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THE REBEC

AN ORTHOGRAPHIC AND ICONOGRAPHIC STUDY

Volume I

DISSERTATION

Submitted To The Graduate School

of

West Virginia University

In Partial Fulfillment Of The Requirements For

The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

Margaret Anne Downie, B.S., M.A.

1981

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Dedicated to my parents,

Edwin and Lydia Downie

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Most instruments of Western European culture have been studied and defined, and have had at least one or more versions of their histories published. The violin, or course, has received extensive attention, and recent studies have been published concerning other bowed stringed instruments such as the viola,[1] the viol,[2] and the viola d'amore.[3] However, with the exception of three articles[4] and an entry in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,[5] the latter altogether misleading in several aspects, little serious attention has been paid to the systematic study of the instrument

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1 Maurice W. Riley, The History of the Viola (Ann Arbor: Braun-Brumfield, 1980).

2 Ian David Woodfield, "The Origins of the Viol," Ph.D. Thesis (University of London, King's College, 1977).

3 Myron Rosenblum, "Contributions to the History and Literature of the Viola D'Amore," Ph.D. Dissertation (New York University, 1976).

4 Mary E. Remnant, "Rebec, fiddle and crowd in England," Proceedings of the Royal Music Association 95 (1968-69): 15-28 and 96 (1969-70): 149-150; Mary E. Remnant, "The Use of Frets on Rebecs and Mediaeval Fiddles," Galpin Society Journal 21 (March 1968): 146-151; and Dora J. Rittmeyer-Iselin, "Das Rebec. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte unserer Streichinstrumente," Festschrift für Karl Nef zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern und Freunden (Zurich, Leipzig: Kommissions Verlag Gebrüder Hug, 1933), pp. 210-219.

5 Mary E. Remnant, "Rebec," in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Stanley Sadie, ed. (London: Macmillan, 1980), XV, pp. 635-638.

commonly known as the rebec (or rebeck).[6] Discrepancies, erroneous information, and vagueness abound in many dictionary definitions of the rebec,[7] leaving one with the feeling that no one is quite sure what exactly constitutes the morphology of the instrument.[8] In addition, current interest in the performance of Medieval and Renaissance music and the reproduction of instruments upon which this music might have

---

6 More than one hundred and fifty variously spelled, different language names for the rebec have been uncovered in Medieval, Renaissance, and early Baroque sources. Therefore the term, rebec, has been chosen to be used in a generic sense throughout this dissertation to represent the instrument under study; it has been chosen in order to avoid any possible confusion or misleading implications which might arise by attempting to use any of the other rebec-related terminology examined.

7 See, for example, the following: Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, College edition (Cleveland and New York: World Publishing Company, 1966), p. 1211, which defines the rebec as a "kind of violin used during the Middle Ages;" Henry Cecil Kennedy Wyld, ed., The Universal Dictionary of the English Language (London: G. Routledge, 1932), p. 971, which starts out correctly in its description and then erroneously notes that the rebec is an "early form of viol;" Paul Augé, Larousse du XXe siècle (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1928-1933, and suppl. 1953), p. 950, which presents a feasible written definition, only to be discredited by an entirely misleading picture of a piriform instrument with a pegdisc, sagittal pegs, five strings, and flame-shaped soundholes; Meyers Lexikon, 12 vols. (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1924-1930), IX, p. 1653, which offers a feasible definition illustrated by nothing less than a Javanese spike fiddle, labelled "rebec;" and finally, Henry George Farmer, Edward John Payne, and E. Heron-Allen, "Rebec," Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed., Eric Blom, ed. (London: Macmillan, 1954), VII, p. 69, in which the rebec is described as "an early viol of the elongated pear-shaped type, the smaller form being the lira."

8 Art scholars are often faced with having to identify Medieval and Renaissance musical instruments depicted in art works, and some are obviously entirely misled by the information commonly available in dictionaries and encyclopedias. In one specific case, this author was advised that the collection of a noted American art museum contained seven works with rebec representations. Upon examination, however, it was found that not one of the seven art works depicted rebecs, but a variety of Medieval and Renaissance fiddles and one plucked lyre. The confusion over what exactly constitutes the rebec stems, in large part, from the lack of any Medieval and Renaissance source which both depicts and identifies a given instrument as a rebec.

been played has created a need among performers and instrument makers for specific primary source information concerning instruments such as the rebec. It was to fill these lacunae that this orthographic and iconographic study of the rebec was pursued.

Although a comprehensive, written history of the rebec might be an ultimate goal for research, one must first determine what information concerning the rebec's morphology can be derived from Medieval, Renaissance, and early Baroque sources. Historical information will then naturally be revealed as a by-product of this pursuit. As a result, the contents of this study are divided into two main sections: 1) an examination of rebec-related terminology in the Medieval, Renaissance, and early Baroque literature of the following languages: Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, English, German, and related dialects, with the development of a comprehensive, all-language dictionary of this terminology, and 2) an iconographic study of the rebec with the development of a chronological catalog of rebec depictions, subdivided by each geographical area examined, including (areas are defined by their modern-day borders) Austria, Belgium, Britain, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. In addition, three shorter sections concerning avenues for and cautions to be observed in rebec-related research, extant rebecs, and the music which was designated to be played by the rebec are also included. The concluding chapter offers a concise overview of prominent aspects of the history of the rebec from its origins in the thirteenth century to its obsolescence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The scope of this study has necessarily been limited by three main factors: 1) the disadvantage of studying a European subject from another continent, with only limited research opportunities in Europe,[9] 2) the availability and extent to which Medieval, Renaissance, and early Baroque literature has been reproduced in facsimile or modern editions and indexed for specific references to musical instruments, and 3) the availability and extent to which art works in collections have been cataloged and cross-referenced for depictions of musical instruments. However, the resources and assistance of two developing research centers, the Research Center for Musical Iconography at the City University of New York and the Center for Study of the History of Musical Instruments at The University of South Dakota at Vermillion, as well as access to the on-going research of other scholars, has been extremely helpful in compensating for these shortcomings. The materials presented in this study reflect a fresh examination and summary of rebec research to date and will provide a useful starting point for future research concerning the instrument.

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9 The author was able to avail herself of some research opportunities during two short trips to Great Britain and the Continent in 1976 and 1980. The need for further research in Europe cannot be overemphasized.

CHAPTER II

AVENUES FOR RESEARCH

Five primary avenues for research may be proposed by which to study the rebec: 1) the location and examination of an iconographic depiction(s) with an accompanying written label identifying the depiction as a rebec, 2) the location and study of primary and secondary literary material concerning the rebec, 3) the location and study of iconographic material concerning the rebec, 4) the location and study of extant rebec specimens, and 5) the location and study of music written for the rebec. Whereas all five of these areas for study have the potential for producing substantive information concerning the rebec, the researcher must exercise certain precautions and restraint in the interpretation of the data so derived. The observance of these precautions, far from being a discouragement to the researcher, should allow for the production of a more reliable history of the rebec than has heretofore been produced.

The first and potentially the most definitive and productive avenue for research would be to locate one or more iconographic representations of musical instruments labelled as rebecs (or labelled with proven French synonyms or equivalents of the term in languages other than French) which date from the period of time during which the rebec was known to have existed and been played (excluding the modern day revival of rebec playing). Such an image or images, if authentic, would provide a fundamental basis from which to study the rebec, since

no direct line of contact with the rebec-playing tradition now exists.

Precedents exist for combinations of written and iconographic identifications of Medieval and Renaissance musical instruments. Handwritten manuscripts which identify musical instruments, for example, include the Hortus deliciarum, a copy of a miniature depicting the seven liberal arts, from a twelfth-century Codex destroyed by fire in 1870.[1] In the representation of the art of music, several instruments are depicted and identified, including an organistrum (an instrument oftentimes generically referred to as a hurdy-gurdy), a cithara (a harp in this example), and a lira (a stringed instrument; the appearance of a bridge suggests that it was bowed, although no bow is depicted). A second Medieval manuscript, dating from the thirteenth century, purportedly contained a miniature with a depiction of a bowed stringed instrument labelled lyra. This manuscript, formerly housed in the library of an Abbey at St. Blasien in the Black Forest, was destroyed by fire so its authenticity can not be conclusively established. In addition, some question remains as to whether or not the label, lyra, was original with the manuscript or was contributed centuries later by Martin Gerbert, who included a copy of this

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1 Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipal, Herrad von Landsberg, Hortus deliciarum. Werner Bachmann, The Origins of Bowing, trans. by Norma Deane (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 166. The page containing the representation of music is reproduced in several sources, including the following: Heinrich Besseler, Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft No. 3, edited by Ernst Bücken (New York: Musurgia, 1931), example 50, p. 92; Georg Kinsky, A History of Music in Pictures (New York: Dutton, 1937), fig. 7, p. 35; and Emile Leipp, The Violin: History, Aesthetics, Manufacture, and Acoustics, trans. by Hildegarde W. Parry (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 14.

manuscript drawing in his De cantu et musica sacra.[2] A third example of instrument identification may be seen in an early fifteenth-century astrological manuscript now housed in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City. One page of this manuscript depicts and identifies several stringed instruments, including a viola (a mandora), an arcus viola (vielle type), a giga (a harp), and a lira (hurdy-gurdy).[3] Printed documents, and especially musical treatises from the sixteenth century and later, are excellent sources for locating combinations of written and pictorial identification. Sebastian Virdung's Musica Getutscht (Basel, 1511),[4] the oldest known extant printed treatise dealing with musical instruments, Michael Praetorius's De Organographia (Wolfenbüttel, 1619),[5] Marin Mersenne's Harmonie universelle (1635),[6]

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2 Martin Gerbert, De cantu et musica sacra, 2 vols. (St. Blasien: Typis San Blasianis, 1774), II, pl. XXXII, fig. 18. See Werner Bachmann, p. 19. Reproduced in Francis Galpin, Old English Instruments of Music, 4th rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 1965), fig. 13, p. 60; and Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon der Musikinstrumente (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1913), Reprint and 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Dover, 1964), p. 247b.

3 New York, New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library MS M.785, folio 10. According to William Voelkle, Associate Curator of Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts at the library, "the manuscript consists of astrological treatises by Albumasar and was made in Bruges before June 7, 1403 . . .[when it was] presented to Jean, Duc de Berry." A portion of folio 10, which depicts four stringed instruments, is reproduced in The Music of Man by Yehudi Menuhin and Curtis W. Davis (New York: Methuen, 1979), p. 111.

4 Sebastian Virdung, Musica Getutscht (Basel, 1511), Facsimile reprint, Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles XXXI (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970).

5 Michael Praetorius, Syntagma musicum, Band II, De Organographia (Wolfenbüttel: 1619), Facsimile reprint, Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenshcaft, Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles XIV (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958). See also the English tranlation of this treatise by Harold Blumenfeld (New York: Bärenreiter, 1962; reprinted by New York: Da Capo Press, 1980).

6 Marin Mersenne, Harmonie universelle (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1636-37). See also Marin Mersenne, Harmonie universelle: the Books on Instruments (1635), trans. by Roger E. Chapman (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1957).

and Pierre Trichet's Traité des instruments de musique (1640),[7] are a few examples of such outstanding sources. Renaissance treatises and dictionaries not specifically devoted to musical instruments nevertheless often contained written information concerning instruments, but did not often include illustrations of these instruments. One notable exception is Johann Comenius' dictionary, Orbis sensualium pictus (1685),[8] which depicts more than twenty musical instruments with accompanying word-label identifications.

One must bear in mind, however, that even when a depiction of a musical instrument in a manuscript or printed source is word-labelled and therefore supposedly identified, it may still be mislabelled due to ignorance or error by an illustrator, copyist, or printer. Thus, one must try to corroborate even such superficially sound evidence.[9] In addition, one must also recognize the possibilities for artistic error or inexactness and be sensitive to the limitations imposed by the artist and the medium upon the iconographic depiction of a musical instrument in pre-photographic sources.[10]

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7 Pierre Trichet, Traité des instruments de musique (1640), edited by François Lesure (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Société de Musique d'Autrefois, 1957).

8 Johann Comenius, Orbis sensualium pictus (1685), pp. 204-205. These two pages are reproduced by Dorothy E. Mason, in Music in Elizabethan England, Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1975), pl. 9, p. 16.

9 Two twentieth-century sources, the information from which is pertinent to this study, contain just such types of labelling errors. The first, mentioned above (previous chapter), is the Meyers Lexikon labelling of a spike fiddle as a rebec. Meyers Lexikon (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1924-1930), Vol. IX, p. 1653. The second is the reversed labelling of a kit and a rebec in Curt Sachs, The History of Musical Instruments (New York: W. W. Norton, 1940), p. 278, figs. 79 and 80, labels are reversed.

10 See further discussion of the limitations of the media in iconographic depictions, pages 36-37.

Even after considering many possibilities and precautions relevant to this avenue of research, one must ultimately acknowledge the unfortunate reality of the situation as regards the rebec, which is simply that not even one such labelled depiction has been located even after considerable research.[11] Perhaps such a depiction(s) will one day be found.

In the absence of a combinative pictorial and written depiction of the rebec the second logical avenue for research would be to locate and examine historic primary-source descriptions of rebecs in period literature, as well as to review the scholarly literature concerning the rebec written after the time of the rebec-playing tradition. The primary sources would include Medieval and Renaissance treatises, archival documents, prose, poetry, dictionaries, and related writings. Secondary source materials would include modern standard language dictionaries, etymological dictionaries, encyclopedias, histories of music and musical instruments, etymological studies, and other related materials. Coincidentally with this line of investigation, of course, one will also have to deal forthrightly with the problem of the multitude of rebec-related terminology. An attempt must be made to separate and categorize those terms which appear to refer to the rebec from those which do not, as well as those for which insufficient

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11 Rebec-like instruments, such as kleine Geigen, however, do appear in a combinative depiction/word-label form in several treatises. See discussion in Chapter IX. One could, of course, argue that since the demise of the original rebec-playing era, we are currently involved in a new rebec-playing era, and hence, any instrument currently labelled a rebec by instrument builders and players is indeed a rebec by virtue of that label, regardless of the previous historic forms of that instrument.

evidence does not allow them to be placed in either of the first two categories. The establishment of a dictionary of known rebec-related terminology would be helpful as an aid to both present and future research and researchers in this area.

As a result of this search of literature, one would hope that some sort of composite morphological description of the rebec would emerge, as well as information concerning the sociological (or cultural-historical) and musical history of the instrument. Numerous questions which ideally need to be answered concerning the morphological, musical, and sociological history of the rebec should be borne in mind throughout this entire investigative procedure (as well as during the third avenue of research, dealing with iconographic sources, to be discussed below). The answers to some or all of these questions would substantially contribute to our knowledge of the history of the rebec. The following list suggests some of the general questions which should be considered.

Morphological Questions

1. What are the details of the exterior and interior shape and design of the rebec?

2. What materials were used in the construction of rebecs?

3. What size or sizes of rebecs existed?

4. What accessories were used with rebecs (i.e.: bows, mutes, cases, and so on)?

Musical Questions

1. To what pitches were the strings of the rebec tuned?

2. What was the quality of the rebec's sound?

3. How was the rebec played (i.e.: what playing position(s) was/were used)?

4. Was the rebec a solo or ensemble instrument?

5. Was the rebec played in consorts (i.e.: groups of like instruments)?

6. What other instruments, if any, were played with rebecs?

7. What type of music was played on the rebec?

8. Was music specifically written for the rebec, and if so, what is it and what are its distinctive characteristics (i.e.: is it idiomatic to the rebec)?

Sociological Questions

1. At what point in time and in what countries was the rebec played? Where was it not played?

2. Who played the rebec (i.e.: consider age, sex, social and economic status, extent of musical training, and so on)? Who did not play the rebec?

3. What constituted the audience which listened to the rebec while it was played?

4. Who were makers of the rebec?

5. When and for what types of functions was the rebec played? When was the rebec not played?

6. Where was the rebec played (i.e.: in what social institutions, in what cultural and natural environments was it played)? Where was it not played?

7. What was the function and use, if any, of the rebec in domestic, economic, political, religious, and recreational life?

8. What was the significance of the rebec and its music for the people who played the instrument as well as for those who listened to it being played?

9. How did the rebec "affect or how was it affected by social taste and criticism?"[12]

10. What was the influence of technology on the social, musical, and morphological histories of the rebec?

11. How did the rebec and its music influence other instruments? How did other instruments and their music influence the rebec?

12. How did the "interaction between various strata of society and musical styles" affect the history of the rebec?[13]

Presumably, additional and more detailed questions will arise during the course of investigative research, particularly once the specific nature of the instrument has been successfully determined.

Numerous precautions must be observed, however, when dealing with literary source material and the evidence which can be gleaned from the written word. First, it must be remembered that written documents spanning a period of eight to nine hundred years will be consulted in the course of this study; hence a wide spectrum of backgrounds, attitudes, values, and ideas will be represented, and one must be very careful not to try to evaluate or compare realistically incomparable pieces of information. This sort of temporally disparate evidence must instead be weighed according to the nature, general accuracy, and reliability of each individual source.

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12 Willi Apel, Harvard Dictionary of Music, 2nd rev. ed. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1970), p. 783.

13 Ibid.

Secondly, in some cases one may find that the dating of documents, particularly, but not exclusively, hand-written or hand-copied manuscripts, has not yet been or simply cannot be accurately determined and is oftentimes a subject of dispute. This may be true, for example, when the written and pictorial elements of medieval manuscripts are the products of different schools or groups of scribes; a first group may have copied the text and then sent the manuscript on to a second group to be illustrated at some later time. In cases such as this, one may encounter different dating estimates for the two separate elements in one and the same document. Furthermore, one must be aware of the custom of copying and recopying older manuscript models during the Middle Ages and recognize the inherent pitfalls of dating the literary (and pictorial) evidence contained therein. Emanuel Winternitz, for example, reflects upon the possibility that the Utrecht Psalter[14] was based upon, or at least was influenced by, much earlier models, perhaps reflecting "not ninth-century but sixth-century or even fifth-century musical usage."[15] Thus the numerous instruments depicted in this

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14 University Library, Utrecht, Script. eccles. 484 (Latin Psalter Manuscript). See Werner Bachmann, p. 20, fn. 132.

15 Emanuel Winternitz, Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 29, 62, and 64. Werner Bachmann, p. 20 confidently dates the Psalter as being from "A.D. 860." Might a similar case be made for depictions of musical instruments in the Hortus deliciarum?

Psalter and similar medieval documents may actually be representative of earlier musical practices.[16]

A third major concern for the researcher should be to assess written documents within the contexts and restraints of their own historical time periods. Musical treatises and similar writings, for example, "take for granted many things that to later times are by no means obvious or self-evident."[17] For example, the same word or expression may mean one thing in one region or time and quite something else in another place and in another time period. The word lyra, for example, has at various times and sometimes simultaneously denoted an ancient Greek bowl lyre, a medieval bowed stringed instrument, a lute, a barrel organ, and a portable glockenspiel.[18] Words such as lyra, fiddle, gigue, vielle, rebec, and even violin, are all known to have been, and some continue to be, used generically to denote the broad class of bowed, stringed instruments. One must be keenly aware of these possibilities for variant usage in literary documents from different time periods. In addition, translations of primary source material need to be carefully studied and compared with original texts wherever possible so as to minimize the possibility of the introduction

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16 An illustration in the Utrecht Psalter was also the basis for a now classic incorrect assumption concerning the origins of bowing. (See photograph of this illustration in Werner Bachmann, opp. p. 20.) A misinterpretation of an illustration and the accompanying text led to the erroneous identification of a long dark line as a bow, which, in actuality, represents a measuring rod. Had this rod indeed been a bow, it would have been one of the earliest depictions of the use of a bow with a stringed instrument. For further details, consult Winternitz, Symbolism, pp. 32-33 and Werner Bachmann, pp. 20-21.

17 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 25.

18 Sibyl Marcuse, Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), pp. 319-320.

of erroneous or misleading information into one's data bank. In fact, in the course of compiling data for this study, the word rebec has oftentimes been found to be replaced by the words violin or fiddle in secondary source material and translations of primary sources. Finally, one must be watchful in literature for idiomatic phrases concerning musical instruments which, when translated or understood literally, do not seem to make much sense. In modern English, for instance, one might say "quit fiddling around" to someone who is wasting time by fidgeting or engaging in non-productive behavior; imagine scholars two or three hundred years from now trying to understand this expression by picturing someone being told to stop playing the fiddle! In this study, for example, the expression, jouer du rebec (literally, to play the rebec), has been located in several primary sources, and it would appear that whereas the phrase may originally have been associated with the rebec in some way, it eventually came to refer to a particular way in which people reacted emotionally under certain circumstances, although an appropriate translation of the idiom still remains somewhat elusive. Indeed, the researcher dealing with Medieval and Renaissance literature must be able to see beyond the media and conventions of style through which literary messages have been transmitted. Style elements such as symbolism, allegory, metaphor, satire, simile, and double entendre abound in literature. In view of the use of these elements one must consider, for example, how to translate and understand expressions such as the early seventeenth-century simile, sec comme rebec (literally, dry or withered as a

rebec).[19] Creative thought must often be employed by the researcher in order to determine a set of interpretations for such figures of speech which will have meaning for modern readers. It is quite possible, as well, that certain phrases concerning the rebec were treated as "stock phrases" and were used, over and over again, much in the same way that artists sometimes use a standardized model to illustrate or represent a particular musical instrument.[20] Through such use, "stock phrases" may ultimately lose their original one-to-one connection with a specific object or idea (i.e.: "quit fiddling around" and "pull out all the stops" have lost any direct connection with musical instruments) and may become automatically used and no longer intellectually derived figures of speech.

A fourth area of concern for the researcher is with the accuracy of the spelling of period names for instruments in translations and copies of primary literary sources. Foreign-language or historic English rebec-related spellings are often unquestioningly standardized by editors or printers and become transformed into the two modern spellings, rebec and rebeck. Obviously, this severely hinders the process of recognizing and studying rebec-related forms.

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19 See discussion of this expression in Chapter V, pages 119-120.

20 Carol Oja demonstrates, for example, that the nineteenth-century painter, William Michael Harnett, portrays the same musical instruments over and over again as models for his work. See Carol Oja, "The Still-Life Paintings of William Michael Harnett," The Musical Quarterly 63, No. 4 (October 1977): 505-523. Perhaps the expression jouer du rebec, which has been encountered several times in the course of this research, could be considered a literary parallel to this practice of using object-models by certain artists.

It is important in a study of the use of a particular musical term in historic literary documents to obtain as much of the literary context or literary picture as possible. This fifth concern of the researcher often proves to be a difficult one with which to deal, particularly when primary source material is not readily obtainable and the only material available is that found in secondary sources such as etymological dictionaries. Such dictionaries and related studies often cite a literary quotation primarily in order to document the dating and spelling of a particular word form, and are not concerned with the types of questions which a musical scholar might ask, such as what other names of musical instruments are listed in the primary source along with the one being studied. Such information can be very important to one's research; but, more often than one would like, comprehensive literary contexts are simply not available for study. In addition, the authors of some nineteenth-century studies have omitted, mistranslated, or simply left untranslated passages from primary source material which might possibly have been viewed, during their era, as somewhat off-color. This special lack-of-context problem has had to be faced in this study particularly when dealing with studies which present material written by several sixteenth and seventeenth-century French writers, notably François Rabelais, Mathurin Régnier, and Adrien de Montluc, whose colorful phrases often abound with sexual satire and double entendre.

A sixth problem which, on the surface, might seem to plague only iconographic studies, is also a hindrance to researchers dealing with literary documents. It is, simply put, artistic license or artistic

freedom. One is cautioned not to believe everything one reads. Whereas one might catch a fanciful detail in the iconographic depiction of a musical instrument, it is not always as easy to catch the pen's flights of fancy. The researcher must learn to discriminate the factual from the spurious, for indeed, both types of information have been and are still being published.

Certain types of written documentation may have a greater chance for survival through the ages than others, and this seventh caution must also be considered when evaluating and weighing the literary evidence at hand. Court records and royal account books, for example, would undoubtedly have had a greater chance for physically surviving throughout several centuries than would the financial records of a common citizen or even those from an instrument-maker's workshop.[21] The poetry, dramatic literature, and novels of a few well-known writers which can successfully stand the test of time have a distinct survival advantage over the works of many lesser-known writers. Hence, the researcher must acknowledge the possibility that the frequency, or infrequency, of the appearance, in literary documents, of data concerning a specific musical instrument does not necessarily accurately reflect the popularity, or unpopularity, of that instrument at a particular point in history.

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21 Court records and account books form an important source of reliable information concerning the use of the rebec. At least one instrument maker's inventory is known to exist which lists rebecs in the maker's stock at the time of his death in 1551. Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 437.

Lest the observance of all these precautions appear to cast a shadow over any possible benefit which might be obtained from the exploration of literary documentation, one should remember that the written word can be a valuable source of information, for the Medieval and Renaissance people who mentioned the rebec in their writings did indeed live at the same time that the rebec was a popular musical instrument. The written word can be explicit, in a way that cannot be matched even by iconographic evidence. The problem is to try to discern the dynamics of the one-word to one-object relationship which must have existed in the minds of the Medieval and Renaissance writers when they wrote about an instrument with which they were presumably familiar.

Once some sort of composite morphological description(s) of the rebec has been realized from a search through literary sources, the researcher should accumulate iconographic source material which appears to fit the morphological description(s). In addition, iconographic depictions of instruments which have been labelled as rebecs in secondary sources should be re-examined to see how they reflect or how they differ from the attributes inherent in the composite literary morphological description. Ideally, the iconographic data thus obtained should reflect and possibly expand upon the details discerned in the course of the literary study. One must note, as well, any morphological details mentioned in the literature which are not confirmed in the iconographic sources. This process, then, would constitute the third main avenue by which to study the rebec.

Iconographic sources may be studied first-hand, on location at churches, museums, castles, in public and private collections, and so on, and are, of course, selectively accessible in reproduction in numerous secondary sources. Within the past two decades an increased and specific interest in the musical instruments depicted in iconographic sources has led to the publication of several valuable studies for the rebec researcher. Among these the following might be mentioned as representative although not all-inclusive: Edmund A. Bowles, Musikleben im 15. Jahrhundert (1977);[22] Reinhold Hammerstein's Diabolus in Musica: Studien zur Ikonographie der Musik im Mittelalter (1974)[23] and Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters (1962);[24] Kathi Meyer-Baer, Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death: Studies in Musical Iconography (no date, ca.1978);[25] Walter Salmen, Musikleben im 16. Jahrhundert (1976);[26] and Tilman Seebass, Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration im früheren Mittelalter (1973).[27] In addition, the pioneering work undertaken in

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22 Edmund A. Bowles, Musikleben im 15. Jahrhundert, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Band III: Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, Lfg. 8 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1977).

23 Reinhold Hammerstein, Diabolus in Musica: Studien zur Ikonographie der Musik im Mittelalter (Bern and Munich: Franke Verlag, 1974).

24 Reinhold Hammerstein, Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters (Bern and Munich: Franke Verlag, 1962).

25 Kathi Meyer-Baer, Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death: Studies in Musical Iconography (Princeton: Princeton University Press, [1978?]).

26 Walter Salmen, Musikleben im 16. Jahrhundert, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Band III: Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, Lfg. 9 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1976).

27 Tilman Seebass, Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration im früheren Mittelalter, 2 vols. (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1973).

1972 by the Research Center for Musical Iconography (RCMI) at the City University of New York (CUNY) has led to the establishment of its institution as the American headquarters of the Répetoire International d'Iconographie Musicale (RIdIM). Its efforts to begin a comprehensive collection and catalog of depictions of music and musical instruments in art will ultimately become an invaluable resource to researchers. At the time of this author's research at the RCMI/CUNY (1979), the number of representations of rebec-related instruments in the files was scanty, but it is hoped that as a result of this study, numerous sources of rebec depictions will be added to its files. In addition, as new sources are sent in by RIdIM headquarters throughout Europe and are cataloged at RCMI/CUNY, new iconographic data concerning the rebec should surface.

In addition to the many morphological, musical, and sociological questions which could be answered by investigations of both literary and iconographic sources (see discussion above), the following additional questions might specifically be considered during the course of the iconographic research.

Musical Questions

1. Do rebec players use music when they perform?

2. What is the "spatial disposition"[28] of ensembles in which the rebec is included?

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28 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 36.

Sociological Questions

1. If an audience (one or more listeners) is evident when the rebec is being played, where is that audience placed in relationship to the instrumentalist(s)?

2. What appears to be the audience's reaction upon hearing the rebec played?

3. What is the degree of participation of the audience in the music-making scene (i.e., are they dancing, conversing, listening intently, and so on)?

4. In what sort of acoustic environment is the rebec played?[29]

5. Is the rebec depicted in symbolic (i.e., mystical, religious, cosmological, erotic, number, or political symbolism) or allegorical settings?

6. Is the rebec ever occasionally or consistently associated with specific personages (i.e., saints, historical persons, mythological characters, or others)?

7. Is the rebec ever represented in depictions of documented historical occasions?

Just as is necessary in the study of literary source material so too numerous precautions must be observed during the collection and interpretation of iconographic data. Several problems are shared with the study of literary sources: 1) the time-span encompassed by the iconographic data to be studied, which may span nearly eight to nine hundred years, dating back to the earliest "unequivocal" iconographic

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29 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 36.

evidence for the use of a bow with a stringed instrument;[30] 2) the dating of iconographic material which should be closely scrutinized for accuracy; 3) the historical context, traditions, and restraints which may have been imposed upon the artist (this will be further elaborated; see discussion below); 4) the expression of artistic license or freedom, which may cause objects and persons depicted in iconographic sources to be portrayed differently than they actually exist(ed); and 5) the greater survivability of certain types of iconographic data than other types, depending in large part upon the durability of the medium chosen for use by an artist as well as upon conditions such as the preservation of art works by collectors and the ravages of time, flood, fire, and war, as well as numerous other factors.

The researcher should be aware of a number of additional precautions and considerations specific to the examination of iconographic materials. First among these are two physical problems: 1) the accessibility of iconographic sources for study, and 2) the problem of "touching-up" and the effects of inappropriate restoration upon some iconographic sources.

Not all works of art which may contain rebec-like depictions are physically accessible to the researcher. Since the current distribution of works of art known or believed to depict rebec-like instruments

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30 Werner Bachmann, pp. 29-30 states that the Apocalypse MS Hh 58, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, written and illustrated in Spain about 920-930 A.D. contains a miniature which "shows clearly and unequivocally that by about A.D. 930 the bow was known and used in regions influenced by Arabic culture."

is potentially worldwide, it is next to impossible to examine first-hand much of the primary source material. Holdings in public collections are often not fully cataloged or cross-referenced in such a way that one may easily locate depictions of rebecs in works of art; even when a collection has been systematically cataloged, the publication of catalogs is often limited, and one must then rely upon long-distance staff assistance or on-site searching through catalog-cards. Furthermore, private collectors of art often do not make the contents of their collections publically known, and many potential objects for research may remain unknown or at least inaccessible. Auction house catalogs may sometimes be helpful in this regard, since works of art to be sold on the market are often, but not always, depicted in these catalogs; these pictures may, in some cases, be the only public view of items subsequently obtained by the private collector. It is hoped that the acceptance of the RIdIM project by all types of collectors and their subsequent input will help alleviate these problems. Unfortunately, even when locations of rebec depictions are known, many art collections, both public and private, do not allow direct access to their artifacts, and studies must be based upon oftentimes expensive reproductions of the art works. Furthermore, some depictions of rebec-like instruments, especially those carved above the portals or painted on the ceilings and domes of European cathedrals are difficult if not impossible to examine at close-range. Hence, one must rely upon photographs (when photography is allowed) and, in the absence of photography, upon oftentimes unreliable copies of primary

iconographic sources.[31] Even photographs, however, often taken for a purpose other than the organological study of a particular instrument depicted in an art work, can distort the size-relationships of sculpted or painted objects; they may limit the full view of instruments to be studied, or they may minimize one's ability to discern morphological details of the instruments depicted. The tympani and archivolts on European cathedrals, for instance, which often depict the elders of the Apocalypse holding a variety of stringed instruments, are notoriously difficult to photograph and many of the illustrations found in musical and art-historical studies are virtually useless for the purpose of meaningful morphological study.[32] Shadows on the outdoor sculpture which cannot be eliminated, unmovable tree limbs, and even unaesthetically-placed telephone and electric lines also contribute to the difficulty of studying this important source of iconographic data.

Sculpture, especially that found in churches, is particularly vulnerable to being "touched up" or inappropriately restored at some point in time, although other art forms such as paintings are also subject to this problem. Some restorers faithfully try to maintain

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31 Although notable as one of the first major modern studies of early bowed stringed instruments, The Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages, by Hortense Panum (London, 1939) Reprinted (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971) includes several such indistinct and unreliable "copies" of art and sculpture. See for example Figs. 276 and 278 on p. 345.

32 Seebass's study, Musikdarstellung, contains several photographs of such church sculpture with a variety of full-view and close-up shots. As these sculptures continue to be studied and the demand for detailed photography increases, one would hope that more detailed photographs such as the one on page 28 of Vol. II of Seebass's study ("David with rebec" from the Cathedral at Santiago, Spain) will be taken and published.

historical accuracy in their restorations; nevertheless, one must be aware of and consider the possibility that a work of art from the Middle Ages or Renaissance has been inaccurately, unprofessionally, or unscrupulously restored at some point in time. An excellent example of this type of problem may be seen in the numerous carvings of musicians and their instruments at the Beverly Minster, Yorkshire, Great Britain. Until the publication of a study by Gwen and Jeremy Montagu, which closely examines these figures and sorts out the restored from the unrestored elements, many viewers, including some scholars, "have been much too uncritical . . . and have not distinguished carefully between original and restored work."[33] The authors remark that the late nineteenth-century restorer of many of these sculptures "was not an organologist," but contend that, with a critical eye and "a reasonable knowledge of the instruments of the fourteenth century, one can usually see which ones [instruments] are right and which are not."[34] Sculptures which have deteriorated but which have not been restored may, however, also be of limited value for morphological study, since important but essentially fragile details of stringed instruments, such as bows, fingerboards, necks, scrolls, or pegdiscs, may be damaged or entirely obliterated. Other artistic media which may suffer from being touched up include woodblocks and copperplates used in the engraving process which eventually wear down after many printings and must then either be

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33 Gwen and Jeremy Montagu, "Beverly Minster reconsidered," Early Music 6, No. 3 (July 1978): 401.

34 Ibid., p. 402.

touched up or replaced.[35] This sort of touching up may lead to inadvertent but nevertheless significant changes in instrument details from the pictures contained in one edition of a treatise to those found in later editions of the same treatise.

A second, broad area of concern to the researcher dealing with iconographic evidence from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance relates directly to the artist and the limitations or constraints imposed upon him either by the artist himself or by external forces. These artistic limitations ultimately affect the degree to which the portrayal of a musical instrument in a work of art will "deviate from reality."[36] The recognition and understanding of such types of limitations upon Medieval and Renaissance artists will directly affect an evaluation of iconographic data concerning the rebec. These kinds of constraints imposed upon or by the artist may be grouped into the following general categories: 1) psychological limitations; 2) stylistic limitations; 3) sociological or cultural-historical limitations; 4) media limitations; and 5) limitations in technical musical knowledge.

What motivates an artist? How does he view his artistic achievements? Does he regard his work as art for art's sake or as a documentation of social history? What inner and what material needs are fulfilled by his production of works of art? Questions such as these relate to the psychological framework of an artist and his self-imposed boundaries or limitations and as such are perhaps the

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35 Winternitz, Symbolism, pp. 33-34.
36 Ibid., p. 39.

most difficult types of questions concerning art with which to deal. Primarily, however, the researcher must never assume the attitude that Medieval and Renaissance artists "depicted musical subjects in order to supply future historians with visual records."[37] Richard Leppert remarks that

> We also need to remember that as historians, by definition we are not the same audience as the one for whom the artist painted, that the images we see may well have meant something quite different to the original audience of the artist's own time and place than they mean to us.[38]

One must also realize that the works of Medieval and Renaissance artists, although often appearing visually realistic, share a common philosophical tenet with artists of all ages: that art " . . . is more than a reflection of the thing it depicts, that it is the reflection of an idea." In any age, "art is perspective, [and represents] a point of view."[39] A work of art, then, no matter how accurate or realistic seems the portrayal, can not be taken literally, but must be understood within its own historical context as art, as a vehicle by which an artist may reveal his soul and communicate his innermost thoughts.

Beyond his own psychological limitations or constraints, an artist is also "style-bound, born into a definite tradition with all its pictorial devices, tricks, and mannerisms."[40] Although most

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37 Richard D. Leppert, The Theme of Music in Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (Munich: Musikverlag Emil Katzbichler, 1977), Vol. I, p. 243.

38 Richard D. Leppert, Arcadia at Versailles: Noble Amateur Musicians and Their Musettes and Hurdy-gurdies at the French Court (c.1660-1789) (Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger, 1978), p. 3.

39 Ibid.

40 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 38.

artists develop a style unique unto themselves, nearly all retain certain stylistic traits by which one can identify their association or upbringing within certain artistic environments. For Medieval and Renaissance artists, stylistic limitations are closely related to sociological constraints which "often limit the choice of [the artist's] subject, and the manner of delineating it."[41] The church and the state, as well as patrons and critics, all collectively contributed to imposing the sociological constraints which in turn led to the stylistic limitations and traditions found in much Medieval and Renaissance art. A general overview of some of the more important stylistic traits and conventions found in the art works of these two periods in art history is worthy of the rebec researcher's consideration.

Medieval artists, for the most part, depicted the real alongside the unreal in the same work of art.[42] In addition, both sacred and secular themes are often found together in a single work. Thus one must carefully examine the artistic depictions in light of our present knowledge, albeit limited, of Medieval musical practices in order to evaluate the degree to which the artist may have portrayed realistic musical instruments or musical settings. Even when an instrument now known to have existed in the Middle Ages is discovered in an art work,

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41 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 38.

42 I. Holmgren, "Problems in Tracing the History of Medieval Musical Instruments Through Art," The American Organist 53 (June 1970): 22.

one must remember that

> Medieval artists normally depicted instruments more schematically than later artists. [They often] did not include sufficient detail and were in any case not interested in revealing the functional structure of the objects they presented. [Nevertheless,] even the most schematic representations can tell us some significant facts: the kinds of instruments in common use and some information about their construction and use, such as their approximate shapes and how they were held and played.[43]

It is of course important, when dealing with iconographic data of any period, to gather a broad sampling of iconographic evidence in order to lessen the possibility of being deceived by atypical representations and forced into erroneous conclusions concerning instrumental design or use at a certain point in time. Winternitz cautions that one must be careful not to

> . . . take a pitiful handful of depictions as adequate evidence, ignoring the possibility that these may be atypical or that the rarity or profusion of certain pictorial representations may not at all correspond to the actual historical distribution of instruments and ensembles, or to actual performance practice.[44]

One must be aware, for instance, of the numerous art works which emanate from the practice of copying older iconographical models; a casual misinterpretation of such pieces may lead to misconceptions concerning the use of particular instrumental types at various points in time. This particular situation is most often, but not exclusively, encountered when the iconographical sources are hand-copied psalters or illuminated manuscripts. Winternitz warns that "a chain of successive copies [may] reach back, often through centuries, up to the point of [a] complete denaturalization of the original object."[45] A somewhat

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43 Howard Mayer Brown and Joan Lascelle, Musical Iconography: A Manual for Cataloguing Musical Subjects in Western Art Before 1800 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), pp. 4-5.

44 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 31.

45 Ibid.

similar problem is encountered in the fourteenth and fifteenth-century practice of "fusing ancient models [of instruments] with actual objects [instruments] taken from one's contemporary environment."[46] This process has led to the depiction of bizarre and often obviously unrealistic musical instruments. Certain sixteenth-century artists, including Filippino Lippi and Piero di Cosimo, are noted for their depictions of "pseudo-ancient" musical instruments, often "associated with neoclassical scenes,"[47] which are not viable musical objects. Additional examples of bizarre or utterly fantastic musical instruments may be found in art works of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, and include instruments depicted in marginal drolleries of thirteenth and fourteenth-century illuminated prayer books, especially those originating in Flanders, France, and England; the fifteenth-century Italian manuscript grotesques; and the paintings of the sixteenth-century artists, Hieronymous Bosch and Peter Bruegel, who often depicted musical instruments in bizarre shapes and settings.[48] Although most of the musical instruments and settings found in these sources can not be considered reflective of actual contemporary musical practice, nevertheless, a limited amount of morphological information can sometimes carefully be extracted from them.

The desire for symmetry in an artistic composition is yet another stylistic trait which can affect the accuracy of the portrayal of musical instruments and ensembles. In fact, symmetrical considerations

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46 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 40.
47 Brown/Lascalle, p. 6.
48 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 41.

can often influence the very choice of the instruments to be depicted. Certain instruments such as straight trumpets and portative organs were often chosen for symmetrical, mirror-image duplication in Renaissance paintings.[49] The alert interpreter will recognize this for what it is and will not be led to conclude that a typical musical ensemble of the era included two of each instrument-type depicted. Numerous examples of instrument symmetry may be found in "fourteenth and fifteenth-century angel concerts celebrating the Assumption and the Coronation of the Virgin."[50] However, merely the "traditional association of musical angels with the Virgin Mary very likely tells us little about musical practices in the Middle Ages and Renaissance."[51] A specific example, appropriate to this study, which takes the idea of symmetry to an extreme, is Lorenzo Costa's early sixteenth-century painting of the Nativity in which nine groups consisting of three angel musicians each, are reflected by a similar series of angel groups on the opposite side of the painting. This literally adds up to fifty-four angel musicians in an ungainly ensemble which even includes, among other instrument types, six rebec-like instruments.[52]

Stylistic consideration for an artistic composition in the Middle Ages and Renaissance may also be responsible for the arrangement of musical instruments in such a way that portions of instruments are often obscured by pillars, buildings, people, parts of the player's

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49 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 41.
50 Ibid., pp. 39-40.
51 Brown/Lascalle, p. 8.
52 The painting is housed in the National Gallery in London, England, No. 3105. See Appendix III, No. I.15.91.

body, and so on. Instruments are also often portrayed from the rear or side, which, in the case of both plucked and bowed stringed instruments, eliminates much essential morphological detail. The identity of instruments so depicted can only be hypothesized upon the basis of shape or playing position (when shown). It may be observed that rebec-like instruments are often depicted in these two ways; perhaps artists simply wanted to avoid having to depict the rebec's essential frontal morphological details.

In essence, an artist communicates his ideas by means of visual images or symbols which may refer directly to or accurately portray real events and objects, but which may also be representative or suggestive of an object, and therefore may be understood at various levels of interpretation.[53] Symbolism in art flourished during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. One can find examples of mystical, religious, erotic, political, number, mythological, and allegorical symbolism. Throughout this era, artists had stock-symbols which were used in association with certain subjects and which were understood by knowledgeable viewers who could identify, by means of these symbols, various saints, Biblical or mythological personages, and so on. Particular instruments were used at various points in time, for instance, to identify King David (successively in time, the lyre, rotta, rebec-like instruments, the harp, and the lira da braccio) and St. Cecilia (successively the organ, clavichord, and the harp).[54] Stringed instruments came to be associated with Christ in Medieval and

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53 Leppert, Arcadia, p. 2.
54 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 37.

Renaissance art and music, as a result of their use in scenes depicting Christ's life in Medieval liturgical dramas. This association persisted even into the Baroque, and stringed instruments were symbolically used in association with Christ in musical compositions such as J. S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion. As a result of this stylistic and symbolic tradition, many rebec-like depictions may be found in scenes of the Nativity or settings of the Virgin and Child surrounded by angel musicians. One must bear in mind, however, that such appearances of symbolic groups of instruments may bear no relationship whatever to actual musical ensembles or performance practice. This is a fact which is often greatly understated or entirely overlooked in studies of early music ensembles. The allegories of Musica, Poesia, Harmonia, and Auditus, often depicted by Medieval and Renaissance artists, all had "more or less stereotyped attributes," including musical and instrumental symbols.[55] However, "one can determine only to a limited extent the degree to which musical activity occurring in [such artistic] compositions corresponded to contemporaneous practice."[56]

Number symbolism may frequently be found in Medieval and Renaissance works of art. Lorenzo Costa's painting of the Nativity, mentioned above, is obviously representative of this type of symbolism, and fits a stereotyped model in which each one of the nine angel-choir groups play the same kind of instrument. This "homogeneity" or "oneness" of the individual groups of three angels each may symbolically suggest the Trinity. Winternitz remarks that "in these paintings, the

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55 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 40.
56 Leppert, Flemish, Vol. I, p. 39.

instruments are usually the exact images of contemporary ones, yet the 'homogeneous' ensembles offer no information as to usual ensemble practice."[57]

The erotic or sexual symbolism of musical instruments in art "pervades all musical cultures"[58] and apparently all time periods. Although sometimes abstract (could the shape of the stringed instruments associated with the Virgin and Christ, such as the lute, the rebec-like instruments, and the vielle, be suggestive of the womb?), sexual symbolism in art is most often easily discernible. Note, for example, the placement of the pochette in Nicolas de Larmessin's engraving,"Habit de Musicien," dating from ca.1700.[59]

Sometimes musical instruments depicted in art may symbolically "identify the role of an individual more precisely,"[60] such as players of bagpipes in nativity or pastoral scenes which are normally identifiable as shepherds. But such one-to-one identification can often change in the course of the sociological history of a musical instrument. The bagpipes and musette, for example, sometimes associated with shepherds, have also at various times been associated with children, beggars, and with French nobility re-enacting an Arcadian lifestyle. Research indicates that a similar variety of associations occurs in scenes depicting rebec players.

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57 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 40.
58 Ibid., p. 37.
59 See Appendix III, No. F.17.4, and plate XIV.
60 Brown/Lascalle, p. 11.

The media and tools which an artist chooses to use for relating his artistic message automatically set limitations upon the degree of realism or accuracy of portrayal which can be obtained. Among the many types of media through which the researcher might expect the rebec to be depicted are: stone, wood, paper, paint, canvas, stained glass, and textiles. Among the tools which might be used are brushes, chisels, hammers, styluses, looms, and needles. Some sculptors and wood-carvers might find it difficult or structurally unsound, for instance, to depict details such as strings, bridges, and bow-hairs realistically, and may "either omit these features entirely or suggest them in a simplified form."[61] See, for example, the fourteenth-century anonymous German choir-stall carving in the Cathedral of Cologne of an ape playing a bowed stringed instrument.[62] The specific instrument type depicted in this carving is difficult to determine since the wood-carver has chosen to omit many crucial instrument details. In addition, these important morphological features, as well as bows, are often the first elements of sculpted or carved stringed instruments to fall subject to deterioration. Nevertheless, sculpted or carved depictions of musical instruments can yield important data to the researcher, since they exist in three-dimensions and can often more accurately portray the sense of the real object than can two-dimensional depictions. A different type of three-dimensionalism may be seen in the intricate intarsias found in some Italian Renaissance palaces and

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61 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 38.

62 Reproduced in Hammerstein, Diabolus, plate 86b; taken from Tiesewitz, Das Chorgestühl, abb. 66c and b.

on the choir-stalls in some Italian Renaissance churches. Although Winternitz believes that in these intarsias "the greatest precision in the rendering of instruments is reached,"[63] at least one intarsia containing depictions of instruments, including a rebec-like depiction, presents definite problems in perspective.[64] Media limitations on the depiction of musical instruments are also sometimes encountered in woodcuts in which, for example, "the number of strings is frequently reduced, and other elements, such as pegs, are disproportionately large."[65] Textile art and needlework, by their very nature, impose limitations upon the accuracy of portrayal of morphological details and sometimes even upon the basic shapes and outlines of musical instruments. See, for example, the musical instruments depicted in Nicolas Bataille's late fourteenth-century French "Nine Heroes Tapestries" preserved in The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Cloisters Collection in New York City.

Finally, an artist's lack of or misunderstanding of technical information concerning music or musical instruments will most definitely contribute to the degree of accuracy with which musical instruments are portrayed in art. One should consider the question: what were the artist's models upon which he based the depictions of his musical instruments? Were his models actual instruments or instruments which he copied from previously-completed art works; did the artist rely upon his memory of the structure of an instrument or

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63 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 39.

64 Intarsia by Giovanni da Verona, in Verona, Santa Maria in Organo, catalog No. XVI, dated 1499. See Appendix III, No. I.15.81.

65 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 39.

did the artist use his imagination to create a fanciful instrument depiction? As Winternitz sadly points out, pseudo-instruments, non-functional instruments, and ". . . many other acoustically impossible instruments, as well as ensembles composed at random and at the painter's fancy, are all too frequent."[66]

In order to derive the most meaningful information possible from iconographical materials, Emmanuel Winternitz suggests that the iconographical researcher observe three "desiderata" which reflect, in sum, the points discussed above:

1. Critical interpretation with awareness of all the factors that might possibly have blurred the faithful delineations of the objects depicted.

2. Methodic evaluation of pictorial evidence, not in single isolated instances, but on the widest possible comparative basis, taking into account a reliable number of parallel cases, and making due allowance for contemporary local or regional variations in instrument building or playing habits.

3. Systematic distinction between functional and non-functional elements of instruments, and between those non-functional ones that are derived from decorative fashions or from atrophic remnants of once functional elements (carried through the centuries by the sheer force of habit or tradition). Such distinction might help to pave the way for a morphological view of instruments throughout their gradual evolution.[67]

Some would say that pictorial sources are "our best source of information"[68] about early musical instruments, but ideally one must learn to see through the Medieval and Renaissance artists' eyes, for together they would appear to be our best direct connections with the rebec-playing tradition.

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66 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 39.
67 Ibid., p. 42.
68 Brown/Lascalle, p. 12.

The location and study of extant rebec specimens dating from the historic rebec-playing era would be an ideal fourth avenue by which to verify and to obtain data in addition to that which can already be learned about the instrument from literary and iconographic sources. In particular, it would be an essential means by which to study, first-hand, the rebec's morphological characteristics. There is but one surviving instrument from the rebec-playing era, said to date from before the seventeenth century, which might be called rebec-related.[69] In its present form, however, it does not display typical rebec characteristics. It is a four-stringed fiddle (a violeta) "of rather eccentric shape, preserved among the relics of St. Caterina de' Vegri (Bologna, 1413-1463), who [supposedly] played it."[70] A bow is also

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69 Another early stringed instrument (Northern Italy ca.1420) preserved at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City (No.64.101.1409) has been labelled as a rebec in some sources, but is believed to have been plucked rather than bowed, due primarily to the presence of a huge rose which encompasses most of the belly. The presence of the rose would now allow for the use of a movable bridge, a feature which usually distinguishes a plucked from a bowed stringed instrument. "This instrument, somewhat altered from its original state, . . . may be a mandora or mandola, a type of small lute, rather than an ancestor of the violin [a rebec] . Its size and richly carved decoration suggest an origin as a betrothal gift for an aristocratic young woman. The figurehead perhaps represents that girl playing a similar instrument." Laurence Libin, "Musical Instruments," The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Notable Acquisitions 1965-1975 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), p. 167 (two small, black and white photos of the instrument's front and back are included on this page). A color photo of the back may be found in Musical Instruments in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), no page numbers.

70 Frederick Crane, Extant Medieval Musical Instruments: A Provisional Catalogue by Types (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1972), p. 17. Three photos of this instrument are included in Benvenuto Disertori, "Il più antico esemplare esistente di strumento ad arco," in Rivista musicale italiana 42 (1938): 294-308. See also Marco Tiella, "The Violeta of S. Caterina de' Virgi," Galpin Society Journal 28 (April 1975): 60-80, and plates XIII and XIV, opp. p. 72. See also Appendix IV, No. 6, and plate XLV.

preserved. The instrument is located in the Chiesa del Corpus Domini, Bologna, Italy. It has been suggested that this instrument might originally have been a rebec which was at some point adapted into its present form.[71] The researcher must carefully examine the many other instruments found in musical instrument collections throughout Europe and the United States[72] which are labelled as examples of historic rebecs but which are often incorrectly identified. These instruments often turn out to be modern Greek lyras,[73] pochettes, or seventeenth, eighteenth, especially nineteenth, or twentieth-century copies (reproductions) either of purportedly authentic instruments[74] or of

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71 Tiella.

72 See Chapter XI for further information concerning extant rebecs, and Appendix IV for a listing of these instruments.

73 For example, "Rebec grec," listed in Gustave Choquet, Le musée du Conservatoire National de Musique, catalogue raisonné des instruments de cette collection (Paris: Firmin-Didot frères, 1875), No. 120, p. 22.

74 An instrument supposedly copied from one made by Lucas Maller of Bologna (1415?-1480?) exists in the Carl Claudius Collection at the Musikhistorisk Museum in Copenhagen, Denmark. It is made out of ivory and has C-holes. No date is given for the copy. Rittmeyer-Iselin, p. 218. René Vannes writes that Lucas Maller (Maler or Mahler) was an important sixteenth-century lute maker active around 1520, and that he certainly was not alive in 1415. This date, Vannes states, was a typographical error in Ernst G. Baron's treatise, Historisch-Theoretisch und Practische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten (1727). René Vannes, Dictionnaire universel des luthiers (Brussels: Les Amis de la Musique, 1979), p. 224. See English translation of Baron, Study of the Lute (1727), translated by Douglas Alton Smith (Redondo Beach, California: Instrumenta Antiqua Publications, 1976), p. 54, fn. 6, where this erroneous date is attributed, by Ernst Pohlmann, to a forged label in an instrument. See Appendix IV, No. 32, and plate LIIIa and c.

rebecs depicted in works of art.[75] Conversely, some museums may label rebec-like instruments by other names, as, for example, a rebec reproduction said to have been made in the eighteenth-century which is labelled "mandolin," in the Gruuthuse Museum in Bruges, Belgium.[76] It is possible that a few historic rebecs might remain hidden in storage in some museums where cataloging efforts are limited or outdated. Further research, scientific examination of specimens, and more conclusive documentation concerning these instruments is definitely necessary in order to separate the reproductions from historic models.

The rebec is not the only musical instrument for which a lack of actual documented historic specimens exists. In fact,

> Very few musical instruments survive from before 1500. And the relatively small number of 16th-century specimens to be found in museums and private collections throughout the world probably cannot be considered a representative cross section of the instruments then in use, for the ravages of time and the peculiar natures of collectors have almost certainly combined to preserve those examples that were exceptionally elegant, unusual, or structurally sound, while almost all instruments that were simply functional, commonplace, or frail have been lost.[77]

Stringed instruments, in particular, have a much lower survival rate than do many other types of musical instruments. This is in part due to the material with which they are made (i.e.: wood) and the extreme tension which the strings and bridge constantly exert upon the belly. Stringed instruments "need perpetual care and repair," and, an

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75 For example, a "rebec français," made by J. B. Vuillaume (born Mirecourt, October 7, 1798 - died Paris, February 19, 1875), was copied from a model in a miniature found in a fourteenth-century manuscript. The instrument was given by Vuillaume to the Paris Conservatoire Collection. See Chouquet, No. 119, pp. 21-22.

76 Gruuthuse Museum, Catalogue of Exhibits (Bruges: Stad Brugge, 1979), p. 38.

77 Brown/Lascalle, pp. 3-4.

especially important factor to consider as far as the rebec is concerned, "when they [stringed instruments] fall from public favour they are likely to disintegrate, if they do not happen to be ornate showpieces or parts of . . . public or private collections."[78] Looking back at the one extant rebec-like instrument mentioned above, one can see that it was preserved solely because of its alleged association with a saint. Obviously, with such a scarcity of extant historic specimens, little, if any, conclusive data concerning the rebec can be obtained through this avenue of research.

A fifth, and final avenue available for rebec research concerns itself with the music which was written for the rebec. Once again, research has revealed little. In fact, only one source has been found which contains but four specific examples of the type of music which could have been played on the kleynen Geigleyn, a four-stringed, German, rebec-like instrument. Hans Gerle's tutor Musica Teusch (1532), re-titled Musica und Tabulatur in a 1546 edition,[79] contains four homophonic pieces, based upon German folksongs, written in tabulature, and playable by the four sizes of the rebec-like kleynen Geyglen family. Gerle remarks, however, that when one has learned to play these pieces, one may go on to learn the pieces marked in the first part of the book for the grossen Geygen (a family of waisted, bowed stringed instruments) because, he says, it does not make any difference upon

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78 Winternitz, Symbolism, p. 25.

79 Hans Gerle, Musica Teusch, auf die Instrument der grossen unnd kleinen Geygen, auch Lauten (Nurenbergk: Jeronomum Formschneyder, 1532 and 1537) and Musica und Tabulatur, auff die Instrument der kleinen und grossen Geygen, auch Lautten . . . von neuen corrigirt und gebessert (Nürnberg: Hieronymus Formschneyder, 1546).

which instruments the pieces are played. Thus, it would appear that no body of historic, idiomatic musical literature for the rebec survives. However, one might still be able to deduce the types of music which were played upon the rebec by means of a study of literary descriptions or iconographic depictions of the rebec in performance. For example, an investigation to locate musical settings of the poetry which was said, in primary sources, to be accompanied by the rebec, might yield examples of the type of music which was actually played on the instrument.[80] In the final analysis, however, it appears that little definitive information can be obtained by means of this avenue of research.

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80 Numerous such poetic references can be found in George of Montemayor's poem, Diana. See Judith M. Kennedy, ed., A Critical Edition of Yong's Translations of George of Montemayor's Diana and Gil Polo's Enamoured Diana (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERARY STUDY

Before one can begin the search through historic literary sources for information concerning the morphological and sociological history of the rebec, one must first determine by what name(s) the musical instrument under study was represented in different languages during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The rebec, along with many other musical instruments in use during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, was identifiable by a multitude of differently-spelled words in several Western European languages.[1] It is necessary, therefore, before one can derive an accurate composite literary picture of this instrument, to enumerate the various spellings by which the instrument was

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1 Some musical scholars have side-stepped the issue of musical instrument terminology, perhaps rationalizing their lack of involvement by noting that the multiplicity of Medieval and Renaissance terminology relating to specific musical instruments is confusing, often "to the point of ridicule." (Mary E. Remnant, "Rebec, fiddle, and crowd in England," Proceedings of the Royal Music Association 95 (1968-1969): 15.) Nevertheless, several organologists have begun to deal forthrightly with musical instrument terminology, in some cases extending their research beyond the temporal confines of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, and their endeavors represent both an important contribution to and a motivation for the entire field. See, for example, the following studies: Cecil Adkins, "Towards an Etymology of the Trumpet Marine," Unpublished paper (New York: 9th Annual Meeting of the American Musical Instrument Society, May 10, 1980); Stephen Bonta, "Terminology for the Bass Violin in Seventeenth-Century Italy," Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society 4 (1978): 5-42; Hans Joachim Marx, "Zur Bedeutung des Begriffs 'Symphonia' im Mittelalter," International Musicological Society, Report of the Eleventh Congress, Copenhagen 1972, 2 (1972): 541-547; and Laurence Wright, "The Medieval Gittern and Citole: a case of Mistaken Identity," Galpin Society Journal 30 (May 1977): 8-42.

purportedly represented.[2] Subsequently, one must separate from this group any spellings which one can demonstrate do not, in fact, refer to the rebec, but have been erroneously so attributed, as well as those which, in certain circumstances, might sometimes refer to the rebec and sometimes to altogether different musical instruments.[3] Some spellings identified as rebec-related in modern sources have not yet been located in primary source material. Theses words must nevertheless be identified and noted for further research; their usefulness at this time is obviously limited. Once the synonymy of various rebec-related terms has been established, one can study the sources in which these terms appear and extract from them descriptive information concerning the structural features and sociological uses of the instrument.

It is not surprising that a multitude of rebec-related terms exists in the written documents of the Middle Ages and Renaissance when one considers both the processes of book production and language development in operation during those eras. Before the thirteenth century, a writer often put his own text into manuscript form; after that time, however, the writer and the copier of a book were usually different people, and the author lost some of his direct control over the spelling of words

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2 A dictionary has been compiled which consists of all the terminology known to this author said to be in some way related to the rebec; this may be found in Appendix I.

3 In addition, a number of words existed in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance which were used in a generic sense, to indicate all types of bowed stringed instruments, presumably including the rebec. Among these are rabāb, geige, vielle, lira (lyra) dicta, and possibly others. Specific appearances and uses of these words have not been thoroughly examined since it was decided that, for the purposes of this study, a pursuit of historic literary excerpts containing these terms would not yield a substantial amount of information (if any) which could be proven specifically to refer to the rebec.

in his texts. The earliest manuscript sources containing rebec-related terms which survive to our day date from the early thirteenth century and may, therefore, not have been prepared directly by their authors, but instead may have been copied by clergy and monks in monasteries or by professional scriveners.[4] Oftentimes these Medieval scribes did not copy directly from pre-existing written models, but wrote down texts which were dictated to them; hence the spelling of words was left to the scribe's own knowledge of spelling or an individual interpretation of the dictator's pronunciation of the text. In this case, "a scribe might transfer to the text he was copying some features of his own dialect, or the dialect of the person dictating to him,"[5] thus creating variant versions of the spellings intended by the author of the text.

The modern scholar most often encounters in facsimile only the beautifully copied and illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages. However, "the average manuscript book of the later Middle Ages was slovenly, unattractive to look at and difficult to read."[6] Even two modern specialists in orthography might differ in their transliteration and interpretation of certain words in a single such Medieval manuscript text. Thus, variances in handwriting and other conventions of copyists are also responsible for inconsistencies and changes in spelling from

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4 On the whole, medieval manuscripts were more often copied by professional book producers than by clergy and monks, after about the twelfth century. Denys Hays, "Fiat Lux," in Reader in the History of Books and Printing, Paul A. Winckler, ed. (Englewood, Colorado: Information Handling Service, 1978), p. 8.

5 Peter Rickard, A History of the French Language (London: Hutchinson University, 1974), p. 50.

6 Hays, p. 10.

one manuscript to another even though rules for copyists did exist to help prevent such inconsistencies.

> The transcribers each wrote in a distinct hand, conforming certainly with the accepted style of their time and place but permitting themselves endless variations in the formation of letters and in methods of abbreviating words or shortening them by other conventions. When books were made by hand errors were thus bound to occur and they naturally had a cumulative effect. In the case of fundamental texts like the Bible repeated efforts at emendment were made and a general correctness was maintained. But in a wide range of writing a manuscript book tended to become less authentic the more it was copied. Writing often under great pressure for a steady and known market, the professional scribe was often careless and incompetent. At the same time the handwriting itself became poorer in quality.[7]

The full impact of the cumulative effect of scribal inconsistency and variation in spelling can more clearly be understood when one realizes that many twelfth and thirteenth-century texts survive to our day only "in copies, or copies of copies, made fifty, or eighty, or even a hundred years after the original date of composition."[8]

With the invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century,[9] the likelihood of more accurate copying was increased, at least in concept, if not always in practice.

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7 Hays, p. 9.

8 Rickard, p. 50.

9 Johannes Gutenberg (ca.1400-1468) produced the first printed document in Germany ca.1455. The printing press was subsequently introduced to other Western European countries in the following chronological sequence: Italy--1464; Switzerland--1468; France--1470; The Netherlands--1473; Spain--1473; England--1476; and Portugal--1489. Norma Levarie, The Art and History of Books (New York: James H. Heineman, 1968), pp. 77, 109, 151, 157, and 163. See also Ronald B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 272.

> When a volume was printed instead of being copied by hand it became worthwhile to take pains, infinite pains, to get the text right. In the manuscript accuracy was highly desirable but in practice hardly attainable; in print, with careful composition, with careful proofreading, with the corrigenda published at once and then incorporated in later reprints, something like perfection seemed in sight and was certainly aimed at by the great printers of the sixteenth century and their successors.[10]

Some orthographical changes were considered acceptable, however, and early English printers, for example, varied the spelling of words simply in order to justify lines of type.

> It is not possible to say exactly to what extent the printers relied on variations in spelling as a means of justification; it seems, however, not unlikely that it was their chief expedient. If when nearing the end of a line the workman saw that he was going to have space to fill up, he could add an e to the end of some of the words . . . . If on the other hand he wished to save space, he could omit final e's.[11]

Printers in other Western European countries undoubtedly practiced similar procedures.

Throughout Medieval Europe Latin was the language universally taught and used by educated men; consequently, most writing of a serious nature was done in Latin. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, European vernaculars were gradually being accepted as a written literary medium alongside Latin.[12] The spoken languages of Europe at this time consisted of numerous dialects (the standardized languages which we associate today with various Western European countries simply did not exist) and the extent of their use was often delineated by natural geographical boundaries rather than political perimeters. The orthographical development of words in these dialects

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10 Hays, p. 14.
11 McKerrow, p. 11, fn. 3.
12 Rickard, p. 46.

was in large part dependent upon local pronunciations. Hence, one may expect to encounter many variant spellings in written vernacular documents which reflect these variant local pronunciations. By the early fifteenth century, one spoken and written dialect had begun to predominate in France and one in England, but the other European languages as yet remained essentially unstandardized, except for the influences of the gradually developing literary vernaculars. Political, military, and cultural exchanges contributed, to a certain extent, to the development of standardized languages in these other countries. French, for example, was "widely cultivated as a literary medium in northern Italy [in the thirteenth century] . Not only did copies of French epics and romances circulate in Italy, Italians themselves composed in French . . ."[13] The acquaintance of the people of one country with the literature of another country led to the frequent translation of popular works from one vernacular to another during the Renaissance. This, however, sometimes precipitated confusion in the translation of technical terms, such as the names of musical instruments. Rather than retaining the original language name for an instrument, a translator might substitute the name of an instrument with which he was familiar, at times naming an instrument with quite different characteristics than the instrument originally intended by the author.[14]

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13 Rickard, p. 66.

14 See, for example, page 136 of this study, where the sixteenth-century translator, Guillaume Michel de Tours uses the word rebec to refer to an instrument in use during the first century A.D.

Many factors may thus have contributed to the accumulation of a plethora of rebec-related terminology. Bearing these factors in mind, one can proceed to sort and define the many words and, finally, to interpret the written information available concerning the rebec. Although the Western European languages and dialects with which this study deals had not yet been standardized at the time of the earliest appearances of rebec-related terminology, the discussion of rebec-related words which follows has been organized, for clarity of presentation, into modern language groups with accompanying background information concerning pertinent aspects of dialectal and modern language development.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF REBEC-RELATED WORDS IN LATIN

Background

The earliest appearances of words purportedly denoting instruments which were later to become known by vernacular rebec-related terms, are found in manuscript sources which were written in Latin. This would be expected, or course, since most scholarly, philosophical, scientific, literary, and theological works written in Europe during the Middle Ages and Renaissance were written in Latin, rather than in the vernacular, the written language based upon the spoken word. In fact, "throughout the Middle Ages [Latin] had no competitor as an international medium of communication between all persons of culture."[1] Increasingly, however, Medieval and Renaissance scholars chose to write in Vulgar Latin, the term generally applied to spoken Latin but also to "those forms of written Latin which by their lateness and divergences from the known standards of Classical Latin are believed to be closer to the spoken language."[2] It is likely that the Latin rebec-related terminology had its origins in this spoken form, Vulgar Latin. Nevertheless, due to the more universal nature of Medieval and Renaissance written Latin one may expect to find the same or at least very similar

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1 James Frederick Mountford, "Latin Language," in Chambers's Encyclopaedia, rev. ed. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967), Vol. VIII, p. 383.

2 Peter Rickard, A History of the French Language (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1974), p. 12.

Latin spellings for rebec-related instruments mentioned in scholarly and literary works originating in different geographical areas. The influence of written Vulgar Latin upon the rebec-related terminology of Romance languages such as French, Provençal, Catalan, Italian, and Portuguese, and to a lesser extent in the German and English languages, can clearly be seen in the adoption by these languages of orthographic elements from the two basic Medieval Latin spellings, rubeba and rebeca. These two spellings were used in Vulgar Latin specifically to refer to rebec-related musical instruments. In addition, the Latin expression lira (lyra) dicta was used in a generic sense to denote a variety of medieval fiddles, perhaps including the rebec.

Rubeba

One of the oldest extant written references to an instrument which may have been an ancestor of the rebec[3] appears in Jerome of Moravia's treatise, Tractatus de Musica (ca.1280-1300[4]), which is believed to have been written in Paris.[5] In a section concerning the rubeba

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3 An on-going debate persists among organological scholars as to whether the rubeba mentioned by Jerome can be considered representative of a rebec-like instrument or whether the rubeba (and the Middle French equivalent, rebebe) and the rebec (Latin rebeca) in fact represented two different instruments.

4 Christopher Page suggests this dating as opposed to the often-stated dating of ca.1250 (see, for example, Hortense Panum, The Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages, rev. ed., Jeffrey Pulver, ed. (London: William Reeves, 1939), Reprint (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), p. 361). Page's research concerning Jerome and his translation of the sections pertaining to the rubeba and the viella are highly recommended for their meticulous scholarship. See Chrisopher Page, "Jerome of Moravia on the Rubeba and Viella," Galpin Society Journal 32 (May 1979): 77-98.

5 Page, "Jerome," p. 77.

and viella,[6] Jerome discusses morphology as well as the tuning of these two stringed instruments.

> Ostensum est superius theorice qualiter scilicet proporciones armonice in numeris ponderibus reperiantur et mensuris. Hic ultimo restat dicendum practice qualiter in cordis inveniantur. Quoniam autem secundum philosophum in paucioribus via magna, ideo primo de rubeba, postea de viellis dicemus.
>
> Est autem rubeba musicum instrumentum habens solum duas cordas sono distantes a se per diapente. Quod quidem, sicut et viella, cum arcu tangitur. Dicte autem due corde per se, id est sine aplicacione (digitorum super ipsas nec non et cum aplicacione) sonum redunt decem clavium a C fa ut scilicet usque in d la sol re in hunc modum.
>
> Nam si quis tenens rubebam manu sinistra inter pollicem et indicem iuxta capud immedi[t]ate, quemadmodum et viella teneri debet, tangat cum arcu primam cordam non aplicans aliquem digitorum super ipsam, reddit sonum clavis C fa ut. Si vero applicat indicem non quidem girando ipsum, quod et de applicacione aliorum digitorum tam in rubeba quam in viella intelligimus, sed sicut naturaliter cadit super eandem cordam, facit sonum clavis D sol re. Si autem digitum medium aplicat iuxta indicem immedi[t]ate, quod in rubeba et viella de omnibus aliis digitis est faciendum, facit sonum clavis E la mi. Si vero medicum aplicat facit sonum clavis F. Et ultra opus non est, ut plures sonos constituat, cum sequens corda absque aplicacione indicis G sol re ut constituat; cum aplicacione eiusdem a la mi re. Item cum aplicacione medij non naturaliter cadentis sed girati, id est supra ad caput rubebe tracti, facit sonum clavis b fa. Cum aplicacione vero eiusdem

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6 The names of musical instruments mentioned in historic literary excerpts shall be kept in their original spelling or nominative form throughout this dissertation. Since this study attempts to sort through a myriad of rebec-related terminology, it would be hypocritical to presume to assign modern English language translations to Medieval and Renaissance technical names for other musical instruments, many of which are also plagued by a multitude of variant names. The British musicologist, Christopher Page, has recently stated his use of a similar procedure. "It is still considered legitimate, at least by English organologists, to arrange scholarly discussion of medieval instruments under names such as rebec, citole, etc., taken from literary sources. I have the gravest reservations about this procedure; for too long now these words have acted like charms lulling scholars into a greatly simplified view of the typology and terminology of medieval instruments. Consequently, I have not translated these terms into these ill-considered 'group names.'" Christopher Page, "Early 15th-century instruments in Jean de Gerson's 'Tractatus de Canticis'," Early Music 6, No. 3 (July 1978): 346.

medij non girati sed naturaliter cadentis, ♭ mi quadrum constituit. Ex quo etiam non unam esse clavem, sed duas, b fa videlicet et ♭ mi, aperte monstratur. Item per applicacionem medici fit c sol fa ut; per aplicacionem vero auricularis sonus clavis d la sol re completur. Et non plus rubeba potest ascendere.

Viella vero licet plus quam rubeba, tamen secundum magis et minus ascendit, id est secundum quod a diversis diversimode temperatur.

It has been shown above theoretically how the harmonic proportions may be obtained in harmonious weights and quantities. Here at the end [of the work] something remains to be said of how they may be practically found upon strings. Since, according to the philosopher, 'the true way lies among smaller things,' therefore we will speak first of the rubeba, and afterwards of viella.

The rubeba is a musical instrument having only two strings standing a fifth apart. It is played with a bow just as the viella. The said two strings by themselves, that is without the application (of the fingers upon them as well as with their application) give the sound of ten letters, namely from C fa ut up to d la sol re in the following manner.

If one holds the rubeba next to the peg box, in a natural position in the left hand between the thumb and the first finger in the way that the viella must be held, and touches the first string with the bow, not applying any of the fingers to it, it gives the sound of the letter C fa ut. If, however, one applies the first finger--but not by twisting it; this is a caveat we so observe for the other fingers as much on the rubeba as on the viella--but just as it falls naturally over the same string, it makes the sound of the letter D sol re. If one applies the second finger naturally next to the first--which is to be done with all the other fingers on the rubeba and viella--it makes the sound of the letter E la mi. If, however, one applies the third finger, it makes the sound of the letter F. There is no further need that it produce more notes, since the following string may make G sol re ut without the application of the first finger, and with the application of the same [may make] a la mi re. Similarly, with the application of the second finger not naturally falling but bent--that is drawn towards the pegbox of the rubebe above--it produces the sound of the letter b fa. With the application of this same second finger not bent, but naturally falling, it makes ♭ mi quadrum. Thus it is clearly shown that there are two letters here, not one, that is b fa and ♭ mi. Similarly, by the application of the fourth finger the sound of the letter d la sol re is accomplished. The rubeba may ascend no more.

> The viella is more highly valued than the rubeba, yet it ascends both more and less completely; that is, according to how it is variously tuned by different players.[7]

In the commentary concerning his translation of this treatise, Christopher Page maintains that the wording of Jerome's remarks concerning the rubeba suggests that this Latin word, as well as the corresponding vernacular Old French equivalents, rubebe and rebebe,[8] may have been new words in the language when Jerome wrote. Jerome "feels compelled to define the rubeba as 'a musical instrument' and to assure his readers that it is 'played with a bow.'" In addition, "he discusses the rubeba in terms of the obviously more familiar viella whenever he can."[9]

The same spelling, rubeba, appears in the German epic poem, Der Minne Regel, written in 1404 by Eberhard Cersne of Westphalia.[10] The following excerpt, which enumerates many fifteenth-century musical instruments, appears in a section subtitled "Wy der fogel sang susir

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7 Jerome of Moravia, Tractatus de Musica, unique manuscript copy in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 16663, fol. 93r, column 2 through fol. 93v, column 1. Photographs of these specific folios and translation cited may be found in Page, "Jerome," pp. 88-91 and plates XX and XXI. The one spelling, rubebe, in the Latin excerpt is the result of an inconsistency in copying found in this, the only surviving manuscript copy of Jerome's treatise. See Page, "Jerome," plate XXI. The use of both Medieval Latin and Old French forms in this manuscript points out the influence which the vernacular was exerting upon literary writing. Indeed, as Peter Rickard remarks, during the Middle Ages "Latin had adapted itself . . . it had been corrupted from below by the vernacular. Many Medieval Latin words . . . were simply transpositions of the French." Rickard, p. 89.

8 See pages 75f of this study for a further discussion of these French forms and their variants.

9 Page, "Jerome," p. 94, fn. 5.

10 The area of Westphalia, Germany, is located on the western side of the country, bordering on The Netherlands and includes the northern part of the Rhine River.

und beszir was dan dy speler dy hy nach gescreben sten" ("But the bird sang more sweetly and better than the following instruments").

Noch cymbel mid geclange,
Noch harffe edir flegil,
Noch schachtbret, monocordium,
Noch stegereyff, noch begil,
Noch rotte, clavicordium
Noch medicinale
Noch portitiff, psalterium
Noch figel sam cannale
Noch lûte, clavicymbolum
Noch dan quinterna, gyge, videle, lyra, rubeba,
Noch phîfe, floyte, noch schalmey,
Noch allir leye horner lûd.[11]

[Better than] even the clanging cymbel,
Even the harffe or flegil,
Even the schachtbret, the monocordium,
Even the stegereyff, and the begil,
Also the rotte, the clavicordium,
And the medicinale.
Even [better than] the portitiff, the psalterium,
Even [better than] the figel together with the cannale,
Or even the lûte, the clavicymbolum,
[Better than] even the quinterna, gyge, videle, lyra, rubeba,
Or the phîfe, floyte, and schalmey,
[Better] even than all sorts of loud horner.[12]

As a result of the descriptive information which can be gleaned from just these two sources, one may conclude that the Latin word, rubeba (Old French rebebe, rubebe), was in use in France at least as early as the last quarter of the thirteenth century and in Germany

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11 Eberhard Cersne, Der Minne Regel (1404), cited in Curt Sachs, "Die Musikinstrumente der Minneregel," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft 14 (1912-1913): 484-486. (Sachs does not indicate the capitalization of nouns in the poem as one would expect to find in modern German practice.) Sachs's article discusses and attempts to define only the following instruments with which he believes the reader will be unfamiliar: flegil, schachtbret, stegereyss, begil, medicinale, figal, and cannale.

12 The author acknowledges the assistance of Lydia Downie, of Colgate University, Hamilton, New York, in this translation.

at least ca.1404, and denoted a bowed stringed instrument which had only two strings, tuned a fifth apart. The rubeba must have been played only in first position and Jerome of Moravia writes that players produced only ten pitches (C to d'). The rubeba was less "highly valued" than the viella.

Rebeca

The earliest-known use of the spelling, rebeca, appears in a poem written ca.1300 by the Abbé Aimery de Peyrac (also spelled Peyrat, Peirac), who lived in Moissac, France.

> Quidam rebecam arcuabant
> [Quasi] muliebrem vocem confingentes.[13]
>
> Some bowed the rebeca
> [As if] imitating a woman's voice.[14]

Certain scholars have interpreted this statement as an indication of a high pitch range for the rebec,[15] which is quite possible; however, the same phrase might also be interpreted as referring to the quality (tone color) of sound as well as to the relative pitch of the instrument.[16]

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13 Aimericus de Peyrato Abbas Moisiacensis, in Vita Caroli M. in Cod. MS 1343, Bibl. Regiae, as cited in Domino du Cange, Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis (1678), Reprint edition (Paris: Leopold Favre, 1937), t. I, p. 608, entry "Baudosa" and also referred to under entry for "Rebeca," t. VII, p. 35.

14 Translation from Werner Bachmann, The Origins of Bowing, translated by Norma Deane (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 134.

15 See Mary Remnant, "Rebec," in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Stanley Sadie, ed. (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. XV, p. 636, "Aimeric de Peyrac, however, indicated a higher pitch by comparing the sound of the rebec to women's voices." See also Werner Bachmann, p. 134, "The rebec . . . had a compass more like that of the female voice."

16 It is interesting to note in connection with Peyrac's statement, that various manuscript versions of Geoffrey Chaucer's "The Friar's Tale" written ca.1376/77 use the related English words such as rebekke and ribyble as opprobrious terms for an old woman. See Chapter VIII.

The Flemish-born theoretician Johannes Tinctoris (ca.1435-1511) mentions the rebeca, which he candidly admits to be one of his two favorite instruments, in his treatise De inventione et usu musicae (Naples?, ca.1487[17]). Musicologist and translator Anthony Baines cautions the reader, however, to note that

> the entire work is written from the historical aspect, and consequently Tinctoris's choice of modern material is confined to subjects which were then supposed to possess evolutionary links with antiquity . . . [among other things] he discusses the two instruments which figure most prominently in classical literature and legend, the tibia and the lyre. From here he passes on to their modern (fifteenth-century) descendants, which were presumed to [include] . . . the different fiddles, guitars and the cittern because they are also 'derived from the lyre.'[18]

Since little other technically descriptive information concerning fifteenth-century instruments survives, Tinctoris's remarks, "sketchy and sometimes ambiguous though they are, have great value."[19]

> Quid sit lyra populariter leutum dicta: quid etiam quelibet instrumentalis species ex ea producta: utpote (juxta linguam vulgarem) viola: rebecum: ghiterra: cetula: et tambura: a quibus omnia hec inventa: quot chordas et qualiter ordinatas primum habuerint: et nunc habeant.
>
> Extractum est et lyra: aliud instrumentum valde minus: ab aliis Gallicorum qui id excogitarunt: rebecum: et ab aliis marionetta nuncupatum. Quod instar leuti testudineum: chordas que vel arculo tanguntur (ut predicta viola) tenet adaptatas.

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17 The treatise itself is undated. The 1487 date of publication, probably in Naples, where Tinctoris had established himself before 1476, was suggested by Karl Weinmann in a notice in the Riemann Festschrift (1909), p. 267, and later in his monograph Johannes Tinctoris (1445-1511) und sein unbekannter Traktat 'De inventione et usu musicae' (Regensburg: 1917). For further details concerning the treatise, see Anthony Baines, "Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's De Inventione et Usu Musicae," Galpin Society Journal 3 (1950): 19. Tinctoris also authored the earliest dictionary of musical terms, written before 1476, but not published until ca.1495; however definitions of musical instruments are not included in this later work.

18 Baines, "Tinctoris," p. 19.

19 Ibid.

Et quia rebecum (si sonitor artifex et expertus fuerit) modulos illis quam simillimos emmittat: quibuslibet affectus spiritus mei (occulta quadam familiaritate) ad leticiam quam simillime excitantur. Hec itaque duo instrumenta mea sunt: mea inquam: hoc est quibus inter cetera: animus meus ad affectum pietatis assurgit: quaeque ad contemplationem gaudiorum supernorum: ardentissime cor meum inflammant. Quo mallem ea potius ad res sacras: et secreta animi solamina semper reservari: quam ad res prophanas et publica festa interdum applicari.

[Book IV concerns] the lyra commonly called the lute [leutus,] and the various instruments derived from it, including the viola, rebec [rebeca], ghiterra, cetula and tambura; their inventors and past and present methods of stringing and tuning.

Also derived from the lyre [lyra] is a very small instrument called the rebec [rebeca] by the French, who invented it, and by others the marionetta. This, like the last-mentioned viola, is also strung for bowing, but, like the lute [leutus], it is tortoise-shaped.

And I am similarly pleased by the rebec [rebeca], my predilection for which I will not conceal, provided that it is played by a skilful artist, since its strains are very much like those of the viola. Accordingly, the viola and the rebec [rebeca] are my two instruments; I repeat, my chosen instruments, those that induce piety and stir my heart most ardently to the contemplation of heavenly joys. For those reasons I would rather reserve them solely for sacred music and the secret consolations of the soul, than have them sometimes used for profane occasions and public festivities.[20]

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20 Baines, "Tinctoris," pp. 21-25. The paraphrased translation is by Baines. Little conclusive information is available concerning the marionetta, which, as we have just seen, Tinctoris defines as a term for the rebec used by people other than the French. Sibyl Marcuse, Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), p. 332, cites only Tinctoris's use of the word, and adds that "it occurs occasionally in French literature, mentioned as a stringed instrument." Friedrich Dick, Bezeichnungen für Saiten- und Schlaginstrumente in der altfranzösischen Literatur, in Giessener Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie, Heft 25 (Giessen: Selbstverlag des Romanischen Seminars, 1932), p. 97, cites three French sources which use this term.

The spelling, rebeca, is defined in the late seventeenth century by Domino du Cange (Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis, 1678) as follows:

> Rebeca. Fidicula barbitus, a veteri Gallico Rebec.[21]
>
> Rebeca. A little lyre (?), from the Old French rebec.

The fourteenth-fifteenth-century scholar, Jean de Gerson (1363-1429), uses the related spelling, rebecca,[22] in Tractatus de canticis (written before 1426), "the earliest medieval technical treatise on a group of secular instruments [which] forms part of a theological work."[23] In it he writes,

> Symphoniam putant aliqui viellam, vel rebeccam quae minor est.[24]
>
> Some think the symphonia to be the viella or the rebecca (which is smaller).[25]

Christopher Page, however, explains that Gerson's symphonia "is clearly the instrument inelegantly called the hurdy-gurdy in many modern organological works."[26] By its apposition with viella, one may conclude that the rebecca is a bowed stringed instrument at this time. In two other excerpts from Gerson's treatise, one finds reference to the word rebella, apparently used alternately with or in place

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21 Domino du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis (1678), Reprint (Paris: Leopold Favre, 1937), t. VII, p. 35.

22 Martin Gerbert, De Cantu et Musica Sacra (St. Blasien: Typis San Blasianis, 1774), t. II, pp. 154-155, reports that Gerson uses the spelling rebecam. Henry George Farmer and Sibyl Marcuse both write that rebecca is an obsolete Italian variant of ribeca. See Henry George Farmer, "Rebab," translated by Dieter Christensen, Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Frederich Blume, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1963), Band 11, col. 81, and Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 438.

23 Page, "Gerson," p. 339.

24 Ibid., p. 346.

25 Translation by Page, "Gerson," p. 347.

26 Ibid., p. 343.

of the spelling rebecca, and it seems certain that the two differently-spelled words both refer to the same bowed, stringed instrument.[27] Gerson devises a classification system for musical instruments, within which he "groups percussion and strings together and distinguishes between instruments that sound by striking (pulsu) and by movement of air (flatu)."[28]

> Chordae (inquit) secundum glossas positae sunt pro quibuslibet instrumentis, aliis a psalterio & cithara, quae chordis sona[n]t repercussis, sit viella, sit symphonia, sit lyra, sit rita, sit guiterna, sit lituus, sit nablum, sit sistrum, sit scacarum, sit rebella: sit generaliter vel monochordum, vel diachordum . . .[29]

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27 Gerbert also believes that Gerson's rebeccam and rebella refer to the same instrument. "Gerson iungit Rebecam, idem, ut videtur, instrumentum, quod in eadem editione Rebella appellatur paullo post, ubi magna copia instrumenta eiusmodi enchorda enumerat . . ." Translation by Dr. Janet Kemp, Morgantown, West Virginia: "Gerson adds the rebecam, the same instrument, it seems, which is called Rebella a little later in the same work, where he names a large number of instruments strung in the same way . . ." Gerbert, t. II, p. 154. Another argument in favor of a synonymy between rebeccam and rebella might be made on the basis of the fact that Gerson compares as similar the viella and the rebecca in one instance and the viella and rebella in another. Similar comparisons occur in the treatise by Jerome of Moravia, who states that the rubeba was played with a bow, just as the viella. (See discussion above.) Henry George Farmer writes that the words viella and the Arabic rabāb were equated in the thirteenth-century Vocabulista in Arabico (no bibliographic citation given). See Henry George Farmer, Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence (London: 1930), Reprint (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971).

28 Page, "Gerson," p. 344.

29 Jean de Gerson, Tractatus de canticis (before 1426), t. III, part II, pp. 627-628, cited in Gerbert, t. II, p. 154.

> Strings, he says, are placed according to the glossas[30] for whatever instruments you wish, for others from the psalterio & cithara, which make a sound when the strings are struck, be it the viella, the symphonia, the lyra, the rota, the guiterna, the lituus, the nablum, the sistrum, the scacarum, the rebella, or, generally either the monochord, or the diachord . . .[31]

Page notes that Gerson "expands on his conventional classification [for musical instruments] by distinguishing three varieties of pulsu in order to accomodate the actions of the bow and hurdy-gurdy wheel."[32]

> Canticum cum pulsu (inquit) sit tripliciter: aut in rotatu, ut in symphonia: aut tractu, aut retractu; sicut in viella aut rebella: sive cum impulsu vel impulsivo quodam tractu cum unguibus vel plectro, cum virgula, ut in cithara & guiterna, lituo, psalterio quoque & tympano, atque campanulis; cymbala vero sese collidendo tinniunt.[33]

> Music with 'striking' may be made in three ways: by rotation as in the symphonia; by drawing back and forth [i.e., bowing] as on the viella or rebella; by beating or striking with the nails or a plectrum, or with a stick as on the cythara and guiterna, lituus, the psalterium and tympanum, and campanula. Cymbala sound by being struck together.[34]

From the sources which use the Latin spelling, rebeca (variants rebecca and rebella), one can conclude that the rebeca was a bowed stringed instrument, undoubtedly the rebec, which was purportedly invented by the French and in use in France at least as early as ca.1300; references to it may be found through at least the first

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30 The glossas or gloss is "a commentary that proceeds through the biblical text verse by verse" and was a "standard form of medieval biblical scholarship." Although Gerson's treatise is not a gloss per se, "it is in fact concerned with the instruments mentioned in psalm 150, and discusses them in the order of the psalm." See Christopher Page, "Musical Instruments in Medieval Latin Biblical Glosses," FoMRHI Quarterly (April 1976): 29, and Page, "Gerson," p. 340.

31 Translation by Janet Kemp.

32 Page, "Gerson," p. 344.

33 Jean de Gerson, Tractatus de canticis (before 1426), t. III, part II, p. 678, cited in Gerbert, t. II, p. 155.

34 Translation by Christopher Page, see Page, "Gerson," p. 344.

quarter of the fifteenth century; in Italy it was sometimes identified by this name at least through the latter part of the fifteenth century. The rebeca could be played in such a way that somehow it seemed to imitate a woman's voice, and was so highly considered by Tinctoris that he wished that it could be used solely for sacred music rather than for its ordinary secular uses.

Lira (Lyra) Dicta

The Latin expression, lira (or lyra) dicta, was a generic term which may sometimes have been used in Medieval Latin to refer to a variety of medieval fiddles, purportedly of the rebec and geige family, according to musicologist Henry G. Farmer.[35] In addition, the lira (lyra) dicta is said to refer to the rebāb in the eleventh-century Glossarium Latino Arabicum.[36] Insofar as the term, lira dicta, refers to medieval fiddles, presumably including the rebec, mention of it should be made in a discussion of rebec-related terminology, although its usefulness for obtaining morphological information and as an indicator of the presence of the rebec in specific places at specific times in history is obviously limited.

Conclusion

Assuming that the Latin words rubeba (and synonyms rebebe and rubebe, in Old French) and rebeca (variants rebecca and rebella) and their variants might refer to the same musical instrument, one could

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35 Farmer, Historical Facts, p. 143, fn. 9. Farmer writes that this generic use of the expression is suggested by Vincent de Beauvais, in "'Spec. Doc.,' Bk. i, sect. 34," no date indicated. This source has not yet been confirmed.

36 Farmer, Historical Facts, p. 143, fn. 9.

enumerate the following morphological and sociological characteristics of the instrument which they represent (here generically referred to as the rebec), based upon the information which can be gleaned from the literary contexts in which they appear.

1. The rebec, said by Tinctoris to have been invented by the French, was in use in France at least as early as ca.1280-1300 through at least the first quarter of the fifteenth century. In Germany it was known at least as early as 1404. In Italy the rebec was known at least as early as the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

2. The rebec was tortoise-shaped, like the lute.

3. The rebec was a bowed, stringed instrument.

4. The rebec is described as being small or very small.

5. The rebec, at least in ca.1280-1300, had two strings tuned a fifth apart. It was played only in the first position and players produced ten pitches encompassing a range of c to d'.

6. The rebec could be played in such a way as to produce a sound which seemed to imitate a woman's voice (whether this denotes pitch or tone quality is unknown).

7. The rebec was sometimes played for secular occasions and for public festivities at least during the second half of the fifteenth century. Tinctoris implies that the rebec may also have been used in sacred settings.

CHAPTER V

THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF REBEC AND REBEC-RELATED WORDS IN FRENCH AND PROVENÇAL

Background

The word most commonly used in reference to the instrument under study is rebec, a French word which was most probably directly derived from the Latin spelling rebeca, which, as has been shown, was in use in France at least as early as ca.1300.[1] The earliest use of the spelling rebec may be documented in Middle French literature perhaps as early as ca.1379.[2] The same spelling remains in the vocabulary to this day, having been the most widely accepted form from among well over forty directly-related variant spellings. The use of two of the Old French rebec-related variants (rubebe and rebebe[3]) can be documented at least as early as the late thirteenth century. These spellings (and their variants), which are undoubtedly related to the Latin, rubeba, have not survived in the vocabulary of Modern French. A few comments concerning French language development will provide an historical background against which to view the "rise and fall" of much of this French rebec-related terminology.

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1 See page 57 of this study.
2 The spelling, rebecs, appears in Le bon berger by Jehan de Brie, ca.1379. See page 104 of this study.
3 See pages 75ff.

A Romance language, Old French, was derived mainly from Vulgar Latin, and was prominent from roughly the middle of the ninth century to the beginning of the fourteenth century. Within this language many dialects developed, chief among these being the two major divisions: the langue d'oc in the south and the langue d'oīl in the north.[4] Written documents of this time existed chiefly in Latin until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the vernacular Old French was finally widely accepted as a literary medium. Eventually, a dialect of northern France, that of the "Île-de-France in general, and of Paris in particular, came to be accepted as the desirable norm of speech, and consequently as at least the basis for the desirable norm in writing."[5] This influence of Parisian standards upon the development of the French language has continued throughout history.

Although a tendency towards a central standard in the French language already existed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a time during which we find the earliest references to rebec-related words, the Old French texts commonly reflected the use of varying dialects and oftentimes, even in one manuscript, "we find a collection of apparently incompatible ways of writing the same word."[6] One explanation for this highly variant spelling is that Old French spelling was an attempt to suggest the pronunciation of words, hence regional or even personal differences in pronunciation would yield differences in spelling.

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4 E. Einhorn, Old French: A Concise Handbook (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 1.

5 Peter Rickard, A History of the French Language (London: Hutchinson University, 1974), p. 46.

6 Ibid., p. 50.

Middle French, the language in which are found the majority of rebec-related variants, spans a time period from roughly the first half of the fourteenth century through the first half of the seventeenth century.[7] Unlike Old French, Middle French spelling, which changed considerably during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was "in general extremely unsatisfactory as a representation of the spoken word."[8] In addition, many problems arose from scribal misinterpretation of hastily-written and ill-formed letters when copying previously-written manuscripts, thus leading to the development of numerous variant spellings.[9] It was also during this time period that the first printing press was set up in Paris, in 1470.[10] The documents which were first printed were those written in Latin, however, and most vernacular French references to _rebec_ at this time are to be found in manuscript rather than in printed sources.

On the whole, two principles guided the development of new words or spellings in Middle French: differentiation and _rapprochement_, both of which were related to Latin. In the process of differentiation, "words which were different in meaning and believed to be unrelated were given a different spelling, even if they were homophones (i.e., identical in pronunciation)."[11] _Rapprochement_ was a

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7 Rickard, p. 50.

8 _Ibid._, p. 71.

9 _Ibid._ Some spelling variations may also be explained by the fact that in both written and printed sources through the sixteenth century, letters such as i/j and u/v were often used interchangeably. The quotations cited in this paper in which these letters are used interchangeably have not been edited by this author.

10 _Ibid._, p. 68.

11 _Ibid._, p. 72. For example, for the one word, _pois_, which meant "peas, weight, and pitch," scribes differentiated _pois_ for _peas_, poids for weight, and _poix_ for pitch, although the French spellings are all homophonic.

"preoccupation with etymology, with or without a concern for greater legibility."[12] In this system, scribes would try to reason the etymology of an existing word and then combine elements of the etymological source word with elements of the already-existing word. In this process, which did not always reflect accurate etymological associations, many words became Latinized. It is possible that rapprochement played an important part in the transition from Old French of words like rubebe and rebebe to their presumed Middle French synonym, rebec, which may have been etymologically derived from the Latin rebeca, rebecam. These neologisms which were "coined from Latin" often had "more prestige and novelty value" than their Old French synonyms.[13] In addition to the overwhelming effect of Latin upon the language, some words were also influenced by Italian and Arabic.[14] Peter Rickard remarks in a summary of Middle French development that although "Middle French presents a bewildering variety of forms and constructions, together with an increasingly unwieldy vocabulary, at least it shows great flexibility and adaptability."[15]

It was during the sixteenth century that the French first considered their language as

> a possible rival and successor to Latin, and [it was] the first century in which attempts were made to describe it, analyse it, legislate for it, compare it in detail with other languages, and speculate about its origins.[16]

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12 Rickard, p. 73.
13 Ibid., p. 81.
14 Ibid., p. 82.
15 Ibid., p. 84.
16 Ibid.

In addition, French now became "the official language to the exclusion of Latin and provincial languages or dialects."[17] Obviously this standardization had a great effect upon rebec-related terminology; fewer variants are found, and from this time, use of the central spelling, rebec, predominates. Overall, much was done to reform spelling during the sixteenth century and, specifically, "the balance of opinion favoured a spelling which indicated etymology and family and grammatical relationships between words, rather than the pronunciation, which did not seem to the men of the Renaissance to be at all fixed."[18] Such sixteenth-century developments provide the transition into the state in which the modern French language exists today.[19]

Against this background of orthographical turmoil and the development of the French language, one must at least attempt to sort out the "unwieldy vocabulary" of French rebec-related terminology. To this end, over fifty different French language and related dialectal words, idioms, and variant spellings have been located which are allegedly related in some way to the primary French spelling, rebec. As is the case with the terminology studied in other languages, most, but not all of these forms do indeed refer to some sort of musical instrument.

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17 Rickard, p. 84.
18 Ibid., p. 101.
19 Modern French may be dated from roughly the second half of the seventeenth century onwards.

Provençal and Burgundian words

The medieval Provençal language of southern France was "one of the great literary languages of Europe, cultivated by the troubadours,"[20] and it is in literary sources written in this vernacular and related dialects that several scholars claim to have located some of the words which may be among the earliest references to rebec-like instruments: rabey, rebay, rebeb, rebei, and ribec. The Provençal troubadour, Rambaud (or Raimbaut) de Vaqueiras (1155-1207) is cited as the author of the following verse, the context of which, it has been suggested, reveals a scene in which a "rebec player accompanies himself and tells of a contest in Provence."[21]

El so que pus m'agense
De mon rabey,
Vos dirai com comensa
Un ric torney
Que fo [jo] fag en Proensa.[22]

The only one who could have provided me
With my rabey,
I shall tell you how began
A fine trip
I made to Provence.[23]

From the small portion of the text available in secondary sources consulted, one can not conclusively determine whether rabey

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20 Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1966), p. 1172.

21 Friedrich Dick, Bezeichnungen für Saiten- und Schlaginstrumente in der altfranzösischen Literatur, in Giessener Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie, Heft 25 (Giessen: Selbstverlag des Romanischen Seminars, 1932), p. 94.

22 Ibid.

23 Translation by Dr. Patricia Cummins, West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia. Torney was translated as "tournament" or "contest" by Dick and his sources, whereas translator Patricia Cummins has suggested the translation "trip."

refers exclusively to a musical instrument. In addition, no other literary sources have yet been located which use this particular spelling. Two nineteenth-century etymological sources, however, connect the Provençal term rabey with the etymology of rebec;[24] a twentieth-century etymological dictionary equates the use of rabey in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to the Spanish word rabel;[25] and yet others relate the word to the Arabic rabāb.[26] This suggests that several etymologists, at least, believe that the word rabey was used to denote a musical instrument, and by apposition with the modern words, rabel and rabāb, specifically to denote a bowed, stringed instrument.

A similarly-spelled word is rebay, which, although not yet substantiated by this author as appearing in a primary source, has been cited as a Burgundian spelling, one which may also figure in the etymological derivation of rebec.[27] Burgundy (Bourgogne), a "former duchy, kingdom, and province"[28] was located in southeastern France, and the use of rebay, if legitimate, probably coincided with the appearance, in Provençal, of rabey.

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24 Pierre Larousse, Grand dictionnaire universel français (Paris: Administration du grand dictionnaire universel, 1865-[1890]), Vol. XIII, p. 759; and E. Littré, ed., Dictionnaire de la langue française (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1882), Vol. IV, p. 1497.

25 Juan Corominas, Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana (Bern: Francke, 1954), Vol. III, p. 968, who cites Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 47: 435.

26 Karl Lokotsch, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen (germanischen, romanischen und slavischen) Wörter orientalischen Ursprung (Heidelberg: C. Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1927), p. 134, no. 1675 and Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon der Musikinstrumente (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1913), Reprint and rev. ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), p. 313b.

27 Littré, Vol. IV, p. 1497.

28 Webster's, p. 195.

The Old Provençal spelling, rebeb, was purportedly in use during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[29] and one wonders if the variant might have been connected with the spelling rebebe, for which documented sources do exist throughout the fourteenth century.[30]

Juan Corominas states, in his Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana (1954), that the use of an Old Provençal spelling, ribec, occurred during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although no primary sources are cited.[31]

Finally, the spelling, rebei, has been cited by etymologists Battisti and Alessio as a Provençal word, but no primary sources are noted.[32] However, the plural variant, rebbeis, used in reference to a type of musical instrument, may purportedly be found in a later edition of a fourteenth-century document, Annales de Jehan et Estienne Ferrier, Ménestriers en la cité de Genesve (Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher, no date).[33] Perhaps rebei is a root form for the later words rebeibe (late fourteenth century) and rebeic (late fifteenth century).

Since no primary sources have been cited for these Provençal and Burgundian words, with the exception of rabey and rebbeis, one

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29 Corominas, Vol. III, p. 968 and Walter William Skeat, A Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words, A. L. Mayhew, ed., Burt Franklin Bibliography and Reference Series No. 165 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), p. 326, who cites E. Levy, Petit dictionnaire provençal - français (1909).

30 See discussion of rebebe, pp. 85 ff.

31 Corominas, Vol. III, p. 968. One wonders if the Provençal spelling is related to the Italian word group: ribeca, ribecchino, ribechista, and so on.

32 Carlo Battisti and Giovanni Alessio, Dizionario etimologico italiano (Florence: Barbera, 1950-1957), Vol. V, p. 3246.

33 Cited in H. M. Schletterer, Geschichte der Spielmannszunft in Frankreich, in Studien zur Geschichte der Französischen Musik, Vol. II (Berlin: R. Damköhler, 1884), p. 78.

can not conclusively equate them with the musical instrument known as the rebec, although such an equation is likely. Their etymological/orthographical relationship with rebec seems plausible.

Celtic or low-Breton words

A small group of Celtic or low-Breton words have been cited as being related to the central French word, rebec. They are: rebet, rebed, and reber. In addition, actual examples of the plural forms rebets and rebetz have been found in a mid-sixteenth-century source.[34]

Rebet is mentioned in 1732 by Johann Gottfried Walther, in his Musikalisches Lexikon in a discussion of the word rebec. Walther refers to Gilles Mênage's Dictionnaire étymologique (1650) when he writes:

> Mênage Diction: vorgedachter Französischer Ubt aber halt davor; dass es vielmehr aus dem Celtischen oder Nieder-Bretagnischen Worte Rebet entstanden, als in welcher Sprache Rebet eine Violin, und rebeter, die Violin spielen, heisse.[35]

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34 Although the sources for these words date from no earlier than 1551, the inference is that these words were used before the appearance of the word, rebec, hence, before the mid-fourteenth century. Perhaps future research will confirm their use during this earlier period. According to translator, Patricia Cummins, the letters c and t were often used interchangeably by some fifteenth-century writers. One might suggest, therefore, that rebet(s) is probably equivalent to rebec(s).

35 Johann Gottfried Walther, Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek (Leipzig: Wolffgang Deer, 1732), Facsimile reprint, Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles III (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953), pp. 514-515. The variant spelling of the title of this treatise, Musicalisches Lexicon, appears on the microcopy of the treatise, located at the Sibley Library at the Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, New York. The facsimile reprint uses the spelling indicated in this dissertation. See also Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 318b and Laurent Grillet, Les ancêtres du violon et du violoncelle, les luthiers et les fabricants d'archets (Paris: Librairie Générale des Arts Décoratifs, 1901), p. 135, who cites D. Louis le Pelletier, Dic. de la langue bretonne.

> Ménage Dictionnaire: the aforementioned French source however, holds the opinion, that it [the word rebec] rather originates from the Celtic or low-Breton word Rebet, in which language, for example, rebet denotes a violin and rebeter means to play the violin.

The spelling, rebec, is mentioned by Ruth-Sommer (1920), in connection with rebet, but no primary sources are given.[36]

The plural forms, rebets and rebetz are found to be used in the inventory of a deceased Parisian instrument-maker's stock, dating from March 23, 1551.

> Item troys rebetz faicts en façon de Cambray prisez ensemble XL s.t.
>
> Item six peti[t]s rebets dont troy garniz d'estuitz prisez XLV s.t.[37]
>
> Item: three rebetz made in Cambrai style, priced together XL s.t.
>
> Item: six small rebets of which three are furnished with cases, priced XLV s.t.

One wonders, perhaps to no avail, what the Cambrai style is in relationship to rebetz, and whether or not the instrument type to which reference is made is actually related to the rebec or to one of the numerous varieties of bowed stringed instruments prevalent at this time. In an inventory list of musical instruments belonging to Me Ernoul de

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36 Hermann Ruth-Sommer, Alte Musikinstrumente, 2nd rev. ed. (Berlin: Richard Carl Schmidt, 1920), p. 52, writes that Riemann [no specific source cited] mentions the Breton rebet and rebed in connection with rebec; however, he says that Riemann associates the meaning of these Breton words not with violin, but rather with the old Celtic chrotta.

37 Inventaire après décès de Philippe de la Canessière facteur d'instruments, March 23, 1551, Minutier central, IX, 133. Cited by François Lesure, Musique et musiciens français du XVIe siècle (Paris: 1950-1969), Reprint edition (Geneva: Minkoff, 1976), p. 74. See also discussion in this study of a rubècle mentioned in an inventory list from Cambrai, dated 1417, page 84.

Halle, Canon of Cambrai, in 1417, mention is made of several stringed instruments, including one rubècle.[38] Perhaps this rubècle and the rebetz represent the same instrument, made in this particular Cambrai style.

Finally, Jean Benjamin de la Borde writes about the rebec and reber, in his 1780 Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne.

> [Rebec.] Instrument dont on ne se sert plus, et qui ressemblait au Violon. Il n'avait que trois cordes, et on se servait d'un petit archet pour en tirer du son. Ce mot peut venir du Celtique ou bas-Breton, reber, qui signifie un Violon.[39]

> [Rebec.] An instrument which is no longer in use, and which resembles a violon [violin] . It had only three strings, and a small bow was used to produce the sound. The word may perhaps come from the Celtic or low-Breton, reber, which means a violon [violin] .

French Words

Rubebe, Rebebe and variants

A group of French-language words which may be related by their similarities in spelling and their early usage in literature include: rubebe, rubele, rubelle, rubec, and rubècle. A second group, which may be related to the first group, consists of the following words and variants: rebebe, rebebbe, rebeibe(s), rebebet(s), rebarbe, reberbe, rebesbe, rebele, rebelle, rebeble, and rebeblez.

Of the first group, the spelling rubebe seems to have been the most commonly used, presuming that one can make such an assumption

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38 Edmond Vander Straeten, La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle (Brussels: 1867-1888), Reprint edition (New York: Dover, 1969), t. VII, p. 93, who cites M. Houdoy, Description de la cathédrale de Cambrai, p. 259. Rubècle may also be a plausible diminutive form (of rubec?), according to Patricia Cummins.

39 Jean Benjamin de la Borde, Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne (Paris: P. D. Pierres, 1780), t. I, p. 304.

based upon its more frequent appearance in extant literature of the period. What may be the earliest appearance of the word rubebe dates from the late thirteenth century (ca.1265-1280[40]) and is found in a list of musical instruments that were used during festivities for a wedding, as described in the narrative poem Le roman de la rose by Guillaume de Lorris and expanded by Jean de Meung:

> Harpes a, gigues e rubebes,
> guitarres e lëuz . . .[41]
>
> Harpes, gigues, rubebes,
> guitarres and lëuz . . .

The variant spelling, rebebe, is used in another excerpt from this same poem, in a manuscript dating from ca. 1277, hence suggesting that

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40 The dates 1265, 1275, 1277, and 1280 have all been suggested. See Frédéric Eugène Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle (Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1889), Vol. VI, p. 636; Laurence Wright, "The Medieval Gittern and Citole: a Case of Mistaken Identity," Galpin Society Journal 30 (May 1977): 38; Algirdas Julien Greimas, ed., Dictionnaire de l'ancien français jusqu'au milieu du XIVe siècle, 2nd rev. ed. (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1968), p. 538; and Rowland Wright, Dictionnaire des instruments de musique; étude de lexicologie (London: Battley Bros., 1941), p. 149, respectively. Undoubtedly these various dates refer to different manuscript editions. Guillaume de Lorris wrote the romance about 1235; Jean de Meung continued and expanded it some thirty to fifty years later. It is in the continued version, and copies of it, that one finds the rubebe mentioned.

41 Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung, Le roman de la rose, t. I/V, verse 21030. Dick, p. 93, who cites modern edition by E. Langlois (Paris: 1914-1924). See also Adolf Tobler and Erhard Lommatzsch, eds., Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch (Wiesbaden: Franz Steinger Verlag, 1926-1971), Vol. VIII, p. 371. As in the previous and succeeding chapters, the names of Medieval and Renaissance musical instruments appearing in literary excerpts throughout this chapter will be left in their original spellings rather than translated into what might be inaccurate modern terminology.

these two spellings (rubebe and rebebe) were interchangeable.[42]

The life of a minstrel unfolds in the late thirteenth-century metrical romance, Li roumans de Cléomadès, written by the troubadour Adenés li Rois (Adenet le Roi). Two references are made in this source to a musical instrument called the rubebe, which is cited along with many of the commonly found stringed instruments of the time.

1. Tinpanes et micanons,
   Rubebes et salterïons.[43]

   Tinpanes and micanons,
   Rubebes and salterions.

2. Se vous a ce point la fussiez,
   Plenté d'enstrumens oyssiez:
   Vieles et sauterions,
   Harpes, et gigues, et canons,
   Leüs, rubebes et kitaires.[44]

   If you were there then,
   You would hear a great number of instruments:
   Vieles and sauterions,
   Harpes, and gigues, and canons,
   Leüs, rubebes and kitaires.[45]

An excerpt from an anonymous late thirteenth-century French translation of the epic poem Anticlaudianus, which was written ca.1183 by

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42 Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 636. Rebebe is used interchangeably with rubebe in other sources as well. The variant spelling, rubebbe, without any documentation to verify its authenticity, is mentioned by Gustav Schad, Musik und Musikausdrücke in der mittelenglischen Literatur (Frankfurt: Heinrich Richter, 1911), p. 69, who cites as his source, Albert Charles Auguste Racinet, Geschichte des Kostüms, trans. by Ad. Rosenberg (Berlin: no publisher cited, 1888), 5 volumes, no page cited.

43 Tobler and Lommatzsch, Vol. VIII, p. 31, citing modern edition by Andrê van Hasselt, ed. (Brussels: 1865-1866).

44 Adenés li Rois, Li roumans de Cléomades, t. I/II, v. 17271ff. Dick, pp. 41-42, 96, citing modern edition by Andrê van Hasselt. See also Friedrich Brücker, Die Blasinstrumente in der altfränzosischen Literatur, in Giessener Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie, Heft 19 (Giessen: Selbstverlag des Romanischen Seminars, 1926), p. 77.

45 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

the poet-theologian Alain de Lille (ca.1128-1202), describes as beautiful, an instrument called the rubebe which appears in a listing of many types of musical instruments.

La rubebe, qui tant est belle.[46]

The rubebe, which is so beautiful.

De Lille's poem is a classic allegory "on the creation and perfection of the human soul by God and nature, theology and philosophy, the virtues and the arts."[47] Two vernacular translations of Anticlaudianus were made, and the second, an anonymous translation of 1285, is the one which uses the spelling rubebe. It should be noted that the second translator took many liberties. For example, he substituted the names of contemporary instruments with which he was familiar (here the rubebe) for the names of classic instruments (here cithara?) which would more accurately have reflected the literal sense of the text.[48] Hence, the beautiful quality may belong not to the rubebe but to an instrument of classical antiquity.

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46 Alain de Lille, Anticlaudianus, Book III, verse 399. Dick, p. 95. An alternate spelling, rebebes, is given by Théodore Gérold, Histoire de la musique des origines à la fin du XIVe siècle (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1936), p. 402, who cites as his source, Novati, "Contributi alla storia della lirica musicale," Studi medievali (1906-1907): 309. Manuscript housed in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq., fr. 10.047, v. 108.

47 "Alain de Lille," in The New Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th ed. (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1978), Vol. I, p. 183.

48 James Sheridan's English translation of the original Latin text for this passage reads, "One hand holds a cithara, the other plucks its chords and produces a sweet delight of sound that is a feast for the ears and a prelude to slumber for the eyes." Alan of Lille, Anticlaudianus or The Good and Perfect Man, James J. Sheridan, translator (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973), pp. 109-110.

The fourteenth-century poet-composer, Guillaume de Machaut (Machault) (1304?-1377), also lists the rubebe with numerous other contemporary instruments in his poems Le temps pastour (1342) and La prise d'Alexandrie (ca.1370).

From Le temps pastour:

> Mais qui vêist [vëist] après mangier
> Venir menestreux sans dangier
> Pignez et mis en pure corps.
> Là furent meints acors.
> Car je vis là tout en un cerne
> Viole, rubebe, guiterne,
> . . . tout ensamble;
> Et certainement il me samble
> Qu' oncques mais tele mélodie
> Ne fut oncques vene [veue] ne oye,
> Car chacuns d'eus selonc l'acort
> De son instrument sans descort . . .[49]
>
> But who, after eating,
> Saw the minstrels come, who presented no danger [and were]
> Groomed and arranged in a simple formation.
> There was much harmony.
> For I saw there, in a circle
> Viole, rubebe, guiterne,
> [numerous instruments are cited in the text at this point]
> . . . all together;
> And certainly, it seems to me
> That never was such a melody
> Ever seen or heard,
> For each of them [was heard] according to the harmony
> Of his instrument, without discord . . .[50]

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49 Guillaume de Machaut, Le temps pastour, verses 3962ff. This version of the text was taken from Grillet, pp. 128-129. See also Edmund A. Bowles, "Haut and Bas: The Grouping of Musical Instruments in the Middle Ages," Musica Disciplina 8 (1954): 118, who cites Guillaume de Machault, Oeuvres, Ernest Hoepffner, ed. (Paris, 1911), Vol. II, p. 145f, verses 3962ff. Some textual variances and spellings of instrument names may be found in Brücker, pp. 60 and 78. Dick, p. 93, cites the variant spelling, rubelle. Translator Patricia Cummins remarks that the word, vene, in line ten of Grillet's version of the text, should probably read veue, since the letters n and u are often interchangeable and incorrectly so transcribed.

50 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

From La prise d'Alexandrie:

> Orgues, vielles, micamon,
> Rubebes et psalterion.[51]
>
> Orgues, vielles, micamon,
> Rubebes and psalterion.

In his Ballade pour Machaut (ca.1377), a tribute written upon the occasion of the composer's death, Eustache Deschamps (1346?-1406?) lists in a similar fashion many of the most common bas (literally, low, soft) instruments in use in the fourteenth century.

> Rubebes, leuths, vielles, syphonie,
> Psalterions, trestous instrumens coys,
> Rothes, guiterne, fläustes, chalemie . . .,
> mettez en euvre dois . . .,
> Plourez, gentils Galois,
> La mort Machaut, la noble rhetorique.[52]
>
> Rubebes, leuths, vielles, syphonie,
> Psalterions, every soft instrument,
> Rothes, guiterne, fläustes, chalemie . . .,
> make your fingers work . . .,
> Weep noble Frenchmen,
> For the death of Machaut, the noble rhetoric.[53]

Although one can not determine precisely what a rubebe looked like from these lengthy listings of musical instruments, one can, nevertheless, determine that the rubebe was probably a bowed stringed instrument due to its apposition with other instruments known to have been bowed, and that it was distinct in form from these other contemporary bowed stringed

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51 Guillaume de Machaut, La prise d'Alexandrie, verse 1148. Grillet, p. 134 and Dora Rittmeyer-Iselin, "Das Rebec. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte unserer Streichinstrumente," Festschrift für Karl Nef zum 60. Geburtstag (Zurich: Kommissions Verlag Gebrüder Hug, 1933), p. 213. The variant spelling, rubeles, is cited in this instance by Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 636 and Rowland Wright, p. 149.

52 Dick, p. 93, cites Eustache Deschamps. Oeuvres completes, Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, ed. (Paris, 1878-1903), t. I, p. 245ff, verse 17ff. See also Tobler and Lommatzsch, Vol. VIII, p. 371.

53 Translation by Normand Rioux and Patricia Cummins.

instruments, such as the gigue and the viele, listed in the poems. Judging from these poems, the rubebe was definitely not a plucked stringed instrument, since the word appears in lists which already enumerate all the known types of thirteenth and fourteenth-century plucked stringed instruments.

Confirmation of the fact that the rubebe was indeed a bowed stringed instrument can be found in a late fourteenth-century account book from the household of Duke Philippe le Hardi. On August 4, 1384, the Duchess paid one fr. to Estienne, for bowing (archeter) the rubebe:

> à Estienne, chanoine de la chapelle de Talent . . . pour archeter une rubebe pour donner des esbatemens à noss^{rs} les enfens de Mme.[54]
>
> To Estienne, canon of the Talent Chapel, for bowing [playing] a rubebe in order to bring pleasure to [entertain] our Lordships, the children of the Lady.

Further information concerning the rubebe can be found in an Italian sonnet written by Simone Prodenzani (1355?-ca.1433), which lists the word rubebe along with a diminutive and an augmented form, thereby suggesting the existence of a consort of rubebes.

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54 Bernard Prost and Henri Prost, eds., Inventaires mobiliers et extraits des comptes des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois (1363-1477) (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902-1913), t. II, p. 164, no. 1096.

L'altra sera puoi venner suon d'archetto,
Rubebe, rubecchette et rubicone,
Ch'a tucta gente diedar gran diletto.

Tanto me piacque et puoi: gran pena pone
Vi fecer su, ma tucti non le metto
Per non tenervi in piu longhi sermone.[55]

The other evening there came the sound of the bow,
Rubebe, rubecchette and rubicone,
Which gave great delight to everyone.

It pleases me so much and then it causes me great pain
But I will not put it all down
And thus keep you with a longer sermon.[56]

A few variants of rubebe appear in various manuscript versions of these aforementioned primary sources, according to etymologists and musical scholars. These include rubbile,[57] rebebe,[58] rubele,[59] and rubelle.[60] An example of the variant, rübibe, also found in Middle English sources, may be seen in the early thirteenth-century

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55 Codex pal. parmense 286, Sonett No. 9, p. 64f (publisher Ferretti), cited in Arnold Schering, Studien zur Musikgeschichte der Frührenaissance in Studien zur Musikgeschichte, 2. Band (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1914), p. 102. Larousse, Vol. XIII, p. 759 cites V. Hugo as writing the following remarks concerning sizes of rebecs: "Ce n'etait que dessus de rebec, hautes-contre de rebec, tailles de rebec, sans compter les flûtes et les cuivres," (there are only the treble rebec, the alto rebec, the tenor rebec, besides the flutes and the brass). No specific source from Hugo's writings is given for this excerpt, nor do we know from where Hugo got his information.

56 Translation by Beatrice Malan, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York.

57 Sibyl Marcuse, Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), p. 448. No primary source citation has yet been located for this word.

58 Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 636. Many variants of rebebe have been cited. See discussion pages 90ff.

59 Ibid. See also Rowland Wright, p. 149. According to Dick, p. 93, one often finds that the letter b in old French words becomes assimilated to an l; hence one might very likely see a mutation of the word rubebe to rubele and/or rubelle. Likewise rebebe may be changed to rebele and/or rebelle.

60 Dick, p. 93.

poem, Blancheflour et Florence, verse 22:

Rübibe, qoor e sautrie . . .

Rübibe, qoor and sautrie . . .[61]

Finally, it seems quite likely that the Latin spelling, rubeba, cited by Jerome of Moravia in his Tractatus de musica (ca.1280-1290), is related to the French spelling rubebe.[62] If this Latin/French synonymy is accurate, then one could describe the rubebe, from the albeit limited information thus far available, as being in common use from at least the second half of the thirteenth century through at least ca.1400, with the following physical characteristics and use: rubebe (variants rubbile, rubele, rubelle; synonym rebebe; derived from Latin rubeba), maybe a "beautiful"-sounding bowed stringed musical instrument, with at least two strings tuned in fifths (see rubeba); in Italy at least, the middle size of a consort of three similar instruments; played by minstrels either by itself or in a consort of like instruments; and its primary use, to provide musical entertainment.

The related word rubècle[63] denotes a musical instrument in an inventory list of Me Ernoul de Halle, Canon of Cambrai (in northern France), dating from 1417.

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61 Dick, pp. 76 and 93, who cites an unnamed article by P. Meyer in Romanische Forschungen 37: 225. In this context, all three words may refer to stringed instruments, although the translation of qoor as either horn or coron has been suggested by Dick, p. 76. See discussion of related Middle English forms in Chapter 7.

62 Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 448.

63 Paul Augé, ed., Larousse du XXe siècle (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1928-1933), Vol. V, p. 950, is the only source in which the spelling, rubède, has thus far been found. "On l'appelait tantôt rebec (n.m.), tantôt rubède (n.f.)," (sometimes one calls it rebec, sometimes rubède). One wonders if Augé's reading of the word rubède might not have been a misreading or misprinting of the spelling rubècle, in which the "cl" has been transformed into a "d."

> Une harpe, XXIIIs. - Un leu, XIId. - Une maise gisterne, XIId. - Une rubècle, VIx. - Un[e]vielle à une pièche d'os blans, IIs. - Une petite vielle où il y:a escript: en bien le Fay, IIs.[64]
>
> A harpe, XXIIIs. - A leu, XIId., - A bad [in bad shape?] gisterne, XIId. - A rubècle, VIx. - a vielle with a piece of white bone, IIs. - A small vielle on which was written: "I made it well," IIs.[65]

By its apposition with at least five other stringed instruments, some known to be plucked (harpe, leu, gisterne) and some bowed (vielle, petite vielle), one can conclude with little doubt that the rubècle was also a stringed instrument. One wonders if any direct connection existed between the Italian word rubecchette (the smallest size instrument in a consort of three apparently similar instruments) and the French spelling rubècle; perhaps rubècle, understood as a diminutive form, referred to a small form of an instrument such as a rubec or rubebe. But in this regard, the only as yet documentable use of the spelling rubec is suspect in its accuracy. It appears as late as 1593 in Claude de Sainleins' A Dictionaire French and English, in the following entry: "Un Rubec, . . . an instrument of musicke, a rebecke, a fiddle."[66] It is probable that this entry in Sainleins' Dictionary is in error, since rubec does not appear in its proper alphabetical

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64 Vander Straeten, t. VII, p. 93, who cites M. Houdoy, Description de la cathédrale de Cambrai, p. 259. See page 74 for mention of rebetz made "in Cambrai style" in a document dating from 1551. "En bien le Fay," is a motto of some sort, apparently written on or inside the instrument.

65 Translation by Dr. Gale Crouse, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota.

66 Claude de Sainleins, A Dictionaire French and English (London: T. Woodcock, 1593). Cited in Normand L. Rioux, "Towards a Consolidation of Terms of Music and Musical Instruments Found in Renaissance Dictionaries 1480-1611," unpublished term paper (Morgantown: West Virginia University, June 25, 1976), p. 20.

order, and in fact, it appears where one would expect to find the otherwise curiously omitted word, rebec.

Rebebe(s)

The spelling rebebe, perhaps derived from the Old Provençal word, rebeb, is found in a number of sources dating from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries. It has been cited as a commonly-used variant for the spelling rubebe, discussed above. As with rubebe, the earliest appearances cited for this variant spelling date from the late thirteenth century (ca.1277) in the narrative poem Le roman de la rose by Guillaume de Lorris and continued by Jean de Meung.

Harpes biens sonnans et rebebes.[67]

Nice-sounding harpes and rebebes.

Harpes et gigues et rebebes.[68]

Harpes and gigues and rebebes.

Rebebe, as an alternate spelling for rubebe, may also be found in the late thirteenth-century French translation of the poem Anticlaudianus, written ca.1183 by the poet-theologian Alain de Lille.[69] We are reminded that in the pertinent excerpt, the translator writes that the rebebe (replacing the term cithara?) was [sounded] beautiful.

An appearance of the plural rebebes (variant rebeibes[70]) is found in one version of the translation of Mathieu or Matheolus' Lamentationes,

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67 Grillet, p. 127.

68 Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung, Le roman de la rose, verse 21286, cited in Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 636 and Rowland Wright, p. 149.

69 Gérold, p. 402, who cites Novati, "Contributi alla storia della lirica musicale," Studi medievali (1906-1907): 309. See discussion p.78.

70 The variant spelling, rebeibe, is given in Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 636 and Rowland Wright, p. 146, citing the version Lamentationes, III, vs. 2979, Tricotel.

written at the end of the thirteenth century and translated by Jehan le Fèvre in ca.1371/72.

> Guiternes, rebebes et rotes.[71]
>
> Guiternes, rebebes and rotes.

Le Fèvre also translated Richard de Fournival's work, La vieille, which was written in the thirteenth century. Le Fèvre's version, ca.1376, known as Les dernières amours d'Ovide, provides some specific information concerning the rebebe:

> Viele [et] luth et guisterne
> Et la rebebe a corde terne
> Faisoie concorder souvent
> Par poulz de doiz, par trait ou vent,
> Et donner par leur son mistique
> La melodie de musique.[72]
>
> Viele [and] luth and guisterne
> And the rebebe with three strings
> He played in harmony often
> Through the stroke of his fingers, through the melodic passage in the wind,
> He made them give through their mystical sound
> The musical melody.[73]

Remembering that the rubeba in ca.1280-90 had two strings according to Jerome of Moravia and, by presumed synonymy, then logically also the rubebe and the rebebe, it may seem surprising that in this excerpt it is clearly stated that the rebebe had three strings. To evaluate this discrepancy, one must remember that this is a late fourteenth-century translation of a thirteenth-century work, and, if the translator

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71 Tobler and Lommatzsch, Vol. VIII, p. 371, who cites Les lamentations de Matheolus et le livre de leesce de J. le Fèvre de Resson, van Hamel, ed. (Paris: 1892-1905), III, verse 2947.

72 Friedrich Gennrich, "Zur Musikinstrumentenkunde der Machaut-Zeit," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft 9 (1927): 515-516 and Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 636.

73 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

did not change the spelling rebebe from its thirteenth-century form (which seems unlikely), then it would appear that a three-stringed instrument might have existed alongside a two-stringed version. This is possible, however, since standardization of musical instrument design at this time was virtually non-existent.[74] On the other hand, the translator may very well have changed the original text and substituted the number of strings according to a different fourteenth-century practice with which he was familiar. Nevertheless, it is significant to remember that this is the earliest known source which specifically mentions an instrument of three strings with any sort of rebec-related name.[75] One additional problem with this excerpt is the line which translates "through a stroke of his fingers." This might suggest that, in the eyes of the translator and/or the original author, the rebebe was plucked rather than bowed. However, at this time in history the word viele referred to a bowed instrument and although it could be inferred from this passage that it too was plucked (perhaps the player was using pizzicato?), one could both logically and historically conclude that both the viele and rebebe were bowed instruments.

The fourteenth-century poet Eustache Deschamps referred to a specific stringed instrument in his Ballade pour Machaut, discussed above, with the spelling rubebe cited by one editor of his complete

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74 Six and seven-stringed viole de gamba, for example, existed simultaneously in the second half of the seventeenth-century and, although their uses may have differed, nevertheless they were still called viole de gamba.

75 See rebecs, 1379, for another early reference to an instrument of three strings, pages 338 and 104-105.

works.[76] The spelling, rebebe, is the version used in three additional excerpts from his poetry. The first two of these come from the poem De musica:

> Autrefoiz en harpe, en rebebe, en vïelle, en douçaine,
> en sons de tabours, fleuthes, et autres instrumens musicians.[77]
>
> In former times, like the harpe, the rebebe, the vïelle, the douçaine,
> the sound of tabours, fleuthes, and other musical instruments.
>
> Et ainsi peut estre entendu des autres instrumens des voix comme rebebes, guiternes, vielles et psalterions, par la diversité des tailles, la nature des cordes et le touchement des doiz.[78]
>
> And thus can be heard the sound of other instruments like the rebebes, guiternes, vielles and psalterions, each in accordance with their various sizes, types of strings, and fingering.[79]

In a third excerpt from Deschamps's poetry, we find the following:

> Et neantmoins es cours royaulx
> Chascun veult jouer de la trompe
> Guisterne, rebebe ensement,
> Harpe, psaltërion, douçaine.
> N'ont plus amoureux sentement
> Vielle, fleuthe traversaine.[80]

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76 Marquis de Queux de Saint Hilaire, ed., Oeuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps (Paris, 1878-1903).

77 Tobler and Lommatzsch, Vol. VIII, p. 371, cites Oeuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps, Gaston Raynaud, ed. (Paris, 1878-1903), t. VII, verses 269-270.

78 Dick, p. 96, citing Raynaud, t. VII, p. 270. See also Jean Baptiste la Curne de Sainte-Palaye, Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage français ou glossaire de la langue française depuis son origine jusqu'au siècle de Louis XIV (Niort: Lèopold Favre, 1875-1882), Vol. IX, p. 60.

79 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

80 Dick, p. 94, citing Raynaud, t. VII, pp. 232-233, verses 19ff. See also Grillet, p. 127 and Victor Gay, Glossaire archaéologique du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance (Paris: Éditions Auguste Picard, 1928), t. II, p. 289.

> And moreover, at the royal courts
> Everyone wants to play the trompe,
> Guisterne, and rebebe, as well as the
> Harpe, psalterion, and douçaine.
> Vielle and fleuthe traversaine
> Do not evoke a more lovely sentiment [more feelings of love].[81]

An anonymous quotation dating from 1391 reveals that the rebebe was sometimes used to play music to which one could dance and provides the name of the rebebe player.

> Un nommé Ysembart jouoit d'une Rebebe, et en jouant un nommé le Bastart se print à danser.[82]

> Somebody named Isembart was playing a rebebe, and, while he was playing, somebody, named the Bastard, began to dance.[83]

No further uses of rebebe have yet been found which date from between 1391 and 1525. However, a 1525 edition (the earliest known to be extant) of the anonymous poem, Le banquet du boys, believed to have been written in the fifteenth century, uses this spelling in the following quotation.

> Il m'en fait mal: non pourtant, damoiselle,
> Foy que je doy Trupelu, mon chien;
> Je vueil ung tour accorder ma vïelle,
> Et ma rebebe, dont je joue si bien,
> Et manderay, ne me chaille combien,
> Bergiers, bergières ceste saison prochaine.
> -"C'est tres-bien dit, Gontier," dist dame Hélaine.[84]

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81 Translation by Normand Rioux and Patricia Cummins.

82 "Lettres de remission," in Reg. 141, Chartoph. reg. ch. 99. Cited in Domino du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis (1678), Reprint edition (Paris: Leopold Favre, 1937), t. VII, p. 35 and Dick, p. 95. Grillet, p. 131, cites the use of the variant rubebe in this passage.

83 Translation by Normand Rioux.

84 Anatole de Courde de Montaiglon and James de Rothschild, eds., Recueil de poésies françoises des XVe et XVIe siècles: morales, facetieuses, historiques (Paris: P. Jannet, 1855-1878), Vol. X, pp. 205 and 207.

It hurts me: nevertheless, young lady,
By the faith I owe Trupelu my dog,
I want to tune my vïelle a bit
And my rebebe, which I play so well,
And I shall send for I don't care how many
Shepherds and shepherdesses this coming season.
-"That is quite well said, Gontier," said Lady Helen.[85]

At least one additional reference to the rebebe is allegedly made in the sixteenth century, but its primary source has not yet been located and confirmed:

Sonnez tabours, trompes, tubes, clarons,
Flustes, bedons, simphonyes, rebebes.[86]

Sound the tabours, trompes, tubes, clarons,
Flustes, bedons, simphonyes, rebebes.

From the information gleaned from these sources, one can conclude that the rebebe (derived from Latin: rubeba; synonymous with rubebe) was in use from at least the late thirteenth century through the sixteenth century and was a "nice-sounding" instrument (like the rubebe), with three strings, perhaps plucked (bowing is never specified), and popular at the royal courts during the fourteenth century; at least some music played on it was appropriate for dancing.

Variants of Rebebe(s)

Numerous variants for rebebe(s) have been cited in etymological studies and include the following spellings: rebebbe, rebeibe(s), rebebet(s), rebarbe, reberbe, rebesbe, rebele, rebelle, rebeble, and rebeblez.

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85 Translation by Patricia Cummins, who notes that tour literally means a "turn," and by extension, a turning of a peg of a stringed instrument, therefore it can also be translated to "tune."

86 Gay, t. II, p. 290, who cites Antoine Jean Victor le Roux de Lincy, Recueil de chants historiques français depuis le XIIe jusqu'au XVIIIe siècle (1841) (Geneva: Slatkine reprints, 1969), Vol. I, p. 389.

The spelling, rebeibes, replaces rebebes in one manuscript version of Jehan le Fèvre's late fourteenth-century translation of Matheolus's Lamentationes (written at the end of the thirteenth century).

> Harpes, musettes d'Alemaigne,
> Lucs et flustes de Bretaigne,
> Guysternes, rebeibes et rotes
> Et tout ce qui peut former notes.[87]
>
> Harpes, musettes d'Alemaigne,
> Lucs and flustes de Bretaigne,
> Guysternes, rebeibes and rotes
> And anything that can play notes.

The variant spelling, rebebbe, is used by Jean de Gerson in the Canticordum du pelerin (1424), which contains "a number of references to early fifteenth-century instruments."[88] According to musicologist Christopher Page, Gerson writes that "the rebebbe . . . accompanies Chansons de gestes, 'such as those of Roland and Oliver'."[89]

Rebebets appears to be a variant of rebebes. It is found in a report written sometime between 1402 and ca. 1425 by Jean de Bethencourt (1360?-1425?). Bethencourt was involved in an invasion of the Canary Islands in 1402, and in Le Canarien he mentions:

> Herpes, rebebets, buisines.[90]

In addition, the word rebebets may have been shortened at some point to rebets, a spelling found in a Parisian inventory of musical instruments

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87 Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 636 and Rowland Wright, p. 146.

88 Christopher Page, "Early Fifteenth-century Instruments in Jean de Gerson's 'Tractatus de Canticis'," Early Music 6, No. 3 (July 1978): 339.

89 Ibid., p. 347, fn. 12, citing Mgr. Glorieux, ed., Jean de Gerson oeuvres complètes (Tournai: 1960-73), Vol. VII, p. 128.

90 Jean de Bethencourt, Le Canarien, p. 162. Cited in Dick, p. 94, Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 637, and Rowland Wright, p. 146.

dating from 1551.[91]

The variant spelling, rebesbe,[92] referring to a musical instrument, may be found in a quotation dating from 1395.

> Roussel et Gaynat pristrent à jouer, l'un d'une fleute et l'autre d'une rebesbe, et ainsi que les aucuns dansoient.[93]
>
> Roussel and Gaynat began to play, one on a fleute, the other on a rebesbe; meanwhile, some people danced.[94]

A similarly-spelled variant of rebebe is reberbe, the use of which is documented in three sources. The earliest documented use is in Jean de Gerson's sermon, Puer natus est nobis (ca.1424-1426), "where the reberbe is said to have three strings."[95] The second is in an anonymous archival document dated 1458, where one reads that

> Avecque lesquelx compaignons estoit ung nommé François Gontaud, qui sonnoit d'une reberbe, et alerent dansans.[96]
>
> Along with these gentlemen there was one named François Gontaud, who was playing a reberbe, while the others danced.[97]

The word is once again encountered in Illustrations de Gaule et singularities de Troie, Book I (1500), written by Jean Lemaire de

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91 Inventaire après décès de Philippe de la Canessière, facteur d'instruments," March 23, 1551, Minutier central, IX, 133. Cited by Lesure, p. 74. See page 74 of this study.

92 Carl Engel, Researches into the Early History of the Violin Family (London: Novello, Ewer, 1883), p. 78, mentions the unique variant, rebeshe, for which he presents no documentation. This spelling is probably a misreading of rebesbe.

93 "Lettres de remission," in Arch. JJ 147, pièce 266. Cited in Sainte-Palaye, Vol. IX, p. 60, Du Cange, t. VII, p. 35, and Godefroy, Vol. VI, pp. 636-637.

94 Translation by Normand Rioux.

95 Page, "Gerson," p. 346, fn. 12, who cites Glorieux, Vol. VII, 2, p. 966.

96 "Lettres de remission," in Arch. JJ 188, pièce 39. Cited in Sainte-Palaye, Vol. IX, p. 60, Du Cange, t. VII, p. 35, and Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 636.

97 Translation by Normand Rioux.

Belges (1473-died ca. before 1525).[98]

Chalumeaux, harpes, reberbes.[99]

The spelling, rebarbe, which could be a variant spelling of reberbe, has been cited as a variant of rebebe. Both spellings appear in a 1525 edition of the anonymous poem Le banquet du boys, which, as noted above, was believed to have been written by a fifteenth-century poet.

> Ly vert [L'yvert] Hébers a la chanue barbe,
> En bergerie trestout le plus senez,
> Vient d'autre part, s'aporte sa rebarbe,
> Au bancquet a ses enfans amenés,
> Et filz et filles, gayement atournez
> De chappeletz et flourettes petites,
> Souef flairans, semés de marguerites.[100]
>
> In winter[101] Hébers with the white beard,
> By far the most skilled in pastorals,[102]

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98 Georges Grente, Albert Pauphilet, Louis Pichard, Robert Barroux, eds., Dictionnaire des lettres françaises "le seizième siècle" (Paris: Arthème Fayard, 1951), pp. 443-444.

99 Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 637.

100 Montaiglon and Rothschild, Vol. X, p. 211, Dick, p. 94, and Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 637.

101 According to translator Patricia Cummins, this excerpt presents several problems. As it stands, ly vert should be translated "green," but the phrase l'yvert would mean "in winter," which seems to make more sense in this context.

102 Patricia Cummins notes that, in the singular, bergerie should be translated as "sheepfold," and in the plural bergeries denotes a pastoral, a type of poem. If indeed rebarbe refers to a rebec-related instrument, then it would make sense, in this context, to use the translation "pastoral," since rebec-like instruments were sometimes played during the recitation of poetry (see, for example, the English rebeck/rebecke in Jorge de Montemayor's poem, Diana, ca.1559, chapter VIII, pages 219ff). Perhaps Hébers was part of the entertainment at the banquet.

Comes from somewhere and brings his rebarbe.[103]
To the banquet he has brought his children,
Both sons and daughters gaily attired
In garlands and small flowerets
Smelling sweet and sprinkled with daisies.

During the course of the development of the French language, the letter "b" was assimilated to become an "l" in many words,[104] and several spellings including rebele, rebelle, rebeble, and rebeblez may be derived from the root word rebebe in this fashion. However, a second line of development may have influenced the two spellings rebele and rebelle. Although, as shall be seen, rebelle usually denotes a musical instrument, it can also refer to a rebellion or rebellious act, and, in this sense, it is probably derived from the Latin word rebellis.[105] The only reference to rebele found thus far is used in this latter sense, although Laurent Grillet, a nineteenth-century musical scholar, who cites the quotation, writes that rebele refers to a musical instrument.[106] The primary source in

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103 Rebarbe could be translated and understood to refer to a specific musical instrument. However, Patricia Cummins notes that it seems also to be a play on words with barbe, perhaps referring to a "new beard" for Hébers. Rebarbe can also be translated as "surliness" or "bad behavior." The nineteenth-century editors, Montaiglon and Rothschild, however, reasoned that rebarbe referred to the rebebe, based primarily upon the logic of Gilles Ménage (1650), since the spelling, rebarbe, does not appear in the standard French dictionaries by Randle Cotgrave, ed., A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues (London, 1611), Facsimile reprint (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1950) and Jean Nicot, Thrésor de la langue françoyse (Paris: David Douceur, 1606), Reprint edition (Paris: A. and J. Picard, 1960).

104 Dick, p. 93.

105 Ernst Gamillscheg, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache, 2nd ed. (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1966-1969), p. 744. Both Gamillscheg and Battisti, Vol. V, p. 3246, refer to rebele and rebelle as twelfth-century words. However, no twelfth-century sources have been located during the course of this research, which use these spellings.

106 Grillet, p. 134.

question is Des taboureurs, a poem written in the first half of the fifteenth-century, attributed to Roquefort à Rutebeuf. Clearly, rebele does not refer to an instrument in this context, although its apposition with the names of three other instruments might have been purposeful.

> Merveille est de ce monde comme torne bouele
> Et tort et sans renom me chose et rebele
> Quar s'um bergier de chans tabore et chalemele
> Plus tost est apelé que cil qui bien viële.[107]
>
> It is a wonder in this world like a somersault
> As well as a wrong, a thing without fame,[108]
> and a rebellious act,
> For if a shepherd plays a song on his tabore and chalemele
> He is sooner called upon than someone who plays the viële
> well.

A similar use is made of the spelling rebelle, also in an early fifteenth-century source, the poem Le champion des dames (1440-42) by Martin le Franc.

> Tu as les avugles ouy
> Jouer a la court de Bourgongne
> N'a pas certainement ouy
> Fut il jamais telle besongne.
> J'ay veu Binchois avoir vergongne
> Et soy taire emprez leur rebelle
> Et Dufay despité et frongne
> Qu'il n'a melodye sy belle.[109]

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107 Grillet, p. 134.

108 Patricia Cummins translates renom me as renommé.

109 Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 12476, fol. 98, cited in Jeanne Marix, Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne sous le regne de Philippe le Bon (1420-1467) (Strasbourg: 1939), Reprint edition in Collection d'etudes musicologiques, Band 29 (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1974), p. 107. Marix writes that rebelle is a name for the rebec, p. 107, fn. 1. See also Craig Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions," Journal of the American Musicological Society 28, No. 2 (Summer 1975): 180.

You have heard the blind
Play at the court of Burgundy, [but]
You have, without a doubt, never heard such an affair.
I saw Binchois shamed
And hushed after their revelry
And I saw Dufay vexed and frowning
As he does not have such a beautiful melody.[110]

In this translation rebelle could mean a "rebellion," but perhaps more likely it suggests a sort of jubilant, noisy atmosphere. In addition, this may be a purposeful play on words. Since the blind musicians referred to were viellists,[111] perhaps rebelle was chosen by the poet since it could refer both to a contemporary musical instrument as well as to the "musical rebellion" which caused eyebrows to be raised by the distinguished musicians Binchois and Dufay.

Another use of the word rebelle was to denote a musical instrument, and this was a common practice throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One of the earliest of such references is found in an anonymous pastoralet, dating from about the fourteenth century.

Il m'est advis que j'oy la corde
D'une rebelle dont juoit
Belon.[112]

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110 Translation by Normand Rioux and Patricia Cummins.
111 Craig Wright, p. 180.
112 Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 636 and Dick, p. 93.

Someone told me that I heard the string
Of a rebelle which
Belon used to play.[113]

According to Friedrich Brücker, the fifteenth-century Mystère de St. Quentin lists a number of musical instruments, among them rebelles.[114] The French poet, Jean Molinet (1435-1507), mentions the rebelle at least twice in his poetry. In this first excerpt, a rather humorous picture is evoked.

Car, en dançant, tant me lassa,
Que ma muse à bruiant cassa,
Et mes nacaires pourfendi;
Oncques puis corde ne tendi
Sur tabourin, ne sur rebelle.[115]

For, while I was dancing, I grew so weary
That my muse broke into many pieces,
And my nacaires caved in;
There weren't even any strings left
On my tabourin, or on my rebelle.[116]

Needless to say, one person could not play all these instruments simultaneously while dancing, although each instrument might have been played in turn. Interpreted differently, this scene might be viewed as an allegory or double-entendre, perhaps, as was common at that time, imagining the instruments mentioned to represent parts of

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113 Translator Patricia Cummins notes that oy can be translated either as "I have" or "I heard." Dick interprets this passage to mean that the rebelle had but one string ("nur eine Saite"), but it can also, and perhaps more likely, be figuratively understood to denote the strings of a rebelle. No other evidence has been found to suggest that the rebelle was one-stringed; the only one-stringed instruments commonly referred to in the Middle Ages and Renaissance were the monochord and lira. (The tromba marina may be said to have functioned as a one-stringed instrument as well, although it often had any number of sympathetic strings.)

114 Brücker, p. 72.

115 Grillet, p. 134, does not cite the specific poem from which this excerpt is drawn.

116 Translation by Normand Rioux.

the human anatomy.[117]

In his Chanson sur la journée de Guinegate, written during or after 1479, Jean Molinet lists numerous instruments of his time, all imagined to be sounding in honor and praise of the young Duke Maximillien who had just won the Battle of Guinegate, fought on August 7, 1479.[118]

> Sonnez tabours, trompes, tubes, clarons,
> Flustes, bedons, simphonyes, rebelles,
> Cymballes, cors doulx, manicordions,
> Decacordes, choros, psalterions,
> Orgues, herpes, naquaires, challemelles
> Bon échiquiers, guisternes, doulcemelles
> Cornemuses, timbres, cloches sonnantes,
> Pipetz, flajolz, luqus et marionnettes.
> . . .
> Vive le duc Maximilianus![119]

> Sound tabours, trompes, tubes, clarons,
> Flustes, bedons, simphonyes, rebelles,
> Cymballes, cors doulx, manicordions,
> Decacordes, choros, psalterions,
> Orgues, herpes, naquaires, challemelles
> Good échiquiers, guisternes, doulcemelles
> Cornemuses, timbres, ringing cloches,
> Pipetz, flajolz, luqus and marionettes.
> . . .
> Long live Duke Maximilien!

Another quotation, dating from 1480, and written by Jean Aubrion, also lists the rebelle among other musical instruments.

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117 John H. Planer, for example, discussed such an analogy between the bagpipes and human anatomy in "Bosch's Bagpipes," a paper presented at the Eighth International Conference on Musical Iconography at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, in May 1980.

118 Le Roux de Lincy, Vol. I, p. 385. It would be interesting to compare all the instrument types listed in this poem with the similar listings more than a hundred years earlier by Machaut and Deschamps.

119 Manuscript from the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 7687, f. LXXXV verso, cited in Le Roux de Lincy, Vol. I, p. 389. See also Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 637 and Grillet, p. 127.

Joueurs de hairpes, de rebelles, de leutz.[120]

Players of hairpes, rebelles, of leutz.

Aubrion also writes in his Journal about the wedding of Conrad de Serrière and Claude Baudoiche, in Metz, July 25, 1491, at which a group of fifty-seven musicians played, among which was a rebelle player.

> Lvij (musiciens), que (tant) ménestrés, que taborin, vielle, rebelle, trompette, cléron, leu, herpe et salterion.[121]
>
> Fifty-seven (musicians), and as well as minstrels, [there were] the taborin, vielle, rebelle, trompette, cléron, leu, herpe and salterion.

From the information available in these several quotations which mention the rebelle, one can draw the conclusion that it was a stringed musical instrument (bowing is not specified) played perhaps during the fourteenth century and certainly throughout the fifteenth century. Its use seems to have been to accompany dancing and to be played at festivities such as weddings.

The word rebeble, considered to be a variant and/or a diminutive form[122] of rebebe, and probably also a variant of rebele and rebelle, is allegedly used in fifteenth-century texts, although specific examples of such have not yet been located.[123]

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120 Jean Aubrion, "Journal," cited by Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 637 and Rowland Wright, p. 146.

121 Yvonne Rokseth, "Instruments à l'église au XVe siècle," Revue de musicologie 14 (1933): 208, citing Journal de Jean Aubrion, Larchey, ed. (Metz, 1857), p. 275.

122 Dick, pp. 75 and 93.

123 Corominas, Vol. III, p. 968, who cites Vox romanica 4: 88 (this latter source has been erroneously cited, however). Schad, p. 68, cites the existence of a variant spelling, rebuble, but he provides no information concerning the use of the word.

Finally, the word rebeblez appears to be simply the plural form of rebeble, and has been found in an excerpt from the poem Échecs amoureux, which dates from the fifteenth century.

> Et puis aultrefois reprenoient,
> Quant mendre noise demandoient,
> Flasoz, fleutez et douchaines,
> Qui sont moult doulces et saines,
> Et telz autrez instrumens bas
> Dont moult est plaisans li esbas.
> La ouist on sonner vielles
> Et harpes excellentment
> Et psalterions ensement,
> Ghisternez, rebeblez et rotez,
> Qui faisoient moult doulcez nottez,
> Leuz qui sont de plus grant ton,
> Orguez en main y oist on
> Et citoles meisement,
> Qui sonnoient moult doucement . . .[124]

> And at other times,
> Whenever less sound was desired,
> They took up
> Flasoz, fleutez and douchaines
> Which are very sweet and fine,
> And other such low instruments
> Whose amusement is quite pleasant.
> There were heard vielles and
> Harpes played very well,
> And psalterions too;
> Ghisternez, rebeblez, and rotes
> Which played very sweet notes;
> Leuz, which have a greater sound;
> Orguez en main were heard,
> And citoles too,
> Which sounded very sweet . . .[125]

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124 Bowles, Haut/Bas, p. 121. See also Hermann Abert, "Die Musikästhetik der Échecs Amoureux," Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft 6 (1904-1905): 346-355, and Grillet, pp. 143 and 145. A picture from the manuscript of Échecs Amoureux, dedicated to King Louis of France, duke of Orléans, depicts a mermaid holding a straight trumpet and an instrument which may be a rebeble. No bow is depicted. Appendix III, Catalog F.15.4.

125 Translation by Normand Rioux and Patricia Cummins.

Rebeblez, it may be concluded, were definitely musical instruments, and, most likely, they were stringed (bowing may not conclusively be inferred) and possibly represented a small size of rebebes.

One may hypothesize that all of the words discussed which relate to rubebe and rebebe, with the specific exceptions of rebele and rubelle noted above, evidently refer to basically the same stringed musical instrument in use from at least the late thirteenth through the early sixteenth century; an instrument which was most likely bowed, supplied with two to three strings, and used primarily for musical entertainment on festive occasions, at the royal court (at least during the fourteenth century), and to accompany dancing.

Finally, four French words which might be confused with the rebec-related terminology just discussed, due to both misleading entries in dictionary sources and their spellings which look similar to some words which actually do denote rebec-like instruments, are: ribebe, rebube, rebuter, and rebute. These words are said to refer not to a stringed instrument, but rather to the jaw's harp.[126] The spelling ribebe appears in two sources of the fourteenth century, one in Italian and one in French. It is not exactly clear to what instrument the word refers in these sources, and one could argue that it might as well refer to the

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126 See Curt Sachs, Handbuch der Musikinstrumentenkunde, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: 1930), Reprint edition (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), p. 64, Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 438, Rowland Wright, p. 146, and Dick, pp. 123-124. The unique spelling, ribele, is mentioned only by Rittmeyer-Iselin, p. 215, and could be seen as a variant of ribebe since the letters b and l were frequently interchanged. However, she mentions it in connection with the rebec and rubele, thereby suggesting that it was a stringed instrument and not a jaw's harp. No documentation is given for the source of ribele.

rebec, as to the jaw's harp, or to any other particular type of musical instrument:

From Anon., L'intelligenza:

> Udivi suon di molto dolzi danze,
> di chitarre e carribi smisurati;
> e trombe e cennamelle in concordanze,
> e cembali alamanni assai triati;
> cannon, mezzi cannon a smisuranze,
> sufoli con tambur ben accordati;
> audivi d'un leuto ben sonare,
> ribebe e otricelli, e ceterare,
> salteri ed altri stormenti triati.[127]

> One heard the sound of many sweet dances,
> Of chitarre and boundless roundelays,
> And trombe and cennamelle agreeing harmoniously,
> And selected German cembali
> Cannon, mezzi cannon, abundantly,
> Sufoli, well-tuned tambur,
> One heard the fine playing of a leuto,
> Ribebe and otricelli, and the playing of ceterare,
> Salteri and other selected instruments.[128]

From "Bibliotheque protypographique," 1373:

> Une mescheante ribebe et le fons de une.[129]

> A melancholy ribebe and the bottom (?) of one.[130]

Rebube is used in The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, translated by John Lydgate from the French of Guillaume de Deguilleville (written ca.1330); translation made in 1426, of a 1355 version), and again, it seems that one could translate rebube as either rebec or jaw's harp

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127 Luisa Marcucci, Mostra di strumenti musicali in disegni degli Uffizi, Catalog - Gabinetto designi e stampe degli Uffizi (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1952), p. 17.

128 Translation by Dr. Ivo and Mrs. Beatrice Malan, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York.

129 Gay, t. II, p. 290, Rowland Wright, p. 146. Wright lists ribebe in this excerpt as being synonymous with rebebe. Sachs, Handbuch, p. 64, indicates that ribebe was used in French in the eighteenth century to refer to the jaw's harp.

130 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

in this particular instance:

> And to revelle at taverne,
> Wyth al merthe and mellodye,
> On rebube and on symphonye.[131]

The rebube is defined as a jaw's harp in the following sources: Pierre le Loyer, Discours et histoire des spectres (1605);[132] Marin Mersenne, Harmonie universelle (1636);[133] Antoine Furetière, in his Dictionnaire universel (1690), definitively defines rebube as a synonym for trompe, which denotes a jaw's harp;[134] and a French lexicon of 1755 by Prévost, the Manuel-lexique, similarly defines rebube as a jaw's harp and lists trompe as a synonym.[135] In his entry for rebec, Walther, in his Musikalisches Lexikon, cites Frischens Lexico as stating that rebube was derived from the Arabic word rebaba (or rebâb), thereby implying some sort of relationship between the words rebec and rebube.[136]

Curt Sachs, in his Handbuch der Musikinstrumentenkunde (2nd ed., 1930), confirms the assumption of the compilers of the Dictionnaire de

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131 Guillaume de Deguilleville, The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man (1330; 2nd rev. ed., 1355), John Lydgate, translator (1426), F. J. Furnivall, ed., Early English Text Society (Extra Series) (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1899-1904), LXXVII, 317. See also Henry Holland Carter, A Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), Reprint edition, Indiana University Humanities Series No. 45 (New York: Kraus Reprint Corp., 1968), p. 407.

132 Pierre le Loyer, Discours et histoire des spectres, visions et apparitions des esprits, anges, démons, et ames, se monstrans visibles aux hommes (Paris: Nicholas Buon, 1605), p. 845, cited by Rowland Wright, p. 146.

133 Marin Mersenne, Harmonie universelle (1635), VII, p. 1, cited by Rowland Wright, p. 146.

134 Antoine Furetière, Dictionnaire universel (1690), cited in Gay, t. II, p. 290.

135 Prévost, Manuel-lexique (1755), cited in Gay, t. II, p. 290.

136 Frischens, Lexico, cited in Walther, pp. 514-515.

Trévoux (7th ed., 1771),[137] and writes that the word, rebuter, means to fling back, rebound, or recoil, and that this word gave rise, as a descriptive stem, for the word rebute which, Sachs writes, was used in fifteenth-century French to denote the jaw's harp. Sachs also believes that the French rebube is a derivative of rebuter.[138]

Rebec

Friedrich Dick, in his Bezeichnungen für Saiten-und Schlaginstrumente in der altfranzösischen Literatur (1932), writes that examples of the earliest uses of the French spelling rebec can be found in French literature dating from the fifteenth century.[139] At least one significantly earlier source has been located which, if correctly dated and accurately spelled, would rank as one of the earliest extant references to a specifically rebec-like instrument in any language.[140] The excerpt comes from Jehan de Brie, Le bon berger, and has been dated ca.1379:

> Les menües cordes des (du mouton) bien lavez, sechez, tors, rez, essüez et filez, sont pour la melodie des instrumens de musique de vïelles, de harpes, de rothes, de luthz, de quiternes [guiternes], de rebecs, de choros, de almaduries, de symphonies, de cytholes et de aultres instrumens que l'on fait sonner par dois et par cordes.[141]

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137 Dictionnaire de Trévoux (7th ed., 1771), Vol. VII, p. 180, cited by Rowland Wright, p. 146.

138 Sachs, Handbuch, p. 64 and Rowland Wright, p. 146.

139 Dick, p. 93, "Vom 15. Jahr. ab treffen wir in der französischen Literatur die Form rebec . . . an."

140 Aimeric de Peyrac's early fourteenth-century use of the Latin spelling, rebecam, represents the earliest use of the rebec spelling thus far located. See discussion, page 57.

141 Gay, t. I, p. 375, Tobler and Lommatzsch, Vol. VIII, p. 371, and Dick, pp. 60 and 77.

> The small strings of gut (sheep gut) well washed, dried, twisted, tightened, wiped, and drawn out, are for the melody of musical instruments such as vïelles, harpes, rothes, luthz, quiternes, rebecs, choros, almaduries, symphonies, cytholes and other instruments that one makes resound by use of fingers and strings.[142]

From this informative excerpt, the fact can be established that the rebec was a stringed instrument; however, it is not entirely clear whether it was bowed or plucked in the late fourteenth century. Aimeric de Peyrac's use of the Latin spelling, rebecam, definitely refers to a bowed stringed instrument, so one can justifiably assume that rebecs at this time were bowed.

The next oldest sources of information concerning the rebec and its players which have been located thus far date from the end of the fifteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth century. Among these are references to rebecs and rebec-players in household account books:

1. Payment of 6 écus was made to three instrumentalists in the service of the Duchess Yolande of Savoy, including a lehu (lute), a tambourin, and a rebec. (December 1476)[143]

2. Payment of 2 florins was made to each of the musicians who played the harpe, the rebec, and the saymie for the Duke Philibert of Savoy. (September 1479)[144]

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142 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

143 A. Dufour and R. Rabut, Les musiciens, la musique, et les instruments de musique in Savoie du XIIIe au XIXe siècle (Cambéry, 1878), Reprint (Geneva: Minkoff, 1972), p. 114.

144 Ibid., p. 115.

3. 35 sols - ung povre insensé qui jouait du rebec. (November 5, 1483; reign of Charles VIII)[145]

   35 sols to a poor witless man who played the rebec.[146]

4. A Amy Pajon, joueur du tabourin, Jehan Rousset, joueur du haut bois, et Raymonnet de Beauvoisyn, joueur de rebec, 21 l.t. en faveur de ce que ilz ont joué de leurs instrumens a la premiere et nouvelle entrée en la ville de Grenoble. (1490; reign of Charles VIII)[147]

   To Amy Pajon, tabourin player, Jehan Rousset, haut bois player, and Raymonnet de Beauvoisyn, rebec player, 21 l.t. on behalf of the fact that they have played their instruments at the first and new entrance into the city of Grenoble.

5. deux joueurs de musette et de rebec, estans a Marguerite de Flandres. (1494)[148]

   two players of the musette and rebec, belonging to Marguerite of Flandres.[149]

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145 Archives Nationales K.K. 73 and 76, "Les comptes de l'argenterie du roy Charles VIII," cited in René Brancour, Histoire des instruments de musique (Paris: H. Laurens, 1921), p. 7.

146 Alberto Abraham Bachmann, An Encyclopedia of the Violin, translated by Frederick H. Martens, Albert F. Wier, ed. (New York: D. Appleton, 1925), p. 2. See also Antoine Vidal, Les instruments á archet (1876-1878), Reprint (Londres: The Holland Press, 1961), Vol. I, p. 16.

147 Archives Nationales K.K. 76, fol. 139, "Les comptes de l'argenterie du roy Charles VIII," cited in Gay, t. II, p. 290. See also Alberto Bachmann, p. 2; his "Raymond Monnet" is presumed to be one and the same person as "Raymonnet de Beauvoisyn."

148 "Registres de la chambre des comptes de Blois," compulsés par de la Borde, t. III, p. 441, cited by Vander Straeten, t. VII, p. 91, fn. 2. Paule Chaillon cites the year of this record as 1495 and the source as: Archives Jourvansault, cited in the Recherches manuscripts of B. Bernhard, preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Doc. 50. See Paule Chaillon, "Les musiciens du nord à la cour de Louis XII," in La Renaissance dans les provinces du nord, ed. François Lesure (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1956), p. 65, fn. 10.

149 Translation by Gale Crouse.

6. 30 s.t. pour ung chevalet d'argent que mondit seigneur a fait faire pour le rebec d'argent. (1514; for Count of Angoulême)[150]

   30 s.t. for a silver bridge that the lord had made for the silver rebec.[151]

7. Lancelot Levasseur, rebec-player in ordinary to the King. (1523-1535; reign of King Francis I)[152]

8. A Lancelot, joueur de rebec, et à Faustin, joueur de sacqueboutte, 200 escus. (1530; reign of Francis I)[153]

   To Lancelot, rebec-player, and to Faustin, sacqueboutte-player, 200 escus.

9. Jehan Cavalier, rebec-player to the King. (1559; could be reign of Henry II or Francis II)[154]

Accounts such as these help place the rebec and its players at specific locations at specific times and as a result one can reflect upon the instrument's popularity at court, but they tell us little about the instrument itself.

The words joueur de rebec in the above-mentioned excerpts all unmistakeably refer to a player (masculine) of the rebec. Lexicographer John (Jehan) Palsgrave writes, in L'eclaircissement de la langue françoyse (1530), that Jeuevr de rebecq means Croudar and that

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150 Archives Nationales, K.K. 240, fol. 3v°. Cited in Dick, p. 93, Gay, t. II, p. 290, and Sibyl Marcuse, A Survey of Musical Instruments (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), p. 484.

151 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

152 Alberto Bachmann, p. 2, gives only an English translation from his French source. Bachmann cites "Les comptes de l'argenterie du Roy Charles VIII," Archives Nationales, 1523-35. However, Francis I was King of France from 1515-1547, so Bachmann has made a mistake either in citing his source, or else in dating his source.

153 Archives Nationales J960, No. 74. Cited in Gay, t. II, p. 290.

154 Alberto Bachmann, p. 2, gives only an English translation from his French source, "Les comptes de l'argenterie du Roy Charles VIII," Archives Nationales, 1523-35. See note 152.

sçauez vous jouer du rebecq translates as can you fiddle [play the rebecq] ? Furthermore, Claude de Sainleins writes in his Dictionnaire (1593) that qui joue du rebec translates as a fidlar [one who plays the fiddle] .[155] In 1585, however, the idiomatic expression joueur de rebec may have denoted a clever or skillful person rather than specifically referring to a rebec-player, in Noël du Faïl's Contes et discours d'Eutrapel.

> Il est bon joueur de rebec.[156]
>
> Literally: he is a good rebec player.
> Figuratively: he is a clever (skillful) person.[157]

However, at some point during the sixteenth century, the similar expression jouer du rebec, which one would normally expect to translate "to play the rebec," took on a new, idiomatic meaning, an accurate translation of which is somewhat elusive. According to Edmond Huguet's Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle (1925-1967), this expression became a play on words and took on the meanings regimber, riposter, resister; in English, to resist, to be refractory, to make a smart reply, to retort, or to offer opposition.[158] Such an

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155 Rioux, p. 20.

156 Georges Kastner, Parémiologie musicale de la langue française, ou explication des proverbes, locutions proverbiales, mots figurés, qui tirent leur origine de la musique (Paris: G. Brandus and S. Dufour, 1866), p. 398, Larousse, Vol. XIII, p. 760, and Dick, p. 96.

157 Kastner, Parémiologie, p. 398. In Hector France, Dictionnaire de la langue verte: archaïsmes, néologismes, locutions étrangères, patois (Paris: Librairie du Progrès, 1926), p. 187, the phrase jouer du violon, for example, means to "saw the chains," as a prisoner might saw off the chains which bind him. This may be derived from the back-and-forth bowing process.

158 Edmond Eugène Auguste Huguet, Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle (Paris: E. Champion, 1925-1967), Vol. VI, p. 367 and Denis Girard, The New Cassell's French Dictionary (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1971), pp. 629, 655, and 645.

understanding of the connotation of rebec undoubtedly relates to the fifteenth through seventeenth-century use of the reflexive verb se rebecquer, discussed below. In fact, Randle Cotgrave, in his Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues (1611) actually defines Iouër du rebec as se rebecquer.[159] But it is also possible, in at least two of the excerpts which follow, to discern a sexually-oriented double-entendre, which would not be unexpected in literature of this era. From Anon., Sermon joyeux de la patience des femmes obstinées contre leurs maris, fort joyeux et recreatif à toutes gens (fifteenth or sixteenth century):

> Ilz sont toutes frappées d'ung coing,
> Et si font toutes bon groing,
> Bonne teste, bon oeil, bon bec,
> Et [si] jouent voluntiers du rebec.[160]
>
> They are all struck from the same stamp,
> And they all display a good mouth [literally, snout],
> A good head, a good eye, and good lips,
> And they willingly play the rebec [resist].[161]

From Henri Estienne, Apologie pour Hérodote (sixteenth century):

> Il dit que le bon temps viendra quand les femmes feront tout ce que leurs maris voudront, sans aucunement jouer de rebec.[162]
>
> He says that the time will come when women will do all that their husbands want, without playing on the rebec [resisting; being prudish?] at all.[163]

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159 Cotgrave, p. Xxx. See also Thurston Dart, "Music and Musical Instruments in Cotgrave's Dictionaire (1611), Galpin Society Journal 21 (March 1968): 73.

160 Cited in Huguet, p. 367 and Montaiglon and Rothschild, Vol. III, p. 266 (contains whole poem).

161 Translation by Patricia Cummins. Perhaps another interpretation of the idiom when women are involved might be "to be a prude."

162 Henri Estienne, Apologie pour Hérodote, chapter 39. Cited in Huguet, p. 367 who cites modern edition by P. Ristelhuber, ed. (Paris: Liseux, 1879), Vol. II, p. 360.

163 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

From Jean Calvin, Advertissement contre l'astrologie qu'on appelle judiciaire (1549):

> Ie say bien qu'ilz ne faudront point à jouer du rebec et dire que l'un n'empesche point l'autre.[164]
>
> I know well that they will not fail to play the rebec [resist] and to say that one does not rule out the other.[165]

Although the derivation, the literal or sociological connection with the instrument itself, and the accurate meaning of the idiom, jouer du rebec, may remain a mystery to modern readers, one need only be reminded that we commonly use some strikingly similar idiomatic expressions in modern English, such as "to play second fiddle."

The spelling rebec may be found in a number of poetic and fictional sources in the sixteenth century. Some of the excerpts which follow take the form of proverbs, others describe the instrument in very general terms, but each in its own way provides a glimpse of the author's perception of this particular musical instrument.

In Les satires chrêtiennes, written during the second half of the fifteenth century, a minstrel's rebec is mentioned.

> A tel ménestrier, tel rebec;
> Tenant toujours le verre au bec.[166]

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164 Joannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia, Guilielmus Baum, Eduardus Cunitz, Eduardus Reuss, eds., in Corpus reformatorum (Brunsvigae: C. A. Schwetschke, 1863-1900), Vol. VII, col. 540. Also cited in Huguet, p. 367.

165 According to translator Patricia Cummins, the context of the passage in which is found this excerpt, is: "Those who fear God and try to do His will, will not have time to dance. Those who dance also will not fail 'to play the rebec,' for doing one does not preclude the other . . ."

166 Georges Kastner, Les danses des morts (Paris: Brandus, 1852), p. 249; Grillet, p. 135, and Larousse, Vol. XIII, p. 760. One wonders if this excerpt might indicate an idiomatic use of the phrase "tel rebec."

For such a minstrel, such a rebec;
Always keeping the glass to his mouth.[167]

Clément Marot (1495?-1544) lists the rebec among a group of wind instruments, in his Ballades (ca.1515-1544):

Prenons chascun panetiere et bissac,
Fluste, flageol, cornemuse et rebec.[168]

Let us each take a breadsack and a double-bag,
A fluste, flageol, cornemuse, and a rebec.[169]

Jean-Antoine de Baïf (1532-1589) mentions a beautiful rebec in his Eglogues, written during the mid to late sixteenth century.

Je te donne un beau rebec que j'ay, de si belle façon
Que tu ne me diras ingrat de ta chanson.[170]

I am giving you a beautiful rebec which I have, such
That you will not say I am ungrateful for your song.[171]

Georges Kastner, in his Les danses des morts (1852), cites a rather cryptic verse from an undated (perhaps sixteenth century?) vaudeville in which the rebec is mentioned:

De ce ménestrel dans l'angoisse,
Comme elle brise le rebec!
Comme à ce chantre de paroisse,
Sans mot dire elle clôt le bec.[172]

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167 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

168 Huguet, p. 367, citing Clément Marot oeuvres complètes (Paris: E. Picard, 1868).

169 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

170 Huguet, p. 367, citing Jean-Antoine de Baïf, euvres en rime, Marty-Laveaux, ed. (Paris: Lemerre, 1885-1891), Vol. III, p. 20.

171 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

172 Kastner, Danses, pp. 24-25, fn. 2, citing "La nouvelle danse macabre, vaudeville dédié aux petits maîtres et aux femmelettes qui ne peuvent souffrir qu'on parle de mort dans une ode anacréontique," in l'Epicurien français ou les dîners du caveau moderne 10 (October 1814), p. 53. The air is entitled "En revenant de bale en Suisse."

How she breaks the rebec
Of this minstrel in anguish!
How she closes the mouth of this parish cantor
Without saying a word.[173]

The rebec (see also discussion of the English spellings rebecke and rebeck) has been mentioned in literature as an instrument used to accompany narrative songs, as, for example, in the epic poem Diana (1559; 1598).[174] A similar excerpt is found in Le premier livre des bergeries de Julliette by Nicolas de Montreux (Paris, 1585):

Fortunio . . . empoigna son rebec sur lequel il chanta les vers qui suyvent.[175]

Fortunio . . . picked up his rebec upon which [to the accompaniment of which] he sang the following lines.[176]

The Muses are invoked in several sixteenth and seventeenth-century excerpts in which reference is made to the rebec. The earliest among these is found in Saulsaye, eglogue de la vie solitaire (1547) by Maurice Scève.

Il fait les Rocz respondre à ses chansons,
Ayant tousjours fluste, ou musette au bec,
Qu'il ayme plus, que harpe, ne rebec.
Mouches à miel luy causent doux sommeil.[177]

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173 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

174 See Judith M. Kennedy, ed., A Critical Edition of Yong's Translation of George of Montemayor's Diana and Gil Polo's Enamoured Diana (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

175 Nicolas de Montreux, Le premier livre des bergeries de Julliette (Paris: Gilles Beys, 1585), "Journ." I, 19r°. See page 313 for the song text.

176 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

177 Bertrand Guégan, ed., Oeuvres poétiques complètes de Maurice Scève: Délie, La Saulsaye, Le Microcosme, Arion, et poésies diverses (Paris: Librairie Garnier Frères, 1927), p. 330, who cites Maurice Scève, Saulsaye. Eglogue de la vie solitaire (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1547), p. 31. See also Huguet, p. 367, who cites facsimile edition of 1547 text (Aix: Ponthier fils aîné, 1829).

He makes the rocks respond to his songs,
Always having in his mouth fluste or musette,
Which he likes better than harpe or rebec.
Flies of honey cause him sweet sleep.[178]

The satirist Mathurin Régnier (1573-1613) mentions the strings of a rebec in two passages from his work. The first is from Louanges de Macette (ca.1603-1608):

La Muse autour de vostre bouche,
Volant ainsi comme une mouche,
De miel vous embrène le bec:
Et vos paroles nompareilles,
Résonnent doux à nos oreilles,
Comme les cordes d'un rebec.[179]

The Muse around your mouth
Flying like a fly,
Fills your mouth with honey:
And your words beyond compare
Resound softly in our ears,
Like the strings of a rebec.[180]

The second passage is from Satyre X (ca.1610):

O Muse, je t'invoque:
emmielle moy le bec,
Et bande de tes mains les
nerfs de ton rebec.[181]

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178 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

179 Adolphe Hatzfeld and Arsène Darmesteter, Dictionnaire général de la langue française du commencement du XVIIe siècle jusqu'a nos jours, 8th ed. (Paris: Librairie delagrave, 1926), Vol. II, p. 1881. See also Larousse, Vol. XIII, p. 759 and Grillet, p. 146.

180 Translator Patricia Cummins remarks that embrener literally means "to dirty with excrement," but that in context, the verb "fills" is a better translation.

181 Mathurin Régnier, Oeuvres de Régnier avec des remarques (London: Lyon and Woodman, 1730), p. 150. See also Grillet, p. 135 and Gay, t. II, p. 290. In the critical notes to the 1730 edition of Régnier's works, the word rebec is equated with the violon (violin). It is difficult to decide to which instrument reference is actually being made, since the word rebec may have been used generically or as a slang word, in a fashion similar to the use of the word fiddle, to refer to a variety of bowed stringed instruments during the seventeenth century.

Oh Muse, I call upon you:
put honey in my mouth,
And strum with your hands
the strings [literally, sinews] of your rebec.[182]

In the following year (1611), reference is again found to the nerfs (sinews; strings) of the rebec, in the writings of G. de Saluste du Bartas:

Bref rien plus ne résonne . . .
Que les nerfs du rebec, le vent de la musette,
Des cimbales le fer, l'airain de l'espinette.[183]

In short nothing more resounds . . .
But the strings [literally, sinews] of the rebec, the wind
of the musette,
The iron of the cimbales, the brass of the espinette.[184]

Several fifteenth and sixteenth-century allusions to the sound of the rebec provide contrasting information. Guillaume Coquillart (ca.1450-1510) mentions the rebec in a curious proverb in Le blason des armes et des dames (ca.1470):

Qui s'endort au son du rebec
En la flotte, il n'est pas sage.[185]

Whosoever goes to sleep to the sound of the rebec
In a crowd [the rain?] is not wise.[186]

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182 Translation by Patricia Cummins.
183 Huguet, p. 367, citing G. de Salustre du Bartas, les oeuvres (Senlisien: Simon Goulard, n.d.), p. 148.
184 Translation by Patricia Cummins.
185 Godefroy, Vol. X, p. 493, Rowland Wright, p. 146, and Sainte-Palaye, Vol. IX, p. 60.
186 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

Clément Marot alludes to the dur rebec, or harsh-sounding rebec, in a "Dance of Death" scene from Mort a tout humain (ca.1515-1544):

> Las, or est-il à sa dernière dance
> Où toy la mort, lui a fait sans soulas
> Faire faux pas, et mortelle cadence,
> Sous dur rebec, sonnant le grand hélas.[187]

> Alas, now is he at his last dance
> Where you, Death, without solace made him
> Take a wrong step, and [in] deadly timing,
> With a harsh rebec sounding the final alas.[188]

In an undated source which may well have been written in the sixteenth century, the character of the rebec's sound is expressed as enroué or hoarse, husky, wheezing:

> Du son de la musette,
> Du rebec enroué de vachers.[189]

> From the sound of the musette,
> From the hoarse rebec of the cow-herds.[190]

In sharp contrast we find reference during the same period to les doulx accords, or sweet harmonious sounds of the rebec, in Deploration poetique de feu M. Antoine du Prat (1545):

> Par grand douleur la belle Thalia
> Les doulx accords du rebec oblia.[191]

> Through great suffering beautiful Thalia forgot
> The sweet harmonious sounds of the rebec.[192]

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187 Kastner, Danses, p. 23, fn. 3, who cites Clement Marot oeuvres, La Haye, ed. (1700), t. II, Complaintes.

188 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

189 Belleforière, Secr. de l'agric., p. 342, cited in Godefroy, Vol. X, p. 493, and Dick, p. 95.

190 Translation by Normand Rioux.

191 François Habert d'Issoudun en Berry, ed., Deploration poetique de feu M. Antoine du Prat . . . avec l'exposition morale de la fable des trois deesses, Venus, Juno et Pallas (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1545), cited in Huguet, p. 367.

192 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

Satirist François Rabelais (1494?-ca.1553) made two notable references to the rebec which provide insight into the morphology of the instrument. In his Le quart livre, Chapter XXXI, "Anatomie de Quaresmeprenant quant aux parties externes" (1552?), Rabelais writes:

> Les paulpieres, comme un rebec.[193]
>
> The eyelids [eyes], like a rebec.

Nan Cooke Carpenter writes that this remark "probably compares the closed eyelids to the rounded head of the rebec, bulging from its narrow neck."[194] From her description, one might surmise that Carpenter is referring to a pedgisc, a structural characteristic of the lira da braccio and the modern Greek lyra,[195] rather than to a pegbox. This comparison to the eyes, or eyelids, might also suggest the convex shape of the back of the rebec which is similar to the shape of a lute's back. If this is so, it is the only direct written indication thus far located of the shape of the rebec's back which dates from the rebec-playing era.

Rabelais' second reference, which also compares a part of the human body to a rebec, has caused a considerable amount of interpretive discussion to be written. The excerpt comes from

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193 Jean Plattard, ed., Oeuvres complètes de Rabelais (Paris: Éditions Fernarnd Roches, 1929), Vol. IV, p. 125. See also Anatole Félix le Double, Rabelais: Anatomiste et physiologiste (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), p. 419 and Nan Cooke Carpenter, Rabelais and Music (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 7.

194 Carpenter, p. 7 and p. 121, fn. 16. Le Double, p. 419 writes "l'extrémité libre renflée du manche d'un rebec."

195 For a line drawing of a lira da braccio, see Musical Instruments of the World: An Illustrated Encyclopedia (New York: Paddington Press, 1976), p. 209. See Margaret Anne Downie, "The Modern Greek Lyra," Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society 5/6 (1979-1980): 144-165 for photographs illustrating the modern Greek lyra.

Pantagruel, Chapter III, "Du deuil que mena Gargantua de la mort de sa femme Badebec" (ca.1546).

> Elle en mourut, la noble Badebec
> Du mal d'enfant, que tant me semblait nice,
> Car elle avoit visaige de rebec,
> Corps d'Espaignol et ventre de Souice.[196]
>
> She died, the noble Badebec,
> While in labor, which seemed foolish to me:
> For she had the face of a rebec,
> The body of a Spaniard, and the belly of a Swiss.[197]

Randle Cotgrave's Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues (London: 1611) defines the expression visage de bec as "a sneakebill, sharp-nose, chittiface."[198] In modern terms, a sneakebill would denote a mean fellow or a starved or thin-faced person, and chitty-face, a "term of reproach meaning thin-face, pinched face, and later, baby-face."[199] How then does the word rebec relate to this expression? According to Georges Kastner's monumental work, Parémiologie musicale de la langue française, ou explication des proverbes, locutions proverbiales, mots figurés, qui tirent leur origine de la musique (1866), the expression visage de rebec alludes to a dry, withered and painful appearance. Furthermore, Kastner writes that the name "Rebeca" (see rebekke) has been applied to a thin woman, and thus Rabelais may be doubly alluding, in the visage de rebec expression, to such a thin

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196 Dick, p. 95, cites Oeuvres de François Rabelais: Gargantua, Abel Lefranc, ed. (Paris, 1912-1931), t. III, p. 41. See also Lazar Saineau, La langue de Rabelais (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1922-1923), t. II, p. 277 and Larousse, Vol. XIII, p. 759.

197 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

198 Cotgrave, cited in The Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), Vol. IX, p. 314.

199 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. II, p. 362 and Vol. IX, p. 313.

woman or even to the pious Rebecca of the Bible.[200] Pierre Larousse's Grand dictionnaire (1865-1890) repeats Kastner's observations and adds the adjectives durs et anguleux (hard, harsh, and bony) to his interpretation of the expression.[201] Carl Engel, in his Researches into the Early History of the Violin Family (1883), believes that reference is made by Rabelais's expresssion to the "grotesque embellishment" which "ornamented the rebec . . . at its upper termination."[202] Some twentieth-century interpreters believe that this expression refers to "a face long and thin and perhaps filled with deep lines like the carvings on a rebec,"[203] and that it may even call to mind a picture "semblable aux figures grotesques qui ornaient jadis les manches de rebecs"[204] (similar to the grotesque figures, or faces, which at one time adorned the necks of rebecs). Many Renaissance and Baroque stringed instruments did indeed incorporate carvings of human, animal, or grotesque figures

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200 Kastner, Parémiologie, p. 398. Kastner cites Oudin, Curios. franç., p. 470, for the interpretation "visage sec et mal fait." Kastner further compares visage de rebec to several other French and Italian expressions which, he says, have a very similar connotation ("ride et grimaçant"): visage de tambour de basque, viso or figura da cembalo, visage de psaltérion, and viso a saltero. On the other hand, one wonders if, perhaps, the origin of this comparison of a woman with the face of a rebec can be traced back to the use of rebec-related words in Chaucer's "Friar's Tale," to describe an old woman. See discussion of ribibe and rebekke, in Chapter Seven.

201 Larousse, Vol. XIII, p. 759.

202 Engel, pp. 90-91, cites several similar allusions to the carvings found on English citterns and gitterns.

203 Carpenter, p. 7.

204 Saineau, Vol. II, p. 277. See also Dick, p. 95.

in place of a scroll or even on the back of the instrument[205] and one may hypothesize, specifically as a result of Rabelais's idiom, that the rebec may have displayed similar characteristics.

Two additional sources, dating from the early seventeenth century, further compare the morphology of the rebec with human anatomy. Satirist Mathurin Régnier (1573-1613) writes in his Satyre XIX (ca.1608):

> Me rendre, en me torchant le bec,
> Le ventre creux comme un rebec.[206]
>
> To throw up, while wiping my mouth,
> My belly hollow as a rebec.[207]

In this instance, the hollow interior of a stringed instrument with a convex back, such as a lute or violin, is brought to mind. In his Comédie des proverbes (1616), Adrien de Montluc offers the following satirical description of Florinde's betrothed, Captain Fier-a-Bras:

> Pour la mine, il l'a telle quelle, et surtout il est délicat et blond comme un pruneau relavé; et pour la bource [bourse] il ne l'a pas trop bien ferrée; de ce costé-la [côté-là] il est sec comme rebec, et plus plat qu'une punaise.[208]
>
> As to his face, it is ordinary; and above all he is as refined [delicate] and blond as a twice-washed prune; and as to his cod-piece [or purse], it is none too well equipped [garnished], in that respect he is as thin [dry or withered] as a rebec and flatter than a bed-worm.[209]

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205 The mandora, for example, was often elaborately carved. See Emanuel Winternitz, Die schoensten Musikinstrumente des Abenlandes (Wiesbaden: Loewitt, 197-?), p. 59, for photographs of such an instrument, now housed in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

206 Régnier, p. 24 (whole poem is cited pp. 24-31). Also cited in Littré, Vol. IV, p. 1497.

207 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

208 M. Édouard Fournier, ed., Le théatre français au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle ou choix des comédies les plus curieuses antérieures a Molière, 2nd ed. (Paris: Laplace, Sanchez and Co., 1871), p. 205. See also Dick, p. 96 and Alberto Bachmann, p. 2.

209 Assistance with translation from Patricia Cummins and Normand Rioux.

The sexual implications are obvious. Larousse writes that the expression sec comme rebec means "fort maigre" or extremely thin, poor, barren.[210] M. Édouard Fournier's suggestion that reference is made to a "violon à trois cordes fait du bois le plus sec"[211] (a three-stringed violin made of very dry wood) is implausible. Perhaps sec comme rebec, suggesting something wizened or withered, as in the modern expression "all dried up," was applied specifically to the rebec, an instrument whose popularity and usage was diminishing during the seventeenth century. In all probability, the expression refers not to the rebec per se, but actually to its progeny, the pochette (sometimes referred to as a rebec; known by many names, including the kit, in English, as well as the dancing-master's fiddle), a slender and diminutive descendent of the rebec which was popular at the time that Montluc wrote this scene. Nicolas de Larmessin II's engraving, "Habit de Musicien" (ca.1640-1700), pictures a pochette in a similar sexually-satirical fashion.[212]

The decline of the rebec's popularity and social standing may clearly be seen in two literary sources which use the spelling rebec, as well as in several seventeenth-century laws which sought to regulate its use.

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210 Larousse, Vol. XIII, p. 760, who cites Oudin. In modern French usage, the expression sec comme un pendu translates "as thin as a rake." Girard, p. 675.

211 Fournier, p. 205.

212 Rudolf and Uta Hekning, Zeugnisse alter Musik (Herrsching/Ammersee: Manfred Pawlak, 1975), plate 13. Musica (Kunstkalender) (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976), plate 5. See plate XIV.

Symbolic of the rebec's demise, Philippe Desportes (1546-1606) portrays a scene in a late sixteenth-century source:

> Mon chalumeau n'est plus dans ces bois entendu,
> Et mon triste rebec est demeuré pendu
> A ceste branche morte.[213]
>
> My chalumeau is no longer heard in these woods,
> And my sad rebec is left hung
> On this dead branch.[214]

On March 27, 1628, the Civil Lieutenant of Paris pronounced an edict which literally placed the rebec in a secondary relationship with the violin family.

> Faisant défense à tous musiciens de jouer dans les cabarets et mauvais lieux des dessus, basses ou autres parties de violon, ains seulement du rebec.[215]
>
> Forbidding all musicians to play, in ale-houses and irreputable places, the descant, bass, or other members of the violon [violin] family, rather only the rebec.[216]

In addition, this edict was to be enforced "under penalty of a prison sentence, a fine of twenty-four livres, and destruction of their instruments."[217] Three separate proclamations were made by the King's attorney, the provost, and the French Parliament in 1643, 1644, and 1648 which strongly encouraged young musicians to learn to master and play the violin rather than the rebec. The following is representative

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213 Sainte-Palaye, Vol. IX, p. 60.

214 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

215 Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartres A, Vol. IV, p. 543. Cited in Grillet, p. 148, Rittmeyer-Iselin, p. 218, and Sachs, Handbuch, p. 173.

216 Translation by Normand Rioux.

217 E. Thoinan [Antoine Ernest Roquet] , Louis Constantin, roi des violons 1624-1657 (Paris, 1878), p. 9, cited by David D. Boyden, The History of Violin Playing (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 137, fn. 17.

of these statutes:

> à tous ménétriers non reçus mâitres, d'entreprendre à l'avenir sur l'exercice des joueurs d'instruments de musique et de jouer d'autres violons que du rebec.[218]
>
> To all minstrels not certified as masters, to undertake in the future the practice of players of musical instruments, and to play violons other than the rebec.

The phrase "to play violons other than the rebec" suggests that rebecs and violins were very closely related and that the use of the word violon or rebec may actually have had a generic connotation at this time. In a scene from a French play entitled Industrie (1730) one can clearly see that, in France, the rebec had essentially faded into obscurity before the middle of the eighteenth century.

> PIERROT à l'ANTIQUITÉ (d'un ton de vielle).
> Ici que venez-vous faire?
> Dictes, ma bonne grand'mère,
> N'y venez-vous point, pour plaire, Chercher l'eau de Beauté?
> L'ANTIQUITÉ (montrant le palais),
> Air: Griselidis.
> Demoisel, quoi qu'on die,
> Mon manoir est illec,
> Où l'on oit mélodie
> De Luth et de Rebec.
> Las! mon doux Fils,
> Ce tems-ci ne vaut mie
> Celui de Pétion des Amadis![219]

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218 Grillet, p. 148. The judgment of the King's attorney is dated August 29, 1643; the proclamation of the provost, March 2, 1644; and the decision of Parliament, July 11, 1648.

219 Industrie, Scene III, the prologue of Zemire et Almanzor. Cited in Grillet, p. 149, fn. 1, who cites Le theatre de la foire ou l'opera comique, t. VIII.

Pierrot says to Antiquity (accompanied on a vielle):
What have you come here to do?
Pray tell, my good grandmother,
Have you not come to seek the water of Beauty in order to be pleasing in appearance ?
Antiquity (pointing to the Palace):
Air: Griselidis.
Young man, notwithstanding what one says,
My dwelling is over there,
Where one hears tunes on
The luth and the rebec,
Alas! my gentle son,
This time is not worth
That of Pétion des Amadis.[220]

The rebec's coup de grâce was issued a short time later, in 1741, by an ordinance of Guignon, the "roi des violons" in France. Guignon effectively stifled any remaining use of the rebec for all but the lowest classes of society, and after this date one finds essentially no further substantive written comment reflective of experiences during the rebec-playing era.

> Comme il seroit également impossible et opposé aux projects de la communauté, pour la perfection des arts qui en font l'objet, d'y comprendre un certain nombre de gens sans capacité, dont les talents sont bornés à l'amusement du peuple dans les rues et dans les guinguettes, il leur sera permis d'y jouer d'une espèce d'instrument à trois cordes seulement, et connu sous le nom de rebec, sans qu'ils puissent se servir d'un violon à quatre cordes sous quelque prétexte que ce soit.[221]

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220 Translation by Normand Rioux and Patricia Cummins.
221 Cited in Alberto Bachmann, p. 4, Grillet, pp. 148-149, and Vidal, p. 5, fn. 1.

> Since it would be at once impossible and opposed to the plans of the community, for the perfection of the arts which are the objectives of those plans, to include among those in the plans a certain number of persons lacking ability, whose talents are restricted to the amusement of the people in the streets and the public-houses [taverns] , these last [persons] are to be allowed to play only a kind of instrument with three strings, which goes under the name of rebec; but they are not to use, under any pretext whatever, the violon [violin] with four strings.[222]

As a result of the information which can be gleaned from these literary sources, one can make the following assumptions concerning the morphology of the instrument which is specifically denoted by the spelling rebec. The rebec was a bowed musical instrument with three small strings made of gut (sheep gut). The rebec may have had a hollow interior, and its back may have been convex in shape (similar to a lute's back); it may have had carved figures at the top of the neck, in place of a scroll, or elsewhere on its body. Some rebecs were apparently quite beautiful, and one especially unique rebec was made out of silver. The rebec's sound has been variously described as harsh, hoarse, soft, sweet, and harmonious. Its players may have included a poor witless man, as well as a number of musicians in service to the King of France as well as to other lords and ladies of the French court. The rebec was sometimes used to accompany oneself while singing and in its later years, particularly, was permitted to be played, in place of the violin, only by non-professional musicians in taverns and other "irreputable" places.

In addition to its appearance in literary sources, the spelling rebec is commonly found in French musical treatises and in dictionaries,

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222 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

the earliest of which date from 1530. From these sources one can learn about the morphology and use of the rebec, although it should be remembered that they transmit information for the most part reflective of the final years of the rebec-playing era. Palsgrave's L'éclaircissement de la langue françoyse (1530) and later Randle Cotgrave's Dictionarie (1611) equate the rebecke (rebeck) with the rebec and define them simply as instruments of music.[223] An anonymous method for the lute and guitar, Discours non plus melancoliques que divers de choses . . . et justement entoucher les lucs et guiternes (1557) presents a hierarchy of several musical instruments including the rebec. The lute and guitar are regarded as instruments for musicians, whereas,

> Ainsi demeure encore la vielle pour les aveugles,
> le rebec et viole pour les ménétriers.[224]
>
> Thus the vielle still remains for the blind,
> the rebec and viole for the fiddlers.

Both Claude de Sainleins (1593) and the dictionary compiler Nicot (1606) pass on a piece of confusing information which first appears in a French to English glossary compiled by L. Harrison in 1570. In these sources, rebec is translated as vyoll, although the word may only be meant in a generic sense.

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223 John Palsgrave, L'éclaircissement de la langue française par Jean Palsgrave (Paris, 1530), in Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Deuxième série: Histoire des lettres et des sciences (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1852), Vol. LXXII, p. 261. Cotgrave (1611). See also Gay, t. II, p. 290, and Dart, p. 73.

224 Rittmeyer-Iselin, p. 218. See also Isabelle Cazeaux, French Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975), p. 219.

> l'Archet d'un rebec, ou autres tels instruments,
> the bowe of a vyoll, or such like instrument.[225]

In his Discours et histoire des spectres (1605), Pierre le Loyer equates the rebec with the words rebiag and rebuba to denote an instrument of four strings, purportedly played amongst the Chaldeans (an ancient Semitic people; Chaldean is synonymous with Babylonian), although such use is undoubtedly more fanciful than real.

> Encores est du nombre des instrumens entates celuy que les Hebrieux nomment ashur, qui est un instrument à dix chordes, comme le rebiag ou rebec des Chaldeans à quatre chordes, qu'ils appellent encore rebuba.[226]
>
> Moreover, there is among these instruments the one which the Hebrews call ashur, which is an instrument with ten strings, like the rebiag or rebec of the Chaldeans, with four strings, which they call rebuba.

Adriano Iunio mentions the rebec in his definition of the pandura[227] in Nomenclator octilinguis omnium rerum propria nomina continens (1577; 1606).

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225 Sainleins, cited in Rioux, pp. 10 and 14. Nicot's entry varies somewhat and reads: "l'Archet d'un rebec, ou autre instrument, Plectrum, pectem."

226 Le Loyer, VIII, 3 (Spectres), cited by Huguet, p. 367. Le Loyer's remarks are transmitted and reinterpreted in part by Pierre Trichet, Traité des instruments de musique (1640), François Lesure, ed. (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Société de musique d'autrefois, 1957), but do not appear to be repeated in succeeding major reference sources. The Chaldeans are believed to have played only plucked stringed instruments, such as the long-neck lute. The Hebrew ashur ('ăśôr) is believed to be a ten-stringed zither. For further information see Joan Rimmer, Ancient Musical Instruments of Western Asia in the British Museum (London: British Museum, 1969). Engel, p. 78 mentions a unique spelling, rebula, which may be a misprint of rebuba. He implies that rebula is a rebec-related word, but gives no documentation for its use.

227 Marcuse, Dictionary, pp. 392-393, defines pandura (pandoura) as "a long-necked lute of ancient Greece and Rome, similar to that of Western Asia and Egypt . . . with three strings."

> Pandura: Musicum instrumentum trichordon, triplicibus fidibus tensum. AL. Fidel, B. Veele, veelken, G. Rebec, rebecquin, It. Rebecchino.[228]
>
> Pandura: Three-stringed musical instrument, with three gut strings. German, Fidel; B.(?) [Flemish?], Veele, veelken; French, Rebec, rebecquin; Italian, Rebecchino.

Iunio's definition of pandura, coupled with our modern understanding of the term, might suggest to us that the rebec was a plucked, long-neck lute (or spike fiddle), which it definitely was not. Perhaps the confusion can be explained by the fact that the word rebâb, which represents many different instruments in different parts of the world, was often referred to, in treatises of the eighteenth century at least, and perhaps earlier, as being similar to the European pandore. The Arabic rabāb/rebâb, in addition, is etymologically related to the French rebec, hence the possible confusion of rebâb/pandura and rebec/pandura. However, one may also explain the confusion due to the fact that the pandurina, a small mandora, a plucked instrument described by Praetorius, was evidently very similar in shape and detail to the bowed instrument commonly known as the rebec.[229] Komensky's Porta linguarum (1631) contains information concerning the rebec and several other instruments. As opposed to Iunio, he mentions both the rebec and pandure, thereby separating them as individual entities.

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228 Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 637 (who cites 1577 edition) and Dick, p. 94.

229 Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 393. See also Chapter XI concerning extant rebecs.

> Un orgue est composé de flageolets, floutes, tuyeaux, ou fistulés; La harpe, le luth, la lyre ou le rebec, la sambuque & la pandure se touchent ou frappent, ou font sonner avec de chordes.[230]
>
> An organ is composed of flageolets, floutes, tuyeaux, or fistulés; the harpe, the luth, the lyre or the rebec, the sambuque with the pandure one touches or strikes [with a bow?], or sounds with strings.

Perhaps the most specific information available concerning the rebec comes from two musical treatises: Marin Mersenne's Harmonie universelle (1636) and Pierre Trichet's Le traité des instruments de musique (1640), patterned after Mersenne's work. Both treatises state that the rebec was no longer used in the seventeenth century although it is evident from the need for governmental ordinances during the 1640's that some rebec-playing persisted, even among professional musicians. But this assertion of disuse by Mersenne and Trichet may seem surprising in light of Guignon's ordinance which was issued one hundred years later. This seeming discrepancy might be explained by one of several hypotheses. First, Guignon's statement suggests that the rebec may not have been familiar to the people he addressed due to his precise and descriptive wording, "a kind of instrument with three strings, which is known under the name rebec." If this instrument was commonly known and used, why would Guignon have to mention that it had three strings? Secondly, the instrument to which Guignon refers as a rebec may actually be the pochette which was in common use at the time. Finally, perhaps there was a natural decline, a decline spear-headed by a violinist's

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230 Johann Amos Komensky, Porta linguarum (1631), Chapter LXXVII, "De Musica," pp. 172-173, No. 775.

guild, or a government-controlled decline of the rebec's use and popularity in France by the end of the sixteenth century through ca.1635, with a popular revival or reappearance by the mid-seventeenth century lasting about another hundred years, only to be crushed by Guignon's ordinance of 1741. In his treatise, Mersenne writes the following concerning the rebec:

> Le rebec à trois chordes qui sont accordées de quinte en quinte comme celles du violon; on n'en use plus.[231]
>
> The rebec, with three strings which are tuned in fifths as are those of the violon [violin] , is no longer used.

Trichet's description is perhaps the most detailed one available, although many specific morphological details are not discussed, such as the construction of the pegbox, the bridge, the sound-post, tailpiece, decorative carvings, and so on.

> Le rebec est différent du violon et resemble presque à la poche, ayant le corps tout d'une venue sans aucun vuidange des costés par le retranchement d'un demi cercle. Le nom rebec est dérivé du mot Rebiag, qui entre les Chaldéens signifie un instrument à quatre chordes, d'où les Italiens ont prins leur Ribeba, comme tesmoigne Pierre Loyer (l. 8 des Spect., c.3); néantmoings le rebec n'a ordinairement que trois chordes, lesquelles l'on a accoustumé de tenir grandement tendues et de les accorder de quinte en quinte, de mesme que celle du violon. Despuis que l'on a inventé le violon, l'usage du rebec n'a pas esté continué, ayant perdu sa vogue et son premier crédit par l'introduction de l'autre. Ceux qui s'en servent encore, font construire ordinairement tout le corps d'érable, et veulent que la table de dessus soit de sapin: ce qui s'observe aussi en la fabrique de la pluspart des instruments à chordes.[232]

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231 Marin Mersenne, Harmonie universelle (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1636-37), cited in Gay, t. II, p. 290. See also Marin Mersenne, Harmonie universelle: The Books on Instruments (1635), translated by Roger E. Chapman (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957), I, 2, fol. 99v°.

232 François Lesure, "Le traité des instruments de musique de Pierre Trichet: des instruments de musique a chordes," Annales musicologiques 4 (1956): 229.

> The rebec is different from the violon [violin] and almost looks like the poche, having a body all in one line without any indentation on the sides cut out in the fashion of a semi-circle. The name rebec is derived from the word Rebiag, which among the Chaldéens denotes an instrument with four strings, from which the Italians have taken their Ribeba, according to evidence presented by Pierre Loyer (l. 8 des Spect., c.3); nevertheless, the rebec usually has only three strings, which one customarily keeps very taut and tunes in fifths, the same as those of the violon [violin]. Since the invention of the violon [violin], the rebec has not been kept in use, having lost its vogue and its former esteem when the [violin] was introduced. Those who still use them usually have the body constructed out of maple, and want the upper table [belly] to be made of fir: this is also observed in the manufacture of most stringed instruments.[233]

Gilles Ménage was the author of the first dictionary specifically dedicated to the science of etymology, published in 1650, and this source, "in spite of many errors [became] a basis for future similar dictionaries."[234] Concerning the rebec, Ménage writes:

> Rebec. 'Instrument de Musique.' Les Espagnols l'appellent rabel: et il y a apparence que de-là nous avons premièrement fait rebel; et en suite rebec. L'Espagnol rabel, selon le Pere Gaudix, vient de l'Arabe rabib, qui signifie la même chose. Il vient de l'Arabe rebab, ou rebaba, qui dans le Lexicon Coptique, est interprété lyra. De l'Arabe rebaba, les Italiens ont fait ribebba.[235]

> Rebec. Musical instrument. The Spanish call it rabel: and it appears that from it [rabel], we have first derived rebel, and then, rebec. The Spanish rabel, according to Pere Gaudix, comes from the Arabic rabib, which means the same thing. It [rabib] comes from the Arabic rebab, or rebaba, which, in the Coptic dictionary is interpreted as lyra. From the Arabic rebaba, the Italians derived ribebba.

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233 Assistance with translation from Patricia Cummins.

234 Sir Paul Harvey and J. E. Heseltine, eds., The Oxford Companion to French Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 204.

235 Ménage, t. I, p. 617 and t. II, p. 388. Ménage is cited by Walther (1732). Walther also cites this entry, but gives credit for its contents to Antoine Furetière, Dictionnaire universel (1690).

The monumental Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis (1678) by Domino du Cange mentions the French word rebec in its definition of the Latin form, rebeca.

> Rebeca. Fidicula barbitus, a veteri Gallico Rebec.[236]
>
> Rebeca. A little lyre (?), from the Old French rebec.

Two dictionaries from 1690 and 1694 define rebec as follows:

> [Rebec] violon à trois cordes accordées de quinte en quinte. (1690)[237]
>
> [Rebec] Three stringed violon [violin] tuned in fifths.
>
> Rebec - jouer du rebec. (1694)[238]
>
> Rebec - to play the rebec.

Johann Gottfried Walther, in his Musikalisches Lexikon (1732), cites the etymological conclusions of several previously published dictionaries such as Mênage and Furetière, and adds the following definition of rebec:

> Rebec, ein altes Franzoesisches Wort, so ehemals eine mit 3 Saiten bezogene, und Quinten-weise gestimmte Violin bedeutet, womit, nebst einer kleinen Paucke, man Brautigam und Braut zur Kirche begleitet gehabt.[239]
>
> Rebec, an Old French word, [an instrument] formerly strung with three strings, and meaning a violin tuned in fifths, with which, in addition to a small paucke [kettle-drum] one accompanied the bridegroom and bride to the church.

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236 du Cange, t. VII, p. 35. Martin Gerbert, De cantu et musica sacra (St. Blasien: Typis San Blasianis, 1774), Vol. II, pp. 154-155, repeats the substance of this definition.

237 Furetière, cited in Gay, t. II, p. 290.

238 Dictionnaire de l'académie, 1st ed. (1694), cited by J. Dubois and R. Lagane, Dictionnaire de la langue française classique, 2nd rev. ed. (Paris: Librairie classique Eugène Belin, 1960), p. 411. Dubois remarks that the word rebec means violin and is a "mot vielli et du style burlesque." See also jouer du rebec.

239 Walther, pp. 514-515.

The last phrase brings to mind Jean Aubrion's note concerning the use of a rebelle to provide entertainment at wedding festivities in 1491, but Walther provides no specific primary source for this comment. Walther's entry suggests that the word rebec is being used generically or as a slang word to refer to a violin, maybe a rudimentary country or folk violin, perhaps in the same sense that we today use the word fiddle as a slang word for a country violin. This is further supported by his comment that is was formerly strung with three strings, suggesting that the reference is not to the classic rebec, but to a type of violin.

Finally, in Jean Benjamin de la Borde's Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne (1780), the rebec is mentioned as being obsolete and, although it existed long before the violin, it is now referred to and remembered only by comparison with its successor.[240]

In conclusion, the musical treatises and dictionaries of the period 1530-1780 provide some of the most descriptive first-hand information available concerning the rebec. One can summarize the following unquestionable morphological characteristics of the rebec: a bowed musical instrument with three strings which are taut and therefore suggest a high pitch; the strings are tuned in fifths; the rebec is played with a small bow; the rebec is different than the violin, but similar to the poche (pochette), having no waist cut out of the sides for bowing, and therefore it might have been somewhat boat-shaped (as, for example, the Turkish Pontic lyra) or piriform (as, for

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240 La Borde, t. I, p. 304. See full quotation, page 75.

example, the modern Greek lyra). The rebec, at least late in its life-span, had a body made from maple, with a belly made from fir. The rebec may have had a shape similar to the pandurina (pandura) or mandora. Very little information concerning the rebec's use can be gleaned from these sources, except that ca. 1557 the rebec was regarded by some as secondary to the lute and guitar, and of higher status than the vielle. In addition, some instruments called rebecs which may actually have been a type of country fiddle or violin were used at least ca.1732 during wedding festivities.

The Plural Forms of Rebec

The plural spellings for rebec include rebecs, rebecz, and rebectz, and were probably used interchangeably during the period from about the mid-fifteenth century through at least 1560.[241] The two latter variant spellings are cited by nineteenth and twentieth-century sources as originating in the poem Monologue du puits by Guillaume Coquillart (ca.1450-1510).

> Où estes-vous chantz de linottes,
> De chardonneretz ou serins,
> Qui chantés de si plaisans notes
> Soubz les treilles de ses jardins?
> Où estes-vous les tabourins,
> Les doulcines et les rebecz [rebectz],
> Que nous avions tous les matins
> Entre nous aultres mignonnetz?[242]

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241 The earliest use of rebecs dates from ca.1379, but the earliest documented use of rebecz and rebectz come from the mid-fifteenth century.

242 The spelling rebecz in this quotation is cited by Grillet, p. 134. Rebectz is cited by Godefroy, Vol. X (Supplement), p. 493 and Dick, p.95.

> Where are you songs of aparrows,
> Of goldfinches or canaries,
> Who sing such pleasant notes
> Under the trellises of these gardens?
> Where are you, tabourins,
> Doulcines, and rebecz [rebectz],
> That we used to have every morning
> Amongst us beggars?[243]

Although no further references to rebectz have been located, the simplified spelling rebecz has been found in several additional sources.

In the context of what has been called a "confusing Burgundian allegory," Le naufrage de la pucelle ("The Shipwreck of the Maiden"), Jean Molinet (1435-1507) is credited with mentioning rebecz:

> Ces seraines doncques fringans et gentes pretendant livrer la pucelle es gueules des bellues et endormir ses domesticques au son de leurs musettes jouerent une chanson composée de tant de melodieuses consonantes et proportions amesurées, que les subtilles cantillenes, les artificielles messes et armonieux motez de oïrghen ne de busnois n'y porroient sortir comparaison . . . Les seraines recommencèrent nouvelle modulation à haulte voix clere, douce et ague tant joyeuse que si toutes les harpes, orgues, vielles, psalterions, lucz, naquaires, doulceniers, eschequiers, cimballes, simphonies, coros, challemies, doulchaines, thimpanes, rebecz, sonnettes tabourins, flustes, guisternes, trompes, clarons, bedons, sambuques, tibies, tintinables, monocordes et decacordes tant de cordons que de cordes estoient ensemble accordez, si ne pourroient ilz causer iubilation plus plaisant en accentuant leur solemnelles canticques . . .[244]

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243 Translation by Normand Rioux and Patricia Cummins.

244 Michel Brenet, "Quelques passages concernant la musique dans les poésies de Jehan Molinet," Revue de musicologie 1, No. 2 (1917): 24. See also Bowles, Haut/Bas, p. 118, who cites Noel Dupire, ed., Les faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet (Paris: 1936), p. 89f.

> Then these radiant and graceful sirens, attempting to deliver the maiden to the mouths of the monsters and to make her servents fall asleep with the sound of their musettes, played a song composed of so many melodious consonances and so many unmeasured proportions, that subtle cantilenae, artfully-composed masses and harmonious motets by residents of Olrghen or of Busnois could not constitute a comparison . . . The sirens again began a new modulation in a loud voice, clear, sweet and sharp and as joyous as if all harpes, orgues, vielles, psalterions, lucz, naquaires, doulceniers, eschequiers, cimballes, simphonies, coros, challemies, doulchaines, thimpanes, rebecz, sonnettes, tabourins, flustes, guisternes, trompes, clarons, bedons, sambuques, tibies, tintinables, monocordes and decacordes, both chords and strings, were playing together in tune; they could not cause a more pleasant jubilation in playing their solemn songs.[245]

It should be noted that in two previously-mentioned passages from Molinet's pen, the spelling rebelles has been used to refer to musical instruments which may, in fact, be the same instruments referred to as rebecz in this passage, since in none of these passages can one find both the words rebelles and rebecz. In addition, the possible synonymous relationship between rebebe, rebelle, and rebec has been discussed. Unless Molinet himself consciously used both rebecz and rebelles to mean either the same or different instruments, we can only conclude that one or the other of these two spellings may have been imposed by later editors and/or printers of Molinet's works.

Jean Marot (d. 1526), father of Clément Marot, mentions rebecz, among other instruments such as busines, chalemines, clerons, doulcines, orguines, trompes, tabours, and lucz, in verse 172 of his Voyage de Venise (ca.1506).[246] Marot accompanied King Louis XII of France on two trips to Italy and Marot's "verse descriptions of these [trips]

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245 Translation by Patricia Cummins who notes that the word amesurées may be the opposite of mesurer.

246 Brücker, p. 73.

include a lively account of the adventurers who joined the army in hope of plunder."[247]

Rebecz are mentioned in a sixteenth-century French translation of De vita Caesarum by Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (ca.69 A.D.-140 A.D.).

> [Caligula] avecques grand bruict de trompettes, rebecz et escabeaulx saulta et dança en chantant.[248]
>
> [Caligula] , with great sound of trompettes, rebecz, and escabeaulx, leaped and danced while singing.[249]

Translator Guillaume Michel has chosen to impose upon Suetonius's classical writing the names of musical instruments such as the rebecz which were contemporary in Michel's own lifetime, a common practice for writers (and artists) of this period.[250] Obviously one can not conclude that rebecz existed in Caligula's lifetime (Caligula was Emperor of Rome from 37-41 A.D.); such an assumption would be ludicrous in view of the fact that bowing was not developed until about the ninth century. One might conclude, however, that rebecz were used in Michel's lifetime (during the sixteenth century) to accompany dancing and singing.

The spelling rebecz is used to denote the plural of rebec in a quotation from Le tiers livre (The Third Book) of François Rabelais, written ca.1545.[251] Chapter XLVI of The Third Book is entitled "Comment Pantagruel et Panurge diversement interpretent les parolles de

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247 Joyce M. H. Reid, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of French Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 390.

248 Tranquile Suetone, Des faictz et gestes des douze Caesars, trans. by Guillaume Michel (Paris: Nouvellement imprimet, 1541), IV, 160v°. Cited by Huguet, p. 367.

249 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

250 See also the fanciful reference in this study to the rebeck in the time of Nero, page 226.

251 Plattard, Vol. III, p. 308.

Triboulet," and deals with the problems of marital fidelity.

> Plus me plaist, dit il, le son de la rusticque cornemuse, que le fredonnemens de lucz [luts[252]], rebecz [rebecs[253]] et violons auliques [anticques[254]].[255]

> I like better, said he, the sound of the rustic cornemuse, than the hummings of courtly lucs, rebecz, and courtly violons [violins].[256]

In an interpretation of this musical metaphor, Nan Cooke Carpenter explains that previous to this quotation,

> Triboulet the Fool warns Panurge against marriage with a bagpipe metaphor signifying cuckoldry . . . he describes Panurge's future wife in terms of the windy and raucous instrument.[257]

Concerning the later rebecz passage, Carpenter continues,

> Panurge happily interprets Triboulet's prediction to mean that he will marry a village maiden, using the cornemuse to denote simple rusticity as opposed to the sophistication of the courtly life represented by the more complex stringed instruments demanding skilled performers--probably with erotic implications in both parts of the comparison.[258]

Aside from the symbolism intended, it is clear that Rabelais knew rebecz as stringed instruments.

Little rebecz [rebecs] are mentioned in the chronicle Dames, reyne d'Escosse by Pierre de Bourdeilles Brantôme (ca.1540-1614), written ca.1560.

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252 Grillet, p. 146.
253 Ibid.
254 Ibid. Most sources refer here to auliques meaning courtly (Brücker, p. 53, Huguet, p. 367, Dick, p. 87, for example). Grillet seems to be the originating source for the erroneous substituted word anticques meaning "old, antique."
255 Huguet, p. 367, citing modern edition edited by Marty-Laveaux, Vol. III, p. 46 and Brücker, p. 53 and Dick, p. 87, who cite the modern edition by Abel Lefranc, t. B, p. 325.
256 Translated by Patricia Cummins.
257 Carpenter, p. 3.
258 Ibid., p. 4.

> Estant logée en bas en l'Abbaye de l'Islebourg, vindrent soubs [sous] sa [la] fenestre cinq ou six cens [cents] marauts de la ville, luy donner l'aubade de meschans [meschants] viollons [violons] et petits rebecz [rebecs], dont il n'y en faute en ce pays-là; et se mirent à chanter pseaumes, tant mal chantez et si mal accordez, que rien plus. He! quelle musique, et quel repos pour sa nuit![259]
>
> After she had been settled in the lower story of the Abbey of Isleburgh, there appeared under her window about five or six hundred low fellows [rogues] of the town to give her a serenade, with miserable violons [violins] and small rebecs [rebecz], of which there is no lack in that country; and they began to sing psalms, so badly executed, and so wretchedly in harmony, that nothing could be worse. Alas! what music, and what a rest for that night![260]

This particular scene refers to the return of Queen Mary to Scotland from France in 1560. Upon her arrival at Holyrood House, she is said to have been serenaded by these viollons and small rebecz.[261]

From the literary quotations which mention rebecz and rebectz (rebecs) one can conclude that these spellings were in use from at least the mid-fifteenth century through at least 1560. The stringed musical instruments which these words represent were either small by nature or may have been built in different sizes. In addition, the instruments were played by beggars and rogues, heard by royalty; they were seen in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century; they were used for morning serenading, to accompany singing and dancing, and may have taken on a sexual connotation in literature by the

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259 Engel, p. 93 and Huguet, p. 367, citing Pierre de Bourdeilles Brantôme, oeuvres complètes, Ludovic Lalanne, ed. (Paris: Renouard, 1864-1882), Vol. VII, p. 419. Engel uses the modernized spelling rebecs whereas Huguet cites the original spelling rebecz. Bracketed words are from Engel.

260 The English translation is from Engel, p. 93.

261 Francis W. Galpin, Old English Instruments of Music, 4th rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 1965), p. 63, Kastner, Parémiologie, p. 397, and Larousse, Vol. XIII, p. 759.

mid-sixteenth century.

Forms and Variants of Rebec

A number of forms and variant spellings very closely related to the central spelling rebec have existed concurrently with appearances of this spelling from the mid-fifteenth century. These spellings can be arranged into four basic divisions: 1) rabec; 2) rebeic; 3) the group rebecq, rebecque, rebecquée, rebecquer, rebecqueresse, rebecqueuse, rebecquet, rebecquetz, and rebecquin; and 4) the group rebeq, rebeque, rebequet, and rebequeur.

Variant 1 - Rabec

The spelling rabec has thus far been located in only one primary source and it can not be determined from the context available whether rabec refers to a musical instrument. Several nineteenth and twentieth-century sources, however, have made this assumption.[262] In a document dated 1452, from the French national archives, one reads,

> Le suppliant entendi que plusieurs gentilshommes aloient a l'ostel de Marquet de Villiers, pour passer temps avecque lui, et avoient un rabec.[263]
>
> The supplicant heard that several gentlemen were going to the home of Marquet de Villiers to spend time with him, and they had a rabec.[264]

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262 Sir James A. H. Murray, ed., A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), Vol. VIII, pt. 1, p. 220, lists rabec as an obsolete fifteenth-century spelling, under his entry for rebeck. Henry George Farmer, "Rebab," translated by Dieter Christensen, Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Frederich Blume, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), Band 11, col. 80, writes that the names rebec, rebeck, or rabec were more customarily used after the fifteenth century. See also entries listed under rebec in Godefroy, Vol. X, p. 493 and Rowland Wright, p. 146.

263 Archives Nationales, J. J. 181, pièce 194. Cited in Godefroy, Vol. X, p. 493, Rowland Wright, p. 146, and Farmer, MGG, col. 81.

264 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

Furthermore, one can not conclusively determine whether there is any relationship between rebec and rabec, which one might have influenced the other orthographically, or if rabec might merely be a corruption or dialectal variant of the obviously more commonly-used spelling rebec. It is possible that some connection might exist between the Old Provençal word rabey and the fifteenth-century spelling rabec.

Variant 2 - Rebeic

Similarly, the spelling rebeic has been located in but one source. According to the records housed in the Archives de Bretagne, a rebeic player named Dorgin played at the post-wedding festivities for Anne of Brittany and Charles VII in the town of Rennes on December 13, 1491.[265] In addition to the rebeic there were two bell-ringers, four trumpeters, tabourin players and a fluste player, all of whom accompanied three morisque dances.[266] Since we know that the spelling rebec was definitely in use by 1491 it seems quite likely that this unique spelling, rebeic, was a dialectal variant of rebec.

Rebec Variant Group Three

The variant spelling rebecq was used specifically to refer to a rebec-player and/or to the act of playing a bowed stringed instrument from at least 1492 to 1530. Household inventories are a common place in which to find references such as the following.

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265 Archives de Bretagne (Edition des Bibliophiles bretons), t. II, pp. 118 and 120 and La Borderie, Histoire de Bretagne, Vol. IV, p. 582, cited in Lionel de la Laurencie, "La musique a la cour des ducs de Bretagne aux XIVe et XVe siècles," Revue de musicologie 14 (1933): 6, fn. 30. Anne of Brittany and Charles VII were married a week before the festivities in Rennes, on December 6, 1491 at Langeais in Touraine. See Cazeaux, p. 56.

266 Ibid.

1. Jehannot du Boys, joueur de rebecq (75 livres). (1492)[267]

   Jehannot du Boys, player of the rebecq (75 livres).

2. à 75 solz tournois pour Pierre Yvon, Jehannot du Boys et Jacques Lorignière . . . (1498)[268]

   75 Tours solz [i.e., minted in Tours] for Pierre Yvon, Jehannot du Boys, and Jacques Lorignière . . .[269]

3. Au rebecq pour ses gaiges. (1509)[270]

   To the rebecq player for his wages.[271]

4. à ung tabourin, ung joueur d'orgues et ung rebecq qui ont sonné devant Monseigneur, à Grenoble, pendant son souppé. (1510)[272]

   to a tabourin player, an orgue player, and a rebecq [rebec player] who have played for my lord at Grenoble during his supper.[273]

5. deux jeunes compaignons, l'ung joueur de tabourin, l'autre de rebecq, que le sainturier avait amenés de Paris. (1527)[274]

   two young men, one a tabourin player, the other a rebecq, whom the belt-maker had brought to Paris.[275]

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267 "Compte des gaiges des officiers de l'ostel de la Royne pour neuf mois commençans le premier jour de janvier 1492 et finissant le derrenier jour de septembre dudit 1492," Archives Nationales, KK 82, Argenterie de la reine, cited in La Laurencie, p. 8.

268 Archives Nationales, KK 83, folios 41v° to 44v°, cited in La Laurencie, p. 8. One assumes that Jehannot du Boys still played the rebecq.

269 Translation by Gale Crouse.

270 Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône, B. 1012. Cited by Albert Jacquot, La musique en Lorraine, étude rétrospective d'aprés les archives locales, 2nd ed. (Paris: A. Quantin, 1882), p. 32. Jacquot believes that at this time (1509), the term rebecq referred not to rebec players but rather to viële players. He feels that the rebec at this time, "qui tend dèjà à disparaître, mais dont le nom . . . est encore maintenu pour désigner l'instrumentiste . . ." He further remarks that the common wages for a rebecq at this time were usually 22 florins and a half.

271 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

272 Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône, B. 1016. Cited by Jacquot, p. 32 and Dick, p. 95.

273 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

274 Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône, B. 1037. Cited by Jacquot, p. 33 and Dick, p. 131.

275 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

In the "Table of Verbs" found in his L'eclaircissement de la langue francoyse (1530), John Palsgrave defines rebecq as follows:

> Croude an instrument--rebecq.
> Croudar--jeuevr de rebecq.
> I Fyddell. Je joue du rebecq. Can you fyddell and playe upon a tabouret to: sçauez vous jouer du rebecq et sus le tabouryn aussi?[276]

The spelling rebecque was used at the turn of the sixteenth-century to designate both an instrument used to accompany singing and persons who played such instruments. In his Chronique (1498), Jean Molinet writes,

> Elle chanta seule chansons et motets, et jooit en chantant de luth, harpe, rebecque et clavechinbolon.[277]
>
> Alone she sang songs and motets, and played the luth, the harpe, the rebecque and clavechinbolon while singing.[278]

The word rebecquin may have referred to a small rebec.[279] Reference to it is made by Adriano Iunio in Nomenclator (1577; 1606), discussed above.

A plural form of rebecque, denoting musical instruments, is rebecquetz and is found in a description of the instruments held by musicians representing the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse in a theatrical pageant performed for the entry of King Charles VIII into Rouen in April 1485.

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276 Palsgrave, pp. 211 and 549. See also Gay, t. II, p. 290 and Mary E. Remnant, "Rebec, fiddle, and crowd in England," Proceedings of the Royal Music Association 95 (1968-1969): 15. Remnant erroneously cites the spelling robecq as the French term for "croude an instrument." This error is repeated by David Munrow, Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 27, who cites Remnant.

277 Chronique de J. Molinet, Chapter 122, cited by Godefroy, Vol. II, p. 148 and Dick, p. 46.

278 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

279 Dick, p. 94 and Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 637.

> Et estoient au ditz siẽges xxiiii anciens, tous vestus de fines soies, blances, damassez et batus à courbettes d'or dessus les ditz vestementz, orfraiez aux colletz et pointz, aiantz chascun couronne en sa teste soubz cheveulx et barbes tant yndes que blances, rouxes et jaunes, de diverses couleurs, tenantz les ungs harpes, orgues, lutz, rebecquetz, challemyes, doulchaines, choros, et plusieurs autres instrumentz dont ilz jouoient mélodieusement.[280]

> And there were in these seats the twenty-four old men, all dressed in fine silk, white cloth, damask, [all] gold trimmed [were] these clothes, gold on collars and points, each one having a crown on his head, under their hair and beards colored violet, as well as white, red, and yellow, of various colors, some holding harpes, orgues, lutz, rebecquetz, challemyes, doulchaines, choros, and many other instruments which they played melodiously.[281]

On October 22, 1502, Archduke Philip the Good entered the city of Saragossa, Spain, and was met by the Archbishop with a reception which included three rebecque players.

> . . . fist venir jouer devant mon signeur trois rebecques moult bons.[282]

> . . . he had three very good rebecques come play before my Lord.[283]

The spelling rebecquer was also used in reference to rebecque players in 1514.

> Tabourineur et rebecquer.[284]

> Tabourineur and rebecquer.

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280 Edmund A. Bowles, "Musical Instruments in Civic Processions during the Middle Ages," Acta musicologia 33 (1961): 155, who cites C. de Beaurepaire, Entré et séjour du roi Charles VIII à Rouen (Caen, 1854), p. 36f. It is interesting to note at this point that many medieval church sculptures of the twenty-four Elders depict lyras or rebec-like instruments, although it is difficult to know for sure whether these instruments can actually be called rebecs, since most exhibit pegdiscs rather than the characteristic rebec pegboxes.

281 Translation by Gale Crouse.

282 Vander Straeten, Vol. VII, p. 157, who gives no information as to a documentable primary source for this quotation.

283 Translation by Gale Crouse.

284 Archives Gir. E., notes, Laurent, 345-1 (March 24, 1514), cited by Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 637 and Dick, p. 131.

Likewise, rebecquet referred to a player of bowed stringed instruments according to John Palsgrave in his L'eclaircissement de la langue Françoyse of 1530:

Fydlar or croudar--rebecquet.[285]

The confusion already evident with Palsgrave's definitions of rebecq is amplified here. His definitions would seem to indicate that rebecq and rebecquet were used, in Palsgrave's mind at least, in a generic rather than a specific sense; that is, to refer to a stringed instrument or a stringed instrument player in general rather than specifically to a rebec or rebec-player. This generic use is likely since Palsgrave's study was published at a crucial time in the development of bowed stringed instruments, a time which witnessed a myriad of bowed stringed instrument types during the transitional period which finally led to the standardization of the violin family.

Although the reflexive verb se rebecquer is spelled exactly the same and was used contemporaneously with the noun discussed above, it has an entirely different meaning: résister (to resist, offer opposition), se rebiffer (to express open refusal or revolt), or répliquer vivement (to vigorously reply, answer, retort).[286] In addition,

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285 Palsgrave, p. 220. See also Remnant, "Rebec, fiddle, crowd," p. 15.

286 Ancien théatre françois ou collection des ouvrages dramatiques les plus remarquables depuis les mystères jusqu'a Corneille (Paris: P. Jannet, 1857), Vol. X and Girard, pp. 645, 620, and 642 respectively. See also Calvin's use of the expression jouer du rebec, page 110. The use of a similar spelling, rebecqueter, has been documented in the twentieth century as a verb meaning "to take courage again, to buck up. Also spelt rebecter." The adjective rebecquetant, also used in the twentieth century, means "encouraging, appetizing." All three of these words are mentioned as being "confined in the main to the working classes, and may be described as popular." See L. E. Kastner and J. Marks, A Glossary of Colloquial and Popular French for the use of English Readers and Travellers (London: J. M. Dent, 1929), no page numbers.

Ménage writes in his Dictionnaire of 1654:

> Rebecquer. Par métaphore, des oiseaux qui se revanchent avec leur bec.[287]

> Rebecquer. By metaphor, birds who peck at each other with their beaks.[288]

François Villon (1431-after 1463) uses the expression se rebecquer in Jargon et jobelin.

> Et pour ce, bernardz, coquillards, rebecquez vous de la montjoye
> Qui desvoye Vostre proye.[289]

> And as for this, you tricksters and stupid people, resist this
> frivolity which destroys your purpose.[290]

The French Protestant reformer, Jean (John) Calvin (1509-1564), uses this expression in his text Contre les Anabaptistes (1544).

> Quelle temerité est ce donc à se rebecquer à l'encontre et rejecter ce remede qu'il donne comme un vice damnable?[291]

> What temerity, therefore, to fight among yourselves and to reject the solution which is given as a damnable vice?[292]

In his satirical comedy Les corrivaux (1612) Pierre Troterel writes,

> Nenny, je vous promets: elle s'est rebecquée
> Haumant dessus son dos comme sur un cheval.[293]

> No, I promise you, she replied,
> Striking him on the back like a horse.[294]

Perhaps this same connotation of se rebecquer is what is really meant

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287 Ménage, p. 617.
288 Translation by Gale Crouse.
289 Sainte-Palaye, Vol. IX, p. 60.
290 Translation by Gale Crouse.
291 Saineau, Vol. II, p. 119, citing Jean Calvin, Contre les Anabaptistes, in Opera, t. VII, p. 100. Saineau writes: "mot conservé dans le parler vulgaire" (word preserved in the vernacular).
292 Translation by Gale Crouse.
293 Ancien théatre françois, Vol. VIII, p. 285.
294 Translation by Patricia Cummins.

to be understood by the appelation, Philippe la Rebecqueresse (Rebecqueuse[295]); i.e., Philippe the "Resistor," rather than suggesting, as does Laurent Grillet, that the person named Philippe, in this excerpt from 1568, was a rebec-player.[296]

> une femme, nommée 'Philippe la Rebecqueresse [Rebecqueuse],' fut fustigée par les rues de Nancy et marquée sur les épaules.[297]
>
> a woman, named 'Philippe la Rebecqueresse [Rebecquese],' was flogged in the streets of Nancy [France] and marked upon her shoulders.

Certainly one would hope that the punishment which Philippe received was more likely due a person who was resisting or opposing something rather than a woman who merely played the rebec!

Rebec Variant Group Four

Although, as we have seen, Palsgrave writes in 1530 that the spelling rebecq was used to refer to a rebec-player or the act of playing a bowed stringed instrument, he uses the variant spelling rebeq only generically to refer to a bowed stringed instrument.

> Fyddell--rebeq[298]

The word rebequet was used to refer to a musical instrument as well as a player. In the fifteenth-century Farce de Jolyet a rebequet is represented in a bride's trousseau.

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295 Grillet, p. 146.

296 Ibid. Grillet writes, "on appelait les joueurs de rebec, rebecqueux et rebecqueuse." No primary source using rebecqueux has as yet been found.

297 Grillet, p. 146 and Dick, p. 96, both cite their source as Jacquot, but Dick's reference to Jacquot p. 49 is in error.

298 Remnant, "Rebec, fiddle, crowd," p. 15, citing Palsgrave.

Je n'eu d'elle en mariage
Que six vingz soubz en une bource,
Ung rebequet et une loure.[299]

I received from her in marriage only
Twenty-six sous in a purse,
One rebequet and a loure.[300]

Friedrich Dick suggests that the rebequet may have been a small rebec, and argues his point by suggesting that the French word rebequet may have been influenced by the Italian diminutive form rebecchette.[301]

In an undated source prior to the early seventeenth century rebequet is used to refer to a musical instrument player.

Un rebequet et flusteur de village.[302]

A rebequet and flusteur from the village.

The spelling rebeque, referring to a musical instrument, has been found in the text of an onomatopoeic drinking song from an early seventeenth-century collection of French songs. The sounds of various instruments are described in nonsense syllables:

Il estoit un bon homme,
Ioüant de la cimbale,
Drin relin din din relin din din,
Et de la vielle yon yon yon,
Et de la rebeque,
Tire li ty ty reli ty ty.[303]

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299 Ancien théatre françois, Vol. I, p. 59. See also Godefroy, Vol. VI, p. 638.

300 Translation by Normand Rioux. Patricia Cummins notes that loure may mean belt, strap, or braid. According to Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 314, loure referred to a bagpipe at least as early as the sixteenth century.

301 Dick, p. 94. The glossary of Ancien théatre françois, Vol. X, defines rebequet as "petit violon."

302 Quintil. Cens. p. 204, cited in Sainte-Palaye, Vol. IX, p. 60.

303 Jacques Mangeant, Recueil des plus belles chansons des comediens françois (Caen: Jacques Mangeant, 1626), p. 4, stanza 2. See also Jules Carlez, La musique à Caen de 1066 a 1848 (Caen, 1876), Reprint edition (Geneva: Minkoff, 1974), p. 18.

He was a good man,
Playing the cimbale,
Drin relin din din relin din din,
And the vielle yon yon yon,
And the rebeque,
Tire li ty ty reli ty ty.

The spelling se rebequer (see se rebecquer), has not yet been located in any primary sources, but according to Gamillscheg and Dubois, it was used in the sixteenth century with the meanings "to repeat, to be obstinately opposed,"[304] "to revolt, rebel, and to be indignant."[305]

Finally, the spelling, rebequeur, so similar to rebecqueresse, discussed in group three, has been defined by Sainte-Palaye as follows (no date of use or source is indicated):

Rebequeur. Qui rebecque, riposte.[306]

Rebequeur. One who rebecques, makes a smart reply or retort.

Conclusion

From this study of numerous alleged rebec-related words, idioms, and spellings in French and related dialects, one can conclude that 1) several spellings purportedly related to rebec are most likely misprints of other legitimate rebec-related spellings; 2) a group of words exists for which no conclusive definitions have yet been determined; 3) a group of words exists the definition of which is probably not directly related to the rebec; 4) a group of words and idioms exists the translation of which may or may not refer to the rebec, depending upon the context; and 5) a large group of words and variant

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304 Gamillscheg, p. 744, writes "rebéquer, widersprechen, hartnäckig entgegenstellen."
305 Dubois and Lagane, p. 411, "se révolter," see Girard, p. 653.
306 Sainte-Palaye, Vol. IX, p. 60.

spellings exist which are most likely directly related to the rebec, and which can collectively provide, by means of the contexts in which they appear, a morphological and sociological description of the rebec, albeit somewhat limited in scope.

1. The unique spellings rubec and robecq are believed to be misprints of rebec and rebecq in late-sixteenth-century and mid-twentieth-century sources, respectively. Rubède is believed to be a misprint of rubècle in a twentieth-century source. The legitimacy of the unique spelling ribele, mentioned in a twentieth-century source, is questioned; it may be a misprint of ribebe or rebele. The unique spelling rebula, cited in a nineteenth-century source, may be a misprint of rebuba. The unique spelling rebeshe, cited by a nineteenth-century source, may be a misprint of rebesbe. Finally, the spelling rebuble may be meant to represent rebeble or rebube.

2. The following words have not yet been conclusively defined and hence, can not yet be entered into a meaningful discussion of the rebec: rebay, rebeb, rebed, rebei, rebbeis, rebuba, and ribec. The word rabec is found in a mid-fifteenth-century document and thus appears at an appropriate time to be considered rebec-related, but the context does not prove this relationship one way or another. A similar situation exists for the Provençal word rabey which dates from the turn of the thirteenth century. Although no primary source has been cited for the word rebeble and, therefore, no contextual definition is possible, it is very possible that it is related to the plural form rebeblez, a fifteenth-century word which refers to musical instruments. Likewise, although no primary source has been cited for

rubbile, Marcuse has listed it as a variant of rubebe.

3. Three words have been found which usually do not denote the rebec but rather the jaw's harp. These are rebube, rebute (from rebuter), and ribebe. Although one can not say conclusively that rebube and ribebe do not refer to the rebec since the contexts of the quotations listed in this study do not specifically rule out such a definition, it would perhaps be better at this time to exclude them from a discussion of rebec morphology and sociology based upon their literary contexts.

The word rebele has thus far been located in only one primary source and it clearly translates as a rebellion or rebellious act, not as a musical instrument. Similarly, the spelling rebequeur has been defined in the nineteenth century (no primary source or date of use is indicated) as one who makes a smart reply or retort, rather than as one who plays a rebeq or rebeque.

4. Several words and idiomatic expressions may or may not be related to the rebec depending upon the context in which they appear. Reference may be made to a rebellion, a smart reply, retort, resistance, bad behavior, and so on, by the following words and expressions: jouer du rebec (which in some cases also refers to playing the rebec), se rebecquer and se rebequer (which may also refer to playing an instrument), rebarbe, rebelle (both of which may refer to an instrument), and rebecqueuse, rebecqueresse (both of which may refer to a person who plays the rebec(que)). Finally, joueur de rebec may refer to the player of a rebec but as an idiom it may also denote a clever or skillful person.

5. The following words could be considered as being directly related to the spelling rebec in one of two ways, either through variant spellings/forms or through presumed synonymy. The following words comprise the first group of variant spellings/forms: rebec, rebecq, rebecque, rebecq, rabec (?), rebeic, rebecquin (these are all nouns which refer directly to the instrument; the last-mentioned is a diminutive form); rebecs, rebecz, rebets, rebetz, rebecques, rebecquetz (these are all plural forms of the noun); rebec, rebecq, rebecque(s), rebecquet, rebequet (these nouns refer to either the instrument or the player of the instrument); and the verb form, rebecquer (to play a rebec). The second group of words related to rebec by presumed synonymy with rubebe(s) and rebebe(s) include: a) rubebe(s), rubele, rubelle, rubbile (?), and rubecle; and b) rebebe(s), rebebbe, rebeibe(s), rebebet(s), rebelle(s), rebeble, rebeblez, rebesbe, reberbe, and rebarbe (?).

Based upon all these presumably rebec-related terms, one could generalize and enumerate the following morphological and sociological characteristics of the French rebec (rebec used here in a generic sense) as compiled from the contexts of the primary literary sources studied in this chapter.

1. The rebec was in use in France from at least the late thirteenth century through at least ca.1741 although some scholarly musical treatises record that it was no longer in use by the third decade of the seventeenth century.

2. The rebec was a bowed stringed musical instrument. The rebec bow was "small."

3. The rebec had at least two and most often three strings which were made of gut, tautly strung, thereby suggesting a "high" pitch; these strings were tuned in fifths.

4. The rebec's shape was different than that of the violin, but similar to the poche (pochette), and may have been similar in shape also to the pandurina or mandora. The rebec had no waist to accomodate bowing. Its back may have been convex in shape (similar to a lute's back) and its interior was hollow (this statement does not conclusively reflect upon the presence or absence of a sound-post).

5. The rebec may have had carved figures at the top of the neck in place of a scroll or blunt end and/or it may have had carved figures elsewhere upon the body.

6. At least during the first half of the seventeenth century, the body of the rebec was made of maple, the belly made of fir. One unique specimen from the early sixteenth century was made out of silver. Some rebecs have been described as beautiful.

7. Rebecs were made in at least three different sizes.

8. A specific "Cambrai-style" for rebecs is mentioned in a mid-sixteenth-century source.

9. Some rebecs were furnished with cases, at least during the mid-sixteenth-century.

10. The rebec's sound has been variously described as harsh, hoarse, soft, sweet, and harmonious. An onomatopoeic drinking song from the early seventeenth century describes its sound as "tire li ty ty reli ty ty."

11. Players of the rebec may have included a poor witless man (?), beggars, rogues, and paid musicians in the service of the lords and ladies of the French court as well as the King of France. Some specific players' names are known as well as the wages they received for playing.

12. The rebec was sometimes used to accompany oneself or others while singing; it was played along with other instruments and was used to accompany dancing.

13. The rebec was played at festivities such as weddings, the entry of royalty into a town, and, during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries particularly, it was played in taverns and other "irreputable places."

14. A rebec has been mentioned in a fictional work as forming part of a bride's trousseau.

15. In relationship to other instruments, the rebec is mentioned along with a wide variety of contemporary instruments. It was considered, at least in 1557, as secondary to the lute and guitar, but of higher status than the vielle.

16. Rebecs mentioned by these presumably related names were known in Italy, Scotland, and Spain.

17. Perhaps due to its shape or due to some other unknown reason, the rebec, especially in the sixteenth century, bore the brunt of sexual satire in literature.

18. As the sixteenth century progressed, as well as throughout the seventeenth century, the various spellings/forms for rebec were often

applied generically to refer to bowed stringed instruments and/or referred to the violin or the increasingly common descendent of the rebec, the poche (pochette).

CHAPTER VI

THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF REBEC-RELATED WORDS IN ITALIAN

Background

As an independent standardized language, Italian has developed much more slowly than the other Romance languages; the existence of numerous dialects has persisted even into the twentieth century. Throughout its development the Italian language and its dialects have remained "closer to Latin than any other Romance language; its vocabularly is preeminently Latin, borrowings from other languages, mostly from French, and new [word] formations are comparatively few."[1] In fact, Latin survived so long in the written language of Italy that "until the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries there are no literary records extant of Italian vernaculars."[2] By the thirteenth century a recognizable central Italian language began to emerge from the domain of Latin and many Latin works were translated into the nascent literary vernacular. The motivating force behind this emergence was Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) who was the "first to attempt a classification of the Italian dialects, and to discern a connexion between the spoken vernaculars and the literary language."[3] Dante viewed Latin as the primary source for his written language and thus "he contributed to

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1 Cesare Foligno, "Italian Language," in Chambers's Encyclopaedia, rev. ed. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967), Vol. VII, p. 808.
2 Ibid., p. 806.
3 Ibid., p. 807.

linking Italian to literary Latin"[4] as opposed to the other vernaculars and dialects which vied for preeminence as the language standard. Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), who in the fourteenth century provided us with the earliest known extant written reference to a rebec-related musical instrument in Italian (the ribeba), was also a major proponent of the influence of literary Latin upon the developing Italian language. Boccaccio even went so far as to "revive Latin words and constructions"[5] in his own works. During the fifteenth century, when musical theorists such as Johannes Tinctoris (ca.1435-1511) were publishing treatises in Italy, "there was a tendency towards excessive Latinization" in the Italian language.[6] As has been shown, Tinctoris himself wrote in Latin, using the Latin spelling rebeca in his brief and rather subjective discussion of the rebec.

Next to the dominant influence of Latin, the Old French language was also influential in Medieval Italy, having been introduced into virtually all of Italy by way of the Crusades as well as through political interchange and military activity. In fact, "in northern Italy, the language was widely cultivated as a literary medium. Not only did copies of French epics and romances circulate in Italy, [but thirteenth-century] Italians themselves composed in French."[7] This influence of French, however, gradually lessened and by the "end of the fifteenth century, it had ceased to be an influential language in the south of Italy."[8] By the sixteenth century the trend of influence

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4 Foligno, p. 807.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Peter Rickard, A History of the French Language (London: Hutchinson University, 1974), p. 66.
8 Ibid., p. 69.

had reversed itself and the Italian language and culture "were being enthusiastically imitated in France." Peter Rickard notes further that "if, in the thirteenth century, there had been Italians who wrote in French, there were now [in the fifteenth to the sixteenth century] not a few Frenchmen capable of writing in Italian."[9]

The rebec-related terminology in Italian seems to draw upon or at least reflect the influences of both Latin and French. The Italian word group rubebe, rubechette, rubicone (and their variants), known to have been in use at least as early as ca.1400, bear resemblance to and are probably derived from the interchangeable Latin spelling rubeba and the Old French rubebe, both of which were in use at least as early as the late thirteenth century. A second group of Italian rebec-related words which centers around the spelling ribeba and its variant ribeca shows what might be a combined influence of the Old French rubebe, the Latin rubeba and rebeca, and the Provençal ribec.

Rubebe, Rubechette, Rubicone

The three words rubebe, rubechette, and rubicone may all be found in one source, a sonnet written ca.1400 by the Italian poet Simone Prodenzani (1355?-ca.1433), who lived in Orvieto.[10] The text[11] mentions

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9 Rickard, p. 92.

10 Codex pal. parmense 286, Sonett No. 9, p. 64f (publisher Ferretti), cited in Arnold Schering, Studien zur Musikgeschichte der Frührenaissance, in Studien zur Musikgeschichte, 2. Band (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1914), p. 102. Contrary to Schering's study, Sibyl Marcuse erroneously dates this sonnet as 1584. Sibyl Marcuse, Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), p. 437. See also Werner Bachmann, The Origins of Bowing, translated by Norma Deane (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 131, fn. 115.

11 See page 82.

the use of the bowed rubebe, rubecchette and rubicone "which gave great delight to everyone." Rubecchette (variant rebecchette[12]) is a diminutive form of rubebe whereas rubicone is an augmentative form which leads to the hypothesis that a consort of three different sizes of the same type of bowed stringed instrument once existed. To date, however, no further references to the words rubicone or rubecchette have been found. As shall be seen, examples of other Italian diminutive forms of rebec-related words have been located, but curiously, no other augmentative forms have yet been documented. Variants of the Latin rubeba and the Italian word rubebe may include rubéca,[13] rubecca,[14] and rubella,[15] all of which have been mentioned in secondary sources but for none of which has a primary source yet been located.

Ribeba, Ribeca and Variants

The Italian spelling ribeba was in use at least as early as the mid-fourteenth century. An example of its use may be found in an excerpt from The Decameron (ca. after 1350) written by the Florentine Giovanni Boccaccio. In the fifth story of the ninth day, the following

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12 Werner Bachmann, p. 131, fn. 115.

13 Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon der Musikinstrumente (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1913), Reprint and rev. ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), p. 324b, who indicates that rubèca is synonymous with rebec. Giacomo Devoto and Gian Carlo Oli, Vocabolario illustrato della lingua italiana (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1967), Vol. II, p. 783, writes that rubèca is an archaic form of ribèca.

14 Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 448, writes that rubecca is a corruption of rebec. Marcuse does not indicate from which language this term comes although it is believed to be from Italian.

15 Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 324b, indicates that rubella is synonymous with rubeba. See also Hermann Ruth-Sommer, Alte Musikinstrumente: ein Leitfaden für Sammler, 2nd rev. ed. (Berlin: Richard Carl Schmidt, 1920), p. 52.

may be found:

E venendosene verso Firenze, disse Bruno a Calandrino: Ben ti dico, che tu la fai struggere, come ghiaccio al sole: per lo corpo di Dio, se tu ci rechi la ribeba tua, e canti un poco con essa di quelle tue canzoni innamorate, tu la farai gittare a terra delle finestre, per venire a te. Disse Calandrino: Parti, sozio? parti, che io la rechi? Sì, rispose Bruno. A cui Calandrino disse: Tu non mi credevi oggi, quando io il ti diceva. Per certo, sozio, io m'avveggio che io so meglio, che altro uomo, far ciò, che io voglio. Chi avrebbe saputo altri, che io, far così tosto innamorare una cosi fatta donna, come è costei? a buona otta l'avrebber saputo fare questi giovani di tromba marina, che tutto 'l dì vanno in giù, et in su, et in mille anni non saprebbero accozzare tre man di noccioli. Ora io vorrò, che tu mi vegghi un poco con la ribeba; vedrai bel giuoco: intendi sanamente, che io non son vecchio, come io ti pajo, ella se n'è bene accorta ella; ma altramenti ne la farò io accorgere, se io le pongo la branca addosso: per lo verace corpo di Cristo, che io le farò giuoco, che ella mi verrà dietro, come va la pazza al figliuolo. O, disse Bruno, tu te la griferai. E' mi par pur vederti morderle con cotesti tuoi denti fatti a bischeri quella sua bocca vermigliuzza, e quelle sue gote, che pajon due rose, e poscia manicarlati tutta quanta. Calandrino udendo queste parole, gli pareva essere a' fatti, et andava cantando, e saltando tanto lieto, che non capeva nel cuojo. Ma l'altro di recata la ribeba, con gran diletto di tutta la brigata cantò più canzoni con essa.[16]

O Calandrino mio dolce, cuor del corpo mio, anima mia, ben mio, riposo mio, quanto tempo ho io desiderato d'averti, e di poterti tenere a mio senno. Tu m'hai con la piacevolezza tua tratto il filo della camiscia, tu m'hai aggratigliato il cuore colla tua ribeba; può egli esser vero, che io ti tenga?[17]

As they were on their way back to Florence, Bruno said to Calandrino: "There's no doubt about it, Calandrino, you've got her in the palm of your hand. Holy Mother of God, if you were to bring along your rebeck [ribeba] and serenade her with one or two of those love-songs of yours, she'd be so eager to come to you that she'd hurl herself bodily through the window." "Do you really think so, comrade?" said Caladrino. "Do you think I ought to fetch it?" "I certainly do," Bruno replied. Whereupon Calandrino said: "You wouldn't believe me today, when I told you. But you must admit, comrade, that when it comes to obtaining what I want, I know better than anybody else how to go about it. What other man could have persuaded a lady of her quality to fall in love with him so quickly? Could any of those young gallants have done it, who parade up and down

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16 Giovanni Boccaccio, Il decamerone (Londra, 1802), Vol. IV, pp. 39-40.

17 Ibid., p. 44.

> the whole day long, spouting like a tap [di tromba marina],[18] and who wouldn't know how to gather three handfuls of nuts in a thousand years? Just wait till you see what I can do with my rebeck [ribeba]: you'll be amazed! You needn't think I'm past the age for this sort of thing, because I'm not, and she knows it. And once I lay my paws on her, she'll know it even better. God's truth! I'll sport with her so merrily that she'll cling to me like a mother besotted with her son." "Ah, yes!" said Bruno. "You'll make a proper meal out of her. I can see you now, in my mind's eye, nibbling her sweet red lips and her rosy cheeks with those lute-peg teeth of yours, and then devouring her whole body, piece by succulent piece." On hearing these words, Calandrino felt as though he was already getting down to business, and he skipped and sang, being seized by such a transport of delight that he almost split his hide. Next day he brought along his rebeck [ribeba], to the strains of which, much to the delight of all the others, he sang a number of songs.[19]
>
> "Oh, my sweet Calandrino, heart of my body, my dearest, my darling, my angel, how long I have been yearning to have you all to myself and hold you in my arms! You've swept me off my feet with your winning ways! You've captured my heart with that rebeck [ribeba] of yours! Is it really possible that I am holding you in my embrace?[20]

Boccaccio creates a play on words in a portion of this excerpt when, on the one hand, he explicitly mentions the ribeba in its role as a musical instrument and then metaphorically refers to Calandrino's love, Niccolosa, as a ribeba when Calandrino remarks to Bruno, "I would fain have thee see me with the rebeck [ribeba] 'twould be fine sport for thee. I will lead her in such a dance that she shall run after me, as the madwoman after her child."[21]

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18 The meaning of the allusion to the musical instrument, the tromba marina, is not entirely clear. A description and pictorial illustrations of this instrument may be found in Hortense Panum, The Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages, rev. ed. by Jeffrey Pulver (London: William Reeves, 1939), Reprint (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), pp. 252-263 and fig. 209-215.

19 Giovanni Boccaccio, The Decameron, translated by G. H. McWilliam (Harmondsworth: Penguin books, 1972), pp. 704-705.

20 Ibid., p. 708.

21 Giovanni Boccaccio, Stories of Boccaccio: The Decameron, translated by John Payne (New York: Stravan Publishers, 1947), pp. 704-705.

An additional example of the spelling ribeba may be found in Pierre Trichet's Le traité des instruments de musique (1640) when Trichet cites Pierre le Loyer (Discours et histoire des spectres (1605)) as writing that the Italians derived their spelling ribeba from the Chaldean word rebiag.[22]

Sibyl Marcuse is the only source to define ribeba as the jaw's harp rather than as a bowed stringed instrument; she further links the spelling with the French word rebube.[23]

The variant spelling ribebe is used in an anonymous fourteenth-century Italian poem, L'Intelligenza, in a list of various musical instruments of the time.

> Ribebe e otricelli, e ceterare,
> Salteri ed altri stormenti treati.[24]
>
> [One heard the fine playing of the . . .]
> Ribebe and otricelli, and ceterare,
> Salteri and other selected instruments.

Another variant spelling, ribèbba, purportedly in use during the sixteenth century,[25] is noted in three seventeenth and eighteenth-century sources as being related to the word rebec. John Florio defines ribèbba in his Italian/English dictionary, Queen Anna's New World of

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22 See pages 129-130 of this study for the pertinent excerpt from Trichet's treatise.

23 Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 444, who cites Johann Samuel Halle, Werkstätte der heutigen Künste (Berlin, 1764), Vol. III, no page number given.

24 Cited in Luisa Marcucci, Mostra di strumenti musicali in disegni degli Uffizi: Catalog - Gabinetto designi e stampe degli Uffizi (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1952), p. 17. See page 102 of this study for a more complete excerpt.

25 The Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), Vol. VIII, p. 644.

Words (1598/1611), as "a kind of deep measure in Italie. Also as ribecca [which he defines as a musical instrument]."[26] Gilles Ménage's Dictionnaire étymologique (1650/1694) includes the word ribèbba in its definition of rebec and suggests that "de l'Arabe rebaba, les Italiens on fait ribebba"[27] (the Italians have derived ribèbba from the Arabic word rebaba). Finally, Johann Gottfried Walther (1732) cites Antoine Furetière's Dictionnaire universel (1690) as indicating the following:

> Es soll vom Spanischen Worte Rabel, und dieses vom Arabischen Rebab, Rebaba oder Rabib, so durch Lyram übersetzt wird, und woraus die Italianer ihr Ribebba formirt, herkommen, auch sollen die Franszosen anfanglich Rebel, nachgehends aber Rebec daraus gemacht haben.[28]
>
> It is said to have originated from the Spanish word, Rabel, which in turn came from the Arabic Rebab, Rebaba, or Rabib, as translated through Lyram, out of which the Italians formed their Ribebba; also the French used rebel at first, but were said to have later made rebec out of it.[29]

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26 John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words . . .(London: Melch. Bradwood, 1611; Facsimile reprint in English Linguistics 1500-1800 series, No. 105, Menston, Yorks: Scolar Press, 1968), p. 433. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 644, the word also appears in Giovanni Torriano, A Dictionary Italian and English, formerly compiled by John Florio, now diligently revised (1659). Florio's dictionary is an important source for information, since it "remained the standard dictionary throughout the seventeenth century and after that formed a basis upon which its successors were built." Frances A. Yates, John Florio: the Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England (Cambridge: University Press, 1934), p. 190.

27 Gilles Ménage, Dictionnaire étymologique (Paris: Chez J. Anisson, 1650), rev. ed. (Paris: Chez J. Anisson, 1694), t. II, p. 388. See full citation, page 130 of this study.

28 Johann Gottfried Walther, Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek (Leipzig: Wolffgang Deer, 1732), Facsimile reprint, Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles III (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953), pp. 514-515.

29 Lydia Downie, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York, is gratefully acknowledged for her assistance with this translation.

Pierre Larousse and several other etymologists note that the Italians used the spellings ribeba and ribèca interchangeably,[30] the exchange of the letters b and c being a common occurrence in the development of the Italian language.[31]

Ribèca, however, has not yet been found to be cited in a primary source which dates from the rebec-playing era but has only been mentioned in etymological dictionaries and other sources consulted. Nevertheless, it was purportedly in use from at least the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries.[32] The variant spelling ribècca, on the other hand, is used by John Florio in his Italian/English dictionary (1598/1611): "Ribècca, an instrument called a Rebecke, a croud, or a

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30 Pierre Larousse, Grand dictionnaire universel français (Paris: Administration du grand dictionnaire universel, 1865-[1890]), t. 13, p. 759. See also August Hjalmar Edgren, An Italian and English Dictionary (New York: Henry Hold,[1929]), p. 404; Barbara Reynolds, ed., The Cambridge Italian Dictionary (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1962), Vol. I, p. 650; and Devoto/Oli, Vol. II, p. 783.

31 Friedrich Diez, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Romanischen Sprachen, 5th ed. (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1887), p. 269.

32 See, for example, Laurence Wright, "The Medieval Gittern and Citole: a case of Mistaken Identity," Galpin Society Journal 30 (May 1977): 42, excerpt from Anton-Maria Biscioni, notes on Il malmantile racquisitato (1748) by Lorenzo Lippi, p. 62. See also Carlo Battisti and Giovanni Alessio, Dizionario etimologico italiano (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedico italiano fondata da Giovanni Treccani, 1955-1961), Vol. X, p. 316; and Francesco Viatelli, "Ribeca," in Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti (Rome: Istitute della enciclopedia italiano fondata da Giovanni Treccani, 1929-1939), Vol. XXIX, p. 203.

Fidlers kit."[33]

The diminutives and variant forms of ribeba/ribeca (variant ribecca) include: ribechino, ribecchino, ribbicchina, rebecchino, and rebechino. Pierfrancesco Giambullari (1495-1555) interchangeably uses the spellings ribechino and ribecchino in his account of the wedding festivities to celebrate the marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, in 1539. Giambullari writes, "each of the [persons representing the] nine Muses carried an instrument: trombone, dolziana, violone, piffero, flauto, leuto, storta, cornetto, or ribechino" in the opening madrigal composed for the wedding banquet ("Sacro et santo Hymeneo" by Corteccia for nine voices). Although one assumes that each of the nine persons representing the nine Muses must have sung one part, Giambullari does not indicate whether the instruments which they carried might have been used to play certain parts of the madrigal or whether it was sung a cappella, the instruments merely serving as props.[34] Concerning the ninth muse, Giambullari writes "This one, I

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33 Florio, Queen Anna, p. 433. See also Walter William Skeat, An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), p. 494 and Ernest Weekley, An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1921), p. 1205. Not to be confused with the noun ribecca is the verb ribeccáre which, according to Florio, Queen Anna, p. 433, means "to pecke or bill againe." August Edgren further defines it as meaning "to peck again; recover; to pick together." Edgren, p. 404. This definition is reminiscent of the one for the French verb se rebecquer which was in use at least during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Georges Kastner, Parémiologie musicale (Paris: G. Brandus and S. Dufour, 1866), p. 398, records the expression rebeccare di contrapunto which, he writes, means "discourir," or "to discourse, to chat, to babble." The seventeenth-century Italian expression ribeccaménto di paróle is defined by Florio as "a checking or rebuking with taunting words" and reminds one of the French expression, previously discussed, jouer de rebec. Florio, Queen Anna, p. 433.

34 Andrew C. Minor and Bonner Mitchell, eds., A Renaissance Entertainment: Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, in 1539 (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1968), p. 60.

say, had a ribechino in her right hand and, in the other, the taninera with her name: Calliope."[35] Giambullari also reports that at the end of a comedy performed as part of the wedding festivities, eight musicians representing bacchantes played instruments concealed in fanciful coverings:

> . . . in order not to leave the spectators asleep [at the end of the last act], there came suddenly onto the stage twenty bacchantes, of whom ten were ladies and the others satyrs. Among all these, eight played, eight sang and danced in the middle of the stage, and two on each side played drunk. The instruments of the players were these: a leather wine bottle which covered a drum . . . a stag's head with a ribecchino inside . . .[36]

The spelling ribechino is used by Cosimo Bartoli in the third book of Ragionamenti accademici (Venice: Francesco de Franceschi Senese, 1567). Bartoli reports on a conversation which purportedly took place during the 1540's between Lorenzo Altinori, Piero Darica, and Pierfrancesco Giambullari. Darica says,

> Bartolomeo [of Florence] . . . still plays the viola very well, and when it comes to handling a ribechino he has no equal; nor has he only these parts, but he is so good, so pleasant, and so kind that were one to depict the goodness, the pleasantness, and the kindness found in the world, one could certainly not do better than to portray him with a mountain of instruments and of friends around him.[37]

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35 Pierfrancesco Giambullari, Apparato et feste nelle nozze del illustrissimo signor Duca di Firenze, et della Duchessa sua consorte (Florence: Giunti, 1539). Cited in Minor, p. 140. Calliope was the Muse of eloquence and heroic (epic) poetry.

36 Giambullari. Cited in Minor, pp. 349-350. The singers sang a four-part song which began "Bacco, Bacco eu oe," and which is reproduced in Minor, pp. 351-352. One wonders if the instrumentalists actually played along with the singers.

37 Minor, pp. 50-53, who cites an English translation only, by Ann Watson McKinley, "Francesco Corteccia's Music to Latin Texts," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Michigan, 1962).

Sibyl Marcuse reports that "a ribecchino and four violini were used in a Florence intermedio in 1565;" however, she does not document her source.[38] She also states that Hercole Bottrigari, in his Il Desiderio (Venice, 1594), mentions ribecchini, lire, and viole, "adding that ribecchini and lire have no frets." Marcuse suggests that Bottrigari may be using the word ribecchini to refer to violins in this instance.[39] John Florio defines ribecchino in his Italian/English dictionary of 1598/1611: "Ribecchino, a little fidle, rebecke or croud."[40] Curt Sachs states that the variant spelling ribbicchina is from the Sicilian dialect.[41]

The word rebecchino (variant rebechino) has been cited as a variant of ribecchino,[42] a derivative of the Latin rebecca,[43] and has been variously defined as a small rebec,[44] a pandura,[45] and the violin.[46] Adriano Iunio's equation of the Italian word rebecchino with pandura in 1577/1606, discussed above, appears to be a result of misinformation

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38 Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 437 and Sibyl Marcuse, A Survey of Musical Instruments (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), p. 485.
39 Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 438.
40 Florio, Queen Anna, p. 433.
41 Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 321b. He cites no date or evidence for its use.
42 Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 438.
43 Henry George Farmer, "Rebab," translated by Dieter Christensen, Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Frederich Blume, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1963), Band 11, col. 81.
44 Reynolds, Vol. I, p. 650.
45 Adriano Iunio, Nomenclator octilinguis omnium rerum propria nomina continens (Paris: David Douceur, 1577; 1606), Reprint (Paris: A. and J. Picard, 1960). See pertinent excerpt, pages 126-127 of this study.
46 Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 318b.

or misunderstanding on Iunio's part.[47] The rebecchino (variant rebechino) may at one time have referred to a small rebec (this hypothesis can not be documented) or a pochette, but in 1619, at the time of the publication of Michael Praetorius' Syntagma musicum, it unquestionably refers to the violin.[48] In Volume II, De Organographia, Praetorius writes the following:

> Welche nun Gedärmsaitten haben . . . Etliche aber werden zugleich mit eim härnes Bogen berührt und gestrichen als sehn . . . violino, rebechino, fides, fidicula, kleine Geigen / sonst viol de bracio genande.[49]
>
> Das XXII Cap. Violn de Bracio (in Sciagraph. Col. XXI.) Viola, Viola de bracio: Item, Violino da brazzo; Wird sonsten eine Geige / vom gemeinen Volck aber eine Fiddel / unnd daher de bracio genennet / dass sie uff dem Arm gehalten wird.
>
> Deroselben Bass- Tenor- und Discantgeig (welche Violino, oder Violetta picciola, auch Rebecchino genennet wird) seynd mit 4. Säiten; die gar kleinen Geiglein aber (Col. XVI.) mit drey Säiten bezogen (uff Französisch Pochetto genant) und werden alle durch Quinten gestimmet. Und demnach dieselbige jedermänniglichen bekandt / ist darvon (ausser diesem / dass wenn sie mit Messings- und Stälenen Säiten bezogen werden / ein stillen und fast lieblichen Resonanz mehr / als die andern / von sich geben) etwas mehr anzudeuten und zu schreiben unnötig.[50]

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47 Michael Praetorius definitively defines the pandora stating that it is a stringed instrument with metal strings made to sound by being struck with just the fingers alone. See Micahel Praetorius, Syntagma musicum Vol. II: De Organographia (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), translated by Harold Blumenfeld (New York: Bärenreiter, 1962), Reprint (New York: Da Capo Press, 1980), p. 5.

48 Kastner, Parémiologie, p. 392, writes that at the end of the sixteenth century the name rebec for an instrument often used by fiddlers for entertainment, gatherings, and to accompanying dancing, was often confused with the "dessus" or soprano instrument which was named the violin; in German it was called the discant Geige and in Italian, the rebecchino.

49 Michael Praetorius, Theatrum instrumentorum seu sciagraphia (Wolfenbüttel, 1620), Facsimile edition by Wilibald Gurlitt, Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles XIV (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958), contents for Chapter XIV, p. 4.

50 Ibid., Chapter XXII, p. 48.

> Of the instruments with gut strings . . . certain ones are stroked by a haired bow at the same time, such as the . . . violino, rebechino, fides, fidicula: or small violin [kleine Geigen], also called viol da braccio [viol de bracio].[51]

> Chapter XXII. The Viol da Braccio [Violn de Bracio] (plate XXI). The [Viola], Viol da Braccio [Viola de bracio] or Violino da Brazzo, is also called Violin [Geige] and is named Fiddel by the common folk. It is named da braccio [de bracio] because it is held on the arm.
>
> The bass, tenor and discant of this instrument (the last of which is also called violino, violetta picciola and rebecchino) all have four strings, and the very small violin [gar kleinen Geiglein] (called pochette in French--see plate XVI) has three. All these strings are tuned in fifths. Since everyone is familiar with these instruments it is unnecessary to deal further with them here. When brass and steel strings are used on these instruments they produce a softer and lovelier tone than with other strings.[52]

The second volume of Praetorius's encyclopedic Syntagma musicum is an important source for the study of musical instruments since it deals "in great detail with all the musical instruments in use at the time." Unlike the first volume which was written in Latin, De Organographia was written in German, "having been intended for a wider reading public." Perhaps most importantly, an appendix of forty-two woodcuts is included, which depict "all the instruments dealt with by the author, meticulously drawn to scale."[53]

The variant spellings rebecchista, rebechista, ribècchísta, ribechista, and ribichísta, all refer to a player of the stringed instrument just discussed. John Florio mentions all of these in his 1598/1611 Italian/English dictionary, with the exception of rebecchista.[54]

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51 Praetorius/Blumenfeld, pp. 4-5.
52 Ibid., p. 48.
53 Ibid. p. iv.
54 This variant is cited by Reynolds, Vol. I, p. 650.

Ribècchísta, a fidler upon a rebecke or croud.[55]
Ribichíste, as Ribècchísta.[56]
Rebechista, as ribechista.[57]

Of all these variants, the spelling ribechista appears most often in etymological dictionaries and encyclopedias and is said to have been used at least through the seventeenth century.[58] Although most sources define the diminutive forms discussed above as referring to a musical instrument, etymologist August Edgren (1929) defines ribechino as a player of the rebec and ribechista as the plural; i.e., rebec-players.[59]

In summary, one may say that the Italian spellings ribeba (variant ribebba) and ribeca (variant ribecca) were interchangeably used from at least as early as the mid-fourteenth century through the mid-seventeenth century. The word ribeba, which may have been derived from the Arabic rebaba or the hypothetical Chaldean rebiag, has been variously defined as a rebecke, a croud, a fidler's kit, a jaw's harp, and a kind of deep measure in Italy. As a musical instrument, presumably a bowed stringed instrument, it was used to accompany singing and dancing. In the mid-fourteenth century it may have been used metaphorically to refer to a woman.

The diminutive forms, which include rebecchino, rebechino, ribecchino, ribechino, and ribbicchina, were in use at least as early

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55 Florio, Queen Anna, pp. 433 and 426.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid., p. 424.
58 Battisti/Alessio, Vol. V, p. 3246. See also Devoto/Oli, Vol. II, p. 783.
59 Edgren, p. 404.

as the early sixteenth century through at least the seventeenth century. These words have been variously defined as a little fiddle, rebecke, or croud, a pandura (believed to be erroneously so defined), and a violin. The ribechino (variant ribecchino) was played by musicians as part of the entertainment at a sixteenth-century wedding banquet as well as in a Florentine intermedio. One might speculate that it was used to play music simultaneously with singers although this can only be implied but can not be proven from the evidence at hand. The confusion of these diminutive forms with early violin terminology makes it very difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether reference is being made by their use to the diminutive rebec or to the violin, both of which co-existed during the late sixteenth and into the seventeenth century.

Players of the ribeba and ribeca were variously referred to as rebecchista, rebechista, ribècchísta, ribechista, and ribichísta at least during the seventeenth century. It is likely that during the seventeenth century some of these forms may occasionally have referred to violin players as well.

Other Italian Words

At least two Italian words and expressions may, at first sight, be confused with actual rebec-related terminology; however, research has revealed that they do not refer to the bowed stringed instrument. In the first case, Georges Kastner writes that the Italians have used the expression gironda ribega (or ghironda rebecca[60]) to refer to the

60 Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 157b. Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 206, indicates that the word ghironda alone may denote the hurdy-gurdy.

vielle or hurdy-gurdy, although he gives no dates for such use.[61]

The second word, Robecco, actually refers to an Italian city specifically known as Robecco d'Oglio, located next to the Oglio river, fourteen kilometers north of Cremona, whose history dates back at least to the twelfth century.[62] In the local Italian dialect Robecco d'Oglio is known as Rebèk.[63] Although the French have translated Robecco as Rebec, the word Robecco is not derived from the name of a musical instrument but rather refers to an architectural term for a type of military fortification.[64] The French, who lost a battle fought there in 1524, refer to their retreat from northern Italy as the Journée de Rebec.[65]

Conclusion

One can conclude that, of numerous alleged rebec-related words and spellings found to have been used in the Italian language,

1) a group of words exists the definition of which is not directly

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61 Kastner, Parémiologie, p. 391. The hurdy-gurdy has sometimes been called the rebec à roue. The only obvious connection of this term with the rebec might be a result of the use, from the late sixteenth century onwards, of the rebec by rural folk, beggars, the lower class, and street musicians. Since both the hurdy-gurdy and the rebec were stringed instruments and were often used by and in association with this strata of society, it is possible that their names may have been linked to reflect this association.

62 Larousse, Vol. XIII, p. 760.

63 This information was obtained from Franco Tantardini of the Cerimoniere Vescovile (Cremona, Italy), in a letter of February 27, 1980.

64 Oliveri, Dizionario di toponmastica lombarda (Milan, 1961), p. 471. This information was supplied courtesy of Rita Barbisotti of the Cremona Biblioteca Statale who graciously assisted in researching the derivation of the Robecco city name. The fortification referred to is undoubtedly the castle which dominates the city. For further information see Robolotti, Storia di Cremona (Milan, 1859) and Angelo Grandi, Descrizione della provincia e diocesi dei Cremona (Cremona, 1858).

65 See Larousse, Vol. XIII, p. 760 for a detailed account of this battle.

related to the rebec; 2) a group of words exists for which no primary source documentation has yet been found, hence excluding them from an historical appraisal of the characteristics of the rebec; 3) a group of words exists the translation of which may or may not refer to the rebec, depending both upon the era in which the literary excerpt was written and the context; and 4) a group of words and variant spellings exist which are most likely directly related to the rebec, and which can collectively provide, by means of the contexts in which they appear, a morphological and sociological description of the rebec, albeit limited in scope.

1. The following words do not refer to the rebec: ghironda rebecca and gironda ribega refer to the hurdy-gurdy; Robecco and Rebèk are names for an Italian city, and Journée de Rebec describes the 1524 defeat and retreat of the French army from that city. Ribeccare means to recover or peck again and rebeccare di contrapunto means to babble. Ribeccamento di parole means to rebuke with taunting words. Rebechino, thus far located in only one source, definitely refers in that source to the violin, not to the rebec.

2. No primary source documentation has yet been found for the following words: ribeca, rubèca, rubecca, rubella, ribbicchina, and rebecchista, although etymological dictionaries and other sources have defined the first four as variant Italian spellings for rebec; ribbicchina has been said to denote the violin and rebecchista is said to refer to a rebec-player.

3. The word ribeba may refer to the rebec, but may also refer to the jaw's harp. Rebecchino has probably erroneously been said to refer

to the pandura, but both it and the variant spelling ribecchino may, during the late sixteenth century and into the seventeenth-century, refer to the violin.

4. The following words and variant spellings are believed definitely to refer to the rebec: ribeba, ribebba, and ribecca. A large rebec was known in Italy as the rubicone, whereas small rebecs were known by the spellings rebecchette, rebecchino, ribecchino, ribechino, and rubecchette. Rebec players were known by the variants rebechista, ribècchísta, ribechista, and ribichísta.

Based upon the contexts of the literary sources in which the abovementioned are found, the following morphological and sociological characteristics can be enumerated:

1. The rebec was in use in Italy from at least as early as the mid-fourteenth century through at least the early seventeenth century.

2. The rebec was a bowed stringed musical instrument.

3. The rebec was made in at least three different sizes which were sometimes played together in consort.

4. The rebec was used to entertain and to accompany both singing and dancing.

5. The ribecchino, or small rebec (this term may also sometimes refer to the violin) was used, during the sixteenth century, to provide entertainment at a wedding banquet festivities. It may have been used at that time to play one voice line in a madrigal. The ribecchino may also have been used, along with violins, to provide music for a Florentine intermedio.

CHAPTER VII

THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF REBEC-RELATED WORDS IN SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE AND THEIR ARABIC ORIGINS

Background

Spanish and Portuguese together represent the Ibero-Romance language the composition of which includes a combination of other language influence; Latin, Arabic, and French represent the primary forces at work in their development.[1] Arabic, however, has by far had the greatest influences upon Spanish and Portuguese rebec-related terminology.

A brief summary of the chief stages of development in the Spanish language will suffice to acquaint the reader with the influence of other languages upon Spanish. Although Latin had a major initial impact upon the Spanish language, "Spanish latinity was more archaic and developed at a slower pace"[2] than in other areas of Medieval Europe. As a result of the Islamic invasion of the Iberian peninsula in 711 A.D., many grammatical elements and loan-words from Arabic have been assimilated into both the Spanish and Portuguese languages.

A number of dialects were spoken in Medieval Spain but one, Castilian, began to predominate during the twelfth and thirteenth

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1 For further information concerning the development of Spanish see works such as Robert K. Spaulding, How Spanish Grew (Berkeley: UCLA Press, 1943).

2 Ignacio González-Llubera, "Spanish Language" in Chambers's Encyclopaedia, rev. ed. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967), Vol. XIII, p. 47.

centuries and eventually became the standard for both the spoken and written language. The early developments of Castilian are referred to as Old Spanish and took place from about the middle of the twelfth through the early fourteenth centuries. During this period, French exerted considerable influence upon the early stages of literary Castilian.[3] At the same time, the Spanish language began to be standardized.

> Under Alfonso X and his successors (ca.1250-1350) a prose style emerged and attained a certain measure of standardization in the legal, historical and scientific works undertaken under that king's initiative. The language acquired official status; the vocabulary was considerably enlarged with borrowings of technical terms, Latin and Arabic; and the orthography was successfully regularized in the royal chancery.[4]

It is from this period that one finds the earliest documented use of the Spanish rebec-related word (r)rabé the etymology of which suggests Arabic origins, most likely in the spellings rabāb and rabêb.

The label Middle Spanish identifies the developments which took place between the late decades of the fourteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth century. During this time "the use of Castilian expanded rapidly throughout Spain."[5] This is also the period during which one finds the first efforts at printing in this country. "The first printers in Spain were three Germans, sent to the commercial town of Valencia in 1473 . . . From that time on printing offices cropped up all over Spain, especially in commerical centers and university towns."[6]

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3 González-Llubera, p. 47.
4 Ibid., pp. 47-48.
5 Ibid., p. 48.
6 Norma Levarie, The Art and History of Books (New York: James H. Heineman, 1968), p. 163.

The publication, in 1555, of Juan Bermudo's treatise concerning musical instruments, discussed below, coincides with the beginnings of Classical Spanish language development. During this period, and until about the second half of the seventeenth century, the basis for the modern Spanish language was established. Spain was an influential power in Europe at this time and its contacts with many cultures world-wide greatly influenced and enhanced Spanish word development. Italian influences upon Spanish were particularly noticeable.[7] As much as other cultures and languages were influential in Spain, Spanish literature of this era made its mark upon European culture.

> From the second half of the sixteenth century to the end of the Thirty Years war, Spanish literary masterpieces were translated into the main European languages; Spanish was studied in France, Flanders, Italy, and England; artistic perfection was achieved in prose and verse.[8]

Like Spanish, the Portuguese language initially developed from Latin, but was greatly influenced in its development by Arabic and French. During the thirteenth century the Portuguese courtly lyric was important in that language's literary development,[9] and, in fact, the earliest reference to a rebec-related instrument in Portuguese is found in such a source, a poem by Thibaut, King of Navarre, written ca.1230.[10] Portuguese prose of the Middle Ages, however, was "largely ecclesiastical, to a greater extent than in neighbouring literatures,"[11] hence one might expect to find fewer references to secular rebec-related

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7 González-Llubera, "Spanish," p. 48.
8 Ibid.
9 Ignacio González-Llubera, "Portuguese Language" in Chambers's Encyclopaedia, rev. ed. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967), Vol. XI, p. 109.
10 See discussion page 192.
11 González-Llubera, "Portuguese," p. 110.

instruments in Porguguese literature than in other European languages through the fifteenth century. Towards the end of the fifteenth century Portuguese "poets took to writing in a mixed Spanish-Portuguese idiom,"[12] which reflected the introduction of many Spanish words and constructions into Portuguese. Gradually, however, a standardized and independent Portuguese language developed with continued Spanish influence through the sixteenth century followed by a "reaction against Spanish in the second half of the seventeenth century" and "a renewed French influence which in the eighteenth century affected Portuguese to a more marked degree than it did Spanish."[13] One distinction between Spanish and Portuguese might be made concerning the Portuguese vocabulary:

> Although the language appears superficially rooted purely in Latin, with a great similarity to Spanish, [Portuguese] contains a large number of words of Germanic and Semitic origins. [In addition], the language is remarkably uniform throughout Portugal, with only one true dialect.[14]

Nevertheless, the rebec-related terminology in Portuguese most closely reflects the Arabic and Latin influences upon the language.

Unlike other European countries where the first printed books were in Latin, printing in Portugal had a unique beginning. "For the first four years (1489-1493) [Portugal's] printed books were all in Hebrew;"[15] the first book printed in Portuguese appeared in 1495.[16]

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12 González-Llubera, "Portuguese," p. 110.
13 Ibid.
14 "Portuguese," in New Encyclopedia Britannica, Macropaedia (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1978), Vol. XIV, p. 859.
15 Levarie, p. 166.
16 Ibid.

Arabic Origin of Rebec-Related Words

For several centuries scholars have traced the etymology of the word rebec and most rebec-related terminology in the languages represented in this study to the Arabic word rabāb,[17] which, as early as ca.950 A.D.,[18] denotes a bowed stringed instrument. Other Arabic spellings for rabāb which may also have influenced various rebec-related terms include: rebaba,[19] rabêb,[20] rebâb,[21] rebâba,[22] rabib,[23]

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17 See, for example, Gilles Ménage, Dictionnaire étymologique, ou origines de la langue françoise (Paris: Chez J. Anisson, 1650), rev. ed. (Paris: Chez J. Anisson, 1694), rev. ed. (Paris: Briasson, 1750), t. II, p. 388; Johann Gottfried Walther, Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek (Leipzig: Wolffgang Deer, 1732), Facsimile reprint, Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles III (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953), pp. 514-515; E. Littré, ed., Dictionnaire de la langue française (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1882), Vol. IV, p. 1497; Karl Lokotsch, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen (germanischen, romanischen und slavischen) Wörter orientalischen Ursprung (Heidelberg: C. Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1927), entry 1675, p. 134; Oscar Bloch and W. von Wartburg, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française, 2nd ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950), p. 510; and Ernest Klein, A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Co., 1971), p. 620.

18 Reference to the rabāb may be found in Kitāb al-mūsiqī al-kabēr by al-Fārābī (d. 950 A.D.). See Werner Bachmann, The Origins of Bowing, translated by Norma Deane (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 24-25; Henry George Farmer, "Rebab," translated by Dieter Christensen, in Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Frederich Blume, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), Band 11, cols. 79-83, who traces the etymological origins of rabāb; and Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon der Musikinstrumente (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1913), Reprint and rev. ed. (New York: Dover, 1964), p. 317.

19 Farmer, "Rebab," col. 80.

20 D. Leopoldo de Eguílaz y Yanguas, Glosario etimológico de las palabras españolas . . . de orígen oriental (Granada: La Leaitad, 1886), p. 476 and Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches etymologischen Wörterbuch (Heidelberg, 1911-1920), 3rd ed. (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1935), No. 6978, p. 577.

21 Martin McLeish, "An Inventory of Musical Instruments at the Royal Palace, Madrid, in 1602," Galpin Society Journal 21 (March 1968): 125 and Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 317.

22 Ménage, t. II, p. 388.

23 McLeish, p. 125.

and rebâne.[24] The word rabāb has been used to describe many different sorts of stringed instruments found throughout the world,[25] but the Moorish rabāb was most likely introduced to the Spanish during the Middle Ages and may be illustrated by an instrument depicted in the Cantigas de Santa Maria (ca.1280-1283).[26]

Spanish Forms

Tow primary spellings have existed in Spanish to denote stringed instruments and are undoubtedly related to the rebec. These are rabé (rrabé) and rabel.

(R)Rabé

The fourteenth-century poem, the Libro de Buen Amor (ca. 1330) by Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, contains the first documented use of the word rabé.[27] Ruiz seems to specify two kinds of rabé, a rabé

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24 Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 318a; note that rĕbȧna refers to the jaw's harp. See also Giampiero Tintori, Gli strumenti musicali (Torin: Unione Tipografico, 1971), Vol. II, p. 1081.

25 See "Rabab" in Sibyl Marcuse, Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), p. 432.

26 Cantigas de Santa Maria are located in Madrid, Spain; MS Escorial, b-I-2, f. 118. Note that these instruments are held upright upon the players' knees. Depiction may be found in Mary Remnant, "The Use of Frets on Rebecs and Mediaeval Fiddles," Galpin Society Journal 21 (March 1968): plate XVII, opp. p. 152 and in Farmer, "Rebab," col. 79, abb. 1.

27 Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de Buen Amor, Julio Cejador Y Frauca, ed. (Madrid: Ediciones de "La Lectura," 1913), Vol. II, pp. 136-138. Juan Ruiz, The Book of Good Love, translated by Elisha Kent Kane (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), p. 175. The first manuscript edition known to be extant dates from 1330 and a second, amplified manuscript edition dates from 1343. See Pidal Ramon Menéndez, Poesía juglaresca y juglares: Aspectos de la historia literaria y cultural de España (Madrid: Tip. de la "Rev. de archivos," 1924), pp. 66-67. Carl Engel, Researches into the Early History of the Violin Family (London: Novello, Ewer, 1883), p. 85, cites the variant spelling ravé for rabé and writes that the letters "b" and "v" were often interchanged in Spanish.

(rrabé) gritador and a rabé (rrabé) morisco:[28]

El rabé gritador, con la su alta nota;
cab' él el alborayn va tañiendo la rota;
el salterio con ellos, más alto que La Mota;
la viyuela de péñola con éstos aí sota.

Medio canón e harpa, con el rabé morisco,
entre ellos alegrança--el galipe francisco;
la flauta diz' con ellos, más alta que un risco;
con ella el taborete, sin él non vale un prisco.

The singing [harsh-sounding] rabé, with its shrill note;
beside it went the rota playing el alborayn,
the salterio with them, higher than the peak of La Mota;
the quill-played viyuela danced with them.

The Moorish medio canon and the harpa, with the Moorish rabé,
in their midst, merriment--the Frenchified garible (a shrill, gay song);
the flauta sounded in concert with them, higher than a crag;
and with it the taborete, since without one the flute is not worth a sour peach.[29]

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28 Most scholars believe that Ruiz makes reference to two different instrument types primarily on the basis of the specification, in the same poem, of both a guitarra morisca and a guitarra latina. One might expect that Ruiz would similarly have assigned the rabé gritador a geographical adjective. On the basis of this omission, however, Henry George Farmer suggests that the rabé gritador and the rabé morisco are the same instrument and that the rabé gritador has a scratching tone quality due to it's parchment belly (as found on the Arabic rabāb or rabé morisco). Farmer further hypothesizes that the existence of the analogous term, rabé griega, to represent the Greek rabé (the modern Greek lyra? Farmer cites no sources for this term) led, linguistically, to the creation of the word rabeg, hence rabec, rebec. "Im Libro de buen amor wird der rabé morisca[sic] (wegen ihrer Pergamentdecke) ein 'kratzender' (gritador) Ton nachgesagt. Andererseits ist bekannt, dass auch die byz. rabāb oder lyra verwendet wurde, die dan rabé griega geheissen hatte. Wenn diese Konjektur richtig ist, kann man sich die Verstümmelung dieses Wortes (durch Weglassen der fünfletzten Buchstaben) vorstellen, was zum Wort rabeg führen würde." Farmer, "Rebab," col. 80.

29 Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de Buen Amor, edition and English paraphrase by Raymond S. Willis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 334-335. Ruiz, verses 1229-1230. The phrase here cited as "cab' él el alborayn" has been the focus of much controversy since these words are garbled in various manuscript editions. Some scholars believe the words refer to a musical instrument whereas others believe it refers to a specific song. See Ruiz/Frauca, pp. 136-137; Ruiz/Willis, pp. lviii-lix; and Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, "Este es el Calbi Orabi," Revista Lusitana (Oporto) 18, No. 1-2 (1915): 1-15.

The scene in this excerpt from a section of the poem subtitled, "How priests and laymen and friars and nuns and ladies and minstrels came forth to welcome Sir Love," is bizarre and has been likened by one editor to the representation of musical instruments in a painting of Hieronymus Bosch.[30] Ruiz depicts musical instruments which themselves are parading, dancing, singing. The rabé gritador con la su alta nota may portray a musical instrument which seems to sing; however, gritador might also be translated as "noisy, shrill, with note so high it seems a squeak."[31] Another version translates this line as "a squeaky Persian fiddle came to wail its highest note."[32] Whether or not one could legitimately refer to the rabé gritador as a Persian fiddle is questionable, but it is possible that Ruiz meant to distinguish it from the Moorish rabé in some way. Ruiz's verses reflect the possibility of the coexistence of both a Moorish instrument (a rabāb?) as well as a rabé gritador (a rebec?) in fourteenth-century Spain.[33]

Rodrigo Yáñez mentions the rabé in his Poema de Alfonso XI (ca.1350). In the poem Yáñez describes the coronation of King Alfonso XI in 1328 and relates how, in the monastery of las Huelgas of Burgos, the minstrels played their instruments.[34]

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30 Ruiz/Willis, p. lviii.

31 Juan Ruiz, The Book of True Love, translated by Saralyn R. Daly (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, ca.1978), p. 313.

32 Ruiz/Kane, p. 175.

33 Farmer, "Rebab," col. 80-81, writes that the Byzantine rabab or lyra in use at the same time was known as the rabé griega (see note 28), and that, by use of the linguistic procedure of apocopation, rabé griega may have become rabeg (hence rabec?). Farmer cites no sources for the use of rabé griega, however.

34 Menéndez, p. 64, fn. 2.

El laud iban taniendo,
estormento falaguero,
la vihuela taniendo,
el rabé con el salterio.

They were playing the laud,
A beguiling instrument,
Playing the vihuela,
The rabé with the salterio.[35]

In a document dating from June 14, 1503 one finds the payment record for musicians participating in Corpus Christi festivities:

> que dio a Cañedo tañedor por tres gentiles onbres que fueron con sus labdes e rabé tanieñdo delant el arca el dia de la dicha fiesta quinientos maravedis con el fue ygualado el dicho señor Canonigo.[36]
>
> Who gave to Cañedo, the player, for three gentlemen who were playing [went playing] with their labdes and rabé before the sepulcher the day of the said festival, five hundred maravedis, with it was equaled the said sir Canon.[37]

Similarly, an expense account dating from 1505 also lists players of the rabé who were paid for their part in Corpus Christi festivities.

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35 Rodrigo Yáñez, "Poema de Alfonso XI," cited in Luis Guarner, ed., Antologia de la poesía Española medieval: Castellana, Catalana, Gallega (Barcelona: Editorial Iberia, 1966), p. 105.

36 Archivo Catedral Caxón 44, Papeles de Fabrica, Mayordomia de 1502-3 Quadernos de la Fabrica desde el Año M.ccccxcix hasta el Año MDxl, fol. 107v°. Cited by Ricardo Espinosa Maeso, "Ensayo biografico del Maestro Lucas Fernandez (1474?-1542)," Boletín de la Real Academia Española (Madrid) 10: 577, and Juan Corominas, Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana (Bern: Francke, 1954), Vol. I, p. xxxvi and Vol. III, p. 968. According to Maeso, this excerpt is cited by Aelius Antonius de Lebrixa (or Lebrya, often cited as Nebrija, also Nebrissensis), in Lexicon e sermone Latino Ispaniensem (Salamanca 1492; Madrid 1683 and 1792). If the Salmatian document is correctly dated as 1503, then Lebrixa's citation must appear in an edition later than that date.

37 Translation by Dr. Joseph Renahan, West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia.

> yten a quatro menestriles que fueron la harpa e el Rabé e dos tanedores de viuela dos ducados e conco Reales.[38]
>
> item [likewise] to four minstrels who [played] tha harpa and the rabé and two viuela players, two ducats and five Reales.[39]

According to the nineteenth-century etymologist D. Leopoldo de Éguílez y Yanguas, the sixteenth-century lexicographer Fr. Pedro de Alcalá simply defined the rabé as a musical instrument.[40]

The variant spelling arrabé was purportedly used in some Spanish poetry of the fifteenth century.[41] Rabequim and rebequim are diminutive forms of rabé.[42]

One can conclude that the spelling rabé was used at least as early as the mid-fourteenth century and references to it are found through at least the early sixteenth century. From the literary sources, one learns little concerning the rabé's construction except by implication: since it could play "high notes" it might have been a relatively small instrument. Due to its apposition with other instruments known to have been stringed and plucked, one would logically assume that the rabé was also a plucked stringed instrument, although some scholars have unequivocally equated the rabé gritador with the bowed rebec.[43]

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38 Archivo Catedral Caxón 44, Papeles de Fabrica, Mayordomia de 1504-5 Quadernos de la Fabrica desde el Año M.ccccxcix hasta el Año MDxl, fol. 48v° to 49r. Cited by Maeso, p. 578.

39 Translation by Joseph Renahan.

40 Fr. Pedro de Alcalá, Vocabulista arávigo en letra castellana (Granada, 1505), cited in Éguílaz y Yanguas, pp. 476-477 and xxiv.

41 Academia Española, Diccionario histórico de la lengua Española (Madrid, 1933-36), Vol. I, cited in Corominas, Vol. III, p. 968 and Vol. I, p. xl.

42 Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, p. 9.

43 Sibyl Marcuse, A Survey of Musical Instruments (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), p. 484.

More can be learned from these sources about the sociological history of the instrument: it was played by musicians in a monastery for a coronation and it was used by musicians participating in Corpus Christi celebrations. Both types of events were of a serious nature which suggests that the rabé, at least during the late fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries, was considered with some respect.

A group of Catalan dialect[44] words which may be related to the Spanish spelling rabé may be organized around the central spelling rabeu.[45] The oldest known use of the spelling rabeu, which denotes a musical instrument, comes from a document dated February 1337 in which Peter the IV wrote from Valencia to the justice of Játiva concerning an urgent request.

> Como Nós hayamos menester a Hali Ezigua, moro juglar tocador de rabeu, por esto vos enbiamos deçir et mandar que, vistas las presentes, nos lo fagades venir do quiera que Nós seamos; et aquesto non mudedes ni alarguedes por ninguna manera.[46]
>
> Inasmuch as we have need of Hali Ezigua, a Moorish juggler who plays the rabeu, for this reason we send to you to say and order that, having seen the present correspondence, you have him come to us wherever we may be; and do not alter or put this off in any way.[47]

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44 Cataluña is a province located at the northeastern corner of Spain, bordered to the north by France. The Catalan language is closely related to the French Provençal dialect. As a Romance language, Catalan is also spoken in some parts of southwestern France, as well as in Valencia, a province located to the south of Cataluña, which spans much of the east coast of Spain.

45 Since the Catalan and Provençal languages were so closely related, one might speculate upon a relationship between the Catalan spelling rabeu and the Provençal spelling rabey. If the words are related, one may hypothesize that the instruments involved are related as well.

46 Cited in Menéndez, pp. 263-264.

47 Translation by Joseph Renahan.

A month later King Peter IV accepted the Moor Ali Ezigua into his service, according to a document dated March 7, 1337.

Pro Ali Ezigua, Sarraceno de Xatiua, mimo seu juglar de rabeu.[48]

For Ali Ezigua, Sarracen of Játiva, mime or rabeu player.[49]

One can only wonder if the Moor, Ali Ezigua, played an Arabic rabāb or a rebec. Furthermore, one is tempted to speculate upon a relationship between the rabeu played in Valencia in 1337 and the rabé Morisco mentioned by Juan Ruiz in his Libro de Buen Amor, ca.1330-1343. Several words are related to or derived from rabeu; however, no primary sources have yet been located to document their use and meaning. These words include: rebeu,[50] rabeuet,[51] rabaguet,[52] rabaquet,[53] and rabequet.[54] The last four words are diminutive forms and may refer either to a small size rebec or to the diminutive successor of the rebec, the pochette.

Rabel

The word rabel also denotes a stringed musical instrument and has survived in modern Spanish usage in the same way in which rebec and

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48 Cited in Menéndez, p. 264, fn. 1.
49 Translation by Joseph Renahan.
50 Corominas, Vol. III, p. 968.
51 Ibid.
52 Lokotsch, entry 1675, p. 134.
53 Pierre Larousse, Grand dictionnaire universel français (Paris: Administration du Grand Dictionnaire Universel, 1865-[1890]), Vol. XIII, p. 759; Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 313a, defines rabaquet as a Catalan word for violin; Alberto Abraham Bachmann, An Encyclopedia of the Violin, translated by Frederick H. Martens, ed. by Albert F. Wier (New York: D. Appleton, 1925), p. 2, fn. 1, writes that ". . . even to this day, in certain villages of Catalonia, the violin is called the rabaquet by the people."
54 Corominas, Vol. III, p. 968, writes that rabequet is modern Catalan, used primarily in the seventeenth-century, thereby suggesting that this word may have been used to refer to the pochette. See also Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 433, who identifies rabequet as a variant of rabell.

rebeck have survived in modern French and English, respectively. The earliest source thus far located which uses the spelling rabel is said to date from 1404. A rabel and several other instruments were reported to have been made for use in Corpus Christi processions during the reign of Alfonso V of Aragon.

> un arpa, dos guitarres, dos lauts e rabel daurats.[55]
>
> an arpa, two guitarres, two lauts and a rabel daurats [crude, harsh-sounding?][56]

At least two rabel players were employed in the service of the Spanish court at the turn of the fifteenth to the sixteenth century. Diego de Madrid is listed as a tañedor de rabel (rabel player) in the service of the young Price John (brother of Queen Joanna) until the Prince's death in 1497. Diego then served as rabel player to Queen Joanna's sister, Maria, until the birth of the Queen's son, Fernando, in 1503. Juan de Madrid (menestril de rabel) joined Diego in that year to serve the crown in the name of the newborn heir Fernando.[57]

The word rabel appears in dictionaries and treatises from the sixteenth century onwards. Fr. Pedro de Alcalá's Vocabulista arávigo en letra castellana (Granada, 1505) purportedly cites the spelling rabel as synonymous with rabé and indicates that they both

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55 Claveria (1404), cited by D. Eduardo López Chavarri, "La música en los misterios de corpus por los tiempos de Alfonso V de Aragón," Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana 13 (1945): 112.

56 Translation by Joseph Renahan.

57 Mary Kay Duggan, "Queen Joanna and her Musicians," Musica Disciplina 30 (1976): 75, fn. 14 and 77, where she cites Antonio de la Torre, La casa de Isabel la Católica, in Biblioteca "Reyes Católicos," Documentos y Textos, IV (Madrid: Consejo Superios de Investigaciones Científicas, 1954), pp. 137-9, 143-4, and 148.

refer to the same musical instrument.[58] The Spaniard Juan Bermudo (1510-ca.1565) mentions the rabel twice in his treatise Declaración de instrumentos musicales (1555)[59] although, according to Robert Stevenson, Bermudo "never really comes to grips with the rabel. Nothing more irretrievably stamps his treatise as Spanish than his obsession with plucked stringed instruments, and his complete indifference to bowed."[60] In fact, Bermudo never refers to the rabel as a bowed instrument but rather compares it instead in shape and size with the bandurria, a plucked instrument.[61] Thus one can not be certain that the rabel was bowed, on the basis of Bermudo's treatise. Nevertheless, we do learn from Bermudo that whereas the rabel and the bandurria usually have frets, some players do not use frets on these instruments. Furthermore, "their pitch is usually uncertain and their strings make an unpleasant sound grating against the wood."

> Si la bandurria y rabel ternan trastes! Algunes tañedores tienen estos dos instrumètos sin trastes: y no es acertada musica. Gran differencia ay tañer en instrumento que tenga trastesio no los tenga. No puede el tañedor tan puntualmète poner el dedo en estos instrumentos: quo no exceda, o salte alguna cosa alas consonancias. Y mas, que hollando enel instrumèto sin trastes: freça la cuerda por la madera, y causa dessabrimiēto al oydo del musico.[62]

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58 Cited in Éguílaz y Yanguas, pp. 476-477.

59 Fray Juan Bermudo, Declaración de instrumentos musicales (1555), facsimile edition by Marcario Santiago Kastner, in Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe, Druckschriften-Faksimiles XI (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957). See Book II, Chapter 30, "De Vihuela," fol. 28 and Book IV, Chapter 68, "Dela bandurria," vol. 97v°.

60 Robert Murrell Stevenson, Juan Bermudo (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), p. 5.

61 See definition of bandurria in Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 34. Marcuse refers to a rabel de arco (a bowed rabel) which she says is "recorded in 1571 in the municipal archives of Lequeitio (Basque)," Dictionary, p. 433. No other reference to this source has yet been located.

62 Bermudo/Kastner, Book II, Chapter 30, fol. 28. See also Stevenson, p. 43.

> If only the bandurria and rabel had frets! Some players have these two instruments without frets and the music is not precise. There is a great difference in playing an instrument that has frets and one which does not. The player cannot on the latter instruments place his fingers with as much precision, without adding or omitting something in the harmony. Furthermore, by strumming the instruments without frets, the string rubs against the wood and causes harshness in the ear of the musician.[63]

From his second reference to the rabel and the bandurria, we learn that "both rabel and bandurria were small instruments with three strings tuned fifths apart."

> Cōmunmente tiene la bandurria tres cuerdas en la forma del rabel. No es de essencia, que este instrumento tenga solas tres cuerdas: Pero hablemos delas que ahora tiene, y luego delas que puede tener. Los nombres destas tres cuerdas son tercera, segūda, y prima. Está una cuerda de otra por distancia de una quinta perfecta: segun el temple de algunos tañedores.[64]

> The bandurria commonly has three strings in the [same] form as a rabel. It is not necessary that this instrument have only three strings. But let us speak of those [strings] it now has, and then of those it can have. The names of these three strings are third, second, and first. One string is at a perfect fifth's difference from another, according to the tuning of some players.[65]

The word rabel purportedly appears, without definition, in the Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana (Venice, 1570, 1591) by Cristōbal de las Casas.[66] Sibyl Marcuse writes that the word rabel was used to refer to the violin by the Italian Pietro Cerone who wrote

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63 Translation by Dr. Robert Hathaway, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York.

64 Bermudo/Kastner, Book IV, Chapter 68, fol. 97v. See also Stevenson, p. 5.

65 Translation by Robert Hathaway.

66 Cited in Corominas, Vol. III, p. 968 and Vol. I, p. xxxvii.

for Spanish readers, in his El melopeo y maestro (Naples, 1613):[67]

> los rabeles o rebequines[68]
>
> the rabeles or rebequines

Gilles Ménage mentions the word rabel in his definition of rebec in Dictionnaire étymologique, ou origines de la langue françoise (Paris: Chez J. Anisson, 1650; rev. ed. 1694 and 1750).[69] Ménage's reference is the earliest one known to equate the rabel incontrovertibly with the rebec, thereby defining rabel as a bowed stringed instrument with all the attributes known to apply to the rebec. Johann Gottfried Walther echoes Ménage's definition and etymological pedigree, although he purports to cite this information as originating with Antoine Furetière's Dictionnaire universel (1690).

> Rebec . . . Furetière Diction: Es soll vom Spanischen Worte Rabel, und dieses vom Arabischen Rebâb, Rebaba oder Rabib, so durch Lyram ubersetzt wird.[70]
>
> Rebec . . . from Furetière's Dictionaire: it [rebec] must be derived from the Spanish word rabel, and this one [rabel] from the Arabic rebâb, rebaba or rabib, translated from lyram.

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67 Pietro Cerone (bn. ca.1560's) was an Italian by birth but spent a number of years in Spain as a musician of the royal chapel. His lengthy work El melopeo y maestro was published after he had returned to Italy and contains, according to Oliver Strunk, "an undigested and often indigestible mass of information and misinformation about music, some of it useful, much of it useless. It has grave defects, but it also has redeeming merits." Oliver Strunk, ed., Source Readings in Music History (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950), p. 262.

68 Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 433 and 438. See also David D. Boyden, The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761 (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 143. Rebequin is a diminutive form and probably refers to the pochette at this date. Farmer, "Rebab," col. 81, however, writes that rebequin is French and is the diminutive of rabec, encountered in an unnamed source in 1557.

69 Ménage (1694), t. II, p. 388. See page 130 of this study for the pertinent excerpt.

70 Walther, pp. 514-515.

A more complete definition, albeit written after the rebec-playing era, appears in the Diccionario de autoridades (Madrid, 1726, 1737).

> Rabel. Instrumento músico pastoríl. Es pequeño, de hechura como la del laûd. Cõmponese de tres cuerdas solas, que se tocan con arco, y forman un sonido mui alto y agudo.[71]
>
> Rabel. Pastoral musical instrument. It is small, with a form (shape) similar to the laûd. It is composed of only three strings, which are played with a bow, and create a very high and shrill sound.

In summary, the word rabel has been in use since at least as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century and has survived in modern Spanish. According to a sixteenth-century source, rabel was equated with the word rabé; later sources equate the word rabel with the violin, the rebec, and the rebequin (the pochette?). The word itself was probably derived from the Arabic rebāb. No doubt exists that the rabel was a stringed musical instrument, but the earliest incontrovertible evidence that it was bowed does not appear until after the mid-seventeenth century. In fact, by its comparison with the bandurria in the mid-sixteenth century, one could hypothesize that the rabel was, at first, a plucked instrument. In any case, the rabel, from at least the mid-sixteenth century, was, like the bandurria, a small instrument with three strings, tuned in fifths; it was sometimes fretted at the discretion of the player. It's pitch was "uncertain," perhaps suggesting that either no specific pitch standard existed for the rabel or that

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71 Real Academia Española, Diccionario de Autoridades (Madrid, 1726-1739), 6 vols., Facsimile edition (Madrid: Biblioteca Románica Hispánica, editorial Gredos, 1963), 3 vols. See Vol. V, p. 478 of original or Vol. III, p. 478 of facsimile. This definition is repeated in Real Academia Española, Diccionario de la lengua Española (Madrid: Talleres Tipográficos de la Editorial Espasa-Calpe, 1956), p. 1097. See also McLeish, p. 125.

a lack of frets might have caused players to produce somewhat inaccurate pitches; its sound was harsh, and at times unpleasnat.

Variants of rabel include raben,[72] rabbel and arrabel.[73] Diminutive forms include rabelico and rabellillo[74] and rebequin.[75] The word rabetereo purportedly refers to a rabel player in a source from 1507.[76] A derivative of rabel is rabelejo.[77] The spelling rabela is the Galician dialect spelling for rabel; rabell is the spelling encountered in the Catalan and Valencian dialects.[78]

Portuguese Forms

Like the Spanish, the Portuguese have two central word forms around which their rebec-related terminology may be organized. These are: rabil/rebel and rabeca.

Rabil/Rebel

The spelling rabil has been defined in nineteenth and twentieth-century sources simply as rebec; unfortunately, no primary source uses have yet been located to verify this definition.[79] D. Leopoldo de Éguílaz y Yanguas, in his study Etimológico de las palabras Españolas

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72 Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 313b and Tintori, Vol. II, p. 1080.

73 Georges Kastner, Les danses des morts (Paris: Brandus et Cie, 1852), p. 250, writes that "en Espagne, les habitants des campagnes s'égayent au son du rabbel ou arrabel, violon commun que l'on croit être le même que le rebec et qui se nomme en portugais rebeca." (In Spain, the country folk amuse themselves with the sounds of the rabbel or arrabel, an ordinary violin which is believed to be the same as the rebec and which is called the rebeca in Portuguese.)

74 Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 313b.

75 Farmer, "Rebab," col. 81 and Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 438.

76 Cited by Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 433, who gives no primary source.

77 Corominas, Vol. III, p. 968.

78 Éguílaz y Yanguas, pp. 476-477 and Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 433.

79 Littré, Vol. IV, p. 1497; Éguílaz y Yanguas, p. 476; Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 433.

(1886), identifies rabil as being synonymous with the Portuguese rebel and arrabil, and all of these as being synonymous with the Spanish word rabel.[80]

Carl Engel, in his Researches into the Early History of the Violin Family (1883), writes that the spelling rebel was used as early as ca.1230 in a poem by Thibaut, King of Navarre. Engel, who does not print the poem, reports that in it "we find an enumeration of the musical instruments in use at that time; and among them is the rebel, which to judge from its name and from the way in which it is mentioned with other instruments, is evidently the rebab." [81] Rebel is cited as a French word derived from the Spanish rabel, by Gilles Ménage, in 1650/1694.[82] Éguílaz y Yanguas (1886) and Karl Lokotsch (1927) both cite the spelling rebel as being a Portuguese form descended from the Arabic rabāb.[83] The variants of rabil/rebel include arrabil,[84] its diminutive form, arrabilete, and the augmentative arrabilerio.[85] That all these words refer to the rebec in its various sizes can only be assumed until further evidence is found in primary sources.

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80 Éguílaz y Yanguas, p. 476.

81 Engel, pp. 84-85. The poem, Engel says, is preserved in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, but he gives no further information concerning it. Navarra was a kingdom covering an area of northern Spain and southwestern France, hence the later use of the spelling in French.

82 Ménage, t. II, p. 388. See full excerpt, page 130 of this study.

83 Éguílaz y Yanguas, p. 476 and Lokotsch, entry 1675, p. 134.

84 Larousse, Vol. XIII, p. 759; Éguílaz y Yanguas, p. 280; and Lokotsch, entry 1675, p. 134.

85 Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, p. 9.

Rabeca

The Portuguese word rabeca appears in the title of an early seventeenth-century tutor by D. Agostinho da Cruz, Lyra de arco, ou arte de tanger rabeca (Lisbon, 1639), the actual publication of which, however, is disputed. According to David Boyden, this treatise was to have been a violin tutor and therefore would have had no connection with the rebec.[86] Nevertheless, several etymologists connect the spelling rabeca with rebec and state that it is etymologically derived from the Arabic rabāb and the Spanish rabel.[87] Curt Sachs and Sibyl Marcuse, however, both define rabeca as the Portuguese word for violin.[88] Variant spellings include arrabeca, which is said to be a corruption of the Arabic ar-rabāb;[89] rabecca, which Henry George Farmer says is still in use in present day Portugal, and which is derived from the Middle French rabec;[90] and rebeca, a Latin word carried into Portuguese, which may refer to both the rebec and the violin.[91] An augmentative form of rabeca in modern usage is rabecão which denotes the stringed double bass.[92] Diminutive forms include rabecão pequeno

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86 Boyden, p. 143, fn. 30, who writes that "all trace of the violin method by da Cruz seems to have vanished. There is some reason to question whether this treatise was ever published." Boyden does not elaborate upon this final remark. See also Engel, pp. 78-79.

87 See Larousse, Vol. XIII, p. 759; Littrē, Vol. IV, p. 1497; Ēguílaz y Yanguas, p. 476; and Lokotsch, entry 1675, p. 134.

88 Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 313a, and Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 433.

89 Ēguílaz y Yanguas, p. 280.

90 Farmer, "Rebab," col. 81.

91 James A. H. Murray, A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), Vol. VIII, pt. 1, p. 220; Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 318b, and Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 438. Carlo Battisti and Giovanni Alessio, Dizionario etimologico italiano (Florence: Barbera, 1950-1957), Vol. V, p. 3246, writes that rebeca is a Provençal word.

92 Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 313a and Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 433.

which refers in modern usage to the violoncello,[93] rabequinha, which is said to denote a small rebec,[94] and rabequinha de algibeira, which Curt Sachs indicates was used to refer to the Taschengeige or pochette.[95]

Conclusion

Due to the lack of readily available historic primary source references concerning rebec-related terminology in Portuguese, it is difficult to draw any substantive conclusions concerning the morphology or sociology of the instrument in that country. As a result of this study, however, future researchers can at least be alerted to concentrate upon locating information concerning the following terms which are believed to be directly related to the rebec: rabil, rebel, arrabil, arrabilete, arrabilerio, rebeca, rabequinha, and rabequinha algibeira. The Portuguese spelling rabeca may, at one time, have been associated with the rebec but now appears to be more closely linked with the violin, as are also the related words arrabeca, rabecca, rabecão, and rabecão pequeno.

One may divide the alleged rebec-related words found in Spanish into two groups: 1) a group of words for which no conclusive definitions have yet been determined, and which, therefore, cannot enter into a meaningful discussion of the rebec at this time, including rabequim, rebequim, raben, rebelico, rabelillo, rabetereo, rabelejo, rabela, rabell, rabaguet, rabaquet, rabequet, rabeu, rabeuet, and rebeu; and

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93 Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 313a.
94 Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 433.
95 Sachs, Real-lexikon, p. 313b. See also Tintori, Vol. II, p. 1080.

2) two words which may be said to be directly related to the rebec and can provide us, by means of the contexts in which they appear, with a limited morphological and sociological picture of the rebec. These are (r)rabé and rabel and are the only Spanish words which can be said with any conviction to refer to the rebec. Based upon these two words and their presumed synonymy, one can ennumerate the following morphological and sociological characteristics of the Spanish rebec.

1. The rebec was in use in Spain from at least as early as the fourteenth century through at least the second half of the sixteenth century.

2. The rebec was a stringed instrument but bowing is never actually specified until after the mid-seventeenth century. Its apposition with several instruments known to be plucked might suggest that the Spanish rebec was, at one time, a plucked instrument.

3. The rebec had three strings tuned in fifths.

4. The rebec was sometimes fretted at the discretion of the player.

5. The rebec's pitch was said to be "uncertain," perhaps reflecting either the lack of a pitch standard for the instrument or an inaccuracy in pitch due to the absence of frets.

6. The rebec's shape was said to be similar to that of the bandurria.

7. The rebec was described as small.[96]

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96 Spanish rebecs probably existed in different sizes due to the presence of diminutive and augmentative word forms in the language as well as proof of different sizes in other countries. Since the diminutive forms may, however, have referred to the diminutive derivative of the rebec, the pochette, one should not simply assume the varying size factor until further evidence is uncovered.

8. The rebec's sound has been described as harsh, at times unpleasant, and high-pitched.

9. Players of the rebec included paid musicians in the service of the Spanish King, Queen, the royal family, and the church.

10. The rebec was played at festivities such as a coronation and during the Corpus Christi observances.

11. The rebec is often mentioned along with the plucked stringed instruments of its time.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF REBEC-RELATED WORDS IN ENGLISH

Background

The English language is technically classified under the Germanic branch of the parent, Indo-European family of languages, whereas the so-called Romance languages are all directly related to the Italic branch.[1] One might expect, therefore, that English rebec-related words would exhibit quite different orthographical characteristics than those found in the Romance languages. However, this is not the case, and, in fact, most of the English rebec-related words actually bear a close orthographical resemblance to the basic forms known to have been used in Medieval and Renaissance Latin and French.

The adaptation of foreign elements into English is a unique characteristic of the language. As Charles Wrenn remarks,

> English has, from almost its earliest times, been a peculiarly ready receiver and adapter of words from the languages with which it has come in contact. No language can show a more varied assortment of foreign 'loan-words' and foreign-inspired locutions.[2]

The Norman Conquest of 1066 had a great impact upon English language development and the resulting influence and assimilation of elements from the developing French language marked the beginning of the

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1 Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, College edition (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1966), back end paper chart of "The Indo-European Family of Languages."

2 Charles Leslie Wrenn, "English Language," in Chambers's Encyclopaedia, rev. ed. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967), Vol. V, p. 278.

period commonly referred to as Middle English (ca.1150-1475[3]). Initially, the use of French in twelfth-century England was limited to the "language of the court and aristocratic life, while ordinary life in England went on in English."[4] At the same time, Latin was accepted as the universal means of expression in education and science. By the "thirteenth century England was in effect trilingual: English for the people, French for the cultured classes and Latin for the learned."[5] During the period from 1250-1450,[6] the English language assimilated a wealth of foreign words, particularly from the French and Latin languages, "but whereas the French words bear in many cases the stamp of actual usage, actual speech, most of the Latin words were plainly literary and scholarly borrowings."[7] The earliest documented appearance of a rebec-related word purportedly used in English (rubibe) dates from the thirteenth century and reflects this foreign language influence; the word itself was first used in Old French and may be related to the Old French rubebe, ribebe, and the Vulgar Latin rubeba, spellings which were often used interchangeably during the Middle Ages. The influence of other languages upon English is also evident. Dutch influence, for example, can be traced from the thirteenth century onwards[8] and may have been responsible in the late fourteenth century for the introduction into Middle English of the word rebecke. Italian influences may be seen primarily in the development of Modern English

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3 Webster's, p. xxvii.
4 Wrenn, p. 281.
5 Ibid.
6 Webster's, p. xxix.
7 Ibid.
8 Wrenn, p. 283.

(ca.1476 to the present[9]) and were often indirectly assimilated through other European languages such as French.[10] Elements of the Spanish language did not directly affect English before the sixteenth century.[11]

When in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Norman-French scribes, who were basically unfamiliar with the Old English language, began to write and copy English manuscripts many orthographical changes occurred. Most often the Norman-French scribes did not know how to pronounce the English language "and the great variety of dialectal pronunciations [in Old and Middle English] emphasized this confusion."[12] Thus, "much Middle English spelling, especially in its first two centuries, is a confusion of the earlier English and the newer French methods by men who understood only one of the two."[13] A need and a movement to standardize English spelling eventually began to emerge and schools of "careful and consistent scribes (professional men)"[14] arose. Among these scribes is the writer of the Ellesmere manuscript version of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales in whose manuscripts some rebec-related terminology has been found (see rubible and variants). Nevertheless, some Norman-French scribes continued to "introduce new ways of spelling to make the writing more phonetic in Middle English"[15]

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9 Webster's, p. xxx.
10 Wrenn, p. 283.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid., p. 285.
13 Ibid., pp. 285-286.
14 Ibid., p. 286.
15 Ibid. The state of the written Old English language at the time of the Norman Conquest was one in which spelling had essentially ceased to reflect the pronunciation of words (Wrenn, p. 285), a trait which the French scribes sought to correct over the next few hundred years by introducing new phonetic spellings to the language.

and by the time the printing press was first introduced into England in 1476 Middle English orthography might best have been described as chaotic.

> . . . the early printers found spelling in a most confused state . . .; and only after the popularizing of printed books in the late sixteenth century, which made some kind of spelling conventions necessary to printers, does a rough standard of spelling begin to emerge in the early seventeenth [century].[16]

Although orthographical standardization in the literary language was an aim in the early Modern English period, some spelling changes were still considered permissible. Early English printers sometimes varied the spelling of words simply in order to justify lines of type. It is probable that some of the numerous rebec-related spellings found in late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century English sources are a result of this sort of orthographical manipulation. Eventually a standardization of spelling "was achieved about 1650, [and] the English language acquired its modern external form."[17]

Rubibe, its Forms and Variants

Over forty differently-spelled rebec-related English words have been discovered in the source material studied. Among these numerous variants perhaps the oldest group of words, related by their similarities in spelling and their early usage in literature, include the following: rubibe, rubibi, rubybe, rubib, rubibour, and rubible.

The earliest documented use of rubibe may be found in an Old French source, the early thirteenth-century poem Blancheflour et

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16 Wrenn, p. 286.
17 Webster's, p. xxx.

Florence, in which rubibe refers to a (stringed?) musical instrument.[18] Although this specific spelling has not yet been further documented, the variant spelling rubibi(s)is used in a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript version[19] of Englishman John Lydgate's poem Reson and Sensuallyte (ca.1406/1408) which is essentially an English paraphrase of the anonymous French romance Les échecs amoureux[20] (ca.1370/1380).[21] The French word rebeblez is translated into the English rubibis and appears as follows:

> Lutys, Rubibis, and geterns,
> More for estatys than taverns.[22]

In this context rubibis, by apposition with lutys and geterns, appears to refer to a stringed instrument, but not necessarily to a bowed stringed instrument.

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18 Friedrich Dick, Bezeichnungen für Saiten- und Schlaginstrumente in der altfranzösischen Literatur, in Giessener Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie, Heft 25 (Giessen: Selbstverlag des Romanischen Seminars, 1932), pp. 76 and 93, who cites an unnamed article by P. Meyer in Romanische Forschungen 37: 225.

19 The existing manuscript copies of Lydgate's poem are in the Bodleian Library, Fairfax 16 (dated 1450) and the British Museum, Additional 29, 729 (dated 1558). John Lydgate, Reason and Sensuallyte, Ernst Sieper, ed., Early English Text Society (Extra Series), No. 89, Part II, Studies and Notes (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1903), p. 5.

20 André Pirro, "Remarques sur l'exécution musicale de la fin du XIVe au milieu du XVe siècle," in International Society for Musical Research First Congress Report, Liége (Nashdom Abbey, Burnham, Bucks: The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1930), p. 59, and Lydgate/Sieper, II, 59.

21 Hermann Abert, "Die Musikästhetik der échecs amoureux," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft 6 (1904-1905): 346-355.

22 Lydgate/Sieper, No. 84, Part I, The Manuscripts, text, glossary (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1901), pp. 145-147.

The variant rubybe is found in a 1430-1450 manuscript version of Geoffrey Chaucer's "Miller's Tale" from The Canterbury Tales (1386)[23] replacing the spelling rubible. In describing the parish clerk, Absalon, Chaucer writes:

> In twenty manere koude he trippe and daunce
> After the scole [school] of Oxenforde tho,
> And with his legges casten to and fro,
> And pleyen songes on a smal rubible;
> Therto he song some tyme a loud quynble.[24]

Various fifteenth-century manuscript versions of "The Miller's Tale" substitute, respectively, rebibe, rybibe, and rubybe for rubible in this verse. Perhaps the scribes who compiled these manuscripts used the variant spellings in an attempt to correct the redundancy which arises from the use of the phrase "smal[l] rubible," where rubible may already be understood to be a diminutive form of the word rubibe.

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23 See Cambridge University I 1.3.26 (ca.1430-1450), according to The Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), Vol. VIII, p. 644, which cites verse 145 of the "Miller's Tale." Rubybe is only one, and chronologically the last, of four differently-spelled words used in various manuscript versions of this verse. The other spellings are, in order of their use: rubible, Huntington Library, Ellesmere Manuscript 26.C.9 (1400-1410); rebibe in Lansdowne 850 (1410-1420); and rybibe in Petworth Manuscript (1420-1430). For further information concerning these and other manuscript versions of Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales see John M. Manly and Edith Rickert, The Text of the Canterbury Tales Studied on the Basis of All Known Manuscripts, Vol. I: Descriptions of the Manuscripts (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940). For all appearances of these words, the Oxford English Dictionary claims that the "correct reading is rubible." (VIII, 644)

24 Geoffrey Chaucer, The Complete Works, Walter W. Skeat, ed. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1894), Vol. IV, p. 96, citing the Ellesmere Manuscript (1400-1410). See also Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 644; Henry Holland Carter, A Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms, Indiana University Humanities Series No. 45 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), Reprint (New York: Kraus Reprint Corp., 1968), p. 408; and Mary E. Remnant, "Rebec, fiddle, and crowd in England," Proceedings of the Royal Music Association 95 (1968-1969): 21. Skeat describes "quinible" as a "shrill treble; a falseto," Vol. IV, p. 96.

The variant spelling rubib cited by Henry Carter in his Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms has not yet been located in any primary sources.[25]

The late nineteenth-century scholar Francis H. Stratmann suggests in his Middle-English Dictionary (1891) that a rubibe is played by a rubibour, although he cites no documentation for the use of this word.[26]

One may conclude that rubibe is an example of a French word (probably a variant of rubebe and rebebe) introduced into the English language perhaps in the late thirteenth or fourteenth century as a result of the Norman-French conquest. Forms of the word have been documented in several fifteenth-century English sources, and all forms suggest a relationship to a musical instrument, probably stringed, upon which a person could accompany himself while singing and dancing. The appearance of a diminutive form suggests that at least two sizes of such an instrument might have existed.

Ribibe, its Forms and Variants

A second group of English spellings, possibly derived from the French models, also appears to be related based upon similarities in spelling and early usage in literature. This group includes the following nouns, diminutive forms, and verbs:

ribibe	ribible	ribibor	ribiben
ribybe	ribibble	ribibour	rybybybd
rybbe	ribyble	rybibour	rybybybyde
rybib	rybyble		
rybibe	rabybill		
rybybe	row-bible		
	rouwe-bible		

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25 Carter, p. 407, suggests that rubib may be synonymous with ribibe.

26 Francis Henry Stratmann, A Middle-English Dictionary containing words used by English Writers from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century, rev. ed. by Henry Bradley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891, 1950), p. 512.

Among this group of variants the oldest extant documentation was found for the words ribibor, ribibour, and rybibour. These spellings may be found in two manuscript versions of the poem The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman written in 1362 by William Langland.[27] The section of the poem in which ribibor/ribibour appears is entitled "Vision of the Deadly Sins and of Pers the Plouhmon" (Passus V) and personifies "Gluttony" "who (on his way to church) is tempted into a beerhouse, of the interior of which the author gives a life-like and perfect picture."[28] Among those found frequenting the tavern are:

> Tomkyn þe Tinkere · and tweyne of his knaues,
> Hikke þe hakeney mon · and hogge þe neldere,
> Clarisse of Cokkes lone · and þe Clerk of þe churche,
> Sire Pers of pridye · pernel of Flaunders,
> Dauwe þe disschere · and a doseys opere.
> [A] Ribibor, [a] Ratoner · a Rakere of chepe,
> A Ropere, a Redyng-kyng · and Rose þe disschere . . .[29]

> Tomkin the tinker · and twain of his knaves,
> Hick the hackney-man · and Hogg the needler,[30]
> Clarice of Cook's lane · and the clerk of the church,
> Sir Piers of Pridie · and Pernel of Flanders,
> Daw the ditcher · and a dozen other.
> A ribibour [sic] , a rattoner[31] · a raker of Chepe,[32]
> A roper, a reding-king[33] · and Rose the disher . . .[34]

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27 Modern editions of the three main variant texts may be found as follows: William Langland (1332?-1400?), The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman (1362-1393), Walter W. Skeat, ed., in Early English Text Society (Original Series) (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1867-1885), Vol. XXVIII, text A (1362); Vol. XXXVIII, text B (1377); Vol. LIV, text C (1393); Vol. LXVII, notes to texts A, B, C; and Vol. LXXXI, preface, notes, indexes.

28 Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. xli.

29 Ibid., pp. 60-61.

30 Ibid., p. vi, note 3, a "needle-seller."

31 Ibid., note 5, a "rat-catcher."

32 Ibid., note 6, a "vagrant chapman."

33 Ibid., note 7, "one of a certain class of feudal retainers."

34 Skeat translates this word as "disher" but the Old English word disschere has been translated earlier (line 164) as "ditcher."

Three distinct versions exist of this popular fourteenth-century alliterative poem.[35] References to the instrument under study appear in two of these three versions (1362 and 1377) but not in the third main version of the poem (1393). The variant ribibor appears in the extant 1362 version of the text, whereas ribibour appears in the 1377 version.[36] The variant rybibour may be found in a 1399 manuscript copy of the poem, according to Gustav Schad.[37]

Walter W. Skeat, an editor of Langland's poem, translates ribibor, which he spells rybibour in his glossary, as "a player on the ribibe or rebeck (a kind of fiddle)."[38] In his Handbook of Middle English Fernand Mossé defines ribibour (citing the 1377 version) as a "female player of a fiddle-like instrument."[39] The spelling rubibour, discussed above, is similar to the spellings found in Langland's poem but has not yet been located in any primary sources.[40]

Although a ribibo[u]r is mentioned in literature as early as 1362 and implies the existence of a ribibe, no documentation for ribibe has yet been located in a source which has been dated earlier than 1400/1410 and even then the word may not definitively be understood to refer to a musical instrument. The spelling ribibe is purportedly used in one manuscript version of Chaucer's The Canterbury

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35 Langland/Skeat, Vol. XXVIII, p. xii. See note 27 for details.
36 Fernand Mossé, A Handbook of Middle English, translated by James Walker (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1952), p. 269.
37 Gustav Schad, Musik und Musikausdrücke in der mittelenglischen Literatur (Frankfurt am Main: Hch. Richter, 1911), p. 110. See also Langland/Skeat, Vol. LXXXI, p. 743, and Carter, p. 408.
38 Langland/Skeat, Vol. LXXXI, p. 743.
39 Mossé, p. 472.
40 Rubibour is listed only by Stratmann, p. 512.

Tales (ca.1386), "The Friar's Tale" verse 79:

> This somnour, ever waiting on his pray
> Rode for to somne an old wijf, a ribibe.[41]

In this context ribibe (variant ribybe) is used an an opprobrious term for an old woman. This Chaucerian definition of ribibe is perpetuated in the work of the English poet and dramatist Ben Jonson (1537?-1637), The divell is an asse, written in 1616 and published in 1631.

> Some good Ribibe, about Kentish Towne,
> Or Hogsden, you would hang now, for a witch.[42]

John Skelton (ca.1460-1529) also mimics Chaucer in his use of the variant spelling rybybe to refer to an old woman in The tunnyng of Elynour Rummyng (1529), verse 492.

> There came an old rybybe,
> She halted of a kybe.[43]

The spelling rybybe is definitely used to denote a musical instrument for at least a century before the publication of Skelton's work. Such a use of rybybe may be found in Thomas of Erceldonne's poem Fytte the Firste (ca.1430-1440).

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41 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 644, the specific manuscript version is not specified. Chaucer/Skeat, Vol. IV, p. 361, cites the use of the spelling ribybe in this excerpt from the Ellesmere Manuscript version (1400-1410). Schad, p. 110, cites the use of the spelling ribyble in this excerpt from an unidentified version which he dates 1376/1377, earlier than the suggested ca.1386 date for the writing of The Canterbury Tales. Sherman Kuhn cites the use, in three mid-fifteenth-century manuscripts, of the variant ribible in this excerpt.

42 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 644 and Walter William Skeat, A Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words, Especially from the Dramatists, in Burt Franklin Bibliography and Reference Series, No. 165, A. L. Mayhew, ed. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), p. 334.

43 Ibid.

Lutte and rybybe both gangande,
And all manere of mynstralsye.[44]

Several extant manuscript versions of Erceldonne's poem employ variant spellings of rybybe including ribybe (mid-fifteenth century),[45] rybib (ca.1450),[46] and rybbe (ca.1524-1530).[47] All of these words may, by presumed synonymy, be defined as denoting some type of a musical instrument. This definition of rybybe is corroborated by its use in two fifteenth-century English vocabularies. In the first, an early fifteenth-century Latin/English vocabulary of names of things,[48] one finds the following entry under the heading Nomina Ludorum (Names of Things to Play):

Hec uetella, A^{e} rybybe.[49]

In context, the word rybybe clearly refers to a musical instrument since it is listed along with several other instruments such as

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44 Library of Lincoln Cathedral, Thornton Manuscript, leaf 150, verses 259-260 (ca.1430-40), cited in Thomas of Erceldonne, The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldonne, printed from Five Manuscripts, James Augustus Henry Murray, ed., in Early English Text Society (Original Series), No. 61 (London: N. Trübner, 1875), p. 14. See also Carter, p. 407 and Henry George Farmer, "Rebab," translated by Dieter Christensen, in Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. by Frederich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), Band 11, col. 81.

45 Cambridge University Library Manuscript, mid-fifteenth century, Ff 5.48, leaf 122 back, vs. 258-260; Erceldonne/Murray, p. 15. See also James Orchard Halliwell-Phillips, A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words . . . from the Fourteenth Century (London, 1847), 5th ed. (London: Gibbings, 1901), Vol. II, p. 682, who cites another manuscript version using this spelling.

46 Manuscript Cotton, ca.1450, Vitellius E.x., leaf 241 back, vs. 259-260; Erceldonne/Murray, p. 14.

47 Lansdowne Manuscript, 762, dated 1524-30, leaf 27, vs. 259-260; Erceldonne/Murray, p. 15.

48 British Museum, Old Royal Library, Manuscript Reg. 17, CXVII, fol. 21r^{o}. Reprinted in entirety in Thomas Wright and Richard Paul Wulcker, eds., Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies, 2nd ed. (London: Trübner, 1884), cols. 634ff, see particularly col. 667.

49 Ibid.

a^e harpe, a^e sytholle, a^e synphane, a^e fythylle, and a^e organs.[50] A second Latin/English nominale from ca.1450 lists several musical instruments under Nomina Ludorum including:

Hec vitula, a rybybe.[51]

Seeking a definition for vitula, one can find in yet another fifteenth-century Latin/English vocabulary the following:

Vitula, an^ce a fythele.[52]

One could conclude that during the fifteenth century at least rybybe denoted a fythele, hence a bowed stringed instrument, although of unknown shape and size.

The variant spelling rybibe has been found to appear in an early fifteenth century manuscript version of a verse from Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, the "Miller's Tale."[53] In this verse, discussed above, rybibe refers to a musical instrument to the accompaniment of which one could sing and dance.

In his Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms (1961), Henry Holland Carter suggests the existence of the verb "ribiben (also rybyben), to play on the ribibe,"[54] although no appearance of the

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50 Wright/Wulcker, cols. 666-667.

51 Manuscript from Collection of Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., Liverpool, England, reprinted in its entirety in Wright/Wulcker, col. 674ff; see particularly col. 737, line 19.

52 Manuscript in Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, England, reprinted in Wright/Wulcker, cols. 560ff, see particularly col. 619, line 45.

53 Petworth Manuscript, verse 145 (dated 1420-30), cited in Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 644. See discussion of rubible for complete excerpt.

54 Carter, p. 407.

spelling ribiben has yet been documented in English literature. Nevertheless, an example of the past tense of the differently-spelled verb rybybyben has been found in the late fifteenth-century anonymous poem Herkyn to my tale.

> The sow . . . harpyd Robyn-Howde;
> The fox fydylyd, tho ratton rybybyd, the larke notyd with all.[55]

The verb rybybyd (variant rybybyde) presumably denotes the action of playing the rybybe. One should note, however, that rybybe, a musical instrument which could be defined as a fythele by implication in the fifteenth-century Latin/English vocabulary discussed above, is now placed in direct apposition with the verb form fydylyd which suggests the existence of two different types of instruments. One can, nevertheless, conclude from the poem that the rybybe was a musical instrument, one which probably was stringed.

Several language scholars have suggested that the spellings ribible, ribibble, ribyble, rybyble, rabybill, row-bible, and rouwe-bible may all be diminutive forms of ribibe (and its variants).[56] The earliest documented spelling, ribible, may be found in Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales (1386), the "Cook's Tale," in the Ellesmere Manuscript version (1400/1410), verse 4396.

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55 Thomas Wright and James Orchard Halliwell-Phillips, eds., Reliquiae Antiquae: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, illustrating chiefly early English Literature and the English Language (London: John Russell Smith, 1845), Vol. I, p. 81, line 33, from a manuscript in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, MS Jac. VII, 27, fifteenth century. The spelling rybybyde is found in MS Parkington, No. 10, f. 152, Library of W. O. Gore, Esq. of Shrophire, ca. 1500, and is also reprinted in Wright/Halliwell, Vol. I, p. 86, line 3.

56 Carter, p. 408, Halliwell-Phillips, Vol. II, p. 682, and Wright, Vol. II, p. 800.

Al konne he pleye on gyterne or Ribible.[57]

The spelling ribible is also found as a variant reading for ribibe in three mid-fifteenth-century manuscript versions of Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales (1386), the "Friar's Tale." Ribible in this instance refers to an old woman.[58] Two additional appearances of the spelling ribible, obviously referring to a musical instrument, may be found in fifteenth-century sources. An excerpt from the anonymous book Knight of la Tour-Landry (before 1450) reads:

> The said Sir piere . . . axes hym, where was his fedylle or hys ribible or suche an instrument as longithe vnto a mynstralle.[59]

It should be noted that in this quotation fedylle and ribible may be interpreted either as referring to the same or to two different types of instruments. In the anonymous romance Squyr of Lowe Degre (ca.1450-1475) the word ribible is again used to denote a musical instrument as follows (verse 1071):

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57 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 644; Chaucer/Skeat, Vol. IV, p. 129; Carter, p. 408; and Jeffrey Pulver, A Dictionary of Old English Music and Musical Instruments (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1923), p. 187.

58 In his correspondence (Ann Arbor: May 2, 1980), Sherman M. Kuhn cites the use of ribible in place of ribibe in the British Museum Royal MS. 18.C.2, Trinity College Cambridge manuscript 582, and the Sion manuscript. He does not indicate the dates for these particular manuscript versions. The spelling ribyble is also said to have been used as a variant of ribibe in an unidentified manuscript version of this excerpt according to Schad, p. 110. See footnote 41.

59 Carl Engel, Researches into the Early History of the Violin Family (London: Novello, Ewer, 1883), p. 92, cites the following manuscript source: British Museum, Harl. MS. 1764. See also Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 644, and Carter, p. 408.

> There was myrth and melody
> With harpe, getron and sautry,
> With rote, ribible and clockarde.[60]

The Oxford English Dictionary also cites two references to the ribible which appear in prose dating from as late as the first half of the nineteenth-century. The first reference may be found in George Payne Rainsford James' romance Agincourt (1803) which recounts the turn-of-the-fifteenth-century story of Henry of Monmouth and Agincourt.

> There stood a small oaken coffer, containint her apparel and that of the poor old minstrel. [She] opened the box [and took] out one or two instruments of music . . . . "And so the viol is valuable, you think?" "Yes, and the ribible, too," answered Ella Brune; "for they were cut by a great maker in Italy, and such are not to be found in England."[61]

The second example is from Daniel Rock's text The Church of our Fathers which dates from 1849-1853:

> Gleemen played on harp and ribible.[62]

In all of the preceding quotations ribible unquestionably refers to a musical instrument and, one may hypothesize on the basis of implicit evidence, to a stringed instrument which probably was bowed.

Edward Phillips, in the first edition of his dictionary New World of Words (1658), cites the variant spelling ribibble.

> Ribibble (old word) a Fiddle, or Cittern[63]

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60 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 644, dates this romance "before 1400," but this appears to be an error. See also Halliwell-Phillips, Vol. II, p. 682 and Carter, p. 408.

61 George Payne Rainsford James, Agincourt (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1803), pp. 144 and 146 and Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 644.

62 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 644. Daniel Rock lived from 1799-1871.

63 Edward Phillips, New World of Words, or Universal English Dictionary (London: Printed by E. Tyler for Nath. Brooke, 1658), Facsimile reprint (Menston, Yorks: Scolar Press, 1969), no page numbers. The cittern was a plucked stringed instrument.

This definition corroborates the understanding that the ribible (variant ribibble) was a stringed instrument, although questions concerning the instrument's size and whether it was bowed or plucked remain unanswered.

Sibyl Marcuse states that the variant spelling rybyble was used in fifteenth-century English, although she does not cite any documentation to support her conclusion.[64]

The variant spelling rabybill, purportedly used in a reference to an old woman, has been located in an early fifteenth-century manuscript of Irish provenance.[65]

The Oxford English Dictionary suggests that the spellings row-bible and rouwe-bible were used in the fourteenth century as variants of ribible. One fourteenth-century quotation in which the spelling rouwe-bible is found, however, leads to the conclusion that this term definitely does not refer to a musical instrument.

He . . . rat on the rouwe-bible and on other book no mo.[66]

Henry Holland Carter suggests that in this context "rouwe-bible apparently means 'rough bible.'"[67]

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64 Sibyl Marcuse, Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), p. 449.

65 Manuscript located at Huntingdon Library, HM 129, folio 224b, line 20. Cited by Angus McIntosh, "Some Words in the Northern Homily Collection," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 73 (1972): 204. McIntosh does not include an excerpt of the text in which this word is found, hence his interpretation of the meaning can not be corroborated.

66 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 644.

67 Carter, pp. 407-408, who cites a modern edition appearing in Political Songs of England 12..-13.., (Camden Society, 1839), line 88. Carter does not explain what he believes a "rough-bible" to be.

Based upon the information obtained from the foregoing literary excerpts one can make the following observations concerning the Middle English word ribibe (and variant spellings ribybe, rybbe, rybib, rybibe, and rybybe) which was probably derived from the Old French spellings rebebe and rubebe (both of which were used to denote a bowed stringed instrument in use in France at least as early as the late thirteenth century). Mention of the ribibe has been documented in English sources dated at least as early as ca.1420, although other forms of the word can be documented at least as early as 1362 and as late as 1631. The word ribibe has had two basic meanings throughout the history of its use: 1) an opprobrious term for an old woman, and 2) a stringed musical instrument, probably bowed (although it is compared at least once with the cittern, a plucked stringed instrument), to the accompaniment of which, at least in the fifteenth century, one could sing and dance. A ribibe (musical instrument) player was called a ribibor (variants ribibour, rybibour) at least throughout the second half of the fourteenth century. The ribibe may have come in two sizes[68] due to the appearance of a diminutive form of the word, ribible (variants ribyble, rybyble, row-bible (?), and rouwe-bible (?)). However, in none of the sources cited are ribibe and ribible mentioned together; furthermore, ribible has been used as a variant spelling for ribibe in at least three fifteenth-century English sources which suggests that only one size of this instrument actually existed despite the orthographical implication to the contrary. The word ribible, whether it denoted

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68 Note that the rubebe, mentioned in an Italian source of ca.1400, was the middle size of a consort of three presumably similar instruments.

a small ribibe or was simply a variant spelling of ribibe, may at least be defined as representing a stringed musical instrument which probably was bowed.

Finally, five different words, each of which may actually denote the jaw's harp, appear in English sources and might be confused with the rebec-related terminology just discussed due to similarities in spelling and some misleading information found in secondary sources. This group, which may be related to a similar group of French rebec-related words,[69] includes: rebube, rebibe, ribupe, ributhe, and ribus. The first of these is rebube a word which in all likelihood is originally a French word brought into the Middle-English language by John Lydgate (1370?-1451?). Lydgate uses the term in his translation of Guillaume de Deguilleville's French poem Pélérinage (ca.1330; second version used for the translation, 1355). In The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man (translation of 1426; manuscript no later than 1475) the rebube is mentioned alongside the word symphonye (believed to be a stringed instrument).

> And to revelle at taverne,
> Wyth al merthe and mellodye,
> On rebube and on symphonye.[70]

Although it is apparent that one cannot conclusively determine the actual meaning of rebube from the context of the excerpt in which it appears, a number of sources dating from as early as the seventeenth

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69 The French words include rebube, ribebe, rebuter, and rebute.

70 Guillaume de Deguilleville, The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man (1330; 2nd rev. ed., 1355), John Lydgate, translator (1426), F. J. Furnivall, ed., Early English Text Society (Extra Series) (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1899-1904), Vol. LXXVII, p. 317. See also Carter, p. 407.

century define the rebube as a jaw's harp.[71] Confusion arises, however, when noted scholars such as Henry Holland Carter (Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms, 1961) write that the rebube is merely a variant spelling for ribibe, the word which, as has just been shown, denotes a stringed instrument.[72]

The spellings ribupe, ributhe, and ribus are all cited as variant spellings in a sentence from Sir Richard Holland's Scottish alliterative poem The buke of the Howlat (ca.1450), verse 759.

The rote, the recordour, the ribupe, the rist.[73]

From the context of the sentence one may certainly conclude that the ribupe was some kind of a musical instrument. Curt Sachs and Sibyl Marcuse, who both cite the use of the variant spelling ributhe in this excerpt, write that ributhe means the "jews [jaw's] harp."[74] The Oxford English Dictionary on the other hand, lists ribupe as a form of ribibe which implies that the ribupe may be understood to refer to a stringed instrument.[75] It is, however, impossible to determine the definition of ribupe and its variants on the basis of this one excerpt.

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71 This translation of rebube as a jaw's harp is passed on by the musical scholars Curt Sachs, Handbuch der Musikinstrumentenkunde, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1930), Reprint (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), p. 64 and Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 438, as well as in Dick, pp. 123-124.

72 Carter, p. 407.

73 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 644. The use of ributhe in this excerpt is cited by Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon der Musikinstrumente (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1913), Reprint and rev. ed. (New York: Dover, 1964), col. 321b and Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 444. The use of ribus (and rift for rist) is cited by Engel, p. 78.

74 Sachs, Real-lexikon, col. 321b and Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 444.

75 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 644.

The fifth variant spelling rebibe, which has been cited as a variant of rubible in an early fifteenth-century manuscript version of Chaucer's "Miller's Tale" (1386),[76] has also been defined as a jaw's harp[77] as well as a form of the Old French and Middle English word rubibe (a musical instrument).[78] Although all five of these words have been cited in various sources as being somehow related to other rebec-related terms, the confusion over their actual definitions compromises their usefulness for obtaining information concerning the morphological and sociological history of the rebec.

Rebecke, Rebeck, and Variants

Examples of the Middle English spelling rebecke and its modern English equivalent rebeck as well as ten variant spellings have been located in literary sources the earliest of which dates from the mid-fourteenth century. In alphabetical order the variants include:

rebbec	rebekk
rebbeck	rebekke
rebbecke	rebicke
rebecc	rebikes
rebek	recbecke
rebekes	

Rebecke

Among all of these spellings, the word for which the earliest extant documentation was found is rebecke and the source in which it

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76 See footnote 23. The existence of a diminutive form of the word rebibe has been suggested by Stainer-Barrett, A Dictionary of Musical Terms (no publisher or date cited), who defines rebible as "a small rebeck with three strings," according to Schad, p. 69.

77 Frédéric Eugène Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle (Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1889), Vol. VI, p. 637.

78 Stratmann, p. 512.

first appears is Dutch, not English. The word rebecke is listed in an account book dated 1364/1365 from Middleburg, The Netherlands.[79] Wages are recorded for a minstrel named Heynkyn who played the rebecke for Corpus Christi festivities:

> Uutghegheuen den menistreylen die vor't Sacrament ghenghen:
> 15. Item . . . . Heynkyn mitter rebecke . . . . 18gr[80]

The fourteenth and fifteenth-century English poet and translator John Lydgate uses this same word to refer to a musical instrument in his secular poem A Mumming at Hertford (written before 1450).

> He [a married man] with his rebecke may sing ful offt ellas![81]

Another English poet, Stephen Hawes (d. 1523?), lists the rebecke along with several other musical instruments in Chapter 16, entitled "Of musyke mundayne/humayne/and instrumentall," of his allegorical poem The Passetyme of Pleasure (1509[82]).

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79 J. A. Sillem, "Aanteekeningen omtrent muzikanten en muziek, uit XIVe eeuwsche noornederlandsche bronnen," Tijdschrift der vereeniging vor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis 6 (1900): 227f., and Edmund A. Bowles, "Musical Instruments in the Medieval Corpus Christi Procession," Journal of the American Musicological Society 17, No. 3 (1964): 258. Middleburg is located on an island bordering the Strait of Dover and hence is located in such a geographical position that one is led to wonder if the spelling rebecke was really originally Dutch or English in origin.

80 Sillem, pp. 227-228, who cites Historisch Genootschap, 2^{e} Serie, Dl. II, Afd. 1, blz. 5 vlg.

81 Carter, p. 400 and Remnant, "Rebec, fiddle, and crowd," p. 21. In his correspondence, Sherman M. Kuhn, co-editor of the monumental work, The Middle English Dictionary (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952-) affirms that rebecke in this instance does refer to an instrument but suggests that it is also a pun on the Chaucerian meaning of ribibe and rebekke as an old woman.

82 The date 1509 is cited as the original date of publication in the Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 220. However, the date 1506 is cited by Pulver, p. 187.

> There sat dame Musyke, with all her mynstrasy;
> As taboures, trumpettes, with pipes melodious,
> Sakbuttes, organs, and the recorder swetely,
> Harpes, lutes, and crouddes ryght delycyous;
> Cymphans, doussemers, wyth claricimbales glorious,
> Rebeckes, clarycordes, eche in theyr degre
> Dyd sytte about theyr ladyes mageste.[83]

In a similar fashion, a rebecke is listed along with other musical instruments in The History of the Valiant King Arthur of Little Britain (ca.1530), translated from the French by Lord John Bourchier Berners (1467-1533).

> Than began . . . taboures, and rebeckes, and other instruments.[84]

The Boke of Receiptes and Paymentes dating from April 1547, during King Edward VI's reign, lists the monthly wages for a rebecke player at court.

> Rebecke: John Severnake, 40 s.[85]

Numerous references to the rebecke (once spelled rebeck; once spelled recbecke) as a musical instrument may be found in Bartholomew Yong's English translation (1598) of Jorge de Montemayor's Spanish epic poem Diana (ca.1559). In his translation Yong equates the English

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83 Stephen Hawes, The Pastime of Pleasure, a literal reprint of the earliest complete copy (1517) with variant readings from the editions of 1509, 1554, and 1555, edited by William Edward Mead, Early English Text Society (Original Series), Vol. CLXXIII (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1928), p. 61, lines 1527-1533.

84 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 220-221.

85 Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Book, 439, fol. 15, cited in E. Stokes, "Lists of the King's Musicians," The Musical Antiquary 4 (October 1912): 55. Severnake's name is listed in wage account books throughout the years 1547-1549; Stokes, pp. 55-58. Severnake is also listed in the Establishment Book for 1552, in the British Museum, Stow, 571; Stokes, p. 58. It should be noted that in some account books from Henry VIII's reign, Severnake and two other musicians are alternately listed as rebekes; see E. Stokes, "Lists of the King's Musicians," The Musical Antiquary 5 (April 1913): 180-183.

word rebecke with the Spanish word rabel.[86] In most of the references from the work which follow, a poem sung by one of the characters immediately follows the rebecke reference. Thus Diana is an important source for locating the types if not the actual examples of the poetry with which a rebecke accompaniment might have been associated. The following references are made to the rebecke (and one to rebeck) in Diana.

> He [Syrenus] tooke a paper out of his bosome, wherein he had a few greene silken strings and haire tyed up together, and laying them open before him upon the greene grasse, with abundance of teares he tooke out his Rebecke, not jalfe so jocund as it was woont to be, at what time he was in Dianas favour, and began to sing that which followeth. . . . Syrenus had not so soone made an end of his sorrowful song, if that his teares had not bene at hand, for such an one was he, from whom fortune had cut off all the waies and meanes of his remedie. Sorrowing thus, his Rebecke fell out of his hand . . . .[87]

> But now good Shephered, said Syrenus, take out thy Kit,[88] and I will take my Bagpipe, for there is no greefe that is not with musicke relented and passed away, and no sorrow, which is not with the same againe increased. And so both the Shepherdes tuning, and playing on their instruments with great grace and sweetnesse began to sing that which followeth . . . . [Syrenus sings] Some other times (Sylvane) we tun'd (in setting them) / Our Bagpipe and the Rebeck, which we plaied on, / And then my verses sung we, nothing letting them.[89]

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86 Judith M. Kennedy, ed., A Critical Edition of Yong's Translation of George of Montemayor's Diana and Gil Polo's Enamoured Diana (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 423, note 13. The translator Bartholomew Yong lived from 1560-1612. Jorge de Montemayor's life spanned the years 1520-1561.

87 Kennedy, p. 12, lines 34-40; p. 13, lines 37-39.

88 The word kit in this excerpt undoubtedly refers to the rebecke which, in fact, is named in the song sung to the accompaniment of the kit. The same substitution of kit for rebecke is found elsewhere in Diana. The kit in its own right was a diminutive form of the rebec and, according to Sibyl Marcuse, was "first recorded as a musical instrument in the second decade of the sixteenth century, but its identity at that time is unknown; possibly it denoted the rebec then." Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 291.

89 Kennedy, p. 25, lines 34-40; p. 27, lines 25-27.

After this, forgotten Syrenus to the tune of his Rebecke began to sing this song following.[90]

And thus did this sorrowfull Shepherd [Sylvanus] leade a life, which as to all, so especially to those that are free from love would be tedious and difficult to describe. But having heard Selvagias sweete verses, and obtained leave of his sad thoughts, he tooke his Kit, and to the tune thereof began to sing that which followeth.[91]

And talking thus together [Sylvanus and Selvagia] they heard a Shepherd singing, as he came along the meadow before them, whom they knew by and by to be the forgotten Syrenus, who, to the tune of his Rebecke cam singing this Sonnet.[92]

Syrenus did these verses sing,
And on his Rebecke sweetely play,
So far from joy or joyfull thing,
And from contentment any way:
That he could not pronounce his minde
For weeping, which was left behinde.[93]

After that supper was ended, three Nymphes came into the hall, one of them playing on a Harpe, another on a Lute, and the third on a base Vial de gamba, but with such sweetenesse and melodie, that they that were present, were (as it were) enchaunted and ravished with it. They placed themselves in one side of the hall, and the Shepherdes and Shepherdesses (being lovingly requested by the three Nymphes, and by sage Felicia) placed themselves right over against them on the other side, with their Rebeckes and a Bagpipe, whereon Selvagia sweetely plaied. And then the Nymphes began to sing this song, and the Shepherdes to answere them in manner following.[94]

I [Arsileus] will endevour (though most against my minde) to content thee: Whereupon taking up his Rebecke that lay hard by him, he began to tune it, and doe that, which the Shepherdesse requested him. . . . But giving attentive eare, she [Felismena] perceived how the Shepherd began to touch his Rebecke so divinely, that she thought it to be some celestiall musicke, who having plaide on it a little with a more heavenly then humane voice, began to sing this song following.[95]

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90 Kennedy, p. 50, lines 1-2.
91 Ibid., p. 54, lines 18-23.
92 Ibid., p. 57, lines 21-25.
93 Ibid., p. 62, lines 20-25.
94 Ibid., p. 134, lines 26-37.
95 Ibid., p. 191, lines 15-18; 25-29.

. . . Arsileus remained still, tarying for them under the pleasant shadow of those green Sicamours, who (to entertaine the time with something) as they are wont to doe, that are attending some joyfull thing, tooke out his Rebecke, and to the tune of it, began with sweetest voice to sing these verses following.[96]

But seeing himselfe thus in the mids of Dianas sheepe, and with the thoughts, that the memorie of such a thing did put before his eies, to the tune of his merie Rebecke he began to sing this song.[97]

And thou Sylvanus, take they Pipe, and I will tune my Rebecke to it, and let us sing some verses togither, although so free a hart as mine cannot sing of anie thing, that may give content to thine, that is of another qualitie . . . . And the Shepherds began to sing in manner following.[98]

The ship driven on by the crueltie of Fortune, went floating up and downe the maine seas five daies togither, after that we parted; at the ende of which time, the Sunne going downe towards the West, we were in ken of lande: At sight whereof the Marriners were verie glad, as well for recoverie of their lost hope, as also for knowing the coast whither the ship was driven. For it was the most fertill countrey and most abounding in all sortes of pleasures, as far as the Sun doth heate with his beames: In so much that one of the Marriners taking a Rebecke out of a chest, with the which he was wont to cheere up himselfe in long and dangerous voiages, began to play and sing to it in manner following.[99]

And that which did most of all please them, was a sing which Syrenus and Arsileus did sing one against another in dispraise and favour of Cupid: For they sung with an earnest will and desire in hope of a brave christall cup, which Eugerius had promised for a reward and prize to him that did sing best. And so Syrenus to the sound of his Rebecke, and Arsileus to the tune of his rurall Baggepipe, began to sing in maner following.[100]

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96 Kennedy, p. 205, lines 32-36.
97 Ibid., p. 220, lines 24-27. The editor, Kennedy, notes that in line 26 one source uses the obvious misspelling recbecke.
98 Ibid., p. 223, lines 35-38; p. 224, line 5.
99 Ibid., p. 324, lines 33-40; p. 325, lines 1-4.
100 Ibid., p. 366, lines 30-37.

All the rest exceeding glad for these happie accidents, sung and rejoiced with marvellous applause. Amongst the which, Arsileus for the great good will that he bare to Syrenus, and for the friendship betweene them both, at the sound of his Rebecke, sung this Caroll in memorie and joy of the new marriage betweene Syrenus and Diana. . . . When Arsileus had made an end to his song, there was such a generall rejoicing, that it would have cheered up the most sorrowfull harts that ever were.[101]

But answere me Diana to that, which I will aske thee, for I will trie if I can speake in a darker language then my Sylvanus did: The Riddle is this.

A Riddle.

I Sawe a hill upon a day,
Lift up above the aire:
Which watered with blood alway
And tilled with great care,
Herbes it brought foorth
Of mickle woorth.

Pulling a handfull from that ridge
And touching but the same,
Which leaving neere unto a bridge,
Doth cause much sport and game,
(A thing scare of beleefe)
Lamenting without greefe.

Diana looking then towards her husband, said. Dost not thou remember (my Syrenus) that thou has heard this Riddle that night, when we were togither in my uncle Yranius his house? And dost not thou remember also how Maroncius sonne to (Fernasus) did propound it? I remember verie well (said Syrenus) that he did put it there, but told not (as I thinke) the signification of it. But then I remember it (said Diana.) For he said, that the field [ridge] was that part of the horse from whence they pull out his longest haires [the tail] , wherewith the Rebeckes being strong [strung?], make a tuned noise, although they [the Rebeckes] suffer never the more any paine or hurt. Selvagia said, that it was so, and that Maroncius Author of the Riddle, had told it for a fine one, although he had many more better then that.[102]

This riddle and its solution, as explained in the text accompanying it, evidently concerns the horsehair with which rebecke bows were strung.

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101 Kennedy, p. 378, lines 1-6; 379, lines 32-34.
102 Ibid., p. 392, lines 11-36; p. 393, lines 1-2.

Line 9 may refer to the bridge of a rebecke near which one draws the bow. "Lamenting without greefe" may refer to the fact that laments were sometimes played upon the rebecke which, as an inanimate object, could produce a lament without grieving.

> Florisia a Shepherdesse renowned for great knowledge and wisedome . . . when in our towne on a day at a certaine marriage . . . to the tune of a Rebecke, and of two Harpes, which three Shepherds sweetely plaied on, she sung a song in praise and defence of women, which not onely pleased them, but also delighted all the men there, of whom she spoke but little good. . . . Then Arsileus, seeing that Belisa was preparing herselfe to sing, began to tune his Rebecke, at the sound whereof she sung the song, that she heard Florisia in times past sing, which was this.[103]

> Though couldest not have come at a better time (Turianus) for remedie of they greefes, and for encrease of this solace and sport. We will hereafter take care for they greefe, and helpe it at fitter time, as for the rest, thou must shew this goodly companie, how much thou canst delight with thy sweete singing. For now I see thee with they Rebecke out of thy scrip, as though thou wouldest please this faire companie, sing something of they Elvinia; for thou shalt for this service see thy selfe hereafter well satisfied and contented. The Shepherd was amazed to heare Felicia call him by his name, and the Shepherdesse his love by hers, and that she promised him some lightning of his paine: Wherefore meaning to requite such offers with rather obeying her commaund, then onely with simple thankes to gratifie them, all of them being set, and keeping silence, he began to play a while on his Rebecke, and to sing that which followeth.[104]

Michael Drayton's Pastorals Contayning Eglogves with the Man in the Moone, "The Second Eglogve" (1619), also mentions the use of a rebecke for the accompaniment of a specific song.

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103 Kennedy, p. 397, lines 25-33; p. 398, lines 6-8.
104 Ibid., p. 412, lines 22-36.

> And being shrowded in a homely cote,
> And full of sorrow (I him sitting by,)
> He tun'd his Rebecke to a mournfull Note,
> And thereto sang this dolefull Elegie . . .[105]

In the preceding examples rebecke (variant rebeck) refers either to a musical instrument (the specific type of which can not be determined by these particular samples) or to the player of a musical instrument. More specific information about the rebecke can be gleaned from the writings of two sixteenth-century lexicographers, John Palsgrave and Claude de Sainleins (alias Claudius Hollyband), who variously define rebecke as "an instrument of musyke,"[106] a "fiddle,"[107] and a "rebec."[108] Lexicographer John Florio provides the following information in the 1611 revised edition of Queen Anna's New World of Words (originally published in 1598):

> RIBECCA, an instrument called a Rebecke, a croud, or Fidlers kit.
> RIBÉCCHÍNO, a little fidle, rebecke or croud.
> RIBÈCCHÍSTA, a fidler upon a rebecke or croud.[109]

An entirely different meaning for rebecke (rebeck) is found in Thomas Heywood's play A Woman Killed with Kindness (1607). In this

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105 J. William Hebel, The Works of Michael Drayton (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961), Vol. II, p. 525, lines 101-104.

106 Claude de Sainleins, A Dictionaire French and English (London: T. Woodcock, 1593), Reprint (Menston, Yorks: Scolar Press, 1970), no page numbers, cited by Normand L. Rioux, "Towards a Consolidation of Terms of Music and Musical Instruments Found in Renaissance Dictionaries 1480-1611," Unpublished term paper (Morgantown: West Virginia University, June 25, 1976), p. 20; and John (Jean) Palsgrave, L'éclaircissement de la langue française par Jean Palsgrave (Paris, 1530), Reprint in Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Vol. LXXII, Deuxième Série: Histoire des lettres et des sciences (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1852), p. 261.

107 Sainleins, no page number, cited by Rioux, p. 20.

108 Palsgrave, p. 261.

109 John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words . . . (London: Melch. Bradwood, 1611), Facsimile reprint in English Linguistics 1500-1800 series, No. 105 (Menston, Yorks: Scolar Press, 1968), p. 433.

example, in which several falconers converse about their hawks, rebecke evidently means "to recall, to reclaim."

> Now she hath seis'd the Fowle, and 'gins to plume her,
> Rebecke her not; rather stand still and check her.[110]

One editor of Heywood's works, R. W. Van Fossen, believes that rebeck, the word used in the play's first edition (1607), and rebecke, the spelling used in the third edition of the play (1617),[111] were both incorrectly printed and instead should read "rebuke."[112] However, rebecke (rebeck), meaning "re-beck" or "to call back," "recall," is an entirely logical reading in this instance. Obviously this use of the word has nothing whatsoever to do with a musical instrument.

Yet another meaning for the very same word may be found in Bishop William Barlow's tract entitled An Answer to a Catholike Englishman . . . who, without a name, passed his censure upon the Apology, made by . . . James . . . King of Great Brittaine . . . for the Oath of Allegeance, which censure is heere examined and refused (1609; page 199). In an excerpt from this tract the word rebecke is used in the same sense as the French verb rebéquer meaning "to resist or oppose saucily; resistance."

> Generous mindes yeeld where they find a relenting passage,
> rebecke by opposition prouokes to wrath.[113]

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110 Thomas Heywood (ca.1574-1641), The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood (New York: Russell and Russell, 1874), Reprint (New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), Vol. II, p. 99. The variant spelling rebeck is used in the following modern edition: Thomas Heywood, A Woman Killed with Kindness (1607), edited by R. W. Van Fossen (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 14, lines 7-8.

111 An extant copy of a second edition, if one ever existed, has never been found. The first and third editions were published by William and Isaac Iaggard in London. Heywood/Fossen, p. lxv.

112 Ibid., p. 14, note 8.

113 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 221.

Rebeck

Perhaps the oldest documented use of the spelling rebeck may be that which is found in the publication entitled The Boke named the Governour (1531) in Chapter 20, "Of the first beginning of Dancing and the Old Estimation Thereof," section eleven, written by the sixteenth-century author, diplomat, and lexicographer Sir Thomas Elyon (1490?-1546). Elyot writes about supposed attitudes toward dancing in the time of the Roman Emperor Nero.

> At Rome in the time of Nero there was a philosopher called Demetrius. This Demetrius, often reproving dancing, would say that there was nothing therein of any importance, and that it was none other but a counterfeiting with the feet and hands of the harmony that was showed before in the rebeck, the shawn, or other instrument; and that the motions were but vain and separate from all understanding, and of no purpose or efficacy.[114]

Needless to say, neither Demetrius nor Nero (who lived from 37-68 A.D.) could have fiddled or even rebecked while Rome burned, for to the best of our knowledge, the bow was not invented until nearly eight-hundred years after Nero's death.[115] Regardless of the impossible setting into which Elyot has placed the rebeck, this is still an early and historically significant use of the spelling.

As discussed above, the 1619 edition of Michael Drayton's Pastorals Contayning Eglogves with the Man in the Moone uses the

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114 Sir Thomas Elyot, The Book Named the Governor (1531), John M. Major, editor, Classics in Education, No. 40 (New York: Teachers College Press, 1969), p. 158 and Skeat, Glossary, p. 326.

115 Werner Bachmann, The Origins of Bowing, translated by Norma Deane (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 137. Bachmann states that the earliest "incontrovertible pictorial evidence for the use of the bow or friction stick comes in fact from Central Asia in the ninth century." The earliest extant literary evidence for the same does not date before the beginning of the tenth century. Bachmann, p. 136.

spelling rebecke to refer to a musical instrument.[116] An earlier edition entitled The Shepheards Garland (1593), which is the source for much of the text of the 1619 Pastorals, contains a passage which uses the variant spelling rebeck.

> And being shrowded in a homely cote,
> And full of sorrow as a man might be,
> He tun'd his Rebeck with a mournful note,
> And thereto sang this dolefull elegie . . .[117]

The use of these obviously interchangeable spellings in Drayton's works is most likely the result of a printer's decision to add or perhaps to delete the final "e" in order to justify lines of type in the printing process.[118]

The spelling rebeck may be found in William Shakespeare's play Romeo and Juliet (1596), Act IV, Scene v, where three wedding musicians are referred to with tongue-in-cheek as "Hugh Rebeck, Simon Catling, and James Soundpost."

> Peter. Pretty! What say you, Hugh Rebeck?
> 2. Musician. I say 'silver sound' because musicians sound for silver.[119]

Shakespeare's contemporary John Milton (1608-1674) mentions the rebeck in his pastoral poem L'Allegro (1632), verse 94.

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116 See excerpt cited above.

117 Hebel, Vol. I, p. 53, lines 112-115.

118 Ronald B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 11, fn. 3.

119 Charles Tolbert Onions, A Shakespeare Glossary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), p. 177. See also David Z. Crookes, "A Note on the Names and Instruments of the Musicians in Romeo and Juliet," Music Review 39, No. 1 (February 1978): 1-3.

When . . . the jocond rebecks sound
To many a youth, and many a maid.[120]

If dated correctly in the Oxford English Dictionary, The Charges issuing forth of the Crown Revenue of England (1647), compiled by Haward Lazarus, indicate that wages were paid to a court rebeck player well into the seventeenth century.

Musicians and Players . . . Rebeck: [£] 28.6.8[121]

Edward Phillips's dictionary New World of Words, or universal English Dictionary (1658) presents the following definition for rebeck:

Rebeck, an old Trot, Chaucer; also a certain Musical instrument of three strings, called in Latin Sistrum, or Fidicula.[122]

The spelling rebeck has outlasted the rest of the English variants and was even used as late as the nineteenth century in literary pastoral allusions such as those by the Scottish novelist and poet Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) in The Vision of Don Roderick (1811), II, xxv:

Far to Asturian hills the war-sounds pass,
And in their stead rebeck or timbrel rings.[123]

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120 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 221 and Pulver, p. 187. René Brancour, Histoire des instruments de musique (Paris: H. Laurens, 1921), p. 8 and Pierre Larousse, Grand dictionnaire universel français (Paris: Administration du Grand Dictionnaire Universel, 1865- [1890]), Vol. XIII, p. 759, both cite the use of the variant rebeks in this instance. Note that the spelling rebbeck is used in Milton's speech Areopagitica (1644), discussed below.

121 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 221. The date 1647 seems very late for the appearance of a rebeck at court; perhaps this is a misprint of the date.

122 Phillips, no page numbers. The sistrum referred to here is not the rattle of very ancient origins but rather a bowed instrument similar to the cittern. See Marcuse, Dictionary, "Sistrum" pp. 478-479 and "Sistrum Smiczocz" p. 479.

123 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 221.

Likewise, the nineteenth-century English poet William Morris (1834-1896) writes in his poem The Earthly Paradise (1868-1870), III, iv, vs. 188:

While round about the rebecks played.[124]

An interesting but peripheral deviation from the primary definition of rebeck as an instrument is found in the North Devon English dialect. In William Frederick Rock's dramatic poem Jim an' Nell (1867) the word rebeck is used to refer to "the enclosed part of a barn."

I thort I glimpsed
Jan slinge to tha rebeck i' the dimpse.

I thought I saw
Jan stroll to the barn in the twilight.[125]

Today rebeck is the spelling used by almost all contemporary English musical scholars and instrument builders specializing in the reconstruction of early instruments.

Variants of Rebeck(e)

Variants of the spelling rebeck(e) have been found, but only in isolated examples. Indeed, these excerpts may prove to be unique appearances in English literature.

One of the oldest documented variant spellings, rebecc, is found to be used in a sixteenth-century Household Book of Henry Algernon Percy, 5th Earl of Northumberland, compiled in 1512. Three court

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124 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 221.

125 William Frederick Rock, Jim an' Nell: A Dramatic Poem in the Dialect of North Devon (London: printed for private circulation, 1867), cited in Walter W. Skeat, Nine Specimens of English Dialects, English Dialect Society No. 76 (London: Henry Frowde, 1896), Reprint (Vaduz: Kraus Reprint, 1965), p. 47, stanza 121, and glossary, p. 63.

musicians are listed as follows:

> Item, Mynstralls in Household iii, viz. a taberett, a luyte, and a rebecc.[126]

In another entry dated the same year one learns that,

> On New Year's Day 'in the mornynge, when they doo play at my Lorde's chambre doure," one pound was shared among the Tabret, Lute, and Rebeck [Rebecc?], as a seasonal gift.[127]

From the Household Book of Henry VIII dating from 1525/26, a copy of which is housed in the British Museum, Egerton Manuscript 2604, folio 1, reference is made to payments for three "rebikes" among numerous other musicians listed according to the names of their instruments.[128] These rebikes are undoubtedly the same as the three rebekes listed in account books from throughout Henry VIII's reign (1509-1547): "John Severnake, Thomas Evans, and John Pirot."[129] According to the musical instrument scholar Sir Francis Galpin, the 1531 court records of Henry VIII also indicate that "as much as 20 shillings was paid . . . for a Rebbecke for great Guillim."[130]

The variant spelling rebicke can be found in Chapter 77, "Of Musicke," in Johann Amos Komensky's Porta linguarum trilinguis (1631),

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126 John Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court (London: Methuen, 1961), p. 246, who cites Thomas Percy, editor, The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, 5th Earl of Northumberland (1478-1527) and his castles of Wressle and Leckonfield in Yorkshire, Begun a.d. MDXII (published 1770), p. 42.

127 Pulver, pp. 186-187. Pulver's spelling rebeck is a modernized spelling and undoubtedly does not reflect the actual spelling found in the original source.

128 Augustus Hughes-Hughes, Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum, Vol. III, "Instrumental Music, Treatises" (London: British Museum, 1909), p. 332 and Pulver, p. 186.

129 Stokes, pp. 180-183.

130 Francis W. Galpin, Old English Instruments of Music, 4th rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 1965), p. 63.

page 172, entry 775.

> An organe consisteth of pipes and flutes; a harpe, a lute with its belly, a dulcimer or harper, a bandore or a viole, or rebicke are played upon with strings or cords.[131]

John Milton referred to the "jocund rebecks sound" in L'Allegro (1632) but the variant spelling rebbeck is used in the prepared version of his speech Areopagitica which was written on behalf of the liberty of unlicensed printing and delivered to the English Parliament in 1644.

> The bag-pipe and the rebbeck were popular in villages while lute, violin, and guitar were played in the towns.[132]

The word rebek appears in the Larousse Grand dictionnaire universel français which cites Milton's L'Allegro quotation as using this variant spelling.[133]

Finally, at least two twentieth-century English dictionaries list rebbec as an eighteenth-century variant of rebeck, but no primary sources are cited in these dictionaries as documentation for the use of this word.[134]

Rebekke

The early fifteenth-century Ellesmere manuscript version (1400-1410) of Geoffrey Chaucer's "Friar's Tale" from The Canterbury Tales (1386) uses the variant spelling rebekke not to name a musical instrument but rather to describe an old woman.

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131 Johann Amos Komensky, Porta linguarum trilinguis (1631), p. 172, entry 775.

132 Galpin, English Instruments, p. 63; Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 221; and Sir Paul Harvey, editor, The Oxford Companion to English Literature, 4th rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 37-38.

133 Larousse, Vol. XIII, p. 759.

134 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 220 and Joseph T. Shipley, Dictionary of Early English (New York: Philosophical Library, 1955), p. 553.

> Brother, quod he, heere woneth an old rebekke
> Than hadde almoost as lief to lese hir nekke
> As for to yeue a peny of 'hir good.[135]

Two sources from the mid-seventeenth and early eighteenth century cite rebekke as a variant spelling for rebeck and confirm the Chaucerian use; one writes that rebekke refers to "an old trot"[136] and the other defines rebekke as a "term of abuse applied to a woman."[137] It is quite possible but impossible to prove that this Chaucerian reference may suggest a comparison of a woman to a specific musical instrument the sound of which is described in a thirteenth-century Latin poem by Aimery de Peyrac: "some bowed the rebeca as if imitating a woman's voice."[138] In a similar reference made nearly one-hundred and sixty years after Chaucer's allusion Rabelais describes the character Badebec, in Pantagruel, as having a face (countenance) like a rebec.[139] One may speculate concerning Rabelais's allusion, as does Georges Kastner, whether or not Rabelais's and Chaucer's rebec-related remarks may actually be a double allusion referring on the one hand to a

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135 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 220. See also Remnant, "Rebec, fiddle, and crowd," p. 20 and Chaucer/Skeat, Vol. IV, p. 367. Sherman M. Kuhn writes that the variant rebekk appears in this quotation in the Northumberland Manuscript written ca.1460.

136 Phillips, no page numbers, and Nathan Bailey, A Universal Etymological English Dictionary (1721), 28th edition (Edinburgh: Adam Neill, 1800), no page numbers.

137 Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII, p. 220.

138 Laurent Grillet, Les ancêtres du violon et du violoncelle, les luthiers et les fabricants d'archets, edited by Charles Schmid (Paris: Librairie Générale des Arts Décoratifs, 1901), p. 132, and Werner Bachmann, p. 134.

139 François Rabelais, Pantagruel, Chapter III, "Du deuil que mena Gargantua de la mort de sa femme Badebec," cited in Dick, p. 95, who cites Abel Lefranc, editor, Oeuvres de François Rabelais: Gargantua, t. III (Paris, 1912-31), p. 41.

musical instrument and on the other hand to pious Rebecca of the Bible.[140] In this regard it should be noted that the Ellesmere Manuscript version (1400/1410) of The Canterbury Tales (1386) also uses the spelling Rebekke as a proper name in the "Marchantes Tale," verses 1363 and 1704 respectively, specifically to refer to the Biblical personage:

> Lo, how that Iacob, as thise clerkes rede,
> By good conseil of his moder Rebekke,
> Bond the kides skin about his nekke.[141]
>
> Forth comth the preest, with stole about his nekke,
> And bad hir be lyk Sarra and Rebekke.[142]

The Ellesmere manuscript also uses the variant spelling Rebekka in verse 2288 of the "Tale of Melibeus" to refer to "the mother Rebecca."[143]

No use of the spelling rebekke specifically to refer to a musical instrument has yet been found.

Conclusion

It is clear that several different definitions exist which encompass all of the alleged rebec-related English terminology. One may conclude that 1) in certain instances and contexts several of these definitions bear no relationship whatever to a musical instrument; 2) it is plausible that at least two types of musical instruments are referred to in the literary excerpts presented; 3) one word exists for which no conclusive definition has yet been found; 4) one word is

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140 George Kastner, Paremiologie musicale de la langue française (Paris: G. Brandus and S. Dufour, 1866), p. 398.
141 Chaucer/Skeat, Vol. IV, p. 430. Skeat cites the Ellesmere Manuscript.
142 Ibid., p. 440. Ellesmere Manuscript.
143 Ibid., p. 207. Ellesmere Manuscript.

definitely a misprint in a sixteenth-century source; and 5) a group of words and variant spellings exist which are most likely directly related to the rebec and which can collectively provide by means of the contexts in which they appear a morphological and sociological description of the rebec, although limited in scope.

1. The following alleged rebec-related words have either been shown to be used in primary sources to refer to an old woman or are cited in secondary sources as having been used in that manner:

rabybill	ribibe
rebeck	ribible
rebecke	ribyble
rebekk	rybybe
rebekke	

The spellings rouwe-bible and row-bible are believed to refer to a rough (?) bible. In the North Devon dialect rebeck can refer to the enclosed part of a barn. Finally, the word rebecke can be used to denote resistance or, as a verb, it may mean to recall, reclaim, or rebuke (?).

2. In addition to the definition of many of the words discussed as a stringed instrument, the following words may refer to another musical instrument, the jaw's harp: rebibe, rebube, ribupe, ribus, ributhe. Although one can not conclusively determine from the literary excerpts alone whether or not any of these words refer solely to the jaw's harp, the secondary sources consulted persist in this definition.

3. Although the word rubib has been cited as a variant of rubibe, no dates for its use, primary literary source, or conclusive definition have yet been cited; therefore, rubib can not at this time be said definitely to refer to a rebec-like instrument.

4. The word rechecke is a misprint of rebecke in a 1598 epic poem.

5. The following words can be considered to be directly related to the primary spelling rebeck(e) and hence to the French rebec due to their orthographical similarities and presumed synonymy established on the basis of information obtained from the literary sources in which they appear. A first group of these words include rebbec, rebbeck, rebbecke, rebek(s), rebicke, rebecc, rebeke(s), and rebike(s), all nouns which refer to the musical instrument the rebec; the last three spellings have been used specifically to refer to rebec players. A second group of words related to rebeck(e), hence rebec by presumed synonymy, include: ribybe, rubibe, rubibi(s), rubybe, rybbe, rybib, rybibe, rybybe (all nouns referring to the instrument); rebible, ribibble, ribible, ribyble, rubible, rybyble (diminutive forms of the previously-listed words); ribibor, ribibour, rubibour, rybibour (nouns referring to the players of the previously-named instruments); and the verb forms ribiben, rybyben, rybybyd, and rybybyde.

Based upon these presumably synonymous terms one could generalize and enumerate the following morphological and sociological characteristics of the English rebec (rebec used here in a generic sense) as compiled from the contexts of the primary literary sources studied in this chapter.

1. The rebec was in use in Great Britain from at least the mid-fourteenth century through at least the fourth decade of the seventeenth century.

2. The rebec was a bowed stringed instrument.

3. Of all the early English sources consulted, only one (dated 1658) unequivocally writes about the rebec's strings; that source

cites three as the number of strings found on the rebec. None of the sources consulted comment upon the specific tuning of the rebec except for one which merely remarks that one player "tuned his rebecke to a mournefull note."

4. No sources consulted remark about the rebec's shape.

5. The rebec presumably was made in at least two different sizes due to the existence of diminutive word forms and one reference to a small rebec. (The diminutive forms appear quite early in English literature and therefore probably do not refer to the diminutive pochette.)

6. Players of the rebec have included paid musicians in the service of the kings and other British nobility. Some specific players' names are known as well as the wages they received for playing.

7. The rebec was sometimes used to accompany oneself while singing and dancing. The texts to some specific poems which were said to be sung to the accompaniment of the rebec are extant.

8. The rebec was said to have been used by village vis-á-vis town musicians; some allusions to the rebec portray it as an instrument played in pastoral settings; some sources indicate that the rebec was played in taverns. One source, however, remarks that the rebec was more for estates than taverns. Shakespeare named a wedding musician after the rebec.

CHAPTER IX

THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF REBEC-RELATED TERMINOLOGY IN GERMAN

Background

The German language is a principal branch of the Indo-European family of languages[1] with different origins than the Romance languages previously discussed. One would expect, therefore, that the terminology for rebec-related instruments in German would be quite different than that discussed for the Romance languages and English. To a certain extent this is true. For example, a group of terms related to the central German word Geige may in some instances refer to the rebec; however, a few rebec-related words of Latin and Arabic origin may also be found in German sources. Generalizing about the development of German orthography, one may note that the standardization of the German language began earlier than in many Romance languages and, comparatively-speaking, German orthography "is much more regular than in French or English."[2] Indeed, fewer word forms have been found to exist in German than in the other languages studied to represent the particular instrument type under study.

German Rebec-Related Words of Latin and Arabic Origin

According to Curt Sachs, the oldest extant written German reference to a rebec-like instrument dates from the end of the thirteenth century.

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1 Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, College edition (Cleveland and New York: World Publishing Company, 1966), p. 607.

2 William Edward Collinson, "German Language," in Chambers's Encyclopedia, rev. ed. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967), Vol. VI, p. 282.

The Middle High German spelling ravenn supposedly appears in a verse written by Reinfried von Braunschweig in reference to a musical instrument.[3] Sachs states that the origin of ravenn may be traced to the Old Spanish raben (the use of which he does not document) which, he says, is ultimately derived from the Arabic rabāb.[4] Nevertheless, one can not definitively determine whether ravenn actually refers to the rebec.

The word rybeben (variants rybyben and ribeben[5]) is used in the caption to a section of Hans Burgkmair's woodcuts (ca.1512-1519) commemorating the triumphal procession of Emperor Maximilian I.[6]

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3 Curt Sachs, Handbuch der Musikinstrumentenkunde, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: 1930), Reprint (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), p. 175 and Dorothea Treder, Die Musikinstrumente in den höfischen Epen der Blütezeit (Griefswald: Universitätsverlag Ratsbuchhandlung L. Bamberg, 1933), p. 34. No additional sources for this word have yet been found.

4 Sachs, Handbuch, p. 175. Sachs lists raben in his Real-lexikon der Musikinstrumente (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1913), Reprint and rev. ed. (New York: Dover, 1964), p. 313b. He presents no dates nor any documentable sources for its use.

5 Henry George Farmer, "Rebab," Dieter Christensen, trans., in Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Frederich Blume, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), Band 11, col. 82. Sachs, Real-Lexikon, p. 326b and Sibyl Marcuse, Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), p. 449, list rybebe, the singular form of rybeben, as a sixteenth-century German variant for rebec. The variant ribeben is cited in Ludwig Senfl, Sämtliche Werke, Band VII: Instrumental-Carmina . . . für Geigen, Orgel und Laute . . ., Arnold Geering and Wilhelm Altwegg, eds. (Wolfenbüttel and Zurich: Möseler Verlag, 1960), no page number. Note the similarity in spelling to the Old English rybybe.

6 Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance, rev. ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1959), p. 656. The series of woodcuts were made by Hans Burgkmair, Albrecht Dürer, and others, to commemorate the triumphal procession of Emperor Maximilian I and were created sometime during the last seven years of Maximilian's reign, between 1512-1519. Jeremy Montagu, The World of Medieval and Renaissance Musical Instruments (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 1976). See a depiction of this particular woodcut in Senfl, Vol. VII, no page numbers.

Der Lauten vnd Ribeben Ton
habe ich gar maisterlich vnd schon
auf Anzeig kaiserlicher Macht
zu gorsser Freud herfür gebracht,
aufs lieblichist auch zusamb gestimbt
wie sich zu Ohren solgezimbt.[7]

The music of the Lauten and Ribeben
I played quite masterly
at the call of kingly might
with joy and great delight,
most charmingly atuned,
befitting well the ear.[8]

The ribeben depicted along with this particular caption is not a rebec but rather a large, flat-bodied bass viol.

The unique spelling rebebn, cited by Sibyl Marcuse, is purportedly found in a 1584 inventory of the Kremsmünster Monastery in which four grosse rebebn are listed.[9] One wonders if the instruments mentioned in this inventory might not be rebecs but rather the same type of instrument as the rybeben depicted in Burgkmair's woodcut.

Finally, a sixteenth-century Swiss word, rabögli, supposedly refers to a type of small fiddle. Bernhard Wyss, a contemporary chronicler of Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531), the Swiss Protestant reformer, mentions both the geigen and the rabögli in one of his works.[10]

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7 The text and woodcut in Senfl, Vol. VII, is from Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Manuscript 2805.

8 Translation by Lydia Downie, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York.

9 Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 437. One wonders if this Kremsmünster is the same as Krems an der Donau in Lower Austria.

10 Friedrich Blume, Protestant Church Music: A History (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), p. 509, cites the following translation of a section from one of Wyss' writings: "I never heard of anyone who in the art of musica, that is, in singing and all instruments--lutes, harps, large and small fiddles (geigen and rabögli), pipes . . ., when he saw it would soon know how to handle it." Another word of Swiss origins, rbairbe, refers to the jaw's harp, but is similar to some French words discussed earlier (i.e., rebube). See Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 436.

Gîge, Gigue, Geige, and related forms

Inasmuch as no proof has yet been found to indicate whether the Middle High German form Gîge and the related Old French word gigue actually and exclusively refer to the rebec in extant literary documents from the Middle Ages, examples of the use of these terms have not been considered for the purposes of this study.[11]

The German spelling Geige, derived from Gîge, is known to have been widely used in a generic sense to denote a variety of different types of bowed stringed instruments throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance.[12] Hence, the study of the spelling Geige (and its various forms) in relationship to the rebec has been limited to printed sources in which the name is accompanied by a pictorial representation.

The importance of the invention of the printing press in fifteenth-century Germany and the spread of this process by Germans throughout Europe can not be understated. The earliest printed treatises concerning musical instruments offer the first definitive link between written names and illustrations of rebec-related instruments. The first printed treatise concerning musical instruments was written in German by

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11 Curt Sachs suggested that Gîge and gigue might both refer, in Medieval writings, to the instrument later known as the rebec, but this assertion remains unproven. Sachs, Handbuch, p. 171. See also Marcuse, Dictionary, p. 203; Hortense Panum, The Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages, rev. ed. by Jeffrey Pulver (London: William Reeves, 1939; reprinted by New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), section entitled "The Names 'Gigue' and 'fiddle' illustrated in mediaeval literature," pp. 390-406; and Daniel Fryklund, "Etymologische Studien über Geige-Gigue-Jig," Studier I Modern Sprakvetenskap 6 (1917): 101-110.

12 Panum, p. 406.

Sebastian Virdung and was printed in Basel, Switzerland in 1511.[13] It is in this source that one finds the earliest indisputable linkage between the depiction of a bowed, piriform, three-stringed musical instrument and the German name clein Geigen (and cleynen Geigen). Virdung and his successors also depict the gross Geigen, but this instrument is not at all related to the rebec, having a distinctly waisted body, frets, and more than three strings. A copy of Virdung's woodcut of the clein Geigen (cleynen Geigen) was reproduced twenty-five years later by Othmar Luscinius in his treatise Musurgia seu praxis musicae (Argentorati, 1536).[14] Martin Agricola illustrates a consort of four kleine Geigen ohne Bünden/vnd mit dreien Seyten (kleine Geigen without frets and with three strings) in the first edition of his treatise Musica instrumentalis deudsch (Wittenberg, 1528) and in the 1545 edition refers to them as kleinen Handgeiglein.[15] In his tutors

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13 Sebastian Virdung, Musica Getutscht (Basel, 1511), Facsimile reprint, Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles XXXI (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), p. Bii.

14 See figure 1a and 1e.

15 See figure 1f. Panum, p. 473 illustrates and compares both the klein Geigen and the gross Geigen types. Agricola's kleine Geigen mit bünden/vnd mit dreien Seyten," (kleine Geigen with frets and with three strings) are not like the unfretted klein Geigen, however, but are waisted fiddles similar to the gross Geigen. See Erich Tschernitschegg, "Die grossen und kleinen Geigen in der deutschen Musiktheorie und Praxis in der Zeit von 1500 bis 1620 und die Geigentabulaturen des Germanischen Museums in Nürnberg," Thesis (Vienna, 1930), p. 16. According to Agricola, the unfretted klein Geigen are tuned as follows: Bassus F c g; Altus and Tenor C g d', and Discantus g d' a'. Tschernitschegg, pp. 110-111. Johann Gottfried Walther, Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek (Leipzig: Wolffgang Deer, 1732), Facsimile edition published by Richard Schaal, Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles III (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1953), p. 485, equates the Geiglein with the poccetta, poche and fidicula as an instrument used by dance masters.

Musica Teusch (Nürnberg, 1532 and 1537) and Musica und Tabulatur (Nürnberg, 1546) Hans Gerle depicts a slightly different kleinen Geiglen (alternately spelled Geyglein, Geygleyn, kleynen Geyglen, Geyg, and Geigleyn) which has a separate rather than a stepped fingerboard.[16] Michael Praetorius' Syntagma Musicum (Wolfenbüttel, 1619)[17] pictures three rebec-types which are identified with the following names, 1) kleine Poschen,[18] 2) kleine Poschen/Geigen ein octav höher,[19] and 3) klein Geig Posche (also known as a gar kleinen Geiglein).[20]

The most conclusive evidence to link these combinative pictorial/iconographic examples and the rebec may be Pierre Trichet's comparison of the rebec with the poche in his treatise of 1640 where he notes that "the rebec is different from the violon [violin] and almost looks like the poche, having a body all in one line without any indentation on the sides cut out in the fashion of a semi-circle."[21] In making this comparison Trichet may have been thinking of the elongated poche depicted in Marin Mersenne's treatise Harmonie universelle (Paris, 1636/37)

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16 See figure 2a. See glossary of technical terms. An instrument very similar to Gerle's is pictured in Abraham Megerle's Speculum Musico-Mortuale (Salzburg, 1672) where it is labelled Trögl. Unity Sherrington and Guy Oldham, eds., Music Libraries and Instruments, Hinrichsen's Eleventh Music Book (London: Hinrichsen Edition, 1961), pl. 164.

17 Michael Praetorius, Syntagma musicum, Band II, De Organographia (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), Facsimile reprint, Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles XIV (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958). See also the English translation of the treatise by Harold Blumenfeld (New York: Bärenreiter, 1962) Reprint (New York: Da Capo Press, 1980).

18 See figure 1c.

19 See figure 1d.

20 See figure 1b.

21 Pierre Trichet, Traité des instruments de musique (1640), edited by François Lesure (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Société de Musique d'Autrefois, 1957). See Chapter Five for a full citation of Trichet's remarks.

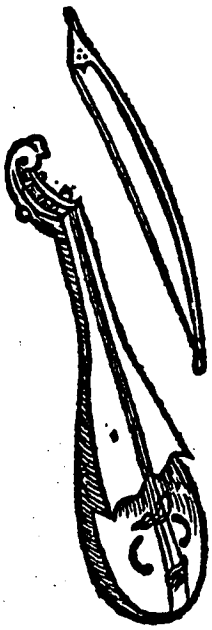
from which Trichet derived much of the material for his own treatise.[22] Praetorius' poschen appear in three very slightly different shapes, including the elongated kleine Poschen/Geigen ein octav höher, but all bear the primary trait of a body which lies in one continuous line without any indentation on the sides.[23]

Based upon Trichet's association, one can hypothesize that the poche/Posche (and variants), the kleine Geigen, and the rebec were all very similar in their morphological characteristics. Hence, one may use these sixteenth and seventeenth-century woodcut illustrations, along with the general features of the rebec derived from the literary sources examined, as the basis for compiling iconographic representations of the rebec.

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22 The contemporary lexicographer Randall Cotgrave defines the poche in his Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues (London, 1611), Facsimile reprint (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1950), no page numbers, as follows: "poche: . . . the little narrow, and long Violin (having the backe of one peece) which French dauncers, or dauncing Maisters, carrie about with them in a cafe, when they goe to teach their Schoolers."

23 See figure 2b; the poche pictured in Mersenne's treatise.



a. clein Geigen
(Virdung, 1511)



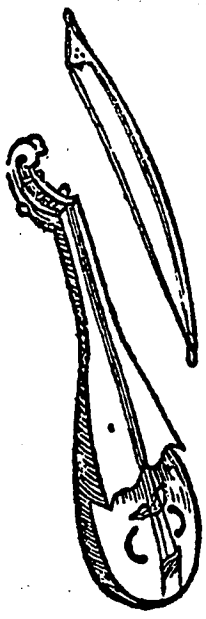
b. c. d.

b. klein Geig Posche (gar kleinen Geiglein)

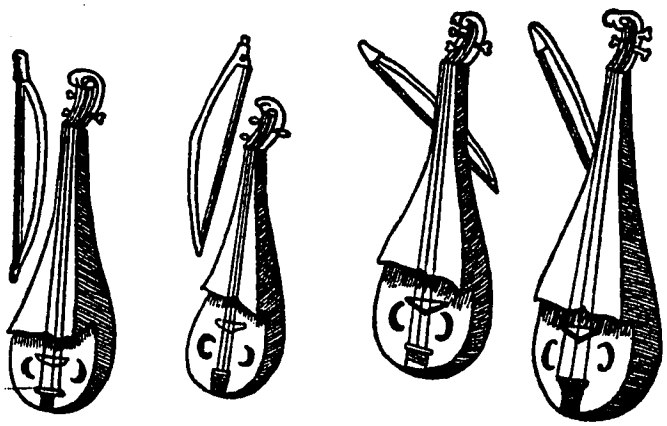
c. kleine Poschen/Geigen

d. kleine Poschen/Geigen ein octav höher

(Praetorius, 1619)



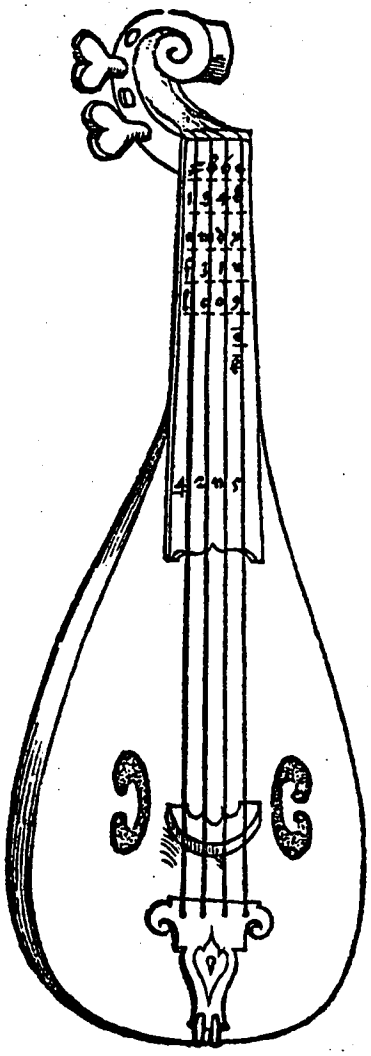
e. clein Geigen
(Luscinius, 1536)



f. kleine Geigen ohne bünden
(Agricola, 1528)

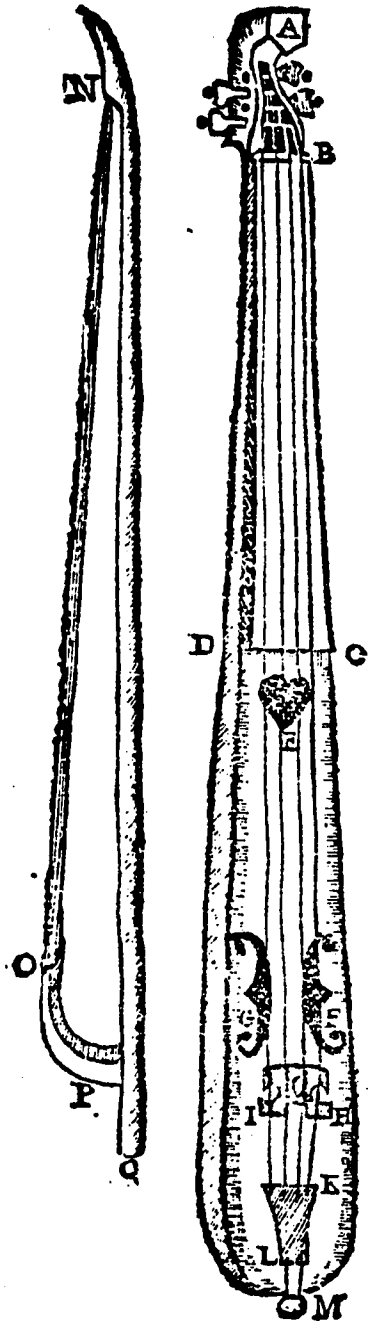
kleine drei-saitige Handgeigen
(Agricola, 1545)

Figure 1. kleinen Geigen



a. kleinen Geiglen

(Gerle, 1532/37/46)



b. Poche

(Mersenne, 1636/37)

Figure 2. kleinen Geiglen and Poche

CHAPTER X

AN ICONOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE REBEC

Introduction

At the outset of an iconographic study and preparation of a catalog of rebec representations in art, one must define the terms by which any given artistic representation of an instrument may be considered a rebec or a rebec-type. If one will accept the instruments depicted in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century treatises by Virdung, Agricola, Gerle, Luscinius, and Praetorius as representative of the rebec in its sixteenth and seventeenth-century stages of development, then one will have an initial set of pictorial criteria by which to judge contemporaneous and earlier representations. The morphological information gleaned from the literary study adds a few more details representative of the rebec from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. The rebec, as depicted in these two sources, could be expected to bear the following basic characteristics:[1]

1. Overall shape and construction: piriform or boat-shaped; not waisted (as on a violin); bipartite (the kleine Poschen/pochette may sometimes be tripartite); similar in shape to the mandora, pandurina,

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1 The numbering of this information follows the same format used in the catalog of rebec iconography found in Appendix Three. See also the Glossary of Technical Terms in Appendix Two. Since standardization in instrument-making was uncommon during the centuries under consideration, these characteristics should be viewed as basic guidelines rather than inflexible standards.

bandurria, and poche. Size: small or very small; at least three sizes.

2. Soundboard description: presumably flat; a separate piece of wood from the back.

3. Shape of back: May be vaulted (convex); a separate piece of wood from the belly.

4. Neck: integral or somewhat distinct. Fingerboard: may be present either as a stepped or a separate fingerboard.

5. Strings: number may vary from 2 to 4; 3 is the most common.

6. Upper end string fastening: bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with lateral pegs. Finial: may be scroll-like or have a carved animal or human head.

7. Lower end string fastening: tailpiece which is secured to the bottom of the instrument in some manner.

8. Bridge: movable bridge located between or above paired soundholes or below a round soundhole.

9. Soundholes: a pair of c-shaped soundholes in the center of the belly or a round soundhole near the lower end of the fingerboard.

10. Frets: sometimes fretted.

11. Bow: a bow should be present.

Although no primary source information suggests that the rebec had any other type of upper end string fastening than a pegbox with lateral pegs, some scholars also identify as rebecs those instruments with pegdiscs and sagittal pegs.[2] Mary Remnant expresses this point

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2 See, for example, Mary Remnant, "Rebec," in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Stanley Sadie, ed. (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. XV, pp. 635-638; Francis W. Galpin, Old English Instruments of Music, 4th rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 1965), Chapter 5, "Crowd, rebec, and viol," pp. 55-74; and Tilman Seebass, Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration im früheren Mittelalter (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1973).

of view in her article concerning the rebec in the New Grove Dictionary.

> In the first four centuries of its history there were two main types of rebec: the completely wooden pear-shaped instrument terminating in a flat peg-holder [also referred to as a pegdisc] (similar to the modern Greek lyra), and the skin-bellied, narrower instrument with its right-angled pegbox [the rebab] . While continuing their separate existences, both contributed to the traditional type of European rebec that appeared in the late 13th century and became established in the 14th. This type, occasionally fretted, was pear-shaped, with a wooden soundboard, a sickle-shaped pegbox, usually ending in a scroll or carved head, and a tailpiece. It seems to have coincided with the appearance of the word 'rebec,' and may have been that type of 'rebecum' which, according to Tinctoris, was invented by the French.[3]

Nicholas Bessaraboff, however, proposes that a clear distinction in name be made between those bowed stringed instruments with pegdiscs and those with pegboxes.

> The name 'rebec' is used too loosely, being applied to instruments of the lyra group. It is true that generically the lyra belongs to the rabab group, but since this group is so numerous, a more specific division is desirable, especially with reference to instruments used in Europe. The dividing line should be the type of peg and the shape of the head. Rebecs have lateral pegs and a head with cheeks somewhat similar to those of the violin. Lyras have sagittal pegs and flat, leaf-shaped (sometimes polygonal) heads [discs] .[4]

> [The] distinctive feature [of the lyra type] was a pear-shaped body with the neck organically connected to it; in this it has a typological kinship with the rebec.[5] The Italian lira da braccio is the ultimate development of the lyra type.[6] The rebec is the instrument which developed, most probably, from the lyra and the Moorish rabab. The most important typological detail borrowed from the rabab is the frontal type fastening of the tuning end of the strings and lateral pegs; the lower end fastening for the fixed end of the strings was the same on the lyra and the rabab.[7]

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3 Remnant, Grove, p. 636. As shall be seen, the classic rebec was not exclusively piriform; some rebecs were boat-shaped.

4 Nicholas Bessaraboff, Ancient European Musical Instruments (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), p. 424, fn. 569.

5 Ibid., p. 250.

6 Ibid., p. 423, fn. 568.

7 Ibid., p. 250. Bessaraboff's final sentence is not exactly accurate; whereas the rabab and some lyras have no tailpiece, other lyras do have tailpieces.

In addition to the pictorial evidence from the sixteenth and seventeenth-century treatises already examined, two Medieval sources clearly support the identification of instruments with pegdiscs as lyras (or liras). In the first the name lira is used to identify a bowed, piriform stringed instrument with a pegdisc in the twelfth-century codex the Hortus deliciarum.[8] Lyra identifies a similarly-shaped instrument in a thirteenth-century manuscript formerly housed in the library of an Abbey at St. Blasien in the Black Forest.[9] The only difficulty with these particular combinative literary/pictorial depictions is that one can not be certain that the names lyra and lira were specifically meant to denote instruments of only this shape or if they were meant to be understood generically and finally, "whether instruments with several strings could be so designated."[10]

Medieval representations of unidentified piriform stringed instruments with pegdiscs (both with and without bows) abound[11] and the almost identical types surviving to this day in the Balkans are still referred to as lyras.[12] Although he does not use the name lyra,

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8 Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipal, Herrad von Landsberg, Hortus deliciarum. See discussion in Chapter Two.

9 Martin Gerbert, De cantu et musica sacra, 2 vols. (St. Blasien: Typis San Blasianis, 1774), Vol. II, pl. XXXII, fig. 18.

10 Laurence Wright, "Sculptures of Medieval Fiddles at Gargilesse," Galpin Society Journal 32 (1979): 66. The instruments in these two manuscripts are depicted with only one string. Laurence Wright suggests that instruments of this shape, piriform with a pegdisc, be generically labelled as fiddles (French vielles or violes), which is consistent with Medieval literary terminology.

11 See, for example, Seebass; Wright; and Werner Bachmann, The Origins of Bowing, Norma Deane, trans. (London: Oxford University Press, 1969). See plate I of this dissertation.

12 Margaret Anne Downie, "The Modern Greek Lyra," Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society 5/6 (1979/1980): 144-165.

Tinctoris, in his treatise of 1487, distinguishes the rebec from another viola (presumably the lyra) said to have been invented by the Greeks.

> But there is another viola, said to have been invented by the Greeks, which differs from the lute not only in shape . . . but also in stringing and method of playing. For it has either (1) three simple strings tuned to a pair of fifths, which is the most usual, or (2) five strings tuned unevenly in fifths and unisons. These are stretched in a protuberant manner so that the bow (which is strung with horse-hair) can touch any one string the player wills, leaving the others untouched.[13]

In the following paragraph of his treatise Tinctoris describes the rebec as an instrument distinct from this "viola."[14]

Finally, the extant fifteenth-century (?) violeta of St. Caterina de' Vigri which is the oldest surviving instrument of a rebec-type has a pegbox with lateral pegs rather than a pegdisc.[15]

It seems likely that the morphology of the lyra influenced the development of the rebec to some extent; however, the lyra's history significantly antedates that of the rebec and has maintained an independent existence both along with the rebec and since the rebec's demise. Furthermore, the lyra more directly led to the development of another family of instruments, the liras da braccio and da gamba. Hence there would seem to be no logical reason of any historical merit to accept Remnant's point of view and to include in the iconographic

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13 Translation by Anthony Baines, "Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's De Inventione et Usu Musicae," Galpin Society Journal 3 (1950): 22-23. Tinctoris may be referring to an instrument similar to the three-stringed modern Greek lyra as well as the similarly-shaped, five-stringed Bulgarian gadulka.

14 See citation from Tinctoris's treatise and translation by Baines in Chapter IV.

15 Marco Tiella, "The Violeta of S. Caterina de' Vigri," Galpin Society Journal 28 (April 1975): 60ff.

catalog any representations of Medieval and Renaissance lyras (piriform stringed instruments with pegdiscs) along with representations of rebecs.

A similar distinction might be made with Medieval and Renaissance representations of rebabs and rebab-like instruments which may also have influenced the development of the rebec. However, it is more difficult to separate the morphology of the rebab from that of the rebec according to the list of basic characteristics cited above. The only morphological features which might, under certain circumstances, clearly separate a rebab[16] from a rebec, as described above, are: 1) the material comprising the rebab's belly which is usually parchment, and sometimes the material used for the neck which may be thin metal or wood (as on a rebec);[17] 2) the usually concave belly of the rebab rather than the rebec's usually flat belly;[18] 3) the lack of a tailpiece on a rebab;[19] and 4) the absence of paired C-shaped soundholes on the rebab's belly.[20] Since many rebab/rebec depictions are difficult to

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16 Rebabs are pictured in plates XLVI, XLVII, and L.

17 It is often difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish in an art work the materials out of which an instrument was made; thus it is seldom possible to use this criteria for distinguishing rebecs and rebabs.

18 See, however, catalog I.15.92, for a representation of a late fifteenth-century Italian rebec-type with a distinctly concave, rebab-like belly. See Appendix Three for an explanation of the iconographic catalog numbering system.

19 As shall be seen, not all rebecs and rebec-types have tailpieces; some use a lower end string fastening to the bottom of the instrument and some use a crossbar string fastening arrangement.

20 The same instrument which has a rebab-like belly, I.15.92, has two C-shaped soundholes on the lower end of the neck. The C-holes which appear on most rebecs may be an adaptation of the D-shaped soundholes usually found on lyras.

categorize as being more representative of one type than the other, such depictions have been included in the rebec catalog.[21]

Other features which are not specifically mentioned in any primary sources and hence do not appear in the list of basic rebec characteristics but which might be implied by the comparison of the rebec with the mandora (and the related plucked stringed instruments, the pandurina and bandurria) are: 1) the possible lack of a tailpiece; 2) the possible lack of a movable bridge (a mandora utilizes a lower end string fastening to a crossbar which also functions as a fixed bridge); and 3) the possible lack of a fingerboard. Many depictions have been found of what Albert Hess calls a "bowed mandora," a term which implies a contradiction due to the fact that the mandora is traditionally defined as a plucked, not a bowed stringed instrument.[22] Hess compares and defines the mandora and rebec as follows:

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21 See pages 267-269 for a list of artistic representations of rebab/rebec-types located during the course of this rebec research.

22 See the definition of the mandora in Sibyl Marcuse, Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), pp. 328-329. Bessaraboff classifies the mandora with the plucked stringed instruments. See also Howard Mayer Brown and Joan Lascelle, Musical Iconography: A Manual for Cataloguing Musical Subjects in Western Art Before 1800 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 74. In his book, Historische Beschreibung der edelen Sing- und Klingkunst (Dresden: J. George, 1690), Wolfgang Caspar Printz depicts a bowed stringed instrument very similar to the mandora and calls it a schalischim, a [Hebrew?] word which, he claims, was Germanicized by [Martin?] Luther and applied to the Geigen. However, Printz's association of this instrument with an Old Testament verse (I. Samuel 18:6) may discredit the authoritative value of his remarks.

> Mandora: a lute-like instrument, usually with a neck that is not completely separated from the body ('club-shape'); with a sickle-shaped pegbox, often decorated with an animal head, and lateral pegs. Distinguished from the quinterne by a rounded body, and from the rebec by not having the terraced [stepped] soundboard on two levels; it is either plucked, or played with a bow.
>
> Rebec: a mandora-like instrument with a soundboard of two, step-like levels.[23]

Beyond the conflict caused by the primary definition of a mandora as a plucked instrument, another difficulty with defining this "bowed mandora" as a rebec-type, although it is similar to the rebec in almost every other aspect, is the use of a crossbar rather than a movable bridge. With a crossbar, which does not rise very high off the belly, all the strings lie on the same plane and can not be bowed separately; hence, they must all sound simultaneously. It is possible that some rebec bridges might have been flat, but even so a typical movable bridge on a bowed stringed instrument usually lifts the strings quite a bit higher off the belly than a crossbar and this extra height would at least allow for a greater bow angle clearance to the individual outer strings, allowing them to be played separately.[24] The bowed mandora with a crossbar seems to be an unlikely arrangement but no proof has been found to discredit the possibility that it was a legitimate arrangement. One could argue that in a few cases artists

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23 Albert G. Hess, Italian Renaissance Paintings with Musical Subjects: a corpus of such works in American collections, with detailed descriptions of the musical features, Fasc. XI (New York: Libra Press, 1955), no page numbers. As shall be seen, not all rebecs display the stepped fingerboard (soundboard) noted in Hess's definition.

24 The Norwegian Hardanger fele, for example, is a folk violin which utilizes an almost flat movable bridge. One can easily play the strings simultaneously but, due to the height of the bridge, one can also play individual strings.

intended to depict rebecs and inaccurately (ignorantly?) drew mandoras with bows; but it is unlikely that this could be an adequate explanation for all of the thirty-eight separate instances found during the course of this study. As a result, the mandora/rebec-types found are included in the rebec iconographic catalog since they could represent either a heretofore unrecognized type of rebec (or mandora) or an inaccurate artistic representation meant to denote the rebec.[25]

Iconographic Representations of the Rebec

In excess of three hundred artistic representations of the rebec and rebec-types from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century have been cataloged in Appendix Three. Most of these have been examined either first hand or in reproduction and specific morphological features noted in the catalog listing;[26] representations which other researchers have labelled as rebecs but which could not be examined at this time, have, nevertheless, been listed as a guide for future research.[27] Numerous representations examined omit portions of the instrument and, at times, one can only hypothesize that such an instrument might be a rebec.[28] In cases such as this, the lack of information concerning the

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25 See pages 270-272 for a list of artistic representations of piriform mandora/rebec-types.

26 A total of 328 iconographic depictions are listed in Appendix III. Eighty-four of these were not able to be examined; of the remaining two-hundred forty-four, twenty-six are pochettes and two-hundred eighteen are rebecs or rebec-types.

27 Whereas it is possible that some of the representations not examined by this author may not be rebecs or rebec-types due to differences in the definition of a rebec it was decided to include these representations in the chance that some or all may turn out to be legitimate rebecs or rebec-types.

28 See, for example, F.15.27, SW.16,1, and G.15.6, plates XIII, XLI, and XVI. There are numerous other examples indicated in the catalog.

obscured or omitted features is noted in the catalog description. Whereas omission of instrument detail limits the extent of the morphological data available one may still be able, nevertheless, to examine playing position, instrument use, setting, and so on.

Morphology and Playing Positions of the Rebec

If any general remark could be made concerning the morphology of the rebec as revealed through the artistic representations examined it would simply be that a distinct lack of standardization exists for the morphological characteristics of the instrument. Although some very basic types and groupings are evident, specific features within and among these types are subject to much variation and overlap. The individual basic characteristics found to exist on rebecs throughout their history may be summarized as follows (compare with the listing at the beginning of this chapter; see summary in Table 1[29]):

1. Overall shape and construction: piriform,[30] boat-shaped,[31]

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29 A list was made compiling every unquestionable appearance in these depictions of each of the morphological characteristics detailed on pages 255-260. The frequency of unquestionable appearances of these characteristics is listed in Table 1. The value of such statistical information for this study is limited by several factors: 1) the rebec form was not standardized; 2) the rebec depictions examined span a time period of nearly five hundred years; 3) the depictions represent a wide geographical/cultural distribution; 4) artistic interpretation may not always reflect actual and realistic morphological characteristics; and 5) this author's subjective opinion and judgment unavoidably enters into the examination of certain features and particularly playing positions. Nevertheless, the greater or lesser frequency with which any of the morphological characteristics or playing positions occur may indicate very broad tendencies and preferences.

30 As an example of this feature see I.16.11, plate XXX b.

31 See, for example, B.15.4, plate II.

or butterfly-shaped;[32] not waisted; bipartite[33] or tripartite.[34]

Size: three sizes; although most representations are of a common, "average size," relatively few depictions have been found of remarkably large or small rebecs.[35]

2. Soundboard description: made from a separate piece of wood than the back;[36] may be flat, concave,[37] or sometimes convex.[38]

3. Shape of back: made from a separate piece of wood than the soundboard;[39] may be vaulted (convex);[40] in a very few cases, flat.[41]

4. Neck: may be integral (organically emerging from the belly);[42] or distinct;[43] may be distinguished from the belly by a difference in color.[44] Fingerboard: may or may not be present as a stepped fingerboard[45] or as a separate fingerboard.[46]

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32 See, for example, I.15.14, plate XXIII. See also plate XLV which shows the preserved violeta of St. Caterina de' Vigri.
33 See, for example, B.15.5, plate III.
34 See, for example, I.15.62.
35 It remains for another study to try and more closely determine rebec size by means of proportional relationship with the player's body size. Several instruments which were observed to be distinctly large include: S.15.9 (ca.1411); I.15.46 (ca.1480); SW.15.3 (1494); I.16.7 (ca.1500); S.16.1 (ca.1500); and SZ.16.2 (ca.1550). Instruments which are distinctly small include: S.15.3 (early 15th century); IU.15/16.1 (15th-16th century); S.16.3 (early 16th century); and PG.16.2 (second quarter of the 16th century).
36 An excellent example of this configuration may be seen in B.15.5, plate III.
37 See, for example, I.15.92, plate XXX a.
38 See, for example, B.17.1. The convex soundboard seems to be a feature confined primarily to pochettes rather than rebecs.
39 See, for example, B.15.5, plate III.
40 See, for example, G.16.4, plate XVIII.
41 See, for example, I.15.14, plate XXIII.
42 See, for example, I.15.85, plate XXVIII a.
43 See, for example, I.15.89, plate XXVIII b.
44 See, for example, S.15.1, plate XXXVII a.
45 See, for an example of a stepped fingerboard, the kleinen Geigen in the treatises of Virdung, Luscinius, and Agricola, illustrated in Figure 1.
46 See, for example, B.15.6, plate IV a.

5. Strings: may vary in number; two are often found on rebab/rubeba/rebec types,[47] three is most commonly found,[48] four strings are often found on bass rebecs[49] and on later instruments such as pochettes;[50] five or more strings are usually found only on the mandora/rebec-type.[51]

6. Upper end string fastening: may be a pegbox carved on same plane as the neck (similar to a violin); may be a 90-degree bent-back pegbox with lateral pegs[52] or a bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with lateral pegs.[53] Finial: may be blunt-ended,[54] scroll-like,[55] shield-like,[56] carved as a human head,[57] or carved in some other form such as an animal head.[58]

7. Lower end string fastening: strings may be attached to a tailpiece;[59] to a crossbar as on the mandora/rebec-type;[60] to an endpin or endknob;[61] or directly to the bottom of the instrument.[62]

8. Bridge: movable bridge[63] or fixed bridge (crossbar).[64]

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47 See, for example, F.14.3, plate IX.
48 See, for example, B.15.4, plate II.
49 See, for example, I.15.46.
50 See, for example, B.17.12, plate VIII a.
51 See, for example, I.15.57, plate XXVII.
52 See, for example, F.14.3, plate IX.
53 See, for example, I.15.47, plate XXV.
54 See, for example, B.15.6, plate IV a.
55 See, for example, I.16.11, plate XXX b.
56 See, for example, B.15.4, plate II.
57 See, for example, G.16.4, plate XVIII.
58 See, for example, SZ.16.1, plate XLII.
59 See, for example, N.16.1, plate XXXVI a.
60 See, for example, SW.16.1, plate XLI.
61 See, for example, G.16.3, plate XVII.
62 See, for example, F.14.3, plate IX. The actual appearance and frequency of this trait is difficult to judge from the iconographic evidence.
63 See, for example, IU.14/15.3, plate XXI.
64 See, for example, SW.16.1, plate XLI.

9. Soundholes: a pair of C-shaped soundholes in the center of the belly is most commonly found;[65] also depicted are a pair of C-shaped soundholes and a round soundhole,[66] a round central soundhole,[67] or variations of these and other shapes.

10. Frets: may have frets occasionally,[68] but usually depicted without frets.[69]

11. Bow: a bow should be present to confirm the instrument as bowed, but sometimes this feature is absent.[70] The bows depicted run a wide gamut of styles of which the following are only a sampling: archer's-shaped bow,[71] straight bow stick,[72] rudimentary hair fastening,[73] and more advanced bow model.[74] If the instrument is played a gamba the bow is held palm-up;[75] when played a braccio the bow is held palm-down.[76] In at least one case, however, an instrument held a braccio is played palm up.[77]

12. Playing position: although the variations in playing position as depicted by artists may seem almost endless, the following observations represent the more commonly-found positions. The rebec may be held in two basic ways: a gamba (on the knee, between the knees,

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65 See, for example, I.15.35, plate XXIV.
66 See, for example, F.15.13, plate XI.
67 See, for example, N.15.3, plate XXVI b.
68 See, for example, B.15.4, plate II. Only ten depictions clearly show rebecs with frets.
69 See, for example, G.16.4, plate XVIII.
70 See, for example, G.15.3 and F.17.4, plates XV and XIV.
71 See, for example, I.16.10, plate XXXIII.
72 See, for example, I.16.5, plate XXXII.
73 See, for example, G.16.3, plate XVII.
74 See, for example, G.16.4, plate XVIII.
75 See, for example, S.13.2.
76 See, for example, G.15.6, plate XVI.
77 See, for example, I.15.23.

on the waist, midsection, hip, thigh, held upright in front of the body free from any visible means of support, or supported on a flat surface[78]) and a braccio.[79] In the latter position the rebec may be held in the left hand and the lower end of the rebec placed on top of the left shoulder,[80] at the top of the left shoulder with the chin touching the instrument,[81] at the left side of the chest,[82] at the left armpit,[83] at the right side of the chest, crossing the chest, to the left,[84] at the center of the waist, to the left;[85] the rebec may also be held in the right hand (significantly less frequently depicted than in the left hand), with the lower end of the rebec placed on top of the right shoulder[86] or at the right side of the chest.[87] The rebec has also been depicted as being held between the left elbow and the left side.[88] The upper end of the rebec (when held in the left hand) may be pointed in different directions such as: upwards (and slightly to the left),[89] directly to the left,[90] slightly downwards and to the

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78 See Ian David Woodfield, "The Origins of the Viol" (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, King's College, 1977) for pictorial examples of all these playing positions. These positions and the representations in which they occur are summarized in the list of rebeb/rubeba/rebec-types below. The a gamba position is found primarily, but not exclusively, in Spanish representations and is usually limited to rebab/rubeba/rebec-type instruments or very large instruments such as SZ.16.2.

79 The rebec is significantly more often encountered in an a braccio than an a gamba playing position.

80 See, for example, I.16.10, plate XXXIII.

81 See, for example, I.16.11, plate XXX b.

82 See, for example, G.16.15, plate XIX.

83 See, for example, B.15.6, plate IV a.

84 See, for example, I.15.57, plate XXVII.

85 See, for example, SW.15.4, plate XL.

86 See, for example, I.16.3, plate XXXI.

87 See, for example, B.17.6, plate VI.

88 See, for example, SW.15.1, plate XXXVIII.

89 See, for example, B.15.4, plate II.

90 See, for example, F.15.20, plate XII.

left, often along the length of the arm,[91] directly downwards,[92] downwards and slightly to the right,[93] or almost directly forwards.[94]

Along with these morphological observations it should be noted that none of the iconographic depictions (nor literary descriptions) yield any information concerning the interior design of the rebec, hence the use or non-use of a soundpost and bass-bar can not be affirmed or denied. Only one artistic representation has been found which depicts what might be a carrying case and, if so, it is for a pochette, not a rebec.[95]

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91 See, for example, F.15.13, plate XI.
92 See, for example, I.16.16, plate IV b.
93 See, for example, B.15.6, plate IV a.
94 See, for example, IU.15/16.1, plate XXII.
95 See G.16.9.

TABLE 1

Frequencies of Specific Morphological Characteristics
and
Playing Positions for the Rebec in Iconographic Depictions

Characteristic	Depictions Examined	Number with Characteristic	% with this Characteristic
1. Overall Shape and Construction			
Piriform	205	127	62%
Boat-shaped	205	71	35%
Butterfly-shaped	205	7	3%
Bipartite	188	182	97%
Tripartite	188	6	3%
2. Soundboard description			
Flat	159	136	86%
Concave	159	21	13%
Convex	159	2	1%
3. Shape of Back			
Vaulted (convex)	74	72	97%
Flat	74	2	3%
4. Neck			
Integral	186	138	74%
Distinct	186	48	26%
Fingerboard			
None depicted	140	104	74%
Stepped	140	28	20%
Separate	140	8	6%

Characteristic	Depictions Examined	Number with Characteristic	% with this Characteristic
5. Strings			
3	124	69	56%
2	124	27	22%
4	124	21	17%
5 or more	124	7	5%
6. Upper end string fastening			
Sickle-shaped pegbox	142	60	42%
Bent-back pegbox	142	50	35%
Pegbox on same plane as neck	142	32	23%
Finial			
Scroll-like	61	20	33%
Indeterminate Carving	61	20	33%
Blunt-ended	61	9	15%
Carved Animal head	61	7	11%
Carved Human head	61	3	5%
7. Lower end string fastening			
Tailpiece	89	57	64%
Crossbar	89	24	27%
Endpin/Endknob	89	8	9%
8. Bridge			
Movable	95	75	79%
Fixed (crossbar)	95	20	21%
9. Soundholes			
2 C-shaped soundholes	149	64	43%
1 round soundhole	149	35	23%
2 C-shaped and 1 round soundhole	149	13	9%
2 round soundholes	149	13	9%
groups of small, pencil-point-sized soundholes	149	7	5%
2 S-shaped soundholes	149	3	2%
Other types and/or variants of the above	149	14	9%

Characteristic	Depictions Examined	Number with Characteristic	% with this Characteristic
10. Frets			
at least 2 frets to as many as 7 frets	10	10	100%
11. Bow			
Present	211	203	96%
Not present	211	8	4%
Bow held palm-down	165	137	83%
Bow held palm-up	165	23	14%
Bow held palm-sideways	165	5	3%
Bow held, but rebec not played	18	18	100%
12. Playing Position			
A braccio	215	155	72%
A gamba	215	35	16%
Not played	215	25	12%
A braccio			
1) Held in left hand	155	143	93%
a) on top of L shoulder	143	41	29%
b) at L side chest	143	30	21%
c) at L armpit	143	27	19%
d) at mid-chest	143	26	18%
e) on top of L shoulder, touching chin	143	8	6%
f) across chest, pointing to left	143	7	5%
g) at L side chest, touching chin	143	2	1%
h) at mid-chest, touching chin	143	2	1%
2) Held in right hand	155	10	6%
a) on top of R shoulder	10	6	60%
b) at R side chest	10	4	40%
3) Held between left elbow and left side chest	155	2	1%

Characteristic	Depictions Examined	Number with Characteristic	% with this Characteristic
4) Direction in which upper end of instrument is pointed			
a) Downwards and to the L	155	76	49%
b) Directly downwards	155	19	12%
c) Upwards and to the L	155	15	10%
d) Directly to the L	155	14	9%
e) Forwards and downwards	155	12	8%
f) Downwards and to R	155	9	6%
g) Directly forwards	155	4	2%
h) Directly to the R	155	3	2%
i) Forwards and upwards	155	2	1%
j) Forwards and to the L	155	1	1%
A gamba			
a) Held upright in front of player, no support (?)	35	16	46%
b) Held upright upon L knee	35	6	17%
c) Held upright upon R knee	35	3	9%
d) Held upright at waist	35	3	9%
e) Held upright between knees	35	2	6%
f) Supported upright upon a flat surface away from body	35	2	6%
g) Held upright upon midsection	35	1	2%
h) Held upright upon hip	35	1	2%
i) Held upright upon thigh	35	1	2%

Rebec-Types

In addition to these numerous individual characteristics found on rebecs representative of various times and geographical locations, three basic features were found to be shared by enough rebec representations to warrant their being considered as distinct rebec-types: 1) the boat-shaped rebec-type; 2) the piriform-shaped rebec-type; and 3) the butterfly-shaped rebec-type. This is not to imply a standardization of types, however, and should only be understood as evidence of some similarities in overall design. A certain degree of overlap of specific morphological characteristics among these three types will be evident. The first group for which the oldest iconographic evidence was found is the boat-shaped type (rebab/rubeba/rebec-type).

Boat-shaped Type

The earliest-known iconographic appearances of this type, dating from the late thirteenth century, coincide with the earliest literary references to the rubeba written in Paris, ca.1280-1300 by Jerome of Moravia. Jerome describes a two-stringed instrument tuned in fifths and calls it both by the Latin name rubeba and the French rubebe, two terms which, according to Christopher Page, might have been newly introduced into the language in Jerome's day.[96] This type, obviously derived from and closely-related to the Moorish rebab, remained basically a two-stringed instrument through the first half of the sixteenth century with some three-stringed versions occasionally depicted. The ultimate development of this type might be the seventeenth and

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96 Christopher Page, "Jerome of Moravia on the Rubeba and Viella," Galpin Society Journal 32 (May 1979): 94, fn. 5.

eighteenth-century boat-shaped pochette. The Spanish representations of this instrument usually depict players using the rebab's traditional a gamba position which was, according to Ian Woodfield, "almost certainly due to the continued presence of large numbers of Moorish musicians," at least in the area of Aragon.[97] Outside of Spain, however, the rebab/rubeba/rebec-type was usually depicted in an a braccio playing position. The French tapestry by Nicolas Bataille, ca.1385 (F.14.3, plate IX), clearly depicts a rebab-like instrument played upon the shoulder by a Moorish-looking gentleman and is the oldest known representation to link the rebab with the a braccio playing position. With the exception of a depiction in a French manuscript book of hours, ca.1400 (F.15.10), all the rest of the French representations of this instrument type are played a braccio. The influence of Moorish music was also introduced into Europe not only through Spain but also through Sicily, hence through Italy. The earliest Italian representations of the rebab/rubeba/rebec-type may be found in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries and, with only two known exceptions,[98] this type was played a braccio. It would seem probable that this boat-shaped instrument may have been referred to in literature according to the appropriate century and geographical region by names (and their variants) such as: 1) in Spanish, the rabé, rabé morisco (perhaps the rabé gritador),

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97 Woodfield, p. 58. It must be mentioned that this paper's sample of Spanish iconographic sources may be biased towards a gamba representations due to the nature of Woodfield's study which was a major contributing source of information.

98 See I.15.13 (first half of the 15th century) and I.15.54 (1488).

rabeu, and rabel (when three-stringed, as depicted in S.15.10); 2) the Latin rubeba and rebeca;[99] 3) the French rubebe, rebebe, and rebec; 4) the Italian rubebe (and its various fifteenth-century sizes, the rubecchette and rubicone); and perhaps others. Inasmuch as artistic representations of this instrument type may be found throughout southern Europe (Spain; Italy; France; Portugal, only in the sixteenth century; and Germany, not before the end of the fifteenth century) for the duration of the history of the rebec, it would seem appropriate to hypothesize that the rubeba/rubebe, often thought to have been an instrument distinct from the rebec, was actually just one, and perhaps the original, form of the rebec.

Boat-shaped rebec-type (Rebab/Rubeba/Rebec-type)(Pochettes, although usually of a similar shape, are not included in this list.)

Basic features may include the following:

1. boat-shaped, bipartite
2. probably or definitely a concave soundboard
3. probably vaulted back
4. integral neck; in most cases some sort of demarcation between the neck and the belly
5. 2 strings, unless otherwise noted below
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with lateral pegs; no decorative finial
7. lower end string fastening either to bottom of instrument or to a crossbar
8. either a movable bridge or a fixed crossbar
9. usually round soundholes
10. sometimes fretted
11. bowed; if instrument is held a gamba, bowed with palm up; if instrument is held a braccio, bowed with palm down
12. may be held a gamba on a knee, between the knees, on the waist, midsection, hip, thigh, or may be held upright in front of the body, free from any visible means of support; may be held a braccio

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99 Tinctoris writes in 1487 that the French invented the rebeca. Perhaps he is referring to the fact that it may have been the French who first played the rebab/rubeba/rebec-type in the a braccio position. One might hypothesize that this adaptation, incontrovertibly recorded by Bataille's tapestry in ca.1385, marks the origins of the rebec as a distinct instrument type.

Boat-shaped rebec-type - Iconographic examples

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments	Plate No.
1.	1280-1283	S.13.1 (2)	a gamba/one on right, one on left knee	XXXVII b
2.	1280-1283	S.13.2	a gamba/left knee	
3.	late 13th c.	S.13.3	a gamba/held between knees	
4.	ca.1385	F.14.3	a braccio	IX
5.	ca.1385	F.14.4	a braccio	X
6.	ca.1390	S.14.2	a gamba/hip	
7.	late 14th c.	S.14.1	a gamba/free from support	
8.	late 14th-early 15th c.	S.14.3	a gamba/free from support	
9.	late 14th-early 15th c.	S.14.4	a gamba/free from support	
10.	late 14th-early 15th c.	I.14.4	a braccio	
11.	15th c.(?)	I.U.1	a braccio	
12.	15th c.(?)	I.15.2	not played; 3 strings	
13.	15th c.(?)	I.15.3	not played; 3 strings	
14.	15th c.(?)	S.15.1	not played	XXXVII a
15.	15th c.	I.15.5	a braccio	
16.	15th c.	I.15.6	a braccio	
17.	ca.1400	F.15.10	a gamba/left knee	
18.	early 15th c.	S.15.3	a gamba/free from support	
19.	early 15th c.	S.15.4	a gamba/free from support	
20.	early 15th c.	S.15.5	a gamba/waist	
21.	early to mid-15th c.	S.15.6	a gamba/supported on shelf	
22.	early to mid-15th c.	S.15.7	a gamba/free from support	
23.	early to mid-15th c.	S.15.8	a gamba/free from support	
24.	1st half 15th c.	I.15.13	a gamba/right knee; no strings depicted	
25.	ca.1412	S.15.9	a gamba/free from support	
26.	ca.1417-19	S.15.10	a gamba/free from support; 3 strings	
27.	2nd quarter 15th c.	I.15.17	a braccio; no strings depicted	
28.	ca.1430	S.15.11	a gamba/free from support	
29.	1438	I.15.22	a braccio	
30.	1439	S.15.12	a gamba/supported on shelf	
31.	1442	S.15.13	a gamba/between knees; 3 strings	
32.	1447	I.15.23	a braccio but palm up; 3 strings	
33.	mid-15th c.	S.15.14	a gamba/free from support	
34.	mid-15th c.	S.15.15	a gamba/free from support	
35.	mid to late 15th c.	S.15.16	a gamba/right knee	

Boat-shaped rebec-type - Iconographic examples (con't.)

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments	Plate No.
36.	ca.1450-70	F.15.18	a braccio; 3 strings	
37.	ca.1450-70	F.15.19	a braccio; no strings depicted	
38.	1461-62	I.15.33	a braccio	
39.	ca.1470	F.15.22	a braccio; no strings depicted	
40.	ca.1470	F.15.23	a braccio; no strings depicted	
41.	after 1473	G.15.3	not played; no bow; 3 strings	XV
42.	1488	I.15.54	a gamba/left waist; no strings depicted	
43.	1493	I.15.66	not played	
44.	1499	I.15.81	not played; 3 strings	
45.	late 15th c.	S.15.17	a gamba/free from support; 3 strings	
46.	15th-16th c.	I.15.91	a braccio	XXIX
47.	15th-16th c.	I.15.92	a braccio	XXX a
48.	ca.1500	S.16.1	a gamba/left thigh	
49.	1510	G.16.1	a gamba/midsection; 4 (?) strings	
50.	early 16th c.	S.16.3	a gamba/left knee	
51.	1st half 16th c.	PG.16.3	a braccio	

Piriform Type

A second type of rebec is piriform in shape. In his treatise of 1487, Tinctoris refers to this as the rebec's "tortoise-shape" and it is this shape, borrowed from the lyra, which is most commonly found among artistic representations of rebecs and rebec-like instruments. One hundred and twenty-seven of the sources examined were judged[100]

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100 It is often difficult to decide if an instrument is boat-shaped or piriform since many examples are shaped somewhat in between these two extremes. The judgment as to shape must sometimes be entirely subjective and therefore the number of representations of either type may be a few more or less depending upon the observer. No list of the piriform instruments has been included due to its length; instruments displaying this feature are clearly identified in the catalog. Approximately 62% of the depictions for which a precise determination could be made were judged to be piriform.

as displaying this characteristic; examples may be seen in each geographical area under consideration. The fundamental difference between this piriform instrument and the lyra, as discussed above, is the use of a pegbox on the rebec and a pegdisc on the lyra. It is difficult to pinpoint the first representations of piriform instruments with pegboxes primarily due to the fact that the distinction between piriform and boat-shaped instruments, early in the rebec's history, is oftentimes based upon a subjective observation. Piriform rebecs may be found depicted in art at least as early as the fourteenth century; the shape persists into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries finding its ultimate development in the piriform pochette such as the one depicted in Praetorius (1619) (see Figure 1c).

Two sub-groups may be distinguished within the piriform rebec-type: a mandora/rebec-type and a rebec-type with an angular upper end of the soundboard and a distinct neck.

The distinguishing common features of the piriform-shaped mandora/rebec-group are: 1) a large round soundhole located near the center of the belly of the instrument (in a few cases two round soundholes are found); 2) lower end string fastening to a crossbar which serves as a fixed bridge; 3) at least three and often more than three strings; and 4) usually no fingerboard.

Piriform Mandora/Rebec Sub-Group

Basic features may include the following:

1. piriform, bipartite
2. flat soundboard
3. probably vaulted back
4. neck may be integral or somewhat distinct; usually no fingerboard
5. usually three or more strings

Piriform Mandora/Rebec Sub-Group (features con't.)

6. bent-back, often sickle-shaped pegbox with lateral pegs; decorative finial
7. lower end string fastening to a crossbar on the soundboard
8. crossbar functions as a fixed bridge
9. round soundhole near center of belly
10. sometimes fretted (no frets unless otherwise indicated)
11. bowed; played palm down
12. played a braccio (unless otherwise noted)

Piriform Mandora/Rebec Sub-Group - Iconographic examples

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments	Plate No.
1.	14th-15th c.	IU.14/15.2	2 or 3 strings (?)	
2.	15th c.	F.15.3	no strings depicted; no bridge depicted	
3.	15th c.(?)	I.U.2	strings indistinct	
4.	15th c.	I.15.1	3 strings; 6 frets; 2 round soundholes	
5.	15th c.	I.15.7	3 strings	
6.	15th c.	I.15.8	3 strings; 7 frets; 2 round soundholes	
7.	15th c.	I.15.12	2 or 3 strings	
8.	ca.1400	F.15.11	strings indistinct	
9.	ca.1400	G.15.1	2 or 3 strings (?)	
10.	ca.1450-60	G.15.17	3 strings	
11.	second half 15th c.	I.15.26	3 or 4 strings (?)	
12.	second half 15th c.	I.15.27	3 strings	
13.	ca. 2nd half 15th c.-1514	I.15.86	strings indistinct	
14.	mid to late 15th c.	S.15.18	5 strings (?); a gamba/ free from support; boat-shaped (?)	
15.	mid to late 15th c.	S.15.19	3 strings; a gamba/free from support; boat-shaped(?)	
16.	1465(?)	F.15.20	3 or 4 strings (?)	XII
17.	ca.1470	F.15.24	4 or more strings (?)	
18.	ca.1470	SW.15.1	4 strings; held lute fashion	XXXVIII
19.	ca.1478-80	I.15.40	4 strings; at least 2 frets	
20.	ca.1485	F.15.26 (2)	strings indistinct	
21.	1489	I.15.55	6 strings; 2 C-shaped soundholes	
22.	ca.1490(?)	F.15.27	3 strings	XIII

Piriform Mandora/Rebec Sub-Group - Iconographic examples (con't.)

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments	Plate No.
23.	ca.1490	I.15.57	5 strings	XXVII
24.	1491	F.15.28	3 strings	
25.	1494	SW.15.3	5 strings; held lute fashion	XXXIX
26.	1496(?)	I.15.72	3 strings	
27.	late 15th c.	I.15.83	5 strings; 2 C-shaped soundholes	
28.	late 15th c. (?)	S.15.20	4 or more (?) strings; a gamba/free from support boat-shaped (?)	
29.	end of 15th c.	SW.15.4	7 (?) strings; held lute fashion	XL
30.	15th-16th c. (?)	I.15.91	strings indistinct; boat-shaped (?)	XXIX
31.	15th-16th c.	N.15.3	3 strings	XXVI b
32.	early 15th c.	F.16.3	4 strings	
33.	ca.1510	B.16.2	4 (?) strings	
34.	1522	B.16.3	strings indistinct	
35.	1523	I.16.37	at least 3 strings	
36.	1526/27	I.16.39	4 strings; may have frets	
37.	ca.1550	SZ.16.2	4 strings; a gamba/left knee	
38.	1555	SW.16.1	3 strings	

The problems inherent in relating this bowed instrument to the plucked mandora have been discussed above and the final determination as to whether this instrument was actually a bowed mandora, an artistic misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the rebec and/or the mandora, or a distinct piriform rebec sub-group, remains to be made.

The second sub-group of the piriform rebec-type may represent an Italian variant model depicted in art works for a period of only about fifty to seventy-five years. This short-lived model was basically piriform but displayed an angular upper end of the soundboard and a distinct neck. Its representation in art is detailed below.

Piriform Rebec Sub-Group with Angular Upper End of Soundboard and Distinct Neck

Basic features may include the following:

1. piriform; bipartite (unless otherwise indicated)
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back (unless otherwise indicated)
4. distinct neck with separate fingerboard; angular upper end of body
5. 4 strings (unless otherwise indicated)
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with lateral pegs; finial may be decorative or plain
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece (unless otherwise indicated)
8. movable bridge (unless otherwise indicated)
9. C-shaped soundholes (unless otherwise indicated)
10. no frets (unless otherwise indicated)
11. bowed; palm down
12. played a braccio

Piriform Rebec Sub-Group Two - Iconographic examples

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments
1.	2nd half 15th c.	I.15.28	tripartite (?); flat back (?); 3 round soundholes
2.	1485	I.15.52	strings indistinct; frets
3.	1490	I.15.61	strings indistinct; round soundhole in center of belly
4.	1492	I.15.64	tripartite (?); flat back (?); 3 strings; no tailpiece
5.	16th c.	I.16.1	tripartite (?); flat back (?); round group of very small soundholes (?) in center of belly
6.	ca.1500	I.16.7	
7.	1524	N.16.2	3 strings; crossbar (?); 2 bridges (sic!)

Butterfly-shaped Rebec-Type

A third rebec-type may be observed in six Italian sources of the fifteenth century and in a sixteenth-century source from Belgium. This group bears the common feature of a butterfly-shaped soundboard and is similar to the preserved violeta (ca.1460) of St. Caterina de' Vigri, Bologna, Italy. One may argue that this instrument type may not actually be related to the rebec on the basis of its unique shape

and the fact that it is a tripartite and not a bipartite instrument. However, it is depicted as being held and played similarly to the rebec and may simply represent a regional variant, an Italian experimental model. Its features and examples in art are detailed below.

Rebec-Type with Butterfly Soundboard, similar to preserved violeta (ca.1460) of St. Caterina de' Vigri, Bologna, Italy (see plate XLV).

Basic features may include the following:

1. butterfly-shaped soundboard; tripartite
2. flat soundboard (unless otherwise indicated)
3. flat back
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard (unless otherwise indicated)
5. 2 to 4 strings
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with decorative finial (may be scroll or blunt-end); lateral pegs
7. lower end string fastening to bottom of instrument (unless otherwise indicated)
8. movable bridge
9. C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets (unless otherwise indicated)
11. bowed; palm down
12. played a braccio

Rebec-Type with Butterfly Soundboard - Iconographic examples

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments	Plate No.
1.	15th c.(?)	I.15.4	2 strings	
2.	ca.1400-1430	I.15.14	no strings depicted	XXIII
3.	ca.1430-1440	I.15.20	no strings depicted	
4.	ca.1475	I.15.39	tailpiece; strings indistinct	
5.	ca.1490	I.15.62	4 strings; tailpiece; 4 frets	
6.	ca.1500-1512	I.16.10	tailpiece; 3 strings	XXXIII
7.	ca.1571-1623	B.16.5	concave belly (?); stepped fingerboard; no strings depicted	

The Pochette

The seventeenth and eighteenth-century pochette may be considered as the ultimate development of the rebec. However, inasmuch as it

developed a life and traditions of its own, separate from the traditions of the rebec, no attempt has been made at this point systematically to record iconographic representations of the pochette. The depictions cataloged for this study are included solely to document pictorially some examples of the ultimate development of the rebec-type. The pochettes listed in the catalog of rebec iconography are listed below.

Pochettes

Basic features may include the following:

1. bipartite (sometimes tripartite), boat-shaped (occasionally piriform); often small or very small
2. flat or slightly convex soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox with lateral pegs; usually a carved or scroll-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to a tailpiece
8. movable bridge in center of belly
9. two f-shaped or c-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed just above the bridge
12. instrument played a braccio

Pochettes - Iconographic examples

	Date	Catalog No.	Plate No.
1.	end 16th c. to before 1625	B.17.1	
2.	17th c.	B.17.2	
3.	17th c.	B.17.3	
4.	17th c.	B.17.4	
5.	17th c.	F.17.1	
6.	17th c.	F.17.2	
7.	17th c. (?)	F.17.3	
8.	17th c.	N.17.1	
9.	17th c.	N.17.2	
10.	1644	B.17.5	
11.	ca. 2nd half 17th c.	F.17.4	
12.	2nd half 17th c.	B.17.6	VI
13.	2nd half 17th c.	B.17.7	
14.	before 1661	B.17.8	

Pochettes - Iconographic examples (con't.)

	Date	Catalog No.	Plate No.
15.	before 1662	B.17.9	VII
16.	1664	B.17.10	
17.	before 1668	B.17.11	
18.	1672	A.17.1	
19.	before 1679 (?)	B.17.12	VIII a
20.	before 1690	B.17.13	
21.	before 1690	B.17.14	
22.	17th-18th c.	N.17.3	
23.	ca.1700	G.18.1	
24.	ca.1715/25	G.18.2	
25.	1723	I.18.1	XXXV
26.	1745	N.18.1	

Common Features of Rebecs

Rebecs with Neck/Belly Demarcation

In addition to the three basic rebec-types, several specific features repeatedly appear in rebec depictions and are worthy of special note. These are: 1) a distinct demarcation between the integral neck and the belly; 2) a stepped fingerboard; 3) a violin-like fingerboard; and 4) frets. A large group of rebecs share the first common feature: a distinct demarcation between the lower end of the integral neck and the belly of the instrument (these instruments do not have a fingerboard attached to the neck). In artistic representations, this demarcation most often takes the form of a distinctively darker color for the neck than for the belly; in a few cases merely a line has been drawn between the neck and belly. It is possible that this feature was borrowed from the rebab which often has a different type of wood or even a metal covering over the neck (the belly of a rebab is often covered with parchment or hide) and was adapted for both the boat-shaped and the piriform rebec. However, it may also

have been borrowed from the piriform Greek lyra which bears this feature when no separate fingerboard is present. The group of depictions which show this feature is detailed below.

Rebecs with Distinct Demarcation between Neck and Belly

Basic features may include the following:

1. piriform (or boat-shaped if so indicated); bipartite
2. flat or concave soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; color or line demarcation between belly and neck; no fingerboard
5. usually 2 or 3 strings (number other than 3 is indicated)
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with lateral pegs; may have decorative or plain finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece (unless otherwise indicated)
8. movable bridge (or crossbar if so indicated)
9. C-shaped soundholes in center of belly (or round soundholes if so indicated); sometimes a combination of the two types
10. no frets (unless otherwise indicated)
11. bowed; palm down (or palm up if played a gamba)
12. a braccio (or a gamba if so indicated)

Rebecs with Neck/Belly Demarcation - Iconographic examples

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments	Plate No.
1.	1280-83	S.13.1 (2)	boat-shaped; 2 strings; crossbar; 2 round soundholes on neck; at least 3 frets; a gamba	XXXVII b
2.	1280-83	S.13.2	boat-shaped; 2 strings; crossbar; small soundhole on neck; a gamba	
3.	ca.1299	BR.13.1	boat-shaped; 2 (?) strings	
4.	14th c.(?)	C.14.1		
5.	early 14th c.	BR.14.1	2 (?) strings	
6.	ca. after 1350	B.14.1	round soundhole on neck; 2 C-shaped soundholes on belly	
7.	ca.1390	S.14.2	2 strings; a gamba	
8.	end 14th-beginning 15th c.	F.14.5		
9.	late 14th-early 15th c.	I.14.4	2 strings; 2 round soundholes; boat-shaped	

Rebecs with Neck/Belly Demarcation - Iconographic examples (con't.)

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments	Plate No.
10.	late 14th c.	S.14.1	boat-shaped; 2 strings; 2 round soundholes on neck; a gamba	
11.	late 14th-early 15th c.	S.14.3	boat-shaped; 2 strings; 2 round soundholes on neck; a gamba	
12.	late 14th-early 15th c.	S.14.4	2 strings; round soundhole on neck; a gamba	
13.	15th c.	B.15.1	2 strings	
14.	15th c.	F.15.4	crossbar and movable bridge (?)	
15.	15th c. (?)	I.U.1	boat-shaped; 2 strings; 2 round soundholes on neck	
16.	15th c. (?)	I.U.2	crossbar (?); round soundhole in center of belly	
17.	15th c.	I.15.6	2 strings; round soundhole on neck	
18.	15th c.	I.15.11	round soundhole on neck; 2 C-shaped soundholes on both sides of tailpiece	
19.	15th c. (?)	S.15.1	2 strings; round soundholes in center of belly; a gamba	XXXVII a
20.	early 15th c.	S.15.3	boat-shaped; 2 strings; round soundhole on neck; a gamba	
21.	early 15th c.	S.15.4	boat-shaped; 2 strings; a gamba	
22.	early to mid-15th c.	S.15.6	boat-shaped; 2 strings; a gamba	
23.	early to mid-15th c.	S.15.8	boat-shaped; 2 strings; a gamba	
24.	ca.1417-19	S.15.10	boat-shaped; a gamba	
25.	1439	S.15.12	boat-shaped; 2 strings; a gamba	
26.	mid-15th c.	S.15.14	boat-shaped; 2 strings; 2 round soundholes on neck; a gamba	
27.	mid-15th c.	S.15.15	a gamba	
28.	mid to late 15th c.	S.15.16	boat-shaped; 2 strings; a gamba	
29.	1465	F.15.20	3 or 4 strings; flower-shaped soundhole in center of belly	XII

Rebecs with Neck/Belly Demarcation - Iconographic examples (con't.)

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments	Plate No.
30.	ca.1470	B.15.3	round soundhole in center of belly; also 2 C-shaped soundholes in center	
31.	after 1473	G.15.3	3 small soundholes on neck; 2 C-shaped soundholes on belly; no bow	XV
32.	ca.1485	F.15.26	crossbar; round soundhole in center of belly	
33.	15th-16th c.	I.15.89		
34.	16th c.	F.16.1		
35.	ca.1500	S.16.1	boat-shaped; a gamba; large instrument	
36.	1501	I.16.11		
37.	early 16th c.	S.16.3	boat-shaped; 2 strings; crossbar; round soundhole in center of belly; a gamba; very small	
38.	1st half 15th c.	PG.16.3	boat-shaped; 2 strings	
39.	before 1668	B.17.11	rebec hanging on wall represents antiquity; 4 strings	

One may presume that this feature could have applied to many more of the rebecs examined than just to those which are listed here[101] since a subtle color difference between the neck and fingerboard could easily go undetected in a black and white photographic reproduction. This feature has been found on representations of both piriform and boat-shaped instruments from Spain, Italy, France, Portugal, Britain, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and Germany, and spans a time period of several centuries. Instruments with this demarcation between the neck

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101 About 74% of the rebec depictions examined for this feature do not appear to have a fingerboard at all. One would expect this group to include instruments with the neck/belly demarcation.

and the belly generally predate the appearance of rebecs with fingerboards (the first fingerboards are not depicted until the fifteenth century) and this characteristic may be considered as the first step towards the development of the rebec's unique stepped fingerboard.

Rebecs with Stepped Fingerboard

The stepped (sometimes called terraced) fingerboard is a feature often cited as characteristic solely of the rebec, although certainly not all rebecs bear this feature. In fact, only 20% of those depictions which could be examined for this feature were judged to have stepped fingerboards. The following list indicates depictions located to date.

Rebecs with Stepped Fingerboards

Basic features may include the following:

1. piriform (unless otherwise indicated); bipartite
2. flat soundboard; may be concave
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral or somewhat distinct neck; stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings (unless otherwise indicated)
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with lateral pegs; decorative or plain finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge
9. C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets (unless otherwise indicated)
11. bowed; played palm down (unless otherwise indicated)
12. played a braccio (unless otherwise indicated)

Rebecs with Stepped Fingerboards - Iconographic examples

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments	Plate No.
1.	15th c.	I.15.10		
2.	1st half 15th c.	I.15.13	boat-shaped; a gamba; no strings depicted; palm up	
3.	before 1411	F.15.13	frets (?)	XI

Rebecs with Stepped Fingerboards - Iconographic examples

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments	Plate No.
4.	1442(?)	S.15.13	at least 3 strings; boat-shaped; a gamba; palm up	
5.	2nd half 15th c.	I.15.29		VIII b
6.	ca.1465	I.15.35 (2)		XXIV
7.	ca.1470	I.15.36		
8.	1473	I.15.38		
9.	ca.1480	I.15.43	4 strings	
10.	ca.1480	I.14.46		
11.	ca.1480-1500	B.15.4	3 frets; boat-shaped	II
12.	1481	I.15.47		XXV
13.	late 15th c.	I.15.85	4 strings; boat-shaped	XXVIII a
14.	late 15th-1st quarter 16th c.	I.15.87		
15.	late 15th-1st quarter 16th c.	B.15.5		III
16.	15th-16th c. (?)	IU.15/16.1		XXII
17.	15th-16th c.	I.15.90		
18.	15th-16th c.	I.15.93		
19.	ca.1503	I.16.12		XXXIV
20.	ca.1505 (?)	I.16.15		
21.	1511	G.16.2		
22.	ca.1512-14	I.16.28	6 strings (?)	
23.	1513	G.16.4	boat-shaped	XVIII
24.	1513	I.16.29	3 or 4 (?) strings	
25.	ca.1520/30	N.16.1	frets (?)	XXXVI a
26.	ca.1530	PG.16.1		XXXVI b
27.	1537	I.16.45		

The characteristic trait of the stepped fingerboard is that it organically extends downward from the neck, flares out at its lower end, and covers the entire width of the upper half or third of the belly; a violin fingerboard, on the other hand, extends over the belly but is narrow and does not flare out at its lower end, hence it does not cover the entire width of the belly. The earliest datable and incontrovertible representations of the stepped fingerboard may be seen in two sources: 1) a source from 1411 (F.15.13) in which a

somewhat piriform, somewhat boat-shaped, three-stringed rebec with features of both the rebab (round soundhole on neck, sickle-shaped pegbox) and the lyra (piriform shape, C-shaped soundholes on the belly) is depicted with a distinctive line (partially obscured by the bow stick) near the center of the belly; shadows next to this line may indicate the depth between the nascent raised fingerboard and the belly; and 2) an Italian painting by Vivarini from ca.1465 (I.15.35) which clearly shows two angel musicians playing three-stringed, piriform rebecs with fully-developed stepped fingerboards.

Rebecs with Violin-like Fingerboards

The violin-like fingerboard, as depicted on Gerle's kleinen Geiglen (Figure 2a), may be found on only a few rebecs dating from the late fifteenth and sixteenth century. This arrangement is commonly found on pochettes.

Rebecs (Excluding Pochettes) with a Violin-like, Separate Fingerboard

Basic features may include the following:

1. piriform, bipartite
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral or distinct neck; violin-like, separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with lateral pegs; decorative or plain finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge
9. C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bowed; played palm down
12. played a braccio

Rebecs with Violin-like Fingerboards - Iconographic examples

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments	Plate No.
1.	late 15th to 1st quarter 16th c.	B.15.6		
2.	1499	I.15.78	distinct neck	
3.	1523	SZ.16.1	boat-shaped; 6 strings; elongated pegbox (fanciful)	XLII
4.	1532/1537/ 1546	G.16.7	3 sizes: 2 use 3 strings; bass uses 4 strings	LVIII
5.	ca.1550	SZ.16.2	4 strings; large instrument; distinct neck; crossbar; round soundholes; a gamba	
6.	1589	SZ.16.3		
7.	1590	G.16.15		

Rebecs with Frets

A final feature worthy of mention is the appearance of frets on rebecs.[102] Gerle (1532/37/46) mentions that the use of frets on the kleinen Geiglen is optional and implies that they are useful primarily as a tool to help the new player whereas Bermudo (1555) notes at some length his regrets that rabel players do not always put frets on their instruments and that their pitch, therefore, is not always precise.

Rebecs with Frets

Basic features may include the following:

1. piriform (unless otherwise indicated); bipartite
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck (unless otherwise indicated); no separate fingerboard (unless otherwise indicated)
5. 3 strings (unless otherwise indicated)

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102 See Mary Remnant, "The Use of Frets on Rebecs and Mediaeval Fiddles," Galpin Society Journal 21 (March 1968): 146-151.

Rebecs with Frets (con't.)

6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with lateral pegs; decorative or plain finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece (unless otherwise indicated)
8. movable bridge (unless otherwise indicated)
9. C-shaped soundholes (unless otherwise indicated)
10. frets
11. bowed; played palm down (palm up if a gamba)
12. played a braccio (unless otherwise indicated)

Rebecs with Frets - Iconographic examples

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments	Plate No.
1.	1280-1283	S.13.1	boat-shaped; frets (?); 2 strings; a gamba; crossbar	XXXVII b
2.	1st half 14th c.	I.14.2	frets (?)	
3.	15th c.	I.15.1	6 frets; round soundholes	
4.	15th c.	I.15.7	at least 3 frets; distinct neck; crossbar; round soundhole in center of belly	
5.	15th c.	I.15.8	7 frets; crossbar; round soundhole in center of belly and on neck	
6.	1442	S.15.13	boat-shaped; frets (?); a gamba	
7.	ca.1478-80	I.15.40	at least 2 frets; crossbar; 4 strings	
8.	ca.1480-1500	B.15.4	3 frets; boat-shaped	II
9.	1485	I.15.52	frets (?) (can not determine number)	
10.	ca.1490	I.15.62	4 frets; 4 strings	
11.	late 15th c.	S.15.17	frets (?); boat-shaped	
12.	ca.1500	I.16.7	at least 3 frets; very large instrument; 4 strings; round soundhole and C-shaped soundholes	
13.	1526/27	I.16.39	frets (?); 4 strings; crossbar (?); round soundhole in center of belly	
14.	1534/36	I.16.44	frets (?); C-shaped soundholes; small round soundhole	
15.	ca.1550	SZ.16.2	at least 4 frets; large instrument; crossbar; 4 strings; a gamba	

Rebecs with Frets - Iconographic examples (con't.)

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments	Plate No.
16.	1582	G.16.13	at least 3 frets; 4 strings	
17.	1672	A.17.2	at least 3 frets; distinct neck	

Fretted rebec-types may be found throughout the instrument's history, represented by artists from several countries including Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland. Curiously, no depictions of fretted rebecs have yet been located in French sources. Five of the rebec-types noted above are of the piriform mandora/rebec-group (I.15.1, I.15.7, I.15.8, I.16.39, and SZ.16.2) which would be expected since, by definition, the plucked mandora is a fretted instrument.

Musical and Sociological Considerations

In addition to providing a great deal of information concerning the morphology of the rebec, the iconographic sources examined can provide some insight into the musical and sociological questions posed in Chapter Two.

Although little specific and reliable information concerning the actual use of the rebec in music-making situations can be gleaned from the iconographic sources, a few special situations are worthy of note. The rebec is largely depicted in symbolic settings of the Virgin and Child enthroned, the Coronation of the Virgin, Christ in Glory, the Nativity, the Ascension of the Virgin, and the Annunciation, all of which may include the rebec and other stringed instruments, usually the lute and harp, in their traditional association with the figure of

Christ.[103] Although other instruments may also be depicted in these settings, it is doubtful that such instrumental ensembles are any more likely to represent performance practice than are, for example, the combinations and long lists of instruments mentioned in Machaut's poetry.[104]

The rebec is sometimes, but not often, the only musical instrument depicted in a work of art and usually the situations are allegorical or symbolic rather than representative of reality.[105] Agricola (1529) and Gerle (1532/37/46) both mention the consort of four rebecs (kleinen Geigen);[106] however, no artistic representation of such a consort has yet been found, with the exception of Agricola's own depiction of the four instruments in his treatise. However, at least seven artworks do depict more than one rebec in a musical ensemble.

Rebecs in musical ensembles - Iconographic examples

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments and Plate No.
1.	1280-83	S.13.1	In the Cantigas de Santa Maria, 2 rebab/rubeba/rebec-types are depicted being played together; these are believed to be so grouped for artistic rather than musical reasons. Plate XXXVII b.
2.	1430	I.15.19	Three rebec-types are depicted among numerous other angel musicians which surround Christ in Glory.

103 This association has already been discussed in Chapter Two.

104 See Emanuel Winternitz, "On Angel Concerts in the 15th Century: a critical approach to realism and symbolism in sacred painting," Musical Quarterly 49 (1963): 450-463, for a discussion of this situation.

105 See, for example, I.15.89, plate XXVIII b.

106 The Italian poet, Simone Prodenzani, mentions in a poem of 1400 a group of three differently-sized rebecs which were, presumably, played together.

Rebecs in musical ensembles - Iconographic examples (con't.)

	Date	Catalog No.	Comments and Plate No.
3.	1465	I.15.35	Two rebecs and two lutes are played by angel musicians surrounding the Madonna and Child.
4.	1475	I.15.39	Two butterfly-type rebecs and two lutes are played by angel musicians surrounding the Madonna and Child.
5.	1485	F.15.26	Two rebec-types are included among numerous other angel musicians in a scene depicting the Virgin and Christ in Glory.
6.	15th-16th c.	I.15.91	Two sets of three rebecs each are symmetrically grouped, along with numerous other instruments, around a Nativity scene.[107] Plate XXIX.
7.	1534-36	I.16.44	At least three fanciful rebecs are depicted, along with numerous other fanciful instruments, in a fresco in the cupola of a church in Saronno, Italy.

The rebec was often depicted in disparate social settings such as 1) a rebec and a pipe and tabor player are depicted inside a cathedral playing for a wedding ceremony (see manuscript illumination of ca.1470, F.15.21) and 2) a rebec player and a recorder player presumably entertain themselves and several others in a men's bath house in a 1496 woodcut by Dürer (G.15.6, plate XVI).[108]

The pochette as well as the rebec was also depicted in a wide variety of settings: 1) a typical scene for the pochette is that of

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107 This painting by Lorenzo Costa is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two.

108 One is struck by the very blank, almost bored, expressions on the faces of the players as well as the listeners.

a tavern with an earthy peasant musician playing the instrument;[109] and 2) in contrast, a very small pochette is played by one member of a group of well-dressed rhetoricians in a seventeenth-century painting by Joos van Craesbeek (B.17.9, plate VII). In addition, pochettes are often depicted in musical still-life settings.[110] The increasing obsolescence of the rebec and pochette in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries might be suggested by works of art in which one or both of these instruments are depicted as hanging on the wall while other, more modern instruments are played.[111]

The rebec was most often depicted as being played by angels[112] and men,[113] but numerous examples of women playing the instrument may also be found.[114] Several specific Saints and mythological persons are depicted playing the rebec, including Arion, Orpheus, St. Cecilia (?), and St. Genès.[115] Persons of almost every social status have been depicted as playing the rebec, including kings,[116] lords and ladies,[117]

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109 See, for example, B.17.6, plate VI.
110 See, for example, B.17.10.
111 See, for example, B.17.11, B.17.13, and G.18.2, plate XX;
112 See, for example, I.15.91, plate XXIX.
113 See, for example, G.15.6, plate XVI.
114 Women are depicted playing rebec-types throughout Europe from the very beginning and for the duration of the instrument's history. See, for example, S.13.1 (1280-1283), plate XXXVII b, F.14.4 (ca.1385), plate XV , B.16.1 (ca.1500), I.16.5 (ca.1500), SZ.16.1 (1523) and N.16.2 (1524).
115 Arion, I.15.89; Orpheus, I.16.10; St. Cecilia (?), I.14.2; and St. Genès, I.15.29. In addition, a violeta/rebec-type supposedly used by St. Caterina de' Vigri (mid-fifteenth century) survives in Bologna, Italy.
116 See, for example, F.15.12.
117 See, for example, I.U.2.

monks,[118] peasants,[119] and, presumably, employed musicians.[120] In addition to their use by angels, rebecs may also be found in the hands of putti,[121] a skeleton,[122] a mermaid,[123] animals,[124] and winged grotesques.[125] Depictions of audiences or attentive listeners are uncommon, although in two settings already discussed, a monk listens to a trio of three musicians[126] and four men presumably listen to two musicians in Dürer's woodcut of a men's bath house.[127]

Rebecs are depicted as being played both indoors and outdoors and one may surmise that it was available and acceptable for use in various settings or surroundings. However, with the exception of the wedding scene mentioned above, the rebec is not depicted as being played in any religious functions, although it is frequently depicted in association with religious figures.

As noted above, the rebec is largely depicted in religious symbolic settings with the Holy Family, but it has also been depicted in other types of symbolic settings such as cosmological depictions,[128] in a symbolically erotic position,[129] in a situation of number

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118 See, for example, B.16.3.
119 See, for example, B.17.6, plate VI.
120 See, for example, F.15.21.
121 See, for example, F.15.9.
122 See, for example, F.15.3.
123 See, for example, F.15.4.
124 See, for example, F.15.17.
125 See, for example, F.15.23. Parodies of the rebec abound, especially in manuscript illuminations, with winged creatures, animals, satyrs, and so on, playing bellows and the jawbones of the ass in a manner similar to the rebec. Bellows suggest the piriform shape of the rebec; jawbones may suggest the boat-shaped type.
126 See I.16.5, plate XXXII.
127 See G.15.6, plate XVI.
128 See, for example, G.15.4.
129 See F.17.4, plate XIV.

symbolism,[130] and in allegorical settings, such as the allegory of hearing[131] and the allegory of aging.[132]

Conclusion

As a result of this iconographic study of the rebec, one may make the following observations concerning the period of use of the rebec and rebec-types in various European countries and recommendations for further study.

Austria: More research is needed to document the use of the rebec and rebec-types in this general geographical area. Thus far only two representations have been located, one from the end of the fifteenth and the other from the late seventeenth century.

Belgium: The rebec was first depicted after ca.1350 and thereafter is commonly found, particularly in Flemish sources. Numerous pochette depictions have been found (and presumably many more are yet to be discovered) through the end of the seventeenth century.

Britain: More research and access to already completed studies are necessary in order to obtain a more comprehensive picture of the use of the rebec in Britain. The earliest source known to this author to depict a rebec-like instrument dates from ca.1299. The rebec and rebec-types are depicted at least through the sixteenth century. One may presume on the basis of the literary study and extant instruments that depictions of English kits (pochettes) will be found in seventeenth and eighteenth-century sources.

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130 See I.15.91, plate XXIX.
131 See, for example, B.17.1.
132 See G.16.9.

Czechoslovakia: More research is needed in this area. Thus far only two representations have been located, one from the fourteenth and one from the fifteenth century.

France: Rebecs and rebec-types have been documented in French iconographic sources from at least the early fourteenth century through the seventeenth century. Although more sources may be located through further research, the catalog listing in this study, at the very least, represents a cross-section of artistic representations of the instrument. One might expect to find many more depictions, however, assuming the apparent popularity and widespread use of the instrument as evidenced by the plethora of variant French language names for the rebec.

Germany: Iconographic sources of German origin document the instrument from at least the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. One may hope that further sources will be found which depict the instrument in this geographical region.

Italy: This geographical region has produced the greatest number of artistic representations of rebecs and rebec-types found thus far which date from at least the fourteenth century (the early thirteenth-century representation listed has not yet been confirmed) through the eighteenth century. Victor Ravizza's thorough cataloging of instrumental ensembles in Italy from 1400-1550 has been of immense assistance in the compilation of Italian rebec representations. Certainly the large number of iconographic depictions cataloged reflects the popularity of the rebec in this area. One can not, however, hypothesize a greater or lesser popularity of the rebec in Italy than in other countries until similarly exhaustive catalogs of rebec depictions from

other European countries have been compiled.

The Netherlands: Rebecs and rebec-types are depicted in sources which are definitely datable from at least the beginning of the fifteenth century (the early fourteenth century source listed has not yet been confirmed) through the eighteenth century. It is hoped that further research dealing with artworks from this area will reveal additional representations, particularly of the pochette which seems to have been popular in the areas of France, Belgium, The Netherlands, and England.

Poland: More research is needed in this area. Thus far, only two representations, from the fifteenth century, have been located.

Portugal: More research is needed in this area. Thus far, only three depictions, from the sixteenth century, have been located.

Spain: The appearance of the rabab/rubebe/rebec-type played in an a gamba position has been well-researched by Ian Woodfield and one presumes that this research is representative of the extant iconographic depictions which date from the late thirteenth through the early sixteenth century. Additional research concerning the possible use of piriform types in Spain is necessary.

Sweden: The few sources thus far located date from the end of the fifteenth through the mid-sixteenth century. Presumably, as research is continued by RIdIM associates in this area, additional rebec representations will surface.

Switzerland: The few Swiss sources located date from the fifteenth through the mid-sixteenth century. Further research is also needed in this area to document the use of the rebec.

The rebec has been depicted in art from at least as early as the late thirteenth century. Its earliest representations are of the boat-shaped type which continues to be frequently depicted through at least the first half of the sixteenth century. Piriform rebecs may be found depicted in art at least as early as the fourteenth century; this shape persists into the eighteenth century. The butterfly-shaped rebec-type spans a slightly more narrow time period, from ca.1400 to ca.1623.

The frequency with which rebec depictions (excluding pochette depictions) have been located in iconographic sources from various time periods may be summarized as follows:

13th century - 5 depictions (1% of total 298 sources dated)

14th century - 27 depictions (9%)

15th century - 175 depictions (59%)

16th century - 89 depictions (30%)

17th century - 1 depiction (.5%)

18th century - 1 depiction (.5%)

Four sources could not be dated. The large number of fifteenth and sixteenth-century sources may reflect the thoroughness of Ravizza's study of Italian instrumental ensembles dating from 1400-1550 rather than a dramatic increase in rebec depictions in art during these centuries. Further iconographic research is obviously necessary before one can justify any attempt to relate the frequency of these extant rebec depictions with a hypothetical frequency of actual rebec usage at any given point in time.

One of the most important potential future sources for representations of rebecs and rebec-types lies in the international efforts of the Research Center for Musical Iconography. It is hoped that its pioneering efforts in cataloging musical iconographic sources will expand and continue to provide the basic source material so essential to this type of musicological and organological research.

CHAPTER XI

EXTANT REBECS

As noted in Chapter Two[1] only one pre-seventeenth-century instrument survives which might be a rebec-type.[2] It does not display typical rebec characteristics in its present form, however, and is referred to in the literature as a violeta.[3] Two other instruments dating from before the seventeenth century are sometimes spuriously labelled as rebecs in various sources.[4] These are two highly-ornate mandoras, one located at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City and the other at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria.[5] An instrument in the Wartburg Museum in Eisenach, East Germany, has been referred to as being shaped like a "pear-shaped rebec," but, in fact, it is also a mandora made in the mid-fifteenth century.[6]

At least twenty-six instruments which may be called rebecs exist in major public and private collections, well over half of which

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1 See Chapter Two, pages 39-40.

2 Marco Tiella, "The Violeta of S. Caterina de' Vigri," Galpin Society Journal XXVIII (April 1975): 60-70.

3 See Appendix Three, No. 6.

4 For example, Eduard Melkus, Die Violine (Bern: Hallway, 1977), p. 18, labels these both as kleinen Rebechini and also as rebecs.

5 See Appendix Three, Nos. 1 and 3.

6 See Appendix Three, No. 2. Tiella, p. 69, fn. 8. Tiella writes in personal correspondence with this author that he obtained his information from a person who had seen the instrument and had "judged it 'similar' to S. Caterina's Violeta, at least in the massive body." (Correspondence November 9, 1980) However, a photograph generously provided by the Wartburg Museum proves that this instrument is definitely not a bowed rebec but a plucked mandora.

may have had their origin in the hands of the unscrupulous nineteenth-century musical instrument dealer Leopoldo Franciolini; the remainder are probably reproductions of unknown rebec models.[7] The actual date of manufacture for all but one of these twenty-six instruments, a twentieth-century reproduction,[8] is unknown. Many dates have been conjectured, but this author suspects that most of the rebecs probably date from no earlier than the late eighteenth and, more likely, the nineteenth centuries. A chronological listing of these instruments, based upon this author's hypotheses, may be found in Appendix Three. In addition to these twenty-six instruments, one nineteenth-century instrument labeled as a rebec in a published source is definitely not a rebec but rather a lyra[9] and one instrument in the Paris Conservatoire collection, identified as a rebec in the collection's only published catalog which dates from the late nineteenth century, is a

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7 See Appendix Three for details concerning these instruments. See following pages for a discussion of Franciolini and his instruments.

8 See Appendix Three, No. 31, an instrument made in 1927 but erroneously cited by Melkus (p. 16) as dating from the sixteenth century. Dora J. Rittmeyer-Iselin, "Das Rebec," in Festschrift für Karl Nef (Zurich: Komissions Verlag Gebrüder Hug, 1933), p. 218, confuses this instrument, which she accurately describes as having trefoil-shaped soundholes, with the date of another supposedly eighteenth-century rebec (in actuality probably a nineteenth-century reproduction) in the same collection.

9 See Appendix Three, No. 4. This instrument is called an "authentic rebec" by Olga Racster, Chats on Big and Little Fiddles (London: T. Werner Laurie, n.d.), p. 35. The Curator of instruments at the Royal College of Music, where this instrument is located, wrote the following in correspondence with this author: "There is a Yugoslavian lyra in the collections (RCM 212), which was at some stage listed as a rebec, and it must be to this instrument that Olga Racster's book refers. It appears to date from the 19th century." (Correspondence January 23, 1980)

reconstruction of a non-related Medieval fiddle.[10] In addition, musicologist Henry George Farmer writes that an exhibition of musical instruments in Milan, Italy in 1881 included a display of "six genuine specimens" of rebecs.[11] However, no further corroborative evidence or information concerning this exhibition has yet been found.

The twenty-two rebecs currently known to exist may be categorized into several groups as follows:

1. the Franciolini painted model - Checklist Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16;

2. the Franciolini model without decoration - Checklist Nos. (17, 18?), 19, 20, 21, and 22;

3. the Franciolini inlaid model - Checklist Nos. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28;

4. miscellaneous (features are strikingly different from preceding types and characteristics of the individual instruments form no

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10 Madame Josiane Bran-Ricci, Conservateur of the Musée Instrumental at the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique in Paris, writes that although Checklist No. 5 has been identified as a rebec français it is not a rebec, but rather a poorly-made nineteenth-century reconstruction of a Medieval fiddle. See Gustave Chouquet, Le Musée du Conservatoire National de Musique, Catalogue raisonné des instruments de cette collection (Paris: Firmin-Didot frères, 1875), pp. 21-22 and Antoine Vidal, Les Instruments à archet (1876-1878) (Londres: The Holland Press, 1961), Vol. I, p. 18. Bran-Ricci writes, Sous le nom de rebec et sous le n° E.432 est catalogué un rebec fait par J. B. Vuillaume, donné par lui-même au Musée. Cet instrument n'a rien de commun avec la forme du rebec: il a un corps ovale, un fond bombé un manche distinct du corps, et, malgré la description du catalogue, ne dénote pas une si grande habileté." (Correspondence December 16, 1980)

11 Henry George Farmer, Edward John Payne, and E. Heron-Allen, "Rebec," in Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed., edited by Eric Blom (London: Macmillan, 1954), Vol. VII, p. 70. One wonders if some or all of these instruments supposedly exhibited might be among the twenty-two rebecs described in Appendix Three.

clear-cut grouping) - Checklist Nos. 7, 8, 9, 29, 30, 31, and 32.

5. no picture available and available written description inadequate to categorize - Checklist No. 10.

The first three groups have been named by this author after the notorious musical instrument dealer and forger Leopoldo Franciolini (1844-1920) who was

> at one and the same time the principal European old-instrument dealer in the two decades bracketing the turn of the century (when most of the world's most important public and private collections were being formed) and also the only really large-scale forger of all kinds of old instruments whose identity is presently known.[12]

Franciolini dealt not only with completely bogus musical instruments but with genuine antiques as well as his own personally-reworked antiques to which he often added new decoration, labels, signatures, and so on. Edwin Ripin believes that Franciolini sometimes

> substituted different instruments for those in his catalogs when the ones originally described had been sold. In addition, it would seem that certain standardized wind and stringed instruments were manufactured, stocked in fair numbers, and freely substituted for those originally shown in the illustrations for a period of many years.[13]

Although one can not summarily discount instruments obtained from Franciolini as fraudulent artifacts, one must, nevertheless, suspect and, whenever possible, carefully examine the ancestry of any instrument thought to have been purchased from this unscrupulous dealer.

Rebecs are listed in several of Franciolini's sales catalogs, excerpts from which appear below.

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12 Edwin M. Ripin, The Instrument Catalogs of Leopoldo Franciolini in Music Indexes and Bibliographies, No. 9 (Hackensack, NJ: Joseph Boonin, 1974), p. v.

13 Ibid., p. xi.

Year	List or Catalog	Description
1892	List 2, No. 58	"N.2 Rubechini antichissimi Toscani diferenti forme . . . Lire 120"[14]
1893	Catalog 2, No. 89	"Rubechino"[15]
1895	Catalog 3 and Companion Catalog 3A, Series E, No. 6	"Rubecchino a 3 corde pitturato sulla tavola armonica."[16]
1897	Catalog 4, Series H, Nos. 7 and 8	"Rubechino intarsiato sul piano armonico e nel giro in madreperla, con sua cassa d'ebano filettata in avorio, con rosetta a 3 corde . . . Lire 130."[17]
	Series P, No. 12	"Rubechino a tre corde dipinto sopra la tavola armonica. Orientale. Lire 80."[18]
1900	Catalog 5, Series H,	"Rubechino intarsiato sul piano armonico e nel giro in madreperla, con sua cassa d'ebano fitettata in avorio, con rosetta a 3 corde . . . Lire 130."[19]
	Series P, No. 11	"Rubechino a tre corde dipinto sopra la tavola armonica. Orientale. Lire 80."[20]
ca.1904-1908/09	Catalog 6, Series H, No. 8	"Rebechino a forma di Violino a 3 corde. Firmato: Pietro Lanini fecit in Siena 1770. Lungo. m. 0,32. Lire 80."[21]
	Series H, No. 9	"Rebechino a 3 Corde intarsiato in Madreperla e Avorio con Cassa intarsiate legni diversi con Rosetta . . . Lire 130."[22]

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14 Ripin, p. 97.
15 Ibid., p. 10.
16 Ibid., p. 16, illustration, p. 39. See plate XLVIII a.
17 Ibid., p. 54.
18 Ibid., p. 56. The meaning of the designation Orientale is not clear.
19 Ibid., p. 63.
20 Ibid., p. 64.
21 Ibid., p. 79. The description implies that this instrument is a pochette rather than a rebec, although Franciolini also uses the spelling rebechino to designate the rebec.
22 Ibid.

Year	List or Catalog	Description
ca.1904-1908/09	Series H, No. 10	"Ribechino a 3 Corde intarsiate in avorio ed ebano, con cassa nera filettata in avorio . . . Lire 130."[23]

Without a doubt, all six rebecs listed in the first group of extant instruments passed through Franciolini's hands and may represent one of his standardized models, the "rubecchino a 3 corde pitturato sulla tavola armonica," as described in Catalog 3 of 1895, and possibly the "Rubechino a tre corde dipinto sopra la tavola armonica. Orientale," which is listed in Catalog 4 (1897) and 5 (1900). No pictorial documentation exists for this latter description and no explanation was given for the designation Orientale. Rebecs Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 clearly have precisely the same pattern of soundboard and fingerboard painting as the one illustrated in Franciolini's Catalog 3A (1895).[24] Hence one may conclude that these six instruments were from Franciolini's stock and were available from him at least between the years 1895-1900. Furthermore, it is unlikely that any of these instruments date from before the nineteenth century.

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23 Ripin, p. 70.

24 See plate XLVIII for a comparison of the rebec illustrated in Franciolini's Catalog 3A with the rebec in the Florence collection, Checklist number 12. Numbers 12, 15, and 16 were all originally purchased by collectors in Florence, Italy, where Franciolini worked. The collector, Victor-Charles Mahillon, whose collection formed the core of the Brussels collection, is known to have at least seen and presumably purchased some of Franciolini's instruments. See Ripin, notes to Catalog 2, p. xvii. Indeed, the Brussels rebec, checklist No. 11, is cataloged as an Italian instrument. In addition, Wilhelm Heyer, whose collection of instruments was purchased for the Leipzig Musikinstrumenten-Museum, is known at least to have seen a copy of one of Franciolini's catalogs (see Ripin, p. xviii) and may, presumably, have purchased some instruments from him as well, including numbers 13 and 14.

The six rebecs in group 2, Nos. 17-22, all display the same basic characteristics as the instruments of group one, with a few variations noted below. Since they lack the distinctive painted decoration of the first group, this group can not at this point be unquestionably linked with Franciolini. Nevertheless, Franciolini did list for sale two rubechini antichissimi Toscani diferenti forme in a catalog listing of 1892, prior to the appearance of the painted model, and it is possible that some or all of the group two rebecs may represent Franciolini's 1892 model. It is also possible that for variation Franciolini might have sold some of his rebecs unpainted. The two rebecs of this group located at the Smithsonian Institution (Checklist Nos. 21 and 22) were both purchased for the Museum during the late nineteenth century in Florence, Italy, Franciolini's headquarters.[25] Furthermore, the Smithsonian rebec pictured in Plate XLIX (Checklist No. 22) was identified by the Museum staff at the time of cataloging as "Rubechini, Florence, Italy," affirming the supposition that it is a Franciolini instrument. Almost identical in appearance to the Smithsonian rebecs is one which is located in the Horniman Museum in London.[26] A rebec located at

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25 According to the Smithsonian musical instrument card catalog these two instruments were purchased by Dr. G. Brown Goode who was the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution in charge of the United States National Museum during the late nineteenth century.

26 Anthony Baines, European and American Musical Instruments (New York: Viking Press, 1966), plate 40. Baines' identification number for the instrument pictured is incorrect. According to Frances Palmer, Keeper of Musical Instruments at the Horniman Museum, the instrument pictured by Baines is an unnumbered instrument at the Museum, "believed to have come from Yugoslavia and to be of 19th century date." The Horniman Museum No. 15.10.48/87 "refers to a Greek lira which was part of the Bull collection," and is not the instrument pictured in Baines. (Correspondence with Frances Palmer, September 9, 1981) See Checklist No. 19.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (No. 20) is similar to the preceeding three instruments but has a distinctively different pegbox which is somewhat larger than usual and is topped with a carved female torso in place of the plain shield-finial; in addition, the pegs are decoratively carved. This instrument is classified as a reproduction, but no dates of manufacture are given. Considering its excellent state of preservation it could easily be a late nineteenth or early twentieth-century instrument. Finally, two rebecs, one located at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Checklist No. 17) and the other at the Musikhistorisk Museum in Copenhagen (Checklist No. 18) both display the basic characteristics of the group one rebecs in all but their color; No. 17 (cataloged as a "reproduction" but with no date given) has an unstained pine soundboard and No. 18 has, overall, a lighter color finish than the characteristically dark finish of Franciolini's other rebecs.

Franciolini lists a highly-ornate instrument in his catalogs beginning in the year 1897 through ca.1909 under the names Rubechino and Rebechino (see preceeding descriptions in catalogs 4, 5, and 6). This three-stringed model is, with some slight variations in Franciolini's catalog descriptions, usually inlaid with mother-of-pearl and ivory in ebony, and is often provided with a rose in addition to its traditional f-shaped soundholes. Six of the extant rebecs, Nos. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28, are all elaborately-decorated instruments which could fit Franciolini's basic descriptions. However, unlike the instruments made or altered for Franciolini's painted model (rebec group 1), the decoration on these inlaid instruments varies considerably.

Nevertheless, these are the only instruments known to exist with such elaborate inlaid decoration and one must at least admit to the possibility that they might have passed through Franciolini's hands, regardless of their actual origin. The origin of the Smithsonian specimen (No. 28) can specifically be traced to nineteenth-century Naples, Italy, which suggests the possibility of Franciolini's intervention in its lineage. It is possible that two rebecs (Checklist Nos. 23 and 25) might be of eighteenth-century origin as has been suggested in other sources.[27] If so, they would be among the oldest rebecs in existence, having survived to our day more as works of art than as specimens of typical, playable rebecs. Ultimately, the question of obtaining more accurate dating of any of these rebecs may only be answered by the examination of these instruments by a highly-trained specialist.

The fourth group of rebecs all display characteristics which are different than any of the preceding types discussed above, and which, in fact, do not relate to one another, hence the miscellaneous designation. Two of the instruments, Nos. 7 and 8, are definitely unique in their construction. The Gruuthuse Museum (Bruges, Belgium) instrument (Checklist No. 7), erroneously labelled in its exhibit case as an "eighteenth-century Mandoline," is a crudely-made rebec of unknown provenance and dating with nails hammered in to form a decorative

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27 The Basel rebec, No. 23, is identified as an eighteenth-century instrument at the Museum and the Lisbon rebec, No. 25, is identified as an eighteenth-century instrument by Baines, pl. 38 and 39.

pattern around the circumference of the soundboard. This rebec, the dating of which can not be accurately ascertained at this time, may have been made by an amateur craftsman for use as a folk instrument. A rebec at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (No. 8) has been tentatively dated as eighteenth century or earlier but this claim has not yet been substantiated. (See Plate XLVI) The soundboard and back do not appear to have been made by the same person, and it is possible that the back, integral neck, and pegbox, are older than the soundboard. The fingerboard appears to be an inverted viol tailpiece. A rebec in the Leipzig collection (Checklist No. 9) for which no picture is currently available, has been described in the collection's catalog by Georg Kinsky as crudely-made, but with a carved animal head finial.[28] Although it might be similar to rebec No. 20 (Group 2, Franciolini model without decoration) which has a female torso as a finial, the Leipzig rebec is also described as having two rudimentary oblong soundholes, a feature not known to have been characteristic of Franciolini's instruments. Purely on the basis of the fact that one of the other Leipzig rebecs did indeed come from Franciolini's stock, one might speculate that this instrument could have been influenced or have even been created by Franciolini. Finally, the rebecs Nos. 29 and 30 are both reproductions: No. 29 known to have been built in 1927 and No. 30 perhaps built in the nineteenth or twentieth century. No. 29, located at the Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente in Basel, Switzerland, is considered among the extant instruments in this study primarily to set

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28 Georg Kinsky, ed., Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Cöln. Katalog von Georg Kinsky, konservator des museums (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1910-1916), Vol. II, p. 334.

the record straight as to its origins since it has been erroneously referred to in two sources as an historic instrument. It is, in fact, a 1927 reproduction by Maurice Bedot of Geneva, Switzerland.[29] Rebec No. 30 is purported to be a copy of an instrument made by Lucas Maller, a sixteenth-century musical instrument maker. According to Mette Müller, Curator of the Musikhistorisk Museum and Carl Claudius' Samling in Copenhagen, no information is extant concerning Maller's original instrument nor the maker, date, or provenance of the person who supposedly copied Maller's rebec.[30] This rebec is unique in that the back, fingerboard, and pegbox are made entirely out of ivory. It is doubtful that this instrument was conceived to be playable; in fact, it was preserved by Greve Valdrighi of Modena, Italy (date of his collection unknown) as part of a collection of ivory instruments.[31]

One additional rebec located at the Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Karl-Marx Universität in Leipzig (Checklist No. 10) cannot be categorized at this time due to inadequate information concerning its morphological characteristics. However, combining the little descriptive information which is available in the Kinsky catalog with the information that it

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29 Melkus, pp. 16-17, erroneously dates it as a sixteenth-century instrument and Rittmeyer-Iselin, p. 218, cites it as an historic specimen. See footnote 8. The Basel collection is not the only museum which has begun to collect and display contemporary rebec reproductions. The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, for example, has already acquired three rebec reproductions made since 1959, and museums such as the Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire de Paris and the Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini in Florence freely substitute contemporary rebec reproductions for their lack of an original to fill in their historically-arranged displays of musical instruments.

30 Mette Müller, correspondence, November 12, 1981.

31 Carl Claudius' Samling af Gamle Musikinstrumenter (Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1931), p. 178.

is of Italian origin, made in the "eighteenth or nineteenth century,"[32] and was part of the original Heyer collection, one may hypothesize that this rebec was also from Fanciolini's late nineteenth-century stock.

Conclusion

Since none of the rebecs known by this author to exist in major public and private collections can authoritatively be dated prior to the eighteenth century, and since most probably date from the nineteenth century, no conclusive information concerning the morphology of the rebec during the historic rebec-playing era can be obtained. Bearing in mind the possibility that some of these rebecs might be reproductions of historic instruments, but also that over half may be spurious artifacts, the following general observations concerning the rebec's morphology might be made:

1. The rebecs are all bipartite and piriform in shape. Where dimensions have been made available (for 14 instruments) the extremes in range for body length are 48.5 cm - 60.2 cm (8 instruments fell into a range of 54 - 57 cm); body width at the bridge ranges from 11.7 - 15 cm (7 instruments fell within the range 11.7 - 13 cm); and depth (given for only 6 instruments) ranges from 5 - 8.3 cm.

2. All of the rebecs with the exception of No. 28 have (or presumably have) a flat soundboard.

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32 Kinsky, Vol. II, p. 334. Six rebecs are listed in Kinsky's catalog; however, only four of these are extant (Kinsky's numbers 710, 711, 713, and 714). According to Hubert Henkel of the Musikinstrumentenmuseum at the Karl-Marx Universität in Leipzig, rebecs numbers 712 and 715 (Kinsky) as well as rebec bows numbers 961 and 963 (Kinsky) were destroyed during World War II. Kinsky number 713 (Checklist No. 9) was damaged during the War. (Hubert Henkel, Correspondence, November 6, 1981)

3. All of the rebecs have (or presumably have) a vaulted back; often carved out of one piece of wood; in a few cases the backs are ribbed.

4. All of the rebecs have (or presumably have) an integral neck and most have a stepped fingerboard.

5. All of the rebecs are made to accomodate three strings.

6. All of the rebecs have a pegbox with three lateral pegs; many have a shield-like finial; at least two have carved finials; at least one has a scroll finial.

7. All of the rebecs are made to accomodate a lower end string fastening to a tailpiece.

8. All of the rebecs are made to accomodate a movable bridge to be placed between the soundholes.

9. All of the rebecs have at least two soundholes in an f-shape or a C-shape; several have an additional round soundhole, most often with a rose.

10. None of the rebecs have (or are presumed to have) frets.

11. Only one bow is extant with a rebec (see Checklist No. 22).

CHAPTER XII

MUSIC FOR THE REBEC

The earliest mention of music for a rebec consort may be found in a poem written by Simone Prodenzani, ca.1400.[1] Prodenzani mentions the use of three sizes of rebecs (the rubebe, rubecchette, and rubicone) and, according to Arnold Schering, includes the names of two compositions which could be played by such an ensemble: "Tanto me piacque" and "Gran Pena Pone."[2] Unfortunately, no further information exists concerning the composers or the music for these two pieces.

Another type of use for the rebec is mentioned by Jean de Gerson who writes in the Canticordum du Pelerin (1424) "that the rebebbe is used to accompany chansons de gestes, 'such as thos of Roland and Oliver'."[3]

The only surviving music specifically known to have been designated as playable by the rebec (in its form as the kleynen Geyglen) appears in two editions of a tutor for the grossen and kleinen Geygen and the lute written by Hans Gerle. The first edition is entitled Musica Teusch, auf die Instru/ment der grossen unnd kleinen Geygen,

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1 See page 82.

2 Arnold Schering, Studien zur Musikgeschichte der Frührenaissance (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1914), p. 102.

3 Christopher Page, "Early 15th-century instruments in Jean de Gerson's 'Tractatus de Canticis'." Early Music 6, No. 3 (July 1978): 347, fn. 12. In the same footnote, Page writes that in Gerson's Puer natus est nobis, the reberbe (note different spelling) "is said to have three strings."

auch Lautten . . . (Nurenbergk: Jeronomum Formschneyder, 1432 and 1537);[4] the second, Musica und Tabulatur, auff die In/strument der kleinen und grossen Gey/gen, auch Lautten . . . (Nürnberg: Jheronimus Formschneyder, 1546).[5] Two sets of two different homophonic pieces based upon German folk tunes are presented in the two editions at the conclusion of Gerle's instructions concerning the playing, fretting, and tuning of the kleinen Geygen.[6] The four pieces are written for a consort of four instruments which, according to Gerle, may be either grossen or kleynen Geygen "because it does not make any difference upon which instrument the pieces are played."[7] Likewise, Gerle writes, the player of the kleynen Geyglen "may also learn the pieces which I have marked in the first part of the book for the grossen geygen."[8] The four pieces which Gerle includes in the chapter concerning the kleynen Geyglen are to be played by a consort of four

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4 The only extant copies of this edition may be found in West Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ant. theor. G60; London, British Museum, PS 771673 MUSMIC 395 K.1.b.11; and London' British Museum, Paul Hirsch Collection (formerly in Heyer Library of Cologne). The only known copy of the 1537 edition may be found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Res 477 (imperfect copy).

5 The only extant copies of this edition may be found in Vienna, Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek SA 76 D51; West Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Preussischer Kulturbestiz, Mus. ant. theor. G63; Munich, Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximillans Universität; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Res 478.

6 Copies of the original tabulature may be found in plates LIV-LXIV. Transcriptions of the pieces may be found in Appendix VI. A complete and literal translation of Gerle's 1532 text concerning the kleynen Geyglen may be found in Appendix V. The translation is by Dr. Renate Benkert, West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia.

7 Gerle, 1532, Iiir.

8 Ibid. Five of these pieces found in the section concerning the grossen Geygen have been published by the Early Music Series (EM 14) under the title, "5 pieces for 4 viols," (London: Oxford University Press, 1974).

kleynen Geyglen which represent the three different sizes of the instrument: 1) a small, three-stringed discant; 2) a larger, three-stringed alto and tenor; and 3) a still larger, four-stringed bass.[9] Although Gerle does not designate specific pitches to which the instruments should be tuned he advises the player to tune the top string of the discant neither "too high nor too low." Gerle's tabulature for the kleynen Geigleyn is based upon German lute tabulature and the following chart indicates the letter and pitch designations for the tabulature as well as the tuning and range for each of the three sizes of the kleinen geyglen.

The four pieces which Gerle includes are: from the 1532/37 edition, "Mag ich gunst han," composer unknown;[10] "Ein Maydt die sagt mir zu" by Malchinger or Ludwig Senfl;[11] and, from the
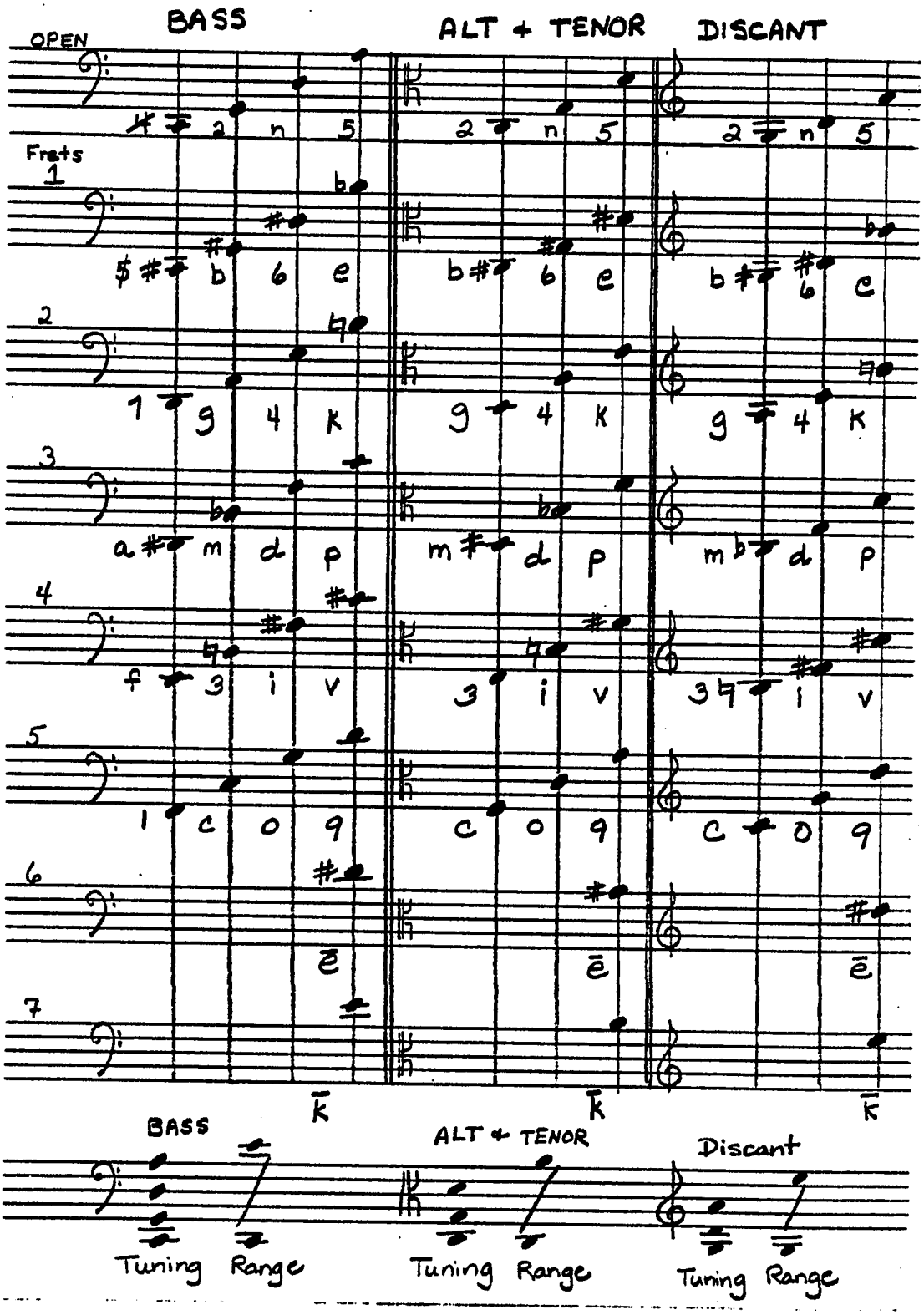
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9 Martin Agricola, Musica instrumentalis Deudsch (Wittemberg, 1532) depicts a four-part consort of these three sizes. See Figure 1f.

10 No other appearances of this piece in sixteenth-century collections are known nor have there been any other modern editions of this piece published to date.

11 This piece first appeared (with text) in an untitled collection of songs published by Peter Schöffer in Mainz in 1513 and later appeared in several sixteenth and seventeenth-century sources. Modern editions of the piece based upon some of these sources may be found in Ludwig Senfl, Sämtliche Werke, Band VI: A. Deutsche Lieder, IV. Teil, Lieder aus den gedruckten Liederbüchern von Rhaw 1544, Forster 1549 und 1556 . . ., ed. Arnold Geering and Wilhelm Altwegg (Wolfenbüttel and Zurich: Möseler Verlag, 1961), no. 17, p. 29 ("Ein Magd, die sagt mir freundlich zue") and in Ludwig Senfl, Sämtliche Werke, Band VII: Instrumental-Carmina . . ., ed. Arnold Geering and Wilhelm Altwegg (Wolfenbüttel and Zurich: Möseler Verlag, 1960), no. 15. The latter is based upon Elias Nicolaus Ammerbach, Orgel oder In/strument Tabulatur (Leipzig, 1571). See also Georg Forster, Frische Teutsche Liedlein (1539-1556), Erster Teil, Ein Ausszug guter alter und neuer teutscher Liedlein (1539), Kurt Gudewill, ed., in Das Erbe Deutscher Musik, Band 20, dritter band der Abteilung "Mehrstimmiges Lied" (Wolfenbüttel and Zurich: Möseler Verlag, 1964), No. 25, pp. 34-35 ("Ein Meidleyn sagt mir freuntlich zu") and Robert Eitner "Das alte deutsche mehrstimmige Lied und seine Meister," Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte XXV (1893), pp. 219-220 ("Ein magt die sagt mir freuntlich zu;" based upon Peter Schöffer's edition).

Figure 3. Gerle's Tabulature for the kleynen Geigleyn



1546 edition, "Es ligt ein Hauss im Oberlandt" by Oswalt Reytter[12] and "Artlich und schön" by Casparus Bohemus.[13]

The use of a ribechino (alternately ribecchino) to play a part in two identifiable pieces of music may be implied, but is not specifically documented, in Pierfrancesco Giambullari's eyewitness account of the wedding festivities to celebrate the marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, in 1539. The pieces during which a ribechino was, at the very least, carried by an actor or musician are: "Sacro et santo Hymeneo" for nine voices[14] and "Bacco, Bacco e u o e," a madrigal in four parts,[15] both by Francesco Corteccia (1504-1571).

The texts of numerous poems (without musical settings) mentioned in the literary sources examined were said to have been sung to the accompaniment of the rebec (rebeck and rebecke). Whereas it is possible that some of these poems may actually have corresponding music, it is doubtful that all have been set. In most cases the mention of an accompaniment by the rebec was probably just a literary

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12 Although the text and the melody had already been printed two years before Gerle's 1546 edition, Gerle may be responsible for this four-part version. A modern edition of Gerle's setting may be found in Wilhelm Tappert, ed., Sang und Klang aus alter Zeit: Hundert Musikstucke aus Tabulaturen des XVI bis XVIII Jahrhunderts (Berlin: L. Liepmannssohn, 1906), p. 25.

13 Two years before Gerle, Hans Newsidler published this piece in Das Ander Buch./Ein New künstlich Lautten Buch . . . (Nürnberg: Hans Günther, 1544). Newsidler published the piece again in a 1549 edition of his lute book. See modern edition of "Artlich und schön" in Das Erbe Deutscher Musik, Band 20, No. 23.

14 A modern edition of this piece may be found in Andrew C. Minor and Bonner Mitchell, eds., A Renaissance Entertainment: Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, in 1539 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1968), pp. 146-165.

15 A modern edition of this piece may be found in Minor, pp. 351-352.

device and not meant to suggest actual pieces of music for the instrument. The oldest of these sources may be found in Nicolas de Montreux, Le premier livre des bergeries du Iulliette, 2nd ed. (Paris: Chez Gilles Beys, 1587).[16]

Ie veux recommencer mes plainctes
Dans les deserts tous plains de crainctes,
Et contraindre par tant de pleurs,
La mort de finir mes douleurs.
Las mes yeux ruisselez encore,
Tant que celle la que i'adore,
D'vn baiser arreste le cours,
De mon mal et de mes amours.
Mon coeur ne termine ta peine,
Tant que ma belle Cliomene,
Par vn lascif embrassement
Borne la fin de mon tourment.
O Cliomene ma mignonne,
Reçois mon coeur que ie te donne,
En recompense donne moy,
Ton amour, ton ame et ta foy.[17]

I want to begin my complaints again
In the deserts which are all full of fears,
And to hold back by so many tears
The death which would end my suffering.

Alas, eyes, stream again,
Until she whom I adore
Stops with a kiss the course
Of my illness and of my love.

Heart do not end your pain
Until my beautiful Cliomene,
By a lascivious embrace
Puts a limit on the end of my torment.

Oh Cliomene my sweet,
Receive my heart which I give you,
As recompense give me
Your love, your soul and your faith.[18]

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16 Page 18. A copy of the 1587 edition is located at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts and a copy of the 4th ed., 1588, is located at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. The text is included here since it is not known to be available in any modern sources.

17 Ibid.

18 Translation by Dr. Patricia Cummins, West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia.

Similar references to a poem with a rebeck accompaniment may be found in The Shepheards Garland by Michael Drayton (London: Thomas Woodcock, 1593), Eglog II[19] and in Drayton's Pastorals Contayning Eglogves with the Man in the Moone (London: John Smethwicke, 1619), The Second Eglogve.[20] The latter poem was first printed in England's Helicon in 1600 and was subsequently published by Drayton in Variants from Eglogs (1606). It was probably from one of these sources that John Ward set the first stanza as a five-part madrigal in 1613.[21]

Finally, numerous references to the rebecke (rebeck) used to accompany the singing (or just the recitation?) of poems may be found in Bartholomew Yong's English translation (1598) from the Spanish of Jorge de Montemayor's epic poem Diana (written ca.1559). Thus, Diana is an important source for locating the types, if not the actual examples, of the poetry with which a rebecke accompaniment might have been associated.[22]

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19 Lines 106-129. See modern edition of the poem in J. William Hebel, The Works of Michael Drayton, 5 vols. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961), Vol. I, p. 53-54.

20 Lines 105-128. See modern edition of the poem in Hebel, Vol. II, p. 525.

21 John Ward, First Set of Madrigals (1613), No. 18. A modern edition of the madrigal may be found in Edmund Horace Fellowes, The English Madrigal School (London: Stainer and Bell, 1913-), Vol. XVIII, John Ward, Madrigals (1613), No. 18, pp. 94-103.

22 See Chapter VIII for the specific references to these poems, all of which may be found in the critical modern edition by Judith M. Kennedy, ed., A Critical Edition of Yong's Translation of George of Montemayor's Diana and Gil Polo's Enamoured Diana (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

The use of the rebec (in its various forms) in Western Europe can be documented through literary and iconographic sources from the late thirteenth through the first half of the eighteenth century. Its earliest documentable appearances are in Spain (late thirteenth through at least the second half of the sixteenth century), France (late thirteenth through the first half of the eighteenth century), and Great Britain (late thirteenth through at least the middle of the seventeenth century). Use of the instrument can be documented from about the mid-fourteenth century in Italy (through the eighteenth century), Belgium (through the end of the seventeenth century), and Germany (through the eighteenth century). In The Netherlands, Austria, and Sweden, the earliest documentable appearances of the rebec date from the fifteenth century (to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).

Within these geographical areas and their corresponding languages and dialects the rebec was known by more than one hundred and fifty differently-spelled names throughout its history. A study of the orthography of these names and the development of a dictionary of rebec-related terminology has revealed that some words formerly thought to refer to the rebec have been erroneously used, particularly in nineteenth and twentieth-century studies, and have now been shown either to refer to other instruments or to have entirely different definitions. Due to the great number of rebec-related spellings, it is recommended

that the term rebec continue to be used when referring to the instrument in a generic sense. Whenever possible and appropriate, future scholarly studies should make an effort to reflect the rebec-related terminology suitable to the studies' geographical and temporal parameters.

The morphology of the rebec was never really standardized throughout its history but the instrument may be characterized by the following general features: 1) a bipartite instrument which could be piriform, boat-shaped, or butterfly-shaped; not waisted; three sizes (at least by 1400); 2) usually an integral neck but sometimes distinct; if a fingerboard is present, it may be stepped or separate (as on a violin); 5) number of strings may vary from 2 to 5 with three the most common number; 6) a pegbox which may be bent-back or sickle-shaped; lateral pegs; 7) the lower end of the strings may be fastened to a tailpiece, a crossbar, an endpin or endknob, or directly to the bottom of the instrument; 8) a movable bridge is most common but a crossbar is also found; 9) two C-shaped soundholes in the belly are most often depicted, but round soundholes are also found; 10) may be fretted; 11) must be a bowed instrument; and 12) usually played a braccio in northern Europe and Italy but usually played a gamba in Spain; never played right under the chin in the fashion of a violin. Three specific rebec-types have been delineated: 1) the boat-shaped rebab/rubeba/rebec-type (late thirteenth through the eighteenth century); 2) the most commonly-found piriform rebec-type (fourteenth through the eighteenth century) with two sub-group types, the mandora/rebec-type (fifteenth through the sixteenth century) and a type with an angular upper end and a distinct neck (Italy, fifteenth through sixteenth century);

and 3) the butterfly-shaped, violeta type (Italy, fifteenth through the sixteenth century). The pochette was the ultimate development of the rebec and, as a distinct type, was firmly established by the end of the sixteenth century.

The names of five sixteenth-century rebec-makers are known as are the names of twenty-five rebec players. Many of the latter were court musicians in Spain, France, and England, and are known to have played at royal courts including those of King Peter IV of Spain; Kings Charles VIII, René II, Antoine, and Francis I of France; and Kings Henry VIII and James I of England. Throughout its history the rebec was played by people of all strata of society including nobility, professional and amateur musicians, monks, and peasants.

As a solo instrument, the rebec was used to accompany the recitation (?) or singing of poetry, often love laments, as an accompaniment for dancing, and for the entertainment of the player. The earliest mention of an ensemble of rebecs dates from 1400 and specifies a rebec consort of three distinct sizes. In the sixteenth century a rebec consort usually consisted of four instruments: a small rebec playing the discant, two middle-size instruments playing the alto and tenor parts, and a large rebec playing the bass part. Only four pieces of music survive which are specifically arranged for a consort of four klein Geiglen; these may be found in a method book by Hans Gerle (1532/37/46). The rebec was played with other instruments in broken consorts but no standard combinations have been observed except to note the common association of the rebec with other bas (soft) instruments; when accompanying dances, the rebec was sometimes joined

by a player of the pipe and tabor or the bagpipes. The sound of the rebec has been variously described as sweet and harmonious, melancholy, and even harsh.

The rebec was infrequently used for religious occasions. The only documentable religious uses include 1) a painting of a rebec and pipe and tabor playing at a wedding ceremony inside a cathedral; 2) the appearance of a rebec in a religious procession in Venice; and 3) the use of the rebec, associated with Jesus, in Medieval mystery plays. The rebec was popular in secular situations and especially, among lower classes, to accompany dancing and to be played in taverns. The upper classes hired rebec players to perform for pre- and post-wedding festivities; such use has been documented for the weddings of Conrad de Serrière to Claude Baudoiche in Metz, France (July 25, 1491); the wedding of Anne of Brittany and Charles VII in Rennes, France (December 13, 1491); the wedding of Cosimo I, the Duke of Florence, to Leonora da Tolleto (1539); and the wedding of Prince Francesco and Giovanna, Queen of Austria, in Florence (1565). The rebec player also provided entertainment at banquets and receptions for the nobility. Secular processions included rebecs, and festivities for the entry of visiting royalty into the city limits sometimes included rebec players. The rebec was a popular court instrument, and nobility are sometimes depicted playing the rebec along with other instruments in courtyard scenes.

The rebec's popularity extended from the late thirteenth through the first half of the sixteenth century; one might designate the fifteenth through the early sixteenth centuries as the rebec's

"golden age." However, with the development and production of the violin by the third decade of the sixteenth century, the rebec started to lost its stature. Pierre Trichet notes in 1640 that "since the invention of the violin, the rebec has not been kept in use, having lost its vogue and its former esteem when the violin was introduced," although he also notes that a few people still persist in playing it.[1] Those who persisted in playing the rebec in France were sternly warned by statutes issued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to play the instrument only in non-professional situations. Thus the rebec was relegated to amateurs and street musicians and was limited in its use to being played in taverns and other places of ill-repute. However, the traditions of the rebec lived on in another form, the diminutive descendent of the rebec, the poche (commonly referred to today as the pochette), which survived as late as the eighteenth century as the compromise instrument which could still be played and enjoyed by both the upper and lower classes.

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1 Pierre Trichet, cited by François Lesure, "Le traité des instruments de musique de Pierre Trichet: des instruments de musique à chordes," Annales musicologiques IV (1956): 229. Assistance with translation from Dr. Patricia Cummins, West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia.

THE REBEC

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A P P E N D I X I

A DICTIONARY OF REBEC-RELATED TERMINOLOGY

The dictionary which follows is comprised of an alphabetical list of all the rebec-related terms discussed in the literary study of this dissertation. The entry for each term includes a composite definition based upon information contained in the literary sources consulted, etymological notes, a chronological listing of appearances of the term in literature, a brief identification of sources, definition(s) of each term in the literary context, and page number reference(s) to the literary citations contained in the text of this study.

ARRABÉ ---------- Middle Spanish. (Variant of rabé) Purportedly in use at least during the fifteenth century, to designate the rabé or rabel, musical instruments.

1. 1933-1936. Academia Española, Diccionario histórico de la lengua española. No primary source cited. Arrabé is said to have been used in fifteenth-century poetry to designate the instrument, the rabel. (183)

ARRABECA ---------- Portuguese. (Corruption of the Arabic ar-rabāb; synonymous with rabeca, rebeca) No dates of use available. A violin, a rabel.

1. 1886. D. Leopoldo de Éguílaz y Yanguas, Glosario etimológico. Dates of use unknown. A violin, a rabel. (193)

ARRABEL ---------- Spanish. (Variant of rabel, rabbel) No dates of use available. A rebec.

1. 1852. Georges Kastner, Les Danses des Morts. A violin believed to have been the rebec. Synonymous with Portuguese rebeca. (191)

ARRABIL ---------- Portuguese. (Synonymous with Spanish rabel; Portuguese rabil and rebel; diminutives arrabilete, arrabilerio) No dates of use available. A rebec.

1. 1865. Pierre Larousse, Grand dictionnaire universel français. A rebec. (192)

ARRABILERIO -------- Portuguese. (Augmentative of arrabil) No dates of use or definition available.

1. 1914. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, "Este es al Calbi Orabi." No primary source or dates of use cited. A large arrabil. (192)

ARRABILETE --------- Portuguese. (Diminutive of arrabil) No dates of use or definition available.

1. 1914. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, "Este es al Calbi Orabi." No primary source or dates of use cited. A small arrabil (rebec? pochette?). (192)

CLEIN GEIGEN ------- German. (Variants include cleynen Geigen, klein Geigen) In use at least in 1511. A rebec which was bipartite, piriform in shape, had three strings, a bent-back pegbox, lateral pegs, stepped fingerboard, C-shaped soundholes, tailpiece, movable bridge, flat soundboard, vaulted back, and was bowed.

1. 1511. Sebastian Virdung, Musica Getutscht. Includes a woodcut of this instrument. (241)

CLEYNEN GEIGEN ----- German. (Variants include clein Geigen, klein Geigen) In use at least in 1511. Same description as clein Geigen.

1. 1511. Sebastian Virdung, Musica Getutscht. Includes a woodcut of this instrument. (241)

GAR KLEINEN GEIGLEIN ---------- German. In use at least in 1619. A very small kleinen Geiglein; presumably a pochette.

1. 1619. Michael Praetorius, Syntagma musicum. A very small kleinen Geiglein; a pochette (?). Includes a woodcut of this instrument. (242)

GEIGEN ---------- German. A generic term for bowed, stringed instruments which was also used to refer to the pochette in 1619.

1. 1619. Michael Praetorius, Syntagma musicum. A pochette. Includes a woodcut. (242)

GEIGLEIN ---------- German. In use at least in 1732. Refers to the pochette. (Syn. poccetta, poche, fidicula)

1. 1732. Johann Gottfried Walther, Musikalisches Lexikon. A pochette. (241, fn. 15)

GEIGLEYN ---------- German. In use at least between 1532 and 1546. Refers to the rebec as described under clein Geigen except that it had a separate rather than a stepped fingerboard. (Syn. Geyglein, Geiglein, Geygleyn, Geyg, kleynen Geyglen, and so on)

1. 1532/37/46. Hans Gerle, Musica Teusch and Musica und Tabulatur. Includes a woodcut of this instrument. (242)

GEYG ---------- German. In use at least between 1532 and 1546. Refers to the rebec as described under clein Geigen except that it had a separate rather than a stepped fingerboard. (Syn. Geyglein, Geigleyn, Geiglein, Geygleyn, kleynen Geyglen, and so on)

1. 1532/37/46. Hans Gerle, Musica Teusch and Musica und Tabulatur. Includes a woodcut of this instrument. (242)

GEYGLEIN ---------- German. In use at least between 1532 and 1546. Refers to the rebec as described under clein Geigen except that it had a separate rather than a stepped fingerboard. (Syn. Geigleyn, Geiglein, Geygleyn, Geyg, kleynen Geyglen, and so on)

1. 1532/37/46. Hans Gerle, Musica Teusch and Musica und Tabulatur. Includes a woodcut of this instrument. (242)

GEYGLEYN ---------- German. In use at least between 1532 and 1546. Refers to the rebec as described under clein Geigen except that it had a separate rather than a stepped fingerboard. (Syn. Geyglein, Geigleyn, Geiglein, Geyg, kleynen Geyglen, and so on)

1. 1532/37/46. Hans Gerle, Musica Teusch and Musica und Tabulatur. Includes a woodcut of this instrument. (242)

GHIRONDA REBECCA --- Italian. (Variant gironda ribega) No dates of use available. A hurdy-gurdy.

1. 1913. Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon. A hurdy-gurdy. No primary source or dates of use cited. (170)

GIRONDA RIBEGA ----- Italian. (Variant ghironda rebecca) No dates of use available. A hurdy-gurdy.

1. 1866. Georges Kastner, Parémiologie musicale. A hurdy-gurdy. No primary source or dates of use cited. (170)

JOUER DU REBEC ----- French. In use primarily during the sixteenth century. Derived from the literal translation, to play the rebec, it became an idiom thought to mean to resist, to offer opposition; a sexual double entendre may also be implied. See also se rebecquer and se rebequer.

JOUER DU REBEC ----- (con't.)

1. 1530. John Palsgrave, L'eclaircissement de la langue françoyse. (English to French). Play the fiddle. (107-108)

2. Fifteenth or sixteenth century. Anon., Sermon joyeux de la patience des femmes obstinées contre leurs maris. Resist, offer opposition; sexual implication? (109)

3. Sixteenth century. Henri Estienne, Apologie pour Hérodote. Resist, offer opposition. (109)

4. 1549. Jean Calvin, Advertissement contre l'astrologie. Resist, offer opposition. (110)

5. 1611. Randle Cotgrave, Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues. Synonymous with se rebecquer. (109)

6. 1694. Dictionnaire de l'académie. Rebec; resist? (131)

JOUEUR DE REBEC ---- Middle French. In use during at least the late fifteenth century through at least the late sixteenth century. Originally meaning, literally, player of the rebec, it may later have come to refer to a croudar and finally, to a clever or skillful person.

1. 1490. "Les comptes de l'argenterie du roy Charles VIII." Player of the rebec. (106)

2. 1494. "Registres de la chambre des comptes de Blois." Player of the rebec. (106)

3. 1530. Account books. Player of the rebec. (107)

4. 1530. John Palsgrave, L'eclaircissement de la langue françoyse. (English to French) A croudar. (107)

5. 1585. Noël du Faïl, Contes et discours d'Eutrapel. A clever or skillful person. (108)

JOURNÉE DE REBEC --- French. No dates of use available. Descriptive term for retreat of French army from Robecco d'Oglio, Italy, in 1524.

JOURNÉE DE REBEC (con't.) --- 1. 1865. Pierre Larousse, Grand dictionnaire. The retreat of the French army from Robecco d'Oglio, Italy, in 1524. No primary source or dates of use cited. (171)

KLEIN GEIG POSCHE --- German. In use at least in 1619. Used to refer to a rebec/pochette type.

1. 1619. Michael Praetorius, Syntagma musicum. A rebec/pochette type. Includes a woodcut. (242)

KLEINE GEIGEN ------ German. In use at least in 1528. Used to refer to rebec-like instruments without frets (ohne Bünden), of which there were three sizes.

1. 1528. Martin Agricola, Musica instrumentalis deudsch. Rebecs without frets which came in three sizes and were played in consorts of four. (241)

KLEINE POSCHEN ----- German. In use at least in 1619. Used to refer to a rebec/pochette type.

1. 1619. Michael Praetorius, Syntagma musicum. A rebec/pochette type. Includes a woodcut. (242)

KLEINE GEIGLEN ----- German. In use at least between 1532 and 1546. Refers to the rebec as described under clein Geigen except that it had a separate rather than a stepped fingerboard.

1. 1532/37/46. Hans Gerle, Musica Teusch and Musica und Tabulatur. Includes a woodcut of this instrument. (242)

KLEINEN HANDGEIGLEIN- German. In use at least in 1545. Used to refer to the rebec/pochette type.

1. 1528. Martin Agricola, Musica instrumentalis deudsch. Rebec/pochette type. (241)

KLEYNEN GEYGLEN ---- German. In use at least between 1532 and 1546. Refers to the rebec as described under clein Geigen except that it had a separate rather than a stepped fingerboard. (Syn. Geyglein, Geigleyn, Geiglein, Geyg, Geygleyn, and so on)

1. 1532/37/46. Hans Gerle, Musica Teusch and Musica und Tabulatur. Includes a woodcut of this instrument. (242)

LIRA DICTA ---------- Latin. In use at least as early as the eleventh century and during the Middle Ages. May refer to the rabab or may be used generically to refer to various types of Medieval fiddles such as those of the rebec and Geige family.
(LYRA DICTA)

1. 11th century. Author unknown, Glossarium Latino Arabicum. A rabāb. (63)

2. Date unknown. Vincent de Beauvais, "Spec. Doc." Generic term for Medieval fiddles. (63)

MARIONETTA ---------- Latin. In use at least ca.1487. Synonymous with rebec.

1. ca.1487. Johannes Tinctoris, De inventione et usu musicae. A rebec. (58-59)

MARIONNETTE -------- French. In use at least in 1479. May refer to the rebec or a child's musical pipe.

1. 1479 or after. Jehan Molinet, Chanson sur la journée de Guinegate. A musical instrument. (98)

POCCETTA ---------- Italian. In use at least in 1732. Refers to the pochette. (Syn. poche, fidicula, Geiglein)

1. 1732. Johann Gottfried Walther, Musikalisches Lexikon. A pochette. (241)

POCHE ---------- French. In use at least from 1611-1732. Refers to the little narrow and long instrument with a one-piece back used by French dancers or dance masters. (Syn. poccetta, Geiglein, fidicula)

1. 1611. Randle Cotgrave, A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues. A little narrow and long instrument with a one-piece back, used by dancers and dancing masters. (243, fn. 22)

2. 1636. Marin Mersenne, Harmonie universelle. The smallest violin; carried by dancing teachers in their pockets. (242, 245)

3. 1640. Pierre Trichet, Le Traité des instruments de musique. A small instrument which could be carried in the pocket of the player. The poche and rebec are similar in shape. (129-130)

POCHE (con't.) — 4. Johann Gottfried Walther, Musikalisches Lexikon. A pochette. (241)

POCHETTE — French. Dates of use unknown; presumably 16th-18th century. Diminutive of poche.

1. 1882. É. Littré, Dictionnaire de la langue française. A small stringed instrument used by dance masters when giving their lessons.

POCHETTO — French. In use at least in 1619. A three-stringed bowed instrument, synonymous with the gar kleinen Geiglein.

1. 1619. Michael Praetorius, Syntagma musicum. Synonymous with gar kleinen Geiglein.

RABĀB — Arabic. (Etym., from rabba, related to rubāb of Persia; considered to be the etymological antecedent for essentially all of the rebec-related words; variant rebâb) One of the earliest and most descriptive references to the rabāb as a bowed stringed instrument is by Al Farabi (died ca.950). In modern usage, rabāb may refer to a two-stringed instrument played with a bow in Arabic countries or a spike fiddle played in the Near East. Rabāb has also been generically used to refer to all types of bowed stringed instruments.

1. 1927. Karl Lokotsch, Etymologisches Wörterbuch. Cites several rebec-related words in various languages which are etymologically derived from rabāb. (178)

2. 1963. Henry George Farmer, "Rebâb," in Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Cites several of the earliest Arabic sources for this word. (178)

RABABA — Arabic. (Etym. from rabba; syn. with rabāb) May first have been mentioned by Moorish poet Ibn Hazm (died 1064) in Spain.

1. 1963. Henry George Farmer, "Rebâb," in Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Purportedly synonymous with rabāb.

RABAGUET ---------- Spanish, Catalan dialect. (Diminutive of rebeu, rabé?) No dates of use available. A small fiddle.

1. 1927. Karl Lokotsch, Etymologisches Wörterbuch. No primary source or dates of use cited. A small fiddle (Geigen). (185)

RABAQUET ---------- Spanish, Catalan dialect. (Diminutive of rebeu, rabé?) In modern usage. A violin, a rebec.

1. 1865-1890. Pierre Larousse, Grand dictionnaire. No primary source or dates of use cited. A rebec. (185)

RABBEL ---------- Spanish. (Variant of rabel) No dates of use available. A rebec.

1. 1852. Georges Kastner, Les danses des morts. A violin believed to have been the rebec. Syn. with Portuguese rebeca and Spanish arrabel. (191)

RABÊB ---------- Arabic. (Variant of rabāb, but not as often used as the variant rebâb) A bowed stringed instrument. No dates of use available.

1. 1886. D. Leopoldo de Eguílaz y Yanguas, Glosario etimológico. Referred to in entry for rabel. No dates of use or definition available. (178)

RABEC ---------- Middle French. (Derivative of Old Provençal rabey? Aberration of rebec?) In use at least in or around 1452. No definition available.

1. 1452. Archival document. No definition available. (139)

RABECA ---------- Portuguese. (Etym. rabāb; syn. rabec, rabel) In use at least as early as the first part of the seventeenth century through the present. A bowed stringed instrument. May refer to the rebec or the violin.

1. 1639. Agostinho da Cruz. Lyra de arco, ou arte de tanger rabeca. A violin (?). (193)

RABECÃO ---------- Portuguese. (Augmentative of rabeca) In modern use, the stringed double bass.

1. 1913. Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon. A double bass. (193)

RABECÃO PEQUENO ---- Portuguese. (Augmentative of rabeca; diminutive of rabecão) In modern usage, the violoncello.

1. 1913. Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon. A violoncello. (193-194)

RABECCA ---------- Portuguese. (Derived from rabec? Variant of rabeca) In modern usage. No definition cited but undoubtedly the same as rabeca, i.e., a violin.

1. 1963. Henry George Farmer, "Rebâb," in Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. No primary source or definition cited. (193)

RABEL(ES) ---------- Middle-modern Spanish. (May be a derivative of rabāb or possibly derived as a Spanish contraction of the Arabic rabé al-. . .; diminutives rabelico, rabelillo, rebequin; variants raben, rabelejo, rabela, rabell; related word, rabetereo) In use at least from the early fifteenth century to the present day. A small stringed instrument similar to the bandurria, with three strings tuned in fifths; it may at first have been plucked and later bowed. It was sometimes fretted at the discretion of the player; its pitch was uncertain and its sound said to be harsh or unpleasant. A Spanish rebec. May sometimes refer to the violin, pochette, or a bladder and string folk instrument. In modern usage it usually refers to a small, four-stringed folk violin in Spain.

1. 1404. No primary source given. Cited in D. Eduardo L. Chavarri, "La musica en los misterios del corpus . . ." (1945). A musical instrument, probably stringed (bowing not specified). (186)

2. 1497. Royal account books. Cited by Mary Kay Duggan, "Queen Joanna and Her Musicians" (1976). A rabel player. (186)

3. 1503/1504. Royal account books. Cited by Mary Kay Duggan, "Queen Joanna and Her Musicians" (1976). A rabel player. (186)

4. 1505. Fr. Pedro de Alcalá, Vocabulista arávigo en letra castellana. A musical instrument. Synonymous with rabé. (186-187)

RABEL(ES) (con't.) ---------- 5. 1555. Juan Bermudo, Declaración de instrumentos musicales. A small stringed musical instrument (bowing is not specified) similar to the bandurria, with three strings, tuned in fifths, frets at the player's discretion; uncertain pitch; harsh sound. (187-188)

6. 1570/1591. Cristobal de las Casas, Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana. No definition available. (188)

7. 1571. Municipal Archives of Lequeitio (Basque). The rabel de arco, a bowed, stringed musical instrument. (187, fn. 61)

8. 1613. Pietro Cerone, El melopeo y maestro. A violin (?); syn. with rebequines (pochette?). (189)

9. 1650/1694. Gilles Ménage, Dictionnaire étymologique. A musical instrument; a rebec. (189)

10. 1726/1737. Diccionario de autoridades. A small, pastoral musical instrument shaped like a lute (laúd), with three strings, played with a bow, producing a high-pitched sound. (190)

11. 1732. Johann Gottfried Walther, Musikalisches Lexikon. Cites Antoine Furetière, Dictionnaire universel (1690). A rebec. (189)

RABELA ---------- Spanish, Galician dialect. (Syn. with Spanish rabel) No dates of use or definition available.

1. 1886. D. Leopoldo de Égufíaz y Yanguas, Glosario etimológico. No primary source, dates for use, or definition cited. (191)

RABELEJO ---------- Spanish. (A derivative of rabel) No dates of use or definition available.

1. 1954. Juan Corominas, Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana. No primary source, dates for use, or definition cited. (191)

RABELICO ---------- Spanish. (Diminutive of rabel, raben). No dates of use cited. A small rabel, raben.

1. 1913. Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon. No primary source or dates for use cited. A small rabel, raben. (191)

RABELILLO ---------- Spanish. (Diminutive of rabel, raben) No dates of use cited. A small rabel, raben.

1. 1913. Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon. No primary source or dates for use cited. A small rabel, raben. (191)

RABELL ---------- Spanish, Catalan and Valencian dialects. (Syn. with Spanish rabel; variant rabequet) No dates of use or definition available.

1. 1886. E. Leopoldo de Éguílaz y Yanguas, Glosario etimológico. No primary source, dates for use, or definition cited. (191)

RABEN ---------- Spanish, Aragon dialect. (Syn. with rabel) No dates of use cited. Defined as a rebec.

1. 1913. Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon. No primary source or dates for use cited. A rebec. (191)

RABEQUET ---------- Classical to modern Spanish, Catalan dialect. (Variant of rabell, rabeu, rabé?; diminutive of rabeu, rabé) In use since at least the seventeenth century. No definition available.

1. 1954. Juan Corominas, Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana. No primary source or definition cited. (185)

RABEQUIM ---------- Spanish. (Diminutive of rabé, French rabec) No dates of use or definition available.

1. 1914. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, "Este es el Calbi Orabi." No primary source, dates for use, or definition cited. (183)

RABEQUINHA --------- Portuguese. (Diminutive of rabeca) No dates of use available. A small rebec.

1. 1964. Sibyl Marcuse, Dictionary. No primary source or dates of use cited. A small rebec. (194)

RABEQUINHA DE ALGIBEIRA ---------- Portuguese. (Diminutive of Portuguese rabeca; may be derived from Spanish rabequim) Dates of use unknown. Refers to a pochette, violino piccolo, or pocket fiddle.

RABEQUINHA DE ALGIBEIRA (con't.) - 1. 1913. Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon. No primary source or dates of use cited. A Taschengeige (pochette). (194)

RABETEREO ---------- Middle Spanish. In use at least during the early sixteenth century. A rabel player.

1. 1507. No primary source given. Cited in Sibyl Marcuse, Dictionary (1964). A rabel player. (191)

RABEU ---------- Old Spanish, Catalan dialect. (Derivative of rabé?) In use at least during the first half of the fourteenth century. A musical instrument played by a Moorish musician in Spain.

1. February 1337. Aaragonese archives (?), cited by Pidal Menéndez, Poesía juglaresca y juglares (1924). A musical instrument played by a Moorish musician in Spain. (184)

2. March 7, 1337. Payment record. Cited by Pidal Menéndez, Poesía juglaresca y juglares (1924). A musical instrument played by a Moorish musician in Spain. (185)

RABEUET ---------- Old Spanish, Catalan dialect. (Diminutive of rabeu) No dates of use or definition cited.

1. 1954. Juan Corominas, Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana. No dates of use, primary sources, or definition cited. (185)

RABEY ---------- Provençal. In use at least from the end of the twelfth century through the beginning of the thirteenth century. No positive definition available; possibly a musical instrument.

1. Beginning of thirteenth century. Rambaud (Raimbaut) de Vaqueiras, poem. No positive definition possible; may refer to a musical instrument. (70)

RABIB ---------- Arabic. (Syn. with rebâb) A bowed stringed instrument. In use at least from the mid-seventeenth century through the early eighteenth century.

RABIB (con't.)

1. 1650/1694. Gilles Ménage, Dictionnaire étymologique. A musical instrument which gave rise to the Spanish rabel, according to one Pere Gaudix (n.d.) (130)

2. 1732. Johann Gottfried Walther, Musikalisches Lexikon. Cites Antoine Furetière, Dictionnaire universel (1690). No definition available. The Spanish word rabel is said to be derived from rabib or rebâb. (189)

RABIL ---------- Portuguese. (Syn. with arrabil and rebel) Dates of use unknown. A rebec.

1. 1882. É. Littré, ed., Dictionnaire de la langue française. No primary source or dates of use cited. A rebec. (191)

RABÖGLI ---------- Swiss/German. In use during the sixteenth century. Presumably a bowed stringed instrument.

1. 16th century. Bernhard Wyss, source not indicated. Refers to both geigen and rabögli as musical instruments. (239)

RABYBILL ---------- Middle English. (Diminutive of rybybe?; Variant of ribible, ribyble, rybyble) In use at least during the early fifteenth century. No positive definition available; may refer to an old woman.

1. 1st half of the 15th century. Northern Homily manuscript of Irish provenance. An old woman (?). (212)

RAVÉ ---------- Old Spanish. (Variant spelling for rabé) In use at least during the early fourteenth century. A stringed musical instrument.

1. 1330/1343. Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de Buen Amor. A Moorish ravé and a ravé gritador are mentioned. See (r)rabé gritador and (r)rabé morisco. Stringed musical instruments. (179, fn. 27)

RAVÉ GRITADOR ------ See RAVÉ and (R)RABÉ, No. 1.

RAVÉ MORISCO ------- See RAVÉ and (R)RABÉ, No. 1.

RAVENN ---------- German. Thirteenth century (?). A musical instrument.

1. 13th century. Reinfried von Braunschweig, unidentified poem. Supposedly refers to a musical instrument, perhaps to a rebec-type. (238)

RBAIRBE ---------- Swiss/German. Dates of use unknown. A metal jaw's-harp of the Freibergs.

1. 1964. Sibyl Marcuse, Dictionary. A Swiss jaw's harp; no sources cited. (239, fn. 10)

REBÂB ---------- Arabic. (Variant of rabāb; syn. with rebaba) In use from at least the second half of the seventeenth century to the present. A bowed stringed instrument. In modern usage, a spike fiddle of Islamic origin, played in Java and S. Celebes.

1. 1650/1694. Gilles Ménage, Dictionnaire étymologique. A musical instrument interpreted as the Coptic lyra which was believed to be an antecedent of the Spanish rabel and, ultimately, the rebec. Variant rebâba. (130)

2. 1732. Johann Gottfried Walther, Musikalisches Lexikon, citing Antoine Furetière, Dictionaire universel (1690). No definition available. The Spanish word rabel is derived from rebâb or rabib. (189)

REBABA ---------- Arabic. (Syn. with rebâb) In use from at least the middle of the seventeenth century through at least the first part of the eighteenth century. A bowed stringed instrument.

1. 1650/1694. Gilles Ménage, Dictionnaire étymologique. A musical instrument interpreted as the Coptic lyra, which was believed to be an antecedent of the Spanish rabel and, ultimately, the rebec. Variant, rebâb. (130)

REBÂNE ---------- Arabic. (Syn. with rebâb, rebâba) No dates of use available. A bowed stringed instrument.

1. 1913. Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon. A rebâb. (179)

2. 1971. Giampiero Tintori. Gli strumenti musicali. No dates of use or primary sources cited. Synonymous with rebâba. (179)

REBARBE ---------- Middle French. (Variant of rebebe, reberbe (?)). In use at least ca.1525. Probably refers to a musical instrument but could also be translated as a new beard, surliness, or bad behavior.

1. 1525. Anon. (Fifteenth century), Le banquet du boys. (1525 is earliest-known edition; believed to have been written during the fifteenth century) A musical instrument; could also mean a new beard, surliness, bad behavior. (93-94)

REBAY ---------- Burgundian. (Etym. from rabey?) Dates of use unknown. No definition available.

1. 1882. É. Littré, Dictionnaire de la langue française. Referred to as an etymological antecedent for rebec. No primary source, dates for use, or definition cited. (71)

REBBEC ---------- English. (Variant of rebeck?) Purportedly in use during eighteenth century. A musical instrument.

1. 18th century (?). Cited in Oxford English Dictionary (1970). No primary source cited. A musical instrument. (230)

REBBECK ---------- English. (Variant of rebeck) In use at least in 1644. A musical instrument popular in villages.

1. 1644. John Milton, Areopagitica. A musical instrument popular in villages. (231)

REBBECKE ---------- English. (Variant of rebecke) Purportedly in use at least in 1531. A musical instrument.

1. 1531. Henry VIII's Household Account Book, cited by Sir Francis Galpin, Old English Instruments of Music (1965), but not documented. A musical instrument. (230)

REBBEIS ---------- Provençal? Swiss? (Variant of rebei?) In use at least during the late fourteenth century. Musical instruments.

1. 1884. H. M. Schletterer, Geschichte der Spielmannszunft in Frankreich. Musical instruments mentioned in an undated edition of a document said to be of fourteenth century origin. (72)

REBEB ---------- Provençal. (Variant of rebebe?) Allegedly in use during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. No definition available.

1. 1909. E. Levy, Petit dictionnaire provençal - français. No primary source or definition cited. (72)

REBEBBE ---------- Middle French. (Variant of rebebe?) A musical instrument used to accompany epic poems and songs.

1. 1424. Jean de Gerson, Canticordum du Pelerin. A musical instrument used to accompany chansons de gestes. (91)

REBEBE(S) ---------- Old and Middle French. (Etym., from Arabic rebâb; Variant of rubebe; variants may include rebarbe, rebebet, rebeble, rebeblez, rebeibe, rebele, rebelle, reberbe, rebesbe, and ribebe; see rebec) In use from at least the late thirteenth century through the sixteenth century. A "nice-sounding" instrument with three strings, perhaps plucked (bowing is never specified); popular with "everyone" at the French court during the fourteenth century; at least some music played on it was appropriate for dancing.

1. 1277. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung, Le roman de la rose. Two separate references in this source. Rebebe; a musical instrument. Variant rubebe. (85)

2. Late thirteenth century. Anon., French translation of Anticlaudianus by Alain de Lille (ca.1128-1202). Rebebe, a musical instrument. Variant rubebe. (78, fn. 46)

3. 1371/1372. Jehan le Fèvre, translation from Latin to French of Mathieu or Matheolus' Lamentationes (written at end of thirteenth century). Rebebes; musical instruments. Variant rebeibes. (86)

4. ca.1376. Jehan le Fèvre, translation from Latin to French of Richard de Fournival's La vieille, becoming in French, Les dernières amours d'Ovide (written in thirteenth century). Rebebe; a three-stringed musical instrument, plucked (?). (86)

REBEBE(S) (con't.) ---------- 5. ca.1346?-1406? Eustache Deschamps, De musica. Three separate references in this source. Rebebe; a musical instrument. (88)

6. 1391. "Lettres de remission," archival document. Rebebe; a musical instrument. (89)

7. 1525. Anon. (Fifteenth century), Le banquet du boys. (1525 is earliest-known edition; believed to have been written during the fifteenth century) Rebebe, a musical instrument. Variant of rebarbe (?). (89-90)

8. Sixteenth century (?). No primary source cited. Listed in Leroux de Lincy, Recueil de chants historiques français depuis le XIIe jusqu'au XVIIIe siècle (1841-42). Rebebe; a musical instrument. (90)

REBEBET(S) ---------- Middle French. (Variant of rebebe(s), rebeibe(s) (?)). In use at least ca.1402-1425. A musical instrument.

1. ca.1402-1425. Jean de Bethencourt, Le Canarien. Rebebet; a musical instrument. (91)

REBEBLE(Z) ---------- Middle French. (Variant of rebebe, rebele (?), rebelle (?); diminutive of rebebe (?)). In use during the fifteenth century. Stringed (?) musical instruments.

1. Fifteenth century. Anon., Échecs amoureux. Rebeble; a musical instrument. (100)

REBEBN ---------- German (Austrian?). In use at least in 1584. Four "grosse rebebn" found in an inventory list of a Monastery; presumably musical instruments. May be related to the rybeben.

1. 1584. Kremsmünster Monastery inventory. (Cited by Sibyl Marcuse, Dictionary, 1964) Four grosse rebebn listed. (239)

REBEC(S) ---------- Middle and Modern French. (Etym., alteration by popular etymology of old French rebebe; borrowing from Arabic rebâb; through Provençal rabey and rebay (?). Plural forms include rebecs, rebecz, and rebectz) In use perhaps as early as ca.1379, but definitely from the second half of the fifteenth century through the present. The

REBEC(S) (con't.) ---------- following characteristics of the rebec and its use are mentioned in the literature studied and listed below: a two to three stringed musical instrument; played with a small bow; the strings held with great tension, suggesting a high pitch; tuned in fifths; during the seventeenth century, the body was made of maple and the belly of fir; in shape the rebec may have resembled a pandurina or mandora; it may have had a convex back; the interior of the instrument was hollow; the sides were either rounded or straight, having no waist cut out of the sides for bowing (thus, it may have been boat-shaped or pear-shaped); it may have had carved figures at the top of the neck (where one would find a scroll on a violin). The rebec is different than the violin, but is similar to the poche (pochette), which succeeded it. Some rebecs were considered to be beautiful and one unique specimen is said to have been made of silver. The rebec was used to accompany singing and dancing, was played at court, for festive occasions such as weddings, in taverns, and sometimes in places of ill-repute. The rebec was, at times, played by lower class citizens such as beggars and rogues. The word rebec may have had a sexual connotation in literature by the mid-sixteenth century. Idioms: see jouer du rebec, joueur de rebec.

1. 1379 (?). Jehan de Brie, Le bon berger. Rebecs; a stringed instrument played with the fingers, strung with small strings of sheep gut; a melody instrument. (104-105)

2. Second half of fifteenth century. Les satires chrétiennes. Rebec; a musical instrument played by a minstrel. (110-111)

3. ca.1470. Guillaume Coquillart, Le blason des armes et des dames. Rebec; a musical instrument. (114)

4. December 1476. Account books of Duchess Yolande of Savoy. Rebec; a musician. (105)

5. September 1479. Account books of Duke Philibert of Savoy. Rebec; a musical instrument. (105)

6. November 5, 1483. "Les comptes de l'argenterie du roy Charles VIII." Rebec; a musical instrument. (106)

REBEC(S) (con't.)

7. 1490. "Les comptes de l'argenterie du roy Charles VIII." Rebec; a musical instrument. (106)

8. 1494. "Registres de la chambre des comptes de Blois." Rebec; a musical instrument. (106)

9. Fifteenth or sixteenth century. Anon., Sermon joyeux de la patience des femmes. Resistance (?). See Jouer du rebec. (109)

10. Sixteenth century. Henri Estienne, Apologie pour Hérodote. Resistance. See Jouer du rebec. (109)

11. 1514. Archival document. Rebec; a silver musical instrument with a silver bridge. (107)

12. ca.1515-1544. Clément Marot, Ballades. Rebec; a musical instrument. (111)

13. ca.1515-1544. Clément Marot, Mort a tout humain. Rebec; a harsh-sounding musical instrument. (115)

14. 1523-35. "Les comptes de l'argenterie du Roy Charles VIII." Rebec; a musical instrument. (107)

15. 1530. Account books. Rebec, a musical instrument. (107)

16. 1530. John Palsgrave, L'eclaircissement de la langue françoyse. (English to French) Rebec; a musical instrument, a rebecke. (107-108)

17. ca.1545 to before 1589. Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Eglogues. Rebec; a musical instrument. (111)

18. 1545. François Habert, ed., Deploration poetique de feu M. Antoine du Prat. Rebec; a harmonious-sounding musical instrument. (115)

19. ca.1546. François Rabelais, Pantagruel. Rebec: a woman's face likened to a musical instrument. (117)

20. 1547. Maurice Scève, Saulsaye. Eglogue de la vie solitaire. Rebec; a musical instrument. (112-113)

REBEC(S) (con't.)

21. 1549. Jean Calvin, Advertissement contre l'astrologie. Resistance (?). See Jouer du rebec. (110)

22. Second half of sixteenth century (before 1606). Philippe Desportes, poem. Rebec; a musical instrument. (121)

23. 1552 (?). François Rabelais, Le quart livre. Rebec; the eyelids likened to a musical instrument. (116)

24. 1557. Anon., Discours non plus melancoliques. Rebec; a bowed, stringed instrument. (125)

25. 1559. "Les comptes de l'argenterie du roy Charles VIII." Rebec; a musical instrument. (107)

26. 1570. L. Harrison, dictionary. (French to English) Rebec; a bowed vyoll. (125)

27. 1577/1606. Adriano Iunio, Nomenclator octilinguis. (Latin to French) Rebec; a three-stringed musical instrument; a pandura (?). (126-127)

28. 1585. Noël du Faïl, Contes et discours d'Eutrapel. Rebec; a musical instrument and/or to be clever, skillful. See joueur de rebec. (108)

29. 1585. Nicolas de Montreux, Le premier livre des bergeries de Julliette. Rebec; a musical instrument. (112)

30. 1593. Claude de Sainleins, alias Claudius Hollyband, A Dictionaire French and English. (French to English) Rebec; a bowed vyoll, a fidlar. (108, 126)

31. ca.1603-1608. Mathurin Régnier, Louanges de Macette. Rebec; a stringed musical instrument. (113)

32. 1605. Pierre le Loyer, Discours et histoire des spectres. Rebec; a four-stringed instrument of the Chaldeans. Variant rebiag and rebuba? (126)

REBEC(S) (con't.)

33. 1606. Jean Nicot, Thrésor de la langue françoyse. Rebec; a bowed instrument, a viole. (126, fn. 225)

34. ca.1608. Mathurin Régnier, Satyre XIX. Rebec; a hollow belly likened to a musical instrument. (119)

35. ca.1610. Mathurin Régnier, Satyre X. Rebec; a stringed musical instrument, played with the hands. (113)

36. 1611. G. de Salustre du Bartas, Sr., Artifices. Rebec; a stringed musical instrument. (114)

37. 1611. Randle Cotgrave, A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues. (French to English) Rebec; the fiddle called rebeck. (125)

38. 1616. Adrien de Montluc, Comédie des proverbes. Rebec; a musical instrument. (119)

39. March 27, 1628. Civil Lieutenant of Paris, Archival document. Rebec; a musical instrument secondary to the violin family. (121)

40. 1631. Johann Amos Komensky, Porta linguarum. (Latin, French, English) Rebec, a bowed (?) stringed musical instrument. (128)

41. 1636. Marin Mersenne, Harmonie universelle. Rebec; a three-stringed, bowed instrument, tuned in fifths, and no longer used. (129)

42. ca.1640. Pierre Trichet, Le traité des instruments de musique. Rebec; a bowed stringed instrument with three strings; different than the violin and similar to the poche; body of one piece with no waist; tuned in fifths; no longer in use. (129-130)

43. August 29, 1643. King's attorney, archival document. Rebec; bowed stringed instrument. (122)

44. March 2, 1644. Provost, archival document. Rebec; bowed stringed instrument. (121-122)

45. July 11, 1648. French parliament, archival document. Rebec; bowed stringed instrument. (121-122)

REBEC(S) (con't.)

46. 1650/94. Gilles Ménage, Dictionnaire étymologique. Rebec; a musical instrument called by the Sapnish rabel. (130)

47. 1678. Domino du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis. (Latin, French) Rebec; bowed stringed instrument known in Latin as rebeca. (131)

48. 1690. Antoine Furetière, Dictionnaire universel. Rebec; a violin with three strings tuned in fifths. (131)

49. 1694. Dictionnaire de l'académie. Rebec; a musical instrument. (131)

50. 1730. Industrie. Rebec; a musical instrument. (122-123)

51. 1732. Johann Gottfried Walther, Musikalisches Lexikon. (German) Rebec; a three-stringed, bowed instrument, tuned in fifths, known as violin. (131)

52. 1741. Guignon, an ordinance. Rebec; a three-stringed instrument. (123)

53. 1774. Martin Gerbert, De cantu et musica sacra. (Latin) Rebec; a musical instrument. (131)

54. 1780. Jean Benjamin de la Borde, Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne. Rebec; a bowed stringed instrument with three strings tuned in fifths and played with a small bow. (132)

55. Dates unknown (sixteenth century?). Belleforière, Secr. de l'agric. Rebec; a hoarse-sounding musical instrument. (115)

56. Dates unknown (sixteenth century?). A vaudeville. Cited by Georges Kastner, Les danses des morts (1852). Rebec; a musical instrument. (111-112)

REBEC À ROUE ------- French. In use during the sixteenth century (?). Refers to the hurdy-gurdy (literally "rebec with a wheel").

1. 1866. Georges Kastner, Parémiologie musicale. A hurdy-gurdy. No dates of use or primary sources cited. (171, fn. 61)

REBECA ---------- Latin and Portuguese. (Variants rebecca and rebella). In use at least as early as ca.1300 through at least the first quarter of the fifteenth century (Latin) to the present (Portuguese). May refer to the rebec in Latin and the violin in Portuguese.

1. ca.1300. Abbé Aimery de Peyrac, poem. A bowed stringed instrument which sometimes may be made to sound like a woman's voice. (57)

2. ca.1487. Johannes Tinctoris, De inventione et usu musicae. A rebec invented by the French; a bowed stringed instrument of tortoise-shape, like the lute. (58-59)

3. 1678. Domino du Cange, Glossarium. A little lyre (?), from the Old French, rebec. (60)

REBECC ---------- English. (Variant of rebeck) In use at least in 1512. A musician who played the rebecc.

1. 1512. Henry A. Percy, 5th Earl of Northumberland Household Account Book. A musician named after the name of his instrument. (230)

REBECCA ---------- Latin and Italian. (Variant rebella; variant of rebeca) In use at least ca. before 1426. Probably a bowed stringed instrument; the rebec. See also ghironda rebecca.

1. before ca.1426. Jean de Gerson, Tractatus de canticis. A musical instrument; probably stringed. (62)

REBECCARE DI CONTRAPUNTO -------- Italian. No dates for use available. To chat or babble.

1. 1866. Georges Kastner, Parémiologie musicale. To chat, to babble. No primary source or dates of use cited. (164)

REBECCHETTE -------- Italian. (Diminutive of rubebe; variants may include rubecchette, rebecchino and rebechino) In use ca.1400. The smallest of three sizes of a family of bowed stringed instruments. (See also rubebe and rubicone)

1. ca.1400. Simone Prodenzani, poem. The smallest of three sizes of a family of bowed stringed instruments. (82)

REBECCHINO --------- Italian. (Diminutive of ribeba, ribeca; variants include rebechino, ribecchino) In use at least as early as 1577 through at least the early seventeenth century. Has been variously defined as a small rebec, a pandura, and a violin.

1. 1577/1606. Adriano Iunio, Nomenclator octilinguis. A pandura. (166)

2. 1619. Michael Praetorius, De Organographia. A violin. (167-168)

REBECCHISTA -------- Italian. (Variants may include rebechista, ribecchista, ribechista, and ribichista). No dates for use available. A rebec-player.

1. 1962. Barbara Reynolds, The Cambridge Italian Dictionary. A rebec-player. No primary source or dates of use cited. (168)

REBECHINO ---------- Italian. (Variant rebecchino) In use at least ca.1619. A violin.

1. 1619. Michael Praetorius, De Organographia. A violin. (167-168)

REBECHISTA --------- Italian. (Variants include rebecchista, ribecchista, ribechista, and ribichista) In use at least ca.1598/1611. A rebec-player.

1. 1598/1611. John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words. A fidler upon a rebecke or croud. (169)

REBECK(S) ---------- English. (Variant of rebecke; numerous variants) In use at least as early as 1531; remains in use to the present day. Most often defined as a bowed, three-stringed musical instrument, to the accompaniment of which one could sing. Also defined in certain contexts as an old woman; the enclosed part of a barn, and as a verb, to recall, reclaim.

1. 1531. Sir Thomas Elyot, The Boke named the Governour. A musical instrument. (226)

2. 1593. Michael Drayton, The Shepheards Garland. A musical instrument to the accompaniment of which one could sing. (227)

REBECK(S) ---------- 3. 1596. William Shakespeare, Romeo and Juliet. A musician named after his instrument. (227)

4. 1598. Bartholomew Yong translation of Jorge de Montemayor's Diana (ca.1559). Translation of the Spanish word rabel. A musical instrument used to accompany oneself while singing. (219)

5. 1607. Thomas Heywood, A Woman Killed with Kindness. To recall, reclaim, rebuke. (225)

6. 1632. John Milton, L'Allegro. A musical instrument. (228)

7. 1647 (?; earlier?). Haward Lazarus, English Royal Household Account book. Musician referred to by the name of his instrument. (228)

8. 1658. Edward Phillips, New World of Words. Two definitions: 1) an old woman; 2 a three-stringed musical instrument. (228)

9. 1811. Sir Walter Scott, Vision of Don Roderick. A musical instrument. (228)

10. 1867. William Frederick Rock, Jim an' Nell. The enclosed part of a barn. (229)

11. 1868/1870. William Morris, The Earthly Paradise. A musical instrument. (229)

REBECKE(S) ---------- Dutch, Middle and Modern English. (Numerous variants, the chief being rebeck) In use at least as early as 1364/1365 through at least the early seventeenth century. May refer to a bowed, stringed instrument, to the accompaniment of which one could sing; as well as to an instrument which was played by musicians in the Court of King Edward VI. May also be understood to refer to an old woman; to signify resistance; or, as a verb, it may mean to recall, reclaim.

1. 1364/1365. Middleburg, Netherlands, Household Account Book. A musical instrument. (217)

2. Before 1450. John Lydgate, A Mumming at Hertford. A musical instrument and/or a pun on the Chaucerian old woman definition. (217)

REBECKE(S) (con't.) 3. 1509. Stephen Hawes, The Passetyme of Pleasure. Musical instruments. (218)

4. ca.1530. Lord John Berners, The History of . . . King Arthur. Musical instruments. (218)

5. 1530. John Palsgrave, L'éclaircissement de la langue française. A musical instrument; synonymous with rebec. (224)

6. 1547. Edward VI's Household Account Book. A rebecke player. (218)

7. 1593. Claude de Sainleins, A Dictionarie French and English. A fiddle, which implies a bowed stringed instrument. (224)

8. 1598. Bartholomew Yong tanslation of Jorge de Montemayor's Diana (ca.1559). Translation of the Spanish word rabel. Numerous references. A musical instrument used to accompany oneself while singing. (219-223)

9. 1598/1611. John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words. A fiddle, which implies a bowed stringed instrument. (224)

10. 1609. William Barlow, Answer to a Catholike. To resist. (225)

11. 1617. Thomas Heywood, A Woman Killed with Kindness. To recall, reclaim, rebuke. (225)

12. 1619. Michael Drayton, Pastorals. A musical instrument used to accompany oneself while singing. (224)

REBECQ ---------- Middle French. In use at least from 1492-1500. Used to refer to a musician, to the playing of a bowed stringed instrument, and to the rebec.

1. 1492. "Compte des gaiges des officiers de l'ostel de la Royne." A musical instrument. (141)

2. 1509. Royal account book. A musician named after his instrument. (141)

3. 1510. Archival document. A musician named after his instrument. (141)

REBECQ (con't.)

4. 1527. Archival document. A musician named after his instrument. (141)

5. 1530. John Palsgrave, L'eclaircissement de la langue françoyse. (English to French) Four separate references. To play the croud; to play the fyddell; a croudar; a fyddell. (142)

REBECQUE(S) — Middle French. In use at least during the turn of the sixteenth century to designate both a musical instrument used to accompany singing and the persons who played such instruments.

1. 1498. Jean Molinet, Chronique. Rebecque; a musical instrument. (142)

2. October 22, 1502. No primary source cited. Listed in Edmond Vander Straeten, La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siécle (1867-1888). Rebecques; musicians named after their instrument. (143)

(SE) REBECQUER — French. In use at least during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. May be used as a noun to refer to a musical instrument or as a verb meaning to express open refusal, to resist, and to vigorously answer, reply, or retort. See also Jouer du rebec.

1. March 24, 1514. Archival document. To play a certain, but undefined musical instrument. (143)

2. 1544. Jean Calvin, Contre les Anabaptistes. To vigorously answer, reply, retort. (145)

3. Mid-fifteenth century. François Villon, Jargon et jobelin. To resist; to be obstinately opposed. (145)

4. 1612. Pierre Troterel, Les corrivaux. To express open refusal, to vigorously answer, reply, retort. (145)

5. 1654. Gilles Ménage, Dictionnaire étymologique. Metaphor: birds which peck at each other with their beaks. (145)

REBECQUERESSE ------ Middle French. (Variant rebecqueuse) Used in 1568. Although Laurent Grillet, in Les ancêtres du violon et du violoncelle (1901), suggests that the name was given to a woman who played the rebec, it seems more likely that it was used as a derogatory surname for a woman who may have been involved in some sort of resistance.

1. 1568. No primary source cited. Listed in Albert Jacquot, La musique en Lorraine (1882). The surname of a woman. Variant rebecqueuse. (146)

REBECQUET ---------- Middle French. In use at least around 1530. Defined as a fydler or crouder (see rebecq); a player of bowed stringed instruments.

1. 1530. John Palsgrave, L'eclaircissement de la langue françoyse. (English to French) A fydlar or crouder. (144)

REBECQUETANT ------- French. In use at least during the early twentieth century. A popular working class expression meaning "encouraging, appetizing."

1. 1929. L. E. Kastner and J. Marks, A Glossary of Colloquial and Popular French. A popular expression meaning "encouraging, appetizing." (144, fn. 286)

REBECQUETER -------- French. (Variant rebecter) In use at least during the early twentieth century. A popular, working class expression meaning "to take courage again, to buck up."

1. 1929. L. E. Kastner and J. Marks, A Glossary of Colloquial and Popular French. A popular expression meaning "to take courage again, to buck up." (144, fn. 286)

REBECQUETZ --------- Middle French. (Plural of rebecque) In use at least around 1485. Refers to musical instruments, specifically rebecques.

1. April 1485. No primary source cited. Listed in C. de Beaurepaire, Entré et séjour du roi Charles VIII à Rouen (1854). Musical instruments. (143)

REBECQUEUSE -------- Middle French. (Variant rebecqueresse). Used in 1568. Although Laurent Grillet, in Les ancêtres du violon et violoncelle (1901), suggests that the name was given to a woman who played the rebec, it seems more likely that it was used as a derogatory surname for a woman who may have been involved in some sort of resistance.

1. 1568. No primary source cited. Listed in Albert Jacquot, La musique en Lorraine (1882). The surname of a woman. Variant rebecqueresse. (146)

REBECQUEUX --------- French. Dates of use unknown. Cited by Laurent Grillet who writes that it refers to rebec (rebecque?) players. See also rebecque, rebecqueresse, and rebecqueuse.

1. 1901. Laurent Grillet, Les ancêtres du violon et du violoncelle. No primary source cited. Rebec (rebecque) players. (146, fn. 296)

REBECQUIN ---------- French. (Etym. from Italian rebecchino; diminutive of rebecca) In use at least during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, perhaps to refer to a small rebec or perhaps the pochette.

1. 1577/1606. Adriano Iunio, Nomenclator octilinguis. (Latin to French) A musical instrument; a rebecchino. (127)

REBECTER ---------- French. (Variant rebecqueter) In use at least during the early twentieth century. A popular working class expression meaning "to take courage again, to buck up."

1. 1929. L. E. Kastner and J. Marks, A Glossary of Colloquial and Popular French. A popular expression meaning "to take courage again, to buck up." (144, fn. 286)

REBECTZ ---------- Middle French. (Plural of rebec; variant of rebecz) In use during the middle of the fifteenth century. A musical instrument; rebecs.

1. Second half of fifteenth century. Guillaume Coquillart, Monologue du puits. Musical instruments. Variant rebecz. (133-134)

REBECZ ---------- Middle French. (Plural of rebec; see rebec(s)). In use from at least the mid-fifteenth century until at least 1560. Stringed musical instruments, either small or built in a small size; played by lower class citizens such as beggars and rogues; seen in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century; common in Scotland in the second half of the sixteenth century; used for morning serenading and to accompany singing and dancing. May have had a sexual connotation in literature by the mid-sixteenth century.

1. 15th century. Jehan Molinet, Le naufrage de la pucelle. Musical instruments. (134-135)

2. Second half of the fifteenth century. Guillaume Coquillart, Monologue du puits. Musical instruments. Variant rebectz. (133-134)

3. ca.1506. Jean Marot, Voyage de Venise. Musical instruments. (135)

4. 1541. Tranquile Suétone, Des faictz et gestes des douze Caesars, translated by Guillaume Michel. Musical instruments. (136)

5. ca.1545. François Rabelais, Le tiers livre. Stringed musical instruments. Variant rebecs. (137)

6. ca.1560 to beginning of seventeenth century. Pierre de Bourdeilles Brantôme, Dames, reyne d'Escosse. Small stringed (?) musical instruments common in Scotland. Variant rebecs. (138)

REBED ---------- Breton. Hermann Ruth-Sommer cites Riemann as using this word in relationship with rebec. No dates of use or definition cited.

1. 1916/1920. Hermann Ruth-Sommer, Alte Musikinstrumente. No primary source, dates for use, or definition cited. (74, fn. 36)

REBEI ---------- Provençal. (Related to rebeibe(s) and rebeic?) No dates or use or definition cited.

1. 1950-1957. Carlo Battisti and Giovanni Alessio, Dizionario etimologico italiano. No primary source, dates for use, or definition cited. (72)

REBEIBE(S) --------- Middle French. (Variant of rebebe(s); related to rebei?) In use perhaps as early as the end of the thirteenth century, at least by ca.1371/72, and perhaps somewhat later. A musical instrument, perhaps stringed.

1. 1371/1372. Jehan Le Fèvre, translation from Latin to French of Mathieu or Matheolus' Lamentationes (written at the end of thirteenth century). Musical instruments. Variant rebebes. (91)

REBEIC ---------- Middle French. (Aberration of rebec?) In use at least in or around 1491. A musical instrument.

1. December 13, 1491. Archival document. A musical instrument. (140)

REBEK(S) ---------- English. (Variant of rebeck) Purportedly in use ca.1632. A musical instrument.

1. 1632. John Milton, L'Allegro. A musical instrument. (231)

REBÈK ---------- Italian. Local dialect name for a city in northern Italy, properly named Robecco d'Oglio, whose history dates back at least to the twelfth century. Known as Rebec in French.

1. 1858. Grandi, Descrizione della provincia e diocesi di Cremona. A city in northern Italy. (171)

REBEKE(S) ---------- English. (Variant of rebeck, rebecke, rebikes) In use at least ca.1509-1547. Musicians named after the names of their instruments.

1. 1509-1547. Henry VIII's Household Account books. Musician(s) named after the names of their instrument(s). (230)

REBEKK ---------- Middle English. (Variant of rebekke) In use at least ca.1460. An old woman.

1. ca.1460. Geoffrey Chaucer, "Friar's Tale" (1386). An old woman. (232)

REBEKKE ---------- Middle English. (Variant of rebekk) In use at least as early as 1400/1410; cited in seventeenth and eighteenth-century dictionaries. An old woman.

1. 1400/1410. Geoffrey Chaucer, "Friar's Tale" (1386). An old woman. (232)

2. 1400/1410. Geoffrey Chaucer, "Marchantes Tale" (1386). Rebecca of Bible. (233)

3. 1658. Edward Phillips, New World of Words. An old woman. (232)

4. 1721. Nathan Bailey, A Universal Etymological English Dictionary. An old woman. (232)

REBEL ---------- French, Spanish, and Portuguese. (Etym. from Spanish rabel; syn. rabil, arrabil) In use at least as early as ca.1230. A word denoting a musical instrument which was purportedly derived from the Spanish word rabel and which led to the French word rebec.

1. ca.1230. Thibaut, King of Navarre, poem. A musical instrument. (192)

2. 1650/1694. Gilles Ménage, Dictionnaire étymologique. No primary source or dates of use cited. (130)

REBELE ---------- Middle French. (Etym., from Spanish rabel?; variant of rebebe, rebelle?) In use perhaps as early as the twelfth century, but documentation comes only from the first half of the fifteenth century. A rebellious act. Relationship to a musical instrument is questionable, although such a relationship is inferred by Carlo Battisti, Dizionario etimologico italiano (1950-1957).

1. First half of the fifteenth century. Roquefort à Rutebeuf, Des taboureurs. A rebellious act. (95)

REBELLA ---------- Latin. (Variant of rebecca, rebeca) In use at least ca. before 1426. A bowed stringed instrument.

1. before ca.1426. Jean de Gerson, Tractatus de canticis. A bowed stringed instrument. (60-61)

REBELLE(S) ---------- Middle French. (Etym., corruption of rebebe?; from Spanish rabel; variant of rebebe, rebele?; may be synonymous with rebecz). In use perhaps as early as the twelfth century but documented only from about the fourteenth through at least the end of the fifteenth century. A stringed instrument played for dancing and at wedding festivities. May also refer to a rebellion, a rebellious act, and by extension, a revelry (?).

1. Fourteenth century (?). Anon., pastoralet. Rebelle; a stringed musical instrument. (96-97)

2. Fifteenth century. Anon., Mystère de St. Quentin. Rebelles; musical instruments. (97)

3. First half of the fifteenth century (?). Martin le Franc, Le champion des dames. Rebelle; revelry, rebellion, resistance (?). (95-96)

4. Second half of the fifteenth century (?). Jehan Molinet, poem. Rebelle; a stringed musical instrument. (97)

5. 1479 or after. Jehan Molinet, Chanson sur la journée de Guinegate. Rebelles; musical instruments. (98)

6. 1480. Jean Aubrion, Journal. Rebelles; musical instruments. (99)

7. July 25, 1491. Jean Aubrion, Journal. Rebelle; a musical instrument used at wedding festivities. (99)

REBEQ ---------- Middle French. In use at least around 1530. Defined as a fyddell.

1. 1530. John Palsgrave, L'eclaircissement de la langue françoyse. (English to French) A fyddell. (146)

REBEQUE ---------- French. (Variant of rebecque?) In use at least around 1626. The name of a musical instrument.

1. 1626. Jacques Mangeant, Recueil des plus belles chansons des comediens françois. A musical instrument. (147-148)

(SE) REBEQUER ------ Middle French. (Variant (se) rebecquer) In use at least during the sixteenth century. A verb meaning to repeat, to be obstinately opposed, or to revolt. See also jouer du rebec.

1. 1928; 1966-1969. Ernst Gamillscheg, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache. No primary source cited. (148)

REBEQUET ---------- Middle French. (Etym., diminutive of rebec) In use at least during the fifteenth century. An undefined sort of musical instrument; refers also to a musical instrument player. May refer to a small rebec (rebeque).

1. Fifteenth century. Anon., Farce de Jolyet. A musical instrument. (147)

2. Date unknown. "Quintil. Cens." (?) A musician named after his instrument. (147)

REBEQUEUR ---------- French. Date of use unknown. One who rebecques or makes a smart reply, retort, repartee.

1. 1875-1882. Jean Baptiste Sainte-Palaye, Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage français. No primary source or dates for use cited. One who rebecques, makes a smart reply or retort. (148)

REBEQUIM ---------- Spanish. (Diminutive of rabé; French rabec). No dates of use or definition available.

1. 1914. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, "Este es el Calbi Orabi." No primary source, dates for use, or definition cited. (183)

REBEQUIN(ES) ------- French and Classical Spanish. (Diminutive of rabel, rabec) In use at least during the mid-sixteenth century through the early seventeenth century. Probably a small rebec.

1. 1557. No primary source given. Cited in Henry George Farmer, "Rebâb," in Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (1963). French. A diminutive form of rabec. (189, fn. 68)

2. 1613. Pietro Cerone, Melopeo. Spanish. A musical instrument, probably stringed. Synonymous with rabel(es). (189)

REBER ---------- Celtic or low Breton. In use at least ca.1780, to refer to a violin. May be an etymological antecedent of rebec (?).

1. 1780. Jean Benjamin de la Borde, Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne. A violon. (75)

REBERBE(S) --------- Middle French. (Variant of rebebe) In use at least ca.1426 to ca.1500. A stringed musical instrument with three strings played to accompany dancing.

1. ca.1424-1426. Jean de Gerson, Puer natus est nobis. A three-stringed musical instrument. (92)

2. 1458. "Lettres de remission," archival document. Reberbe; a musical instrument used to accompany dancing. (92)

3. 1500. Jean Lemaire de Belges, Illustrations de Gaule et singularités de Troie. Reberbes; musical instruments. (93)

REBESBE ---------- Middle French. (Variant of rebebe) In use ca.1395. A musical instrument played with the flute to accompany dancing.

1. 1395. "Lettres de remission." A musical instrument. (92)

REBESHE ---------- Middle French? (Variant of rebesbe?) Authenticity questionable. May be a misprint or misreading of rebesbe. No dates of use cited. A form of the word rebec?

1. 1883. Carl Engel, Researches into the History of the Violin Family. No primary sources or dates for use cited. A form of the rebec name. (92, fn. 92)

REBET(S) ---------- Celtic or low-Breton. In use at least around 1551. Used to refer to musical instruments. (Variant: rebetz)

1. March 23, 1551. "Inventaire après décès de Philippe de la Canessière, facteur d'instruments." Rebets; musical instruments. (74)

2. 1650/1694. Gilles Ménage, Dictionnaire étymologique. Rebet; a violin. (73-74)

REBETZ ---------- Celtic or low-Breton. (Plural of rebet; variant of rebets) In use at least around 1551. Used to refer to musical instruments.

1. March 23, 1551. "Inventaire après décès de Philippe de la Canessière, facteur d'instruments." Musical instruments. (74)

REBEU ---------- Spanish, Catalan dialect. (Variant of rabeu, rabé) No dates for use or definition available.

1. 1954. Juan Corominas, Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana. No primary source or definition cited. (185)

REBIAG ---------- Chaldean (?). (Synonymous with rebec, rebuba) No dates of use cited. The rebec of the Chaldeans. Believed to be an invented word and not historically accurate.

1. 1605. Pierre Le Loyer, Discours et histoire des spectres. The rebec of the Chaldeans, having four strings. (126)

REBIBE ---------- Middle English. (Variant of rubible?) In use ca.1410/20. A musical instrument; defined in a nineteenth-century source as a jaw's harp.

1. 1410/1420. Geoffrey Chaucer, "Miller's Tale" (1386). A musical instrument; has been defined by Frédéric E. Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française (1889), as a jaw's harp. (202)

REBIBLE ---------- Middle English (?). (Diminutive of rebibe) No dates for use cited. Defined as a small rebeck with three strings.

1. 1911. Gustav Schad, Musik und Musikausdrücke in der mittelenglischen Literatur, who cites Stainer-Barrett, A Dictionary of Musical Terms (no date). No primary source cited. Defined as "a small rebeck with three strings." (216, fn. 76)

REBICKE ---------- English. (Variant of rebeck and rebecke). In use at least in 1631. A stringed musical instrument.

1. 1631. Johann Amos Komensky, Porta linguarum trilinguis. A stringed musical instrument. (231)

REBIKE(S) ---------- English. (Variant of rebeck, rebecke, rebeke) In use at least ca.1525/26. Musician(s) named after the name(s) of their instrument(s).

1. 1525/1526. Henry VIII's Household Account Book. Musician(s) named after the name of their instrument(s). (230)

REBUBA ---------- Chaldean (?) (Synonymous with rebec) No dates of use cited. The rebec of the Chaldeans. Authenticity questionable.

1. 1605. Pierre le Loyer, Discours et histoire des spectres. The rebec of the Chaldeans; with four strings. (126)

REBUBE ---------- Middle English and French. (Etym. origin uncertain probably metathesis of rubebe) In use from at least 1426 to at least 1755. A musical instrument which in some cases may refer to a stringed instrument such as the rebec and in other cases to the jaw's harp.

1. ca.1426. John Lydgate, The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, a translation from French to English of Guillaume de Deguilleville's poem, Pelerinage (1330/1355). A musical instrument. (214)

2. 1605. Pierre le Loyer, Discours et histoire des spectres. A jaw's harp. (103)

3. 1636. Marin Mersenne, Harmonie universelle. A jaw's harp. (103)

4. 1690. Antoine Furetière, Dictionnaire universel. A jaw's harp. (103)

5. 1732. Johann Gottfried Walther, Musikalisches Lexikon. A musical instrument. (103)

REBUBLE ---------- French? No dates for use or definition cited. Authenticity questionable.

1. 1911. Gustav Schad, Musik in der mittel-englischen Literatur. No primary source or definition cited. (99, fn. 123)

REBULA ---------- French? Authenticity questionable. No dates for use available. Implied synonymy with rebec. Misprint of rebuba?

1. 1883. Carl Engel, Researches into the Early History of the Violin Family. No primary source cited. Implied synonymy with rebec. (126)

REBUTE ---------- Middle French. (Etym. derived from rebuter; corruption of rebube) In use at least during the fifteenth century through the late eighteenth century. A jaw's harp.

1. 1771. Dictionnaire de trévoux (7th ed.). To rebound, recoil. (103-104)

REBUTER ---------- French. (Derivative: rebute) In use at least during the late eighteenth century. To fling back, rebound, recoil. Associated with jaw's harp.

1. 1771. Dictionnaire de trévoux (7th ed.). To rebound, recoil. (103-104)

RECBECKE ---------- English. Evidently a printer's error. Should read rebecke in 1598 poem.

1. 1598. Bartholomew Yong translation of Jorge de Montemayor's, Diana (ca.1559). Evidently a printer's error in one instance out of nearly twenty correct spellings of rebecke in the same source. (221, fn. 97)

RIBBICCHINA -------- Italian (Sicilian dialect). (Variant of ribecchino) No dates of use cited. A violin.

1. 1913. Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon. A violin. No dates of use cited. (166)

RIBEBA ---------- Italian. (Variants ribeca and ribèbba) In use at least as early as ca.1350 through at least the mid-seventeenth century. A bowed stringed instrument used to entertain and to accompany singing and dancing. Marcuse defines it as a jaw's harp.

1. ca.1350. Giovanni Boccaccio, The Decameron. A musical instrument used to entertain and to accompany singing and dancing. May also be used metaphorically to refer to a woman. (159-160)

RIBEBA ---------- (con't.)

2. 1605. Pierre le Loyer, Discours et histoire des spectres. Suggests that ribeba is etymologically related to the Chaldean word for rebec, rebiag. (129)

3. 1640. Pierre Trichet, Le traité des instruments de musique. Cites Le Loyer. (129)

RIBÈBBA ---------- Italian. (Variant of ribeba (?), ribècca). In use from at least the late sixteenth through the eighteenth century. May be defined as a rebec or a kind of deep measure in Italy.

1. 1598/1611. John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words. A kind of deep measure in Italy. Synonymous with ribècca, hence a rebec? (161-162)

2. 1650/1694. Gilles Ménage, Dictionnaire étymologique. Suggests that ribebba is etymologically related to the Arabic rebaba. (162)

3. 1659. Giovanni Torriano, A Dictionary Italian and English. Based upon John Florio's definitions. (162, fn. 26)

4. 1690. Antoine Furetière, Dictionnaire universel. Suggests that ribebba is etymologically related to Arabic rebab, rebaba, or rabib. (162)

5. 1732. Johann Gottfried Walther, Musikalisches Lexikon. Reiterates Furetière's remarks. (162)

RIBEBE ---------- Middle French and Italian. (Variant of rebebe?) In use at least from the fourteenth century through the eighteenth century. A musical instrument.

1. Fourteenth century. Anon., L'intelligenza (Italian). A musical instrument. (102)

2. 1373. Anon., "Bibliotheque protypographique." A musical instrument (?). (102)

RIBEBEN ---------- German. In use at least ca.1512-1519. Refers to a large, flat-bodied bass viol. (Syn. ryheben and ribeben)

1. ca.1512-1519. Caption to one of the woodcuts in Hans Burgkmair's series commemorating the triumphasl procession of Emperor Maximilian I. A large, flat-bodied bass viol. (239)

RIBEC ---------- Provençal. Allegedly in use during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. No definition available.

1. 1954. Juan Corominas, Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana. No primary source or definition cited. (72)

RIBÈCA ---------- Italian. (Variants ribècca, ribeba) Purportedly in use from at least the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. A rebec.

1. 1748. Anton-Maria Biscioni, notes on Il malmantile racquisitato by Lorenzo Lippi. A musical instrument. (163, fn. 32)

RIBÈCCA ---------- Italian. (Variant ribèca) In use at least at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. A rebec, croud, or kit.

1. 1598/1611. John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words. An instrument called a rebecke, a croud, or fidlers kit. (163-164)

RIBECCAMÉNTO DI PARÓLE ---------- Italian. In use at least at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. To rebuke with taunting words.

1. 1598/1611. John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words. To rebuke with taunting words. (164, fn. 33)

RIBECCÁRE ---------- Italian. In use at least at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. To peck again; recover. (See se rebecquer)

1. 1598/1611. John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words. To pecke or bill again. (164, fn. 33)

RIBÉCCHÍNO --------- Italian. (Variants include ribechino, ribbicchina, rebecchino, rebechino) In use at least as early as 1539 until at least the beginning of the seventeenth century. A small rebec, a little fiddle, a croud, a violin.

1. 1539. Pierfrancesco Giambullari, Apparato et feste nelle nozze del illustrissimo Signor Duca di Firenze. A musical instrument played at a wedding banquet festivities. (164-165)

2. 1565. Source not cited. See Sibyl Marcuse, Dictionary (1964). A bowed stringed instrument played along with violins in a Florentine intermedio. (166)

3. 1594. Hercole Bottrigari, Il Desiderio. A bowed stringed instrument without frets; the violin (?). (166)

4. 1598/1611. John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words. A little fidle, rebecke or croud. (166)

RIBÈCCHÍSTA -------- Italian. (Variants include rebecchista, rebechista, ribèchísta, and ribichísta) A rebec or croud player. In use at least at the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth century.

1. 1598/1611. John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words. A fidler upon a rebecke or croud. (169)

RIBECHINO ---------- Italian. (Variants include ribécchíno, ribbicchina, rebecchino, and rebechino) In use at least as early as 1539 through the second half of the sixteenth century. A musical instrument played at a wedding banquet.

1. 1539. Pierfrancesco Giambullari, Apparato et feste nelle nozze del illustrissimo Signor Duca di Firenze. A musical instrument played at a wedding banquet. (164-165)

2. 1567. Cosimo Bartoli, Ragionamenti accademici. A musical instrument. (165)

RIBECHISTA --------- Italian. (Variants include ribichísta, rebecchista, rebechista, and ribècchísta) In use at least at the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth century. A rebec or croud player.

1. 1598/1611. John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words. A fidler upon a rebecke or croud. (169)

RIBEGA ---------- See GIRONDA RIBEGA.

RIBELE ---------- French? Italian? Authenticity questionable. No dates for use available. Implied synonymy with rebec.

1. 1933. Dora J. Rittmeyer-Iselin, "Das Rebec." No primary source cited. A rebec. (101, fn. 126)

RIBIBBLE ---------- English. (Diminutive of ribibe; variants ribible, ribyble, rybyble) Already in use some time before 1658. A stringed musical instrument; a fiddle; a cittern.

1. 1658. Edward Phillips, New World of Words. A stringed musical instrument; a fiddle, or cittern. (211)

RIBIBE ---------- Middle English. (Variants ribybe, rybbe, rybib, rybibe, and ribible?) In use at least as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century; still used in a seventeenth-century source. An old woman.

1. ca.1400/1410. Geoffrey Chaucer, "Friar's Tale" (1386). An old woman. (206)

2. 1631. Ben Jonson, The divell is an asse. An old woman. (206)

RIBIBEN ---------- English. (Variants rybybyben) No dates of use known. To play on the ribibe.

1. 1961. Henry Holland Carter, Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms. No primary source cited. To play on the ribibe. (208)

RIBIBLE ---------- Middle English. (Diminutive of ribibe; variants ribibble, ribyble, rybyble) In use at least as early as ca.1400 and throughout the fifteenth century. Cited as an old word in some nineteenth-century prose.

RIBIBLE (con't.)

1. 1400/1410. Geoffrey Chaucer, "Cook's Tale" (1386). A musical instrument. (210)

2. before ca.1450. Anon., Knight of la Tour-Landry. A musical instrument (stringed?) (210)

3. mid-fifteenth century. Geoffrey Chaucer, "Friar's Tale" (1386). (Three manuscript copies employ this same term.) An old woman. (206)

4. 1450/1475. Anon., Squyr of Lowe Degre. A musical instrument (stringed?). (211)

5. 1803. George P. R. James, Agincourt. A (stringed?) musical instrument used during the fifteenth century. (211)

6. 1849/1853. Daniel Rock, The Church of our Fathers. A musical instrument (stringed?). (211)

RIBIBOR ---------- Middle English. (Variants ribibour, rubibour) In use at least ca.1362. One who rebibes; presumably, one who plays a musical instrument called the ribibe.

1. 1362. William Langland, Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman. One who ribibes. (204)

RIBIBOUR ---------- Middle English. (Variants ribibor, rubibour) In use at least ca.1377. One who rebibes; presumably, one who plays a musical instrument called the ribibe.

1. 1377. William Langland, Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman. One who ribibes. (204)

RIBICHÍSTE --------- Italian. (Variants include ribechista, rebecchista, rebechista, and ribecchista). In use at least at the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth century. A rebec or croud player.

1. 1598/1611. John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words. A fidler upon a rebecke or croud. (169)

RIBUPE ---------- Middle English. (Variants ributhe, ribus) In use ca.1450. A musical instrument said to refer to the jaw's harp.

1. ca.1450. Sir Richard Holland, The buke of the Howlat. A musical instrument said to refer to the jaw's harp. (215)

RIBUS ---------- Middle English. (Variants ribupe, ributhe) In use ca.1450. A musical instrument, said to refer to the jaw's harp.

1. ca.1450. Sir Richard Holland, The buke of the Howlat. A musical instrument said to refer to the jaw's harp. (215)

RIBUTHE ---------- Middle English. (Variants ribupe, ribus) In use ca.1450. A musical instrument said to refer to the jaw's harp.

1. ca.1450. Sir Richard Holland, The buke of the Howlat. A musical instrument said to refer to the jaw's harp. (215)

RIBYBE ---------- Middle English. (Variants ribibe, rybbe, rybib, rybibe, rybybe) In use during the beginning to the mid-fifteenth century. An old woman; a musical instrument.

1. ca.1400-1410. Geoffrey Chaucer, "Friar's Tale" (1386). An old woman. (206)

2. mid-15th century. Thomas of Erceldonne, Fytte the Firste. A musical instrument. (207)

RIBYBLE ---------- Middle English. (Diminutive of ribybe; variants ribible, ribble, rybyble) Purportedly in use at least ca.1376/1377.

1. 1376/1377 (?). Geoffrey Chaucer, "Friar's Tale" (1386). Questionable documentation. Cited by Gustav Schad, Musik und Musikausdrücke in der mittelenglischen Literatur (1911). An old woman. (206, fn. 41)

ROBECCO ---------- Italian. A city in northern Italy named Robecco d'Oglio, whose history dates back at least to the twelfth century. Also known as Rebȅk in the local Italian dialect; as Rebec in French.

ROBECCQ ---------- (con't.)

1. 1858. Grandi, Descrizione della provincia e diocesi di Cremona. A city in northern Italy. (171)

ROBECQ ---------- French? Believed to be a misprint of the French spelling rebecq in Mary Remnant, "Rebec, fiddle, and crowd in England," (1968-1969), in citation from Palsgrave's L'eclaircissement de la langue françoyse (1530).

1. 1968-1969. Mary Remnant, "Rebec, fiddle, and crowd in England." Misprint of rebecq. (142, fn. 276)

ROUWE-BIBLE -------- Middle English. (Variant row-bible) In use at least during the fourteenth century. Probably refers to a bible and not to a musical instrument.

1. 14th century. Undocumented source, cited in the Oxford English Dictionary (1970), as a variant of ribible. Henry Holland Carter, A Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms (1968), defines this as a "rough-bible" (?). (212)

ROW-BIBLE ---------- Middle English. (Variant rouwe-bible) Purportedly in use during the fourteenth century. May refer to a bible rather than a musical instrument.

1. 14th century. Cited in Oxford English Dictionary (1970), as a variant of ribible. Henry Holland Carter, A Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms (1968), defines this as a "rough-bible" (?). (212)

(R)RABÉ ---------- Old to Middle Spanish. (Derivative of Arabic rabāb, rebeb; diminutives rabequim and rebequim; variant, ravé) In use from at least the early fourteenth century through at least the early sixteenth century. A small musical instrument, probably stringed, used to play "high notes." It was used for political and religious celebrations such as a coronation and during Corpus Christi festivities.

1. 1330/1343. Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de Buen Amor. A Moorish rrabé and a rrabé gritador are both mentioned which may suggest the existence of two types of stringed

(R)RABÉ ---------- (con't.)

instruments. (Variant ravé). The Moorish rrabé may refer specifically to the rabab of Arabic origin, whereas the rrabé gritador (literally, harsh rrabé) may represent the rebec or even a Persian spike fiddle. On the other hand, both rrabé gritador and rrabé morisco may refer to one instrument type. (180)

2. ca.1350. Rodrigo Yáñez, "Poem de Alfonso XI." A musical instrument, probably stringed, played in a monastery for a coronation. (181-182)

3. 1494/1503. Mayordomia de 1502-3 quadernos de la fabrica desde el año M.ccccxcix hasta el año MDxl. A musical instrument used during the Corpus Christi festivities. (182)

4. (1495?; eds. 1683, 1792). Antonio de Nebrija, Dictionarium ex hispaniensi in latinum sermonem. A musical instrument; cites source in No. 3. (182, fn. 36)

5. 1505. Mayordomia de 1504-5 quadernos de la fabrica desde el año M.ccccxcix hasta el año MDxl. A musical instrument used during Corpus Christi festivities. (183)

6. 1505. Fr. Pedro de Alcalá, Vocabulista arávigo en letra castellana. A musical instrument. Synonymous with rabel. (183)

(R)RABÉ GRITADOR --- See (R)RABÉ, No. 1.

(R)RABÉ MORISCO ---- See (R)RABÉ, No. 1.

RUBBILE ---------- French. (Variant of rubebe?) Dates of use unknown. No definition available.

1. 1964. Sibyl Marcuse, Dictionary. No primary source, dates of use, or definition available. (82)

RUBEBA ---------- Latin. (Variants, Old French rebebe, rubebe; Italian rubéca, rubecca, rubella) In use at least as early as ca.1280-1300 through at least the early fifteenth century. A bowed stringed instrument with two stringed tuned a fifth apart. Played in only one position, yielding only ten pitches (C to d'). Less highly valued than the viella in the late thirteenth century.

RUBEBA (con't.) — 1. ca.1280-1300. Jerome of Moravia, Tractatus de Musica. A bowed stringed instrument with two strings tuned in fifths; played in one position yeilding ten pitches (C to d'). Less highly valued than the vielle in the late 13th century. (53-55)

2. 1404. Eberhard Cersne, Der Minne Regel. A musical instrument, probably bowed. (56)

RUBEBBE — French. (Variant rubebe) No dates for use cited. A two-stringed musical instrument.

1. 1888. Albert Racinet, Geschichte des Kostüms. No primary source cited. A two-stringed musical instrument. (77, fn. 42)

RUBEBE(S) — Latin, Old and Middle French, and Italian. (Etym. from Persian rubāb, Arabic rebâb, and Latin rubeba; variants rebebe, rubele(s), rubelle (?), rubbile; see rebec) In use from at least the second half of the thirteenth century through ca.1400. A beautiful-sounding (?) bowed stringed musical instrument with at least two strings tuned in fifths; played in one position, yielding ten pitches (C to d'); the middle size of a consort of three apparently similar instruments; played by minstrels either by itself or in a consort of like instruments; primary use, to provide entertainment; less highly-vauled than the vielle, at least during the thirteenth century.

1. ca.1265-1280. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung, Le roman de la rose. Rubebes; musical instruments. Variant rebebe. (76)

2. ca.1280-1300. Jerome of Moravia, Tractatus de musica. Synonymous with rubeba, hence a two-stringed musical instrument played with a bow; tuned in fifths; played in one position, yielding ten pitches (C to d'). Less highly valued than the vielle, at least during the thirteenth century. (53-54)

3. Late thirteenth century. Adenet le Roi, Li roumans de Clëomadès. Two separate references in this source. Rubebe; a musical instrument. Variant rebebe. (77)

RUBEBE(S) (con't.)

4. Late thirteenth century. Anon., French translation of Anticlaudianus by Alain de Lille (ca.1128-1202). Rubebe; a musical instrument. Variant rebebe. (78)

5. 1342. Guillaume de Machaut, Le temps pastour. Rubebe; a musical instrument. (79)

6. ca.1370. Guillaume de Machaut, La prise d'Alexandrie. Rubebes; musical instruments. Variant rubeles. (80)

7. ca.1377. Eustache Deschamps, Ballade pour Machaut. Rubebes; musical instruments. (80)

8. August 4, 1384. Account book. Rubebe; a bowed musical instrument. (81)

9. ca.1400. Simone Prodenzani, a sonett. Italian. Rubebe; a bowed musical instrument, the mid-size instrument of a family of three instruments. (82)

RUBEC ---------- Middle French? May be a misprint of rebec in Claude de Sainleins's Dictionaire. Defined therein as a musical instrument, a rebecke, a fiddle.

1. 1593. Claude de Sainleins, A Dictionaire French and English. A misprint? A musical instrument, a rebecke, a fiddle. (84)

RUBÈCA ---------- Italian. (Variant of rubeba, rubebe?) Dates of use unknown. A rebec.

1. 1913. Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon. No dates of use or primary source cited. A rebec. (158, fn. 13)

RUBECCA ---------- Italian (?) (Variant of rubeca, rubebe?) Dates of use unknown. A rebec.

1. 1964. Sibyl Marcuse, Dictionary. No dates of use or primary source cited. A rebec. (158, fn. 14)

RUBECCHETTE -------- Italian. (Diminutive of rubeba; variant rebecchette) In use at least ca.1400. The smallest of three sizes of a family of bowed stringed instruments. (See also rubebe and rubicone)

RUBECCHETTE -------- (con't.)
1. ca.1400. Simone Prodenzani, poem. The smallest of three sizes of a family of bowed stringed instruments. (82)

RUBÈCLE ---------- Middle French. (Diminutive of rubec?) In use at least in 1417. A musical instrument, perhaps stringed.

1. 1417. Inventory of Me Ernoul de Halle, Canon of Cambrai. A (stringed?) musical instrument. (84)

RUBÈDE ---------- French? Believed to be a misprint of rubècle in a twentieth-century source. Defined therein as rebec.

1. 1928-1933. Larousse du XXe siècle. A rebec. (83, fn. 63)

RUBELE(S) ---------- Middle French. (Variant of rubebe and rubelle (?)). In use at least during the late fourteenth century. A musical instrument, perhaps stringed.

1. ca.1370. Guillaume de Machaut, La prise d'Alexandrie. Musical instruments. Variants rubebes, rubelle (?). (80, fn. 51)

RUBELLA ---------- Italian. (Variant of rubeba, rubebe?) Dates of use unknown. A rebec.

1. 1913. Curt Sachs, Real-lexikon. No dates of use or primary sources cited. (158)

RUBELLE ---------- Middle French. (Variant of rubebe (?) and rubele (?)). In use at least during the late fourteenth century. A musical instrument, perhaps stringed.

1. ca.1370. Guillaume de Machaut, Le temps pastour. Musical instruments. Variant rubele? (79, fn. 49)

RUBIB ---------- English. (Variant of rubibe, rubibi, ribibe?) No dates of use or definition cited.

1. 1961. Henry Holland Carter, A Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms. No primary source or definition cited. (203)

RÜBIBE ---------- Old French, Middle English (?). In use at least as early as the early thirteenth century. A musical instrument.

1. early 13th century. Anon., Blancheflour et Florence. A musical instrument (perhaps stringed). (201)

RUBIBI(S) ---------- Middle English. (Variant of rubibe. Translation of French rebeblez) In use at least as early as the mid-fifteenth century. A musical instrument.

1. ca.1450. John Lydgate, Reson and Sensuallyte (1406/1408). Translation of French rebeblez. A musical instrument. (201)

RUBIBLE ---------- Middle English. (Diminutive of rubibe, rubibi; see also variants rebibe, rybibe, and rubybe) In use at least at the beginning of the fifteenth century. A musical instrument to the accompaniment of which one could sing and dance.

1. 1400/1410. Manuscript version of Geoffrey Chaucer, "Miller's Tale" (1386). A musical instrument to the accompaniment of which one could sing and dance. (202)

RÜBIBOUR ---------- Middle English. In use during the fourteenth century? A rubibe (rubibi) player.

1. 1891. Francis Henry Stratmann, A Middle English Dictionary. No primary source cited. A rubibe player. (205)

RUBICONE ---------- Italian. (Augmentative of rubebe) In use at least ca.1400. The largest of three sizes of a family of bowed stringed instruments. (See also rubebe and rubecchette/rebecchette).

1. ca.1400. Simone Prodenzani, poem. The largest of three sizes of a family of bowed stringed instruments. (82)

RUBYBE ---------- Middle English. (Variant of rübibe and rubible) In use at least ca.1430-40. A musical instrument to the accompaniment of which one could sing and dance.

1. 1430/1450. Manuscript version of Geoffrey Chaucer, "Miller's Tale" (1386). A musical instrument to the accompaniment of which one could sing and dance. (202)

RYBBE ---------- English. (Variants ribibe, ribybe, rybib, rybibe, rybybe) In use at least ca.1524/1530. A musical instrument.

1. 1524/1530. Thomas of Erceldonne, Fytte the Firste. A musical instrument. (207)

RYBEBE(N) ---------- German. In use at least ca.1512-1519. Refers to a large flat-bodied bass viol. (Syn. rybyben and ribeben)

1. ca.1512-1519. Caption to one of the woodcuts in Hans Burgmair's series commemorating the triumphal procession of Emperor Maximilian I. A large flat-bodied bass viol. (238-239)

RYBIB ---------- Middle English. (Variants ribibe, ribybe, rybbe, rybibe, rybybe) In use at least ca.1450. A musical instrument.

1. ca.1450. Thomas of Erceldonne, Fytte the Firste. A musical instrument. (207)

RYBIBE ---------- Middle English. (Variants ribibe, ribybe, rybbe, rybib, rybybe, rubible) In use at least ca.1420/30. A musical instrument to the accompaniment of which one could sing and dance.

1. 1420/30. Geoffrey Chaucer, "Miller's Tale" (1386). A musical instrument to the accompaniment of which one could sing and dance. (202)

RYBIBOUR ---------- Middle English. In use at least ca.1399. A rybibe (rybib) player.

1. 1399. William Langland, The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman. A player of the rybibe (variant rybib). (205)

RYBYBE ---------- Middle English. (Variants ribibe, ribybe, rybbe, rybib, rybibe) In use at least as early as the early fifteenth century and at least through the first quarter of the sixteenth century. May be defined as a musical instrument in fifteenth-century source; refers to an old woman in a sixteenth-century source.

1. Early 15th century. Latin/English vocabulary. A musical instrument (stringed?). (207)

RYBYBE (con't.) — 2. 1430/1440. Thomas of Erceldonne, Fytte the Firste. A musical instrument. (207)

3. ca.1450. Latin/English vocabulary. A musical instrument (stringed?). (208)

4. 1529. John Skelton, The tunnyng of Elynour Rummyng. An old woman. (206)

RYBYBEN — German. In use at least ca.1512-1519. Refers to a large flat-bodied bass viol. (Syn. rybeben and ribeben)

1. ca.1512-1519. Caption to one of the woodcuts in Hans Burgkmair's series commemorating the triumphal procession of Emperor Maximilian I. A large flat-bodied bass viol. (238-239)

RYBYBLE — Middle English. (Diminutive of rybybe; variants ribible, ribibble, ribyble) Purportedly in use during the fifteenth century. A small rybybe.

1. 15th century (?). Cited by Sibyl Marcuse, Dictionary (1964). No primary source cited. A small rybybe. (212)

RYBYBYD — Middle English. (Past tense of rybybyben; variant of ribiben, rybybyde) In use at least during the fifteenth century. To play on a rybybe.

1. 15th century. Anon., Herkyn to my Tale. To play on the musical instrument, the rybybe. (209)

RYBYBYDE — Middle English. (Past tense of rybybyben; variant of ribiben, rybybyd) In use at least ca.1500. To play on a rybybe.

1. ca.1500. Anon., Herkyn to my Tale (Fifteenth century). To play on the musical instrument, the rybybe. (209)

SCHALISCHIM — German. In use at least in 1690. Used to refer to a type of bowed mandora. May be a Hebrew word Germanicized.

1. 1690. Wolfgang Caspar Printz, Historische Beschreibung der edelen Sing- und Klingkunst. A word supposedly Germanicized by Luther to refer to an instrument mentioned in the Old Testament. Accompanying woodcut depicts a bowed mandora. (252, fn. 22)

SORDINO ---------- Italian. In use at least in 1723. Used to identify an engraving of a rebec/pochette player.

1. 1723. Filippo Bonanni, Gabinetto Armonico. Used to identify an engraving of a rebec/pochette player. (See Catalog I.18.1 and plate XXXV)

TRÖGL ---------- German/Austrian. In use at least in 1672. Refers to an instrument similar to the one described under clein Geigen except that it had a separate rather than a stepped fingerboard, and was fretted.

1. 1672. Abraham Megerle, Speculum Musico-Mortuale. Includes an etching of this instrument. (242, fn. 16)

APPENDIX II

A BRIEF GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS[1]

BACK. The side of a stringed instrument which is reverse from the front or belly. It is that side opposite the playing surface. A vaulted back is arched or convex in shape.

BELLY. The side of a stringed instrument upon which the strings are strung and which constitutes the playing surface. Also called the front and the soundboard.

BIPARTITE. A stringed instrument the sound-box of which consists of two parts: a) the body, and b) the soundboard or belly.

BOAT-SHAPED. A stringed instrument having a rectangular shape of which one end is narrower than the other end. The rebab, for example, is boat-shaped.

BRIDGE. A piece of wood which is placed on the playing surface of a stringed instrument to a) support the strings at a given distance from the soundboard, b) keep the strings apart from one another, c) provide the lower end cut-off point which helps determine the vibrating length of the strings, and d) transmit vibrations. A fixed bridge is one which can not be moved (such as a crossbar). A movable bridge is not attached to the instrument and may be moved.

CROSSBAR. A piece of wood fastened to the lower end of the soundboard of a stringed instrument to which strings are attached, usually by means of a knot, loop, or pins. The crossbar serves a dual purpose a) to hold the lower end of the strings, and b) to transmit vibrations (as a bridge).

ENDKNOB. A large, usually round protruberance at the lower end of a stringed instrument to which the strings may be attached and/or which may be used to support the instrument while being played.

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1 The reader is referred to the following sources for further elaboration of these and other terms: 1) Nicholas Bessaraboff, Ancient European Musical Instruments (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1941); 2) Sibyl Marcuse, Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964); and 3) Curt Sachs, Real-Lexikon der Musikinstrumente, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Dover, 1964).

ENDPIN. A small, usually round button at the lower end of a stringed instrument to which the strings may be attached.

FINGERBOARD. A separate board which is attached to the front of the neck of a stringed instrument and against which the strings are pressed. A stepped fingerboard is a feature of some rebecs in which the fingerboard extends over part of the soundboard the entire width of the belly (as opposed to the narrow type of fingerboard commonly found on violins).

FINIAL. The upper end of the pegbox of a stringed instrument which is often ornamented with a carved animal or human-head, a scroll, or which may be shield-like or blunt-ended.

FRETS. The divisions sometimes found on the fingerboard, neck, or belly of a stringed instrument which demarcate the points at which the strings are to be stopped.

FRONT. The side of a stringed instrument on which the strings are fastened. Also called the belly or the soundboard.

LEFT. The player's left side.

LOWER END. The end of a stringed instrument opposite the end where the tuning device (i.e., pegs) is located.

LOWER END STRING FASTENING. The area and manner in which the fixed or lower ends of the strings are secured on a stringed instrument.

NECK. The section of a stringed instrument between the pegbox and the soundboard. The neck may be integral, that is, a natural or organic extension of the body of the instrument, or distinct, clearly marked-off from the contour of the body (as on a violin).

PEGBOX. The upper end of the neck on a stringed instrument into which tuning pegs are inserted laterally.

PEGDISC. The upper end of the neck on a stringed instrument into which tuning pegs are inserted from the front or rear. Usually leaf-shaped or polygonal.

PEGS. Pins which hold and are used to regulate the tension of the strings at the upper end of a stringed instrument. Lateral pegs are those which are inserted from right to left in the sides or cheeks of the pegbox (as opposed to sagittal pegs which are inserted from the front to back, or vice versa, of the instrument).

PIRIFORM. A term used in the description of the shape of a stringed instrument's body, denoting pear-shape, tear-drop-shaped, or almond-shaped. The sides of the body are curved and not waisted (as on a violin).

RIBS. Thin flexible staves which compose the back of stringed instruments such as the lute and some rebecs.

RIGHT. The player's right side.

ROSE. The carved ornamentation placed in round soundholes of some stringed instruments.

SOUNDBOARD. A thin board of wood on the front of a stringed instrument over which the strings are stretched, out of which the soundholes are cut, and upon which the bridge is placed. Also called the belly. The soundboard may be flat, concave, or convex.

SOUNDHOLES. Holes which are cut out of the belly of a stringed instrument to allow vibrations to escape from inside the soundbox. Rebec soundholes are usually C-shaped or round.

TAILPIECE. A piece of wood (or leather) at the lower end of a stringed instrument to which the strings are often attached. Not present when the instrument utilizes a crossbar, string fastening to the lower end of the belly, or string fastening to the bottom of the instrument.

TRIPARTITE. A stringed instrument (such as a violin) the sound-box of which consists of three parts: a) the belly, b) the sides, and c) the back.

UPPER END. The end of a stringed instrument at which the tuning device is located. May also refer to the area in which the soundboard or belly becomes the neck, as the upper end of the belly.

APPENDIX III

A CATALOG OF REBEC ICONOGRAPHY

A catalog of rebec iconography follows,[1] which includes a list of more than three-hundred representations of rebecs and rebec-like instruments. The catalog is arranged alphabetically by country; within each geographical division, entries are arranged chronologically. Each individual entry bears a descriptive catalog identification number which indicates its provenance, the century in which it was created, and an assigned catalog number (for example, I.16.35 denotes an Italian art work of the sixteenth century, entry number 35). In-text references to works of art bear these identification numbers. Information cited for each artistic representation includes, when known, the date of the work of art, artist (or provenance), descriptive title, type of art medium, current location of the work of art, and either two published

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1 The author does not presume to claim this catalog as exhaustive; it is hoped that future studies will add to this preliminary list. The greater or lesser numbers of representations from various geographical areas should be understood more as a reflection of the availability of secondary-source studies and on-going research rather than as an indication of a larger or smaller corpus of pertinent art forms from various geographical areas. For example, the list of British representations is very small compared with the list of Italian references; however, access to one major source of information concerning rebec depictions in Great Britain was, unfortunately, denied to this author. The extensive Italian list is due, in large part, to the exhaustive study of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italian instrumental ensembles by Victor Ravizza, Das instrumentale Ensemble von 1400-1550 in Italien (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1970). As discussed in Chapter 10, no depictions of lyra-like instruments with pegdiscs have knowingly been added to this catalog. However, some such depictions may unwittingly be listed as a result of not having had access to the original art works or reproductions in order to verify the information obtained from other sources.

sources in which the work of art is reproduced or the source from which a reproduction of the art work was obtained. For those works of art which were examined either first-hand or through reproductions, the following points concerning the rebecs and rebec-like instruments are enumerated:

1. Overall shape and size (the latter indicated only if remarkable)
2. Soundboard description
3. Shape of back
4. Description of neck and fingerboard
5. Number of strings
6. Description of upper end string fastening and finial
7. Description of lower end string fastening
8. Type and location of bridge
9. Description of type and location of soundholes
10. Existence or non-existence of frets
11. Description of bow grip and placement of bow upon the instrument
12. Description of the playing position of the instrument
13. Mention of any other instruments depicted[2]
14. Remarks concerning the setting, the musicians, and so on, if remarkable

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2 Specific instrument names are not always cited since 1) various types are sometimes difficult to identify; 2) often only a detail may be given for examination so the depiction of other instruments is unknown; and 3) the secondary sources in which information is listed only (no picture available) do not always describe all the other instruments present in the depiction.

Countries are listed in the catalog according to the following abbreviations:

A-----Austria

B-----Belgium

BR----Britain

C-----Czechoslovakia

F-----France

G-----Germany

IU----Identity Unknown at this time

I-----Italy

N-----The Netherlands

P-----Poland

PG----Portugal

S-----Spain

SW----Sweden

SZ----Switzerland

SIGLA FOR SOURCES CITED IN ICONOGRAPHY CATALOG

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A U S T R I A

Fifteenth Century

A.15.1

end of 15th century
Anon., Austrian
Music-making angels
Wood sculpture
Upper Austria: Kefermarkt, parish church, altar
Buchner, pl. 140

1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck, no separate fingerboard
5. 3 (?) strings
6. pegbox; no pegs evident in photograph; sickle-shaped (?)

7-8. photograph not distinct

9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across belly and above soundholes
12. instrument held at mid-chest, slightly to the right, pointing downward and to the left
13. detail of altar only available; close to rebecist is a lute player
14. information not available

Seventeenth Century

A.17.1

1672
Abraham Megerle
Woodcut in Speculum Musico-Mortuale by Megerle (Salzburg, 1672)
Hinrichsen, pl. 164, p. 260

1. bipartite, piriform; a pochette (?)
2. slightly convex soundboard (?)
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; separate fingerboard
5. 3 or more (?) strings
6. pegbox with 2 visible, lateral pegs; scroll finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge between tailpiece and soundholes
9. 2 f-shaped (?) or s-shaped (?) soundholes in center of belly
10. at least 3 frets
11. bow placed alongside instrument; not played
12. instrument not played
13. violin also depicted
14. non-specific setting

B E L G I U M

Fourteenth Century

B.14.1 after ca. 1350
Anon., Flemish
Music-making angels
Brass grave plate
Federal Republic of Germany: Lübeck, St. Annen Museum
Salmen/Schwab, pl. 15

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; demarcation line between neck and belly
5. 3 strings
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with three lateral pegs; carved (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening, specific means not ascertainable
8. no bridge depicted
9. round soundhole on neck; 2 small, C-shaped soundholes on belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed near upper end of neck
12. instrument played at top of left shoulder, pointing almost straight downwards and slightly to the left
13. another angel plays the psaltery
14. angel standing in architectural niche

Fifteenth Century

B.15.1 15th century
Anon., Flemish
Procession with decapitated head; women playing instruments
Illuminated manuscript
Italy: Venice, Marcian Library, Grimani Breviary
Muraro, p. 149

1. bipartite, piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with demarcation line between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. bent-back pegbox; details indistinct
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge obscurred
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. presumably no frets
11. bow hand obscured; bow placed diagonally across belly right below soundholes
12. instrument held at left chest, pointing downwards

B.15.1 (con't.)
13. another woman plays a lute; other instruments obscured
14. village square setting with men on horseback displaying decapitated head

B.15.2
15th century (?)
Anon., Flemish (?)
Warriors bringing decapitated head to women musicians
Federal Republic of Germany: Munich (no specific location cited)
Pirro, p. 185
1. bipartite, boat-shaped (?)
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. upper end obscured
5. information not available
6. upper end obscured
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge obscured
9. 2 C-shaped (?) soundholes
10. upper end obscured
11. bow held palm down; placed across soundholes
12. instrument held at mid-chest, pointing downwards and to the left
13. another woman plays the harp
14. women on steps to building; men bringing decapitated head

B.15.3
ca. 1470
Maître du Saint-Sang (fl. 1520)
Virgin and Child with St. Anne
Painting
Federal Republic of Germany: Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstsammlung, No. 970
Geiser, pl. 37 and Friedländer IXb, pl. 205, no. 213
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; only partially depicted; divided belly and neck
5. 3 strings
6. upper end not fully depicted
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge above tailpiece
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly; round soundhole in center of belly, with rose
10. upper end not depicted
11. bow held palm down; placed between round soundhole and lower end of neck
12. instrument held upon left shoulder, pointing to the left and downwards

B.15.3 (con't.)
13. another angel plays the lute
14. angels placed on opposite sides of Virgin and Child and St. Anne

B.15.4
Plate II
ca. 1480-1500
Maître de Morrisson, Antwerp
Virgin and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Belgium: Brussels, Musée Royaux de Beaux-Arts, 1157
Geiser, pl. 40 and RCMI No. 0142
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with 2 lateral pegs visible; shield-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is secured to an endpin
8. movable bridge just above tailpiece
9. 2 elaborate C-shaped soundholes
10. 3 frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across belly at soundholes
12. instrument played at center of chest, pointing upwards and to the left
13. another angel plays the lute
14. musicians at side of Virgin and Child

B.15.5
Plate III
late 15th to the 1st quarter of the 16th century
Gerard David (ca. 1450-1523)
The Virgin and Child and Saints
Painting
France: Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts
Mirimonde, p. 85, pl. 64 and Friedländer VIb, pl. 218-219, no. 215
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. bent-back pegbox with 2 lateral pegs visible; blunt end finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge between tailpiece and soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes on belly; round soundhole with rose on fingerboard
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed diagonally across belly, over soundholes

B.15.5 (con't.)
12. instrument played at left armpit, pointing downwards and forwards
13. a lute and portative organ also depicted
14. angels surround Virgin and Child; with female Saints

B.15.6
Plate IV a
late 15th to the 1st quarter of the 16th century
Gerard David (ca. 1450-1523)
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Switzerland: Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum G.1958.15
Friedländer VIb, pl. 184, no. 168
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck (somewhat distinct) with separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. bent back pegbox with three lateral pegs; blunt end finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge between tailpiece and soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed diagonally across center of belly
12. instrument held at left chest, pointing downward
13. another angel plays the lute
14. angels on either side of Virgin and Child

B.15.7
late 15th to the 1st quarter of the 16th century
Gerard David (ca. 1450-1523)
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
United Kingdom: Banbury, Bearsted Collection (National Trust), Upton House
Friedländer VIb, pl. 185, no. 170
1. bipartite, piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck
5. instrument depicted from side and back; information not available
6. bent-back pegbox; lateral pegs; blunt end
7-10. instrument depicted from side and back; information not available
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at left armpit, pointing downward and forwards

B.15.7 (con't.)
13. another angel plays the lute
14. angels surround Virgin and Child

Sixteenth Century

B.16.1

ca. 1500
Anon., Flemish
Tapestry
Belgium: Brussels (location not cited)
Besseler, p. 186, fig. 98 and Bowles, p. 96
1. bipartite, piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with 3 lateral pegs; carved finial
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge in center of belly
9. portion of 2 soundholes depicted; cannot ascertain shape
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed near lower end of neck
12. instrument held upon left shoulder, pointing almost straight downwards and forwards
13. other instruments include 3 lutes, shawm, harp, and psaltery
14. nobility (?) playing instruments in castle garden

B.16.2

ca. 1510
Anon., Flemish
The Holy Family
Painting (altar piece)
Federal Republic of Germany: Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, No. 416
Hammerstein, pl. 113; Hiller, pl. 170 and 173
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 4 (?) strings
6. 90-degree bent back pegbox with at least 4 lateral pegs; finial indistinct
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar serves as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole with rose in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed above central soundhole
12. instrument held at mid-chest, pointing downwards and to the left

B.16.2 (con't.)
13. angel plays lute in opposite panel
14. 2 groups of angels (singers and the 2 instrumentalists) in architectural niches

B.16.3
1522
Anon., Flemish
The concert of the "Five Orders"
Illuminated manuscript, psalter-antiphonary
United Kingdom: London, British Museum, Add. 15426, f. 86
Lesure, MA, pl. 75 and Lesure, MG, pl. 83, p. 196
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. photograph not distinct
6. pegbox not distinct
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar serves as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. presumably no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundhole and lower end of neck
12. instrument played at mid-chest, pointing almost straight downwards and slightly to the left
13. other monks play psaltery (a Franciscan); transverse flute (a Benedictine); recorder (a Dominican), and a lute (a Premonstratensian); a harp on ground in front of monks symbolizes King David
14. monks sit and play in garden; a Carmelite monk plays the rebec

B.16.4
1540
Pieter van Aelst Coecke (1502-1550), Brussels
Three studies for Orpheus
Sketch
United Kingdom: London, England, British Museum
Geiser, pl. 45
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck
5. 3 (?) strings
6. pegbox, details not depicted
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge in center of belly
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes on either side of tailpiece
10. no frets
11. no bow depicted, although bow hand is poised as if holding a bow
12. instrument held at left armpit, pointing downward and to the left

B.16.4 (con't.)
13. no other instruments depicted
14. Orpheus sits on stump in outdoors

B.16.5
ca. 1571-1623
Pieter Claeissins, II (fl.1571-d.1623), Bruges
Parable of the wise and foolish virgins
Painting
Belgium: Bruges, Klooster Zwartzusters Augustinessen
Leppert, Vol. II, pl. VIII
1. tripartite, butterfly-shaped
2. instrument seen from side/rear; belly may be concave
3. vaulted (?) back
4. distinct neck; stepped fingerboard (?)
5. information not available
6. pegbox with scroll-like finial
7-10. information not available
11. bow held plam down; placed across middle of instrument
12. instrument held at left armpit, pointing forwards and downward
13. other instruments include a lute and dulcimer
14. foolish virgins play instruments, cards, and so on

B.16.6
Plate V
ca. 1595-1629
Johann Sadeler (ca. 1570-1629) after Cornelis de Vos (ca. 1584-1651)
Jubal as an instrument maker
Woodcut
Federal Republic of Germany: Kassel, private collection
Musica Calendar 1973, pl. 7
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck
5-8. details not depicted
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. no frets depicted
11. no bow depicted
12. instrument not played; placed on a table
13. numerous other instruments in process of being made
14. Biblical personage, Jubal, making instruments, with helpers, in front of his instrument shop

Seventeenth Century

B.17.1
end of sixteenth to before 1625
Jan Bruegel I (1568-1625)
Hearing (One of the Five Senses) (Replica of version in Spain: Madrid, Museo del Prado, cat. 1395, also by Bruegel)
Painting

B.17.1 (con't.)

Formerly in Belgium: Antwerp, Stuyck Collection, 12568 I B
Leppert, Vol. II, pl. XXIV

1. bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. convex soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck (somewhat distinct) with separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. bent-back pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; carved finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. 2 elaborate C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
9. movable bridge between soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow placed underneath instrument
12. instrument not played
13. numerous other instruments also depicted
14. allegorical setting depicting the sense of hearing

B.17.2

17th century
Jan Van Kessel, van Balen, and Jan Bruegel I
Music
Painting
France: Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Museum
Pincherle, p. 78

1. bipartite; boat-shaped; pochette
2. convex soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck with separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; scroll (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge in center of belly
9. 2 elaborate, C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. no bow depicted
12. instrument not played
13. numerous other instruments depicted
14. allegorical setting depicting music

B.17.3

17th century
C. Boel (1620-1668) after D. Teniers
etching with pochette
The Netherlands: The Hague, Haags Gemeentemuseum, the print collection of the music department
Listed only in Klerk, fiche 34 (1.1)

B.17.4 17th century
C. Boel (1620-1668) after D. Teniers
etching with pochette
The Netherlands: The Hague, Haags Gemeentemuseum, the print collection of the music department
Listed only in Klerk, fiche 13 (1.3)

B.17.5 1644
Jan Fyt (1611-1661) and Thomas Willeboirts (1614-1654)
Preparations for a Feast with a young man, a Moor, and two greyhounds
Painting
Formerly in German Democratic Republic: Dessau, Staatliches Museum Schloss Mosigkau, inv. 70; destroyed in 1944
Leppert, Vol. II, pl. V
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. instrument seen from back/side; information not available
3. vaulted, ribbed back
4. integral neck; separate fingerboard (?)
5. information not available
6. pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; scroll (?) finial
7-10. information not available
11. no bow depicted
12. instrument not played
13. other instruments depicted include 2 lutes, bagpipes, and a violin
14. a still life with instruments poised around a chair

B.17.6 Plate VI
2nd half 17th century
David Teniers I (1582-1649)
Tavern Scene
Painting
Belgium: Antwerp, de Meester Collection
RCMI uncataloged; Leppert, Vol. II, pl. LXIX
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with separate fingerboard
5. number of strings not clear
6. pegbox obscured; carved, animal-head finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. no bridge depicted
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow held in left hand; placed across left belly between end of fingerboard and soundholes
12. instrument held at right chest, pointing downwards and forwards
13. no other instruments depicted
14. street musician plays instrument in or just outside (?) a tavern

B.17.7

2nd half 17th century
Cornelis Biltius
Musical Instrument Quodlibet
Painting
location not cited
Hooreman, pl. 51
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. convex (?) soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; carved human (?) head finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is secured to an endpin
8. bridge located just above tailpiece
9. soundholes indistinct in photograph
10. no frets
11. bow hung at instrument's side
12. instrument not played
13. a violin also depicted in this still life
14. instruments hand on a wall, along with music, letters and various other items

B.17.8

before 1661
Jan Fyt (1611-1661)
Still life with instruments
Painting
Austria: Vienna, Art History Museum
Kinsky, p. 177, pl. 2
1. bipartite; boat-shaped; pochette
2. instrument seen from back
3. vaulted, ribbed back
4. integral neck
5. instrument seen from back
6. pegbox with scroll finial
7-10. instrument seen from back; information not available
11. no bow depicted
12. instrument not played
13. other instruments depicted include guitar, lute, dulcian, and violin
14. a still life with instruments poised around a chair

B.17.9

Plate VII
Joos van Craesbeek (1605/08-1662)
Gathering of Rhetoricians
Painting
Belgium: Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts, cat. 121, inv. 3462
RCMI uncataloged; Leppert, Vol. II, pl. 34

B.17.9 (con't.)
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; very tiny pochette
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with separate fingerboard
5. photograph not clear
6. presumed pegbox not clear
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge between tailpiece and soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped (?) soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down, placed over soundholes
12. instrument held at left armpit, pointing straight forwards
13. other instruments depicted include 2 lutes, a viol, and a virginal (?)
14. group of noblemen playing and singing in the outdoors

B.17.10
1664
Cornelis Norbertus Gysbrechts (1659/60-fl. 1670/72)
Still Life
Painting
Belgium: Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. W-1914
Leppert, Vol. II, pl. CXII
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. convex soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; finial indistinct in photo
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge located just above tailpiece
9. 2 C-shaped (?) soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow placed across instrument
12. instrument not played
13. no other instruments depicted
14. still life on a wall, with various other items depicted

B.17.11
before 1668
Quirinus Boel (1620-1668)
(after David Teniers II)
Cats' Concert
Engraving
Location not cited
Horreman, pl. 14
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with divided belly/fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. bent-back pegbox with 4 lateral pegs and carved finial

B.17.11 (con't.)
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge above tailpiece
9. 2 S-shaped (?) or f-shaped (?) soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. no bow depicted
12. instrument not played; hanging on wall
13. other instruments depicted include 2 lutes, bagpipe, and shawm
14. cats sing and play shawm

B.17.12
Plate VIII a
before 1679 (?)
Jan Van Kessel I (1626-1679) and David Teniers II (1610-1690)
Scene from the History of the family of Moncade, Count of Aytona
Painting
USA: New York, New York, private collection
Leppert, Vol. II, pl. XXVI; RCMI uncataloged
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted/ribbed (?) back
4. integral neck with separate (?) fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; shield-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge between tailpiece and soundholes
9. flame-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow placed in front of instrument
12. instrument not played
13. numerous additional instruments depicted
14. instruments depicted in margins around family scene

B.17.13
before 1690
David Teniers II (1610-1690)
Portrait of the wife and son of the painter
Painting
Italy: Turin, Galleria Sabauda
Leppert, Vol. II, pl. XL
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; separate fingerboard
5-7. photograph indistinct
8. movable bridge near lower end of instrument (?)
9-10. photograph indistinct
11. no bow depicted
12. instrument hanging on wall, not played
13. several additional instruments depicted
14. indoor setting

B.17.14 before 1690
David Teniers II (1610-1690)
Peasant Musicians
Painting
Location not cited
Morek, p. 61 and Ewers, pl. 14
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. convex soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with separate fingerboard
5. number of strings unclear
6. bent-back pegbox with carved finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge above tailpiece
9. soundholes unclear
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at left armpit, pointing forwards and slightly downwards
13. two other musicians play recorder and cittern
14. peasants play instruments around a table in a tavern (?)

B R I T A I N

Thirteenth Century

BR.13.1 ca. 1299
Anon., East Anglian (English)
Psalm CIX-CX (historiated initial) in The Peterborough Psalter
Belgium: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9961-9962, f.74
Robb, fig. 163
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 (?) strings
6. pegbox (?); upper end details indistinct; carved finial (?)
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. bridge indistinct
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. presumably no frets
11. bow held palm down, placed between soundholes and neck
12. instrument held at mid-chest, near chin, pointing almost straight outwards to the left
13. numerous other instruments in margin
14. non-specific setting

Fourteenth Century

BR.14.1 Early 14th century
Anon.
Life of David: David and Goliath with head of Goliath, coming before Saul
Illuminated manuscript
USA: New York, New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, MS 26, "Tickhill Psalter," f. 17r
Randall, pl. XXXII, no. 146; Remnant, Grove, p. 637

1. bipartite; piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with divided belly (?)
5. 2 (?) strings
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge located between soundholes and tailpiece
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundholes and lower end of neck
12. instrument held at mid-chest, below chin, pointing almost straight outwards and to the left
13. two other musicians play similar instruments (partially obscured); one musician plays a waisted, plucked stringed instrument
14. procession to Saul with head of Goliath

Fifteenth Century

BR.15.1 15th century
Anon., British (?)
Scotland: Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 60, f. 60
Banquet scene with harp and rebec (?)
Listed only in Bowles, appendix

BR.15.2 15th century
Anon., British (?)
United Kingdom: London, British Museum, Harl. MS 2838, f. 45
Listed only in Remnant, "Frets," p. 21, fn. 32
Remnant writes "a feast being entertained by musicians with rebec and pipe." (p. 21)

Sixteenth Century

BR.16.1 early 16th century
Anon., British (?)
the Braunche brass
United Kingdom: King's Lynn, Norfolk
Listed only in Stevens, John, p. 238-239
Stevens writes: "on the extreme right of the depicted feast, where a peacock is being servied in all its plumage, 2 trumpets and a shawm are playing; on the left a rebec and a cittern are performed softer music." (p. 239)

Date Unknown

BR.U.1 Date unknown (after ca. 1450?)
Anon., British (?)
Illustration in the margin of a copy of Lydgate's Pilgrimage of the Life of Man
United Kingdom: London, British Museum, Cotton Tiberius, A.vii, f. 79v
Mentioned only in Remnant, Grove, p. 635
Remnant writes: "An example of the rebec's being denoted by the generic use of the word 'fiddle' occurs in Lydgate's Pilgrimage of the Life of Man . . ., where "ffedle" in the text is illustrated by an unmistakable rebec in the margin." (p. 635)

C Z E C H O S L O V A K I A

Fourteenth Century

C.14.1 14th century (?)
Anon.
Music-making angels
Fresco
Czechoslovakia: Burg Karlstein
Buchner, Czech, p. 49, pl. 4
1. bipartite; boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; color demarcation between neck and belly (?)
5-7. photograph unclear
8. bridge (?) near center of belly
9. 2 soundholes evident, shape unclear
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at left shoulder/chest, pointing downwards and to the left

C.14.1 (con't.)
13. 2 other angels play the bagpipe and the shawm
14. non-specific setting

Fifteenth Century

C.15.1
ca. 1417
Anon., Bohemian master
King David and Musicians
Manuscript illumination
Czechoslovakia: Olomouc (Olmütz), Universitätsbibliothek, CS (Bible)
Musica Calendar 1972, pl. 11
1. bipartite; piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. upper end of instrument obscured
5. 4 strings
6. information not available
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is secured to an endpin
8. no bridge evident
9. 2 D-shaped (?) soundholes in center of belly
10. information not available
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at left shoulder/chest, pointing downwards and to the left
13. several additional instruments depicted
14. non-specific setting

F R A N C E

Fourteenth Century

F.14.1
early 14th century
Anon., Southern France
United Kingdom: London, British Museum, Add. 17006, ff. 8, 62, and 93
Listed only in British Museum Catalog, Vol. III, p. 368

F.14.2
before 1356
Anon., French
United Kingdom: London, British Museum, 19 D.ii, f. 242
Listed only in British Museum Catalog, Vol. III, p. 368

F.14.3 Plate IX
ca. 1385
Probably Nicolas Bataille
Musician playing a musical instrument; detail from "The Three Pagan Heroes: Julius Caesar"
Tapestry
USA: New York City, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 47.101.3
Peters Calendar 1978

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard (?)
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 2 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with 2 lateral pegs
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge below soundhole
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at top of right shoulder, pointing almost straight forwards
13. other instruments depicted as well
14. Moorish-looking musician plays instrument in niche

F.14.4 Plate X
ca. 1385
Probably Nicolas Bataille
Female musician playing a musical instrument; detail from the nine "Heroes Tapestries, Hebrew Tapestries: Joshua and David"
Tapestry
USA: New York City, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 47.101.1
Peters Calendar 1960

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard (?)
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 2 strings
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge below soundhole
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down; placed over center of belly
12. instrument played at top of left shoulder/chest, pointing almost straight forwards

F.14.4 (con't.)
13. other instruments depicted, including a harp
14. courtly woman plays rebec in niche

F.14.5
end of 14th century-beginning of 15th century
Anon., French
The old man of the mountain in the artificial paradise of hashish eaters
Miniature in manuscript of Marco Polo's travels
France: Paris, Bibliothèque National (Giraudon), MS of Marco Polo's travels
Hughes, p. 71 and Besseler, pl. 75
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 3 strings
6. 90-degree bent back, sickle-shaped pegbox with three lateral pegs
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. photograph indistinct
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed over center of belly
12. instrument held at left side of chest, pointing almost straight downwards
13. seated next to rebecist is a harpist
14. garden scene

F.14.6
14th-15th century
Anon., French
Rebec (?)
United Kingdom: London, British Museum, Harl. MS 4381, f. 256b
Listed only in British Museum Catalog, Vol. III, p. 374

Fifteenth Century

F.15.1
15th century
Anon., French (?)
France: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, HS. 5068, f.36v°
Listed only in Bowles, appendix
13. numerous instruments depicted, including rebec, portative organ, and others

F.15.2
15th century
Anon., French (?)
France: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, HS. fr. 22532, f. 336
Listed only in Bowles, appendix
13. numerous instruments depicted, including rebec

F.15.3

15th century
Anon., French (?)
Danse Macabre
France: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, no specific source cited
Panum, fig. 296; Kastner, fig. 25a

1. bipartite; piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. no strings depicted
6. bent-back pegbox; no details depicted
7. lower end string fastening unclear
8. no bridge depicted
9. set of small, "pencil-point size" soundholes arranged in a circle in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across instrument near lower end of neck
12. instrument held at mid-chest, pointing to the left and slightly downward
13. another skeleton plays a shawm
14. 2 skeletons in dance of death in courtyard

F.15.4

15th century
Anon., French
Mermaid playing rebec (?) and straight trumpet (?)
A manuscript of Les Échecs amoureux
No location cited
Grillet, p. 143 and Panum, fig. 297

1. bipartite; piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with divided belly
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with 5 (?) lateral pegs; carved finial
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar
8. movable bridge (?) in center of belly
9. no soundholes depicted
10. no frets depicted
11. no bow depicted
12. instrument not played; held in arm
13. straight trumpet (?) also depicted
14. mermaid in sea

F.15.5 15th century
Anon., French (?)
Violet le Duc, Dictionnaire raisonné d'Ameublement
location not cited
Panum, fig. 299
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with three pegholes; carved (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. no bridge depicted
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow placed diagonally across center of belly; palm down
12. detail of instrument only; information not available
13-14. information not available

F.15.6 15th century
Anon. (?), French (?)
Vision of the city of God
Illuminated manuscript
France: Paris, Bibliothèque St. Geneviève, Manuscript of St. Augustine's, De Civitate Dei
Hughes, p. 148
1. bipartite, piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck
5. photograph indistinct
6. sickle-shaped (?) pegbox
7. photograph indistinct
8-10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at left shoulder/armpit, pointing downwards and slightly to the left
13. other angels play the lute and straight trumpet
14. heavenly setting

F.15.7 15th century
Jehan de Nizières (Burgundian?)
Music and Measure
France: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
Brown, p. 223
1. bipartite, boat-shaped (?)
2. instrument seen from rear; information not available
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck

F.15.7 (con't.)

5. information not available
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox; details not clear
7-10. information not available
11. bow hand obscurred; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at left shoulder/armpit, pointing almost straight forwards
13. numerous other instruments
14. allegorical setting in a church

F.15.8

15th century
Anon., French
The Nativity
Miniature in Book of Hours designed for Catherine of Cleves
Location unknown (perhaps Guennol collection?)
Crane, misc.
1. Bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck
5. photograph indistinct
6. bent-back pegbox; details indistinct
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece (?)
8. photograph indistinct
9. 2 soundholes (C-shaped?) in center of belly; indistinct
10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at mid-chest, pointing downwards
13. no other instruments
14. the Nativity

F.15.9

15th century
Anon., French
Courtly figures in margins surrounding the Annunciation
Manuscript book of hours
USA: Baltimore, Maryland, The Walters Art Gallery,
MS 10.269, fol. 16
Bowles, appendix list only; Museum photo
2 rebecs (?) depicted
Number one: (a rebec?)
1. bipartite, piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; details indistinct
5. photograph indistinct; presumably 3 strings
6. peghox or pegdisc (unclear) with three pegs
7. photograph indistinct
8-10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm up; placed across belly of instrument
12. instrument played on right side of chest, pointing almost straight outwards to the right

F.15.9 (con't.)

Number two:
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; upper end of instrument obscured.
5. 3 strings
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar serves as fixed bridge
9. no soundholes depicted
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at right shoulder, pointing downwards and to the right
13. other instruments include a shawm, harp, lute
14. putti plays number one; woman plays number two; non-specific setting

F.15.10

ca. 1400
Anon., French
Music-making angels
Illuminated manuscript, Book of Hours
Location not cited
Haas, pl. 74
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. photograph indistinct; 2 (?) strings
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox; details indistinct
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. photograph indistinct
9. round central soundhole (?)
10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm down (?); placed across center of belly
12. instrument played upon left knee, pointingupwards and slightly to the left
13. two other angels play harp and psaltery
14. non-specific setting

F.15.11

ca. 1400
Anon., French
Book of Hours
Location not cited
Besseler, p. 134, fig. 74
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard

F.15.11 (con't.)
5. photograph indistinct
6. sickle-shaped pegbox; details indistinct
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. photograph indistinct
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow placed across soundhole (information concerning grip not available)
12. instrument held upon left knee
13. other instruments include vielle, transverse flute, harp, psaltery
14. non-specific setting

F.15.12
1410
Guyart des Moulins
The tree of Jesse
Miniature in manuscript, Bible Historiale
Belgium: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Manuscript 9002, f. 223
Page, "Gerson," p. 349
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. photograph indistinct; 4 strings (?)
6. 90-degree bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; carved animal-head (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. photograph indistinct
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed over soundholes
12. instrument held at left chest/shoulder, pointing forwards and downwards
13. eleven additional instruments
14. kings play instruments in sections of tree of lineage

F.15.13
Plate XI
before 1411 (ca. 1350-1411)
Guyart des Moulins
The tree of Jesse
Miniature in manuscript, Bible historique
United Kingdom: London British Museum, British Library
MS Royal 19 D.III, f. 458
RCMI No. 0027 and cover of Early Music, July 1978
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back

F.15.13 (con't.)

4. integral neck, line of demarcation near player's hand (a fret?); stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with 2 lateral pegs evident; carved finial
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. no bridge evident
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes on belly; round soundhole (or decoration?) on stepped fingerboard
10. frets (?)
11. bow held palm down; placed across soundhole on fingerboard
12. instrument played at top of left shoulder, pointing downward and slightly to the left
13. ten additional instruments
14. kings play instruments in sections of tree of lineage

F.15.14

1411
Anon., French
United Kingdom: London, British Museum, 19 D.iii, f. 458
Listed only in British Museum Catalog, Vol. III, p. 374

F.15.15

2nd half of the 15th century
Anon., French
United Kingdom: London' British Museum, Tiber. A. vii, ff. 77 and 79b
Listed only in British Museum Catalog, Vol. III, p. 368

F.15.16

ca. 1450-60
Anon., French (Bayeux use)
Angel plays musical instrument beside God enthroned
Illuminated manuscript Book of Hours
United Kingdom: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 268, f. 11r
Bodleian Library Filmstrips, No. 238.4, no. 23

1. bipartite, piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; details indistinct
5. information not available
6. pegbox (indistinct)

7-10. information not available

11. bow held palm down; placed across belly
12. instrument played upon left shoulder, pointing downwards and to the right
13. information not available
14. angel beside God enthroned

F.15.17 ca. 1450-60
Anon., French, Bayeux
Fox playing musical instrument
Illuminated manuscript Book of Hours
United Kingdom: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Manuscript Douce 268, f. 87r
Bodleian Library Filmstrips, No. 210D, no. 16

1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with lateral pegs; scroll-like finial
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable; to endknob?
8. no bridge depicted
9. flower-shaped central soundhole
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across belly
12. instrument played at mid-throat, held straight down
13. information not available (detail only provided)
14. instrument played by an animal, not a human; non-specific setting

F.15.18 ca. 1450-70
Anon., French
Grotesque playing a musical instrument
Illuminated manuscript Book of Hours
United Kingdom: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Manuscript Douce 77, f. 50v
Bodleian Library Filmstrips, No. 242.7, no. 11

1. presumably bipartite, piriform/boat-shaped
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. presumably three strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with three lateral pegs
7. information not available
8. no bridge depicted
9. 2 round soundholes, one in center of belly, one upon neck
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down, placed between the two soundholes
12. instrument played across the chest (from right to left), touching left arm and pointing to the left
13. information not available (detail only provided)
14. non-specific setting

F.15.19

ca. 1450-70
Anon., French
Grotesque playing a musical instrument
Illuminated manuscript Book of Hours
United Kingdom: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Manuscript Douce 77, f. 50r
Bodleian Library Filmstrips, No. 242.7, no. 10

1. presumably bipartite, boat-shaped
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. no strings depicted
6. bent-back pegbox (sickle-shaped?)
7. lower end string fastening presumed
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. round soundhole upon neck; set of five small soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between the neck and belly soundholes
12. instrument played across the chest (from right to left), touching left arm and pointing to the left
13. information not available (detail only provided)
14. non-specific setting

F.15.20

Plate XII
1465
Anon., French school
The Archangel Gabriel, detail from The Annunciation
Manuscript illumination in Book of Hours for Charles of France, Duke of Normandy
USA: New York City, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 58.71a
Museum photo

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; line of demarcation between neck and belly
5. 3 or 4 strings (?)
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox; details indistinct
7. lower end string fastening, specific means not ascertainable
8. no bridge depicted
9. one flower-shaped soundhole in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at left chest, pointing almost directly to the left
13. other instruments include a harp, lute, bagpipe, psaltery
14. angels descending from heaven at the Annunciation

F.15.21 ca. 1470
Anon., French school
A marriage
Manuscript illumination
France: Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, no. 20696
Droz, p. 49

1. presumably bipartite and boat-shaped (partially obscured)
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. upper end of instrument obscured
5. 3 strings
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held high upon left shoulder, near chin, pointing downwards and slightly to the left
13. also harp and pipe and tabor played by musicians
14. a wedding scene in a church

F.15.22 ca. 1470
Anon., French (Besançon)
Winged grotesque plays musical instrument
Manuscript illumination in Book of Hours
United Kingdom: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Manuscript Douce 267, f. 5ar
Bodleian Library Filmstrips, No. 238.4, no. 24

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. no strings depicted
6. 90-degree bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox
7. information not available
8. no bridge depicted
9. two sets of very small soundholes; one set located upon neck (3 small holes), the other set located upon the belly (at least 8 small holes)
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down, placed between the two sets of soundholes
12. instrument played at mid-chest, pointing downwards and to the left
13. information not available (detail only provided)
14. non-specific setting

F.15.23 ca. 1470
Anon., French (Besançon)
Winged grotesque plays musical instrument
Manuscript illumination in Book of Hours
United Kingdom: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 267, f. 5av
Bodleian Library Filmstrips, No. 242.7, no. 14

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. no strings depicted
6. 90-degree bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with carved (?) finial
7. information not available
8. no bridge depicted
9. two sets of very small soundholes; one set located upon neck (at least 7 small holes), the other set located upon the belly (at least 7 small holes)
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between the two sets of soundholes
12. instrument played at mid-chest; pointing downwards and to the left
13. information not available (detail only provided)
14. non-specific setting; this instrument is almost identical with F.15.22; undoubtedly by same artist)

F.15.24 ca. 1470
Jean Fouquet
Etienne Chevalier with St. Stephen and angels
Manuscript illumination in book of hours
France: Chantilly, Condé Museum, Etienne Chevalier Book
Kinsky, p. 53, pl. 1 and Hammerstein, pl. 108

1. presumably bipartite; shape unknown (instrument partially obscured)
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. upper end of instrument obscured
5. 4 or more strings (?)
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end of instrument obscured
8. bridge obscured
9. round central soundhole (?)
10. upper end of instrument obsucred
11. bow hand obscured; placed in center of belly
12. instrument held at mid-chest; pointint to the left
13. other instruments include flutes, psaltery, and lute
14. angels, a saint, and patron praying in church setting

F.15.25 3rd quarter 15th century
Anon., France (central)
Musical angels
Manuscript illumination in book of hours
United Kingdom: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Manuscript Lat. Liturg., f.6, folio 17r
Bodleian Library Filmstrips, No. 242.7, no. 17
Details of entire instrument are indistinct; appears to be a piriform-shaped instrument, bowed. A rebec?

F.15.26 ca. 1485
Jean Colombe
The celestial court before the Virgin and Christ
Manuscript illumination in book of hours
France: Chantilly, Musée de Condé, Manuscript Les très riches heures du Duc du Berry, f. 126
Hollis, pl. 23
2 rebecs (?) depicted

Number one:
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with line demarcation between neck and belly
5. photograph indistinct
6. extreme upper end obscured
7-8. photograph indistinct
9. large round soundhole in center of belly
10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at top of left shoulder, pointing downward and slightly to the left

Number two:
1. bipartite, presumably piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. upper end of instrument obscured
5. information not available
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar (?)
8. crossbar serves as fixed bridge
9. no soundholes evident
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at left shoulder, pointing downwards and to the left
13. other instruments include 2 recorders, a lute, portative organ, and a harpsichord
14. angels grouped together in non-specific setting

F.15.27 Plate XIII
ca. 1490
Robinet Testard
The Court of Mirth from the Roman de la Rose
Manuscript illumination
United Kingdom: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Manuscript Douce 195, f. 7r. Prepared for Charles d'Orléans, count of Angoulême and his wife, Louise de Savoie
RCMI uncataloged file
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. upper end of instrument obscured
5. 3 strings
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar serves as fixed bridge
9. 2 small round soundholes in center of belly
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow hand obscured; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at left chest/armpit, pointing downwards and slightly to the left
13. another musician plays pipe and tabor
14. musicians accompany dancing

F.15.28 1491
Anon., France
Angel musicians
Woodcut in translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' De Proprietatibus Rerum by J. Corbichon, revised by P. Ferget (Proprietes des choses, Lyons, 1491)
United Kingdom: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. I.Q.3.35
Page, "Lute," p. 14, illustration 7
1. presumably bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with 2 visible, lateral pegs
7. lower end string fastening, presumably to crossbar
8. crossbar (?) presumably serves as fixed bridge
9. large round soundhole in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across soundhole
12. instrument held at center of chest, pointing downwards and to the left
13. other instruments in detail available include pipe and tabor, shawm, and lute
14. non-specific setting

Sixteenth Century

F.16.1

16th century
Anon., French (?), maybe Italian (?)
Virgin and Child with angel musicians
Manuscript illumination in book of hours
France: Chantilly, Musée Condé
Gianoli, pl. XI

1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with carved (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge just above tailpiece
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across neck and upper end of belly
12. instrument played at top of left shoulder, pointing almost straight downwards and slightly to the left
13. another angel plays the lute
14. angels on either side of Virgin and Child in outdoor setting, in front of a castle

F.16.2

ca. 1500
Anon., French
Tapisserie Bourguignonne
Tapestry
German Federal Republic: Nuremberg, German Museum
Hooreman, pl. 25
Information not available

F.16.3

early 16th century
Anon., French, for use in Rome
Grotesque man with head of an ass plays a musical instrument
Manuscript illumination in book of hours
United Kingdom: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Manuscript Douce 276, f. 124r
Bodleian Library Filmstrips, No. 242.7, no. 15

1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable

F.16.3 (con't.)

8. no bridge evident
9. large round soundhole in center of belly
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held in left hand, palm down, placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at right shoulder, pointing downwards and to the right
13. no other instruments in detail
14. companions sit around musician in outdoor setting

Seventeenth Century

F.17.1

17th century
Antoine le Nain (Laon 1588-Paris 1648)
Three Young Musicians
Painting on wood
USA: Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art
Martin-Méry, p. 26, no. 46

1. bipartite; boat-shaped; pochette
2. flat soundboard (?)
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; separate fingerboard
5. photograph indistinct
6. pegbox with carved finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge between tailpiece and soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped (?) soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundholes and fingerboard
12. instrument played between right arm (at elbow) and chest, pointing forward and to the left
13. another musician plays a lute; one sings
14. indoor, household setting

F.17.2

17th century
Louis le Nain (1593?-1648)
Family of Peasants
United Kingdom (?): Collection of Lord Leconfield
Haward, p. 14

1. bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. flat soundboard (?)
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; separate fingerboard
5. photograph indistinct
6. pegbox with carved finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge between tailpiece and soundholes
9. photograph indistinct
10. no frets

F.17.2 (con't.)

11. bow held palm down; placed between bridge and fingerboard
12. instrument played between right arm (at elbow) and chest, pointing forward and slightly upwards
13. no other instruments
14. outdoor setting (?)

F.17.3

17th century (?)
Simon Renard de Saint-André
Vanity
German Federal Republic: Strasbourg, Art Museum
Lesure, MA, pl. 77

1. bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. slightly convex soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; carved finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge between tailpiece and soundholes
9. 2 elaborate c-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow positioned across instrument in still life
12. instrument not played
13. no other instruments depicted
14. still life with human skull, open music book (second part of a motet by Lassus)

F.17.4

Plate XIV
ca. second half of 17th century
Nicolas de Larmessin, II (before 1640-?)
The Musician's Costume
1 of 92 plates of costumes for various professions; copperplate engraving
Henning, pl. 13 and Musica Calendar 1976, no. 5

1. Bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. upper end of instrument obscured
5. 4 strings
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge located above tailpiece
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. no bow depicted with instrument
12. instrument not played
13. numerous other instruments
14. formal garden setting

G E R M A N Y

Fourteenth Century

G.14.1 ca. 1320
Anon., German
Ape playing musical instrument
Wooden carving
German Federal Republic: Cologne, Cathedral, Choir-stall side-piece figure
Hammerstein, pl. 86b
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat souncboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck (somewhat distinct? photograph not clear)
5. 4 or more strings; difficult to determine
6. upper end string fastening unclear in photograph
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. no bridge depicted
9. no soundholes depicted
10. upper end of instrument unclear in photograph
11. bow hand unclear in photograph; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at mid-chest, pointing almost straight downward
13. no other instrument depicted in carving
14. no setting

G.14.2 ca. 1380
Anon., German (?)
Music-making angels in illuminated book of hours
German Federal Republic: Trier, Cathedral Treasury, Kodex Falkenstein
Hammerstein, pl. 72
1. bipartite, piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck
5. photograph indistinct
6. pegbox (?) which appears to be bent-back; photograph indistinct; lateral pegs (?)
7. lower end string fastening unclear
8-10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played upon right top of shoulder, pointing downwards and to the right
13. numerous additional instruments depicted
14. non-specific setting

Fifteenth Century

G.15.1

ca. 1400
Anon., Nürnberg
Angel playing musical instrument
Tapestry
German Federal Republic: Regensburg, Rathaus
Kurth, Vol. III, no. 244-246
1. bipartite, piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard evident
5. 2 or 3 strings
6. sickle-shaped (?) pegbox with three lateral pegs
7-8. photograph indistinct
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. information not available
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at center of chest, pointing upwards and to the left
13. information not available
14. angels and nobility in outdoor setting

G.15.2

mid-15th century
Anon., Frankish (southwestern Germany)
Garden of Love
Tapestry
German Federal Republic: Nürnberg, Germanisches National-museum
Kurth, Vol. III, p. 282
1-10. photograph very poor for study; upper end obscured
11. bow held palm down; bow placement difficult to determine
12. instrument held at top of left shoulder
13. another musician plays the lute
14. set in garden; nobility are entertained by musicians during meal

G.15.3

Plate XV
after 1473
Anon., German (?)
Conrad Paumann's gravestone (1410-1473)
Low relief in stone
German Federal Republic: Munich, Frauenkirche
Ott, pl. 31 and Kinsky, p. 74, fig. 1
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with divided belly
5. no strings depicted; presumably three
6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; carved (?) finial

G.15.3 (con't.)
7-8. detail not depicted
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly; 3 small soundholes grouped together on neck
10. no frets
11. no bow depicted
12. instrument not played
13. also depicted are a lute, recorder, harp, and portative organ
14. instruments surround Paumann who plays an organ

G.15.4
1493
Hartmann Schedel
The Lord as ruler of the cosmic harmony from the book Buch der Chroniken (Nüremberg, 1493)
Woodcut
USA: New York City, New York Public Library
Meyer-Baer, no. 1 and Hughes, p. 112
1. bipartite, piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck (?); upper end partially obscured
5. 3 strings
6. upper end partially obscured
7. detail not depicted
8. no bridge depicted
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow hand obscured; placed almost vertically across instrument and in between soundholes
12. instrument held (played?) across chest, pointing upwards and to the left
13. a lute player is depicted right next to rebec player; a harp player on opposite side of picture
14. astrological chart with the medieval cosmos, God, and his Saints

G.15.5
1495
Anon., German
Virgin and Child with Music-making Angels
Illuminated manuscript book of hours
United Kingdom: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Manuscript Germ. g.1, f. 70v
Bodleian Library Filmstrips, No. 242.7, no. 19
1. Presumably bipartite; piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4-10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at mid-chest/shoulder, pointing downward
13. another angel plays harp
14. angels stand beside Virgin and Child

G.15.6

Plate XVI
ca. 1496
Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528)
The Bath House
Woodcut
USA: New York, New Yotk, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 19.73.155
The Netherlands: The Hague, Collection of the Music Department of the Haags Gemeentemuseum
Ott, p. 27 and Henning, pl. 56

1. bipartite (?), tripartite (?), boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct (?) neck; partially obscured
5. 3 strings
6. upper end obscured; tip of pegbox visible
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge, partially obscured by bow
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. upper end partially obscured
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundholes and bridge
12. instrument held at left side of chest, pointing to the left and slightly upwards
13. one man plays recorder
14. setting in a men's bath house

G.15.7

late 15th century
School of Martin Schongauer
Crowning of the Virgin
Painting
German Federal Republic: Karlsruhe, Gemäldegalerie
Nannen, p. 34

1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. distinct neck; partially obscured
5. 4 strings
6. upper end obscured
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge between tailpiece and soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down, placed acorss center of soundholes
12. instrument held at left side of chest, pointing downwards and slightly to the left
13. detail only provided; information not available
14. information not available

Sixteenth Century

G.16.1

1510
Albrecht Altdorfer (1480-1438), Regensburg
Ruhe auf der Flucht
Painting
German Federal Republic: Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz
Geiser, pl. 41

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck
5. photograph indistinct
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with 4 (?) lateral pegs
7. lower end partially obscured
8. photograph indistinct
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. information not available
11. bow held palm down; placed diagonally across belly at center
12. difficult to determine whether or not instrument is being played or just held; lower end rests upon angel's midsection, pointing upwards and to the left; could be played in this position, although awkwardly
13. another angel plays recorder; detail only provided
14. detail only provided; information not available

G.16.2

1511
Anon., German
klein Geige in Musica Getutscht by Sebastian Virdung (Basel, 1511)
Woodcut
Geiser, pl. 47 and Virdung (facsimile edition)

1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with three lateral pegs; scroll-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge located between soundholes and end of fingerboard
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. instrument not played; bow at side
12. instrument not played

13-14. not applicable

G.16.3

Plate XVII
ca. 1512
Peter Schöffer
Woodcut from Arnolt Schlick's Tabulaturen etlicher Lobgesang und Lidlein (Mainz, 1512)
(very similar to I.16.1 engraving of same subject)
RCMI uncataloged files; Das Klingende Jahr 1966, No. 10

1. bipartite (?), piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 2 strings
6. pegbox (?); details indistinct
7. lower end string fastening to endknob (no tailpiece)
8. movable bridge between lower end and soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow placed beneath instrument; not played
12. instrument not played
13. also depicted are 2 recorders, a harp, a lute, and a portative organ
14. allegorical setting with woman sitting on swan

G.16.4

Plate XVIII
1513
Hans Holbein, the Elder (1465-1524), Augsburg, Germany
Rebec and a rooster (front and side views of the same instrument)
Sketch
Switzerland: Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, No. 1662.202
Frei, p. 44 and Geiser, pl. 36

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat (?) soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with three lateral pegs; carved, human-head finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is secured to an endknob
8. movable bridge located right above tailpiece
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes on either side of tailpiece
10. no frets
11. bow placed across strings at mid-belly on frontal sketch; bow placed behind instrument on sideview
12. instruments not played
13. no other instruments depicted
14. not applicable

G.16.5

1517/18
Stoss Veit (ca. 1450-1533), Nürnberg
Der englische Gruss
Woodcut (?)
German Federal Republic: Nürnberg, St. Lorenz
Geiser, fig. 161
1. bipartite (?), boat-shaped
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct (?) neck
5. 3 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox; no details depicted
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar (?)
8-9. center of belly partially obscured
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down, placed at end of neck
12. instrument held at right waist, pointing almost straight forwards
13-14. detail only provided; information not available

G.16.6

1529
Anon., German
klein Geige in Musica instrumentalis deudsch by Martin Agricola (Wittenberg, 1529)
Woodcut
Geiser, pl. 30
1-14. same as instrument described in G.16.2; picture is reversed

G.16.7

Plate LVIII
1532/1537/1546
Anon., German, Nürnberg
klein Geige in Musica Teusch by Hans Gerle (Nürnberg, 1532/1537) and in Gerle's Musica und Tabulatur (Nürnberg, 1546)
Woodcut
Geiser, pl. 50
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. distinct neck with separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings (bass size depicted; 2 smaller sizes had 3 strings)
6. 90-degree bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; scroll finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece; tailpiece is presumably attached to an endpin
8. movable bridge between soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets depicted
11. no bow depicted

G.16.7 (con't.)
12. instrument not played
13-14. not applicable

G.16.8
1536
Anon., German, Strassburg
klein Geige in Musurgia seu praxis musicae by Othmar Luscinius (Strassburg: 1536)
Woodcut
Geiser, pl. 48
1-13. Exactly the same as instrument described in G.16.2; see also G.16.5

G.16.9
mid to late 16th century
Tobias Stimmer (1539-1584)
Youth, from the Ages of Woman
Woodcut
Beck, pl. 16; Henning, pl. 8
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; (pochette?)
2. presumably flat soundboard (?)
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped (?) or separate (?) fingerboard
5. instrument depicted from side; presumably 4 strings
6. pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; scroll finial
7. instrument depicted from side; frontal details omitted
8-10. information not available
11. bow held palm down, placed across center of belly
12. instrument held in crook of left elbow, pointing forwards and upwards
13. no other instruments depicted
14. inscribed below picture: "At tne years, childish play; at twenty, a tender maid." Figure playing instrument is a satyr. Symbolic setting. Instrument case attached to player's waist

G.16.10
1565-70
Hans Mielich (1516-1573)
Illumination from manuscript containing Lasso's seven penitential Psalms of David
German Federal Republic: Munich, Staatsbibliothek
Kinsky, p. 91, pl. 1
1. bipartite, boat-shaped (a rebec?)
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck
5. 4 strings
6. upper end of instrument unclear in photograph
7. lower end string fastening unclear in photograph
8. 2 bridges (?); movable bridge below central soundhole; a bridge (?) above soundhole in center of belly

9. 2 round soundholes; one in center of belly; one on upper part of belly, below fingerboard
10. no frets
11. no bow evident
12. instrument not played
13. several additional instruments depicted in border of manuscript
14. non-specific setting

G.16.11

1568
Jost Amman (1539-1591)
Three Fiddlers
Woodcut
German Federal Republic: Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Kupferstichkabinett Kaps. 59H 5893
Geiser, pl. 46 and Lutgendorff, p. 14
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; upper end obscured
5. 3 strings
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge indistinct in photograph
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down, placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at center of chest, pointing downwards and to the left
13. 2 musicians play gross Geigen
14. outdoor setting (non-specific place)

G.16.22

1575
Anon., Germany
Title page woodcut from Elias Nicolaus Ammerbach's Ein neu kunstlich Tabulaturbuch (Nürnberg: 1575)
Henning, 1979, cover
Photograph not available for study

G.16.13

1582
Attributed to Christoph Maurer (1558-1614)
Group of Musicians
Pen and Wash
German Democratic Republic: Leipzig, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum
Kinsky, p. 87 and Musica Calendar 1972, no. 26
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard

G.16.13 (con't.)

5. 4 strings
6. upper end obscured
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge above soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. at least 3 frets (more undoubtedly, obscured by hand)
11. bow held palm down, placed near upper end of belly
12. instrument held at right chest, pointing slightly upwards and to the left
13. presumably another similar instrument played, but only bow can be seen; a third musician plays a gross Geige
14. allegorical setting; unfinished

G.16.14

1589
Anon., German
Title page woodcut for Cantiones Sacrae of Thomas Ludovico da Victoria (Dillingen, 1589)
Komma, pl. 242, p. 102
2 rebecs (?) depicted
Number one:

1. bipartite, piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; information regarding fingerboard is not available
5. 3 strings
6. upper end of instrument indistinct
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge area indistinct
9. soundhole area indistinct
10. presumably no frets
11. bow held palm down, placed diagonally across belly
12. instrument held at left side of chest, pointing upwards and to the left
13. numerous other instruments depicted on title page
14. non-specific setting for this instrument

Number two:

1-10. photograph very poor for study and instrument partially obscured; however, lower end shape suggests similarity to rebec described in Number one
11. bow held palm down; placed diagonally across belly
12. instrument held at left side of chest, pointing upwards and to the left
13. other musicians play: gross Geige, harp, clavichord, shawm (?), transverse flute, krummhorn (?), buisine (?), and lute
14. instrumentalists grouped around a table; exactly the same instruments, but positioned differently, as in G.16.15

G.16.15 Plate XIX
February 1590
David Brentel (?)
Circle of instrumentalists
Tempera on paper
German Federal Republic: Haverlah and Helmstedt, private collection of Dr. Martin Wandersleb
Salmen, p. 133 and Henning, 1972, pl. 13

1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; separate fingerboard (?)
5. 3 strings
6. upper end string fastening to pegbox with lateral pegs
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece (?)
8. bridge not depicted
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at left chest, pointing downward and to the left
13. other instruments include: gross Geige, transverse flute, lute, shawm, harp, busines, krummhorn (?), clavichord
14. instrumentalists grouped around a table; exactly the same instruments, but positioned differently, as in G.16.14.

Seventeenth Century

G.17.1 1607
Hilarius Dieterlin
Title page from Bernhard Schmid the Younger's Tablatur Buch . . . auf Orgeln (Strassubrg, 1607)
Engraving
Minkoff 1979 and Kinsky, p. 83, fig. 3

1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with 3 lateral pegs; scroll finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge obscured
9. soundholes obscured
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed diagonally across belly
12. instrument held at center of chest, pointing upwards and to the left
13. a number of additional instruments depicted
14. angels positioned beneath depictions of Apollo and Arion

Eighteenth Century

G.18.1

ca. 1700
Anon., German
The Serenade
Engraving
Location not cited
Kinsky, pl. 5, p. 247
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. photograph indistinct
6. pegbox with lateral pegs and scroll finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8-10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at left chest, pointing almost straight outwards to the left
13. only detail of picture available for study, but portion includes a lute and a violin
14. 2 noblemen play pochette and lute, court jester plays violin on city street; woman pours a vase of water upon the musicians from window above the street

G.18.2

Plate XX
ca. 1715/25
Johann Christoph Weigel
"Violist oder Bratschist" from Musicalisches Theatrum by Johann Christoph Weigel, plate 21
Engraving
A rebec and a pochette hang on wall

Rebec:
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with three lateral pegs, scroll-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge located just above tailpiece
9. no soundholes depicted
10. no frets
11. bow placed across instrument; not played
12. instrument not played

Pochette:
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; shield-like finial

G.18.2 (con't.)
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge unclear
9. no soundholes depicted
10. no frets
11. bow placed across instrument, not played
12. instrument not played
13. musician plays a viol (?) a braccio
14. allegorical setting; instruments on wall may signify antiquity

I D E N T I T Y U N K N O W N

Fourteenth-Fifteenth Century

IU.14/15.1
14th-15th century
Unknown
Madonna and Child enthroned
Manuscript illumination
Location unknown (information unavailable)
Bodleian Library Filmstrips, No. 170F, no. 9
1. bipartite, piriform
2. depicted from rear; information not available
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck
5. information not available
6. 90-degree bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox; no details
7-10. information not available
11. bow hand obscured; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at left shoulder, pointing almost straight downwards
13. 2 angels play portative organ and lute
14. angels surround Madonna and Child enthroned

IU.14/15.2
14th-15th century
Unknown
Music-making angels
Manuscript illumination
Location unknown (information unavailable)
Bodleian Library Filmstrips, No. 212K, no. 9
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 2 - 3 (?) strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with animal-head finial
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar serves as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole in center of belly (?)
10. no frets

IU.14/15.2 (con't.)
11. bow held palm down, placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at left/center of chest, pointing almost straight downwards and to the left
13. 2 other angels play the lute and bells
14. angels in outdoor setting

IU.14/15.3
Plate XXI
14th-15th century (?)
Unknown
Madonna and Child enthroned
Painting
Location unknown (may be at The Hague?)
RCMI photo L34252 (unfiled)
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; upper end obscured
5. 3 strings
6. upper end obscured
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. upper end obscured
11. bow hand obscured; placed diagonally across center of belly
12. instrument held at left chest, pointing almost straight upwards and to the left
13. 2 other angels play lutes; one plays recorder
14. angels surround Virgin and Child enthroned

Fifteenth-Sixteenth Century

IU.15/16.1
Plate XXII
15th-16th century (?)
Unknown
Christ with Saints and three musicians
Painting
Location unknown (may be at The Hague?)
RCMI photo L34248 (unfiled)
1. bipartite, piriform; small instrument
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with carved finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge obscured
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly

IU.15/16.1 (con't.)

12. instrument played at left shoulder/armpit, pointing forwards and slightly downwards
13. 2 other musicians play lutes
14. non-specific setting; Christ on pedestal; musicians at his feet

Sixteenth Century

IU.16.1

Plate XLIV
16th century (?)
Unknown, German (?) or Swiss (?)
Group of musicians
Engraving
Location unknown
RCMI uncataloged; Henning, 1969, cover

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. instrument seen from back only; information not available
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck
5. information not available
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox

7-10. information not available

11. bow hand obscured; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at left shoulder/armpit, pointing downwards and to the right
13. numerous additional instrumentalists
14. group of musicians playing indoors (?)

I T A L Y

Date Unknown

I.U.1

[15th century?]
Anon., Italian (?)
Fresco in cupola
Italy: Offida, Santa Maria della Rocca
Meyer-Baer, p. 144, fig. 65

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. pegbox indistinct in photograph
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. two round soundholes with roses on neck
10. no frets
11. bow held palm up; placed across middle of belly

I.U.1 (con't.)

12. instrument held at left chest, pointing to the left and downwards
13. various other instruments depicted in cupola
14. non-specific setting

I.U.2

[15th century?]
Anon., Italian (?)
Courtly musicians
Miniature in manuscript on same page as a Kyrie by Ockeghem
Italy: Rome, Vat. Chigi C VIII 234, f. 3v
Haas, pl. 123

1. bipartite, piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. photograph indistinct
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar (?)
8. crossbar serves as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. upper end obscured
11. bow held palm down, placed diagonally across central soundhole
12. instrument held at mid-chest, pointing almost directly to the left
13. other instruments include lute, recorder (?), and harp
14. musicians sitting on ground in forest (?)

I.U.3

Date unknown
Anon., Italian
The angels bring the Christmas message to the shepherds
Fresco
Italy: near Rome, Crypt of San Urbano alla Caffarella
Bachmann, pl. 28

1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. frontal view only
4. integral neck
5. 3 strings
6. upper end string fastening obscured; 3 lateral pegs protrude from side of fingerboard
7. soundboard string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar functions as fixed bridge
9. 2 S-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between crossbar and soundholes

I.U.3 (con't.)
12. played at mid-chest, pointing downwards and to player's left
13. no additional instruments
14. player is dancing; at least 2 additional dancers

Thirteenth Century

I.13.1
early 13th century
Italian
United Kingdom: London, British Museum, Manuscript Add. 9350, f. 1
Listed only in British Museum Catalog, Vol. III, p. 368

Fourteenth Century

I.14.1
14th century
Anon., Florence, Italy
Naked boy playing musical instrument
Stone sculpture
Italy: Florence, Cathedral, South portal
Stauder, p. 106, pl. 153
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. frontal view only
4. integral neck
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with carved (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not discernable
8. bridge obscured
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed below soundholes and over area where bridge would likely be found
12. played at left shoulder/neck, pointing downwards and to player's left
13-14. information not available

I.14.2
1st half of 14th century
Andrea Pisano (1270-1348)
St. Cecilia (?) playing musical instrument
Stone sculpture
Italy: Florence, Museo Nazionale
Mirimonde, p. 159, pl. 122; Disertori, p. 80
1. bipartite, piriform (a rebec?)
2. flat soundboard
3. information not available
4. integral neck
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with scroll (?) finial; no lateral pegs

I.14.2 (con't.)
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not discernable
8. movable bridge
9. photograph indistinct
10. frets (?)
11. bow held palm down; placed above bridge
12. played at left shoulder/armpit, pointing straight downwards
13. no additional instruments
14. not applicable

I.14.3
late fourteenth century
Giuliano de Simone da Lucca (active late 14th century)
Madonna del Latte with four music-making angels and Saints
Painting
France: Paris, Louvre, No. 1621
Berenson, Vol. II, pl. 381
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. upper portion of instrument obscured
5. photograph indistinct
6. upper portion of instrument obscured
7. photograph indistinct
8. bridge near lower end of belly
9. a portion of one C-shaped (?) soundhole visible
10. upper portion of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down; placed between bridge and soundhole(s)
12. played at left shoulder/neck, pointing downwards and to player's left
13. Three additional angel musicians play plucked stringed instruments (mandora, lute, harp)
14. angels surround Madonna and Child

I.14.4
late 14th-early 15th century (?)
Nanni di Jacopo; Pisa, Italy
Madonna and Child with six angels (fragment of polyptych)
Painting
Italy: Rome, Museo di Palazzo Venezia
Berenson, Vol. II, pl. 450
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard (?)
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with two lateral pegs; finial indistinct
7. lower end string fastening to endpin

I.14.4 (con't.)
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. two round soundholes on neck
10. probably no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed just over neck, below lowest soundhole
12. played at left shoulder/neck, pointing downwards and to player's left
13. one other angel musician plays a lute
14. angels at feet of Madonna and Child

I.14.5
ca. 1380
Anon., from upper Italy
Procession with musicians
Painting
France: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscript Lat. 757, f. 140
Haas, opp. p. 57 and Pirro, pl. 1
1. presumably bipartite; piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4-6. instrument partially obscured; information not available
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece (?)
8. bridge obscured
9. 2 C-shaped (?) soundholes
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down, placed at center of belly
12. instrument held at top of left shoulder, pointing downward and to the left
13. several other instruments in procession, including a harp and a psaltery
14. a religious procession

Fifteenth Century

I.15.1
15th century
Anon., Italian, School of Padua
The Virgin and Child
Painting
France: Paris, The Louvre, M.1.539
Remnant, "Frets," pl. XVIII, opp. p. 152
1. bipartite, piriform; slightly waisted (?) in center of belly
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with three lateral pegs, carved human head (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening to lower end of soundboard

I.15.1 (con't.)

8. no bridge evident
9. 2 round soundholes with sunken roses; one located near lower end of belly, one near lower end of neck
10. 6 frets
11. bow held palm down, placed between soundholes
12. instrument held at left armpit, extends full-length of art, pointing downwards
13. another angel plays the lute
14. angels surround Virgin and Child

I.15.2

15th century (?)
Anon., Siena
Source information not cited
Disertori, p. 83

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. distinctly concave soundboard in belly
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck (slightly distinct); no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with 3 lateral pegs; human-head carved finial
7. lower end string fastening to endknob
8. movable bridge near lower end
9. large round soundhole with rose between belly and lower end of neck, surrounded by 2 smaller round soundholes with roses and two triangular soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow placed across strings near bridge (no person is shown playing the instrument)
12. instrument is not played

13-14. information not available

I.15.3

15th century (?)
Anon., Siena
Choir bench intarsia
Italy: Duomo di Siena
Disertori, p. 83

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. distinctly concave soundboard in belly
3. vaulted back
4. integral (slightly distinct) neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. bent-back pegbox with blunt-end finial
7. lower end string fastening to endknob
8. movable bridge near lower end
9. large round soundhole with rose between belly and lower end of neck
10. no frets
11. bow placed behind instrument

I.15.3 (con't.)
12. instrument is not played
13-14. information not available

I.15.4
15th century (?)
Anon., Ferrarese school (?)
Location not cited
Disertori, p. 81
1. tripartite, butterfly-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. flat back
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 2 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with lateral pegs; scroll-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to bottom of instrument (?)
8. movable bridge near lower end of instrument
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundholes and end of neck
12. instrument played at left chest/shoulder, pointing almost straight downwards and slightly to the left
13. no other musicians
14. outdoor setting

I.15.5
15th century
Anon., Lombardy, Italy
The Adoration of the Magi
Painting
Italy: Milan, Castello Sforzesco Museo d'Arte Antica
RCMI No. 0165
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck
5. 2 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox; no pegs evident; no decorative finial
7. photograph indistinct
8. bridge area obscured by bow
9. round soundhole in center of belly (?); area somewhat obscured by bow
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed near center of belly
12. played upon left shoulder, pointing almost straight downwards and slightly to the left
13. 2 additional angel musicians play a small lute and an end-blown wind instrument; a shepherd plays the bagpipe
14. angel musicians play on roof of manger

I.15.6
15th century
Anon., Benaco, Italy
Fresco
Italy: Benaco, sanctuary
Stauder, p. 107, pl. 156
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard?
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; demarcation line between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox, features indistinct
7. lower end string fastening to endpin
8. movable bridge in center of belly
9. round soundhole with rose on neck
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between bridge and neck
12. played at mid-chest, pointing slightly to the left and straight forwards
13-14. information not available

I.15.7
15th century
Anon., Italian
Naked boy playing musical instrument
Illuminated manuscript
Italy: Sforza, Book of Hours, f. 113
Remnant, "Frets," pl. XVIII, opp. p. 152
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. probably vaulted back
4. distinct neck
5. 3 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox; features indistinct
7. soundboard string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar functions as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. at least three frets
11. bow held palm down; placed over soundhole
12. played at left chest/armpit, pointing to the left and slightly upwards
13-14. information not available

I.15.8
15th century
Anon., School of Padua
The Virgin and Child under a portico
Painting
Location not cited
Remnant, "Frets," pl. XVIII, opp. p. 152
1. bipartite, piriform; angular, decorative (?) corners of soundboard/belly

I.15.8 (con't.)
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck
5. 3 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with carved animal head (?) finial, 3 lateral pegs
7. lower end string fastening indistinct; may be soundboard string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar functions as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole with rose in center of belly; smaller round soundhole with rose at lower end of neck
10. 7 frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between the two soundholes
12. played upon left shoulder/chest, pointing downwards and to the left
13-14. information not available

I.15.9
15th century
Anon.
Mary's journey to Heaven
Bas-relief of Monumento Barbarigo
Italy: Venice, Accademia
Listed only in Rittmeyer, p. 216
6. animal head finial

I.15.10
15th century
Boccati da Camerino
Angel concert
Italy: Perugia, Penacoteca Vannucci
Description and list only in Rittmeyer, p. 217
1-3. information not available
4. stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. carved serpent at finial
7-8. information not available
9. 2 rosettes
10-14. information not available

I.15.11
15th century
Marcello Fogolino
Virgin and Child with music-making angels
Painting
Italy: Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli
Geiringer, pl. XV
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard (?)
3. probably vaulted back
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 3 strings

I.15.11 (con't.)
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with carved animal head (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge may be obscured by bow or may be incorporated into tailpiece
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes on opposite sides of tailpiece; round soundhole on neck
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between end of neck and tailpiece
12. played at top of left shoulder/neck, pointing downwards and slightly to the left
13. one additional angel musician plays a double, end-blown wind instrument
14. angels kneel and stand at foot of enthroned Madonna

I.15.12
15th century
Benozzo Gozzoli (ca. 1421-1497)
Angel musicians
Drawing
Italy: Florence, Uffizi
Nannen, p. 19; Kinsky, p. 67, pl. 3
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. probably vaulted back
4. distinct neck
5. 2 or 3 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with carved animal head (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. no bridge evident
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundhole and neck
12. played at top of left shoulder, pointing downwards and slightly to the left
13. two additional angels play the lute and the shawm
14. non-specific setting

I.15.13
1st half 15th century
Anon., School of Verona
Musical instrument player
Pen and ink drawing
Italy: Florence, Uffizi, no. 2273 F.v.
Marcucci, pl. 1; Disertori, p. 83
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. probably vaulted back
4. integral neck; stepped fingerboard
5. no strings

I.15.13 (con't.)
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox; no features drawn
7. a crossbar on belly suggests a soundboard string fastening
8. crossbar functions as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm up; placed between soundhole and fingerboard
12. played upright upon right knee, pointing to the left
13. no additional musicians
14. non-specific setting

I.15.14
Plate XXIII
ca. 1400-1430
Fra Angelico (1387-1455)
Coronation of the Virgin
Painting
France: Paris, The Louvre
von Bode, p. 249 and Nannen, pl. 61
1. tripartite, butterfly-shaped
2. instrument seen from side/rear; belly may be concave
3. vaulted (?) back
4. distinct neck; stepped fingerboard (?)
5. information not available
6. 90-degree, bent-back pegbox with lateral pegs; blunt-end finial
7-9. information not available
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across instrument near lower end of belly
12. instrument held at the left shoulder, pointing downward and forward
13. numerous other instruments
14. angels and Saints surround Virgin

I.15.15
ca. 1410-1415
Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni
Madonna and Child with 12 music-making angels
Location unknown
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 97, no. 18

I.15.16
ca. 1420
Anon.
Apollo seated on a throne, with dancing muses
Pen and ink drawing
Italy: Rome, Vatican Manuscript reg. lat. 1290
Meyer-Baer, p. 138, fig. 16
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck

I.15.16 (con't.)
5. no strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with carved animal head (?) finial
7-10. feature not drawn
11. an archer's bow is held in the right hand
12. instrument not being played; held in left hand, resting upright upon the left knee
13. no additional musical instruments
14. sketch includes a circle of dancing muses and various symbolic animals

I.15.17
2nd quarter 15th century
Piero della Francesca (1410/20-1492)
The Nativity (unfinished)
Painting
United Kingdom: London, National Gallery
Nannen, pl. 62; Stevens, Denis, book cover
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard
3. probably vaulted back
4. upper end obscured
5. details unfinished in painting
6. upper end obscured
7-9. details unfinished in painting
10. upper end obscured
11. bow-hand obscured; bow placed near center of belly
12. played at left side of chest/shoulder, pointing downward and to the left
13. two additional musicians play lutes; 2 sing
14. the Nativity

I.15.18
1430
Pietro Coleberti
The Coronation of Maria
Italy: Rocca Antica, St. Caterina
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 98, no. 43

I.15.19
ca. 1430
Fra Angelico (1387-1455)
Christ in Glory
Panel painting
United Kingdom: London, National Gallery
Hammerstein, pl. 88; Silva, p. 1, pl. 7
3 rebecs depicted
Number one:
1. presumably bipartite; piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox obscured
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable

I.15.19 (con't.)

8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes and one geometrically-designed square set of soundholes above these
10. upper end obscured
11. bow held palm up; placed between soundholes above bridge
12. instrument played at left shoulder/neck, pointing to left and slightly downwards
13. numerous additional instruments
14. angels surrounding Christ

Number two:

1. bipartite; piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox; no further features ascertainable
7. lower end string fastening, specific means not ascertainable (perhaps an endknob?)
8. no bridge evident, but a wide, dark strip is depicted across belly at bridge area (unknown purpose)
9. two C-shaped soundholes, small rose at bottom of neck
10. no frets
11. bow held in same hand as instrument; not in playing position
12. not in playing position
13. numerous additional instruments
14. angels surrounding Christ

Number three:

1. bipartite, piriform
2. instrument shown from rear
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck
5. information not available
6. upper end obscured

7-10. information not available

11. bow placed at upper end of belly
12. instrument played at left shoulder, pointing downwards
13. numerous additional instruments
14. angels surrounding Christ

I.15.20

ca. 1430-1440
Fra Angelico (1387-1455)
Coronation of the Virgin
Painting
Italy: Florence, Uffizi, no. 1612
von Bode, p. 248 and Hammerstein, pl. 96
Only the bow arm and a small portion of an instrument body are visible (angel playing the instrument is portrayed from the rear); therefore, one may only hypothesize that this represents the same instrument depicted in I.15.14.

I.15.21 1433
Fra Angelico (1387-1455)
Flax-Dressers Tabernacle with twelve angel musicians
fresco painted on boards
Italy: Florence, St. Mark Museum, Pilgrims Hospice
Morek, pl. 7; Sauerlandt, pl. 30
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with two (of 3) lateral pegs visible; carved finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece (?)
8. movable bridge (?) near lower end of belly
9. two sets of very small soundholes; one set in center of belly, the other set on neck
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between bridge and central soundhole set
12. instrument played at top of left shoulder, pointing slightly downwards to the player's left
13. eleven additional angels play various instruments
14. non-specific setting

I.15.22 1438
Jacobello del Fiore (?-1439)
The Coronation of the Virgin
Panel painting on a gold ground
Italy: Venice: Gallerie dell' Accademia
Muraro, pl. 119
1. presumably bipartite, boat-shaped
2. photograph indistinct
3. presumably vaulted back
4. upper end of instrument obscured
5. photograph indistinct
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7-8. photograph indistinct
9. 2 C-shaped (?) soundholes
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow placed above soundholes
12. instrument played at top of left shoulder, pointing downwards and to the left
13. other instruments played include 2 psalteries, portative organ, harp, tambourine, lute
14. angels and Saints surround enthroned Virgin

I.15.23 1447
Giovanni Boccati (ca. 1420-after 1480)
Madonna and Child with music-making angels
Painting
Italy: Perugia, Pinacoteca Vannucci
Hammerstein, pl. 115; Musica Calendar, 1977, pl. 27
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; carved (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening obscured
8. no bridge
9. two round soundholes with roses, one located in center of belly, the other located upon neck
10. no frets
11. bow held palm up; placed over bottom of lower soundhole
12. instrument held at left shoulder, pointing downwards and slightly to the right
13. other instruments include portative organ, lute, tambourine, cymbals, bagpipe, harp, hammered dulcimer
14. angels surround Virgin enthroned

I.15.24 ca. 1450
Sano die Pietro
Ascension of the Virgin
Formerly Italy: Florence, Slg. Loeser
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 98, no. 74

I.15.25 ca. 1450
Sassetta
Ascension of the Virgin
Formerly Federal Republic of Germany: Berlin, Staatliches Museen (destroyed in 1945)
Ravizza, p. 98, No. 73, pl. 4
1. bipartite; presumably piriform (partially obscured)
2. information not available
3. presumably vaulted back
4. upper portion of instrument obscured
5. information not available
6. upper portion of instrument obscured
7-10. information not available
11. bow placed over center of belly
12. instrument played at left armpit, pointing downward
13. at least 22 additional instruments depicted
14. angels surround Virgin ascending

I.15.26 Second half 15th century
Anon.
Angel singers and instrumentalists
Manuscript illumination
Federal Republic of Germany: Munich, Graph. Sammlung
Haas, p. 94, pl. 40
1. presumably bipartite; piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with no separate fingerboard
5. strings indistinct in photograph; appear to be 3 or 4
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox; details indistinct
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar on soundboard
8. crossbar functions as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole located in center of belly
10. no frets evident
11. bow held palm down; placed across soundhole
12. instrument played upon left shoulder, pointing downwards and slightly to the left
13. additional instruments include tambourin and lute
14. non-specific setting

I.15.27 Second half 15th century
Sandro Botticelli (ca. 1445-1510)
Practicing angel
Sketch
Italy: Florence, Uffizi
Listed only in Rittmeyer, p. 216 (partial description)
1-4. no information available
5. 3 strings
6. carved swan's-head finial
7-8. no information available
9. round soundhole
10-14. no information available

I.15.28 2nd half of 15th century
Jacopo Montagnana (ca. 1440/43-1499?)
The Nativity
Italy: Padua, Museo Civico
Denis, Valentin, p. 47, fig. 33
1. tripartite (?), piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. flat back (?)
4. distinct neck with separate fingerboard; angular upper end of body
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; scroll-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. no bridge evident
9. 3 round soundholes in center of belly

I.15.28 (con't.)
10. no frets
11. no bow depicted in Denis
12. line drawing only in Denis; no context provided
13.-14. information not available

I.15.29
Plate VIII b
Second half 15th century
Cristoforo Moretti, called Rivello (1452-1485)
St. Genès playing a musical instrument
Painting
Current location unknown; sold at auction in Milan, Italy, April 29, 1929
Mirimonde, p. 173, pl. 136
1. presumably bipartite, piriform
2. slightly convex soundboard (?)
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard; decoration on fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. slightly bent-back pegbox with three lateral pegs; carved finial (?)
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece (?)
8. movable bridge between soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between bridge and end of fingerboard
12. instrument played at left armpit/chest, pointing almost straight downwards and slightly to the left
13. no additional instruments
14. non-specific setting

I.15.30
Second half 15th century
Piero Pollaiuolo (1443-1496)
The Annunciation
Oil painting
Federal Republic of Germany: Berlin, Dahlem Gallery
Redslop, pl. 23
1. presumably bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. strings indistinct
6. pegbox indistinct; appears to have a carved finial
7. lower end string fastening to a tailpiece
8. movable bridge between soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. presumably no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundholes and neck
12. instrument played at top of left shoulder, pointing downwards and slightly to the left

I.15.30 (con't.)
13. other instruments depicted are an organ and a lute
14. three angel musicians grouped in an alcove to the rear of the room in which the Virgin sits

I.15.31
1451-55
Gaspare d'Agostino
Angel musicians
Italy: Siena, Battistero
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 98, no. 83
13. at least fourteen additional instruments depicted

I.15.32
ca. 1455
Benozzo Gozzoli
Angel musicians
Italy: Florence, Uffizi
Listed only in Ravizza, no. 85, p. 98
13. lute and schalmei also depicted

I.15.33
1461-62
Lorenzo di Pietro, called Vecchietta (ca. 1412-1480)
The Assumption
Painting (part of a triptych)
Italy: Pienza, Duomo (Assunta), Chapel left of Choir
Berenson, II, pl. 805
1. presumably bipartite; boat-shaped
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4-6. upper end of instrument obscured; strings indistinct
7-8. photograph indistinct
9. 2 oval-shaped soundholes
10. information not available
11. bow hand obscured; placed in middle of visible segment
12. instrument played at left shoulder to mid-chest, pointing downwards and slightly to the left
13. several additional angel musicians and singers
14. angels surround Virgin ascending

I.15.34
1462 (?)
Benedetto Bembo
Madonna and Child
Italy: Milan, Castello Sforzesco
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 99, no. 100
13. Lute also depicted

I.15.35
Plate XXIV
ca. 1465
Bartolommeo Vivarini (1431:32-after 1491)
Madonna and Child
Egg tempera on panel
USA: New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Art Gallery, No. 1959.15.12

I.15.35 (con't.)

Museum photo
2 rebecs depicted
Number one (top, left-hand side):
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. bent-back pegbox (?); indistinct
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is secured to an endpin
8. bridge obscured
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundholes and end of fingerboard
12. instrument held upon left side of chest, pointing downward and to the left

Number two (bottom, right-hand side)
1. bipartite; piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings (4?)
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with carved (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening directly to an endpin
8. movable bridge located between soundholes and lower end of belly
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundholes and end of fingerboard
12. instrument held at center of chest, pointing downward and to the left
13. picture includes 2 rebecs and 2 lutes
14. angel musicians surround enthroned Madonna

I.15.36

ca. 1470
Francesco del Cossa (1435/36-1477/78)
The Month of April (March?) or The Triumph of Venus
Fresco
Italy: Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia
von Bode, pl. 341; Lesure MG, p. 174, pl. 76
1. presumably bipartite, piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with three lateral pegs
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar

I.15.36 (con't.)
8. bridge on stepped fingerboard (?)
9. soundholes indistinct
10. presumably no frets
11. no bow evident
12. instrument is held, not played
13. other instruments depicted include 2 lutes and 2 recorders
14. allegorical setting in outdoors

I.15.37
ca. 1470
Andrea di Niccolò
Ascension of the Virgin
Italy: Montepertuso, S. Michele
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 99, no. 132
13. other instruments depicted include a lute and two small drums

I.15.38
1473
Bartolommeo Vivarini (1431/32-after 1491)
St. Mark and four other Saints
Painting (triptych)
Italy: Venice, Santa Maria dei Frari
von Bode, p. 547 and Ravizza, p. 99, no. 136
1. bipartite, piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. strings indistinct
6. pegbox with carved finial (?)
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is secured to an endpin
8. bridge indistinct
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundholes and end of fingerboard
12. instrument held near left jaw, but upon shoulder, pointing slightly to the left and downward
13. another angel plays the lute
14. angels surround St. Mark enthroned

I.15.39
ca. 1475
Cosimo Tura (ca. 1430-1495)
Madonna and Child
Painting
United Kingdom: London, National Gallery
Winternitz, Symbolism, pl. 53b and Pincherele, p. 35
Two instruments of the same type are portrayed; one in full view, the other partially obscured.

I.15.39 (con't.)
1. tripartite, butterfly-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. flat back (?)
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. photograph not clear
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with lateral pegs and carved, animal-head (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge located near tailpiece
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes near center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down, placed diagonally across belly of instrument
12. instrument played upon left shoulder, pointing almost straight down and slightly to the right
13. 2 musicians play the lute
14. musicians surround Madonna and Child

I.15.40
ca. 1478-80
Melozzo da Forli (1438-1494)
Angel playing a musical instrument
Painting
Italy: Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana
Remnant, "Frets," pl. XVIII, opp. p. 152
1. bipartite, instrument partially obscured, but appears to be piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. neck obscured; no separate fingerboard evident in section visible
5. 4 strings
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar serves as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole with rose in center of belly
10. 2 frets visible; presumably more on portion of fingerboard obscured
11. bow held palm down, placed over soundhole
12. played at left shoulder, pointing almost straight to the left
13-14. information not available

I.15.41
ca. 1475-80
Matteo di Giovanni (1435-1495)
The Virgin of the Girdle or the Ascension of Mary
Tempera on wood
United Kingdom: London, National Gallery
Haward, pl. 2; Murray, p. 121, pl. 96
1. bipartite, piriform
2. front of instrument not depicted

I.15.41 (con't.)
3. vaulted back with ribs (?)
4-10. instrument depicted from back, hence information not available
11. bow hand not visible; bow placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at left armpit, pointing almost straight forward, slightly downward
13. at least 12 additional instruments depicted
14. angel musicians surround Madonna ascending

I.15.42
1479
Matteo di Giovanni (1435-1495)
St. Barbara enthroned with angels and Saints Mary Magdalen and Catherine
Fresco
Italy: Siena, St. Domenico, left transept, 2nd chapel
Berenson, II, pl. 811
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard (?)
3. presumably vaulted back
4. neck obscured; fingerboard obscured
5. 3 strings
6. upper end obscured
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge obscured
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. information not available
11. bow held palm up, placed at mid-belly
12. instrument played at left shoulder, pointing almost straight downward and slightly to the left
13. another angel plays the lute
14. angels surround St. Barbara enthroned

I.15.43
ca. 1480
Giovanni Bellini (ca. 1430-1516)
Madonna and Child
Painting
Italy: Venice, Accademia, No. 38
Geiser, pl. 39; Murray, p. 262, pl. 232
1. bipartite; elongated piriform
2. convex soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard; designs on fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox with carved "lion's-head" finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is secured to an endpin (?)
8. movable bridge between soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets evident

I.15.43 (con't.)
11. bow held palm down, placed between soundholes and end of fingerboard
12. instrument played at left shoulder/armpit, pointing downward and slightly to the left
13. 2 other musicians play lutes
14. musicians at foot of enthroned Madonna

I.15.44
ca. 1480
Style of Benozzo Gozzoli (ca. 1421-1497)
Madonna and Child
United Kingdom: London, "exact location unknown"
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 100, no. 159
13. one musician plays the rebec, one the lute

I.15.45
ca. 1480
Andrea di Niccolò
Mary in Glory
Italy: Florence, private collection
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 100, no. 167
13. musicians play rebec, fiddle, lute, and harp

I.15.46
ca. 1480
Giovanni Santi (ca. 1435-1494)
Muse Terpsichore
Painting
Italy; Florence, Galleria Corsini
Geiser, pl. 38; Schorer, p. 42
1. bipartite, piriform; large instrument
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck (somewhat distinct); stepped fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox with 2 lateral pegs evident; shield-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge set upon stepped fingerboard
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes on stepped fingeboard
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down, placed above soundholes on stepped fingerboard
12. instrument played on left shoulder, in front of left side of chin, pointing downwards and slightly to the left
13. 2 additional musicians play a drum and a portative organ
14. information not available

I.15.47 Plate XXV
1481
Domenico Morone (1442-after 1517)
Angel above St. Francis
Painted organ shutters
Italy: Verona, San Bernardino
Berenson, III, pl. 1301
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; stepped fingerboard
5. strings indistinct
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with carved (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening indistinct
8. no bridge evident
9. 1 round soundhole on stepped fingerboard
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed near center of belly
12. instrument played at left chest, pointing almost directly to the left
13. opposite organ shutters has a lute-playing angel depicted
14. angel sits on ledge above St. Francis

I.15.48 1483
Lorenzo d'Alessandro da Severino
Madonna with Child
Italy: Sarnano, S. Maria di Piazza
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 100, no. 174
13. other instruments depicted include a drum, psaltery, lute, and harp

I.15.49 ca. 1484-1507
Bernardino Butinone da Treviglio (fl. 1484-1507)
Madonna and Child enthroned with four music-making angels and saints
Painting
Italy: Isolabella (Lago Maggiore), Palazzo Borromeo
Berenson, III, pl. 1356
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. upper end of instrument obscured
5. photograph indistinct
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. photograph indistinct
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow hand obscured; placed between neck and soundholes

I.15.49 (con't.)
12. instrument played at mid-chest, pointing downwards and to the left
13. one angel plays the lute, 2 angels sing
14. angels surround enthroned Madonna

I.15.50
ca. 1484-1507
Bernardino Butinone da Treviglio (fl. 1484-1507)
The enthroned Madonna
Italy: Treviglia, S. Martino
Description and listed only in Rittmeyer, p. 216
1-5. information not available
6. 3 lateral pegs; scroll finial
7-8. information not available
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10-14. information not available

I.15.51
1485
Andrea da Murano
Sebastian and Rochus in Glory
Trebaseleghe (?)
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 100, no. 185
13. 2 musicians play lutes

I.15.52
1485
Bernardino and Butinone Bernaedo Zenale
Madonna and Child enthroned
Painting
Italy: Treviglio, Cathedral of S. Martino
Kinsky, p. 68 and Geiser, pl. 1
1. bipartite; piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. distinct neck; angular upper end of body
5. photograph unclear
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox; carved finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. no bridge evident
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. frets; photograph unclear, hence difficult to ascertain number
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundholes and end of neck
12. instrument held at left to mid-chest, pointing downward and to the left
13. another angel plays the lute
14. angels surround Madonna and Child

I.15.53 1487
Matteo di Giovanni
The Virgin in Glory
Sansepolcro (?)
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 101, no. 191
13. other musicians play the vielle, lute, and double flute

I.15.54 1488
Francesco Bonsignori (ca. 1455-1519)
Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints Jerome and George
Painting
Italy: Verona, S. Bernardino, Cappella dei Banda (2nd right)
Berenson, III, no. 1310
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. detail not available
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox
7-10. detail not available
11. bow held palm down, placed near center of belly
12. instrument played at the left waist, pointing upwards and to the left
13. another musician plays the lute
14. musicians surround Madonna enthroned

I.15.55 Plate XXVI a
1489
Vittorio Crivelli (active 1481-1501)
Madonna and Child with angels
Tempera on wood
USA: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art, W. P. Wilstach Collection, W' 96-1-11
Hess, pl. LXXXV
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 6 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with carved (?) finial; lateral pegs
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. no bridge; tailpiece serves as fixed bridge
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes on either side of a round soundhole
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down, placed over round soundhole
12. instrument held at left shoulder, pointing downward and slightly to the left

I.15.55 (con't.)
13. lute on floor
14. angels surround Madonna

I.15.56
ca. 1490
Anon., Italian
Drawing
United Kingdom: London: British Museum, Add. 34294, ff. 113, 170
Listed only in British Museum Catalog, Vol. III, p. 368

I.15.57
Plate XXVII
Anon., Italian
Putti frieze
Tazza (ornamental cup with pedestal, enameled blue glass)
USA: Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Art Museum, 60.38
Museum photo
1. presumably bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 5 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox; details not available
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar serves as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole with rose in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed over round soundhole
12. instrument played at right chest, pointing across chest, downward and to the left
13. other instruments include a lute and tambourine
14. outdoor setting

I.15.58
ca. 1490
Bartolommeo Caporali
Ascension of Mary
Italiy: Rome, private collection
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 101, no. 213
13. other instruments include drum, lute, harp, and 2 trumpets

I.15.59
ca. 1490
Vittorio Crivelli (active 1481-1501)
Adoration of the Child
Italy: Sarnano, Marche, S. Francesco
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 101, no. 210
13. another musician plays the lute

I.15.60 ca. 1490
Master of the School of Ferrara
Three singers
Painting
United Kingdom: London, National Gallery
Hooreman, p. 30
Information not available

I.15.61 1490
Vincenzo Foppa (ca. 1427/30-151/16), founder of Milanese School
Madonna and Child enthroned
Painting
Italy: Savona, S. Maria di Castello
Berenson, III, pl. 1196
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. distinct neck; angular upper end of body
5. photograph unclear
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox; blunt-end finial (?)
7. lower end string fastening unclear
8. no bridge evident
9. round soundhole (?) in center of belly
10. photograph unclear
11. bow held palm cown; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at left armpit, pointing to the left and slightly upward
13. other angels play the lute, pipes (?), and bagpipe (?)
14. angels surround enthroned Madonna and Child

I.15.62 ca. 1490
Ercole Roberti (b.4150-1496), Ferrara
Three musicians
Painting
United Kingdom: London, National Gallery, No. 2486
Pirro, p. 145 and Geiser, pl. 22
1. tripartite, butterfly-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. flat back
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; carved finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge located between tailpiece and soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. 4 frets visible
11. bow placed across instrument; not played
12. instrument not played
13. another musician plays the lute
14. indoor setting

I.15.63 1491
Bernardino de' Rossi
Angel musicians
Italy: Pavia, Oratorio della Pusterla
Ravizza, p. 101, no. 220
13. at least nine additional instruments appear

I.15.64 1492
Anon., Italian
Illustration in Boccaccio's Il Decamerone (Venice: De Gregoriis, 1492)
USA: New Haven, Connecticut, Yale Beinecke Rare Book Library
Levarie, p. 120
1. tripartite (?), boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. flat back (?)
4. distinct neck; angular upper end of body
5. 3 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox, no further details
7. lower end string fastening to bottom of instrument
8. movable bridge placed between soundholes and lower end of instrument
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundholes and end of neck
12. instrument held at right shoulder, pointing almost straight downward and slightly to the right
13. another musician holds a lute
14. group of nobility (?) in outdoor setting

I.15.65 ca. 1492-1513
Stefano Folchetto da Sanginesio (fl. 1492-1513)
Madonna enthroned and angels
Painting on wood
USA: New York City, M. Knoedler and Co.
Hess, pl. LXXXVIII
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral (somewhat distinct) neck; no separate fingerboard
5. photograph indistinct (presumably 3 strings)
6. 90-degree bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with carved animal-head finial; at least 2 lateral pegs (presumably 3)
7. photograph indistinct
8. movable bridge between soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes

I.15.65 (con't.)
10. no frets
11. bow hand obscured; placed over soundholes
12. instrument played at top of left shoulder, pointing downward and to the left
13. numerous additional instruments
14. music-making angels surround Madonna enthroned

I.15.66
1493
Lorenzo di S. Cecilia (ca. 1473-1505)
Choir bench intarsia
Italy: Verona, Sacristy of St. Anastasia
Scherliess, pl. 55
1. bipartite; boat-shaped
2. distinctly concave soundboard in belly
3. vaulted back
4. slightly distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 2 (?) strings
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with 1 lateral peg depicted; animal-head (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening to end of instrument?
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. round soundhole with rose (?) between belly and end of neck
10. no frets
11. bow hangs behind instrument
12. instrument not played
13. a lira da braccio also depicted
14. a still life with a sheet of music containing a "Gloria"

I.15.67
1493
Cima da Conegliano
Madonna and Child and angels
Italy: Conegliano, Duomo
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 101, no. 227 and Rittmeyer, p. 216
6. carved serpent finial
13. angel plays the lute

I.15.68
before 1494
Evangelista di Pian de Meleto and Giovanni Santi
The Muses
Location not cited
Listed only in Boyden, p. 11, fn. 10 (suggests that this is a bass rebec)
5. 4 strings
12. instrument played on the arm

I.15.69 1494/95
Pellegrino da S. Daniele
Madonna with Child and angels
Italy: Osoppo, Chiesa Parrocchiale
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 101, no. 229
13. angels play triangle, vielle, 2 lutes

I.15.70 ca. 1495
Carlo Bracceso
St. Andreas
United Kingdom: location unknown
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 101, no. 235

I.15.71 ca. 1495
Giovanni Francesco del Zotto
Madonna and Child
Italy: Venice, Accademia
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 101, no. 232
13. other instruments include cittern, 3 lutes, positive organ

I.15.72 1496
Anon., Italian
Woodcut from Gafurius's Practica Musica (Milan, Italy, 1496)
Henning, pl. 17 and Horremann, pl. 17
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar functions as fixed bridge
9. no soundholes depicted
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed at center of belly
12. instrument held at top of left shoulder, touching left chin, pointing downward and to the left
13. lute player and vihuela (?)
14. non-specific setting

I.15.73 1496
Gentile Bellini (ca. 1429/30-1507)
Procession in front of St. Mark's in Venice
Painting
Italy: Venice, Accademia, No. 567
Denis, La représentation, pl. VII, fig. XIX and Bowles, pl. 120, p. 129
1. bipartite, piriform; greyish color

I.15.73 (con't.)
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. upper end of instrument obscured
5. 5 strings
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to a tailpiece which is secured to an endpin
8. movable bridge in center of belly
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down; placed over center of belly
12. instrument played at right side of chest, pointing downward and to the left
13. numerous other instruments in painting
14. religious procession; lute, harp, rebec, and singers placed before the Blessed Sacrament

I.15.74
ca. 1496-98
Vittore Carpaccio (ca. 1460-ca. 1525)
Return of a matador to the King of England
Italy: Venice, Accademia, No. 7
RCMI uncataloged files

I.15.75
1496-98
Perugino
Ascension of Christ
France: Lyon, Musée
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 101. No. 240
13. other instruments include vielle, lute, harp

I.15.76
1498
Macrino d'Alba (d. before 1528)
Madonna and Child in Glory with six angels and saints
Painting
Italy: Turin, Altarpiece from Certosa d'Asti
Berenson, III, pl. 1231
1. bipartite, boat-shaped (?)
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. upper end of instrument indistinct in photograph
5. information not available; instrument seen from side
6. upper end of instrument indistinct in photograph
7-10. information not available
11. bow held palm down, placed near center of belly
12. instrument played at left chest, pointing forward and downward
13. other instruments include a lute and a crummhorn
14. angel musicians sit on pedestal below Madonna

I.15.77 1498
Benvenuto di Giovanni del Guasta (1436-1518?)
Assumption of the Virgin with St. Thomas, St. Francis, and St. Anthony of Padua
Painting
USA: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 10.148
Berenson, II, pl. 852
1. presumably bipartite, piriform
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. upper end of instrument obscured
5. information not available
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge obscured
9. information not available
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down; placed near center of belly
12. instrument played on top of left shoulder, pointing to the left
13. numerous additional instruments
14. angels surround Madonna ascending

I.15.78 1499
Anon.
The Triumph of Phyrrus
Woodcut illustration for "The Dream of Polyphilus'"
Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499)
USA: Washington, D.C., Library of Congress
Muraro, p. 149 and Goodrum, p. 64
1. presumably bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with scroll-like finial; no details evident
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge obscured
9. no soundholes depicted
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at left shoulder, pointing downward and to the left
13. other instruments depicted include double pipes and brass signalling instruments
14. female rebec player upon a centaur (riding side saddle) in a procession

I.15.79 1499
Macrino d'Alba (d. before 1528)
Madonna with Child enthroned, with four angels and saints
Italy: Tortona, Palazzo Vescovile
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 102, no. 247
13. bagpipe depicted

I.15.80 1499
Cristoforo Caselli
Two putti musicians
Italy: Parma, Galleria
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 102, no. 249
13. at least two additional instruments depicted

I.15.81 1499
Giovanni da Verona (1456-1525)
Choir bench intarsia
Italy: Verona, Santa Maria in Organo
Scherliess, pl. 61 and Musica Calendar 1979, pl. 21
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. distinctly concave soundboard in belly (unusual perspective)
3. vaulted back
4. slightly distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with 3 lateral pegs; carved (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening to lower end of soundboard
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. round soundhole with rose between belly and end of neck
10. no frets
11. bow hangs beside instrument
12. instrument not played
13. also depicted are a lute, cittern, and triangle
14. a still life with a sheet of music containing a three-part Lauda (text undecipherable)

I.15.82 late 15th century
Anon., Italian
Drawing
United Kingdom: London, British Museum, Add. 35316, f. 87b
Listed only in British Museum catalog, Vol. III, p. 368

I.15.83 late 15th century
Anon., Italian
Angels with musical instruments
Wall painting
Italy: Sacro Monte di Varallo, Cappella della Dormitio Virginis
Winternitz, Ferrari, pl. 18

I.15.83 (con't.)
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 5 strings
6. bent-back pegbox (?) details unclear in photograph
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar serves as fixed bridge
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across belly
12. instrument played at center of chest, pointing upwards and to the left
13. other instruments include a lute and 3 straight trumpets
14. non-specific setting

I.15.84
late 15th century (?)
Anon.
Intarsia of cupboards
USA: New York City, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gubbio Study
Winternitz, Symbolism, pl. 53c
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; fingerboard obscured
5. strings obscured
6. sickle-shaped pegbox, details obscured
7. lower end string fastening to endknob (?)
8. bridge obscured
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow hanging beside instrument
12. instrument not played
13. no other instruments
14. cupboard with books, instrument, and so on

I.15.85
Plate XXVIII a
late 15th century
Bernardino Pinturicchio (1454-1513)
Angel playing musical instrument in glorification of St. Bernard
Fresco
Italy: Rome, St. Maria in Aracoeli
Winternitz, Symbolism, pl. 54b and Denis, La représentation, pl. II, fig. IV
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard

I.15.85 (con't.)
5. 4 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with lateral pegs and carved finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is secured to an endpin
8. movable bridge located between tailpiece and soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down, placed across fingerboard
12. instrument held at left shoulder, pointing to the left
13-14. information not available

I.15.86
ca. 2nd half 15th century - 1514
Francesco dai Libri (il Vecchio) (ca. 1451-1502/1514)
Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine, with angel musicians
Painting
Homeless
Berenson, III, pl. 1290
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with no separate fingerboard
5. photograph indistinct
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with carved finial; details indistinct
7. lower end string fastening indistinct (to crossbar?)
8. crossbar serves as bridge (?)
9. round soundhole at center of belly
10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm down; placed below soundhole
12. instrument held at left shoulder/armpit, pointing almost straight downwards and slightly to the left
13. two angels play lutes
14. angels sit at feet of Virgin enthroned

I.15.87
late fifteenth century to first quarter sixteenth century
Fiorenzo di Lorenzo (1440-1522/25
Adoration of the Child
Painting
Italy: Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell' Umbria
Gianoli, pl. XVII and von Bode, p. 499
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. upper end of instrument obscured; stepped fingerboard
5. details indistinct
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. details indistinct

I.15.87 (con't.)
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundholes and fingerboard
12. instrument played at left chest, pointing downward and to the left
13. numerous other instruments
14. the Nativity

I.15.88
15th-16th century (?)
Guilio Cesare Luini
Putto with musical instrument, detail from wall pinting
Italy: Roccapietra, Church of Madonna di Loreto
Winternitz, Ferrari, pl. 13
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with scroll finial; lateral pegs
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge below soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed above soundholes
12. instrument held on left shoulder/chest, pointing almost straight downwards
13. information not available
14. information not available (detail only provided)

I.15.89
Plate XXVIII b
15th-16th century
Girolamo Mocetto (b. before 1450-d. after 1531)
Arion riding on a dolphin
Painting
United Kingdom: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
Nelson, pl. 2
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. distinct neck; color demarcation divides neck and belly
5. presumably 3 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with 3 lateral pegs and carved animal-head finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece (?)
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. two very small C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed above soundholes
12. instrument held on top of left shoulder, under chin, pointing almost straight forward and slightly downward

I.15.89 (con't.)
13. no other instruments
14. Arion rides a dolphin in sea

I.15.90
15th-16th century
Paolo and Antonio del Sacha
Two instruments
Intarsia
Italy: Bologna, Santa Giovanni, Choir stall
Sartori, col. 97, abb. 5
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. distinct neck; stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; scroll-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge located in center of belly
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. no bow in photograph detail
12. instrument not played
13. lira da braccio
14. instruments in foreground of scene with buildings

I.15.91
Plate XXIX
15th-16th century
Lorenzo Costa (ca. 1460-1535)
The Nativity
Painting
United Kingdom: London, National Gallery, No. 3105
Museum photo
6 rebecs depicted (all of the same model)
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. photograph unclear
6. pegbox (details unclera) with scroll-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar (?)
8. crossbar (?) serves as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. presumably no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at top of left shoulder, pointing almost straight downwards and slightly to the left
13. numerous other instruments
14. symmetrically-placed angel groups surround Nativity scene; 6 rebec-playing angels are divided into 2 groups of three, on opposite sides of the scene

I.15.92 Plate XXX a
15th-16th century
Bartolommeo Montagna (1450-ca. 1523)
Angel musicians (detail from a larger work)
Italy: Vicenza, Pinacoteca
Tiella, pl. XIVd
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; waisted at belly
2. distinctly concave soundboard in belly
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard (?); could be an artist's mistaken version of a stepped fingerboard (?)
5. 2 (?) strings
6. upper end obscured
7. lower end string fastening to endpin
8. movable bridge near lower end
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes on neck
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. played at left side of chest, pointing upwards and forwards
13. another angel plays the lute
14. detail only provided; information not available

I.15.93 15th-16th century
Gian Martino Spanzotti (fl. 1480-1526)
Adoration of the Child
Fresco
Italy: Rivarolo Canavese, S. Francesco
Berenson, III, pl. 1237
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat belly
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. detail unclear
6. upper end indistinct in photograph
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge between soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. presumably no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. played at left chest/shoulder, pointing to the left and slightly downwards
13. two other angels play tambourine and lute
14. detail only provided; information not available

I.15.94 15th century
Girolamo da Cremona
Assumption of the Virgin
Illuminated manuscript
Italy: Siena, Duomo, Libreria Piccolomini
Postcard
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. presumably flat belly
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. detail unclear
6. upper end obscured
7-8. features indistinct
9. round soundholes on lower end of neck
10. upper end indistinct
11. bow held palm down; placed diagonally across lower end of belly
12. played at left top of shoulder, pointing to left and downwards
13. other angel musicians play two lutes and a straight trumpet
14. Madonna ascending into heaven

Sixteenth Century

I.16.1 16th century
Information concerning source not provided; line drawing only
LaCroix, p. 221
1. tripartite (?), piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. flat back (?)
4. distinct neck; angular upper end of body
5. 4 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with three lateral pegs; carved human-head finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge above tailpiece
9. round group of very small soundholes (?) in center of belly
10. no frets
11-14. information not available

I.16.2 16th century copy
Anon., Florence, Italy
Florentine engraving based upon one of the so-called Tarot cards of Mantegna, ascribed to Baccio Baldini (fl. 1460-1485)
The Netherlands: Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans
Kinsky, p. 97, fig. 1

I.16.2 (con't.)
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with lateral pegs; finial indistinct
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge located near lower end of belly
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow behind instrument
12. instrument not played
13. several additional instruments positioned around this one
14. woman playing recorder, sitting on swan in an arcade; various instruments lined up in front of her

I.16.3
Plate XXXI
ca. 16th century
Albertino Piazza (ca. 1475-1529)
The Assumption of the Virgin
Oil painting on wood
USA: Denver, Colorado, Denver Art Museum, 1961.174 (E-945)
Museum photo
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. detail indistinct
6. pegbox with carved finial (?) and lateral pegs (?)
7. lower end string fastening omitted
8. movable bridge located in center of belly, between soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held in left hand, palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held on top of right shoulder, touching side of face, pointing almost straight outwards to the right
13. several additional instruments played by angels
14. angels surround Virgin in non-specific setting

I.16.4
ca. 1500
Gandolfino d'Asti
Madonna with Child
Italy: Savigliano, S. Pietro dei Cassinesi
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 102, no. 265
13. other instruments include drum, lute, double flute, and bagpipe

I.16.5 Plate XXXII
ca. 1500
Vittore Carpaccio (ca. 1460-ca. 1525)
Monk and three musicians
Pen and ink on blue paper
United Kingdom: London, British Museum, No. 282
RCMI uncataloged file
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate soundboard
5. no strings depicted
6. pegbox with carved finial
7-10. no details depicted
11. bow held palm down; placed in middle of belly
12. instrument played at left shoulder/armpit, held almost straight downwards
13. 2 lutes played; other instruments hanging on wall
14. musicians in a room

I.16.6 ca. 1500
Cima da Conegliano
Apollo and Pan
Italy: Parma, Galleria Nazionale
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 102, no. 269
13. lira da braccio also depicted

I.16.7 ca. 1500
Antonio Solario
Angel musician
Painting
Location unknown
Geiser, pl. 154
1. bipartite (?), piriform; very large instrument
2. flat soundboard (?)
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; angular upper end of body
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox with 5 lateral pegs; carved animal-head (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge in center of belly
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes located on either side of tailpiece; round soundhole located between bridge and end of neck
10. at least 3 frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between bridge and round soundhole
12. instrument held across chest, pointing almost directly to the left and slightly downwards
13. detail only provided; information not available
14. information not available

I.16.8 ca. 1500/05
Bernardino Loschi
Coronation of Mary
Italy: Carpi, Castello
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 102, no. 279
13. triangle, lute, and flute also depicted

I.16.9 ca. 1500/1510
School of Botticelli
Coronation of the Virgin
Switzerland: Basel, Kunstmuseum
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 103, no. 302
13. at least twelve additional instruments

I.16.10 Plate XXXIII
ca. 1500-1512
Nicoletto Rosex (Rossi) "da Modena" (fl. 1500-1512)
Orpheus charming the animals
United Kingdom: London, British Museum
RCMI No. 0072
1. tripartite, butterfly-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. flat back
4. distinct neck, no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with lateral pegs; blunt-end finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge obscured
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly and a round soundhole between these and the end of the neck
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between tailpiece and C-shaped soundholes
12. instrument played upon top of left shoulder, pointing forwards and downwards
13. no other musicians
14. Orpheus plays with numerous animals surrounding him

I.16.11 Plate XXX b
1501
Macrino d'Alba (fl. 1494-before 1528)
Painting
Italy: Alba, Palazzo Comunale
Berenson, III, pl. 1239
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. somewhat distinct neck; color demarcation divides neck and belly
5. 3 strings

I.16.11 (con't.)
6. oddly bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with three lateral pegs; scroll-like (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. no bridge depicted
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundholes and end of neck
12. played at left to center of chest, pointing downward and to the left
13. another angel holds a bagpipe
14. detail only provided; information not available

I.16.12
Plate XXXIV
ca. 1503
Raphael (1483-1520)
The Coronation of the Virgin
Painting
Italy: Rome, The Vatican, Pinacoteca 334
Berenson, III, pl. 1176 and Murray, pl. 239, p. 269
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. upper end of instrument partially obscured; stepped fingerobard
5. 3 strings
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge located just above tailpiece
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down; placed across belly at soundholes
12. instrument held at left chest/armpit, pointing almost straight to the left
13. another angel plays lira da braccio; others play tambourine and harp
14. angels surround the Virgin in heaven

I.16.13
1504
Baldassare Peruzzi
Angel musicians
Italy: Rome, S. Onofrio
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 102, no. 287
13. other instruments include cymbals, triangle, vielle, lute, harp, and flute

I.16.14 1505
Macrino d'Alba (d. before 1528)
Nativity with Saints
Painting
USA: New York, Historical Society, B-22
Berenson, III, pl. 1232
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck
5. information not available
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox, sickle-shaped with carved (?) finial
7. instrument seen from side, hence information not available
8-10. information not available
11. bow held palm down; placed across belly of instrument
12. instrument held at left armpit, pointing almost straight downwards and slightly to the right
13. angel plays the lute
14. angels on cloud above Nativity

I.16.15 ca. 1505
Piero di Cosima (1462-1521)
Madonna and Child with angels
Oil painting
Italy: Florence, Uffizi Gallery, inv. 3885
Bernardi, p. 85, pl. 8
(exactly the same instrument depicted in I.16.16)
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with three lateral pegs, somewhat sickle-shaped; scroll-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge located just above tailpiece
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across fingerboard and belly
12. instrument held at mid-chest, pointing straight downwards
13. no other instruments
14. non-specific setting

I.16.16 Plate IV b
ca. 1505
Cosimo Roselli (1439-1507)
Madonna and Child with angels
Oil painting
Italy: Uffizi Gallery
Harrison, pl. 84
(exactly the same instrument depicted in I.16.15; see preceeding for details)

I.16.17 1506
Perugino
Ascension of Mary
Italy: Florence, SS Annunziata
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 103, no. 303
13. Instruments included are vielle, lute, and harp

I.16.18 1508
Macrino d'Alba (d. before 1528)
Adoration of the Child with Saints
Italy: Alba, S. Giovanni Battista, 3rd altar on the right
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 103, no. 308
13. also depicted is a lute

I.16.19 1508
Jacopo da Valenza
Madonna and Child and Saints
Italy: Ceneda
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 103, no. 309
13. also depicted is a shawm

I.16.20 1509 (?)
Sinibaldo Ibi
Madonna of the Misericordia
Italy: Gubbio, Pinacoteca
Ravizza, p. 103, no. 313
13. at least 11 additional instruments depicted

I.16.21 ca. 1510
Fra Bartolommeo
Anna with two others and holy ones
Location unknown
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 103, no. 333
13. also depicted are a viola da braccio and 2 lutes

I.16.22 ca. 1510
Girolamo di Benvenuto
Angel musicians
Location unknown
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 103, no. 321
13. also depicted are a vielle and a lute

I.16.23 ca. 1510 (?)
Giovanni Battista Bertucci
Madonna with Child
United Kingdom: London, National Gallery
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 103, no. 332
13. also depicted is a shawm

I.16.24 ca. 1510 (?)
Bernardino Fungai
Ascension of Mary
Italy: Siena, S. Girolamo
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 103, no. 326
13. also depicted are a drum, tromba marina, vielle, lute, and harp

I.16.25 1510
Marco Palmezzano
Madonna and Child and Saints
Italy: Rome, Pinacoteca Vatican
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 103, no. 319
13. also depicted is a lute

I.16.26 1512
Tiberio d'Assisi
St. Franciscus prays to Jesus and Mary
Italy: Montefalco, S. Fortunato
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 104, no. 343
13. also depicted is a vielle

I.16.27 1512
Baldassare Carrari
Coronation of Mary
Italy: Forli, Pinacoteca
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 104, no. 344
13. also depicted are a drum, harp, and flute

I.16.28 ca. 1512-14
Bernardino di Mariotto (fl. 1497-1566)
Madonna and Child in Glory with Saints
Painting
Italy: San Severino Marche, S. Domenico, apse
Berenson, II, pl. 986
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. 6 strings
6. pegbox with 6 lateral pegs, blunt-end finial (?)
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece (?)
8. bridge obscured

I.16.28 (con't.)
9. bridge obscured
10. presumably no frets
11. bow held palm down, placed across soundholes
12. instrument played at top of left shoulder, under chin, pointing downward and to the left
13. another angel plays the lute
14. angels sit on ledges surrounding Madonna and Child

I.16.29
1513
Benedetto Coda (ca. 1495-1530)
Enthroned Madonna
Painting
Italy: Rimini, Pinacoteca Comunale
Scherliess, pl. 15 and 16
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. 3 or 4 strings (difficult to determine)
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with 3 (4?) lateral pegs
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. no bridge evident
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held at side
12. instrument held, not played
13. another angel plays lute
14. angel musicians at foot of enthroned Madonna

I.16.30
1513/14
Cima da Conegliano
Madonna with Child
Italy: Capo d'Istria
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 104, no. 351
13. lute also depicted

I.16.31
1515
Bernardino Loschi
Madonna and Child with Saints
Italy: Modena, Museo Civico
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 104, no. 361
13. lute also depicted

I.16.32
ca. 1515 (?)
Giacomo Pacchiarotti (pupil of Matteo di Giovanni)
Coronation of Mary
Painting
Italy: San Casciano del Bagni, S. Leonardo
Berenson, II, pl. 917

I.16.32 (con't.)
1. presumably bipartite, piriform
2. sideview only, hence information not available
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck
5. information not available
6. pegbox with three lateral pegs
7-10. information not available
11. bow hand obscured; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at left shoulder/armpit, pointing downwards and slightly to the left
13. another angel plays the psaltery
14. angels surround the Virgin

I.16.33
ca. 1515
Pordenone
Madonna and Child with Saints
Italy: Alviano, Terni, Parrocchiale
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 104, no. 373
13. 2 lutes also depicted

I.16.34
ca. 1520
Bernardino Luini
Madonna with Child and Saints
Italy: Como, Cattedrale
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 105, no. 404
13. also depicted are a triangle, drum, and lute

I.16.35
1521
Lorenzo Lotto
Madonna with Child and Saints
Italy: Bergamo, S. Spirito
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 105, no. 420
13. at least 9 additional instruments depicted

I.16.36
1522
Giovanni Spagna
Coronation of Mary
Italy: Trevi, Pinacoteca
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 105, no. 422
13. at least 9 additional instruments depicted

I.16.37
1523
Michele da Verona (d. after 1536)
Madonna and Child enthroned
Italy: Villa Estense, S. Andrea
Berenson, III, pl. 1295
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. at least 3 strings

I.16.37 (con't.)
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with carved (?) finial; at least 3 lateral pegs
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. bridge near lower end of belly (crossbar?)
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between bridge and soundhole
12. played at left chest, near chin, pointing downwards and slightly to the left
13. no other musicians
14. angel plays at base of Madonna's throne

I.16.38
1526
Giovanni Spagna
Coronation of Mary
Italy: Spoleto, Chiesa di S. Giacomo
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 106, no. 444
13. also depicted are drum, lira da braccio, lute, harp, and shawm

I.16.39
1526/27
Gaudenzio Ferrari (1471/81-1546)
Putti playing musical instruments
Painting
Italy: Bergamo, Accademia Carrara, No. 296
Geiser, fig. 129 and Sauerlandt, p. 65
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with scroll-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar (?)
8. crossbar functions as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. frets (?) - photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm down; placed across belly
12. instrument held at left chest, pointing downwards and to the left
13. two other bowed stringed instruments depicted
14. non-specific setting

I.16.40
1526-30
Pordenone
Madonna with Child
Italy: Varmo, Chiesa
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 106, no. 451
13. also depicted are a viola da braccio and lute

I.16.41 ca. 1530
Falconetto
Cover of Ca'd'Oro
Italy: Venice, St. Mark's
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 106, no. 470
13. Also depicted are a lute and a flute

I.16.42 ca. 1530
Defendente Ferrari
Madonna with Child and Saints
Italy: S. Benigno in Canavese
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 106, no. 469
13. Also depicted is a lute

I.16.43 1530
Girolamo Romanino
The Muses
United Kingdom: London, National Gallery
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 106, no. 455
13. also depicted are a drum, viola da braccio, lute, and flute

I.16.44 1534-36
Gaudenzio Ferrari (1471/81-1546)
Fresco on cupola of church at Saronno
Italy: Saronno, Santa Maria dei Miracoli
Pincherle, p. 43 and Berenson, III, pl. 1273
3 rebecs (?) depicted
Number one:
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. elongated, distinct neck, with fingerboard (?)
5. at least two and probably three strings (picture indistinct)
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with at least two lateral pegs
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge between soundholes
9. 2 S-shaped soundholes in center of belly; small round soundhole above these
10. frets (?)
11. bow held palm down; placed between S-shaped and round soundholes
12. instrument held at left shoulder/armpit, pointing almost straight to the left and slightly downwards

Number two:
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. difficult to ascertain due to unusual perspective
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard

I.16.44 (con't.)

5. no strings depicted
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with at least 2 lateral pegs and scroll finial
7-8. detail not depicted
9. 2 S-shaped soundholes in center of belly; small round soundhole (or decoration?) on bottom of neck
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed below soundholes
12. instrument held at left chest/armpit, pointing straight downwards

Number three: (a rebec?)

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. presumably flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; separate fingerboard (?)
5. information not available
6. sickle-shaped pegbox
7-8. photograph indistinct
9. two elongated soundholes (?) near lower end of belly and another soundhole near center of belly (distorted view)
10. information not available
11. bow held palm down; placed across belly
12. instrument held on top of left shoulder, touching chin, pointing almost straight to the left
13. numerous other instruments, many fanciful
14. huge grouping of musicians and angels

I.16.45

1537
Pompeo Amalfeo
Mary with Child and angel musicians
Painting
Germany (?): Cesclaus, Church
Geiser, pl. 43

1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard (decoration on fingerboard)
5. photograph indistinct
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with carved finial; lateral pegs
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge between soundholes
9. 2 S-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down, placed across center of belly
12. instrument held on top of left shoulder, under left side of chin, pointing almost straight downwards
13. other instruments depicted are a lute and a large bass viol (?)
14. information not available (detail only given)

I.16.46 1537
Pompeo Amaleto
Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine
Italy: Tolmezzano, S. Caterina
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 107, no. 509
13. a lute is also depicted

I.16.47 1537
Benedetto Carpaccio
Coronation of Maria
Painting
Italy: Capo d'Istria, Palazzo Comunale
Ravizza, pl. 7
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck (upper end obscured); no separate fingerboard
5. photograph indistinct
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge between tailpiece and soundholes
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down; placed above soundholes
12. instrument held at left chest, upon neck, pointing almost straight downwards, slightly to the left
13. five additional instruments depicted, all stringed
14. angels surround Mary

I.16.48 1540
Alessandro Moretto
Madonna with Child and Saints
Italy: Verona, S. Giorgio
Listed only in Ravizza, p. 107, no. 513
13. other instruments depicted include a lute, 2 flutes, and a portative organ

Eighteenth Century

I.18.1 Plate XXXV
1723
Arnold van Westerhout
Engraving from Filippo Bonanni's Gabinetto Armonico, "Sordino" (Paris, 1716; Rome, rev. ed., 1723)
Bonanni, pl. 102; Stauder, pl. 253
1. bipartite, piriform, pochette (labelled sordino)
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck (somewhat distinct); separate fingerboard

I.18.1 (con't.)
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; scroll finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is presumably secured to an endpin
8. no bridge depicted
9. 2 S-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at center of chest, pointing downward and to the left
13. no other instrument depicted
14. non-specific outdoor setting

THE NETHERLANDS

Fourteenth Century

N.14.1
early 14th century
United Kingdom: London, British Museum, Sloane 3983, ff. 42b and 43
Listed only in British Museum Catalog, Vol. III, p. 368

Fifteenth Century

N.15.1
beginning of the 15th century
Attributed to Hubert van Eyck (d. 1426)
Fontaine de vie
No location cited
Listed only in Pirro, p. 62
Pirro writes that the picture includes child singers, a rebec, trumpet marine, organ, psaltery, harp, and guitar

N.15.2
late 15th century
Anon., Dutch
Christ Child and musical angels
Illuminated manuscript
United Kingdom: Oxford, St. Hilda's College, MS 1, Book of Hours, f. 96r
Bodleian Library Filmstrips, No. 207A, no. 4
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat (?) soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck
5. 3 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox; other details indistinct
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. no bridge depicted
9. no soundholes depicted
10. no frets depicted

N.15.2 (con't.)
11. bow lies on table
12. instrument lies on table; not played
13. a clavichord (?) played by Christ child
14. non-specific setting

N.15.3
Plate XXVI b
15th to 16th century
Aelbrecht Bouts (ca. 1460-1549)
Assumption of the Virgin
Painting
Belgium: Brussels, Musée Royaux de Beaux-Arts, No. 534
Museum photo
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with carved (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar (?)
8. crossbar serves as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed diagonally across central soundhole
12. instrument held at mid-chest, pointing upwards and to the left
13. other angels play harp, lute, and recorder
14. angels surround Virgin ascending

Sixteenth Century

N.16.1
Plate XXXVI a
ca. 1520/30
Jan Gossaert (Gen de Mabuse) (ca. 1478-1533)
Holy Family with angel musicians
Portugal: Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga
Geiser, pl. 42
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. three (?) strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with 2 visible, lateral pegs; blunt-end (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge located between soundholes and end of fingerboard
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly; diamond-shaped soundhole (or decoration?) with rose, near lower end of fingerboard

N.16.1 (con't.)
10. frets (number?)
11. bow held palm down; placed between bridge and diamond soundhole (decoration?)
12. instrument held at left chest, pointing to the left and slightly upwards
13. detail only available; angel behind rebecist plays the harp

N.16.2
1524
Lucas van Leyden (1494-1534)
Old man and woman play instruments
Engraving
Federal Republic of Germany: Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum K.K. h947, Kaps. 316
Geiser, pl. 44 and Rooley, p. 2
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. distinct neck; angular upper end of body, also slightly angular at lower end of belly
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with no lateral pegs evident; scroll-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar (?)
8. 2 bridges; one located near upper end of belly, one located near lower end of belly
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between soundholes and upper bridge
12. instrument played upon left shoulder, pointing straight downwards
13. old man tunes a lute
14. old woman plays the bowed stringed instrument and an old man tunes a lute; outdoor setting

Seventeenth Century

N.17.1
17th century
Anon., Dutch school
Pochette lying on a musical score
Drawing
France: Paris, Louvre
Pincherele, p. 77
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. vaulted soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; scroll finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is secured to an endpin

N.17.1 (con't.)
8. movable bridge located in center of belly
9. f-shaped (?) soundholes (indistinct in photograph)
10. no frets
11. bow placed underneath instrument
12. instrument not played
13. no other instruments
14. still-life with music and pochette

N.17.2
17th century
A. Blootelingh (1640-1690)
Mezzotint with pochette
The Netherlands: The Hague, Haags Gemeentemuseum, the print collection of the music department
Listed only in Klerk, fiche 13 (.14)

N.17.3
17th to 18th century
Jan Philipp van der Schlichten (1681-1745)
Street musician
Painting
Federal Republic of Germany: Munich, Alte Pinakothek
Morek, p. 58
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; pochette
2. vaulted soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. pegbox with 4 lateral pegs; scroll finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. movable bridge in center of belly
9. 2 soundholes in center of belly (shape indistinct)
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed between bridge and fingerboard
12. instrument played at left armpit, pointing forwards, slightly to the left and slightly downwards
13. no other instruments
14. peasant musician in street

Eighteenth Century

N.18.1
1745
J. Ph. le Bas (1707-1783) after Ph. Canot
Etching with pochette
The Netherlands: The Hague, Haags Gemeentemuseum, the print collection of the music department
Listed only in Klerk, fiche 13 (1.2)

P O L A N D

Fifteenth Century

P.15.1 1418
Anon., Polish
Musicians and acrobats
Fresco
Poland: Lublin, Dreifaltigkeitskirche
Banach, pl. 5
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck
5. 3(?) strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with 6 peg-holes (?) visible; blunt-end finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. no bridge evident
9. round soundhole (?) in center of belly (may be 2 closely-placed D-shaped soundholes)
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across soundhole
12. instrument played at left shoulder, pointing to the left and slightly downwards
13. musicians standing with rebecist include a lutenist, one playing a psaltery, and one playing an animal's horn
14. detail only provided; information not available concerning setting

F.15.2 ca. 1480
Anon., Polish
Madonna and Child enthroned
Painting
Poland: Wloclawek, Diocesan-Museum
Banach, pl. 8
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. somewhat distinct neck
5. 3 strings
6. upper end unclear in photograph
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar (?)
8. crossbar (?) serves as fixed bridge
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed below soundholes
12. instrument played at left chest/armpit, pointing to the left and slightly downward

F.15.2 (con't.)
13. another angel plays the lute
14. angels surround Madonna enthroned

P O R T U G A L

Sixteenth Century

PG.16.1

Plate XXXVI b
ca. 1530
Mestre da Madre de Deus, from Xabregas
Ascension of the Virgin
Painting
Portugal: Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antigua
Ribeiro, pl. XII and Woodfield, II, pl. 75
1. bipartite, piriform
2. slightly concave soundboard (?)
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with three lateral pegs; blunt-end (?) finial
7. lower end string fastening
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. a group of very small, "pencil-point-sized," sound-holes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across middle of fingerboard
12. instrument played at left shoulder, pointing almost straight forward
13. other instruments played by angels include: harp, viol, lute, tambourin de Béarn, and shawm
14. detail only provided; angels presumably surround Virgin ascending

PG.16.2

second quarter 16th century
Mestre da Madre de Deus, from Xabregas
Adoration of the Shepherds
Painting
Portugal: Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antigua
Ribeiro, pl. X and Woodfield, II, pl. 74
1. bipartite, piriform; very small instrument
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. photograph indistinct
6. upper end indistinct; appears to be sickle-shaped pegbox
7-8. photograph indistinct
9. 2 C-shaped (?) soundholes in center of belly
10. presumably no frets

PG.16.2 (con't.)
11. bow hand obscured; placed across center of belly
12. instrument held at left shoulder/armpit, pointing downwards and forwards
13. other instruments played by angels include: viol and tambourin de Béarn
14. detail only provided; angels in heavens play above Nativity scene

PG.16.3
first half 16th century
Gregorio Lopez da Coimbra (d. 1550)
Ascension of the Virgin
Painting
Federal Republic of Germany: Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie
Musica Calendar 1960
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with color demarcation between belly and neck
5. 2 strings
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with two lateral pegs; blunt-end finial
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. no soundholes evident
10. no frets
11. bow hand obscured; placed across center of belly
12. instrument played at left chest, pointing downwards and slightly to the left
13. other instruments depicted include a lute, shawms (2), sackbut (?), and cornet
14. angels surround Virgin ascending

S P A I N

Thirteenth Century

S.13.1
Plate XXXVII b
1280-1283
Anon.
Cantigas de Santa Maria for King Alfons the Wise
Manuscript illumination
Spain: Madrid, Manuscript Escorial b-I-2, f. 118
Remnant, "Frets," pl. XVII, opp. p. 152; Seebass, p. 16
2 instruments depicted, sharing the following characteristics:
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard (?)

S.13.1 (con't.)

3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; demarcation line between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with two lateral pegs; no decorative finial
7. soundboard string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar functions as fixed bridge
9. 2 round soundholes on neck
10. no frets
11. bow held palm up; placed between crossbar and neck demarcation line
12. one instrument played upright upon the right knee; the other upright upon the left knee
13. two similar instruments as described above
14. one male, one female player; non-specific setting

S.13.2

1280-1283
Anon.
Cantigas de Santa Maria for King Alfons the Wise
Manuscript illumination
Spain: Madrid, Manuscript Escorial b-I-2, f. 170
Menéndez, p. 68

1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard (?)
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck (elongated); contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. slightly less than 90-degree bent-back pegbox with two lateral pegs; no decorative finial
7. soundboard string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar functions as fixed bridge
9. several groups of small soundholes on neck
10. presence or absence of frets can not be ascertained
11. bow held palm up; placed near lower end of colored demarcation area
12. played upright upon the left knee
13. an oud (?) player is also depicted
14. one male (rebab) and one female (oud) player; non-specific setting

S.13.3

late 13th century
Anon.
King David and his musicians
Manuscript illumination
Great Britain: London, British Library, Manuscript Harl. 4381, f. 155v
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 38

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard (?)

S.13.3 (con't.)
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck
5. feature indistinct
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with two lateral pegs; no decorative finial
7-10. features indistinct
11. bow held palm up (?) in left hand; placed in middle of instrument
12. played upright between the knees
13. additional instruments held include 2 plucked instruments, one bowed instrument, and a harp
14. rebab and harp appear to be the only instruments being played; King David seated upon throne; musicians seated on either side, upon benches; non-specific setting

Fourteenth Century

S.14.1
late 14th century
Follower of the Serras, Roussillon, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painted reliquary chest
Spain: Perpignan, Sagrario Collection
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 8 (detail only); Post, Vol. VIII, fig. 272
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. probably concave soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color and demarcation line between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with two lateral pegs; no decorative finial
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. two round soundholes on neck
10. no frets
11. bow held palm up; placed between bridge and demarcation line
12. played upright in front of body
13-14. information not available

S.14.2
ca. 1390
Follower of the Serras, Aragon, Spain
Angel musician
Painted reliquary chest (angels on chest have been repainted)
Spain; Madrid, Real Academia da Historia (originally done for Monastery of Piedra, near Alhama de Aragon)
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 7

S.14.2 (con't.)

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with lateral pegs; probably no decorative finail
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. photograph indistinct
10. no frets
11. bow held palm sideways; placed between bridge and demarcation line
12. played upright, supported upon left hip, pointing slightly to the left
13. information not available
14. angel stands in Gothic arch

S.14.3

late 14th-early 15th century
Follower of Juan Daurer, Majorca, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Pollensa, St. Maria del Puig
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 9 (detail only); Post, Vol. III, fig. 309

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with lateral pegs; no decorative finial
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. photograph indistinct
9. two round soundholes with rose (?) on neck
10. no frets
11. bow held palm up; placed about halfway between lower end of belly and demarcation area at end of neck
12. played upright in front of body
13. complete information not available; one additional angel plays transverse flute
14. information not available

S.14.4 late 14th-early 15th century
Lorenzo Zaragoza (?), Valencia, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Jérica, Ermita de San Roque
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 16 (detail); Post, Vol. III, fig. 265

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. probably concave soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. at least one round soundhole on neck
10. no frets
11. bow held palm up; placed between bridge and demarcation area at end of neck
12. played upright in front of body
13-14. information not available

Fifteenth Century

S.15.1 Plate XXXVII a
15th century (?) (may be late 15th century?)
Anon. (Spanish?)
Nobleman or court musician and woman with musical instruments from Roman de la Rose
Spain: Valencia, University Library
Program poster provided by Mary Remnant

1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; demarcation line between neck and belly; stepped fingerboard (?)
5. 2 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with two lateral pegs; scroll finial
7. lower end string fastening to endknob
8. no bridge
9. round soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. accompanying bow; not in playing position
12. instrument hanging on wall; not in playing position
13. 15 additional instruments hanging on wall, propped upon a bench, one in musician's hands
14. an interior room of a castle

S.15.2

15th century
Anon., Valencia, Spain
Madonna and Child with music-making angels
Stone carving; much detail eroded or knocked off
Spain: Játiva hospital, located above entrance
Woodfield, p. 51, description only, no depiction

1. information not available
2. concave soundboard
3. information not available
4. upper portion of carving missing
5. 4 strings (could this be 4 lines made to represent 2 strings?)
6. upper portion of carving missing

7-8. information not available

9. 2 C-shaped soundholes
10. upper portion of carving missing
11. bow is missing
12. played a gamba (details not available)

13-14. information not available

S.15.3

early 15th century
Master of the Cardona Pentecost (?), Catalonia, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Location unknown: private collection
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 11

1. bipartite, boat-shaped; rather small
2. concave soundboard (?)
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. upper end string fastening indistinct in photograph
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. at least one round soundhole on neck
10. probably no frets
11. bow held palm up; placed between bridge and demarcation area at end of neck
12. played basically upright in front of body, but leaning slightly to the left; held with lower end above player's waist
13. 4 additional instruments played by angels, including a harp, an organ, a lute, and an end-blown wind instrument
14. angels surround Madonna and Child enthroned

S.15.4 early 15th century
Master of the Montesión Altarpiece (?), Majorca, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Barcelona, Mateu Collection
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 10; Post, Vol. IV, fig. 254
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. upper end string fastening not clear, seems to be a trefoil-shaped pegdisc (?) with three anterior pegs (?)
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. photograph indistinct
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed just above the demarcation between neck and belly
12. played upright in front of body
13. at least 5 additional instruments played by angels, including a harp, a plucked stringed instrument, a lira da braccio, and two end-blown wind instruments
14. angels surround Madonna and Child

S.15.5 early 15th century
School of Pedro Nicolau, Valencia, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Valencia Cathedral
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 15; Post, Vol. III, fig. 259
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4-10. photograph indistinct; upper portion of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm sideways; placed near middle of belly
12. played upright in front of body
13. at least one additional angel musician plays harp
14. angels surround Madonna and Child enthroned

S.15.6 early to mid-15th century
Burnham Master, Aragon, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
West Germany: Frankfurt, Städel Kunstinstitut
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 24 and 25 (detail); Post, Vol. III, fig. 335

S.15.6 (con't.)

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard (?)
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox with two lateral pegs; finial indistinct
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly

9-10. photograph indistinct

11. bow hand obscured; bow placed between bridge and demarcation area at end of neck
12. played upright in front of body; bottom rests upon a ledge/shelf
13. 3 additional instruments played by angels, including a lute and two end-blown winds
14. angels in architectural setting surround Madonna and Child

S.15.7

early to mid-15th century
Lanaja Master, Aragon, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Lanaja, Iglesie Parroquial
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 22

1-11. photograph indistinct. Woodfield cites it as similar to preceeding instruments

12. played upright in front of body
13. 7 additional angels play instruments and sing; instruments include harp, organ, lute, and two end-blown winds
14. angels surround Madonna and Child enthroned

S.15.8

early to mid-15th century
Lanaja Master, Aragon, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Zaragoza, Museo Provincial
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 19 and 20 (detail); Post, Vol. III, fig. 334

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 strings (?)
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox; probably 2 lateral pegs; no decorative finial

S.15.8 (con't.)

7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9-10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm up; placed near middle of belly between bridge and demarcation of neck
12. played upright in front of body
13. 6 additional instruments played by angels, including 2 shawms, a fiddle, a portative organ, a lute, a harp, and a mandora
14. angels surround Madonna and Child enthroned

S.15.9

ca. 1412
Manner of Guimerá, could be Ramón de Mur (?), Catalonia, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Spain/USA: Madrid/New York, Weissberger Collection
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 13; Post, Vol. IV, fig. 215

1. bipartite, boat-shaped; larger than average
2. flat soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; other features indistinct in photograph
5. 2 strings
6. 45-degree bent-back pegbox; 2 lateral pegs; no decorative finial
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9-10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm up; placed near middle of belly
12. played upright in front of body
13-14. information not available

S.15.10

ca. 1417-19
Manner of Guimerá, could be Ramón de Mur (?), Catalonia, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Barcelona, Museo de Bellas Artes
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 12; Post, Vol. II, fig. 216

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly; stepped fingerboard (?)
5. 3 strings
6. 45-degree bent-back pegbox; 3 lateral pegs; carved finial (?)
7. lower end string fastening (?); specific means not ascertainable

S.15.10 (con't.)
8. no bridge evident, could be obscured
9-10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm sideways; placed near demarcation between neck and belly
12. played upright in front of body
13. additional instruments played by angels, including a lute and an end-blown wind; others not included in detail photograph
14. information not available

S.15.11
ca. 1430
School of Pedro Nicolau, Valencia, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 17
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck
5. 2 strings
6. pegbox obscured
7-8. photograph indistinct
9. two C-shaped soundholes
10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm up; placed above soundholes
12. played upright in front of body, above player's waist; pointing somewhat to the left
13. additional instruments played by angels, including harp and lute (?)
14. angels surround Madonna and Child enthroned

S.15.12
1439
Lanaja Master, Aragon, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Madrid, Lazaro Collection
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 18; Post, Vol. III, fig. 333
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. photograph indistinct
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9-10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm up; placed between bridge and demarcation area between neck and belly

S.15.12 (con't.)
12. played upright in front of body, resting upon a kneeling rail, pointing slightly to the left
13. additional instruments played by angels, including lute, harp, and end-blown wind
14. angels surround Madonna and Child enthroned

S.15.13
1442
Leonardo Crespi (?), Valencai, Spain
King David playing bowed stringed instrument
Illuminated initial B from Beatus page of prayer book belonging to Alfonso V of Aragon
United Kingdom: London, British Museum, Manuscript Add. 28962, f. 82
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 27; Remnant, Grove, p. 637, fig. 4
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard (?)
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; stepped fingerboard
5. at least 3 strings (more?)
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with at least 4 lateral pegs; carved finial representing an animal's head (?)
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. photograph indistinct
10. frets (?)
11. bow held palm sideways; placed between bridge and fingerboard
12. played in front of body, held between the knees, pointing slightly to the left
13. no additional instruments
14. outdoor garden setting

S.15.14
mid-15th century
Anon., Aragon, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Junyer Vidal Collection
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 28-29 (detail)
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard (?)
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox; pegs indistinct; finial indistinct
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly

S.15.14 (con't.)
9. two round soundholes on neck
10. no frets
11. bow hand obscured; placed between bridge and end of neck
12. played upright in front of body, pointing slightly to the left
13. 5 additional instruments played by angels, including organ, double end-blown pipes, lute, cymbals (?), vihuela
14. angels surround Madonna and Child

S.15.15
mid-15th century
Maluenda Master, Aragon, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Sitges, Museo Maricel
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 26
1. bipartite, somewhat more piriform than boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. photograph indistinct
6. pegbox with carved animal-head (?) finial; photograph indistinct
7-10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm up (?); placed near center of instrument
12. played upright in front of body
13. additional instruments played by angels include lute and vihuela
14. angels surround Madonna and Child

S.15.16
mid-to late 15th century
Morata Master, Aragon, Spain
A servant rebuking St. Thomas for refusing to eat with the heathen
Painting
Spain: Daroca, Museo
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 30; Post, Vol. VIII, fig. 176
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. concave soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. pegbox with carved animal-head (?) finial; pegs indistinct
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
8. movable bridge near end of belly

S.15.16 (con't.)

9-10. photograph indistinct
11. photograph indistinct; bow placed above colored demarcation area on neck
12. played in front of body, upon right knee
13. no other instruments
14. young woman plays instrument while observing (?) St. Thomas at dinner table (symbolic: woman may not be a participant in scene)

S.15.17

late 15th century
Martín Bernat, Aragon, Spain
St. Martin's vision of the risen Christ and angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Daroca, Museo
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 35; Post, Vol. VIII, fig. 18
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. much of soundboard obscured
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with carved animal head; 3 lateral pegs
7. photograph indistinct
8. movable bridge near end of belly
9. soundholes obscured
10. frets (?)
11. bow hand obscured; placed above bridge
12. played upright in front of left side of body, top pointing slightly to the left; held above player's waist
13. an angel plays a lira da braccio
14. St. Martin in bed sees Christ and 3 angels

S.15.18

mid to late 15th century
Juan de la Abadía (Almudévar Master), Aragon, Spain
St. Anthony Abbot with angel musicians
Painting
United Kingdom: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 31
1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck
5. 5 strings (?)
6. photograph indistinct
7. soundboard string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar functions as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm up; placed above soundhole
12. played in front of body at about a 45-degree angle from vertical, pointing to the left
13-14. information not available

S.15.19 mid to late 15th century
Perea Master (?) or St. Anne Master (?), Valencia, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Formerly in Spain: Játiva, Collection, destroyed during Spanish Civil War
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 32; Post, Vol. VI, fig. 106

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck
5. 3 strings
6. photograph indistinct
7. soundboard string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar functions as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm up; placed above soundhole
12. played in front of body at about a 45-degree angle from vertical, pointing to the left
13. additional angel musicians playing instruments, including the lute
14. angels surround Madonna and Child

S.15.20 late 15th century
Armisén Master, Aragon, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Barcelona, Muntadas Collection
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 34; Post, Vol. VIII, fig. 87

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck
5. 4 strings
6. 45-degree bent-back pegbox; 4 lateral pegs; carved animal-head finial
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not discernable
8. movable bridge near lower end of belly
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm up; placed above soundhole
12. played upright in front of body, pointing slightly to the left
13. an angel plays a waisted fiddle
14. angels surround Madonna and Child

Sixteenth Century

S.16.1 ca. 1500
Rodrigo Osona II, Valencia, Spain
Madonna and Child with angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Ibiza, Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Jesús
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 36
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; larger than average
2. photograph indistinct
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5-10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm up; placed near center of belly
12. played upright upon left thigh, player seated
13. additional angel musicians play percussion instruments and a vihuela de mano
14. angels surround Madonna and Child

S.16.2 ca. 1500
Castilian school
St. Agatha with angel musicians
Painting
Spain: Barcelona, Museo de la Historia de la Cuidad
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 41
1-10. instrument obscured except for outline of right side and playing position; Woodfield cites it as similar to preceeding 15th century instruments
11. bow held palm up
12. played upon left shoulder/armpit, pointing almost straight downwards
13. an angel musician plays another bowed stringed instrument
14. angels surround St. Agatha

S.16.3 early 16th century
Juan Correa de Vivar, Castilia, Spain
The adoration of the shepherds
Painting
Spain: Madrid, Prado
Woodfield, Vol. II, pl. 40 (detail)
1. bipartite, boat-shaped; very small
2. flat soundboard
3. back probably vaulted
4. integral neck; contrasting color demarcation between neck and belly
5. 2 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with carved finial
7. lower end string fastening; specific means not discernable

S.16.3 (con't.)
8. crossbar/bridge near lower end of belly
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. photograph indistinct
11. bow held palm sideways; placed above soundhole
12. played upright upon left knee
13. additional angel musicians play tambourin and plucked stringed instrument
14. angels grouped in air above the Nativity

S W E D E N

Fifteenth Century

SW.15.1
Plate XXXVIII
ca. 1470
Master of Tierp, Sweden
Angel musician
Fresco
Sweden: Uppland, Tierp Church, Bay II, the vault
RCMI uncataloged
1. bipartite, piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. bent-back pegbox; details not clear
7-8. lower end obscured
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held in left hand, palm down; placed across instrument between soundhole and lower end of neck
12. instrument held between left waist and left elbow, pointing almost directly to the right
13-14. detail only provided

SW.15.2
ca. 1475
Anon., Swedish
Sweden: Uppland, Haverö
Hellquist, p. 5:28, listed and only partially described
5. 3 strings
7. viol-like tailpiece
8. movable bridge
10. frets set into fingerboard

SW.15.3 Plate XXXIX
1494
Anon., Swedish
The Last Judgment
Painting on wood
Sweden: Värmland, Södra Råda, Old Church
RCMI 0822; listed in Hellquist, p. 5:28
1. bipartite, piriform; large instrument
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. somewhat distinct neck
5. 5 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with 5 pegholes; blunt-end finial
7. lower end string fastening obscured by bow
8. no bridge depicted
9. no soundholes depicted
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed near lower end of neck
12. instrument held across chest, pointing directly to the left
13. detail only provided; nearby stands a bell player
14. depiction of the Last Judgment

SW.15.4 Plate XL
end of 15th century
Anon., Swedish
The Holy Trinity
Fresco
Sweden: Smaland, Säby, Church
RCMI 0829; listed in Hellquist, p. 5:28
1. bipartite; piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck; no separate fingerboard
5. 7 (?) strings (may represent double courses?)
6. 90-degree bent-back pegbox; no details depicted
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar which is secured to lower end either by a tailpiece or 2 strings
8. crossbar serves as fixed bridge
9. 2 heart-shaped (?) soundholes near center of belly on either side of the strings; 2 smaller soundholes above these
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed very near bridge
12. instrument played at center of waist, pointing almost directly to the left and slightly upwards
13-14. detail only provided

Sixteenth Century

SW.16.1 Plate XLI
1555
Anon., Swedish (?)
Woodcut from Olaus Magnus' Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus
RCMI uncataloged
1. bipartite; piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck (?); partially obscured
5. 3 strings
6. upper end of instrument obscured
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar serves as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole in center of belly
10. upper end of instrument obscured
11. bow held palm down, placed just above soundhole
12. instrument held across chest, pointing downwards and to the left
13. another musician plays the bagpipes
14. musicians accompany dancers

S W I T Z E R L A N D

Fifteenth Century

SZ.15.1 15th century
Anon., Swiss (?)
Glorification of Joseph
Tapestry
Switzerland: Geneva, Museum der Schönen Künste
Listed only in Bowles, appendix
13. rebec, harp, and recorder depicted

SZ.15.2 15th century
Anon., Swiss (?)
Kaiser Sigismund's banquet
Manuscript illumination
Switzerland: Lucerne, Zentralbibliothek, Diebold Schilling, Bilderchronik, f. 38
Listed only in Bowles, appendix
13. harp, lute, and rebec depicted

Sixteenth Century

SZ.16.1 Plate XLII
1523
Urs Graf (1485-1528)
A fool and a woman
Drawing
Federal Republic of Germany: Darmstadt, Hessian State Museum
Henning, pl. 34 and Horremann, pl. 34

1. bipartite, boat-shaped
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with separate fingerboard
5. 6 strings
6. sickle-shaped pegbox with animal-head carving (pegbox elongated)
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. no bridge depicted
9. 2 elaborate C-shaped soundholes in center of belly; 4 small soundholes or decorations (?) on belly, two near lower end, 2 near upper end
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; placed across center of belly, above soundholes
12. instrument held upon left chest, pointing almost straight upwards and to the left
13. no other instruments
14. outdoor setting; the personification of folly and frivolity

SZ.16.2 ca. 1550
Hans Locher (Swiss?)
Music-making angel
Painting
Switzerland: Frauenfeld, Museum des Kantons Thurgau
Geiser, fig. 168

1. bipartite, piriform; large instrument
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck with separate fingerboard
5. 4 strings
6. bent-back, sickle-shaped pegbox with scroll-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to crossbar
8. crossbar serves as fixed bridge
9. round soundhole in center of belly, with rose
10. at least 4 frets
11. bow held in left hand; placed diagonally across center of belly; palm down
12. instrument held upon left knee, pointing upwards and to the right

13-14. detail only provided

SZ.16.3 Plate XLIII
1589
Hans Dürner (d.1613)
Angel musicians
Wooden roof carving
Switzerland: Heiligenberg Castle on Lake Constance
Musica Calendar 1964, pl. 7; RCMI uncataloged

1. bipartite; piriform
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. distinct neck with separate fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. bent-back (?) pegbox (unclear in photograph)
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
8. bridge obsucred
9. 2 C-shaped soundholes in center of belly
10. no frets
11. bow held palm down; not in playing position
12. instrument not in playing position
13. detail only provided; nearby are a lute and a horn
14. non-specific setting

APPENDIX IV

A CHECKLIST OF EXTANT REBECS

The following pages contain a checklist of musical instruments in major public and private collections which are frequently identified in published sources and/or are labelled in said collections as examples of historic rebecs or as rebec reproductions. Several of these instruments which have subsequently been proven not to be historic rebecs or rebec reproductions are so identified. Information cited concerning all instruments in this checklist includes, when known, their current location, provenance, maker, date of manufacture, sources for photographs and descriptions, and plate numbers for photographs which are included in this dissertation. Those instruments which are historic rebecs or rebec reproductions are described according to the following plan (in accordance with the iconographic descriptions in Appendix III):

1. Overall shape, dimensions (when available), general distinguishing features
2. Soundboard description
3. Shape of back
4. Description of neck and fingerboard
5. Number of strings
6. Description of upper end string fastening and finial
7. Description of lower end string fastening

8. Type of bridge

9. Description of type and location of soundholes

10. Existence or non-existence of frets

11. Existence or non-existence of bow; description of bow if extant

HOLDINGS OF THE FOLLOWING COLLECTIONS OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS CONSULTED IN PREPARATION OF THIS CHECKLIST OF EXTANT REBECS

Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA

The Stearns Collection of Musical Instruments at The University of Michigan

No rebecs.

Basel, Switzerland

Musikinstrumentenmuseum, Historische Museum Basel

See Nos. 23 and 29

Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany

Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikinstrumenten-Museum

No rebecs.

Bologna, Italy

Chiesa del Corpus Domini

See No. 6

Boston, Massachusetts, USA

Musical Instruments Collection, Museum of Fine Arts

See No. 17

Bruges, Belgium

Gruuthuse Museum

See No. 7

Brussels, Belgium

Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royale de Musique

See No. 11

Copenhagen, Denmark

Musikhistorisk museum og Carl Claudius' samling

See Nos. 18, 24, 30, 31, and 32

Eisenach, German Democratic Republic

Wartburg Museum

No rebecs, but see No. 2

Florence, Italy

Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini

See No. 12

Halle, German Democratic Republic

Händel-Haus

No rebecs.

Leipzig, German Democratic Republic

Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Karl-Marx Universität
(formerly the Collection of Wilhelm Heyer at the Musikhistorisches Museum in Cologne, German Federal Republic)

See Nos. 9, 10, 13, and 14

Lisbon, Portugal

Museu Instrumental do Conservatorio

See No. 25

London, United Kingdom

1. Horniman Museum

   See No. 19

2. Private Collection

   See No. 26

3. Royal College of Music

   No rebecs, but see No. 4

4. Victoria and Albert Museum

   No rebecs.

Mittenwald, Federal Republic of Germany

Geigenbau-und Heimatmuseum

No rebecs.

Munich, Federal Republic of Germany

1. Deutsches Museum

   See No. 27

2. Münchner Stadtmuseum

   No rebecs.

New Haven, Connecticut, USA

Yale University Collection of Musical Instruments

No rebecs.

New York City, New York, USA

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

See Nos. 1 (not a rebec), 8, and 20

Nürnberg, Federal Republic of Germany

Germanisches Nationalmuseum

No rebecs.

Paris, France

Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire de Paris

See No. 5 (not a rebec)

Salzburg, Austria

Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum

No rebecs.

Stockholm, Sweden

Musikmuseet

No rebecs.

Trondheim, Norway

Musikkhistorisk Museum, Ringve Museum

No rebecs.

Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada

Private Collection, shown as part of "The Look of Music" Exhibition

See Nos. 15 and 16

Vermillion, South Dakota, USA

The Shrine to Music Museum

No rebecs.

Vienna, Austria

Kunsthistorisches Museum

No rebecs, but see No. 3

Washington, D.C., USA

The Smithsonian Institution

See Nos. 21, 22, and 28

SIGLA FOR SOURCES CITED IN EXTANT REBECS CHECKLIST

Antichi	Antichi Strumenti dalla raccolta dei Medici e dei Lorena alla formazione del Museo del Conservatorio di Firenze. Rev. ed. Florence: Palazzo Pitti, March 1980.
Baines	Baines, Anthony. European and American Musical Instruments. New York: Viking Press, 1966.
Bessaraboff	Bessaraboff, Nicholas. Ancient European Musical Instruments. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941.
Bruges	Gruuthuse Museum, Catalogue of Exhibits. Bruges: Stad Brugge, 1979.
Cervelli	Cervelli, Luisa. Contributi al storia degli strumenti musicali in Italia/Rinascimento e barocco (Antiquae musicae italicae subsidia didascalica). Bologna: Tamari, 1967.
Chouquet 1875 1884	Chouquet, Gustave. Le Musée du Conservatoire National de Musique, Catalogue raisonné des instruments de cette collection. Paris: Firmin-Didot frères, 1875 and 1884.
Claudius	Carl Claudius' Samling af Gamle Musikinstrumenter. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1931.
Densmore	Densmore, Frances. Handbook of the Collection of Musical Instruments in the United States National Museum, Bulletin 136. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1927. Reprint by New York: Da Capo Press, 1971.
Deutsches Museum	Musik: Objekt-und Demonstrationsverzeichnis. Munich: Deutsches Museum, 1976.
Disertori	Disertori, Benvenuto. "Il più antico esemplare esistente di strumento ad arco," Rivista musicale italiana XLII (1938): 294-308.
Gai	Gai, Vinicio. Gli strumenti musicali della Corte Medicea e il Museo del Conservatorio "Luigi Cherubini" di Firenzi. Florence: Licosa, 1969.
Geiringer	Geiringer, Karl. Instruments in the History of Western Music. New York: Oxford University Press, 1945; reprinted 1978.

Kinsky, Katalog	Kinsky, Georg, ed. Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Cöln. Katalog. Vol. II, Zupf-und Streichinstrumenten. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1910-1916.
Kinsky, Kleiner Katalog	Kinsky, Georg. Kleiner Katalog der Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1913.
Libin	Libin, Laurence. "Musical Instruments," The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Notable Acquisitions 1965-1975. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975, pp. 167-170.
Mahillon	Mahillon, Victor-Charles. Catalogue descriptif et analytique du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles. Gand: A. Hoste, 1893-1912.
Marcel-Dubois	Marcel-Dubois, Mele Claudie. "Rebec," Encyclopédie de la musique. Edited by François Michel, François Lesure, and Vladimir Fédorov. Paris: Fasquelle, 1958-1961. (Vol. III, pp. 552-553)
Marcuse	Marcuse, Sibyl. Musical Instruments: a Comprehensive Dictionary. Garden City: Doubleday, 1964.
Melkus	Melkus, Eduard. Die Violine. Bern: Hallwag, 1977.
MMA Handbook	Catalogue of the Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments of All Nations, I. Europe, Metropolitan Museum of Art Handbook, No. 13. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1904.
MMA Untermyer	Highlights of the Untermyer Collection of English and Continental Decorative Arts. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977.
Nef	Nef, Karl. Alte Musikinstrumente in Basel. Schriften des Historisches Museum Basel. Band 2. Basel: Historische Museum, 1974.
Rittmeyer-Iselin	Rittmeyer-Iselin, Dora J. "Das Rebec. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte unserer Streichinstrumente," Festschrift für Karl Nef zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern und Freunden. Zurich: Komissions Verlag Gebrüder Hug, 1933, pp. 210-219.
Tiella	Tiella, Marco. "The Violeta of S. Caterina de' Vigri," Galpin Society Journal, XXVIII (April 1975): 60-70.

Winternitz — Winternitz, Emanuel. Die schoensten Musikinstrumente des Abenlandes. Wiesbaden: Loewitt, 197?.

Young — Young, Phillip T. The Look of Music. Vancouver: Vancouver Museum and Planetarium Association, 1980.

A CHECKLIST OF

INSTRUMENTS INCORRECTLY IDENTIFIED AS REBECS IN VARIOUS SOURCES

Late 14th or early 15th century

1. New York City, USA, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 64.101.1409 (from the Irwin Untermyer Collection). Made in Northern Italy, probably late 14th or early 15th century.

   Pictured and discussed in: MMA Untermyer, pp. 150-151; Libin, p. 167; Winternitz, p. 59; Melkus, pp. 18-19; and Geiringer, No. 1, pl. 12

   In its present form, this instrument is not a rebec, but rather a mandora.

15th century

2. Eisenach, German Democratic Republic, Wartburg Museum, No. KH 50. Made ca. 1450 (?) by Hans Ott of Nürnberg.

   Picture available from museum.

   This instrument is not a rebec, but a mandora.

3. Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Made in Northern Italy, maker unknown, ca. 1450.

   Pictured in: Melkus, pp. 18-19.

   This instrument is not a rebec, but a mandora.

19th century

4. London, United Kingdom, Royal College of Music, Donaldson Collection, No. RCM 212. Yugoslavia, nineteenth century (?), maker and exact date of manufacture unknown.

   Picture available from museum.

   This instrument is not a rebec, but a lyra.

5. Paris, France, Musée Conservatoire National de Musique, No. E.432. Nineteenth-century copy by J. B. Vuillaume (1798-1875) of an instrument depicted in a fourteenth-century French manuscript.

   No picture available. Described in Chouquet 1875, no. 120, p. 22; Chouquet 1884, No. E. O. C. 134.

   This instrument is not a rebec, but a copy of a medieval fiddle.

A CHECKLIST OF EXTANT REBECS

15th century

6. Bologna, Italy, Chiesa del Corpus Domini. An instrument preserved as a relic of St. Caterina de' Vegri (Bologna 1413-1463) who purportedly played it. Provenance, maker, and exact date of manufacture unknown (ca. 1460?).

   Pictured and discussed in: Disertori, pp. 294-308; Cervelli, p. 19 and pp. 28-29; and Tiella, pp. 60-80, plates XIII and XIV, opp. p. 72.

   It has been suggested that this instrument may originally have been a rebec (Tiella); it has further been hypothesized, in this paper, that this instrument represents a distinct rebec-type.

   See plate XLV.

18th century (Dating is unknown, questionable, and purely hypothetical; suggested by sources other than this author)

7. Bruges, Belgium, Gruuthuse Museum, No. 2311 (labelled "Mandoline" in Museum display). Labelled at museum as eighteenth century (?), provenance, maker, and exact date of manufacture unknown. Probably not as early as the 18th century, but can not be dated with certainty at this time.

   No picture available. Listed in Bruges, p. 38.

   1. bipartite; piriform; dimensions not available to author; nails form decorative and functional pattern around circumference of soundboard
   2. flat soundboard
   3. vaulted back
   4. integral neck with separate fingerboard
   5. 3 strings
   6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; scroll finial
   7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
   8. no bridge extant, but scratches on belly indicate bridge placement was between end of fingerboard and soundholes
   9. two C-shaped soundholes near lower end of instrument
   10. no frets but two nails in fingerboard could indicate finger placement
   11. no bow extant

8. New York City, New York, USA, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 89.4.514. Cataloged at museum as: made in Spain (?); may date from the 18th century or earlier; maker unknown; can not be dated with certainty at this time.

   Described in: MMA Handbook, p. 72.

   1. bipartite; piriform; length 50.9 cm; body width at bridge 12.8 cm; crudely made; geometric design etched onto fingerboard
   2. flat soundboard
   3. vaulted back
   4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard; fingerboard appears to be a viol tailpiece
   5. no strings extant; should have had 3 strings
   6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial
   7. no tailpiece extant, but indications of the presence of a tailpiece once attached to endknob
   8. no bridge extant; undoubtedly a movable bridge between soundholes was used
   9. two f-shaped soundholes
   10. no frets
   11. no bow extant

   See plates XLVI and XLVII.

18th or 19th century (Dating is unknown, questionable, and purely hypothetical; suggested by sources other than this author)

9. Leipzig, German Democratic Republic, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Karl-Marx Universität (formerly from the collection at the Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Cologne, German Federal Republic, No. 713). Listed in catalog as Italian, eighteenth or nineteenth century (?), maker and exact date of manufacture unknown. Damaged.

   No picture available. Described in Kinsky, Katalog, II, p. 334 and Kinsky, Kleiner Katalog, p. 106.

   1. bipartite; piriform; length 54 cm; body width at bridge 12 cm; crudely made; body, neck and pegbox of poplar; soundboard of cherry
   2. presumably flat soundboard
   3. presumably vaulted back
   4. presumably integral neck; information concerning fingerboard not available
   5. 3 strings
   6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; pegbox finial has a plumpe (clumsy, oversize?) carved animal head

9. (con't.)
   7-8. information not available
   9. two rudimentary oblong soundholes
   10-11. information not available

10. Leipzig, German Democratic Republic, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Karl-Marx Universität (formerly from the collection at the Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Cologne, German Federal Republic, No. 714). Listed in catalog as Italian, eighteenth or nineteenth century (?), maker and exact date of manufacture unknown.

    No picture available. Described in Kinsky, Katalog, II, p. 334 and Kinsky, Kleiner Katalog, p. 106.

    1. bipartite; piriform; length 48.5 cm; body width at bridge 12 cm; dark brown varnish; soundboard, tailpiece, and pegs have been restored.
    2. presumably flat soundboard
    3. presumably vaulted back
    4. presumably integral neck; information concerning fingerboard not available
    5. 3 strings
    6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; no information regarding finial
    7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece
    8. information not available
    9. one small and two large f-shaped soundholes
    10-11. information not available

Late 19th century

Group I: Franciolini painted model

11. Brussels, Belgium, Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royale de Musique, No. 628. Listed in catalog as Italian; maker and date of manufacture unknown. Undoubtedly late nineteenth century. Undoubtedly from stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

    Described in: Mahillon, II, p. 37. Pictured in Marcel-Dubois, p. 553.

    1. bipartite; piriform; no dimensions available; crudely made; some crudely-painted and etched decoration on soundboard and fingerboard
    2. flat soundboard
    3. vaulted back
    4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
    5. 3 strings
    6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial

11. (con't.)
    7. lower end string fastening to a tailpiece secured to an endknob
    8. movable bridge between soundholes
    9. two f-shaped soundholes
    10. no frets
    11. no bow extant

12. Florence, Italy, Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, No. 48 (B/25). Listed in catalog as provenance, maker, date of manufacture unknown. Undoubtedly late nineteenth century. Undoubtedly from stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

    Pictured and described in: Gai, pp. 135-136; Antichi, p. 70 and pl. 67m.

    1. bipartite; piriform; length 50.4 cm; body width at bridge 11.7 cm; depth 5 cm; crudely made; some crudely-painted decoration on soundboard and fingerboard
    2. flat soundboard
    3. vaulted back
    4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
    5. 3 strings
    6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial
    7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is secured to endknob
    8. movable bridge located between soundholes
    9. two f-shaped soundholes
    10. no frets
    11. no bow extant

    See plate XLVIII.

13. Leipzig, German Democratic Republic, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Karl-Marx Universität (formerly from the collection at the Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Cologne, German Federal Republic, No. 710). Listed in catalog as Italian, seventeenth or eighteenth century. Dating is incorrect; undoubtedly late nineteenth century. Undoubtedly from stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

    Pictured and described in: Kinsky, Katalog, II, p. 328 and 334 and Kinsky, Kleiner Katalog, pp. 105-106.

    1. bipartite; piriform; length 57 cm; body width at bridge 14 cm; some crudely-painted decoration on soundboard and fingerboard; body, neck, and pegbox made out of cherry; soundboard made out of poplar. Dark brown varnish.
    2. flat soundboard
    3. vaulted back
    4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard

13. (con't.)
    5. 3 strings
    6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial
    7. lower end string fastening to a tailpiece secured to an endknob
    8. movable bridge between soundholes
    9. two f-shaped soundholes
    10. no frets
    11. no bow extant

14. Leipzig, German Democratic Republic, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Karl-Marx Universität (formerly from the collection at the Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Cologne, German Federal Republic, No. 711). Listed in catalog as Italian, seventeenth or eighteenth century. Dating is incorrect; undoubtedly late nineteenth century. Undoubtedly from stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

    Pictured and described in: Kinsky, Katalog, II, p. 328 and 334 and Kinsky, Kleiner Katalog, pp. 105-106.

    1. bipartite; piriform; length 51 cm; body width at bridge 14 cm; some crudely-painted decoration on soundboard and fingerboard; entire instrument made out of poplar; dark brown varnish
    2-11. rest of description same as Rebec No. 13. Kinsky remarks that these two instruments are almost identical.

15. Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, Anon. Collection. Displayed in the exhibition, "The Look of Music," Vancouver Centennial Museum, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, November 2, 1980-April 5, 1981, No. 140. Listed in catalog as Italian, seventeenth century. Dating is incorrect; undoubtedly late 19th century. Undoubtedly from stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

    Pictured and described in: Young, p. 119.

    1. bipartite; piriform; length 56.2 cm; body width at bridge 11.8 cm; crudely made; some crudely-painted decoration on soundboard
    2. flat soundboard
    3. vaulted back
    4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
    5. 3 strings
    6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial
    7. lower end string fastening to a tailpiece secured to an endpin
    8. movable bridge between soundholes; a piece of string connects the bridge and the tailpiece
    9. two f-shaped soundholes

15. (con't.)
    10. no frets
    11. no bow extant

16. Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, Anon. Collection. Displayed in the exhibition, "The Look of Music," Vancouver Centennial Museum, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, November 2, 1980-April 5, 1981, No. 141. Listed in catalog as Italian, eighteenth century. Dating is incorrect; undoubtedly late 19th century. Undoubtedly from stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

    Pictured and described in: Young, p. 119.

    1. bipartite; piriform; length 56.8 cm; body width at bridge 12.8 cm; some crudely-painted decoration on soundboard and fingerboard
    2. flat soundboard
    3. vaulted back
    4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
    5. 3 strings
    6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial
    7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is fastened to soundboard
    8. movable bridge between soundholes
    9. two f-shaped soundholes
    10. no frets
    11. no bow extant

Group II: Franciolini model without decoration

17. Boston, Massachusetts, USA, Museum of Fine Arts, No. 266. Listed in catalog as a reproduction of a seventeenth-century type; no provenance, maker, or exact date of manufacture listed. Probably made in the late 19th or early 20th centuries. May have been from stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

    Pictured and discussed in: Bessaraboff, pp. 252-253, plate X.

    1. bipartite; piriform; length 56 cm; body width at bridge 14.5 cm; depth 6.5 cm; body made of poplar; soundboard of unstained pine; fingerboard of stained oak
    2. flat soundboard
    3. vaulted back
    4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
    5. 3 strings
    6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial
    7. lower end string fastening to leather tailpiece which is secured to endknob
    8. movable bridge located between soundholes

17. (con't.)
    9. two f-shaped soundholes
    10. no frets
    11. no bow extant

18. Copenhagen, Denmark, Musikhistorisk Museum og Carl Claudius' samling, No. 211 (291). Listed in catalog as eighteenth century (?); maker, provenance, and date of manufacture unknown. Probably made in the late 19th century. May have been from the stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

    Pictured in Claudius, pp. 176-177.

    1. bipartite; piriform; length 52.5 cm; body width at bridge 13.5 cm; depth 5 cm.
    2. flat soundboard
    3. vaulted back
    4. long, integral neck with stepped fingerboard
    5. 3 strings
    6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial
    7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece secured to endknob
    8. movable bridge located between soundholes
    9. two f-shaped soundholes
    10. no frets
    11. no bow extant

    See plate LIV b.

19. London, United Kingdom, Horniman Museum, no catalog no. Museum lists this instrument as a Yugoslavian lyritza, probably 19th century. The instrument is incorrectly designated as bearing a museum number of 15.10.48/87 in Baines, plate 40. The instrument is probably late 19th century, probably from the stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

    1. bipartite; piriform
    2. flat soundboard
    3. vaulted back
    4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
    5. 3 strings
    6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial
    7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece secured to endknob
    8. movable bridge located between soundholes
    9. two f-shaped soundholes
    10. no frets
    11. no bow extant

20. New York City, USA, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 89.4.2268. Provenance, maker, and date of manufacture unknown; a reproduction. Probably late 19th century, from stock of Leopoldo Franciolini, but could be a 20th-century reproduction.

Described in: MMA Handbook, p. 72.

1. bipartite; piriform; no dimensions available
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; female torso adorns finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is secured to endknob
8. bridge not extant; scratches on belly indicate placement between soundholes
9. two f-shaped soundholes
10. no frets
11. no bow extant

21. Washington, D.C., USA, Smithsonian Institution, No. 95.309. From Florence, Italy. Probably late 19th century, from stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

No picture available. Described in: Densmore, p. 95.

1. bipartite; piriform; length 60.2 cm; body width at bridge 13.5 cm; depth 8.3 cm
2. flat soundboard
3. presumably vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; no information available concerning finial

7-8. information not available

9. two crude, f-shaped soundholes

10-11. information not available

22. Washington, D.C., USA, Smithsonian Institution, No. 95.310. From Florence, Italy. Probably late 19th century, from stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

Pictured and described in: Densmore, plate 41e and p. 95; Marcuse, plate 15.

1. bipartite; piriform; length 55.3 cm; body width at bridge 14.3 cm; depth 5 cm.

22. (con't.)
    2. flat soundboard
    3. vaulted back
    4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
    5. 3 strings
    6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial
    7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is secured to endknob
    8. movable bridge located between soundholes
    9. two f-shaped soundholes
    10. no frets
    11. bow extant; straight stick; non-adjustable frog

    See plate XLIX.

Group III: Franciolini inlaid model

23. Basel, Switzerland, Historisches Museum, Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente, No. 1957.354 (from the collection of Prof. Wilhelm His, Berlin, German Federal Republic). Listed on instrument label in museum as eighteenth century (?); provenance, maker and exact date of manufacture unknown. May actually be a late 19th-century instrument from the stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

    Pictured in: Melkus, p. 17 (erroneously dated as early 17th century).

    1. bipartite; piriform; dimensions not available to author; very ornately decorated on fingerboard, belly, and pegbox with inlaid mother-of-pearl, ivory, and ebony
    2. flat soundboard
    3. vaulted back
    4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
    5. 3 strings
    6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial with inlaid decoration
    7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece secured to soundboard
    8. movable bridge between soundholes
    9. two ornate f-shaped soundholes; highly-decorated round soundhole with rose located between end of fingerboard and f-shaped soundholes
    10. no frets
    11. no bow extant

    See plate L b.

24. Copenhagen, Denmark, Musikhistorisk Museum og Carl Claudius' samling, No. D65. May be a late 19th-century instrument from the stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

Museum photo.

1. bipartite; piriform; dimensions not available to author; very ornately decorated on fingerboard, belly, and pegbox with inlaid mother-of-pearl, ivory, and ebony
2. flat soundboard; belly edged with pearl inlaid in ebony with ivory edging
3. vaulted back consisting of 11 (?) staves of wood separated by ivory strips which continue up the neck to the pegbox, but which are interrupted in the middle of the neck by crosswise engraved ivory pieces
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard; elaborate decoration with pearl and ivory figures inlaid in ebony, with ivory edging
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial; sides of pegbox have ivory strips; square head has large ivory circle with a hole in the center mounted on it
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is fastened to lower end by a large button
8. movable bridge placed between soundholes
9. two f-shaped soundholes; located above these is a round soundhole with a rose; pearl inlay in ebony with ivory edging decorates the edges of the soundhole
10. no frets
11. no bow extant

See plate LI a and b.

25. Lisbon, Portugal, Conservatorio Nacional, No. 57. Listed in Baines as Italian, eighteenth century (?), maker and exact date of manufacture unknown. May actually be a late 19th-century instrument from stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

Pictured and described in: Baines, pl. 38 and 39.

1. bipartite; piriform; dimensions not available to author
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back consisting of at least 10 staves of wood separated by either ivory or contrasting wood strips (unable to determine material from photograph)
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard; geometric designs ornament fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is attached to endpin

25. (con't.)
    8. bridge located between soundholes
    9. two f-shaped soundholes; located above these is a round soundhole with no rose, but decorated in its circumference
    10. no frets
    11. no bow extant

26. London, United Kingdom, Private Collection. Owner suggests Italian provenance, early 18th century, and notes similarity to instrument in Lisbon, as illustrated in Baines, pl. 38. Therefore, it may actually be a late 19th century instrument from stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

    Personal correspondence (1981). No photograph available.

27. Munich, Federal Republic of Germany, Deutsches Museum, Inv. Nr. 40105. Tentatively cataloged at museum as probably Italian, last third of the 18th century, maker unknown. May be a late 19th century instrument from the stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

    Pictures available from Museum. Listed in Deutsches Museum, p. 25.

    1. bipartite; piriform; length 55.3 cm; body width at bridge 13.3 cm; depth 6 cm; dark varnish on back; very ornately decorated on fingerboard, belly, back, and pegbox with inlaid mother-of-pearl, ivory and ebony
    2. flat soundboard; belly edged with pearl inlaid in ebony with ivory edging
    3. vaulted back consisting of 15 staves of wood separated by ivory strips which continue up the neck to the pegbox; crosswise ivory pieces are placed across the middle of the neck
    4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard; decoration includes geometric designs and leaves of ivory and mother-of-pearl inlaid in ebony, with ivory edging
    5. 3 strings
    6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial; shield, rear, and sides of pegbox are inlaid with ivory leaf designs, edged with ivory
    7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is fastened to lower end by a button
    8. bridge located between soundholes
    9. two f-shaped soundholes with unusually wide centers; located above these is a round soundhole with a rose, 4.35 cm in diameter; pearl inlay in ebony with ivory edging decorates the edges of the soundhole
    10. no frets
    11. no bow extant

    See plate LII.

28. Washington, D.C., USA, Smithsonian Institution, No. 60.1349. Cataloged at museum as Naples, Italy, nineteenth century, maker unknown. May actually be a late 19th-century instrument from the stock of Leopoldo Franciolini.

No picture available.

1. bipartite; piriform; length 54.1 cm; body width at bridge 12.8 cm; dark varnish on back; very ornately decorated on fingerboard, belly, back, and pegbox with inlaid mother-of-pearl, ivory, and ebony; inside lined with paper printed in Latin
2. soundboard is flat up to a point below the soundholes, where the lower end of the belly is planed to a decreasingly lower level; belly edged with pearl inlaid in ebony with ivory edging
3. vaulted back consisting of 11 staves of wood separated by "ivory strips which continue up the neck to the pegbox, but which are interrupted in the middle of the neck by crosswise engraved ivory pieces" (Smithsonian catalog card description)
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard; decoration includes "elaborate pearl and ivory figures (leaves, flowers, etc.) inlaid in ebony, with ivory edging; many of the pearl figures are carved" (Smithsonian catalog card description)
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; shield-like finial; ebony pegs with small pearl insets on top; "rear and sides of the pegbox are inlaid with ivory and carved pearl circles and ovals, edged with ivory; remainder of pegbox is painted black; the square head has a large ivory circle with a hole in the center mounted on it" (Smithsonian catalog card description)
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is fastened to lower end by a large ivory button
8. no bridge extant, but scratches on belly indicate movable bridge placement was between soundholes
9. two f-shaped soundholes; located above these is a round soundhole with a rose, 4 cm. in diameter; "pearl inlay in ebony with ivory edging decorates the edges of the soundhole" (Smithsonian catalog card description)
10. no frets
11. no bow extant

20th century

29. Basel, Switzerland, Historisches Museum, Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente, No. 1927.268. Made by Maurice Bedot, Geneva, Switzerland, 1927.

Pictured and discussed in: Nef, no page nos., Melkus, pp. 16-17 (erroneously dated as 16th century), and Rittmeyer-Iselin, p. 218.

1. bipartite; piriform; ornately-made instrument; body circumference decorated with alternating colors of inlaid wood; dimensions not available to author
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
5. 3 strings
6. pegbox with three lateral strings; human-head carved finial
7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is secured to endpin
8. movable bridge between soundholes
9. two elaborately-carved trefoil soundholes
10. no frets
11. no bow extant

See Plate L a.

Date unknown

30. Copenhagen, Denmark, Musikhistorisk Museum og Carl Caludius' samling, No. 212 (740). Copy of an Italian instrument signed by L. M. Lucas Maller (probably 1515-?), Bologna, Italy; exact date of reproduction, maker, and provenance unknown. May be 19th or 20th-century reproduction.

Pictured and described in: Claudius, pp. 177-178.

1. bipartite; piriform; length 50.5 cm; body width at bridge 15 cm; entire instrument made of ivory except for the belly, which is wooden
2. flat soundboard
3. vaulted back consisting of 7 ivory staves
4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard (ivory)
5. 3 strings
6. ivory pegbox with three lateral pegs; blunt end finial
7. lower end string fastening to ivory tailpiece which is secured to ivory endpin
8. movable ivory bridge between soundholes
9. two c-shaped soundholes

30. (con't.)
    10. no frets
    11. no bow extant

    See plate LIII a and c.

31. Copenhagen, Denmark, Musikhistorisk Museum og Carl Claudius' samling, No. D126. May be a 19th or 20th-century reproduction.

    Museum photo.

    1. bipartite; piriform; dimensions not available to author
    2. flat soundboard
    3. vaulted back
    4. integral neck with stepped fingerboard
    5. 3 strings
    6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; blunt end finial
    7. lower end string fastening to tailpiece which is secured to endpin
    8. no bridge extant
    9. two C-shaped soundholes
    10. no frets
    11. no bow extant

    See Plate LI c.

32. Copenhagen, Denmark, Musikhistorisk Museum og Carl Claudius' samling, No. D150. Undoubtedly a 20th-century reproduction.

    Museum photo.

    1. bipartite; boat-shaped; dimensions not available to author
    2. flat soundboard
    3. vaulted back
    4. integral neck; no separate fingerboard
    5. 3 strings
    6. pegbox with three lateral pegs; blunt end finial
    7. lower end string fastening; specific means not ascertainable
    8. no bridge
    9. two C-shaped soundholes
    10. no frets
    11. no bow

APPENDIX V

HANS GERLE'S TEXT CONCERNING THE KLEYNEN GEIGLEYN

FROM

MUSICA TEUSCH (NURENBERGK: JERONIMUM FORMSCHNEYDER, 1532)

(Literal translation by Dr. Renate Benkert)
(West Virginia University)

(See copy of original text in Plates LIV-LIX)

[Folio hii v] Here begins the third book which teaches you how you should play on the kleynen Geigleyn which have no frets.

[The text which] here follows [tells] how you shall learn about the kleynen Geyglen which have no frets and are strung differently from the grossen Geygen; in contrast to the grossen Geygen they have only three strings and yet have just enough strings so that you can play the fourth part (voice) on them. The bass must have four strings. The others do not need the fourth string, so therefore some have written about it but do not know how to indicate where to find the proper place to put your fingers and say that one has to put a fret on it [the fingerboard] and only when one is sure of the place for fingering it, can one cut it [the fret] off. Yes, my dear fellow, he who wants to indicate to somebody where he shall place the frets, when he knows, then he knows where to place the fingers. Therefore it means nothing to prohibit [the use of] frets. If they like frets or if one could find frets on Geygen, the frets would actually be put on the instruments. Now I am going to give you an example of how you can

find your fingering for gross and kleinen Geyglen which do not have frets, with the use of a protractor. If you are careful with the measuring, as you can see later on, [I am going to show you] how you are going to find the fingering on the Geygen without frets. Also you will be able to measure the fingering [fretting] on gross Geygen which have frets as well as on lutes. There, however, one always has to have frets for the indicated fingering, and then frets are [already] in the right place, as you will hear later on [in the chapter concerning the lute].

And now do this: take a ruler that is yours or a straight piece of wood like a ruler and make it so long that it sticks out beyond where the strings attach at the top and where the strings touch at the bridge, and if you have made the proper type of ruler that sticks out at the top and bottom, [folio iii r] do not make it too short, so that it may stick out. So mark the lower end by the bridge with an "a" and the upper end with a "b" so that you will know which part belongs to the bridge. Then place the ruler on the table and take a protractor and search for the middle of the ruler and mark this with a dot or circle and write next to it "m." Then divide the distance between "m" and "b" into three parts so that the first part from "m" gives you the 7th fret and the lowest fingering. Mark this with a dot and add the number 7 next to it. Then divide the distance from 7 to "m" into eleven parts. I am next going to give you the next fingering point. The second eleventh down is number 1. Divide [the distance] from 7 to "b" into three parts and mark the first dividing line with a dot and place the number 2 by it. Divide

"m" to "b" into two parts and you will get number 5. Then take the space from 5 to 7 and mark number 6 halfway between. Then divide the space between 1 and "b" into three parts and when you have found these parts then take the same size space and move the protractor this same size space from number 1, five times, and it will give you number 3. Mark this with a dot. Then divide the space between 3 and 5 and mark a dot at 4. Then when you have divided and marked the ruler as I have taught you, take the ruler and place it back on the geygen. Mark the fingering on the fingerboard of the geygen as you have indicated it on the ruler. You should not mark the numbers on the fingerboard but only indicate the fingering and place a dot or trace a line across the fingerboard under each string, with ink or with whatever you want, so only you can see it. This you will have to do with all geygen which do not have frets; grossen geygen which do have frets are divided in the same fashion. One places frets only on the indicated lines. One has, however, to make the frets one by one so the strings will not touch as you have heard in the first part of the book. This is also the case with the lute. If somebody does not know how to place the frets correctly so they are properly positioned, if they have moved a little bit, as you have learned from the geygen, place the frets on [folio iii v] the lines you have marked. If, however, somebody wants to put 8 frets on the lute, he should make the 8th fret narrower than the seventh, after the sixth is placed.

And when you have marked the Geyglein, you will then put the tabulature on it. Then I will give you a sketch of geigleyn with

four strings and a ruler, and I will place the tabulature on the geigleyn as I have marked it; you will also do likewise. In case, however, you have a geygleyn with three strings, the large and upper Bombart (lowest pitched string) is left out. Then you are not allowed to place the same letters on the fingerboard which are indicated on the sketched giegleyn, and which number or letter is placed below on the fingerboard and stands as if no fingering is marked. You only have to touch the string without fingering as if the 5 had come up in the tabulature. So you have to bow the string under which the 5 stands--that is the lowest string--you may not finger it, but whatever letters are on the same string have to be fingered.

Then we find an "n" on the lower half of the fingerboard underneath another string. When you have arrived at "n" in the tabulature you just bow the string without fingering. However, the other letters and numbers underneath the strings must be fingered and likewise on the other strings. And in the following we will see the picture of the geyglein.

* * * * * *

[folio H iiii r] We will now mark the tabulature as I have indicated and when you have marked the geigleyn remember the application of the fingers. The letters which are used to indicate the first and the following fingering have to be fingered with the first finger. The index finger is used on the first two frets. In the third and fourth frets the middle finger is used. The ring finger is used on the fifth fret. For the sixth and seventh frets, the little finger is used. Here you have in brief, the application of the fingers.

[folio H iiii v] How you are supposed to tune the kleynen Geigleyn.

Now when you have marked the frets and tabulature you must now learn how to tune. Do not tune the Quint too high nor too low. Then finger the fifth fret on the "9" and hear how this tone sounds. The following string has to be an octave lower and when you have tuned it finger the fifth fret on the "o." Also the third string has to be an octave lower. If the Geyg has four strings, then finger the fifth fret on the third string, the "c," and tune the last string an octave lower. Then the string will sound as if you were fingering "c." You will also find an instruction as to tuning, concerning the octave, in the first part of the book, where I taught you to tune the grossen geygen.

Another rule [method]: when you have tuned the quint string, then tune the following string a fifth lower than what the quint should be. Then tune the third string a fifth lower than the quint. Also the next string must be a fifth lower, and also the one next to it, so they all have to be a fifth apart from one another.

Concerning how you have to tune the Geigleyn if you want to play together with three or four geigen.

First, when you have tuned the tenor as I have taught, the alto also has to be adjusted; then the two geygen have to have a bass, and for the highest [part] take the diskant which has to be smaller than the tenor and tune it like the quint string on the tenor; also the melody string or other strings on the diskant must sound at a higher pitch in comparison to the others. Then tune the other strings according to the rules you have heard. Then take the bass that has

to be larger than the tenor and has four strings--the others are efficiently equipped with three strings, but the bass has to have four--then tune the quint as on the diskant. The quint on the bass has to be an octave lower than on the diskant and is also an octave lower than the other strings on the tenor. Then tune the other strings on the tenor. Then tune the other strings according to the previously mentioned two rules.

When you then have marked the Giegleyn you have to understand the mensuration which I have explained in detail in the first part of the book and when you have learned it, now then here are a few pieces in tabulature for the geygen.

* * * * * *

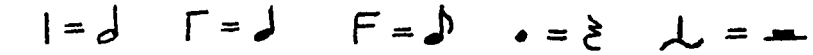
[I ii r] Now I have marked two pieces for the Geigleyn; when you have learned them, you may also learn the pieces which I have marked in the first part of the book for the grossen geygen because it does not make any difference upon which instrument the pieces are played. When you want to have an accompaniment, you can find it in the other part of the book where one who can sing can also sing from the song sheet, and this is also a rule.

APPENDIX VI

HANS GERLE'S MUSIC FOR THE KLEINEN GEIGLEN

Hans Gerle's tutors, Musica Teusch (Nürnberg, 1532/37) and the revised version entitled Musica und Tabulatur (Nürnberg, 1546), each contain two different study pieces arranged for a consort of four kleinen Geiglen. The consort consisted of four instruments of three different sizes: 1) a small kleinen Geiglen with three strings tuned in fifths (for this edition, G d' a') which played the discant; 2) two medium-sized kleinen Geiglen with three strings tuned in fifths (C G d' for this edition) which played the alo and tenor; and 3) a large kleinen Geiglen with four strings tuned in fifths (CC GG D A for this edition) which played the bass part.

The four pieces are published in German lute tabulature and, although they were originally German tenor songs, the text is not included. The voice order in the tabulature is DTAB, but this has been rearranged to DATB in the transcriptions. In all four pieces the tabulature is clearly arranged to indicate a duple meter (see copies of the four pieces in the original tabulature, in Plates LX, LXI, LXIII, and LXIV) hence the editorial ¢. The relationship of Gerle's rhythmic notation to the transcription is as follows:
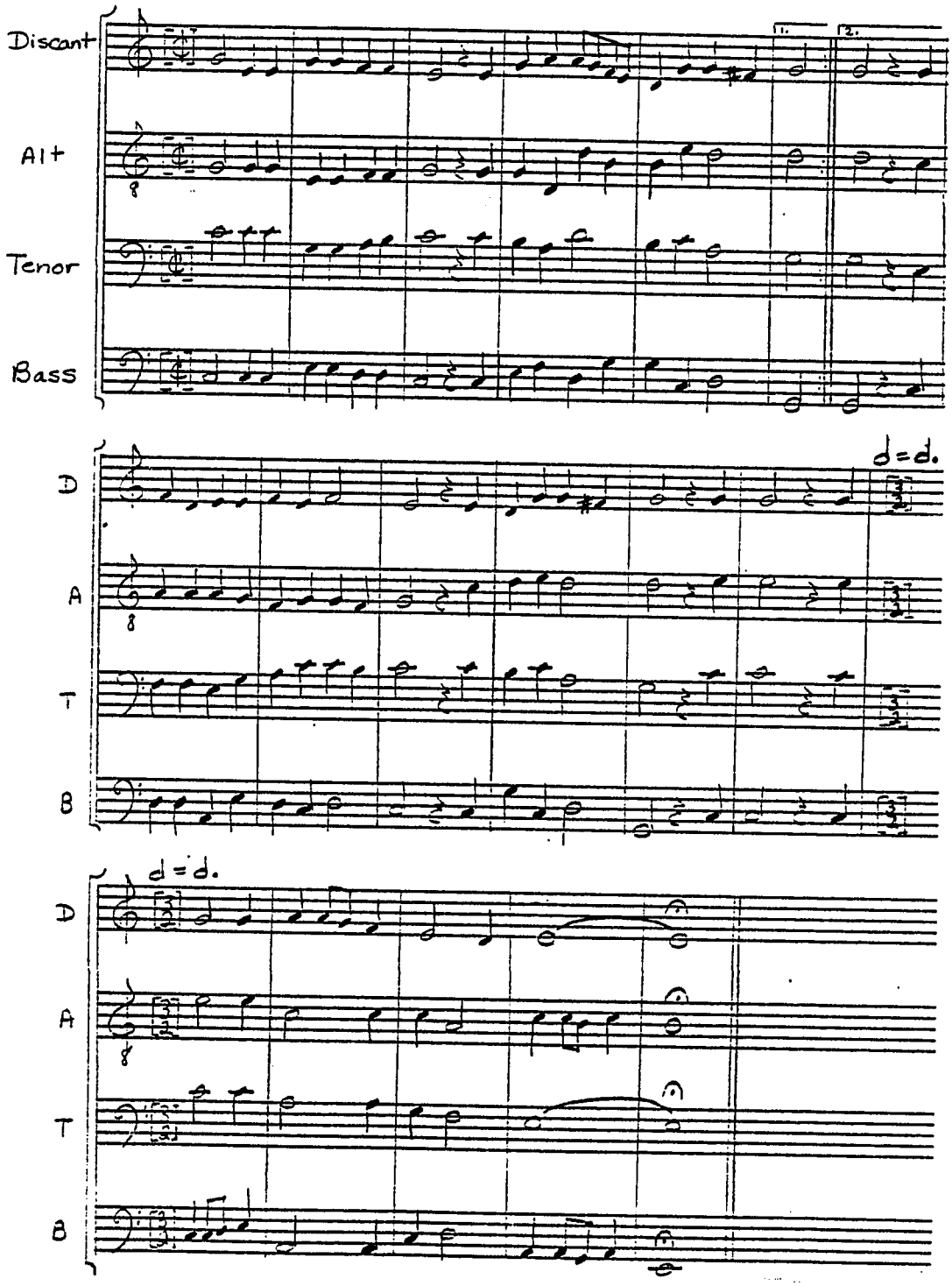


Bar lines are not included in the tabulature except for the triple section of "Ein Maydt die sagt mir zu," at which point a line appears between

groups of notes and represents the tactus. No editorial accidentals have been included since the tabulature clearly specifies the desired pitches.

Further information regarding these four pieces and other modern editions available may be found in Chapter XII.
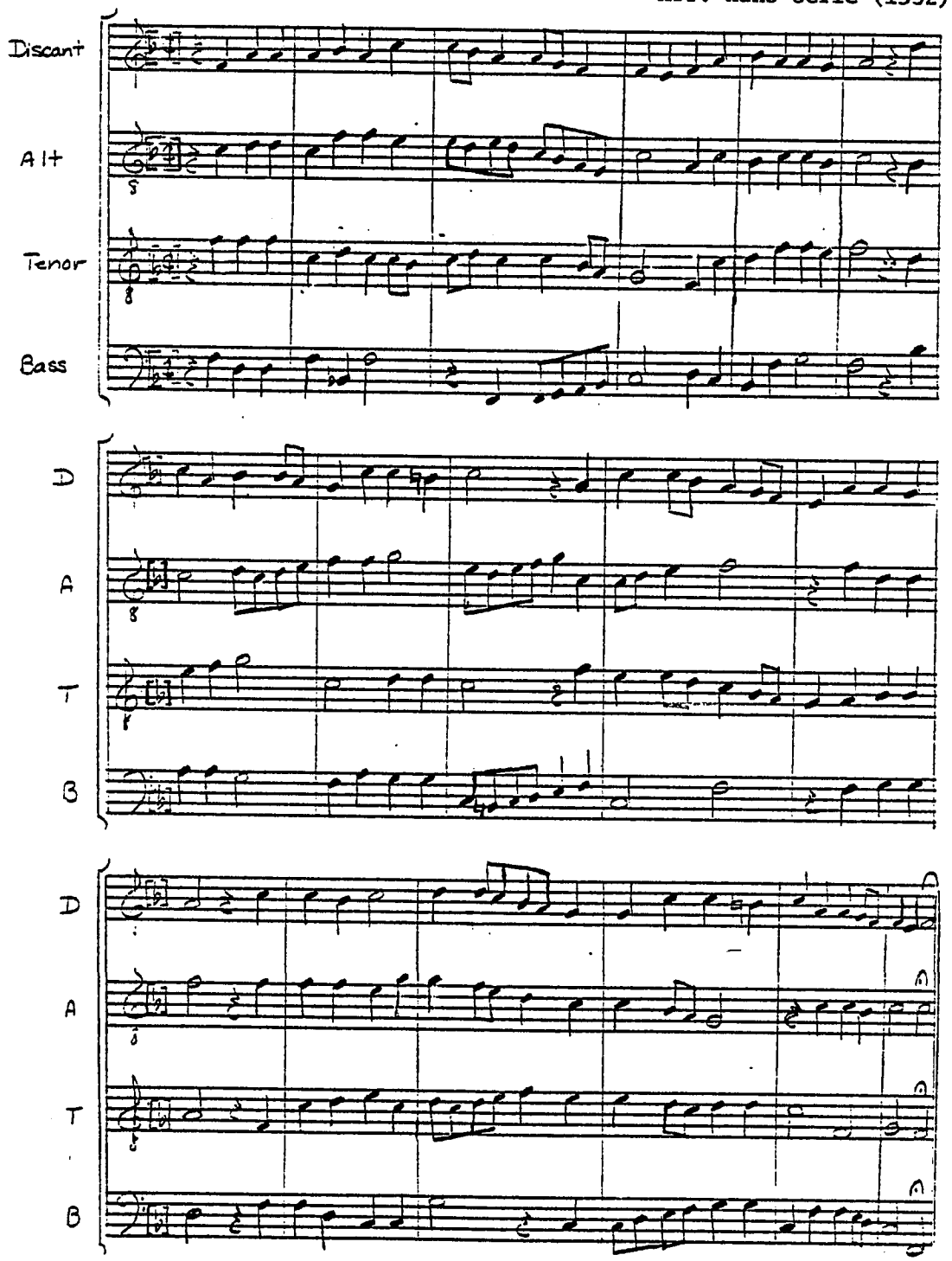
"Ein Maydt die sagt mir zu"

Malchinger or Ludwig Senfl
Arr. Hans Gerle (1532)
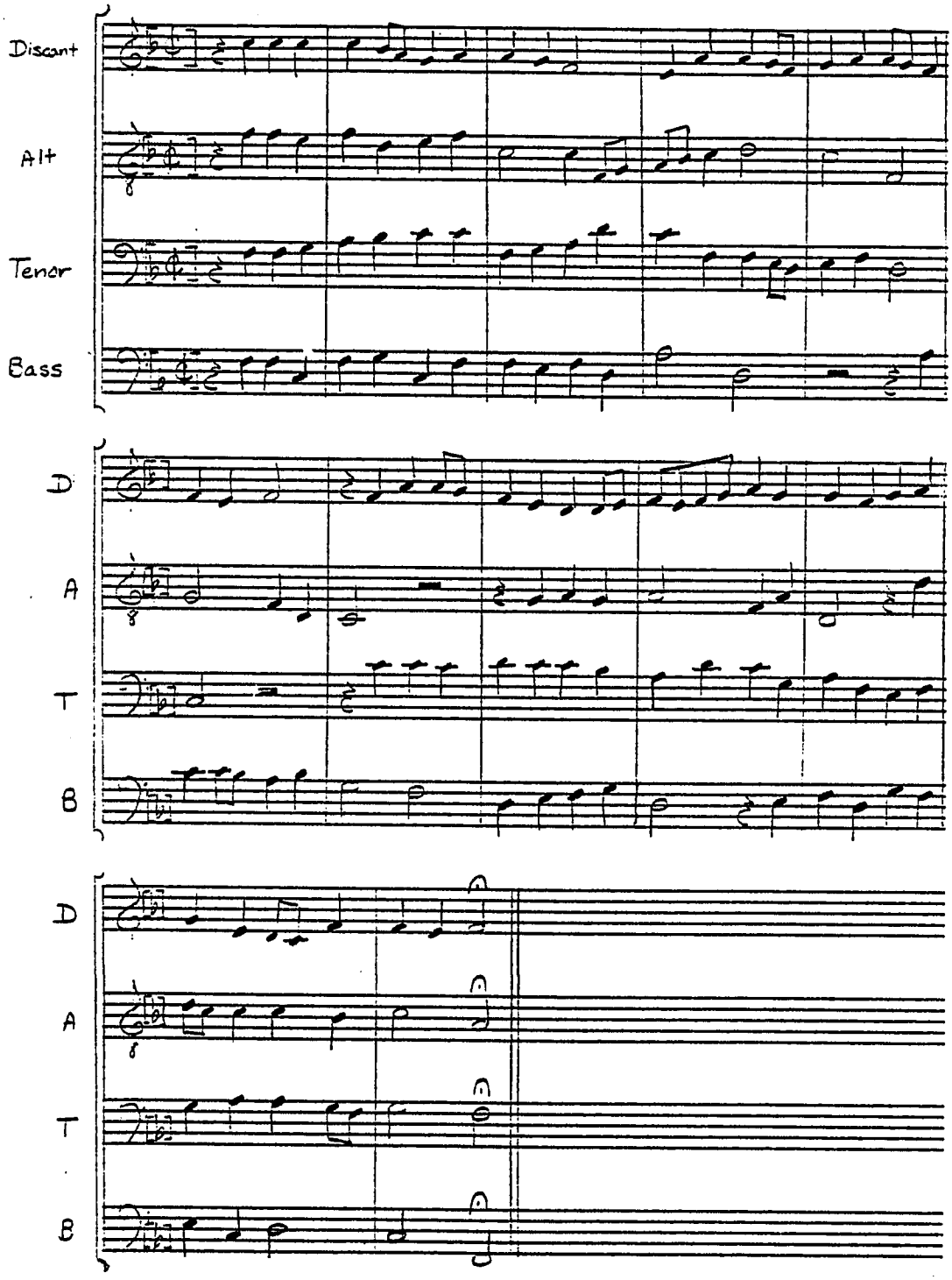


"Mag ich gunst han"

Anon.
Arr. Hans Gerle (1532)
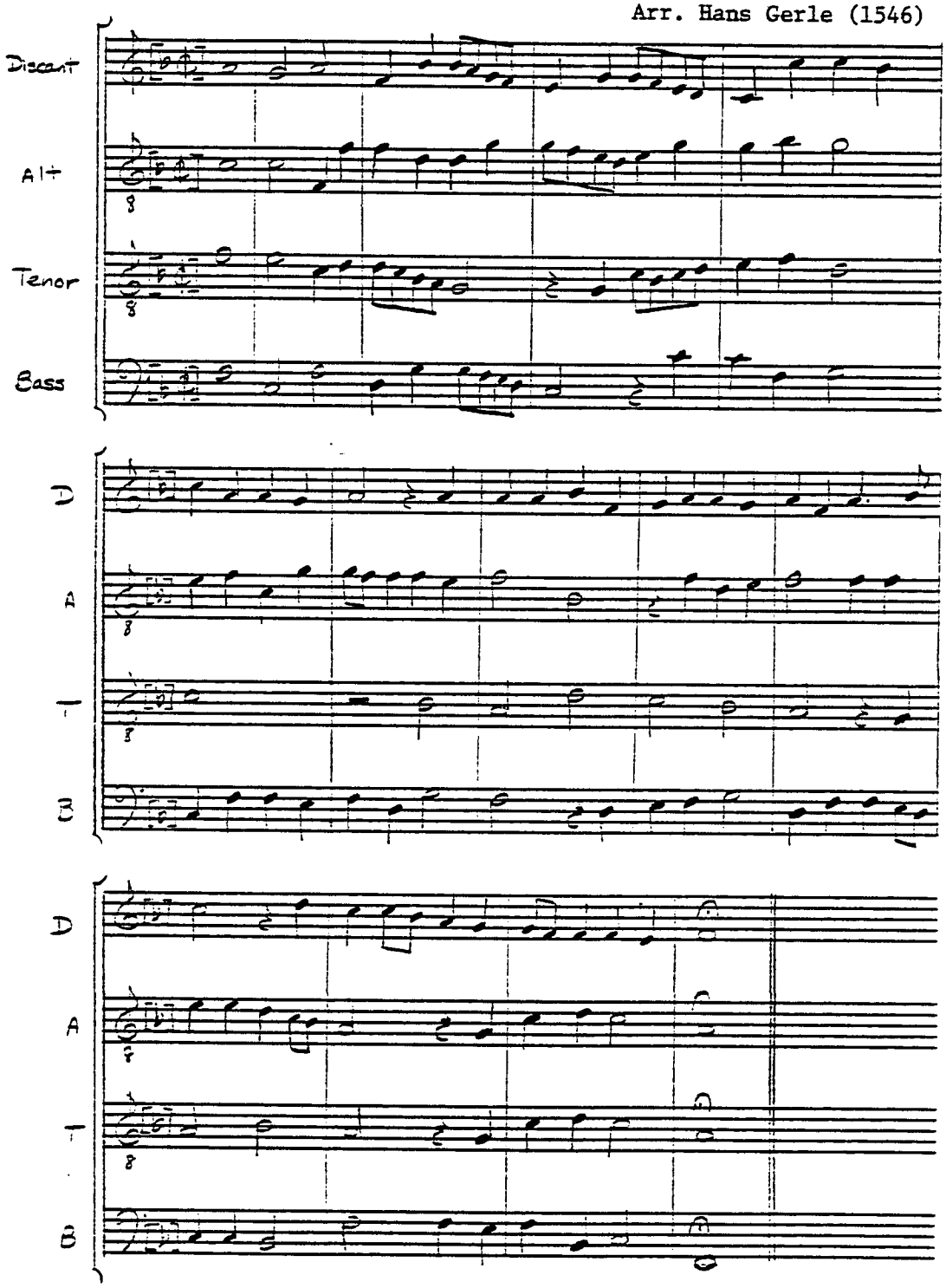


"Es ligt ein Hauss im Oberlandt"

Oswalt Reytter
Arr. Hans Gerle (1546)



"Artlich und schön"

Casparus Bohemus
Arr. Hans Gerle (1546)



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Pages 584-647, Plates I - LXIV, listed on pages xii-xvii, not microfilmed at request of author. Available for consultation at the West Virginia University Library.

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A B S T R A C T

Most musical instruments of Western European culture have been studied and defined, and have had at least one or more versions of their histories published. No systematic study has yet been made, however, for the instrument commonly known as the rebec (or rebeck). General reference sources as well as musicological and organological studies which do mention the rebec often provide only a body of discrepant, vague, and erroneous information. In addition, the current interest in the performance of Medieval and Renaissance music and the reproduction of instruments upon which this music might have been played has created a need among performers and instrument makers for specific, primary source information concerning the rebec. It was to fill these lacunae that this orthographic and iconographic study of the rebec was pursued.

The use of the rebec in Western Europe can be documented through literary and iconographic sources from the late thirteenth through the first half of the eighteenth century. Throughout its history in Europe the rebec has been known by more than one hundred and fifty differently-spelled names in various languages. A detailed study of the orthography of these names and the development of a dictionary of rebec-related terminology has revealed that some words, formerly thought to refer to the rebec, have been erroneously used, particularly in nineteenth and twentieth-century studies; these words have now been shown either to refer to other instruments or to have entirely different definitions.

It is recommended that the term rebec continue to be used only when referring to the instrument in a generic sense. The author suggests that future scholarly studies which mention the rebec should, whenever possible and appropriate, make an effort to use the specific rebec-related terminology which coincides with the studies' geographical and temporal aspects. Both the orthographic and the iconographic study, with which is included a chronological catalog in excess of three-hundred depictions subdivided by geographical area, yield a great deal of information concerning the morphology of the rebec. Although the external design of the instrument was never really standardized throughout its history, it may be characterized by a number of generally consistent features as well as several distinct types.

Supplementing the orthographic and iconographic examination are two short sections concerning 1) extant rebecs in major public and private collections, most of which probably passed through the hands of the unscrupulous nineteenth-century Italian musical instrument dealer, Leopoldo Franciolini, and 2) music designated to be played by the rebec, including Hans Gerle's four sixteenth-century arrangements for a consort of four klein Geiglen. The concluding chapter offers a concise overview of the history of the rebec from its origins in the thirteenth century to its obsolescence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

V I T A

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APPROVAL OF EXAMINING COMMITTEE

Harry Elzinga
Harry Elzinga, Ph.D.

Barton Hudson
Barton Hudson, Ph.D.

Frank Lorince
Frank Lorince, Ph.D.

Patricia V. Cummins
Patricia Cummins, Ph.D.

December 16, 1987
Date

George Schafer
George Schafer, Ph.D., Chairperson