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‘A very mistaken identification’: The ‘Sultana’ or ‘Cither viol’ and its Links to the Bowed Psaltery, Viola d’Amore and Guittar

Introduction

The origins and development of the ‘sultana’ or ‘cither viol’ constitute an organological enigma.¹ So far the research concerning this instrument has been rather limited, and apart from a few dictionary entries and minor references in books, journal articles and museum catalogues, the instrument currently occupies only an obscure position in the literature of the viol family. Usually considered as the bowed equivalent of the wire-strung guittar,² the ‘sultana’ or ‘cither viol’ has been described by several authors as a wire-strung type of viola d’amore with no sympathetic strings that was introduced in the 1760s by Thomas Perry, the well-known violin and guittar maker of Dublin (**Figure 1**).³ This article will examine new evidence that has come to light, aiming to reveal the true identity of this forgotten instrument and also to discuss its connection to the viola d’amore and guittar. Furthermore, it will provide new details on the manufacture and trade of the instrument and analyse its promotion, reception and musical role in the British Isles during the late eighteenth century.

Figure 1: A surviving example of the instrument known as ‘sultana’ or ‘cither viol’ by Perry & Wilkinson, Dublin, 1794. Museum of Fine Arts (MFA), Boston

(Accession No. 17.1725) (Photograph ©Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, reproduced with permission).

The ‘Invention’ of the ‘Sultana’ or ‘Cither Viol’

In order to investigate the roots of the instrument’s name one must look back to the foundation of the first major musical instrument collections and the organological publications that appeared during the late nineteenth century. In one of the earliest exhibition catalogues of historical musical instruments, an instrument by Thomas Perry dated 1767⁴ is listed by Carl Engel as ‘Sultana (or Psaltery, Cither-Viol)’;⁵ this may be the earliest reference to Perry’s instrument as ‘sultana’ or ‘cither viol’.⁶ Some years later, in his description of a similar instrument by Perry, dated 1794, also referred to as ‘Psaltery, Sultana, or Cither-Viol’, Francis Galpin wrote that ‘through a very mistaken identification’ the instrument ‘was called the Psaltery by our forefathers’.⁷ What is noteworthy is that most subsequent authors referring to similar instruments by Perry or others have retained two of the names used by Engel and Galpin (‘Sultana’, ‘Cither-Viol’) but have ignored the third one (‘Psaltery’), probably to avoid confusion with the more commonly-known triangular or trapezoidal plucked psaltery.⁸

The reasons for naming the instrument ‘sultana’ remain largely unknown, though an indication may be found in Hubert Le Blanc’s *Défense de la basse de viole contre les entreprises du violon et les prétentions du violoncel* (Amsterdam, 1740). In this treatise Le Blanc, supporting the declining viol against the emerging violin, refers to the latter instrument as ‘Sultan Violin, an abortion and a pygmy’ when comparing it to the ‘Lady Viola da Gamba’.⁹ Perhaps for nineteenth-century organologists the looks and sounds of the instrument they called ‘sultana’ evoked more those of the violin than the viol, thus rendering the instrument the female counterpart (‘Sultana’) of the ‘Sultan Violin’, though

it is uncertain whether they were aware of Le Blanc's descriptions. However, apart from this allegoric quotation, no direct references to the 'sultana' (or 'cither viol') as a musical instrument are found in eighteenth-century sources¹⁰ whereas the term 'psaltery' (or variations of it) referring to a bowed instrument is contained in several documents dating from the eighteenth century.¹¹

Thomas Perry, Maker of 'Salters'

The use of the term 'psaltery' by Engel and Galpin may provide a new clue to the real name of Perry's instrument. Thomas Perry (c.1738/9-1818) is mentioned in the Dublin directories of 1787 as a 'maker of Violins, Guitars, Tenors, Salters, Violoncellos'¹² working at 6 Anglesea Street, near College Green, Dublin.¹³ A number of instruments by Perry or by Perry & Wilkinson,¹⁴ all sharing similar characteristics to the instruments described by Engel and Galpin, have survived.¹⁵

Therefore, it can be proposed that Perry's 'salters' may be identical to the instrument presented by Engel and Galpin as 'psaltery', 'sultana' or 'cither-viol', and which many others later erroneously called simply 'sultana' or 'cither viol'.¹⁶ Considering this detail, it is quite likely that the term 'sultana' may, in fact, be a verbal 'modification' of the term 'salter'. However, before any safe conclusions can be drawn, it is necessary to examine the available evidence surrounding the psaltery.

The Psaltery, 'remarkable for its pathetic and harmonious Tone'

In 1777 a newspaper advertisement (**Figure 2**) announced the performance of a certain Mr Rocke on an instrument called the psaltery:

AT the Red Lion, in Northampton, on Tuesday Evening, December 2, 1777, will be A CONCERT of MUSIC; with a Full BAND provided: In which Mr. ROCKE will Perform several Select Pieces, and a SOLO of his own Composition, on that ancient Instrument, call'd The PSALTERY, Never known in Britain till his Arrival from Germany: It contains ten Strings, is played like a Violin, and is remarkable for its pathetic and harmonious Tone above all other Instruments whatsoever, and has given general Satisfaction wherever he has performed on it. He also will play a SOLO on the VIOLIN of his Composition.----After the Concert will be a BALL. Tickets to be had at the principal Inns, at 2s. 6d. each. To begin at Seven o'Clock presicely. He also Tunes Harpsichords, Spinnets, &c. and teaches all Instruments now in Use for a Concert; likewise the Guittar and Singing. N. B. Mr. ROCKE humbly begs the Audience will be silent during the Performance, particularely when the Psaltery is played on.----The Room will be well Aired.¹⁷

Figure 2: The advertisement by Mr Rocke including a reference to the psaltery in *Northampton Mercury*, 1 December 1777 (Image ©The British Library Board. All Rights Reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive: www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk)

There are several interesting details in the above advertisement worth analysing. Firstly, the newly introduced psaltery is described as an 'ancient' instrument previously unknown in Britain until Rocke's arrival from Germany, perhaps highlighting the instrument's German origins. Secondly, according to the above advertisement the psaltery had 'ten Strings' and was 'played like a Violin', leaving no ambiguity that it was bowed rather than plucked. Furthermore, although the psaltery was used for solo performance at Rocke's concert, the report of its sound as 'pathetic and harmonious' may indicate the instrument's melodic as well as harmonic capabilities. However, Rocke's plea to keep the

audience silent during his performance on the psaltery, a practice quite unusual for concert attendants of that time, may provide some confirmation to the instrument's rather limited projection. Despite the fact that there are no references to the string materials and tuning, it can be assumed that Rocke's psaltery was equipped with ten wire strings, similar to surviving instruments by Perry, and were probably arranged in pairs and tuned to an open tuning like the viola d'amore or the guittar.¹⁸ Therefore, although having a soft sound, the psaltery could produce a full tone due to its bowed double courses, much in the same vein as the double courses on a cittern or guittar.

It is also worth noting that Rocke advertised himself as teacher of the guittar, suggesting that he was familiar with the stringing and tuning of this instrument, and also with its left-hand playing techniques and fingerings, which he could easily 'transfer' to the bowed psaltery. It is very likely that Rocke was the same person as a Mr Roche who in 1758 described himself in an Aberdeen newspaper advertisement as 'Mr. Roche, Music Master, just arrived from Germany...proposes to teach the following instruments, viz., the Fiddle, the German Flute, Hautboy, Bassoon, Violoncello, French Horn, etc. He likewise teaches Singing and the Guittar.'¹⁹

Rocke's claim that the psaltery was unknown in Britain until his arrival may, however, be somewhat erroneous. An advertisement from 1763 described an instrument similar to Rocke's, available from Robert Bremner's shop in the Strand, London, stating that:

At the above Shop may be had Variety of Psalters. The Psalter is played with a Bow, and for Delicacy and Sweetness of Tone, is allowed to excel any Instrument known here.²⁰

This is further substantiated by a surviving bowed instrument bearing the date 1762, and 'Mead (sic) in London', whose features suggest that it may be the earliest dated psaltery.²¹

The Connection to the Guittar

Rocke was not the only musician who played and taught both the psaltery and the guittar. For instance, Ann Ford included both the 'Saltero' (most likely psaltery) and guittar, among other instruments in her London concerts during the early 1760s.²² Likewise, in 1783 Isaac Cooper, a musician and dancing master in Banff, Scotland, advertised himself as the teacher of a wide range of instruments including 'the psaltery (viol)', as well as the guittar.²³

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the guittar and psaltery also appeared occasionally in concerts in continental Europe. For example, on 10 July 1785 at the Court in The Hague the violist Ambrogio Gilio performed on the 'Satterio d'Amore', while some years later the same musician once played the 'sistre' (a variant of guittar popular in France and the Low Countries) and on several occasions the 'salterio/psalterio' in Felix Meritis, an important centre for contemporary Dutch culture in Amsterdam. These performances by Gilio, who was a member of the Amsterdam music society *Eruditio Musica*, took place on 18 March 1796 ('Giglio on the sistre and singing by Corbiere'), on 9 or 10 February 1798 ('Giglio concert on the Salterio'), and twice on 21 November 1802 ('Mr Laforge Aria Mr Gilio obbligato psalterio' and 'Miss Hendriks and Mr Giglio Duet accompanied with psalterio').²⁴

Both the guittar and the psaltery belonged to a group of new, uncommon instruments that were introduced in England and other countries during the mid and late eighteenth century, being mainly addressed to amateur musicians of the upper class. According to Holman, this trend for using 'exotic novelty instruments' in London concerts, which had started in the 1740s 'reached a rather bizarre peak in the 1760s', reflecting 'an increasing

desire for novelty generally in fashionable society at this period' as well as 'increasing competition among performers'.²⁵ As Holman has pointed out, apart from the guitar and psaltery other 'exotic' instruments, including the viola d'amore, viola da gamba, trumpet marine, hurdy-gurdy, Æolian and bell harp, musical glasses, mandolin and colascione 'could help performers in London establish a niche'.²⁶ Moreover, in the highly competitive music scene of eighteenth-century London, professional musicians often 'had to be able to play any exotic instruments their aristocratic pupils wished to learn'²⁷ in order to increase their clientele and business opportunities.

The same, of course, applied to musical instrument inventors, makers and dealers. One typical example shown here is that of Christopher Mason, working 'at the Golden Guittar and Crown, in Bridge Street near Westminster Bridge', who offered for sale 'all sorts of the best Guittars', 'Lutes', 'Mandaleans', 'Æolian Harps' as well as 'Salteros' and 'Bell-harps' (**Figure 3**). This demand for variety can also explain the numerous unusual bowed instruments, such as the 'Viol D'Venere', violetta marina, Ipolito, 'Violetton', pentachord and basso viola, which appeared in England during the mid and late eighteenth century.²⁸

Figure 3: The trade card of Christopher Mason, 'at the Golden Guittar and Crown', advertising 'all sorts of the best Guittars' as well as 'Salteros' (image reproduced with permission from Tony Bingham).

Additionally, like the guitar, the psaltery was advertised as an instrument appropriate for the musical activities of ladies, as confirmed by the case of Lewis Vidal, the owner of a music shop in Charleston, North America, who in 1774 advertised himself as the teacher

of 'several instruments in the Italian taste, such as mandoline, psaltery, English and French guitars, instruments well adapted for the use of the ladies'.²⁹ Since colonial Americans typically followed the latest fashions coming from England, it is almost certain that the psaltery had a similar role in English society as an instrument primarily for female musicians. Moreover, the phrase 'instruments of the Italian taste' clearly shows that, like the guittar and mandolin, the psaltery was promoted in England mostly by Italian musicians,³⁰ such as Victor Gonetti, who reportedly played 'the mandolin, English guittar, psaltery and musical glasses'.³¹

The Role of the Italians and the Links to the Viola d'Amore

The role of Italian musicians in the promotion of the psaltery in the British Isles was quite significant. Around the mid-eighteenth century many Italian violin virtuosi were touring England, Scotland and Ireland,³² frequently performing pieces on the viola d'amore and other uncommon instruments, described above, during their concerts; in the late 1740s and early 1750s some of them were possibly using the psaltery, typically advertising it as a novel instrument that could certainly add more variety to their standard repertoire.

The earliest known reference to the use of psaltery in England dates from 1748, when 'Signor Caruso', an Italian, played 'on the SALTERO, which was never perform'd in any Concert before' during his performances at the King's Theatre in London and at the Salisbury Festival, reportedly being the 'only Master' of the instrument in London'.³³ Two of Caruso's compatriots who may have also performed on the psaltery in the early 1750s, and who in the 1760s taught and played both the guittar and viola d'amore, are Giovanni Battista Marella³⁴ and Guiseppe Passerini.³⁵ For instance, a Dublin newspaper advertisement of 1 March 1751 stated that 'Signor Marella will perform a solo on the

Violin, with several new pieces; particularly a grand Concerto compos'd by himself, on a new invented Viola d' Amore, being the first time of his performing on it in this Kingdom.³⁶ In 1752, Passerini advertised a concert on a 'new instrument' in Edinburgh, and later performed on the violin alongside Joan Baptista Pla who played the hautboy and 'Psalterion' in 1753.³⁷ Interestingly, two years later in 1754 another Italian, Niccolo Pasquali, included the psaltery in his concert in Edinburgh, notably also advertised as a new instrument.³⁸ Therefore, it is possible that the 'new invented Viola d' Amore' and 'new instrument' played by Marella and Passerini respectively were similar to, or the same as, the psaltery used by Pasquali.³⁹

It is probably the use of the psaltery by Italian musicians in large cities outside London, such as Dublin or Edinburgh, in the 1750s that may have caught the attention of local violin and guittar makers, motivating them to produce psalteries; apart from Thomas Perry of Dublin, mentioned earlier, the only two other known psaltery makers include John Kirk in Edinburgh⁴⁰ and Joseph Ruddiman in Aberdeen.⁴¹ But it is another maker, John Frederick Hintz, who deserves a closer look as he was one of the earliest maker of psalteries in London and perhaps the one who introduced this instrument to musicians in Britain.

Hintz and the 'Psaltery' or 'Salitero'

John Frederick Hintz, who is mainly known as an important maker of guittars, viols, and formerly furniture, was one of the most successful manufacturers of uncommon instruments in mid-eighteenth century London.⁴² When Hintz died in 1772 his stock-in-trade was sold by auction; interestingly, a list of the instruments in a newspaper announcement contains both 'guittars' and 'psalteries':

MUSIC and PAINTING. Mr. ELDERTON gives notice, that the Musical Instruments, fine Pictures and Household Furniture of the celebrated Mr. Hintz, deceased, at the corner of Rider's-court, in Little Newport-street, near Cranburn-alley, the sale whereof by Auction was to have begun on Thursday the 13th, is unavoidably postponed till the Thursday the 20th instant, on account of some of the said instruments being not quite finished. The stock consists of Guittars, Lutes, Violins, Bass-Viols, Dulcimers, Tenors, Harps, Spinnets, Clarichords, Mandolins, Harpsichords, Trumpet Marcens, Forte Pianos, Eolian Harps, German Harps, German Flutes, Viol de Gambo's, Psalteries, &c. It is allowed that Mr. Hintz, was one of the best Guittar-makers in Europe, and that his instruments in general were very excellent. To be viewed on Monday the 17th, to the time of the sale, which will begin each day at eleven o'clock; when catalogues may be had on the premises; and at Mr. Elderton's in Roquet-court, Fleet-street.⁴³

Hintz's description as 'one of the best Guittar-makers in Europe' in the above announcement was not simply an exaggeration by the auctioneer. Already in the early 1760s Hintz had made a name as a guittar maker in London, developing an esteemed clientele; in 1763 he was listed in Mortimer's *London Universal Director* as 'Hintz, Frederick. Guittar-maker to Her Majesty and the Royal Family: makes Guittars, Mandolins, Viols de l'Amour, Viols de Gamba, Dulcimers, Solitaires, Lutes, Harps, Cymbals, the Trumpet-marine and the Aeolian Harp.'⁴⁴ Hintz's output as a guittar maker is confirmed by the large number of surviving guittars in public and private collections (**Figure 4**).

Figure 4: A typical guittar by Hintz, London, c.1770. Musical Instrument Museums Edinburgh (MIMEd), Edinburgh (Accession No. 310) (Photograph ©The University of Edinburgh, reproduced with permission).

It is also important to note that in the same year Hintz advertised a 'Guitar called the Tremulant', a 'De L'Amour Guittar, with a Lute Stop', and 'a Guittar to be played with a

Bow, as well as with the Fingers’,⁴⁵ all of which ‘were invented by him’, adding that ‘Several uncommon Instruments are made and sold at his House, viz. the Trumpet-Marine, Dulcimer, Salitero, Viol de Gamba, Viol de l’ Amour, Mandoline, German Harp, Lutes, Æolian harps, &c.’ (Figure 5).⁴⁶

Figure 5: Hintz’s advertisement in *St James Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 27 October 1763 (Image ©The British Library Board, reproduced with permission).

Moreover, in 1764 John Hawthorn, a watch-maker in Newcastle, announced the sale of several uncommon instruments by Hintz, including ‘Saliterous’;⁴⁷ a watch-maker selling these instruments is of particular note, given the instrument’s links to the industry as will be discussed later. The same year the Edinburgh musical instrument maker and seller Neil Stewart, who also offered guitars by Hintz, advertised ‘guitars, psalteries, at different prices’; interestingly, the advertisement included a small drawing of a guitar quite similar to those made by Hintz, suggesting that the psalteries sold by Stewart may have also been made by Hintz.⁴⁸ In the eighteenth century the names and spellings of musical instruments were not standardised and therefore it is most likely that the ‘Solitaires’, ‘Salitero’ and ‘Saliterous’ mentioned in the 1763 and 1764 announcements, and the ‘psalteries’ in Hintz’s 1772 stock-in-trade, refer to the same instrument.⁴⁹

Furthermore, Rocke’s 1777 earlier-cited reference to the psaltery’s German origins may provide important evidence to Hintz’s role in the development of the psaltery and its introduction to English audiences. Hintz, coming from a German-speaking region, was the earliest maker to advertise the manufacture and sale of guitars from his shop in London, and, as shown above, in the 1760s he produced a wide variety of plucked and bowed stringed instruments and also experimented with new instrument types.

Although he opened his London shop in the early 1750s, Hintz had been active as a musical instrument maker in England from about 1748, working as a member of the

Moravian church.⁵⁰ As shown above, the earliest reference to the psaltery, concerning Caruso's performance on the 'Saltero', dates from 1748, the same year that Hintz began his musical instrument-making activities in England. Moreover, the 'Viol de l'Amour' (most likely a viola d'amore), an instrument which was quite popular among Moravians,⁵¹ is listed in Hintz's 1763 range of instruments (although it is not included in his stock-in-trade in 1772), suggesting that he was familiar with its construction, tuning and playing.

Hintz first arrived in the United Kingdom in the 1730s as a furniture maker, specialising in furniture inlaid with brass decoration. However, Hintz returned to Germany in 1738 for nine years, in which time he trained as a musical instrument maker, before returning to London at the end of 1747.⁵² During his time in Germany, he stayed predominantly in the north of the country, only going south of Nuremburg to Augsburg.⁵³ This is significant in understanding Hintz's knowledge of the viola d'amore: the viola d'amore initially existing as a viol strung with bowed wire strings (see **Figure 6**), and subsequently transitioned into an instrument with bowed gut strings and wire sympathetic strings.

Figure 6: An unlabelled wire-strung viola d'amore by Skotschofsky of Darmstadt, 1720s. Musical Instrument Museums Edinburgh (MIMEd), Edinburgh (Accession No. 333) (Photograph ©The University of Edinburgh, reproduced with permission).

A period of overlap occurred c.1690-1735 where both versions of the instrument were produced; notably, the wire-strung version developed from Nuremburg northwards,⁵⁴ whereas the sympathetically-strung instrument was initially confined to the Alpine regions of Germany and Austria.⁵⁵ This means that Hintz would be familiar with the

wire-strung viola d'amore, rather than the later model with two sets of strings, and this may explain the reason why the bowed psaltery came into being. It is unclear if Hintz's 'Viol d'Amour' would be constructed with one or two sets of strings, but can perhaps be suggested that the early models from his shop would have just bowed wire strings.

It is also worth noting that a rectangular bowed instrument known as the 'Psalterer' was used in England during the early eighteenth century 'to help the psalm singers to learn their tunes and pitch their voices'.⁵⁶ The instrument was essentially a long box with one, and latterly three, gut strings attached over a small bridge; no known surviving examples exist.⁵⁷ It is quite possible that Hintz created a new bowed instrument basing its features on the old wire-strung viola d'amore, but perhaps amplifying the volume of a particularly quiet instrument by adopting the double courses used on the Moravian cittern and later also on the guitar. In choosing a name inspired by the older 'Psalterer' to associate it with religious rather than secular music, it would render the psaltery suitable for use in Moravian worship.⁵⁸ If this assumption proves to be correct, it is probably Hintz, and certainly not the repeatedly suggested Perry, who was responsible for the development of the psaltery, and this at least some years before Hintz started making guitars.

Etymology: 'Psaltery', 'Salitero', 'Salterio' and 'Salter'

It is clear from the analysis so far that the psaltery emerged under several variations of the name. Perry was noted as making 'salters', which is presumably either a shortening of psaltery, or a misspelling of the Gaelic 'saltair' (psaltery) being that is pronounced similarly. As shown earlier, Hintz was listed as selling 'solitaires' and the 'salitero' in 1763, presumably both the same instruments, and the same as the 'psalteries' listed in his 1772 stock-in-trade. While these instruments may arguably be separate entities, one being the

bowed instrument observed here, and another being the traditional plucked instrument, an advertisement from 1767 perhaps confirms that they are one and the same:

Six Sonatas for the Saltario, or English Psaltery, and Harpsichord. Composed by Robert Crome. Price Half a Guinea. [...] The former Instruments, made by the Inventor, and greatly-Improved by the Author, with the addition of a Mandolin Stop. These Instruments are so contrived that the Performer may with great Facility accompany either Voice or Instrument, in all practical Keys major or minor.⁵⁹

The reference to the instrument as the ‘English Psaltery’ is noteworthy as it may have been used to distinguish it from another type of psaltery, sometimes called the ‘Italian Salterio’, which was commonly performed at the same time in England and most likely plucked.⁶⁰ For example, in 1779 an announcement in a provincial newspaper mentioned that one ‘Signora Rossi’ would perform ‘a Sonata on the Italian Salterio, a very sweet Musical Instrument’⁶¹. Notably, in 1768 Crome advertised a new book of music for the ‘British Psaltery and Harpsichord, or Forte Piano’, perhaps alluding to the spread of the instrument to the rest of the British Isles.⁶²

Organological Observations of a Hybrid Instrument

The psaltery observed in this article undoubtedly has a strong resemblance to the viola d’amore, and it is understandable why the two instruments have been associated with one another.⁶³ Extant psalteries by Perry, Kirk, Ruddiman, as well as an instrument with unverified initials, all share a similar body shape, pertaining to a small viol in its outline, and the sound holes could be said to resemble the flame-type design found on violas d’amore and englische violets.

The viola d’amore has a somewhat complex history; it did not begin life as merely a viol strung with additional sympathetic strings. The first descriptive reference to a viola

d'amore comes from 1679 in England, when John Evelyn noted its performance in a concert, commenting on its 'novelty' and 'sweet' sound.⁶⁴ The instrument witnessed by Evelyn had five strings of wire, and no sympathetic strings, and for all intents and purposes was a treble viol strung with wire strings instead of gut, played in the manner of a violin (on the shoulder) in an open tuning. Additional accounts of the viola d'amore cite a similar construction and usage, although the number of strings increased to six. It is around the turn of the eighteenth century that the instrument begins its transformation, changing its wire strings for gut, and adding wire sympathetic strings that ran under the fingerboard.⁶⁵

The old wire-strung viola d'amore adopted the construction of a small viol, having ribs flush with the front and back, a flat back with a canted upper bout (where the top portion of the upper bout slopes in towards the neck) and a tailpiece with hookbar attachment. The viola d'amore adopted the flame-shaped soundholes early on in its history, with the majority of instruments utilising this design. It is most probable that this shape came from the flamed comma design found on early English viols, in German and Dutch viol iconography, and on early extant barytons. On a functional basis, the difference between the viola d'amore and a standard viol is merely the material of the strings, and we rely on two pieces of iconographical evidence to support this difference: a painting of Lady Sabina Imhoff holding a viola d'amore and a painting attributed to Anthony Leeman of a lute, violin and viola d'amore (**Figure 7**).⁶⁶

Figure 7: A painting attributed to Anthony Leemans c.1675, held by the Germanisches National Museum (GNM), Nuremberg (Accession No. GM1268) (Photograph ©Germanisches National Museum, reproduced with permission).

The instrument painted by Leemans, as well as the painting of Sabina Imhoff, shows a viola d'amore of six strings, each with identical sound holes, the shape of which is closely associated with the workshop of Joachim Tielke of Hamburg.⁶⁷ Both instruments depicted contain ivory pins in the tailpiece where there would normally be holes for strings to pass through to be knotted. While gut strings may be attached to these pins, it is arguable that these pins indicate the securing of wire strings. Such pins are found on most wire-strung instruments, such as orpharions, bandoras and guitars, as well as for securing the sympathetic wire strings found on englische violets and later sympathetically-strung violas d'amore. Another instrument with a similar string attachment is the viole d'Orphee, a wire-strung type of viola da gamba invented by Michel Corrette, that had its wire strings attached to steel nails on the underside of the tailpiece. Interestingly, in his presentation of the instrument, Corrette relates the viole d'Orphee to other 'harmonious instruments such as clavecins, organs, harps, guitars, mandolins, violas, citterns', adding that it is 'most analogous to the human voice', possibly due to the resonant sound of the bowed metal strings.⁶⁸

The psaltery takes on elements of this design, notably the body shape and size, and the use of ivory pins in the tailpiece to secure the wire strings. However, the body of the psaltery also takes on the popular design of the violin, with overhanging front and back plates, as well as a swell back; this is contrary to the flush ribs and flat back of the viola d'amore.

In contrast, the use of double courses and brass tuning mechanisms on the psaltery nod towards the influence of the guitar. Developed during the mid-to-late eighteenth century, the guitar rose to popularity within the upper classes as an elegant, affordable

and easy instrument for females to learn, exemplified by the guittar's extensive iconography and strong presence in contemporary literature, poetry and theatre.⁶⁹ The majority of guittars were strung with two single and four double courses of wire strings, secured to the lower rib of the instrument with ivory pins, and tuned at the pegbox initially by wooden lateral pegs (as those used on a violin), and subsequently by either brass tuning machines or a watch-key mechanism. The instruments tended to be of an ornate nature to appeal to the wealthier classes, utilizing materials such as ivory, tortoiseshell, mother-of-pearl, gilt and exotic woods.

The psaltery is influenced by two key features of the guittar: the stringing and tuning mechanisms. The use of double courses is highly significant, with many psalteries having a total of ten strings, although two extant examples by Perry have just six single strings, perhaps taking influence from the original wire-strung viola d'amore. The majority of psalteries also use brass tuning machines or the watch-key mechanism, with only two instruments possessing traditional lateral wooden pegs.⁷⁰ The decorative nature of psalteries by Perry, usually having inked purfling on the soundboard and being equipped with ivory-veneered fingerboards and inlaid square finials as those found on guittars by him or other makers (**Figure 8**), further support the link to guittar lineage.

Figure 8: A typical guittar by Perry, Dublin, c.1790. Taro Takeuchi Collection, London (Photograph by Taro Takeuchi, reproduced with permission).

Moreover, from a player's perspective, the psaltery, viola d'amore and guittar have an arched fingerboard and employ open tunings, offering the same 'feeling' or 'touch', as well as similar fingering patterns, for the left hand. It is undoubtable that the psaltery was

heavily influenced by both the old wire-strung viola d'amore and guittar, and appears to be a hybrid of both.

Hintz's Rival: Reinerus Liessem

While the focus of this study has orientated around the work of Hintz, some consideration should be given to his rival, and fellow German, Reinerus Liessem. Liessem was an immigrant of German origin, and based on genealogical records his surname almost exclusively hails from the Rhineland region during the early eighteenth century. A number of instruments by Liessem survive, including violins and latterly guittars; it is unclear whether the early instruments are by the same hand as the later guittars. Most of the surviving violins have what is called a 'one-piece back' (instead of the more common two-piece), and the patina, or figure, runs very close to the horizontal, rather than sloping on the diagonal.

It is uncertain when Liessem moved to the United Kingdom, with the earliest known record of the surname Liessem in London dated 1752, being the burial of 'Nicholas Liessam' at St Anne's Church, Soho.⁷¹ It is possible that this was a son of Liessem, given that a further record dated 1759 records the burial of a 'Margaret Liessem' that was marked 'child'.⁷² This would therefore place Liessem in England c.1750.⁷³ Interestingly, an instrument advertised as 'Viola Da Gamba converted to English Cittern dated 1762' (**Figure 9**), mentioned earlier, bears the handwritten label 'Mead in London 1762 / R L'.⁷⁴

Figure 9: Psaltery labelled ‘Mead in London 1762 / R L’ (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of Andrea and Roger Bruderlin of www.earlymusicalinstruments.com).

Unlike a violin, the ‘label’ is written in ink directly onto the centre of the back inside the instrument. Additionally, the ‘label’ faces the treble side instead of the bass (**Figure 10**). The inking of the label directly onto the wood strongly indicates the influence of a guitar workshop, where the labels were sometimes written in a similar manner, directly under the near-central rosette. However, extant guitars by Liessem usually have paper labels pasted inside the body as well as stamps outside, but not inked signatures.

The mis-spelling of the word ‘made’ implies a maker less fluent in English, or someone, such as an apprentice, that was not entirely literate. The initials ‘RL’ may very well indicate Reinerus Liessem, had it not been for his death, and subsequently proven will, being dated to the year 1760.⁷⁵ However, it appears that Liessem had a son, also called Reinerus, and thus implies, by tradition, that he would be Reinerus’ (i) eldest son.

Figure 10: Handwritten label inside psaltery ‘Mead in London 1762 / R L’. (Photograph reproduced by kind permission of Andrea and Roger Bruderlin of www.earlymusicalinstruments.com).

Reinerus (ii) is noted as starting a seven year apprenticeship in 1763 with John Basire, a clockmaker in London. This is highly significant in the history of Reinerus (i) in terms of his earliest, and also the oldest dated surviving guitar. An apprenticeship was usually arranged between fathers who were friends or business associates, and were commenced no later than the age of 14,⁷⁶ which in this case would make Reinerus the junior (ii) no

older than 11 years old when his father passed, thus resulting in him not apprenticing in the family firm.⁷⁷ The earliest extant guitar, dated 1756 and coincidentally made by Liessem⁷⁸, does not have wooden pegs to tune the strings, but has what is called a watch-key mechanism, where spindles are turned to move a hook up and down vertically to lengthen and shorten the string. It is thought that this mechanism was developed to help hold the less forgiving wire strings in tune.⁷⁹ It may, therefore, be possible to suggest that John Basire, a presumed friend and associate of Reinerus (i) manufactured the mechanisms for the instruments. Notably, an instrument held in Edinburgh, of the same form to the privately owned 'RL' instrument, contains an identical watch-key mechanism, being markedly different from later models due to having protruding rather than recessed spindles (**Figure 11**), and thus the mechanism, and perhaps the instrument, can be dated somewhere between 1755 and 1765.⁸⁰

Figure 11: Headstock of a psaltery labelled A. Stewart of Glasgow, undated but probably c.1820. Neck and headstock appear to be a later addition to the psaltery's body, with the body probably mass-produced c.1760. Tuning mechanism probably transferred from original neck. Musical Instrument Museums Edinburgh, Edinburgh (MIMEd) (Accession No. 951) (Photographs by R. Durkin, reproduced with permission from The University of Edinburgh).

Whether Liessem and Basire invented the mechanism, or merely replicated a previously known device, remains unclear. However, given the shape of the 'RL' psaltery, it can perhaps be suggested that influence was taken from the French Quinton, a five-string instrument tuned like a violin but played in the manner of a viol.⁸¹ Curiously, the ribs join the neck in the same fashion on some French quintons as they do on the 'RL' and two

other unlabelled psalteries: the rib rises towards the button, creating a sloping join with the neck.

So who made the instrument labelled 'RL' since Reinerus died in 1760, and his son entered a different trade? The 'RL' instrument, and the two held in Edinburgh, display the hallmarks of Liessem's violin and guitar making, having a one piece back with a horizontal figure. It therefore stands to reason that the instruments were made, at least in part, in Liessem's workshop, most probably by his apprentice Thomas Brett or any other workers still within the firm, and that Liessem's name, along with his solid reputation, was still in use posthumously. However, this does not suggest that Liessem invented the psaltery, but perhaps highlights a strong initial link between the German musical instrument-making community of London and the newly-invented instrument.

The 'Concerto per Salterio': Musical Analysis

At the back of a manuscript of mid-eighteenth century harpsichord music, held in a private collection, there exists two previously unattributed concertos, marked 'per Salterio'. While it has been assumed that the works may have been for the plucked psaltery, and certainly such an instrument went through a resurgence in Italy at this time, the music does not lend itself to performance on a plucked instrument. Both concertos feature three movements (Allegro-Largo-Allegro), and both are marked in the key of D major for where the psaltery plays, having two staves – melody and basso continuo – with some figured bass markings throughout. The only movement that is not in D major is the Largo Assai from the first concerto, being in D minor, that is notably marked 'Senza Salterio'. The work contains not only slurred passages and long tied notes, but also four note chords, double stops, and what would appear to be left-hand pizzicato.

The similarity between this work, and music for the predominantly D major tuned viola d'amore is striking, with the notes of the work seemingly idiomatically written for the instrument. The first concerto, on the most part, can be performed on the violin comfortably, with only a small number of slightly awkward, but achievable double stops. Most passages seem somewhat suitably written for the violin, and in general the concerto is in a Vivaldian style.

It is in the second concerto that the work is clearly defined for the psaltery. The opening of the first Allegro begins with a four-note chord in D that can only be performed on an instrument that utilizes open tunings, and sits comfortably under the fingers on a psaltery, or viola d'amore tuned in D major. The movement contains many passages of thirds, most of which cannot be clearly facilitated on a violin but are easily played on a psaltery, and a few stops of a sixth; the use of thirds and sixths is typical in viola d'amore writing due to the tuning of the strings. The final movement, also Allegro, is faster and utilizes more typically Vivaldian patterns of fast repeated notes and brief ascending and descending scalar passages, and carries the hallmarks of a finale-type movement.

The central Largo of the second concerto (**Figure 12**) proves the most interesting. Not only does it use passages of thirds and sixths, but it also appears to involve left-hand pizzicato: a technique used in some 18th century viola d'amore repertoire. The movement opens with an E, and it is quickly apparent that the work, despite being indicative of D major, is in fact in A major. It can therefore be assumed that the key signature, in this case, informs the performer what tuning to have their psaltery in rather than stipulating the key of performance.

Figure 12: Largo movement from the second *Concerto per Salterio*, composer unknown (manuscript held, and reproduced faithfully as far as possible here with the kind permission of Tim Crawford).

The use of left-hand pizzicato occurs eight times within the work (including repeats), contained within the same motivic material, and appears, through its repetition, to enforce the unusual nature of the passage. While the composer has used open strings where possible, they have pushed the player in demanding that two notes, an A and an E, are stopped with the first finger, and then plucked with the second or third, while simultaneously bowing notes above. The way the phrases are constructed, although not straightforward, do allow fluent performance, often having an open string bowed above a stopped left-hand pizzicato, and where both plucked and bowed notes are stopped the strings are beside one another and use the same finger. Notably, the movement is marked *Solo sempre*, perhaps noted by the composer-tutor to encourage the pupil to perform all the notes in the challenging treble line.

From this brief analysis, the two concertos discussed here are most certainly for the psaltery that is the subject of this article, and not a bowed or plucked triangular instrument as previously suggested. The research presented in this article not only helps us to understand the instrument's purpose and capabilities, but also its performance style and close links to the viola d'amore's music; given the tuning and string length of the psaltery, it could easily perform viola d'amore music, or even some violin and viol music, when specific psaltery repertoire was unavailable. This may be an excellent example of what has been called 'material musicology',⁸² where a static, long forgotten instrument is brought to life through reunion with its musical counterpart. It can be hoped that from

this research further pieces of music may be unearthed and the psaltery may once again be heard playing its rightful music.

Conclusions

The history and development of the psaltery is tightly connected to the viola d'amore and guittar, a topic which needs further investigation. The psaltery may have been introduced in England in the late 1740s by Hintz, who would later become a prominent guittar maker that also produced violas d'amore. The instrument remained popular from the early 1750s and until the end of the eighteenth century, being promoted mainly by Italian musicians, many of whom also played and taught both the guittar and viola d'amore. Although several violin and guittar makers seem to have been making psalteries, judging by surviving instruments by far the most prolific was Thomas Perry of Dublin, who produced 'salters' from the mid 1760s to the early 1800s. However, the instrument is not his invention, as has been suggested, since psalteries were produced by Hintz, and possibly Liessem and Bremner, in the 1760s before Perry's similar instruments appeared.

As pointed out in this article the earliest known reference to the psaltery dates from 1748, while surviving instruments date from the mid-1760s to 1800s. The popularity of the instrument seems to have gradually declined during the beginning of the nineteenth century, when many psalteries were apparently converted to violas, as evidenced from a number of extant instruments.⁸³

Yet there are still many questions to be answered. For example, in contrast to the guittar and viola d'amore, for which a large quantity of music was published, no printed music for the psaltery seems to have survived,⁸⁴ while only few written references to the instrument exist. Furthermore, although the image of the guittar, and to a lesser extent

the viola d' amore, was a favourite theme contemporary portraiture, no iconographical evidence of the psaltery is known.

A first step to any new information will require the revision of the terms 'sultana' or 'cither viol' and the parallel adoption of the more historically accurate name 'psaltery' or 'salter' to describe the instrument in museum texts, music dictionaries and other publications. This article will hopefully initiate more interest for future research on the connection between bowed and plucked instruments, as well as between gut and wire-strung instruments, in the eighteenth century.

Appendix I: Surviving Psalteries

The instruments in the following table are arranged alphabetically according to the name of the maker. Unsigned instruments have been attributed to a particular maker when similarities in design, construction and decoration features, such as the body shape, the distinctive pattern of the 'flame' holes on the soundboard, the tuning mechanism, etc., in comparison with signed instruments have been identified. It is important to note that some of these instruments, especially those listed in auction catalogues, may have ended up in either public or private collections, and thus may have been duplicated in the list. Any missing or unconfirmed details are indicated with a question mark (?).

Table 1: Details of surviving psalteries in public and private collections.

¹ The main historical, technical and musical aspects of the instrument have been recently discussed by the authors in their paper "A very mistaken identification": The History of the "Sultana" or "Cither viol", presented at the joint conference of The Galpin Society, 'Making the Tudor Viol' Project and CIMCIM 'Musical Instruments: History, Science and Culture', Oxford, 25 to 29 July 2013.

² The guittar, commonly known as ‘English guittar’, is a small plucked instrument with wire strings which was popular in the British Isles during the second half of the eighteenth century. In most contemporary sources the instrument is usually referred to as ‘guittar’ (and more rarely ‘guitar’); it was only by the end of the eighteenth century that it adopted its present name ‘English guittar’. For more details on the history of the guittar see P. Pouloupoulos, *The Guittar in the British Isles, 1750-1810* (PhD diss., U. of Edinburgh, 2011), pp.78-186.

³ See, for example, A. Baines, *European and American Musical Instruments* (London, 1966), p.22 and A. Baines ed., *Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogue of Musical Instruments: Vol. II Non-Keyboard Instruments* (London, 1968), p.9. See also ‘Sultana’ in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, ed. S. Sadie (London, 1984), Vol. 3, p.474 or P. Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), p.162.

⁴ In the Victoria & Albert Museum, London (Accession No. 156-1882).

⁵ See C. Engel, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum* (London, 1874), p.343.

⁶ In 1849, Sir John Graham Dalryell documented the viola d’amore in Scotland in the eighteenth century, noting that ‘Perhaps the *viol d’amour* underwent several modifications, as its name was changed to *psalter*, in the belief of its being the ancient instrument so denominated, which is quite different, according to most authorities – not belonging to the fidicinal tribe.’ See Dalryell, *Musical Memoirs of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1849), p.206.

⁷ See F. W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music; their history and character* (London, 1910), p.93.

⁸ The psaltery is a plucked instrument of the zither family. For more details on the history of the psaltery see J. McKinnon and M. Remnant ‘Psaltery’, *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, ed. S. Sadie (London, 1984), Vol. 3, pp.151-3.

⁹ See B. Garvey Jackson, ‘Hubert Le Blanc’s *Défense de la basse de viole*’ (translation, commentary and index), *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, Vol. X (1973), pp.11-28, 69-80; Vol. XI (1974), pp.17-58; Vol. XII (1975), pp.14-36. The above references to the violin and viol are included in Vol. X (1973), at pp.24 and 77.

¹⁰ The only known contemporary use of the name ‘sultana’ referred to a fashionable piece of women’s clothing in France during the 1760s. For more details see P. Stein, ‘Amédée Van Loo’s *Costume turc*: The French Sultana’, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 78, No. 3 (1996), pp.417-38.

¹¹ This suggests that the terms ‘sultana’ or ‘cither viol’ may have been invented much later, most likely during the late nineteenth century and possibly by Engel himself.

¹² See J. Teahan, ‘A List of Irish Instrument Makers’, *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 16 (1963), pp.28-32, at p.31. In Teahan’s list Perry is the only maker of ‘salters’ among several Dublin instrument manufacturers.

¹³ According to Lawrence, Perry worked at four addresses in Dublin, starting at Christ Church Yard Aston’s Quay (c.1759-1769), later moving to Anglesea St (c.1770-1778), then at 6 Anglesea St (1778-1802), and finally at 4 Anglesea St (1803-1818). See T. Lawrence, *The History of the Guitar in Ireland 1760-1866* (PhD diss., University College Dublin, 1999), p.27. Curiously, the violinmaker George Ward was also registered at these addresses, and it is proposed by J. K. Rice that Perry apprenticed Ward. See J. K. Rice, *The Life and Work of Thomas Perry*, (PhD diss., St Patrick’s College Maynooth, 1993) pp.27-8.

¹⁴ As reported in Milnes, around 1790 Perry formed a partnership with William Wilkinson, the firm trading thereafter as ‘Perry & Wilkinson’. The partnership was strengthened in June 1794 when Wilkinson became Perry’s son-in-law by marrying his daughter Elizabeth. See J. Milnes, ed., *The British Violin: the catalogue of the 1998 exhibition ‘400 Years of Violin & Bow Making in the British Isles’* (Oxford, 2000), p.68.

¹⁵ Details of these instruments are given in Appendix I; the authors are grateful to Thomas MacCracken for exchanging useful information on extant instruments by Perry and Perry & Wilkinson.

¹⁶ For example, although Danks describes the psaltery as a bowed instrument, he also states that it is ‘an instrument that together with the sultana has been confused with the viola d’amore many times’. See H. Danks, *The Viola D’Amore* (Halesowen, 1976), p.35.

¹⁷ *Northampton Mercury* (Northampton), 1 December 1777.

¹⁸ The strings on surviving psalteries are usually arranged in five pairs or in two single and four pairs (like the guittar). An examination of the nut and bridge marks on intact extant psalteries could confirm which string arrangement was used originally, although surviving instruments may have been extensively altered and are thus misleading.

¹⁹ Quoted in H. G. Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland* (London, 1947), p.325.

²⁰ *Public Advertiser* (London), 19 April 1763. Bremner, who also had a shop in Edinburgh, had published several works for the guittar, including the comprehensive tutor *Instructions for the Guittar* (Edinburgh: R. Bremner, 1758), while he also sold and may have manufactured guittars. For more details see P. Pouloupoulos, “‘Wha sweetly tune the Scottish lyre’: A Guittar by Rauche & Hoffmann and its Connection to Robert Burns”, *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 67, (2014), pp.40-4, 143-70, at pp.151 and 161-2.

²¹ At the time of writing, this instrument is for sale from www.earlymusicalinstruments.com. With thanks to Andrea Bruderlin of www.earlymusicalinstruments.com for providing photographs and information about this instrument.

²² See P. Holman, 'Ann Ford Revisited', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, Vol. 1 (2004), pp.157-81, at p.167, and P. Holman, 'The Lute family in Britain in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries', *Lute News: The Lute Society Newsletter*, Vol. 84 (2007), pp.7-20, at p.12. See also Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, p.242.

²³ See G. Emmerson, *Rantlin' Pipe and Tremblin' String: A History of Scottish Dance Music* (London, 1971), p.62.

²⁴ See D. van Heuvel, 'De koor- en orkestbezetting bij de inwijding van het Felix meritis-gebouw in 1788'. *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, Deel 55, No. 1 (2005), pp.35-66. The above references to the sistre and (p)salterio are on pp.46-47. The authors are thankful to Jelma van Amersfoort for drawing their attention to this source and for translating the relevant quotations.

²⁵ See Holman, 'The Lute family in Britain in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries', p.12.

²⁶ See Holman, 'The Lute family in Britain in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries', p.11.

²⁷ See Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, p.163.

²⁸ For more details on these instruments see Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, p.162. See also F. Palmer, 'Merlin and Music', *John Joseph Merlin: The Ingenious Mechanik*, ed. A. French (London, 1985), pp.85-110, at pp.87 and 107-10.

²⁹ *South Carolina American Gentleman's Gazette*, 23-30 September 1774, p.3, as quoted in D. Rossi, 'Citterns and Guitars in Colonial America', *Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte Band 66: Gitarre und Zister-Bauweise, Spieltechnik und Geschichte bis 1800*, ed. M. Lustig (Michaelstein, 2004), pp.155-168, at p.166.

³⁰ For more details on the role of Italians in promoting a guittar culture in England see P. Pouloupoulos 'The Influence of Germans in the Development of 'this favourite Instrument the Guittar' in England', *Soundboard: Quarterly Magazine of the Guitar Foundation of America*, Vol. 38, Nr. 4 (2012), pp.62-75, at p.72, endnote 77, and also Pouloupoulos, *The Guittar in the British Isles, 1750-1810*, pp.146-8.

³¹ See S. McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge, 1993), p.91; see also Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, pp.155 and 163.

³² For more details see W. Grattan Flood, 'Fishamble St. Music Hall, Dublin, from 1744 to 1777', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 14. Jahrg., H.1 (1912), pp.51-7 and 'Eighteenth Century Italians in Dublin', *Music & Letters*. Vol. 3, No. 3 (1922), pp.274-8. See also B. Boydell, 'The Dublin

Musical Scene 1749-1750 and Its Background', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 105 (1978-9), pp.77-89, at pp.77-83, or Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, pp.147-163.

³³ Quoted in Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, p.155.

³⁴ In 1763 Giovanni Battista Marella advertised himself as 'Teacher of the Guittar and the Viol d'amour', as quoted in Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, p.151. The same year he was listed as 'MORELLA, -, teaches the Guitar. Great Pultney-street, Golden-square' in Mortimer's *London Universal Director*, as mentioned in T. Dart, ed. 'An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians', *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 2 (1949) pp.27-31, at p.29. Apart from teaching the guittar Marella also composed *Sixty Six Lessons for the Cetra or Guittar* (London, 1757) and *Compositions for the Cetra or Guittar [...] Book II. Opera IV* (London, 1762).

³⁵ In the *London Chronicle* (London) of 24-26 July 1760 Passerini announced that he offered lessons on the 'English and Spanish Guittar, the Violin, Viol d'Amour, Viola Angelica, Violloncello' and other instruments. Moreover, an advertisement in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* of 30 April-3 May 1763, quoted in Lawrence, *The History of the Guitar in Ireland 1760-1866*, p.16, announced that 'a song by Master Passerini' would be 'accompanied on the Guitar by Mr Claget', who was most likely Charles Clagget, the Irish violin and guittar player, teacher and composer.

³⁶ Quoted in B. Boydell, *A Dublin Music Calendar 1700-1760* (Dublin, 1988), p.145.

³⁷ See Danks, *The Viola D'Amore*, pp.35 and 101; the advertisement for Passerini and Pla's concert is in *Public Advertiser* (London), 21 March 1753.

³⁸ See Danks, *The Viola D'Amore*, pp.35 and 101. At p.101 Danks argues that Pasquali '[I]ntroduced the Sultana [...] and the Psaltery to Scottish audiences'.

³⁹The fact that the above-mentioned musicians were violin virtuosi indicates that they must have played a bowed rather than a plucked instrument, although this requires further research. This issue has been pointed out to the authors by Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, who has been recently documenting extant plucked Italian salterios and is preparing a publication on this topic.

⁴⁰ Although working in Edinburgh, Kirk may have been trained in London, since a surviving psaltery, in the Musée de l'Hospice Comtesse, Lille (Accession No. C.148/2002.0.5), bears a label with the inscription 'John KIRK/MUSICIAN/and Instrument Maker from/London Edinburgh/fecit July 30 th 1793'. For more details on this and other extant instruments by Kirk see Appendix I.

⁴¹ Rattray has noted that Ruddiman of Aberdeen made ‘pear-shaped guitars and sultanas’. See D. Rattray, *Violin making in Scotland 1750-1950* (Oxford, 2006), p.148. Details of Ruddiman’s instruments are included in Appendix I. Additionally, a surviving bowed instrument with a bowl-shaped back, but with various features similar to extant psalteries, made by George Mollison in Aberdeen and dated 1794, is another proof of the psaltery’s presence in the Scottish city. The authors are thankful to Tony Bingham for providing them with details and photographs of this instrument.

⁴² For more details on Hintz’s biographical details and business activities see L. Graf Williamson, ‘John Frederick Hintz, Eighteenth-Century Moravian Instrument Maker, and the Use of the Cittern in Moravian Worship’, *Journal of Moravian History*, Vol. 5 (2008), pp.7-39. See also Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, p.135-61, and Pouloupoulos, *The Guittar in the British Isles, 1750-1810* pp.585-90.

⁴³ See Hill Family, Archival material and biographical notes on English violin makers [in 2 volumes: WA 1992.643.1 and WA 1992.643.2], Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The 1772 announcement regarding the sale of Hintz’s stock-in-trade after his death is included in WA 1992.643.1, p.163. The authors are obliged to Jon Whiteley, Honorary Curator at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, for allowing the examination of this document. A similar advertisement announcing the sale by auction of Hintz’s stock-in-trade on 13th August had appeared in *Morning Chronicle* (London) of 31 July 1772.

⁴⁴ Quoted in L. Langwill, ‘Two Rare Eighteenth-Century London Directories’, *Music & Letters*, Vol. 30, No.1 (1949), pp.37-43, at p.42; see also Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, p.138.

⁴⁵ An instrument by Hintz, which corresponds to the above description, survives in the Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Berlin (Accession No. 5394). Brief details of this instrument are included in D. Droysen-Reber and K. Restle, *Berliner Musikinstrumenten-Museum: Bestandskatalog der europäischen Musikinstrumente 1888-1993* (Berlin, 1993), p.294. In this catalogue the instrument is listed as ‘Sultana (Cither viol), Frederick Hintz, London, around 1760’; however, its features are quite different from instruments typically referred to as ‘sultanas’, such as those by Perry. Moreover, a close inspection of this instrument has shown that it is most likely a bowed guittar, such as those advertised by Hintz. The authors are thankful to Anette Otterstedt, curator of stringed instruments, and Heidi von Rüden, conservator of stringed instruments, at the Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Berlin, for allowing the examination of the

instrument and for providing further details on its history and provenance. A detailed account of this unique instrument will be presented in a forthcoming article.

⁴⁶ *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (London), 27-29 October 1763. Hintz's 'Saliteros' were also mentioned in an announcement in *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* of 5-8 July 1766.

⁴⁷ *Newcastle Courant* (Newcastle), 7 January 1764.

⁴⁸ *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh), 7 March 1764.

⁴⁹ Although Holman has pointed out that the 'Solitaire' mentioned by Hintz may be identical to the psaltery, he has defined it as 'an instrument similar to the dulcimer but plucked with a quill' rather than as a bowed instrument. See Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, pp.154-5.

⁵⁰ For more details on Hintz's career in England see Graf Williamson, 'John Frederick Hintz, Eighteenth-Century Moravian Instrument Maker', pp.10-22.

⁵¹ For more details see Graf Williamson, 'John Frederick Hintz, Eighteenth-Century Moravian Instrument Maker', p.21.

⁵² See Graf, 'John Frederick Hintz, Eighteenth-Century Moravian Instrument Maker', p.10.

⁵³ See Graf, 'John Frederick Hintz, Eighteenth-Century Moravian Instrument Maker', pp.11-2.

⁵⁴ In 1732 Joseph Majer described two types of viola d'amore strung with just wire strings (although a footnote added last-minute information about a viola d'amore with sympathetic strings, alluding to its newness north of Munich), and given that Majer was based in Nuremberg, it can be ascertained that this city acted as a point of interchange between the two types of instruments; see J. F. B. C. Majer, *Museum Musicum Theoretico Practicum* (Nuremberg, 1732). Notably, Johann Hasert of Eisenach (146 miles from Nuremberg) made wire-strung violas d'amore, with one surviving instrument dated 1735, and Johann Georg Skotschowsky of Darmstadt (142 miles from Nuremberg) made several, the earliest with a label dated to 1727. Joachim Tielke of Hamburg produced wire-strung violas d'amore towards the end of the seventeenth century.

⁵⁵ See R. Durkin, 'The Viola d'Amore – its Heritage Reconsidered', *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 66 (2013), pp.139-47.

⁵⁶ See S. Jeans, 'The Psalterer', *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 39 (1986), pp.2-20, at p.2. The holding and playing technique of the psalterer were similar to the bass-viol, while its music was written using an alphabetical letter tablature instead of staff notation. For a description of the psalterer see also P. Bate, 'Psalterer', *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, ed. S.Sadie (London, 1984), Vol. 3, p.151.

⁵⁷ See Jeans, ‘The Psalterer’, pp.2-20, for a discussion of the instrument’s construction, and images of a modern reproduction by Jeans.

⁵⁸ The psaltery can theoretically be played both under the chin or held vertically and resting on the player’s lap, thus enabling simultaneous singing. The fact that only few surviving psalteries have varnish wear on the bottom of the soundboard suggests that the second method was more common.

⁵⁹ *Public Advertiser* (London), 22 October 1767. It is important to note that in the mid eighteenth century Crome had written a violin method titled *The Fiddle New Model’d or a Useful Introduction to the Violin*, as mentioned in P. Thompson, ‘The Edward Heron-Allen Collection in the Royal College of Music Library’, *Fontes Artis Musicae*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (2008), p.474-83, at p.480. Therefore, the ‘Saltario, or English Psaltery’ most likely refers to a bowed rather than a plucked instrument.

⁶⁰ A similar case concerned the naming of the wire-strung guitar as ‘English guitar’ by the end of the eighteenth century, in order to differentiate it from the gut-strung guitar typically known as the ‘Spanish guitar’.

⁶¹ *Leeds Intelligencer* (Leeds), 21 September 1779.

⁶² *Public Advertiser* (London), 26 March 1768.

⁶³ Danks, *The Viola D’Amore*, p.35.

⁶⁴ J. Evelyn and W. Bray, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, ed. W. Bray (London, 1850), p.373. The first reference to the viola d’amore comes from Hamburg in 1649. See R. Durkin, *The History and Development of the Viola d’Amore* (PhD diss., U. of Edinburgh, 2014), p.219.

⁶⁵ The change was influenced by the popularity of the englische violet: a slightly larger festooned viol with six or seven gut playing strings, and up to 14 wire sympathetic strings. The englische violet was a simplification of the baryton, removing the ability to pluck the wire strings through an open-backed neck, but preserving its sweet sympathetic resonance. Its size also made it more portable and although some evidence suggests it was probably played resting on the lap, it would have been possible to play it on the chest or under the chin. See R. Durkin, ‘The Viola d’Amore – its Heritage Reconsidered’, pp.139-47.

⁶⁶ Painting of Lady Sabina Imhoff by Jan Kupetzky, seventeenth century, held by the Museum of Fine Art (Szépművészeti), Budapest; Painting of three instruments attributed to Anthony Leemans, seventeenth century, held by the Germanisches National Museum, Nuremberg (Accession no: GNM1268).

⁶⁷ Examples of violas d’amore by Tielke have been included in F. and B. Hellwig, *Joachim Tielke: Kunstvolle Musikinstrumente des Barock* (Berlin/Munich, 2011), pp.238-250.

⁶⁸ For more details on Corrette's viole d'Orphee see M. Corrette, *Méthodes pour apprendre à jouer de la contrebasse à 3, à 4, et à 5 cordes, de la quinte ou alto et de la viole d'Orphée* (Paris, 1781) and C. R. Farrar, *Seven String Instrument Treatises of Michel Corrette* (PhD diss., North Texas State University, 1978), pp.282-3 and 314-8.

⁶⁹ For more details see P. Pouloupoulos, 'A complete Accompaniment to the Female Voice': The Guittar and its Role in the Culture of Georgian England', *Phoibos: Zeitschrift für Zupfmusik*, Ausgabe 'Gender', Nr. 1 (2012), pp.97-120.

⁷⁰ By Ruddiman and possibly Kirk. For details of these instruments see Appendix I.

⁷¹ 'England, Middlesex, Westminster, Parish Registers, 1538-1912' index and images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/KCZ6-L3K>, accessed 10 Dec 2013), Nicholas Liessem, 1752.

⁷² London Metropolitan Archives, Saint Pancras Parish Church, Composite register: baptisms Jan 1753 - Feb 1774, baptisms at Percy Chapel Jan 1766 - Aug 1772, marriages Jan 1753 - Nov 1753, burials Jan 1753 - Dec 1773, P90/PAN1, Item 005. Additionally, a burial for 'M Liessem' is recorded on 20 February 1760 (see London Metropolitan Archives, Saint Pancras Parish Church, Composite register: baptisms Jan 1753 - Feb 1774, baptisms at Percy Chapel Jan 1766 - Aug 1772, marriages Jan 1753 - Nov 1753, burials Jan 1753 - Dec 1773, P90/PAN1, Item 005.), but it is unclear whether or not this is Reinerus (i) as his will was proved on the 16th February 1760: the 'M' may indicate 'male', or an unknown first name, or may be another member of the Liessem family.

⁷³ A further reference to Liessem's shop is made in 1755, although the name is misspelled 'Siessem'. See *Public Advertiser* (London), 7 October 1755.

⁷⁴ This instrument is currently held by an early musical instrument retailer in Ontario, Canada. The initials on the signature are difficult to read and have been examined only with the aid of close-up photography. If the initials are read as 'RD', as the present owner of the instrument suggests, then they may refer to Richard Duke, who has been previously thought to have trained Perry, although the instrument has features similar to psalteries by Rudimann. However, it is unlikely that an instrument of this nature would come from the workshop of Duke.

⁷⁵ The sale of his stock-in-trade was advertised by his wife, Elizabeth, in February 1760; see *Daily Advertiser* (London), 23 April 1760. Although no death record can be found, Liessem's will was proved on 16th February 1760, see The National Archives, PROB 11/853/275, *Will of Reinerus Liessem, Musical Instrument Maker of Saint Ann, Sobo, Westminster*.

⁷⁶ For details on English apprenticeships see J. Lane, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600-1914* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp.2-4.

⁷⁷ Board of Stamps: Apprenticeship Books, Series IR 1; The National Archives of the UK (TNA), Kew, Surrey, England. Accessed from Ancestry.com. UK, Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures, 1710-1811 [on-line database].

⁷⁸ In the Victoria & Albert Museum, London (Accession No. 230-1882).

⁷⁹ See Pouloupoulos, *The Guittar in the British Isles, 1750-1810*, pp.383-417.

⁸⁰ It is thought that the protrusion of the spindles indicates a less refined, and thus older design. Watch-key machines with recessed spindles are most likely of a slightly younger date.

⁸¹ For more details on the Quinton see M. Herzog, 'Is the Quinton a Viol? A Puzzle Unravelled', *Early Music*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2000), pp.8-16, 18-24, 26, 28, 30-31.

⁸² With thanks to Benjamin Hebbert for coining this phrase and allowing us to use it in this article.

⁸³ Descriptions of some of these modified instruments are presented in Appendix I.

⁸⁴ Two pieces in D major titled 'Concerto per Salterio', are contained in an English keyboard manuscript dating from the late eighteenth century, as discussed above, but they do not appear to have been subsequently published in print.