

# CHRONOLOGY OF VIOLAS ACCORDING TO RESEARCHERS

## CRONOLOGIA DAS VIOLAS SEGUNDO PESQUISADORES

João Araújo  
Canal João Araújo Viola Urbana Produções<sup>1</sup>  
[joaoaraujoviolaurbana@gmail.com](mailto:joaoaraujoviolaurbana@gmail.com)

Translations Sup.: Remy Viredaz<sup>2</sup>  
[remyviredaz@bluewin.ch](mailto:remyviredaz@bluewin.ch)

### Abstract

This work aims to reinvestigate, organize and centralize translations of terms cited by researchers as related to the ancestry of “VIOLAS”: belted box chordophones, better known for being part of orchestras, the so-called “family of violins”, where they are “bowed” instruments (that is, played primarily by bow) but also chordophones of similar shape, “fingered” (played directly by the fingers or some objects popularly called *plectrum*, as guitar picks).

It was observed that most scholars would have assumed that “viola” and its variations in different languages would have been just names of bowed instruments, among other inaccuracies repeated in a chain for centuries, so it would be necessary to point out these situations in order to subsidize new studies in several areas of Science. The developments were based on the Dialectical Methodology. The oldest records were researched for each variation of names, in the main European languages, since Latin used at 2nd century BC. The database was created through extensive research of sources pointed out by different types of researches at different times.

Among the main reasons for carrying out this kind of reinvestigation is to include in previous investigative equations new factors such as

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1 <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCVt8fXLX8aJPzFL8nDIFg> (acesso em setembro 2023).

2 Rémy Viredaz is a French-speaking Swiss retired translator and independent linguist, specializing in Indo-European and Romance historical linguistics.

the possibility of the existence of fingered instruments in the records. The main processes carried out were: reanalyze translations most used in publications; observe changes and variations of names among the different languages and identify possible patterns over the period.

**Keywords:** violas; popular chordophones; Latin and Germanic languages; organology; nomenclatures of musical instrument, historical-social contextualization.

## Resumo

Este trabalho tem como objetivo reinvestigar, organizar e centralizar traduções de registros de termos citados por pesquisadores como relacionados à ancestralidade das “VIOLAS”: cordofones de caixa cinturada, mais conhecidos por fazerem parte das orquestras, a chamada “família dos violinos”, onde são instrumentos “friccionados” (ou seja, tocados prioritariamente por arco), mas também cordofones de formato semelhante, “dedilhados” (tocados diretamente pelos dedos ou objetos popularmente chamados de plectro, como palhetas).

Observou-se que a maioria dos estudiosos teriam assumido que “viola” e suas variações em diferentes línguas teriam sido apenas nomes de instrumentos friccionados, entre outras imprecisões repetidas em cadeia por séculos, por isso seria necessário apontar essas situações a fim de subsidiar novos estudos em diversas áreas da Ciência. Os desenvolvimentos foram baseados na Metodologia Dialética. Registros mais remotos foram pesquisados para cada variação de nomes, nas principais línguas europeias, desde o latim utilizado no século II a.C. A base de dados foi criada por meio de extensa pesquisa de fontes apontadas por diferentes tipos de pesquisas em diferentes épocas.

Entre as principais razões para a realização desse tipo de re-investigação está a inclusão de novos fatores nas equações investigativas anteriores, como a possibilidade da existência de instrumentos dedilhados nos registros. Os principais processos realizados foram: reanalisar as traduções mais utilizadas nas publicações; observar mudanças e variações de nomes entre as diferentes línguas; identificar possíveis padrões ao longo do período.

**Palavras-chave:** violas, cordofones populares, línguas latinas e germânicas, organologia, nomenclaturas históricas de instrumentos musicais, contextualizações histórico-sociais.

## 1. Introduction

The bivalence of ways of playing on instruments that use same name little observed by researchers other than some Portuguese, Brazilians and Spanish would have happened since approximately the 10th century, in European territory, when bows would have started to be used in instruments previously only fingered (Martinez, 1981, p.235) when names like Latin *lira* (“lyre”) and *rota* (“crowth”) stand out; furthermore, Arabic *rabab* (“rebec”), also bowed at the time, would have been just fingered long before it would have been introduced in European territory (Engel, 1883, p.135-140; Sachs, 1913, p. 58-60; Lavignac, 1925b, p. 1760-1765).

This bivalence would have persisted through times: between the 14th and 17th centuries, Spanish *vihuelas*, cited by Juan Ruiz (Martinez, 1981, p.68), Bermudo (1555) and Cerone (1613); in the 15th and 16th century, *violas* by Tinctoris ([1486]) and Milano (1536) in Italy and also in the 16th century, *vialles-giterons* of King Henry VIII of England (Brewer, 1864, p.1501). These and other examples point out using of the same name both for fingered and bowed instruments. At the same time that French *viole*, English *viol*, German *Bratsche* and many other “*violas*” were consolidated as bowed (between 17th and 19th centuries), it was also under the name “*viola*” that both bowed and entire families of fingered instruments were consolidated in Portugal and Brazil, even with the European predominance of names related to the term “*guitar*”.

This article considers the terms as they were read in the sources (“sic”) and without judgment regarding theories and analysis of the researchers, in order to provide just a centralized reference base for future studies in several areas. It is considered, by the sources, that there is still no global consensus among scholars, just as such a comprehensive and detailed collection of data would not have been done before (in the substantial number of sources investigated, no one even approached half of the final number of checked terms presented in this work).

The scientific basis is among the foundations of Dialectical Methodology, credited to the Greek philosopher Plato (c.428 BC-c.328 BC), who would have indicated that “[...] no phenomenon of nature can be well understood if studied without the contexts of its surrounding phenomena”. It is understood that in order to study the “surrounding phenomena” related to *VIOLAS*, the first step would be to contextualize each period relative to each variation of names, as well as, to study the theories about it would be necessary to insert in the investigative equation the maximum of possibilities, like several kind of studies, languages, epochs, methodologies and other characteristics. In addition, two important “surrounding phenomena” practically would not have been observed in researches investigated: the context that *VIOLA* represents also a consolidated nomenclature of fingered instruments and that instrument names have been most pointed out in publications for centuries without due care to the information contained in oldest records and the contexts of its later changes.

The form of presentation of this article consists of a **Summary** (of the earliest terms found, listed in chronological order according to the estimates) followed by the **Chronology** itself, where the oldest records found for each name are quoted, followed by its development highlights (some other prominent records onwards). The list of the investigated sources is pointed out in chronological order to indicate the path taken both of names and meanings, over time, and of the reinvestigation itself carried out. All quotes preserve the spellings as they appear in the sources researched.

The translations were supervised by Rémy Viredaz, who carried out an exhaustive check of the citations on the basis of existing translations (if available) or of standard dictionaries in order to elaborate his own final ones, which are thus considered and cited at this article as a synthesis of the “current translations”. The first idea was a partnership between musicological and linguistic compatible visions (understood as scientific

bases<sup>3</sup> that would be used by translators, dictionaries, etymologists, philologists and the like) but it was not possible to this work. So, the consensus reached was: the translations are presented by Viredaz and, when observed, some data and/or kind of analyses that would have not been considered so significant in the current translations were pointed out by the author in order to maybe assist future researches in any science's area.

A demonstration of the importance of continuing studies can be noted by some variations observed in records and citations that point out that the names of the violas are still changing. Depending on each language, a replacement phase may or may not already be completed and different terms may still together in use. This phenomenon is observed with most names of musical instruments, at all times, and it usually takes a considerable amount of time. Social-historical contexts help to reveal possibly reasons for these changes because frequently the names (observed along with other features) carry remaining traces of the instrument's history.

Based, only as a starting point, on current terms indicated on the portals Wiktionary<sup>4</sup> and Wikipedia<sup>5</sup>, the name *viola* would be used today for "bowed violas" in the following European languages: Albanian, Bosnian, Catalan (replacing *viola*), Croatian, Czech (replacing *bráč*), English (replacing *viol* and *vial*), Frisian, Galician, Italian (replacing *violetta* and *alto*), Portuguese, Scottish (replacing *violes* and/or *violis*), Serbian (replacing *guslina* and/or *gudničina*), Slovenian, Spanish (replacing *vihuela*), Swedish (replacing *altfiol* and *fidla*).

Sometimes, names are pronounced like *viola* but have different spellings: *βιολα* (Greek), *fiola* (Welsh, replacing *medgrwth*), *viyola* (Turkish).

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3 Foundations that consider surrounding phenomena such as some investigated by Sperança-Crisuolo (2014, p.23-24): "[...] phenomena of *deixis* and the subjectivity of language (Benveniste, 2005;2006); argumentative orientation of statements marked by conjunctions (Ducrot, 1987); actions produced by means of different illocutionary forces impregnated to an utterance (Austin, 1975, with the Theory of Speech Acts); phenomena of ambiguity and presupposition, which bring the unsaid to the text (Grice, 1981;1982); textual cohesion and coherence (Textual Linguistics); historical, social and ideological aspects present in the utterances (Discourse Analysis); perceptive and conceptualization experiences of the world that interfere with language use (Cognitive Linguistics); social factors that interfere with the use of language, such as age variation, gender, social class, education (Sociolinguistics)".

4 Available at: <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/viola> Accessed October 2022.

5 Available at: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viola> Accessed October 2022.

Furthermore, still the same instrument (“bowed viola”) would have different names and spellings in other languages: *altfiol* (Swedish, replacing *fidla*); *alto* (French, replacing *violē*); *altówka* (Polish); *alts* (Latvian, replacing *brahtscha*); *alttoviulu* (Finnish, replacing *iso viulu*); *altviool* (Dutch); *al’t* (Russian, replacing *brača*); *Bratsche* (German, replacing *Altgeige* and *Violē*); *bratsch* (Danish, replacing *fidla*); *brácsa* (Hungarian, replacing *karhegedű*); *bročia* (Lithuanian); *gĩa da bratsch* (Romansh, replacing *giun*); *vtorovka* (Ruthenian).

Today, as name of “fingered viola”, it’s observed just Portuguese *viola* and Castilian *vihuela* (this one, just for a few instruments in Latin American countries).

In a general summary of formats, which had also great variations over time, it’s demonstrated in (Figure 01) a chronology of the formats most cited by researchers. Almost all these instruments would also be called by names related to “lyre” and/or “cithara”. The belted shape of the current *VIOLAS* would have been observed, among others, in the *organa*, since about the 12th century, when would have also appeared a profusion of terms related to *VIOLA* in several languages; from then on until 18th century, after the rise of the violin’s family, names and formats would have evolved close to the current condition both in fingered and bowed instruments.

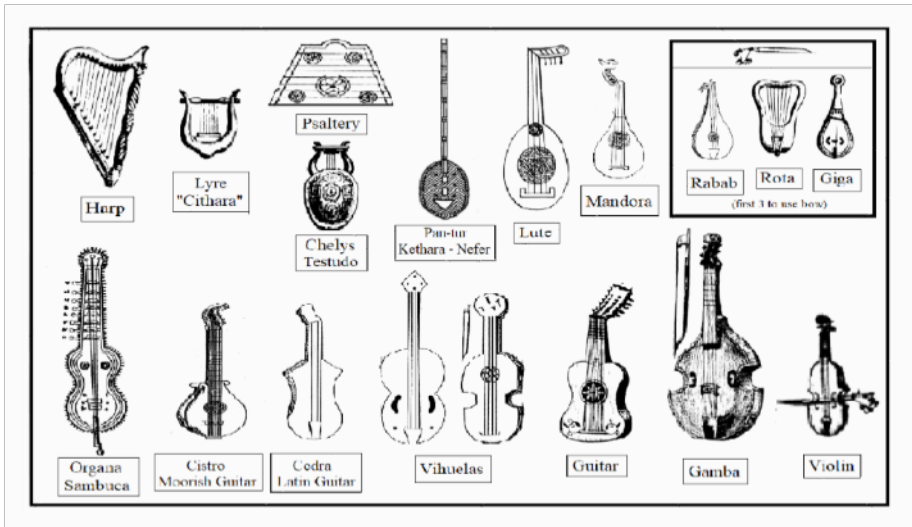


Figure 01: Chronology of the main chordophone formats according to Virdung (1511); Agricola (1529); Bermudo (1555); Amat [1596]; Kircher (1650); Simpson (1659); Bonanni (1722); Majers (1741); Gunn (1789); Rocha (1752); Ribeiro (1789); Coussemaker (1841); O'Curry (1873); Engel (1883); Weber (1891); Galpin (1911); Sachs (1913;1940); Lavignac (1920;1925); Martinez (1981); Tyler & Sparks (2002); Young (2015); Zwilling (2015); Rei-Samartim (2020); Araújo (2021).



Figure 02: Bowed Viola (video print)  
(Prof. Dr. Carlos Aleixo, MG, Brazil)



Figure 03: Bowed and Fingered performance<sup>6</sup>  
(Prof. Dr. Carlos Aleixo / João Araújo, MG, Brazil)

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<sup>6</sup> Respective video available at: <https://youtu.be/orzi1FF2jhw> Accessed September 2022.





Figure 04: Portuguese Family of Fingered Violas (Lúcio, 1998)



Figure 05: Brazilian Family of Fingered Violas (Araújo, 2021)

## 2. Synopsis

2nd century BC (onwards):

*FIDES, FIDICEN, FIDICULA* (in Latin)

9th century:

*FIDULA* (in Old High German<sup>7</sup> text);

10th century:

*FIDULA* (in Latin, by a Frenchman);

11th century:

*VIDULA* (in Latin, in Italy);

*PHIALA* (in Latin, without a specific location, possibly by a British);

12th century:

*VIOLA* (as *violis*, ablative plural, in Latin, collective creation);

*VIOLLE* and *VIELE* (in French);

*FIDIL, FIDLI* (in Irish);

*VIELLA* (as *viellis*, dative plural, in Latin text, by a Frenchman);

*VIDELE* (in Middle High German<sup>8</sup>);

*FIDELE, FIFELE* (transcribed as *FITHELE* or *FIDELE*, in Old English);

*VIOLA* [as *violar* (“to play viola”, in Catalan) and *violars* (“viola’s players”) in Occitan];

*PHIGILE, VIGELE* (in *phigilin* and *vigelen*, both datives, in Middle High German);

*FIGELLA* (in Latin text, by a German and by undetermined author);

*VIHOLA, VIOLA, VIEULA* (in Occitan);

13th century:

*FIOLA* (as *fiolis*, ablative plural, in Latin text, by a Dane);

*VITULA* (in Latin);

*VIELLE* (in French);

*VIELLA, VIULA* (in Catalan);

*VIELLA, VIELLE* (in Latin texts, by French, Italian and undetermined author);

*VIULHA* (in Occitan);

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<sup>7</sup> Old High German (OHG) = German *Althochdeutsch* (Ahd.).

<sup>8</sup> Middle High German (MHG) = German *Mittelhochdeutsch* (Mhd.).

VIHUELLA, VIOLA (and close variations, in Spanish);  
VIOEL (in Latin text, by Belgians);

14th Century:

VIOLE (in French);  
VIUOLA (in Italian);

15th Century:

VIULE (as *viules*, plural, in Catalan);  
VIOLA, VIOLLA (as *violas* and *viollas*, plurals, in Portuguese);  
FIDELLA (in Latin, for undetermined author);  
VIOLA (highlighted cote, in Latin, by a Belgian, in Italy);

16th century:

VIOL, VYALL, VIALLE, VEOLLI, VIOLLI (as their plurals, in English texts);  
VIHUELA DE MANO (as *vihuelas de mano*, plural, in Spanish);  
VIOLETTE, VIOLETTA then VIOLA and VIOLA DA GAMBA (in Italian).

## 3. Chronology

### 3.1. 2nd century BC (onwards)

#### 3.1.1. *FIDES* (in Latin)

The huge majority of records of the term *fides* in ancient texts observed in this research point out to meanings related to trust, belief, good faith and similar and just sometimes the same spelling *fides* would be related to musical instruments. According to current translations, the same spellings don't mean "the same word" because the differences would be clearly identified through the different case endings<sup>9</sup>, that would correspond to each different grammatical function.

It was observed that any case ending was present in some earliest records reinvestigated from quotes of several dictionaries, for example, Oxford Latin Dictionary (1968, p.697-698); so, the conclusion is that, in such circumstances, the translations must have been pointed out according to the interpretation of the texts. For this reason, quotes below were selected just when they were considered clearly related to musical instruments, according to the pattern of reinterpretations used at this article.

It was observed, too, that the Latin grammar studies began to consolidate approximately from Priscianus Caesariensis, in the 5th century, according to Sperança-Crisculo (2014, p.19), and the current translations seem to apply this grammar rules to all kind of texts of all ages.

In this article, however, by applying reanalysis based on several variations (as listed in Introduction), possible inaccuracies are considered, for example *fides* often glossed or translated as "lyre" or "cithara": in this

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9 According to Remy Viredez: "In Latin the case endings indicate the syntactic function of words in sentences as follows: nominative (subject), vocative (addressee), accusative (direct object), genitive (noun complement, or possessor), dative (indirect object), ablative (various functions)". A word is usually given by its nominative and genitive, which is generally enough to determine all the other endings.

work it is considered that, without details<sup>10</sup>, it would be very inaccurate to do it, so *fides* is translated as “chordophone”, “string instrument” or “strings”].

Earliest date estimated between 230 BC and 180 BC, when lived the Roman dramaturgist Titus Maccius Plautus / “Plautus”: in the play *Epidicus*<sup>11</sup>, the character Fidicina<sup>12</sup> would say: [...] *ut fidibus*<sup>13</sup> *cantarem seni* (“to sing with a chordophone to an old man”); and later: [...] *Fides non reddis*?<sup>14</sup> and so character Periphanes would answer: [...] *Neque fides, neque tibias* (“Neither strings, nor winds”). No details about the instruments were observed.

Development highlights:

1st century BC\*:

\* by the lawyer and philosopher Marcus Tullius Cicero / “Cicero” (c.106 BC-c.43 BC) in: *Tusculan Disputations I*<sup>15</sup>: [...] *fidibus praeclare cecinisse dicitur* (“it is said that he played chordophones brilliantly”)<sup>16</sup>; in the dialogue *De Legibus II*<sup>17</sup>, about types of public insults: [...] *quod [...] cantu et fidibus et tibiis fiat* (“as made by singing and strings and wind

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10 It was observed that several authors seem to interpret lists of names of instruments found in dictionaries (as lyre, cithara, *chelys*, *testudo* and the like) as if any one of these names, separately, could be a translation for *fides* mainly lyre and cithara, the most observed in ancient records. On the contrary, in this article it is considered that, precisely because it is related to so many different instruments, without details *fides* can only be understood as a “generic”. About similarities and differences between ancient lyre and cithara, please see Zwilling (2015) and Montargis (1886, p.50).

11 Available at: <http://remacle.org/bloodwolf/comediens/Plaute/epidiquela.htm> accessed November 2022.

12 Current translations point out this record as “female player of *fides*”. It was observed that is an artistic text, where authors usually use freely characters’ names, sometimes invented, sometimes just “nicknames”.

13 Ablative plural to *fides*.

14 Current translations point out “Are you not giving my strings back?”. It was observed, as artistic context: the plural used by Periphanes pointed out a figurative approach about the features of the two kinds of instruments (stringed / blown); some lines before, he blamed *Fidicina* for some faults; and it was not observed he would have taken the strings (or the instrument itself) from her.

15 Available at: <https://www.latin-is-simple.com/en/library/cicero/tusculan-disputations> accessed August 2022.

16 The generic use would be relative to an information given from a third party (*dicitur*), not something that Cicero herself attested; in the following sentence he referred to Greek General Themistocles (?-c.459 BC) who would play a lyre.

17 Available at: <https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/leg2.shtml> accessed August 2022.

instruments performances”); *De Oratore III* <sup>18</sup>, about the power of poems and songs: [...] *ut epularum sollemnium fides ac tibiae Saliorumque versus indicant* (“as the stringed and wind instruments of the solemn feasts of the Salians do not indicate”); *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum IV* <sup>19</sup>: [...] *in fidibus pluribus, si nulla earum ita contenta nervis sit...* (“In a set of chordophones, if none of them is so strung as to be in tune...”) <sup>20</sup>; *De Divinatione II* <sup>21</sup>: [...] *aut canere vel voce vel fidibus* (“or to perform music, either with the voice or a chordophone”).

\* by the poet Publius Vergilius Maro / “Vergil” (c.70 BC-c.19 BC), in *Aeneid* <sup>22</sup>: [...] *Threicia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris* <sup>23</sup> (“confident in the sonorous strings of [his] Thracian cithara”).

\* by Roman poet Quintus Horatius Flaccus / “Horace” (c.65 BC-c.8 BC), in two texts from his *Carmina: Odes I* <sup>24</sup>: [...] *blandum et auritas fidibus canoris* (“the seductive sounds of chordophones”) and *Odes II* <sup>25</sup>: [...] *Aeoliis fidibus querentem* (“complaining to her chordophone’s sound / in her lyric poetry”).

#### 4th century\*:

\* by the bishop Aurelius Ambrosius (ca.340-ca.397), in *De Obitu Theodosii* <sup>26</sup>: [...] *Unde arbitror quod fila chordarum citharae ideo fides dicantur, quoniam et mortua sonum reddant* (“Wherefore I think that the strings of the cithara are therefore called *fides*, because they give sound even when they are dead”).

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18 Available at: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper> accessed November 2022.

19 Available at: <https://archive.org/details/definibusbonoru02cicegoog/page/382> accessed November 2022.

20 It was observed that a more accurate broad musical context would be: “if just one string on any of the chordophones is out of tune, the whole ensemble will sound out of tune”.

21 Available at: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/divinatione2.shtml> accessed November 2022.

22 Available at: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/vergil/aen6.shtml> accessed August 2022.

23 This is another example that *fides* must not be understood as lyre or cithara but “chordophone”.

24 Available at: <https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/horace/carm1.shtml> accessed August 2022.

25 Available at: <https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/horace/carm2.shtml> accessed August 2022.

26 Available at: [https://la.wikisource.org/wiki/De\\_obitu\\_Theodosii](https://la.wikisource.org/wiki/De_obitu_Theodosii) accessed December 2022.

\* by the poet Aurelius Prudentius / “Prudentius” (c.348-c.413), in *Apotheosis*<sup>27</sup>: [...] *Muta etiam fidibus Sanctis animata loquuntur* (“Even the dumb communicate animatedly with the Saints by chordophones”), cited by German musicologist Martino Gerberto (1720-1793), in *De Cantu et Musica Sacra*, together with tuba, *chelys* (or *testudo*)<sup>28</sup> and *organa*<sup>29</sup> (Gerberto, 1774, p. 216).

\* by Martianus Minneus Felix Capella / “Felix Capella” (c.360-c.428), in the poem *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (“The nuptials of Philology and Mercury”), from *De Harmonia IV*<sup>30</sup>: [...] *ferociam animi tibiis aut fidibus mollientes* (“they softened the ferocity of the soul with wind or string instruments”)<sup>31</sup>. This source was quoted by French theologian Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples / “Jacob Stapulensis” (c.1455-c.1536) in the book *Elementa musicalia*<sup>32</sup>;

5th century: by the poet and religious Gaius Sollius Modestus Apollinaris Sidonius / “Sidonius Apollinaris” (c.430-c.489), in *Epistulae Liber I*<sup>33</sup> [...] *rege solum illis fidibus delentio* (“for the king is only soothed by those chordophones”) cited as “This prince was more delighted with the sweet and soothing sounds of a single instrument” by the English musicologist Charles Burney (1726-1814) in *A General History of Music* (Burney, 1782, p.221).

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27 Available in: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2008.01.0555:section=3&highlight=mutare%2Cmuta%2Cmutae%2Cmutata> accessed August 2022.

28 Chordophones whose soundboards were possibly made from turtle’s shells or shaped like them; both Greek *Chelys* and Latin *testudo* means “turtle”.

29 Chordophone rubbed by a wheel, through a crank, with keys and a belted (“waisted”) box format similar to violas, which was sometimes called “wheeled viola” but whose nomenclature and formats path present great variations over the centuries: from Latin *organa*, *symphonia*, *sambuca rotate*; after, among other up to present days, Galician *zanfõña* or *zanfona*; French *vielle à roue*, *chifonie*; Italian *stampella*; German *Drehleier*, *Weiber-Lyes*; English *hurdy-gurdy* (Martinez, 1981, p. 546). It was observed *organa* sometimes as plural (of *organum*) and sometimes as singular.

30 Two sources cited: *Martianus Capella* (ed. Adolfus Dick. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1925, 469-535) and *Antiquae musicae auctores septem* (Amsterdam: apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1652, 2:165-98). Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml> accessed August 2022.

31 Another instance when generic usage for *fides* was observed: it was not listed in any descriptions that included *chelys*, *psalter*, *cithara*, *pandora* and *testudo*.

32 Source cited: *In hoc opere contenta. Arithmetica decem libris demonstrata. Musica libris demonstrata quattuor. Epitome in libros arithmeticos diui Severini Boetij*. Paris: Joannes Higmanus et Volgangus Hopilius, 1496, ff. f1r-h6v. Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/15th/STAPMIUS> accessed August 2022

33 Available at: <https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/sidonius1.html> accessed December 2022.

8th century: by friar Paulus Diaconus (c.720-c.799), in manuscript **Sexti Pompei Festi**<sup>34</sup> edited under the same name by Hungarian philologist Aemilius Thewreuk (1838-1917). Paulus would have written about the summary **De verborum significatu** made by the Roman grammarian Sextus Pompeius Festus (?-?) which in turn would have based at a treatise of this last same name by also Roman grammarian Marcus Verrius Flaccus (c.55 BC-20): [...] *Fides: genus citharæ dicta quod tantum inter se cordae eius, quantum inter homines fides concordet; cuius deminutivum fidicula est* (“*Fides*: a kind of cithara, so called because its strings agree with each other in the same way as trust brings concord between people; whose diminutive is *fidicula*”)<sup>35</sup>. A similar text was observed in **De musica** or **Sententiæ de musica**<sup>36</sup> by the Spanish religious Isidorus Hispalensis / “Saint Isidore of Seville” (560-636), who however didn’t cite *fides* neither *genus citharæ* (“kind of cithara”) as will be detailed a little further on.

11th century: As name of a specific instrument, by the musicologist Johannes Afflighemensis / “John Cotton” (c.1053-c.1121), in **De Musica**<sup>37</sup>: [...] *At vero in sambuca, in fidibus, in cymbalis* (“But in fact in *sambuca*<sup>38</sup>, in *fides*, in cymbals”), cited by Burney (1782, p.145).

12th century\*:

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34 Source: **Sexti Pompei Festi de verborum significatu quæ supersunt com Pauli epitome**. Edidit Aemilius Thewreuk de Ponor, Pars 1. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/deverborumsignif00festuoft/page/64/mode/2up?q=fidicula> accessed November 2022.

35 According to current translations, *fides* used by a deacon at 6th century wouldn’t mean “religious faith”, but “trust”; however, it should be noted that the possibility is quite remote.

36 Three sources: **Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX**, 2 vols., ed. W.M. Lindsay. Oxford: Clarendon, 1911, 1:ff. K6r-L2r; Vatican City, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (MS Barb. lat. 307, ff. 27r-29r); **Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum**, 3 vols., ed. Martin Gerbert (St. Blaise: Typis San-Blasianis, 1784; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 1:20-25. Information and full texts available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/6th-8th/ISIDEMU> accessed August 2022.

37 Three sources: **Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum**, 3 vols., ed. Martin Gerbert (St. Blaise: Typis San-Blasianis, 1784; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 2:230-65. Johannes Afflighemensis, **De musica cum tonario**, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Corpus scriptorum de musica*, vol. 1 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1950), 43-200. **Patrologia cursus completus, series latina**, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: Garnier, 1844-1904), 150:1391-1430. Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/JOHMUS> accessed September 2022.

38 Please see footnote 25.



\* as “chords”<sup>39</sup> in the treatise *Quæstiones in musica*<sup>40</sup>, attributed to the French abbot Rudolf of St. Trond (1070-1138): [...] *Principia eius usitata in quatuor consistunt fidibus C D F a* (“Its beginnings usually consist of four chords: Do, Re, Fa, and La minor”);

\* spelled *fidis*, as cithara and/or cithara strings in the treatise *De musica antica et moderna*<sup>41</sup> (“Old and Modern Music”), attributed to a certain Joannes Presbyter (?-?): [...] *Fidis: Cithara [...] Chordæ citharæ* (“*Fidis*: cithara, strings of a cithara”).

15th century: by Belgian musicologist Johannes Tinctoris (c. 1435-1511), in the treatise *De inventione et uso musicæ*: [...] *Romanorum epulis fides ac tibias adhibere moris fuit* (“In Roman celebrations, it was a good practice to use strings and wind instruments”), see Tinctoris (1486, [p.21]).

The use of *fides* as a synonym for lyre or cithara, in addition to appearing in several dictionaries observed (that it’s not used in this article because it would be inaccurate), was observed in several kinds of publications since 17th: Kircher (1650, p.440); Rousseau (1687, p.7); Bonanni (1722, p.10); Gunn (1789, p.22); Ambros (1880, p.492); Lacerda & Miotti (2021, p.52-60).

As “stringed instrument, chordophone”, it was observed in organological classifications of German musicologist Michaelæ Prætorio (1571-1621), *Syntagmatis Musici* (Prætorio, 1615, p.234;443-446); as German *Saiteninstrument* by Austrian musician August Wilhelm Ambros (1816-1876), *Geschichte der Musik* (“History of Music”), Ambros (1880, p.102 [footnote]); and in *Researches into the Early History of the Violin*

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39 From Italian *accordo*, “chords”, today means a group of musical notes at specific intervals, emitted simultaneously by any instrument to harmonic accompaniment, named by the initial of the base note of that group; however, at that ancient time, the reference to “strings” would be understandable, because most instruments used to do “several notes simultaneously” were chordophones.

40 Source cited: Rudolf Steglich, ed., *The Quæstiones in musica*: A choral treatise of the central Middle Ages and its putative author Rudolf von St. Trond (1070-1138). Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1911, 12-99. Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/12th/RUDQUA> accessed August 2022.

41 Source cited: Adrien de la Fage, *Essais de diphthéographie musicale* (Paris: Legoux, 1864, 393-407). Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/12th/JOAMUS> accessed August 2022.

**Family** by the German musicologist Carl Engel (1818-1882), who cited “a stringed instrument” and “not a particular instrument, but a certain class of instruments” (Engel, 1883, p.105-111).

### 3.1.2. FIDICEN (in Latin)

[The use of this term as “musical instrument” was only observed from the 6th century onwards. However, according to the purposes of this article, one instance of the adjective *fidicinius* (the earliest found) and one instance of *fidicinum* (genitive plural of *fidicen*) was considered relevant and inserted as examples of possible text’s interpretations that seem not to have been noticed before.

According to current translations, *fidicen* would be: *fides* (“chordophone”, understood in *fid-*) + *cano/canere* (in the sense of “to play an instrument”, understood in *-cen*); this seems correct in most cases but maybe not in all kinds of texts at all times. The same can be said about *fides* and to all quoted records of instrument’s names. It was also observed other meanings cited by various authors that also seem not to have understood *fidicen* as “chordophone player” from ancient records].

Earliest date estimated by aforementioned Plautus, between 230 BC and 180 BC, in the play *Rudens*<sup>42</sup>: [...] *eam vidit ire e ludo fidicinio domum* (“[he] saw her as she returned home from *ludo fidicinio*”)<sup>43</sup>.

Development highlights:

1st century BC\*:

\* by the aforementioned Cicero, in the treatise *De Natura Deorum III* <sup>44</sup>: [...] *concedam non modo animantem et sapientem esse mundum, sed*

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42 Available at: <https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/plautus/rudens.shtml> accessed November 2022.

43 According to current translations, *ludo fidicinio* would be “music school”. However, it was observed that the concept of “music school” would not be the most likely at that time, and a more accurate translation should be “a place where chordophone playing was taught (or practiced)”. Furthermore, it was observed that *fidicinius* (here in the ablative *fidicinio*) could be understood, in this text, both as “related to chordophone PLAYERS or chordophone PLAYING”.

44 Available at: <https://www.latin-is-simple.com/de/library/cicero/de-natura-deorum/book-tertius/?h=fidicinem> accessed August 2022.

*fidicinem etiam et tubicinem, quoniam earum quoque artium homines ex eo procreantur?* (“Would I concede that the world would not only be lively and wise but also *fidicen* and *tubicen*<sup>45</sup>, because the men who practice these arts were also created by it?”).

\* by the aforementioned Horace, in *Odes IV* <sup>46</sup>: [...] *quod monstror digito prætereuntium, Romanæ fidicen lyræ* (“that I’m pointed at by passersby, *fidicen* Roman lyres”)<sup>47</sup>.

6th century: by the aforementioned Saint Isidore, according to three sources<sup>48</sup>, one entitled *De musica* and the other two, *Sententiæ de musica*. The passage: [...] *Veteres autem citharam fidiculam vel*

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45 According to current translations *fidicen* and *tubicen* would be “players of stringed and wind instruments” which would correspond to “men of these arts” cited just ahead. However, in musical contexts was observed that the two types of instruments point out a pair “harmonic / melodic” by themselves, not because of performers; beside, about Cicero’s general way of writing, it was observed: just before in the sentence, *animantem et sapientem* would not refer to substantives (performers) but to adjectives also relatives to *artium* (“habilities, skills”) and still, in aforementioned *De Divinatione II*, he would have cited *canere* not only concerning a “performance of an instrument” but also as “voice performance” (that can be understood as another pair “harmonic / melodic” of performances).

46 Available at: <https://www.latin-is-simple.com/de/library/horace/carmina/book-4/> accessed August 2022.

47 Current translations point out *fidicen* as “player of chordophone” or a metaphor for “a Roman lyric poet”. However, in a poetic context, at the same verse Horace would have cited: *foliis ducem* (“bellows that lead”) and *testudinis aureaedulcem* (“sweet and golden *testudos*”) where it wasn’t cited the players of the instruments. He also would have cited *fidicen Thaliae*: it wasn’t observed that Talia (one of the nine muses of Greek Mythology) would have been a player or poetess.

48 *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum* libri XX, 2 vols., ed. W.M. Lindsay, Oxford: Clarendon, 1911, 1:ff. K6r-L2r; Vatican City, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (MS Barb. lat. 307, ff. 27r-29r); *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 3 vols., ed. Martin Gerbert (St. Blaise: Typis San-Blasianis, 1784; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 1:20-25. Information and full texts available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/6th-8th/ISIDEMU> accessed August 2022.

*fidicem* [*fidicen*, in one copy]<sup>49</sup> *nominaverunt quia tam concinunt inter se chordæ eius, quam bene conveniat inter quos fides sit* (“The ancients called the cithara *fidicula* or ‘*fidicem*’ [inexistent term] / *fidicen*, because its strings are in harmony with each other, as it should befit those among whom there is trust<sup>50</sup>”) quoted here from the book *Etymologiarum sive Originum* (“Etymologies or Origins”), by the paleographer Wallace Martin Lindsay (1858-1937) according to Lindsay (1911, p. 157). Similar text would have been cited in the 8th century by aforementioned friar Paulus Diaconus in *Sexti Pompei Festi* however with the inclusion of *genus* (“a kind of”) cithara and no citation of *fidicem* / *fidicen*. In the 9th century still an almost same sentence but only with *fidicen* would have been cited by French abbot Odo Cluniacensis / “Odo of Cluny” (c.878-942) in the article *D. Odo De Musica*<sup>51</sup> and in the 13th century by the Spanish priest Iohannes Aegidius Zamorensis (c.1240-c.1316) in *Ars musica*<sup>52</sup>.

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49 According to current translations, Isidore may have tried to reconstruct an etymon of *fidicula* by a non-existing noun *\*fidix*, whose accusative would be *\*fidicem* or *fidicen* as seen at several sources like OLD (1968, p.638). It was observed, however, that Isidore didn't seem to have a reason to reconstruct such an etymon: in the following sentences he described a relation between *fides* “trust” and *fides* “strings” very similar to what Paulus Diaconus wrote in the 8th century (but related to the summary by Festus of a treatise by Verrius Flaccus, from the 1st century BC, please see footer number 33). Paulus noticed that *fidicula* would be diminutive of *fides*; Isidore cited Flaccus and also would have cited *fidicula* related to *fides* as the name of a torture tool (Lindsay, 1911, p.205). Thus, Isidore (or a copyist) most possibly wanted to write *fidem* or *fidē* - the latter, according to the use of tildes as seen in one manuscript observed (Figure 06). The use of the tilde could possibly be the reason for the chain of records after Isidore where the word would have been understood as *fidicen* (an existing noun, but not a name of instrument and not an accusative as would be required by the context). Another understanding would have been that the tilde would be an abbreviation of “m”, thus *fidicem* (an inexistent accusative).

50 According to current translations, Saint Isidore, in the Middle Ages and in a book where he made numerous exhortations of purely religious contexts, would not have used *fides* in this passage as “Catholic faith”, but as “trust”. However, by the entire text, it should be noted that the possibility is quite remote.

51 Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/ODOMU> accessed August 2022.

52 Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/14th/ZAMLAM> accessed August 2022.

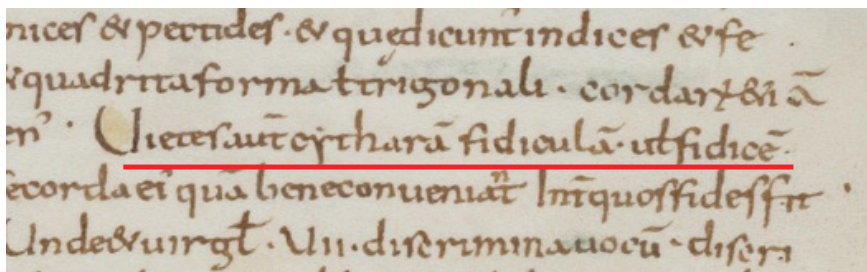


Figure 06: (*Fidicem? Fidicen?*) in the Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland<sup>53</sup>

12th century: given as synonym of cithara by the aforementioned Joannes Presbyter, in the treatise *De musica antica et moderna*: [...] *Fidicen: Cithara.*

13th century: by the Italian philologist Johannes Januensis de Balbis / "Giovanni Balbi de Genoa" / "Jo. de Janua" (?-c.1298), main organizer of the dictionary-encyclopedia *Summa Grammaticalis* or *Catholicon*: [...] *Fidicen: [...]* *qui canit in fide sive cum corda et componit a fidis corda* ("Fidicen: who plays with string and composes from the string of the *fides*"), see Janua (1460 [1286], p.341-342).

17th century: *fidicinum* was used related to a psalter, by the German musicologist Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680), in *Musurgia Universalis* ("Universal Music"): [...] *Psalterium, instrumentum fidicinum, si peritam manum sortiatur, tale est, ut nulli alteri* ("Psalter, a *fidicinum* instrument, in skillful hands, is like no other")<sup>54</sup> quoted from Kircher (1650, p. 495), cited by Bonanni (1722, p.105) and Ambros (1880, p.202).

18th century: the first *tibicines & fidicines* ("players of wind and string instruments") would have been cited in Bible, according to aforementioned *De Cantu et Musica Sacra* by Gerberto (1774, p.2) but

53 Available at: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0237/59> accessed December 2022.

54 According to current translations, *fidicinum* in this sentence would be the genitive plural of *fidicen*; thus, "belonging to (or: used by) chordophone players". However, it was observed that a better musicological sense would be instead "the sound of a chordophone", and indeed three musicologists, from different centuries, used the term in texts where they always referred specifically to the instruments, not their players.

only *tibicines* was observed (Matthew, chapter 9, verse 23, according to online *Vulgata*<sup>55</sup>).

Other citations of *FIDICEN* (as name of instrument and/or relative to ancestry of violas) were observed: Gunn (1789, p.20); Schmeller (1836, p. 533); Sachs (1913, p.409); Martinez (1981, [Annex VIII], [p. 1189]); Rei-Samartim (2020, p.68-69).

### 3.1.3. *FIDICULA* (in Latin)

Earliest date estimated at 1st century BC, as a name of a musical instrument, with no descriptions observed, in aforementioned Cicero in *De Natura Deorum II*<sup>56</sup>: [...] *quid si platani fidiculas ferrent numerose sonantes: idem scilicet censeret in platanis inesse musicam?* (“And if the plane-tree<sup>57</sup> emitted various rhythmic sounds like *fidiculas*, would you not also think [judge] that the music would belong [would be natural] to the plane-trees?”).

Development highlights:

2th century: by grammarian Aulus Gellius (c.125-c.180) in *Noctes Atticae I*<sup>58</sup> [...] *non fidicularum tiliarumque, sed mentium animorumque* (“not of *fidiculas* and wind instruments, but of minds and souls”).

6th century: by aforementioned Saint Isidore in *De musica* or *Sententiæ de musica* [...] *Veteres autem citharam fidiculam vel fidicem [fidicus] nominaverunt quia tam concinunt inter se chordæ eius, quam bene conveniat inter quos fides sit* (“The ancients called the cithara *fidicula* or ‘*fidicem*’ [inexistent term] / *fidicen*, because its strings are in harmony with each other, as it should fit among those who have trust”) according to Lindsay (1911, p.157).

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55 Available at: <https://vulgata.online/search?query=tibicines&page=1> accessed August 2022.

56 Available at: <https://www.latin-is-simple.com/en/library/cicero/de-natura-deorum/book-secundus/?h=fidiculas> accessed September 2022.

57 Trees that produce small banana-like bunches; in some languages, *platano* is considered synonymous to “banana”.

58 Available at: <https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/gellius/gellius1.shtm> accessed November 2022.

8th century: by aforementioned Paulus Diaconus in **Sexti Pompei Festi**: [...] *Fides...cuius deminutivum fidicula est* (“*Fides...* whose diminutive is *fidicula*”).

9th century: as title of a poem by the monk Notker Balbulus of Saint Gall (ca.840-c.912), according to Ambros (1880, p. 113).

12th century: by aforementioned Joannes Presbyter in **De musica antica et moderna**: [...] *Fidicula: Cithara, citharoedus; Fidiculæ: Chordæ* (“*Fidicula: cithara, player of cithara; Fidiculas: strings*”).

13th century: by aforementioned Jo. de Janua in **Catholicon**: [...] *fidis corda, fidicula le dimi* (“strings of *fides*, diminutive *fidicula*”), quoted from Janua (1460, p.341-342).

Several citations of *FIDICULA* were observed from 17th century onwards: Cerone (1613, p. 247); Gerberto (1774, p. 414); Diez (1878, p. 342); Engel (1883, p. 120); Weber (1891, p. 44); Galpin (1911, p. 86); Sachs (1913, p. 140); Lavignac (1925b, p. 2001); Martinez (1985, p. 982); Rei-Samartim (2020, p. 69).

## 3.2. 9th century

### 3.2.1. *FIDULA* (in text in Older High German)

Earliest date estimated between 863 and 871, according to dedications of the poem-book of more than 7000 verses **Liber Evangeliorum** (“Book of the Gospels”), by the German cleric Otfrid de Weissenburg / “Otfridus” / “Otfrid” (ca.790-ca.870): [...] *Sih thar ouh ál ruárit, thaz organa fuárit, lira ioh fidula, ioh mánagfaltu suégala, harpha ioh rotta, ioh thaz io guates dohta* (“There come together all the sounds produced by the organa, the lyre and the *fidula*, and the multiple

*suégala*<sup>59</sup>, harp and crowth<sup>60</sup>, [in short] everything that has proved good”) cited by Otfridus ([863-871], [p.251]) and quoted here from the version **Oftrids Evangelienbuch** (“Book of the Gospels of Otfrid”) by Paul Piper (1882, p.294). No details were observed about the instrument.

The term was observed as “most likely to have been a fingered” by aforementioned Engel (1883, p.120) and “there is no evidence that it was bowed” by the English musicologist Francis William Galpin (1858-1945) in **Old English Instruments** (see Galpin, 1911, p. 86); however, both Engel and Galpin used *fiddle* as a generic for bowed instruments, as well as *fidula* would be a generic in studies written in Spanish and Portuguese (Martinez, 1981, p.896; Rei-Samartim, 2020, p.109).

The Swiss linguist Walther von Wartburg (1888-1971) inserted *fidula* into a list of ancestor Germanic names in a note where he concluded: *Das germ. wort wäre also aus dem rom. entlehnt* (“the German word would therefore be borrowed from the Romance one”) despite the fact that Romance *viola* is only attested one century later than *fidula* (Wartburg, 1961, p.371)<sup>61</sup>.

Other citations of Otfrid’s *fidula*: Graff (1837, p.451); Ambros (1880, p.23); Weber (1891, p.44); Sachs (1913, p.409); Corominas (1974, p.812).

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59 Kind of flute with several tubes.

60 Small fingered chordophone, which would have records played also by bows from the 10th to the 12th century. Names observed: since Latin *crotta* (6th century): Welsh *crwth*, Anglo-Saxon *crudh*, Irish *crúit*. Medieval: *rotta*, *rota*, *roten* according to O’Curry (1873, [p. 553-554]), Ambros (1880, p. 29), Engel (1883, p. 48-70).

61 As pointed out several times in this article, it seems that researchers considered *viola* only as a bowed: in addition to not including in the reasoning that onomatopoeism would not be likely (because at the time there was still no evidence of the use of bows in European territory), Wartburg, when indicating the borrowing hypothesis, did not mention *fidicula* (name of a stringed), which would be, according to his own words, [...] *lautlich sich so nahestehende worttypen, die den gleichen gegenstand bezeichnen* (“phonetically so close word types and designating the same object”).



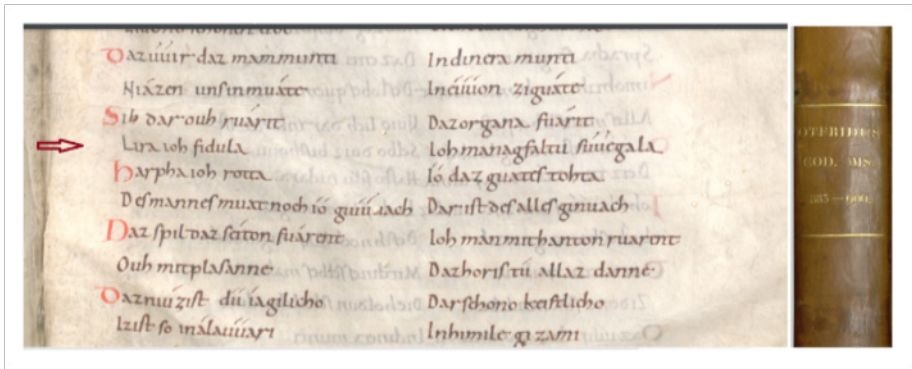


Figure 07: *fidula* in the **Liber Evangeliorum**<sup>62</sup> (Otfridus, [863-871], [p. 251]).

(Copy from the Bavarian State Library, *Cod. MS 383-906*)

### 3.3. 10th Century

#### 3.3.1. *FIDULA* (in Latin text)

Estimated date 930, when would have acted as musical coordinator of Gregorian Choirs the aforementioned Odo of Cluny; in article *D. Odo De Musica*, observed in the book **Patrologiæ Cursus Completus - Series Secunda**, by French priest Jacques Paul Migne (1800-1875): [...] *diapason autem symphonia illud etiam et vulgaris musica, fistula videlicet, et cithara sive fidula probant: quod satis commodus cantus est* ("The tuning pattern of the symphony [organa] and also of popular music, such as the flute and the cithara or *fidula*, prove: it is a very convenient kind of music"), see Migne (1853, v.133, p.773-796); observed also in the portal *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum*<sup>63</sup>, with no other citation noted at the sources.

In a manuscript from the same 10th century identified as *RBME O III 31*<sup>64</sup> (Figure 07) was observed a not fully legible rescript that was

62 It was observed that, due to the poetic meter, the word *fidicula* (two phonetic syllables more) would not fit in the position of *fidula* in the verse which possible could have favored a reduction.

63 Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/ODOMU> accessed August 2022.

64 Available at: <https://rbdigital.realbiblioteca.es/s/rbme/item/14040#?c=&m=&s=&cv=94&xyuh=-874%2C-130%2C3400%2C2598> accessed November 2022.

cited as *fidula* as one of the references to the *fidicula* in the book also titled<sup>65</sup> **Sexti Pompei Festi** by aforementioned Wallace M. Lindsay: [...] *Fides* [...] *cuius deminutivum fidicula est* (“*Fides* [...] whose diminutive is *fidicula*”), see Lindsay (1913, p.79).

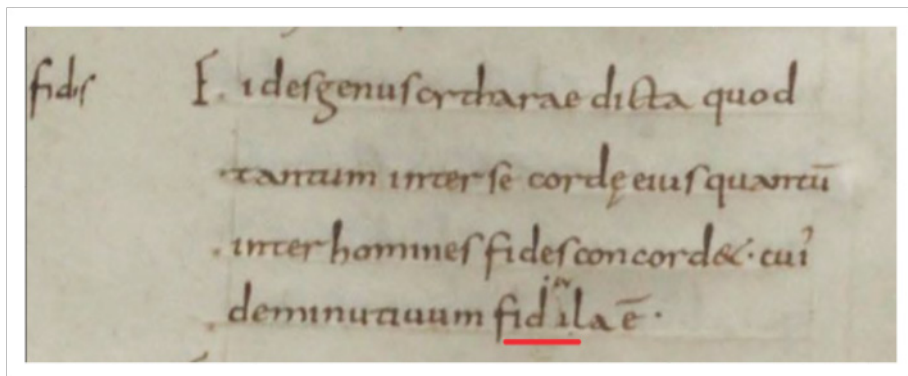


Figure 08: RBME O III 3 I from Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial

### 3.4. 11th century

#### 3.4.1. VIDULA (in Latin text)

Earliest date estimated between 1020 and 1087, when the physician known as *Constantinus Africanus* / “Constantine the African” would have lived; in Book I of ***De Morb. Curat.***<sup>66</sup> (“Treatise on Healing Diseases”): [...] *Ante infirmum dulcis sonitus fiat de musicorum generibus, sicut campanula, vidula, rotta et similibus* (“In front of the patient should be played the sweet sounds of various instruments, such as the *campanula*<sup>67</sup>, *vidula*, *crowth* and the like”); quoted from ***Glossarium*** by French philologist Charles Friesne “Du Cange” (1610-1688), see Du Cange

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65 Lindsay would have researched works of the aforementioned Thewrewk, Paul Diaconus and others sources.

66 Source cited: manuscript ***Miraculorum Rupis amator***, part. I, p.34 (AMBROS, 1880, p. 29). The translation “Treatise on the cure of diseases” is also by Ambros, in German: *Abhandlung über die Heilung von Krankheiten*.

67 An instrument that possibly would have a shape similar to a bell.

(1710, p.1497) and Ambros (1880, p. 29). It was not observed details about the instruments in the passage.

Development highlights:

13th century (between 1218 and 1229): by the English philologist John de Garlande (1195-1272), in the **Dictionarius**, a bilingual Latin/French publication: [...] *Vidulatores cum vidulis* [...] *Vidulatores dicuntur a vidula, -e; Gallice, "viele"* ("Players with [his] *vidulas* [...] They are called *Vidulatores* after the *vidula*, in French, 'viele'"), quoted from **The Dictionarius of John de Garlande** by Barbara Rubin (1981, p. 82-83).

20th century: some researchers like Wartburg (1961, p. 369), Corominas (1974, p.813) and Wagner (1988, p.577) pointed out records of "*vidulas, bidulas, zampogne*" but the records didn't refer to chordophones, according to the source they all pointed out, an article by Wagner about the triple flutes called *launeddas* observed in the **Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie** ("Bibliographical bulletin for Germanic and Romance Philology") by Behaghel & Neuman (1919, p.327).

*VIDULA* was one of the terms most cited as related to the ancestry of *VIOLAS*, as observed also in: Coussemer (1841, p. 172); Diez (1848, p. 372); Engel (1883, p. 120); Sachs (1913, p. 409); Martinez (1981, p. 981), this last in a development about several kinds of studies.

### 3.4.2. *PHIALA* (in Latin)

Earliest date estimated between 1053 and 1121, when the aforementioned John Cotton would have lived; in the treatise **De Musica**<sup>68</sup>, about one instrument he called *musa*: [...] *humano siquidem inflatur spiritu ut tibia, manu temperatur ut phiala, folle excitatur ut organa* ("For it is blown into by human breath like a *tibia*, it is regulated by the hand like a *phiala*, and it is animated by a bellows like *organas*"). No conclusive details were observed about the instruments.

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<sup>68</sup> Current translations use to point out in chain modern names (as "bagpipe" to *musa*, "pipe" to *tibia* and others) even when there's not detailed descriptions in the texts. Chronology, however, points out that the same name could mean different instruments in different cultures and, above all, each instrument has undergone many modifications over the centuries.

Development highlights:

13th century: in the *Summa Musicæ*<sup>69</sup> (“Musical Summary”), credited to certain “Perseus and Petrus” (?-?): [...] *qualia sunt cithare, vielle et phiale, psalteria, chori, monochordum, symphonia seu organistrum et his similia* (“as are citharas, vielles and phialas, psalters, choruses<sup>70</sup>, monochord, symphony or organistrum and the like”) and also in: [...] *Arcus dat sonitum phiale, rotule monochorde* (“The bow [is used to] give sound to the phiala, a monochord with wheel”)<sup>71</sup>. Same text was pointed out by the French musicologist Johannes de Muris (c.1290-c.1350) under title *Summa Magistri*<sup>72</sup> but with the spellings *VIELLÆ* and *PHIALÆ* and Muris’ name was pointed out at the beginning and end of the book.

19th to 21th century: different understandings were observed: August Ambros (1880, p.32;199), pointed out German *violen* (“violas”) as a translation for *phialæ*; Carl Engel (1883, p.120), in English, ruled out that *phiala* could have anything to do with *viola* except, in a very distant way, for the shape of a “phial” (bottle, flask); Curt Sachs (1913, p.296) pointed out that would be Late Latin to *viola*; Young (2015, p.95) included *PHIALA* and *VIAL* in a reflection on similarities between nomenclatures and forms of musical instruments and other objects: “[...] The word ‘vial’ (an American-English spelling) was used above in the sense of ‘vessel’ or container”.

In the 12th, 13th and 15th centuries, practically same texts would have been observed in Latin, but with the term *FIGELLA* instead of *PHIALA* as will be detailed below.

### 3.5. 12th Century

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69 Source cited: *The Summa Musicæ: A Thirteenth-Century Manual for Singers*, ed. Christopher Page, Cambridge Musical Texts and Monographs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 139-211. Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/13th/PEPESUM> accessed August 2022.

70 Fingered chordophone whose name possibly referred to the use of animal hides (leather) in its boxes.

71 According to current translations, ending *-e* in *phiale* would be a Late Latin variant spelling of *ae* (æ).

72 Source cited: *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 3 vols., ed. Martin Gerbert (St. Blaise: Typis San-Blasianis, 1784; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 3:190-248. Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/14th/MURSUM> accessed August 2022.

### 3.5.1. VIOLA (as *violis*, ablative plural, in Latin)

Earliest date estimated between 1130 and 1160; in the book I of *Liber Sancti Jacobi* ("Book of Saint James"), better known as *Codex Calixtinus*, an anonymous collective creation whose manuscript is booked in Santiago de Compostela, Spain. It would have been included, in a large list of instruments, the passage: [...] *alii fistulis, alii sambucis, alii violis* [...] *psalunt* ("some *fistulas* [kind of flutes], *sambucas* and *violas* were played"). Quoted from notes by Martinez (1981, [Appendix LXXX], [p.1261]). Details about the instruments were not observed.

Development highlights:

In the 13th century *viola* would have been observed in a publication of a title considered uncertain: *Tractatus de musica (Musica practica sive Musica quadrata seu mensurata sive Speculum musicae)*<sup>73</sup>, credited to a certain monk Aristotle (?-?)<sup>74</sup>: [...] *Artificiale vero instrumentum est, ut organum, viola, et cithara, cytola, psalterium, et caetera* ("It is an artificial instrument, such as the organa, the viola, and the cithara, the *cytola* [citole], the psaltery and the like"). Cited in the *Traite de la Viole* ("Treatise of the Viola") by the French musician Jean Rousseau (1644-1699) who credited the text to the English monk Venerable Bede (c.673-735), see Rousseau (1687, p.16).

In the 15th century (estimated date 1486), in the treatise *De inventione et uso musicae* ("Of discovery and use of music"), published in Naples by Tinctoris, it was noted among other passages [...] *Quequidem viola in hoc a leuto differt* ("For this the *viola* differs from the lute"); in this case, because the *viola* had a flat bottom, in addition to being both fingered and bowed, see Tinctoris (1486, [p.26]).

From then on, *viola* would become the most used name until nowadays, cited in most of sources investigated.

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73 Available at: <http://sjp.mirabileweb.it/title/tractatus-de-musica-lambertus-magister-fl-1250-127-title/14755> accessed July 2022.

74 August Ambros, referencing to two other scholars, stated that the treatise *Musica Quadrata* would have been written by certain monk Aristotle "Latinus" (?-?), that would have lived in the late 12th or early 13th century and that would be sometimes mistakenly known as "Pseudo-Beta" quoted from Ambros (1880, p. 361-362).

### 3.5.2. VIOLLE (in French)

Earliest estimated date 1140, in the poem *Li romans d’Alixandre* or *Roman d’Alexandre* (“Alexander’s Romance”), attributed to the Norman Alexander de Bernay (?-?). Manuscript 7190 from the National Library of France, where the Alexandrian verse would have been observed: [...] *Cascun aporte trompe ou violle attemprée* (“Each one brings a tromp or a tempered [tuned] violle”) quoted by Burney (1782, p.289).

Development highlights:

13th century (estimated between 1220 and 1230<sup>75</sup>): by unknown author, poem identified just as *Manuscript der k. Bibliothek zu Paris No. 7612*, dedicated to the French King Thibaut I of Navarre (1201-1253): [...] *Violle, Rebel, Guiterne* (“Violle, Rebec, Guitar”), quoted from Ambros (1880, p.509) and Engel (1883, p.84).

This variation with “ll” was rarely observed at sources, having been observed in only one other quote, by Lavignac (1925b, p. 2038).

### 3.5.3. VIELE (in French)

Earliest date estimated between 1100 and 1191. It would have been included, among others, in texts about troubadours, as in *Roman de Brut* (“Romance of Brutus”), by the Norman poet Wace (ca.1100-ca.1183): [...] *De viele sot et de rote* (“From the viele and from the crowth”) quoted from Engel (1883, p. 62); and in the poem *Éric et Énide* by the French Chrétien de Troyes (ca.1135-ca.1191): [...] *Cil sert de harpe, cil de rote, Cil de guige, cil de viele* (“This one uses [plays] a harp, that one a crowth, this one a gigue<sup>76</sup>, that one a viele”) quoted from Martinez (1981, p.1030). Such setting in pairs both with crowth and gigue (two instruments considered bowed at the time), is inconsistent for confirmation, but suggests a greater probability of that *viele* could been fingered; this kind of pair would complement each other musically, according to most

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<sup>75</sup> Ambros (1880, p. 509) cited 1220, but to Engel (1883, p. 84) it would have been “around 1230”.

<sup>76</sup> Medieval instrument, small, mostly described as having the soundboard slightly drop-shaped, one piece along the strings (without a detached neck). After 10th century, one of the firsts observed as bowed.

understandings observed; however, no such comments were observed, possibly due to lack of knowledge about fingered violas.

Development highlights:

13th century: in the poem *Roman des deux bourdeurs ribauds* (“Romance of the two adventurers”), by an unknown author: [...] *Je suis jugleres de viele* (“I am a *vièle* player”), quoted from the *Encyclopédie de la Musique* (“Music Encyclopedia”) where, in the article *La vièle d’archet et la ménestrandie* (“The bowed *vièle* and the art of minstrels”), the development of the term *VIELE* until the 14th century was described, when so it would have been gradually replaced by *VIOLE* according to Lavignac (1925b, p. 1919-1758).

Other citations were observed by: Duchesne (1617, p.859); Du Cange (1710, p.1147); Coussemaker (1841, p.172); Weber (1891, p.327); Rei-Samartim (2020, p.69); Young (2015, p.91).

### 3.5.4. FIDIL, FIDLI (in Irish)

Earliest estimated date 1150<sup>77</sup>, when texts linked to the so-called *Book of Leinster* would have been compiled, with fragments of the poem *Fair of Carman*, by unknown authors. The Irish philologist Eugene O’Curry (1794-1862) pointed out the term was *FIDIL* but he quoted it already translated as *fiddlers*: [...] *Pipers, fiddlers, banded-men* according to O’Curry (1873, v.2, [p.46]). Same text would have been published online in verse 65 of the poem *Carmun*, from *The Metrical Dindshenchas*<sup>78</sup>, by unknown author: [...] *Pipai, fidli, fir cengail* (“*Pipai, fidli, minstrels*”)<sup>79</sup>.

Development highlights:

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77 O’Curry (1873, v.2, [p.65]) reported that the fair described would have taken place between 718 and 1023; however, in this case we considered the dates of the redaction of the texts.

78 Available at: <https://celt.ucc.ie/published/G106500C/index.html> accessed December 2022.

79 Current translations cite *Pipai* as “pipes” and *fidli* as “fiddles” but as aforementioned it would be inaccurate to do so.

20th and 21th century: Scottish Gaelic *fìodhull* as “fiddle” in **An etymological dictionary of the Gaelic language**<sup>80</sup> by Scottish philologist Alexander MacBain, in 1911; “Gaelic” variations *fidilin*, *fidheall* and *fìodhull* meaning respectively “little violin”, “violin” and “violin” according to Sachs (1913, p. 140-141); Irish *FIDIL*, translated as “fiddle” was observed in the *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla*<sup>81</sup> (“Irish-English Dictionary”).

### 3.5.5. **VIELLA** (as *viellis*, dative plural<sup>82</sup>, in Latin text)

Earliest date estimated between 1160 and 1224, when the Frenchman Egidius Parisiensis / “Giles de Paris” would have lived. Observed in the poem *Karolini*, the passage [...] *Gesta solent melicis aures mulcere Viellis* (“melodies performed by *Viellis* generally please the ears”), quoted from Du Cange (1710, p. 1497).

In the 13th century *viellis*, **VIELLA** and **VIELLE** were observed in the **Tractatus de Musica**<sup>83</sup>, credited to the friar Hyeronimus da Moravia / “Jeronimi de Moravia” (1250-1271). Cited by Ambros (1880, p.239) and Young (2015, p.97).

### 3.5.6. **VIDELE** (in Middle High German)

Earliest date estimated between 1190 and 1200. In chapter XXVII of the publication **Nibelungenlied**<sup>84</sup> (“Song of the *Nibelungs*”), an anonymous poet would have cited, among other passages, the character Volker von Alzey as a player: [...] *Volker der snelle mit siner videlen dan*

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80 Available at: <https://archive.org/details/etymologicaldict00macbuoft/page/174/mode/2up> accessed December 2022.

81 Available at: <https://www.teanglann.ie/en/fgb/fidil> accessed September 2022.

82 According to current translations, even not being an original Latin word, *viellis* in this text should be considered plural of *viella* as “a mere Latinization of contemporary French *vielle*”.

83 Two sources mentioned: Hieronymus de Moravia, *Tractatus de musica*, ed. S. M. Cserba, **Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft**, vol. 2 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1935), 179-89, 263-91. Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/13th/IERTDM2> accessed August 2022; and Charles Coussemaker, **Scriptorum de Musica medii aevi**, 1864, v. 1, p. 152. Available at: <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/101681193> accessed August 2022.

84 Available at: [http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/12Jh/Nibelungen/nib\\_n\\_00.html](http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/12Jh/Nibelungen/nib_n_00.html) accessed August 2022.



("Volker, skilled with his *videle*") and, in chapter XXIX, the terms *videlare* ("videle player") and *videlbogen* ("videle bow"), quoted from a digitized version of an edition by the German philologist Karl Bartsch (1832-1888), who would have revised three sources observed on the portal of the Badische Landes Library<sup>85</sup>. In this case, there would be no doubt that the nomenclature referred to a bowed instrument. This would have been the most remote record with the initial "v" in a non-Latin language.

Development highlights:

15th century (estimated date of 1404): by the poet Eberhard Cersne (?-?), the verse [...] *Noch dan quinterna gyge videle lyra rubeba* ("And still *quinterna*<sup>86</sup>, *gigue, videle, lyre, rebec*") in the nostalgic poem *Minneregeln* ("Rules"), according to a manuscript that would have been observed in the National Library of Vienna by August Ambros (1880, p.509). The list presents names relating to different eras, not being possible to attest if the instruments were fingered or bowed but several scholars cited this *videle* as "bowed": Ambros (1880, p.33); Engel (1883, p.121); Weber (1891, p.44); Sachs (1913, p.409); Martinez (1981, p.908).

19th century: a rebec was cited as *vedelare* by Belgian linguist Frédéric Auguste Ferdinand Thomas de Reiffenberg / "Baron de Reiffenberg" (1795-1850) in his book *Le Dimanche* ("On Sunday") according to Reiffenberg (1834, p.267).

### 3.5.7. FIDELE, FIBELE (transcribed as FIDELE or FITHELE, in Anglo-Saxon)

Earliest date estimated between 1190 and 1215 to the poem *Brut* by the English priest Layamon (?-c.1200) according to the portal of the American University of Michigan, UMLD Digital Bookstore<sup>87</sup>. It was observed in the book *The Chronicle of Britain*, by the English paleographer Frederic Madden (1801-1883) two excerpts: [...] *mid*

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85 Available at: <https://www.blb-karlsruhe.de/sammlungen/unesco-weltdokumentenerbenibelungenlied> accessed August 2022.

86 Fingered chordophone, of five strings, also called *cythara* and, by the name, possibly similar to ancient Greek *kithara* and the actual acoustic guitars.

87 Pointed source: British Museum Ms. *Cotton Caligula A.IX*, Oxford Text Archive number U-1682-C. Available at: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;idno=LayCal> accessed July 2022.

*fipelen* [fipele]<sup>88</sup> and *mid harpen* [harpef] (“with *fipele* and with harp”) and [...] of *harpe* & of *salterium* / of *fiðele* & of *corium* / of *timpe* & of *lire* (“of the harp and the psaltery, the *fiðele* and the *corium* [leather], the timpani and the lyre”) according to Maden (1847, p.155:298). Maden indicated that he had investigated and compiled several sources, and with them organized a glossary. Once again, a narrative in pairs is observed, in which some scholars seem to have understood the pair *fiðele/corium* as “bowed/fingered” however the pair *harp/psalter* (both fingered) would not correspond.

Development highlights:

13th century (estimated date 1200): *FITHELE* in the manuscript *MS Vernon, Bidl. lib f. 119* about the life of Saint Kitts: [...] *The kyng loved melodye of fithete and of songe* (“the King loved the melodies of the *fithete* and of the songs”) quoted from Burney (1782, p.355).

14th century: in fragments of the poem **General Prologue**, credited to the English philosopher Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1343-1400), cataloged by Harvard University<sup>89</sup>. In the line 296, about to be better having Aristotle’s philosophy [...] *Than robes riche, or fithete, or gay sautrie* (“than rich robes, or *fithete*, or elegant psalter”).

Citations: *FIDELLA* in Latin text: Oefelius (1763, p.516); *FITHELE*, *FYDELE*, *FYDELL*, *FIDEL* in English texts: O’Curry (1873, [p.569]); Engel (1883, p. 98-124); Galpin (1911, p.86); *FIDEL*, *FIDELE*, *FIDELU*, *FITHELE* in German texts: Ambros (1880, p. 235-236); Sachs (1913, p.141); Wartburg (1961, p.369-372); *FIDELE* in Spanish text: Martinez (1981, p.979). As already mentioned, the variations *fidel* (in German) and *fiddle* (in English) are used as generics for bowed until the present day, and even two non-negative analyzes of the practice were observed: Engel (1883, p.122-125) and Sachs (1913, p.141).

### 3.5.8. **VIOLA** [as *violar* (“to play viola”, in Catalan) and *violars* (“players of viola”, in Occitan)]

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88 Variations according to two manuscripts that would have been investigated by Maden: *MS. Cot. Cal. A.IX* and *MS. Cot. Otho. C. XIII*.

89 Available at: <https://chaucer.fas.harvard.edu/pages/general-prologue-0> accessed 11 Aug 2022.

*VIOLAR* (“to play *viola*”): earliest date estimated between 1190 and 1220, when there would be records about the life of French troubadour identified only as “Perdigon” (?-?); in the book *The Music of the Troubadours* by Elizabeth Aubrey, there would be a quotation of the excerpt: [...] *Perdigons si fo joglars e saup tròp ben violar e trobar*<sup>90</sup> (“Perdigon was a minstrel and knew very well how to play *viola* and make verses”). It is not observed whether the instrument would be bowed or fingered.

Development highlights:

16th century (1594): a mixture of English and Latin, in accounting manuscripts from Lincoln Cathedral, in England, as Ian Woodfield pointed out in his book *The Early History of the Viol*<sup>91</sup>: [...] payment *per chordis violar* (“payment for strings of *violas*”).

*VIOLARS* (“players of *violas*”): was suggested as having been used since 1119 by the aforementioned Charles Burney according to sources he would have researched, but without mentioning them specifically in the passage (in another passage, he had quoted some esteemed sermons of the year 1137, which he would have read among manuscripts in the Convent of Feuzelans in Paris); according to him, *VIOLARS* would have been players of *Vielle* (an instrument rubbed by a wheel, with a crank) and *Viol* (a small bowed that he pointed out as “the same as violin”) according to Burney (1782, p.225;233;260-268).

Development highlights:

17th century: an excerpt very similar to Burney’s, but in French, was cited in the book *L’histoire et Chronique de Provence* (“The History and Chronicle of Provence”), by Frenchman Cesar de Nostradamus<sup>92</sup> (1553-1629): [...] *sur leurs lyres & instruments, dont ils furent appelez Troubadours (c’est à dire Inventeurs) Violars, luglars, Musars & Comics,*

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90 Transcript available at: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perdigon> accessed August 2022.

91 Source pointed out: PRICE, D. C. *Patrons and musicians of the Renaissance*. 1981. In: WOODFIELD, Ian. *The Early History of the Viol*, 1999, p. 216. Available for consultation at: <https://books.google.com.br/books?id=sEh7VkJTEaM4C&newbks=1&newbks> accessed August 2022.

92 César was a son of the famous French astrologer Michel Nostradamus (1503-1566).

*des violons*<sup>93</sup>, *flutes, instruments musicaux & des Comedies* (“on their lyres and [other] instruments, and after which they were called Troubadours (that is, inventors) *Violars*, Jugglers, Muses and Comedians, with their rebecs, flutes, instruments for music and for comedies”) according to Nostradamus (1614, p.132). César Nostradamus did not indicate sources, but mentioned characters that would place the passage in the 12th century. Burney did not quote César, nor lyres (that most possibly was fingered) as troubadours instruments but in other parts of his book Burney quoted texts by Cesar’s uncle, the French poet Jean Nostradamus (?-1560): so, the latter possibly would have been a common provider of sources and information for both César Nostradamus and Charles Burney.

18th century: same aforementioned Burney’s citation was followed by the Scottish musicologist John Gunn (c.1765-c.1824), in the book **The Theory and Practice of fingering the Violoncello**, where a distinction is suggested between *violars* (who would play bowed) and *jongleurs* (“jugglers”, who would play fingered instruments) according to Gunn (1789, p.25-26). The same Burney’s citation was also quoted in the 19th century by English scholars as Francis Weber (1891, p. 197) and Carl Engel (1883, p.139) and still contemporaries ones as Christopher Page<sup>94</sup>.

In addition to quotes of Nostradamus and Burney, the term **VIOLARS** was not observed in other sources: between 12th and 13th century, according to specialists in Provençal languages, such players would be instead: Raynouard (1843, p.561) pointed out *viulaire* and *violador* both confirmed by Mistral (1879, p. 1128), who added *violaire* and the three terms were confirmed by Levy (1915, p.791). Musicologist Galpin (1911, p.88) cited he would have observed in manuscripts the terms *vilours* and *vidulators*, this last close to *vidulatores* mentioned for John Garlande, according to Rubin (1981, p.82-83).

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93 *Violon* would have been described as a synonym for small bowed rebecs in the 14th century according to Burney (1782, p. 274). Rebecs (as giques and crowth) were like old and rustic predecessors of the violin. Anglo-Saxon *Violines* was observed since 1579 according to Engel (1883, p. 149); Italian *violino*, since 17th century according to Praetorio (1615, p. 439), Kircher (1650, p. 487), Playford (1667, p. 75) and Ambros (1880, p. 239).

94 PAGE, Christopher. **Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages**: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100-1300, 1987, p.10. Available at: [https://books.google.com.br/books?redir\\_esc=y&hl=ptBR&id=v2YXAQAAIAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=viol](https://books.google.com.br/books?redir_esc=y&hl=ptBR&id=v2YXAQAAIAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=viol) accessed May 2022.

### 3.5.9. PHIGILE (in dative *phigilin*) and VIGELE (in dative *vigelen*), both in Middle High German

Earliest date estimated only as “12th century”, according to manuscripts booked in the Austrian University of Graz, indicated in the book *Deutsche* (“German Poems”), by Joseph Diemer (c. 1807–c. 1869). In the poem *Geschichte der Judith* (“The Story of Judith”): [...] *mid phigilin un swegilbeinin mid rottin un mid lyrin* (“with *phigile* and *swegilbeine* [kind of flute], with crowth and with lyre”); and in another verse: [...] *Mit vigelen ioch mit geigen, mit rotten ioch mit liren* (“With *vigele* and also *gigue*, with crowth and also lyre”)<sup>95</sup> according to Diemer (1849, p. 117; 139). Citation in pairs like that (crowth/lyre, *VIGELE*/*gigue*) could possibly indicate that *VIGELE* was fingered (contrary to the general understanding observed about this term) but the passage is insufficient for such kind of conclusions.

Development highlights:

15th century (estimated date 1404): *FIGEL* in another verse of the aforementioned poem *Minneregel*: [...] *Noch figel samm canale* (“And still a *figel* with a symphony [*organa*]”), according to Ambros (1880, p.509).

It was observed a chain of registers of terms with similar spellings but whose details of the instruments could not be attested by the records: at 12th century, *PHIGILE* in a poem in MHG and *FIGELLA* in Latin texts and at 15th century *FIGEL*, in a nostalgic poem written in Middle High German where several citations to original Latin names of instruments are observed. *PHIGILIN* (and not *phigile* or *\*figile*) was cited by Sachs (1913, p.296) as equivalent to Latin *FIGELLA* (as will be detailed below), which means that the German, very attentive to the different languages, would not have considered the German form as dative but noun or, perhaps, he did not consider that present grammatical rules could be applicable in all twelfth-century circumstances. *VIGELE*, on the other hand, had several

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<sup>95</sup> Artistic context shows an example of how borrowings sometimes should possibly had happened: the final syllables of the names of instruments followed the same sounds (rhymes “in” / “en”, both dative case endings according to current translations). It’s possible to see by the poetic arrangement how much the original Latin names would have influenced: MHG *rotte* (in *rottin/rotten*) would reflect Latin *rotta* (“crowth”); MHG *lyre* or *lire* (in *lyrin/liren*), Latin *lyra* (“lyre”) and MHG *gige* (in *gigen*), Latin *giga* (“gigue”). So, *phigilin* should possibly correspond to *\*phigila* and *vigelen* would correspond to *\*vigela* (terms not observed in Latin, where would be observed *FIGELLA*). The evidence is that instruments names could have had its own kind of development, not linear because their use in rhymes, metrics and the like, even in non-Latin languages. For Latin influences in ancient poetry please see Burney (1782, p.221–230).

citations observed, all referencing the same cited poetry by Diemer. Cited by Diez (1848, p.372; 1878, p.372); O'Curry (1873, [p.569]); Sachs (1913, p.409); Martinez (1981, p.908).

### 3.5.10. FIGELLA (in Latin text)

Earliest date estimated only as “12th century”, for the treatise **Ars musyce**<sup>96</sup> (“Art of Music”), by unidentified author: [...] *humano si quidem inflatur spiritum ut tybia. manu temperatur ut figella. folle concitatur ut organum* (“For it is blown into by human breath like a pipe, it is regulated by the hand like a *figella*, and it is animated by a bellows like an *organum* [organ]”). The passage would be almost identical to the one credited to the aforementioned John Cotton, also estimated to the 12th century, where however the term *PHIALA* would have been observed instead of *FIGELLA*. Not being a term mentioned in Latin dictionaries, *FIGELLA* would probably be a Latinization of German *PHIGILE*. In the 13th century, the same passage would have been found in a text of the same name **Ars musicæ**<sup>97</sup> formerly credited to “Thomas of Aquino” and in the 15th century, in **Novellus musicæ artis tractatus**<sup>98</sup> (“New Treatise on the Art of Music”), credited to the German musicologist Conrad von Zabern (?-ca.1478);

Development highlights:

15th century: in **Vocabularius fundarius**<sup>99</sup> (“Basic Vocabulary”), credited to a certain Johannes von Gablingen (?-?): [...] *rott, rubela est parva figella* (“crowth, rebec [which is] a small *figella*”) quoted from the book **Bayerisches Wörterbuch** (“Bavarian Dictionary”), by the German philologist Johan Andreas Schmeller (1785-1852); this source would be

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96 Source indicated: Basel, *Universitätsbibliothek*, MS *FIX.54*, ff. 1r-4v. Available at: [https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/12th/WFANON2B\\_MBUFIX54](https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/12th/WFANON2B_MBUFIX54) accessed November 2022.

97 Source indicated: S. Tommaso d'Aquino, **Ars musicæ**, ed. Mario di Martino (Naples: Eug. e Simone, 1933), 23-39. Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/13th/AQUARS> accessed November 2022.

98 Source indicated: Karl-Werner Gumpel, **Die Musiktraktate Conrads von Zabern**, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1956, Nr. 4 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1956, 184-244). Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/15th/CONNOV> accessed November 2022.

99 Source: **Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München**, cgm 649, f. 562, voc. 1419. Manuscript history available at: <https://glossen.germ-ling.uni-bamberg.de/manuscripts/12585> accessed August 2022.

in the Bavarian State Library, in Munich, according to Schmeller (1836, p.170).

Several citations to *FIGELLA* were observed: O'Curry (1873, p. [570]); Ambros (1880, p. 509); Engel (1883, p. 62); Sachs (1913, p. 140); Martinez (1981, p. 317).

### 3.5.1.1. *VIHOLA, VIOLA, VIEULA* (in Occitan)

Earliest date estimated between the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century, in the poem *Daurel et Beton* or *Lo romans de Daurel e de Betó* ("The Romance of Daurel and Beton"), with more than 2000 verses, by unknown authors. *VIHOLA* in verse 85: [...] *E tocar vihola e ricamen trobier* ("And play the *vihola* and do verses very well"); *VIOLA* in verse 1209: [...] *Et ab la viola a los gen deportat* ("And with [his] *viola* he entertains people"); *VIEULA* on verse 1948: [...] *El pros Beto vai sa vieula gitar* ("And the valiant Beto drops his *vieula* [in order to take his sword]"). Quoted from Paul Meyer (1880, p.64). The three terms were cited by Levy (1915, p.790) and *vihola* by Sachs (1913, p.409).

## 3.6. 13th century

### 3.6.1. *FIOLA* (as *fiolis*, ablative plural, in Latin text)

Earliest date estimated at 1203, when would have been published the book *Historia Regum Dacie*<sup>100</sup> ("History of the Kings of Denmark"), by the Danish Sven Aggesen / "Sueno Aggonis" (ca. 1140-?). The excerpt: [...] *Quos [...] cœtus comitatur Histrionum in fiolis, citharis, choris, & tympanis modulantes* ("They are accompanied by musicians playing *fiolas*, citharas, *choruses*<sup>101</sup> and timpani<sup>102</sup>").

Development highlights:

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<sup>100</sup> Available at: <https://tekstnet.dk/historia-regum-dacie/2/8> accessed August 2022.

<sup>101</sup> Fingered chordophone whose name possibly referred to the use of animal hides (leather) for its boxes.

<sup>102</sup> Percussion instrument, possibly similar to timpani.

18th and 20th century: the same passage above was quoted by Du Cange (1710, p.1497) and in 1918 by Martin Gertz (1844-1929) in *Scriptores minores historice Danicæ*<sup>103</sup> (“Minor Writers of Danish History”).

A few other citations of *FIOLA* were observed: Diez (1878, p.657) and Araújo (1964, p.1). Although the earliest records did not reveal details about the instrument, the term is used to this day as a name for bowed violas in Welsh and the names *FIOL* (“violin”) and *ALTFIOL* (“viola”) still survive in Swedish.

### 3.6.2. VITULA (in Latin)

Earliest estimated date 1210, for *Poetria Nova*, by Geoffrey of Vinsauf / “Galfridus de Vino Salvo” (?-?): [...] *Fistula, somnifera cythara, Vitulæque jocosa* (“The *Fistula* [a kind of flute], the sleep-inducing cithara, the fun *vitula*”). Quoted from Du Cange (1710, p.1497) and quotations: Diez (1878, p.342) and Martinez (1981, p.981).

Even in the 13th century (c.1286), in the aforementioned *Catholicon*, entry entitled *vitulor laris*: [...] *vitula, quoddam instrumentum musicum, unde vitulor laris, cum vitula cantare* (“*vitula*, some musical instrument, hence *vitulor laris* to play *vitula*”)<sup>104</sup> quoted from Janua (1460, [p.739]).

There was no evidence that it was a bowed or fingered instrument. *VITULA* is another term widely quoted in theories about the ancestry of violas: Du Cange (1710, p.1497); Coussemaker (1841, p.172); Galpin (1911, p.86); Sachs (1913, p.409); Wartburg (1961, p.369-372); Corominas (1974, p.813); Martinez (1981, p.981).

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103 Available at: <https://www.google.com.br/search?tbm=bks&hl=pt-BR&q=Scriptores+minores+histori%C3%A6+Danic%C3%A6+medii+%C3%A6vi+ex+codicibus+denuo+recensuit+M.+C.+Gertz> accessed August 2022.

104 According to current translations (and several quotes observed), *vitulor laris* would be a conventional shortening of *vitulor, vitularis* “I am, you are playing *vitula*”; however, it’s considered here that it is more accurate to follow the source exactly (Figure 9).



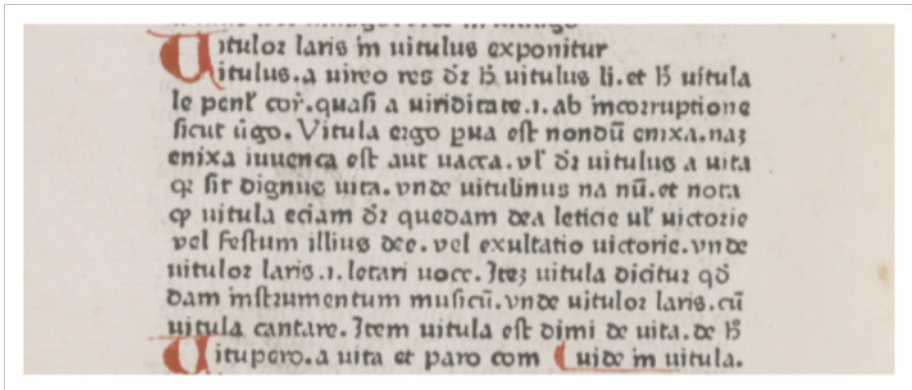


Figure 09: vitula in *Catholicon* by Janua (1486, [p.739]).

### 3.6.3. VIELLE (in French)

Earliest date estimated between 1210 and 1270, when the French troubadour Colin Muset would have lived. His verses would have been observed in a manuscript in the National Library of France: [...] *J'alay a li el praelet / O tot la vielle et l'archet* ("I went to her in the meadow / With both the *vielle* and the bow") quoted from Engel (1883, p.125-126).

Development highlights:

14th century: in the poem *Roman du Comte d'Anjou* ("Romance of the Count d'Anjou"), by the French composer Jean Maillart (?-1327): [...] *Li autre dient en vielles* ("others play *vielless*") quoted from Maillart (1931, p.7) cited in Lavignac (1925b, p.1978); also in the poem *Prise d'Alexandrie* ("Taking Alexandria"): "[...] *Orgues, vielles, micamon* ("Organas, *vielless*, symphonies"), by the poet Guillaume de Machault (1300-1377) quoted from Lavignac (1925b, p.2000) where it is observed three different names for similar instruments; and still in *la Ballade du métier profitable* ("The Ballad of the Profitable Profession") by the French poet Eustache Deschamps (1346-1406): [...] *Vielle est jeu pour les moustiers* ("*Vielle* is a game [an instrument] for the monasteries") quoted from Lavignac (1925b, v.8, p. 1918) and cited also by Ambros (1880, p.232);

*VIELLES* was observed, most of the time, referring to instruments with a belted resonance box similar to fingered and bowed violas, but they would be cranked and would have keys; they had same description of *organa*, *symphony*, *sambuca* and others, as already detailed. In this case, it was observed by Sachs (1913, p. 119-120). Citations: Galpin (1911, p.86); Wartburg (1961, p.369-372); Martinez (1981, p.1030); Young (2015, p.8-10).

### 3.6.4. *VIELLA*, *VIULA* (in Catalan)

*VIELLA* earliest date estimated between 1214 and 1282, when the French troubadour Daude de Pradas (?-?) would have lived. In his poem *Amors m'envida e-m somo*<sup>105</sup> ("Love invites me and summons me"), the verse: [...] *Anz danze segon qe-l viella* ("And dance according to the *viella*") quoted from Levy (1915, p.791).

*VIULA* earliest date estimated between 1190 and 1220, when the troubadour Pons de Capduviel would have lived. In his poem *Per joy d'amor* ("For the joy of love"), quoted in the book *Lexique Roman ou Dictionnaire de la Langue des Troubadours* ("Roman Lexicon or Dictionary of the Language of the Troubadours"), by the French linguist François Just Marie Raynouard (1761-1836), the verse [...] *Trompas ni corns, viulas ni tambors* ("trumpets and horns, *viulas* and drums") quoted from Raynouard (1843, p.560).

Even in 13th century (c.1234), in a version of the poem *Flamenca* or *Roman de Flamenca*, by the troubadour Guiraud de Cabrera (?-?)<sup>106</sup>: [...] *L'us menet arpa, l'autre viula* ("One plays the harp, the other, the *viula*") quoted from Ambros (1880, p. 236). Citations: Diez (1878, p.342); Mistral (1879, p.1027); Wartburg (1961, p.369-372); Corominas (1974, p.812); Martinez (1981, p.908); Young (2015, p.91); Rei-Samartim (2020, p.69).

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<sup>105</sup> Available at: [https://trobadors.iec.cat/veure\\_d.asp?id\\_obra=938](https://trobadors.iec.cat/veure_d.asp?id_obra=938) accessed September 2022.

<sup>106</sup> Cabrera would have lived "between the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century", according to Meyer (1880, p. 2).

### 3.6.5. VIELLA, VIELLE (in Latin texts)

Earliest date estimated between 1223 and 1294. The terms would have been observed in different sources, but sometimes variations would have occurred in a same text. It would appear in the poem *Ludovico VIII*, credited to the French cleric Nicolaus de Braia / “Nicolas de Bray” (?-?): [...] *Occurrunt mimi dulci resonante Viella* (“There come musicians with their *viellas* sounding sweet”)<sup>107</sup> quoted from Du Cange (1710, p. 1497).

Even in 13th century according to several sources on the portal *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum*<sup>108</sup>: in the *Practica artis musicæ* (“Practice of the art of music”), by the Italian religious Amerus Alvredus (ca.1226-c.1291); in the *Scientia artis musicæ* (“Knowledge of the art of music”), by Helyas Salomonis (c.1229-c.1294) and from the *Tractatus de Musica* (“Treatise on Music”) by the cleric Hieronymus de Moravia (1250-1271), the latter, whose origin is unknown, but who would have lived in Paris for a long time. The plurals *viellis* and *viellæ* also in the aforementioned *Summa musicæ*, credited to certain “Perseus & Petrus” (?-?).

Development highlights:

14th century: between several other sources, the most quoted *VIELLA* would be in the treatise named *De Musica*<sup>109</sup> or *Theoria*<sup>110</sup>, by the French musicologist and religious Johannes de Grocheo (c.1255-c.1320) and in manuscripts of the chapter *Tractus de Canticis* of the *Opera Omnia*, by the French poet Joannis Gersoni / “Jean Gerson” (1363-1429): [...] *Viellam vel rebecam, quæ minor est* (“Viella or rebec, which is smaller”) quoted from Ambros (1880, p.30) and cited by Coussemaker (1841, p.177).

15th century: *VIELLE*, in the *Tractatus de musica plana*<sup>111</sup>, attributed to a certain Monachus Carthusiensis (?-?): [...] *aliquod*

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107 According to current translations, even not been original Latin words but as a “Latinization of French”, *viella* in this sentence would be plural, same as *vielle*. In addition, it was observed the form *viellæ* in others texts.

108 Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/13th/AMEPRA> accessed August 2022.

109 Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/14th/GRODEM> accessed August 2022.

110 Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/14th/GROTHE> accessed August 2022.

111 Source cited: *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a Gerbertina altera*, 4 vols., ed. Edmond de Coussemaker (Paris: Durand, 1864-76; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 2:434-83. Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/15th/CARTRA> accessed September 2022.

*instrumentum sonum emittens, ut pote vielle, cistolle et hujusmodi* (“some instrument emitting a sound, such as a *vielle*, a *citole* and the like”).

16th century: *VIELLA* in ***Tetrachordum musices***<sup>112</sup>, credited to a certain Joannis Coclei Norici (?-?), the same text above.

*VIELLA* and *VIELLE* had many citations, but some without specifying whether the sources would be from texts in Latin or in French, which it was decided to point out here, along with those that cited sources in Latin: Du Cange (1710, p.1497); Ambros (1880, p.30; 361-362); Galpin (1911, p.86); Sachs (1913, p.409); Levy (1924, p.791); Araújo (1964, p.2); Martinez (1981, p.1018); Young (2015, p.8-10).

### 3.6.6. *VIULHA* (in Occitan)

Estimated date of at most 1230, according to characters mentioned in the poem ***Des Sünders Reue*** (“Sinner’s Repentance”), by an unknown author, quoted from the manuscript identified as *Londoner Handschrift des Br. Mus., Harl. 7403*, noted in the book ***Denkmäler provenzalischer Literatur*** (“Monuments of Provençal Literature”), by the German philologist Herman Suchier (1848-1914): [...] *nulla tempradura de laüt ni de viulha tant fort no m’asegura* (“no sound of lute nor of *viulha* comforts (my heart) so much”), from Suchier (1883, p.230) and Levy (1914, p.790).

### 3.6.7. *VIHUELLA*, *VIOLA* (and variations)<sup>113</sup>, in Spanish)

Earliest date estimated at 1240, in the ***Libro de Apolonio*** (“Book of Apollonius”), by an unknown author, according to a manuscript from

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112 Source cited: ***Tetrachordum musices*** *Ioannis Coclei Norici artium magistri Nurnbergae aeditum pro iuuentute Laurentiana in primis dein pro ceteris quoque Musarum Tyrunculis* (Nurnbergae, impressi in officina excusoria Friderici Peypus, 1514), ff. Air-Bir. Available at: <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/16th/COCTET1> accessed 20 Sep 2022.

113 Not observed at any source but sometimes in the Chronology, so many similar terms would possibly evidence a typical characteristic of the poetry’s orality: in each use, the appropriate sound of a word for that specific verse would have been choose, according to metric and/or rhymes, sometimes changing letters, the tonicity of the syllables and/or the speed of the diction.

the *Biblioteca de El Escorial*, in Spain. Disregarding the times that the terms were repeated, it would have been observed: *VIHUELLA* in verse 178: [...] *Tenpró bien la vihuela en bun son natural* (“[he] tuned the *vihuela* very well, with good natural sound”); *VIUELA* in verse 179: [...] *Fazia a la viuela desir puntos ortados* (“I used to do the *vihuela* play [individual punctuations<sup>114</sup>]”); *VIHUELA* in verse 350: [...] *Mas si prendo la vihuela cuydo fer hun tal son...* (“But if I get caught the *vihuela* I make such a sound...”); *VIOLA* in verse 370: [...] *Aprisó bien gramatiga e bien toque viola* (“He learned well grammar and playing the *viola*”) and in verse 426: [...] *Priso huna viola buena e bien temprada* (“He took a good *viola*, well-tuned”). Quoted from Martínez (1982, [Appendices XXIV to XXVII], [p.1205-1245]) and citations: Levy (1924, p.790); Wartburg (1961, p.369-372); Oliveira (2000 [1964], p.81); Tyler & Sparks (2002, p.2); Griffiths (2010, p.9-10); Young (2015, p.91); Rei-Samartim (2019, p.53; 2020, p.69).

Development highlights:

14th century: the variations *BIHUELA* and *VYYUELA* in different sources of the *Libro de Buen Amor*, by the Castilian poet Juan Ruiz / “Harcipreste de Hita” (c.1283-c.1350), who would have pointed out for the first-time *vihuelas* in two types, by way of playing (fingered or bowed), in lines 1203 and 1205: [...] *La bihuela [vihuela, vyyuela]<sup>115</sup> de peñola [pendola]* and [...] *La vihuela de arco*. Quoted from Martínez (1982, [Appendix LX], [p.1218]) and citations: Lavignac (1920, v.4, p.1944) e Rei-Samartim (2020, p.69:157).

16th century: fingered *vihuelas* would become the main Spanish chordophone with several methods published, until they fell into disuse due to the rise of the five-order guitars<sup>116</sup>.

*UIOLA* would have been observed in estimated date 1250, in the *Libro de Alexandre* (“Book of Alexander”), by unknown author: [...] *Su*

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114 A more accurate way of playing (*punteado*) that explored note by note (or string by string) of chordophones, as opposed to sounding all the strings at the same time (*rasgueado*), which was done by those with less technical skill.

115 Variations pointed out by Martínez, who would have investigated three different codices: Gayoso, Toledo and Salamanca according to Martínez (1981, [Appendix XXXIV], p. [1220]).

116 Methods on *vihuelas* and guitars, that indicate the transitions, were observed in the *Encyclopédie de la Musique* by Lavignac (1920, v.4, p. 2018-2024; 1925b, v.8, p. 2003-2013) and also in Tyler & Sparks (2002, p.282).

*viola taniendo* (“playing his *viola*”) and [...] *Cedra e viola que las coytas enbota* (“*Cedra* [citole]<sup>117</sup> and *viola* that the strings numb”), quoted from Martinez (1982, [Appendix XXVIII], [p. 1199]).

### 3.6.8. VIOEL (in Latin text)

Earliest date estimated only as *treizième siècle* (“13th century”). The term would have been registered together with *sitola* (which would later have been confused with *\*fitola* by several researchers), in a list of comments and drawings of a manuscript acquired by the aforementioned Frédéric Reiffenberg; in his book *Le Dimanche* (“Sunday”): [...] *Lira. Vioel. Lira est quoddam genus citharæ vel sitola alioquin de Roet. Hoc instrumentum est multum vulgare* (“Lyre. *Vioel*. Lyre is a kind of cithara or citole or also of crowth. It is a very common [popular] instrument”); about the authors, was cited in French [...] *par des Belges et des Belges brabançons or flamands* (“by Belgians and the Belgians [from the regions of] Brabant or Flandrers”) according to Reiffenberg (1834, p.268-269). The comments containing VIOEL would have referred to several instruments listed in the treatise *De Planctu Naturæ*<sup>118</sup> (“Lament of Nature”), by the French theologian and poet Alanus ab Insulis / “Alain de Lille” (1128-1202) but they are not part of the treaty, where descriptions of bowed instruments were not observed, just as VIOEL would only have been compared to fingered: cithara, citole and a crowth “with an oval resonance box in the style of the mollusc *pecten*”, which at the time the three could still be fingered, as well as the *violles*. Failure to observe the possibility of bivalence of ways of playing possibly had led to the understanding of the existence of a bowed instrument, actually not attested, which would be called *\*fitola*. Only Coussemaker (1841, p. 174) would have correctly quoted *sitol* from Reiffenberg. O’Curry (1873, p. [569]) had the earliest mistaken citation of *\*fitola*, later seconded in a chain, even by those who would also have consulted Coussemaker: Ambros (1880, p.29); Engel (1883, p.120); Sachs (1913, p.141); Martinez (1981, p.912). It can only be said that VIOEL would have been a name equivalent to *vielle*, in Dutch from the 13th century, which probably would have been replaced by the current Dutch term, *ALTVIOOL*.

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117 Fingered chordophone with a short neck whose sounding boards consolidate into a rounded shape with flat bottom; it was called “guitars” for some decades and nowadays belongs to so-called “cittern’s family”, such as the banjo, mandolin and Portuguese guitar.

118 Available at: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/alanus.htm> accessed August 2022.

### 3.7. 14th century

#### 3.7.1. VIOLE (in French)

Earliest date estimated between 1300 and 1377, when the poet Guillaume de Machault would have lived. In the poem *Le Tempes Pastour* (“The Temple of the Shepherd”): [...] *Viole, rubabe, guiterne* (“*Viole, rebec, guitar*”) quoted from the article *Les Viôles* from the *Encyclopédie de La Musique* by Lavignac (1925b, p.1753).

The term, now in replacement by *ALTO*, has numerous citations even in texts in other languages, such as Italian: Canasi, 1542, p.6-7; Latin: *Prætorio* (1615, p.439), Du Cange (1710, p.1497); German: Majers (1741, p.103), Diez (1878, p.342), Ambros (1880, p.236); English: Engel (1883, p.232), Weber (1891, p.327), Spanish: Martinez (1981, p.713) and Portuguese: Rei-Samartim (2019, p.53; 2020, p.69).

#### 3.7.2. VIUOLA (in Italian text)

Earliest estimated date 1350, by the Italian poet Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), in his *Decameron*; the characters Fiammeta and Minuccio would have been the players, in verses such as [...] *e poi la canzon cantò con la sua viola* (“and a song sang with his *viola*”) according to Boccaccio (1849, p.413), citation observed only by Ambros (1808, p.489-498).

### 3.8. 15th century

#### 3.8.1. VIULE (as *viules*, plural, in Catalan)

Earliest date estimated between 1403 and 1465, when the Valencian Johanot Martorell<sup>119</sup> would have lived; in his book *Tirant lo Blanch* (“Tirant, the White”), the excerpt: [...] *flutes, miges viules e*

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119 Some sources state that the book would be co-authored by Marti Johan de Galba (?-1490), but he is mentioned only in the acknowledgment in the observed version by Martorell (2018 [1490], [p.1856]).

*concordades veus humanes que angelicals s'estimaven* ("flutes, small [shriveled] viules and angelic human voices in harmony that was esteemed [appreciated]") according to Martorell (2018 [1490], [p.1740]), cited for Martinez (1083, [Appendix XLIII], [p.1244]).

### 3.8.2. VIOLA, VIOLLA (as their plurals, in Portuguese)

Earliest estimated date 1455, for one of only three surviving sources: the Portuguese military Brito Rebelo (1830-1920), in his book *Curiosidades Musicais, um guitarreiro do século XV* ("Musical Curiosities, a 15th century guitar player") attested that by a letter from King D. Afonso V (1432-1481), a certain Henrique Frois (?-?) would have been pardoned [...] *por um desaguisado havido com as autoridades, em Évora, uma hora depois das onze, com outros tocando viola* ("by a disagreement with the authorities, in Évora, one hour after eleven, with others playing the viola") according to Rebelo (1914, p. 166-169 *apud* Oliveira, 2000[1964], p. 164).

In 1459, according to the Portuguese teacher Fortunato de Almeida (1869-1933), in his book *História de Portugal* ("History of Portugal"), an exhibition by the prosecutors of Pontes de Lima to the Lisbon Courts [...] *em que estes se queixam ao rei D. Afonso V dos "males que por causa das violas" se sentiam por todo o Pais* ("in which they complained to King D. Afonso V of the 'evils caused by the violas' were felt throughout the country") according to Almeida (1925, p. 302-303 *apud* Oliveira, 2000[1964], p. 164); Morais (1985, p. 397).

In 1477, the variation VIOLLAS would have been observed: D. Luís Pires (?-?), bishop of Braga, would have ordered the banning of playing [...] *alaúdes, guitarras, viollas* ("lutes, guitars, viollas") according to unidentified manuscripts cited by Manuel de Morais (1985, p.396).

Several scholars indicate that these more remote records would be about fingered violas, despite the lack of details; at that time, instruments also called *violas* by the Portuguese would have been both fingered or bowed as Italian *violas* cited by Tinctoris (1486, [p.29]) and Spanish *vihuelas* cited by Bermudo (1555, [p.224]), Cerone (1613, p. 1039) and others.



Development highlights:

16th century: the Portuguese Friar Gaspar da Cruz (1520-1570), in his book *As Cousas da China* (“Things of China”) described some instruments he would have seen as: [...] *umas violas como as nossas [...] e outras às feições de violas de arco* (“some violas like ours [...] and others similar to bowed violas”) according to Cruz (1986 [1549], p.68).

From the 16th to the 17th century the name VIOLA would have become quite popular in Portugal, as the main (or practically only one) name used to fingered instruments according to Araújo (2021).

18th century: earliest records observed of Portuguese fingered violas which would have been different from Spanish guitars (which would have practically identical shape and size), due to the use of strings in doubles and trios, sometimes metallic according to the methods of the Portuguese João Leite da Pita Rocha (?-?) *Liçam Instrumental da Viola Portuguesa*<sup>120</sup> (“Instrumental Lesson of the Portuguese Viola”) quoted from Rocha (1752, p. 1-2) and Manoel da Paixão Ribeiro (?-?), *Nova Arte de Viola* (“New Art of Viola”) quoted from Ribeiro (1789, [p.63]).

19th century onwards: fingered violas would consolidate with the aforementioned differentiating characteristics, while guitars would change to six single strings (as nowadays).

The fingered would always have coexisted with the bowed ones, also called “*violas*” and in this way they were taken to Brazil. The VIOLA nomenclature survives, in both countries and in some other Portuguese-speaking countries, both for fingered and bowed, to the present day according to Engel (1883, p.122); Araújo (1964); Oliveira (2000 [1964]); Morais (1985); Rei-Samartim (2019, p.53: 2020, p. 69); Araújo (2021)<sup>121</sup>.

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120 The method would be an almost literal translation of the guitar part of *Guitarra española y vandola*, by Joan Carles Amat ([1596]), which points out that guitars and violas would be compatible; however, one of the few differences from the Portuguese method would be the citation about string armatures in threesomes.

121 This work lists over 500 sources of Brazilian and Portuguese fingered violas.

### 3.8.3. FIDELLA (in Latin)

Earliest estimated date 1464, indicated in the epitaph of a certain Conradus of Nurnberga (?-?), in a series of anonymous texts of the manuscript *Cod. MS. cartaceo Gewoldian*, quoted by the German historian Andreas Felix Oefelius (1706-1780) in the book ***Rerum Boicarum Scriptores***: (“Writers of Bavarian Things”): [...] *nullusque sui temporis sibi secundus, in organis, lutina, cithara, fidella ac fistula, tibiis ac buccina & in omnibus instrumentis musicalibus* (“he was seconded to none of his time in organa, lute, cithara, fidella and fistula, tibia and trombone and all musical instruments”) according to Oefelius (1763, p. 516); *fidella* would have been also cited by Du Cange<sup>122</sup> in 1678 as observed by Martinez (1981, p.982).

### 3.8.4. VIOLA (selected quotes in Latin texts, in Italy and Spain)

Estimated date 1486, in the aforementioned treatise ***De inventione et uso musicæ*** (“Of discovery and use of music”), published in Naples by Tinctoris, it was noted among other passages [...] *Quequidem viola in hoc a leuto differt* (“For this the viola differs from the lute”); in this case, because the viola had a flat bottom, in addition to being both fingered and bowed, according to Tinctoris (1486, [p.26]).

In 1496, it was observed in a manuscript identified only as ***Viaje literario à las Iglesias de España*** (“Literary journey to the churches of Spain”) according to the Spanish priest Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva (1757-1837), that a Moor identified only as “Fulan” (?-?) would have been prominent among instrumentalists of the Kingdom of Granada: a great artist in [...] *cytharam, violam et his similia instrumenta* (“cithara, viola and similar instruments”), according to the aforementioned ***Encyclopédie de la Musique*** (Lavignac, 1920, v.4, p.1923).

Although it is not the earliest record of the term *viola* in Latin (which would have been observed in the 12th century), it highlights the approximate historical period in which the term would have been known at the same time in Portugal, Italy and Spain, described by an important

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122 Available at: <http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/fidella> accessed December 2022.

scholar, in a center of great commercial traffic (Naples) as name of instruments both fingered and bowed.

### 3.9. 16th century

#### 3.9.1. VIOL, VYALL, VIALLE, VEOLLI, VIOLLI (as their plurals, in English texts)

*VIOLS* earliest estimated in 1515, in the manuscript *Revel Accounts n°8 R.O.*, a report that would have been written by the English merchant Richard Gibson (1480-1534), at the behest of King Henry VIII (1491-1547), according to surveys by the cleric John Sherren Brewer Jr. / "John Brewer" (1810-1879) in the book **Letters And Papers, Foreign And Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII**. There would have been a payment to "[...] 6 minstrels with strange sounds, as sag (ebutts) [sackbutts], shawms [charamelas], viols, &c [etc.]" according to Brewer (1864, p.1501). The record was pointed out by Ian Woodfield<sup>123</sup>, who presents too an interesting path of records of *viol* and its variations from the 16th to the 17th century.

Development highlights:

17th century: noted since the title of sheet music book **Madrigals of 5. and 6. parts, apt for the Viols and voices**<sup>124</sup>, by the English musician Thomas Weelkes (1576-1623) and the variation *VIOLLS*, in 1603, in the title of **The Third and last booke of songes or aires newly composed to sing to the Lute, Orpharion**<sup>125</sup> or *Violls*<sup>126</sup> by the English musician John Dowland (1563-1626).

18th century: Charles Burney seems to have misunderstood pointed out *viols* in the year 1230, in a quote from the book *Les Oeuvres*

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123 WOODFIELD, Ian. **The Early History of Viol**. 1988, p. 207-209. Available at: <https://www.google.com.br/search?tbm=bks&hl=pt-BR&q=The+Early+History+of+the+Viol%2C+1988> accessed September 2022.

124 Available at: [https://imslp.org/wiki/Madrigals\\_to\\_5\\_and\\_6\\_parts](https://imslp.org/wiki/Madrigals_to_5_and_6_parts) accessed September 2022.

125 The *orpharion* would be a fingered cistern, with a box carved by curves like drawings of clouds, straight back and top, with 14 strings in 7 doubles, wire, pegs in the shape of the letter "c" according to the design and description of Hawkins (1776, p.344).

126 Available at: [https://imslp.org/wiki/The\\_Third\\_Booke\\_of\\_Songes\\_\(Dowland,\\_John\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/The_Third_Booke_of_Songes_(Dowland,_John)) accessed Sep. 2022.

*de Maistre Alain Chartier* (“The works of the Master Alain Chartier”), by the French historian Andre Duchesne (1584-1640), cited by Burney (1782, p. 233-268); instead of *viols*, there was *vielles* and in the entire book, only another spelling was observed: *vieles* according to Duchesne (1617, p. 859). Burney’s quote was followed by several scholars, such as Francis Weber (1891, p.197) and Carl Engel (1883, p. 139) and even contemporaries, such as Christopher Page<sup>127</sup>.

VYALLS, VIALLES, VEOLIS all three estimated to 16th century (between 1520 and 1540), they would have been observed in the considerable collection of manuscripts analyzed by Galpin, named for him *King’s Privy Purse Expenses*, according to his book ***Old English Instruments of Music***.

VYALLS in: “[...] Paied to iii [three] of the Vyalls for their livery cotes” (Galpin, 1911, p. 88);

VIALLES in “[...] four Gitterons with four Cases to them, they are caulled [called] Spanishe [Spanish] Vialles” (Galpin, 1911, p. 88-89). The last sentence would also have been observed in the manuscript *Harleian MS. 1419A. fol. 200* from the British Museum, London, quoted in the book ***Original Letters illustrative of English History***, by Henry Ellis (1827, p.272); and still another publication, estimated at the year 1598, ***The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & and Discoveries of the English Nation*** by the English chaplain Richard Hakluyt (c. 1553-1616): “[...] They were exceedingly delighted with the sound of the trumpet, and *vialles*” (Hakluyt, 1890, v. 16, p.155). This last record, however, is dubious, because it is a single narrative of a low-sounding chordophone between winds and percussions instruments cited in the various expeditions described by Hakluyt.

Although many scholars link VIALLES with bowed instruments, it is observed that, in the most remote records, there is no descriptions of the ways of playing and, on the other side, there is a similarity between the term *gitterons* with *gittern* and *guitar*, which suggest fingered instruments, as well as *vialles* with *vihuelas* (Spanish fingered from the 13th to the 16th century), an observation also pointed out by Galpin (1911, p.25).

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127 PAGE, Christopher. ***Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100-1300***. 1987, p.10. Available at: [https://books.google.com.br/books?redir\\_esc=y&hl=ptBR&id=v2YXAQAIAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=vial](https://books.google.com.br/books?redir_esc=y&hl=ptBR&id=v2YXAQAIAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=vial) accessed May 2022.

VEOLIS in “[...] the four *menstralis* [minstrels] that *playe* [play] upon the *Veolis*”, the last instruments would have been “destined for Scotland Kingdom” (Galpin, 1911, p.89).

The three terms (VYALLS, VIALLES, VEOLIS) would have been confirmed in **The Early History of Viol** by the aforementioned Ian Woodfield who added other sources and also that VIOLIS would have been the variation observed in: “[...] *mak* [making] *violis* to the *Kingis* [King’s] grace” (that would have been another payment related to the Kingdom of Scotland).

Just like *fiddle* (since 14th century), VIOL and sometimes even VIAL was pointed out as generics to bowed in English texts: Simpson (1659); Playfort (1683); Hawkins (1776); Burney (1782); Gunn (1789); O’Curry (1873); Engel (1883); Weber (1891); Galpin (1911); Winternitz (1959) and Tyler & Sparks (2002). VIALLES was also observed in citations: Engel (1883, p.139-140); Galpin (1911, p.88); Sachs (1913, p.409); Martinez (1981, p.841); Young (2015, p.8-10).

### 3.9.2. VIHUELA DE MANO (as *vihuelas de mano*, plural, in Spanish)

Earliest date estimated between 1530 and 1535. It would have been observed in the **Libro de la Camara Real del Principe Don Juan** (“Book of the Royal Chamber of Príncipe D. Juan”), by the Spanish historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés (1478-1557). The book would have been created to guide the education of Prince Felipe II of Spain (1527-1598), at the request of the latter’s father, the Roman Emperor Charles V (1500-1558): “[...] *vihuelas de mano y vihuelas de arco y flutes* (“fingered *vihuelas* and bowed *vihuelas* and flutes”) – quoted from Martinez (1982, [Annex CLII], [p. 1333]) and Young (2015, p.2). Dates according to contexts pointed out by Griffiths (2010, p.12).

### 3.9.3. VIOLETTE, VIOLETTA (in Italian)

Earliest estimated date 1533 according to the book **Scintille di Musica** (“Sparks of Music”), by the Italian musician Giovanni Maria

Lanfranco (1490-1545): [...] *Violette da Arco senza tasti* [...] *Violetta da Braccio, & da Arco* (“Bowed *Violette* without frets [...] Arm *Violetta*, and bowed”) quoted from Lanfranco (1533, p.137).

Development highlights:

The term would only have been observed later in the 18th century, as “English *Violett*” or Italian *violetta marina*: a creation credited to the Italian musician Pietro Castrucci (1679-1752), it would have been an instrument of smaller size than the *violas da gamba*<sup>128</sup> (“leg’s violas”) hence the diminutive term *violetta*, which would be prior to the consolidation of violins (also a diminutive to Italian *viola*). English *Violett*s, however, would have sympathetic strings, that is, strings that vibrated without being touched directly according to Galpin (1911, p.92); Sachs (1913, p. 129-130); Lavignac (1925b, p.1790).

Still in 18th century: *VIOLETTA* was the instrument that would reach the highest musical notes of the ***Chalimeaux*** score, by the German composer Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688-1758) where, however, the term *VIOLA* is also mentioned, on the first page.

Several citations considering *violettas* as same as bowed *violas* were observed until the 21th century: Machado (1855, p.268); Vieira (1874, p.959); Castagna (2000, p.337); Ricciardi (2000, p. 9); Young (2015, p.97); Rei-Samartim (2020, p.153).

### 3.9.4. *VIOLA, VIOLA DA GAMBA* (in Italian)

Earliest date estimated 1542, in the book ***Regola Rubertina*** by the Venetian musicologist Silvestro Ganasi (1492-1550), since the subtitle: [...] *Regola che insegna sonar de viola darcho tastada* (“rule for playing fretted bowed *viola*”). *VIOLA*, as a generic term, was the most observed in that book, sometimes as Italian plural *viola* and *VIOLA DA GAMBA* was observed only once (Ganasi, 1542, p.6). The period coincides with notes from the aforementioned ***Encyclopédie de la Musique*** (articles *La Viola* and *Le Violon*), which indicate the development of the current “family of violins” (violin, viola, violoncello and bass) from the 16th century,

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128 Bowed instrument, similar to current cellos. At that time, it would have used 5 or 6 gut strings.

consolidating itself from the 18th century onwards (Lavignac, 1925b, p.1708-1837).

Development highlights:

17th century: in the book *Poly-Olbion*, by Michael Drayton (1563-1631), *GAMBA* as musical instrument besides *violl* (Drayton, 1613, p.63) and *Bassi da gamba* ("Gamba bass") in opera *L'Orfeu Favola in Musica* from 1607 according to Hawkins (1776, p.430). Also *VIOLE DE GAMBA* in *Syntagmatis Musicis*, by Michael Prætorio ([1615], p. 439).



Figure 10: Cover of the book *Regula Rubertina* by Ganasi (1542)

## 4. Conclusion

The application of the methodology demonstrated to be very effective in pointing out and even attesting to several patterns that still would not have been pointed out by scholars. Among these patterns, coherence trends were observed that can be considered predominant, as the main reasons for the evolution of musical instruments. Chronology qualifies that musical instruments reflect events of significant social impact, both by their names and by other characteristics but, at the same time, some remnants (or reminiscences) of these same characteristics survive for long periods, normally longer than the events themselves.

Another pattern observed was the great damage caused by not very detailed texts, sometimes made by people not qualified about music but who, usually because they are very qualified in other areas of science, have their statements referenced in chain for a long time. This fact, which would have been one of the main motivations for this article, has been supported by numerous citations, with surprising findings regarding the long periods for which inaccurate information survives, passing from scholar for scholar. For this reason, some of our observations may be considered unpublished, but this was to be expected since we had not previously found studies that had such a wide scope as the one proposed here.

The methodology therefore pointed out that the sum of different types of knowledge and sciences can be very beneficial but the practice of this article's elaboration indicates that for such an embracing study several big deepening still need to be done, mainly in the two crucial areas: musicology and etymology. In addition to internal divergences that also need to evolve (such as the case of organology and the linguistic studies which still do not seem to reach general consensus), we understand, from the past experience in this article, that scientists still need to evolve a lot in terms of group work. This is understandable because in this case it would be necessary to study subjects where each scientist would have less security and this is perhaps one of the reasons why there are so few studies where scientists from these two areas have worked together. It was also observed that there are still few studies about popular musical instruments and their historical-social impacts. History and Sociology are two of the sciences that we understand could be the safe bases to be followed by musicologists and etymologists to deepen the studies about musical instruments, naturally added to



studies on the particularities between the different types of texts (artistic, religious, technical, etc.), a type of consideration very little observed in the researched sources.

The greatest challenge may be the use of concepts that can be accepted by different areas of science at the same time, overcoming barriers of regionalisms of the various cultures involved. At this point, we could observe that when translating the various studies into a single language, the chronological organization of the data has already pointed out several inconsistencies and mistakes at the same time that it revealed the true path taken by the name of the instruments, by their variations in different languages and cultures in which, individually, it would be very difficult to be glimpsed.

The Chronology also points out to data that are close to hypotheses addressed by some scholars such as Julieta de Andrade (1981), Rosario Martinez (1981) and Elizabeth Travassos (2006) which in turn would have been based on other scholars such as Curt Sachs, Albert Lavignac, Lionel Laurencie, Andre Schaeffner, Hugo Riemann: instrument names seem to behave, historically, differently from other types of words, changing due to the influence of different languages and due to the strong influence of organological factors; that is, specific characteristics of each type of instrument that, like their names, carry traces for centuries, even in different cultures.

In this respect, it seems to us quite likely that, according to patterns observed at chronology, *VIOLA* could really be a name that would have as most remote past path the Sumerian *pandura* as pointed out by Sachs (1940, p.274-275) and cited by the scholars listed last paragraph. It would be inserted by us in the investigative equation that *viola* is a name for instruments that could be both stringed and/or bowed and, in History, it would have emerged under the influence of names of predecessor instruments, in chain, like *fidicula*, *fidula*, *vitula* but with the important characteristic of having appeared in a period of great transition and exchange between emerging languages and Latin, mainly the so-called *Vulgare* ("Vulgar Latin"): therefore, the name *VIOLA* would not have appeared "alone", but practically "at the same time" (if we consider about two centuries as a very short period compared to the entire History of Humanity) as other names such as: *violle*, *viele*, *vieula*, *viula*, *vihuela*, *fidil*, *videle*, *phigile*, *vigele*, *figella*, *fiola*, *fidele*. This hypothesis is strongly denied by current linguistic studies, according to several of

their coherent theories, as pointed one by one in the development of the article, but it seems to us to be what the historical records organized and chronologically contextualized point out. Therefore, a long path of sharing knowledge between scholars still needs to be trodden until consensus solutions can be found.

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