RACHAEL DURKIN

The viola d'amore – its heritage reconsidered

The origins of the viola d'amore – identified as the addition of sympathetic strings to a viol – has, as a research field remained largely untouched since the work of Harry Danks was published in 1976.[1] First identified by John Evelyn[2] in 1679, the viola d'amore of today has dimensions similar to that of the treble viol; however, the viola d'amore may not just be a viol with sympathetic strings, but the hybrid of a treble viol and englische violet. A new interpretation of the evidence – presented here – shows that it can be suggested the modern viola d'amore has predominantly descended from the baryton, countering the belief that the instrument has come directly from the treble viol. The discovery of octave-barytons in European collections has highlighted a reordering of development, with the englische violet placed chronologically before the modern viola d'amore, instead of after. It is also possible that during the late seventeenth century, a period of transition occurred from the old wire strung viola d'amore (a wire strung treble viol) to the modern instrument (a gut strung treble viol with sympathetic strings), with both instruments coexisting, and that the viola d'amore name was applicable to both. Through examination of an englische violet by Alletsee, it is arguable that this instrument was played in the manner of a small viol and not under the chin, further supporting the theory that the englische violet *is* a small baryton.

The octave-baryton is strung like the full sized baryton (albeit tuned to a higher pitch), and is a lap-played instrument like the viol. The englische violet is very similar, but the neck is closed, preventing the ability to self-accompany with the sympathetic strings in the style of the baryton. Both the octave-baryton and englische violet often display a festooned body shape, and have a greater number of sympathetic strings than bowed. In contrast, the modern viola d'amore is typically viol-shaped and has six or seven bowed strings, with an identical number of sympathetic strings. Like the englische violet, the neck is closed so the strings function purely sympathetically.

BARYTON

According to *A History of the Baryton and Its Music*,[3] the baryton's origin can be pinpointed to England in the first decade of the seventeenth century. It is thought that Daniel Farrant was the inventor,[4] as suggested by John Playford.[5] The baryton is an instrument of great visual appeal, and has been crowned by Carol A. Gartrell as the

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[1] Harry Danks, *The Viola D'amore* (Halesowen: Bois de Boulogne, 1976). Other small scale studies have been conducted, such as those by Marianne Rônez, Heinz Berck, and the contributions from the members of the International Viola d'amore Society of America in the archived newsletters.

[2] John Evelyn and William Bray, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn,* ed. William Bray (London, George Routledge & Sons Limited, 1850).

[3] Carol A. Gartrell, *A History of the Baryton and Its Music: King of Instruments, Instrument of Kings* (USA: Scarecrow Press, 2009).

[4] Gartrell (2009), pp.15–6.

[5] John Playford, *Musicks Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way* (London: W.G. [William Godbid], 1661).

'King of Instruments',[6] partially in reference to its appearance, and partially due to it being predominantly an instrument of the courts. With two, and sometimes three,[7] sets of strings, the baryton emulates a sound similar to that of the viola d'amore through sympathetic resonance. This perhaps accounts for Leopold Mozart's acknowledgement that the term 'baryton', or *bordone*, in Italian means '[…] a large string, a drone, and the soft humming of the bees.'[8]

The baryton was a popular instrument within the courts, yet only 51 instruments are known and documented by Gartrell.[9] Within this catalogue, there are five instruments of a reduced size. Of these five, two are significantly larger than the others and so are not applicable to this study. The remaining three are very similar in size to one another, and are strung comparably to the full-size baryton. The instruments have been named *octav-barytons*[10] by one museum, and *kleine-barytons*[11] by another, but no original name is known. The three instruments were most likely played like a viol (between or rested on the legs), so as to facilitate left-thumb plucking, but with the dimensions given, particularly the rib depth, it would be possible to place the instrument on the chest or shoulder, at the sacrifice of self-accompaniment.

Instrument Title	Body Length	String Length	Rib Depth	Bowed Strings	Plucked Strings
Anon 8 X	44.2	43.1	4.9	5	9
Neuner, J	42.7	42.4	6.0	6	9
Schödler	44.0	43.4	7.5	7	9
Full Size Baryton	59.5–71.7	55.0–72.3	9.2–15.5	6–7	8–25

Table 1. *Baryton measurements from Gartrell's 'A History of the Baryton and Its Music'.*[12] *(Measurements in cm).*

All three of the octave-barytons catalogued by Gartrell are noted as having a festooned shape. The Neuner, based on photographs provided by Gartrell,[13] is a true miniature baryton, with a flattened base, corners to the upper bout only, open neck

[6] Gartrell (2009), p.39.

[7] Gartrell (2009), p.24.

[8] Leopold Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.12.

[9] Gartrell (2009). Note that some instruments have been lost but detailed descriptions have been available.

[10] Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Musikstadt, Markneukirchen, item no. 2600.

[11] Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, item no. 4656

[12] The full size baryton ranges are taken from Gartrell's 2009 catalogue, pp.115–43, and only account for instruments that have remained intact, that is have not been converted to a cello or other instrument.

[13] Gartrell (2009), p.131.

and comma-style sound holes. The Anonymous 8 X from Markneukirchen, however, is more reminiscent of festooned viols (of violin shape with indents in the lobes[14]), or englische violets, and from the images provided by the museum, it can be faintly seen that there are marks to the varnish to suggest under-chin playing.

Evidence to support the existence of a small baryton-type instrument during the early years of the baryton can be found in the form of a privilege from March 1608/9 in London. The privilege is for Peter Edney and Georg Gill, and had it not been objected, would have granted a ten-year privilege,

> 'for the sole making of violles violins and Lutes w[i]th an addic[i]on of wyer strings beside the ordinary stringes for the bettering of the sound being an invenc[i]on of theirs nor form[er]ly practised or knowne.'[15]

The privilege is not just isolated to viols, and so it can be said that serious intention existed to produce small string instruments[16] with additional sympathetic strings. Despite the three octave-barytons being dated to the second half of the eighteenth century, with this privilege, it is reasonable to assume that the baryton, like the viol, existed in various sizes during its initial popularity.[17]

ENGLISCHE VIOLET

It has often been thought that the englische violet was a variant *of* the viola d'amore; the extra sympathetic strings, and larger dimensions employed to increase volume.[18] First noted by Leopold Mozart by this name in 1756,[19] little is known of the instrument before this date, despite a number of extant instruments from as early as 1673, but no specific music. Its name is therefore somewhat debateable, with ongoing cataloguing indicating that extant instruments predominantly hail from southern Germany and Austria. On the one hand, the instrument may indeed be known as the

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[14] An example of such a design can be found in Praetorius,*Syntagma musicum*, vol.II *De organographia* (Wolfenbüttel: author, 1618 and 1619), plate XXI, where a discant violin (no.3) is illustrated. See gallery of instruments, image no.21, at the back of Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II De Organographia Parts I and II*, Early Music Series 7, trans. and ed. David Z. Crookes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) for a modern reprint.

[15] John Paynter, *Companion to Contemporary Musical Thought / Edited by John Paynter ... [et al.]* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp.1103–4. This reference can be considered the earliest unambigious reference to what is effectively a baryton and a viola d'amore. The traditional ascription of the invention of the baryton to Daniel Farrant must be considered closely, given that Farrant was born in 1575 and made a member of the King's Musick in 1607; see Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714* (Aldershot and Brookfield: Ashgate, 1998), p.134.

[16] Including, as can be inferred, instruments played under the chin.

[17] Praetorius (1619) notes the viol and violin families. It is therefore probable that the baryton existed in some form of family group.

[18] Myron Rosenblum, 'Contribution to the History and Literature of the Viola D'amore: A Translation and Expansion of Werner Eginhard Köhler's *Beiträge Zur Geschichte Und Literatur Der Viola d'Amore*', PhD Dissertation, New York University, 1976.

[19] Mozart (1756), p.12.

English viola, with its close relationship to the baryton; however, with the large number of instruments decorated with angels on the peg box, it may be that *englische* is actually *englisch,* meaning *angelic.*[20] To support this, the instrument is known in London as *viola angelica*, mentioned in a concert advert involving Signor Passerini from the *Public Advertiser* on 28 February 1760:

> 'By particular Desire, will be performed a concerto spirituale […] Between the Acts, a Concerto on the Organ, by Miss Frederick; and a solo on the Viola Angelica by Sig. Passerini, being the first time of his performing this Instrument in London.'

It is further confirmed that the viola angelica is a separate instrument to the viola d'amore, in an advert for lessons in Passerini's new music academy: 'Singing, Playing Lessons of Thorough Bass on the Harpsichord or Organ, the English and Spanish Guittar, the Violin, Viol d'Amour, Viola Angelica, Violoncello, &c' found in the *London Chronicle* for July 24 – 26 1760.[21] With both instruments requiring separate tuition, it may be assumed that the instruments are not as similar as perhaps perceived – that one is played on the shoulder, and the other upright on the lap like a viol.

One of the most prolific makers of the viola d'amore and englische violet, was Paulus Alletsee of Munich, Germany. The Deutsches Museum in Munich has one example in their collection, with a suggested date of 1719, although after an examination by the author, on closer inspection it appears to be 1736.[22] The instrument (see Figure 1) has seven bowed and ten sympathetic strings, and has the rare double peg box design, whereby the playing strings are strung to the front box, and the sympathetic to the back (see Figure 2). This allows a greater number of sympathetic strings without the need for an elongated peg box, perhaps to aid comfortable performance when held like a viol, as well as reducing string length. There are two instruments held by Musée de la Musique, Paris, that also have this double peg box design: a 1732 Klotz of Mittenwald[23] with a stringing of seven bowed and 15 sympathetic, and a 1737 Kolditz of Munich[24] with seven bowed and just seven sympathetic strings. There is also the Bichler of Hallein that, as documented by Danks,[25] has the double peg box with seven

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[20] This was first suggested by Georg Kinsky in 1930; see Danks (1976), p.59. The portrayal of putti, or cupid, was popular from Elizabethan times; see Jane Kingsly-Smith, *Cupid in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). It therefore seems apt that an instrument crested with an angelic, or putti-like figure should surface during the early seventeenth century. Indeed, putti are often associated with the harp, whether engraved on the instrument, or in paintings where they are depicted playing a variety of sizes of instrument, and the englische violet (and viola d'amore) when plucked emulate a very harp-like sound. The angélique lute has also been noted to be 'played like a harp' (Ian Harwood and Tim Crawford, 'Angélique (i)', *Grove Music Online*) and perhaps from this it can be suggested that the term 'angel' implies 'harp-like'.

[21] See advertisements in the *London Chronicle*, issue 559, dated 24–26 July 1760, British Library Newspaper Collections Online.

[22] The label is particularly unclear towards the lower right side where the last digit is significantly distorted.

[23] Item C.154. Klotz, Mathias. 1732.

[24] Item E.2044. Kolditz, Mathias Johann. 1737.

[25] Danks (1976), p.16.

bowed and seven sympathetic strings. With Munich just over 100km from Mittenwald, and 150km from Hallein, there is little doubt that the makers were in some way influenced by one another.

Figure 1. *Front view of engische violet, 1736 Alletsee, Deutsches Museum, Munich (photo by, and courtesy of, Deutches Museum, Munich).*

Figure 2. *Double peg box of englische violet, 1736 Alletsee, Deutsches Museum, Munich (photo by, and courtesy of, Deutches Museum, Munich).*

The Alletsee example is large in comparison to the octave-barytons, with a body length 2.8cm longer than the biggest. The current string length of the Alletsee is also greater than the longest by 1.4cm, although with traces of the old bridge foot present, it could be said that the old stop length is more in the region of 2.8cm greater.

What is most interesting about the Alletsee, is the significant wear markings to the upper back of the instrument that may indicate viol-like playing (see Figure 3). With the englische violet likened to the viola d'amore, it has been assumed that it was played on the shoulder. If that had indeed been the case with this example, one would expect to find evidence of wear on the lower bout where contact with the shoulder is made, but it is not present. The damage to the upper back varnish further supports the suggestion that the englische violet has descended from the baryton. A short catalogue entry for this instrument is given below.

Figure 3. *Rear view showing varnish wear, englische violet, 1736 Alletsee, Deutsches Museum, Munich (photo by, and courtesy of, Deutches Museum, Munich).*

SHORT CATALOGUE ENTRY FOR AN ENGLISCHE VIOLET MADE IN 1736 BY PAUL ALLETSEE (all measurements in cm).

Maker	Paul Alletsee, Munich, Germany
Date	1736(?)
No. of playing strings	7
No. of sympathetic strings	10
Sympathetic strings attachment	Three ivory pins in bottom rib
Peg box	Double design. 7 pegs in front box, 10 in back. Carved from one piece. No filled in peg holes. Blindfolded boy at finial.
Front	Single piece of spruce. Edges not flush with ribs.
Back	Flat with sloped shoulder, two piece, sycamore. Edges not flush with ribs.
Neck	Spruce.
Rosette	4.0 (w) x 4.8 (h).
Sound holes	Flaming swords
Full length	84.5
Body length	47.0
Width (upper – waist – lower)	22.5 – 14 – 27.6
Rib depth	6.2
Current string/stop length	44.8/29.3
Old string/stop length	46.2/30.7

Notes: A large englische violet, of standard construction. Varnish of a light tone, with significant erosion to upper rear from lap-style playing. Sound holes of flaming sword design. The body exhibits several cracks across the table, presumably caused by temperature fluctuations.

The tailpiece is not original, having been replaced; the previous tailpiece was the mirror image of the replacement, with the diagonal descending from the bass side rather than the treble. The bridge has been replaced, and each sympathetic string passes through its own hole, rather than one large shared opening. The fingerboard is not angled at the end to mirror the tailpiece (as is often found on englische violets and violas d'amore). It has been stained its present colour, and is set at the 'baroque' angle.

The instrument has been constructed with five rib sections: two from neck to corner, two from corner to final indent, and one large rib for the entire lower bout. The lower rib has separated from the front and back on the lower edge, presumably due to the pressure created using just one rib.

The instrument is currently strung with gut strings, the lowest one is wound, and wire sympathetic strings.

The pegbox is of the double design, and has been finished with a blindfolded boy, typical in style of other examples of Alletsee's work from this period (see, for example, the Alletsee in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Item: 1981.7 for comparison). The boy does not display characteristics of cupid, as found on viola d'amore, with no wings. Instead, the boy is wearing a cap of unusual design, and is finished with a ruffle collar. The peg box is carved from one piece of sycamore and

the finial had been reattached at one point. The pegs are in very good condition, made from ebony and tipped with ivory.

The instrument has clearly been well used, as indicated by the varnish wear, and this is suggestive that the instrument was played on the lap rather than on the shoulder.

A further Alletsee instrument (private collection),[26] dated 1717, displays an identical body shape to the Neuner octave-baryton, although appears broader, especially in the lower bout. The bottom of the instrument is almost flat, indicating a surface suitable for placing onto the lap rather than between the knees. There are significant scratch and scuff marks to the lower centre that may indicate contact with clothing – an instrument played under the chin would not be in contact with any part of the body at this point. Furthermore, the neck and peg box have been replaced in the nineteenth century, perhaps removing the baryton-type open neck.[27]

VIOLA D'AMORE

The first known literary reference to the viola d'amore occurs in John Evelyn's diary entry of 20th November 1679:

> 'I din'd at the Master of the Mints with my wife, invited to heare Musique which was most exquisitely performed by 4 of the most renouned Masters, Du Prue a French-man on the Lute, Signor Batholomeo Ital. on the Harpsichord & Nicolao on the Violin, but above all for its sweetness & novelty the viol d'Amore of 5 wyre-strings, plaid on with a bow, being but an ordinary Violin play'd on Lyra way by a German, than which I never heard a sweeter instrument or more suprising.'[28]

The form of viola d'amore described by Evelyn is debateable, in particular whether it is an instrument with sympathetic strings or not. However, with Evelyn presumably being aware of the viol,[29] it can be reasonably assumed that his description is accurate (albeit imprecise), and that in 1679 the viola d'amore known to him was, if taken at face value, a wire-strung viol. At the same time, other wire-strung instruments were in existence, such as the bandora, orpharion and cittern, and a bowed wire-strung instrument instead of a plucked one is not implausible. The existence of wire-strung guitars alongside the more common gut-stringing adds further weight to support this.[30] What is unclear is whether or not the instrument is played on the lap, or on the shoulder. Evelyn states the instrument is 'but an ordinary Violin', and may be implying an instrument placed on the shoulder. However, with the instrument being 'play'd on Lyra way', it is debateable whether or not this refers to the style of playing, (tablature and scordatura), or performance on the lap. With Evelyn's knowledge of the viol and the violin, the present author believes that he is referring to a small wire-strung viol, played on the shoulder, following the scordatura tuning practices. With the rising popularity of the violin during the seventeenth century, the placing of a treble viol on the shoulder is a logical progression.

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[26] Please contact author for details.

[27] If this instrument was previously an octave-baryton, it would be the earliest known example.

[28] Taken from Danks (1976), p.14. Modern spellings given in Evelyn and Bray (1850), p.373.

[29] Several mentions of Evelyn's attendance at musical performances are made in his diary – see for example Evelyn and Bray (1850), pp.229, 341, 446-7 – and it is highly likely that he was familiar with the viol, given its popularity in England.

[30] See Darryl Martin, 'The Early Wire-Strung Guitar', *The Galpin Society Journal* LIX (2006), pp.123–37.

In support of this viewpoint, the following quotes during the next three decades attest to a similar instrument:

Rousseau 1687

> 'Father Kircher says that the English viols were formerly strung with [wire] strings, and one can still see today a type of Dessus de Viole with wire strings, called Viole d'Amour, but it is certain these strings have a nasty tone under the bow, and give a very acid sound. For this reason the French have never used such strings – although some have wished to try them – and they have tried everything possible to bring this instrument to its present perfection.'[31]

Brossard 1703

> 'Viola d'Amor. That is to say, Viole d'Amour. This is a kind of high Viole which has 6 strings made of steel or brass like those of the clavecin, and which are made to sound with a bow as a rule. This produces a silvery tone which is very agreeable.'[32]

Fuhrmann 1706

> 'Viol di Lamour is a Geige with wire strings, and is played tuned in various ways, and sounds best of all in the quiet of the evening.'[33]

The quotes describe a small viol, most probably the treble (as described by Rousseau), strung with wire, and Fuhrmann, like Evelyn, also notes the instrument follows scordatura practices. Although few in number, extant examples of violas d'amore without sympathetic strings exist, such as a German six-string viola d'amore with no sympathetic strings, nor space to accommodate them, held by the University of Edinburgh.[34]

However, in 1687, the assumed date of Rousseau's publication, Daniel Speer also cites a description of the viola d'amore:

Speer, 1687

> 'Apart from that are further known viols: *Viol de l.amor* which is strung partly with steel strings doubled in unison, partly also gut strings in many tunings. The body is like that of a *Braz*, though not as long – and the back and the table are 3 fingerbreadths apart.'[35]

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[31] Jean Rousseau, *Traite de la viole* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1687). Translation from Danks (1976), p.15.

[32] Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1708). Translation from Danks (1976), p.18.

[33] Martin Heinrich Fuhrmann, *Musicalischer-Trichter* (Frankfurt an der Spree: the author, 1706). Translation from Danks (1976), p.18.

[34] Item: UEDIN.333. *c*1720 German viola d'amore or treble viol.

[35] Daniel Speer, *Grund-richtiger* (Göppingen: G.W. Kühne, 1687). Translation from Danks (1976), p.16.

Danks interprets Speer's description as an instrument strung like a lute,[36] but with the cither viol (or sultana) not in existence until the mid-eighteenth century,[37] it can be more plausibly suggested that the instrument described by Speer is an englische violet. With Speer based in Göppingen, Germany, during the production of his 1687 *Grund-richtiger ... Unterricht der musicalischen Kunst,*[38] it is geographically more likely that he would have encountered an englische violet. Speer's description is most akin to an englische violet with 14 sympathetic strings, that are divided into pairs and tuned in unison, and seven are gut bowed strings adhering to scordatura.

With Speer referring to the englische violet as a *viola d'amore*, and Rousseau the *wire-strung viol* under the same name, the late seventeenth century can be highlighted as a period of change for the instrument, or, at least, a time in which the name of the instrument was not restricted to a single type. It is clear, however, that whatever the type is being referred to, metal strings are a constant.

The modern viola d'amore is of similar proportions to the treble viol, rather than the englisch violet or octave-baryton. By combining the measurement range of treble and alto viols by Natalie Dolmetsch, 35–41cm, it appears that the modern viola d'amore and the wire-strung viol are altered treble viols.[39] With the viol family falling into decline during the second half of the seventeenth century, it seems apt that luthiers would attempt to revive the instrument by replacing gut strings with metal. In England, the demise of the viol family is generally seen as beginning with the accession of Charles II (1660), who had spent nine years in mainland Europe during the English Commonwealth. With the violin family in the ascendancy in France, Charles II returned to England keen to promote the instrument at court, the viol consort quickly losing its popularity in 'fashionable households'.[40] The brief revival of the treble viol with wire strings, would give the instrument some added popularity (if only for novelty value) against the violin family, as well as provide a use for surplus and antiquated instruments and parts in luthier workshops.

The rise of the music society and public concert at the end of the seventeenth century, resulted in instruments previously reserved for court use being exposed to the general public.[41] With englische violets being often highly-decorated instruments, they were not as affordable, nor as quick to produce as instruments of the viol family. In order to

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[36] Danks (1976), p.16.

[37] Current collaborative research between the author and Dr P. Poulopoulos, Deutsches Museum, Munich.

[38] Rosemary Roberts and John Butt, 'Speer, Daniel', *Grove Music Online*, consulted 3 July 2012.

[39] This is based on the little evidence supporting the existence of the alto viol. Interestingly, an advert for 'An Introduction to the Skill of Musick', published in the *Post Boy* on 8 February 1700 (See British Library Newspaper Collections Online) lists lessons for the 'treble, tenor and bass viols' but not the alto. James Talbot also fails to acknowledge the existence of the alto viol; see Robert Donington, 'James Talbot's Manuscript. (Christ Church Library Music MS 1187). II. Bowed Strings', *The Galpin Society Journal* III (1950), pp.27–45.

[40] Jeremy Montagu, 'Viol', *Grove Music Online*, consulted 2 May 2012.

[41] William Weber, 'Concert (ii)', *Grove Music Online*, consulted 29 May 2012.

meet demand for the sympathetic sound, luthiers took to converting existing wire-strung viols to englische violets. However, such a conversion was viewed as an upgrade, resulting in the viola d'amore name transferring from the old instrument to the new.

Evidence of such conversions can be seen in viola d'amores where the sympathetic strings are attached at the peg box by metal tuning pins. For example, the 1767 Skotschofsky of Darmstadt has seven playing strings strung from tailpiece to pegs, but the 12 sympathetic strings are attached to the rear of the peg box by metal tuning pins (see Figure 4).[42] With the peg box being highly decorative, it would seem unusual for a maker to initially design an instrument where the sympathetic strings would cover a large part of the design on the outside of the peg box. Had this been an original design feature, it would be thought that the pins would be concealed in some way, perhaps employing a reverse anchorage, with the strings attached at the nut to hooks, and a trap door in the bottom rib used to house the tuning pins.[43] Converting instruments in this way was cost and time efficient, allowing existing instruments, parts and moulds within the workshop to be used, as well as the offering of a conversion service to existing viola d'amore owners, without the need to carve a new neck and peg box.

Figure 4. *Peg box of Skotschofsky, 1767. Musée de la Musique, Paris (photo by Joël Dugot, courtesy of Musée de la Musique, Paris).*

As the viola d'amore was performed on the shoulder, as can be attested by a number of early eighteenth-century images of the instrument,[44] it is clear that during the viola d'amore conversion period that the englische violet transferred from the legs to the shoulder to match the viola d'amore.

The viola d'amore (with that specific name) is not known to have been made in England until 1724. An advert from the *Daily Post* states:

> 'These following Instruments are made by R. Meares, viz. Harps of all Sorts, Theorbo, Angelick, and French Lutes, and Mandelein Gittars, Violins, Base Violin, Bass Viols, Tenor Violins, and Viol d'Amour, Trumpet Marine, double Basses and Baratones, all correctly made.'[45]

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[42] Item: E.0203. Skotschofsky, Johannes Georgius, Darmstadt. 1767. Musée de la Musique, Paris.

[43] See Item: 722-1878, Anonymous englische violet, *c*1719, held by the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for an example of such string housing.

[44] An early eighteenth-century engraving of a viola d'amore from Weigel's *Musikalisches Theatrum* shows a viola d'amore played on the shoulder; see Danks (1976), p.8. An engraving from 1723 in Bonanni's *Gabinetto Armonica* also shows a 'violino di amore' played on the shoulder, but is arguably not such an accurate drawing; see Danks (1976), p25.

[45] See the advertisement published in the *Daily Post* on Wednesday 9 September 1724 (issue 1546), British Library Newspaper Collections Online.

As Meares made trumpet marines and barytons as well as the viola d'amore, it is most likely that the instruments he created had sympathetic strings.[46] It is also likely that the viola d'amores would have the sympathetic strings integrated into an elongated peg box, indicating the establishment of the modern instrument.

CONCLUSION

It seems that substantial evidence exists to support the reordering of the viola d'amore's development, with indications of a firm relationship between the octave-baryton and englische violet, with only the open or closed neck being the defining feature. Like the viol family, the octave-baryton was probably just known as a baryton, and perhaps in this vein the englische violet was also known as a member of the baryton family. In light of this evidence, the role of the englische violet as an instrument that performs the same music as the viola d'amore must be reconsidered, and indeed, the music of the baryton must also be readdressed. Evidence has also been presented that suggests englische violets were initially performed on the lap like a viol, transferring to the shoulder when the conversion and creation of the new viola d'amore took place at the start of the eighteenth century. What remains to be explored, is whether or not the wire-strung viol was also a lap-played instrument prior to the influence of the violin-style of playing, and whether there is evidence that the octave-baryton existed during the seventeenth century either through original sources or examination of baryton music.

[46] The trumpet marine sometimes also had sympathetic strings, see Cecil Adkins and Alis Dickinson, *A Trumpet by Any Other Name: A History of the Trumpet Marine* (Buren: F. Knuf, 1991).