et Willelmus de Fimmore frater, Richardi le Citoler...[62]

Although Alsford lists Richard among the gang responsible for the killing, this seems to be based on a mistranslation of the Latin text transcribed by Rogers.[63] Although Rogers' transcription has a comma between 'frater' and 'Richardi', this passage should probably read without punctuation: *Willemus de Fimmore frater Richardi le Citoler*. Irrespective of the placement of the conjunction, the grammatical construction supports this interpretation. The names of all of the persons involved have a nominative case ending except for Richard. *Richardi* has an ending that indicates that it is genitive singular. In this case, it seems that Richard the citoler is mentioned only because the accused William de Fimmore was his brother.[64]

Richard's lack of involvement is corroborated, later in the document, by his not being listed among the accused against whom the court made judgement. All of the others are specifically named twice more: in the description of the crime and in the outcome of the inquest. Robert de Knotton and John Saxendale were imprisoned for causing the stab wounds that resulted in John's death. Nicholas Kirkham, Johannes de Eboraco and Willelmus de Fimmer were adjudged to be consenting accomplices but evaded capture.[65]

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[62] Thorold Rogers, ed., *Oxford City Documents*, p.167.

[63] Alsford offers an English synopsis of the events recorded in Thorold Rogers: 'when he encountered Robert de Knotton scribe, John Saxendale, Nicholas de Kirkham, and John de Eboraco, all three clerks, friar William de Fimmore, and Richard le Citoler.' Stephen Alsford, 'Florilegium Urbanum - Crime and Justice' (2001-3) <www.trytel.com/~tristan/towns/florilegium/government/gvjust13.html> [accessed 17 February, 2008].

[64] This could also be vocative or plural but vocative does not fit grammatically and there is only one Richard (which is confirmed by 'le Citoler' being singular). Thanks to Clifford Rogers at the United States Military Academy for confirming my interpretation of the use of the genitive singular. Personal communication 28 Feb, 2008.

[65] Thorold Rogers, ed., *Oxford City Documents*, p.168.

Since Richard le Citoler was not involved in the case, the purpose of his being named seems to have been merely as a descriptive adjunct to help identify William de Fimmore to the court, in the same way that the victim was described as son of Miles de Stapleton. All that we can glean from this account is that Richard was an individual identifiable by playing the citole, he might have come from Fimmore,[66] was relatively well known in Oxford, and that his brother associated with bad company.

4.2.3   I. SITOLER, MAG.   (APP. A, A.24)

In 1324, Oseney Abbey had a citoler among its tenants:[67] I. Sitoler mag[ister]. While it is possible that *Sitoler* indicates the surname of a schoolmaster, this is still early in the century before the use of inherited surnames becomes common. Most of the other masters on the rentals list are described by their affiliation (I. de charthous) or geographical origins (W. de Rehnam). Pantin comments that although one of the shops beneath the school in Deep Hall was occupied 'by a master, J. Sitoler,..' it would surely have been too small to use as a school'.[68] Since Master Sitoler paid 6s. 8d. per annum, considerably more than many domestic rents,[69] for the rent of the eastern 'selda', which faced onto the High Street, it seems unlikely that he intended to use this property solely as a lodging. The description of him as a master also suggests that he was not a shopkeeper. Although he might have sub-let the premises, the simplest explanation for this rental is that Master Sitoler used the small but prestigious location to attract individual students for study in music, possibly even citole-playing lessons.[70]

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[66] 'de Fimmore' may either indicate 'Finymere' in Oxfordshire or 'Fimber' near Wetewang in Yorkshire but this is not clear from the context. Whether this was the family home of William and Richard or merely where William was living at the time is unclear.

[67] The document dates from 1325 and records the rents for the previous year. Rev. H. E. Salter, ed., *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1931), III, pp. 153-4.

[68] W.A. Pantin, 'The Halls and Schools of Medieval Oxford: an Attempt at Reconstruction', in *Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus*, ed. by Richard William Hunt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) 16, pp. 31-100 (pp. 96-97 and Fig 7). The property in question does seem to have been primarily an academic hall, with *scolae* to let, as well as *celaria, domus, selda* and *solaria*.

[69] This is more than twice as much as some domestic rents (such as that paid on Kybaldstreet for 'De domo quondam le Sitoler' in 1324). Salter, *Hospital of St. John* (1917), p. 56.

[70] Schools for playing the citole will be discussed in § 9.4 Students and Schools.

4.2.4 THE HOUSE AGAINST THE TOWN WALLS AND OPPOSITE KYBALD STREET, INCLUDING ROBERTUS LE CETOLER (APP. A, A.27, A.31, A.47, AND A.55)

A citoler is identified as the tenant of a house in Oxford *contra muros uille uersus Kybaldestrete* over the course of at least twenty years, but is only named once.[71] The records for three of the years available, 1325, 1328, and 1346, describe this as *de domo quondam le Sitoler*. The omission of a given name, suggests that the resident was known by his profession. Although this is the same neighbourhood in which the previously named Nicholas le Cytoler would have lived, this cannot be the same tenancy inherited from that time, since no citoler is listed here in the 1302 account. In 1339 the tenant is named as Robertus le Cetoler.[72] While Robert might have held the tenancy for the entire period, there could also have been more than one differently named citoler as tenant. It is also possible that Robert might have been the tenant here from 1325, and the Robert le Cytoler who lived in Aldgate, London, until 1325,[73] but this is also unclear. Since this was a domestic property, it seems likely that the tenant was also the resident.[74] Regardless of whether the tenant was a single citoler or a succession of citolers, it appears that the Abbey of St. John had a citoler as a resident in this same property from at least 1325-46.[75]

4.2.5 SUMMARY OF OXFORD CITOLERS

While it may seem that Oxford had a remarkable number of citolers, this impression is based on only nine documents spread over half a century.[76] Scant as they are, these documents indicate that there was probably at least one citoler in Oxford for most of the period between 1298-1346. The survival of these manuscripts is perhaps more notable than that there were citolers recorded in them. The citolers of Oxford seem to have led respectable and reasonably settled lives. Nic. was a bailiff. Richard was well enough known that, when his brother got into trouble, the court described

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[71] Salter, *Hospital of St. John* (1917), pp. 56, 63, 72, 79.

[72] Salter, *Hospital of St. John* (1917), p. 72.

[73] (Appendix. A, A.12) Gerald A. J. Hodgett, ed., *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate* (London: London Record Society, 1971), p. 110.

[74] As Salter demonstrates, just because a person named as liable for the annual rent that does not indicate that person occupied the premises. Shops, such as those mentioned in the Oseney Roll 58, the record that contains I. Sitoler, were often sublet. Salter, *Oseney Abbey* (1931), III, p. 120.

[75] Unfortunately, for the two decades prior to 1325, no records have survived and there is another gap after 1349. In the next rental record (1351) this group of houses do not seem to be listed and might have been eliminated by the construction of Tabard Hall and Hare Hall.

[76] These nine documents include Agnes la Setoler who is mentioned below.

William in reference to Richard. A teacher named Sitoler held the tenancy on a prestigious property in Deep Hall. One or more citolers held the tenancy of a single house across from Kybald Street for more than two decades. While there might have been transitory citolers as well, Oxford seems to have provided an atmosphere that could consistently support at least one resident citole-player.

4.3   FEMALE CITOLE PLAYERS

Two female citolers appear in medieval records, both during the second decade of the fourteenth century, one in Oxford and the other in Paris. They seem to have had comparable lifestyles, as both are described as *regrator* (*regratière*). The accounts in which they are named, however, are quite different. Agnes appears in the Oxford Assize of Ale, in 1311[77] and Marie appears in the tax accounts of Paris in 1313.

4.3.1   AGN' LA SETOLER   (APPENDIX A, A.13)

Agnes, or Agnette, la Setoler was fined for contravention of statutes of the realm governing the quality and price of ale.[78] As the records are not specific, it is not clear in what manner she infringed the regulations but this does not seem to have been a major infringement as she received the common lowest rate of fine.[79] She is identified by the initial *R* as a *Regrator* or *Regratarius*: a seller of ale rather than a brewer.[80] She is listed along with numerous residents of the southeast quarter of Oxford, although neither their exact addresses nor how or where they sold their libations, are specified. Although there are other women also identified with *R*, females are in the minority, and a variety of other vocational names are represented.[81] The reselling of ale seems, therefore, to have been a common subsidiary occupation for women as well as men in Oxford.

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[77] The document is marked as the fifth year of Edward but does not specify which Edward. Salter dates this document to Ed. II. As he states, although orthography suggests either Ed II or Ed III, comparison with parish death certificates limits this to Ed II. Salter's' reference to known wheat prices, indicates that, with the price set at 1*d.* per gallon, this must record the Michaelmas Court 1311 rather than the Easter sitting of 1312. Rev. H. E. Salter, ed., *Mediæval Archives of the University of Oxford*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1921), II, p 184.

[78] These guidelines existed before 1200 but were not formalized into law in 1267. Salter, *Mediæval Archives of the University of Oxford* (1921), p. 130. (Text A.13)

[79] Agnes paid 3 pence. The greatest fines, up to 2 shillings, seem to have been reserved for brewers.

[80] Brewers were identified by *B* and paid much higher fines.

[81] *Matild' la Glouere* for example.

4.3.2 MARIE LA CITOLERRESSE, REGRATIERE   (APPENDIX A, A.15)

Marie appears in the tax records for Paris in 1313, similarly identified as 'la citolerresse, regratière'.[82] Like many of the earlier Paris *citoléeurs*, Marie also lived south of the Seine, within the city walls, east of the centre, between the Croix-Hemon and the Porte Saint Victor. Coldwell proposes that *regratière* meant 'beggar',[83] if so, the tax of 15 sous, the second highest on her street, seems an onerous burden (equal to, or more than, what nearby *taverniers* paid).[84] Geraud offers the definition of *regratière* as resellers of foodstuffs such as bread, salt, fruit and patisseries, which seems consistent with the English use of *regrator*.[85] This interpretation of Marie's occupation is also more in keeping with her neighbours who include a *tesserrande* and a *buffetier*. Payment of a relatively high rate of tax seems to indicate that Marie was prosperous for her neighbourhood. Unfortunately, tax records for adjacent years do not survive for comparison.

4.3.3 SUMMARY FEMALE CITOLERS

Citole playing for the two early fourteenth-century women mentioned in these records was not a full-time vocation, although it was an important element of their identity. They were each identified primarily as citolers and secondarily as resellers of foodstuffs. They also seem to have been independently responsible for their businesses since they are the individuals named in relation to them. Marie is personally liable for the tax on her dwelling, which indicates that she was the head of the household. The use of the feminine article 'la' in both cases and the feminine variant 'citolerresse' for Marie suggests they were themselves musicians, rather than the wife or daughter of a citoler.[86] It is not clear, however, whether they played for

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[82] Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an de grâce 1313* (1951), p.247. (Text A.15)

[83] Maria V. Coldwell, 'Jougleresses and Trobairitz: Secular musicians in medieval France', in *Women Making Music: The western art tradition, 1150-1950*, ed. by Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), pp. 39-61 (p. 46).

[84] Gillebert Chastiau, tavernier paid XV sous. Buchon incorrectly transcribed Marie as 'Ciroleressa'. J. A. Buchon, ed., *Chronique métrique de Godefroy de Paris, suivie de la taille de Paris, en 1313, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, Collection des chroniques nationales françaises (Paris: Verdière, 1827), p. 190-1.

[85] Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-Le-Bel* (1837), p. 534.

[86] In English documents, wives were usually referred as 'wife of', such as in the land dispute involving Richard Citoler where he is tenant of Robert Ferers and Margaret his wife (Robert Ferers e Margarete sa femme). Donald W. Sutherland, ed., *The Eyre of Northamptonshire: 3-4 Edward III, A.D. 1329-1330*, Years Book Series (London: The Selden Society, 1982), II, p.754.

payment, as amateurs, or were teachers, only that they each had a notable association with the citole.

4.4 MISCELLANEOUS PROPERTY-RELATED RECORDS

Property records offer evidence of where citolers lived and what their economic standing might have been. Although it is probable that the majority of musicians of the period were itinerant,[87] not all were. As Salmen states:

> ... there were a considerable number who had house and land ... the frequently-read comment that the medieval musician was penniless simply can not be justified.[88]

As with the previously discussed rent records, these accounts indicate stability, and some even indicate prosperity, but also that the named individuals were not socially disenfranchised.

4.4.1 SINGLE RECORDS

Single tax or rent records list citolers as holding tenancies in a variety of locations across England and France during the thirteenth century. In 1306, Roger le Citoleur appears as a tenant in Orleans.[89] Robert le Cytoler is recorded as having held the tenancy of a property in the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle, London,[90] from circa 1307-25,[91] at a time when there were several citolers in the royal court. Taxes were paid in 1332 by William Sitoler in Rogate, Sussex.[92] Although no other details survive regarding John Citoler's tenancy-for-life on a property in Wells, Somerset, the change of recipient for the rent was recorded in 1347 and 1349.[93] These few

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[87] Jean Jules Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages (XIV Century)*, trans. by Lucy Toulmin Smith (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1889), pp. 187-210.

[88] Salmen, *Social Status of the Professional Musician*, p. 24.

[89] There are two entries, one in the necrologium, which is undated and one in the census of rents. G. Vignat, ed., *Cartulaire du chapitre de Saint-Avit d'Orléans* (Orléans H. Herluison, 1886). (Appendix A, Text A.9).

[90] St. Thomas the Apostle was destroyed in the Fire of London. The former location of the church is marked by a plaque on Great St. Thomas the Apostle Street, which runs approximately between the stations Cannon Street and Mansion House.

[91] The full records have not been preserved the single record is a summary from 1425. Hodgett, ed., *Holy Trinity Aldgate*, p. 110. (Appendix A, Text A.12)

[92] This was a one-fifteenth rate 'tax on movables' and William paid 1/2*d*. above the lowest rate. William does not appear in the 1327 account. Rev. William Hudson, ed., *The Three Earliest Subsidies for the County of Sussex in the years 1296, 1327, 1332*, Sussex Record Society (London: Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, 1909), p. 238. (Appendix A, Text A.34)

[93] William Paley Baildon, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, 2 vols (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1914), II, pp. 611 and 614. (Appendix A, Text A.53)

records indicate the breadth of locations, particularly in England, where named citolers held tenancies. They also suggest that these citolers had relatively settled lives and expectations of sufficient income to undertake a tenancy for which they would be liable for the annual rent.

4.4.2 ADAM LE CYTOLER AND ADA' LE CITOLER (APP. A, A.16 AND A.51)

In 1315 and 1341 a citoler named Adam is listed as paying tax in Cambridge.[94] It is unclear whether these records refer to one person who was a continuous resident of Cambridge or two separate people. In 1315 Adam was only liable for a modest 9*d.*, based on a tax rate of 1/15th. In 1341, an additional levy of a *Ninth of corn, wool and lambs* was issued against every parish to raise revenue for the war coffers.[95] In this record, most parishes do not list individual taxpayers unless there is a discrepancy between the value of a tenancy and the value of the tenant's movables.[96] The tax paid by the other tenants of the same ward varied greatly and some paid much more than their initial valuation.[97] Although Adam's tax was assessed at 27 shillings, presumably based on his annual rent, he was only required to pay 9*s.* and 3*d.* based on the value of his movables. This indicates that Adam was reasonably wealthy (his tax payment of 1/9th was more than other citolers were paying for their annual rents)[98] but the ability to support himself was not based upon agricultural produce. If this is the same Adam le Cytoler recorded in both records, the value of his taxable property rose more than seven-fold in three decades. This is not due to inflation, since other entries seem to indicate stable rents for this period. Adam's tax bill indicates that in the second quarter of the fourteenth century at least one citoler was relatively affluent, although the origins of this wealth are unknown.

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[94] Mary Bateson, ed., *Cambridge Gild Records*, Octavo Series (London: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1903), p. 151.

[95] G. Vanderzee and John Caley, eds, *Nonarum inquisitiones in curia Scaccarii: Temp. regis Edwardi III.* (London: Public Record Commission, 1807), p. 216.

[96] A levy of a *Ninth of corn, wool and lambs* was issued against every parish, with the initial reckoning being based on the rate at which the parish was usually taxed, recorded in the *Valor of Pope Nicholas*. Vanderzee and Caley, *Nonarum inquisitiones in curia Scaccarii*, preface, page not numbered.

[97] Both Thomas and Richardus Bateman were initially assessed at 4*s.6d.* but paid 9*s.6d.* Vanderzee and Caley, *Nonarum inquisitiones in curia Scaccarii*, p 216.

[98] The highest rates of rent paid by citolers seem to be 6*s.* 8*d.* by Master I. Sitoler in Oxford 1325 and Roger in Aldgate 1307-25. Roger's tenancy also demonstrates lack of inflation since the later tenants continued to pay the same rate for that property until at least 1345. Hodgett, ed., *Holy Trinity Aldgate*, p. 110.

4.4.3 Ricardus (or William)[99] Sitoler, tenancy dispute (App. A, A.34a-b)

This is the one case in which, although there seems no doubt that the individual was known as 'Sitoler', there is contradictory evidence regarding the given name. The tenant of the manor of Bugbrooke, Northamptonshire, c. 1330-32 is listed in the court records of a land dispute as both as Ricardus Sitoler and William le Sitoler.[100] While it is possible that there were two tenants, it is more likely that this involves a scribal error or that, at some point, an incorrect name was provided to the court as a delaying tactic.[101] All that is known is that, until 1332, Richard/William held a parcel of land consisting of 1 toft, 8 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow and that the ownership of this land was disputed.[102] Richard/William's involvement in the case continued until 'three weeks of Easter 1332', when Richard/William failed to appear in court and the use of this parcel reverted to Rauf Bygot.[103] Very little useful evidence can be gleaned from this source except that there had been a sitoler who was resident at the manor of Bugbrook in Northamptonshire; although a tenant of this property was known as 'Sitoler', where he worked is not known, nor is the length of his tenancy, nor even his given name.[104]

4.5 Other Legal Records

The four legal records involving citole players, not discussed elsewhere, are quite diverse: a pardon, a complaint, a letter of protection and a warrant. These records offer clues to the social status of these individuals.

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[99] If his name is actually William, this might be the same William who travels abroad from Northampton with Nicholas Canteloupe in 1338. Unfortunately the uncertain forename makes it impossible to determine. See §4.6.2.

[100] 'Richard Sitoler' is named in Northampton, 25 May, 1330: London, NA, JUST 1/633 m. 161v but 'William le Sitoler' is referred as tenant in a subsequent record from Aldeburgh 15 June, Friday, 1330: London, NA, JUST 1/633 m. 175d. 184 d. Sutherland, *Eyre of Northamptonshire* (1982), II, pp. 754 and 758. (Appendix A, Text A.34a-b)

[101] Unless all the names on a writ were correct, it was invalid and the court could not proceed, allowing the sitting tenants to keep possession. A number of delaying tactics were used in this case, especially by Robert Ferers and his wife Margaret.

[102] In 1278, John Bygot had granted the land to Godfrey of Beaumont and Cecily his wife for life and to any heirs of their bodies, but if they had no heirs, the manor would revert to John Bygot. Since they had no heirs, John Bygot's son, Rauf, claimed the land as his right and attempted to evict the sitting tenants.

[103] For full summary of the proceedings see: Sutherland, *Eyre of Northamptonshire* (1982), II, pp. 754-56 and 757-763.

[104] It is not known for how long he held this parcel nor for what he used it. Only the records of the final years of his tenancy, relating to the dispute, have survived.

The earliest documentary record for a citoler, a pardon for homicide, tells us nothing about him as a musician but does indicate that he had influential advocates. Despite the temptation to assume that a pardon for homicide shows the recipient as a marginalized, low-status, ruffian, interpretation within the context of the period shows that he must have had influential advocates. Two versions of the pardon are recorded. The first dated July 20, 1269, Westminster, is a 'Pardon at the instance of Edmund, the king's son, to William le Citolur for the death of Simon son of Walter de Baleburk'.[105] The second, recorded Aug. 25, 1269 at Winchester, is a 'Pardon at the instance of Guy de Leziniaco the king's brother, to William le Cytolur for the death of S[imon] son of Walter; and of any subsequent outlawry.'[106] That the requests for the pardons were made by such august persons, suggests courtly connections. The ability to obtain such pardon shows that William had agents working on his behalf who had the ability to negotiate through the system of justice for him.

During the reign of Henry III, pardons did not provide absolution for a criminal conviction. They indicated that the named person was not held to blame, or that the death was excusable.[107] In cases of fatal accidents where the accused was found to have been at fault there would usually have been a fine paid to the victim's relatives.[108] This fine would not apply to accidents where the victim was to blame or where there was no fault. Given that there is no mention of restitution to the family of Simon, William was probably not deemed culpable in the death.

Hurnard offers two explanations for the issue of virtually duplicate pardons for the same homicide: either the agents had lost touch with the absent defendant or the

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[105] London, NA, C66/87, membrane 7, 53 Henry III (1269). Translation from Great Britain Public Record Office, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Records Office: Henry III, A.D. 1266-72*, ed. by H.C. Maxwell Lyte (London: HMSO, 1913), p. 359.

[106] London, NA, C66/87/membrane 5, 53 Henry III (1269). Translation from Great Britain PRO, *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry III, A.D. 1266-72*, ed. Maxwell Lyte (1913), p. 364.

[107] Excusable deaths consisted mainly of slaying in self-defence or by mischance. Naomi D. Hurnard, *The King's Pardon for Homicide before A.D. 1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 68. Blame and restitution were very important elements in rendering justice. Persona adjudged responsible for a death would be fined a proportion of their assets. Inanimate objects could be held to blame (deodand) and their owners made to forfeit the object or pay a fine, proportional to the value of the object.

[108] Even if an inanimate object caused the death a compensation fee would be judged and a payee named, as in the case of the death of Johanna at the house of Thomas le Citoler. See 'Thomas le Citoler' below.

earlier pardon was flawed.[109] The additional mention of 'and of any consequent outlawry', is the significant difference between the two pardons. The inclusion of this phrase was common legal convention after 1254 but was used more specifically after 1266.[110] In the thirteenth century it was not uncommon for a suspect to flee, whether guilty or not, rather than surrendering to the law and its erratic conceptions of due process,[111] after which both involvement in the death and the flight from justice would have needed to be pardoned.[112] Outlawry being mentioned in William's later pardon suggests that he fled after Simon's death. The brief interval between pardons argues against the loss of communication with William while he avoided confinement. It seems more likely that the first was, like many of the pardons of the period, 'cancelled because it referred ambiguously to outlawry for homicide, and a new one drawn up pardoning the death and the outlawry for it.'[113]

Without records of the inquest it is impossible to know the exact circumstances of the case. It is possible that there was no public inquest, as the King could opt to hear witnesses personally. Even the date of the death is unknown and no warrant has survived. A 'Simon son of Walter' is named among men from the county of Northampton conditionally pardoned on 6 July 1268 at Woodstock for their participation in the revolt of the barons.[114] If this is the same Simon,[115] it seems to indicate that he was still alive in July 1268. The procedures for obtaining an individual pardon were complicated, involving both time and money.[116] If William's

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[109] Hurnard refers to cancelled pardons in general, not this specific case. Hurnard, *The King's Pardon*, p. 32.

[110] Hurnard, *The King's Pardon*, p. 33.

[111] When even lesser crimes were punishable by death, it might not have been the King's judgement that was feared but popular execution of the law. Matthew Paris records the story of an ox-thief being summarily beheaded by the bailiff of Dunstable for breaching the King's Peace of 1369. Matthew Paris, *Matthew Paris's English History from the Year 1235 to 1273*, ed. by and trans. Rev. J. A. Giles, 3 vols (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), III, pp. 371-2.

[112] Hurnard, *The King's Pardon*, Chapter II, pp. 31-67

[113] Hurnard, *The King's Pardon*, pp. 32-3.

[114] On condition that they promised to be on good behaviour. London, NA, membrane 12d, 52 Henry III, 1268, June 22 Woodstock. Great Britain PRO, *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry III, A.D. 1266-72*, ed. Maxwell Lyte (1913), p. 286.

[115] I have been unable to locate a medieval town or manor named Baleburk, so can not verify whether this was is Northamptonshire.

[116] The King would need to be have been approached specifically about the case and asked to call an inquest. If William had been an outlaw, he would not have been able to do this himself while on English soil. After being called, the inquest would be heard, at the defendant's expense. If the judges determined that there were grounds for a pardon, they would write a recommendation to the King. The agents for the defendant were then responsible for conveying this document to the king, who might or might not grant a pardon (which also incurred a fee). The accused remained an outlaw until

pardon was granted within less than a year, the process for him was relatively swift. The King's son and the King's half-brother requesting the pardons suggests that William might have had royal connections. The ability to secure a pardon relatively quickly indicates that William had friends or agents working on his behalf, and that they had sufficient influence and capital to complete the procedure without much delay.

4.5.2   1338, CITOLER(S) NAMED WILLIAM   (APP. A, A.45A-B, A.46)

In 1338 there are two occasions on which a citoler named William is mentioned; the first is merely an interesting anecdote, the other is more revealing about the role of minstrels as travelling companions. In late April, an official complaint was made by Henry the Earl of Lancaster against roughly two dozen named individuals, including William le Sytoler (Sitoler),[117] for participation in the unlawful removal of a beached whale from the shore at his manor at Fletehaven in Lincolnshire.[118] This does not seem to have been a serious offence although the fine per person must have been high. Since the animal was valued at £200 it can be assumed that the individuals named were required to compensate the Earl for this amount. Later in 1338, a letter of protection was issued to a William le Cytoler,[119] for the period until Christmas, so that he could stay abroad with Sir Nicholaus de Cauntelow (Canteloupe, Lord of Ilkeston and trusted advisor of Edward III).[120] This William was probably a minstrel employed by Nicholaus de Cauntelow, at least temporarily, to act as a travelling companion and provide entertainment. The use of the definite article 'le', in both cases, indicates that the individual concerned was personally associated with citole playing but it is not clear whether these records both relate to the same person.

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a copy of the pardon was in his possession. For the procedure involved see Hurnard, *The King's Pardon*, Chapter II.

[117] Two virtually identical records appear in London, NA, Patent Roll 12 Edward III – part I, membrane 10d, naming 'William le Sytoler' and Patent Roll 12 Edward III – part II, Membrane 29d, 'William le Sitoler'. Great Britain Public Record Office, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward III, A.D. 1338-1340*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London HMSO, 1898), pp. 76 and 131.

[118] The fish called 'Balayn' which washed ashore was almost certainly a whale. The term derived from the Latin 'balænæ', was not uncommon in the 14th century, and was used to indicate both the flesh and the bone of a whale. Hans Kurath, "baleine n.", in *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1956), part B.1, p. 626

[119] John Ferguson, ed., *Treaty Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Vol. II, 1337-1339* (London: HMSO, 1972), p. 215.

[120] Baron Rodolph von Hube, *Griseleia in Snotinghscire* (Nottingham: 1901), p. 11-15.

4.5.3   JAMES HORNCHILD, SYTOLER OF NORWICH   (APP. A, A.62)

James Hornchild is possibly the last individual in English records, outside the royal

court, to be definitively indicated as a player of the citole.[121] Unfortunately, the 1361

record, which contains this information, also indicates that he died an unnatural

death. The warrant states that Alexander Snellyng of Oclee, one of the company of

Lionel, earl of Ulster, was wanted in connection with the deaths of James Hornchild,

sytoler, of Norwich and Thomas Hebles of Oclee Market. Since in this case we have

a surname, Hornchild,[122] and a location with which he was associated, Norwich,

there is little doubt that 'sytoler' was used in this case to clarify his occupation. It is

not known for whom James Hornchild might have worked. Certainly the clergy in

Norwich at the time were quite tolerant of string players, as is attested to by a

contemporaneous reference to the Bishop of Norwich's harper.[123] Whether

Hornchild was a citoler who worked in Norwich or who was from Norwich is also

unclear. This record does, however, indicate that playing the citole was still known

as an occupation in Norwich in the 1360s.

4.6   ENGLISH ROYAL ACCOUNTS

English royal accounts are the largest cohesive group of documents to record citole

players. The quantity and quality of fourteenth-century accounts means that, in some

cases, it is possible to track the names of specific household minstrels. Even these

records, however, are not complete and are limited in the information that they

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[121] (Appendix. A, A.69) Later English references might indicate an inherited surname. A much later but undeniable reference appears in a Navarrese payment record of 1412. José Ramón Castro, *Catálogo de la sección de comptos, Archivo General de Navarro: anos 842-1780*, Catálogo del Archivo General De Navarra, 52 vols (Pamplona: Editorial Aramburu, 1962), XXIX, p. 334.

[122] This name might have been derived from the romance 'Hornchild and Maiden Rimnild' preserved in the early fourteenth-century 'Auchinleck Manuscript', National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS 19.2.1, which is an important English variant of the French 'Hind Horn.' Alternately it may be an inherited surname since a Nich. Hornchild and his wife Matilda appear in a Norfolk fines roll from 1348. Anonymous, 'Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild', in *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, ed. by Joseph Ritson, 3 vols (Edinburgh: E & G Goldsmid, 1885), II, pp. 216-46. Walter Rye, *A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk: Part II, Edward II to Edward IV* (Norwich: A.H. Goose, 1886), p. 320.

[123] According to a fragment of a Durham Abbey account, which is believed to date to 1362, the *histrioni harper* of the Bishop of Norwich was paid 5 shillings for performing at the feast of the Translation of Saint Cuthbert (4 Sept.). Joseph Thomas Fowler, ed., *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, from Original MSS.*, Publications of the Surtees Society, 3 vols (Durham: Andrews, 1899), II, p. 565.

preserve. For some years no documents have yet been identified that list payments, imprests or debts to any household minstrel.[124] Before the bookkeeping reforms of 1323-4, household minstrels are not systematically named in the surviving accounts. As mentioned previously, some records generically list 'minstrels' without offering names,[125] or record merely the name of the individual to whom a payment was given for distribution. Others supply the name of a minstrel in a form that omits any reference to the instrument. Scribal choices that list individuals by different appellations can hinder identification.[126] Regardless of the lacunae, the surviving documents seem to indicate that the citole was a familiar instrument at the English court especially during the reigns of Edward II and Edward III.

The bookkeeping reforms of 1323 and 1324 help to explain why there are so many more records relating to the household minstrels after 1324. Before 1323 it was common practice for individual Wardrobe staff to keep their own accounts,[127] which were then transcribed, usually in summary, into the official Wardrobe record.[128] This summarization meant that unless an individual was the one to whom payment was given for distribution, names were unimportant and might not be transcribed. The York Ordinance of 1323 required that, twice per year, a clerk under the Marshall would keep an account of the wages due to each member of the Household; the Butler and Clerk of the Great Wardrobe would also make full accounts half-yearly.[129] The 1324 Exchequer Ordinance of Westminster removed control of Household accounts from the Wardrobe Keeper and placed it into the hands of the Exchequer. It also imposed a strict schedule of payments to the Household, which required wages to be paid in arrears after the recipients had rendered an account, and

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[124] Either the records have not survived or have not yet been identified. Rastall highlights some of the other gaps in the known records. Rastall, 'Minstrels in the English Royal Households' (1964), pp. 9-24.

[125] Such as the 1325 Epiphany gift of 50s. to the King's minstrels, London, NA, E101/380/4 f. 22v. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 83.

[126] Although as Rastall suggests, sometimes the inconsistent use of names makes it impossible to identify an individual with certainty. Rastall, 'Minstrels in the English Royal Households' (1964), p. 2-3.

[127] Some of these individual records have survived but they do not always appear in the main body of State Papers in the National Archive, such as MSS. London, BL, Add. 17362, and London, SoAL 121 (Appendix A. A.20 and A.21).

[128] J. H. Johnson, 'The System of Account in the Wardrobe of Edward II', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (1929), pp. 75-104, p. 81.

[129] J. H. Johnson, 'The System of Account in the Wardrobe', p. 100.

abolished peace-time imprests against future wages.[130] These reforms meant that documents that included the names of individual Household minstrels were produced at least twice a year,[131] and the Exchequer was entrusted with preserving these detailed records, not merely synopses of them.

Before the end of the reign of Edward II, often the names of individual minstrels only appear in relation to singular expenses (rewards to visiting minstrels, special gifts, compensation or imprests against expected wages) but comprehensive lists of the regular payments to Household minstrels (of robes, shoes or wages) that include their names are few.[132] This means that the records surviving from before 1323 are somewhat biased against recording the royal Household musicians as individuals. As Woolgar comments, even when attached to a noble household, minstrels were 'frequently most clearly identified when they were away from their parent establishment.'[133] Bullock-Davies notes that, in the special payment made to the minstrels who performed at the 1306 investiture festivities, 'several of the most important minstrels, for example, the King's personal trumpeters, were not mentioned.'[134] After 1324, when the requirements of the record keeping detail changed, individual Household minstrels are much easier to trace through livery lists, debts for wages and payment of wages since they should be mentioned at least twice every year, in addition to when they receive occasional gifts or re-imbursements.

Despite the reforms, a full listing of the Household minstrels has not been identified for every year after 1324. Most notably, for the years 1331-1333 (5-7 Edw. III) no documents have been identified that specify the names of the King's household minstrels. Either these records do not survive or they have not yet been identified. It must be remembered that lack of evidence for a citoler at court, might not mean that

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[130] The imprests made to minstrels after this date are against debts owed to them.
[131] Since this system involves some duplication. Since there are lists of 'debts to' followed by 'payments to' or 'debts cancelled', the twice-yearly accounts usually generate at least four records.
[132] In 1310-11 several documents each record a few payment of wages or robes to named squires, in which some musicians are included, but these are not comprehensive lists. See London, NA, E101/374/5 (4 Edw. II), E101.373.26 (4-5 Edw. II), London, BL, Cotton Nero C viii. (4-5 Edw. II) For details see G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), pp. 68, 70, 71.
[133] Christopher Michael Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 27.
[134] Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, p. xii.

there were no citolers at court at that time. A gap in the evidence might be the result of record-keeping conventions, the relevant records might not have survived or they have not yet been located.

Royal citolers appear to have been high-status servants, usually classed among squires.[135] In 1319, two of the royal citolers, Ivo Vala and Thomas le Citoler appear among a long list of squires receiving robes.[136] Crewdsen comments that the wages of these 'squire-minstrels' was 7 1/2 pence per day during the reign of Edward II. Edward III, upon his succession, initially reduced all minstrels to the wage-rate of regular servants (4 1/2 d. per day).[137] It is unclear when the royal minstrels returned to the status of squire.[138] In the ninth year of Edward III's reign (1335) the majority of household minstrels, including Thomas le citoler, are once again included among the squires receiving war-wage increases.[139] Comparative rates of pay for war wages in a 1344-7 campaign budget, however, seem to suggest that the minstrels (at 12d., per day) were valued more highly than regular squires: the minstrels were budgeted for at the same rate as the King's chaplain, squires, men of arms, sergeants of offices, and the minor clerks of the King's house and chamber.[140] Lort suggests that the minstrel's 1344-7 pay rate of 20 shillings per year during peacetime was higher than messengers (13s., 4d.), yeoman (13s., 4d.), or archers (10s.), in order to compensate for the minstrels not being automatically entitled to 4s and 8d worth of livery.[141] Contemporaneous lists of payments for robes, however, do not exclude minstrels indicating that minstrels received both wages and robes and were,

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[135] Bullock-Davies describes three types of servants (1)'squires' had the highest status, equal to clerks, simple knights and sergeants, (2) 'Regular servants' equal to falconers and huntsmen (3) 'Lower servants' equal to sumpters, palfreters and foot messengers. Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum Multitudo*, p.15.

[136] London, BL, Add 17362. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 79.

[137] Richard Crewdson, *Apollo's Swan and Lyre: five hundred years of the Musician's Company* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), p. 19.

[138] I have not been able to verify whether the lists of imprests or debts in years 1-7 Edw. III offer indications of status for minstrels.

[139] London, BL, Nero C viii, fol. 239v. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 93. Minstrels are often listed among the squires for robes and war-wages in MSS London, NA, E101/378/4, fol. 57v; London, BL, Cotton Nero c.viii, ff. 226, 228, 229v, 231, 235v; and 239v; and London, NA, E36/203/, fol. 123. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 91-3 and 101-2.

[140] As well as butlers, master cooks, the apothecary, tailors, armourers, surgeons, and doctors. Lort, and others, eds, *Household of King Edward III*, p. 9. (Text A.52)

[141] Lort, and others, eds, *Household of King Edward III*, p. 11. Rastall values the livery much higher, at 20 shillings, twice per year. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), I, p. 116.

therefore, presumably more valued.[142] Upon his retirement, in 1350, Thomas le Citoler is referred to as one of the King's yeomen.[143] During this period the Household minstrels, including the citolers, seem to have been well-regarded members of the Household, usually possessing the status squire although occasionally paid at a higher rate.

At least five citolers are associated with the courts of Edward I through Edward III: Janyn, Vala, Thomas, Richardyn and John.[144] The majority of the documents described here are financial, recording payments authorized for, paid to, or owed to these minstrels. The number of citations relating to these individuals varies greatly. Two of them appear to have worked for both Edward II and Edward III over several decades. The other three appear to be mentioned only once but their identity might be hidden by the use of a different sobriquet. Each minstrel will be discussed in turn and then the implications of having multiple citolers at the court will be considered.

4.6.1   JANYN LE CITOLER   (APP. A, A.10)

The earliest citoler known to have a connection to the English royal court is 'Janyn le citoler' whose name appears among the musicians of Edward I, in the roll of payments to minstrels for the extravagant 1306 Pentecost festivities held by the King on the occasion of his son's knighthood (Edward of Caernarfon).[145] Little is known about Janyn 'le citoler' since he seems to appear in only one surviving record. He might have been a Household minstrel but this is difficult to prove since during this period, as Rastall comments, 'rewards for normal Household minstrelsy, however, - that is apart from the big celebration for the marriage of the King's daughter or the Pentecost feast of 1306 – are extremely rare.'[146] This Janyn is believed to have had a connection to the prince, Edward of Caernarfon, prior to the investiture ceremony of 1306 but this might be based on the assumption that he is the same person as 'Janin

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[142] Rastall suggests that the standard rate for minstrels in wartime ranged from 9d. – 12d. per day depending upon whether the minstrel possessed a suitable horse for his own use. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), I, p. 116.

[143] Great Britain PRO, Calendar of Patent Rolls: Edward III, A.D. 1350-54, ed. Maxwell Lyte (1907), p. 22. (Appendix A, A.57.)

[144] I have not yet been able to verify the 1363 reference to the queen's citoler Andrew Destrer. Rastall, 'Minstrels in the English Royal Households' (1964), p. 20.

[145] London, NA, Exchequer account E101/369/6. See also Bullock-Davies, Menestrellorum Multitudo, p. 120.

[146] G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), I, p. 15.

the minstrel of the Lord Edward' mentioned in a counter roll of 1285.[147] Even if he is, it cannot be shown whether or not he played the citole at the earlier date.[148]

4.6.2 VALA LE CETOLER   (APPENDIX A, A.14, A.20, A. 21, A.23, A. 25, A.26, A.29, A.30, A.33A, A.33B, A.36, A.37, A.40)

The royal minstrel Vala is never described as possessing any skill other than playing the citole. He first appears in a record of 1312 as *Jirom Vala le Cetoler*,[149] with the marginal note *menestrallus regis*, and seems to have worked for the Crown until his death c.1334.[150] The uncommon surname Vala suggests that he might be a foreign minstrel but his origins are uncertain.[151] Although is it possible that the various Christian names mentioned for Vala (Jirom,[152] Johñ,[153] Ivo[154] and Yomi,[155]) might record different people this is unlikely: these names are chronologically interspersed rather than sequential. While there are many mentions of Vala that do not list his instrument,[156] those which do always refer to him as a citoler.

Most of the records naming Vala describe gifts or payments. In 1312, in Canterbury, Jirome Vala le Cetoler and his *socius* Thomas Dynys were each given the gift of a

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[147] Although Bullock-Davies suggest that Janyn le citoler is 'probably the Prince's citole player' she does not directly connect him with 'Janin the minstrel' in London, NA, Exchequer account E101/351/17. Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, pp. 25 and 75.

[148] Interestingly the other named musician with him at that time is John Le Leutour, possibly the earliest of the rare lute players to be mentioned. He appears in royal accounts of Edward I but there is no lute player in the court of Edward II. Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, pp. 75 and 93-98.

[149] Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum Multitudo*, p.120, Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, p.212, and G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 73.

[150] His death date is not recorded but he is owed wages in 1334-6 and the petition from his widow is dated 1337. Mentioned in Great Britain Public Record Office, *Index of Ancient Petitions of the Chancery and the Exchequer Preserved in the Public Record Office* (London: HMSO, 1892), p. 88.

[151] The name Vala might have been derived from a place name, but from which country is unclear. Alternately, Vala might be a mutation of the Latin *bala*, to bleet like a sheep, since on the continent insulting sobriquets were not uncommon for professional entertainers.

[152] Jirom appears once in the year 1312/3: London, NA E101/375/8, folio 29v. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 73 lists him as 'Ivo' but the document clearly shows 'Jirom'

[153] Johñ appears twice. 1319/20, London, SoAL 121, folio 130r and 1330, E101/385/4. Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, p. 212; G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 86.

[154] Ivo appears four times, not including the petition by his widow. 1320, London, NA E101/378/4, fol. 57v; 1327-8, E101/381/6 and E101/383/8; 1334, E101/387/5; 1334-6, London, BL, Add. 35181. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 78, 83, 90.

[155] Yomi appears once. 1325/6, London, NA E101/381/11. fragment. Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, p. 212.

[156] G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), pp. 78, 83, 84, 86, 90, describe records of Vala but not his instrument.

horse and saddle by Edward II.[157] On 24 June 1324, the chamber accounts record a gift of 40 shillings to the citoler Vala, the vieller Master Richard Dorre and the harper Henry de Neusom but the occasion for this largess is not recorded.[158] He was reimbursed for his expenses for going to Lonstel in 1325 but the reason for that journey is also not specified.[159] He was given payment for robes or other outfits in 1319/20, 1320, and 1325.[160] In 1327, the crown owed Vala 3s. 9d. for wages and robes, which included a debt from the previous year.[161] Vala appears in a list of the Household in 1330, and an associated bundle of membranes records the receipt by Vala, with his seal, of fur and cloth for winter robes, for himself and Thomas Citoler.[162] In 1334 Vala was owed 60s. by the Crown for wages from the previous period, but Vala never seems to have collected what was due to him and unlike the similar debts to other minstrels recorded in MS. London, British Library, Add 35181 (dated 1334),[163] the debt to Vala is not listed as cancelled. Since he is not listed among the minstrels due for a winter robes payment that year,[164] this seems to indicate that Vala died sometime during the accounting year for 8 Edw. III (1334). Presumably, this uncancelled debt is the sum that his widow Agnes appealed for Parliament to have paid to her in 1337.[165]

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[157] (Text A.14) Although this is listed as a gift of 4l. 17s. 6d, the horses and saddles were given to them not the money. Thomas Dynys' instrument is not specified. Bullock-Davies believes Dynys to have also been a citole player. See 'Thomas le Citoler' below.
[158] (Text A.23) London, NA, E101/380/4. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 82-3.
[159] (Text A.26) G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 83.
[160] Bullock-Davies, Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels, p. 212 and G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 78 and 86.
[161] (Text A.30) London, NA, E101/383/8. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 83.
[162] (Text 33b) London, NA, E101/385/4 (memoranda of receipts attached) group 1, number 30. Ivo Vala's seal, which is attached to this membrane, seems to have a design of foliage and animals.
[163] (Text A.37) G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 90.
[164] (Text A.38) London, BL, Cotton Nero c.viii, fols 226, 228, 229v, 231. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 91.
[165] Mentioned in Great Britain PRO, Index of Ancient petitions (1892), p.88. The delay between this last debt and Agnes' appeal might have been a result of the 1324 Exchequer Ordinance, which required all wages to be paid in arrears and the recipient to submit an account. J. H. Johnson, 'The System of Account in the Wardrobe', p. 100.

4.6.3 THOMAS LE CITOLER (APPENDIX A, A.17, A.18, A.19, A.21, A.22, A.33A, A.33B, A.36, A.37, A.38, A.41, A.42, A.43, A.44, A.48, A.49, A.51, A.55, A.56, A.58, A.60)

By far the best-recorded citoler is Thomas, a royal minstrel from sometime before 1317 until 1350.[166] He seems to have been a faithful and long-lived servant of Edward II and Edward III. Documents survive that list him among servants receiving payment or livery in 1320,[167] 1330,[168] and every year from 1334-1348.[169] Unfortunately for Thomas, he was frequently owed money by the crown. The earliest identified account to specify Thomas as a citoler, 1317, lists a payment to him of just over half of the 8*l.* 5*s.* 10 1/2.*d.* owed to him for his war wages, robes and compensation for his horses.[170] This large amount owed to him suggests that he had been employed by the crown for some time previous. Thomas received two payments against this debt of 40 shillings in each of the years 1318 and 1319. In 1334, the total debt owed to Thomas seems to have been reduced to 4*l.,* which was paid in full that same year.[171] Thomas does not seem to appear in the records of years 14-16 Edward II (1321-1323), or at least not clearly labelled as a citoler. By 1337, the debt to him had risen again to 73*s.* 4*d.* (3*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*)[172] and by 1350, the total debt owed to him by the crown had grown to 24*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*[173] In 1350, a royal grant for life describes Thomas as an elderly man with failing sight who has offered good service. In this grant Thomas essentially exchanges the 24*l.* 10*s.* 6*d* debt owed

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[166] If he is Thomas Dynys described as the *socius* of Ivo Vala, then he was employed by the crown in 1312, if not earlier. See London, NA, E101/375/8, folio 29v (Text A.14).

[167] (Text A.20) G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p.78.

[168] (Text A.33a-A33b) G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p.86.

[169] (Text A.36-39, A.41-44, A.48-49, A.51, A.55-56) G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 90-2, 97-8, 101-2; Elsbeth Andre, *Ein Königshof auf Reisen: der Kontinentaufenthalt Eduards III. von England, 1338-1340*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte (Köln: Böhlau, 1996), p.171Great Britain Public Record Office, *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward III, A.D. 1339-41*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: HMSO, 1901), p. 524; Great Britain Public Record Office, *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward III, Vol. VI, A.D. 1341-1343*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: HMSO, 1902), p. 83; Major-General George Wrottesley, 'Crecy and Calias, from the Public Records', in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, ed. by William Salt Archæological Society (London: Harrison and Sons, 1897), pp. 191-219 (p. 208).

[170] London, BL, Cotton Nero. c.viii. fols 192v, 195v, and 196v, dating from 1314-19. Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, p. 206.

[171] (Text A.36-7) London, NA, E101/387/5, Controller's Accounts, f. 5v, and London, BL, Add. 35181. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 90.

[172] (Text A.39) This is similar to the debts owed to other Household minstrels.

[173] (Text A.58) Great Britain PRO, *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Edward III, A.D. 1350-54*, ed. Maxwell Lyte (1907), p. 22.

to him for a pension for life of 7½ *d.* a day,[174] to be paid from the proceeds of the city farm rather than from the wardrobe. Sadly, a 1356 order for the payment of arrears to Thomas makes it clear that, once again, he had not been paid the money due to him.[175] There seems to be little reason to doubt that the Thomas who worked as royal citoler was the same person throughout the entire period of at least 1317 to 1350.

Proceedings of an inquest in 1324 indicate that Thomas was the householder of a multiple-room property in London.[176] A few days before 24 August 1324, a woman named Johanna injured herself on the stair of the solar while alone in the house of Thomas le Citoler. She died a few days later from her injuries. The stair, judged to be worth *6d.* was held responsible for the death and the sheriff, Adam de Salisbury, was held to answer. The identity of Johanna is not certain. She might have been a household servant since she is described in relation to her father not in relation to Thomas.[177] Thomas citoler's lodgings in Bridge Ward were luxurious enough to have had a room described as a 'solar', an upper storey room for his private use. Thomas was not the owner of the property; he held the tenancy from Hugh de Waltham.[178] Thomas seems to have travelled in the retinue of both Edward II and Edward III, for which he is recorded as being due war wages at least for the Scottish campaigns of 1314-1317[179] and 1334-6[180] and the continental campaigns of 1340,[181]

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[174] Crewdsen states that 7½ *d.* per day is the amount that Thomas would have earned as a 'squire minstrel' under Edward II. Crewdson, *Apollo's Swan and Lyre*, p. 19.

[175] (Text A.60) Great Britain Public Record Office, *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward III, A.D. 1354-60*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: HMSO, 1908), p. 283.

[176] Reginald R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Coroners Rolls of the City of London, A.D. 1300-1378* (London: R. Clay, 1913), p. 92.

[177] Joh. Cotekyn appears in bridge Ward in various Subsidy Rolls from at least 1319-38. In the earliest he is a taxpayer and in the latest a tax collector. Eilert Ekwall, *Two Early London Subsidy Rolls*, Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistika Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund. (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1951), p. 211. A. H. Thomas, *Calendar of Pleas and Memoranda Rolls: preserved among the archives of the city of London at the Guildhall: A.D. 1323-1364*, ed. by Mayor's Court, Corporation of London (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), p.100.

[178] Bridge Ward is the area adjacent to London Bridge, as the name suggests. The church of St Benedict was located at the junction of Gracechurch and Fenchurch streets, with the parish extending primarily eastwards. This is somewhat further east than the area Bullock-Davies mentions, with regard to John Luter c.1299, 'like most of the Royal minstrels, he lived in the area between Cheapside and Thames Street.' Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum Multitudo*, p. 113.

[179] (Text A.19) London, BL, Cotton Nero c.viii, fols 192v, 195v, and 196v, dating from 1314-19. Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, p. 206.

[180] (Text A.38) G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 91-2.

[181] (Text A.48) Great Britain PRO, *Calendar of Close Rolls: Edward III, Vol. VI, A.D. 1341-1343*, ed. Maxwell Lyte (1902), p. 524.

1347, and 1348,[182] as well as payment for transport of horses back to England in 1339.[183] Having received this higher pay so frequently, it is not surprising that Thomas could afford a comfortable residence.[184]

Evidence suggests that Thomas *citoler* was known by at least one other appellation. Thomas the citoler appears to have had a close association with Vala,[185] and it is possible that he is Thomas Dynys mentioned as the *socius* of Vala in 1312.[186] It is more certain that Thomas citoler was also known as Thomas *vidulator* (or *le vieler*).[187] Four string players are mentioned in a 1325 fragment that records the provision of clothing for minstrels going to France with the king: Jirom Vala, Henry Neusom, Richard *vidulator* and Thomas *vidulator*.[188] These four names are listed again among those owed wages for the last two years of Edw. II (1325 and 1326).[189] These same debts to Vala and Thomas *vidulator* reappear in the accounts of the first year of Edw. III (1327/8).[190] Because Thomas *vidulator* appears in relation to the same string players with whom Thomas citoler is usually associated, but Thomas *citoler* and Thomas *vidulator* never appear in the same listing, it is likely that these were different names for the same person.

4.6.4 RICHARDYN   (APPENDIX A, A.28)

Another royal citoler, Richardyn, seems to be mentioned only once. In 1326, he is rewarded for entertaining the King and the king's sister-in-law, the Countess Marshal. In this record, two musicians are mentioned: Richardyn 'cytoler le roi' and Henry Neusom, 'harper le roi'.[191] Comparison of records suggest that the royal minstrel Richardyn might not have been known primarily as a citoler. In January

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[182] (Text A.55 and A.56) Wrottesley, 'Crecy and Calias', pp. 208 and 210.
[183] G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p.102.
[184] In 1344-47 the war wages for a minstrel were budgeted at 12d per day. Lort, and others, eds, *Household of King Edward III*, p. 9.
[185] Notably in July of 1330, Vala receives cloth and fur for robes for himself and Thomas, citoler. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 86.
[186] This is suggested by Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, p. 206. Although both Thomas citoler and Vala are listed as *squires sine scociis* in 1320. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 78.
[187] 'Vieler' or 'vyler' is the French equivalent of the Latin 'vidulator', as Johnannes de Garlandia explains in his *Dictionarius* (Text B.1) 'Vidulatores dicuntur a *vidula*, e; gallice *vièle*.'
[188] (Text A.25) London, NA, E101/381/11 fragment. Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, pp. 212, 207, 135 and 165.
[189] (Text A.29) G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 83.
[190] (Text A.30) G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 83 and 84
[191] Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, pp. 135 and 166.

1325, a gift of 20 *s.* is recorded to 'Richardyn vitheyler le Roi' and 'Henri Newsom harpour le Roi'.[192] In the previous June, in the same document, a gift of 40 *s.* is recorded to Henry Newsom, Vala citoler, and Richard Dorre 'vỹler'. Given the frequent pairing with Henry Newsom, Richardyn the King's citoler seems to be the same person as 'Richardyn vitheỹler le Roi', 'Richard vidulator' and 'Master Richard Dorre vỹler'.[193] Neither Richard (by any of these names) nor Henry Newsom seem to appear in the records of Edward III, perhaps having fallen out of favour with the new king, or having been replaced by musicians who had been the minstrels to Edward III when he was prince.[194]

It is difficult to know whether any of the other references to citolers named Richard apply to this same individual. As Buehler suggests, this might be the same person as Richard le Sytoler plaintiff against Thomas Gardayn of Oteley in 1328.[195] This Richard might also have been the brother of William de Fimmore,[196] or the tenant at Bugbrooke.[197] He is probably not Richard *le Guyterer*, however, who first appears in a subsidiary list of the minstrels in 1330.[198] *Richard Bottore giterer* is specified by surname in the attached livery payment to further distinguish him from the earlier Richard the vieller.

4.6.5 JOHN SITOLER   (APPENDIX. A, A.61)

Very little is known about John Sitoler except that he received a Christmas robe as one of the king's minstrels in 1360.[199] This name appears only once but John might have been recorded by another appellation. By this time, Edward III seems to have

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[192] (Text A.23) London, NA, E101/380/4 (French), fol. 22v, 13 January 1324/5 (17 Edward II). See Rastall for more detail. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 82-3.

[193] (Text A.23) The name 'mestre Richard Dorre vỹler' only appears once in London, NA, E101/380/4 fol. 11r, 24 June 1324 in the company of Henry Neusom and Vala citoler. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 82-3.

[194] Several of the prince's minstrels stayed with him when he became king, including Merlin the vieller and John the harper. Richard might have gone into the service of lady Eleanor the sister of Edward III. A payment is recorded six years later to a vieller named Richard on 23 May 1332 but this might or might not be the same person. London, NA, E101/386/7 and London, BL, Add. 38006. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), p. 89.

[195] (Text A.32) Buehler, 'Retelling the Story of the English Gittern'. Great Britain Public Record Office, *Index of Placita de Banco: preserved in the Public Record Office. A.D. 1327-1328*, Public Record Office Lists and Indexes (London: HMSO, 1909), p. 637.

[196] (Text A.11) Thorold Rogers, ed., *Oxford City Documents*, p. 167.

[197] (Text A.34a-34b) Sutherland, *Eyre of Northamptonshire* (1982), II, p. 754.

[198] London, NA, E101/385/4. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p.86.

[199] (Text A.61) London, NA, E101/393/15, membrane 3, G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), vol. II, p. 112.

had a less cohesive group of minstrels, many of whom were named John, and among whom the use of inherited surnames often obscures their vocation. He is neither John Hampton nor John Middleton, who are specifically labelled as a trumpeters,[200] nor is he John Alisandre or Master John, waferer, both of whom have their gifts of the Christmas robe recorded on the same roll at earlier dates.[201] It is unlikely that he is John Badencore who appears in the records of 1360-1, since his payments are usually listed with a piper and a trumpeter.[202] He might have been John Yonge, John Chicestre, John (the son of Andrew the organist), or John Devenish, whose instruments are not specified.[203] Alternatively, John Sitoler might merely have been at court for only a few months. All that can be said about John Sitoler is that the 1360 payment of winter robes to him as one of the king's minstrels indicates that the citole had not fallen completely out of use at the English court and that its use in the previous decade might be further hidden by the use of non-vocational surnames.

4.6.6   THE MULTIPLE ROYAL CITOLERS

As many as three known players of the citole were King's minstrels at the same time. Comparison of payment records during the reigns of Edward II and Edward III indicate some of the minstrels played both citole and vielle. This suggests not only the prominence of the citole at court around 1325, but also indicates some of the possible combinations of instruments with which the citole might have been played.

After 1318, when some of the royal minstrels were expected to be at court regularly, and not just for the major feast days, the payment accounts suggest that at least one Household citoler might have been among the musicians of the King's Chamber. With regard to the duties of a minstrel attached to a manorial household, Woolgar comments that 'the purpose of these entertainers was little different from that of the other groups within the household: they added to the honour, status, profit and well-being of the Lord.'[204] The York Ordinance of 1318 gives a clue as to expected duties and position of Edward II's core Household musicians.

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[200] London, NA, E101/393/15, membrane 4, and Livery Roll E101/394/16. Livery Roll, membrane 8. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), p. 112.
[201] G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 112.
[202] G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 110.
[203] These three are mentioned later in London, NA, E101/394/16, Livery Roll, 29 June, 37 Edw. III. – 29, June, 38 Edw. III. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 110-112.
[204] Woolgar, The Great Household, p. 29.

> Item ij trompers soient, et ij autres ministralx soient, al fois pluis, al foitz meins, qi ferrount lour minstraucie deuaunt le roi a toutz lez foitz qi luy plerra. Et mangerount en chambre ou en la sale solonqe qils serrount comaundez. Et serrount a gagez et a robez, chescun soloqe soun estate al discrencoun seneschall et tresorer.[205]

Unfortunately, no comprehensive list of Household minstrels has been identified, until after 1324, to demonstrate the range of possible instruments that the 'ij autres ministralx' in 1318 might have played. Both Vala and Thomas citoler are known to have been Household minstrels at the time, which indicates that these unspecified 'other minstrels' of the Chamber could have included a citoler. According to a translated copy from 1601, the same regulation was recorded in another document dated June 1323, [206] which is closer to the date of surviving Household lists. Given that the small number of minstrels who received livery to accompany Edward II to France in 1325/6 was limited to several trumpeters, a nakerer, a *corner*, Henry Neusom, Yomi Vala, Thomas *le vieler* and Richard *le vieler*, it seems likely that the two 'other minstrels' would have been a pair of stringed-instruments players. Since of the four listed, one (Vala) was a known citoler and two others (Thomas and Richard) are probable or occasional citolers, it seems very likely that one of the King's Chamber minstrels, required to play before Edward II whenever it should please him, would have played the citole.

At least two of the royal citolers, Thomas and Richardyn, were probably also known as vielle players. That proficiency on both instruments might not have been unusual is suggested by literary sources such as *Daurel et Beton* and the anecdotal prose history *Fouke Fitz Warin*.[207] Two thirteenth-century poems, *Fadet Joglar* and *Des Deux Bordéors Ribauz*,[208] suggest that skilled entertainers of the time were multi-

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[205] T. F. Tout, *The Place Of The Reign Of Edward II in English History* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1936), p. 272.

[206] The 1601 translation by Francis Tate, MS Oxford, Bodleian, Ashmole 1147 reads 'There shalbe ij trompeters & two other minstrels, & sometime more & sometime lesse, who shal play before the kinge when [it shal] please him. Thei shal eate in the chambre or in the hal as thei shalbe commaunded; thei shal have wages & robes each according to his estate at the discretion of the steward & thresorer.' Frederic J. Furnivall, *Life Records of Chaucer*, Chaucer Society Publications (London: K. Paul, Trench and Trübner 1900), p. 46.

[207] (Text B.46) Paul Meyer, ed., *Daurel et Beton: chanson de geste Provençale* (New York and London: Johnson Reprint, 1966), p. 48. Louis Brandin, *Fouke Fitz Warin: roman de XIVe siècle*, Les classiques français du Moyen Âge (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1930), p. 51.

[208] (Appendix A.2 and B.14) Wilhelm Keller, 'Das Sirventes "Fadet Joglar" des Guiraut von Calanso', *Romanische Forschungen*, 22 (1908), pp. 99-238 (pp. 143-44). Anatole De Montaiglon, ed., *Recueil général et complet des fabliaux des XIII et XIV siècles*, 6 vols (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1914), I, pp. 4-5.

instrumentalists.[209] Payment records from a century later in Navarre, verify that the citole and vielle were played by the same musician: Arnaut Guillem de Ursua appears in two records as *juglar de citolla*, and once each as *juglar de viola* and *juglar de viola de arco*.[210]

Payment records from the reigns of Edward II and Edward III offer possible insights into which instruments might have been played with the citole, especially when the number of instrumentalists named is limited. Since a gift was given to Henry Newsom, *harpour le Roi*, and Richardyn, *cytoler le Roi*, for making their minstrelsy, it is reasonable to assume that they performed on harp and citole.[211] The frequent pairings of Vala, who is only identified as a citoler, with Thomas, certainly a citoler and probably vieller, suggests that they played either two citoles,[212] or citole with vielle;[213] or one citole played solo (any combination of which might also have accompanied voice). A record in the controller's account of 1324, of a gift to three musicians (Mestre Richard Dorre vỳler, Vala citoler, and Henry de Neusom harpour), offers the further possibility of combinations including vielle, citole, harp and voice.[214] Although this seems like a very small range of instruments, there are no other stringed instruments described as being played by the King's minstrels during the last decade of Edward II.[215] It is perhaps not coincidental that the citole, harp and vielle are the instruments that appear most frequently in the illustrations of the treatise on kingship (*c.*1325-7) written by Walter Milemete, and are the instruments included in the coronation scenes.[216]

Bullock-Davies proposes that the transition from *Ars antiqua* to *Ars nova* in the early fourteenth century might have been responsible for the demise of harpers as

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[209] Instrumental Combinations will be discussed further in §11.

[210] (Appendix A. A.69) The entries are dated 13-28 June 1413. Castro, *Catálogo*, XXX: Año 1413, pp. 245, 254, 263 and 266.

[211] Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, pp. 135 and 166. London, SoAL MS 122, page 50.

[212] (Appendix A. A.36b) G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 86.

[213] (Appendix A. A.30) G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), vol. II, p. 83 and 84.

[214] (Appendix A. A.23) G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), vol. II, p. 82.

[215] The Queen's minstrels included Dominic le Guttarer and William le Sautreour. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 76-77.

[216] Michael Michael, 'The Iconography of Kingship in the Walter of Milemete Treatise', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), pp. 35-47 (plates 4 and 5). Reproduced here in Appendix B, Ill. 122 and 123.

the mainstay of the royal minstrels after the beginning of the reign of Edward II.[217]
This certainly would help explain the difference between the varieties of the
instruments associated with the royal minstrels of Edward I and Edward II.[218] The
transition between the minstrels of Edward II to Edward III and the instruments that
they played seems to have been subtle. When Edward III takes the throne, the only
stringed instrument obviously added to the Household minstrels is the psaltery.[219]
Several years later (1330) a gitterner joins the Household minstrels. Although there
is no documentary evidence to support that a Household citoler every performed
with either the Household psalterer or gitterner, it is possible.

It seems unlikely that the lute would have been played with the citole at court, since
they do not seem to have been present there at the same time. Although Edward I
had a long-serving lute-player, John Le Leutor,[220] evidence for the lute at court
during the reigns of Edward II and Edward III is negligible.[221] If as Spring suggests,
'during the early fourteenth century the well-established citole was eclipsed in
popularity by the newly introduced lute and gittern',[222] this was not the case at the
royal court. Players of the gittern and citole regularly co-exist as royal minstrels
from 1330-50, but there is no evidence for a lute player in the Household during the
time in which the citole is recorded there. The reforms of 1323-4 suggest that if a
lute player had been a member of the Household he would have appeared in the
livery rolls, but none has been identified for this period. Even visiting lute players
are rare. None has been identified during the reign of Edward II.[223] A visiting lute
player appears twice in the records of 1330 (4 Edw. III): Peter le Leutour in August
and Berdric le Leutor in December.[224] Because there seems to be no period of
overlap between the citole and lute at court, it is unlikely that they were ever played

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[217] Bullock-Davies describes the usual number of Edward I's harpers as four and identifies various
individuals in the changing line-up. Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum Multitudo*, pp. 124-5.
[218] If this is the case it also suggests that the citole was more appropriate for Ars Nova music.
[219] Appendix A, AX.2.
[220] Years 25-33 Edw. I. See G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 16, 18, 35, 39, 42, 47,
49.
[221] Rastall identifies only one record to mention a servant possibly associated with the lute, 'John
Leut de Bekenfeld' who was a servant of the Marshalsea. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968),
vol. II, p. 86.
[222] M. Spring, *The Lute in Britain*, p. 13.
[223] A John 'le Luter' who appears in the London Subsidy Roll of 1319 was a merchant, probably a
vintner according to Ekwall,*Two Early London Subsidy Rolls*, No. 48, pp. 107 and 301.
[224] G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 66 and 67.

together regularly there. The implications of the lute and the citole not having been at court together will be discussed in §11.

Fortunately, the Household minstrels seem to have been a relatively stable group of long-serving musicians during much of this period. Edward II had only four stringed-instrument players who were regularly recorded as minstrels 'le Roi'. Edward III seems to have expanded the number and variety of Household minstrels slightly but comparison of livery lists for 1326 and 1330 suggests that the change in personnel was infrequent.[225] Although Edward III had several harpers, a psaltery-player, and a gitterner, it was a vieller and citoler who he chose to have with him on his travels. It seems that Household citolers, particularly Vala and Thomas citoler, were not merely retainers of Edward II and Edward III, but that their musical skills were favoured enough for them to be chosen to be part of the retinue that accompanied these monarchs when they were away from court.

4.6.7 THE CITOLE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF WAR 1344-7 (APPENDIX A, A.52)

It is often quoted that the household accounts of Edward III list twenty five minstrels,[226] including only two *bas* instruments: one citoler and one fiddler. The document that mentions twenty five minstrels, was drawn up by Walter de Wetewang in advance of the military campaign in Flanders of 1344-7 and is probably best described as a Muster Roll.[227] Best known from the sixteenth-century Anglicised transcription,[228] it includes among the 'some of all the Army' twenty five 'Mynstrelles':[229]

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[225] Livery roll of 1326 or 1327 see Appendix A, AX.2. Livery roll of 1330, London, NA, E101/385/4, see Appendix A, A. 33a.

[226] Howitt and Galpin each count 25 minstrels, Olson 19 (excluding the archers but including the Waytes) and Lort counts 22. William Howitt, 'Music', in *John Cassell's Illustrated History of England* (London W. Kent, 1857) 1, pp. 467-70 (p. 470). Francis W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music: Their history and character* (London: Methuen, 1910). Claire C. Olson, 'The Minstrels of the Court of Edward III', *PMLA*, 56 (1941), pp. 601-12. Lort, and others, eds, *Household of King Edward III*, pp. 1-12, not including the waytes.

[227] 'The parcells of the accompte of Sir Walter Wentwage, knight and Treasurer of the said howshould' as described by Wrottesley, 'Crecy and Calias', p. 4.

[228] Wrottesley mentions a virtually identical document, College of Arms MS 2.M.16, which he describes as a probable early sixteenth-century copy of an account by Walter de Wetewang, and suggests that the original forms part of the same document as the exchequer account E101/390/12. Wrottesley, 'Crecy and Calias', pp. 191-204.

[229] Lort, and others, eds, *Household of King Edward III*, pp. 4 and 8.

Trompetters	5
Citolers	1
Pipers	5
Taberet	1
Clarions	2
Nakerers	1
Fedeler	1
Wayts	3
Archers, mounted	3
Archers, on foot	3

One of the particular features of Wetewang's list is that he names occupations rather than individuals, unlike the Household livery records for this period, which name specific minstrels but often omit their skill.[230] Although the suggested number of twenty five household minstrels seems to be supported by a Counter-Roll of 1337-8,[231] which names 22 minstrels and 3 wayts, there are four soft instruments not two : a citoler, a gitterner and two harpers,[232] Rastall suggests that, like other servants, the remaining 'soft' minstrels would have gone to France as archers or men-at-arms,[233] which may account for the six archers who were budgeted for among the minstrels, listed at twice the salary of regular archers.[234] Despite approximating the number of minstrels present in the Household, Walter de Wetewang's list is not a record of Household staff but rather a budget for war.

This list of minstrels recorded in Wetewang budget is almost certainly not an 'ensemble,' as some writers have suggested, but a selection of instruments required for various functions within the expeditionary force.[235] The use of *haut* instruments in battle is well recorded.[236] *Bas* instruments might also have been used as general

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[230] (Appendix A. A.51) In the 1343 payment of robes, the king's minstrels are individually named. London, NA, E36/204, ff. 88 and 90. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, p. 104.

[231] (Text A.42) G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), II, pp. 97-98.

[232] At least six of the minstrels named are trumpeters. Due to the use of surnames it is not clear who the fiddler would be in this list.

[233] G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians' (1968), I, p. 95.

[234] The daily rate for minstrels at the time of war was 12*d.*, twice as much as a gunner, archer, vintner, ships carpenter, artificer or messenger. Lort, and others, eds, *Household of King Edward III*, p. 9.

[235] Olson offers this as a piece of evidence that 'suggests the existence of a fairly well developed ensemble performance.' Olson, 'The Minstrels of the Court of Edward III', p. 603.

[236] Trumpets for signalling to and marshalling troops is described by the 13th-century chronicler, Jean Le Bel:

> each man should saddle up and ready his horses as soon as the sound of the trumpets was heard; on hearing the trumpets the second time, he should arm himself; and the third time, he should mount without delay and draw to his banner.

noise makers during battle: according to the description of the battle of Sluys in the *French Chronicle of London* written circa 1343 'and immediately our ships turned back against them, and the mêlée began with trumpets, nakers, viols, tabors and many other musical instruments.'[237] However, it seems more likely that the citoler and fedeler/vieller specified in the 1344-1346 account were budgeted for as entertainers.

Because the budget specifies the instrument types, this indicates the intention was to have a citole-player and a vieller, not particular musicians. That the instruments listed in Wetewang's muster roll reflect those that were actually included in the subsequent campaign is verified by comparison with pay records for service overseas. Although the identity of the vieller/fedeler is not clear, due to the use of non-vocational surnames, the citoler who went to Flanders with Edward III is undoubtedly Thomas, despite his being an old man.[238] This is not merely based on a process of elimination.[239] Thomas citoler is listed in the 1347-1348 payments of war wages, demonstrating that he was still an important part of the musical life of the court and that, at least when Wetewang drew up the budget, Thomas was still playing the citole.[240]

4.7   LATE RECORDS

As mentioned previously, the increased use of inherited surnames during the course of the fourteenth century,[241] makes it difficult to determine whether some records indicate a citoler or the son of a citoler. The manner in which the other petitioners are mentioned in the 1352 pardon of special grace that includes Henry Chitoler

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A contemporaneous English account of the battle of Halidon Hill of 1333 describes how as the battle began 'the English minstrels sounded their drums and trumpets and pipes: and the Scots gave their hideous war cry.' Clifford J. Rogers, *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), p. 9 and 38.

[237] London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra A. VI, fol. 76. C. J. Rogers, *The Wars of Edward III*, p. 85.

[238] This is based not merely on the length of his service but the description of him, in 1350, as 'so far verging on old age'. Great Britain PRO, *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Edward III, A.D. 1350-54*, ed. Maxwell Lyte (1907), p. 22.

[239] Vala died before 1337 and Richardyn disappeared from the records before 1330.

[240] Wrottesley, 'Crecy and Calias', p. 208.

[241] W. G. Benham, *The Oath Book of Colchester*, pp. v-vi.

seems to indicate the use of surnames.[242] Henry, however, might have been a manorial minstrel who earned his surname through playing the citole. Unfortunately, none of the records after 1356 use a definite article with the term *citoler*.[243] Some do not need the prefix 'le' to clarify that they were musicians, such as the Household minstrel John Sitoler or James Hornchild sytoler of Norwich. In the cases of Roger Sitoler (1367),[244] William Sitoler (1378),[245] Johannes Sitoler (1377-80),[246] Johannes Soutolyer (1379),[247] and Henry Sitoler (1380),[248] it is not possible to determine from the context whether each gained their surname from a personal association with the citole or whether it was inherited from their father who had been known as a citoler.

4.8   GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The evidence that is provided by surviving documents, although limited in many ways, offers the only reliably accurate details regarding the social position of some citolers in medieval society. Records show that the majority of citolers mentioned in records, both in the royal court and elsewhere, had relatively settled lives. That some were householders with long tenancies, such as in Aldgate and Oxford, and that citolers held positions of trust, such as bailiffs, suggest that a few citolers were somewhat prosperous and responsible citizens. The number of different towns in which citolers appear in rent and tax records also shows that the instrument enjoyed popularity outside courtly circles. Agnes in Oxford (and Marie in Paris) demonstrates that women could be associated with playing the citole. Itinerant citolers or those who were short-term lodgers, who might not have been included in property-related records, are absent from legal documents as well. The English

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[242] (Appendix A. A.59) Possibly most telling is Maud Rye, who unlike the main recipient of the pardon, 'Margaret late wife of Roger Haunsard', seems to possess a surname. Great Britain PRO, *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Edward III, A.D. 1350-54*, ed. Maxwell Lyte (1907), p. 307.

[243] (Appendix A. A.60) The last use of the definite article in conjuction with the name Citoler seems ocur in payment order to Thomas le Citoler for the arrears owed to him. Great Britain PRO, *Calendar of Close Rolls: Edward III, A.D. 1354-60*, ed. Maxwell Lyte (1908), p. 283.

[244] (Text A.63a) Jeayes, ed., *Court Rolls of Colchester, Vol. 2: 1353-1367*, p. 224.

[245] (Text A.64) Hailstone, *Supplement to the History and Antiquities of the Parish of Bottisham*, pp. 11-12.

[246] (Text A.6) Greenwell, ed., *Bishop Hatfield's Survey*, p. 163.

[247] (Text A.65) Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical, *Rolls of the West Riding Lay Subsidy A. D. 1379*, p. 152.

[248] This Henry might be a descendant of Will. Sitoler from Rogate mentioned in the Sussex subsidy rolls of 1331 (see Appendix A, A.35 and A 66). W. Hudson, *Three Earliest Subsidies for Sussex*, p. 238. Cooper, 'Former Inhabitants of Chichester', p. 69.

citolers about whom we have evidence, throughout the fourteenth century and in diverse parts of England, were not socially marginal but were seemingly reputable and prosperous enough to hold tenancies and paid taxes.

Documentary sources are factual but selective in the sorts of evidence that they preserve. Even with more than four dozen records relating to English citolers, the limitations of this type of material mean that there are too many lacunae to build a comprehensive picture of who, where and when the citole was played in England. It is important to consider why citolers might not have been named in records as well as when and where they were. Only those individuals specifically called 'citoler' can be identified as having had a connection with the instrument. Because many of the individuals denoted as citoler had common given names, it is often difficult to discern whether the diverse documents that mention citolers with the same first name, relate to the same individual.[249] Since only two English records before 1300 distinguish citolers, very little can be said about citolers in England during the thirteenth century except that some existed. Given the impediments of inconsistent book-keeping practices, loss of records, generic payments, and use of non-vocational surnames, it is rather surprising that so many documentary references to citolers have survived. The nature of record keeping is also biased towards legal and financial matters and only references to citolers engaged in relevant activities would have been preserved. Legal and property-related records offer some breadth of information, about where some citolers lived, but indicate very little about for whom or in what situations a citoler might have worked, or even whether the player was an amateur or a professional. Royal payment accounts from the courts of Edward II and Edward III, especially those after 1324, provide financial information about individual Household minstrels who played the citole but only hint at how the instrument might have been used. These notes made by scribes more than six hundred years ago, were designed to record nothing more than payments, debts and judgements, and just incidentally include citolers.

Although the appellation 'citoler' indicates that an individual was associated with the instrument either as a player or teacher, it is often not possible to determine

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[249] As shown on Table 4a, there are several citolers named William, Richard and John.

which of these, nor whether it was their vocation or avocation.[250] Certainly the principle duty of the citolers mentioned among the minstrels of the royal Household was as musicians, but they probably played other instruments as well as the citole. The William who was pardoned in 1269 and another William who was given the letter of protection in 1338 were also probably minstrels associated with influential households but this is not demonstrable. The manner in which James Hornchild is described, with the inclusion of a surname and a location, indicates that *sytoler* was his profession. Alternatively, the lack of a given name in the rent records relating to the *domo quondam le Sitoler*, in Oxford, also probably denotes the tenant's occupation. The *Agn. la Setoler*, the *Regrator* in Oxford, probably had the resale of foodstuffs as her primary trade, and it is not clear whether her connection with the citole was as part-time entertainer or teacher,[251] or as amateur attempting to raise her social cache by demonstrating a genteel knowledge of practical music.[252] Because I. Sitoler, who rented the shop in Deep Hall, is described as *Magister*, it is most likely that he was a teacher of music who offered instruction in citole playing. There is insufficient information to determine whether the remaining citolers were minstrels or merely enthusiastic amateurs but they all had an association with the citole that was prominent enough for them to be described in relation to it.

The majority of the citolers in records are mentioned in relation to a property. The lack of rent or tax records for contiguous years means that many of these individuals appear only in a single document and for some properties the only evidence of the tenancy is because of a legal issue. If the recipient of the rent for John Citoler's tenancy for life in Wells had not been altered in 1347 and 1349, there might be no record of a citoler in Somerset. Similarly the citoler involved in the tenancy dispute at the manor of Bugbrooke, offers the only indication that a player of the citole was resident in Northamptonshire. A few properties for which several documents, or a summary of documents, survive indicate that some citolers maintained long

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[250] Unlike the French term *citoléeur*, it has not been suggested that the English term 'citoler' included makers.

[251] That teaching the citole to other women was a respectable profession is suggested by John Gower's late fourteenth-century *Confessio Amantis* is discussed in §9.5. John Gower, *The Complete Works of John Gower: the English works, part I*, ed. by G. C. Macaulay, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1901), II, p. 426.

[252] (Text A.23) The late thirteenth-century poem *Le Clef D'amour*, includes the citole among instruments that it is desirable for a noble young woman to learn to play. Edwin Tross, ed., *La clef d'amour: poème publié d'après un manuscrit du XIVe siècle* (Lyon: Louis Perrin, 1866), p. 98.

tenancies.[253] Because the nature of rent books and tax rolls is to record the name of a householder, they demonstrate that citolers who are identified in relation to property are clearly not socially marginal nor itinerant.

Tax and property accounts can identify the relative level of wealth of a particular citoler. The 1341 Cambridge tax record for Adam le Citoler indicates that some citolers were reasonably wealthy. Roger Sitoler's will records that his property was to be sold after his death, which indicates that he was prosperous enough to own a garden and 'mora' in Colchester.[254] The Household minstrels were certainly not rich but they had steady employment and a reasonable wage. Thomas citoler's tenancy near London Bridge seems to have been quite comfortable, with several rooms including a solar. Most of the citolers recorded seem to have lived moderately, paying typical rents, and common rates of tax.

Even tax records can not be relied upon to mention every individual. The disappearance of virtually all of the instrumentally-derived names, including the four citoléeurs, from the surviving tax accounts for Paris after 1292 seems to indicate that some change in circumstance exempted them from individual liability, and therefore hid their existence, rather than that Paris was devoid of musicians.[255] Often it was only the head of a household who was listed in relation to a lay-subsidy; individuals who had no concrete assets, such as live-in servants or the poor, might not be recorded. Residents of some areas of England, such as the Palatinates of Cheshire and Durham and most of the major ports of Kent and Sussex,[256] were exempt from many of the lay-subsidies. On the other hand, even when individuals paid tax documentation might not require them to be individually named. Adam le Citoler is mentioned by name in the 1341 Cambridge tax accounts only because the amount he owed was different from the sum originally estimated. If the initial valuation had been accurate, his name would not have been recorded in the surviving record. Although the late fourteenth-century poll taxes would have named

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[253] Robert le Cytoler is recorded as holding a property from 1307-25 and the tenant of the house opposite Kybald Street in Oxford was resident for more than twenty years.
[254] It is unclear whether his surname was inherited.
[255] In the 1313 tax accounts, there appear to be only three male performers and two female performers listed for the whole of Paris. Michaëlsson, Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an de grâce 1313 (1951), pp. 11, 176, 224, and 247.
[256] The 'Cinque Ports', their corporate limbs, and the 'antient towns' had special exemptions.

most of the population, these accounts have not yet been thoroughly investigated for evidence of additional citolers.[257] The poll tax of 1380 reveals the only known person named Sitoler for the city of Chichester, one of the ports exempt from the lay-subsidies, and the poll tax of 1379 offers a possible citoler in West Yorkshire. Tax records offer evidence of citolers but only when someone named as a citoler was liable for tax, individually recorded as having paid tax, the record survives, and the citation has been identified.

Legal records, which offer the possibility of recording any citolers who did engage in socially marginal behaviour,[258] seem to indicate that the citolers mentioned committed only minor infractions, were the injured party, were not involved, or were not guilty. Agnes was fined a small fee for selling inferior beer, which seems to have been common occurrence in Oxford at the time. Although a William Sitoler participated in the unauthorized removal of a beached whale in 1338, this does not seem to have been a serious offence, nor a common one. The pardon of special grace to the widow of Roger Haunsard, along with Henry Chitoler and four others,[259] indicates that their actions in breaking into the chamber of Robert de Asterby and removing charters, was deemed justifiable; the date of 1352 suggests that this forcible seizure of documents related to the sort of land disputes that occurred subsequent to the Black Death. Some citolers are recorded as victims, Richard le Sytoler who appears in the Common Pleas Roll of 1328 was the complainant and James Hornchild in 1361 suffered an unlawful death. Another Richard Sitoler had nothing to do with the 1306 Oxford stabbing and is mentioned because his brother was involved in a crime. In terms of surviving records, it is fortunate that William le Citolur was an innocent 'person of interest' in the death of Simon in 1269. The documents required to clear his name provide evidence for a citoler in England decades earlier than any other known record, but also indicate that he had influential advocates and possible connections to the royal family. If William had been a murderer, or if he had been elsewhere at the time, he might never have been

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[257] The increased use of inherited surnames during the fourteenth century, however, undermines the usefulness of an extensive search of the existing poll tax accounts.
[258] The players of citoles do not seem to have the same reputation for drunken disturbances as do gittern players. See L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), pp. 14-5.
[259] Given the surnames of the other participants (Rye, Nourth, Haunsard and Chaumberleyne) it is difficult to determine whether Chitoler is an inherited name.

mentioned. No document has been identified from any country that demonstrates that citolers were known for knavery or disreputable behaviour.

Citolers seem to have been relatively widespread in England, although they appear most frequently in the south and east of the country. Rent and tax records demonstrate that, between 1298 and 1380, people identified as *citoler* resided in a variety of areas: Oxford, London, Cambridge, Bugbrooke (Northampton), Wells (Somerset), Rogate (Sussex), Dunolm (Durham), Colchester (Essex), Heton (West Yorkshire) and Chichester (Sussex). Legal documents suggest that some also had connections with Lincolnshire, Norwich, Fimmore,[260] and Oteley.[261] Citolers appear in university towns, cities, ecclesiastical centres and rural manors.

Documents indicate that citolers were present in England for most of the fourteenth century. Surviving English records from the period between 1306 and 1350 offer the most information relating to citolers.[262] During this time there seem to have been numerous citole players across the country as well as at court. The greatest number of individual citolers are named during this period, with at least nine different given names being qualified by the descriptive term 'citoler'.[263] However, because the names Richard and William appear so frequently, and in several areas, it is difficult to tell exactly how many individual citolers these describe. Although they relate to only three individuals, the greatest quantity of documents relating to the individual royal Household citolers were produced between 1325-1350. This indicates that the citole was still a very common instrument in England until at least the middle of the fourteenth century and possibly later.

Payments to English royal citolers in the first half of the fourteenth century, while indicating likely instrumental combinations, also demonstrate that several citolers, and hence the citole, enjoyed high status in the courts of Edward II and Edward III

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[260] It is unclear whether Fimmore is in Oxfordshire or Yorkshire.
[261] I have not been able to verify whether the Oteley refered to the Roll of Common Pleas in 1328, is relevant to Richard le Sytoler, and whether it is the Manor of Oteley in Shropshire, Otley near Ipswich or Otley in Yorkshire.
[262] Another cluster of records appears c. 1377- 80 because of the poll taxes.
[263] Janyn, Richard, Robert, Agn., Ivo, Thomas, William, Adam, and John. Although Janyn is a form of John it is unlikely that the 1306 payment and the 1347-9 rent record relate to the same individual. For the purpose of counting individual names, Vala will be considered as Ivo despite being also noted as Jirom and John.Vala is also clearly distinct from these two other Johns mentioned before 1350.

from at least 1312 through 1350. Although it is very probable that Vala and/or Thomas citoler worked for the crown throughout this period, even with the large number of surviving state papers, documents that demonstrate this have not survived for every year. The gaps in the evidence are not caused by fickleness on the part of employer or employee, however, the conventions of bookkeeping did not always preserve individual names, manuscripts have been lost, and Household livery lists have not been identified for every year.

Each of the citolers known to have worked for the English royal Household demonstrate how difficult it can be to identify the player of a particular instrument given that their identities might be hidden by the use of other descriptors. Even the long-serving court citolers, Thomas and Vala are not always clearly identified as citolers. Thomas citoler seems to have been listed occasionally as Thomas vidulator and (John, Jirom or Ivo) Vala, because of his unusual surname, is often listed without any instrumental identifier. Before 1324 the members of the Household were not listed systematically but visiting minstrels were named in special payments. This bookkeeping convention hides the regular musical activities at court, in favour of singular events. Although there are no explicit references to visiting citolers at the English court these might also be hidden. The Household minstrels however clearly included at least one citoler for most of the first-half of the fourteenth century. That the citole retained importance in the music of the English court is demonstrated by the citole and vielle being the two *bas* instruments specified in the 1344 budget to accompany Edward III on campaign. Although John Sitolers tenure at court is not clear, that he was given robes as a Household minstrel in 1361 indicates that the citole was still known at court at that time.

According to the surviving documents, during the fourteenth century, people identified as citolers appeared in many parts of England (See Map 1). Many of these records indicated where the citoler lived. Often the citolers recorded were respectable and responsible, holding tenancies and paying taxes and they had modest means of existence and a few seem to have been wealthier. Some of the citolers earned their living as musicians, were teachers and some were enthusiastic amateurs, but all were closely enough associated with the citole that they were identified by the appellation *citoler*.

Records offer verifiable indicators of where citole players lived and what their economic status might have been but rarely where, with whom, for whom and in what situations they worked. In order to find indications of how citoles might have been used in performance situations it is necessary to look to literary references.

Map 1: Geographical Distribution of Citolers in English Documentary Sources
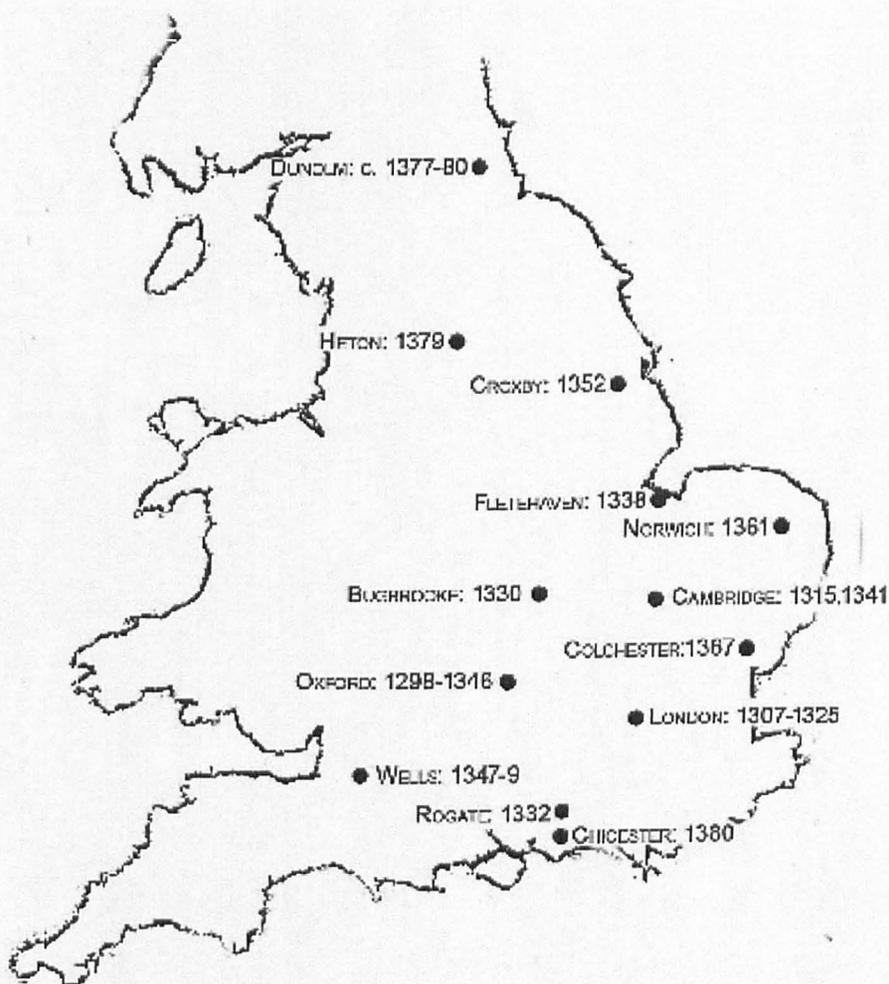
Table 1: NAMED CITOLERS, BY DATE AND TYPE OF EVIDENCE

Below is a summary of the citolers discussed in the previous sections. The first column lists
the date of the surviving record unless the date appears in parenthesis (which indicate that
the reference occurs only in a later copy or summary). The date of these later documents is
shown in the second column.

DATE	RECORD DATE[†]	NAME	PLACE	RECORD	APP. REF.
1269		William le Citolur	England	Pardons	A.6a-b
1292		Mestre Thomas, le citoléeur	Paris	Tax	A.7a
1292		Adam, de Troies, citoléeur	Paris	Tax	A.7a
1292		Jehan, du Bois, le citoléeur	Paris	Tax	A.7a-b
1292		Thomas, le citoléeur	Paris	Tax	A.7a
1298		Nic. le Cytoler	Oxford	Inquest	A.8
1306		Roger le Citoleur	Orleans	Rent	A.9
1306		Janyn le Citoler	London	Payment to	A.10
1307		Richard le Citoler	Oxford	Inquest	A.11
(1307–1325)	1425 summary	Robert le Cytoler	London	Rent	A.12
1311		Agn' la Setoler	Oxford	Assize	A.13
1312–1334		Ivo/Jirom/John Vala	England	Payments to	see below[264]
1313		Marie la citolerresse	Paris	Tax	A.15
1314–1356		Thomas le Citoler	England	various	see below[265]
1315		Adam le Cytoler	Cambridge	Tax	A.16
1325		mag. I. Sitoler	Oxford	Rent	A.24
1325, 1328, 1346		unnamed citoler (Robert?)	Oxford	Rent	A.27, 31, 54
1326		Richardyn	England	Payment to	A.28
1328		Richard le Sytoler	Westminster	Legal	A.32
1330		Richard/William Citoler	Northampton	Legal	A.34a-b
1332		Will Sitoler	Sussex	Tax	A.35
1338		William le Sitoler	Fletehaven	Legal	A.45a-b
1338		William le Cytoler	Northampton	Travel letter	A.46
1339		Robert le Cetoler	Oxford	Rent	A.47
1341		Ada' le Citoler	Cambridge	Tax	A.50
1347 and 1349		John Citoler	Wells	Legal	A.53, 57
1352		Henry Chitoler	Croxby	Pardon	A.59
1361		John Sitoler	England	Payment to	A.61
1361		James Hornchild	Norwich	Legal	A.62
1367		Roger Sitoler	Colchester	Legal	A 63a-b
1378		Wm Sitoler	Cambridge	Guild	A.64
c.1377–80	completed 1382	Johannes Sitoler	Dunolm	Rent	A.67
1379		Johannes Soutolyer	Heton	Tax	A.65
1380		Henry Sitoler	Chichester	Tax	A.66
1412–3		Arnaut Guillem de Ursúa	Navarre	Payments to	A.68 - 69

[†] if recorded in a document that is not contemporaneous.
[264] Vala appears with variations to his forename in Appendix A, texts A.14, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 29, 30,
33a-b, 36, 37. 40.
[265] Thomas le citoler appears in Appendix A, texts A.17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 33a-b, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42,
43, 44, 48, 49, 51, 55, 56, 58 and 60.

5. LITERARY SOURCES

Although the narratives written for entertainment or education do not have the same strict veracity as the transactions recorded for legal or accounting purposes, this does not mean that they are necessarily contrary to reality. As Stevenson comments:

> Each of these narratives, be it prose or poetry, possesses along with a substratum of history, a large portion of the alloy of fiction; and these are so intermixed and intermingled that it is always difficult to specify the exact line at which the history ends and the fiction begins.[1]

The use of a *citole*-related name can offer clues about the status of this instrument type in the mind of the scholar who chose to include that term. On the other hand, the term might just be offered as a simple substitution for *cithara* or *lira*. Poetic and scholarly works give indications of not just who played the citole but in what situations and in what instrumental groupings, as well as demonstrating the breadth of familiarity with the instrument name. Literature has also preserved references to citolers in areas of manuscript production in which payment or rent records are not known to exist.

This chapter considers the factors that influenced either the recording of a *citole*-related term in a manuscript or the use of vernacular musical instrument names in medieval literature. Although a variety of topics are considered here, one is intentionally omitted: citole-related terms in narratives set in contemporaneous medieval situations. This chapter investigates some of the topics that are important to consider before discussing the appearances of citolers in stories or poems depicting medieval life (see §9). This chapter considers: citoles in medieval Latin treatises, the use of *citole*-related terms as a translation of the *cithara* or *lira,* latent symbolism in vernacular literature of the Middle Ages, and dating the use of citole-related terms by surviving manuscript (rather than by date of proposed authorship).

Literary sources help to fill out the picture of the use and status of citoles, which can only be sketched by documentary sources. These sources require consideration of why the term *citole* was chosen and its function in the text, in addition to what was

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[1] Anonymous, 'The Legend of Fulk Fitz-Warin', in *Radulphi De Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum,* ed. by Josephus Stevenson (London: Longman, Trübner and others, 1875), pp. 277-415 (p. xxii).

written, by whom, for whom, in what manner, for what reason, where and when. Some translators and scribes chose to modernize the terminology that appeared in earlier texts and others did not. This study discusses works in which *citole* is used as a simple word-substitution for *cithara* or *lira* as well as those that seem to choose the instrument names more selectively. Manuscripts containing these narratives can also act as documentary evidence about when and where a citole-related term was used, but it must be remembered that it is the date of the surviving document, not the date of the author, which provides this proof.

In addition to discussing the citole in narratives with non-contemporaneous settings,[2] this section discusses the contributions of the three types of writer who influenced whether *citole*-related terms appear in a particular manuscript: the author, the translator (if applicable) and the scribe. When considering a literary source, the seven *circumstaciae* (what, where, when, in what manner, for what purpose, for whom and by whom) require only consideration of who authored the text. This assumes, however, that the extant version preserves the text as originally composed. Because only surviving manuscripts can offer proof of when and where a citole-related term was used, it is necessary to consider the influence of scribes and translators as well as authors.

The influence of scribes will be discussed first. Then the term *citole* as it is used in translations or narratives based on biblical or classical texts will be examined. *Citole* is not always a simple substitution for *cithara* or *lira* and, although it may carry some symbolism related to these Latin instrument names, the selective choice of *citole* in these citations can be revealing about the attitude toward, or the use of, the medieval instrument. The importance of dating a *citole* citation to the specific surviving manuscript in which they occur, rather the date of authorship for a narrative, is emphasized throughout this chapter.

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[2] References to the citole in stories that have true-to-life medieval settings are discussed in §9.

5.1 THE INFLUENCE OF THE SCRIBE

This sub-section considers the influence of the scribe (or scribes) responsible for producing the physical documents, which record the term *citole*, because the words that appear in a manuscript were not the choice of the author alone. Individual words might be changed, added or omitted when a work is transcribed. For the purposes of this study, the date of the surviving manuscripts will be used when comparing literary references, rather than date of authorship. Several texts, such as Gonzalo De Berceo's life of San Millán,[3] demonstrate how easily a single word may be exchanged for another during transcription, especially if it does not affect the rhyme or metre of a poem. Among lists of similar objects, names in the middle of a line, or in a prose text, a single term can be easily substituted. Ultimately, it was the person who physically wrote the words on the page who determined the choice of words in a manuscript.

Those who wielded the pen wielded power over which specific words were included in or omitted from the physical document they produced, as well as the form that individual words took. Thus, the occurrence of a specific word, phrase, or variant spelling associated with a particular text can be the product of a scribe or translator. For example the term *siula*, which might or might not be a citole term, is preserved in the single extant copy of the Occitan poem *Flamenca*.[4] Since this term appears nowhere else, and the text is preserved in no other exemplars, it is difficult to know whether *siula* represents an Occitan variant, the *t* in *situla* was replaced by a glottal stop so that it would rhyme better with *viula*, the word in this form is a scribal error or if some other type of instrument was intended.[5] Although the author is responsible for the narrative in which musical instruments might appear, the text might not survive exactly as originally composed. Unless the author was present

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[3] Refer to § 3.1.3 for a more complete discussion of this text.

[4] E. D. Blodgett, ed., *The Romance of Flamenca*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature (New York and London: Garland, 1995), pp. 33-4.

[5] Several modern scholars consider the *siula* to be a wind instrument. While clarifying the instruments of the joglars mentioned in *Flamenca*, Harrison and Rimmer suggest that the terms *flaütella* and *flestella*, and probably *siula*, are fipple flutes. Blodgett offers the translation 'fife' without explanation, although he also offers the same translation 'fife' for *flestella* in v. 611. Frank Harrison and Joan Rimmer, *European Musical Instruments* (London: W.W. Norton, 1964), p. 15. Thurston (as T.D.) Dart, 'Review: "European Musical Instruments"', *Music and Letters*, 46 (1965), pp. 348-50 (p. 349). Elizabeth Aubrey, 'References to Music in Old Occitan Literature', *Acta Musicologica*, 6 (1989), pp. 110-49 (p. 130).

when the manuscript that preserves the text was produced,[6] the text might be altered either through scribal error or intentional 'modernization' of details, which might swap a current instrument name for one that had fallen out of fashion.

As a popular story was modulated and adapted, one term might be replaced with another more familiar to, or having particular associations for, the intended audience. That significant passages could be interpolated is demonstrated by the addition of 176 verses, including a *citole* reference, in an early fourteenth-century copy of *Roman de Renart*.[7] As Cruse comments, medieval narratives could be transformed by a number of discursive interventions.[8] If elements of plot were not immutable, how much less so the reference to a single item?

5.1.1 SURVIVING MANUSCRIPTS: VERIFIABLE EVIDENCE FOR DATING CITATIONS

Dating citations by the physical evidence offered by surviving manuscripts overturns some common assumptions about when citole-related terms first appeared in different regions and linguistic groups. Although it is not uncommon for literary works to be dated by authorship, this is an unsound practice when considering the appearance of a single word in a text. *Daurel et Beton*, for example, is often cited as the earliest use of the term *citola*,[9] although no early manuscript of this work has survived. Kimmel dates the authorship between 1130-50, citing a reference to the epic in Guirat de Cabrera's *Ensenhamen*, composed c.1150-1168,[10] and suggests that since significant events are set in Poitiers and Saint-Hilaire, and meridional language is used, that the poem might originate from the area between Poiters and

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[6] Brunetto Latini and Guillaume de Machaut, for example are known to have been involved with the production of some manuscripts of their own works.
[7] Branch XVII, MS 'M', Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Varia 151, fol 190c. Naoyuki Fukumoto, Noboru Harano and Satoru Suzuki, eds, *Le Roman de Renart édité d'apres les manuscrits C et M* (Tokyo France Tosho, 1985), II, pp. 483-84
[8] 'Compilation, interpolation, emendation and omission recontextualized and redirected narratives to make them correspond to the visions of planners, scribes and patrons.' Markus I. Cruse, 'The Roman d'Alexandre in MS Bodley 264: Text, Image Performance' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 2005), p. 13.
[9] Wright, among others, dates this by authorship. Laurence Wright, 'The Medieval Gittern And Citole: A case of mistaken identity', *GSJ*, 30 (1977), pp. 8-42 (p. 25).
[10] Arthur S. Kimmel, ed., *A Critical Edition of the Old Provençal Epic 'Daurel et Beton' with notes and Prolegomena*, Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), pp. 34-5.

Bordeux.[11] The sole copy, however, has been dated, orthographically, to the mid-fourteenth century and scholars disagree as to the number of scribes involved. Kimmel suggest that, except for three sections, it is primarily the work of one novice scribe (possibly Gascon), and dismisses Meyer's assertion of as many as ten or twelve separate hands.[12] The use of *citola* here does also not necessarily indicate that the term was common in Occitan.[13] Despite being written in a southwestern dialect of Occitan, the work contains a significant number of *langue d'oïl* rhyme words, imitative ornamentation and word endings. Kimmel suggests that this might indicate either a linguistic border location for the poet or, since northern French was a more standard language for epics, these decorations might have been used as seasoning to give epic flavour.[14] Given that the term *citola* appears only once and not in a rhyme position,[15] it could easily have been inserted by a copyist sometime after the date of composition. Given that, by the mid-fourteenth century, citole-related terms were in very common use, *citola* might have replaced another instrument name that was less fashionble.[16] This text still offers credible evidence of the manners and customs of courtly society regarding high-status musicians and shows that by the mid-fourteenth century the citola was a suitable instrument for an accomplished joglar. *Daurel et Beton* offers an example of the term *citola* in an Occitan text but not a mid-twelfth-century example. Because only one manuscript survives to prove that a citole-term was used in this work, the passage in *Daurel et Beton* can only be considered as mid-fourteenth century evidence for the use of the term *citola*.

Often no surviving copies of a work date from the time of composition. For example, the Castilian versified *Poema de Fernán González* has been attributed to an anonymous thirteenth-century monk at the Monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza, but only one manuscript survives; the watermarks in the paper date it to the second

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[11] Kimmel, ed., *'Daurel et Beton'*, p. 47.
[12] Kimmel, ed., *'Daurel et Beton'*, p. 11.
[13] Meyer proposes that *citola* might have been stressed on the first syllable in which case his editorial insertion of 'E' at the beginning of line 1420 would be unneccesary. Paul Meyer, ed., *Daurel et Beton: chanson de geste Provençale* (New York and London: Johnson Reprint, 1966), p. 81.
[14] Kimmel, ed., *'Daurel et Beton'*, p. 47.
[15] (Appendix A. Text B.46) '(E) tocar citola e ricamen arpar': P. Meyer, *Daurel et Beton*, p. 48.
[16] Because the other two instruments named in the passage *viola* and *arpa* appear in numerous other places in the manuscript they would have been more difficult to replace.

half of the fifteenth century.[17] From what survives of the un-modernized language, scholars believe the poem to have been composed around 1250 but whether the original wording of verse 679 read 'avya ay muchas de çitulas e muchos vyoleros' cannot be proven. The surviving manuscript, believed to be the work of at least two careless scribes, is full of erasures, blurring, illegible characters, and 'extreme scribal bungling and haphazard efforts to update the language of the original text.'[18] Although prose versions of the same story have verifiable dates,[19] these are not derived from the *poema* and do not include this reference to instruments. Given this singular, late, exemplar, it is difficult to determine with any certainty at what date the reference to *çitulas* might have first appeared in the *Poema de Fernán González*.

Some scribes were conscientious about transcribing the text as it was presented to them, but the effect of earlier scribes is often difficult to determine. Smither suggests that the large amount of the corruption of the 'Lincoln's Inn manuscript' of the English poem *Kyng Alisaunder* might be due to auditory errors and indicate some sort of oral transmission,[20] whereas he considers the many antiquated and awkward phrasings in 'Laud manuscript'[21] to be the product of a series of scribes who were 'intelligent and knowledgeable and who scrupulously refrained from rewriting difficult passages'.[22] Although the reference to *sitolyng* occurs in both of the surviving late fourteenth-century manuscripts, and therefore probably predates either, whether the term was used by the original author, approximately a century earlier, can not be proven.

In some cases it is possible to infer the use of a specific term in a work earlier than the surviving manuscripts but this prior usage is unverifiable and undatable. Some of the manuscripts that mention the *citole* offer indications that the term might have been used in an earlier version, either in a written version that has not survived or in

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[17] Itzíar López Guil, ed., *Libro de Fernán Gonçález*, Anejos de Revista de literatura (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001), p. 15.

[18] John S. Geary, ed., *Historia del Conde Fernán González a facsimile and paleographic edition* (Madison: Hispanic Seminary for Medieval Studies, 1987), p. ii-v.

[19] Such as those that appear in the *Primera Crónica General* by Alfonso X and *Crónica General de 1344* by Pedro Alfonso. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Crónicas generales de España*, Catálogo de la Real Biblioteca. Manuscritos (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1898), p. 18.

[20] (Text B.55a) London, Library of Lincoln's Inn, MS 150, fols 28r-90r, late fourteenth c.

[21] (Text B.55b) Oxford, Bodleian, Laud Misc. 622, fols 27vl-64vl, c.1400.

[22] G. V. Smithers, ed., *Kyng Alisaunder, Volume I: Text*, EETS, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), I, p. xi, and G. V. Smithers, ed., *Kyng Alisaunder, Volume II: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), II, p. 9.

an orally transmitted form. Where there are numerous copies of a manuscript, and none of those is the source upon which the others are based, it is likely that the citole reference appeared in an earlier exemplar, as with *Fadet Joglar*. The earliest extant copy of *Fadet Joglar*, MS 'D', was copied from an exemplar that was internally dated 1254.[23] That the *citolar* reference in line 25 did not first appear in MS 'D' is suggested by comparison with the other early surviving manuscript, MS 'R'.[24] Significant differences between the two manuscripts indicate that they were not copied from the same exemplar, but the occurrence of *citolar* and *sitolar* in line 25 of each suggests that a citole-related term appeared in this work earlier than either of the surviving manuscripts.[25] Manuscripts derived from oral tradition can also suggest earlier usage, such as in Branch XI of the protean *Roman de Renart* where the citole reference occurs in manuscripts of both group γ and group α.[26] Despite these hints at earlier usage, surviving manuscripts provide the only verifiable dates for the use of *citole* terms.

The disparity between the dates of authorship and the date of surviving manuscript are shown in Tables 2, part I - 2, part VII. For each text an attempt has been made to offer any significant variants of the terms included in the earliest surviving manuscript or manuscripts for that work. This means, for example, that because the two copies of *Fadet Joglar* use significant spelling variants, the Occitan terms included in these tables relate to five manuscripts but to only four texts.[27] The manuscript sources cited in these tables are only literary texts. It is important to show the difference between the purported date and the provable date since, in many cases, a century separates the date of authorship for the text from the first verifiable use of a term.

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[23] Modena, Bibliotheque Estense α, R.4.4., Italian, late thirteenth century (Appendix A, Text B.2a).
[24] Paris, BnF, fr. 22543, (former Lavalliere, No. 14, previous 2701) Occitan, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (Appendix A, Text B.2b).
[25] While the *citolar* reference might been used in the lost 1254 manuscript, it can not be verified to a non-existant manuscript. Wilhelm Keller, 'Das Sirventes "Fadet Joglar" des Guiraut von Calanso', *Romanische Forschungen*, 22 (1908), pp. 99-238.
[26] Naoyuki Fukumoto, Noboru Harano and Satoru Suzuki, eds, *Le Roman de Renart édité d'apres les manuscrits C et M* (Tokyo: France Tosho, 1983), I, pp. xiii-xiv.
[27] The variant terms that appear in later manuscripts are only be mentioned if they are unusual to that time period or linguistic group.

5.1.2 Substitution Of Instrument Names, and the Importance of Rhyming

As with any single word, the term *citole* might be added or omitted by a later scribe. In rhyme positions, *citole* is difficult to replace with a different instrument name, since only *viole* and *flajole* offer comparable rhymes. It is in French texts where *citole* appears most frequently as a rhyme word. Although *citole* is a convenient rhyme for *carole* or *parole*, with which it is usually paired, French texts offer a great variety of rhymes for citole-related terms. Jean des Preis' *Geste de Liegé* demonstrates a range of French rhymes for *cytolle,* offering more than thirty in the same stanza,[28] but the only other instrument name in a rhyme position is *violle.* That instrument names with similar word-endings were interchanged in variants of the same text is evidenced by MS 'C' of *Le Remède de Fortune*, where *citole* replaces *viole* as the rhyme for *flajole.*[29]

French-language texts show the use of both *viele* and *viole* during this period and seem to alter the wording to fit the rhyme. The author of *Claris et Laris* chose the phrase 'citoles beles' in two lists of instruments to offer a rhymes for *fresteles* and *vieles.*[30] The choice of pronunciation might also have been altered to fit the rhyme as demonstrated in *Cleomadés* where *vïeles* appears in two non-rhyme positions but *vïole* is rhymed with *citole.*[31]

Choices of spellings in vernacular texts can occasionally reveal characteristics of the scribe's accustomed pronunciation. Scribes who spoke a dialect different from the dialect of the work being copied sometimes reveal characteristics of their accustomed pronunciation through changes in spelling preferences. Donaldson, in his analysis of *The Destruction of Troy*, suggests that the West Midland dialectic

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[28] (Appendix A, Text BX.6) All of the surviving copies date from the fifteenth century, although the work was written c. 1380. I have not been able to verify which of the surviving manuscripts preserve the *cytolle* rhyme.

[29] (Appendix A, Text B.49) *Viole* occurs in v. 3981 in only MS Paris, BnF, fr. 1586, but since it is the earliest of those compared (dated 1350-55) it must be assumed that *citole* is the usurper here. The citole reference in v. 3964, which is not in a rhyme position, is consistent. Guillaume de Machaut, *Œvres de Guillaume de Machaut,* ed. by Ernest Hœpffner, Société des anciens textes français, 3 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911), II, p. 146.

[30] Anonymous, 'Li romans de Claris et Laris', in *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart,* ed. by Johann Alton (Tübingen: Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 1884), pp. 97 & 391.

[31] v. 2879 *vïeles et salterïons,* v. 17283 *vïeles et sauterïons.* Adenet le Roi, *Les œuvres d'Adenet Le Roi,* ed. by Albert Henry, Travaux de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Bruxelles, 5 vols (Bruxelles: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1971), V, p. 96 & 512.

inclusions to MS Hunterian 388 (V.2.8) may have arisen in part from dictation, rather than transcription, of the source text (Appendix A, Text B.86) and which might explain the unusual variant *sitals*.[32]

Keeping a rhyme seems to have been important to copyists, since in some cases the substitution indicates a change in pronunciation. Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec et Enide* demonstrates how the change of a rhyme word may influence the inclusion or exclusion of a specific instrument. In this case, the *citole* is the usurper. The earliest of Chrétien de Troyes' works, also credited as being the earliest Arthurian romance, *Erec et Enide* survives in seven more-or-less complete manuscripts and four fragments, dating from the late twelfth to early fourteenth centuries.[33] (Appendix A, Text B.10) *Citole* appears in only one surviving copy, in a list of instruments as part of a description of the largess and spectacle.[34] The omission and/or appearance demonstrate the importance of rhyming words in the choice of instrument names and the relative unimportance of individual instrument types. In the majority of surviving texts the relevant couplet is similar to that in the earliest surviving copy MS 'C'.[35]

> cil flaüte, cil chalemele
> cil gigue li autres vïele;[36]

In MS 'P',[37] a later thirteenth-century version copied at Arras, displaying Picard influences, the vowel sound in the word *vïele* is transmuted to *vïole*, requiring a different rhyme:

> Cil cert de gigue, cil de uiole
> Cil d'autre engien, cil de citole

This exchange of chordophone for a reed instrument indicates that maintaining the rhyme was much more important to the scribe than was the instrument type. Of the

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Rev. Geo. A. Panton and David Donaldson, *The "Gest Hystoriale" of the Destruction of Troy: An alliterative romance, translated from Guido Colonna's "Hystoria Troiana"*, EETS, 2 vols (London: Trübner, 1874), II, p. lv.

[33] Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec and Enide*, ed. by and trans. by Ruth Harwood Cline (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 2000), p. ix & xxiii.

[34] Since no objective verse numbering system is observed and verse numbers differ by manuscripts for similar passages, they will not be cited here. See Appendix for further details.

[35] v. 2007-8, MS 'C': Paris, BnF, fr. 794 (Cangé 73), Champagne, second quarter thirteenth century.

[36] Chrétien de Troyes, *Chrétien de Troyes: Eric and Enide*, ed. by and trans. by Carleton W. Carroll, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Series A (New York and London: Garland, 1987), p. 88.

[37] MS 'P': Paris, BnF, fr. 375 (former 6987), c.1288, ff 281vb-295va

six complete manuscripts, which contain the *vïele/chalemele* rhyme, one was produced in Arras and two are written in Picard or Picard-Walloon dialect. Since these should show the same linguistic tendencies as MS 'P', which prefers *uiole* to *vïele*, the change of vowel sound here seems to display the influence of the copyist, rather than regional or linguistic variation.

Another much later example of an exchange of one instrument for a morphologically dissimilar one occurs in the *Dance of Death*, attributed to John Lydgate (Appendix A, Text B.81). Four surviving manuscripts include the term *sithol*,[38] but in MS Oxford, Corpus Christi, 237 the scribe changes *sithol* for *orgon*. Lydgate's early fifteenth-century poem is itself adapted from an earlier French text but the specific instruments appear to be Lydgate's own choice.[39] If the French text contained in the fifteenth-century manuscript (London, BL, Add. 38858) is an accurate exemplar, the minstrel in the French text speaks of his *uiele*, *corneray* and *sotterelle*, whereas in Lydgate, the instruments are '*Harpe lute, phidil ... Sautry, Sithol & Shalmuse*'. MS Oxford, Corpus Christi, 237, in which the term *sithol* is replaced by *orgon* is therefore not influenced by the earlier text.

5.1.3 LOSS OF AN INSTRUMENT REFERENCE IN LATER REDACTION OR COPY

In addition to instrument names being substituted for one another, a single phrase may be so altered that no instrument at all is mentioned in a later version of a work. This is the case with the *Book of the Archpriest of Hita*. Because the citole does not appear in one specific scene, when every other known instrument seems to be listed, some modern scholars believe this indicates that the citole was intentionally excluded.[40] The citole does appear in this scene, in a fourteenth-century copy, but

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[38] MSS containing the citole reference: MS *L'*: Leyden, Leyden University, Codicem 9, Catalogi Voss. gg 4; MS *L''*: Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral, C. 5. 4; MS B': Oxford, Bodleian, Bodley 686; MS *V*: London, BL, Vespasian A 25. John Lydgate, *The Dance of Death: Ed from MSS. Ellesmere 26/a 13, and B. M. landsdome 699, collated with the other extant MSS*, ed. by Florence Warren, EETS (London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 63.

[39] Warren describes the prototype for the Dance of Death genre as the early fourteenth-century poem 'Vado Mori' but Lydgate's work was derived from the French *The Daunce of Machabree* sometime after 1426 but before 1433. Lydgate, *The Dance of Death*, ed. Warren, p. xxii.

[40] Manuel Pedro Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus 7 Cantigas*, trans. by David Cranmer, DeMusica (Kassel Reichenberger, 2005), p. 204.

not in the fifteenth-century manuscript most often cited. The relevant line of text was altered in later versions and the *çitola* disappeared.

The *Book of the Archpriest of Hita*, popularly known as *El Libro de Buen Amor*, is a collection of linked tales, not unlike the *Roman de Renart*. Singleton suggests this might be the work of more than one author. Singleton also proposes that 'Johan Ruyz',[41] who is named in the Salamanca MS stanza 575, might have been an anthologist who compiled various extant narratives and lyric poems, some of which he might have 'modernized' from classical material.[42] Varying in length and content, the surviving copies of *El Libro de Buen Amor*, which stem from at least two internally dated redactions, demonstrate that even when a text is expanded an instrument reference can be lost. Although two citole references are consistent throughout the versions, the addition of a story in the 'Salamanca' MS adds a citole (verse 1019), but another line containing a *çitola* in an early redaction (verse 1323) is so altered that it no longer contains an instrument.[43] Although numerous fourteenth- and fifteenth-century copies and fragments attest to the wide dissemination of this work, only the three most complete will be considered here.

Of the three major copies, the *çitola* is included in the passage describing the main festivities associated with the arrival of the personification of love, Don Amor, in only the fragmentary 'Toledo' MS.[44] Although internally dated 1330,[45] this copy is written entirely in one hand of the late fourteenth century. (Appendix A, Text B.56) Stanza 1323, line d,[46] reads:

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[41] The Archpriest narrator is often erroneously equated with the protagonist in these stories, because of his use of first person narrative. He denies this in stanza 909, line b.

[42] At least one section is identifiable as such: stanzas 583-891 paraphrase the 12th c. Latin poem *Pamphilus*. Juan Ruiz, *The Book of the Archpriest of Hita (Libro de Buen Amor)*, ed. by and translated by Mark Singleton (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1975), p. v-vi.

[43] Verse 1019 is discussed in §11.14.2; verse 1323 is discussed below.

[44] So called because it was given by the Cathedral of Toledo to the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

[45] Stanza 1634a of MS 'T' states that the book was completed in 'Era de mill e tresyentos e sesenta e ocho años' but due to later calendar reform '1368' equates to 1330 A.D. Whereas the same line in MS 'S' reads 'Era de mill e tresientos e ochenta e vn años', which equates to 1343. Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor; edición crítica* ed. by Manuel Criado De Val and Eric W. Naylor, Clasicos Hispanicos, 2nd edn (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1972), p. 553.

[46] This is consensus numbering based on the Salamanca MS.

<div align="center">la **çitola** albordana entre ellos entremete.[47]</div>

Translation:

<div align="center">the clownish **citola** intruded among them.[48]</div>

Another late fourteenth-century copy, known as the 'Gayoso MS', and the early fifteenth-century 'Salamanca MS',[49] *substitutes the phrase 'ill-fated female clown'* for the 'clownish citola'.[50] There is no obvious answer for why 'la hadura' should be substituted for 'la çitola' but Willis makes a convincing case that there is some measure of scribal error involved.[51]

Because the *çitola* does not appear in the extensive list of instruments thataccompany the return of the triumphant Don Amor (stanza 1232), but is mentioned with shepherds (stanza 1213), this text has been cited as an indication of the decline in social status of the citole in Iberia by the second quarter of the fourteenth-century.[52] The passage with the shepherds seems to be a conscious literary reference to a similar scene in *Poema de Alexandro*, not a depiction of contemporaneous life.[53] The author mentions the citole in two additional scenes; one is in a metaphor and the other in a list of instruments not suitable for Arabic music, neither of which support the suggestion of disenfranchisement. This assumption of marginalization is based on the text of the early fifteenth-century Salamanca MS, which, since it is the longest of these manuscripts, is the usual source for modern editions and translation. It is not the author who excluded the *çitola* from this passage but a later copyist.

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[47] Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Criado De Val and Naylor (1972), p. 380 (Text B. 56)

[48] Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. by (with English paraphrase) Raymond S. Willis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. lix-lx.

[49] *la hadura al-bardana entre ellos se entremete*. MS 'Gayoso': Real Academia Española, late fourteenth century, not internally dated, and *la hadedura aluardana entre ellos se entremete*. MS Salamanca: Madrid Universidad Antigua 2663 (Previous Salamanca Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé), early fifteenth-century copy of the 1343 redaction.

[50] While it is possible that *çitola* is a proper noun, as in the poem written by Alfonso X about a jograr named *Cítola* a half a century earlier, no other performers are named. People are mentioned so rarely in this scene that the instruments seem to play themselves autonomously. This may be a symbolic device evoking divine bliss. Bedbrook mentions, with reference to heavenly choirs 'There was a belief that instruments in Heaven sounded without being touched.' G. S. Bedbrook, 'The Problem of Instrumental Combination in the Middle Ages', *Revue Belge de Musicologie/ Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, 25 (1971), pp. 53-67, p. 59.

[51] Ruiz, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Willis (1972), pp. lix-lx.

[52] Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus*, p. 207.

[53] See §9.2.

TABLE 2, part I. *Citole* and *Cetra* Terms Used in Latin and Occitan Manuscripts

This table compares the verified dates of use for *citole* and *cetra* terms (date by manuscript) with the date of speculative attribution (date by author) for nomenclature used in Occitan and Latin manuscripts. The terms shown here are those used in the works composed before 1400 which are listed in the Appendix A. The variant or variants which appear in the earliest surviving manuscript for each text are the one listed here. Later variants are excluded. The number after each term indicates the number of *different texts* in which the variant appears at a similar date, not the number of times it appears in any single manuscript

Language	twelfth century			thirteenth century			fourteenth century			fifteenth century		
	early	mid	late	early	mid	late	early	mid	late	early	mid	late
LATIN (4 texts) BY MANUSCRIPT				citola/citole 1		cytole 1			sitola 1	cytole 1		
LATIN (4 texts) BY AUTHOR			sitola	citola/citole	cytole							

Language	twelfth century			thirteenth century			fourteenth century			fifteenth century		
	early	mid	late	early	mid	late	early	mid	late	early	mid	late
Occitan (4 texts*) BY MANUSCRIPT						citolar 1		citola 1				
						cidra 1		citholas 1				
						sitolar 1		citaras 1				
						sedra 1						
							siula 1					
Occitan (4 texts) BY AUTHOR		citola		citolar/sitolar			cithola					
				cidra/sedra			citaras					
				siula								

*Since there are so few Occitan manuscripts this represents the terms used in five manuscripts including both copies of *Fadet Joglar*,

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TABLE 2, part II. *Citole* and *Cetra* Terms Used in French Manuscripts

This table compares the verified dates of use for *citole* and *cetra* terms (date by manuscript) with the date of speculative attribution (date by author) for nomenclature used in French manuscripts. The terms shown here are those used in the works composed before 1400 which are listed in the Appendix A.

The variant or variants which appear in the earliest surviving manuscript for each text are the one listed here. Later variants are excluded. The number after each term indicates the number of *different texts* in which the variant appears at a similar date, not the number of times it appears in any single manuscript

Language	twelfth century			thirteenth century			fourteenth century			fifteenth century		
	early	mid	late	early	mid	late	early	mid	late	early	mid	late
French (28 texts) BY MANUSCRIPT						citoles 7	citoles 5	citoles 4	citoles 3		cytole 1	
						chitoles 1	citoler 3	citoler 2	cytholies 1		sytole 1	
					citoles 3	citoles 3	citholes 3	citolle 1	cytolle 1			
					citholles 1	cytole 1	cistole 1	citoleor 1	cytholles 1			
					cytholles 1	cytholes 1	sitole 1		cythole 1			
						citolent 1		chistoles 2	cythoiles 1			
						citoles 1		chystolles 1	citholéeur 1			
									citholer 1			
										cythole 1		
French (28 texts) BY AUTHOR			citole 1	citole 1		citoles 8	chistole 1	citoler 1	citoles 2			
			citole 2	chitoles 2		cytole 1	citoler 1	citole 1	cistole 1			
			citolent 1	citoler 1		citoler 3		chistolles 1	citoler 1			
			citoler 1		citholes 1	citolle 1			citholer 1			
						citoleor 1			citholer 1			
						cytholes 1			citholéeur 1			
						cytholes 2			cytholes 2			
						cytholles 1						
						cithole 1						
						citholle 1						

TABLE 2, part III. *Citole* and *Cetra* Terms Used in Castilian Manuscripts

This table compares the verified dates of use for *citole* and *cetra* terms (date by manuscript) with the date of speculative attribution (date by author) for nomenclature used in Castilian manuscripts. The terms shown here are those used in the works composed before 1400 which are listed in the Appendix A.

The variant or variants which appear in the earliest surviving manuscript for each text are the one listed here. Later variants are excluded. The number after each term indicates the number of *different texts* in which the variant appears at a similar date, not the number of times it appears in any single manuscript

Language	twelfth century early	mid	late	thirteenth century early	mid	late	fourteenth century early	mid	late	fifteenth century early	mid	late
Castilian (9 texts) BY MANUSCRIPT						citolas 2	çitola 1			çitola 1	çitolas 1	çitulas 1
						çitolas 1	citola 1			çitula 1	çitolador 1	
						cedra 1	cedrero 1				citolado 1	
						açitares 1					çitola 1	
						citholas 1						
Castilian (9 texts) BY AUTHOR				citola 1	çitola 1	citolas 2						
				çitola 2	çitulas 1	çitolas 1						
				cedrero 1	çitula 1	açitares 1						
						cedra 1						
						citholas 1						
						citolado 1						
						çitolar 1						
						çitolador 1						

TABLE 2, part IV. *Citole* and *Cetra* Terms Used in Anglo-Norman and German Manuscripts

This table compares the verified dates of use for *citole* and *cetra* terms (date by manuscript) with the date of speculative attribution (date by author) for nomenclature used in Anglo–Norman and German manuscripts. The terms shown here are those used in the works composed before 1400 which are listed in the Appendix A. The variant or variants which appear in the earliest surviving manuscript for each text are the one listed here. Later variants are excluded. The number after each term indicates the number of *different texts* in which the variant appears at a similar date, not the number of times it appears in any single manuscript

Anglo-Norman (4 texts)

Language	twelfth century			thirteenth century			fourteenth century			fifteenth century		
	early	mid	late	early	mid	late	early	mid	late	early	mid	late
BY MANUSCRIPT						cytole 1	citole 1 sitole 1		citole 1			
BY AUTHOR (Anglo-Norman 4 Texts)				sitole 1		cytole 1 citole 1		citole 1				

German (5 texts)

Language	twelfth century			thirteenth century			fourteenth century			fifteenth century		
	early	mid	late	early	mid	late	early	mid	late	early	mid	late
BY MANUSCRIPT						zitôl 1	zitollen 1	zittorie 1 zitolîn 1 zittele 1		zytole 1 zitole 1 zitelein 1 zencolen 1		
BY AUTHOR						zitorie 1 zytole 1 zitollen 1 zitôl 1	zencolen 1 zitolîn 1 zitelein 1 zittele 1 zitole 1					

TABLE 2, part V. *Citole* and *Cetra* Terms Used in English Manuscripts

This table compares the verified dates of use for *citole* and *cetra* terms (date by manuscript) with the date of speculative attribution (date by author) for nomenclature used in English manuscripts. The terms shown here are those used in the works composed before 1400 which are listed in the Appendix A.

The variant or variants which appear in the earliest surviving manuscript for each text are the one listed here. Later variants are excluded. The number after each term indicates the number of *different texts* in which the variant appears at a similar date, not the number of times it appears in any single manuscript

Language	twelfth century early	mid	late	thirteenth century early	mid	late	fourteenth century early	mid	late	fifteenth century early	mid	late
English (14 texts) BY MANUSCRIPT						sitolyng 1	sitoles 1	citole 1	citole 2	sytall 1	sitols 1	
						sitollyng 1		sytole 1	sitolyng 1	sotile 1	sitoles 1	
								cythol 1	cythole 1	sitollyng 1	citoleres 1	
									sytolyrs 1	sitoff1	sithol 1	
											sytole 1	
									cytole-string 1	cytole-string 1	sitals 1	
											cythol 1	
English (14 texts) BY AUTHOR									citole 2			
									sytolyrs 1			
									sytall 1			
									sotile 1			
									sitoff1			
									sitals 1			
									cytole-string 1			
									sitals 1			
									cytole 1			

TABLE 2, part VI. *Citole* and *Cetra* Terms Used in Italian Manuscripts

This table compares the verified dates of use for *citole* and *cetra* terms (date by manuscript) with the date of speculative attribution (date by author) for nomenclature used in Italian manuscripts. The terms shown here are those used in the works composed before 1400 which are listed in the Appendix A.

The variant or variants which appear in the earliest surviving manuscript for each text are the one listed here. Later variants are excluded. The number after each term indicates the number of *different texts* in which the variant appears at a similar date, not the number of times it appears in any single manuscript

Language	twelfth century			thirteenth century			fourteenth century			fifteenth century		
	early	mid	late	early	mid	late	early	mid	late	early	mid	late
Italian (8 texts) BY MANUSCRIPT						citole 1 ceterare 1	cetera 1 ceteratore 1 ceterare 2	cetra 2 citarista 1	cetera 1 citarista 1	cetera 1 ceterare 1 citare 1		
Italian (8 texts) BY AUTHOR						citole 1 ceterare 2 cetra 3 ceteratore 1 citare 1	cetra 3 citarista 2 cetera 1					

TABLE 2, part VII. *Citole* and *Cetra* Terms Used in Gallician-Portuguese Manuscripts

This table compares the verified dates of use for *citole* and *cetra* terms (date by manuscript) with the date of speculative attribution (date by author) for nomenclature used in English manuscripts. The terms shown here are those used in the works composed before 1400 which are listed in the Appendix A.
The variant or variants which appear in the earliest surviving manuscript for each text are the one listed here. Later variants are excluded. The number after each term indicates the number of *different texts* in which the variant appears at a similar date, not the number of times it appears in any single manuscript

Language	twelfth century			thirteenth century			fourteenth century			fifteenth century		
	early	mid	late	early	mid	late	early	mid	late	early	mid	late
Gallician-portuguese (12 texts from 2 compilations) **BY MANUSCRIPT**					citola 1	cistel 1	citoles 2					citola 1
					citolado 2	citolades 1						citolon 5
					citolon 2	citolar 1						citolar 4
					citolasse 1							citolado 1
					citolarei 1							citolerei 1
					citolon 4							citolades 1
					citolares 1							cistel 1
					citolar 3							
Gallician-portuguese (12 texts from 2 compilations) **BY AUTHOR**												

The following section considers the use of the term *citole* in situations other than portrayals of contemporaneous medieval life. There is a suspicion, which must be addressed, that the term *citole*, when it appears in translations of Latin texts or in antique situations, is merely a euphonious substitute for *cithara*. In most cases, however, the citole-related terms do not seem to have been chosen for their metrical, consonant, or rhyming qualities. The majority of these texts associate the *citole* with other vernacular instruments played by skilled minstrels at celebrations. Although the settings in which *citoles* in medieval versions of antique stories seems to reflect medieval life, the possibility must be considered that ingrained symbolism of the original Latin text might have affected the choice of instruments, their combination, or use. In most cases, however, it seems that the translator's (or scribe's), familiarity with the medieval instrument and its associations, influenced how the term *citole* was used in Latin treatises, vernacular translations, and stories drawn from classical models.

During the thirteenth century, the gradual appearance of colloquial instrument names corresponds with the rise in vernacular literature.[1] Vernacular manuscript production, both sacred and secular, flourished from the mid-thirteenth century due to increases both in lay scholarship and in reading as a secular pastime. The Church was also more permissive. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, influenced by the evangelical successes of St. Francis, sanctioned preaching to the general public in local languages. This approbation seems to have favourably influenced the growth of secular texts in regional dialects as well. In vernacular works, the citole is recorded in a wide variety of literary forms both courtly (epics,[2] romances,[3] and chansons de geste[4]) and popular works (patriotic epics,[5] hagiographies,[6] fabliaux,[7]

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[1] Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental practice and songs in France 1100-1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 53. Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical life and ideas in France 1100-1300* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1989), p. 3.
[2] Guillaume de Machaut, *La Prise d'Alixandre (The Taking of Alexandria)*, ed. by R. Barton Palmer, trans. by R. Barton Palmer (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 86-89. (Text B.51).
[3] Anon., 'Claris et Laris', ed. Alton, pp. 97 & 39 (Text B.24).
[4] P. Meyer, *Daurel et Beton*, p. 48 (Text B.46).
[5] Guil, ed., *Libro de Fernán Gonçález*, p. 218. (Text B.89).

fable,[8] didactic texts,[9] rhetorical works,[10] and one miracle play[11]) as well as in translations of biblical and classical Latin works.[12]

It is unclear when and where the term *citole* was first used; as discussed previously, only surviving documents can testify to the use of a particular word. The use of specific terms cannot be verified unless they are recorded and that record has survived. *Citole* nomenclature appears in numerous, linguistically diverse, manuscripts dating from the second half of the thirteenth century. Examples have been identified in Latin, Occitan, French, Castilian, Anglo-Norman and German (see Appendix A, Texts B.1-B.20). It is clear from the context of each of these examples that the authors (or scribes) who employed these terms expected them to be understood without explanation, indicating that the instrument was already known over a wide geographical area during the second half of the thirteenth century.

The discussion of whether these works reveals anything about the medieval instrument, or merely indicates the use of *citole* as a modernization of a classical term, begins with two medieval Latin texts because one of them is the only *citole*-related text known to have a verified exemplar dating from before 1250. Sections 5.4 and 5.5 consider the use of *citole*-related terms in direct translations of the Bible, references to biblical situations, translations of Latin secular works, and finally medieval works based on antique tales.

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[6] Anonymous, 'De sanctis Berlam and Josaphat aus Ms. Harl. 4196, fol. 199 b. (im nördlichen Dialekt)', in *Altenglische legenden,* ed. by Carl Horstmann (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1875), pp. 226-40. (Text B.73).
[7] Rutebeuf, 'De Frere Denise', in *The French Fabliau B.N. MS. 837,* ed. by Raymond Eichmann and John Duval (New York Garland, 1985) II, pp. 246-59 (p. 257). (Text B.13).
[8] 'Du loop qui trouva une teste pointe' in Kenneth MacKenzie and William A. Oldfather, eds, *Ysopet-Avoinnet: The Latin and French texts,* University of Illinois studies in language and literature (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1919), p 183. (Text B.33).
[9] Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner,* ed. by Gustav Ehrismann, Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 4 vols (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1909), II, p. 308. (Text B.48).
[10] Jehan le Fèvre de Resson, *Les lamentations de Matheolus et le Livre de Leesce,* ed. by A. G. van Hamel, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes études, 2 vols (Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1905), II, p. 66. (Text B.57).
[11] Edwin Norris, ed., *The Ancient Cornish Drama,* 2 vols (Oxford Oxford University Press, 1859), I, pp. 150-1. (Text B.82).
[12] See §5.3 below.

5.3   Citoles in Contemporaneous Latin Texts

Citole-related terms have not been identified in many Latin texts but two examples reveal an acquaintance with the instrument by scholars in Pairs.[13] When *citole-*related terms do appear in Latin works, it is usually with other vernacular instruments in treatises relating to music theory, or in explanatory glosses.[14] The earliest manuscript so far identified as containing a *citole* reference is a Latin treatise, and the text of that work indicates the name was already deemed familiar and associated with trained musicians who played for payment.

At least three copies of Johannes de Garlandia's early thirteenth-century Latin *Dictionarius* include the term *citola* and the glossing of one of these seems to imply that *citola* might have been considered a Latinate form of the French *citole*.[15] Since there are really two texts involved, one by the author and another by a commentator, they will be considered separately. Johannes de Garlandia, an Oxford-educated Englishman working at the University of Paris, composed the *Dictionarius, c.*1218-29, as a teaching aid for students at the university. The work is essentially a compilation of lists of contextualized vocabulary.[16] The text includes the *citola* among a list of Latin and Latinized-vernacular musical instrument names associated with musicians who would be seen in the house of a rich man.

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[13] Martin suggests that *citolla* appeared as a Latin term in at least one manuscript from England, but does not offer the specific source, it may be derived from MS London, BL, Harley 221, a late thirteenth-century copy of Garlandia's *Dictionarius*. Charles Trice Martin, *The Record Interpreter: A collection of abbreviations, Latin words and names used in English historical manuscripts and records*, second edn (London: Stevens and Sons, 1910), p. 215.

[14] As with Oresme's clarification of terms used by Aristotle or the illustrated gloss on *De Planctu Naturae*, described in §3.1.2. Albert Douglas Menut, 'Maistre Nicole Oresme: Le livre de Politiques d'Aristote, published from the text of the Avranches Manuscript 223', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 60 (1970), pp. 1-392 (p. 354).

[15] The usage of *citola* as a Latin word seems consistent in copies of this text but the dates of the individual manuscripts need verification. Géraud provides the text of Paris, Bibl. du Roi Supplément l. n° 294 (now Paris, BnF, Latin 11282) but describes it merely as a being in a pretty hand of the thirteenth century. Wright offers MS London, BL, Harl. No. 1002 for comparison and mentions further fifteenth-century copies. Scheler's base MS (Bruges, Bibliothèque 546) is stated as thirteenth-century, but another two manuscripts (MSS Bruges, Bibliothèque 536 and Lille, Bibliothèque 369) are not described fully. H. Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe - le - Bel : d'après des documents originaux et notamment d'après un manuscript contenant Le Rôle de la taille imposée sur les habitants de Paris en 1292* (Paris Crapelet, 1837), p. 611. John de Garlande, 'The Dictionarius of John De Garlande', in *A Volume of Vocabularies*, ed. by Thomas Wright (London: Privately Printed, 1857); and Jean de Garlande, 'Trois traites de lexicographie latine du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle', in *Lexicographie Latine*, ed. by M. Aug. Scheler (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1867). (See Appendix A, Text B.1.)

[16] The previous entries are a list of types of ship and means of martyrdom (or punishment).

> Sed in domibus divitum vidi liricines, tybicines, cornicines, vidulatores cum vidulia, alios cum sistro, cum giga, cum simphonia, cum psalterio, cum choro, cum citola, cum timpano, cum cimbalis. Sed alia parte, vidi meretrices et tripudiatrices, quas torquebant serpentes, scilicet aspis, basiliscus, prester scilicet alpiga (sic), chelindri, vipere sive vepe, et dipsas, et tabificus ceps. [17]

Although T. Wright seems to suggest that the reference to snakes in the subsequent sentence presages the punishment afforded to minstrels for their debauched lifestyles, this does not seem to be the intention of this passage.[18] There are two different types of entertainers mentioned here. The first is instrumentalists with their diverse instruments and the second is dancing women and their various snakes. There is no overt moral judgement on the instrumentalists in the original text, except in the implication that they work for payment.[19]

The intertextual commentary of Paris, BnF, Latin 11282, a copy produced in Paris during the first half of the thirteenth century, adds the possibly deprecatory description to all of these musicians as players of *instrumentis lecatorum*.[20] No further explanation is offered for the term *citola* except that *citole* is the 'gallice' translation. This casual translation without explication suggests that, at the time, the French terms *citole* was familiar enough not to need further clarification. Given that, at the time, the permissibility of paying performers was being debated by scholars,[21] the potentially insulting term *lecatorum* probably casts a moral judgement on the playing of any musical instruments by paid minstrels in the homes of the wealthy.[22]

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[17] Which roughly translates as 'but in the house of the rich man you see lira players, tibia players, horn players, *vidula* players with *vidulia*, others with *sistros*, with *giga*, with *simphonia*, with *psalterio*, with *choro*, with *citola*, with *cimbalis*. But on the other hand, see courtesans and dancing women who twist serpents, certainly an asp, a basilisk, a prester...(and other types of snake).'

[18] John de Garlande, 'The Dictionarius of John De Garlande', ed. Wright (1857), p. 137.

[19] Taking payment for making music was considered morally questionable, as will be discussed in §9.1, below. The use of the term *meretrices* (courtesan or harlot) for the female entertainers is not so value-neutral and they are often perceived as being like sirens. Isidore of Seville suggests that the antique description of the sirens is metaphorical and that they were not mythological beasts but *meretrixes* luring men to their moral doom. Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi, Etymologiarum Sive Originum*, ed. by W.M. Lindsay, Scriptorum Classicorum, Bibliotheca Oxoniensis, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), II, xxii, pp. 2-3.

[20] Géraud suggests that *lecatorum* has several meanings and should, in this case, be considered synonymous with *scurra* (professional buffoon). Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-Le-Bel* (1837), footnote p. 611. Which certainly makes more sense than the fifteenth-century definition of *lecator* as 'fornicator'. See the entries for 'Horel' and 'Letchowre' in Galfridus Anglicus, *Promptorium Parvulorum: the first English-Latin dictionary*, ed. by A. L. Mayhew, EETS (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1908), pp. 226 and 258.

[21] See §9.1.

[22] *Lecator* is recorded in another context to denote professional minstrels. As a reward for his rescue in 1216, the Earl of Chester granted John de Lacy a prerogative over all the minstrels and prostitutes in the county of Cheshire (*Magistratum omnium lecatorum et mereticum totius Cestreshiriæ*) –

The text of the *Dictionarius* seems to indicate that Johannes de Garlandia believed that *citola* was a common term, which would be encountered by the scholars at the University of Paris.[23] Similarly the annotation, by whomever produced the manuscript (Paris, BnF, Latin 11282), also treats *citole* as a familiar French term. Both the author and the commentator were familiar with citole-related terms, assumed that other scholars would also have known these terms, and associated the *citola* with musicians who were paid for performing.

At least one Latin music theory manuscript that mentions the citole survives from the late thirteenth century: the *Tractatus de musica* by Magister Lambertus, Paris, BnF, Lat. 6755.[24] Often credited to 'Pseudo Aristotle', Lambertus' *Tractatus* lists the *cytole, organa, vielle, cythara*, and *psalterium*, as the artificial instruments for making music. Given that the Latinate terms *cythara* and *psalterium* are present, as with the *Dictionarius*, it is difficult to tell whether this is meant to be a list of vernacular names or if it employs an intentional mixture of colloquial with antique terms. That the instruments mentioned by Magister Lambertus are different from those named by Johannes de Garlandia suggests that there was not a standard list of instruments used by Parisian scholars. Although Lambertus was probably aware of the *Dictionarius*, he included fewer instruments, which suggest that he selected these instruments specifically. Later in the text, Lambertus also describes the *cytole, cythare* and *viele* as stringed instruments that, like Boethius' monochord, can demonstrate the division of the tones. What Lambertus means by *cythare* is unclear since, but by likening it to the monochord in the way it can be used to demonstrate divisions, he seems to imply that it is not a harp.[25] To Lambertus, however, the *citole* is clearly not synonymous with *cythare*. The choice of the *cytole, cythare*, and *viele* by Lambertus suggests not only that he considered these three instruments to be suitable exemplars for the practice of music theory, but also that he believed them

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intriguingly, the same trades mentioned here. Given that the minstrels in Cheshire were licensed and regulated for more than five centuries thereafter, it seems more likely that the thirteenth-century meaning of the term *lecator* indicates paid minstrels (rather than lecherous individuals). Daniel King, and others, *The History of Cheshire*, 2 vols (Chester: printed by John Poole, 1778), I, p. 144.

[23] Because *citola* appears consistently across the manuscripts, my belief is that the term was chosen by the author.

[24] See Appendix A, B.7. Pseudo-Aristotle, 'Tractatis de musica', in *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi*, ed. by Edmond de Coussemaker 4 vols (Hildesheim: Olms, 1864), I, pp. 251-81, p. 253.

[25] Although it seems likely that Lambertus is indicating a necked-chordophone, any sort of instrument with a string which can stopped by bridging or fingering might be intended, including zithers.

to be recognisable enough to the scholarly community that they could act as concrete exemplars that would aid in the clarification of the text.

These texts, which were written for students or other scholars, indicate not merely that *citole*-related terms were known to educated readers in Paris during the thirteenth century but that the instrument was considered familiar enough to help clarify a music theory text.[26]

5.4   TRANSLATION FROM *CITHARA* OR *LIRA* TO *CITOLE*-RELATED TERMS

Although many of the literary examples discussed in this section imply, by including *citole* among other medieval instrument names or by linking these terms to minstrels, that contemporaneous practice might have influenced the resultant translations, other reasons for the choice of the term *citole* must also be considered. *Citole* might be inserted where the narrative requires a chordophone name specifically, or the citole-related term might simply suit the metrical or rhyme scheme. Extended lists of instruments are informative about the range of instruments known at the time but, as they are often used to give a hyperbolic sense of opulence and grandeur, they might not accurately reflect contemporaneous instrumental groupings or performance practice.[27] Translation and/or modernization of terms involve choosing a new name for an object mentioned in a pre-existing text, and the question of why one term was chosen rather than another requires consideration.

In medieval literature, the purposes for which the term *citole* was used often did not require a description of the instrument. Some translations or modernizations of earlier terms, which substitute *citole* for another instrument name, indicate little except that the *citole*-term was familiar, and recognized as a musical instrument. Translations can, however, through the selective choice of instrument names, also

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[26] This familiarity seems to be supported by Gilles li Muisis' mid–fourteenth-century versified recollection of his time as a young student in Paris c. 1280. Gilles li Muisis describes how students wandered the streets making recreational music with *chistolles*. Since this text was dictated by Gilles de Muisis, a half a century after the events described, it can not be considered to be journalistic. (Text B.45) Gilles li Muisis, *Poésis de Gilles li Muisis* ed. by Kervyn de Lettenhove, 2 vols (Louvain: Lefever, 1882), I, p. 240.

[27] Lists of instruments as a means of amplifying grandeur is discussed in §9.10.

offer insight into the status of the citole and citolers in the mind of a translator or a medieval author inspired by a Latin text.

Although these translations did not need to intricately describe the instruments or their use, the situations in which they were named needed to be plausible to the audience: indicating at what sorts of occasions citole-playing was deemed appropriate and by what sorts of player. In many of the translations cited here, the citole is named with other contemporaneous musical instruments and often linked to courtly or trained musicians.

The Latin term with which *citole* is most often linked is *cithara*, and less frequently *lira*. In the Vulgate, *cithara* is by far the most common stringed instrument name, appearing more than fifty times. Van Schaik claims that the harp was unique among medieval instruments in being imparted symbolic significance, but he seems to ignore that much of this significance is due to the harp being equated to the *cithara*.[28] During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *citole* also served as a common translation of *cithara*, although the translation of *cithara* to *harp* has been more a enduring.[29] To some medieval authors, the citole might have appeared as a more appropriate choice for the translation of *cithara* since both are played with a plectrum.[30]

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[28] Martin van Schaik, *The Harp in The Middle Ages: The Symbolism of a Musical Instrument* (Amsterdam: Ropodi, 1992), p. 9.

[29] Still in use in modern editions, the *cithara* to *harp* translation is recorded, in French manuscripts, by at the beginning of the thirteenth century. MS Paris, BnF, fr. 403 is a glossed translation of Revelation in which *cithara* is consistently translate as *harpe*: 5:8, folio 8v. 'harpes'; 14:2, folio 25v 'de harpeurs que harpent en lur harpes'; 15:2, folio 29v, 'harpes'; 18:22, folio 32v, 'harpe'. Léopold Delisle and Paul Meyer, eds, *L'Apocalypse en français au XIIIe siècle (Bibl. Nat. Fr. 403)* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1901), pp. 24, 70, 78, 101. DeLisle and Meyer list a large number of other early thirteenth-century French prose Apocalypses which seem to agree with this usage. In the earliest-known German language translation the *citharis* in 1 Chronicles 13:8, 15:21, 15:28, 25:1, 25:3, 25:6 & 2 Chronicles 9:11, 20:28, 29:25 are rendered as *herpffen*. 2 Chronicles 5:12 seems to omit a translation for the citharis. W. Kurrelmeyer, ed., *Die erste deutsche Bibel*, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 10 vols (Tübingen: Litterarischen Verein in Stuttgart, 1909), VI (1. Chronika - 3. Esra), pp. 64, 69, 70, 101-2, 136, 152, 187. 219.

[30] St Augustine in his second discourse on Psalm 32 (Vulg. 33), implies that both the *psalterium* and *cithara* were played with plectrum. Some patristic authorities, such as Cassiodorus, mention the plectrum of the *cithara* when speaking of the instruments of tension (stringed instruments) In manuscript illustrations of the citole the plectrum is often clearly depicted and can be considered a characteristic feature. Augustine, William Smith, 'Psaltery', in *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. by H.B. Hackett, 4 vols (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin 1890), III, pp. 2628-29. Cassiodorus, 'From Fundamentals of Sacred and Secular Learning: V, of Music', in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. by Oliver Strunk (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), pp. 143-48 (p. 145).

When a sacrosanct text is translated into a vernacular language it is easier to discern the extent of scholarly interpretation, rather than the simple word-for-word substitution of *citole* for an earlier instrument name. This discussion begins with Biblical references because they are derived from a recognizable, coherent model. Known throughout Christendom, the Latin Vulgate was a highly standardized text, yet the translations and adaptation into vernacular languages yielded quite diverse results, both in the style of translation and the choice of vernacular equivalents for particular words. In translating from one language to another, some aspect of the original work must be compromised, whether it be syntax, idiom, or structure. The translations considered here will be discussed from most to least strict, followed by the medieval adaptation and reuse of classical material. Where possible, the works will be discussed chronologically within each sub-grouping, in order to reveal any indications of the influence of earlier authorities.

The discussion of literary sources will begin with the use of the term *citole* as a direct translation of a known earlier term. Although these examples are not the earliest uses of the term *citole*, translations provide insights into the approach of medieval scholars to literature, as well as indicating some perceptions of the suitability of the medieval instrument, the citole, to specific situations. Given that many of the direct translations of fixed texts date from the late fourteenth century, it seems that foreknowledge of the contemporaneous instrument, and its use and status, influenced the choice of the term *citole* in translations of Latin works.

5.4.1 DIRECT TRANSLATION: THE METZ PSALTER, *CITHARAE – CYTHOLLES* (APPENDIX A, TEXT. B.54)

The Lorraine-dialect Book of Psalms known as the *Metz Psalter*, highlights a number of issues relevant to the consideration of translations. Although it is not the earliest translation mentioned here, the circumstances of its production are the most apparent. Written *c.*1370, the *Metz Psalter* (also known as the *Le Psautier Lorraine*) contains a unique feature missing from most medieval translations: a translator's preface that states the translation theory, the purpose for producing the work and the anticipated audience.[31] Fortunately, a number of scribes obeyed the original author's

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[31] Appendix A, Text B.54.

request: this preface survives in at least three late fourteenth-century copies of this work.[32]

In the preface, the anonymous author expresses his intentions to produce, in the dialect of Lorraine, a Psalter that will be as close as possible to the Vulgate in meaning, so that members of the pious laity may benefit from frequent recitation of the Psalms in a language that they understand. The audience for this work, assumed to not be proficient in Latin, must have been literate enough to benefit from the written translation. Although Henderson and McWebb propose that this work was for the use of a woman,[33] the preface indicates that the author clearly expected that multiple copies would be made. Given this statement of purpose, it seems reasonable to assume, that in order for the specific details to convey the meaning of the text, both the translator and the intended readers would be familiar with the *cytholle* mentioned in the text.

Because the translation was made from the Vulgate and not merely adapted from an earlier vernacular version, we know that the term being translated to the *citole-*variants was *cithara* (or *cythara*) and not an intermediary term or other contemporaneous instrument name. In every appearance of *cithara* in the Psalms, it is replaced by a variant of *cytholle*.[34] The author states in the preface that the translation is designed to preserve the spirit of the Psalms and he describes the difficulty of preserving the various levels of meaning in the verses, since they contain both comment and prophecy. This suggests a conscious and careful choice of terminology, and that the instrument names were not picked for consonance or metrical similarity.[35] In selecting an instrument with similar meaning to the *cithara*

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[32] Although Bonnardot only provides the text of three, he mentions four other fragments. François Bonnardot, *Le psautier de Metz: texte du XIV siècle; édition critique publiée d'après quatre manuscrits*, Bibliothèque française de Moyen Âge (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1884), I.

[33] J. Frank Henderson and Christine McWebb, 'Dynamic Equivalence and the Translation of the Metz Psalter of 1370', Frank Henderson's Page on Liturgy and Medieval Women, J. Frank Henderson (2004) <http //www.jfrankhenderson.com/medievalwomen_languageandmusic.htm> [accessed 18 December 2008, 2008].

[34] The verse numbers vary somewhat from the Vulgate, but the *cithara* to *cytholle* translation is consistent.

[35] If the purpose of this translation had not been stated so clearly in the preface, the translation of *psalterium* to *psalterion*, and *cithara* to *cytholle* might suggest that the author were merely seeking homophonic colloquial terms.

of the Psalms for lay readers in Lorraine, the translator opted for *cytholle* rather than the seemingly more ubiquitous *harp* (or *vielle, lute, gittern,* or *lyre*).[36]

In order to accord with the spirit of the Psalms the translator must have believed that *cytholle* would be understood by the literate laity of late fourteenth-century Lorraine as a stringed instrument. It can also be argued that since David plays upon the *cithara* of the Psalms while singing, the idea of the use of a *cytholle* for vocal accompaniment would not be incongruous, and that the *cytholle* was not an instrument with negative connotations.

It has been posited that references to the citole had been relegated to antique situations by the end of the fourteenth century,[37] but in this example the translator's preface makes it clear that the words he used, including the *cytholle* references, were selected because he felt that they would best convey the meaning of the Psalms. It would make sense that a familiar contemporaneous instrument would have been chosen so that the text would seem less distant from, and more immediate to, the reciter. The author's decision might have been influenced by earlier colloquial translations, Psalm commentaries, or music theory texts, but the use of obscure, antiquated, or intellectual jargon would undermine the author's stated goal of producing a work understandable to the lay readers and listeners. This suggests that the translator believed that the literate laity of the area around Metz c. 1370 would recognize the term *cytholle,* and consider the instrument type suitable both in use and status to be associated with King David as Psalmist.

5.4.2   VERSIFIED APOCALYPSES

Verse adaptations allow the translator some flexibility with the text of the scriptures since structure and rhyme scheme impose different demands upon the translator than do prose translations. Of the two French versified Apocalypses to be discussed here,

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[36] There are no *lyra* in the Book of Psalms so *lyre* would not have been an available option. The colloquial term *Leiren* appears in some of the earliest German language translation 1 Chronicles 16:5. Kurrelmeyer, ed., *Die erste deutsche Bibel*, VI, p. 71.

[37] Laurence Wright, 'Citole', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrell, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), V, pp. 872-76 (p. 875).

one resolutely exchanges the term *cithole* for *cithara* in every instance; the other is much freer in its interpretation.

In the versified Apocalypse preserved in the 'Kerr Manuscript', all four of the Vulgate *cithara*-related references in the Book of Revelation are translated as *citholes*. Although the 'Kerr Manuscript' dates from the early fourteenth century, the original text is believed to have been composed in the early part of the thirteenth century.[38] Given that *citholes* appears as a rhyme word in every example,[39] it seems likely that a citole-term was used in the original text but this evinces nothing except that the *cithole* was a considered a suitable rhyme and not an unsuitable instrument type.

By contrast, the various books of the Bible adapted into verse by Macé de la Charité, in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, display a much less literal translation.[40] In his verse exposition and translation Macé de la Charité often uses more than one medieval term for a single Latin instrument name. Unfortunately, this can not be compared directly to the *Metz Psalter* since the Book of Psalms was not among those that were versified by Macé. In the Book of Revelation, Macé de la Charité occasionally chooses not one but two contemporaneous instrument names as substitutes for *cithara*; he translates *cithara* once as *arpe* (Rev. 5:8),[41] twice as both *arpe* and *citolle* (Rev. 14:2 and 15:2) and *citharoedorum* once as *citoleor* (Rev. 18:22). Although Beichner suggests that most of this work is not a direct translation of the Vulgate but derived from the late twelfth-century Latin *Bibla Versificata* (known as the *Aurora*) written by Petrus Riga, Bishop of Reims, this is not relevant here since, the *Aurora* does not contain a versification of the Book of Revelation.

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[38] Appendix A, Text B.28.

[39] The rhyme words are Revelation 5:8 *fioles* (vials) 14:2 *escoles*, 15:2 *paroles*, 18:22 *violes* (the instrument).

[40] (Appendix A, Text B.39), Macé de la Charité, *La Bible de Macé de la Charité, II: Lévitique, Nombres, Deutéronome, Josué, Juges*, ed. by P.E.R. Verhuyck, Publications Romanes de l'Université de Leyde, 7 vols. (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1977), vol. X, part II, p. 57 and Macé de la Charité, *La Bible de Macé de la Charité, VII: Apocalypse*, ed. by R.L.H. Lops, Publications Romanes de l'Université de Leyde, 7 vols (Leiden: E.J. Brill / Leiden University Press, 1982), series X, vol. VII, pp. 141, 151, 182. Paul E. Beichner, 'The Old French Verse Bible of Macé de La Charite, a Translation of the Aurora', *Speculum*, 22 (1947), pp. 226-39 (p. 227-8).

[41] Lines 35887-8. As Lops explains, the *vielle* in line 35889 is an erroneous translation for *fialas*, the vials full of perfume, and has nothing to do with the *citharae*. Macé de la Charité, *La Bible de Macé de la Charité, VII: Apocalypse*, ed. by R. L. H. Lops, Publications romanes de l'Université de Leyde, 7 vols (Leiden: E.J. Brill / Leiden University Press, 1982), VII, p. 54.

The choice to use both instruments in Revelation 14:2 is certainly not a poetic one. As Lops comments, lines 39501-2 are notably inelegant.[42] It is unclear whether this use of more than one instrument indicates the influence of earlier sources, either literary or iconographical, or the author's own choice.[43] One passage in this book suggests that the citole was associated with singing, since although Macé considers both the *arpe* and *citolle* to be appropriate equivalents for the *citharae* of the elders, the worldly musicians whose voices will no longer be heard in Babylon, the *citharoedorum* of Revelation 18:22, are translated exclusively as *citoleors*.[44]

Terms related to harps and citoles also occur in Macé de la Charité's version of the Book of Numbers but they are not a translation of any biblical instrument name.[45] The section of Chapter 22 in which the festivities appear is not a strict translation of the Vulgate but, as Beichner describes it, part of a 'poetic expansion'.[46] The Vulgate contains none of the singing and dancing and good harping and good citole-playing (*bien arper et bien citoler*) mentioned here, so the choice of the instruments was not dictated by the original text. This interpolation suggests that Macé de la Charité's choices of *citole* and/or *arpe* in passages that do name the *cithara*, were inspired by a knowledge of the medieval instruments, either his own or that derived from earlier authorities. Regardless of his sources, this passage as well as Rev 14:2 and 15:2, which are both related to singing, indicate that he believed that the harp and citole were both suitable instruments to accompany singing and dancing.

5.4.3   OTHER BIBLICAL *CITHARAE* AND *LIRAE*

As with the previous examples of direct translations, it is important to consider each biblically-inspired text reference to determine whether it demonstrates merely the

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[42] Macé de la Charité, Bible, VII: Apocalypse, ed. Lops (1982), p. 140, footnote.

[43] A variety of instruments are used when depicting the *cithara* in these passages, including citoles. This diversity can be seen on earlier thirteenth-century Iberian sculptural portals as does an illustrated French Apocalypse: Paris, BnF, fr. 13096, fols 41r & 46r, dated 1313. (Appendix B, Ill. 69 & 71) For further discussion of the illustration of citoles in biblical scenes see §7.3.

[44] There is an implication that the musicians are equated with the other sorts of people mentioned in this passage who are skilled professionals: craftsmen of many arts (*omnis artifex omnis artis*).

[45] These should perhaps not be considered as a pairing, since there is no indication that they are meant to be played together.

[46] Peter Riga, *Aurora: Petri Rigae Biblia versificata: a verse commentary on the Bible*, ed. by Paul E. Beichner, Publications in Medieval Studies, 2 vols (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1965), I, Introduction.

substitution of one term for an earlier one, or whether it presents a potentially meaningful interpretation of the way in which the citole was perceived by the translator or scribe.

Several texts that treat Jubal as an historical figure include the citole among his instruments. Although some imply that *citole* might be merely used as a word-substitution for *cithara*, this is not always the case. The relevant passages paraphrase Genesis 4:21 and describe Jubal as the father of all who play upon the *cithara* and *organo*. Some works translate only the two instruments specifically mentioned, such as an anonymous Galician-Portuguese manuscript at Alcobaça from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, which names the instruments as *cítola* and *orgom*.[47] Other texts offer the possibility of additional instruments but do not name them such as *Renart le Contrefait* (*chitoles, d'orgues et d'autres instrumens*)[48] and *Li Livres dou Tresor* (*citoles et orghenes et ces autres estrumens*).[49] The *General Estoria I*, however, written in Castilian and attributed to Alfonso X, expands the passage to mention '*çitolas & uiyuelas & farpas & muchos otros estrumentos*'.[50] Although some of these versions seem to merely substitute a medieval term for one mentioned in the text of Genesis 4:21, the *General Estoria I* offers an interpretation of it, that suggests *çitolas & uiyuelas & farpas* were well-known contemporaneous instruments and not merely convenient substitutes for *cithara* and *organo*.

The translation to *citole* from an utterly dissimilar type of musical instrument can indicate that the author is using this familiar instrument to aid the clarification of the Latin text. In *Li Livres dou Tresor*, Book II, chapter 63, Latini translates the two types of instruments that make sweet melody from Jesus Sirach's *tibiae et psalterium* (Ecclesiasticus 40:21) to *citoles & vielles*.[51] There is no reason to believe that Latini associated the *citole* with the *tibiae*, and it is more likely that he chose

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[47] Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus*, p. 197. (Appendix A, Text BX.7)

[48] Gaston Raynaud and Henri Lemaitre, *Le roman de Renart le contrefait*, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1914), I, p. 83. (Appendix A, Text B.30)

[49] Latini credits Jubal's brother 'Anom' or 'Anon'. Organs do not appear in all versions of Latini's text. Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor*, ed. by Francis J. Carmody (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948), p. 33. (Appendix A, Text B.6a, see also B.6b and B.6c)

[50] Alfonso X el sabio, *General estoria: primera parte* ed. by Antonio G. Solalinde (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1930), I, p. 13. (Appendix A, Text B.8)

[51] MS 'M3'. Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor: Edition and Study*, ed. by Spurgeon Baldwin and Paul Barrette, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003), p. 217. (Appendix A, Text, B.6a).

medieval instrument names that he thought would convey the idea of melodiousness, preserving the sense of the original passage.[52]

The anonymous early fourteenth-century Occitan translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*,[53] might indicate a simple word-substitution from *cithara* to *cithola*. The passage that recounts David's playing the *cithola* to drive the demons out of Saul is based on 1 Samuel 16:16.[54] Again the *citole* is linked to the *cithara* played by King David. This example does not, however, necessarily indicate a conscious choice by the fourteenth-century Occitan scholar. It has been suggested, that this work was translated not from the Latin original but from an unidentified French exemplar.[55] The substitution of *citole* for *cithara* might have been selected by a previous French scholar rather than the Occitan translator. Regardless of whether it was the Occitan translator who selected *citole* for *cithara* or not, the *citole* reference was retained by the scribe who produced the surviving mid-fourteenth century manuscript, which indicates that the term was still recognized in that region during the early fourteenth century and was not considered unsuitable.

In the second redaction of Wycliffe's English Bible, dating from *c.*1395, Wycliffe seems to have considered *sitols,* in certain cases, to be an appropriate translation for *liras,* and also appropriate for the accompaniment of singing.[56] In the first redaction, with manuscripts dating from c.1390, Wycliffe translates the *citharis et lyris et tympanis et sistris et cymbalis,* which David plays (II Kings 6:5),[57] as 'harpis, and strynge instrumentis and tymbris and trumpis and cymbalis', but in the second redaction amends this to 'harpis, and sitols, and tympans, and trumpis, and cymbalis.'[58] His other inclusion of the *citole,* in III Kings 10:12[59] translates *et*

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[52] See §11.1 for a further discussion of this passage.
[53] This text survives in a manuscript of the mid-fourteenth century. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 1029. C. Appel, 'Der Provenzalische Lucidarius', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* 13 (1890), pp. 225-52 (p. 250).
[54] François-Juste-Marie Raynouard, in *Lexique roman, ou, Dictionnaire de la langue des troubadours,* 6 vols (Paris: Silvestre, 1844), VI, p. 399.
[55] Appel, 'Provenzalische Lucidarius', p. 246. (Appendix A, Text B.49)
[56] It is clear that Wycliffe considers *harp* to be the equivalent for *cithara.* John Wycliffe, *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and His Followers,* ed. by Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1850), vol. II, pp. 103 & 193. (Appendix A, Text B.70).
[57] Wycliffe follows the Vulgate, in the King James edition this would be II Samuel 6.5.
[58] Wycliffe, *The Holy Bible,* ed. Forshall and Madden (1850), vol. II, pp. 103.

citharas lyrasque cantoribus into 'harpis and syngynge instrumentis' in the 1390 redaction, but to 'harpis and sitols to syngeris' in the later version.[60] Wycliffe's interpretation of this material seems to indicate that between the first and second redactions he reconsidered his translations of these passages and determined that rather than generic stringed instruments he should specify *sitols*. Wycliffe does not universally substitute *sitols* for *lirae* but selects it for certain passages: those which particularly associate it with singing.

As mentioned previously, *cithara*-related terms appears more than fifty times in the Vulgate, but during the thirteenth and fourteenth century, the term *citole* is only used as a translation of biblical musical instrument terms in a few situations. Most often, these biblical *citoles* have a relationship with singing, and less often with dancing, and there does not seem to be any indication of undignified connotations. This selective use of the term *citole*, usually for references to singing, seems to indicate that many of these translators considered the citole as a suitable instrument type for the context of a given passage, and that *citole* was not merely a euphonius word substitution.

5.4.4 TRANSLATIONS OF LATIN SECULAR TEXTS

As with the Biblical examples, some translations of Latin secular works demonstrate the use of *citole* as a simple substitute for *cithara* while others suggest that the citole was chosen because the instrument type offered a suitable exemplar or an appropriate musical instrument term for the context. Although the majority of these texts are translations or adaptations of the works of Aristotle or Ovid, the choice of the *citole* seems to indicate more about the medieval translator's regard for the *citole* than the original author's opinion of any antique instrument.

Brunetto Latini's *Li Livres Dou Tresor* uses the term *citole* frequently and in different contexts.[61] Three of his *citole* references occur as part of his translation of

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[59] Wycliffe follows the Vulgate, in the King James Bible this would be I Kings 10.12, since the first two 'Books of the Kingdom' in the Vulgate are known as the Books of Samuel in the King James edition.
[60] The later redaction is exemplified by MS London, BL, Royal 1 C. VIII.
[61] See §3.1.1.

Aristotle's *Ethics*.[62] As shown previously by his paraphrasing of Jesus Sirach,[63] Latini is willing to alter instrument types to ones that he believes better suit the idea that he wishes to convey.[64] Since the text is prose, it is unlikely that the *citole* was chosen for metrical or euphonious qualities. His frequent use of the term *citole* indicates that he believed the instrument to be familiar to his intended audience, which included a king and nobles, as well as lay-scholars.[65] Latini's three passages based on the *Ethics* suggest that to play the citole well is a laudable skill (and good playing is perceivably different from ordinary playing),[66] the ability to play the citole well comes from repeated practice,[67] and the sound of the citole is a diverting pleasure.[68] Although these citations do not elucidate the way in which the instrument was used they do offer strong indications of what Latini considered the status of the citole to be during the third quarter of the thirteenth century in France and Iberia:[69] well-known and well-regarded.

As mentioned already, Nicolas Oresme seems to have considered *citole* as the appropriate translation for *cithara* (§3.2.2.1 and 4.1) but this use might have been learned from an earlier authority.[70] Oresme, the late fourteenth-century Bishop of Lisieux, is known for his translations of the works of Aristotle. His use of *citole* as a simple substitute for *cithara* is most obvious in his annotation of his translation of Aristotle's *Politics*. There are several surviving late fourteenth-century copies of this work. The privately owned copy made for Charles V of France in 1373 is believed

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[62] The section derived from the Ethics begins in *Tresor* Book II, Chapter ii.

[63] II: lxiii. Latini, *Tresor: Edition and Study*, ed. Baldwin and Barrette (2003), p. 216

[64] Book II, chapter 63, Jesus Sirach's *tibiae et psalterium* (Ecclesiasticus 40:21) become *citoles & vielles*. Latini, *Tresor: Edition and Study*, ed. Baldwin and Barrette (2003), p. 217. (Appendix A, Text, B.6a).

[65] That numerous copies were made during Latini's lifetime suggests that he intended the work to be disseminated beyond the nobles to whom he sent copies such as manuscript 'M3'to Alfonso X and 'V2' to Giovanni Dandolo, a relative of the Doge of Venice. Julia Bolton Holloway, 'Brunetto Latino Maestro Di Dante Alighieri: an analytic and interactive bibliography', Florin Website (1986, revised 2006) <www.florin.ms/BrunLatbibl.html> [accessed 18 April, 2009].

[66] Book II: vi. Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou tresor; publié pour la première fois d'après les MSS. de la Bibliothèque impériale, de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal et plusieurs MSS des départements et de l'étranger*, ed. by P. Chabaille (Paris: Imprimerie Impérale, 1863), p. 261.

[67] Book II: x. Latini, *Tresor*, ed. Chabaille (1863), p. 267.

[68] Book II: xxxxvi. Latini, *Tresor*, ed. Chabaille (1863), p. 327.

[69] Having recently returned from the court of Alfonso X, it is probably safe to assume that Latini was aware that the citole was familiar there. Also see §9.1.8.

[70] Oresme seems to have been influenced by Latini.

to be the oldest complete manuscript.[71] The Avranches MS, on which the published edition is based, is believed to have been Oresme's own personal copy, written between c.1372 and Oresme's death in 1382. As an explanatory gloss of the terms *cithara* and *lira,* which appear in *Politics,* Oresme offers:

> Et Ovide prent pour un *cythara* et *lira.* Mes selon Ysaïe, ce sunt .ii. instrumens: *Cythara* et *lira* in conviviis vestris. Et peut estre que *cithara,* ce est cythole, et *lira,* ce est harpe.[72]

It is difficult to know whether Oresme's choices of these vernacular instrument names hold any significance. In this passage, Oresme makes reference to Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* Book XI (lines 155-193) and Isaiah 5:12. Both passages reflect poorly on the link between music and drunkenness.

Both of the references to the *citole* in Oresme's translations of Aristotle's *Ethics* associate playing it well with virtue and noble actions.[73] The work is believed to have been undertaken by Oresme as a possible aid to political reforms and seems to have been commissioned by King Charles V of France.[74] Although Menut describes the *Li Livres dou Tresor* as an 'important medium for vulgarizing the *Ethics*' he does not suggest that Latini had any direct influence on Oresme.[75] Although Latini's text was probably based on a different source and much abbreviated,[76] some of Oresme's commentary, especially the passages that mention the *citole,* seem to have been influenced by Latini's translation.

As expressed in these two works, Oresme's seems to hold two diametrically opposed opinions of the *citole:* in notes on his own copy of *Politics* the *lira* (*harp*)

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[71] Menut, 'Maistre Nicole Oresme: Le livre de Politiques d'Aristote', p. 34-39. (Appendix A, Text B.52)

[72] Menut, 'Maistre Nicole Oresme: Le livre de Politiques d'Aristote', p.353.

[73] (Appendix A, B.52) Nicole Oresme, *Le livre de Éthiques d'Aristote, published from the text of MS. 2902, Bibliotheque Royale de Belgique,* ed. by Albert Douglas Menut (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1940), pp. 121 & 147.

[74] Menut cites a payment record published in *Mandements of Charles V,* dated May 21, 1372 , for the translation of the *Politics* and *Economics.* Oresme, *Le livre de Éthiques d'Aristote,* ed. Menut, p. 5.

[75] Oresme, *Le livre de Éthiques d'Aristote,* ed. Menut, pp. 4 & 36-41.

[76] Oresme's translation must have been based on either Hermannus of Allemanus' *Translation from Arabic* (Toledo, 1240) or Robert Grosseteste's translation from the Greek *Vetus translatio* (Lincoln, c. 1245) given that those were the only of the five Latin translations, available in the late fourteenth century, to include all ten books of the original. Menut suggests that Latini's source was the Florentine Maestro Taddeo's Italian translation of Hermannus Alemannus' compendium *Summa alexandrina ethicorum* (Toledo 1243-4), Oresme, *Le livre de Éthiques d'Aristote,* ed. Menut, pp. 4 & 39.

and *cithara* (*citole*) carry the negative implication that they are associated with drunkenness but in a translation of *Ethics* for Charles V, the *citole* is used positively in analogies clarifying the nature of virtue and noble actions. Menut comments that Oresme 'was primarily concerned with translation and only secondarily with interpretation'.[77] Oresme's reliance upon earlier authorities (Ovid, the Bible, and Latini) may explain his seemingly conflicting attitudes towards musical instruments.

Two adaptations of material from Ovid's *Ars Amatoriae* contain references to the citole but neither offers the term as a simple substitution. The late thirteenth-century *le Clef d'Amours* encourages women to take up singing and playing certain stringed instruments as a pastime.[78] The instrument mentioned by Ovid in the *Ars Amatoriae* is the *cithara* played with a plectrum. Although the use of the plectrum might have determined the choice of the *pfalterïon, guiterne* and *citholle*, as the translation for cithara in this passage, in order for the passage to make sense, these three instruments must also have been considered suitable for dignified women to play. A century later, in the *Echecs Amoureux*, the mention of *citoles* has no relation to an antique term and it is merely included among a list of vernacular instruments that are playing divine melodies in a garden where the chess game will take place.[79] The *citoles* are among almost two dozen types of contemporaneous instruments, which are clearly designed to add to the spectacular nature of the scene. Both of the texts based on Ovid's *Ars Amatoriae* seem to consider the citole to be a suitable instrument for genteel pastimes but in different ways.

La Vieille by Jean Lefèvre de Ressons (c.1370),[80] a translation and versification of the psuedo-Ovidian work *De Vetula,* also known as *De mutatione Vitae,* offers another example of how a translation can expand the original. Although claiming to be written by Ovid, *De Vetula* was probably composed in France during the

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[77] Oresme, *Le livre de Éthiques d'Aristote,* ed. Menut, p. 41.
[78] J. Michele Edwards, 'Music, Women Composers and Musicians', in *Women in the Middle Ages: an Encyclopedia,* ed. by Katarina M. Wilson and Nadia Margolis, 2 vols (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 2004), II, pp. 692-710 (p. 703). (Appendix A, Text B.23)
[79] Hermann Abert, 'Die Musikästhetik der "Echecs Amoureux"', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft,* 6 (1904-5), pp. 346-55 (p. 355). (Appendix A, Text B.59)
[80] (Appendix A, Text B.65) Jean Lefevre, *La Vieille ou Les dernières amours d'Ovide,* ed. by Hippolyte Cocheris, Le trésor de pièces rares ou inédites (Paris: A. Aubry, 1861), pp. 19-20.

thirteenth century.[81] Despite not being an antique text, *De Vetula* is included here because it was widely accepted to be a work by Ovid, even after being discredited in the fifteenth century. Listing more than twenty contemporaneous instruments, *La Vieille* is not merely a translation but a significant amplification of *De Vetula*.[82] Although Lefevre purportedly names the instruments on which Ovid performed 'motez, balades, virelais, comedies, rondeauls et lais,'[83] this is a non-selective list of medieval song forms and medieval instruments. This is not unlike Johannes de Garlandia's vocabulary list,[84] or the lists used to enumerate the details of a grand event in contemporaneous literature.[85] The *cistole* is merely included among a variety of familiar instruments, which Lefevre included to clarify, and/or amplify, the text.

For the most part, when citole-related terms are used in translations of Latin secular texts they seem to have positive associations. The lists in *La Vieille* and *Echecs Amoureux*, although set in antique contexts, share many of the same instruments with Machaut's *Le Remède de Fortune*,[86] and *La Prise d'Alexandrie*,[87] which seem to indicate that these works were following a late fourteenth-century French fashion for cataloguing contemporaneous instruments. *Le Clef d'Amours* suggest that, like other plectrum-plucked instruments, the *citholle* is appropriate for dignified young women to play. Latini and Oresme include playing the *citole* in analogies for virtue. Aside from Oresme's translation of Aristotle's *Politics*, which links the *lira* and *cithara* to drunkenness (and, by association, tarnishes the terms *harpe* and *citole* equated to them), citole playing is portrayed as a respectable pursuit.

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[81] Although it has been ascribed to Richard de Fournival, although this attribution is not universally accepted. Dorothy M. Robathan, *The Pseudo-Ovidian De Vetula: Texts, Introduction and Notes* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1968), p. 7.
[82] The corresponding text from *La Vetula* reads: 'Instrumentorum: quicquid vel musica scribit, Vel didicere manus auditu iudice, tacto, Pulsu vel tractu vel flatu; cimbala pulsum. Dura volunt, tractumque fides et fistula flatum.' Robathan, The Pseudo-Ovidian De Vetula', p. 52 .
[83] Lines 203-4.
[84] See §5.2.1 above.
[85] See §9.10 below.
[86] (Appendix A B.50) Guillaume de Machaut, *Œvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, ed. by Ernest Hœpffner, Société des anciens textes français, 3 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911), II, pp. 145-6.
[87] (Text B.51) Machaut, La Prise d'Alixandre (The Taking of Alexandria), ed. and trans. Palmer (2002), pp.86-89.)

5.5   Antique and Classical Situations in Medieval Texts

This section considers stories set in the ancient world but which are not clearly based on a single text. In most cases, the use of the citole in adaptations of well-known antique tales seems to be inspired by the medieval instrument and not on a translation from the *lira* or *cithara*. However, it must be remembered that these works might still be subject to the influence of earlier authorities. The *citole* in these stories might still be merely a word substitution for a Latin term but romances and epics, whether set in recent times or the distant past, needed sufficient realistic detail to make them comprehensible and these popular versions of classical tales seem to describe the citole in a manner that reflects contemporaneous practices.

Citole-related terms appear in medieval adaptations of a few classically derived stories, including several versions of Alexander the Great, Apollonius of Tyr and the city of Troy. Since the details that appear in these might be drawn from earlier models, they will not be assumed to describe contemporaneous musical practice. The inclusion of citole terms, however, does indicate that the author, or scribe, was familiar with the musical instrument name and considered it appropriate for the situation in which it was included. Three types of situation dominate the use of the *citole* in antique tales: festivities, lists, and virtuous women.

One of the earliest surviving manuscripts to mention the *çitola* seems to reflect the use of the instrument in contemporaneous medieval society, although the text describes the history of Rome.[88] The *Primera Crónica General de España* links an image in the first year of Nero's reign, to *joglars* playing *çitolas & otros enstrumentos*.[89] The work was compiled during the third quarter of the thirteenth century and is credited to Alfonso X.[90] Because the *Primera Crónica* is a collection

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[88] (Text B.8) The *Primera Crónica General de España*, MS Biblioteca del Escorial, Y.I.2, fol. 75v, dated to before 1278.

[89] Chapter 172, headed 'Dell imperio de Nero et luego de los fechos que contecieron en el primer anno de su regnado' fol. 75v. Alfonso X el sabio, *Primera crónica general de España que mandó: componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289,* ed. by Antonio G. Solalinde, Manuel Muñoz Cortés and Jóse Gómez Pérez, 2 vols (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955), I, p. 122.

[90] There is disagreement as to whether the *Primera Crónica* was written entirely by Alfonso and his scholars or whether it was concluded by his son Sancho. This section is believed to have been compiled *c.* 1270-2 and copied into the existing manuscript before 1278. Solalinde (et al.) suggest that princes in the illustration on fol. 1v. represent Fernando de la Cerda, Sancho, and Pedro, indicating

from many sources, primarily earlier Castilian translations of Latin or Arabic treatises, the source of this passage is not obvious. Keller mentions that some passages of *Primera Crónica* seem to have been reproduced verbatim by Alfonso and his historians from pre-existing Castilian translations.[91] Because this passage does not seem to stem from any identified exemplar, it is difficult to tell whether *citole* is merely a substitution for *cithara*, or whether the passage shows the influences of an earlier Castilian translator, or if contemporaneous details were added to enliven the passage. In any case, the link between the *joglars* and *çitolas* is worth noting.

The *citole* appears in both Castilian and English-language versions of the story of Alexander the Great. In these cases there is no indication that the term *citole* is used as a translation of any particular Latin term. The use of the instrument, and its association with joglars and festivities, seems to be based on medieval celebrations rather than antique ones. In the Castilian *Poema de Alexandro* the relevant passage describes *yoglares* playing a variety of instruments: *sinfonia, arba, giga è rota, albogues è salterio, citola que mas trota, cedra è viola...*'[92] Although composed in the early thirteenth century, the earliest known manuscript dates to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.[93] The *Poema de Alexandro* was apparently inspired by Gautier de Châtillon's late twelfth-century Latin *Alexandreis*, but Michael shows that this work is not merely a paraphrased translation. There does not seem to be any attempt to correlate the instruments names with those of the Latin text.[94] There is no clear indication that this is meant to represent a realistic consort performance, nor that it was intentionally archaic. The instruments included are reminiscent of those associated with *joglars* in other thirteenth-century texts, such as *Fadet Joglar*,[95] *Des*

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that it dates from between 1275-78. Alfonso X, *Primera crónica general*, ed. Solalinde and others (1955), I.

[91] John Esten Keller, *Alfonso X, El Sabio*, ed. by Sylvia E. Bowman, Twaynes' World Author Series (New York Twayne Publishers Inc., 1967), pp 159-60.

[92] (Text B.22a) Stanza 1383, which corresponds to 1545 in the composite numbering. Raymond S. Willis, *El Libro de Alexandre: Texts of the Paris and Madrid Manuscripts: prepared with an introduction*, ed. by Edward C. Armstrong (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1965), pp. ix-xvii.

[93] MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, V-5-n° 10. This manuscript is incomplete and dated orthographically to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The Paris MS (Text B.22b) dates from the mid-fifteenth century and will not be discussed here.

[94] '*Occurrunt lyricis modulates, cantibus odas, Cum cythairs mimi: concordant tympana sistris, Cymbala psalterio cedunt...*' Ian Michael, *The Treatment of Classical Material in The Libro de Alexandre* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1970), p. 204.

[95] W. Keller, 'Das Sirventes "Fadet Joglar", see Appendix A, B.2.

Deux Bordéors Ribauz,[96] and *Flamenca*.[97] None of these contain identical lists of instruments, however, and the inclusion of the *albogues* in *Alexandro* indicates that this list is of Iberian origin.[98] Given that the context is Alexander the Great's triumphant ride into Babylon, it is most likely that this list of multi-various instruments associated with *yoglares* was designed to invoke a sense of occasion.

The English poem *Kyng Alisaunder*, surviving in two late fourteenth-century copies, mentions contemporaneous instruments in a very different context but for a similar indication of splendour.[99] The work is believed to have been written in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.[100] Smithers suggests that this work was probably written in London and that the text is primarily based on *Roman de toute Chevalerie* by Thomas of Kent as well as *Alexandreis* by Walter of Châtillon.[101] Smithers also proposes that the author might have been familiar with the Castilian *Libro de Alexandre*, and a number of other major continental versions. Although inspired by these earlier works, the description of the feast in *Kyng Alisaunder* is not copied directly from any of them. The instruments appear as part of a grandiose wedding feast. The wealth of Cleopatra of Assyria is demonstrated by the size of her retinue and the magnificence of the celebrations. Although this section is similar in both manuscripts, *trumpyng* and *harpyng* are interchanged with one another.[102] Although *Sitolyng and ek harping,* the phrase that appears in the Lincoln's Inn manuscript,[103] might be considered a duet, the same line in the more scrupulously copied Laud MS reads *sitollyng and trumpyng*. It is hard to know whether these

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[96] *Des Deux Bordéors Ribauz*, Anatole De Montaiglon, ed., *Recueil général et complet des fabliaux des XIII et XIV siècles*, 6 vols (Paris: Librairie Des Bibliophiles, 1914), I, p. 4-5. (Appendix A, B.14)
[97] *Flamenca*, E. D. Blodgett, ed., *The Romance of Flamenca*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature (New York and London: Garland, 1995), p. 33-4 (Appendix A, B.21)
[98] The term *albogue* is uncommon and seems to occur only in Iberian works. See Appendix A, Texts B.64 and D.1.
[99] MS London, Library of Lincoln's Inn, 150, fols 28r-90r, late fourteenth century and MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 622, fols 27vl – 64vl, c.1400. (Text B.55)
[100] Stevenson states a date of 1312 which could be due to the misattribution to Adam Davies. Rev. J. Stevenson, ed., *The Alliterative Romance of Alexander: From the unique manuscript in the Ashmolean Museum.* (London: Roxburghe Club, 1849). A seventeenth-century comment penned on the fourth fore-flyleaf of the bound volume erroneously assumes that all the poetic works contained within the volume are by Adam Davy, the named author of the third work: *Five Dreams about Edward II* (fols 26v2 – 27v1).
[101] Smithers describes the language of the 'Laud' version as showing linguistic markings of south-eastern England, with admixtures of Old French, Middle Dutch, Middle Low German and Norse vocabulary. Smithers, ed., *Kyng Alisaunder*, II, pp. 40-60.
[102] Lincoln's Inn manuscript line 1035 'At þeo feste was trumpyng' corresponds to Laud manuscript line 1039 'At þe fest was harpyng'.
[103] Line 1037, Smithers, ed., *Kyng Alisaunder* (1952), I, pp. 58-61.

activities are meant to go together, like piping and taboring in the previous line, or meant to offer contrast and variety, like knife-playing and singing, or caroling and tournamenting, in the subsequent lines. This description of splendour is abbreviated, rather than a grand list as found in other wedding feast, presumably because the nuptials that accompany the festivities are shamefully illegitimate.[104]

A similar sort of grand festivities are depicted in the lower margins of a mid-fourteenth-century Flemish *Romance of Alexander* (MS Oxford, Bodleian, Bodley 264) several lower marginal scenes contain depictions of a variety of instrumentalists,[105] both *haut* and *bas*, as well as dancing and gaming, resembling the festivities in *Kyng Alisaunder* and call to mind the lists used to amplify grandeur in literature. The amplification of grandeur in medieval stories is discussed further in §9.10. In both cases, the instruments described in the stories of Alexander the Great do not seem to be based on antique texts. The citoles and other familiar medieval instruments are employed to give concrete detail to festivities.

Although *Apollonius of Tyr* was an often retold tale in the Middle Ages, spawning numerous vernacular and Latin versions,[106] the citole has been identified in only two: Heinrichs von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland*,[107] and Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.[108] In the story of Apollonius, three important individuals play musical instruments: Apollonius; the daughter of King Archistrates, later Apollonius' wife; and their daughter, called Tarsia (or Thaise). In the Latin *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, Apollonius' instrument is invariably a *lyra* as is his daughter's.[109] The

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[104] While Alexander is away fighting, Alexander's father locks his mother, Olympias, in a tower and marries the extremely wealthy Cleopatra of Assyria. Cleopatra arrives with an entourage including ten thousand barons. Olympias' woe is underscored by her being able to hear the festivities from her tower cell. Alexander returns triumphant, scatters the revellers, drives away Cleopatra, and restores his mother to the throne.

[105] See Appendix B, Ill. 84 & 85. Other folios show marginal musicians but these are the only lower marginal scenes that include distinct-necked waisted chordophones. An additional citoler appears in an initial on fol. 78r (Appendix B, Ill. 83).

[106] For a comprehensive list see Elizabeth Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre: medieval and renaissance themes and variations* (Cambridge D. S. Brewer, 1991), pp. xi-xii.

[107] Heinrich von Neustadt, *Heinrich von Neustadt: Apollonius; Von Gottes Zuokunft*, ed. by Joseph Strobl (Wein: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1875), p. 101. (Text B.76)

[108] (Text B.62) John Gower, *The English Works of John Gower: edited from the manuscripts with introduction, notes and glossary*, ed. by G .C. Macaulay, EETS, 2 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1901), II, pp. 408 and 426.

[109] Schmeling compares section 16, mentioning Apollonius' *lyra*, and section 36, mentioning Tarsia's *lyra*, across the three redactions. Gareth Schmeling, ed., *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, Bibliotheca

vernacular versions of this tale are not strict translations of *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* but differ in detail and content, as discussed by Archibald,[110] and the instruments mentioned in them vary greatly.[111]

In Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland*, none of the major characters plays the citole and it appears only among instruments played at festivities. This text, a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century translation, only survives in fifteenth-century copies. The *citolin* appears once in MS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 12464 as part of the celebrations when Apollonius' wife is discovered to still be alive.[112] In an early fifteenth-century copy, MS Cod. Gothan. 1557,[113] citole-related terms appear twice: in description of the reunion,[114] and during the earlier description of Apollonius' marriage feast. The wedding festivities, in Cod. Gothan. are described in familiar terms, with much eating and drinking, music making and tumbling. The stringed instruments include *herpfen, geygen, salterium, citalon* and *fidlen*. By comparison, the reunion festivities are spectacular and exotic: Apollonius' wife, who has long been believed to be dead, arrives by elephant, accompanied by a richly dressed retinue including twelve Moorish instrumentalists riding camels. The twelve instruments named, however, are neither exotic nor multi-various. These are merely multiples of three familiar instruments: six *pfifen*, four *videlin*, and two *citolin*. That the *citole*-related terms and *videl*-variants appear in both scenes of festivity seems to indicate that both these instruments were associated with celebrations, whether the setting was familiar or more exotic.

In Gower's late fourteenth-century *Confessio Amantis* all of the references to citoles are in Book 8, which recounts the story of Apollonius of Tyr.[115] This does not necessarily indicate the *citole*'s status as an 'antique' instrument in the mind of the

Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1988), pp. 12, 55, 94 and pp. 28, 69, 115.

[110] Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*.

[111] In the Castilian early fourteenth-century manuscript of *El Libro de Apolonio* (MS Escorial, III-K-4, ff. 1r-64v) the favoured instrument is a *viola*. The terms *laud, cedra* and *citola* do not appear.

[112] Heinrich von Neustadt, *Heinrich von Neustadt: Apollonius; Von Gottes Zuokunft*, ed. by Joseph Strobl (Wein: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1875), p. 101. (Appendix A, Text B.76a)

[113] (App. A, B.76b) The current location of this manuscript is MS Erfurt, Gotha Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A 689. Heinrich von Neustadt, *Heinrichs von Neustadt: 'Apollonius von Tyrland hach der Gothaer Handschrift, 'Gottes Zukunft und 'Visio Philiberti hach der Heidelberger Handschrift*, ed. by S. Singer, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters (Dublin and Zürich: Weidmann, 1967), p. 38.

[114] An apparent scribal error renders the relevant term as 'ticolen'.

[115] Gower, *English Works*, ed. Macaulay (1901), II, pp. 408, 426, 459. (Text B.62)

author, however, since most of his references to stringed instruments of any sort are also in Book 8.[116] Although Gower makes changes to the story of Apollonius of Tyr, he does not alter this detail except that he changes the instruments to more contemporaneous ones. In this story, *Musica instrumentalis* is considered to be an appropriate and virtuous subject for a noble young woman to undertake. Apollonius, his future wife, and his daughter all play the *citole*. Apollonius, an exiled prince who is described as playing both the harp and citole, wins favour at a foreign court both by winning a sporting competition and then by showing the king's daughter how to correctly 'mesure' her harp.[117] Apollonius is then invited to teach the princess the proper science of music, which includes playing the *harpe, citole,* and *rote.* Eventually the couple are married but the wife falls into a coma during a long sea voyage and is buried at sea. Later, their kidnapped daughter, Thaise, is kidnapped and sold to a brothel-keeper. Thaise manages to preserve her virginity by convincing the brothel-keeper that she can earn more for him by instructing young gentlewomen in music and other sciences. Her two instruments are the citole and harp. Thaisis is a model of womanly virtues as well as a talented performer.

Gower might have determined that the citole would be a suitable substitute for *lyre* because of the explicit mention of the use of a plectrum in some Latin versions.[118] Since the citole is only played by noble characters, it does not seem to carry any negative connotations for Gower, and strongly suggests that, as with the earlier *le Clef d'Amours*, learning to play the *citole* was an acceptable pastime for genteel young women.

Two stories, which were written at the end of the fourteenth century, recount aspects of the history of Troy and include mentions of the citole. The citole does not appear in the same section of the two versions of the stories of Troy, but both appear as part of celebrations. *The Laud Troy* lists 'Pipe and Trompe, and many nakeres, Synfan, lute and Citoleres' among the festivities and dancing to celebrate an early three-month truce.[119] *The Destruction of Troy,*[120] describes the merriment accompanying

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[116] Of the fourteen times that *harp* is mentioned, ten of those are in Book 8. *Lute* is also mentioned once, with the *harp* in v.2679.
[117] 'Mesure' here refers to tuning the intervals into the appropriate intonation.
[118] Schmeling, ed., *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri,* pp. 12, 28, 69, 115.
[119] J. Ernst Wülfing, ed., *The Laud Troy Book: A romance of about 1400 A. D.,* EETS, 2 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1902-3), I, p. 242. (Appendix A, Text B.74)

the arrival of Helen and Paris to the court of King Priam (before the marriage of Helen and Paris). Helen and Paris arrive splendidly attired and are cheered by the townsfolk and greeted at the court 'with synging, & solas, and sitals amonge; with myrthes of mynstralsy, musike with all'.

In *The Knight's Tale*, a *citole* appears in the right hand of a statue of Venus. Although *The Knight's Tale*, a retelling of the tale of Arcite and Palamon, is certainly meant to have a classical atmosphere, the term *citole* mentioned in it does not seem to have been selected as a direct translation of any particular ancient instrument.[121] The instrument seems to have been placed in the hand of the statue, by Chaucer, to indicate which aspect of goddess the statue was meant to represent. This may be related to the perception of the citole as respectable instrument rather than an antiquated one. Modern academic consensus is that *The Knight's Tale* was written between 1380 and 1387.[122] The plot and characters are based substantially upon the c.1339-40 *Teseida delle nozze d'Emilia* by Giovanni Boccaccio[123] but, according to Wilkins, the details of the descriptions of the statue of Venus, in both *The Knight's Tale* and *The House of Fame*, were borrowed from earlier fourteenth-century sources written in Latin: Pierre Bersuire's allegorization of pagan legends *Liber de reductione fabularum et poetarum enigmatum* (probably written between 1328-42, popularly known as *Ovidius moralizatus*) or from a shorter derivative work *Libellus de deorum imaginibus* attributed to 'Albricus Philosophus'.[124] Both of Chaucer's accounts of Venus contain many of the same descriptive elements in the same order with a few changes or additions. In both *Ovidius moralizatus* and *Libellus*, Venus holds a *conca* (shell) in her right hand rather than a *citole*, as in *The Knight's Tale*, or comb, as in *The House of Fame*.[125] Steadman suggests two further

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[120] (Appendix A, Text B.86) Although Donaldson suggests that this is the earliest English version, preceding Lydgate's *Troy Book* and *The Laud Troy Book*, it only survives in one manuscript of the mid-fifteenth century probably copied in the West Midlands. Rev. Geo. A. Panton and David Donaldson, *The "Gest Hystoriale" of the Destruction of Troy: An alliterative romance, translated from Guido Colonna's "Hystoria Troiana"*, EETS, 2 vols (London: Trübner, 1874), II, p. 111. See also pp. 39, 56 and ix.

[121] Although Wright implies that this is meant to be a *kithara*, the instrument is not usually one of Venus' attributes. L. Wright, 'Citole', *New Grove Music* (2001), V, p. 875.

[122] *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) p. xxv.

[123] Robert A. Pratt, Chaucer's Use of the Teseida', *PMLA*, 62 (Sep., 1947), pp. 598-621.

[124] Ernest H. Wilkins, 'Descriptions of Pagan Divinities from Petrarch to Chaucer', *Speculum*, vol. 32 (1957), pp. 511-22.

[125] Wilkins, 'Pagan Divinities', p. 521.

reasons, in addition to merely avoiding cliché, that Chaucer might have changed the object in Venus' hand to an instrument: sensual and musical. Steadman seems to assume a *citole=cithara* link, both in the mind of Chaucer and those of his readers,[126] and it might have been, like the *cithara* of King David or Orpheus, symbolic of concord and a civilizing influence. Chaucer seems to have been familiar with Gower's version of the story of Apollonius of Tyr,[127] in which a citole in the hand of a woman seems to be a symbol of virtue and culture. Alternatively, perhaps Venus' citole is meant as an attribute of harmonious and noble love, rather than vanity suggested by the comb, or carnality suggested by the shell. When Palamon first sees Emelye, he wonders whether she might be the goddess Venus.[128] It might be, conversely, that the statue of Venus is meant to represent Emelye, the woman whom both Palamon and Arcite love, in which case it would be appropriate for the statue to have a genteel attribute. The citole here seems not to have been chosen as a substitute for cithara, not because it was antiquated but because it was a relatively high-status instrument that, at the time, was considered suitable to associate with virtuous females.

5.6 SUMMARY

As Hayes suggests, 'It [the citole] was always given a rather respectable setting, which was not invariably the lot of other instruments'.[129] This relatively high-status does not seem to have been granted to the *citole* because it was merely a euphonious translation for *cithara* but, conversely, because the citole was a highly regarded instrument, this instrument type was deemed to be a suitable modernization for some of the stringed instruments mentioned of the Bible.

The use of the term *citole* as a direct translation of a Latin term, and the inclusion of the citole in the modernization of an ancient story, seem to reveal slightly different

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[126] John M. Steadman, 'Venus' Citole in Chaucer's Knight's Tale and Berchorius' *Speculum*, vol. 34 (Oct., 1959), pp. 620-624.
[127] In the 'Introduction to the Man of Law's Tale' lines 78-87, Chaucer specifically commented upon two stories that appear in *Confessio Amantis*, one of which is Apollonius of Tyr. Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University, 1988), p. 88.
[128] (Lines 1101-2. *Riverside Chaucer*, p. 40.
[129] Gerald Hayes, 'Musical Instruments', in *Ars Nova and the Renaissance, 1300-1540*, ed. by Anselm Hughes and Gerald Abraham (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 466 – 502 (p. 489).

things about the medieval perception of the instrument. When citole is used as a translation of a specific Latin term, it is most often included in passages particularly related to singing or virtue. In adaptations of classical material, citole playing is associated with joglars, festivities, and respectable pastimes for young women.

In many of these medieval works, however, the passage that includes the *citole*-related term is an interpolation without relation to the antique text. Citoles and other instruments seem to be added as props to give detail to a scene, or exemplars to help clarify a description.[130] The earliest surviving manuscript to include a citole reference, a copy of Johannes de Garlandia's *Dictionarius,* lists the citole among instruments played by professional minstrels for the wealthy.

It is worth noting that the texts that use the term *citole* as a substitute for *lira* or *cithara* are not the earliest examples. Preserving the meaning of a text in translation was important, as is stated quite clearly in the translator's preface *The Metz Psalter.*[131] Although the choice of the term *citole* might have been influenced by rhyme, meter, or alliteration, the relevant terms are used similarly in prose and poetry.[132] This suggests that most authors chose citole-related instrument names, not because they had a similar sound to the word *cithara,* but because they suited the situation.

Although Wright suggests that in late fourteenth-century literature 'the word "citole" is mainly used to denote the *kithara* of antiquity, as if it were by then a thing of the past,'[133] the consistently high status of the citole seems more likely to have been the reason for its inclusion in late texts rather than a sense of conscious antiquation. That the citole was an acceptable translation for *cithara,* both during and after its period of popularity, offers evidence of the continued high opinion of the citole. The

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[130] Similarly, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the word *citole* was used by Arthur Conan Doyle in *Sir Nigel* and Dante Gabriel Rosetti in 'Blessed Damozelle". There is no clear indication of what instrument these authors had in mind and it was not necessary to describe the instrument in order to use its name to evoke the atmosphere of the Middle Ages.
[131] See §5.3.1.
[132] Consonance seems rarely to influence the choice of the citole except possibly when appearing in the same phrase as the psaltery, as in v. 149 of *Libeaus Desconus* 'Citole, sautrie in same'. Max Kaluza, ed., *Libeaus Desconus: Die Mittelenglische Romanze vom Schönen Unbekannten,* Altenglische Bibliothek (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1890), pp. 10-11 & 105.
[133] L. Wright, 'Citole', *New Grove Music* (2001), V, p. 875.

citole and harp are the two stringed instruments deemed appropriate to associate with important figures of the Bible. According to Gower's use of them, the harp and citole were also appropriate for high-born women to play. Even if *citole* is proposed only because it was linked to the *cithara* by being played with a plectrum, it is not contested by any other plucked necked-chordophone during this period. The choice also might have been influenced by earlier scholars, or by the association of citoles and singing. By the 1370s, the *lute* and *guiterne* were well established in France but Oresme and the author of the Metz Psalter still chose the term *citole* as a translation of *cithara*. This suggests that although the citole declined in use during the fourteenth century, the instrument did *not* decline in status.

6. MATERIAL EVIDENCE

Although the citole in the British Museum is the only surviving exemplar of this instrument type, this artefact is much altered and has been relatively well studied by other researchers. The British Museum's Citole is an invaluable piece of evidence but it is none-the-less only a single piece of evidence, and one that has already received much attention. Since this instrument has undergone relatively thorough investigation recently in studies published by Buehler-McWilliams[1] and Kevin,[2] and will be the subject of an upcoming symposium in the near future,[3] this section will be comparatively brief and will focus on the structural design of the instrument, which has not been discussed elsewhere.

The British Museum's citole can be used as an exemplar against which some of the physical features present in iconography can be verified, such as the thumbhole-neck, end-grain peg insertion and large end-projection; these are discussed in §8.

The instrument is monoxylic in construction (the pegbox, neck, sides, back and end-projection are all carved from a single piece of wood) - except that the central lobe of the end-projection is a replacement. The artefact has been identified as being made of boxwood (*Buxus spp.*). The tight relatively featureless grain is consistent in character with boxwood. The region of origin for the timber has not been determined. If, as Buehler suggests, it is native English boxwood then the wood would have originated in southern England.[4] Boxwood is a common evergreen shrub growing in many parts of Europe and Asia. Caucasian boxwood, until it was deforested, was a major export timber, being shipped by water. Regardless of where the piece of wood originated, it is an unusually large and straight-grained specimen that would have been specially selected for the creation of this artefact.

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[1] Kathryn Buehler-McWilliams, 'The British Museum Citole: An Organological Study', *JAMIS*, 33 (2007), pp. 5-41.

[2] P. Kevin, and others, 'A Musical Instrument fit for a Queen: The Metamorphosis of a Medieval Citole', *The British Museum Technical Bulletin*, 2 (2008), pp. 13-27, pp. 13-27.

[3] The symposium 'The British Museum Citole: New Perspectives' will be held at the British Library's Stevenson Theatre, 4-5 November 2010, with proceedings published subsequently.

[4] Kathryn E. Buehler, 'Retelling the Story of the English Gittern in the British Museum: An Organological Study, ca. 1300 - Present' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Minnesota, 2002), p. 5.

The current pegs on the British Museum's citole are not in the position of the original ones. Although the peg end of the instrument has been significantly altered, the original peg position is demonstrated by two remaining filled peg holes (Ill.199).[5] The cracks extending from one of the newer lateral pegs also demonstrate that lateral pegs may not be as suitable for this type of neck given that the force they exerted more easily splits wood along the grain.[6] Insertion of the pegs into the end grain seems to compress the fibres surrounding the peghole rather than splitting them.[7] On the X-ray of the head three tapered pegholes can be seen. Two are clearly visible and the other is approximately level with the hinge of the cover over the later carved-out pegbox. It is not possible to determine exactly how many pegs there might have been given the damage to the peghead.

6.1 THE BRITISH MUSEUM'S CITOLE – EXEMPLAR OF INSTRUMENT DESIGN

The British Museum's citole shows many of the features that, by the first quarter of the fourteenth century, seem to have become characteristic of citoles in England. In addition to being well crafted, it was also well designed. It was made not merely to be an attractive object but also a utile one. It shows indications of proportional layout and a working knowledge of the mechanical forces to which stringed instruments are subject in use.

Buehler suggests that Richard 'citoler le roi', one of the king's minstrels might have been the creator of this work because he appears only once in the payment records. As discussed in §4.6 it seems more likely that this Richard was more often known as Richard le vyler, who appears frequently. The level of skill demonstrated in execution of this work seems to indicate that the citole was probably made by a dedicated craftsperson.[8]

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[5] 2006 X-rays by the British Museum seem to indicate that there is a third, much undermined, filled peghole, the edge of which is just visible under the edge of the hinge, between the two leaves. This is lower than the peg positions proposed by Buehler-McWilliams, 'The British Museum Citole' (2007), p. 23, fig. 14. Thanks to Buehler-McWilliams and the British Museum for allowing me to view some of these X-rays.

[6] The peg acts like a wedge splitting the wood along the grain. More modern instruments suffer from the same sort of cracking, which is not uncommon around violin A pegs.

[7] This observation is based on practical experience of anterior pegs in my 2004 MA citole reconstruction and from splitting timber using wedges. Alice Margerum, 'Citole: Research and Reconstruction' (unpublished master's thesis, London Metropolitan University, 2004).

[8] Buehler, 'Retelling the Story of the English Gittern', pp. 58-9.

As to whether the instrument was the work of one or more artisans, this might never be decisively proven. To borrow an example from another highly skilled field, some illuminated manuscripts are known to be the work of a single scribe while others were completed by several specialists, who undertook different tasks. Since rubrics and gilding were added after other parts of a manuscripts text and decoration, it is not inconceivable that carving might be added to a musical instrument after the body had been completed.[9] None-the-less, this instrument shows the signs of having been designed by an artisan who was familiar with woodcraft, construction of monoxyle stringed instruments and probably citole making in particular. It also is the work of a skilled decorative carver. To produce such a finely wrought final piece, the work would have needed to have been a well planned and integrated project, whether or not the stages of it were all executed by the same person.

The instrument is neither heavy nor are the sides thick, as shown in recent x-rays.[10] This contradicts both Hawkins' comment on the 'quantity of wood with which it is encumbered' and Winternitz's remark that 'the side walls are so massive that they inevitably dull the tone, another reason why the instrument must have excelled as a showpiece rather than in performance.'[11] The bulk of the walls is illusory. In actuality, the walls are thin and relatively uniform. Surprisingly, the wall thickness in the endgrain areas of the shoulders and lower end are not substantially thicker.[12] The back is also thin and seems to be relatively uniform in thickness except for the bottom of the 'v' of the keel. This forms a thicker spine probably to add strength and stiffness.

Although the style of the carving could be either English or northern French, the length of the instrument would seem to indicate that the instrument is of English

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[9] I make the assumption that the instrument was carved before it was completed. Perhaps my opinions on this subject are skewed by the fact that I have undertaken decorative carving for other instrument makers as well as for myself. Usually, when I add decorative carving to instruments by other makers, I am given the relevant parts in a virtually finished condition rather than handling the entire instrument.

[10] An indication of the lightness of the structure can be seen in an X-ray reproduced in Kevin and others, plate 16, but this thinness of the sides is more apparent in the plan view X-ray, which has not been published.

[11] Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments of the Western World* (New York and Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1967), p. 47.

[12] This is clearly visible on the X-rays.

origin. Since longitudinally a piece of wood changes insignificantly over time, the length is one measurement that can be considered constant. The current length of 606 mm is effectively two English feet (609.6 mm) and this slight discrepancy might be accounted for by the repair to the end projection. Linear measurements were standardised during the reign of Edward I, and literally cast in iron in the form of the 'Iron Ulna'. The early fourteenth-century English foot is the same as the current standard measure. The medieval French foot or 'pied du roi', a variant of which appears to have been used in some medieval building construction in eastern England, is equivalent to 12.79 modern inches. Using the 'pied du roi' as the standard, the British Museum's citole measures roughly 22.40 French inches in length. If the foot standard set by Edward I is used as the reference, then the length of the instrument is 24 English inches.

Certain features of the this instrument type, which occur on the British Museum's example, seem to indicate that it was designed to be longitudinally stiff. The thumbhole-type neck acts as a truss, and the keel-shaped back increases 'beam stiffness'. A non-oval body, with straight or incurving sides has a greater resistance to the moment of bending than would an oval body.[13] The combination of these features seems to indicate that the citole could have been strung with relatively high tension strings. Given that the citole seems to have had significantly greater longitudinal stiffness than that found on the lute or gittern, it might also have had higher tension strings. Whether these were gut or wire, the tone colour of the citole would have been significantly different possibly explaining why in his later years Edward III employed both a gitterner and a citoler.

Although wire strings would exert more force on the instrument, the case in favour of wire stringing is unproven. The reference to wire stringing by Tinctoris is far too late to be safely applied to the citole and more likely describes the morphologically different Italianate instrument, which has greater similarity to that described by Tinctoris (see §10).

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[13] The purpose of a centre bout on bowed instruments is more obvious, it allows the bow a greater arc but this advantage to the player is not applicable to plucked chordophones.

6.2 GEOMETRICAL LAYOUT – THE STRAIGHT, THE SQUARE, AND THE CIRCLE[14]

During the Middle Ages geometrical design was favoured, and the outline of the British Museum's citole shows indications of having been devised using whole number ratios. Although the earliest indisputable evidence for proportional layout in European stringed-instrument-making is from the fifteenth century,[15] several earlier Arabic and Persian treatises mention the fractional design of a different chordophone,[16] and these sources offer interesting comparisons. Although the overall length of the British Museum's citole was probably determined by the standard English foot measure,[17] the shape of the instrument seems to have then been established using standard tools of the medieval craftsmen: the dividers and the square.

In the Islamic, Jewish, and Christian societies of the Middle Ages, a belief existed that the universe was set in a Divine order and that evidence of this order could be shown to exist. This was founded upon the writings of ancient Greek philosophers such as Pythagoras, Muristus, Archytas, Euclid, Aristoxenus, Aristotle and Plato. Probably foremost, in influence on musical thought, would have been Pythagoras. Although no original works by Pythagoras have survived (and some scholars doubt whether he, as an individual, ever existed), the influence of Pythagorean theory spread through the writings of Pythagorean philosophers has been considerable. Among other things, Pythagoras is credited with having discovered the harmonious conjunction of mathematics in music. That these perfect harmonious relationships occur naturally seemed, to ancient and medieval scholars, to exemplify the divine order of the universe.

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[14] This makes reference to Moxon's descriptions of 'Handy-craft'. Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises: or the doctrine of handy-works applied to the arts of smithing, joinery, carpentry, turning, bricklayery*, Third edn (London: Midwinter and Leigh, 1703), introduction (not paginated).

[15] Paris, BnF, Latin 7295, Folio 132r. Henri Arnaut de Zwolle, *Les traités d'Henri-Arnaut de Zwolle et de divers anonymes (MS. B.N.Latin 7295)*, ed. by G. Le Cerf and E.R. Labande (Paris: A. Picard, 1932) p. 32-4, and plate XV; and Ian Harwood, 'Citole', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 20 vols (London: MacMillan, 1980), IV, p. 414, p. 3-8.

[16] In all cases, these descriptions relate to the 'ūd. For a full discussion and translation of the relevant texts see Eckhard Neubauer, 'Der Bau der Laute und ihre Besaitung nach Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Quellen des 9 bis 15. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften*, 8 (1993), pp. 279-378.

[17] Discussed above.

These harmonious relations relate to one another in 'noble proportion' based on the interaction of the integers 1, 2, 3, and 4 as whole number ratios. These ratios were familiar to medieval music theorists since they were used in dividing a tuned string to empirically demonstrate the intervals of an octave (*diapason*), 'perfect fifth' (*diapente*), and 'perfect fourth (*diatesseron*). The ratio of a *diapason* is 2:1; a *diapente* 3:2; and a *diatesseron* 4:3. In medieval European music theory, the monochord was the standard instrument for demonstrating the mathematical division of the octave and the numerically based association of different musical pitches, although other stringed instruments could be used as mentioned in Lambertus' *Tractatis De Musica*.[18] In Arabic and Persian music theory treatises the instrument employed for such demonstrations was the 'ūd.[19] Some of these works also describe the proportional design of the 'ūd in terms of whole number ratios based on the numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4.[20] However, one Arabic text describes the 'ūd only in measurements,[21] and a few use both measurements and proportions.[22] The fifteenth-century work by Arnaut de Zwolle on the lute suggests that larger numbers could be also employed in these ratios.[23]

Because music was proportional, and other building crafts demonstrated a working knowledge of geometry, it seemed worthwhile to consider whether the design of the British Museum's Citole might also have been derived by geometrical proportion.

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[18] (Appendix A, Text B.7) Pseudo-Aristotle, 'Tractatis de musica', in *Scriptorum de musica medii ævi*, ed. by Edmond de Coussemaker (Paris 1864-76): Durand; reprint 1963, Hildesheim: Olms), Vol. 1, p. 253.

[19] For further information see works by Farmer, Shiloh and Neubauer. Neubauer's work is the most comprehensive on the subject of the 'ūd and his translations are highly regarded. Henry George Farmer, 'The Structure of the Arabian and Persian Lute in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1 (1939), pp. 42-51. Amnon Shiloah, *The Dimension of Music in Islamic and Jewish Culture* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993). Neubauer, 'Der Bau der Laute', pp. 279-378.

[20] The widely copied tenth-century encyclopedia compiled by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafa offers the relation of 1:2:3 for depth: breadth: length. Neubauer, 'Der Bau der Laute', p. 343

[21] Of the 'ud treatises described by Neubauer, only one offers only measurements that are clearly not proportional: the eleventh-century work written by Ibn al Tahhan al Musiqui at the Fatimad court in Cairo. Neubauer, 'Der Bau der Laute', p. 358-9.

[22] The ninth-century Arabic treatise by al Kindī 'The Summary of Music with Regard to the Composition of Melodies and Lute Making' and the anonymous fourteenth-century Persian 'Kanz at Tuhaf' (Treasure of the Rarities) offer both measurements and proportions (which do not always agree). Neubauer, 'Der Bau der Laute', pp. 337-38, 349-50 and 353.

[23] Arnaut's diagram shows the soundhole placed at 10/13 of the soundboard from the neck joint (although this is stated as 1/3 in the text). For a full discussion see Alice Margerum, 'Fifteenth-century Lute-making Techniques (and Six Hundred Years of Arabic Antecedents)', in *Craft treatises and handbooks: the dissemination of technical knowledge in the Middle Ages*, ed. by D. Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba Press, forthcoming).

The length of the instrument, of two English feet, however, argued that the design of the instrument might have been measured. Measurements were therefore taken of the British Museum's Citole to determine whether the instrument's outline was derived geometrically.[24] The length was used as the basis of this investigation because it is the most stable dimension; since longitudinal shrinkage of wood is negligible, the length of the instrument can be assumed to be virtually the same as when the instrument was built, regardless of whether it was fashioned from seasoned or unseasoned wood. An allowance must be made for a slight error in length, as well as in the shape and size of the end protrusion due to the repair of the central lobe.

Assuming that the instrument was originally 24 inches (609.6 mm) in length, the 8 inch (203 mm) neck length could either have been measured or divided (the neck length being equal to 1/3 the overall length). The length of the body, however, without the end-projection is approximately an inelegant 12 13/16 inches (325 mm), which argues against this feature having been measured. However, it strongly suggests a proportional relationship with other elements of the design. The length of the body, without end-projection relates to the length of the neck in a proportion of 8:5. The proportional relationship of other elements of the British Museum's Citole also make sense in terms of their length. The length of the neck relates overall length as 1:3. And the neck : body-length : end-protrusion relationship stands at 5:8:2. Thus, the layout of the British Museum's citole seems to show familiarity with the golden ratio, as well as other whole number relationships.

TABLE 3. LINEAR PROPORTIONS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM'S CITOLE

	relationship to overall length expressed as ratio	theoretical length in mm of part named, when calculated from ratio, assuming 24 inch original length	actual measurements in mm
Overall Length	15 : 15	(609.6)	608
Body Length	8 : 15[25]	325.1	325
Neck Length	5 : 15	203.2	203
End Projection Length	(2 : 15)	81.3	80

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[24] On 29 January 2003, Lewis Jones and I examined, measured and photographed the instrument. With thanks to the British Museum and the curator James Robinson.
[25] Although this proportion, 8:15, is the same as that of a *just intonation major seventh*, any similarities between the proportional relations occurring on this instrument and any musical ratios will be considered to be co-incidental.

The use of measurements is not incompatible with geometrical layout and medieval artisans seemed to have employed a combination of both methods. Ellen Shortell comments: 'masons also worked with measuring rods of set lengths and they certainly measured out critical dimensions in whole feet. In addition, they often made use of whole-number approximations of incommensurables.'[26] One of these 'whole-number approximations of incommensurables' is demonstrated in the length relationships present on the British Museum's citole. The ratio of the neck-length to the body-length (5:8) and the body-length to the total-length excluding end-projection (8:13), are each approximate to the golden ratio ($\frac{1+\sqrt{5}}{2}$).

Although the width measurements of the citole do not currently conform to the proportional scheme demonstrated by the length, this seems to be a result of the lateral instability of wood. Certain aspects of the instrument, in its current condition, indicate that it was carved from wood that was not fully seasoned and that lateral shrinkage might obscure the original proportions.[27] Since it is not considered to be a commercial timber, no published data has been located relating to the movement of air-dried European boxwood *(Buxus sempervirens)*, so an average figure for European hardwoods was used. The range of movement from green to air-dry for European hardwoods is typically 6-12% shrinkage. By adjusting the width measurements to allow for lateral shrinkage of approximately 8 %, the width measurements begin to come into line with the theory of geometrical layout.

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[26] Ellen M. Shortell, 'The Plan of Saint-Quentin: Pentagon and Square in the Genesis of High Gothic Design', in *Ad Quadratum: A practical application of geometry in medieval architecture*, ed. by Nancy Y. Wu (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 127.

[27] The cracks in the lower bout and the small hole in the back might also indicate this. The hole in the back is noticeably oval, also demonstrating lateral shrinkage. The cracking is in a similar position and of a similar type to that seen on the 2004 citole reconstruction made using unseasoned timber. Alice Margerum, 'Citole: Research and Reconstruction' (unpublished Masters by Project, London Metropolitan University, 2004).

TABLE 4. PROPOSED ADJUSTMENTS TO ACCOUNT FOR LATERAL SHRINKAGE

	hypothesized ratio	suggested original width in mm[28]	original width, less 8% proposed shrinkage	current measurement in mm
End Protuberance Width	2 : 15	81.2	75.1	78.2
Maximum Body Width	5 : 15	203	186.8	185.5
Centre-bout Width (Max.)	4 : 15	162.5	149.5	152

If this amount of shrinkage is correct, then the original body width is the same as the neck length and is in a golden ratio to the body length. This also means that the main shape of the body can be described by a simple circle, [29] a very strong argument for proportional design.

Although the significance and use of the golden ratio in medieval architecture is debated,[30] the relation of the length of the body of the British Museum's citole (without end-projection) to the length of the neck approximates to this ratio.[31] The suggestion here is not that this relationship was calculated using an irrational number but rather that the design was derived geometrically from a golden rectangle approximately equal to 8:5.[32] That the remaining portion of the instrument, the end-protrusion, is roughly 2/5 of the neck length, lends credence to this supposition.[33]

6.3 DRAFTING THE OUTLINE OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM CITOLE

Perhaps the most straight-forward method of describing the method in which the British Museum's citole might have been derived is by demonstrating it graphically.

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[28] These numbers are based on the assumption that the original length was two feet (609.6 mm).
[29] This calls to mind both Henri Arnaut's diagram of a lute, which is based on a circle but also an illustration entitled 'The Characteristics of the 'ūd' from a fourteenth-century copy of Kitab al-adwar by Safī al-Dīn. Harwood, 'Fifteenth c. Lute Design', pp. 3-6. Neubauer, 'Der Bau der Laute', plate 1.
[30] The analysis offered by most of the authors in Ad Quadratum suggests that medieval archecture favoured a grid and 1: √2 base system rather that the golden ratio. Shortell, however, offers evidence of the use of the golden ratio as well. Shortell, 'The Plan of Saint-Quentin', pp. 128-33.
[31] The golden ratio is 1:1.618... and the ratio of the neck to body lengths of this instrument is 1:1.6 (or 5:8).
[32] Although this proportion can be geometrically derived from a decagon inscribed within a circle, as expalined by Fernie, the system based on the square is much simpler. Eric Fernie, 'Introduction', in Ad Quadratum: A practical application of geometry in medieval architecture, ed. by Nancy Y. Wu (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 6.
[33] Although the repair to the end projection is very convincing, the length can not be assumed to be exactly the same as the original.

The relation of the body width to the body length appears to be that of the golden section. The ratio $\frac{1+\sqrt{5}}{2}$ might seem like advanced mathematics but this can be derived simply from a square that is equal to the maximum width (the width of the lower bout) and an arc with a diameter based on that square.[34] Although the length of the British Museum's citole was probably measured, this does not complicate the geometrical layout of the outline. The maximum width is also equal to 1/3 of the overall length.

First a square is drawn, the sides of which are equal to the maximum width of the lower bout. This square is then divided into quarters.
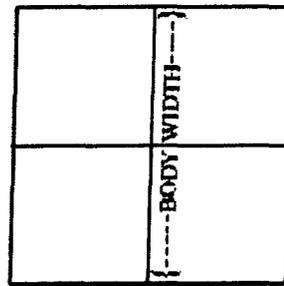
The length of the body can then be determined by striking an arc as shown below. A pair of dividers with one point set at the middle of one side of the large square and the other point set to the opposite corner can be used to mark this arc. The length of the body is therefore half the length of the side of the large square plus the radius of the arc.

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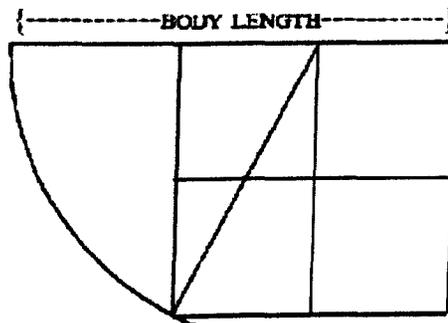
[34] For further clarification and discussion of the use of the square in deriving the golden section in medieval architecture see Nigel Hiscock, *The Symbol at Your Door* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 181-204.

The length of the neck is equal to the body width, at its widest point. So by extending a centre line, it is possible to mark the length of the neck.
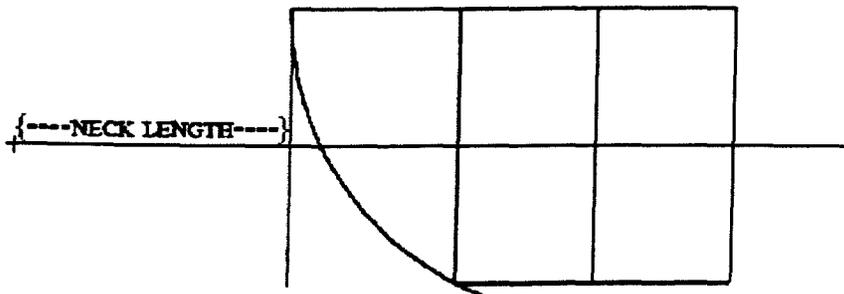
By dividing the body length into eight parts (by dividing in half three times), it is then possible to derive the smaller unit that is used as the basis for some of the other elements.
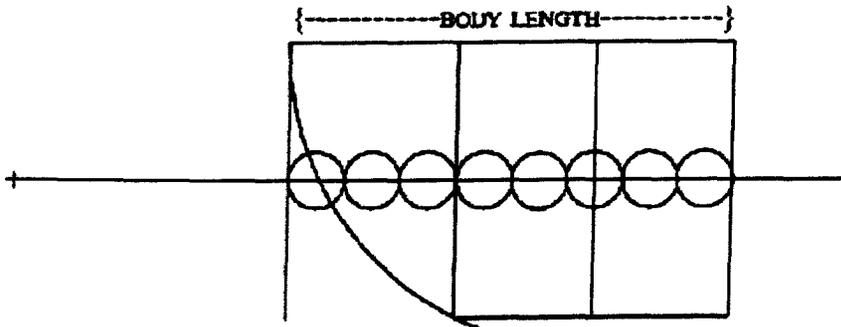
The diagram above demonstrates that the large circle, which forms the outline of the lower bout, has a diameter very nearly equal to five of these smaller units.[35]

The end-projection is described, not merely by being two units long by two units wide but it also uses the circumferences of these circles as part of the outline.

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[35] My husband, a pedant whose help has been invaluable, insists that I describe the diameter as 'very nearly equal' since 1:1.618 does not equal 1:1.6.
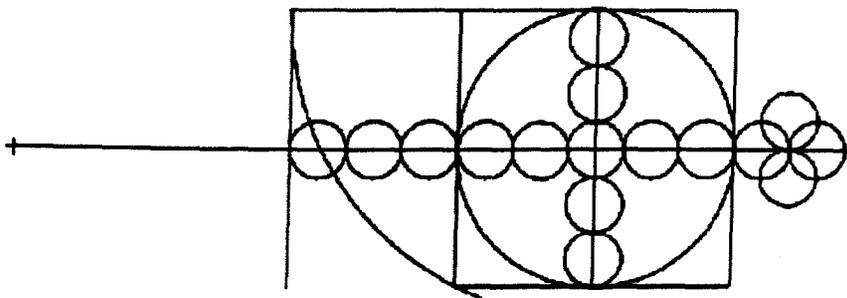
At the waist of the instrument, four of these smaller units form the width of the centre bout and the convex shape of the bumps follow the circumference of those circles.
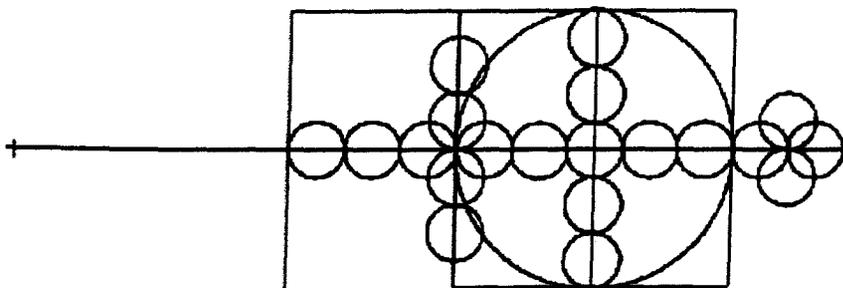
Since the width of the body seems to decrease in whole number steps from 5, at the lower bout, to 4 at the centre bout, it might make sense that the upper bout should have a width of 3. The shape of the upper bout, however, is not as straight-forward as the other two. The sloping shoulders of the citole are formed by a square rotated by 45 degrees, and it is this square that has sides 3 units in length.
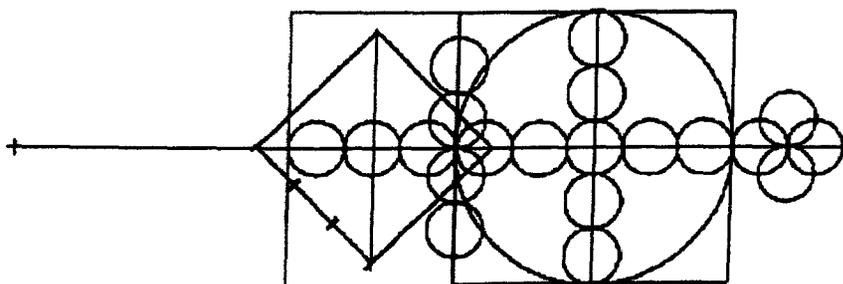
The size of the small raised panel of carving on the back is defined by one quarter of the larger square.
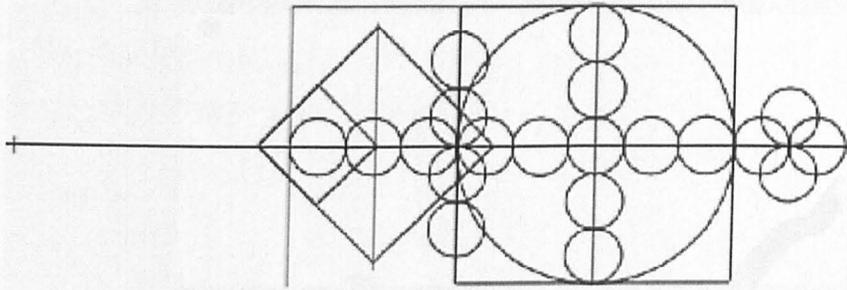
By removing the extraneous guidelines, it is possible to compare this geometric layout with a photograph of the back view of the instrument, which has been modified to accommodate the presumed lateral shrinkage. [36]
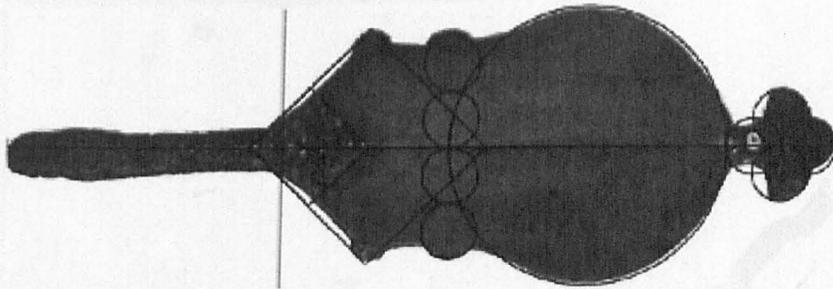
It therefore seems very unlikely the proportions of the British Museum's Citole were coincidental or that this suggestion of proportional design is accidental.

Although no description of the practical aspects of instrument making in fourteenth-century England survives, Walter Milemete's treatise on kingship written for Edward III in 1326-7 makes reference to proportional design of objects. Chapter 11, relating to entertainments and music appropriate for a king, states that

> it is also suitable for the king to see delightful books, to hear temperate songs, and to perceive visually proportionate objects; and it is permissible to bring before the king, at the right place and time, all sorts of instruments by which the human senses can be beneficially and honorably comforted.'[37]

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[36] This been adjusted by between 7-8 percent to account for lateral shrinkage. There is now some twist present in the instrument, which made it difficult to get an accurate outline. In this image the bend at the base the neck has also been straightened, but the length has not been altered.

[37] Cary J. Nederman, ed., *Political Thought in Early Fourteenth-Century England: treatises by Walter of Milemete, William of Pagula, and William of Ockham*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in collaboration with Brepols, 2002), pp. 46-7.

Perhaps it is not too far a stretch to suggest that musical instruments could also be 'visually proportionate objects', since the accompanying illustration of suitable instruments includes a citole (Ill. 125).[38]

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[38] (Appendix B, Ill.125) for original text see Montague Rhodes James, ed., *The Treatise of Walter de Milemete: 'De nobilitatibus, sapientiis et prudentiis regum': together with a selection of pages from the companion manuscript of the treatise 'De secretis secretorum Aristoteli' preserved in the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Roxburghe Club, 1913), fol. 442-443v.

Table 5: British Museum Citole Measurements

Reference measurements from various sources. All measurements are shown in millimetres. Since Hawkins' measurements were published in inches, these are shown in paranthesis beside a conversion to the nearest half millimeter.

	Hawkins[42]	Crane[41]	Buehler[40]	Jones[39]
- length, overall:	609.5 (24")	605	610	608
- length of head and neck to body juncture:				203
- length of soundboard:	330 (13")			
- width, lower bout:	190.5 (7.5")	183	186	185.5
- width, upper bout:	152.5 (6")			159
- width of the plate covering the pegbox:				26
- width of trefoil end-projection:				78.2
- depth, maximum:				
- depth of body at neck:(not including soundboard) bass side:	114.5 (4.5")		147	147
- thickness of end-projection:			30	
- thickness, at end-projection/body juncture	25.5 (1)			31.6

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[39] Measurements taken by Lewis Jones by permission of the British Museum, 29 January 2003: recorded by A. Margerum
[40] Buehler, 'Retelling the Story of the English Gittern', p.150.
[41] Frederick Crane, *Extant Medieval Musical Instruments: A provisional catalogue by type* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1972).
[42] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols (London: T. Payne and Son, 1776), 2, p. 344.

7.   PLUCKED, DISTINCT-NECKED, NON-OVAL-BODIED CHORDOPHONES IN ICONOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Plectrum-plucked, distinct-necked chordophones with non-oval body-outlines (citoles, as identified in §3) appear in illustrations of diverse situations and in a variety of media, but there are questions regarding which elements of these images are reliable. Representations of this instrument type occur in manuscripts, panel painting, murals, stained glass, embroidery, low-relief carvings and monumental sculpture. Citoles are shown in the hands of biblical figures, animals, sirens, human/animal hybrids, and angels as well as male and female humans. Before discussing the physical details of citoles recorded in depictions (§8) or the use of this instrument type as portrayed in contemporaneous situations (§9), it is necessary to consider the strengths and weaknesses of iconographical evidence.

Although many of the images reproduced in Appendix B have a strong link to a known text, they should not be dismissed as merely visual translations of the terms *lira* or *cithara*. As was shown previously in §5, scholars' familiarity with the medieval instrument seems to have influenced the inclusion of the term *citole* in literature and translation. Similarly, knowledge of this instrument type by artists can be demonstrated by the appearance of plucked, distinct-necked, non-oval-bodied chordophones in images. Although the context of these images might be dictated by an associated text, the morphological details recorded seem to remain relatively consistent, regardless of the player's social status or species, and regardless of whether the situation is biblical, antique or fantastic.

Some of the themes in iconography are quite similar to those of the literary sources: depictions of biblical situations, multitudinous instruments to evoke grandeur, and true-to-life situations. Scenes that depict contemporaneous medieval situations are considered later in this work (§9). This section considers some of the challenges of interpreting medieval images of citoles, the limitations of iconographical evidence; the influence of restorers, copyists and iconoclasts; symbolism and the use of plucked distinct-necked chordophones as visual substitutes for the biblical *cithara;* and whether the species of the musician shows any effect on the details of the

instrument being played. The physical aspects of iconographical evidence will be considered first, followed by the thematic considerations.

7.1   THE RELIABILITY OF ICONOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

Visual representations can offer specific morphological details relating to citoles that are not provided by other types of evidence, even though some depictions might not illuminate the context in which citoles were typically played. Before the content or context of the depictions is discussed, the authenticity of these artworks must be considered.

The most obvious examples of unreliable evidence are those in which original details might have been altered. Damage eliminates original evidence, whereas the repair and restoration of medieval works, or Gothic Revival reinterpretations, can add erroneous elements. Although images offer the valuable evidence relating to the physical details of citoles, this is only true when the images have not been tampered with.

7.1.1   RESTORATION OR ALTERATION

A number of sculptural depictions of citolers are known to have been altered by modern restorers. Some images have been modified or have had details obscured, others are modern replacements or entirely modern reinterpretations of medieval instruments. The style of restoration, championed by Viollet-le-Duc, in which preservation of original material was less important than producing a complete and idealized whole, both destroyed medieval evidence and introduced speculative details.[1]

In some cases, repairs are evident and the original medieval carving is distinguishable from the later accretions. At Beverley Minster, for example, lines of lighter-coloured cement, on figure NA6 in the north aisle (Ill. 188), demonstrate that

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[1] Viollet-le-Duc specifically advocates the replacement of lost statues. Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-Le-Duc and M. F. Hearn, *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc: readings and commentary* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), p. 284.

the end of the neck, the pegbox and the plucking hand are not original.[2] The join of the new neck and pegbox is less evident on Beverley Minster NA13 (Ill. 189), appearing merely as a fissure between the old and newer elements.[3] The components added to the Beverley Minster carvings by John Percy Baker in the late nineteenth century are drawn from other sculptures in the same location. Although some of these details might look credible, sometimes they are inaccurately interpreted or inappropriately applied, as is probably the case with the disk-type pegboxes applied to both NA6 and NA13.

The marked dissimilarity of the two citoles at Tewkesbury seems to be due to the influence of different restorers (Ills. 129 and 187).[4] The roof bosses of angel musicians in Tewkesbury Abbey date from the first half of the fourteenth century but many have been restored in the late nineteenth century. After 1878, bays 2 through 8 of the nave vaulting were restored with relative sensitivity under the guidance of Thomas Gambier Parry. The citole in bay 6 is therefore believed to be in close to original condition, although the surface detail might have suffered from repainting and regilding (Ill. 129). The other citole was not so respectfully treated. When bays 1 and 2 were redecorated under the supervision of George Gilbert Scott in 1877, the faces of many of the figures were remodelled, and both carved and painted details altered.[5] The citole played by the angel located directly above the second pillar on the south side of the nave (Ill. 187), between the first and second bays, seems strangely lacking in definition compared with the deeply carved details on other roof boss carvings in the Abbey. The strings and bridge are incised rather than raised. The head with the large finial is reminiscent of thumbhole-type necks but the detail is missing. There is sufficient space for pegs to be depicted but the peg-head is blank. The numerous atypical details present in this example may have been introduced during this renovation: the instrument is somewhat unusual in shape

[2] McPeek #NA6. This numbering system, introduced by the McPeeks, is acknowledged by many subsequent scholars , such as Tammen and Montagu. Gwynn S. McPeek and Mary McPeek, *A Guide to the Carvings of Medieval Minstrels in Beverley Minster* (Beverley: Beverley Minster, 1973). Björn R. Tammen, *Musik und Bild im Chorraum Mittelalterlichen Kirchen 1100-1500* (Berlin: Reimer, 2000). Gwen Montagu and Jeremy Montagu, 'Beverley Minster Reconsidered', *Early Music*, 6 (1978), pp. 401-15 (pp. 403-4 and Ill. 7).
[3] Montagu, 'Beverley Minster Reconsidered', p. 406.
[4] Richard K. Morris and David Kendrick, 'The Nave of Tewkesbury Abbey', in *Roof Bosses in the Nave of Tewkesbury Abbey* (Tewkesbury: The Friends of Tewkesbury Abbey), pp. 19-26.
[5] Morris and Kendrick, 'The Nave of Tewkesbury Abbey', pp. 19-20.

for an English source at this time,[6] the bridge type is rare,[7] and the plectrum is also held oddly.[8] Because it is known to have undergone recarving in the nineteenth century, the relatively unique details present on the citole between bays 1 and 2 are questionable and are not included in the discussion of morphological features (§8).

Even when sculptures have not been materially disturbed, painted details can be obscured or altered. Multiple layers of over-painting might hide original details, such as on the whitewashed angel at Thaxted (Ill. 141). The Exeter Cathedral citole demonstrates how precisely painted details, such as the soundholes, can be altered. The archive photos by Hulbert show soundholes retouched by Tristram in 1932 (Ill. 134a). Later photos show this retouching removed (Ill. 134b).

The copying of a work of art demonstrates dangers similar to the copying of a text: although the sculpture may appear original, details might have been changed by the later artist. When artworks are repeatedly copied it is difficult to tell when specific changes occurred. A useful example is offered by two statues of citolers currently on the gable of the main portal on the west façade of Strasbourg cathedral (Ill. 179-182). Although they purportedly date from c. 1290, the current sculptures date from the early 1980s. There have been several iterations of sculptures at this site. Even the sculptures that were replaced in the 1980s were not in original condition. These previous versions, which are now in the Musée de l'Œuvre Notre-Dame Strasbourg,[9] are either heavily restored or are possibly themselves replacements. In 1793, many of the sculptures on the west façade were destroyed or seriously damaged. In five phases, between 1811 and 1910, extensive restoration and replacement of the sculptures was undertaken. In addition, there were several periods of twentieth-century restoration. The nineteenth-century restorers, as Lehni comments, 'were not content to simply reconstitute lost works; they tried to re-invent them' and 'drew upon the scant information supplied by engravings.[10] One of the citoles (Ill. 182)

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[6] Most English citoles have body outlines with strongly defined upper bout shoulders or a distinct waist. The source with the most similar body outline is in a manuscript from Prüm. (Ill. 73).
[7] Strings that terminate at the bridge are unusual but do appear in a late thirteenth-century Flemish copy of the *Romance of Alexander*, MS Oxford, Bodleian 264, fol. 173 (Ill. 84a).
[8] The plectrum crosses over the thumb before passing under the index finger and over the middle finger.
[9] My thanks to Ann Jones for verifying this, personal communication May 2006.
[10] Roger Lehni, 'Strasbourg, §III: Cathedral', in *Grove Dictionary of Art*, ed. by J. Turner (New York MacMillan, 1996), p. 758.

seems to have been largely inspired by an engraving published by Viollet-Le-Duc (Ill. 184). The other, at some point between 1940 and 1984, acquired an additional string as well as a secondary bridge (Ills. 179 and 180).[11] The modern statues record some credible details, such as the thumbhole type neck and anterior pegs on the right hand figure but they can not be considered as reliable evidence from c.1290. Unfortunately, since the extent of the alteration to these figures is unclear the details they present are compromised and are not included in the discussion of morphological features in §8.

7.1.2 GOTHIC REVIVAL REINVENTION

Although rarer, some images of citole-type instruments have no medieval heritage and are Gothic Revival inventions. Two datable examples of nineteenth-century citoles appear at Cologne cathedral. Although the fabric and decoration of the choir were finished by the mid-fourteenth century, the completion of the exterior occurred between 1832 and 1880, with the bronze doors cast later. The figure of an angel, holding a roughly holly-leaf-shaped chordophone with multiple bouts and a large end projection, on the outer most archivolt of the south façade's central portal was designed by the sculptor Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler in 1848 (Ill. 194).[12] The castings of a citole-playing grotesque, which appears on several panels of the bronze doors of the west façade, were made in 1888 by L.C. Becker after drawings by Hugo Schneider (Ill. 193).[13] It is worth noting the nineteenth-century provenance of these depictions, to prevent their inclusion in subsequent discussions of medieval citoles.

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[11] Photographs published by Panum and Winternitz show a sculpture with four strings and no secondary bridge but Young's photo shows five strings and a clear second bridge. Additionally the citoler's right hand and the missing section of soundboard were replaced before 1960 (see also: Marburg Bild Archiv image #775 308). Hortense Panum, *Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages: Their Evolution and Development*, trans. by Jeffrey Pulver (London: William Reeves, 1940), fig. 463. Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments of the Western World* (New York and Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1967) plate 15c. Crawford Young, ' Zur Klassifikation und Ikonographischen Interpretation Mittelalterlicher Zupfinstrumente', *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis*, 8 (1984), fig. 13.
[12] Archive photographs of the designs for the portal survive (Rheinishe Bildarchiv, Cologne. RBA #177 243) but the carvings, which seems to have been completed after Schwanthaler's death in 1848, vary from his sketches.
[13] Archive photographs of the precise sketches for this panel survive (Rheinishe Bildarchiv, Cologne. RBA #177 196).

7.1.3 LOSS OF INSTRUMENTS

Loss of an instrument, or the degradation of details, may be caused by weather, neglect, accidental damage, or deliberate destruction. All of these deplete the body of evidence available. When a citole appears in an art work in fixed situation (monumental sculptures, murals, stained glass) it offer reliable evidence that citoles were known in these geographical regions, even if only in depictions (see Map 2). Lacunae, however, do not prove that citoles were unknown in an area. It must be remembered that a lack of evidence for the citole in a region is not the same as evidence for the lack of citoles in a region. The most northerly depiction of citoles, a mural at the Heilige Geist Hospital in Lübeck, had been painted over and was uncovered by chance in the twentieth century (Ill. 75). Religious iconoclasm or destruction by warfare may explain why there are no surviving sculptures of citoles in the Low Countries, although there are numerous Flemish manuscript depictions (see Map 3). Some geographical regions, or types of art might be omitted from this survey simply because the evidence has been lost.[14]

Iconoclasts of the Reformation defaced or destroyed many images but even in areas where they worked some depictions of citolers have survived. Although no trace remains of many of the lost sculptures, painting and stained glass images, some images were defaced or damaged rather than completely destroyed. At Lawford St. Mary (Ill. 135), the musical angels on the sedilia were merely decapitated, collaterally damaging the instruments but leaving many details of them untouched.

The scale of the destruction of figurative works of art during the Reformation is suggested by the brief 1643-4 records kept by William Dowsing, a professional iconoclast working with his deputies in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk.[15] At Saint Mary's in Higham Ferrers, Dowsing and his men 'brake down 15 superstitious pictures in the chancel; and 16 in the church'. While this does not specify the exterior decoration, it seems plausible that the significant damage to the citoler on

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[14] Fortunately, comparison of several types of evidence builds a more complete picture of where the citole was known, see §12.

[15] For a full discussion of Dowsing and other seventeenth-century records of iconoclasm in Eastern England see Trevor Cooper, ed., *The Journal of William Dowsing* (Woodbridge Ecclesiological Society with Boydell and Brewer, 2001).

the porch was caused at this time (Ill. 93).[16] Some sites were largely spared because although Dowsing was commissioned to work in the areas including Lincoln (Ills. 95 & 140) and Norwich (Ill. 127) his remit did not include the cathedrals. While southern Norfolk was also as severely affected, Blatchley suggests that Captain Giley, another parliamentary iconoclast, worked in an area that did not extend to northern Norfolk.[17] This might help explain why parts of rural northern Norfolk, especially around the Holt Hundreds, which includes Cley-next-the-sea (Ill. 128), retained a greater percentage of medieval stained glass, brass inscription and sculpture.[18] Even places left unvisited by parliamentary iconoclasts lost much of their stained glass.[19] At the Church of St. Mary in Warham, however, a few fragments of medieval glass were recovered from the ground around the church, including the depiction of a citoler (Ill. 121).[20] The selective survival of medieval imagery in situ in eastern England seems due in part to the patchy and unsystematic manner in which seventeenth-century destruction of idolatrous images was undertaken.

Iconoclasm is not the only reason for the loss of depictions, certain types of media might be under-represented because the raw material was either valuable or not durable. Despite many memorial brasses having been reused,[21] or being melted down for the metal, two of those that have survived are known to depict citolers (Ill. 86).[22] Among the few surviving examples of medieval fine decorative needlework, two complete *Opus Anglicanum* copes include depictions of angels with citoles.[23]

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[16] Cooper, *Journal of William Dowsing*, p. 236.
[17] Including neither King's Lynn nor Norwich. John Blatchly, 'In search of Bells: Iconoclasm in Norfolk, 1644', in Cooper, *Journal of William Dowsing*, pp. 107-22.
[18] Cooper, *Journal of William Dowsing*, pp. 93, 115-17, 405-7
[19] Norwich Cathedral and Warham St. Mary both lost their medieval stained glass although not specifically visited by parliamentary iconoclasts.
[20] It is possible that these two northern Norfolk images survived because they are not clearly religious in content.
[21] Some were reused by being turned over, in which case the images on it are merely hidden, others had their surface scraped obliterating the original artwork.
[22] Both show instruments in the hands of number of small angels: the Braunche Brass (Ill. 86) and the Von Bülow Brass. See Joscelyn Godwin, 'Main divers acors', *Early Music*, 5 (1977), pp. 148-59.
[23] The Bologna Cope (Ill. 100) and the 'Cope of Daroca', Thirteenth century, *opus anglicanum*, England or Northern France, in the National Archeological Museum of Spain, Museo Arqueológico Nacional of Madrid since 1872. It takes its name from the Collegiate church of Daroca (Aragon) where it was held for a long time. More information about the Daroca Cope can be found in: R. M. Martín i Ros, 'La Capa de Daroca y los Ornamentos de la Colegial' (Daroca: Daroca Ayuntamiento, 2003).

Care must be taken to note not just where an object is found but where it originated and what might have influenced its production. Depictions that are atypical of their region may be the result of outside influence. Anderson suggests that art in situ, such as monumental sculpture, stained glass and wall painting, was influenced by more transportable representations.[24] Buehler offers documentary evidence that the Apocalypse sequence in the roof bosses at Norwich Cathedral cloister, was inspired by a two-dimensional exemplar.[25] The relief sculptures of citolers at Erfurt Cathedral (Ill. 87-88)[26] show a consistency of depiction, which suggests that they might have been drawn from a pattern rather than from knowledge of this instrument type. The portability of manuscripts and textiles allowed styles to spread rapidly through the interchange of portable decorative objects.[27] Additionally, artisans carry their style with them when they travel. The work of a monumental mason often remains where the artisan worked rather than where he lived. This may explain why the two earliest sculptural depictions of citoles in England show the influence of French (Ill. 92) or Iberian (Ill. 93) models. The Hamilton Psalter, believed to have been produced in Cyprus during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, contains a depiction of an hourglass shaped chordophone (Ill. 142) as well as a spatulate one (Ill. 143). While the Hamilton Psalter clearly displays Byzantine artistic influence, it may record musical influences of Northern France.[28] Of course the other side of this argument is that citoles themselves were portable decorative objects and that a real instrument, played by an itinerant or visiting musicians, might have offered inspiration to an artist who was not otherwise familiar with the instrument type.

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[24] M. D. Anderson, *The Imagery of English Churches* (London: John Murray, 1955), p. 18.

[25] Buehler does not comment however whether the citoler and fiddler (Ill. 127) are known to have been present in this exemplar. Kathryn E. Buehler, 'Retelling the Story of the English Gittern in the British Museum: An Organological Study, ca. 1300 - Present' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Minnesota, 2002), pp. 44-45, footnote 28.

[26] There are at least three other finial sculptures of angels that are virtually identical to Ill. 88)

[27] The two surviving examples of medieval embroidery to contain a representation of a citoler demonstrate this transportability. They were both made in England or Northern France, although the 'Bologna Cope' (Appendix B. Ill. 100) was used in Bologna and the 'Daroca Cope' was used in Daroca in Aragon.

[28] Wilkins summarizes the parallel development of musical style in Cyprus and France and Franco-Cypriot link. Although slightly later than this manuscript, Pierre I (of Cypres) is believed to have engaged musicians from northern France, five of whom are named in his supplication sent to Pope Urban V in 1363. See Guillaume de Machaut, *La Prise d'Alixandre (The Taking of Alexandria)*, ed. by R. Barton Palmer, trans. by R. Barton Palmer (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 34-35.

7.1.4 ACCURACY OF DEPICTIONS

Iconographical evidence highlights those details of the instrument type that medieval artists seem to have considered distinctive or relevant. Many of the marginal illustrations of citoles are essentially caricatures, exaggerating the size of certain features such as the plectrum and end projection and peg-end finial.[29] That the scale of these details in some marginal illustrations is not precise is verified by comparison with sculptural examples. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether an artist reproduced an unusual detail faithfully, whether the artist simply misunderstood the object being represented, or if the image is following some convention of depiction. In order to give the neck of the citole shown at Sasamón extra stability (Ill. 12a-b),[30] it is not relieved from the background. In some sculptural examples as at Valencia (Ill. 33),[31] the citole or the musician is shown in a pose that favours the viewer. Some details, such as those that are contrary to the laws of physics, can be demonstrated to be unrealistic. One example of this distortion is when strings are not straight but bend out-of-plane. Necks that appear to curve sideways are questionable,[32] not merely because the strings upon them display this unnatural bend but also because this feature appears only in manuscript illuminations. A different sort of out-of-plane bend is demonstrated by the strings on the instruments of the angelic citolers above the choir of Cologne Cathedral.[33] The bodies of the instruments on these sculptures probably display such a pronounced curve so that the instrument will not obscure the face of the angel, when viewed from below. Many of the representations included here are not accurate in scale, or omit fine details, and others might be influenced by conventions of depiction. Even when depictions do not show the citole with naturalistic accuracy, however, artistic representations often indicate which details of this instrument type the artist considered important or characteristic.

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[29] Although the end-projection on the British Museum's citole is large, a number of manuscript illustrations show an end-projection that is almost as wide as the body of the instrument. See Oxford, All Souls College MS 7, fol. 7 (Ill. 102a), which also shows a remarkably large animal-head final.

[30] (Ill. 12a-b) Middle archivolt, Elder 2, south portal, Sasamón, mid-thirteenth century. This same technique is employed on several of the other instruments depicted on this portal, most notably the bow of middle archivolt Elder 13.

[31] (Ill. 33) *La Puerta de los Apóstoles*, Valencia Cathedral, c. 1300-33.

[32] Citoles with sideways-bent necks can be seen in both of the copies of Latini's *Li Livres dou Tresor* that show sirens playing citoles: St. Petersburg, National Library, Fr. F.v.III N 4, fol. 47r and London, BL, Yates Thompson 19, fol. 50v. (Appendix B, Ill. 1 and 2).

[33] The musical angel on the canopy above the figure of St. Philip the Apostle and on the canopy above the figure of St Bartholomew. See Appendix B, Ill. 58a and 59a.

MAP 2:   LOCATIONS OF ARTWORKS IN SITU

The map below indicates the locations of relevant depictions in monumental
sculpture, stained glass and wall paintings. The images are identified by the
illustration number used in Appendix B. Please note this map includes early,
inconclusive and altered images.
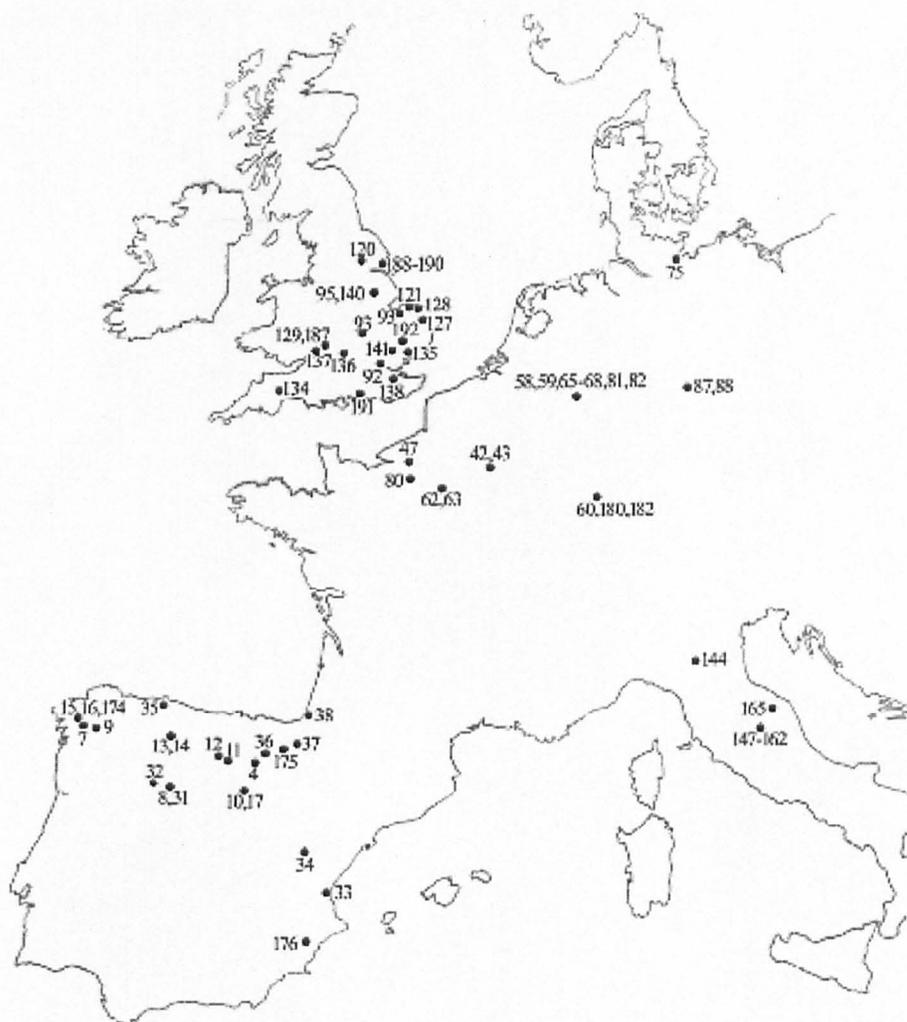
MAP 3: AREAS OF ORIGIN FOR IMAGES IN MANUSCRIPTS

The map below indicates the approximate areas of production for the manuscripts included in Appendix B, which contain images of distinct-necked plucked chordophones with non-oval body-outlines. Since the attribution of manuscripts is often somewhat general the areas are shaded to give an impression of the areas most often mentioned in association with the manuscripts in Appendix B.

England
14 manuscripts

Flanders and
Northern France
26 manuscripts

Italy
4 manuscripts

Castile and Leon
and Portugal
5 manuscripts
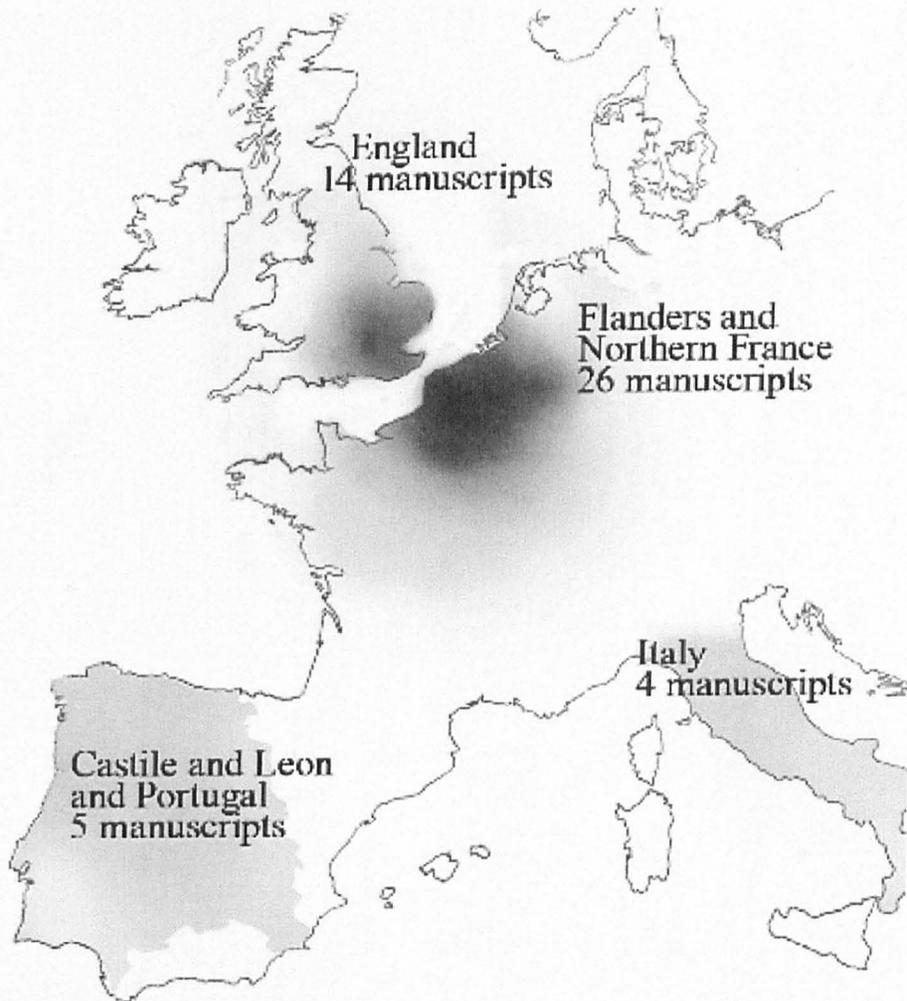
MAP 4: PLUCKED, DISTINCT-NECKED CHORDOPHONES WITH NON-OVAL BODY-OUTLINES IN ART, C. 1200-1400

The map below indicates the approximate regions that have an association to depictions of plucked distinct-necked chordophones included in Appendix B. This is a combination of maps 1 and 2. The shaded areas indicate areas of manuscript production from which relevant images have been preserved. The individual dots relate to an artwork in situ.
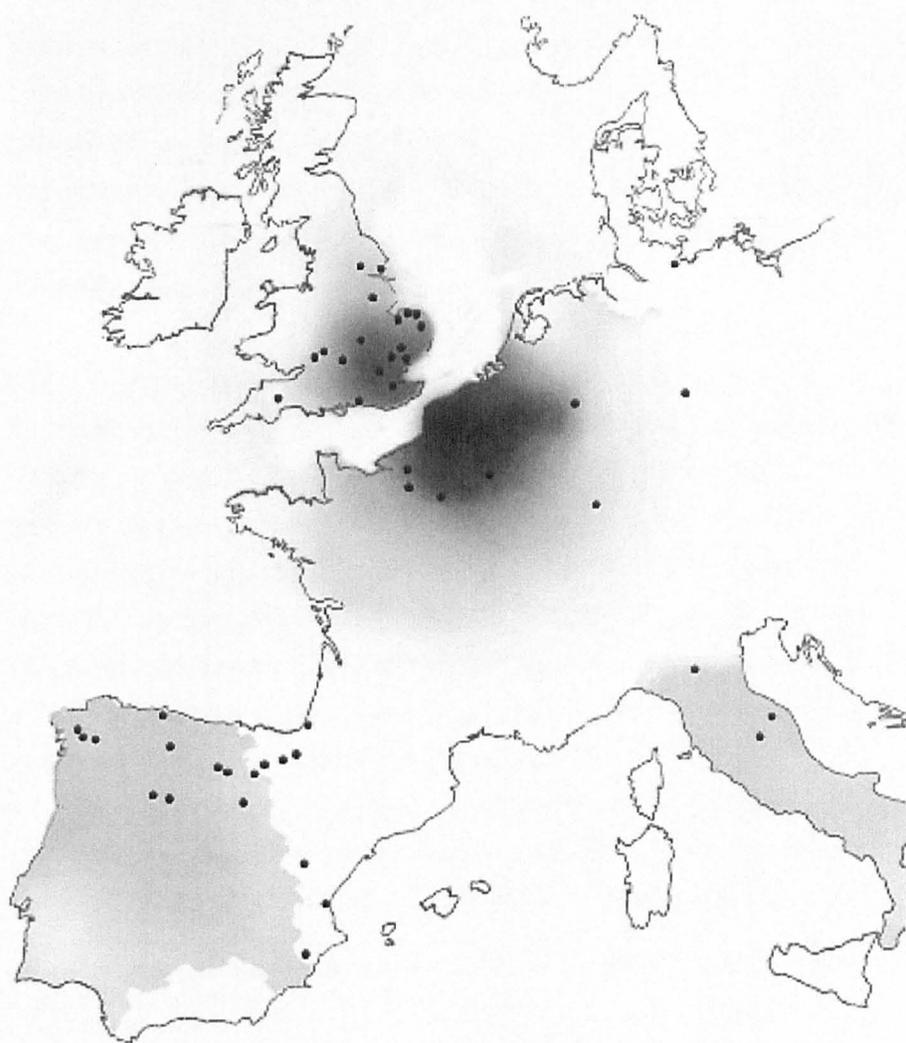
7.2 INTRODUCTION TO CITOLES IN ART – NOT CONTEMPORANEOUS SITUATIONS

In visual representations, citoles are often depicted in the hands of biblical figures, angels, and human-animal hybrid musicians. Sections 7.2-7.5 consider the ways that depictions, which portray situations other than contemporaneous medieval life, can offer useful information about the citole. It is necessary to consider whether there is a link with a text – overt or implied – especially when attempting to determine the social rank of citolers and whether the combinations of depicted instruments are meant to agree with medieval musical practice. By careful consideration of the evidence, representations of situations that are not true-to-life, or which are devoid of context, might suggest associations between the citole and other specific instruments, and indicate the perceived status of citolers.[34] As with verbal translations, the visual representations that offer the most insight into the artist's perception of the citole are those that show the greatest amount of interpretation of the source material.

It should not be surprising that most of the sculptures of citolers appear in ecclesiastical settings. In the early thirteenth-century English treatise, *Pictor in Carmine*, attributed to the Cistercian Adam of Dore,[35] the author defends the use of images in churches. He argues that representational art function as the books of the laity, especially where public stations are held, such as cathedrals and parish churches. For Adam of Dore, it was not the use of images in churches that was objectionable but that the subject matter could be troubling. Guillaume Durand, the late thirteenth-century Bishop of Mende also proposes that 'pictures and ornaments in churches are the lessons and Scriptures of the laity'.[36] He further cites the authority of Pope Gregory, 'for what writing supplieth to him which can read, that doth a picture supply him which is unlearned... and *things* are read though letters be unknown'. The reason that the majority of citoles are depicted in the hands of

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[34] The representations of contemporaneous medieval life are arguably the most reliable visual sources for the use of the instrument are discussed in §9.

[35] This echoes the famous letter of Bernard of Clairvaux to the Abbot of Saint-Thierry a century earlier. M.R James, 'Pictor in Carmine', *Archaeologia*, XCIV (1951), pp. 141-66.

[36] Chapter III of *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* Translation from: William Durandus, *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments. A translation of the first book of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, ed. by Rev. John Mason Neale and Rev. Benjamin Webb, 3rd edn (London: Gibbings, 1906), p. 39.

biblical figures or angels might be because these were acceptable subjects and were meant to be instructive.

In order for these visual messages to be understood they needed to include familiar ideas. The purpose of many of the depictions that contain citolers is to convey some message or to act as an indicator. The purpose of a large number of diverse instruments, such as those seen held by choirs of angels, seems to be to convey grandeur. Other representations are more useful, in understanding the use of the citole, for example when an image of citoler is used to convey the idea of singing or dancing. Artists might also have used certain grouping of instruments because they would have been familiar to the viewer and therefore not distract from the story being illustrated.

Some depictions of citoles are clearly related to a text, whether or not the text is present. As described in §3.1, these are rarely illustrations of a *citole*-related term,[37] and the depictions often relate to a biblical reference. Although the pervasive symbolism in medieval images must be considered, their use in the study of musical instruments is not as unreliable as Bedbrook suggests.[38] While it is prudent to assume that not all scenes of music-making realistically depict medieval practice, it is rash to assume that none do.

Images of citoles as possible visual translations of *cithara* are considered first. This includes biblical figures (the Elders of the Apocalypse and King David and his musicians) as well as the one depiction of a human citoler directly related to a Latin secular text. Representations of citolers who do not have clear relation to a specific text are discussed in the sections relating to angels, and to human-animal hybrid musicians. Given that many of the depictions of citolers are in marginalia, a brief discussion of the status of these citolers in offered. Finally, the comparison of various scenes in *Queen Mary's Psalter* demonstrates that the setting and species of the player do not seem to influence the morphology of the citole.

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[37] See §3.1.
[38] G. S. Bedbrook, 'The Problem of Instrumental Combination in the Middle Ages', *Revue Belge de Musicologie/ Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap,* 25 (1971), pp. 53-67, p. 53.

7.3 PLUCKED, DISTINCT-NECKED, NON-OVAL-BODIED CHORDOPHONES AS VISUAL TRANSLATIONS OF *CITHARA*

Images that illustrate a biblical setting reveal most about the citole when the artist offers a clear interpretation of the text and has not merely used the instrument as a visual equivalent for some Latin term. In some cases, the citole does seem to be used specifically as a symbolic substitute for *cithara* or other biblical instrument. This is apparent when, as with the literary translations, the related text is very specific about the musical instrument terms and a limited variety of instruments are represented.

Unlike the literary translations, the use of the distinct-necked chordophone as a simple substitution for the term *cithara* seems to occur only in relatively early examples. In the ninth-century Stuttgart Psalter, an instrument that fits the physical criteria for a citole as described in §3.2.1, is consistently depicted as the *cithara* of David the Psalmist (Ill. 166-173).[39] On folio 89r of the Rylands Apocalypse (Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS 8), which appears to be related to Revelation 5:8, three figures offer vessels and three musicians play distinct-necked plucked non-oval-bodied *citharas* (Ill. 6b). On the West Portal of the Cathedral of El Burgo de Osma, dated after 1232, only two stringed instruments appear: a holly-leaf-shaped citole and a box-zither (Ill.10). It might be that the crowned figures were meant to represent Elders of the Apocalypse with a *cithara* and *psalterium*. The direct relationship of an image of a citole to an individual Latin term is rare.

By the second quarter of the thirteenth-century, however, the instruments used as visual translations of the biblical *cithara* tend to be much more diverse.[40] Often sculptural depictions of Elders of the Apocalypse present a variety of musical instruments, which are not always limited to chordophones. The citole also seems to appear less frequently as the instrument of King David, and more commonly in the hands of one of his musicians.

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[39] Ernest T. De Wald, *The Stuttgart Psalter: Biblia Folio 23 Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart* (Princeton: Department of Art and Archeology Princeton University, 1930), facsimile folios 55r, 69r, 83r, 97v, 108r, 112r, 125r, 155v, 161r.
[40] The Elders in the Lower Basilica of Assisi, with their uniformity of instrument type are unusual for fourteenth-century depictions. See §10.1.

7.3.1 *CITHARA*-RELATED IMAGES IN LATIN SECULAR TEXTS

Only one citole illustration included in Appendix B is clearly associated with a *cithara*-related term occurring in the adjacent Latin secular text. A copy of Robert Grosseteste's Latin translation *Aristotelis Ethica ad Nicomachum* includes a citoler and harper in the initial 'M' at the beginning of Book II, Chapter I (Ill. 40)[41]. Like the verbal translation in Macé de la Charité's versified Bible, the *cithara*-related term here seems to denote both of these instruments.[42] This copy is believed to have been produced in France not long after Grosseteste's original translation.[43] The beginning of Book II, Chapter I, relates to virtue, and likens the method of acquiring it to the manner by which *citharœdi* acquire their skill - by practice. In their translations of *Ethics* into French both Latini and Oresme exclusively use the term *citole* in their renderings of this passage.[44] Although Oresme might have based his text on Grosseteste's Latin version,[45] whether this particular depiction could have influenced either Latini or Oresme is unknown.[46] The artist who illuminated this page, however, seems to have considered both harpers and citolers as suitable translations of *citharœdi,* exemplars of skilled performance, and not incompatible with virtue.

7.3.2 BIBLICAL *CITOLES*

The majority of depictions of human citolers have some connection to biblical stories, particularly the Book of Psalms or Revelation, but these should not be dismissed as simple visual translations of biblical musical instrument terms. Very

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[41] (Ill. 40) Avranches BM 0222, fol. 9. French, after 1245.

[42] Macé de la Charité, *La Bible de Macé de la Charité, VII: Apocalypse,* ed. by R. L. H. Lops, Publications romanes de l'Université de Leyde, 7 vols (Leiden: E.J. Brill / Leiden University Press, 1982), VII, pp. 141, 151.

[43] Grossesteste's translation dates from c. 1245. Although the manuscript is tentatively described by the CNRS as being from second quarter of the thirteenth century, it must be later than the original.

[44] (Appendix A, 6a, Book II:x) Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor: Edition and Study,* ed. by Spurgeon Baldwin and Paul Barrette, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003), pp .159. (Appendix A, B.52) Nicole Oresme, *Le livre de Éthiques d'Aristote, published from the text of MS. 2902, Bibliotheque Royale de Belgique,* ed. by Albert Douglas Menut (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1940) p. 147.

[45] As mentioned in §5.2, the Latin text of *Ethics* on which Oresme based his translation would either have been Grosseteste's translation from Greek or Hermannus of Allemanus' translation from Arabic. Latini, however, used a different, incomplete, Latin text. Oresme, *Le livre de Éthiques d'Aristote,* ed. Menut, p. 4.

[46] The relation between this manuscript Avranches MS 0222, and Avranches MS 0223, Oresme's later translation, would be interesting to investigate but is outside the remit of this work.

rarely is the distinct-necked plucked chordophone the only instrument depicted in these illustrations. As mentioned in §5.2, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries *cithara* no longer indicated to literary translators the lyre-type instrument of antiquity. This seems to have been even more true for artists. Although the individual stringed instrument used as an attribute for King David was usually the harp, medieval interpretations of *cithara* are represented in a wide variety of forms, predominantly, but not exclusively, as stringed instruments. Cassiodorus refers to various species of *cithara* and Isidore of Seville describes how, over time, numerous species of *citharae* were invented with different forms and increased numbers of strings.[47] That the *citharae* of the Elders are depicted as a variety of chordophone is not surprising, if one considers *cithara* as a genera and other stringed instruments as species thereof.

7.3.2.1 THE BOOK OF REVELATION

Images of the citole appear in illustrations related to the Book of Revelation much more frequently, and much earlier, than the term *citole* appears in vernacular translations of the text. When depicted in Apocalyptic scenes, the citole is clearly used as a visual equivalent for a *cithara*-related term, so it is doubtful that the scenes themselves relate to medieval musical practice. The inclusion of the citole in these representations does, however, seem to offer evidence of naturalistic depictions of the physical details of musical instruments. By the end of the twelfth century, the instruments used to depict the *cithara*s of the Elders begin to display details consistent enough with contemporaneous depictions of human citolers that the instruments can be considered in the study the morphology of the instrument type.

The Book of Revelation, also known as the *Apocalypse of St. John the Divine* or simply as *Revelation*, is believed to have been written by John of Patmos during the first or second century AD. Often this work was mistakenly credited to John the

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[47] Cassiodorus, 'From Fundamentals of Sacred and Secular Learning: V, of Music', in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. by Oliver Strunk (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), pp. 143-48, pp. 143-48, p. 145. Isidore of Seville, 'From The Etymologies', in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. by Oliver Strunk (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), pp. 149-56, pp. 149-56, p. 153.

Evangelist.[48] Written in Greek, *The Revelation of St. John* arose from a tradition of Jewish and early Christian eschatological apocalypses in which the end of the world is also foretold. By the seventh century, the Visigothic Church accepted the use of *The Book of Revelation* as a canonical text and a suitable source for liturgical readings during the fifty days from Easter to Pentecost. In the late twelfth through the thirteenth century, many believed that the end of this world was imminent based on scholarly interpretation of *The Book of Revelation* as a prophetic timetable. Fuelled by such works as biblical prophesy analyses by Joachim of Fiore (1135-1202), and the 1186 'letter of Toledo' by John of Toledo, at least five separate dates during this period were anticipated as the date of the Second Coming. In this atmosphere it is not surprising that church and cathedral portals depicting Apocalyptic scenes were common and may have been erected to instruct less literate sinners.

Rich in complex imagery, *The Revelation of St. John* was a popular subject for scholarly debate and comment. The most influential treatise on this subject was written at the end of the eighth century by a cleric working in Asturias, possibly at the monastery of San Martin de Turieno in Liébana. Written by a somewhat obscure author known as 'Beatus of Liébana', the *Commentarius super Apocalypsum* has been described as '*the* illustrated text of Medieval Spain.'[49] Often referred to simply as 'Beatus' manuscripts, at least twenty six illuminated copies have survived from before 1400. In the twenty two chapters of *Revelation*, the three verses that are most often illustrated with musical instruments specifically mention the *cithara*.[50] The relevant chapters of Revelation are 5:8, 14:2 and 15:2.[51] In one early manuscript depiction of a citole, the instrument is clearly used as a visual translation of *cithara*.

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[48] In the late fourteenth c. John Wycliffe followed this misattribution writing 'now bigynneth Apocalips, or Reuelacioun, of Joon Euangelist', John Wycliffe, *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and His Followers*, ed. by Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1850), Vol. IV, pp. 637.

[49] William D. Wixom and Margaret Lawson, 'Picturing the Apocalypse: Illustrated Leaves from a Medieval Spanish Manuscript', *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 59 (2002), pp. 1-56.

[50] Only the Latin text will be considered here since the great majority of medieval exegetical works in western Europe would have been based on the Vulgate not John of Patmos' original Greek text

[51] Although 18:22 also mentions *citharoedorum et musicorum* this scene deals with the Saved leaving behind earthly things and does not seem to have greatly inspired medieval illustrators.

The earliest Iberian manuscript included here, the Rylands Beatus believed to originate from the area around Burgos c. 1175, is the only copy of *Commentarius super Apocalypsum* (Ill. 6a-b) that has been identified as containing depictions of distinct-necked plucked chordophones with non-oval body-outlines. Several *Beatus* manuscripts contain a similar illustration related to the Adoration of the Lamb described in Revelation 5:8. Although many of the figures are similar in position and detail, in the copies of this particular image, the instruments are different. In every example the instruments are chordophones, but often their shape and/or manner of playing change. The Morgan Beatus is one of the earliest surviving *Beatus* manuscripts, produced at the monastery of San Salvador de Tabara c. 945, and contains a page that might be the exemplar for the others discussed here.[52] In this version, four instrumentalists are shown plucking large, long-necked, narrow, piriform chordophones. This instrument type seems to have been copied relatively faithfully in the mid-eleventh century Beatus of León,[53] and the early twelfth-century Silos Beatus.[54] An early thirteenth-century *Beatus* copy (New York Morgan Library M.429) shows three instrumentalists holding smaller short-necked piriform instruments, similar to ones on a later page that are shown being bowed.[55] The Arroyo Beatus also shows small oval-bodied or piriform instruments but these are clearly bowed *a braccio* and five musicians are depicted.[56] Given the context, there is no question that the instruments in all of these versions are meant to be *cithara*.[57] Aside from the Rylands Beatus, the other examples contain oval-bodied or piriform instruments. The Rylands Beatus, however, appears chronologically between these two groups. Although instruments in the Rylands Beatus are being plucked in a posture similar to the earlier plucked Beatus examples, the instruments are smaller, with shorter necks and body outlines and each displays a gentle, but distinct, waist.

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[52] New York, Morgan Library, M.644. The relevant image is on fol. 87.

[53] The 'Beatus of León' dates from 1047 and is also known as 'Facundus Beatus', for Facundus the scribe who created it, or the 'Beatus of Ferdinand I', for whom it was made. (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vit. 14.2)

[54] The 'Silos Beatus' was produced between 1091-1109 at the Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos South of Burgos (London, BL, Add. 11695, fol. 86v).

[55] MS Morgan M.429 dates from c. 1220 and was created Castile, possibly Toledo. Perhaps the instruments are being held rather than being played because the artist took the annotation 'tenens citharam' too literally. Narrower piriform instruments are being bowed *a braccio* on fol. 116v, which relates to Revelation 15:2.

[56] 'Arroyo Beatus' (Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2290) dates from c. 1210-220. Like the Ryland Beatus, it was also possibly illustrated at the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña.

[57] Also, in some of the manuscripts, including both the examples in the Morgan library, the images bear the annotation 'tenens citharam'.

Despite being plucked with the fingers rather than a plectrum, these three instruments seem to display the characteristics of citoles. The artist who illuminated the Rylands Beatus, although copying the majority of elements on folio 89r from an earlier exemplar, seems to have chosen to alter the details of the stringed instruments to ones that he thought would more accurately illustrate the *cithara*. It is not the association with the term *cithara*, which is important in this case; it is the departure from convention. The Rylands Beatus instruments more closely resemble a distinct-necked waisted *cithara* played by Elder 11 on the late twelfth century portal of the church in Carboeiro (Ills. 7a-b) than a *cithara* from an earlier Beatus manuscript. Comparison of morphological details with thirteenth-century Iberian depictions of citoles further suggest that the Rylands Beatus instruments were inspired by instruments in contemporaneous use.[58] This demonstrates that when images are copied, tradition does not always win out over innovation. By the end of the twelfth century, even in very formalized works with a direct link to a given text, a credible depiction of a medieval citole might be used to illustrate a *cithara*.

In sculpture, the Elders of the Apocalypse appear most frequently on church portals surrounding a *Majestas Domini*: the figure of Christ in Majesty often within a mandorla surrounded by the Four Living Creatures.[59] These Iberian sculptural portals usually illustrate the early part of the Book of Revelation (Chapters 4-14), which relate to the glory of God and the history of the church, rather than to the Last Judgement. These images are not designed to threaten but to awe. While the format of these portals is based on the description in Revelation 4:2-4,[60] these scenes may

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[58] Although somewhat more elongated than the thirteenth century examples the Rylands chordophones show similarities to ones played by a human musician in the Palace of Archbishop Gelmirez (Ill. 16) and an elder at Burgo de Osma (Ill. 17a).

[59] The Four Living Creatures are mentioned in Revelation 5:8. The *Portada del Sarmental* at Burgos demonstrates that they were associated during this period with the symbols of the Evangelists on (Appendix B, Ill. 11) but this is not stated in the text.

[60] The relevant passages in the Bible read:

The relevant passages in the Bible read:	Translation:
4:2 Statim fui in spiritu	And immediately I was in the spirit:
et ecce sedis posita erat	and, behold, there was a throne set
in caelo et supra sedem sedens	in heaven, and upon the throne one was sitting.
4:3 et qui sedebat similis erat	And he that sat, was to the sight
aspectui lapidis iaspidis et sardini et	like a jasper and a sardine-stone: and
iris erat in circuitu sedis similis	there was a rainbow round about the
visioni zmaragdinae	throne, in sight like unto an emerald.
4:4 et in circuitu sedis	And round about the throne were
sedilia viginti quattuor	four-and-twenty seats:
et super thronos	and upon the seats
viginti quattuor seniores sedentes	four-and-twenty elders sitting,

include other details of the vision of St. John. The Elders appear as crowned figures often holding either their *citharas*, or *phials* containing the perfume of the prayers of the saints, details which are mentioned in Revelation 5:8.[61] Many of the Iberian portals that include citolers are *Majestas Domini* scenes: Toro North (Ill. 8); Portomarin (Ill. 9); Burgos (Ill. 11); Sasamón (Ill. 12); León South (Ill. 13); León West (Ill. 14); and La Hiniesta (Ill. 32). Although the tympanum on the west portal of the Collegiate Church in Toro contains a Coronation of the Virgin (Ill. 31), the outer archivolts clearly depict scenes from Revelation: both *Majestas Domini* and Last Judgement. On the west façade central portal of Rheims Cathedral (Ill. 42)[62], one Elder with a citole appears on the central portal, which is surmounted by a Coronation of the Virgin, but this also shows a variety of instruments and is magnificent. The citole does not seem to appear often among the instruments of the Elders on French portals. This may be because although *Majestas Domini* portals were popular in the twelfth-century French architecture, this theme was superseded by scenes of the Coronation of the Virgin or the Last Judgement c. 1170,[63] before the citole's period of popularity. All of the relevant portals include the citole among scenes of splendour and display a variety of instruments. In some cases, such as Toro North (Ill. 8) and Toro West (Ill. 31), diversity seems to include instrument types derived from biblical commentaries,[64] but most of the instruments depicted in the hands of the Elders seem to have been ones that would have been familiar at the

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circumamictos vestimentis albis et in	clothed in white garments; and on
capitibus eorum coronas aureas	their heads were crowns of gold.

Biblia Sacra, Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. Pontificis Maximi Jussu Recognita et Clementis VIII (Paris: Apud Lefevre, 1838), p. 936. Translation: *The Holy Bible, Translated From The Latin Vulgate* (Dublin: Richard Coyne, 1833), p. 1194.

[61] Revelation 5:8:

5:8 et cum aperuisset librum, quattuor	And when he had taken the book, the
animalia et viginti quattuor seniores	four beasts and four and twenty elders
ceciderunt coram agno habentes singuli	fell down before the Lamb, having every
citharas et phialas aureas plenas	one of them [citharas], and golden vials
odoramentorum quae sunt orationes	full of odours, which are the prayers
sanctorum	of saints.

Biblia Sacra vulgatæ editionis Sixti V pontificis maximi jussu recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita (Paris: Apud Lefevre, 1830), p. 937. Translation: *The Holy Bible, Translated From The Latin Vulgate* (Dublin: R. Coyne, 1833), p. 1194.

[62] (Ill. 42a-c) The west façade sculpture of an Elder with a citole, believed to date from before 1255.

[63] Last Judgement scenes related to Revelation Books 15 through-22, although they might include the Elders, feature topics such as the weighing of souls. Yves Christe, 'The Apocalypse in the Monumental Art of The Eleventh through Thirteenth Centuries', in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), p. 234.

[64] Some instruments, such as the clearly delta-shaped chordophones, which appear on both portals, might have been inspired by the popular Pseudo-Jerome Epistle to Dardanus. Christopher Page, 'Biblical Instruments in Medieval Manuscript Illustration', *Early Music*, 5 (1977), pp. 299-309.

time the portal was decorated. The diversity of instrument types shown in the hands of the Iberian Elders in scenes of Christ in Majesty seem to be used to help indicate the magnificence of the scene.[65]

Only one illustrated Apocalypse has been identified that contains citoles being played by Elders of the Apocalypse: a Flemish manuscript illustrated by Colins Chadewe in 1313 (Paris BNF Français 13096). A citole appears in two of the passages that mention the Elders with their *citharas*. Like the Iberian portals discussed above, folio 41r (Ill. 69) depicts a variety of musical instrument types (Revelation 5:8). The limited selection of only six instruments suggests more strongly that these were instruments with which the artist was familiar and considered suitable for association with the Elders, rather than a diverse variety to add majesty. Although the scene on folio 46r (Ill. 71) might be mistaken for a broken consort, it depicts Revelation 15:2.[66] The figures in the image represent Elders or the Saved who are playing their *citharas Dei* and singing songs of praise. Like the Adoration of the Lamb scenes, this scene must not be taken as an indicator of contemporaneous practice. The choice of instruments might reflect instruments that Colins Chadewe considered suitable to accompany singing or might merely have offered interesting visual relationships. It is worth noting that, aside from the bagpipe shown in fol. 41r, the same instrument types are shown in both illustrations.[67]

Although they might contain credible depictions of medieval instruments, scenes from the Apocalypse do not depict contemporaneous musical practice. The purpose

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[65] List to amplify grandeur are discussed further in §9.10.

[66] The text of the relevant passage reads:

	Trans:
15:2 Et vidi tamquam mare vitreum	And I saw as it were a sea of glass
mistum igne, et eos qui	mingled with fire: and them that
vicerunt bestiam, et imaginem ejus	had overcome the beast, and his image,
et numerum nominis	and the number of his name
ejus, stantes supra mare vitreum,	standing on the sea of glass
habentes citharas Dei:	having the harps of God:
15:3 Et cantantes canticum Moysi	And singing the canticle of Moses
servi Dei, et canticum Agni,	the servant of God, and the canticle of the
dicentes: Magna et mirabilia	the Lamb saying: Great and wonderful
sunt opera tua...	are thy works...

Biblia Sacra (Paris: Apud Lefevre, 1830), p. 842. Translation: *The Holy Bible* (Dublin: R. Coyne, 1833), p. 1201.

[67] Interestingly, the bodies of the citoles in these two examples are different shapes.

of a wide variety of instruments being depicted, particularly in scenes of the Adoration of the Lamb, seems to be amplification of grandeur.[68]

7.3.2.2 KING DAVID

Psalters offer repeated examples of citole illustrations that have no association with the adjacent text but address related biblical stories. The majority of the depictions of human citolers in manuscripts have some connection to the Book of Psalms, either by appearing in a Psalter or in a depiction of King David and his musicians. The Book of Psalms is attributed to King David, and contains numerous references to the playing of stringed instruments to accompany songs of praise.[69] Numerous decorated Psalters and Books of Hours were produced, particularly in Northern France, Flanders and East Anglia, for wealthy patrons as well as monasteries. These valuable illuminated texts could serve as symbols of both piety and wealth. Prosperous members of the laity desired finely illustrated volumes of devotional works in Latin, in addition to texts in vernacular languages.[70] Although Psalters offered a suitable vehicle for depictions of instrumentalists, the citoles depicted in them rarely appear as direct visual translations of the Latin text on the same page.

Visual translations of the text are apparent in only two depictions of citoles, both of which relate to Psalm 80 (81). The text of this psalm exhorts the reader to take up instruments and sing solemn songs of praise.[71] The instruments named in the passage include a wide variety of types: *tympanum, psalterium, cithara,* and *tuba.* In the Gorleston Psalter (Ill. 126),[72] the historiated initial 'E' of 'Exultate' contains Christ in Majesty with attending angels above the cross-bar, and seemingly human musicians with a variety of instruments below. As suggested by the text, percussion

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[68] See §9.10 for a more complete discussion of grand lists.
[69] References to stringed instruments occur in Psalm 32 (33), vv. 2-3; Psalm 42 (43), vv. 4-5; Psalm 48 (49), v. 5; Psalm 56 (57), vv. 8-9; Psalm 70 (71), vv. 22-23; Psalm 80 (81), vv. 3-4, Psalm 91 (92), v. 4; Psalm 97 (98), v. 5-6; Psalm 107 (108), v. 2-3; Psalm 143 (144) v. 9; Psalm 146 (147), v. 7; Psalm 149 (150) v. 3; and Psalm 150 (151), v. 3-5.
[70] For a fuller discussion of the influence of individual ownership of illustrated books by the laity see Smeyers. Maurits Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century: the medieval world of parchment,* trans. by Karen Bowen and Dirk Imhof (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), p.113-6.
[71] 80 (81): 2-4 reads 'Exultate Deo adiutori nostro iubilate Deo Iacob, Sumite psalmum et date tympanum psalterium iucundum cum cithara, Bucinate in neomenia tuba in insigni die sollem nitatis nostrae.' *Biblia Sacra* (1838), p. 242.
[72] (Ill. 126) Gorleston Psalter: London, BL Add. 49622, fol. 107v, English, from Gorleston in Suffolk c. 1310-25.

(*tympanum*), string (*cithara* and *psalterium*), and brass (*tuba*) instruments are depicted, as well as a small portative organ. The Ramsey Abbey Psalter (Ill. 98)[73] also illustrates the text of Psalm 80 (81),[74] but, in this case, King David's musicians appear in the margins of the page while he is depicted in the historiated inital, alone playing a carillon. Given that these broken consorts directly relate to a biblical passage, they do not suggest contemporaneous instrumental combinations.

When King David is depicted alone, in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century illuminations, he is usually shown with the attribute of a harp, organ or carillon. Occasionally, in these scenes he is also surrounded by a variety of instruments. Two Psalters in the Morgan Library contain illustrations of King David with a roughly holly-leaf shaped chordophone beside him but since neither of these is in playing position, it is not possible to determine whether either is meant to be a citole.[75]

Depictions of instrumental diversity frequently appear adjacent to the text of Psalm 1, although that text contains no overt references to instruments. As the author of the Psalms, King David is often represented within the initial 'B' of *Beatus vir*, sometimes alone and sometimes with additional musicians. Illustrations of King David with his musicians are based on the first book of Paralipomenon (1 Chronicles) chapter 15 and 16.[76] In these chapters an even greater number of instrument types are mentioned than occur in Psalm 80 (81): *nablis, lyris, cymbalis, buccinae, tubis, citharis, psalterii, lyras, et omnia musicorum organa, ad canendum Deo*. The last reference to 'all instruments of music for the singing of praise to God', is a clear invitations for illustrators to include diverse instrument types in association with King David's musicians. Some Psalm 1 illustrations show King David with a

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[73] (Ill. 98) Ramsey Abbey Psalter: St. Paul in Lavanthal, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. XXV/2 19, fol. 91, East Anglian, c. 1303-10.

[74] The first number shown is considered the modern designation and follows the Hebrew numbering of the Psalms. The number in parenthesis shows the Vulgate equivalent, which follows the Greek *Septuagint*, and which would have been the numbering used during the Middle Ages. For a brief explanation and comparison see McGrath. Alister E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought: an introduction*, third edn (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), pp. 297-8.

[75] MSS New York Morgan M.109-111, part II, fol. 54r (Ill. 177) and Morgan G2, fol. 106r (Ill. 178).

[76] The specific Latin references in these chapters mention a number of instruments in relation to singing: 1 Chron. 15:16 'cantoris in organis musicorum, nablis videlicet, et lyris, et cymbalis'; 15:28 'et sonitu buccinae, et tubis, et cymbalis, et nablis, et citharis'; 16:5 'Jehiel super organa psalterii, et lyras: Asaph autem ut cymbalis'; 16:6 'tuba'; 16:42 'Heman quoque et iduthun canentes tuba, et quantientes cymbala, et omnia musicorum organa, ad canendum Deo'. *Biblia Sacra* (Paris: Apud Lefevre, 1830), pp. 293-295.

group of diverse instruments, such as MS Mazarine 36 (Ill. 39).[77] Whereas others distance King David from his musicians, such as in MS Yates Thompson14 (Ill. 133)[78] and MS Morgan, M.796 (Ill. 53).[79]

A few of the human citolers who appear seemingly divorced from any context in manuscript margins are probably meant to represent one of David's musicians. A figure in the right-hand margin of *The Petite Heures of Jehan Duc du Berry*, fol. 53r, appears below a bagpiper who sits adjacent to an image of King David (Ill. 91). The psalm that this accompanies is 40 (41), which has no mention of musical instruments. The hill and the David and Goliath scene in the lower margin, however, suggest that this relates to 1 Samuel 10:5.[80] This separation might also occur in sculpture; the musicians on the doorway capitals beneath the *Portada de la Majestad* in Toro, might be human minstrels or they might refer to the adjacent jamb figure of King David with a harp (Ill. 31 and 31J-L).

The Tickhill Psalter offers one of the clearest examples of a Psalter illustration that seems to offer the artist's opinion about the suitability of certain contemporaneous instruments to be associated with female musicians or singing (Ill. 101).[81] The image occurs adjacent to a psalm that does not mention instruments and alludes to another biblical situation, which includes entirely unrelated instruments. Folio 17r contains the text of Psalm 16 (17), which appeals to God for the destruction of one's enemies. The lower marginal scene, as a demonstration of this, illustrates David's return after his victory over Goliath (1 Samuel 18:6-7).[82] Although the image adheres to the text of 1 Samuel 18: 7, in that the women play instruments while they sing, the instruments named in 1 Samuel 18:6 are the *tympanis* and *sistris*. This change of instrument types seems to indicate that the artist considered a citole and several

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[77] (Ill. 39) Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 36, fol. 214, northern France, possibly Picard c.1220-30.
[78] (Ill. 133) London, BL, Yates Thompson 14, fol. 7, eastern England, c. 1330-40.
[79] (Ill. 53) New York, Morgan Library M.769, fol. 1r.
[80] 1 Samuel 10:5 reads 'post haec venies in collem Domini ubi est statio Philisthinorum et cum ingressus fueris ibi urbem obviam habebis gregem prophetarum descendentium de excelso et ante eos psalterium et tympanum et tibiam et citharam ipsosque prophetantes'. *Biblia Sacra* (1838), p. 195.
[81] (Ill. 101) New York, Public Library, Spenser 26, fol. 17r. See also Donald Drew Egbert, *The Tickhill Psalter and Related Manuscripts: A school of manuscript illumination in England during the early fourteenth century* (Princeton: New York Public Library and the Department of Art and Archeology of Princeton University, 1940), plate IX.
[82] This is particularly clear, because the text issuing from the singers' mouths is from the text of 1 Samuel 18:7 'percussit Saul mille et David decem milia'. *Biblia Sacra* (Paris: Apud Lefevre, 1830), p. 203.

bowed instruments,[83] to be more appropriate for women to play and to accompany singing than the *tympanis* and *sistris* specified in the text.

Some illuminations of King David and his musicians seem to display a visual hierarchy among the instruments shown. Although the harp is used an attribute of King David in many of these cases, the manner in which the vielle and citole are depicted indicate that they are also considered to be important. Their prominence in these illustrations does not seem to relate directly to the biblical text and might indicate the perceived status of the medieval instruments depicted. In several examples, the harp, citole and vielle appear to predominate. The literal elevation of these stringed instruments occurs in the *Beatus vir* initial of Mazarine MS 36 (Ill. 39).[84] The lower portion of the 'B' is divided into four segments, with King David and his harp in the upper central position. On the same level with King David, but divided from him on either side are a vieller and citoler. The remaining five musicians share the lower portion. In some cases the hierarchy is more subtle, such as in the Gorleston Psalter illustration of Psalm 80 in which the players of stringed instruments are at the centre with the vieller and citoler foremost. The *Beatus vir* page of All Souls MS 7 (Ill. 102),[85] which shows King David with a harp in the initial 'B', gives implicit importance to a vieller and a citoler by their large size and prominent position. Although a human trumpeter and a small hybrid playing a portative organ also appear, they are smaller and less distinct from the decoration of the page. Psalm 1 in Jesus College MS D.40 (Ill. 99)[86] also shows King David with his harp in the initial 'B' but the only other instrumentalist is a large crowned half-figure of a citoler in the margin. Perhaps the perception that these three stringed instruments (harp, vielle and citole) had higher status explains why the two instruments shown with King David and his harp in the historiated *Beatus vir* initial in the Peterborough Psalter are a vielle and a citole. Given that the relative size of figures in medieval art indicated their importance or social status, the prominence of these citolers is notable.

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[83] Although the two on the left are clearly piriform, the bowed instrument on the right is too obscured by the citole to determine its body outline.
[84] (Ill. 39) Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 36, fol. 214, northern France, possibly Picard c.1220-30.
[85] (Ill. 102) Oxford All Souls College, MS 7, fol. 7. English, early fourteenth century.
[86] (Ill. 99) Oxford Jesus College, D.40, fol. 8r. English, c. 1300.

Following the same logic, the large size and prominent position of the citoler in the lower right-hand corner of fol. 342 of the Psalter-Hours of Yolande Soissons (Ill. 51)[87] should be an important figure. His context however is unclear. The musician has no clear relationship to the text of Psalm 40 (41), which speaks of the happiness of those who believe in the Lord despite their hardships.[88] It is possible that this musician, whose legs are crossed in the steps of a stately dance,[89] simply exemplifies this blessed happiness. The page opposite, which is a depiction of the preparation of Christ's body for burial, does not seem to offer appropriate context. Several other relatively large marginal humans appear on earlier pages,[90] but these interact with the foliate border. Very few other human musicians appear in this manuscript,[91] and aside from the *Beatus vir* King David playing the positive organ, they are all rather diminutive. This citoler may be a depiction of David with his *cithara,* given that the citole appears more frequently than any other stringed instrument, albeit only twice more and in the hands of marginal hybrids (Ills. 49 and 50).[92] The exact meaning and purpose of this figure is not obvious, but given his size, the citoler seems to have had some importance.

Some Psalter images of King David and his musicians merely offer a range of instruments that might depict *omnia musicorum organa.* Other depictions offer indications of the use and perceived status of the citole by the artist's selective choice of only a few instruments.

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[87] (Ill. 51) New York, Morgan Library, M.729. Psalter-Hours of Yolande Soissons, fol. 342r. Illuminated near Amiens, c. 1275-90.
[88] Although, as mentioned above, the *Petites Heures de Jehan Duc de Berry* (Ill. 91) shows King David and musicians in relation to this Psalm.
[89] This posture seems to have been a convention for indicating dancing legs. See Ills. 107, 109 and 110 for a comparison of scenes of dance from *Queen Mary's Psalter* (London, BL, Royal 2B VIII, fols 174r, 189r and 203r).
[90] The males figure on folios 255v and 273r are positively tangled in the border. A female figure, who appears on 253v, merely handles it like a rope.
[91] The other human instrumentalists appear to be less than half the height of the citoler. A psaltery player appears in the upper margin of fol. 303r, a horn blower in the left margin of 303r, and a female dancer and male vieller in the lower margin of 389r.
[92] A relatively large naked man on folio 46r seems to be David and relates to the text of Psalm 6 shown beside it.

7.4   ANGELIC CITOLERS

Although there are many depictions of angels with citoles, these are often part of
large numbers of angels with diverse instruments whose function is to represent
adoration and splendour. In a few cases, however, only a small number of
instrumentalists are shown. In these selective examples there seems to be a relation
to instrumental groupings that might have occurred in medieval musical
performance. The morphological details of citoles held by angels are often credible
and consistent with instruments played by humans.

In depictions of the Coronation of the Virgin, the angelic musicians with diverse
instruments seem to symbolise splendour in a manner similar to the Apocalyptic
Elders on the Iberian *Majestas Domini* portals. As images of Marian devotion
became more popular, citoles were depicted more frequently being played by angels.
By the beginning of the fourteenth century, citoles in Iberian monumental sculpture
are shown in the hands of attendant angels, rather than Apocalyptic Elders.[93] The
only identified example of a citoler from Aquitaine (Ill. 38),[94] occurs on a Marian
portal at Bayonne, which had strong ties to both England and Castile.[95]

The majority of surviving English, French, and German sculptural depictions of
citolers are angelic and seem to have been used to demonstrate celestial grandeur.
The depiction of angels with musical instruments, especially those that appear *en
masse* on ceilings, such as Gloucester Cathedral (Ill. 137) and Tewkesbury Abbey
(Ill. 129 and 187) might also relate to the symbolism of *Musica Mundana*.[96] The
Platonic idea that the knowledge of this celestial order is required for the ordering of
one's individual soul was widespread by the twelfth century.[97] Variously, each order

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[93] Fourteenth-century Iberian Marian sculptural scenes with citoles include the Coronation of the
Virgin at LaGuardia (Ill. 36); and Adoration of the Virgin and Child at Valencia Cathedral (Ill. 33);
and Pamplona Cathedral (Ill. 37).

[94] (Ill. 38) A pair of portals at Bayonne cathedral, which lead from the cloisters into the main church,
were built and decorated sometime between 1258-99. The left-hand portal, with Madonna and Child
enthroned on the tympanum, includes an angel with a citole. These portals have now been enclosed
into the sacristy. I have not been able to view these in person yet.

[95] Bayonne as an important port city with a variety of cultural influences but Aquitaine was part of
the kingdom of England during this period. Not surprisingly this and the adjacent *Majestas Domini*
portal seems to show the influence of Iberian sculpture. Alfonso X of Castile and León is also know
to have attended the christening in Bayonne of his godson Alphonso, ninth child of Edward 1 and
Eleanor of Castile, who was born in Bayonne in 1273.

[96] Although the nine orders of angels also symbolically relate to the nine Muses.

[97] Tanja Kupke, 'Ou Sont Les Muses D'Antan?', in *Athens to Chartres: neoplatonism and medieval*

of Angels was thought to correspond to one of the celestial bodies (the Earth, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, The Firmament) or, in some two-octave monochord analogies, the planets corresponded to the notes of the lower octave and angels to those of the upper.[98] Angelic musicians are therefore a symbol of Divine Order and universal harmony. As symbols of glory or harmony they do not offer a realistic representation of contemporaneous musical groupings. As Munrow states, 'such angel concerts belong not to this world but to paradise, and they bear little relation to contemporary practice.'[99]

It is necessary to consider the placement of a figure and its demeanour to determine whether a figure, who appears to be human, is meant to depict a wingless angel. The lowest order of angels, those who interact with mankind, are not always depicted with wings. Angels of this type can be seen on structural brackets above the statues of Apostles in Cologne Cathedral; the angels above Philippus and above Bartholomeus play citoles (Ills. 58 and 59). The elevation of these musicians does not indicate anything about the hierarchy of different types of instruments, since all the musicians are on the same level. The height of these figures merely indicates their celestial status.

The dispute among medieval scholars regarding the number of choirs of angels makes it difficult to determine whether there is any hierarchy shown among the angels who play instruments. *De Coelesti Heirarchia*, a treatise credited to Dionysius the Areopagite, the first Bishop of Athens, (although probably written in the fifth century) was one of the works sent by the Byzantine Emperor Michael to Louis the Pious in 827. This concept of nine ranks of celestial beings had an enduring influence on both scholarship (including Thomas Aquinas) and architecture. Other scholars such as St. Jerome and Boethius, acknowledged only seven orders of angels, although they did not agree as to which should be omitted.

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thought: studies in honour of Edouard Jeaneau, ed. by Haijo Jan Westra (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1992), p. 431.
[98] Kathi Meyer-Baer, *Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 80-1 and fig. 31, discusses and reproduces a leaf from an eleventh-century manuscript of Boethius's *De Institutione Musicae.*
[99] David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 5.

Based upon the convention that the size of a figure indicates relative importance, however, all musical angels seem to have equal status regardless of instrument type.

While depictions of angel musicians might have been based upon human actors appearing in miracle plays, as Aiden proposes for some fifteenth-century images in Norfolk,[100] there is no firm evidence for this from before 1400. Since no fourteenth-century texts survive for any of these plays, it is impossible to know in what ways the dramatic portrayal of heavenly musicians was based on, or influenced, artistic representations. What can be said is that various art forms were certainly influenced by the earlier allegorical writings relating to the *cithara, lira* and *psalterium,*[101] and that artistic representations of instruments often seem to show knowledge of the morphology of instruments and the general posture of the performers.

Although the majority of depictions of heavenly majesty and angelic adoration display a wide variety of instruments, a few show small groups of musicians. In these small groupings the instruments that are most often shown with the citole are, in order of frequency, the vielle, harp, and psaltery. The citole is paired with the vielle frequently as seen in the Rothschild Canticles (Ill. 52),[102] the Collins Chadewe Apocalypse (Ill. 70),[103] Prüm Missal (Ill. 73),[104] Queen Mary's Psalter (Ill. 114-116),[105] the Ormesby Psalter (Ill. 117),[106] the DeLisle Psalter (Ill. 132),[107] and the sculptures at Thaxted Parish Church (Ill. 141),[108] In depictions of musical angels the

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[100] Aiden Rose, 'Angel Musicians in the Medieval Stained Glass of Norfolk Churches', *Early Music*, 29 (2001), pp. 190-1.

[101] For an extended discussion of the allegorical exegisis as it relates to musical instruments, see § 5.3 Translation from *Cithara* or *Lira* to *Citole*-variant terms.

[102] (Ill. 52) New Haven, Yale University, Beineke Library 404, fol. 90r, Thérouanne region, c.1300.

[103] (Ill. 70) Angels are not mentioned in the text of Revelation 21, so these are not meant to relate to a Latin term. MS Paris, BnF, 13096, fol. 82r. Flemish Apocalypse illustrated by Colins Chadewe, 1313.

[104] (Ill. 73) Berlin, Staaliche Museen, Preußischer National Bibl, Theol. Lat. 271, fol. 33r. A similar pairing occurs on fol. 188v, which is not reproduced in Appendix A.

[105] (Ill. 114, 115, and 116) A pair of angels playing citole appear on folios 282r, entertaining St. Catherine in prison; 301v, accompanying Mary Magdelene's ascension; and 303v, Virgin Mary and child enthroned.

[106] (Ill. 117) Ormesby Psalter: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 366, fol. 9v. East Anglian c. 1300-25. Above the initial of *Beatus Vir*, the Coronation of the Virgin is surmounted by a pair of musical angels.

[107] (Ill. 132) 'Coronation of the Virgin' in London, BL, Arundel 83 part 2, fol. 134v. 'The Majesty Master', c. 1330-39.

[108] (Ill. 141) Label stop, north transept, Thaxted Parish Church, English, late fourteenth century.

citole, vielle, harp only appear in the Milemete Treatise (Ill. 122),[109] where they also appear with an angel playing two conical pipes (Ill. 123).[110] A few French depictions such as a stained glass window at Èvreux (Ill. 80),[111] and an exterior relief sculpture at Notre-Dame in Paris (Ill. 62), associate the citole, vielle and psaltery. Another panel in the same series at Notre Dame shows angels with a citole, vielle, psaltery, and possibly a gittern (Ill. 63). The citole, vielle, psaltery, and portative organ appear in Stowe MS 17 (Ill. 74),[112] and on a choir bench end in Erfurt (Ill. 87).[113] Many of these instrumental combinations are suggested by other sources, indicating that these selective angelic groupings might not be completely contrary to medieval musical practice.

7.5   ANIMAL AND HUMAN-ANIMAL HYBRID CITOLERS

Citoles are not depicted as frequently in relationship to animal and human-hybrids as they are to Elders and angels. When animal or human-hybrids citolers appear, they are often alone or in relationship with one other musical figure and seem to have been used primarily for decoration rather than as a visual representation of a text or for allegorical purposes. In-built symbolism, however, may explain the greater frequency in ecclesiastical monumental sculpture of the virtuous angelic and biblical citolers, over morally ambiguous human musicians, or human-hybrid musicians who are implicitly corrupt. Technically, sirens fall under the category of human-animal hybrids but, as discussed in §3.1.1, the only time that sirens are associated with citoles is in *Li Livres dou Tresor*,[114] and the instruments depicted in these illustrations are directly influenced by the text. Many of the depictions that include an animal or hybrid musician in association with a citoler show some aspect of the citole's use or morphology that is fantastic.

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[109] (Ill. 122) Oxford, Christ Church, MS 92, fol. 14v. Edward III kneeling before Christ in Majesty with angel musicians.
[110] (Ill. 123) Oxford, Christ Church, MS 92, fol. 18v. Divine Coronation of Edward III with attendant angels.
[111] (Ill. 80) Èvreux Cathedral stained glass, c.1320-33.
[112] (Ill. 74) Book of Hours, southern Netherlands, possibly Liège, first quarter of the fourteenth c. London, BL, Stowe 17, fol. 14v.
[113] (Ill. 87) Erfurt Cathedral choir stall, c. 1350.
[114] (Text B.6) Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor: Edition and Study*, ed. by Spurgeon Baldwin and Paul Barrette, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003), p. 112.

Animal citolers are rare and there seems to be no clear allegorical significance to those that do appear. The only characteristic that these animals seem to share, as related in the *Physiologus*, is docility, which does not seem to offer any indication of status. A copy of *Li Livres Dou Tresor* from near Arras, c.1300, contains a marginal hare citoler (Ill. 61), adjacent to a human or half-human trumpeter, which might make reference to the 'cytholes et orguenes et le autres instrumens', mentioned in the description of Jubal on the opposite page, but this is clearly not a depiction of Jubal. Two Psalters from Ghent, c. 1320-30, show a marginal animal playing the citole: an ape with an ape trumpeter in Douce 5 (Ill. 76), and a solo musician mouse in Douce 6 (Ill. 79). The only sculptural depiction of an animal citoler appears in the mid-fourteenth century: a sheep at Cogges St. Mary (Ill. 136), near Oxford. The citole and trumpet pairing, which appears in the 'L2' *Tresor* and Douce 5, might be suggestive of some reference that is now unclear. The symbolism associated with these depictions is not obvious. There is no geographical or temporal cluster to the depictions of animal citolers, aside from the two Ghent manuscripts.

The only large group of hybrid musicians that includes citolers appears on the capital of a compound column in the cloister of Oviedo Cathedral (Ill. 35). Most of the figures in this group are damaged. Of those that are not damaged, two play chordophones with non-oval bodies, another plays a bagpipe and a fourth might have held a pair of cymbals (one now missing). The instruments in this grouping do not seem to represent contemporaneous practice and might be meant to parody the group of human musicians and dancers on the pillar opposite. These are also the only hybrid citolers identified in Iberian art.

The frequency with which hybrids appear in manuscripts from one area of northern France prompted Ravenel to ask whether the citole was particularly associated with hybrids.[115] In addition to the two illustrations of this specific type included in Appendix B (Ills. 44 and 45), Ravenel offers details of seven more similar depictions from two manuscripts produced in the region around Cambrai. These winged marginal citole-playing hybrids seem to have been particularly common in

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[115] Bernard Ravenel, 'Instruments à cordes frottées et pincées d'après les manuscrits médiévaux conservés en Lorraine ', in *Instruments à cordes du Moyen Âge: actes du colloque de Royaumont, 1994*, ed. by Christian Rault (Grâne: Créaphis, 1999), p. 174.

this region during the second half of the thirteenth century, although a similar example also appears in a Bible from Champagne (Ill. 46).

In English, French, and Flemish manuscripts, animal and hybrid citolers are often shown as individual musicians without context as in the Flemish manuscript miniatures in Douce 5 (Ill. 77-78), Douce 6 (Ill. 79) or Bodley 264 (Ill. 83),[116] and the low relief sculpture at Rouen Cathedral (Ill. 47).

A few of the hybrid pairings show instruments found together in other pairings. The hybrid citoler and hybrid psaltery-player in Howard Psalter (Ill. 119),[117] are not unlike the human nun with psaltery and the monk with a citole in *Queen Mary's Psalter* (Ill. 108) The hybrid citoler and vieller on the Norwich Cathedral cloister roof boss (Ill. 127)[118] show similarities, from the waist up, to the citoler and vieller at Castle Acre (Ill. 128).[119]

More often, when the musicians are pairs of hybrids, there is some aspect of the instruments or their combination that is slightly fantastic. Although the grouping of a citoler with female dancer (Ill. 49),[120] and citoler and harper (Ill. 50),[121] shown in the Psalter-Hours of Yolande Soissons are instrumental groupings found in depictions of humans, the morphology of the instruments is unusual. In a Picard manuscript of *L'Histoire du Graal*, the decorative exaggeration of the harp in a marginal pairing with a citoler of questionable species suggests that these are not normal human musicians and that the citoler might have an animal's head rather than being a human wearing a mask (Ill. 56).[122]

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[116] (Ills. 77-79 and 83) MSS Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 5, fol. 176r; Douce 6, ff. 76r and 175r; Bodley 264, fol. 78r.

[117] (Ill. 119) London, BL, Arundel part 1, fol. 63v. English, c. 1310-20.

[118] (Ill. 127) Norwich Cathedral, cloister roof boss, c. 1326-36.

[119] (Ill. 128) Church of St. Margaret, Cley-next-the-sea, second quarter fourteenth c. Only the citoler is shown in Ill. 128.

[120] (Ill. 49) New York, Morgan Library, M.729, fol. 40r. Psalter-Hours of Yolande Soissons, Amiens, 1280-99.

[121] (Ill. 50) New York, Morgan Library, M.729, fol. 228v. Psalter-Hours of Yolande Soissons, Amiens, 1280-99.

[122] Although Wirth identifies the marginal citoler as wearing a mask. Jean Wirth, and others, *Les marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques (1250-1350)*, Matériaux pour l'histoire (Genève: Droz, 2008), p. 238.

Some instrument pairings, particularly a citole shown with a *haut* instrument, seem to occur only among hybrids or animal musicians. The only known depiction of the citole paired with hand bells occurs on a choir stall bench end carving of two hybrids at Cologne Cathedral (Ill. 65). A citole and bagpipe seem to be paired together only when the musicians are hybrids: Queen Mary's Psalter (Ill. 111):[123] Howard Psalter (Ill. 118),[124] and Oviedo cathedral (Ill. 35). The citole and long trumpet seem to be paired only when at least one of the musicians is an animal: two monkeys in Bodleian Douce 5 (Ill. 76);[125] a centaur playing the citole and ape playing the trumpet in Queen Mary's Psalter (Ill. 112),[126] and a trumpeter beside a rabbit citoler in the 'L2' *Tresor* (Ill. 61). Even in these unlikely pairings, the morphology of the instruments is comparable to instruments found in true-to-life situations. Depictions of citoles played by animal or human-hybrid musicians, should not be dismissed without consideration; given proper scrutiny, they can offer some indications of the use and morphology citoles.

7.6 THE STATUS OF CITOLERS IN MARGINALIA

Although Foster equates the instruments appearing in the margins of manuscripts with being marginalized in society, this does not hold true for the citole. She identifies a limited number of instruments that appear regularly in the margins of thirteenth-century French manuscripts: 'the hunting horn, the vielle and rebec, the gittern [citole],[127] the pipe and tabor, the bagpipe and the portative organ'.[128] The harp and psaltery, she asserts, are only occasionally relegated to the margins, given their close association with King David. She associates all of these, except for the hunting horn and organ, with dancing and what she describes as the lower strata: 'peasants and jongleurs'. Marginal citolers do not usually seem to have been depicted as disreputable,[129] nor is there any clear connection with peasants. The

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[123] (Ill. 111) London, BL, Royal 2B VII, fol. 192r.
[124] (Ill. 118) London, BL, Arundel part 1, fol. 33v, English c. 1310-20.
[125] (Ill. 76) Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 5, fol. 41v, Flemish Psalter from Ghent, c. 1320-30.
[126] (Ill. 112) London, BL, Royal 2B VII, fol. 192v.
[127] By comparison to the illustrations mentioned, it is clear that 'gittern' in Foster's terminology equates with the instrument type considered as a citole here.
[128] Genette Foster, 'The Iconology of Musical Instruments and Musical Performance in Thirteenth-century French Manuscript Illuminations' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, City University of New York, 1977), p. 66.
[129] Recently, I encountered one marginal depiction that shows an apparently drunken citoler. This does, however, seem to be an exception. Jean Wirth, and others, *Les marges à drôleries*, p. 246.

'jongleours' with whom the citole was associated seem to have been primarily higher-status skilled minstrels (see §9). Foster suggests a 'sacred' and 'profane' dichotomy among depictions of musical instruments,[130] but this strict division seems undermined by the frequent inclusion of the citole among the instruments associated with King David and marginal angels, discussed above.

Marginalia might be directly parodying contemporaneous life, such as the instrumentalists who play bellows or rakes in the attitude of fiddlers. Plectrum-plucked chordophones seem to have been visually parodied much less than bowed instruments.[131] There is no ubiquitous mocking image for plucked instruments. Jawbones being played as instruments is probably the most common.[132] A marginal scene in Cloisters 54.1.2, fol. 54 shows a hybrid king playing a jawbone while a dog dances.[133] The jawbone is held horizontally with one end resting in the crook of the right elbow and the plucking hand holding a long plectrum is curled in an attitude very similar to that of a citole player. It is not clear which plectrum-plucked instrument this is meant to parody: citole, gittern or lute. This illustration is interesting because it is unusual not because it is necessarily related to the citole; the lack of similar images seems to suggest that plucked chordophones were deemed less suitable for mockery in marginalia.

7.7   COMPARISON OF CITOLES BY SETTING AND SPECIES OF PLAYER

There is a school of thought that believes that not all depictions are reliable indicators of contemporary practice. Instruments played by fantastic creatures, angels, or historical characters are all suspect. In Queen Mary's Psalter, citoles are played in all of these unreliable contexts but similar instruments are played by ordinary human beings. The citoles depicted with biblical figures (Ill. 104)[134] human-animal hybrids (Ill. 111-112),[135] angels (Ill. 103,106, 113-16),[136] and humans

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[130] Foster, 'The Iconology of Musical Instruments', p. 67.
[131] Randall shows a variety of musical instrument parodies in plates CVI-CVIII Lillian M.C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, California Studies in the History of Art (Berkeley: California University Press, 1966).
[132] Monkeys mimic playing using jawbones and long plectra in MS Cambrai 102, fol. 188v and MS Bodley 264, fol. 112. The shape of the jawbone in Bodley 264 more resembles a piriform instrument. Randall, *Images in the Margins*, plate XXII, Ill. 104.
[133] Randall, *Images in the Margins*, Plate CVI, Ill. 511.
[134] (Ill. 104) London, BL, Royal 2B VII, fol. 56v.
[135] (Ill. 111-112) London, BL, Royal 2B VII, folios 213b and 213c.

(Ill. 105, 107, 108, 109,110),[137] all share similar, but not identical physical characteristics. Because Queen Mary's Psalter (MS London, BL, Royal 2B VII) contains so many illustrations of citolers, it offers evidence that the species of the player and the context do not necessarily alter the details of the instruments depicted.[138]

The manuscript of Queen Mary's Psalter begins with a series of pen-and-ink drawings illustrating scenes from the Old Testament with commentary in French. Folio 3v (Ill. 103) shows God reposing on His throne with His angels, as described in the accompanying text.[139] The citole shown has a round end protrusion, indeterminately shaped wings on the upper bout corners, no frets, five dots in the rosette and bent back peg-head.

The upper two-thirds of 56v contain the scene of King David bringing the Ark of the Covenant into Jerusalem. Although the image illustrates 2 Samuel, Chapter 6, which names the instruments as 'in omnibus fabricantis, citharis et lyris et tympanis et sistris et cymbalis',[140] the biblical summary written on these pages is in Anglo-Norman French and describes the instruments as 'harpes et autres instrumenz de menustacye.'[141] Only two instruments are shown: King David plays the harp at the head of a procession with a citoler following immediately behind him. The citole here is being used both to illustrate a biblical text and as an instrument of minstrelsy. The citole shown has indeterminately shaped wings, a possible suggestion of frets, four dots in the rosette, neck ends square without pegbox and the end protrusion is obscured.

In the main section of the manuscript, the Book of Psalms, the marginal illustrations depict a series of different themes. Citolers are included in scenes from several of

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[136] (Ill. 103,106, 113-16) London, BL, Royal 2B VII, folios 3v, 186v, 229r, 282r, 296b, 299.
[137] (Ill. 105, 107, 108, 109, 110) London, BL, Royal 2B VII, folios 125v, 174r, 177r, 189r, 203r.
[138] See Appendix B, Ills. 103-116. George Warner, ed., *Queen Mary's Psalter. Miniatures and drawings by an English artist of the 14th century reproduced from Royal MS. 2 B. VII. in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1912), plates 5, 98, 170b, 198, 202b, 203d, 209d, 218d, 213b, 213c, 237a, 276b, 296b, 299.
[139] 'Ici se repose deu en se throne oue ueske ses aungeles'
[140] 2 Kings (2 Samuel) 6:5. *Biblia Sacra, Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. Pontificis Maximi Jussu Recognita et Clementis VIII* (Paris: Apud Lefevre, 1838), p. 218.
[141] 'Coment larke fust amene en Jerusalem · e dauid en vestement de proshetes e gentz alerent deuaunt oue harpes et autres instrumenz de menustacye.'

these sequences: a bestiary (folios 85v-20); the life of Christ (folios 130v-168v); contemporaneous life, interspersed with grotesques (folio 169-204); and Miracles of the Virgin Mary (folio 204v - f 232).

The marginal bestiary scenes seem to be based on a well-known model, and follow the same order as the animals mentioned in a thirteenth-century poem by the Norman French poet Guillaume le Clerc.[142] Folio 125v depicts the aspis, which guards a tree that distils balm (Ill. 105). The animal's weakness is that it can be lulled to sleep by chanting. To defend itself, it presses one ear against the ground and stops the other with its tail[143] Oddly, the aspis, the tree of balm, and the instruments differ from that in the subsequent marginal illustration of the same scene, fol. 126, which shows the tree being robbed while the portative organ and two trumpets are played.[144] Both of these interpretations seem to be original since the Aspis is more usually considered to be a type of snake (asp),[145] and the chanting is undertaken by an enchanter or snake-charmer.[146] This scene seems to display a selection of known instruments without direct reference to instrument terms in a text. The citole shown has indeterminately shaped wings, a possible suggestion of frets, possibly four dots in the rosette, the neck ends square without a pegbox and a round end protrusion.

The Marriage Feast at Cana, fol. 168v (Ill. 106), which accompanies Psalm 68, depicts two citoles. The scene of the wedding feast, which includes a human vielle player, is surrounded by a simple border, with alcoves containing six angel musicians. Although Psalm 68 v. 31 mentions singing praise in the name of God, there are no instruments specified in the text.[147] There seems to be a correlation between illustrations here and other biblical passages.[148] Gerhoh of Reichensberg in

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[142] This is based upon the *Physiologus* and Isidore of Seville. Florence McCulloch, *Mediæval Latin and French Bestiaries*, North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literature (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), p. 57.
[143] Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter*, p. 148.
[144] Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter*, Plate 170c.
[145] As in Johannes de Garlandia's *Dictionarius* (App. A. B.1). See §5.3.
[146] *Etymologiae*, XII.iv.12. Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. by Steven A. Barney, and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 256.
[147] Palm 68 v.31 'Laudabo nomen Dei cum cantico, magnificabo eum in laude'. *Biblia Sacra* (1838), p. 680.
[148] The initial 'S' in Psalm 68, as in many English Psalters, is decorated with Jonah and the whale because the text of the psalm echoes Jonah's prayer of devotion but no instruments are named there

his early twelfth-century *Commentarium in Psalmos* suggests a link between Psalm 68 v.31 and Psalm 80 v.3,[149] which mentions the *tympanum, psalterium, cithara* and *tuba*.[150] If the artist also assumed this link, then the two citoles, two vielles, psaltery and straight trumpet in the hands of the angels might be meant to represent these biblical instruments. This illustration seems to associate the citole with biblical instruments and songs of praise, and possibly wedding feasts. Both of the citoles shown are small and quite sketchy, with indeterminately shaped wings, no clear depiction of frets, possibly four dots in the rosette, and a rounded end protrusion. The peg-head end is obscured in both cases.

The border illustrations depicting scenes of contemporaneous life begin with scenes of diversion and amusement and many concern hunting, hawking, and dancing. Frequent depictions of four figures, holding ribbons between them rather than holding hands, appear on a left-hand page opposite instrumentalists on the right-hand page. In addition to those described below, folios 181v-182 and 196v-197 show similar scenes of dance, but without citolers. These scenes are literally aped by folios 179v - 180, on which a pair of clothed monkeys, playing harp and vielle, lead a line of four similarly clothed monkeys.

The marginal scene on fol. 173v depicts a line of four dancers opposite a vieller and citoler (Ill. 107). In this case the dancers alternate male and female. It can be assumed that the young men on folio 174r, who are shown in the conventional attitude of dancing while playing vielle and citole, are meant to be leading the other dancers. This is a scene that links the citole with human musicians and dancing as well as suggesting the pairing of vielle and citole. The citole shown has indeterminately shaped wings, no frets, five dots in the rosette, a trefoil end protrusion and a bent back peg-head with an animal-head filial.

The scene on 176v and 176r strongly resembles the other scenes with dancers except that the figures are ecclesiastical. A nun with psaltery accompanies a monk with a

either. Jonah 2:10 'ego autem in voce laudis immolabo tibi quaecumque vovi reddam pro salute Domino'. *Biblia Sacra* (1838), p. 419.

[149] Martin van Schaik, *The Harp in The Middle Ages: The Symbolism of a Musical Instrument* (Amsterdam: Ropodi, 1992), pp. 106 & 161.

[150] Psalm 80, verses 3-4: 'Sumite psalmum, et date tympanum: psalterium jucundum cum cithara. Buccinate in neomenia tuba,' *Biblia Sacra* (Paris: Apud Lefevre, 1830), p. 424.

citole (Ill. 108), and the alternating figures are monks and nuns. The citole and psaltery represented here might be meant to evoke biblical instruments in scenes of dance related to King David, either the defeat over Goliath (I Sam. 21:11) or David dancing before the Ark (I Sam 6:5-14). But it seems more likely that this scene is a satire, like the apes on folios 179v and 180r. It again associates the citole with dancing and suggests a pairing with the psaltery. The citole shown has loosely trefoil shaped wings, clearly indicated frets, four dots in the rosette, a fleur-de-lys end protrusion and no pegbox shown.

A few of these depictions move the dancers to the left-hand page with a static scene on the right-hand page. Folio 188v -189 shows a king being offered a goblet while opposite, four dancing youths are led by a solo citoler (Ill. 109). This suggests that a citole might have been used as a solo instrument to accompany dancing. The citole shown has trefoil shaped wings, clearly shown frets, four dots in the rosette, a fleur-de-lys end protrusion and no visible peg-head.

Immediately following Psalm 80,[151] there is series of depictions of various instruments played in duets by human-hybrid musicians. The hybrids might be intended to parody the various biblical instruments mentioned in the psalm text but this is unclear. Two of these scenes include citolers.

On folio 192r (Ill. 111) a lion-legged hybrid citoler is paired with a bagpiper who appears to be half duck. The citole shown is very similar to that in fol. 189 (Ill. 109), with trefoil shaped wings, clearly shown frets, four dots in the rosette, a fleur-de-lys end protrusion and no visible peg-head.

On folio 192v (Ill. 112), a centaur plays a citole accompanied by an ape playing a wind instrument. The body shape of this citole is different from any other shown in this manuscript; instead of protruding wings the shoulders come to a point. There is no fingerboard shown. Five dots appear in the rosette. It has a round end protrusion and a thin curved neck with a detailed animal head filial.

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[151] Psalm 80 begins on fol. 190v. The psalter is in Latin and the text of folio 191v reads: 'et date tympanum, psalterium iucundum cum cithara, bucinate in neomenia tuba, in insigni die sollemnitatis' G. Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter*, Plate 211 and 212.

A citole and vielle, on folio 203r (Ill. 110), are played for the gentlemen feasting on the opposite page, fol. 202v. This is part of a series of scenes displaying scenes of courtly pleasures: jousting, gaming and feasting that occupy folios 197v-204r. This associates the citole with feasting and again pairs it with the vielle. The citole shown has indeterminate shaped wings, no frets shown, four dots in the rosette, a trefoil end-protrusion and a bent back pegbox with animal head filial.

The marginal Psalm illustrations that depict the Miracles of the Virgin contain only one angelic citoler. Folio 228v, depicts the Virgin Mary appearing to St. Dunstan and leading him into her chapel. Folio 229 depicts a choir of holy virgins, led by Mary, accompanied by an angelic citoler. Like fol. 189r, this shows a solo citoler playing for dancers. The citole shown has axe-head-shaped wings, no frets shown, multiple dots in the rosette, a round protrusion. The neck appears unfinished and the peg-head is not shown.

In folio 280v.-302r, the Canticles section of this manuscript, which follows the Psalms, all of the citolers are angelic. The marginal illustrations here begin with the Lives of the Saints in the order of the calendar of Saints' Days, ff 233v - f 299, followed by scenes from the Life of St. Mary Magdalene, ff 299v - f 302.

The feast of St. Catherine (November 24) is illustrated on fol. 282r by a depiction of St. Catherine in prison being visited by the empress, who finds her being attended by an angelic vieller and citole player (Ill. 114). The citole shown has indeterminate shaped wings, no frets shown, unclear number of dots in the rosette, a fleur-de-lys end-protrusion and a bent back pegbox with animal head filial.

Mary Magdalene ascends to heaven borne by two angels (Ill. 115) on folio 301v. Again the action is accompanied by an angelic citoler and vieller. The citole shown has indeterminate shaped wings, no frets shown, four dots in the rosette, and a bent back pegbox with animal head filial. The end protrusion is obscured.

The illustrations that accompany the Litany contain only one depiction of musical instruments. On 303v (Ill. 116), four angels are shown in alcoves to either side of

the Virgin and Child enthroned. The lower angels hold tapers; the upper angels play citole and vielle. The citole is again paired with the vielle. The citole shown has loosely trefoil shaped wings, no frets shown, unclear number of dots in the rosette, and a round end protrusion. The peg-head is obscured by the border.

Regardless of the situation, the citoles are shown with similar morphological details but the depictions are not so consistent that they suggest all were copied from a single model. In all of their appearances in Queen Mary's Psalter, the citoles are approximately the same size in relation to the player: with a body length roughly equal to the width of the player's shoulders. The necks, when not obscured, are roughly the same length although show two varieties: ending without any indication of pegbox,[152] or showing a curved end, occasionally in the shape of an animal head. Many show a fingerboard that extends beyond the juncture of the neck and body. The body outlines are all roughly vase-shaped and, aside from fol. 192v (Ill. 112) they all have projections at the upper bout and large round soundholes placed at the narrowest part of the waist. Some citoles have round end-projections, others are trefoil-shaped, but both types are found in the hands of angels, humans and hybrids.

There is no clear indication in Queen Mary's Psalter that the images of the citole were equated to any biblical instrument term. The artist seems to equate the biblical *cithara* with the contemporary harp, and the citole as an instrument of minstrelsy. This would seem to be supported by one-third of the depictions showing the citole being played for dancing. In many cases, the morphological details of the citoles depicted do not seem to be affected by the species of the player.

7.8 SUMMARY

Most of the citoles identified in depictions are played in situations that do not depict medieval life. But this does not make them valueless. Although they cannot be relied upon to accurately demonstrate what sorts of instruments might have been played together, details of morphology might still be relevant, especially when the physical

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[152] Intriguingly, the depiction of frets does not seem to relate to the musicians species but to the type of neck shown: frets seem to appear only on the instruments that do not show a peg-head finial. Frets are also not depicted in scenes that include a vielle. These small details might be coincidental but also might be indicative.

details of an instrument depicted find corroboration in other sources. The grammar of depicting status by size and position, seem to indicate that the citole was a high status instrument, like the harp and vielle.

Although the depictions of human, angelic, and animal or hybrid citolers occur in all of the areas associated with the citole, the species and context of citole players seems to show regional trends. In Iberia, the citolers depicted are often human, usually either Elders of the Apocalypse or contemporaneous minstrels (see §9.2). French images show many examples of angelic or hybrid citolers. In English and German sources, angels predominate.

Although the musical grouping might be doubtful when directly related to a text that mentions numerous instruments or in a scene of heavenly magnificence (such as choirs of angels or the Elders surrounding Christ in Majesty), the morphological details of the citoles seem to be depicted relatively consistently. Queen Mary's Psalter is the premiere example of consistent depictions of citoles, regardless of the species of the player or the situation in which they occur.

Details in pictorial sources are often not entirely accurate and may reflect artistic invention, convention, or omission. It is unwise, however, to assume that all images are inaccurate. When the musicians include animals or hybrids and some aspect of the instruments or their use is often questionable; either the grouping or the morphology is suspect but rarely both. With angelic or biblical citolers, the groupings seem to be influenced by instrument types named in a text but the morphology of the instrument depicted does not seem to be affected.

Depictions of instruments held by biblical, grotesque or angelic musicians can justifiably be called into question. They must not, however, be dismissed without due consideration. Morphological features that can be corroborated by the appearance of similar instruments played by contemporaneous humans should be considered credible. Since some instrument types are consistently depicted regardless of the type of player, representations will therefore be considered credible if they are shown in more than one source. Details will be considered more credible

however if they appear in a number of sources, are played by humans, and appear in a variety of media.

8. COMPARATIVE MORPHOLOGY

Iconographical sources offer the best evidence for the typical morphology of the citole. Images record most faithfully those features that were considered characteristic by the artists. This attention to specific aspects of morphology is most pronounced in manuscript marginalia where some citoles appear in almost a caricatured form. This section examines the physical features of citoles as depicted in art, and surveys relevant depictions from geographically and temporally diverse source material, to identify which features are most commonly shown on plucked distinct-necked chordophones with non-oval body outlines. Some of the physical features present in iconography, such as the thumbhole-neck, end-grain peg insertion and large end-projection can be verified by comparison with the surviving exemplar, the British Museum's citole, as discussed in §6. Some features, such as the thumbhole-type neck, overall body-depth taper, anterior pegs and large end-projection, which might otherwise seem implausible to the modern viewer are demonstrated by the material artefact. The thumbhole-type neck when shown in sculpture might be assumed to be a structural reinforcement rather than a realistic feature,[1] the anterior pegs might be assumed to be inaccurately placed, and the size of the end-projection exaggerated. Comparison of these two types of evidence offers much broader and more certain information regarding citole morphology than either would alone. Since the depictions seem to show regional variations, each feature will be discussed within the region where it occurs.

As discussed in §7, the morphological features of citoles in depictions do not seem to have been significantly influenced by the species of the performer nor the setting in which they are found. The physical details of citoles seem to have been affected more by the size of the figure and the type of medium in which the representation is rendered. Some aspects of these depictions may be mere artistic conventions. Manuscript illustrations, especially miniatures, might exaggerate the scale of elements that were recognised as being characteristic. Often, in 2-dimensional media, the citole is presented in a flat frontal view offering no information about the

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[1] The clearest example of not fully undercutting sculptures to add support is at Sasamón where fragile elements such as the vielle bow, and the necks of chordophones, including the citole neck (App. B, Ill. 12b) are not relieved from the background for extra stability.

back or sides. If details of the sides or neck are shown in 2-dimensional images, the perspective has been altered, so both the front and side of the instrument can be seen. In considering the accuracy of representations of this chordophone type, the size and dimensionality of the depiction will be considered.

This section focuses on typical features and highlights regional variations. A number of depictions display anomalies, and while it is tempting to discuss each of the atypical examples in great detail, this might lend them greater significance than they merit. In some cases, however, a feature is so prevalent that it is easier to name the few deviants than all the adherents. When details appear in only one example, the questions must be asked whether the depiction was meant to be realistic and whether the instrument shown was meant to be a citole.

Many of the features depicted show regional tendencies and these three regions can be clearly seen on Map 4. For convenience many of the features will be discussed by grouping: Iberian; French, Flemish, and German; and English.

8.1 BODY OUTLINES AND END-PROJECTIONS

Although the non-oval body outline is one of the determinant characteristics of a citole in this study, the variety of shapes represented is not limitless, and these variations seem to show regional tendencies. As detailed in §3.2.1.3, the terms used to describe these will be: holly-leaf, hexagonal, hourglass, vase-shaped and spatulate. Since it is not always easy to distinguish some of these types from each other, when indeterminate outlines are encountered they will be described more fully.[2] The occurrence of the various body outlines and their frequency are discussed by region.

Iberian examples show the least diversity of body outline. After c.1230 all of the sculptural depictions identified, and most of the painted images have outlines related to the vase shape. Prior to that, distinct-necked chordophones with a variety of body

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[2] Holly-leaf instruments with a shallow central bout can resemble hexagonal ones; vase-shaped ones with a shallow central bout and high waist appear spatulate; and, if the curve of the lower bout is not clearly rounded, the vase-shaped outlines can be mistaken for holly-leaf.

shapes are shown being plucked: elongated oval with possible slight waist (Ill. 174a and Ill. 174b-c);[3] hourglass (Ill. 7a-b,[4] 8a-e,[5] 9a-c);[6] vase-shaped (Ill. 7a-b, left-hand figure);[7] possibly hexagonal (Ill. 7a-b, right-hand figure);[8] and spatulate (Ill. 175b-c).[9] It is worth mentioning that among these earlier images only the vase-shaped instrument of Carboeiro Elder 11 (Ill. 7a-b) is depicted being played with a long thick plectrum. After c.1230, only two Iberian sculptural examples show slight variations from this vase-shaped outline: Burgos Cathedral, Elder O13 (Appendix B, Ill. 11d-f) and León Cathedral West Portal Elder 5 (Ill. a-c). These each show an instrument that has pointed upper and lower bout corners but a rounded lower end, displaying similarities to both the holly-leaf and the vase shapes.[10] Both of these instruments are relatively small and shallow-bodied and occur where a larger vase-shaped instrument with a deeply tapering body is also present.[11] The painting of San Millan shows a holly-leaf-shaped instrument.[12] All of the Iberian depictions have unadorned outlines; none have additional projections at the shoulders.

French, Flemish and German depictions are also relatively consistent in body outline although their typical shapes are holly-leaf and hourglass. Hourglass outlines are depicted from the first quarter of the thirteenth century (Ill. 39)[13] until the second quarter of the fourteenth century (Ill. 84).[14] Simple holly-leaf shapes appear from the

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[3] (Ill. 174a-c) Santiago Cathedral, Elder 9 and Elder 19. These might not be meant to represent *citoles* but the presence of a plectrum in hand of Elder 19 makes them worth a mentioning here.
[4] (Ill. 6a-b) 'Rylands Apocalypse', Manchester John Rylands University Library MS 8, fol. 89r, c. 1175.
[5] (Ill. 8a-e) North portal of Collegiate Church of Santa Maria, Toro, last third of the twelfth c, Both Elder 8 and 4 have instruments related to the vase shape. Although Elder 4 does not hold the instrument in playing position, comparison with the plucked chordophone played by Elder 2 and the bowed on held by Elder 18.
[6] (Ill. 9a-c) early thirteenth century. Although the instrument held by Portomarin Elder 21 is missing its neck, it might be meant as a sculptural representation of instruments like those shown in the Rylands Apocalypse, folio 89r (Ill. 6a-b).
[7] (Ill. 7a-b) Carboeiro, Elder 11, Church of the Monastery of San Lourenzo, late twelfth century.
[8] (Ill. 7a-b) Carboeiro, Elder 12.
[9] (Ill. 175) North portal, Church of San Miguel, late twelfth century. Estella, Elder 2.
[10] These two examples also share other characteristics such as lack of distinct length-wise taper, discussed below. The only other depiction to clearly display this outline is found in a mid-fourteenth-century Flemish manuscript in which the relative depth can not be determined (Ill. 85a, MS Bodley 264, fol. 188v).
[11] The larger instrument at Burgos is on the same portal, (Ill. 11a-c), but at León the other instrument is on the south façade, illustration (Ill. 13a-c).
[12] (Ill. 4) Tablas de San Millán, Museo de la Rioja, Logroño, Inv. 399 and 400, from the Monastery of de Suso.
[13] (Ill. 39) An early thirteenth century Psalter from Northern France: Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS 3.
[14] (Ill. 84) MS Bodley 264, fol. 173r.

mid-thirteenth (Ill. 41) [15] through the mid-fourteenth century (Ill. 83 and 86).[16] Most often these have unadorned bouts and a large end projection. Occasionally, fleury projections appear on the upper bout corners, (Ill. 40a, 56, 54 and 89)[17] but they rarely, if ever, appear on lower bout corners.[18] The only alterations to the lower bout corners appear as small rounded extensions, and only when these appear on the upper bout as well (Ill. 42, 47 and 77).[19] The few vase-shaped instruments that appear in northern France display fleur-de-lys–shaped projections at the shoulders (Ill. 80, 90 and 91).[20]

English sources show the widest range of body outlines. In addition to the holly-leaf, hexagonal, hourglass and vase shapes found elsewhere, a number of English body-outlines are unique. Given that the two earliest surviving depictions resemble French and Iberian sources respectively (Ill. 92 and 93),[21] the diversity of English citole outlines may indicate diverse foreign influences. There does not seem to be any sort of trend in the appearances of these different outlines in England, either by date or by locality. Festooned outlines with multiple bouts are rare however and seem to appear only in the hands of angels: on a stained glass roundel from an Abbey in York (Ill. 120),[22] and a roof boss in Gloucester Cathedral (Ill. 137).[23]

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[15] (Ill. 41) *Antiphonarium Medicieum*: Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 29.I.f.A., frontispiece.

[16] Both are Flemish: the *Romance of Alexander*, Oxford, MS Bodley 264, fol. 78r (Ill. 83) and the Braunche Brass (Ill. 86).

[17] Although the Strasbourg Cathedral sculpture (Ill. 179) is possibly unreliable, similar body outlines with extended shoulders appear in Avranches, BM, MS 222, fol. 9 (Ill. 40a), the Picard manuscript of *L'Histoire du Graal* (Ill. 56), London, BL, MS Egerton 274 fol. 7v (Ill. 54) and a processional lantern from Kloster Weihausen (Ill. 89).

[18] The only citole which might have fleury lower-bout corners is played by a human/animal hybrid on a bench end at Cologne Cathedral (Ill. 65) but due to extensive worm damage it is difficult to determine whether the lower bouts are fleury or merely pointed like the Norwich Cathedral Roof Boss (Ill. 127).

[19] Small rounded bumps on the upper and lower corners of otherwise holly-leaf-shaped citoles occur primarily in sculpture such at Rheims (Ill. 42) Rouen (Ill. 47) Cologne (Ill. 68) and only rarely in manuscript images, such as the small marginal figure appearing in the Latin Bible MS Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Bibl. 203a, fol. 311v (not in Appendix).

[20] In this geographical grouping, instruments with a rounded lower bout and fleury upper-bout corners appear only in two-dimensional sources: the stained glass at Évreux cathedral (Ill. 80) and two marginal depictions attributed to the school of Jean Pucelle, although these might qualify as spade-shaped with fleury corners (Ill. 90 & 91).

[21] The citole carved on the Westminster Abbey window soffit (Ill. 92) resembles French images like that on the *Portail des Libraries* at Rouen Cathedral (Ill. 47). Whereas the citoler in the stocks (Ill. 93) resembles some unadorned vase-shaped Iberian sculptures, as discussed in §9.2 below.

[22] Now in the Yorkshire Museum (Ill. 120).

[23] Since the majority of atypically shaped instruments are played by angels, it is difficult to determine which if any of the elaborate non-standard body-shapes should be considered fantastic based on the nature of the player. The case for whether the citole in Gloucester Cathedral is meant to be fantastical

The few possibly spatulate instruments that appear in France and England seem to depict a distinct overall taper, regardless of whether they are sculpted or painted. Although Wright describes the instrument at Cogges (Ill. 136) as the only clear example of the 'spade-fiddle' body outline outside Italy,[24] Remnant likens that depiction to the de Lisle Psalter citole.[25] Both of these instruments have outlines that could be described as either spatulate or vase-shaped. The shoulders of these are not 'swept upwards' as Wright describes in his 'spade-fiddle'-type, and the waists are discernable, although it is closer to the shoulders and less pronounced than on typical vase-shaped instruments. Similar body outlines can be seen in three images contained in two French manuscripts by Jean Pucelle, or his school.[26] Although the inspiration for the Cogges sculpture is unclear, in the case of these manuscript illustrations, the manner in which the instrument is depicted seems to indicate learned artistic influence. Sandler proposes that the 'Majesty Master', the illustrator of the *Coronation of the Virgin* scene in the De Lisle Psalter, was an English scribe inspired by the work of Jean Pucelle, who in turn had been influenced by Italian masters such as Giotto and Duccio.[27] A curious feature of each of these two-dimensional representations is that they clearly depict the thumbhole-type neck.[28] The sculpture at Cogges also shows the pronounced overall depth taper, which suggests a thumbhole-type neck. It is worth remarking that the few northern depictions that are closest to being spatulate in outline also self-consciously endeavour to show other features characteristic of a citole, such as the thumbhole-type neck or distinct longitudinal taper.

8.1.1 RELATIVE PROPORTIONS

Following the example of the *ad quadratum* outline of the British Museum's citole, it seems worthwhile to ask whether depictions of citoles demonstrate any sort of

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might be resolved by comparison of the other angelic musical instruments depicted there to exemplar of their types (Ill. 137a-b).

[24] Wright, *Grove* (2001), p. 873.

[25] Mary Remnant, 'The Gittern in English Mediaeval Art', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 18 (1965), p. 106. See Appendix B, Ill. 132.

[26] The image by Jean Pucelle appears in the *Breviary of Blanche de France* (Ill. 72), and the two by his followers occur in the *Petites Heures de Jehan Duc de Berry* (Ill. 90 & 91).

[27] Lucy Freeman Sandler, 'A Follower of Jean Pucelle in England', *The Art Bulletin*, 52 (1970), p. 365.

[28] Or hand-hole as in the case of the Parisian manuscripts. See discussion in §8.3 below.

proportional design. Although it is not always possible to determine exact relationships in images some indications of rough geometrical proportions suggest themselves, particularly in sculpture.

A number of sculptures have damaged or obscured necks so it is not possible to determine the proportional relationship of the body-length or body-width to the overall length. Many sculptures of vase-shaped citoles, although they seem to vary in size, show a relative body-length to body-width ratio of 2:1 (Carboeiro Elder 11, Ill. 7a-b), and upper and lower bouts that are approximately the same width. Other body shapes in which the body-length to body-width ration is shown as approximately 2:1 include hexagonal (Carboeiro 12, Ill.7a-b) and hourglass (Portomarin, Ill. 9a-c). Additionally, some citoles seem to display a neck-length that is equal to the body-width, offering the relationship of body-width : body-length : overall length of 1:2:3.[29] Good examples of this 1:2:3 proportion appear in sculptures at the Palace of Archbishop Gelmirez (Ill. 15 and Ill. 16), and an illumination in the Ormesby Psalter (Ill. 117). In some cases this 1:2:3 ratio includes the end-projection and headstock (Tewkesbury Abbey, Ill. 129 and Norwich Cathedral, Ill. 127) and in others it does not (Cologne Cathedral, Ill. 59). The citole in the Rheims stained glass (Ill. 43) seems to display a body length including end-projection that is three times the body-width, and a body-width that is equal to the length of the fingerboard. Although whole number proportions seem to have been used in representations citoles they are applied differently.

8.2 END-PROJECTIONS

The shape of the end-projection is another detail that displays regional variation. Iberian depictions frequently show a small rounded end protrusion, where the lower

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[29] Although the concept of the use of whole number, 'noble' proportions in the construction of instruments was known in Spain during the thirteenth century, the instrument referred to in the relevant theory texts was usually the 'ūd. In *Hammebakes*, writtten 1264, Shem-Tob Ben Joseph Falaquera, a prolific thirteenth-century Spanish author who wrote in Hebrew describes the proportions of the *kinnor* in whole number proportions. His text seems to have been based on the tenth-century Persian *Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa*, which gives the proportions of the 'ūd as 1:2:3 (depth: breadth: length). For Falaquera see: Eric Werner and Isaish Sonne, 'The Position of Music in The Jewish Culture of the Middle Ages', *Hebrew College Annual*, 16 (1942-3), pp. 540-51. For the Ikhwan al-Safa, see Eckhard Neubauer, 'Der Bau der Laute und ihre Besaitung nach Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Quellen des 9 bis 15. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften*, 8 (1993), pp. 279-378 (p. 343).

end is not obscured or damaged. Examples of this type of end protrusion are clearly shown in the late twelfth-century Rylands Apocalypse fol. 89r (Ill. 6a-b), the thirteenth-century south portal at Burgo de Osma (Elder 13, Ill. 17a-b), and on the instrument of one of the two fourteenth-century hybrid-human citolers on a capital group in Oviedo cathedral (Ill. 35d-f). The other citoler in the same figurative grouping at Oviedo Cathedral displays one of the few Iberian citole representations with a clear lack of end protrusion (Ill. 35a-c). While some other sculptures might depict no end-projection, too often the lower end of the instrument is obscured by the player's arm or the sculpture is damaged. Iberian end-projections are usually equivalent to the depth of the instrument at that point, which is more noticeable on some of the deeper instruments such as Elder M5 at Burgos (Ill. 11c). That these small end projections are not merely broken stubs of the larger sort of protuberance seen elsewhere, is verified by the intact examples on the west portal at Toro (Ill. 31b, c, h & g),[30] and miniatures in The *Libro de Ajedrez* fol. 31r (Ill. 18a) and 'E Codex' Cantiga CL (Ill. 21).[31]

By contrast, the vast majority of French, Flemish and English citole images show a large end-protuberance, often in the shape of a trefoil. Although one of the earliest French images reproduced in Appendix B has a diminutive end-projection, this seems to be atypical.[32] The trefoil end-projection is documented from the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Ill. 40),[33] through the last quarter of the fourteenth century (Ill. 140).[34] This feature is displayed with such consistency that it can be considered characteristic for citoles depicted in these areas. Trefoil end-projections occur occasionally in German depictions (Ill. 60, 73 and 82),[35] but never in Iberian examples, indicating that there are some regional tendencies in the choice of the end protrusion shape as well as in body-outline.

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[30] The small rounded end-protrusion can also be seen on Elder 13 (Ill. 31d-f) although it is partly obscured.
[31] San Lorenzo del Escorial, Cod. B.I.2. The small circle representing the end-protrusion might not be visible in the reproduction provided in Appendix B since, although it is outlined in black, it is the same colour as the players' sleeve.
[32] Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS 36, fol. 214. (Ill. 39).
[33] Avranches, BM, MS 0222, fol. 9 (Ill. 40).
[34] In the Lincoln Cathedral stained glass panel (Ill. 140).
[35] The numerous depictions in Cologne Cathedral suggest that there was not a preferred shape for end-projections there. Notably, one of the two choir angels has a trefoil end-protuberance on his instrument (Ill. 59) and the other does not (Ill. 58).

A few non-Iberian end-projections are also depicted a round balls. The majority of these seem to date from the first quarter of the fourteenth century and appear in two-dimensional sources. Although the earliest and latest examples of round end projections outside Iberia occur in English manuscripts (Ill. 94 and Ill. 123), they also occur in a few French images (Ills. 1, 61, 70, 71). Only a very few examples have an end-projection which is neither rounded, ball-shaped or trefoil-shaped, such as the perpendicular bar in MS Cambrai BM, 190, fol. 136v (Ill. 45).

8.3 Necks and Pegboxes

Two basic neck types have been identified on depictions of citoles: supported and unsupported. The supported type appears to include two sub-sets: one with a hole cut to allow the thumb to grasp the neck, best exemplified by the British Museum's citole (Ill. 197), and the other with a supporting bracket, as shown on the Bologna Cope (Ill. 100). The unsupported neck is shown on the sculpture at Lincoln Cathedral (Ill. 95) and Burgos Cathedral (Ill. 11a). Supported necks are associated with bent-back pegboxes whereas unsupported necks can terminate in either bent-back or flat-board pegboxes. Unfortunately, neck type is not always determinable: two-dimensional representations often do not depict this detail and sculptures may be damaged or not carved in sufficient relief.

8.3.1 Neck Types

Supported necks seem to be the type most commonly depicted in sculpture. Although the bent-back pegbox, with pegs inserted anteriorly into the endgrain of the wood, is usually associated with the supported neck, Elder M5 at Burgos (Ill. 11a-b) seems to indicate these features can also appear on unsupported necks. This suggests that, at least in Iberia, the depth of the instrument at the pegbox end can not be used to determine whether the neck is supported or not. While one of the citoles at the Gelmirez Palace in Santiago appears to also have an unsupported neck,[36] this is a matter of perspective; when viewed from below the neck appears to be unsupported (Ill.15a), but when seen from above it reveals a supported-type neck

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[36] Illustrations 15a and 15b show the difference in the appearance of the neck type depending upon viewing angle.

and the oval void of a thumbhole (Ill.15b). Many citoles in Iberian sculptures have damaged or missing peg ends and it is impossible to determine what type of neck they had. In the case of Elder 13 at La Hiniesta (Ill. 32f) the breakage at the neck end indicates that the neck might have originally been unsupported and bent back like that of Burgos Elder M5 (Ill. 11a-c), but this is not clear.[37] Clearly depicted supported necks with thumbholes appear on both the North and West Portals at Toro,[38] the West Portal, Valencia Cathedral,[39] and Pamplona.[40] Although instruments in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* and the *Cancioniero da Ajuda* might represent citoles with unsupported necks, none of them are shown conclusively.[41]

German, French and Flemish depictions show both supported and unsupported types of neck. Of the six sculptural depictions of citoles in the choir of Cologne Cathedral four show thumbhole necks,[42] one appears to shows an unsupported neck,[43] and the other is too damaged to assess.[44] An additional thumbhole-neck citole is shown in a low-relief carving of a human/lion hybrid playing the citole beside the north door of Rouen cathedral.[45] Given the relative dearth of large sculptural depictions elsewhere in this group, two-dimensional illustrations must be relied upon for much of this information. A few clear depictions of thumbhole-type necks appear in manuscripts,[46] as do supported, possibly bracket type[47] but most illustrations are imprecise in the rendering of the neck type.[48] Many instruments had no depiction of

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[37] On La Hiniesta Elder 13's instrument the area behind the hand shows a relatively smooth surface whereas the area surrounded by the hand is rough. Burgos Elder M5 (Ill. 11a-c) shows a similar smooth squarish heel to the body.

[38] Toro, Collegiate Church, North Portal, Elder 4 (Ill.8d), Toro, Collegiate Church, West Portal, Elder 13 (Ill.31g),

[39] Valencia Cathedral (Ill. 33).

[40] Pamplona (Ill. 37b).

[41] Cantigas de Santa Maria (Ill. 19-22) and the Cancioniero da Ajuda (Ill. 23-30).

[42] Thumbholes are shown on the citoles of both of the large angels (Ill. 58 & 59), a moderately sized citoler on a bench end 'S6' (Ill. 67) and a small armrest figure 'SI 18' (Ill. 68). Although the armrest musician is damaged the tip of the thumb is visible, peeping out of the remaining portion of neck (Ill. 68).

[43] Although it is damaged at the peg end, undercutting around the citoleress' instrument suggests that it is meant to depict an unsupported neck (Ill. 66).

[44] The damage is due to woodworm (Ill. 65)

[45] This appears on one of the decorative panels *Portail des Libraries*, Rouen Cathedral (Ill. 47).

[46] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.183, fol. 141v (ill. 48a).

[47] Prüm Missal (Ill. 73).

[48] Paris, BnF, fr. 13096, fol. 46r (Ill. 71) shows a triangular bracket but on folio 41r, a citole with an obscured pegbox on fol. 82r. (Ill. 70) and another holly-leaf-shaped chordophone with a neck terminating in an animal head curved sideways but on which the detail is not clear enough to determine the neck type. (Ill. 69).

the peg end.[49] Unsupported necks also appear in manuscripts, discernable only when they appear to have a flat pegbox.[50]

The neck type that appears to be bent sideways, or upwards, is likely an artistic convention since it only appears in two-dimensional media. It is probably meant to represent a bent-back pegbox of some sort but, whether these are intended as unsupported sickle-shaped sorts or supported ones, can only be speculated. Several angels have instruments whose necks terminate in curl, which is decorative but not very practical. The Cologne Cathedral angel above St Bartholomew shows an instrument with a repaired thumbhole type neck that curves backwards and no workable method for attaching the strings.[51] London BL Stowe 17, fol. 14v (Ill. 74) and fol. 90r of the Rothschild Canticles (Ill. 52) have necks that appear to terminate in a spiral as deep (or wide) as the instrument, although the latter also seems to depict a thumbhole type neck, such as on the Lincoln Cathedral stained glass (Ill. 140).

One of the remarkable aspects of the thumbhole, both as depicted in sculpture, and as shown on the British Museum's exemplar, is its relatively small size. Some thumbholes appear to be not much larger than the player's thumb.[52] Even the largest, an oval hole shown on the instrument of Toro West Portal Elder 18 (Ill. 31g), does not extend the full length of the neck. Winternitz comments: 'The perforated wall [of the neck]...while greatly increasing the area available for the woodcarver, must have limited the motion of the stopping fingers.[53] The fingers are not hindered; only the movement and placement of the thumb would be restricted.[54]

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[49] This is common among marginal illustrations of human/animal hybrid figure in the margins of manuscripts both from around Cambrai and Nancy. For examples from Cambrai see Appendix B, Ill. 44-45. For similar depictions from Lorraine see Bernard Ravenel, 'Instruments à cordes frottées et pincées d'après les manuscrits médiévaux conservés en Lorraine ', in *Instruments à cordes du Moyen Âge: actes du colloque de Royaumont, 1994*, ed. by Christian Rault (Grâne: Créaphis, 1999), pp. 167-83 (p. 175).

[50] Such as shown in Toulouse, BM, MS 8, fol. 361v (Ill. 55).

[51] The plane of the strings is also curved outwards (Ill. 59a).

[52] One of the clearest examples of this is at Cologne Cathedral (Appendix B. Ill. 67a)

[53] Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments of the Western World* (New York and Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1967), p. 47.

[54] This has some implications for performance. See §11.6.

The hole in the neck was clearly designed for access by the thumb and not the whole hand. Although Segerman comments that 'to finger the instrument, the hand had to go through a hole,'[55] this is not, however, the method of holding the instrument that is usually depicted. Of the four manuscript illustrations that show the hole in the neck allowing the entire hand to pass through from behind, three are related to the work of Jean Pucelle.[56] The other is unique and seems to depict an instrument in which the neck support is to the side of rather than beneath the fingerboard.[57] No sculptures from any region depict the whole hand passing through the hole in the neck, indicating that these manuscript images may have arisen from an error in rendering perspective, rather than documenting a variation in either morphology or playing technique.

There is little evidence that the thumbhole was used for hanging the instrument. Although Winternitz's suggestion that the hole could be used for this purpose seems to have been based on much later anecdotes about barbershop citterns,[58] one of the earliest French manuscript illustrations of a possible thumbhole-type neck shows the citole apparently suspended (Ill. 41).[59] Two roughly holly-leaf shaped instruments are illustrated; the chordophone with the possible thumbhole-type neck has the neck upwards whereas the instrument beside it, which probably has an unsupported neck, is shown neck downwards.[60] Lack of supporting evidence suggests that the thumbhole construction probably has some other function than to facilitate hanging.

That this type of neck construction might have been considered characteristic of this instrument type is suggested not only by the large number of thumbhole necks depicted in art but also by a literary reference to a figure carved like the head of a

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[55] Ephraim Segerman, 'A Short History of the Cittern', *GSJ*, 52 (1999), pp. 77-107 (p. 80).

[56] The two drawings in the *Petites Heures de Jean de Berry* (Ill. 90-91) are by the school of Jean Pucelle. Comparison with an earlier drawing of a citole by Jean Pucelle (fol. 103r of the *Breviary of Blanche de France*, Ill. 72), suggests that the later examples might derive from illustrations by Pucelle.

[57] The citole depicted in the Tickhill Psalter does not closely resemble any other depiction cited here (Ill. 101).

[58] Winternitz, *Musical Instruments of the Western World*, p. 47.

[59] Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1.f.A, frontispiece (Ill. 41).

[60] Since they are not in playing position, it is uncertain whether they are meant to represent a plucked instrument. The holly-leaf-shaped body outlines, the large round soundholes, and sizable end-projections indicate that they might be citoles. They seem more similar to each other than to the instrument that is shown being bowed.

citole (*Tailliéz au chief d'une citole*).[61] Although the *citole* is mentioned in a description of a dance performed at the tournament, which took place at Chauvency in 1285, the *citole* seems to be used to describe a prop of the dance, rather than an instrument to accompany it. This does indicate that the citole seems to have been considered to have a head different than that of a *viole*, the instrument that is played to accompany the dance. Although this is not explicit, it does suggest that the citole had a characteristic type of neck or head, which by being mentioned would clarify the description.

8.3.2 Pegboxes and Peg Insertion

In Iberia, the two types of pegbox seem to be shown in one early source but not thereafter. An interesting feature of the instruments depicted on fol. 89r of the Rylands Apocalypse is that both a flat pegbox and bent-back pegboxes appear to be shown on similar instruments (Ill. 6a and 6b).

The thumbhole-type neck seems to have been associated with anterior rather than lateral pegs. The strongest evidence for anterior peg insertion is offered by the citole in the British Museum as described in §6.

Many of the sculptures considered here have suffered damage to the peg-end, the majority of those that have not been damaged either show no detail of string attachment, such as at Norwich and Cley-next-the-Sea (Ill. 127 & 128) or anterior pegs. Thumbhole type-necks with anterior peg insertion are depicted at Exeter Cathedral (Ill. 134b), at Toro (West Portal Elder 1, 13 & 18, Ill. 31a, 31d, 31h), Laguardia (Ill. 36b) and at Pamplona (Ill. 37c). No examples of lateral pegs have been identified on clearly thumbhole citoles.

A few images that show lateral pegs but these appear to be associated with unsupported necks with sickle-shape pegboxes (Gloucester cathedral, Ill. 137)

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[61] (Text B.26) Although this is believed to recount the events of an actual tournament, which took place during the 1280s, the earliest surviving copy dates from the early fourteenth century. Jacques Bretel, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, ed. by Maurice Delbouille, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège (Paris: E. Droz, 1932), pp. 81-2.

A few manuscripts might also offer depictions of anterior pegs, one of the earliest of which, a French manuscript MS Avranches, BM, 222 fol. 9 (Ill. 40a) seems to show anterior pegs in a splayed arrangement.[62] In the prologue of the T codex of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* a citoler is shown tuning his instrument (Ill. 22). Although the heads of the peg appear beside the pegbox and could be interpreted as indicating lateral insertion, the player's hand, presumably, holding one of the peg heads, obscures part of the front of the pegbox. This looks quite awkward and would only occur if the player were reaching around to a peg sticking into the end of the pegbox rather than the side of it. A similar scene is shown in the prologue illustration of the E codex, except that the left-hand citoler appears to be using both hands for tuning (Ill. 19). Once again the citoler's hands are not shown beside the peghead but in front of it.

8.3.3 Finials

The necks of many sculptures are damaged or obscured making it difficult to determine what sort of finials might have been depicted. The majority of undamaged thumbhole necks terminate with an animal head finial, good examples of which can be seen on three sculptures on the west portal at Toro (Ills. 31a-i). A few thumbhole type necks terminate in simple scrolls (Cologne Cathedral, Ills. 58-9) and others seem to indicate unadorned neck ends (Cologne Cathedral, Ill. 67; Norwich Cathedral, Ill. 127; and Cley-next the Sea, Ill. 128). Schlesinger makes an interesting point that the use of animal head finials on instruments would have been regarded as graven images and would have forbidden by many Muslim sects.[63] Iconoclasm is certainly responsible for the damage to some English sculptures of citoles, suggesting in some cases that the representational head of the instrument was removed at the same time as the head of the player such as at Lawford (Ill. 135) and Sutton Valence (Ill. 138).

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[62] According to Buehler-McWilliams one of the British Museum's X-rays seems to show that the two extant filled pegs holes on the British Museum's citole were somewhat splayed, although I have not seen this X-ray yet. Personal communication.

[63] Schlesinger suggests that instruments with carved heads probably do not have Islamic origins. Kathleen Schlesinger, *The Precursors of The Violin Family: Records, Researches and Studies*, The Instruments of the Modern Orchestra and the Early Records of the Precursors of the Violin Family, 2 vols (London: William Reeves, 1910), II, p. 244.

8.4 FINGERBOARD AND FRETS

Most representations indicate fingerboards on the citole but the depiction of frets varies by region, not just in the manner in which they are depicted but also possibly in the pattern of frets shown. In English and northern French sources, frets most often appear in two-dimensional depictions because, as Remnant notes, 'details painted onto carvings have too often worn away, and if they did have frets these would only be visible now if they had been scratched on or built up in relief'.[64] Several Iberian sculptures show indications of carved frets.

The edges of the fingerboards on the Pamplona cloister angel (Ill. 37 a-c) and La Hiniesta Elder 13 (Ill. 32d-e) sculptures appear to show wide flat-topped frets with spaces in-between them. La Hiniesta elder 13 has both a raised fingerboard and wide rectangular frets raised above it. Due to the broken peg-head, only three frets remain. These are not regularly spaced, the first and second are closer together with a larger gap between the second and third. Larger block frets with narrower gaps between large block frets are shown at Valencia (Ill. 33a) and LaGuardia (Ill. 36a-c).

Allworth suggests that the frets depicted in fifteenth–century Italian sources fall into two types: those with a flat surface divided by gaps and others with a raised trailing edge and no space between them.[65] There is no sculptural evidence for the use of frets with a raised trailing edge on the distinct-necked waisted chordophones outside of Italy.

8.4.1 DOUBLE FRETS

A significant number of fourteenth-century English and French depictions of citoles seem to show an unusual fretting pattern on the fingerboard. The fingerboards on which they are shown also tend to be quite long, extending to approximately half of the vibrating string length. The images show irregularly spaced pairs of lines, seem to depict either the spaces between quite wide frets or pairs of narrow frets. These

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[64] Mary Remnant, 'The Use of Frets on Rebecs and Medieval Fiddles', *GSJ*, 21 (1968), pp. 146-51 (p. 147).

[65] Christopher Allworth, 'Comm. 97: Cetra et Cetera', *Fellowship of Makers and Restorers of Historical Instruments Bulletin and Communications*, 10 (1978), p. 26.

pairs of frets are shown in examples such as the Ormesby Psalter, Lincoln Cathedral stained glass, De Lisle Psalter and Queen Mary Psalters.

In the E codex of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the illustration accompanying Cantiga CL seems to depict a citole with double frets (Ill. 21), whereas the other three in the same manuscript seem to indicate gapped frets. That these are gapped frets is suggested both by the dark shading and the uneven spacing shown in Cantiga X (Ill. 20), and the right hand citole in the prologue image (Ill. 19). The citole, which appears to show double frets might, however, depict gaps from which the shading was omitted.

8.5 OVERALL DEPTH TAPER, SIDES AND BACK

Stauder suggests that depth taper is a characteristic feature but his sources favour vase-shaped Iberian examples.[66] Virtually all of the Iberian sculptural depictions of vase-shaped instruments show a pronounced lengthways taper. The earliest depiction of a distinct taper seems to be on the late twelfth-century north portal of the Collegiate church in Toro (Ills. 8b & 8e). Other Iberian sculptures of a similar period displaying instruments that are not vase-shaped and which do not have a tapering body depth include: Santiago Cathedral Elder 9 & 19 (Ills. 174a-c); Estella Elder 2 (Ill. 175c), and Portomarin Elder 2 (Ill. 9c).[67] The two thirteenth-century Iberian depictions that are not strictly vase-shaped (Burgos Elder 013, Ills. 11d-f and León West Elder 5, Ills. 14a-c) also do not show the overall taper. That these two might represent a distinct variant is suggested since they are both shown in proximity to depictions of larger vase-shaped instruments showing a distinct taper (Burgos Elder M5, Ill. 11a and León South Elder 16, Ill. 13c).

The Elder at Rheims (Ills. 42a & c) seems to play an instrument with a concave back to accommodate the curve of his body. Not disrupting the shape of the player's body might be an artistic choice. The citoles held by two angels at Cologne cathedral (Ills. 58-59a) also show this feature but smaller bas-relief sculptures, such as the hybrid at

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[66] Wilhelm Stauder, 'Zur Entwicklung der Cister', in *Renaissance-Studien Helmuth Osthoff zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979), pp. 223-55.
[67] The small size, coarse stone and degradation of the figures at Carboeiro makes it difficult to determine the relative depth of the instruments held by of Elder 11 and 12 (Ill. 7a-b).

Rouen cathedral (Ill. 47a) or the Cologne cathedral bench arm rest (Ill. 68a) and paintings do not.

Buehler-McWilliams has proposed a theory that the apparent visual disparity of the thin, parallel sides and deep peg end depicted in the De Lisle Psalter might be caused by a keel-shaped back (like that of the BM citole).[68] This theory seems to be supported by the depiction of the angel in bay six of Tewkesbury Abbey (Ill. 129a).

Fleiner and others describe the back of the citole as 'flat'.[69] The British Museum's citole, however, clearly does not have a flat back. It may be that the descriptor 'flat' is used to indicate that, unlike the gittern or lute, the back of the citole is not semi-circular or vaulted in cross-section. Given the conventions of depiction for two-dimensional representation, often no evidence regarding the back is discernable. In sculpture, the most common playing position for the citole is held against the chest obscuring any details of the back. Fortunately, some sculptures either change the position of the player or the position of the instrument giving clues as to whether or not the back was 'flat'.

The unusual position in which Elder 18 at Toro (Ill. 31g) holds his instrument offers a glimpse of the back. In this case, both the front and back display a noticeable amount of curvature. The reduction in the height of the sides at the widest point of the lower bout compliments the curves of the front and back. The front appears to be straight along its length but curved laterally in the manner of a flat plane that has been bent. The back however seems to curve both in length and width. Contrarily, at Valencia, the unusual almost Giotto-like swooping position of the angel (Ill. 33a) offers a full-profile view of the citole, displaying both a back and front that are virtually flat with only a slight curvature at the widest point. La Hiniesta Elder 2 (Ill. 32a-c), although seriously degraded, shows a similar bent-plane front and curved back to Toro Elder 18 (Ill. 31g-i). La Hiniesta Elder 13 (Ill. 31d-f), however, holds an instrument that seems to have a flat front and back akin to that at Valencia.

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[68] Verbal communication 12 February 2007.
[69] Carey Fleiner, 'Dulcet Tones Changing a Gittern into a Citole', *British Museum Magazine*, 53 (2005), p. 45.

8.6 BRIDGE TYPE AND PLACEMENT

When depicted, the bridge type and placement is reasonably standard regardless of geographical region. Virtually all of the depictions show the band of strings crossing a relatively low, wide bridge, which is placed in the lower third of the soundboard.

Both flat-topped and curved bridges are displayed. A curved, single-footed, bridge appears in the West Rose of Rheims.[70] A two-footed bridge over which the strings pass but which also shows a strongly curved top is depicted in a choir stall wall painting from Cologne Cathedral (Ill. 82). The most common type of bridge seems to have been triangular in section with a single foot.[71]

8.6.1 SECONDARY BRIDGES

The case for secondary bridges on the citole is unresolved. It has been suggested that a second bridge like structure might have been placed at the approximate mid-point of the strings. Although this feature arguably might occur in two manuscript illustrations,[72] the suggestion that some citoles might have had a secondary buzzing bridge arises from images that are not medieval. Eitschberger mentions the 'Schnarrsteg' (buzzing bridge)[73] based on Young's analysis of two sculptures on the west façade of Strasbourg cathedral and his high-quality photos.[74] The sculptures examined, however, appear to be modern replacements. The carvings they replaced, which were moved to the Musée de l'Œuvre Notre-Dame Strasbourg, possibly date from the nineteenth century. The west façade was severely damaged in 1793 and the five phases of extensive restoration and replacement of west façade figures were

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[70] Appendix B, Ill. 49a.

[71] This feature is especially clearly depicted in Iberian sculpture (Ills. 8a, 12a, 32e) and at Exeter Cathedral (Ill. 134a).

[72] Soundboard features that might indicate secondary bridge appear in two English manuscript illustrations, the Gorleston Psalter, (London, BL, Add. 49622, fol. 107v (Ill. 126)) and the Holkham Hall Pseudo-Aristotle, 'De secretis secretorum,' (London, BL MS Add. 47680, fol. 16v. (not in appendix) see, James, ed., Milemete, plates unnumbered) but these are not obvious.

[73] Astrid Eitschberger, Musikinstrumente in höfischen Romanen des deutschen Mittelalters, Imagines medii aevi: interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Mittelalterforschung (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1999), p. 91.

[74] Crawford Young, ' Zur Klassifikation und Ikonographischen Interpretation Mittelalterlicher Zupfinstrumente', Basler Jahrbuch Für Historische Musikpraxis, 8 (1984), pp. 67- 104.p. 99. Also Stauder, 'Zur Entwicklung der Cister', Ill.9, p.235.

undertaken between 1811 and 1910.[75] The only other clear depiction of a citole with a secondary bridge is a modern drawing, based on an unspecified original, published by Viollet-Le-Duc in 1871.[76] The current left-hand citole on the Strasbourg portal gable resembles, rather too closely, Viollet-le-Duc's drawing. The position of Viollet-le-duc's musician indicates that the sketch was not drawn from the Strasbourg carvings, which suggests that the drawing might have been used as a reference to recreate a damaged or lost instrument.[77] The other citole, on the right-hand side of the gable, with the thumbhole-type neck, is in many ways a more credible instrument, displaying some details that are supported by comparison with medieval sources,[78] but seems to have acquired the secondary bridge in the late twentieth century. The thumbhole citole statue does not show a secondary bridge in photographs taken during the first half of the twentieth century although it is clearly shown in a photo reproduced by Stauder in 1979, in which the missing right hand has been replaced and the damage to the soundboard repaired.[79] Although some fourteenth-century Italian paintings depict what seem to be bowed instruments displaying a 'second bridge fitted to the instrument just below the end of the fingerboard',[80] no reliable medieval source has been identified indicating a secondary bridge on a citole.

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[75] Lehni comments that in the nineteenth century 'restorers drew on scant information provided by engravings'. Many of these anachronistic figures were replaced with duplicates in 1983. Roger Lehni, 'Strasbourg, §III: Cathedral', in *Grove Dictionary of Art*, ed. by J. Turner (New York MacMillan, 1996), pp. 753-8.

[76] E. Viollet-Le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné de Mobilier Français: De L'epoque Carlovingienne a la Renaissance*, 6 vols (Paris: V. A. Morel, 1871), II, p. 253.

[77] An archive photo shows this citoler in storage c. 1926 with a severely worn face but a crisply carved instrument. Unfortunately, due to the angle of the photograph it is not possible to determine if the second bridge is present. Marburg Bild Archive image #25 313.

[78] The more unusual details such as the thumbhole-neck and anterior peg placement which suggest that, if this is not a medieval carving, it was faithfully copied from a medieval sculpture. Although they are common features on citoles they were not often employed on later chordophones. Young's photograph of the peg placement on the copy led me to look for anterior pegholes on the British Museum's citole.

[79] Hortense Panum, *Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages: Their Evolution and Development*, trans. by Jeffrey Pulver (London: William Reeves, 1940), fig 463. and Winternitz, *Musical Instruments of the Western World*, plate 15c, both reproduce images of this citoler showing significant damage. The Marburg Bild Archive image #775 308 indicates that restoration was done to restore the musicians right hand and the lower portion of the soundboard sometime before 1960. Stauder shows an almost profile view of the sculpture with restored hand and soundboard: Stauder, 'Zur Entwicklung der Cister', Ill. 9, p. 235.

[80] Howard Mayer Brown, 'The Trecento Fiddle and Its Bridges', *Early Music*, 17 (1989), pp. 309-29 (p. 322).

8.7 PLECTRA

The type of plectrum associated with the citole tends to be large, often cylindrical and occasionally carved into a decorative shape. Although it is difficult to determine the cross-sectional shape of plectra in two-dimensional images, the tip of the plectrum shown in the wall painting at Cologne cathedral is depicted as an oval (Ill. 82), which might indicate that it is meant to show a cylindrical plectrum cut at an angle. Some sculptural images, although the tip of the plectrum is obscured, show this round cross-section held between the player's (Toro west portal, Ills. 31e and Ill. 31k; Burgo de Osma, Ill. 17a; and Norwich Cathedral, Ill. 127). Some other depictions appear to show rectangular section plectra (Tewkesbury, Ill. 129a and Lincoln, Ill. 140b).

The forked plectrum shown on folio 14v of *The Treatise of Walter de Milemete* might be dismissed as an error in depiction,[81] but a plectrum shown in the hands of a hybrid in a fourteenth-century Bible from Lorraine (MS Nancy BM. 3, fol. 215v) also seems to display a split tip.[82] The plectrum in the Lorraine Bible appears to have three sections: the split-tip mentioned above, a main shaft and a terminal ring which is wider than the shaft of the plectrum; the attachment string appears to be connected to this ring. Given that the split-tip feature appears in different geographical areas, suggests that there might be some accuracy to this detail.

Another feature that indicates that the plectra were probably made of a durable material is that, in a number of cases, they are attached to a string. At least five plectra show this feature but, other than being attached to a string, they share few other details. MS Brussels, KBR, 21069, fol. 39 shows an arrow-shaped plectrum with string tied around the shaft (Ill. 3b) seemingly tied to the neck of the instrument. The depiction of the citoler in the Lorraine Bible (MS Nancy, BM, 3, fol. 215v) is very similar, in many ways, to an image in a Bible from Rheims (Ill. 46); both show a plectrum that terminates in a large ring, which is wider than the shaft of the plectrum. San Millan (Ill. 4b) has a tapered red plectrum with a red string inserted into the end. MS Cambrai 190 fol. 136v (Ill. 45) shows a parallel-sided

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[81] James, ed., *Milemete*, plates unnumbered.
[82] Inital 'A' *Adhar*, fourteenth century Bible from Lorraine, Nancy Bibl. Municipale MS 3, fol. 215v (not in appendix). Ravenel, 'Instruments à cordes', p. 175, fig. 2.

plectrum with a string apparently inserted into the end. This attachment by a string indicates that the plectrum was made of a material sturdy enough that a string could be attached to it and that it was probably used multiple times.

8.8 Strings and Stringing Material

Two texts have been associated with the stringing material of the citole; one mentions metal wire and the other gut but both are unreliable. Johannes Tinctoris' description, in *De Inventione et usu musicae*,[83] of the *cetula* with four strings of *enee* (*aenee*, brass/copper) or *calibee* (*chalybs*, iron/steel) was not written until the end of the fifteenth century and might refer to a different instrument type.[84] Jehan de Brie's *Le Bon Berger*,[85] which lists *cytholes* among the musical instruments for which the small intestines of sheep are used as strings,[86] was written during the fourteenth century but no medieval copy is known to survive. The term *citole* was still well known in northern France in 1379,[87] and might have been included by Jehan de Brie but, as discussed previously, a single name in a list can easily be added or altered by a later scribe.[88]

Although it does not clarify the stringing material, Rutebeuf's *Le Pet Au Vilain* gives a clue as to relative tension. When the peasant's distended abdomen becomes quite tight it is described as 'as taut as a citole string'.[89] Other longitudinal stiffening features present on the British Museum's citole, such as the keel-shaped back and thumbhole neck, seem to indicate that the instrument may have been strung with comparatively high-tension string.

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[83] Anthony Baines, 'Fifteenth-century Instruments in Tinctoris's "De Inventione et Usu Musicae"', *GSJ*, 3 (1950), pp. 19-26 (pp. 23 and 25). (Text, D.13).

[84] See §9.3 below.

[85] Jehan de Brie and Paul L. Jacob, *Le Bon Berger: ou le vray régime et gouvernement des bergers et bergères, composé par le rustique Jehan de Brie, le bon berger. Réimprimé sur l'édition de Paris (1541)* (Paris: Liseux, 1879), p. 35. (Text, B.105) See also Page, *Voices*, pp. 241-2.

[86] It can be assumed that the 'menues cordes des boyaux' refers to sheep since the treatise contains practical shepherding information.

[87] Supposedly the work was written for Charles V. Manuscripts dating from the 1370s, which including citole terms, have survived for contemporaneous works by Guillaume de Machaut and Nicole Oresme, both of whom were also associated with Charles V.

[88] See §5.1.1 above.

[89] (Text, B.12) Raymond Eichmann and John Duval, *The French Fabliau B.N. MS. 837*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, 2 vols (New York and London: Garland, 1985), II, pp. 242-45.

Bourdon strings, seem to have been rare. They have not been identified on holly-leaf shaped instruments but seem to appear only on instruments with oval body–outlines such as shown in the *Statutae Anglica* (Ill. 186) and several spatulate instruments at Assisi (Ill. 148, 149, 151, 156, 157, 160, 161).

8.9 CITOLES OR PLUCKED FIDDLES?

Since several of Edward III's musicians seem to have played both the *citole* and *vielle*, it seems relevant to ask whether there were any differences between these instruments except the method of playing. If there were no differences, in structure or stringing, then these versatile musicians would only have needed one instrument rather than two separate ones. Young remarks that some distinct-necked waisted chordophones which exhibit no body-depth taper and which are now commonly called 'plucked fiddles', might be a second type of *citole*.[90] These examples might depict exactly that: instruments that would normally be bowed being played by plucking. Details of the stringing and bridge indicate that a few of these shallow-bodied instrument with unsupported neck and disc-type pegbox might in fact be 'plucked fiddles' and not citoles.

Although some medieval plucked and bowed distinct-necked chordophones might resemble one another, the physics governing sound production are different for sustained vibration (bowing) and vibration with rapid decay (plucking). It appears that by the thirteenth century aspects of stringing and bridge placement reflect these differences. Courses with multiple strings, such as those that are often present on depictions of citoles,[91] would be less suitable for bowing. Long tailpieces, which appear frequently on bowed instruments, to help dampen unwanted vibration behind the bridge, are not common on citoles; only two examples seem to show both a bridge and a tailpiece (Ills. 95 and 137).[92]

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[90] Young offers the names *cetra* and *viola* for this type of 'gezupfte Fiedeln' and the B.2 physical characteristics. C. Young, 'Klassifikation' (1984), p. 76.

[91] The retable of San Millán clearly shows double stringing. A number of images show half as many strings as pegs, suggesting double stringing: Toro Elder 1 shows 3 strings, 5 pegs (Ill. 31a-c); Toro Elder 18 shows 3 strings 5 pegs (Ill. 31g-i), Lincoln cathedral stained glass shows 6 strings, 12 pegs (Ill. 140).

[92] Most examples that show what appears to be a tailpiece have no indication of a bridge suggesting that this might indicate that this element acts as bridge (Ills. 11, 39, 96, 100, 117, and 120).

Although Young suggests that this 'second type of citole', the plucked fiddle type, is occasionally paired with a thumbhole citole of similar frontal-form,[93] the two examples that he cites are somewhat flawed. This odd-couple is supposedly found at Strasbourg Cathedral; two sculptures, one of which displays the characteristics of Young's B.1 type and the other his B.2 type do occur, but due to numerous phases of damage, repair and replacement of sculptures on the west façade, the authenticity and accuracy of these depictions is questionable.[94] Young also cites the two large statues of angelic citolers in the choir of the Cathedral in Cologne, above the Apostles Phillip and Bartholomew as displaying this dissimilar pairing. The two statues, which are roughly opposite one another across the choir, do not form an obvious duo, and do not seem to be differentiated from the larger group of musicians. Most crucially, both appear to have thumbhole-type necks, although one is not as explicit as the other.[95] Depictions of holly-leaf-shaped instruments do exhibit both thumbhole and unsupported necks but these variants seem to appear individually, not in conjunction as a contrasting pair.

The typical set-up of citoles indicates that they would not have been efficient for bowing, especially those with a thumbhole neck and distinct body-depth taper. In many of the depictions of citoles, where they appear with vielles, the vielles are shallow and oval-bodied.[96] In the thirteenth century the typical shape for a vielle seems to have been a large elongated oval with a pair of, often c-shaped, lateral soundholes and a long tailpiece.[97] This might be an artistic convention to more clearly distinguish the instrument types but the bridge placement is also significantly different. There are thirteenth-century depictions of distinct-necked non-oval bodied chordophones being bowed, although these are somewhat rare. During the course of the fourteenth century, when oval-bodied lutes and piriform gitterns gradually gain

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[93] C. Young, 'Klassifikation' (1984), p. 76.
[94] A paraphrase of these criteria can be found above in §2.1.2 'Modern Authorities'. See also C. Young, 'Klassifikation' (1984), p. 69.
[95] The two citoles are very similar in the manner in which the tapering of the body-depth is depicted. The body is relatively shallow, but at the neck the depth flares rapidly. The strange concave back that this creates might be an artistic choice, like the convex fronts of these instruments along which the strings bow improbably outwards, rather than a representation of contemporaneous instrument morphology.
[96] The volume fluctuation caused by in- and out-of-phase vibration as well as the subtle variations in pitch between unison strung courses with multiple strings are less obtrusive on plucked instruments where the vibrations have short duration.
[97] As shown in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* MSS.

precedence as the most commonly depicted plucked instruments, *a braccio* bowed instruments with incurving sides are depicted more frequently. A marginal musician in the Litlyngton Missal bows a holly-leaf shaped instrument that has many of the characteristics of a citole.[98] It is held almost horizontally across the player's chest, the strings cross over the bridge, which is placed in the lower half of the body, and attach to a large rounded end-protuberance. The bridge placement seems to be a more revealing element in distinguishing citoles from vielles. A notable exception to the usual placement of the bridge is seen at Lincoln Cathedral. Although the Lincoln choir angel is cited as recording one of the earliest English depictions of a distinct-necked plucked chordophone with a non-oval body outline, it shows enough difference in morphological detail to indicate that this might be a bowed instrument being plucked.[99] Given that most of the representations of plucked distinct-neck chordophones show consistency in details such as bridge placement and soundhole location, it seems likely that citoles were discernibly different from bowed instrument in certain structural details, and that atypical 'citoles' might truly be 'plucked fiddles'.[100]

8.10 SUMMARY OF TYPICAL CHARACTERISTICS BY REGION

The morphology of citoles seems to show some regional trends, although these are not absolute and vary somewhat by century. Iberian citoles are the easiest to classify: they are almost always vase-shaped in outline with a pronounced body-depth taper, bent back pegbox consistent in depth with that taper. The neck may be either supported showing a thumbhole or be unsupported, but in either case they

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[98] London, Westminster Abbey, Lytlyngton Missal, dated 1383-4. See Mary Remnant, *English Bowed Instruments from Anglo-Saxon to Tudor Times*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), plate 105.

[99] (Ill. 95) The instrument that the Lincoln example most closely resembles is a bowed instrument in the Howard Psalter, which has a similar the type of pegbox, tailpiece, body-outline, and soundhole placement: Howard Psalter and Hours: London, BL, Arundel 83 part 1, fol. 55v, East Anglian, c. 1310-1320. This Psalter also contains two depictions of distinct-necked plucked chordophones with non-oval bodies, which have typical features for a citole such as animal head finials, large round soundholes and trefoil end-protuberances, on fols 33v and 63r (Ills. 118 and 119). Given that the Lincoln Angel choir sculpture has so many features that are unusual for citoles (unsupported neck with frontal pegs, c-shaped sound holes, high central bridge and long tailpiece) it seems that this might be an example of a 'plucked fiddle'.

[100] The miserichord at Lavenham (Ill. 192), shows two monstrous musicians one who plays the bellows and tongs in the manner of a violin and the other plucks and instrument that, in shape and playing method, should be classified as a citole but the late date and structural similarities to bowed instruments of time suggest that this is a fiddle being plucked.

increase markedly in depth. This pronounced longitudinal taper in depth, and the thumbhole-type neck, details which appear most frequently in Iberian sculpture, also occur on statues in England, Germany, France, and Aquitaine, as well as manuscript illustrations from Flanders and France and a late stained glass window from England.[101] It is in body outline and end-projection that citoles show the strongest regional characteristics. In contrast to the almost ubiquitous vase-shaped bodies of Iberian citoles c.1230-1350, which favour rounded end-projection instead of trefoil-shaped ones, thirteenth-century French and Flemish citoles are usually depicted as having holly-leaf shaped or hourglass-shaped bodies, and trefoil-shaped end projections are common. The vast majority of German citoles are holly-leaf-shaped, with or without decorative projections at the corners. Although a few German examples display trefoil end-projections (Cologne Cathedral, Ill. 59 and Prüm Missal, Ill. 73), it is more common for the lower end of the body to come to a blunt point (Cologne Cathedral, Ill. 58). On French and Flemish citoles, the shape and details of the upper and lower bouts usually agree with each other; so, if the upper bouts are pointed but ending in a rounded knob, the lower bouts will also be pointed and end with a rounded knob.[102] Exceptions to this in French art are instruments with fleury upper bout corners, and rounded or pointed lower bout corners. Although these are most common in after the third quarter of the thirteenth century, MS Avranches, BM 0222, fol. 9 (Ill. 40) seems to show an early example of decorated upper corners. Depictions of English citoles display the greatest variety of body outlines but almost always display a trefoil-shaped end projection. Throughout this period there are many examples of vase-shaped, holly-leaf, or almost hexagonal citole body outlines in England, as well as a large number of vase shaped instruments with fleury upper bout corners. Of the two earliest English sculptures one shows a small a holly-leaf shaped instrument (Ill. 92) and the other a large vase-shaped instrument (Ill. 93). Because these are later in date than the earliest Iberian or French depictions, these early English depictions might show the influence of both of these regional styles.

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[101] Stauder, 'Zur Entwicklung der Cister', pp. 223-55
[102] As shown by the Elder at Rheims Cathedral (App. B, Ills. 42a-c).

9. CITOLE PLAYERS IN LITERATURE AND ART – CONTEMPORANEOUS SETTINGS

A few depictions of citolers in art and literature portray events recognizable to the audience as of their own time and place. Although citolers in literature, painting and sculpture appear most frequently in scenes that are steeped in symbolism, there are some that are meant to relate true-to-life events. While the sources considered in this section might, or might not, offer an accurate reportage of the events, they describe the citole within situations credible and familiar to their audience. Most of these have a contemporaneous setting, occur in the recent past or, as with the Arthurian tales, present an idealized historical fiction mirroring contemporaneous medieval society. Although none of these texts are journalistic, some do employ first-person narration. Text sources often clearly describe the time period, location, and identity of the citole player. Images are often less explicit with regard to these details because human instrumentalists, especially single figures, can be dissociated from context. In portrayals of contemporaneous situations, the citole is most often played by court musicians and high-status itinerant performers, and less often by women, students, prisoners, and nobility.

9.1 MINSTRELS AND THE SOCIAL POSITION OF INSTRUMENTALISTS

Since most of the citole players in literature are referred to as *menestral, jogelour, joglar,* or *jograr,* the social position associated with these terms must be considered. Page,[1] Cabré[2] and Chambers[3] discuss the variable meanings for the terms associated with performers and the ways in which, during the course of the thirteenth century, playing a stringed instrument gradually became a more socially accepted profession. Robert of Courson, c.1208-1213 implies that instrumentalists, particularly the string players living by their songs, had a moral superiority over non-musical *joculatores* and *histriones.*[4] William of Auxerre in his argument for the permissibility of enjoying music and making payment to performers, c.1220, explains that, *ystriones* are not necessarily sinful, since the image of God can be seen in them, and it is not

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[1] Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical life and ideas in France 1100-1300* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1989), pp. 8-41 & 67-68.
[2] Miriam Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona and his Poetic Traditions* (London: Tamesis, 1999), pp. 55-59.
[3] Edmund Kerchever Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1996), pp. 42-69.
[4] '...citharedo... viventi tamen ex canticis et cithara', C. Page, *Owl and the Nightingale* (1989), pp. 194-6.

sinful to give (payment) to a performer if he inspires awe in the works of God; however, any performer, even an instrumentalist, who provokes a love of worldly things commits sin.[5] This concept is reflected in the peril of music's sensuality as spoken of in Latini's *Tresor* Book II, xxxxvi:[6]

> But some pleasures are an obstacle to other works, just as the one who derives pleasure from the sound of [the citole] often forgets what he has in his hands, and the extent to which this happens depends on the extent of the pleasure. Pleasure which is derived from noble works is very praiseworthy, and one should carefully avoid vile things.

Page suggests that part of the rise in the acceptance of instrumentalists, especially string players, was their association with the *chanson de geste*.[7] The strongest elevating association was surely that of King David who, as psalmist, played a stringed instrument and sang.[8]

Although some later works berate *joglars* for having neither skill nor moral rectitude,[9] it is only gradually that this term acquires a derogatory connotation.[10] The virtuous itinerant performer who is the hero of Raimon Vidal's early thirteenth-century *Abril issia* is repeatedly referred to as a *joglar*.[11] The late thirteenth-century *Des Taboureurs*, apparently written by a vielle player, seems to suggest that players of wind and percussion instruments, such as *tabore, chalemele, fleeustes, flajos* and *musele*, were of lower status than musicians who played the vielle, but he makes no distinction between *jougleurs* and *menestrels*.[12] In *Des Deux Bordéors Ribauz* and the response to it, written in the late thirteenth century, the authors argue over whether the other is worthy to be considered a *menestereus* but the author of the

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[5] C. Page, *Owl and the Nightingale* (1989), pp.198-200.

[6] 'Mais aucun delit enpechent les autres oevres; car cil ki se delite au son d'une citole oublie sovent çou k'il a entre ses mains, c'est poi et assés, selonc ce que li delis est grans. Delis ki est de nobles oevres fet mout a loer; delit de villes choses doit on mout deguerpir...' Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor*, ed. by Francis J. Carmody (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948), p. 219.

[7] C. Page, *Owl and the Nightingale* (1989), pp. 69-73.

[8] Allegedly Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, justified keeping a harper by citing King David as precedent. Chambers, *Mediæval Stage*, p. 56, footnote 2.

[9] Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona*, pp. 56-7.

[10] The historiography of modern usage is discussed in L. M. Wright, 'Misconceptions Concerning the Troubadours, Trouvères and Minstrels', *Music and Letters*, 48 (1967), pp. 35-39.

[11] C. Page, *Owl and the Nightingale* (1989), pp. 46-59.

[12] MS Paris, BnF, fr. 837, fol. 278c-279d. Anonymous, 'Des Taboureurs', in *Jongleurs et trouvères*, ed. by Achille Jubinal (Paris: Merklein, 1835), pp. 164-9.

response does not hesitate to call himself a *juglerres de viele*.[13] In the Aragonese court during the second half of the thirteenth century, the poet Cerverí de Girona does not seem to recognise *juglar* as an insult, often referring to himself as such and suggesting that if composing is *juglaria* then he and his patron, the King, Pere el Gran, are the same sort of *juglar*.[14] He uses the term in a negative manner only when insulting Bernart de Rovenac whom he calls half a *juglar* because he only writes half *sirventes*.[15] Authors such as Baudouin de Condé and Watriquet de Couvin, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, suggest that there is a distinction between the cultivated masters of minstrelsy, who play *viele* well and sing with good voice,[16] and the vulgar *jangleor*.[17] In the 1341 letter to the provost of the city of Paris, registering the statutes of the minstrels' guild, the members of the guild identify themselves as 'the *menestrels*, and *menestrelles, jongleurs*, and *jongleresses* living in the city of Paris'. Although the performers' use of these terms indicates that there was some understood distinction between *menestrel* and *jongleur*, neither carries an overtly negative connotation.[18]

The modern perception that *trobaires* were composers while *jogrars* merely performed is based partly on Giraud de Riquier's verse *Supplicatio* (dated 1274)[19] and the responding *Declaratio* (dated 1275).[20] The *Declaratio*, attributed to Alfonso

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[13] 'Tu n'es mie menestereus', Anonymous, 'Deus Bordeors Ribauz', in *Le jongleur par lui-même: choix de dits et de fabliaux*, ed. by Willem Noomen (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), pp. 30 & 42.
[14] 'Si motz laçan trobars es juglaria/ eu e·l rey aut n'em juglar d'una guia' Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona*, p. 24.
[15] 'meg julgar': Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona*, p. 6.
[16] 'Maistres de sa menestrandie, qui bien viele ou ki bien die de bouce.' Baudouin de Condé, 'Li contes des Hiraus', in *Dits et Contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Conde*, ed. by Auguste Scheler, 3 vols (Bruxelles: Victor Devaux 1866), I, p 154.
[17] MS Paris, Arsenal, fol. 82-84, vv.85-86 'Menestrel qui veut son droit faire, Ne doit le jangleor contrefaire, mais en sa bouche avoir tous dis, Douces paroles et biaus dis, Estre nes, vivre purement.' Watriquet de Couvin, 'Dis du fol menestrel' in *Dits de Watriquet de Couvin; Publiés pour la première fois d'apres les manuscrits de Paris et de Bruxelles*, ed. by Aug. Scheler (Bruxelles: Devaux, 1868), p. 369.
[18] The later change of the street name where the minstrels' guild was located, from *rue aus Jugléeurs* to *rue des Ménétries*, might indicate a change in popular perception of these titles but I have not verified the date of this change. In 1341, it was still *rue aus Jugléeurs*. Kay Brainerd Slocum, 'Confrérie, Bruderschaft and the Guild: the formation of musicians' fraternal organizations in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Europe', *Early Music History*, 14 (1995), pp. 263-4.
[19] MS 'R': Paris, BnF, fr. 22543; Occitan; fourteenth century, fols 116v, col. 6 -117v, col. 5. Transcribed in Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, *La Supplica di Giraut Riquier e la Risposta di Alfonso X di Castiglia*, Studi Medio-Latini e Volgari (Bologna: Libreria Antiquaria Palmaverde, 1966), pp. 49-72.
[20] MS 'R': BnF, fr. 22543, fols 117v, col. 5 – 118r, col 4. Transcribed in Pizzorusso, *La Supplica Di Giraut Riquier*, pp. 98-109.

X,[21] suggests that although *joglar* was used as a catch-all term in Occitan, the use of terms was better ordered in Castile.[22] The distinctions mentioned in the *Declaratio* have often been simplified to: *doctors de trobar*, who have the greatest level of learning and skill; *trobaires*, the composers of lyrics and melodies; *jogrars*, instrumentalists who performed these compositions, and *bufos*, common entertainers of all varieties. The *Declaratio* describes a more subtle social hierarchy, based on refinement of manners as well as accomplishments. *Jogrars* in this case are described as decorous courtly performers. While some merely perform the compositions of others, *jograr* who compose are vaunted as worthy of even greater honour.[23] Poems attributed to two *citolon* playing jogrars of that period have survived.[24] That there was some discernable distinction in status between *jograr* and *trobar* is attested to in several antiphonal works by Joan Garcia de Guilhade and the aspirational citolon-playing *jograr* Lourenço, who desired to be considered a *trobar*.[25]

One late reference seems to hint that the term *citoler* might have been used as a synonym for *minstrel*, but the events in this passage are unclear. In an early-fifteenth century copy of *The Awntyrs off Arthur at Terne Waltheyre*, two *setolers* enter with a *symballe*.[26] Either this describes a pair of citole-players entering with a third musician who is playing the cymbal, or the two citolers are in charge of the *symballe*, or the two enter when a cymbal has been sounded.

Since descriptors such as *joglar* and *menestrel* do not in themselves clarify social position, it is necessary to look at the internal context of the work in which *citole*-related terms appear. As well as court entertainers, like those described in §4.8,

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[21] The reply is widely believed to have been authored by Guirat de Riquier since it is also in versified Occitan. Since Giraut Riquier was known to have been a frequent visitor to the Court of Castile this does not neccesarily undermine the veracity of the information contained therein.

[22] Lines 150-190: Pizzorusso, *La Supplica Di Giraut Riquier*, pp. 102-3.

[23] Lines 222-59.

[24] Notably Lopo and Laurenço discussed below.

[25] Lourenço's aspirations are described in poems by Joan Garcia de Guilhade (CBN. 1495/CV. 1106) & (CBN. 1497/CV. 1107) and at least one tenso with alternating verses by Joan Garcia de Guilhade and Lourenço (CBN 1493,/CV1104). Manuel Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer dos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses*, Colección filolóxica, 2nd edn (Vigo: Editorial Galaxia, 1970), pp. 331-2.

[26] (App. A, B.71a) MS Lincoln Cathedral 91. Anonymous, 'The Awntyrs off Arthur at Terne Waltheyre', in *Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas*, ed. by François Joseph Amours (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1897), pp. 115-71, p. 143.

players of the citole in literature include itinerant musicians. Even among the sometimes-derided itinerant minstrels, social status varied greatly.

9.1.1 THE ITINERANT MINSTREL DISGUISES OF JOHAN DE RAMPAYNE

The story of Fulk Fitz Warin both describes the citole as an instrument of joglerie and offers insight into the varying status of itinerant musicians.[27] Although based on the framework of historical events, this work should be considered an ancestral romance rather than a journalistic account.[28] The surviving early fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman manuscript, MS London, BL, Royal 12. C.XII, contains what is believed to be a prose paraphrase of a lost thirteenth-century couplet romance based on the oral tradition of the Fitz Warin family.[29] Hathaway comments that,

> In the thirteenth century, the boundaries between chronicle and romance were not clearly drawn; and the poet, in decorating a solid historical core with folklore motifs, and in striving towards an imaginative reconstruction of the past, reveals a debt to the early medieval conception of history as a work of art.[30]

Although this story of Fulk Fitz Warin is not an unimpeachable record of historical events, it is very enlightening about what the author considered to be the symbols of minstrelsy.[31]

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[27] Thomas Wright, *The History of Fulk Fitz Warine, An Outlawed Baron in the Reign of King John, edited from a manuscript in the British Museum, with an English translation and explanatory and illustrative notes* (London: Printed for the Warton Club, 1855), pp. 93 & 109.

[28] Stevenson verifies some of the events by comparison with entries in the Close Rolls but as T. Wright comments, the local places around Ludlow are accurately described but the dating of events is somewhat muddled. Wright also suggests that the story must date from before 1264 since it omits to mention the death of Fulk's son, also called Fulk, at the decisive battle of Lewes. Anonymous, 'The Legend of Fulk Fitz-Warin', in *Radulphi De Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. by Josephus Stevenson (London: Longman, Trübner and others, 1875), p. xxii, T. Wright, *The History of Fulk Fitz Warine*, (1855), pp xiv-xv.

[29] An early English verse text, also believed to derive from the same source was known to John Leland, Royal Antiquary to Henry VIII, who wrote a synopsis of *'Thinges excerptid owte of an old Englifh boke yn Ryme of the Gestes of Guarine, and his Sunnes.'[29]* This abbreviated recounting does not include any mention of instruments. It impossible to verify the date of the non-surviving works nor whether it contained any reference to citole.

[30] E. J. Hathaway, and others, *Fouke Le Fitz Waryn*, Anglo-Norman Texts (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society and Basil Blackwell, 1975), p. xxxvii.

[31] As Lawrence comments, 'Analysis of the signs that a character appropriates in order to be recognised as a minstrel, and that the other characters in the narrative interpret and accept as indicators of the minstrel, reveal an author's idea of the traits and qualities of the minstrel figure.' Marilyn Lawrence, 'The Protean Performer: defining minstrel identities in Tristan narratives', in *Cultural Performances in Medieval France: essays in honor of Nancy Freeman Regalado*, ed. by Eglal Doss-Quinby, Roberta L. Krueger and E. Jane Burns (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007), pp. 109-20 (p. 110).

In this text, instruments seem to be used as props to indicate occupation and social position. A knight, Johan de Rampayne, disguises himself as an entertainer twice, once as a low-status performer to gain entrance to the household of Moris Fitz Roger, to gather intelligence, and once as a high-status performer to infiltrate the court of King John at Shrewsbury Castle and rescue the captive Audulf de Bracy. In both, Johan changes his physical appearance so that he is unrecognizable.[32] For the guise of a lowly peripatetic entertainer, Johan masticates an herb that swells and discolours his face, wears poor clothing and arrives on foot with a box of non-specific equipment for *jogelerie* that he does not use.[33] The attraction of this low status performer is as a bringer of news. By contrast, to gain audience with King John, he assumes the exotic guise of an Ethiopian minstrel: having himself dyed entirely black, attired in costly clothing and mounted on a fine palfrey. This description enumerates Johan's accomplishments as 'tabour, harpe, viele, sitole e joglerie.'[34] In both, the same terminology is used; someone else addresses him as *menestral* and reference is made to *jogelerie*. The difference seems to be in the way in which he describes himself, as well as how he is described. The accomplishments of the lower status entertainer are not detailed, he is not even specified as a musician, and in his shabby clothing Johan describes himself to the porter as a *jogelour*. He is valued more for his role as a bringer of news than as a performer. Although Moris Fitz Roger addresses him as *Menestral*, this may be merely intended to flatter him, but when finely dressed he introduces himself as *menestral* and quickly gains an audience with the king.

Although the player of stringed instruments is portrayed as having a higher status, this is still an intermediate social position. Johan's disguise is carefully chosen and

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[32] Disguises involving changing ones appearance and posing as an itinerant joglar are not uncommon in medieval literature. Possibly the most famous example of the use of a minstrel disguise is in the Tristan narratives In the *Folie de Tristan* contained in the 12th century MS Douce 6, fols 12d-19a, Tristran also dyes his face dark (ll. 213-16) to disguise himself, appearing first as a harper called Tantris (ll. 327-65) and later as a fool (ll.485-532). Félix Lecoy, ed., *Les deux poèmes de La Folie Tristan*, Les classiques français du Moyen Âge (Paris: Champion, 1994), pp. 59 63-4, and 68-9.This device is parodied in Branch Ib of the *Roman de Renart*. Renart's wife Hermeline, believing Renart dead, prepares to marry one of Grinbert's nephews. Renart, who is unrecognizable after having fallen into a vat of yellow dye, decides to play the part of a Breton jongleur, and offers to play at Hermeline's weddingPatricia Terry, ed., *Reynard the Fox* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), p. 176.

[33] 'Johan se vesti asque povrement, e prist sa male ou sa jogelerie...' T. Wright, *The History of Fulk Fitz Warine*, (1855), p. 93.

[34] *Fouke Fitz Warin: Roman de XIVe siecle*, ed. by Louis Brandin, Les Classiques Français Du Moyen Age (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1930) p 51, line 24,

satisfies a narrative necessity. In order to effect the rescue, Johan must adopt a persona that will allow him, as a stranger, to be admitted quickly to the private chamber of Henry de Audley and yet be of low enough status to fulfil the role of a servant, allowing him to serve the nobles drugged wine.

Johan's citole is mentioned among the props that lend detail to the description of the higher-status *menestral*. The instruments named can be assumed to be appropriate for this disguise. They might be more than indicators of occupation; they might be the attributes of a skilled professional. In the late thirteenth-century *Li Roumans de Cléomadès* by Adenet le Roi, there are three lists of instruments:[35] the first is linked to a tournament, the second details the inventory of musical instruments of a minstrel, and the final is linked to a wedding/coronation scene. Adenet le Roi includes the citole only among the minstrel's instruments.

9.1.2 MESTIERS, MENESTRALS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

There are a few indications that the citole seems to have been considered an instrument that required skill to master. Book II, Chapter VI of *Li Livre Dou Tresor* states:

> car celi qui bien **citole** est dignes d'avoir le compliement de son mestier[36]

> Totes les oevres de l'home, ou eles sont bones ou eles sont malvaises; et cil ki fait bonnes oevres, il est dignes d'avoir le compliement de la vertu de cele oevre, car celi ki bien citole est dignes d'avoir le compliement de lor mestier, et cil ki mal le fait, le contraire.[37]
>
> Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresor, II.vi*

> (All of man's works are either good or bad, and the one who does good deeds deserves credit for accomplishing what he has done, for the one who plays [the citole] well is worthy of having credit for his achievement, and the one who does badly, deserves the opposite.[38])

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[35] (Text B.18) Adenet le Roi, Les Œuvres d'Adenet le Roi, ed. by Albert Henry, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, XLVI, 5 vols (Bruxelles: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1971), Vol. V, pp. 223-4.

[36] Text cited from Chabaille edition based on MS 'F'. Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou tresor; publié pour la première fois d'après les MSS. de la Bibliothèque impériale, de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal et plusieurs MSS des départements et de l'étranger*, ed. by P. Chabaille (Paris: Imprimerie Impérale, 1863), p. 261.

[37] Latini, *Tresor*, ed. Chabaille (1863), p. 261.

[38] Translation from: Brunetto Latini, *The Book of Treasure (Li Livres dou Tresor)*, trans. by Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin, Garland Library of Medieval Literature (New York and London: Garland, 1993), p. 148.

Latini's quote raises two interesting points: first, playing the citole well is a skill that involves mastery, and second, playing it badly deserves insult.

L.M. Wright refutes Faral's suggestion that the term *menestrel* was originally a generic term for any court servant and only later specifically designated court musicians, pointing out that the term *mestier* was applied to the work of craftsmen as well as to the work of musicians.[39] This seems to be supported by *Tresor* Book II, Chapter X, part 5, which describes how virtue is born in a person through practice in the same way that in 'de mestiers et d'art' by having done it before, one knows how to build a house or to play the citole well.[40]

9.1.3 FADET JOGLAR   (APP. A, TEXT B. 2A-B)

One of the earliest manuscripts to include citole playing among the accomplishments of a joglar is a copy of Giraut de Calanson's *Fadet Joglar*. Although this *sirventes* is believed to have been composed during the first decade of the thirteenth century, the two extant manuscript versions were copied after 1250.[41] Some authors refer to it as a *sirventes-ensenhamen* although the usage of this descriptor is debated.[42] Surviving *sirventes*, written about named *joglars* are not uncommon.[43] The narrator of *Fadet*

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[39] L. M. Wright, 'Misconceptions Concerning the Troubadours', p. 36

[40] 'Tot autresi est il des choses de mestiers et d'art, car on set faire maisons, por ce c'on en a maintes fetes premierement; car autrement ne le seust il, se il ne l'eust ovré devant plusours fois. Autresi set aucuns bien citoler, pour çou k'il l'a mout usé. ' Latini, Tresor, ed. Carmody (1948), p. 181.

[41] Pirot comments that although MS 'D' (Modena, Bibliotheque Estense α, R.4.4.), is believed to be a copy of a MS dated 1254, it not much later, since it is written in an Italian hand of the thirteenth century. The differences between the two extant copies of *Fadet Joglar*, suggest that they stem from different exemplars indicating that the citolar/sitolar reference must have been present in earlier copies. François Pirot, *Recherches sur les connaissances littéraires des troubadours occitans et catalans des XIIe et XIIIe siècles; les "sirventes--ensenhamens" de Guerau de Cabrera, Guiraut de Calanson et Bertrand de Paris.* (Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras, 1972), pp. 84-6.

[42] The work is internally described as a *sirventes* (line 5). Modern scholars have qualified this description. Witthoeft chooses the term *Sirventes Joglaresc*. Bartsch favours *sirventes-ensenhamen*, as does Pirot. Gaunt and Kay suggest that this is a 'mock ensenhamen'. Friedrich Witthoeft, *"Sirventes Joglaresc": Ein Blick auf das altfranzösische Spielmannsleben*, ed. by E. Stengel, Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus den Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie (Marburg: Elwert, 1891). F. Pirot, *littéraires des troubadours occitans et catalans* (1972). Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, 'Major Troubadours', in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. by Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 279-91 (p 286).

[43] Witthoeft, *'Sirventes Joglaresc'*, pp. 39-73

Joglar, presumably the poet himself, rebukes his foolish *joglar*, and specifies to him the accomplishments he is expected to possess.[44]

The expected accomplishments of the jograr described by Giraut de Calanson include a variety of skills, such as composing, tumbling, story telling, knife play, bird-song imitation, card tricks, and jumping through hoops, as well a playing nine instruments. Despite specifying that in order to be prepared for any eventuality, Fadet should be adept at nine instruments, thirteen instruments are mentioned. Of these, however, nine are chordophones: *sinphonia, citola, mandura, manicorda, cidra, rota, arpa, guiga* and *lira*. It seems likely that Giraut de Calanson is suggesting that it is these nine that a joglar should master.

Whether these are the typical instruments of a performer in southern France is hard to say. The citole is only infrequently mentioned in Occitan manuscripts and has not been identified in the art of this region.[45] Giuraut de Calanson, from Gascony, is among the more than two dozen troubadours who are known to have frequented the Iberian courts in the early decades of the thirteenth century and it might be that he is including necessary skills for playing at courts of many nations in his list.[46]

9.1.4   DAUREL ET BETON   (APP. A, B. 46)

Daurel et Beton suggests a realistic situation set in the recent past, regardless of whether it is meant to recount historically accurate events. It is necessary for the dramatic logic of the story that young Beton be trained as a joglar. For this to be believable, he must encounter credible situations and props. The citole reference appears among these props.

The musically relevant parts of the epic poem *Daurel et Beton* recount the story of a talented and faithful joglar Daurel and his ward Beton. Through his multifarious performance skills, Daurel wins a place at the court of the Duke of Antona. When

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[44] Léglu, and others, suggest that this might have been written in response to 'Cabra Juglar' written by the Catalan troubadour Guerau de Cabrera, who berates Cabra for what he does not know. Catherine Léglu, *Between Sequence and Sirventes, Aspects of Parody in the Troubadour Lyric*, European Humanities Research Centre, Research Monographs in French Studies 8 (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), p. 50.

[45] The one statue in Bayonne cathedral probably represents Castilian influence.

[46] Joseph T. Snow, 'The Iberian Peninsula', in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. by F.R.P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: 1995), p. 273.

the Duke is treacherously murdered, his infant son, Beton, needs protection. Daurel exchanges Beton with his own child, escapes with him to the Court of the Emir of Cairo, and raises Beton as if he were his own son. When Beton is six, Daurel suggests that Beton would receive much joy by learning the *arpa* and *viola*.[47] Ever a prodigy, by the age of seven, Beton has mastered these as well as the *citola*, singing and composition. Eventually, Beton's noble birth is revealed through his innate qualities and refusal to accept a monetary reward for playing to the young princess Erimena.[48]

Although references to both the *viola* and *arpa* appear numerous times, it is difficult to determine why the *citola* appears only once.[49] While the joglar Daurel is described as playing both the *arpa* and *viola*, it is only Beton who plays the *citola*. It could represent an additional skill that further sets the nobly born Beton above Daurel. Or it could have been perceived as the next logical instrument to master, third in importance after the *viola* and *arpa*. Whatever the explanation, the scribe or author of this text considered the *citola* a suitable instrument for a talented and gifted minstrel to play at court.

9.1.5 FABLIAUX AND DES DEUX BORDEORS RIBAUZ (APP. A, B.12, B.13, B.14)

The term *citole* appears in three fabliaux, all of which survive in manuscripts from before 1300. In *Le Pet Au Vilain*, it is used merely in a metaphor 'as taut as a citole string.'[50] In *De Frere Denise*, enjoying the citole is among the delights of minstrelsy proscribed by the clergy (and rhymed with the similarly forbidden *carole*).[51] In the third, *Des Deux Bordeors Ribauz*, it is one of the accomplishments of a professional performer.

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[47] Arthur S. Kimmel, ed., *A Critical Edition of the Old Provençal Epic 'Daurel et Beton' with notes and Prolegomena*, Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), pp. 108 and 179, verses 1414-1415.

[48] Monetary payment seems to have been one of the aspects of minstrelsy that troubled the church during the late twelfth century and the morality of it was widely debated.

[49] Variants terms appear for each of these terms both as Nouns (viola lines 1180, 1209, 1415; vihola 85; vieulas 1476, 1948; vieulas 1931; D'arpa 1415; arpa 1074) and verbs (violar 114, 1419, 1682; viholar 1473; viola 1576; vihola 1505; vieula 169, 204; arpier 84; arpar 1420).

[50] (Text, B.12) Rutebeuf, 'Le Pet Au Villain ', in *The French Fabliau B.N. MS. 837*, ed. by Raymond Eichmann and John Duval (New York: Garland, 1985) II, pp. 242-3.

[51] (Text, B.13) Rutebeuf, 'De Frere Denise', ed. Eichmann and Duval (1985),, p. 257.

Des Deux Bordeors Ribauz records a comic interchange between two jongleur, each boasting about his accomplishments. Page suggests that boasting was a necessity of itinerant minstrels, who needed to advertise their skills.[52] The first claims that the second is no minstrel and lists his own skills at performing *mout bone estoire, chançon mout bone et anciene* in Latin as well as the vernacular (line 96-7). He also boasts the ability to play *citole, viele* and *gigue* and, in a later passage, two *harpes* (line 132). The second replies that he is a better minstrel than the first.[53] Interestingly, the citole is omitted in the significantly greater number of instruments mentioned by the second braggart. This omission cannot be merely because citole does not provide an easy rhyme, even though *vièle* (which is paired with both *frestèl* and *chalemèle*) is used rather than *viole*. Other stringed instruments such as the *harpe, gigue,* and *salteire* appear in non-rhyme positions (lines 207-9). It might be that the second minstrel did, in fact, not play the citole. Although the speakers might exaggerate their skills, they intended for their audience to believe them and risked being challenged to perform what they claim.

Fabliaux have the unique feature of recording stories of everyday events. They have something of the character of anecdotes and are set in contemporaneous realistic situations. The audience, origins and style of these works seem to have varied greatly. According to Muscatine, fabliaux were usually composed by professional entertainers and recited 'wherever the performer could find an audience in the mood for entertainment.'[54] They seem to have been composed for courtly audiences as well as prosperous burghers and might have been rewritten to suit different patrons. Especially popular in Northern France, particularly around Paris, and the provinces of Picardy, Flanders and Normandy, they would also have been heard in the courts of England. During a time when the royal court reflected Louis IX's (St. Louis) indifference to worldly entertainments,[55] fabliaux proliferated because their popular

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[52] C. Page, *Owl and the Nightingale* (1989), p. 65.
[53] *Response* line 3-4 'Et si sui mieldres menestrez De toi.'
[54] Charles Muscatine, *The Old French Fabliaux* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986).
[55] Although the reign of St. Louis was noted for its influence in the visual arts, particularly through the spread of gothic architecture, Louis IX was noted for his piety and the art works are primarily devotional in nature. The supposed austerity of his court might have been relative. Although household of Louis X's brother, Alphonse de Poitiers, has been described as similarly economical

themes appealed to the wealthy merchants of northern France as well as noble households. Many of the fabliaux were written down in the later part of the thirteenth century, while the form was still fashionable. There is no standard length; the shortest surviving work has eighteen lines while others contain hundreds. The sources that were drawn upon and the style of the individual poems relate both to the background of the composer and intended audience. Some surviving works parody the styles of courtly romance or epic while others are more straightforward. Themes show the influences of antique literature in addition to folklore and anecdote.

Although the term *citole* appears in very few of the surviving fabliaux,[56] two of those that do associate the instrument with minstrelsy. Given that the term was used twice by Rutebeuf, it can be assumed he was familiar with the instrument name and its associations, if not the instrument itself. Rutebeuf was Champenoise but wrote most of his works in Paris, which once again shows the familiarity of the citole in northern France during the thirteenth century.

9.1.6 TODELIN   (APPENDIX A, B.58)

The uses of the term *citole* in Thomas Chestre's late-fourteenth-century *Lybeaus Desconus* are two-fold: it is used in a list to amplify grandeur and to list of minstrel's accomplishments.[57] As in the earlier French version by Renaud de Beaujeu, the ghostly musicians in Part 4, Stanza 157, vv. 1873-1884, comprise a miraculous multitude who help set the scene of a great court under enchantment. This text is not merely a translation of the earlier French story by Renaut de Beaujeau but rather a development of it. In the French version, *Li Biaus Descouneüs*, an elegantly dressed dwarf leads the horse of the lady who requests aid from the knights of King Arthur. The dwarf is described as being well proportioned and 'ne fols et ne vilains' (neither a fool nor a lout) but he is not credited with any

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and pious, the poet Rutebeuf thanks Alphonse for his patronage in two poems. *Complainte Rutebeuf* (vv. 158-165) and *Complainte de comte de Poitiers* (vv. 37-8), Nancy Freeman Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf: A study*, Yale Romantic Studies: 2D Series (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970), p. 10.

[56] Hundreds of texts survive, fifty-six of which are by Rutebeuf and only two mention *citoles*. The *vielle* is unquestionably the most common stringed instrument mentioned.

[57] (Text, B.69) Max Kaluza, ed., *Libeaus Desconus: Die mittelenglische Romanze vom schönen Unbekannten*, Altenglische Bibliothek (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1890), pp. 10-11 & 105.

musical accomplishments.[58] The description of the dwarf who accompanies the lady, in verse 13 of Chester's version, is not so anonymous. His name is given as Todelin and he is described as a noted musician. There is no apparent reason for this detail since it is irrelevant to the plot and it is possible that it makes reference to a known performer. The list of instruments, *citole, sautrie, harpe, fipele*, and *croupe* is obviously a list of accomplishments and perhaps gives a sense of what skills a performer in England would be expected to possess.

9.1.7 TRUE-TO-DEATH SITUATIONS

Although Houn de Mery's thirteenth-century, *Le Tournoiement de l'Antechrist*, is clearly not a realistic everyday situation, it nonetheless uses the citole in the manner of an attribute. When the Antichrist recruits from every occupation, the *jongleor* mentioned has no prop other than a citole to indicate his occupation.[59] The rhyme pairing with *canole* is not part of a common trope.[60] Similarly, in the fourteenth-century *Li Lays Dou Blanc Chevalier* by Jean de Condé, the citole again is the only instrument mentioned in association with the *menestrel*.[61] It seems therefore that, at least in some French sources, that the presence of a citole was sufficient to identify a minstrel.

9.2 MUSICIANS IN THE COURTS OF IBERIA

Although Iberian references to and depictions of the citole are not the most numerous, they are especially interesting because they often relate to human citole players. The citole seems to have been a familiar instrument in Portugal and in Castile and León during the thirteenth-century, as attested by the numerous Apocalyptic Elders with citoles appearing on portals along the *Camino Francés*

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[58] Renaut de Bâgé, *Le bel inconnu: li biaus descouneüs, the fair unknown*, ed. by Karen Fresco, trans. by Colleen P. Donagher, Garland Library of Medieval Literature (New York: 1992), pp. 12-13, line 158.
[59] Huon de Mery, *Le tornoiement de l'Antéchrist*, ed. by Prosper Tarbé, Collection des poètes de Champagne antérieurs au XVIe siècle. (Reims: P. Dubois, 1851), p. 85. (Text B.5)
[60] According to Benton the term *canole* in old French could either refer to the anatomical windpipe or a rope that tied the horns of oxen to the yoke. John F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France: The memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press and Medieval Academy of America, 1984), p. 201, footnote.
[61] Jean de Condé, 'Li Lays Dou Blanc Chevalier', in *Dits et Contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Conde*, ed. by August Scheler, 3 vols (Bruxelles: V. Devaux, 1866) II, p. 14. (Text, B.29)

pilgrim route to Santiago de Compostela.[62] Galician-Portuguese poems also name individual citolers and Iberian manuscript illustrations often show the citole being played in courtly scenes.

9.2.1. CANCIONIEROS

Citolers appear in the Galician-Portuguese *cantigas d'escarnho e mal dezir* (songs of mockery and insult), in which poets satirize specific named *jogrars* and mock their requests for advancement and better payment or criticize the quality of their citole playing. While the comments of the trobars are not very complimentary, they indicate that the players of the *citola* and/or *citolon* expected adequate compensation for their playing and that some of them were socially aspirational.

The literary references to these named citole-players, however, have not survived in thirteenth-century manuscripts, nor has their existence been verified by documentary records of the period. The poems are preserved in two late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century Italian compilations of medieval Galician-Portuguese lyrics called after the libraries where they are held: the Cancionera da Vaticana containing 1025 *cantigas*, and the Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional (formerly *Colocci-Brancutti*) containing 1570 *cantigas*. While some of these cantigas have been cited as containing the earliest references to a named citole-player, the exact dates of the manuscripts' exemplars are not verifiable and should not be taken as evidence of the earlier period without due consideration.

If the sixteenth-century transcription of the poetry can be trusted, it is not in the *cantigas de amor*, nor the *cantigas de amigo* wherein the *citola* or *citolon* is mentioned. The *citola* or *citolon* are mentioned in twelve of the surviving *cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dezir*—songs not full of love but rather full of scorn and invective. The two late-fifteenth-century transcriptions agree substantially but not exactly, indicating that one is not a copy of the other. Both are believed to have been transcribed faithfully, in order to preserve the language of the poetry. The different internal number systems used for the poems and different works contained in them

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[62] These depictions are discussed in §7.3.1.

also indicate that they were not produced from the same group of manuscripts at the same time, further suggesting that the transcriptions are relatively reliable.

The *cantigas d'escarnho* provide information, although not very complimentary, about at least four named *jogars* and one unnamed one who played the citole, some of whom also composed songs. There is no indication that these poems were fictional; on the contrary, they were directed at known individuals who may well have been present when the works was performed. The Alfonsine legislation the *Siete partidas* includes strict criteria to prevent these insulting jokes from devolving into slander.[63] These *cantigas* could only be performed in suitable places and in a manner in which everyone involved, including the butt of the joke, would find funny.[64] The works are therefore meant to describe contemporaneous events and, although they might be exaggerated, they were meant to be believable. The situations described often resemble the anecdotes and complaints of a disgruntled employer.[65]

9.2.1.1 SACO   (TEXT B. 95)[66]

Not much is known about Saco except that Fernan Páez de Talamancos did not favour his physique nor his abilities as a musician.[67] In the one poem that mentions him, it is unclear whether Saco does not actually play the citole or whether his attempts are so inept that they cannot be considered citole playing. The author mentions that although Rodrigo Airas might think otherwise, Saco cannot play the citole. By repeating that Saco cannot play the citole and concluding that Saco should not be considered a jograr, Fernan Páez de Talamancos implies that citoling is a necessary skill for a jograr.[68] Given that Fernan Páez de Talamancos is believed to have been active c.1216-42, if this work is accurately attributed and the text has not

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[63] The distinction is summed up succinctly in a cantiga by Alphonso X 'non é jog' o de que omen chora' (it is no game if it makes someone cry). Benjamin Liu, *Medieval Joke Poetry: the Cantigas d'Escarnho e de Mal Dizer*, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 132-3.

[64] It seems that one of the functions of a jograr was to be fodder for these songs of mockery.

[65] Or, in the case of Lourenço, a frustrated employee.

[66] (App. A, B. 95) Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho*, (1970), p. 213-4.

[67] Liu suggests that the name Saco (Sack) is a name derived from the jograr's bodily form and Fernan Páez does tease Saco about it. Liu, *Medieval Joke Poetry*, p. 32.

[68] Thanks to Dr. I. McCleery of Leeds University for clarifying the subtleties of this poem. Personal communication: 9 Nov. 2009.

been subsequently altered, it would be one of the earliest references linking a jograr with playing the citole.

9.2.1.2 LOPO, WHO PLAYED THE CITOLE BADLY   (APP, A, B.92-94)[69]

Lopo is believed to have been an Occitan *jogral* who worked for Martin Soarez prior to c.1250.[70] Soarez, who is described in later *vidas* as having been a troubadour at the court of Fernando III, does not paint a flattering portrait of Lopo. A heading in the Cancioneiro da Vaticana, prior to a series of poems by Soaz deriding Lopo, describes Lopo as playing the citole badly and singing worse.[71] The poem immediately following this heading recounts an anecdote in which a nobleman pays Lopo to play the *citola* but then offers him more money to stop.[72] In another work, Lopos's citole is described as an instrument of torture rather than of music. Martin Soarez threatens to break Lopo's instrument over his head if Lopo doesn't mend his greedy drunken ways. These complaints against Lopo bring to mind Latini's comment in *Tresor*, that 'one who [citoles] well is worthy of having credit for his achievement, and the one who does badly, deserves the opposite.'[73] Although he did acknowledge that Lopo composed fine lyrics, Martin Soarez obviously did not care much for Lopo's skills as a performer since he wrote at least four songs against him. That Lopo existed, and was not merely a fictional archetype of the greedy,[74] lazy, ineffectual servant, is attested to by three surviving *cantigas de amigo* credited to Lopo.

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[69] (App. A, B.92-94) Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho*, (1970), pp. 440-442).

[70] Alexandre Pinheiro Torres, ed., *Antologia da poesia trovadoresca galego-portuguesa (sécs. XII-XIV)* (Porto: Lello and Irmão, 1977), p. 329.

[71] "Outrossi fez estes cantares aposto a un jogral que dizian Lopo citolava mal e cantava peior" as transcribed Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho*, (1970), p. 440.

[72] (Appendix A, B.92) Lopo then begins to sing and is again paid to stop. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho*, (1970), p. 440.

[73] (Appendix A. Text B. 6a) Translation: Latini, *Book of Treasure*, trans. Barrette and Baldwin (1993), p. 148. 'car cellui qui bien citole est dignes d'avoir le compliment de son mestier, & cil qui mal le fait le contraire' Latini, *Tresor: Edition and Study*, ed. Baldwin and Barrette (2003), p. 112.

[74] The description of Lopo as 'gargantan' might indicate that he was large in size, but more likely that he was greedy. 'Garganta' in modern Portuguese translates as 'throat' or 'gullet'. Gargantua, a ravenous giant in Celtic mythology, was propably the inspiration for the hero Rabelai's satirical allegory. *Yves Bonnefoy, ed., Roman and European Mythologies (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992)*, p. 245.

9.2.1.3 CÍTOLA (APP. A, B.102)[75]

Cítola is reprimanded in *Sátira contra el juglar Çítola*, a poem attributed to Alfonso X. This records a simple dispute over wages; Cítola thinks he deserves more payment but the King does not think he is worth it. Images from the *Libro de Ajedrez Dados e Tablas* and two copies of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* also suggest that Alfonso had at least one citoler, but possibly two citolers, among his court musicians.[76]

9.2.1.4 LOURENÇO (App. A, B. 96-101)[77]

Lourenço is believed to have come to the court of Alfonso X of Castile and León from the court of Afonso III of Portugal. Lourenço composed antiphonal insult songs (*tensos*) with at least two authors who were considered troubadours, whereas Lourenço was considered a jograr. In his lyrics, Lourenço writes that he desires both social advancement and better payment, and that his talent should allow him to claim the status of *trobar*. Joan Garcia Guilhade suggests that the payment he deserves is a good beating. Guilhade devotes at least three additional *cantigas de mal dezir* to Lourenço and describes his playing as being like scratching on a stump. He also threatens to break Lourenço's *citolon* over his head... again!

9.2.1.5 UNNAMED CITOLER (APP. A, B.103)[78]

One *cantiga* seems to suggest that it is worse to insult a jograr's skills as a musician than to criticize his personal habits. In a later thirteenth-century poem written by two Portuguese nobles, Joan Pérez d'Avoín and Joan Soarez Coelho, the performing abilities of a jograr are debated although the jograr is not named. Joan Pérez expresses the opinion that the unnamed *jograron* can neither sing nor can he play the citole. In the jograr's defense, Joan Soarez, claims that this musician is normally a fine performer but is temporarily incapacitated by excessive alcohol and lust. The

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[75] (App. A, B.102) Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho*, (1970), pp. 31-2.
[76] The symbols of Castile and León emblazoned on the soundboard of citole in the *Libro de Ajedrez, Dados e Tablas* (Ill. 18a) suggest that this is a depiction of a court musician and not merely a generic instrumentalist. See also Ill. 19-22, discussed below.
[77] (Appendix A, Texts B.96-101.) Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho*, (1970), pp. 321-2, 323, 331-2, 333-4 342-3, 421.
[78] (Appendix A, Text B.103) Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho*, (1970), pp. 340-1.

two then alternately accuse each other of having been duped by malicious slander to speak ill of the jograr, or having been bribed by the jograr to speak well of him. This suggests that the unnamed jograr would rather be thought of as an irresponsibly leacherous drunkard than an unskilled performer. Moral rectitude does not seem to be as important to a jograr's reputation as whether he sings and plays the citole well.

9.2.1.6 THE CITOLE-RELATED TERMS USED IN GALICIAN-PORTUGUESE TEXTS

Two names are given to instruments in the *cantigas d'escarnho e mal dezir*: *cítola* and *citolon*. The identity of the *citolon* has been debated: Lapa credibly suggests *citolon* is the term for a larger *citola*;[79] Nunes suggest that the term has a derogatory connotation,[80] as does Torres;[81] Ferreira 's argument that the term *citolon* might have been used to denote the very large, waisted chordophone played with a bow, such as those depicted in the *Canconiero da Ajuda*, seems to rely upon a progression of non-sequential sources.[82] The simple truth might be that the term *cítola* appears rarely in poetry since the antepenultimate syllable stress makes it hard to use metrically and *citolon* might be a poetic contrivance to avoid metrically awkward phrasing. This might explain why term *citolon* does not seem to appear in prose. *Cítola* appears only in the first half of lines in poetry while the terms that exhibit the more usual penultimate stressed syllable (*citolar, citolasse* and *citolon*) are used more frequently and appear as rhyme words. (See Table 6 following this section.)

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[79] Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho* (1970), glossary.
[80] José Joaquim Nunes, *Crestomatia Arcaica: excertos da literatura Portuguesa desde o que mais antigo se conhece até ao século XVI*, 3rd edn (Lisboa: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1943), p. 421.
[81] Torres, *Antologia da poesia trovadoresca galego-portuguesa*, p. 552.
[82] Manuel Pedro Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus: 7 Cantigas, d'el-rei Dom Dinis*, trans. by David Cranmer, DeMusica (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2005).

Table 6: References to citole playing recorded in Galician-Portuguese poetry, preserved in the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth-century Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional and Cancioneiro da Vaticana.

CBN	CV	TERMS USED	AUTHOR (PLACE OF ORIGIN)	NAME OF CITOLER	KNOWN COURT AT WHICH AUTHOR WROTE	ATTRIBUTION DATE	TEXT# (APP.A)
488	71	Cítola*	King Alfonso X, (Castile & Leon)	Cítola	court of Alfonso X, Castile & Léon	mid-thirteenth c. (1221-1284)	B.102
1334	941	citolar citolades	Fernan Páez de Talamancos (Galicia) & Saco (unknown)	Saco	court of Sancho IV, Castile	1216-1242	B.95
1363	971	cítola citolasse	Martin Soárez, (Portugal)	Lopo	Various incl. court of Alfonso X	c.1230-1270	B.92
1364	972	citolar citolon citolado	Martin Soárez, (Portugal)	Lopo	Various incl., court of Alfonso X,	c.1230-1270	B.93
1365	973	citolon	Martin Soárez, (Portugual)	Lopo	Various incl. court of Alfonso X,	c.1230-1270	B.94
1493	1104	citolares citolon	Joan Garcia Guilhade & Lourenço (both Portugal)	Lourenço	uncertain	mid-thirteenth c.	B.98
1494	1105	citolar citolarei	Joan Garcia Guilhade & Lourenço, (both Portugal)	Lourenço	uncertain	mid- thirteenth c.	B.99
1495	1106	citolon	Joan Garcia Guilhade (Portugal)	Lourenço	uncertain	1248-1284	B.96
1497	1107	citolon	Joan Garcia Guilhade, (Portugal)	Lourenço	uncertain	1248-1284	B.97
--	1009	citolar	Joan Pérez d'Avoín (Portugal) & Joan Soarez Coelho (uncertain)	unnamed 'jogaron'	court of Afonso III of Portugal	mid-thirteenth c.	B.103
--	1010	citolon	Joan Pérez d'Avoin & Lourenço (both Portugal)	Lourenço	uncertain	1248-1284	B.100
--	1202	citolar	Pedr' Amigo de Sevilha, (Galician, from Betanços)	Lourenço	court of Alfonso X, Castile & Léon	second half of the thirteenth c.	B.101

* Cítola is a proper noun.

9.2.2 CANCIONIERO DA AJUDA

The Iberian depictions of citoles appear in manuscripts that do not contain the instrument names in the accompanying text. The Cancioniero da Ajuda (containing 246 *cantigas*) is the only secular song collection to date from the period. Although the exact date and place of production are debated,[83] it is thought to be from either Castile and León or from Portugal and to date from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. It is an incomplete work: it contains no musical notation, but has spaces to include the music after each first verse. It also includes no citole-related references and no *cantigas d'escarnho e de maldezir*. It does however contain a number of interesting unfinished miniatures. Of the sixteen illuminated panels, eight contain depictions of citoles (see Ill. 23-30). The panels usually depict a seated poet (a *trobar*), a central standing performer (a *jograr*), and another smaller figure usually a percussionist. The citoles are longer and seem to have larger bodies than those seen in other Iberian depictions suggesting that perhaps the term *citolon* does indicate a larger *citola*.

9.2.3 CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA

Although almost all of the early Castilian literary references place the *citola* in non-contemporaneous situations, Iberia has the largest number of depictions of contemporaneous players of the instrument. Perhaps this is because, at least throughout the reign of Alfonso X, the convention was to use Castilian as the vernacular language for law, history and epics and Galician-Portuguese for poetry. This may explain why songs relating to citole-players in contemporaneous situations, and depictions which have at least the pretence of recording them in real-life situations, have been preserved most frequently in Galician-Portuguese sources.

Although the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* are full of miracles, the setting is usually in the recent past at named locations, many of which are in thirteenth-century Castile and León. The prologue illustration to the Códice de los Músicos[84] shows

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[83] Because of similarities in artistic style and the specific texts included this manuscript has been ascribed by some to the scriptorum of Alfonso X.
[84] MS Madrid, San Lorenzo de el Escorial, B. I. 2.

representations of Alfonso X in a courtly setting with scribes and musicians (Ill. 19 & 22). This might be a fictionalised setting rather than an accurate portrait but it is meant to illustrate the king as *trobar* composing his *cantigas* at court.[85] The instrumentalists appear here as details to identify the courtly setting. In order to be convincing, the instruments chosen for the court scene must be suitable to it. Low-status or uncourtly instruments would indicate mockery.

The range of instruments depicted in the Códice de los Músicos' manuscript of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* is somewhat anomalous. This number and diversity of instruments appears only in one of the four surviving *Cantigas de Santa Maria* manuscripts where every tenth song is decorated by a panel containing an individual or pair of instrumentalists. While providing valuable glimpses of less commonly depicted instruments, as well as Muslim and Jewish musicians, the instruments depicted in the Códice de los Músicos' seem to demonstrate the variety of instrument types known, rather than what might have occurred most frequently at the court. This seems not unlike the literary use of lists of instruments to give a sense of grandeur.

The images however, do present a single group of instrumentalists but many individual or paired musicians. *Códice de los Músicos* is the second oldest of the *Cantigas* manuscripts, containing 408 songs, with some duplications. The illuminated panels are almost entirely devoted to images of musicians and occur every tenth song, which are specifically songs of praise to the Virgin Mary (rather than narrative accounts of miracles). *Citolas* occur only in three illustrations accompanying *cantiga* 1, 10 and 150 (Ill. 19-22). In the first two it is shown with *violas*[86] and the third with an oval-bodied plectrum-plucked chordophone. The convention for these depictions is to illustrate pairs of musicians that may or may not indicate actual performance practice. But there is nothing about these duets that seems unreasonable. In other regions the citole is frequently paired with similar bowed instruments and this pairing is quite credible. Bouterse comments that the

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[85] Of course Alfonso X is also tapping into the King David symbolism, which includes being a wise and just king as well as a composer of devotional song.
[86] I use the term *viola* to refer to these instruments because that is the term used in the text of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*; *viola* is he term used in *Cantiga* 8, the illustration of which contains an almost identical bowed instrument.

illuminators of the Códice de los Músicos apparently favoured instruments, 'associated in their eyes with the Christian court' and the two most frequently depicted, the *viola* and citole, are also the ones included in the images of Alfonso X with his court scribes and musicians.[87]

The Códice Rico,[88] written about the same time as the Códice de los Músicos and also housed at the Escorial, contains 193 songs and a wealth of full-page illuminations divided in linear style into discrete compartments with borders, often dividing the page into six panels, which illustrate the text of the *Cantigas*. The illustration of musical instruments here is very much more restrained. The prologue illustration is reminiscent of but not identical to that of the Códice de los Músicos, with the viola and citola again shown as the two instruments being played in the courtly setting with the king and his scribes (Ill. 22).

9.2.4   LIBRO DE AJEDREZ, DADOS E TABLAS

The citole and viola also appear together in the *Libro de Ajedrez Dados e Tablas* (the Book of Games) produced at the court of Alfonso X (Ill. 18).[89] The citole here is interesting in that the border around the soundboard is decorated with castles and lions, the symbols of the kingdom of Castile and Leon. Certain details suggest that these might be portraits of actual musicians known at court.[90] The wide band of decoration around the soundboard might identify this citoler as the same musician who appears in Cantiga 150 (Ill. 21) and the prologue of Códice de los Músicos (Ill. 22). It is tempting to suggest that this might be the king's citoler, Cítola, since the instrument is decorated with the symbols of Castile and León but there is no firm proof for this suggestion.

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[87] Curtis Bouterse, 'Literacy, Orality, and the Cantigas: Toward an Ethnomusicology of Medieval Europe' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, 1996), p. 254.
[88] (Ill. 22) Madrid, San Lorenzo de el Escorial , T.I.1, fol. 5r.
[89] (Ill. 18) Madrid, San Lorenzo de el Escorial, T.I.6, fol. 31r.
[90] This particularly distinctive bearded player of *a braccio* bowed instruments appears to be shown in the Códice de los Músicos illustrations accompanying Cantiga 100 and 110. Higinio Anglès, *La música de las Cantigas de Santa María, del rey Alfonso el Sabio*, 3 vols (Barcelona: Diputación Provincial de Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, 1964), I: Facsímil del Códice j.b.2 del Escorial, plates 110 and 118.

9.3 SHEPHERDS

The balance of evidence is weighted against the citole being strongly associated with shepherds during the Middle Ages. Although two Castilian references, Gonzalo de Berceo's *Estoria de Sennor Sant Millan* and Juan Ruiz's *El Libro de Buen Amor,* associate the *çitola* with a shepherd, this does not necessarily indicate that the citole was a rustic instrument nor that it had fallen in status.[91]

San Millán's shepherd origins associate him with King David (1 Samuel:16) as a humble young *cithara*-playing shepherd called upon by God to serve another purpose. Braulio and Berceo make reference to San Millán as a shepherd of sheep who was to become a shepherd of men, in a clear reference to the Christian symbolism of King David as Christ-logos.[92]

In *El Libro De Buen Amor,* stanza 1213, the overseer of the shepherds plays a *çitola trotera* in a grand procession welcoming the return of the personification of Love. It is also possible that the *çitola* fell from courtly use in Castile and Leon by the beginning of the fourteenth century, since it is seen much less frequently in Iberian art. But even if that is why the citola appears in this passage, it should be noted that it is still not actually the shepherds who play the *çitola* but their overseer. This description may however be a literary device consciously meant to evoke the similar entrance of Alexander into Babylon in the *Poema de Alexandro,* which includes the '*citola que mas trota*'.[93]

Of the more than one hundred literary sources identified in Appendix A, only three mention shepherds and all of these can be discounted as indicative of rusticity in some way: San Millán is linked to the King David *cithara* mythology; the reference

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[91] The popular theory that the citole was a low status instrument played by shepherds seems to be based on Tinctoris' late fifteenth-century description of the *cetula* and two Castilian sources, the *Estoria de San Millán* and *El Libro Buen Amor.* Wright suggests that 'two mentions of the citole being played by shepherds; this shows that it had spread throughout Spanish society and was not confined to courts.' Laurence Wright, 'Citole', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrell, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), V, pp. 872-76 (p. 874).

[92] Stanza 6. Gonzalo de Berceo, *Cuatro poemas de Berceo: (Milagros de la iglesia robada y de Teófilo, y Vidas de Santa Oria y de San Millán): nuevo manuscrito de la Real Academia Española,* ed. by C. Carroll Marden, Revista de filología española (Madrid: Hernando, 1928), p. 96.

[93] This is noted by Raymond S. Willis, *El Libro de Alexandre: Texts of the Paris and Madrid Manuscripts: prepared with an introduction,* ed. by Edward C. Armstrong (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1965).

in *El Libro Buen Amor* is possibly an homage to, or pastiche of, the *Libro de Alexandro*; and Tinctoris' account (see §10.3) is written far too late, in the wrong part of Europe and possibly about an entirely different instrument.[94]

9.4 MONKS AND NUNS

There is only one depiction of a medieval cleric playing the citole. In the *Queen Mary Psalter*,[95] the psaltery-playing nun and citole-playing monk shown opposite four apparently clerical line-dancers might be a parody (Ill. 108).[96] While this scene resembles that of a pair of secular musicians with vielle and citole who appear across from male and female dancers (Ill. 107),[97] it also shows similarity to ape musicians with harp and vielle, who play for four simians.[98] Although dance scenes and the citole/psaltery combination occur elsewhere, the co-ed participation by clerics must be doubted.[99]

9.5 STUDENTS AND SCHOOLS

Although Gilles li Muisis' *Ch'est des maintiens des Béghines* recounts students playing citoles during the 1280s, when he had been a young student in Paris, this work, like much of his poetry, was dictated to Jacques Muevin a half century later. This does not mean that Muisis' description is inaccurate but it must not be treated as a journalistic report. The inclusion of what might be two citoles in a mid-thirteenth-century Parisian illustration of *musica instrumentalis* (App. B, Ill. 40), Johannes de Garlandia's *Dictionarius* (App. A, B.1) and Magister Lambertus',

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[94] (Appendix A, Text D.15). Tinctoris' *cetula* reference (c.1480) is so much later than the others that it probably describe an entirely different instrument type, possibly an early Italian form of cittern. See §10.3.

[95] London, BL, Royal 2B vii.

[96] London, BL, Royal 2B vii, folios 177r and fol. 176v. Although none of them have their feet raised, their arrangement in a line, holding ribbons between them, indicates that they are dancing. George Warner, ed., *Queen Mary's Psalter. Miniatures and drawings by an English artist of the 14th century reproduced from Royal MS. 2 B. VII. in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1912), pl. 203c-d.

[97] London, BL, Royal 2B vii, folios 173v and 174r. Warner, ed., *Queen Mary's Psalter*, pl. 202a -b

[98] The apes appear on folios 180v and 181r. Warner, ed., *Queen Mary's Psalter*, pl. 202d.

[99] (App. A, Text B.13) In the fabliaux *Frere Denis*, the Brother Simon is criticised because Franciscans forbid such joys as dancing and citoling to common people. If the Fransicans, the *joculatores Domini*, were believed to prohibit such things it is unlikely that the sterner orders allowed such revelry. Rutebeuf, 'Frere Denis', in *Nouveau Recueil complet des fabiaux*, ed. by Willem Noomen 10 vols (Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1991) VI, pp. 1-26, line 260.

Tractatus de musica (App. A, B.7), suggest that students in Paris would have has some familiarity with citoles during the thirteenth century, but aside from Gilles li Muisis' poetic reminiscence, there is very little direct evidence for students playing citoles.[100]

Some of this citole playing might be hidden among less specific reports, since during the thirteenth and fourteenth century there is evidence of students playing musical instruments. The contemporaneous chronicler Matthew Paris describes how students greeted Henry III by exalting, singing and playing instruments when he visited Paris in 1254.[101] Carpenter mentions the medieval students of Cologne playing stringed instruments on their nightly wanderings.[102] She also suggests that a 1365 statute at the Université d'Orléans prohibiting the playing of instruments at the *fête de nations*, indicates that this must have been a common enough occurrence to be anticipated at such an event.[103] Several of the Oxford colleges forbade the playing of instruments and singing at times which might cause distraction from studies or allowed them only after meals on feast days.[104] All of these indicate that the playing of musical instruments had become an expected part of university culture and education.

A few references suggest that the citole might have been formally taught or that there were schools for playing the citole. Documentary records indicate that two citolers might have been teachers: Mestre Thomas listed as a citoléeur in the 1292 tax records,[105] and magister I. Sitoler is recorded in Oxford in 1325.[106] In the

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[100] (Ill. 40) Antiphonarium Medicieum, Florence Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut.29.1.f.A, Paris, 1245-55.
[101] Latin transcription in Matthew Paris, *Matthaei Parisiensis : Monachi Sancti Albani, historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, historia minor : item, ejusdem abbreviatio chronicorum Angliae* ed. by Frederic Madden, Rerum britannicarum medii ævi scriptores, 3 vols (London: 1869), III: A.D. 1246-1253, p. 342.
[102] Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in Medieval Universities* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), p. 108.
[103] The instruments specifically mentioned are loud instruments called by their Latin names *tubarum, buccinarum, cymbalorum*. Also forbidden however are all other instruments contrary to solemnity, as well the dancing of choreis and such vanities. Carpenter, *Music in Medieval Universities*, p. 72.
[104] Carpenter quotes the Queen's college interdict and mentions proscriptions at New College and All Souls. Carpenter, *Music in Medieval Universities*, p. 81.
[105] H. Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel: d'après des documents originaux et notamment d'après un manuscript contenant "Le Rôle de la Taille" imposée sur les habitants de Paris en 1292* (Paris: Crapelet, 1837), p. 151 (See also Appendix A.7a and §4.2).
[106] Rev. H. E. Salter, ed., *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1931), III, p. 153-4 (Text A.24, and §4.3).

northern German *Morant und Galie* a mention of the *zitole*,[107] for which one goes to school in Paris, might refer to the 'escoles' where minstrels from around Europe gathered during Lent to hone their skills rather than a school at which to train amateur musicians.[108] Another tantalizing piece of evidence for citole playing being a taught skill is Gower's comment in *Mirour de l'Omme*, vv 757-61: Gower refers to Dame Avarice as running a school but that it is not a school for playing the citole.[109] Although *citole* is used as a rhyme word, the idea of a school for playing the citole is suggested rather casually, as if it were a familiar concept.[110]

9.6   FEMALE CITOLE PLAYERS

Although the citole is occasionally mentioned among instruments suitable for women to play as a pastime, no literary works recount tales of contemporaneous female citole players. Certainly, the two documentary records from the early-fourteenth century that mention Marie in Paris and Agnes in Oxford (See §4.4) demonstrate that there was some factual basis for female citolers, but female citolers are rare in the visual arts as well. The one clear reference in literature to women who play the citole and one who teaches citole-playing occurs in an antique situation in John Gowers' *Confessio Amantis*, discussed in §5.2.[111] *Le Clef d'Amours* recommends that it is a noble and worthwhile skill for young women to learn to sing and play instruments such as the *pfalterïon, timbre, guiterne* or *citholle*.[112]

At least three human female citolers appear in art: one a misericord at Cologne cathedral, and one in a historiated initial, and one in a marginal biblical scene. The

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[107](App. A, B.68a) The text was written between 1320 and 1350 but does not survive in any manuscripts before the fifteenth century. Theodor Frings and Elisabeth Linke, eds, *Morant und Galie*, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Zentralinstitut für Sprachwissenschaft, 1976), pp. 165-6.

[108] Richard Crewdson, *Apollo's Swan and Lyre: five hundred years of the Musician's Company* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), p. 19.

[109] (App. A, B.63) John Gower, *The Complete Works of John Gower: the French works*, ed. by G.C. Macaulay, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1899), I, pp. 89.

[110] In *Confessio Amantis*, Gower also includes a reference to a female citoler who teaches other young women the arts of music including citole-playing but that is in an antique situation. See §5.2.

[111] (App. A, B.62) John Gower, *The English Works of John Gower: edited from the manuscripts with introduction, notes and glossary*, ed. by G .C. Macaulay, EETS, 2 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1901), II, p. 426.

[112] (App. A, B.23) Edwin Tross, ed., *La clef d'amour: poème publié d'après un manuscrit du XIVe siècle* (Lyon: Louis Perrin, 1866), p. 98.

half-figure of a woman on the misericord (Ill. 66) does not seem to relate to any known story and might just be meant as a representation of a young woman. Although seemingly a demure young woman, with her hair modestly covered and her head turned shyly to the side, her placement on the misericord, and therefore to the monk standing in front of it – or resting upon it – suggests that this image was meant to be somewhat ribald. It is not however, overtly lewd; the figure depicted seems to be modest and respectable and perhaps the citole itself is used as a symbol of this respectability. A female citoler also appears in an illuminated initial in a music manuscript from northern France, playing for a dancing male figure (Ill. 54).[113] Another female citoler is depicted in the Tickhill Psalter (Ill. 101) but she appears among the women of Jerusalem who play and sing for David after his victory over Goliath and, as discussed in §7.3.2.2 since she has a direct relationship to the text, might not be an acurrate portait of medieval musical practice.

9.7 GENTLEMEN

Eitschberger comments that the citole had the same elevated social standing as other stringed instruments and was played for and by nobles.[114] The only specific reference to a medieval gentleman engaged in playing a citole (*ceytole*) occurs in the anonymous *Sir Degrevant*.[115] The introductory description of the title character is designed to show his nobility,[116] virtue,[117] and culture through his mastery of *musica instrumentalis*. Written shortly after 1400, this work survives in only two manuscripts. The earlier manuscript, from c.1430,[118] mentions that Sir Degrevent's joys were to *cetoyle, sawtree, gyttern, rotte, to syng,* and *harpyng.* In the later

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[113] (Ill. 54) London, BL, Egerton 274, fol. 7v. *The placement of this figure adjacent to the notation of a devotional song is a very interesting figure and is discussed further in §11.1.*
[114] 'Sie wird vonn und vor adlingen Dame und Heren gespielt.' Astrid Eitschberger, *Musikinstrumente in höfischen Romanen des deutschen Mittelalters,* Imagines medii aevi: interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Mittelalterforschung (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1999), p. 92.
[115] (App. A, B.77) L. F. Casson, ed., *The Romance of Sir Degrevant: A parallel-text edition from MSS. Lincoln Cathedral A.5.2 and Cambridge University FF.I.6,* EETS (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 4.
[116] *In stanza ii, he is described as relative of King Arthur. Casson offers the relationship as 'nephew'. In both MSS, Sir Degrevant is described as their 'kene' (kin) but the specific relationship seems to occur only in the Cambridge MS, V.26 'ther nevew'. Casson ed., Sir Degrevant.*
[117] *In stanzas v-vi, he is shown to manage his estates well, but uses his wealth generously and feeds the poor.*
[118] 'Thorton MS', Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral, A.5.2, ff 130r-138v.

manuscript, dating from at least fifteen years later,[119] several substitutions are made: the *ceytole* is replaced by *harp*, *lewtyng* replaces *to syng*, and *syngyng* replaces *harpyng*. The loss of the citole between the earlier and the later manuscripts seems to indicate that at some point between c.1400 when the work is believed to have been composed, and c.1446 the earliest possible date for the later manuscript, the knowledge of the *ceytole* as a genteel instrument had faded sufficiently that the passage was rearranged to accommodate the lute.

The first stanza of *Sir Degrevant* is spoken by a narrator. It opens with a prayer, indicating that the work was probably intended to be spoken aloud to a genteel, but not courtly, audience. The recurrent theme of the hero's largess towards minstrels also indicates that this tale was probably intended to be recited by a minstrel. The description of Sir Degrevant as noble, valiant, and well bred, as well as being a skilled instrumentalist and singer indicates that music-making was not unthinkable for someone in the knight's position. Playing stringed instruments was not ignoble and was a suitable pastime for the gentry; otherwise it would undermine the portrayal of the noble knight.

9.8   EGYPT AND ETHIOPIANS

Two literary references seem to associate the citole with a non-European setting or performer, but in both cases the citole seems to be used as a familiar indicator of minstrelsy and not an exotic detail.[120] In *Daurel et Beton*,[121] Beton is raised at the court of the Emir of Cairo, but the three instruments he learns to play are the among the standard accomplishments of well-trained European minstrel: the *arpa*, *viola* and

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[119] The only other surviving MS of this work is MS Cambridge University Library, Ff.i.6, fols 96r-109v. The document gathered immediately after Sir Degrevant, and written the hand of one of the three scribes who copied *Sir Degrevant*, includes a list of the 'kynges of yngelond', which ends with Henry VI. This suggests a date of between 1446 and 1461 for this manuscript. [119] Casson ed., *Sir Degrevant*, introduction.

[120] Obviously 'foreign' instrument names such as *cors sarrazinois* appear by the second half of the thirteenth century in such works as *Claris et Laris* (Text B.24) and *Li Roumans de Cléomadès* (Text B.30) and survive in manuscripts predating either *Daurel et Beton* and *Fulk Fitz Warin*. Anonymous, 'Li romans de Claris et Laris', in *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, ed. by Johann Alton (Tübingen: Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 1884), p. 391. Adenet le Roi, *Les œuvres d'Adenet Le Roi*, ed. by Albert Henry, Travaux de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Bruxelles, 5 vols (Bruxelles: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1971), V, p. 695.

[121] (Appendix A, B.46) Paul Meyer, ed., *Daurel et Beton: chanson de geste Provençale* (New York and London: Johnson Reprint, 1966), p. 48.

citola. In *Fulk Fitz Warin*,[122] when Johan de Rampayne disguises himself as a high-status Ethiopian minstrel the stringed instruments that he is specified as playing are also the *harpe, viele,* and *sitole*. Each of these texts survives only in a single copy dating from the fourteenth century. By the fourteenth century, these are three commonly mentioned instrument types and it seems likely that they are merely used as indicators of a high-status musician.

9.9 INDIVIDUAL HUMAN CITOLERS IN ART

A wealth of English, Northern French and Flemish manuscript illuminations depict angelic or grotesque citolers but comparatively few present images of contemporaneous humans who might be engaging in worldly music making. Several, such as the Egerton Book of Hours (Ill. 94) and Queen Mary's Psalter (Ill. 107 & 109) depict scenes of dance.[123] Most of the human citole players are either one of King David's musicians (Ill. 39a, 91a & 104) or isolated from any context (Ill. 53). A Wirth suggests that the two marginal figures in a late-thirteenth-century Picard manuscript of *L'Histoire du Graal* (Ill. 56) depict 'jongleurs vagabond' and that the citoler is wearing a mask.[124] The marginal citoler in the short tunic with a small dog rearing up onto his hind legs in the early-fourteenth-century *Breviary of Blanche de France* by Jean Pucelle (Ill. 72)[125] might represent a relatively low-status performer with a trained dog.

9.9.1 THE CITOLER IN THE STOCKS

The sculpture of the citoler at the Parish Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire, England, is set just inside the porch. Conspicuously set apart from the other figurative elements, with his feet bound by stocks, yet holding his citole in a playing position (Ill. 93a-c), this instrumentalist does not fit into any conventional decorative scheme. The comparatively large size and prominent

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[122] (Appendix A. B.30) Louis Brandin, *Fouke Fitz Warin: roman de XIVe siècle*, Les classiques français du Moyen Âge (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1930), p. 51.
[123] Citoling and dancing will be discussed in §11.
[124] (Ill. 56) It is unclear whether this is meant to be a human in disguise or a human-animal hybrid. Jean Wirth, and others, *Les marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques (1250-1350)*, Matériaux pour l'histoire (Genève: Droz, 2008), p. 238.
[125] (Ill. 72) Vatican Library, Urb. Latin 603, folio 103r.

position of the scene also seems to indicate significance but the meaning and purpose are unclear. Whether the figure is meant to represent an historical figure or a purely allegorical one is worth considering. While the presence of the figure is enigmatic, the instrument is informative: among the earliest depictions of a citole in England, the sculpture shows strong similarities, in form and execution, to some Iberian depictions.

Founded in 1250, when Higham-Ferrers was granted a charter by King Henry III, the church was substantially completed by 1260. The tower, which houses the western portal, was built between 1250 and 1260. The double west doorway is covered by a shallow porch (approximately 11.5 feet wide and 4.5 feet deep) whose carvings are believed to date from c.1270.[126] The pointed barrel vault of the porch is divided into two sections by a vertical rib, both halves of which are decorated with crisply carved diaper work. Based on these and other decorative elements, Egbert suggests that the porch was directly influenced by the work at Westminster Abbey and that the work here was either carried out by a lesser mason from that crew or that a pattern book was passed to a local mason to copy.[127] While the geometric carving might have been derived from an exemplar, the figure of the musician in stocks is not a standard pattern nor is the instrument based on the citole in the North Transept of Westminster Abbey (Ill. 92).

The identity of the patron of the porch is uncertain, since control of the lucrative estates of the earls of Derby, including Higham, was held variously by the De Ferrers family and by a number of Plantagenet royals during this period. When William de Ferrers, the 5th Earl of Derby, died in 1254, his son Robert was not yet of age. As was royal prerogative, minor heirs were put under wardship in gift of the King, forfeiting the revenues of their estates. This wardship was granted to Prince Edward (Longshanks, the future Edward I) and his wife Eleanor of Castile. In 1257, Edward sold the wardship to his mother, Eleanor of Provence and her uncle, Peter of Savoy. Robert de Ferrers reached majority and took possession of his inheritance in 1260. For his part in the baronial revolt against Henry III, during which Robert and

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[126] Virginia Wylie Egbert, 'The Portal of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Higham Ferrers', *The Art Bulletin*, 41 (1959), pp. 256-60.
[127] V. W. Egbert, 'Portal at Higham Ferrers', p. 257

Edward fought with particular acrimony, damaging each others' lands with what some historians suggest was personal vengeance, Robert had his estates seized by the crown. In 1266, the De Ferrers lands, including the Manor of Higham were reassigned to Prince Edmund (Crouchback), Earl of Lancaster.[128] According to Henderson, however, William de Ferrers's widow, Margaret de Quincy, the dowager Countess of Derby, held the patronage of the church from 1268-75.[129]

The musical elements do not fit into any sort of comprehensive scheme. Aside from the carving on the west portal and porch, there is very little other figurative decoration on the church's exterior. Even though the tympanum is highly carved, the musician in the stocks does not seem to relate to it and is quite set apart from any other figurative elements. These may have been lost, since this church is recorded in the inventory of a parliamentary iconoclast.[130]

This, one of the earliest English sculptural depictions of a citoler, is certainly the most puzzling. It does not seem to correspond directly to any known text or decorative scheme. It also doesn't appear as part of any usual thirteenth-century motifs involving musical instruments: this is not one of a series of angel musicians and although there is a figure of Christ enthroned (bringing to mind the Last Judgement) this is not one of the 24 Elders of the Apocalypse with his cithara.

Henderson suggests that the citoler in the stocks might be meant to represent a biblical figure who was put into the stocks or fetters, such as Jeremiah (Jeremiah 20:2), Manasses (Chronicles II 33:11), or Job (Job 13:27). However, none of these passages explain the inclusion of the instrument.

Given the prominent position of this figure, within sight of the possible Tree of Jesse motif on the door jams, the most likely biblical candidate would seem to be King

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[128] Higham Ferres has since been part of the duchy of Lancaster.
[129] George Henderson, 'The Musician in the Stocks at Higham Ferrers, Northhamptonshire', in *England in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. by W. M. Ormrod (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1991), pp. 135-47 (p. 146).
[130] At Saint Mary's in Higham Ferrers, Dowsing and his men 'brake down 15 superstitious pictures in the chancel; and 16 in the church'. While this does not specify the exterior decoration, it seems plausible that the significant damage to the citoler on the porch was caused at this time. Trevor Cooper, ed., *The Journal of William Dowsing* (Woodbridge Ecclesiological Society with Boydell and Brewer, 2001), p. 236.

David, as psalmist, making reference to Psalm 106 (107), verse 10.[131] Henderson credibly suggests that this verse *sedentes in tenebris et umbra mortis vinctos in mendicitate et ferro* might have been transformed into a visual pun on the name of the de Ferrars family[132] and that this image might have been commissioned by Margaret de Quincy as a symbolic reference to her son Robert de Ferrers, who had vainly struggling to regain his lands, including the estates at Higham Ferrers, after having had them seized by the crown.

The citoler in the stocks could, however, also be based on a cautionary fable. A thirteenth-century popular *Miracle of the Virgin* relates to the punishment and redemption of a musician. Several authors have suggested the central sculpture of the tympanum would originally have been a Virgin and Child.[133] There are several surviving versions of the miracle. In one, the minstrel is jailed and sentenced to death for offending the King of Castile but, after singing an antiphon to the Virgin, gains reprieve.[134] *Cantiga* 363 of the *Cantigas De Santa Maria* however, recounts a similar tale with different participants: a Gascon troubadour writes insulting songs about Count Symon who has him imprisoned and vows to kill him.[135] Fearing death, the troubadour vows to the Virgin Mary that he will henceforth only sings songs of devotion to her and in return she effects his miraculous release, transporting him to a nearby hillside. It is easy to see how these tales could be used to turn an individual's mind towards sacred music by reminding him of the dangers of inflammatory songs.

The sculpture might also be historical, as well as allegorical, depicting a miscreant minstrel immortalized as an admonitory figure, either one whose name has been lost or the aforementioned William le Citolur.[136] It is also possible that it commemorates some local event and that the image was merely meant to be of moral instruction. Confinement in stocks was used both as a punishment in itself and as method of

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[131] Psalm 106 (107) 'Such as sat in darkness and in want and in iron', *The Holy Bible, Translated From The Latin Vulgate* (Dublin: R. Coyne, 1833), p. 552.
[132] G. Henderson, 'The Musician in the Stocks', p. 147.
[133] The current sculpture is not original.
[134] MS London, BL, Add. 33956, fol. 73r. H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London: British Museum, 1893), II, pp. 586-740, p.674.
[135] This probably refers to the brutal Simon IV de Montfort, Seigneur de Montfort-l'Amaury, 5th Earl of Leicester.
[136] See Appendix A, texts 5a and 5b, and also §4.6 Legal Records.

restraint for holding those accused of serious crimes until they could be transferred to prison. The placement of an image of stocks in a church porch would not have been surprising; often parish stocks were located in the church porch.[137] The stone benches on either side of this porch are similar to those at the church of St. Mary the Virgin in Bratton Clovelly (diocese of Exeter) where stocks are still housed in the church porch.

Although there is no proof that William le Citolur would have been known in Higham certain events coincide: 1269, the year that Egbert suggests the carving began,[138] is when the two surviving pardons were issued for William. The first of the two pardons, the London pardon, was at the instance of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, who was at the time, titular Lord of Higham manor. If this is a portrait of William, or another disreputable citole player, there is no clear explanation for its appearance on the church porch, except as a cautionary example.

The instrument held by the figure is also interesting and suggests possible Castilian influence. The instrument appears to have the long thin vase-shaped body outline and a soundhole type reminiscent of Iberian sources. The five pierced soundholes in the form of a cross and a small end-projection (damaged in both cases) resemble the instrument depicted with figure 4 of group 4 in the Assembly Chamber c.1253–66, of the Palace of Archbishop Gelmírez in Santiago de Compostela (Ill. 16). The pierced soundholes in the upper and lower bouts are also characteristic of Iberian sculptures such as those on the portals of the Collegiate church in Toro (Ill. 31) or the church in La Hiniesta (Ill. 32), and in the Códice de los Músicos manuscript of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Ill. 19, 20 and 21).[139] Although significantly degraded at the neck end, even by the time of Storer's published engraving in the early nineteenth century,[140] the physical limitations of the space dictate that the depiction probably once sported a short neck, probably not greater than one third of the total

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[137] The stone benches on either side of this porch are similar to those at the church of St Mary the Virgin in Bratton Clovelly (diocese of Exeter) where stocks are still housed in the church porch.
[138] V. W. Egbert, 'Portal at Higham Ferrers', p. 257
[139] Madrid San Lorenzo de el Escorial, B. I. 2.
[140] This seems to be corroborated by Storer's engraving. Although the neck is missing, a 'j'-shaped line seems to indicate the length and extent of the neck. James Storer, *Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet, Containing a Series of Elegant Views of the Most Interesting Objects of Curiosity in Great Britain* (London: 1808), II, not paginated.

length.

Playing posture and arm position are hard to determine due to the contortion and/or shortening of the figure (Ill. 93b and c). The musician on the window spandrel is similarly distorted to fit the space but not so drastically). If we take the depiction literally, the instrument must be resting against the shins of the player, which surely would add to the discomfort of the figure. The player's right shoulder is curved forward, with a disproportionately long upper arm across the body of the instrument. This is not dissimilar to the playing position shown in the Cantigas illustrations. Damage to the face of the instrument makes it difficult to determine the exact position of the lost right forearm and hand, but there is what appears to be a raised area adjacent to the centre bout, below and across the strings. Where not degraded, the band of strings is clearly depicted until a point beyond the widest point in the lower bout where the distinction ends abruptly. The band continues, but whether this is meant to indicate the bridge position or a tailpiece is not clear. Lawson credibly suggests this abrupt termination indicates a tailpiece, like one excavated at Raunds Furnells.[141] The band of strings disappears beneath the left arm and reappears at the tail end as two raised lines. The two raised lines could indicate a loop of a tailgut but the lower end attachment is unclear. The depth of the ribs is relatively parallel and does not show any significant taper. The head end is so worn that no details can be differentiated.

Given that this is possibly the oldest depiction of a citole in England, it is very curious that it so strongly resembles an Iberian model. Foreign craftsmen were employed in the decoration of Westminster Abbey. We know from the surviving payment rolls at Westminster Abbey that Peter de Hispania was a favourite painter and that a Roman sculpture was specially commissioned to carve the base of the tomb of Edward the Confessor.[142] Unfortunately, the payment records for lesser craftsmen are not detailed.

Graeme Lawson, 'The Musician in the Stocks at Higham Ferrers: an Archeological Postscript', in *England in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. by W. M. Ormrod (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1991), pp. 149-54.
[142] W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and The King's Craftsmen: a study of mediaeval building* (London: Duckworth, 1906), pp. 154, 245, 257, 259.

9.9.2 THE DOORWAY FIGURE AT TORO

The Collegiate Church in Toro is one of the richest sources of citole depictions in sculpture. The two citolers on the archivolts of the North Portal and three citolers on the West Portal, however, are Elders of the Apocalypse, and so must be treated with care. While some of the other instruments resemble those depicted in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, others seem to have been influenced by the *Epistle of Pseudo-Jerome to Dardanus*.[143]

The only secular, non-biblical, figure shown with a citole appears at the upper corner of the door to the left hand of the standing Madonna and Child (Ill. 31J-L). This depiction therefore offers a comparative model against which the Elders' instruments may be judged. It shows the same typical features as the instruments shown with Elders number 13 and 18 (Ill. 31D-F and 31G-I). This representation is much larger than the Elders shown above it.

Given the relatively large size of the door jamb sculpture, its careful modeling and position closer to the ground, the details are quite clear. Unfortunately the instrument is not finely detailed. The plectrum, held between the index and middle finger, is large and round in section like a pencil. Unfortunately, the neck type is not shown, or is obscured by the hand, and the pegbox-end of the carving has been damaged.

9.10 MAGNIFICENT FESTIVITIES: LISTS OF INSTRUMENTS AND AMPLIFICATION OF GRANDEUR

Citoles frequently appear in grand lists meant to convey an atmosphere of splendour. Diverse and numerous instruments are often employed in descriptions of the largess and spectacle. The literary situations that include the citole as part of these extensive lists of instruments are usually scenes of courtly splendour or sumptuous festivities such as weddings, coronations, tournaments, and triumphal processions.

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[143] Christopher Page, 'Biblical Instruments in Medieval Manuscript Illustration', *Early Music*, 5 (1977), pp. 299-309.

Grand lists should not be discounted as completely contrary to contemporaneous practise but they can also not be considered to be completely reliable testaments. Amplification was an accepted poetic device during the Middle Ages. Geoffrey de Vinsauf, in his influential early thirteenth-century *Poetria Nova*, suggests a number of techniques for poets. Lines 635-665 give specific examples of how descriptions of feasts may be expanded by including details of entertainments and delights appropriate for banquets.[144]

Guillame de Machaut's *La Prise d'Alexandrie* is the only example of this sort of amplifying list that purports to record contemporaneous events.[145] The relevant scene is the arrival of Pierre of Lusignan and Cyprus and his crusaders at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor in Prague in 1364. The court is described as being 'paradis terrestre'.[146] Godwin identifies the scene as a festival given in honour of the King Pierre and his knights but the text seems to indicate everyday opulence.[147] The music described does not seem to be part of any celebration but is merely ambient. The list of instruments, including the citole, resembles that appearing in Guillame de Machaut's earlier *Le Remède de Fortune*.[148]

A similar scene is described in the thirteenth-century French romance *Durmart le Galois*. The arrival at the palace of the king's son is greeted by a variety of stringed instruments and singing.[149] Here, however, a modest list of instruments includes *vieles*, *harpes*, *gigues*, *psalteres* and *citoles*.

Grand lists of instruments including the citole occur most frequently in descriptions of wedding feasts. These occur in *Floriant et Florete*, *Richars li Biaus*, *Morant und Galie*, *Eric et Enide* and *Claris et Laris*. These expressions of grandeur, however, have a basis in practise. In the Middle Ages, the weddings of important persons were

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[144] Geoffrey de Vinsauf, 'Poetria Nova', in *Horace for the Students of Literature: The 'Ars Poetica" and its Tradition*, ed. by O.B. Hardison, Jr. and Leon Golden (Gainsville: University Press of Florida 1995), pp. 110-11.
[145] (App. A. B.51) Guillaume de Machaut, *La Prise d'Alixandre (The Taking of Alexandria)*, ed. by R. Barton Palmer, trans. by R. Barton Palmer (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 86-89.
[146] Machaut, La Prise d'Alixandre, ed. and trans. Palmer (2002), p. 87.
[147] Joscelyn Godwin, 'Main divers acors', *Early Music*, 5 (1977), pp. 156-57.
[148] (App. A, B.50) Guillaume de Machaut, *Œvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, ed. by Ernest Hœpffner, Société des anciens textes français, 3 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911), II, pp. 145-6.
[149] (App. A, B.19) vv. 15070-90. Edmund Stengel, ed., *Li romans de Durmart le Galois* (Tübingen: Bibliothek des Literarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1873), p. 418.

accompanied by spectacular festivities commensurate with the social status of the host. As this is attested to in contemporaneous chronicles, it is not surprising to find such expressions of opulence should be reflected, and magnified, in fiction. The thirteenth-century monk and scholar Matthew Paris describes several nuptial celebrations including the 1243 wedding of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and Sanchia, daughter of the Earl of Provence, celebrated at Westminster.

> There was so much nuptial conviviality at his wedding, and such festivity among the noble guests, that nothing could be compared to the splendour of the entertainment – it would require a long and tedious treatise to describe it... Most wonderful performances were there exhibited, ... whilst the eyes and senses of the lookers-on were ravished with pleasure before unheard of. Worldly pomp, and every kind of vanity and glory, was displayed in the different bodies of gleemen, the variety of their garments, the number of dishes and the multitude of feasters.[150]

The danger of such lists, as already shown, is that specific names of instruments are expendable. There is no intrinsic importance to the individual names contained. The importance is more that there are a great variety of instruments. However, in order for these lists to serve their narrative function, as convincing expressions of grandeur, the instruments contained must be suitable for such grand occasions. Although events described in literature, with their extensive lists of instruments, might seem the stuff of fantasy, it should be remembered that the Pentecost festivities for the knighting of Edward III would have seemed just as grand.[151] As with the previous texts, these inclusions indicate that at some time between the composition of the work and the surviving text, the citole was deemed appropriate for inclusion.

Despite the large number of instruments named, the two texts with grand lists, *Erec et Enide* (B.11)[152] and *Flamenca* (B.21),[153] each carefully describe that the multitude of performers are not playing as an ensemble. The descriptions imply that each of the performers is playing his own piece, pressing forward to be heard, one playing

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[150] Matthew Paris, *Matthew Paris's English History From the Year 1235 to 1273*, ed. by and trans. Rev. J. A. Giles, 3 vols (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852), I, p. 461.
[151] For the full lists of minstrels at that feast see Constance Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum Multitudo* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978).
[152] (Appendix A, B.11) Christian von Troyes, *Erec und Enide*, ed. by Wendelin Foerster, Christian von Troyes Sämtliche Werke nach Allen Bekanten Handschriften (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1890), p. 76.
[153] (Appendix A, B.21) E. D. Blodgett, ed., *The Romance of Flamenca*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature (New York and London: Garland, 1995), pp. 33-4.

this song and another that. The citole seems to be more often associated with small groups than with extravagant festivities.

9.11 SMALL GROUPS

Human citoler are often associated with playing as a solo instrument or with one or two other instruments. Since these sources are so vital for the consideration of instrumental groupings they are discussed in §11. 2.

9.12 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS:

Perhaps it is not surprising that most of the citolers described in literature are performers who play for some sort of reward. Citole playing seems to have been one of the skills of a fully trained minstrel. Alternately, the citole was likened to an instrument of torture when played badly and might be used as a cudgel to chastise disobedient *jogrars*. As with minstrels of the English royal court, the named citole-playing *jogrars* were prominent court servants. In the case of the *jogrars*, they are servants of aristocratic poets who included Alfonso X.

The citole seems to be one of the chordophones particularly associated with skilled minstrels. In *Des Deux Bordeors Ribauz*, the minstrel who boasts about the variety of epics he can perform mentions only four chordophones types: *citole*, *viele*, *gigue* and two *harpes*. As part of Johan de Rampayne's disguise as a high-status performer, only three instruments are named: *harpe*, *viele*, and *sitole*. These are the same instruments played by the precocious Beton, and the fact that his stepfather Daurel does *not* play the citole seems to indicate that, in some places, the citole was third in the hierarchy of minstrel skills. In Iberia, the harp does not seem to have had the same prominence during this period and the instruments most closely associated with the *jograr* seem to be the *citola* (or *citolon*) and the *viola*. In two copies of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the pairing of the *citola* and *viola* appears in the scene of Alphonso X at court with his scribes and musicians. The *citolon* also seems to be the instrument most often identified with the *jogrars* mentioned in Galician-Portuguese insult poetry. A citole-type instrument is also the one that occurs in the majority of scenes depicting a seated poet and a standing performer in the *Canconiero da Ajuda*.

Some surviving descriptions and depictions of citole playing in contemporaneous situations demonstrate that the citole was played recreationally as well as vocationally. Although not common, there are indications that the citole was considered a suitable instrument for respectable women to play.

One misleading aspect of this evidence is that human citolers in literature and art appear most frequently in one geographical region. This might give a false impression about where the citole was generally most popular. Although numerous citolers are named in documentary records in England, and the largest number of texts that include citole-related terms are French there are comparatively few literary references to or depictions of contemporaneous human citolers. During the thirteenth century, the kingdom of Castile and León produced the clearest information about human citolers at court but neither the largest number of depictions of nor references to the citole. Only four thirteenth-century Iberian manuscripts offer depictions of citolers, but these all seem to depict *jogrars*. The Galician-Portuguese insult poetry also offered a forum for recording the names of courtly musicians, from Castile and León and Portugal, but these poems are credited to only eight authors.[154] While this is very compelling evidence, it must be remembered that it is a very small portion of the material relating to the citole. Although not recorded as explicitly, literary references from France and England suggest that, in addition to professional minstrels, women and students may have played the citole for education and enjoyment.

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[154] See Table 5. The nine authors are: King Alfonso X, Fernan Páez de Talamancos, Martin Soárez, Joan Garcia Guilhade, Lourenço, Joan Pérez d'Avoín, Joan Soarez Coelho, and Pedr' Amigo de Sevilha.

Although these Italian examples do not conform to the definition of citole adhered to in this study, they will be discussed briefly for two reasons: some scholars consider these to represent possible variant forms of the citole,[1] and several specific Italian sources are cited in almost every study relevant to the citole. In Italy, both the nomenclature used and the morphology depicted are dissimilar to those identified as characteristic of the citole elsewhere. Depictions of holly-leaf–shaped chordophones and *citole*-related terms occur extremely rarely southeast of the Alps. Italian non-oval plucked chordophones typically have a spatulate body-outline, and *cet(e)ra* and *cedra* are the names most frequently used in Italian literature.[2]

The modern discussion of Italian sources that might be relevant to the *citole* is dominated by three sources. These are a depiction of a plucked instrument in the Parma Baptistery, which is frequently cited among the earliest depictions of a citole (§10.1); the term *cetra* which occurs in Dante's *Inferno* (§10.2); and Tinctoris' description of a *cetula* (§10.3). It is proposed here that these purported associations to the citole are erroneous, and that these sources relate to either a distinct regional variation or an entirely separate instrument type.

10.1   ITALIAN DEPICTIONS

Several histories of the *cittern* or *guitar* propose that the instrument represented in one of the Parma Baptistery sculptures is an antecedent of the type of instrument exemplified by the British Museum's citole.[3] This sculpture, carved by Benedetto Antelami, circa 1180-96,[4] on the internal face of western tympanum, is part of the group representing King David with his musicians. It is probably meant to illustrate

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[1] Most notably Winternitz, Young, and Wright. Emanuel Winternitz, 'The Survival of the Kithara and the Evolution of the English Cittern: a Study in Morphology', in *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), pp. 57-65. Crawford Young, ' Zur Klassifikation und Ikonographischen Interpretation Mittelalterlicher Zupfinstrumente', *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis*, 8 (1984), pp. 67- 104 (pp. 77- 81). Laurence Wright, 'The Medieval Gittern And Citole: A case of mistaken identity', *GSJ*, 30 (1977), pp. 8-42 (p. 27).
[2] For the variant terms, see § 3.2.2.2. Also see L. Wright, 'Mistaken Identity' (1977), p. 23-4.
[3] Among others, Grunfeld proposes the evolution into the *guitar* whereas Winternitz allies with the *cittern*. Frederic Grunfeld, *The Art and Times of the Guitar: An Illustrated History of Guitars and Guitarists* (New York: Da Capo, 1974). Winternitz, 'Survival of the Kithara', pp. 57-65.
[4] See Appendix, B, Ill. 144-144c.

a passage from the First Book of Paralipomenon (1 Chronicles 15:28-29) although the text below the scene is not biblical.[5] The instrument held by the figure at the left-hand of King David is a distinct-necked chordophone with a spade-shaped body.[6] It is shown being plucked with a short, wide plectrum and has well-defined raised frets on the neck. Unlike the citole depictions discussed in §7, the end-protrusion is small, the body is uniformly shallow (showing no overall taper) and the peg-head is a relatively flat disk, bent back only slightly from the plane of the strings.

Frescos, in the upper church and the lower church of the Basilica of San Francesco in Assisi, offer evidence that the instrument-type continued to be known in Italy and connect it with the symbolism of the *cithara* as played by the Elders of the Apocalypse. Cimabue's 'Adoration of the Lamb' fresco in the upper church in Assisi, c. 1280-3, includes two small distinct-necked chordophones held by Elders of the Apocalypse: one has an oval body and the other appears to be a short-necked spatulate instrument.[7] The spatulate instrument has similar proportions and body outline to the Parma example. Unfortunately, since this is among the frescos in which some of the pigments have darkened, other details are difficult to discern.[8]

Twelve Apocalyptic Elders with instruments, appearing in painted roundels on the ceiling vaulting of the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi,[9] offer the strongest

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[5] The text reads:
> REX DAVID INVITAT PSALLENS CĀTARE SODALES UT BENE DESIGNĀT SCULTIO: MOLARES

The beginning of the phrase is clear: King David invites companions to sing praise... The word *psallens* derives from the Greek *psallo* and can either mean to 'sing psalms' or 'to stroke [the strings of an instrument]'.

[6] This sculpture might have been based on an earlier model. It shows similarites to the illustration of David and his musicians above Psalm CL in the Pantheon Bible, c. 1100 (Rome, Vatican, Bib. Apostolica, MS. Vat. lat. 12958) in which the figure of Ethan also plays a short-necked, spatulate chordphone. Reference: RCMI files, Winternitz collection, photo labelled 'E86933/g6900'.

[7] The spatulate instrument is identified by Brown as a possible 'fiddle' without a bow and the oval-bodied one as a possible 'cittern'. Howard Mayer Brown, 'Catalogus. A Corpus of Trecento Pictures with Musical Subject Matter, Part I, Instalment 1', *Imago Musicae*, 1 (1984), pp. 189-244, p. 230.

[8] Neither is held in playing position. More precise details of this image are difficult to discern since this is one of the frescos in which the white pigment has darkened. Unfortunately, since the Upper Church is still largely closed following the 1997 earthquake, I was unable to view the original painting. The clearest published image that I have identified is in Giorgio Bonsanti and others, *La Basilica di San Francesco Ad Assisi: Basilica superiore*, ed. by Giorgio Bonsanti, Mirabilia Italiæ (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2002), vol. 11, part 2, p. 962, image 1828.

[9] Christe offers a very clear summary of the manner in which the arrangement of the figures on the vaulting here summarize the vision of St. John. Yves Christe, 'The Apocalypse in the Monumental Art of The Eleventh through Thirteenth Centuries', in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. by

evidence that instruments of the type found at the Parma Baptistery maintained a consistent form and did not 'develop' into the steeply tapering citole.[10] The fresco, dating from c.1300-10, shows similar instruments held at a variety of angles, offering views of the sides as well as the front.[11] Although there is variation in the details of the instruments, they share many of the characteristics shown in Antelami's sculpture: spade-shaped body-outline, flat pegbox with frontally inserted pegs, sides of a relatively uniform depth, and an unsupported neck fitted with large raised block frets. Differences from the Parma depiction include a short, wide, comb at the lower end rather than the small end protrusion;[12] bourdon strings running beside the fingerboard; and the use of a fine, thin, plectrum rather than a large one. Although one of the Assisi depictions depicts rectangular frets, with gaps between them that are somewhat reminiscent of those shown on some Iberian examples,[13] the majority of the Assisi examples exhibit large triangular frets. These divergent features seem to relate more to later Italian sources than to contemporaneous citole depictions found elsewhere.[14] Given that these paintings were produced in the same period as the citole that is now in the British Museum, it seems evident that, by the early fourteenth century, these morphologically diverse types had already become distinct from one another.

Additionally, a few Italian manuscripts have been identified which contain chordophones with non-oval body-outlines. These all display roughly spatulate body-shapes and display features similar to the Parma Baptistery sculpture mentioned previously. A marginal miniature in the Bible of Anti-pope Clement VII (London, BL Add. 47672, fol. 471)[15] shows the Elders of the Apocalypse, three of whom are in the act of playing spatulate chordophones. The instruments have

Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 234-58 (p. 238).

[10] The only clear Italian image of a chordophone with a distinct overall taper and thumbhole type neck and dates from 1503-5. It is in an intarsia in the choir stalls of Monastery of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, near Sienna. The instrument has a body outline more typical of Italy in the fifteenth century: oval with projections at the neck/body joint.

[11] See Appendix A, Ill. 147-162.

[12] The lower end of the instrument is obscured in all but one of the examples. See Appendix A. Ill. 148.

[13] The rectangular frets seen on the instrument of the upper, right-hand, north-side Elder at Assisi Appendix B, Ill. 153 are similar to those on La Hiniensta elder thirteen's, Ill. 32d-f.

[14] Some of these features can be seen in a detail from Fabriano's, *Coronation of the Virgin*, c. 1400. See Appendix A, Ill. 165.

[15] (Appendix B, Ill. 163) Mary Remnant and Richard Marks, 'A Medieval Gittern', *Music and Civilisation: The British Museum Yearbook*, 4 (1980), pp. 83-134, ill. 67.

linden-leaf-shaped peg-heads and two large oval or 'D' shaped soundholes. The one
that does not have an obscured lower end does not seem to have a lower end
protrusion. The long, thin, plectra appear to be curved. Another fourteenth-century
marginal illustration (Madrid El Escorial MS A.I.5, fol. 235)[16] shows a spatulate
chordophone with a central soundhole and what appears to be a thumbhole neck.
The absence of chordophones with holly-leaf shaped body-outlines from Italy is not
the result of iconoclasm. Contemporaneous works of art have survived in great
numbers, the themes associated with instrument depictions are also prevalent, and
there is no dearth of necked chordophones. However, it is oval-bodied and piriform
instruments which appear commonly. In his survey of fourteenth-century Italian art,
which follows Wright's definitions of *citole* and *gittern*, Brown identifies over two
hundred lutes and more than eighty gitterns.[17] Non-oval-bodied chordophones seem
to be much rarer in fourteenth-century art, if Brown's survey is representative.
Brown describes the Assisi Elders, discussed here previously, as having 'cittern-like
instruments'.[18] The few other plucked distinct-necked chordophones with non-oval
body-outlines, catalogued by Brown under various names, are difficult to identify
with certainty because the instrument in the image is too obscured,[19] or degraded.[20]
One of these heavily obscured instruments is the only instrument which Brown,
tentatively, identifies as 'citole?'.[21]

Among Italian examples, there seems to be a particular recurring morphology,
which follows the characteristics of the Parma example rather than those of citole-

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[16] C. Young, 'Klassifikation' (1984), Ill. 16

[17] For 'lute' and 'gittern' see Brown, 'Catalogus, Part I, Instalment 4' (1988), pp, 178-9.

[18] The 'cittern-like instruments' are those shown with the sixteen Elders on the ceiling in the lower
basilica in Assisi (App. B, Ill. 147-162), discussed here below. Brown, 'Catalogus, Part I, Instalment
2' (1985), pp. 212-3.

[19] Coronation of the Virgin (1408-9), Lorenzo di Niccolò, a kneeling angel on the right-hand side
holds what might be a plucked instrument with square upper-bout corners. Given that the angel is
facing away from the viewer the body of the instrument is almost entirely obscured. The altar fresco
of the Strozzi Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence by Nardo di Cione (completed 1357) includes a
female or angel instrumentalist of whose instrument only the upper edge of the possibly waisted
soundbox and soundhole can be seen. Brown, 'Catalogus', Part I, Instalment 2' (1985), p. 252.

[20] As discussed above, Cimabue's Adoration of the Lamb(c. 1280-3) in the upper church of San
Francesco, Assisi, is so severely damaged that it is difficult to distinguish anything more than the
outline of the two instruments. Brown suggests that the left-hand one might be a 'cittern' and the
right a 'fiddle' with no bow. Brown, 'Catalogus, Part I, Instalment 1' (1984), p. 230.

[21] The instrument Brown identifies as 'citole?' is among the angel musicians in Guisto de Menaboui,
Padua, Baptistery vault, c. 1376-78. Both ends of the instrument are obscured, only the centre of the
soundbox, the plucking hand and a round soundhole are visible. For 'lute' and 'gittern' see Brown,
'Catalogus, Part I, Instalment 4' (1988), pp. 178-9. For 'citole' see Brown, 'Catalogus, Part I,
Instalment 3' (1986), p. 115 & Brown, 'Catalogus, Part I, Instalment 2' (1985), p. 226.

type instruments depicted in other parts of Europe. Young identifies no Italian sources from the 10th through 15th centuries as containing instruments conforming to his B.1 classification, which he associates with the term *citole*,[22] whereas the B.2 type appears consistently.[23] The criteria for Young's class B.2. can be paraphrased as: instruments with in-curved, straight or even rounded sides, shoulders with and without projections, a pegbox that is usually flat, and a uniform body-neck-pegbox-depth constructed from a single piece of wood similar to the *fiedel*.[24] Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italian paintings show shallow-bodied spatulate instruments that seem to conform to Young's B.2 classification. The instruments shown either display end-projections which are short and wide end with no necking,[25] or with no visible end-projection.[26] Most instruments seem to be shown with short, simple necks.[27] These features appear regularly in Italian sources, but rarely elsewhere, suggesting that the shallow spatulate body-form represents at least a regional variation from the instruments discussed in previous sections, if not a distinct instrument type.[28]

10.2 *CET(E)RA* AND *CEDRA* TERMS

In addition to Italian texts, clear references to the *cet(e)ra* and *cedra* terms appear in Occitan and Castilian sources.[29] As has been shown in §3.2.2.2, the manner in which

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[22] A paraphrase of Young's non-oval group B.1 criteria can be found above in §2.1.2 'Modern Authorities'. The original text is in C. Young, 'Klassifikation' (1984), pp. 75-6.

[23] C. Young, 'Klassifikation' (1984), pp. 69-70.

[24] Since no examples of this instrument type have survived, construction method is conjectural. C. Young, 'Klassifikation' (1984), p. 69.

[25] Although the lower end is often obscured, the small, wide end-projection can be seen on the Parma Baptistery example (App. B, Ill. 144a-b) Puy-en-Velay, BM, MS 1, fol. 173r (App. B, Ill. 145) and Naples, Bibl. dei Gerolamini CF 4.5. C. Young, 'Klassifikation' (1984), ill. 3.

[26] Possibly the only clear depiction of a lack of end-projection is shown in the lower church of the Papal Basilica in Assisi on the instrument held by the upper right-hand Elder on the west vault above the altar. Instead of an end-projection it has a two pins to which the strings attach. See Appendix B, Ill. 148.

[27] The single contemporaneous exception is a marginal illustration in a fourteenth-century Bolognese manuscript which appears to show a spatulate instrument with a thumbhole–type neck. Appendix B, Ill. 164. An early sixteenth-century choir stall intarsia in the monastery of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, which seems to show an oval-bodied chordophone with a thumbhole neck, is too far outside the relevant time period to be considered here.

[28] During the fourteenth century, several other instrument types appear more frequently in Italy than in areas north west of the Alps, including the asymmetrical quadrilateral psaltery and the angle-harp.

[29] Although an English record mentions a 'Richard Citerer' and it is tempting to suggest that he played the *cetra*, this might be a misnomer for 'Richard Giterer' recorded elsewhere. Great Britain Public Record Office, *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward III, Vol. VI, A.D. 1341-1343*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: HMSO, 1902), p. 83.

some of these texts use both *citole* and *cedra* in the same passage suggests that they describe instruments which were distinguishable from one another. Since the shallow-bodied spatulate depictions occur in Italy, where the term *cet(e)ra* is predominant, it is worth considering whether this different name might have applied specifically to this instrument type.

Unfortunately, in some cases it is not possible to determine whether the use of *cetera* indicates a musical instrument. Simon Tunstede, in *Quatuor Principalia*, mixes Latin and vernacular terms when he offers examples of artificial instruments: 'organa, viella, cithara, cistolla, psalterium et cetera.'[30] If this indicates both *cistolla* and *cetera*, that would strengthen the argument that they are diverse instrument types. However, placing the *cetera* after the *et* makes the passage ambiguous. In the previous paragraph he describes the species of instruments, ending with 'Factu autem, ut psalterio et cithara, et similia'. So, it seems likely that Tunstede means 'et cetera' as 'and so on' and not as an instrument name.

By the final quarter of the thirteenth century the term *cetera* appears in Italian-language sources. In some cases it represents a translation of *cithara* either in biblical or classical references, such as Bono Giamboni's *e il Trattato di Virtú de Vizi*,[31] or *Il « Novellino»*.[32] Other writers such as Dino Compagni, in *L'intelligenza* or Dante in *De vulgari eloquentia*, include it among colloquial terms.

Although a passage from Dante's *Paradiso* is the most often cited use of the term *cetra*,[33] it is evident that Dante was familiar with the term's vernacular usage long before he wrote the *Divine Comedy*. The term appears in *De vulgari eloquentia*, an

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[30] Simon Tunstede, 'Quatuor Principalia Musicae', in *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi novam seriem a Gerbertina alteram collegit nuncque primum*, ed. by Edmond de Coussemaker 4 vols (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963) IV, pp. 200-6 (p. 205).

[31] Giamboni refers to a passage from the Bible (Job XXX, 31: *versa est in luctum cithara mea et organum meum in vocem flentium*) Bono Giamboni, *Il libro de' vizi e delle virtudi e Il trattato di virtú e di vizi*, ed. by Cesare Segre, Nuovo raccolta do classici italiani annotati (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1968), p. 152.

[32] Cesare Segre and Mario Marti, eds, *La prosa del Duecento*, Letteratura italiana; storia e testi, (Milano: R. Ricciardi, 1959), vol. 3, p. 811.

[33] Commentaries on the Divine Comedy date from not long after it, creating quite a number of references to the *cetra* in this period that refer to Dante. One of the earliest is Jacopo della Lana, is circa 1324-8. Dante Alighieri, Jacopo della Lana and Luciano Scarabelli, *Comedia di Dante degli Allagherii: col commento di Jacopo della Lana Bolognese*, Collezione di opere inedite o rare dei primi tre secoli della lingua, 3 vols (Bologna: Tipografia Regia, 1866), III.

incomplete defence of the vernacular tongue and guidance for its use in poetry, which is believed to have been written in the years immediately before Dante's exile in 1305.[34] The passage, 'nec silvestria, propter austeritatem, ut *greggia* et *cetra*' ('or for the rustic (like *greggia* (flock) and *cetra* (lyre)), because of their roughness'),[35] seems to indicate that *cetra* is a native Italian rustic term.[36]

Subsequently, when Dante uses the term *cetra* in *Paradiso* and *cetera* in *Convivio*, they can be assumed to be vernacular terms. The passage in *Paradiso* XX:22 'E come suono al collo de la cetra prende sua forma' ('And as at the [cetra]'s neck the sound of the notes take form') indicates that this is a necked instrument.[37] Since he has already described *cetra* as a rustic term, it is unlikely that Dante choose the *cetra* because it was the Italian equivalent of the antique *cithara*. If the *cetra* was a type of *citole*, it is unclear why he would reject *citole* used by his 'master' Brunetto Latini.[38] It is unclear whether this choice of term indicates a preference for the local vernacular rather than a francophone term or whether this different name indicated a discernibly different instrument.

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[34] Although composed c.1304, no manuscript copies have survived from before the date of the authorship of the Divine Comedy in 1321. The earliest surviving manuscripts for each of these are believed to date from the mid-fourteenth c.

[35] Dante Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia, Monarchia,* ed. by Pier Vincenzo Mengaldo and E. Bruno Nardi, Dante Alighieri Opere Minori, 3 vols (Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1996), III.

[36] Not all modern readings of this passage have been so unambiguous. Rajna reads the passage as ending with 'etc', and explains that for reasons of sonority and parallelism, *cetra* from the original text was edited into to the Latin *cetera* for the modern edition. Dante Alighieri, *Il trattato de vulgari eloquentia: Ed. critica,* ed. by Pio Rajna (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1896), p.158, This seems a strange editorial choice in a work discussing vernacular usage. The parallel structure of 'this *et* that', which provides two example for each sort of vernacular term, seems more persuasive than interpreting this as '*greggia* and the rest'. Oddly, Fumugali offers the 'and the rest' translation but then cites the use of the vernacular *cetra* in *Paradiso* XX:22. Maria Cristina Fumagalli, *The Flight of the Vernacular: Seamus Heaney, Derek Walcott and the impress of Dante* Cross/Cultures: readings in the post/colonial literatures in English (New York: Rodopi, 2001), p. 12f.

[37] *Cetra* is translated as *lute*. Dante Alighieri, *Dante Alighieri's Divine Comedy: Verse translation and commentary,* ed. by and trans. by Mark Musa, 6 vols (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), V, p. 193.

[38] Transcriptions of the Italian language text all seem to be based on later manuscripts. See Appendix A, Texts D.14a-b. Although Dante refers to Latini as his master, there is some debate as to whether this indicates that he was literally his teacher. At this time, I have been unable to verify which term is used in the surviving thirteenth-century Italian language copies of Latini's *Li Livres dou Tresor*. Squillacioti's translation, into modern Italian, which proffers *cetra* for most occurrences of *citole*, does not clearly indicate what term terms are used in the Italian language manuscripts. That Squillacioti's removes the citole entirely from his translation of Book II, Chapter 67, where *autresi come citole em plor* is translated *perché è come musica in un giorno di lutto* (like music on a day of mourning), seems to have been guided by Jesus of Sirach's text: *et est quasi musica in luctu*. Brunetto Latini, *Tresor,* ed. by Pietro G. Beltrami, and others (Torino: G. Einaudi, 2007), *cetra:* pp. 11, 39, 241, 275, 339, 347, 431, 473, 797; Jesus of Sirach, p. 486-7.

10.3 Tinctoris and the Late Fifteenth-century *Cetula*[39]

At the end of the fifteenth century, Johannes Tinctoris, a Flemish music theorist writing in Italy, describes an instrument that he calls the *cetula*, but there are good reasons to doubt whether this term is meant to describe the same type of instrument as the *citole*: the source is late, the term is unique and the instrument considered 'foreign'. Tinctoris' *De Inventione et Usu Musicae* is the only known source for the musical term *cetula* which he says refers to an Italian instrument played by rustics to accompany light songs and dance music. One of the questions asked by Wright in his *New Grove* definition is: 'if one concludes from this that "cet(e)ra" was not the only Italian name, why is 'cetula' not attested in literature?'[40] Tinctoris, as foreigner encountering an unfamiliar instrument type, might have made an approximation of the local name that he heard used.[41] More notable than the otherwise undocumented terminological variant used by Tinctoris, is that the instrument he encountered was unfamiliar to him. He says that the *cetula* is only used in Italy and that the Italians invented it. Although the citole had fallen out of use in France and Flanders by this time, it seems unlikely that a Flemish scholar, particularly one so interested in music and instruments,[42] would have encountered neither a reference to the *citole* nor a marginal illustration of a citoler during his studies. As late as 1424-9, the term *citole* was used in *Canticordum Du Pèlerin* by Jean Gerson,[43] and numerous relevant texts from the previous century were still being copied. It seems much more likely that the instrument Tinctoris encountered was a regional instrument type that seemed foreign to him and, as he suggests, was developed and used in Italy.[44]

Although there is no illustration accompanying Tinctoris' text to clarify which instrument he meant by the term *cetula*, he does offer a partial description. From his

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[39] (Text D. 15) Baines. Anthony Baines, 'Fifteenth-century Instruments in Tinctoris's "De Inventione et Usu Musicae"', *GSJ*, 3 (1950), pp. 19-26.

[40] Laurence Wright, 'Citole', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrell, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), V, pp. 872-76.

[41] As the texts in Appendix A demonstrate, scribal variation abounded in the Middle Ages.

[42] It is said that, while a student at the University of Paris, Tinctoris played the *viole* very well. Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in Medieval Universities* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), p. 121.

[43] See Appendix A, B.87.

[44] It is plausible that the *cetula* encountered by Tinctoris was similar to the instruments depicted in the carvings on Luca Della Robbia's *Cantoria* of 1431-38, (formerly in Florence Cathedral now in the Museo dell' Opera del Duomo), or shown in an intarsia from the Gubbio Studiolo, c. 1479-82, from Duke Federico da Montefeltro's Palace in Urbino (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

text we know that the *cetula* had four strings made of metal, it was played with a feather (*penna*) and that the neck was fitted with frets. The description of the instrument being fitted with wooden elevations because it is flat (*plana*) seems to indicate that the frets were applied directly to the neck and not applied to an additional fingerboard. These types of frets are seen in earlier depictions of both spatulate instruments and waisted ones.[45] Although he does not specify the body-shape, Tinctoris' description of the late fifteenth-century Italian *cetula* differs from the earlier citole in at least one important detail: the *cetula* is played with a feather plectrum.[46]

Some fifteenth–century Italian sources depict a type of instrument that seems to fit Tinctoris' description. One of the eight attending musical angels in a panel painting of the Coronation of the Virgin with Saints (central panel of polyptych of Valle Romita) from c. 1400-10,[47] displays a chordophone with a body outline which is spatulate verging on oval.[48] The neck is fitted with wide rectangular frets that have gaps between them. A mid-fifteenth–century panel painting of the Legend of the Minstrel and the *Volto Santo* of Lucca (Museo Diocesano, Ortona Chieti)[49] shows three musicians, one of whom is tuning a large oval-bodied instrument which has apparently triangular frets like those shown on many of the instruments of the Assisi Elders.[50] Luca Della Robbia's reliefs for the singing loft of the Cathedral in Florence, 1431-8, depict flat-front instruments fitted with raised frets, and which appear to be being plucked with quills.[51] Virtually contemporaneous with Tinctoris' writing is an intarsia from the Gubbio Studio, now in the Metropolitan Museum in

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[45] Examples of raised block frets can be seen on at La Hiniesta (Ill. 32e), Valencia (Ill. 33b), as well as the Parma baptistery (Appendix B., Ill. 144a and 144c.) and the Assisi Elders (Ills. 148,149, 151, 153, 156, 157, 160, 161).

[46] See §8.8 for discussion of citole plectra. Some of the depictions of the Elders at Assisi (ill. 148, 149,151 and 161) show the plectra as slender curved white lines, which would be consistent with their being made from the rib of a quill. Typically citole plectra are shown as significantly larger straight cylinders, sometimes with details carved at the end.

[47] Appendix B, Ill. 165.

[48] An earlier oval-bodied instrument with raised-block frets appears in the Italian, second half 14th c., *Neapolitanus Oratorianus*: MS Naples, Bibl. dei Gerolamini CF 4.5. C. Young, 'Klassifikation' (1984), ill. 3.

[49] In the legend an impoverished minstrel performs before the holy effigy because he has nothing else to offer and is rewarded with a silver shoe that falls from the foot of the sculpted figure.

[50] Unfortunately, many of the details of this instruments are obscured by the lutenist who stands in front of this musicians, but the centre of the body and the end of the neck and peg-head with anterior pegs and animal-head final are visible.

[51] Winternitz, 'Survival of the Kithara', plate 13b.

New York. This also shows an instrument with raised frets on the neck and what appear to be metal strings.[52] A painting dating from around 1500, attributed to Palma il Vecchio, also shows a similar instrument, although this painting is quite dark and the small details of the instrument, such as frets, are difficult to discern.[53] A choir stall intarsia in the church of the Abbey of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, by Fra Giovanni da Verona, dated c. 1503-05, also shows an oval-bodied instrument with raised frets on the neck, although it is shown without strings.[54] All of these display a flat front and elevated frets, as described by Tinctoris; they also all have roughly oval-shaped bodies and wide, short end-projections. The body-outlines can be described as either oval, with projections at the neck-body juncture, or spatulate. It seems probable that it is this oval-bodied (or spatulate) instrument type, which fits the details of Tinctoris' description, and is depicted in Italy during the period when he was writing, which is the *cetula* mentioned by Tinctoris as invented and played by the Italians.

Although changes in the use of terminology during the fifteenth and sixteenth century do not necessarily relate to what was called a *citole* or *cetra* between c. 1200-1400, the investigation of these is outside the remit of this investigation. These changes in terminology however have influenced modern scholarship and seem to have been largely responsible for the twentieth-century attribution of the term *citole* to a flat-backed piriform instrument.[55]

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[52] Olga Raggio and Antoine M. Wilmering, *The Gubbio Studiolo and its Conservation,* 2vols (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), I, fig. 5-92.

[53] Labeled as 'Faun mit Syrinx', the chordophone is not being played but leans against an support which is to dark to discern. I viewed this painting August 2009 in the Alte Pinakothek but have not located a printed reproduction of it.

[54] Although the depiction of neck in this example, close inspection seems to indicate that it is not meant to be a thumbhole type, although it can be interpreted as such in some reproductions. The grain of the bog-oak used for the background clearly continues into the area behind the neck demonstrates that the short pale sickle behind the head is a hook and not the edge of a thumbhole. Winternitz, 'Survival of the Kithara', pl. 13c.

[55] Galpin used as one of his main sources Cerone who uses the terms *citola, cythara* and *cethare* are used synonymously in the same passage. Pedro Cerone de Bergamo, *El melopeo y maestro: tractado de musica theorica y pratica, en que se pone por extenso, lo que uno para hazerse perfecto musico ha menester saber; y por mayor facilidad, comodidad, y claridad del lector, esta repartido en XXII libros* (Napoles: Iuan Bautista Gargano, y Lucrecio Nucci, 1613), Book 21, ch. 16, pp. 1054-55.

10.4   SUMMARY

In Italy the holly-leaf–shaped *citole* with the overall body-depth taper seems to have been virtually unknown, both in art and literature; shallow-bodied instruments with spatulate or ovoid body-outlines and the terms *cet(e)ra* or *cedra* occur instead. Although *cedra* and *cet(e)ra* might be direct Occitan and Italian translations of *citole*, as previously mentioned, the appearance of *cedra* and *citola* within the same text passage indicates that they probably refer to different instruments.[56] Given the concurrence of both a different morphology and different terminology, it seems likely that this Italian instrument-type was known by *cet(e)ra*-related terms, although no text/image correlation has been identified which verifies this. Regardless of whether instruments with the spatulate body-outline were known by the terms *cet(e)ra* and/or *cedra*, neither those terms nor the Italian depictions unequivocally relate to the *citole* as found elsewhere.

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[56] See §3.22.2 for examples.

11. SOUND AND USE OF THE CITOLE

This section considers what information about the sound and use of the citole can be gleaned from contemporaneous sources. Since there is little direct evidence that describes the practicalities of playing the citole, its stringing material or tuning, this section looks beyond the texts that name the *citole* and images that depict plucked distinct-necked chordophones with non-oval body outlines. This section considers sources relating to a wider range of musical subjects that might have implications for the sound and use of this instrument type. Literary and iconographical sources directly related to the citole also suggest some aspect of citole performance such as the repertoire with which is it was associated, and in what instrumental groupings it was usually played. In addition to the citole-related documentary, literary and iconographical sources mentioned in previous sections, contemporaneous music theory treatises and modern studies relating to medieval instrument types will also be considered. Sources dating from before 1350 will be given precedence, since it is more likely that they could have influenced the makers or players of the citole. It should be noted that elements of this section is speculative; it does not state irrefutable certainties about the way in which the citole must have been played. Unlike the previous sections, which attempt to clarify what the period evidence actually says about the citole, this section looks at what can be inferred from a variety of contemporaneous sources. Using historically appropriate source material, it merely proposes what might have been. These issues invite discussion, even if no simple definitive answers can be found.

This chapter will begin with the aspects of the sound and use of the citole that are known from evidence that relates directly to this instrument type, and then considers other contemporaneous sources relating to stringed instruments, and finally a few elements of practical experimentation. The topic of who played the citole has been addressed in several previous sections (most notably §9), this section considers what was played on the citole, where it was played, with whom, and some of the implications for how.

11.1 REPERTOIRE BASED ON INTERNAL CONTEXT

Although there is no repertoire explicitly linked with the citole, both literature and images offer indications of the sorts of performances for which this instrument type might have been used. Some sources describe or depict the use of citoles in specific musical situations, other works by the inclusion of the citole imply the suitability of this instrument type for the performance of certain genres. Although there are hints about repertoire, there are few details of how the citole might have been used to perform these works.

Both art and literature suggest, in general, that the citole was used to accompany dancing and singing. Some of the situations in which the term *citole* appears, and the descriptions of by whom the instrument was played offer more specific indications of what genres or forms of music the instrument might have been used to perform. In a metaphor in *Libro de Buen Amor* an old woman's pendulous breasts jiggle as if dancing to the sound of unheard citoles.[1] One of the interpolated descriptions in *La Bible de Macé de La Charité*, describes a celebration with singing and dancing accompanied by harp and citole: *Et bien chanter et bien baler, Bien dancier et bien coroler, Bien arper et bien citoler.*[2] *La Vieille* offers a list of musical forms and the variety of melodic instruments on which they might be played. This suggests that, among the numerous other wind and string instruments mentioned, the citole (*cistole*) might be suitable for *motez, balades, virelais, comedies, rondeauls* and *lais*.

Citolers are shown playing both for individual dancers and for groups of dancers in a line, which might represent a line-dance such as a *ballade*. Line-dances are illustrated in a few English manuscripts such as Egerton 1151 (Ill. 94)[3] and Queen Mary's Psalter (Ill. 107, 108, 109, 113).[4] Often images show a single male citoler

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[1] (Text B.64) This passage appears in the 'Salamanca' manuscript, Madrid Universidad Antigua MS 2663 (Previous Salamanca Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé), fol. 60v, Stanza 1019, but not in the other two major main manuscripts. Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor; edición crítica* ed. by Manuel Criado De Val and Eric W. Naylor, Clasicos Hispanicos, 2nd edn (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1972), p. 297.

[2] Numbers 22, lines 7738-40, is not based on specific description on biblical instruments. Macé de la Charité, *La Bible de Macé de la charité, II: Lévitique, Nombres, Deutéronome, Josué, Juges,* ed. by P.E.R. Verhuyck, Publications romanes de l'Université de Leyde, 7 vols (Leiden Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1977), II, p. 57.

[3] (Ill. 94) Egerton Book of Hours: London, BL, Egerton 1151, fol. 47, southern or central England, third quarter thirteenth century.

[4] (Ill. 107, 108, 109, 113) London, BL, Royal 2B VII, folios 173v-174r, 176v-177r, 189r and 229r.

plays for a single female figure who is posed in such a way that it indicates that she is a dancer. A marginal illustration in the late thirteenth-century, northern French, *Psautier de Gui de Dampiere* shows a male citoler and a female figure who appear to be circling one another in a two-person dance.[5] The marginal human citoler on fol. 31v of Milemete's treatise looks across at a female dancer in the opposite margin, in a similar fashion to the king who looks across at the queen at the top of the page (Ill. 124).[6] A male hybrid citoler plays for a female hybrid dancer in a margin of the Psalter-Hours of Yolande Soissons (Ill. 49). A choir stall bench-end at Cologne Cathedral also shows a male citoler playing for a single female figure whose posture suggests a gentler dance than the others described (Ill. 67). In a manuscript of miscellaneous music from northern France, in a reversal of usual roles, a female citoler seems to play for a male dancer (Ill. 54).[7]

The specific dance form named most frequently in conjunction with the citole is the carole, usually in rhyme positions. These two terms are associated with each other at least as early as the third quarter of the thirteenth century. In the fabliaux *Frere Denise*, *dansses* and *caroles*, *vieles*, *tabors* and *citoles*, and the delights of minstrelsy, are the youthful pleasures that are being denied to Denise by the Franciscans.[8] A couplet in Branch VI of *Roman de Renart* rhymes *Dancent et balent et querolent* with *Taborent, dancent et citolent*.[9] In the *Roman De la Rose* the narrator has a dream that includes no musical references except to *baleries et queroles, et ot vieles et citholes*.[10] *Citole*-related terms are rhymed with *carole*-

[5] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 10607, Adenet le Roi, *Les œuvres d'Adenet Le Roi*, ed. by Albert Henry, Travaux de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Bruxelles, 5 vols (Bruxelles: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1971), V, plate I, fig. 5 (This image is not in Appendix B)

[6] (Ill. 124) Oxford Christ Church 92, fol. 31v. Edward III kneeling before Christ in Majesty with angel musicians. Montague Rhodes James, ed., *The Treatise of Walter de Milemete: 'De nobilitatibus, sapientiis et prudentiis regum': together with a selection of pages from the companion manuscript of the treatise 'De secretis secretorum Aristoteli' preserved in the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Roxburghe Club, 1913), plate for 31v.

[7] (Ill. 54) London, BL, Egerton 274, fol. 7v.

[8] (Text B.13) Rutebeuf, 'De Frere Denise', in *The French Fabliau B.N. MS. 837*, ed. by Raymond Eichmann and John Duval (New York Garland, 1985) II, text p. 256 & translation p. 257.

[9] (Text B.17) MS 'C': Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. fonds français 1579, lines 13973-4. Naoyuki Fukumoto, Noboru Harano and Satoru Suzuki, eds, *Le Roman de Renart édité d'apres les manuscrits C et M* (Tokyo: France Tosho, 1983), I, p. 455.

[10] (Text B.20) Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. by Félix Lecoy, Les classiques français du Moyen Âge, 3 vols (Paris: Champion, 1970), III, p. 51.

related terms in Gilles Li Muisis' description of Parisian students making merry,[11] in festivities celebrating the arrival of the king's son in *Li Romans De Durmart le Galois*.[12] Although the carole is often mentioned in literature known to have been a form of circle dance with a call and response form, no surviving lyrics or melodies for them have been identified. Although circle dances, such as the carole and rondeau, were popular during the relevant period, no surviving depictions seem to show the citole being played for circle dances. This lack of depictions of encircled dancers might be the result of an artistic convention. Lines 2377-2869 of the conclusion to *Confessio Amantis*, suggest that Gower associated the citole and other stringed instruments with refined and gentle music such as the hovedance and carole. Gower describes a vision that the narrator sees while he is in a swoon. First he sees a group of famous lovers lead by Youth who laugh, sing and dance accompanied by Pan piping and by *haut* instruments: *bombard, clarion, cornemuse* and *schallemele*. These are followed by a smaller group of lovers led by Elde, the personification of old age. Their demeanour is more sedate, they smile but do not laugh aloud, their music and dancing are softer and so are their instruments: the *lute*, *harpe* and *citole*. The citole seems to have had strong links to dance in literature not merely because it offered a convenient rhyme for *carole*.

Two Castilian texts seem to imply that the citole might have been associated with the dance form the *trotta*, but this is unclear. Ferreira suggests that, in the scene of Alexander the Great's triumphant arrival in the *Poema de Alexandro,* the description of *citola que mas trota*[13] might contain an indication of performance technique.[14] In the *Libro de Buen Amor* a similar phrase, *tania el rrabadan la çitola trotera,*[15] is used in the victorious procession of the personification of Love, don Amor. Ferreria suggests that the onomatopoeic *trotera* is related to the verb 'trotar', or in English 'to trot' and that this term could link the instrument with the *cedrero,* mounted

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[11] (Text B.45) Gilles li Muisis, *Poésis de Gilles li Muisis* ed. by Kervyn de Lettenhove, 2 vols (Louvain: Lefever, 1882), I, p. 240.

[12] (Text B.19) Edmund Stengel, ed., *Li romans de Durmart le Galois* (Tübingen: Bibliothek des Literarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1873), p. 418.

[13] (Text B.22) Tomas Antonio Sánchez, *Coleccion de poesias castellanas anteriores al siglo XV*, 4 vols (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1782), III: Poema de Alexandro Magno, p. 197.

[14] Manuel Pedro Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus: 7 Cantigas, d'el-rei Dom Dinis*, trans. by David Cranmer, DeMusica (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2005), p. 206.

[15] (Text B.64) Stanza 1213, this is line c in the Gayoso MS but line d in the other two. Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Criado De Val and Naylor (1972), p. 371.

travelling minstrels who are mentioned in the bye-laws of Madrid and Cuidad Rodrigo.[16] In this instance it seems more likely to refer to the trotting of a dance, since the player is neither specifically a trained minstrel nor mounted. Although the passage in *Libro de Buen Amor* seems to be used in part to evoke the earlier passage from *Poema de Alexandro*,[17] the unusual description of the citole as 'trotting' might indicate something about either performance technique or repertoire of the citole.

The references to the use of the citole for singing are also not explicit but they are many and varied. The association of the citole with the Psalms, Revelation 14:2 and 15:3, and sirens all imply a connection with singing. Although sirens and their singing seem to be linked with the citole only by Latini, a passage in *Le Bel Inconnu* is also suggestive of this asociation *et cante cler comme serainne; lid autres la citole mainne.*[18] In most of the medieval texts that describe the sirens, two play instruments while the third sings.[19]

As mentioned in §5, the citole is often associated with singing in biblical and antique situations and many of the biblical scenes that contain citoles, either as a visual or linguistic translation,[20] are related to singing. Notably Wycliffe, between the first and second redactions of his bible alters two passages to include citole-related terms. In both cases the 'later version' substitutes 'sitols' for 'syngynge instrumentis.[21] While this might be a description of the tone, rather than the usage of the instrument other biblical associations seem to support the assertion that the citole accompanied songs. Tubal, in a medieval Galician Portuguese text is credited, not with inventing musical instruments but discovering the art of singing with the cítola and the orgom.[22] Although singing is not usually depicted, the Tickhill Psalter (Ill.

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[16] Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus*, pp. 204-6.
[17] Ian Michael, *The Treatment of Classical Material in The Libro de Alexandre* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1970), p 204
[18] (Text B.3) Renaut de Bâgé, *Le bel inconnu: li biaus descouneüs, the fair unknown*, ed. by Karen Fresco, trans. by Colleen P. Donagher, Garland Library of Medieval Literature (New York: 1992), pp. 170-171.
[19] Elizabeth Eva Leach, '"The Little Pipe Sings Sweetly while the Fowler Deceives the Bird": Sirens in the Later Middle Ages', *Music and Letters*, 87 (2006), pp. 187-211, p. 192.
[20] See particularly discussion of the Metz Psalter §5.4.1.
[21] John Wycliffe, *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and His Followers*, ed. by Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1850), II, pp 103 & 193
[22] '...Tubal, que achou arte de cantar em cítola, e em orgom.' Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus*, p. 197.

101) specifically shows the women of Jerusalem singing while playing stringed instruments, which include a citole.[23]

One literary reference, which has not been discussed in previous sections, makes clear connection between singing and citoles. In reputedly one of the last chason de geste to be composed *Li Romans de Bauduin de Sebourc*, the concept of a 'singer without a citole' is used as a metaphor for misery.[24] In order for this to make sense, citoles must have been strongly associated with singing.

When the citole appears in an extended list of various types of musical instruments it often indicates that the citole was played at weddings and other festivities but not what type of music was performed on it. Romances rarely seem to offer any indication of the musical forms associated with this instrument type since the citole is included among large numbers of instruments. Although the composer Guillaume de Machaut shows some familiarity with this instrument type by including *citoles* among a multitude of instruments in *Le Remède de Fortune* (Text B.50),[25] and *La Prise d'Alexandrie* (Text B.51),[26] this does not give any indication of which of the musical pieces composed by Machaut might have been considered by him as suitable to play on the citole.

Because *citole*-related terms are linked to *joglars* in Occitan and Castilian, jogrars in Gallician-portuguese literature; and *jongleors*,[27] and *menestralles* French literature and English payment records, the citole was probably used for the sort of repertoire associated with these performers. How instruments might have been used by these musicians, however, is debated. The comparative lack of citoles in Occitan sources suggests that the citole probably did not have a direct relationship to the

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[23] (Ill. 101) For a discussion of this image see §7.3.2.2.
[24] L.N. Bocca, ed., *Li romans de Bauduin de Sebourc, IIIe roy de Jhérusalem: poème du XIVe siècle publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale*, Romans de Croisades, 2 vols (Valenciennes: B. Henry, 1841), I, p. 53.
[25] Guillaume de Machaut, *Œvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, ed. by Ernest Hœpffner, Société des anciens textes français, 3 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911), II, pp. 145-6.
[26] Guillaume de Machaut, *La Prise d'Alixandre (The Taking of Alexandria)*, ed. by R. Barton Palmer, trans. by R. Barton Palmer (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 86-89.
[27] (Texts B.3 and B.5) Renaut de Bâgé, *Le bel inconnu: li biaus descouneüs, the fair unknown*, ed. by Karen Fresco, trans. by Colleen P. Donagher, Garland Library of Medieval Literature (New York: 1992), pp. 170-171. Or '*jogleors*' Huon de Mery, *Le tornoiement de l'Antéchrist*, , ed. by Prosper Tarbé, Collection des poètes de Champagne antérieurs au XVIe siècle. (Reims: P. Dubois, 1851), p. 85.

performance of *troubadour* lyrics. The frequent occurrence of *citole*-related terms in *langue d'oïl* sources of the thirteenth-century, however, suggests that in might have had some association with *trouvère* lyrics. Both van der Werf[28] and Page[29] argue against the use of instruments in the performance of *courtois* musical forms, except possibly after the mid-thirteenth century, especially around Paris. Hout[30] and Aubrey[31] propose that the use of instruments was dependant upon the circumstances and they might have had a secondary function to voices. During the second half of the thirteenth century literary sources and manuscript illustrations from Paris and northern France include citoles quite frequently. The period in which instruments begin to be mentioned in relation to high-style songs seems to coincide with the increased references and depictions of the citole. As mentioned in §9.1 the citole seems to have been an instrument associated with trained musicians, like the minstrel in *Li Roumans de Cléomadès*, written by the trouvère Adenes le Roi.[32] Another trouvère, Jaques Bretel, seems to display familiarity with the morphology of the citole although he does not describe the use of the instrument.[33] The citole seems to have been considered a high-status instrument; was associated with singing and trained minstrels; and it was known by some *trouvères*. Although suggests that the citole might have been used in performance of *trouvère* songs there is no clear evidence how they might have been used.

When a depiction of citole-playing musician appears in a manuscript it suggests that a citole might have been used to perform that work. Mostly notably, the Cancioneiro da Ajuda by including numerous miniatures of human musicians adjacent to the text of *cantigas de amour*, indicates that the citole would have accompanied the performance of this type of love song, and in the sorts of instrumental groupings

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[28] Henrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: a study of the melodies and their relation to the poems.* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1972), pp. 19-21.

[29] Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental practice and songs in France 1100-1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 49-52 and 134.

[30] Sylvia Huot, 'Voices and Instruments in Medieval French Secular Music: on the use of literary sources as evidence for performance practice', *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 43 (1989), pp. 63-113.

[31] Elizabeth Aubrey, 'Non-Liturgical Monophony: introduction', in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. by Ross W. Duffin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), pp. 105-14 (p. 110).

[32] (Text B.18) *Li Roumans de Cléomadès* in Adenet le Roi, *Les œuvres*, ed. Henry (1971), V, pp. 223-4.

[33] Bretel mentions the citole in a description of a pastourel dance performed by two young ladies the instrument that is played for the dance is a *viole*. The citole is not played - it is used to describe one of the props, which is carved like the head of a citole. See §6 for a further discussion of this. (Text B.26) Jacques Bretel, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, ed. by Maurice Delbouille, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège (Paris: E. Droz, 1932), pp. 81-2.

depicted such as citole with percussion (Ill. 24, 27, 28, 29, 30) or citole and harp (Ill. 26). Similarly, the images of citolers in the manuscripts of the *Cantigas de Maria*, suggest that the citole was suitable for their performance in conjuction with the *viola* (Ill. 19, 20, 22) or another plucked instrument (Ill. 19, 20). Madriguera suggests that the tunes of *Cantigas de Santa Maria* were originally written for plucked instrument and then adapted for lyrics,[34] but it is unclear how or whether voices and instruments were used together. Furthermore, the inclusion of only the citole and *viola* in the prologue illustrations of two manuscripts of the *Cantigas de Maria* portraying Alfonso X at court with his scribes and musicians, demonstrate that these specific instruments were probably associated with the rendition of these devotional songs at court.

That at least some of the *cantigas d'escarnho e mal dezir* were probably accompanied by the *citolon* is indicated not just by Lourenço being named in them but also because he co-authored them. It seems likely that when their antiphonal *tensos* were performed, Joan Garcia Guilhade's repeated complaints about the terrible noise that Lourenço makes with his *citolon*,[35] were probably accompanied by Lourenço's playing of that instrument. Ferreira suggests that the *citola*, like other instruments would have been used to play preludes or interludes to unaccompanied song.[36] Joan de Guilhade's complaints about Lourenço's playing might, therefore, be interspersed between examples of his playing rather than be sung over it. Lourenço is also known for seven surviving *cantigas de amour* and two *cantigas de amigo*: love songs written from the perspective of a woman, although usually written and performed by men. Given that one *cantiga de amigo* ascribed to Lopo, who is mentioned as playing the *citola* and *citolon*,[37] has also survived further suggests that the citole might have been suitable for this form of lyric poetry as well. The music has not survived for the Galician-Portuguese *tensos* co-authored by Lourenço that hint that the *citolon* might have been involved in their performance. It is likely that like the surviving Occitan tensos they were monophonic because the

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[34] Madriguera cites Julian Ribera: Enric Felix Madriguera, 'The Hispanization of the Guitar: From the *guitarra latina* to the *guitarra española*' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Dallas, 1993), p 12, with further discussed in Chapter 5.
[35] See Texts B.96 and B.98.
[36] Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus*, pp. 215-6 and 229.
[37] (Text. B.92) Although Lopo was noted for playing the *citola* poorly, he is not associated with any other instrument.

two alternating parts present the view of the individual speaker. This however does not clarify how the *citolon* might have been used in the performance of this form of lyric poetry.

Intriguingly, a solo female citoler appears in the initial 'O' of a Latin devotional song to the Virgin Mary in a manuscript from northern France (Ill. 54).[38] The music notated adjacent to this figure appears to be a two-part Latin conductus. There is evidence that the vielle was used to accompany this form in northern France from the early thirteenth century.[39] The image of the citoler has no apparent significance in relation to the text of this song but her placement beside the music suggests that the citole might have been suitable to accompany this high-art polyphonic form used for festive and processional purposes.[40]

The appearance beside this Latin conductus, as well as the connection to Paris in the second quarter of the thirteenth century suggests the suitability of the citole to *Ars Antiqua* forms. The prominence of the citole in the early fourteenth century in England, France and Flanders, suggest however that it could also be employed in the performance of *Ars Nova* works. Cummings offers evidence of the use of instruments, particularly the vielle, in motets during the thirteenth century.[41] In the late thirteenth-century *Roman de la Rose*, Pygmalian is clearly described as singing a motet while playing the portative organ (vv. 21010-11). Although the subsequent playing of other instruments is not as detailed, it does support the idea of one of the voices of a motet being played on an instrument. In stanza 1232 of the *Libro Buen Amor*,[42] the organ is associated with *chançonetas* and *motete*, and in the late fourteenth-century Toledo manuscript of this work,[43] the clownish *çitola* enters

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[38] (Ill. 54) London, BL, Egerton 274, fol. 7v.
[39] Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus*, p. 213.
[40] The marginal dancer seems to signal that this is a festive rather than liturgical song. Ellinwood suggests that the conductus form was associated with Royal festivities as well as processions in liturgical situations. Leonard Ellinwood, 'The "Conductus"', *The Musical Quarterly*, 27 (1941), pp. 165-204 (pp. 165-67).
[41] Julie E. Cumming, 'Motet & Cantilena', in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. by Ross W. Duffin (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), pp. 52-82 (p. 58).
[42] (Text B. 64) Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Criado De Val and Naylor (1972), p. 380.
[43] MS Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid Va-6-1 (former Hh-101, previous Toledo Cathedral), fol. 9v, redaction dated 1330, late fourteenth-century copy. Stanza 1232 lines c-d: 'los organos que disen chançonetas e motete, la çitola albordana entre ellos entremete'.

amongst 'them'. It is unclear, however, if the 'them' among which the *çitola* is plays is the *chançonetas* and *motete*, or all of the instruments previously mentioned.

It is tempting to propose that the reference in *Le Pet Au Vilain* to the peasant's stomach being as tight as the string of a citole (*tent com corde a citole*), invites the use of a citole in the performance of this *fabliaux*, even if only as a prop. Rutebeuf, however, was known as a writer and not as a performer. His lyrics have no known association with music and have been described as protean *dit*;[44] it likely that *Le Pet Au Vilain* would have been recited rather than sung.[45]

According to the *Libro Buen Amor* the çitola is one of the instruments not suitable for Arabic song,[46] but no medieval source makes any explicit statements about what sorts of music it did suit.

11.2 INSTRUMENTAL COMBINATIONS

Although Rokseth proposes that 'all types of instruments joined together for the banquet...'[47] this is rarely ever specified in medieval sources, except in lists evoking grandeur and rarely even then.[48] As McGee comments, the likelihood of the instruments in these hyperbolic lists played in ensemble is small. McGee observes that 'in reality the ensembles in which they played were rigidly set according to type'.[49]

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[44] Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002), pp. 180 and 279-80.
[45] Rutebeuf, *Œvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. by Michel Zink, Classiques Garnier, 2 vols (Paris Bordas, 1989), I, p. 59.
[46] (Text B.64) Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Criado De Val and Naylor (1972), pp. 510.
[47] Yvonne Rokseth, 'Instrumental Music of the Middle Ages and Early Sixteenth Century', in *Ars Nova and the Renaissance, 1300-1540*, The New Oxford History of Music, vol. 3, ed. by Anselm Hughes and Gerald Abraham (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 406-65, (p. 414).
[48] In *Le Remède de Fortune*, Machaut specifies that the instruments are all playing all one time and making harmony together but this sitaution is exceptional. (Text B.50): Guillaume de Machaut, *Œvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, ed. by Ernest Hœpffner, Société des anciens textes français, 3 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911), II, pp. 145-6.
[49] Timothy J. McGee, 'Musical Instruments', in *Medieval France: an Encyclopedia*, ed. by William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn (New York and London: Garland, 1995), pp. 647-8 (p. 647).

Although Wright seems to suggest that instrumental groupings described in literature consciously evoke the antique groupings mentioned in Latin texts,[50] as shown in §5.2, translations often do not strictly follow the text, interpolating medieval instruments where no antique instruments are mentioned.

Instrumental combinations shown in depictions or mentioned in literature must be considered carefully. As noted previously, the evidence offered by non-human musicians may at times reflect contemporaneous practice but some aspects of these sources might be reliable, especially if they are demonstrated by medieval humans in similar situations. That instrument pairings are not affected by musician species is demonstrated by Norwich Cathedral roof boss citoler and fiddler who are extremely similar to a larger pair who appear at Cley-next-the-Sea. Similar in date and style, the main differences between these two depictions is that the former have the legs of animals are depicted side-by-side and whereas the latter are entirely human and are carved on opposite sides of a pillar. Similarly the three angels who appear with dancers and Edward III around the throne of Christ in Majesty play the same sorts of instruments for which Richard Dorre, Ivo Vala, and Henry de Neusom received payment from the crown on 24 June 1324 for playing.[51]

As mentioned in §4.6 the English court records relating to the minstrels Vala, Thomas, Richardyn and Henry Neusom offer the suggestion of instrumental combinations including the citole, vielle and harp. Although, as Rastall comments,[52] there is no clear indication from accounts that instruments were played together just because their players appear in the same accounts, the possibility is suggested. When two instrumentalists perform together one might sing while the other plays an instrument. In *Daurel et Beton*, although both musicians are known to play the harp and vielle and Beton also plays the citole, in the scene at the camp of the villainous Guy, Beton plays *vieula* while Daurel sings.[53]

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[50] 'The thought underlying these expressions is plain: the citole, harp and rote were all seen as forms of cithara, any one of which could be used as counterpart to the fiddle.' Laurence Wright, 'The Medieval Gittern And Citole: A case of mistaken identity', *GSJ*, 30 (1977), pp. 8-42 (p. 28).
[51] (Text A.23) George Richard Rastall, 'Secular Musicians in Late Medieval England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Victoria University of Manchester, 1968), Appendix A, pp. 82-3.
[52] Richard Rastall, 'Some English Consort-Groupings of the Late Middle Ages', *Music and Letters*, 55 (1974), pp. 179-202 (p. 186).
[53] 'E Betonet pren .i. laise a notar, E·l pros Daurel comenset a cantar:' vv 1942-3, Arthur S. Kimmel, ed., *A Critical Edition of the Old Provençal Epic 'Daurel et Beton' with notes and Prolegomena*,

Because of the co-existence of these instruments at the English court for many years, consideration of instrumental groupings will begin with the instruments whose players appear in Household accounts. The records that mention Vala offer some possible insights into instrumental combination. The frequency with which Vala and Thomas are listed together suggests both a paring of citole with citole,[54] or citole with vielle.[55]

Solo citole:

There are a few indications of solo performance on the citole, such as citolers playing for dancers mentioned above. When a citole-related term is the only instrument name mentioned in a text that was written to be performed, it might suggest the performer of that work played the citole. References such as that in thirteenth-century *Le Tournoiement de l'Antéchrist*[56] or *Li Lays Dou Blanc Chevalier*,[57] which mention only the citole to identify a *jongleor*, or *menestrel* suggest that the work might have been performed by a citoler. The Galician-portuguese insult poetry seems to indicate that *jogrars* played the *citola* or *citolon* as solo instruments or to accompany his own singing (Appendix a, Texts 92- 103).[58] But as Ferreira suggests they might sing and play alternately.[59] Queen Mary's Psalter shows individual citolers leading a line of dancers (a human in Ill. 109 and an angel in Ill. 113). A large citoler (Ill. 51) in the margins of the Psalter-Hours of Yolande Soissons is discussed in 7.3.2.2, and other individual citolers are discussed in §9.8.

The Cancioniero da Ajuda, which by its inclusion of depictions of instrumental groupings adjacent to the text of *cantigas de amour*, suggests the use of certain

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Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), p. 193.

[54] G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians in Late Medieval England' (1968), Appendix A, p. 86.

[55] G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians in Late Medieval England' (1968), Appendix A, p. 83 & 84.

[56] (Text B.5) Huon de Mery, *Tournoiement de l'Antechrist*, ed. Tarbé (1851), p. 85.

[57] Jean de Condé, 'Li Lays Dou Blanc Chevalier', in *Dits et Contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Conde*, ed. by August Scheler (Bruxelles: V. Devaux, 1866), p. 14. (Text B.29)

[58] Ferreira suggests that the text of CBN 1363/CV 971 (Text B.92) implies that Lopo played the citole not while he was singing but as a separate activity. Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus*, p. 217.

[59] He suggests that the description of Lopo in CBN 1363/CV 971, the text which begins 'Foi a cítola temperar' (Text B.92) two separate performances are described one of playing, and a subsequent one of singing. Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus*, p. 217.

instrumental groups in the execution of these lyrics (Ill. 23-30). Unfortunately, although space was left for the melodies to be added later, the manuscript was never finished. The majority of these images feature a citole player as the central figure between a seated figure on the left, believed to represent the poet (*trobar*) and another figure on the right, who appears to be an accompanying musician, singer or dancer.[60] Usually the right-hand figure is shown playing bones (or castanets), in two a frame drum with timbrels is shown (Ill. 27 and 30) and in one a harp (Ill. 26).[61] The context suggests that the *citola* (or *citolon*) is being used to accompany the recitation or singing of love songs. Ferreira suggests that the songs were performed *a cappella* and the instruments performed preludes to the songs, and possibly interludes between the verses.[62] Ferreira also seems to imply that the appearance of two melodic instruments in an image, such as that on fol. 87r, does not indicate that they were played at the same time.[63] Because the *citolon* (or *citola*) is shown in Cancioniero da Ajuda with another melodic instrument, the harp, it must have been capable of playing some form of accompaniment, but whether this was a strummed chordal accompaniment, a doubling of the melody, or a harmony is unclear.[64]

Citole & citole:

Although Ivo Vala and Thomas le Citoler were associated with one another and both were known to play the citole, there doesn't seem to be any evidence for two citoles being played together. The combination of citole and citole is very rare in art. When it does appear, such as in the Codice Rico prologue illustration there is usually another instrument present, such as a viola.[65]

Citole & vielle:

The most common pairing in art and literature seems to be the *citole* and *vielle*. It is known from manuscript illustrations from the court of Alfonso X of Castile and

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[60] Ferreira identifies this figure as a *soldadeira*, a female performer who he suggests was often the instrumentalist's wife. Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus*, p. 221.
[61] The frame drum players appear on folios 88r and 100r.
[62] Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus*, p. 217.
[63] His argument seems to be based, in part, on the 1258 regulations that restricted the Royal Household of Afonso III of Portugal from employing more than three *jograres* at any one time. These images, however, might depict musicians who are not the King's musicians. Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus*, p. 221.
[64] The term *rascar*, associated with the playing of the citolon is discussed in §11.3.
[65] This is the term used and illustrated in Cantiga 8.

León (Ill. 18, 19, 20 and 22).[66] Marginal illustrations in Queen Mary's Psalter show two humans with citole and vielle playing for dancers (Ill.109), and another citoler and vieller playing for diners (Ill. 110). This pairing occurs in a variety of regions, and linguistic groups, as well as being represented regardless of the species of the player.

Citole and psaltery:

The pairing of the citole and psaltery might be used as symbols for the biblical *cithara* and *psalterium*. This pairing seems more common in literature than in art. In Queen Mary's Psalter, fol. 177r (Ill. 108), where a nun plays the psaltery beside a monk who plays the citole, this seems less likely to be intended to evoke biblical associations and more likely to parody the other similar scenes of dance on adjacent pages (See §7).

A hybrid citoler and psaltery-player appear in Howard Psalter (Ill. 119) but there are comparatively few images of the citole appearing only with a psaltery.

Citole & harp:

Richardyn & Henry Neusom are usually listed together, although Richard is primarily known as a vieller.[67] Henry *Nushom* is also listed in the accounts of the 1306 Pentecost feast adjacent to Janyn le citoler.[68] This might be co-incidental but also might indicate that the harper Henry was not unaccustomed to being paired with a citoler. The harp is occasionally paired with the citole in art. Sometimes this is in regard to a biblical reference such as Queen Mary's Psalter fol. 56v, which shows king David returning to Jerusalem after victory over the Philistines to the accompaniment of 'harpes et autres i[n]strumens de menustracye'. A hybrid citoler and harper also appear in the Psalter-Hours of Yolande Soissons (Ill. 50). This pairing is less common that the citole and vielle but more common than citole and psaltery.

Citole, harp & vielle (& pipe):

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[66] *Libro de Ajedrez, Dados e Tablas* (Ill. 18) and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* both the Codice de los Musicos (Ill. 19, 20) and Codice Rico (Ill. 22).
[67] Constance Bullock-Davies, *Register of Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels 1272-1327* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), pp. 135 & 166.
[68] Constance Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum Multitudo* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978), pp. 6 & 108-9.

A record in the controller's account of 1324, of a gift to a group of musicians, offers the possibility of combinations including vielle, citole and harp,[69] which calls to mind images of these instruments being played together in the Milemete Treatise c. 1325-7.[70] This prominence of harp, vielle and citole seems to be reflected in other sources such as some of the marginal illustrations of King David with his musicians discussed in §7.3.2.2.

Citole and other plucked instrument:

Eitschberger mentions that although in French and English literature the citole seems to be frequently paired with the 'fidel' in both text and image, the most common grouping in German texts is with another plucked instrument. For these pairings, she cites *Der jüngere Titurel*, line 6194,3 (Text B.35); the *Anhang zum Alexander*, lines 1958-64 (Text B.15); *Apollonius von Tyrland*, lines 2199 (Text B.76a-b); and *Wilhelm von Österreich*, lines 13788 (BX.3). She describes the citole grouped with a bowed instrument as being less common, but occurring in *Apollonius von Tyrland*, lines 17841-42 (Text B.76a-b), and Reinfried, lines 23294 (Text B.37).[71] In most of these cases, however, these do not seem to be true pairings, since they occur within lists of instruments.

Citole and gittern:

The possibility of a citole and gittern pairing is suggested in the wardrobe accounts of Edward III. In 1330, a *Guyterer* (or *giterer*) named Richard appears in a subsidiary list of minstrels, noted below the valets of the chamber, on the livery roll.[72] In accounts dated 1334-8 *Richard gitterner* is often listed adjacent to Thomas

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[69] Rastall describes this as a gift to Master Richard Dorre, violist, Vala, citoler, and Henry de Neusom, harper. G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians in Late Medieval England' (1968), Appendix A, pp.82.

[70] Michael Michael, 'The Iconography of Kingship in the Walter of Milemete Treatise', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), pp. 35-47 (plates 4 & 5). See Appendix B, Ill. 122 and 123.

[71] The lines numbers cited by Eitschberger do not concord in all cases with the version cited in Appendix A here. Astrid Eitschberger, *Musikinstrumente in höfischen Romanen des deutschen Mittelalters*, Imagines medii aevi: interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Mittelalterforschung (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1999), p. 92.

[72] London, National Archives E101/385/4, G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians in Late Medieval England' (1968), Appendix A, p. 86.

Citoler.[73] Since the majority of these are after Ivo Vala's death, Thomas might have formed a new partnership with Richard. Unfortunately, no payment record has been identified that specifies that Thomas and Richard made minstrelsy together.[74] Gitterns do occasionally appear in depictions with citoles. Some of the distinctions between these instruments can be seen on the sculptures at Valencia Cathedral (Ill. 33)

Singular pairings:

Citole and bagpipe appears only in a marginal illustration in the Queen Mary Psalter folio 192 recto played by monstrous half-humans, across from another similar pairing of trumpet and harp. This is followed by only pairing of a citole and trumpet, on fol. 191v, played by a centaur and monkey respectively. These exceptional occurrences, especially since the musicians are hybrid monsters, can be assumed to be contrary to reality.

Citoles in Mixed Consorts:

The reference to 'menstrales of moch honours, Fydelers, sytolyrs, and trompours' in the late fourteenth-century English poem *Sir Launfal* probably does not describe *haut* and *bas* instruments played together but rather indicates the perceived status to these particular instruments. Trumpeters, citolers and viellers were certainly closely associated with the royal court earlier in the century and the choice of these instruments is reminiscent of the campaign budget for 1344-47,[75] and the statutes of 1326.

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[73] London, BL, MS Cotton Nero.c.viii, fol. 226, 228, 229, 231, 239v. (Text A.38), London, NA, E101/388/9, fol. 32 (Text A.39), London, NA, E101/388/5, membrane 11 (Text A.42), G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians in Late Medieval England' (1968), Appendix A, pp. 91-2 and pp. 97-8.

[74] On 12 June 1338 a gift of 20 shillings is recorded for Richard Guyterer and John (Janin) Dare making minstrelsy before the king but, as with Richard and Thomas citoler, it is unclear whether these two were a common pairing. London N.A. E101/388/5, G. R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians in Late Medieval England' (1968), Appendix A, p. 97 It is also not clear what skill Dare possessed. He is not Janyno le Sautreour from the 1330 household roll since he seems to have retired in 1331. London, NA, E101/385/4 (Appendix A. A33a) also Bullock-Davies, *Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels*, p. 82.

[75] 'This budget only exists in later copies. (Text A.52) See Rev. Dr. Lort, 'The Household of King Edward III in Peace and War, from the 18th to the 21st year of his Reign', in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household made in divers reigns from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary also Receipts in Ancient Cookery* (London: John Nichols, 1790), pp. 1-12 (p. 4).

Citole and Rebec

Remnant comments that although the rebec is shown in consort with oval-bodied plucked instruments, in English art from the fourteenth century onwards, the rebec does not appear with the citole.[76]

Citole and lute:

Although they existed during the same period, and their areas of use overlap, there has been no identified pairing of a citole and lute in any class of evidence. Lutes rarely appear in the same artworks as citoles although both appear in extensive lists of instruments. A lute appears in the same context as a citole among the instruments of the Elders on the South Portal at León Cathedral (Ill. 13); the diverse instruments on the ceiling of Teruel Cathedral (Ill. 34);[77] and in the Treatise of Walter Milemete, although the lute separate from all the other instruments.[78] The explanation for the lute and citole not being used with one another might be that they were either too similar in function, and therefore would serve the same function, or they were considered incompatible for some reason (in sound or status). Given that the gittern and citole appear together in records as well as images, as do the gittern and lute, the latter explanation seems more credible.

Even though it seems clear that the citole performed with other instruments the repertoire as well as the style of harmonization is unclear. Anonymous IV mentions the use of stringed instruments in *organum purum*.[79] If the citole was used in the manner of a 'voice' it might have performed monophony, diphony, triphony or tertaphony in *organica* or *basilica*. There are many questions and as Tindemans comments: 'issues such as social and financial status of the player would have had an influence on the quality, shape, size, and technical possibilities of an instrument.[80]

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[76] Mary Remnant, *English Bowed Instruments from Anglo-Saxon to Tudor Times*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 39.

[77] Emilio Rabanaque Martín, and others, *El Artesonado de la Cathedral de Teruel* (Aragón and Rioja: Caja de Ahorros de Zaragoza, 1981), p. 112.

[78] A plucked oval-bodied chordophone, which is probably meant to be a lute, appears in the hands of a hybrid but it does not appear in any of the scenes with other instruments. M. R. James, ed., *The Treatise of Walter de Milemete*, plate for fol. 51v.

[79] Anonymous IV, 'De mensuris et discantu', in *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi*, ed. by Edmond de Coussemaker 4 vols (Hildesheim: Olms, 1864) I, pp. 327-65.

[80] Margriet Tindemans, 'The Vielle before 1300', in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. by Ross W. Duffin (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), pp. 293-301, pp. 294.

11.3 Timbre

According to literary sources, the sound of the citole was 'soft' or 'sweet'. The list of instruments in Échecs Amoureux includes the citole, which plays very sweetly.[81] The tone of the citole is often used as a comparative in metaphors, such as in the late fourteenth-century poem *The Pearl*, where the birds in the marvellous garden have songs more delicate than the sound of *sytole-stryng* and *gyternere*.[82] The sound of the citole is often compared with eloquence; although the sound of the citole is sweet, the authors argue that persuasive speech is even sweeter. In an early fourteenth-century verse history of France, Guillaume Guiart describes the words of the legate sent by King John to Phillip Augustus as softer than the sound of citoles.[83] About seventy years later, John Gower in *Mirour de l'Omme*, states that the discourses of Temptation are sweeter than the harp or citole.[84] Latini comments in *Li Livres dou Tresor* (Book II, Chapter lxiii), that the melodies of *cytoles* and *vieles* are surpassed in agreeableness by beautiful and tender speech.[85] As commented previously, Latini changes not only the names of the instruments in his translation but also their type, which suggests that he selected the names of contemporaneous instruments that he associated with *douce melodies*.[86]

Although these terms indicating sweetness and softness are neither technical nor precise, they do offer indications of the timbre. The tone of citole seems to have been considered different from the *guitarra morisca* with 'its sharp tones and its

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[81] (Text B.59) 'citoles meismement, Qui sonmoit moult doulcement' Hermann Abert, 'Die Musikästhetik der "Echecs Amoureux"', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 6 (1904-5), pp. 346-55, p. 355.

[82] (Text B.61) Pearl Poet, *The Poems of The Pearl Manuscript*, ed. by Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron, York Medieval Texts, second series (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 59.

[83] (Text B.44) 'Plus douces que sons de citoles'. J. A. Buchon, ed., *Chronique métrique de Godefroy de Paris, suivie de la taille de Paris, en 1313, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du roi*, Collection des chroniques nationales françaises, (Paris: Verdière, 1827), p. 312.

[84] (Text B.63) 'Car plus fuist doulce sa parole, Que n'estoit harpe ne citole' John Gower, *The Complete Works of John Gower: the French works*, ed. by G.C. Macaulay, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1899), I, p. 9.

[85] (Text B.6a) The source for this paraphrase, the Vulgate version of Ecclesiasticus 40:21, reads 'tibiae et psalterium suavem faciunt melodiam et super utraque lingua suavis'. The translation of biblical terms is discussed above (§5.4.3).

[86] (Text B.6a) *Tresor*, II: lxiii . Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor: Edition and Study*, ed. by Spurgeon Baldwin and Paul Barrette, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003), p. 217.

harsh notes',[87] but comparable to *guiterne*.[88] The perceived sweetness might indicate that the sound was consonant with no pronounced non-harmonic partials. The normal modes of vibration for an excited string are roughly sinusoidal and produce a sound that is perceived as harmonious.[89] This is one of the reasons why plucked strings were often used to demonstrate the interrelation of music, mathematics and Divine Harmony.[90] This pattern of vibration can be affected, however, either by the means in which the string is excited or if the motion of the string is disturbed by the string vibrating against something to modify the tone.[91] Designating the timbre of the citole as 'sweet' suggests that in the usual playing method the strings had a simple harmonious vibration, did not buzz, and were probably not plucked adjacent to the bridge.[92] Descriptors such as *douce (doulce)* and *mou (mout)* are subjective but they do suggest that the tone of the citole was not harsh, discordant, percussive, strident or braying.

Only once is the citole described as something other than sweet. This dissimilar reference occurs in the *Li Livres dou Tresor* (Book II: lxvii), where Latini quotes Jesus Sirac as saying: do not force your sense upon people, for this is like a wailing citole (citole en pleur).[93] Because, in other passages, Latini describes the sound of the citole as one of the pleasures of life and associates it with producing agreeable melodies, it seems that the citole is chosen for this simile because it does not usually

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[87] The rabé is described as 'shreiking' with its high pitch 'el rabé gritador, con la su alta nota' stanza 1229, line a, The *guitarra morisca* has harsh or rough tones: *'de-las boses aguda e de-los puntos arisca'* Stanza 1228, line b. Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Criado De Val and Naylor (1972), p. 547.

[88] (Text B.23) By pairing the two instruments, line 2607 of *La Clef d'Amors* suggests that the *citholle* had a similar sound to *guiterne*. Edwin Tross, ed., *La clef d'amour: poème publié d'après un manuscrit du XIVe siècle* (Lyon: Louis Perrin, 1866), p. 98.

[89] Murray Campbell and Clive Greated, *The Musician's Guide to Acoustics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 194.

[90] The monochord was used in Europe to demonstrate the harmonious relation between whole numbers, as was the ūd in Arabic and Persian texts.

[91] As is the case with 'bray pins' on renaissance harps or the 'harp stop' on a fortepiano. The upper harmonics of a string should be consonant with the fundamental, unless the string is faulty or the vibration is influenced. Bray pins on a harp are an example of a tonal modifier which, by touching the string near to the end point, affects the strings vibrating pattern. Plucking the string near to the end point has a similar effect.

[92] Given that citole plectra seems to have been made of a hard material, plucking adjacent to the end points of the string would yield a 'hard' tone weak in the lowered harmonic partials.

[93] (Text B.6a) '...ne ne mostre ton sen [afforce,] car ce est autesi come citole en pleur...' Latini, *Tresor: Edition and Study*, ed. Baldwin and Barrette (2003), p. 224.

wail. 'et ne moustre ton sens afforce, car c'est autresi comme citole en plour.'[94] This might refer to the citole being regarded as inappropriate to lamentation, as is suggested the English *Meditations on the Life and Passions of Christ* when 'þe swete sytole' is laid aside along with the other joyful instruments.[95] Most likely, Latini, is indicating that for a citole to wail is unnatural and unusual. Latini's simile seems to indicate that a 'citole en plour' would have have been as contrary to accepted practice as argumentative speech would have be to scholarly discourse.

11.4 STRINGING AND TUNING

There are no known surviving texts that describe the stringing, tuning, playing technique or construction of the citole. While some surviving literary references can be instructive regarding the use of stringed instruments, their tuning and stringing, they have no direct relationship to the citole.

11.4.1 STRINGING MATERIAL:

There are no sources surviving from before 1400 that record the stringing material of the citole. Some of the modern assumptions about the stringing material of the citole seem to be based on whether the author believes the citole to have been the ancestor of the cittern (wire-strung) or the guitar (gut-strung). Two texts are often cited as evidence for what type of strings were used, one of which suggests gut, the other metal wires - both are questionable.

The text that suggests that *cytholes* had gut strings was written during the appropriate period, but no medieval copies of the work have survived. Jehan de Brie's *Le Bon Berger,* which was written in 1379, is only known from sixteenth-century sources, such as the version published in 1541 by Junot.[96] If the surviving

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[94] (Text B.6a) Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor,* ed. by Francis J. Carmody (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948), pp. 239.
[95] (Text B.75) Although written in the late fourteenth-century this text survives in a fifteenth century manuscript. Charlotte D'Evelyn, ed., *Meditations on the Life and Passions of Christ: from British Museum Addit. MS 11307*, EETS (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1921 [for 1919]), p. 34.
[96] (Text B.106) Jehan de Brie and Paul L. Jacob, *Le Bon Berger: ou le vray régime et gouvernement des bergers et bergères, composé par le rustique Jehan de Brie, le bon berger. Réimprimé sur l'édition de Paris (1541)* (Paris: Liseux, 1879).

text accurately records the original, then (like *vielles, harpes, rothes, luthz, quiternes, rebecs, choros, almaduries,* and *symphonies,*) *cytholes* were fitted with strings made from sheep's gut.

The source that mentions stringing with metal wires is Tinctoris' *De Inventione et usu musicae,* written during the 1480s.[97] As discussed in §10.3, the *cetula* that Tinctoris describes as having four strings of brass or iron (*quatuor enee vel calibee chorde*)[98] is very probably a morphologically different instrument type than the citole discussed in this study.

A clue to stringing material might be offered by lines 2602-7 of *Le Clef d'Amors,*which seems to suggest that the sound of the *psalterïon* is different from the timbre of the *guiterne* and *citholle.*[99] Since there is little question that the psaltery was strung with metal wires, if a distinction is being made here, this could support the proposition that the other two instruments were gut-strung. Unfortunately, this is somewhat ambiguous; the placement and choice of the names might merely serve the rhyme scheme, since both *psalterïon* and *citholle* are rhyme words.

That the citole seems to have been superseded in use by the lute argues against the medieval citole having been strung with metal strings.[100] If the citole had had a more distinct sonority, it seems logical that it would have been less easily replaced by a gut-strung instrument. If the citole had been strung with metal wires, there is no known contemporaneous necked chordophone that could have been used as a substitute. In Italy (discussed in §10), where there is stronger evidence for the use of metal strings, the shallow-bodied spatulate instruments were not supplanted by the lute.

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[97] (Text D. 15) Anthony Baines, 'Fifteenth-century Instruments in Tinctoris's "De Inventione et Usu Musicae"', *GSJ, 3* (1950), pp. 19-26.
[98] Baines, 'Fifteenth-century Instruments in Tinctoris', p. 23.
[99] (Text B.23) 'A sonner le pfalterïon, Ou timbre ou guiterne ou citholle' *La Clef d'Amors* suggests that the *citholle* had a similar timbre to *guiterne.* Tross, *La clef d'amour,* p. 98.
[100] I specify the 'medieval' citole because in the early seventeenth century Cerone might well have been describing a cittern when uses the term *citola* as a synonym for *cythara* and *cethare.* Pedro Cerone de Bergamo, *El melopeo y maestro: tractado de musica theorica y pratica, en que se pone por extenso, lo que uno para hazerse perfecto musico ha menester saber; y por mayor facilidad, comodidad, y claridad del lector, esta repartido en XXII libros* (Napoles: Iuan Bautista Gargano, y Lucrecio Nucci, 1613), Book 21, ch.16, pp. 1054-55.

The use of the metaphor 'as tight as a citole string' in *Le Pet au Villain* would be most effectively demonstrated if the performer of the work were using a citole for accompaniment. When Rutebeuf wrote this, he must have assumed that the audience would be familiar with the relative tension of musical instrument strings or that this metaphor could be demonstrated by the performer.

The 'sweet' timbre associated with the citole intimates that the strings were not loose enough that the individual strings of a course jangled against one another.

11.4.2 CONTEMPORANEOUS TUNINGS OF STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

Because the citole is often depicted as a fretted instrument, consideration of the tuning of this instrument must take into account both the tuning of the open strings, and their intervallic relationship to one another, as well as the type and placement of the frets.

There is no direct evidence for the manner in which the citole was tuned, nor how the placement of its frets was devised, but several thirteenth- or fourteenth-century treatises address the tuning of the open strings of stringed instruments. Although none of them relate specifically to the citole, they do seem to indicate the sorts of relative tunings that might have been used. The contemporaneous texts suggest that the intervals between courses of strings were usually a fifth, fourth or octave, and occasionally a tone.

Text four in the collection of treatises on music known as the Berkeley Theory Manuscript contains unique information regarding the tuning of medieval chordophones. Page describes it as the 'most comprehensive account of chordophonic tunings in Western medieval sources before...Tinctoris.'[101] The section dealing with 'tetrachords' not only discusses the tuning of chordophones but also contains depictions of chordophones on which the strings are labelled with note

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[101] Christopher Page, 'Fourteenth Century Instruments and Tunings: A Treatise by Jean Vaillant? (Berkley, MS 744)', in *Music and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Studies on Texts and Performance* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), pp. 17-35 (p. 17).

names. Rather intriguingly for the study of the citole, one of the instruments depicted is a distinct-necked chordophone with a non-oval body outline.

The date and authorship of this text are uncertain. The closing lines of the third text, indicates that the first three treatises in Berkeley MS 744 were compiled at Paris in 1375 A.D. Two fifteenth century manuscripts confirm that these three works on music theory were elsewhere grouped together[102] without the text concerning musical instruments. The fourth treatise is also known to have existed separately from the others. An individual example, written at the Abbey of St. Bravo in Ghent (1503-4 A.D.), survives in the Ghent Universiteitsbibliotheek (MS 70 (71)).[103] Page puts forward a case for Johannes Vaillant as author of the treatise concerning musical instruments. If this is the case, it would date the work to before 1361.

Berkeley MS 744 part iv, briefly describes the origins of instruments with four, ten and eleven strings and their tunings. The instruments described as *lyra*, are here depicted as harps, including one with only four strings to follow the text. The four-stringed *cithara*, while having one history related in the text, takes two forms. Only the four-stringed instruments referred to as *cithara* will be considered here.

Page makes the assumption that the rectangular bodied instrument is bowed, although there is no bow shown, and that the piri-form instrument is plucked, using for them the terms 'fiddle' and 'gittern' respectively. A misericord carving at Lavenham (Ill. 192) shows a remarkably similar rectangular instrument being plucked.[104] A bowed piri-form instrument, with a sickle-shaped pegbox terminating in a figurative filial, is depicted in the Smithfield Decretals dating from 1325 -50[105] (although this instrument differs in that it has a pair of figure-eight soundholes rather than one central round soundhole). While paired soundholes are more common on bowed instruments, and central round ones on plucked instruments, they are by no means definitive. The bridge type shown on the rectangular instrument is much

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[102] C. Page, 'Fourteenth Century Instruments and Tunings' (1997), p. 18 and 34. The manuscripts in question are MS Catania Bibliotheche Riunite Civica e Antonio Ursino Recupero D. 39, fols. 24v-30r and London, BL, Add. 23220.
[103] C. Page, 'Fourteenth Century Instruments and Tunings' (1997), pp. 17 and 34 for further information. The comparable musical instrument material is listed as contained within folio 63r to 70r of in the Ghent MS.
[104] Bellows gives the date of this misericord as 1330 but according to the staff at the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul misericord dates from the late 15th c. Alexander Bellows, *The Illustrated History of the Guitar* (Rockville Center, NY: Belwin, Mills, 1970), p. 37. Since this instrument is being played by a fantastic creature and accompanied by bowed bellows, this might not be an accurate depiction of contemporary performance techniques. The instrument depicted might be a 'fiddle being plucked.
[105] Remnant, *English Bowed Instruments* (1986), plate 84.

more typical of plucked instruments, but again that is not exclusive.[106] As there is no clear evidence of their methods of playing in the depictions or in the accompanying text, and both instruments seem to fall under the description *cithara*, the instruments will be referred to here by their body-types. The two instruments are depicted at about the same size with approximately the same string length. This might be an accurate depiction and have bearing upon the relative tunings or might just be due to the constraints of page size.

The upper instrument has a roughly rectangular body outline with a clear juncture between the neck and body. The representation of the side of the instrument seems to indicate that it has distinct ribs. The spacing between the four strings widens as it reaches the frontal string holder, where the strings terminate. The front edge of the large rectangular bridge lies approximately one third of the length of the body from the bottom end.[107] A pair of inward-facing, c-shaped soundholes, their lower edges reaching approximately half the length of the body from the bottom end, sit either side of the band of strings. A second set of smaller, also inward-facing, crescent-shaped soundholes occupy the lower corners of the body. The neck is relatively long, approximately one third of the vibrating string length. No fingerboard is shown. The peg head is an elaborately carved, crowned grotesque's head. It is unclear whether a line below the mouth is intended to depict a nut or the lower lip. The strings seem to disappear between the mouth and nose of the grotesque, implying rear attachment to the roughly y-shaped pegs. Although the pegs are shown as being splayed, it is probable that the depiction is meant to represent frontally inserted pegs. On the strings are written, in red ink, the note names c d g c.

The lower instrument is roughly piri-form is body shaped with a subtle suggestion of a shoulder at the juncture of the neck and body. The depiction of the side of the instrument seems to indicate a rounded back with no distinct ribs. The spacing between the strings is relatively uniform along their length. The strings cross over the bridge, attaching to a 'comb' at the lower end. The roughly rectangular (slightly concave in outline) bridge lies approximately one third of the length of the body from the bottom end. The single elaborate soundhole rosette is placed just in front of the bridge, taking up most of the width of the instruments face. While the extra line along the side of the face of the instrument might indicate a skin front for the

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[106] Frontal string attachment on bowed instruments of the period is extremely rare but is illustrated in an Italian fourteenth-century painting, reproduced by Howard Mayer Brown, 'The Trecento Fiddle and Its Bridges', *Early Music*, 17 (1989), pp. 309-29.
[107] C. Page, 'Fourteenth Century Instruments and Tunings' (1997), p. 30 suggests that the frontal string attachment might be an indication of Byzantine influence.

instrument, the delicate soundhole rosette makes this unlikely. This line might indicate a decorative binding, although in that case it should continue all the way around the face or the thickness of the applied soundboard. The neck is relatively long, approximately one third of the vibrating string length. No fingerboard is shown. The peg head is huge equal to almost two-thirds of the length of the body and longer than the neck. The sickle-shaped pegbox ends with a carved human head filial. The style of the pegbox, and difference in shading of the head, seem to indicate the possibility that the head might have been carved separately and then attached to the instrument. There is no clear depiction of a nut but the strings bend across the end of the neck at so great an angle that this is irrelevant. Seven lateral pegs are shown, implying that the four strings shown represent four courses (three double and one single). The note names written in red on the strings read e b f c.

The tuning of the rectangular *cithara* is noted as C D G C. There is no indication of the progression of these pitches or whether the two c strings are in unison or octave relation. Page assumes that the strings progressively rise in pitch (yielding a tuning of c-d-g-c').[108] Page cites a possible Arabic influence for the tuning, based upon a supposed similarity to the changes in pitch between early Arabic and Persian 'ūd tunings described by Farmer.[109] The supposedly pre-Islamic relative tuning listed by Farmer, however is c-d-g-a. Another source, which specifically mentions the intervals between courses of strings that would yield the Berkeley manuscript's relative tuning of c-d-g-c, is the Risa–la fi'l-luh un wa'l-nagham (Treatise on the Melodies and the Notes) by the 9th century Arabic theorist al Kindī. In addition to the principle tuning (equivalent to A-d-g-c'), Al-Kindī lists three alternate tunings. He states that 'ūd players have numerous tunings for their instruments and the alteration of these tunings serves to enhance certain notes. It is usual, al-Kindī maintains, that the lowest string be retuned. The final suggested alteration in tuning is to raise the lowest string by minor third, this would turn A-d-g-c' into c-d-g-c'. Curiously, this is exactly what the Berkeley manuscript describes as the alteration to the tuning of the *cithara,* except in reverse order.

The tuning of the piriform instrument, is noted as e b f c, which is not as described in the text. If the lowest string were loosened, and adjusted to a fourth with its neighbour, the notation should read A-d-g-c' (or A D G C, if the scribe did not differentiate octaves). If the note names were readjusted so that they would relate to a lowest string with a nominal 'c' the sequence should read c- f -b flat -e flat. It is

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[108] The modern pitch references here are written in Helmholtz notation.
[109] Farmer, Henry George, *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor* (Glasgow: Civic Press, 1933).

possible either that there was a mistake in the copying of the manuscript, and that the letters were written in reverse order without any annotation for the flattened note, or that the instrument depicted was strung for a left-handed player (not impossible but unlikely).

Regardless of the interpretation given to the above tunings they are quite different in style than the contemporary tunings given by Jerome of Moravia.[110] Given that *citole* was considered as an appropriate translation of *cithara* (see §5.2-5.5), and one if not both of these instruments are likely to have been plucked, this source seems to offer a credible source for tuning the citole.

Although primarily concerned with singing, the *Summa Musice*, an anonymous treatise believed to have been written in France or the Netherlands c. 1274-1312, a makes a few references to stringed instruments and their tuning. Among the artificial instruments it defines *chordalia* as those that are exercised by means of strings of metal, gut or silk.[111] The chordophones specifically named in the text are 'cithare, vielle et phiale, psalteria, chori, monochordium, symphonia seu organistrum, et hiis similia.'[112] There is an implication here that the *cithare* is probably a harp, because it is described among the chordophones that, along with the *psalteria* are progressively tuned. Although the term *citole* is not mentioned necked chordophones are:

> ... There are more stringed instruments, which are barely distinguishable by the ear from others, and they are tuned to the consonances of octave, fourth and fifth; by stopping the strings in various positions with the fingers the players of these produce tones and semitones, and so it is with the rest [of the intervals]...[113]

Jerome of Moravia,[114] last quarter of the 14th c. Paris, lists one tuning for the *rubeba,* a two stringed bowed instrument, which has the strings tuned a fifth apart,

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[110] Christopher Page, 'Jerome of Moravia on the Rubeba and Viella ', *GSJ,* 32 (1979), pp. 77-98.
[111] Page translates the term *seracinas* as silk, the other terms are much more common. Christopher Page, ed., *The Summa Musice: a thirteenth century manual for singers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), Latin text p. 150, translation p. 61.
[112] C. Page, ed., *Summa Musice* (1991), pp. 61 and 150.
[113] 'Sunt et alia chordalia que solum auditu discernuntur; temperantur autem per consonantias diapason, diatessaron et diapente, et per diversas digitorum interpositiones artifices ipsorum formant sibi tonos et semitonos, et sic de aliis. Sed qui cantat in manu ipsos articulos et sonorum differentias habet pro signis, quibus autem' C. Page, ed., *Summa Musice* (1991), p. 169 (Latin text) & 87 (English translation).
[114] The Latin text of which appears in Martin Gerbert, ed., *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum* (St. Blasien: Typ. San-Blasianis, 1784), III, p. 214. Discussion of the text can be read in Christopher Page, 'Jerome of Moravia on the Rubeba and Viella ', *GSJ,* 32 (1979), pp. 77-95; C.

and lists three relative tunings for the *viella,* which might also be suitable for the citole.

11.5. PLUCKING-HAND POSITION AND PLECTRUM USE

Although citole plectrum technique is not discussed in text sources, the manner in which citoles and plectra are held in images seems to suggest there were several common playing positions, some of which imposed certain limitations to the manner in which the plectrum could be employed. Since there are at least three depictions of a citole being played left-handed, [115] As mentioned previously in §8.8., citole plectra are often depicted as relatively substantial and they are usually shown held between the player's index and middle fingers, parallel to the index and middle fingers and roughly perpendicular to the thumb. In relation to the medieval lute, Baldassarre discusses the implications of the position of the plucking hand in relation to the strings on the striking angle, and resultant tone colour and projection.[116] Since in some of the depictions from this period, the lute and citole show similar instrument holding and plectrum positions,[117] Baldassarre's comments offer useful insights. It is not merely the position of the hand that has implications for plectrum use but also the placement of the elbow and forearm in relation to the strings. These influence the ways in which the plucking hand and wrist are capable of moving as well as the angle at which the plectrum addresses the strings. Since two-dimensional images are more likely to distort the angle of the arm, this discussion will focus on sculptural representations. There seem to be three basic positions for the elbow and forearm with relation to the strings: elbow above the band of strings; the forearm virtually parallel with the strings; and the elbow below the strings.

Page, *Voices and Instruments* (1986), p. 126-33; and Remnant, English Bowed Instruments (1986), pp. 64-66.

[115] There does not seem to be anything that suggests that these are not accurate indicators that citoles could be strung right- or left-handed. There is some visual evidence that both were known.

[116] Joseph A. Baldassarre, 'Right Hand Position and Plectra in Playing Position of the Medieval Lute', *Lute Society of America Quarterly,* 38 (2002), pp. 23-4.

[117] The sculpture of the lute playing elder on the South portal of Léon Cathedral shows with a similar hand position to that the citole playing Elder (Ill. 13). Also, the instrument-holding position and the plectrum type shown for the lute player on the Steeple Ashton Cope (c.1320), strongly resembles citole depictions of the time. Mathew Spring, *The Lute in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), plate 2.2.

Only rarely is the player's elbow shown higher than the strings. In these cases the player reaches over the top of the instrument, in a manner not unlike that in which the modern guitar is often played. Because this position offers a wide range of motion for the arm and wrist it does not seem to favour plucking or strumming. This position, however, is uncommon but appears in a few two-dimensional sources.[118] The portal at Higham-Ferrers, contains the only possible sculptural representation of this position.

Much more frequently, sculptures depict the forearm roughly parallel to the strings. Often the elbow shown slightly below the strings, with the plucking hand below it or level with the strings, with the arm and hand covering them. This is the position that Baldasarre associates with the lute up to and throughout the thirteenth century and which he associates with the use of a large rectangular plectrum of some hard material such as bone, horn or cartilage. This position, seen in the illuminations in the Cancioniero da Ajuda, does not restrict the motion of the forearm and might be as suitable for plucking as for strumming.

In many cases the instrument seems to rest on the forearm of the plucking hand. In these cases the elbow is clearly below the body of the instrument and the forearm is almost vertical. This is shown clearly in the way the instrument is cradled by the angel in the cloister of Pamplona Cathedral (Appendix B, Ill. 37b). This and other similar depictions demonstrate that in addition to being a very secure way to carry the instrument,[119] this cradling would severely limit the motion of the wrist. Rotation of the wrist would be very awkward and the forearm is essentially pinned. Any movement of the plectrum would need to be undertaken exclusively by the fingers. As with Elder 13 on the south portal of the Cathedral at El Burgo de Osma, the plucking hand is held almost vertically and the thumb is beside the plectrum rather than above it.[120] In this case, the plectrum essentially pivots in the cleft between the index and middle fingers. The downward force is applied by the index

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[118] Two-dimensional examples include the retable of San Millan Ill. 4B; the Rylands Apocalypse Ill. 6a and 6b: two images in the E codex of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Ills. 19 and 20; and a Picard Bible, Ill. 39a.
[119] In addition to numerous manuscript depictions that suggest this same posture, figures at Carboiero (Elder 11, Ill. 7a), Toro (North portal, Elder 1, Ill. 8a), Burgo de Osma (South Portal Elder 13, Ill. 17a), Cley-Next-Sea (Ill. 128b) and Exeter demonstrate this playing position.
[120] Burgo de Osma (South Portal Elder 13, Ill. 17b),

and middle finger,[121] which are above the plectrum, and the upward force is effected by the other two fingers which are placed beneath the plectrum. The thumb, which is beside the plectrum, acts primarily as a lateral stabilizer. Although the range of motion of the arm is severely limited, this method does offer great delicacy of control. The limited range of motion also seems as if it would favour a strict up and down alternation in plucking direction. The down stroke is naturally stronger, as is the downward strum. This technique does not appear to suit vigorous up-and-down strumming.

Although the down stroke in all of these plucking methods is much stronger than the upstroke, there is no indication whether citolers strictly alternated up and down strokes,[122] or whether strong beats were played on the down stroke and weak beats played on the up stroke.

There seems to be no definitive answer to how the citole was played based on images and literary evidence. Based on the positions of the plucking arm and hand, the instrument seems to have been played and held in several distinct postures, each of which would influence how the instrument could have been played.

11.5.1 PLUCKING OR STRUMMING

The terms *rascar*, *toscar*, *rueren*, and *slahen* are used in medieval literature to describe the playing technique of the citole. Unfortunately, these terms, which might have had precise meanings to the authors who employed them, are now subject to speculation by modern scholars.

The term *rascar* appears in relation to the citolon in several *cantigas d'escarnho*. Martin Soárez uses the term regarding Lopo's playing.[123] Joan Garcia Guilhade when speaking of Lourenço's playing uses the terms *rascar* several times but also

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[121] In my experimentation with this playing position, I alternated between applying the downward force with my index and middle fingers and not using index finger but rather my middle finger with my thumb. In the case of using my middle finger and thumb for the downwards stroke the force still came primarily from my middle finger.

[122] In the manner that Baldassarre suggests might have employed in the playing of the medieval lute in Baldassarre, 'Right Hand Position'.

[123] (Text B.94) Manuel Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer dos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses*, Colección filolóxica, 2nd edn (Vigo: Editorial Galaxia, 1970), p. 442.

mention the term *tanger*.[124] Rodrigues Lapa translates *rascar* as to 'scrape' or 'scratch', and *tanger* to 'touch'.[125] *Tanger* seems to have a relation to *tocar* discussed below. This 'scratching' might merely be an insult, since Guilhade seems to refer to Lourenço's playing the citolon as 'scratching on a stump'.[126] It might, however, suggest a strumming technique.[127] Although much later, the term *rasgado* or *rasgueado* has been documented as a term for a strumming technique on the guitar in Spain since the late sixteenth century.[128]

Tocar-related terms appear in relation to playing instruments in Occitan, Aragonese and Castilian texts. In the Aragonese translation of *Tresor*, the bestiary passage of the Swans reads 'canta o toca çitola'[129] Berçeo uses the term *tocando* in *El Duelo que fizo la Virgen María* in which he describes the general playing of instruments as *Tocando instrumentos, çedras, rotas, e gigas*. Aubrey comments that the Occitan term 'tocar', as used in *Daurel et Beto* means 'to finger'.[130] Whether 'to finger' is meant to indicate that the strings of the *citola* are stopped by the fingers or excited by them (either by plucking or strumming) is not clear.

German texts use the terms *rueren* and *slahen* to describe the playing of the citole as in Anhang zum *Alexander*,[131] and Apollonius von Tyrland by Heinrich von Neustadt, respectively [132] These also might be generic terms for the playing of instruments since *slahen* is also used as a term for playing the harp in the story of *Tristan*.[133]

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[124] (Text B.96 and B.97) Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho*, (1970), pp. 321-2, and 323.
[125] Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho*, (1970), p.88.
[126] (Text B.96) 'rascar no cep' e tanger' Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho*, (1970), pp. 321-2.
[127] Ferreira suggest that 'rascar' indicates the scraping of a bow and argues that the *citolon* was a large bowed instrument played abraccio. Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus*, pp. 199-201.
[128] Joan Carlos Amat *Guitarra española de cinco órdones* (publ. 1596) Frank Koonce, *The Baroque Guitar in Spain and in the New World: Gaspar Sanz, Antonio de Santa Cruz, Francisco Guerau, Santiago de Murcia* (Pacific MO: Mel Bay, 2006), p. 2.
[129] Brunetto Latini, *The Aragonese Version of Brunetto Latini's 'Libro del trasoro'*, ed. by Dawn E. Prince (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995), pp. 14 and 56.
[130] Elizabeth Aubrey, 'References to Music in Old Occitan Literature', *Acta Musicologica*, 6 (1989), pp. 110-49 (p. 138)
[131] (Text B.17) Eitschberger cites the Strassburg manuscript. The text shown in Appendix A is from MS Vienna Wein, K.K. Hofbibliothek, cod. 568. Eitschberger, *Musikinstrumente in höfischen Romanen*, p. 91.
[132] (Text B. 76) Eitschberger cites the Strasbourg manuscript, which is not one of the two mentioned in Appendix A. Eitschberger, *Musikinstrumente in höfischen Romanen*, p. 91.
[133] Martin van Schaik, *The Harp in The Middle Ages: The Symbolism of a Musical Instrument* (Amsterdam: Ropodi, 1992), p. 22.

If accurate, the bridges that appear to have strongly curved tops, such as the one shown in the Rheims stained glass (Ill. 43) and on a wall painting in Cologne Cathedral (Ill. 82) argue against those instruments having been strummed. Depictions of curved-top bridge are rare however and none have been identified in sculptures. Most sculptures show a flat plane of strings that would be suitable either for plucking or strumming.

11.6 STOPPING-HAND AND FINGERING

Evidence suggests that contemporaneous instruments, like the 'ūd,[134] rubeba, and vielle,[135] were not played above first position, and yet some citoles appear to have fingerboards that are approximately half of the shown string length. Fingerboards of this length would allow the player, when stopping the string against the fingerboard, to produce the range of up to an octave of stopped notes on each string. Other contemporaneous instruments, such as the 'ūd, were usually fingered only to a range of a *diatessaron* above the note sounded by the open string, with the scale continuing on the next string, without the player shifting hand placement. The depiction of frets along the entire length of some of these longer fingerboards strongly suggests that, if the same sort of fixed hand placement was used by citole players, that higher fixed positions were also used on the citole. Alternatively, the player might have used a shifting hand position to finger notes along the length of the fingerboard. One of the best-known English depictions, the Ormesby Psalter (Ill. 117) shows what appear to be two fret positions between the stopping hand and the nut. Other manuscript illustrations that seem to show more than one fret between the nut and the stopping hand include the DeLisle Psalter (Ill. 132), There are indications of this use of a higher position in *Queen Mary's Psalter* (Ills. 108, 109, 111, 113). Although no depictions clearly show the frets beyond the end of the neck being stopped there is some indication of the use of higher playing positions when the player's hand is shown near to the body juncture such as on a sculpture of a siren

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[134] The description in various Arabic and Persian treatises, that the fourth finger fret was the limit of the frets and that the neck is not any longer than this, strongly suggests that only first position was used. See Eckhard Neubauer, 'Der Bau der Laute und ihre Besaitung nach Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Quellen des 9 bis 15. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften*, 8 (1993) pp. 337-8, 343, 346-7, 350, 353.

[135] The notes described as being produced by the stopping of the strings of the rubeba and viella suggest that only first position used. Christopher Page, 'Jerome of Moravia on the Rubeba and Viella ', *GSJ*, 32 (1979), pp. 77-98Latin text pp. 88, 90 and translations pp, 89, 91.

at Strasbourg Cathedral (Ill. 60), a bench end at Cologne Cathedral (Ill. 67), and the Milemete Treatise (Ill. 123).

Although Winternitz suggests that the thumbhole type neck would impede the player's ability to reach higher positions this seems to be based on his assumption that the hand, rather than the thumb, passed through the hole.[136]

Although it is difficult to determine whether the positioning of the player's fingers in images has any significance, a few representations suggest that the fingers of the stopping hand might indicate the use of chords. The Bologna Cope (Ill. 100) and the DeLisle Psalter (Ill. 132) each depict an angel whose index finger covers the full width of the fingerboard, perpendicular to the line of the strings, suggesting that it might be being used to stop all the strings at once. A sculpture at Lincoln cathedral (Ill. 95) seems to show the fingers of the angel's left hand in the act of stopping the strings, which Remnant suggests indicates a strummed chord.[137]

11.7   PAIRS OF FRETS AND EXTENDED PYTHAGOREAN SCALES

As described in §8.3, depictions of citoles seem to indicate that fretting patterns exhibited regional variation. Some sculptures of Iberian citoles display frets that are depicted as wide raised blocks with gaps between them.[138] English and French manuscripts, however, often show what appear to be pairs of closely spaced frets. This subsection focuses on this second style of fretting and considers whether it represents one of the 'inherent peculiarities of contemporary instruments which might produce a characteristic chromaticism'.[139]

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[136] My own personal experience is that the thumbhole-type neck does not hinder the use of higher positions. However, 'half position' is awkward.
[137] Mary Remnant, 'Medieval Fiddles, etc.' *Early Music*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1977), p. 255.
[138] Raised flat block frets with large gaps between them are shown at La Hiniesta Elder (Ill. 32d-f) and Pamplona (Ill. 37a-c). Narrower gaps between large block frets are shown at Valencia (Ill. 33a) and LaGuardia (Ill. 36a-c).
[139] Lloyd Hibberd, '"Musica Ficta" and Instrumental Music c.1250-1350', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 28 (1942), p. 217.

11.7.1 Pairs of Closely Spaced Frets

In two-dimensional French and English sources frets often appear as pairs of closely spaced parallel lines (see Ill. 40 and 80a-b),[140] and it is not atypical for the fingerboard in these depictions to be roughly half the string length.[141] Some of the intriguing questions regarding citole fretting in English and French art are: why are the fingerboards so long, why do they display so many frets, and what sort of frets are they? Perhaps, as is implied Magister Lambertus' *Tractatus de musica*, the *cytole* was used like the monochord to demonstrate the divisions of tones.[142] The paired lines shown might provide evidence of the use of an extended Pythagorean system (having more than twelve divisions per octave), rather than edges of wide frets of the type shown on some Iberian sculptures.

11.7.2 Chromatic Scales In Music Theory Texts Before 1350

The acceptance of chromatic notes during the late thirteenth century is attested to by Jerome of Moravia who, in his *Tractatus de Musica*,[143] advocates the inclusion of five chromatics notes within each octave by placing a *synemmenon* tetrachord at various points through the gamut.[144] This tetrachord, derived from Greek music theory, is modelled on $A - B^\flat - C - D$, and consists of the intervals semitone – tone – tone.

Semitone		tone	tone
A	*B* $^\flat$	*C*	*D*
B	*C*	*D* $^\flat$	*E* $^\flat$
C	*D* $^\flat$	*E* $^\flat$	*F*
D	*E* $^\flat$	*F*	*G*
E	*F*	*G*	*A*
F	*G* $^\flat$	*A* $^\flat$	*B* $^\flat$
G	*A* $^\flat$	*B* $^\flat$	*C*

This yields a chromatic scale with five altered notes (*synemmena*): $B^\flat, E^\flat, A^\flat, D^\flat$.

The use of these chromatic notes, however, seems to be reserved for secular music

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[140] (Ill. 40) Avranches BM MS 222, fol. 9 and both of the depictions at Évreux Cathedral (Ill. 80a-b).
[141] DeLisle Psalter (Ill. 142a) and Queen Mary's Psalter, fol. 177r (Ill. 113).
[142] (Text B.7) Pseudo-Aristotle, 'Tractatis de musica', in *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi*, ed. by Edmond de Coussemaker 4 vols (Hildesheim: Olms, 1864) I, pp. 251-81 (p. 253).
[143] Although the exact date is not known the treatise must postdate 1272, as described in Christopher Page, 'Jerome of Moravia on the Rubeba and Viella ', *GSJ*, 32 (1979), pp. 77-98.
[144] Dolores Pesce, *The Affinities and Medieval Transposition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 59.

since Jerome states: 'Although synemmena are useful in discant, nevertheless ecclesiastical song does not accept them in any way.'[145]

That chromatic alteration was known during the same period in which these paired frets appear on citoles, is attested to by an English manuscript fragment, *Sequitur de Synemenis*, which demonstrates that there was some knowledge of a 17-pitch-per-octave Pythagorean scale in late thirteenth-century England.[146] The treatise describes the placement of what the author refers to as 'synemma' upon a monochord. These synemmena are reached by a series of divisions of 3/2 and 4/3.[147] In addition to the seven *musica vera* notes there are five hard (*dura* or *laborifera*) and five soft (*molle* or *dulce*) 'synemmenon'.

It is important to consider whether this treatise is merely a copy of an earlier work, or whether it contains insight into the division of tones in thirteenth-century England. *Sequitur de Synemenis* is not derived from any identified Latin treatise on monochord theory and also does not seem to be based on any of the known Arabic treatises from this period.

Several Arabic music theorists clearly describe fretting systems applied to the 'ūd, but although these are based on a diatonic Pythagorean scale, they rarely contain more than one or two chromatic notes. Relevant texts survive written by Al Kindī (c. 790-874 A.D.); Al Fārābī (known in Latin as 'Farabinus', died 1050 A.D.); Ibn Sinā ('Avicenna', 980 - 1037 A.D.);[148] and Ṣafī al-Dīn (died 1294 A.D.).[149] All have a

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[145] Dolores Pesce, *The Affinities and Medieval Transposition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 60.

[146] (London, British Library, MS Royal 12 C. VI, ff. 80v-81v), Prodocimo de' Beldomandi, *Brevis summula proportionum quantum ad musicam pertinent and Parvus tractatulus de modo monacordum dividendi: A Short Treatise of Ratios Insofar as They Pertain to Music and A Little Treatise on the Method of Dividing the Monochord*, trans. by Jan Herlinger, Greek and Latin Music Theory (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), p. 128.

[147] Essentially, this extends the diatonic pythagorean system by ascending fifth from B natural (F#, C#, G#, D# A#) and ascending fourths from F (B♭, E♭, A♭, D♭,G♭), although the text does not name these notes 'sharp' of 'flat'.

[148] Henry George Farmer, 'The Lute Scale of Avicenna', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 69 (1937), pp. 245-57.

[149] Neubauer has translated these texts into German. O. Wright and Manik also offer useful comments upon them. Neubauer, 'Der Bau der Laute', pp. 279-378. Owen Wright, *The Modal System of Arab and Persian Music A.D. 1250-1300.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978). Liberty Manik, *Das Arabische Tonsystem im Mittelalter* (Leiden: Brill, 1969).

'first finger' fret positioned at 8/9 of the string length,[150] a 'third finger' fret at 64/81,[151] and a 'fourth finger' fret at 3/4.[152] These fret positions are agreed upon by all of the Arabic theorist before 1300 A.D., although some add other intervals to these, and the position of the 'middle finger' fret is debated. It is not known to what extent these specific treatises were known in Europe.

In his treatise *Kitāb al-Adwār*, the thirteenth-century music theorist *Kitāb al-Adwār* ('Book of cycles') by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī describes how to properly fret an 'ūd, using whole number divisions of the string length and provides a diagram. This is a simple, partly chromatic, fretting based on Pythagorean intonation. Later in the same manuscript, Ṣafī al-Dīn attempts to rationalise the more flexible Arabo-persian tone system within a Pythagorean framework but instead of using the fingerboard of an 'ūd an exemplar, he uses a monochord. His solution results in a 17-pitch-per-octave system. This included both of the two semitone sizes set down in the Pythagorean system:[153] the smaller semitone, the limma, of 90.22 cents; and the larger semitone, the apotome, of approximately to 113.68 cents. In this system, the semitones are made up of smaller portions, which are also unequal, (90.22 cents = 23.46 + 66.76 cents. 113.68 cents = 23.46 + 66.76 + 23.46). If Ṣafi al-Dīn 's Pythagorean scale division is expanded, it results in a scale with 25 pitches, which have the intervalic values of 23.46, 66.76 and 90.22 cents.[154]

Although two earlier thirteenth-century Arabic texts are known to describe the division of a string to yield 17-pitch-per-octave Pythagorean intonation, *Sequitur de Synemenis* does not appear to be a translation of either of these.[155] In all three cases

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[150] 8/9 of the string produces a *tonus*, a Pythagorean whole tone, 203.91 cents above the pitch of the unfretted string.

[151] 81/64, *ditone*, a Pythagorean major third, 407.82 cents.

[152] 498.04 (4:3, *diatesseron*, a fourth)

[153] Notes which in Equal Temperament are 'enharmonic equivalents' such as C # and D ♭, are 23.5 cents different in Pythagorean Intonation. Pythagorean Intonation contains two sizes of semitone: chromatic = 113.68 and diatonic= 90.22 . In order to maintain harmonious relationship between the notes, especially if the scale is transposed, a greater number of frets are needed to provide the appropriate intervals.

[154] While this might sound unworkably complicated, this system is the basis of modern Iranian and Turkish classical music.

[155] Both survive in manuscripts of the earlier thirteenth century. Although Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī lived until after the date of the *Sequitur* MS, a copy of the *Kitāb al-adwār* survives which is dated 1235-6 (MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul.3653). MS Istanbul, Suleymaniye Kütüphane, Fatih 3662 is believed to be of a similar date. Owen Wright, 'A Preliminary Version of

the whole tone is divided into two *limmas* and one *comma*.[156] The *Sequitur de Synemenis*, the *Kitāb al-Adwār*, and a text preserved in an Istanbul manuscript (Suleymaniye Kütüphanes MS Fatih 3662) divide the tone differently.[157] That each of these sources divides the whole tone differently, demonstrates that none of them were an exact copy of either of the others.

Table 7: The table below shows the distribution of *limma* and *commas* in three thirteenth-century manuscripts describing 17-pitch-per-octave Pythagorean intonation.[158]

Kitāb al-adwār	LLC	LLC	L	LLC	LLC	L	LLC
MS Fatih 3662	CLL	CLL	L	CCL	CCL	L	CLL
Sequitur de Synemenis	LCL	LCL	L	LCL	LCL	L	LCL

These treatises demonstrate that variations of 17-pitch-per-octave Pythagorean tuning systems were known by theorists during the thirteenth century. A fretboard with frets placed according to the instructions in the *Sequitur de Synemenis* would show some pairs of closely spaced frets, a comma apart, and some single frets. Unfortunately, no depictions of frets on citoles seem to exhibit the pattern of both single and paired frets that this would yield.[159]

Several medieval texts also provided the framework by which a further extended Pythagorean fretting system could be derived. A Pythagorean system that would yield pairs of narrowly spaced frets can be laid out geometrically following the directions of Safi al-Din, which requires only the ability to divide by a length into halves, thirds, quarters, eighths and ninths.[160] Alternately, the 'double flats' can be

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the 'kitāb al-Adwār", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London,* 58/3 (1995), pp. 459-60.
[156] Usually a Pythagoraean tone (203.91 cents) is divided into a small semitone, a *limma* (90.22 cents) and a large semitone, an *apotome* (113.69 cents). The comma is equal to the difference between a *limma* and a *apotome* (23.46 cents). Monochord theorist using diatonic systems disagree as to whether the small or large semitone should occur first. All three of these systems break the *apotome* down into a *limma* and a *comma*, which means that a *apotome* can be created where needed.
[157] O. Wright, 'Preliminary Version of the 'kitāb al-Adwār", pp. 455-78.
[158] The details of the two Arabic texts are summarized by O. Wright, 'Preliminary Version of the 'kitāb al-Adwār", p. 465-6.
[159] Related fretting systems are used on some modern instruments such as the turkish bağlama.
[160] Neubauer, 'Der Bau der Laute' pp. 279-378.

derived by the same manner that Jerome of Moravia located his *synemmena*,[161] by basing the semitone-tone-tone terachord on the new scale degrees proposed in Chapter 23 of the *Tractatus de Musica*.[162] By continuing to divide the intervals on the monochord, and extending the Pythagorean scale, a fretting system showing only pairs of frets could be devised. Although no surviving music theory treatises record the further extension of the Pythagorean scale, images that show this fretting pattern imply that extended Pythagorean scales were known not only by theorists but used on medieval stringed instruments.

PLATE 1.   VISUAL EXAMPLE OF PYTHAGOREAN INTONATION PAIRED FRETS
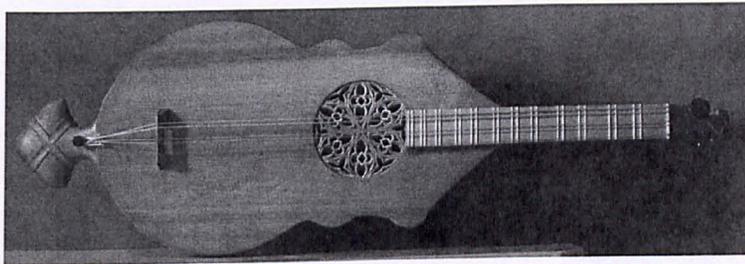
To facilitate comparison with the pairs of frets shown in some medieval images, the photo above is of a citole built by the author in 2004.[163] It is fitted with 12 pairs of bone frets in Pythagorean intonation.[164] Although the octave is divided into 24 parts, the number of notes available depends on the tuning of the open strings. See Plate. 8.

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[161] The resultant tetrachords would be:

Semitone		tone	tone
a	b♭	c	d
b♭	c♭	d♭♭	e♭♭
b	c	d♭	e♭
c	d♭	e♭	f
d♭	e♭♭	f♭	g♭
d	e♭	f	g
e♭	f♭	g♭	a♭
e	f	g	a
f	g♭	a♭	b♭
g♭	a♭♭	b♭♭	c♭
g	a♭	b♭	c
a♭	b♭♭	c♭	d♭

[162] Dolores Pesce, *The Affinities and Medieval Transposition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 59.
[163] The project was to construct a ctiole using materials and woodworking techniques appropriate to the fourteenth century. Alice Margerum, 'Citole: Research and Reconstruction' (unpublished Masters by Project, London Metropolitan University, 2004).
[164] Tunings used on it have included c – f – b♭; c – f – c'; and c – g – c'.

TABLE 8: REFERENCE TABLE FOR 12 PAIRS OF PYTHAGOREAN FRETS

The table below shows the notes that could be obtained on using the fretting system displayed on the instrument in Plate 1.

fret	Nominal Pitch of Open String with the resultant fretted notes shown below it.							cents above open string	cents above previous pair	ratio to open string
0	A	D	G	C	F	B♭	E♭			1/1
									90.22	
1a	B♭	E♭	A♭	D♭	G♭	C♭	F♭	90.22		256/243
1b	A#	D#	G#	C#	F#	B	E	113.68		2187/2048
									66.72	
2a	C♭	F♭	B♭♭	E♭♭	A♭♭	D♭♭	G♭♭	180.45		65536/59049
2b	B	E	A	D	G	C	F	203.91		9/8
									90.22	
3a	C	F	B♭	E♭	A♭	D♭	G♭	294.13		32/27
3b	B#	E#	A#	D#	G#	C#	F#	317.60		19683/16384
									66.76	
4a	D♭	G♭	C♭	F♭	B♭♭	E♭♭	A♭♭	384.36		8192/6561
4b	C#	F#	B	E	A	D	G	407.82		81/64
									90.22	
5a	D	G	C	F	B♭	E♭	A♭	498.04		4/3
5b	C##	F##	B#	E#	A#	D#	G#	521.51		177147/131072
									66.76	
6a	E♭	A♭	D♭	G♭	C♭	F♭	B♭♭	588.27		1024/729
6b	D#	G#	C#	F#	B	E	A	611.73		729/512
									66.63	
7a	F♭	B♭♭	E♭♭	A♭♭	D♭♭	G♭♭	C♭♭	678.36		262124/177147
7b	E	A	D	G	C	F	B♭	701.96		3/2
									90.22	
8a	F	B♭	E♭	A♭	D♭	G♭	C♭	792.18		128/81
8b	E#	A#	D#	G#	C#	F#	B#	815.64		6561/4096
									66.76	
9a	G♭	C♭	F♭	B♭♭	E♭♭	A♭♭	D♭♭	882.40		32768/19683
9b	F#	B	E	A	D	G	C	905.87		27/16
									90.22	
10a	G	C	F	B♭	E♭	A♭	D♭	996.098		16/9
10b	F##	B#	E#	A#	D#	G#	C#	1019.55		59049/32768
									66.76	
11a	A♭	D♭	G♭	C♭	F♭	B♭♭	E♭♭	1086.31		4096/2187
11b	G#	C#	F#	B	E	A	D	1109.76		243/128
									66.61	
12a	B♭♭	E♭♭	A♭♭	D♭♭	G♭♭	C♭♭	F##	1176.38		1048496/531441
12b	A	D	G	C	F	B♭	E♭	1200		2/1

11.7.3 Contemporaneous Art and Closely Spaced Pairs of Frets

The only clear fourteenth-century pictorial evidence for the use of large/small/large spacing, with pairs of narrow frets comes from an Italian fresco and a different instrument type. In the 'Investiture St. Martin', in the lower basilica of Assisi,[165] Simone Martini depicts a piriform instrument, plucked with a quill plectrum and which shows pairs of frets (see Plate 2). Since the instrument itself does not have much in common with the instruments examined in this thesis, it is only the placement of the frets that will be discussed. The frets seem to extend under approximately two-thirds of the string length, which would be the range of a fifth above the note of the open string. Within this space, seven pairs of frets are placed.[166] Seven pairs of frets within the compass of a fifth is consistent with 24-pitch-per-octave Pythagorean fretting, depending on the relative tuning of the open strings. Although, drawn from an unrelated region and a different plucked instrument, this fresco does offer evidence that 24-pitch-per-octave Pythagorean intonation was used on fretted instruments in Europe at least as early as the second decade of the fourteenth century.

PLATE 2: DETAIL OF THE GITTERN SHOWING PAIRS OF CLOSELY SPACED TIED FRETS
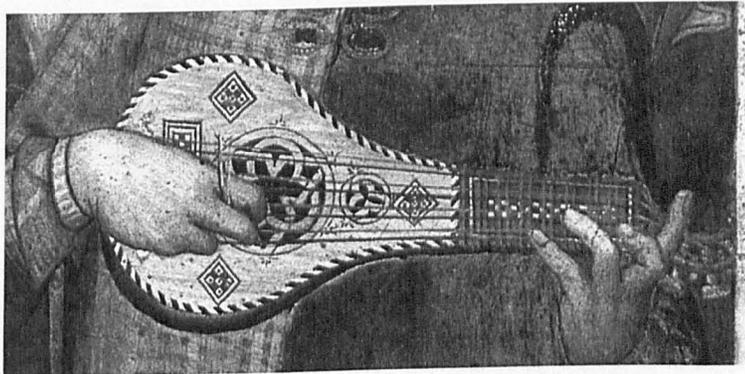
This depiction is consistent with an extended Pythagorean system. From the 'Investiture of St. Martin', by Simone Martine, c.1320, Assisi, Lower Basilica, Chapel of St Martin.[167]

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[165] An excellent reproduction of the musicians can be seen in Giorgio Bonsanti and others, *La Basilica di San Francesco Ad Assisi: Basilica inferiore*, ed. by Giorgio Bonsanti, Mirabilia Italiæ (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2002), I, p. 255, image 357.

[166] It is also possible that there is one single fret lower down the neck but this is difficult to discern clearly since, if it is there, it runs parralel to the fingerboard decoration. The seven pairs of frets are clear because they cut across decoration on the fingerboard.

[167] Image provided by and used with the permission of the Archive of the Biblioteca Centro Documentazione Francescana, Sacred Convent of Assisi. A colour reproduction of the musicians can

11.7.4 IMPLICATIONS OF EXTENDED-PYTHAGOREAN FRETTING ON CITOLES

If some citoles were fretted with fixed position pairs of closely spaced frets (possibly 24 pitch-per-octave), rather than diatonic or 12 pitch-per-octave chromatic frets, the implications are that they would be capable of producing a greater number of consonant intervals and that they would be able to transpose modes to some higher and lower pitch ranges without retuning.

This ability to produce more consonant intervals might explain why the sound of the citole is considered 'sweet' in so many descriptions (See §11.1.). Offering the possibility of accurate consonance might also be why the citole is used in similes for discord. Latini explains that one ill-chosen word can ruin a speech, as a single string can cause the whole citole to be discordant.[168] This specific passage was borrowed by the late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century author of the English *Liber Custumarum*, indicating that this allusion also made sense to an English audience.[169] Gower claims that a foolish or vacuous word, like one discordant note of a citole, flies off and wounds the ear of the listener.[170]

The ability to transpose melodies to higher or lower pitches while maintaining the same intervallic relationships between notes, might explain why the fretboard in many of these depictions is so long. When the author known as Anonymous IV mentions that rapid ornamental notes too quick to be sung could be played by stringed instruments, might the fretted citole been one of these instruments?[171]

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be seen in Bonsanti ed., *La Basilica di San Francesco Ad Assisi: Basilica inferiore*, p. 255, image 357.

[168] (Text B.6a), *Li Livres dou Tresor*, Book III:lxxv. Latini, *Tresor: Edition and Study*, ed. Baldwin and Barrette (2003), p. 365.

[169] (App.A, B.6d) Anonymous, *Munimenta Gildhallœ Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum et Liber Horn*, ed. by Henry Thomas Riley, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores [Rolls Series] (1860), p. 18.

[170] (Text B. 63) *Mirour de l'Omme*, late fourteenth c. Gower, *Complete Works: the French works*, ed. Macaulay (1899), I, pp. 121.

[171] 'si quator currentes pro uno brevi ordinentur, sed hoc raro solebat contigere; ultimi vero non voce human, sed in instrumentis cordam possunt ordinari.' Anonymous 4, 'De Mensuris Et Discantu', in *Scriptorum de Musica Medii Ævi*, ed. by Edmond de Coussemaker (Hildesheim: Olms, 1864), pp. 327-65, p. 341.

These instruments would also be more complicated to play, and to play them well the players would probably require instruction. Passages in *Morant und Galie*,[172] and *Mirour de l'Omme*,[173] make reference to going to a school for playing the citole (see §9.5). Latini chooses the citole, in other similes, as an exemplar of accomplishments that require practice to master and which deserve credit when done well.[174] Instruments with this complicated fretting system might, on the other hand, have been used primarily for instruction. If the open strings of a four-course citole were tuned with a fifth (diapente) between them, and the fingerboard were an octave long, the range of notes that could be produced, between the lowest-pitched unfretted string and the highest-pitched string fretted at the end of the fingerboard, would encompass two octaves and major sixth, the theoretical gamut of the Guidonian hand. Perhaps this is why Magister Lambertus includes the citole among the instruments, which like the monochord, can be used to demonstrate the division of tones (Text B.7).[175]

The greater variety of interval sizes offered by extended Pythagorean fretting, offering intervallic relations equivalent to those found in contemporaneous Arabic treatises, might also make these citoles capable of playing Arabic music of the period. Juan Ruiz, however, includes the *citola* among the instruments that are not suitable for Arabic music,[176] but this may be because citoles as depicted in Iberia seem to display wide raised block for frets, which do not suggest this sort of fretting.

Although there are many indications that the double lines shown on the fretboards of some English and French depictions of citoles represent some sort of extended Pythagorean fretting system there is no firm evidence for this.

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[172] The text was written between 1320 and 1350 but does not survive in any manuscripts before the fifteenth century. Theodor Frings and Elisabeth Linke, eds, *Morant und Galie*, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Zentralinstitut für Sprachwissenschaft, 1976), pp. 165-6. (Text B.66a).

[173] Gower, *Complete Works: the French works*, ed. Macaulay (1899), I, pp. 89.

[174] (Text B.6a) *Tresor* II:VI, and II:x. Latini, *Tresor: Edition and Study*, ed. Baldwin and Barrette (2003), pp.155 and 159.

[175] See Pseudo-Aristotle, 'Tractatis de musica', ed. Coussemaker (1864), I, p. 253.

[176] Stanza 1516-17. Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Criado De Val and Naylor (1972), p. 510.

11.8 BRIDGES: TYPES, POSITION AND HEIGHT

The height of the bridge, of course, affects the angle at which the strings cross over the bridge and has implications for other structural details and also for timbre. Since the vibration of the strings is transmitted to the soundboard through the bridge, the height of the bridge and the angle at which the strings cross it, affects the downward force on the soundboard and therefore the way in which the soundboard vibrates. Greater downward force would suggest the need for a stiffer and more rigid construction whereas instruments with lower bridges could be more lightly built.

The high bridge shown in some manuscript illustrations (Oxford, Bodl. MS Canon Liturgical 126, fol. 98v) combined with the short length of strings behind the bridge indicate strings crossed the bridge at a relatively sharp angle. Since the strings must approach the bridge from similar angles on both sides, to prevent a high bridge from being pushed over by restoring force, this indicates that the instruments with high bridges probably had elevated or wedge-shaped fingerboards. Stronger downwards force by the bridge will tend to produce a quick note with rapid decay.

11.9 LENGTH OF THE FINGERBOARD

One of the remarkable features of citoles in northern European depictions is the length of the fingerboard. Although in Iberian images the fingerboard rarely continues much beyond the neck body juncture,[177] it is not uncommon for it to be much longer in English and northern European examples. These longer fingerboards often approximate half the vibrating string length and have frets placed along their entire length. This seems to indicate that some citoles could have had a full octave of frets on each string.

11.10 SUMMARY

Given that no medieval sources relate directly to the practicalities of playing the citole, the information about what sorts of music might have been played on it, how it could have been used in performance, and even with what instruments it would

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[177] Although many Iberian sculptural depictions have damaged neck ends a few show clear indications of fingerboards

have been played, are subjects of speculation. The available evidence suggests that the citole was played for dancing and had an association with singing. The citole seems to have been strongly associated with certain sorts of performance, such as caroles and the three major forms of Galician-Portuguese cantigas, but exactly how citoles were used in these performances is not clarified by contemporaneous sources. Even the relative tuning of the instrument is unknown. The tuning of the instrument was possibly influenced by the 'ūd but, alternatively, it might have been tuned like a viella. It is also possible that, at different times, a player might have used a variety tunings to suit different modes, or accompany different instruments. It is possible that the citolers who had long fret boards with many frets might have used a higher position to play at a higher pitch without changing mode. Unfortunately, many of these questions about the sound and use of the citole can not be answered with certainty.

Modern scholars' opinions of what level of complexity medieval citolers could have achieved when playing with a plectrum is very subjective. Bedbrook proposes that plucked necked instruments were quite limited and comments:

> Considering that the chief stringed instruments were mostly plucked, i.e. harp, psaltery, citole and gittern, it can be seen by their nature that they were never meant for part-writing or for harmony (save perhaps the harp)...'[178]

On the other hand, MacKillop, a musician who plays early plucked instruments, acknowledges a greater diversity of possible techniques.

> Almost all the illustrations and engravings from both the medieval and Renaissance periods show the sythole being plucked with a plectrum of sorts, and whose function was mainly to provide accompaniment for the voice, although solo and ensemble instrumental playing would also have been enjoyed. It is commonly assumed, incorrectly I believe, that plectrum playing in the medieval and renaissance periods implies single-note lines with maybe adjacent open-strings being played as passing drones. Whilst this sort of performance technique is certainly possible, and in many cases probable... it is important to keep in mind that counterpoint, the simultaneous playing of two or more lines, is also possible with a plectrum technique."[179]

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[178] G. S. Bedbrook, 'The Problem of Instrumental Combination in the Middle Ages', *Revue Belge De Musicologie/ Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap, 25* (1971), pp. 53-67 (p. 57).
[179] Robert MacKillop, 'Plucked, Fretted Instruments in Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque Scotland' <http //www.rmguitar.info/citole.htm> [accessed 20 June, 2008].

The pairings of the citole with other instruments does also not necessarily clarify whether the citole was plucked or strummed. The citole is most commonly associated with the vielle. This might mean that the citole played a strummed chordal accompaniment while the vielle played the melody. Conversely, the citole might have picked out the melody, while the vielle played sustained drones. When paired with the psaltery or harp, which are usually assumed to have played melodies, the citole might have provided chordal accompaniment or a plucked counter melody. The diversity of fretting patterns, indicted by illustrations, seem to imply that the capabilities of fretted and unfretted citoles would have been different. There might also have been regional or temporal changes in the way in which the instrument was used. Although the method in which the citole was used can be speculated, there is no conclusive answer to these questions.

12. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The simple questions that this thesis asks are: during the Middle Ages, what was a citole, where and when was it popular; by whom and for whom was it played? Although these basic questions have been touched upon by some previous scholars, confusion over terminology, and methodological flaws, have created confusion about this instrument type. A large body of evidence is presented here for consideration, in order that the strengths and weaknesses of each category of relevant contemporaneous evidence could balance the others. This thesis therefore concentrates on citole-related evidence dating from between c.1200-1400, as well as considering the manner in which, and extent to which, information about the citole can be gleaned from documentary records, literature, and art.

Although previous research on the subject offers conflicting definitions as to what a citole was, this is the easiest of the didactic questions to answer. By the comparison of three texts to their accompanying illustrations it can be demonstrated that during the thirteenth and fourteenth century the terms *citole*, *sitola* and *çitola* were associated with a chordophone type that had a distinct-neck, holly-leaf shaped body and which was played with a substantial plectrum. Several other body outlines, extrapolated from the original holly-leaf shape are shown to have been characteristic of depictions in particular regions. Some characteristics of the citole, such as body outline, varied by region and date but many other features remain consistently depicted.

The citole seems to have been a relatively well-known and high-status instrument in certain parts of Europe. More than thirty individual citolers are named in English documents; the citole is referred to in more than five dozen literary texts surviving in manuscripts dated before 1400 (and in a further forty copied before 1550); numerous sculptures and paintings have captured details of its form; a citole is among the very few surviving medieval stringed instruments and yet this instrument type has been largely overlooked. That it was a common instrument in parts of Western Europe is attested to by this large amount of surviving evidence. Although the instrument type has been largely forgotten in modern times, the wealth of medieval evidence suggests that the citole was a relatively high-status instrument that was particularly

popular in northern France during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Castile and León during the thirteenth century, and England during the fourteenth century. As the marginal note in the late-fourteenth-century copy of *de Planctu Naturae* states (see §3.1.2, and Ill. 3) the citole was perceived to be a common instrument. Comparison with other sources shows that this reference to the citole being 'very common' (*multum vulgare*) did not indicate that it was low status but rather that it was a very familiar instrument.

In the earliest surviving literary manuscripts the citole seems to have been associated with trained musicians. The majority of the earliest surviving manuscripts that preserve the term *citole* mention it in relation to trained minstrels (specifically *joglars*) or among the instrument played at festivities, this is true whether the context is medieval or antique.

An accurate chronology of the use of citole-related terms in literature can only be reconstructed from the occurrence of these terms in specific manuscripts. Surviving manuscripts offer the only physical evidence that can demonstrate where and when this nomenclature was used. Although the earliest reference to the citole is often cited as originating from the early twelfth century, no surviving manuscripts demonstrate the use of citole-related terms until the early thirteenth century. Although no place of origin for the citole is proposed in this thesis, based upon the chronology of surviving evidence, the citole seems to have begun its period of greatest popularity in northern France or in the Iberian kingdom of León.

It was not just the morphology of the instruments depicted that displays regional variation; the types of evidence that were preserved by these references to, and images of, citoles also varies by region and subject matter. Iberian manuscripts usually depict citoles being played by humans in medieval situations but Iberian sculptures almost always show citoles in the hands of Elders of the Apocalypse. French and Flemish imagery depicts a wide range of species of citolers in manuscripts but sculptural sources are few. English and German depictions of citolers are almost invariably angels. Sources portraying contemporaneous human citolers seem to offer the most reliable details about instrumental grouping and use of the instrument. Although situations that are not true-to-life need to be considered

even more carefully to filter out any unrealistic details, citolers who inhabit antique situations and citolers who are not human can still offer some indications about the morphology or use of their instruments.

The surviving sources illustrate that the citole had specific geographical areas of popularity: northern Iberia; northern France, Flanders and northwestern Germany. The citole shows especially strong ties to the courts of Alfonso III of Portugal, Alfonso X of Castile and Léon, and Edward II and Edward III of England.

Citole players seem to have been relatively respectable, whether paid musicians or amateurs. In literature citole playing seems to have had associations with virtue, as demonstrated by several sources relating to the Nicomachean *Ethics* (III 40), Latini's Li Livres Dou Tresor and a translation by Oresme. The citole also seems to have been suitable for respectable young ladies to learn how to play.

Most often the citole paired with a bowed instrument, the vielle (viola). This occurs both in rhyming pairs (vïoles/citoles, citola/viola, citole/viole, citoles belles/vielles) and in numerous depictions. The citole also seems to have had a strong association with the harp not just as alternate names for cithara, also in practice.

When the citole appears among a large group of instruments, whether in the literary description of a feast, or in illustrations of the Elders of the Apocalypse, choirs of musical angels, or on *Majestas Domini* portals, the number and diversity of instruments in these situations are used to amplify the grandeur of the scene and usually reveal little about how this instrument was used. These sources are sometimes interpreted, mistakenly, as indicating large broken consorts of diverse instruments. Depictions of King David and his musicians often include a variety of instruments based on the diversity of instruments mentioned in Psalm texts, or first book of Paralipomenon (1 Chronicles), and clearly do not illustrate actual medieval instrumental groupings. Given that these broken consorts directly relate to a biblical passage, they do not suggest contemporaneous instrumental combinations.

Some Psalter images of King David and his musicians merely offer a range of instruments, which might depict *omnia musicorum organa*. In other depictions, the

artist's selective choice of only a few instruments offers indications of the use and perceived status of the citole.

The citole seems to seems to have had a high status and, along with the harp and vielle, to have been one of the most important stringed instruments of the Middle Ages. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries several factors indicate that these were the three most important courtly instruments in certain parts of Europe. In some French, Flemish and English manuscripts, even when there are other instruments shown, there seems to be a visual hierarchy in which the players of the harp, vielle, and citole are given prominence either by their size or position. Iberian manuscripts seem to suggest that the citole was the primary plucked instrument for jogrars to accompany Galician-Portuguese poetry. In addition to being one of only two instrument types depicted in the prologue illustrations of two of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* manuscripts, the citole is the most often depicted instrument in the Cancioniero da Ajuda. The prominence of this citole in the Cancioniero da Ajuda is further indicated by the placement of the citoler in the middle of the frame. Although the citole does appear often in Occitan sources, after the viola and harp, the citola is the third instrument that Beton masters.

Although care must be taken with the interpretation of literary and iconographical sources, because of the inherent symbolism, careful consideration reveals useful indicators about social status, instrumental combinations, and morphological details. Iconographical sources might be caricatured or influenced by symbolism but they are not entirely unreliable, as some scholars have suggested. It is often the idea that the image is trying to convey which is in itself revealing. Certain features of citoles in miniatures seem to be omitted while others are exaggerated, perhaps highlighting what were considered to be the typical features. The comparison of images of human musicians in true-to-life situations to citolers in antique or biblical situations, or other species, indicates that while some aspects of depiction are influenced by the context others are not. As demonstrated by the comparison of the images in *Queen Mary's Psalter*, the morphological details of citoles are not always altered by the species of the player or the context in which they are being played.

Citoles in the hands of non-human or half-human musicians seem to be the least reliable. Although some citoles played by non-human citolers display fantastic details, others are similar in morphology to instrument played by humans. Depictions that pair a citole with certain *haut* instruments seem to occur only when the musicians are animals or half-human hybrids, suggesting that these combinations are unnatural or even monstrous.

The citole seems to have been a familiar instrument at feasts, whether in the lists to accompany grandeur or smaller groupings such as the *vieller and citoler playing for men feasting in* Queen Mary's Psalter (Ill. 110).

Typically, the citole seems to have been played as a solo instrument or in duet. It was usually paired with another stringed instrument except in Iberia where it was often accompanied by percussion.

Players of the citole had a specific, discernable social position that did not seem to decline as the instrument declined in use. The weight of evidence is against the citole having been played by shepherds. It was played by jograr but not by troubadours.

Although some modern authors suggest that the term terms such as *joglar* or *jograr* indicated lower status musicians than terms like *menestral*, during the period when the citole was most popular, musicians when describing themselves did not seem to recognize either term as an insult. As well as court entertainers, like those described in §4.8, players of the citole in literature include itinerant musicians. Even among the sometimes-derided itinerant minstrels, social status varied greatly. In literary sources where there does seem to be a difference in status between a *jogelour* and a *menestral,* as in Fulk de Fitz Warin, the citole is associated with the higher status performer.

The citole was usually played as a solo instrument or in small consort. It was often played with one other stringed instrument type or with percussion. It was used also to accompany singing. The literary and iconographical sources that relate to contemporaneous situations as well as those which are related to biblical or antique

situations both indicate that the citole was used for accompanying songs and for dancing. Although both citole-related and harp-related terms were used as late-thirteenth-century French literary translations for Biblical instrument names, citole-related terms seem to be selected for scenes specifically related to singing or dancing.

The surviving citole in the British museum supports the assertion that the citole was a high status instrument. It shows aspects of well-considered design in addition to its superior decorative carving.

The size and prominence of the figures of citolers in some Psalter illustrations indicates that the citole was considered a high-status instrument, along with the harp and vielle.

The continued favourable references to the citole in French and English literature seem to indicate that the instrument retained a high regard into the early years of the fifteenth century. The citole did not decline in status as it declined in use. Perhaps the decline in the quantity of literary and artistic evidence relating to the citole during the second half of the fourteenth century is due to it having become more an instrument of genteel amateurs.

Although Occitania has been suggested as a possible region of origin for the citole, Occitan sources are relatively rare and several of the literary examples display Langue d'oil influence. Only *Fadet Joglar* is a reliable testament to the use of the term *citole* in Occitan speaking areas. *Daurel et Beton* contains many northern words and word ending to provide it with the flavour of an epic. It is unclear whether the scholar who translated Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*, from Langue d'oil to Langue d'oc, selected the term *citole* for the instrument that David played before Saul or merely inherited it from the French exemplar. The *siula*, which appears in the one surviving copy of Flamenca, is not universally accepted to be a citole-related term.[1]

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[1] Aubrey admits that her translation of *siula* as 'whistle' is imprecise but asserts that *siula, fluatella, flestella* and *estiva* all indicate some sort of pipe or whistle. This attribution might be based on her assumption that the parallelism in the naming of instruments is like-with-like. If all the other verses

The majority of literary sources are in French, as well as the earliest surviving manuscript to record the term *citole*. Numerous manuscript images record the citole but since these are usually in the hands of non-human musicians they are not given much attention. The citole seems to have been considered a familiar instrument in parts of northern France for a longer period than elsewhere.

Two types of evidence highlight the citole in Iberia: Galician-Portuguese insult poetry and monumental sculptures of Elders on Christ in Majesty portals. Although Iberia does not have as many artistic depictions of citoles as England does, nor does it display the wealth of manuscripts produced in northern France, certain pieces of evidence relating to the citole in Iberia are especially engaging. The numerous references in Galician-Portuguese insult poetry are compellingly anecdotal and the citoles in the hands of Elders are often large clear sculptures. This may be why these pieces of evidence are often given greater attention by modern scholars. The citole in Iberia seems to have flourished in the north of the peninsula during the thirteenth century, especially along the pilgrimage routes to Santiago and in the courts of Portugal and Castile and León.

Documentary evidence revealed that in England the individuals recorded with the vocational appellation citoler were often geographically stable and some seem to have been respected citizens and several were minstrels at the English court for extended periods. Iberian poetry and manuscript illuminations show that citole playing was associated with the performance of songs written for courtly audiences. French and Occitan sources demonstrate that playing the citole was considered to be one of skills of a well-trained performer. Although the majority of evidence relating to contemporaneous citolers in art and literature consider professional male performers, a few sources indicate that toward the end of the citoles use it was also associated with the education of young gentlewomen.

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pair a string instrument with a string instrument and a wind instrument with a wind instrument, then Aubrey might assume that since the unknown *siula* is paired with the *flaütella*, it must logically be a wind instrument. Elizabeth Aubrey, 'References to Music in Old Occitan Literature', *Acta Musicologica*, 6 (1989), pp. 110-49 (p. 130).

The citole seems to have been popular in the area around Cologne during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Notably it is the most frequently depicted instrument in Cologne Cathedral. A few sources record the citole in German literature, where it usually appears in scenes of festivity.

This study both offers a definition of the citole, based on the correlation of name and image in medieval sources, and clarifies the citole's relative social position and usage by examining the various classes of relevant evidence. The large number of surviving sources shows that, in western Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the citole was not an obscure 'minority interest' instrument. Documentary evidence, literary sources, and images suggest that the citole was a relatively high-status instrument that required skill to master and which was usually played as a solo instrument or in small consort. Images suggest that although some characteristics of the citole, such as body outline, varied by place and time many other features remain consistently depicted.

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