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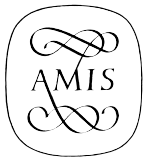

Harpsichord Mottoes

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MANY historic harpsichords, virginals, and clavichords display mottoes as a distinctive feature in their decoration. Of more than just decorative significance, these mottoes, which have received only cursory attention,[1] had a cultural and ideological function that has been little recognized. The checklist presented here attempts an exhaustive compilation of harpsichord mottoes drawn from surviving instruments and their depictions in paintings from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. The following prefatory essay discusses their intellectual background and context and the ideas they express about music.

Lavish decoration can be found not only on harpsichords, but also on more modest virginals and clavichords. These instruments were often painted with allegorical, mythological, or pastoral scenes; veneered and covered with inlay-work and carving; or embellished with semi-precious stones. They were obviously intended to function as works of art and signs of wealth as well as for musical purposes. Baldassare Castiglione reported that his ideal ruler, Federigo da Montefeltro,

1. See the brief lists compiled by André M. Pols, *De Ruckers en de klavierbouw en Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1942), pp. 40–41; John Henry van der Meer, "Beiträge zum Cembalo-Bau der Familie Ruckers," *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung*, 1971, pp. 142–43; Ernest Closson, *Histoire du piano* (Brussels: Éditions universitaires, 1944), p. 50; idem, "L'ornementation en papier imprimé des clavecins anversois," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 2 (1932): 108–9; Ian F. Finlay, "Musical Instruments in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Paintings," *Journal of the Galpin Society* 6 (1953): 61; A. J. Hipkins, *Musical Instruments, Historic, Rare, and Unique* (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1888), notes to pl. 18; and Edgar Hunt's brief list and comments, "Inscriptions on Harpsichords," *The English Harpsichord Magazine* 1 (1977): 245–47.

Duke of Urbino, included "every kind of musical instrument" among the adornments of his palace.[2] And Sabba di Castiglione wrote that he could commend furnishing palaces and rooms with musical instruments, including organs, harpsichords, and clavichords, "because such instruments as these greatly delight the ears, and they also please the eye very much when they are diligently made by the hands of excellent and ingenious masters."[3] The mottoes painted on some harpsichords reflect this dual role when they proclaim: *Rendo lieti in un tempo gli occhi e'l core* (I make happy at one time the eyes and the heart) or *Riccho son d'oro et riccho son di suono* (Rich I am of gold, and rich I am of tone). But with the addition of an edifying, instructive motto, a musical instrument also partakes of the Horatian ideal: to delight and instruct. It thus becomes an early example of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a unification of the visual and sonorous arts with an ennobling literary, intellectual idea.

A close examination of the mottoes appearing on harpsichords proves to be of more than mere antiquarian interest, for mottoes, proverbs, and public inscriptions have traditionally expressed prevailing community attitudes and values about "such matters as . . . every man should know, and descant upon."[4] In the case of musical instruments from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, we may consider these mottoes intellectual *graffiti* from music-minded members of the educated middle and upper classes, reflecting the ideas and attitudes of the time toward music, as well as other wider aspects of literary and artistic culture.

The frequent appearance of mottoes on musical instruments is a manifestation of the Renaissance and Baroque fascination with allegory, mythology, and the emblem (an image accompanied by a motto and often explanatory verses) during a time when "the belief was widely prevalent that every thing can be expressed in a sign, a word, a concept, a motto, a slogan or an emblem."[5] The practice of selecting a motto as part of a decorative scheme had origins in her-

2. *Il libro del cortegiano* [The book of the courtier] (1528), bk. 1.

3. *Ricordi di Frate Sabba di Castiglione* (1549), fol. 57^{v}.

4. [George Puttenham], *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), p. 43.

5. Wladyslaw Tatarkiewicz, *History of Aesthetics* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 3: 222.

aldry, a by-product of the need for identification in battle. By the time of the Renaissance, however, emblems, devices, and mottoes had begun to be carefully chosen to reflect the character and dignity of individuals, families, and institutions.[6]

A motto was an essential part of emblems and devices, and Henrie Estienne's *L'art de faire les devises* (1645) summarizes the important criteria for devising an appropriate motto. Estienne commends Latin since it "truely is the language which is most knowne, most pleasant, most energique, and most authentick, of any other in all Europe." The ideal length for a motto is two to three words,

> and the more it exceeds that number, the lesse gentile is it, unlesse it be to use an Hemistick or whole verse, be it Greek, Latine or any other strange language, [since] verse or measured sentences have a certain grace, harmony and cadence, which cause them to be read with facility, and retained with delight.[7]

Several harpsichord mottoes—*Espoir confoirte* (Hope comforts), *Soli Deo gloria* (Glory to God alone), *Sic transit gloria mundi* (Thus passes the glory of the world), and *Verbum Domini manet in aeternum* (The word of the Lord endures forever)—were used in Renaissance emblem books, and most harpsichord mottoes follow Estienne's *desiderata* closely.

Examining these mottoes, we are immediately aware that the period in question was still under the influence of the Renaissance and the humanist revival of classical learning—not only because of the predominant use of Latin, but also by the quotations drawn from classical Roman and Greek writers, the frequent use of classic verse forms, references to ancient myths,[8] and the survival of ancient views

6. Ibid., pp. 222–30. On emblems and devices see E. H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon, 1972), pp. 160–65; Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 2d ed. (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1964); and Albert Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, eds., *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 2d ed., and *Supplement* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976).

7. *L'art de faire les devises* (1645); trans. Tho. Blount, *The Art of Making Devises* (1648), pp. 58 and 27.

8. These myths dealing with music (especially those of Arion, Amphion, Orpheus, Orpheus charming the animals, Orpheus and Eurydice, the Flaying of Marsyas, the Judgement of Midas, and the image of Apollo surrounded by the nine Muses) are frequently the subject of paintings that decorate the lids of harpsichords and that played an ideological role in defending instrumental music similar to that of the mot-

about cosmology and the harmonious ordering of the universe. Mottoes that are quotations from classical authors (checklist nos. 1, 3, 11, 39, 42, 50, 71, and 72) need not necessarily have been chosen by the builder, customer, or patron from first-hand acquaintance with classical literature. Many such quotations used as mottoes were widely known through their inclusion in various Renaissance *adagia*, *florilegia*, and *sententiae*. Important results of humanist scholarship, these anthologies of excerpts from classical literature played an important role in popularizing and disseminating the classical heritage.[9] Thus, almost half of the mottoes found on harpsichords (including mottoes drawn from the Bible) had wider intellectual currency in their time than merely their use on musical instruments.

While many mottoes express proverbial wisdom or Judeo-Christian religious sentiments appropriate in a variety of situations, those mottoes about music and appropriate to musical instruments are of particular interest to us. Many mottoes become intelligible only if we assume them to be "spoken" by the instrument itself (checklist nos. 4, 12, 15, 24, 25, 49, 56–58, 64, 66, 68, and 73). Several mottoes of this group are in the form of riddles or paradoxes posed by the instrument: *Arbor eram vilis quondam sed viva tacebam / Nunc bene si tangor mortua dulce sono* (I was once an ordinary tree, although living I was silent; now, though dead, if I am well played, I sound sweetly); *Intactum sileo percute dulce cano* (Untouched, I am silent; strike me, I sing sweetly); or *Viva fui in sylvis sum dura occisa securi / Dum vixi tacui mortua dulce cano* (I was alive in the woods; I was cut down by the hard ax. While living I was silent; now dead I sing sweetly). The paradox vanishes if one knows the solution, which is, of course, the very instrument upon which the riddle appears. The liter-

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toes discussed here. See A. P. de Mirimonde, "Remarques sur l'iconographie musicale," *Revue de musicologie* 51 (1965): 11; and Richard D. Leppert, *The Theme of Music in Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, Musik und Musiker im Bild: Ikonologische Studien, no. 1 (Munich: Emil Katzbichler, 1977), 1: 96ff. I have developed this idea regarding the mythological paintings on harpsichord lids in "Harpsichord Decoration—A Reflection of Renaissance Ideas about Music," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 6 (1980): 1–27.

9. On the role of such anthologies see R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), pp. 265–75.

ary riddle was very popular in the Renaissance;[10] riddles dealing with musical instruments were quite prevalent and can be traced back to antiquity.[11] Although these riddles usually dealt with the invention of the lyre by the god Hermes from the shell of a dead tortoise, the conceit involved is quite applicable to most musical instruments: "When alive I was silent; but now dead I am capable of sweet music."[12]

Another group of mottoes appropriate to musical instruments are those praising music[13] and referring to its various powers (checklist nos. 7, 10–12, 14, 22, 26, 39–48, and 64). Since the time of Greek antiquity, these sentiments have been part of Western thought about music. Although most of these notions may now seem fanciful or obscure to us, they must be understood in terms of traditional and widely held views about cosmology and world harmony. The earliest Western accounts of these doctrines relating music to the cosmos are attributed to the Greek philosopher Pythagoras (ca. 570 – ca. 490 B.C.) and his followers.[14]

10. See Archer Taylor, *The Literary Riddle before 1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), pp. 72–111.

11. See E. K. Borthwick, "The Riddle of the Tortoise and the Lyre," *Music and Letters* 51 (1970): 373–87.

12. Sheridan Germann has frequently suggested that the motto *Dum vixi tacui mortua dulce cano* is related to a Resurrection theme in French harpsichord soundboard decoration. See Sheridan Germann and Scott Odell, "'Pleasing to Eye and Ear Alike'—The Jean Mari Dedeban Harpsichord of 1770," *The William A. Clark Collection: An Exhibition* (Washington, D.C.: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1978), p. 103; Sheridan Germann, "La decoration des clavecins italiens et flamands," *Musique et loisirs* 5 (November 1978): 20; idem, "Regional Schools of Harpsichord Decoration," this *Journal* 4 (1978): 69; and idem, "Monsieur Doublet and His *Confrères*: The Harpsichord Decorators of Paris," pt. 1, *Early Music* 8 (1980): 448–49.

13. On the "praise of music" as a literary topic and the origin of its ideas in classical literature, see James Hutton, "Some English Poems in Praise of Music," *English Miscellany* 2 (1951): 1–63.

14. Pythagoras left no written doctrine; the earliest account of Pythagoreanism is given by Plato, with other accounts by later writers including Aristotle, Iamblicus, Cicero, Macrobius, Plutarch, et al. For a convenient discussion of Pythagorean doctrine and scholarship, see W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 1: 146–340. On the survival of Pythagorean and classical ideas about music in Western culture, see Gretchen L. Finney, *Musical Backgrounds for English Literature: 1580–1650* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, [1962]); Rudolf Haase, *Geschichte des harmonikalen Pytha-*

For the Pythagoreans, number (as a harmonious ordering of parts) was the ordering principle of the universe. Pythagoras's renowned discovery was that the consonant musical intervals used in Greek music could be expressed numerically as the proportional lengths of a divided string—i.e., the octave as a ratio of 1:2, the fifth as 3:2, and the fourth as 4:3. Similarly, the Pythagoreans believed that the distances between the celestial spheres could be expressed by the same ratios that described musical intervals. The heavenly bodies moving in their harmoniously ordered paths were believed to produce a kind of music (*musica mundana*)—the Harmony of the Spheres.[15] The human soul was likewise believed to be a similar harmonious ordering of disparate elements (its harmony a *musica humana*) and was thus susceptible to the influence of celestial music as well as earthly melodies and rhythms (*musica instrumentalis*); a soul in a state of imbalance could be restored to harmony by the proper music. Pythagoras is said to have used music in the place of medicine to purify the soul, regulate daily activities, and cure ills of the body and soul.[16]

This complex of beliefs about celestial harmony and the power of music was widespread in classical literature and was perpetuated in the writings of early Church Fathers, including Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, and, most important, Boethius,[17] and was thus transmitted into medieval thought (though some aspects of the doctrine were

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goreismus, Publikationen der Wiener Musikakademie, vol. 3 (Vienna: Lafite, 1969); S. K. Heninger, Jr., *Touches of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1974); John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500–1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961); Kathi Meyer-Baer, *Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death: Studies in Musical Iconology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970); and Leo Spitzer, *Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony*, ed. Anna Hatcher (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963).

15. The most widely known statement of this doctrine was that given by Cicero in the Dream of Scipio in *De re publica* 6.18.

16. For accounts of the use of music as medicine found in the literature of antiquity, see Bruno Meinecke, "Music and Medicine in Classical Antiquity," in *Music and Medicine*, ed. Dorothy Schullian and Max Schoen (New York: H. Schuman, 1948), pp. 47–95.

17. Excerpts from these writers dealing with music can be found in Oliver Strunk, ed., *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950), pp. 79–100.

transformed to accord with Christian theology). Interest in these classical ideas about music was renewed in the Renaissance.

This musico-cosmological scheme explains references to the power of music over objects in the universe in mottoes nos. 7 and 11 (checklist) and the power of music to allay anger (nos. 39 and 48) and to cure sorrow and weariness from labor (nos. 12, 14, 40, 42, 43, 45, and 47). The role of the musical instrument to manifest on earth the otherwise inaudible celestial harmony is suggested by motto no. 66.

But in a broader sense, most of these mottoes praising music must be seen as performing a dialectical function: as arguments defending the practice of both sacred and secular music. For since antiquity, philosophers and religious writers have raised questions about the moral, civic, and religious propriety of music. This debate over music took place in both the secular and moral or religious realms and continued into the Renaissance and Baroque periods (and beyond). Precedents for the arguments can be found in Plato and Aristotle: acknowledging the strong influence of music over the soul and passions, both had found it necessary to regulate music in their ideal polities. Plato would have banished Lydian and Ionian harmonies and the makers and players of the *aulos* from his Republic. Aristotle explicitly limited the type of instrument and the degree of proficiency suitable for the musical training of youth: the *aulos* was forbidden, and the student must stop short of professional skill and competition.[18]

The early Church Fathers sanctioned and encouraged the singing of psalms in the service, although there was sharp disagreement over the inclusion of instruments. Theologians such as St. Basil, Clement of Alexandria, and St. Jerome recognized the great power of music to convey sacred texts, to mirror the cosmos, and to aid spiritual devotion and discipline.[19] But they also believed that music could be an equally powerful influence toward evil; and there are frequent denunciations—notably by St. John Chrysostom—against the pernicious and degenerate influence of pagan and secular music. In fact, in many periods of Christian art, musical instruments become an attri-

18. See especially Plato *Republic* 3.398–412, and Aristotle *Politics* 8.5–7.
19. Excerpts also in Strunk, *Source Readings*, pp. 59–75.

bute of Death or Satan, a symbol of vice or vanity, and a representation of easy seduction and allurement to sin.[20] This ambivalent attitude toward music and the vigilance needed to avoid subverting its spiritual efficacy by secular use is made clear by Lactantius:

> Above all it is forbidden to pervert to evil purposes that sense which is given us for the purpose of apprehending the divine teaching. So, if it is pleasure to hear music, let your best pleasure be to sing and hear the praises of God.[21]

By the time of the Reformation, the Catholic Church had long made extensive use of elaborate vocal and instrumental music in the Mass, offices, and other services. But, under the influence of Zwingli and Calvin, many Protestant reformers and congregations, echoing the Church Fathers, believed that any sacred music more elaborate than simple, unaccompanied psalm singing was to be avoided—partly because of its association with the corrupt practices of the Roman Church, and in the belief that it would be a sensuous distraction from devotion. Some reform groups took extreme and even hostile attitudes toward music: disbanding church choirs, destroying organs, and even abolishing any form of music-making in their liturgy. Even in the realm of daily life they came to consider music an idle waste of time and an accompaniment to immoral behavior. They obviously took to an extreme John Calvin's caution that we must be careful not to abuse music,

> for fear of soiling and contaminating it, converting it to our condemnation when it has been dedicated to our profit and welfare. . . . It should not be the occasion of our giving free rein to dissoluteness or of our making ourselves effeminate with disordered pleasures and that it should not become the instrument of lasciviousness or of any shamelessnes. . . . Wherefore we must be the more diligent in ruling it in such a manner that it may be useful to us and in no way pernicious.[22]

Music came to be counted among the vanities of human life, which distracted from contemplation of one's ultimate fate; and in Dutch

20. See Meyer-Baer, *Music of the Spheres*, pt. 2, passim, and works cited below in n. 23.

21. *De vero cultu* 6.21, quoted in Erik Routley, *The Church and Music*, rev. ed. (London: Duckworth, 1967), p. 233, which contains useful discussions of the attitudes of the Church Fathers and Protestant reformers toward music.

22. Foreword to the 1545 edition of the *Geneva Psalter*, trans. in Strunk, *Source Readings*, p. 347.

still-life painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the role of musical instruments and sheets of music as symbols of vain pleasure is quite conventionalized.[23]

It is within this context of widespread belief that counted music among the vanities of life that we must consider the most frequently occuring motto, *Sic transit gloria mundi*. The appearance of this motto on an instrument would seem to disarm such animosity toward music by turning the harpsichord into a *memento mori*, the harpsichord serving as a corrector of vanity and a reminder of the transience of human life and earthly delights. This motto causes the instrument to function as a metaphor: saying not only that the pleasures of the harpsichord and its music are to pass away, but that the very dying away of the harpsichord tones is symbolic of human life. With special respect to instruments from the Ruckers family, the idea of vanity as well as its remedy is suggested when *Sic transit gloria mundi* is combined with other mottoes, such as *Soli Deo gloria*. The vain glory is thus juxtaposed with the real glory, and Ruckers's lesson is clear: "Make music, but do it for the glory of God, for otherwise music is vain and mischievous."[24]

Against this tradition of mistrust and hostility toward music, many mottoes function dialectically to praise and defend both sacred and secular music. In the sacred realm, the principal appeal was to the authority of the Bible, where the Old Testament contains many accounts of the use of music and instruments by the Israelites in praise of the Lord. A frequent appeal, found in numerous variants as a motto, was to the musician's favorite psalm, which enjoins all creatures to use music to praise the Lord:

Praise him with the sound of the trumpet: praise him with the psaltery and harp.

23. On the *vanitas*-genre of Dutch painting and the symbolic use of musical instruments, see Ingvar Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Christina Hedström and Gerald Taylor (London: Faber and Faber, 1956), pp. 154–90; Leppert, *The Theme of Music in Flemish Paintings*, 1: 75–85; Pieter Fischer, "Music in Paintings of the Low Countries in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Sonorum speculum* 50/51 (1972), enlarged reprint (Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1975); and A. P. de Mirimonde, "La musique dans les oeuvres hollandaises du Louvre: Natures mortes," *La revue du Louvre* 12 (1962): 175–84.

24. See Pieter Fischer, "Music in Paintings of the Low Countries," pp. 47–49.

Praise him with the timbrel and dance: praise him with stringed instruments and organs.
Praise him upon the loud cymbals: praise him upon the high sounding cymbals.
Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord. (Ps. 150:3–6)

Among Protestant reformers Martin Luther was exceptional for his love of music and advocacy of putting music at the service of theology and evangelism. Throughout his writings Luther invoked the idea "music is a gift of God" (cf. checklist nos. 41 and 44) to defend the practice of music:

I would certainly like to praise music with all my heart as the excellent gift of God which it is and to commend it to everyone. . . . After all, the gift of language combined with the gift of song was only given to man to let him know that he should praise God with both word and music.[25]

He who despises music, as do all the fanatics, does not please me. For music is a gift and largess of God, not a gift of men. . . . After theology I accord to music the highest place and the greatest honor.[26]

A complementary defence of secular music was offered by the Renaissance humanist tradition with its appeal to the authority of classical literature, which contained a wealth of passages attesting the powers and effects of music. This defence or praise of music based on classical sources cited the great esteem ancient writers had for music, retold the miraculous feats of ancient musicians, referred to the harmonious ordering of the cosmos, rehearsed the many curative and restorative powers of music, stressed its power to form a virtuous and well-ordered personality, and claimed it a necessary accomplishment for a gentleman. Some typical humanist praises of music occur in Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (1528), Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), and Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621).[27] The many mottoes already cited

25. Preface to George Rhau, *Symphoniae iucundae* (1538), in *Luther's Works*, vol. 53, *Liturgy and Hymns*, ed. and trans. Ulrich S. Leupold (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), pp. 321–24.

26. From "Concerning Music," as trans. in Walter E. Buszin, "Luther on Music," *Musical Quarterly* 32 (1946): 80–97, which conveniently collects and comments upon most of Luther's remarks on music.

27. The relevant extracts from Castiglione and Peacham are in Strunk, *Source Readings*, pp. 281–85 and 331–37. Burton's remarks on music are on pp. 372–75 of the original.

above under the topic of Pythagoreanism (those mottoes proclaiming the power of music over the cosmos, the harmonious ordering of the universe, and the curative powers of music) would of course also function in this way to defend music.

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The following checklist of harpsichord mottoes from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries is probably not exhaustive. In addition to personal observation, I have relied upon museum catalogs, articles, and reference works about keyboard instruments—any of which may fail to record mottoes appearing on instruments under discussion. The list is also selective, in that it includes only independent, self-sufficient mottoes. Thus, inscriptions accompanying family arms,[28] religious emblems and illustrations,[29] and dedicatory inscriptions[30] have been excluded.

The mottoes on historic instruments were usually painted in uppercase Roman letters with occasional abbreviations and archaic spellings. For the sake of consistency, Latin mottoes in the following checklist have been rendered (where necessary) into classical Latin with abbreviations expanded and the use of *i*, *j*, *u*, *v*, and other details of orthography standardized. Errors, variants, and some spurious mottoes are mentioned in the notes. No attempt has been made to distinguish mottoes that were part of an instrument's original decoration from those added during a later (though genuine) redecoration or *ravalement*.[31]

28. E.g., *Amoris vulnus idem qui sanat fecit*, virginal by Giovanni Francesco Antegnato 1537, Boalch no. 1 (see table 1); *Unicuique probo patet praeclara Bentivoli domus*, virginal by Domenicus Venetus 1566, Boalch no. 8b; or *Deo adjuvante* and *Attente & consonè*, anon. 17th-century clavichord, Budapest no. 3 (see table 1).

29. E.g., *Ecce agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis*, anon. clavichord, Heyer no. 16 (see table 1); or *Bona est oratio cum jejunio et eleemosina*, spinet by Pasquino Querci 1625, Boalch no. 6 (a corrupt version also appears on a spinet forged by Franciolini and signed "Pasquino Querci," Franciolini, pp. 10, 14, and 50 [see table 1]; see Edwin M. Ripin, "A Suspicious Spinet," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 30 [1972]: 196–202).

30. E.g., *Core d'amore che mi ai robato tu* and *Non bene da un solo*, octave virginal by Valerius Peres 1631, Boalch no. 2.

31. Of the mottoes found on Ruckers instruments, John Henry van der Meer, "Beiträge zum Cembalo-Bau," pp. 142–43, mentions only checklist nos. 2, 8, 10, 11, 14, 18, 21, 41–43, 45, 52, 59, 61, and 62 as original.

A fruitful source of mottoes has been harpsichords and virginals depicted in paintings—especially in the very carefully detailed paintings of the Dutch and Flemish schools. Several mottoes, in fact, are preserved for us only through such sources. In some cases, the harpsichord motto on the instrument depicted becomes an important element contributing to the iconological meaning of the painting.[32] Some mottoes shown in paintings are obscured in varying degrees by the performer at the keyboard; in such cases, these mottoes have been reconstructed based on comparison with mottoes found on other instruments or with similar passages from the Bible or other literary sources.[33]

The instruments bearing the mottoes have been identified by reference to the second edition of Donald Boalch's indispensable directory of surviving instruments, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440–1840*, or to the appropriate published museum catalog (see table 1); otherwise, the location or collection of the instrument is given. The spelling and form of the names of the instrument makers have likewise been made to conform to Boalch.

I must express my thanks to Professors John Newman, David Sider, and John Bateman of the University of Illinois, Urbana, for gracious assistance with translations. I shall be pleased to learn from readers of any additional mottoes or their sources that may have escaped my notice.

University of Illinois, Urbana

32. See Pieter Fischer, "Music in Paintings of the Low Countries," pp. 71–72; Richard D. Leppert, "*Concert in a House*: Musical Iconography and Musical Thought," *Early Music* 7 (1979): 3–17; and A. P. de Mirimonde, "Les sujets musicaux chez Vermeer de Delft," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 57 (1961): 47.

33. One such motto on an instrument depicted in a painting by Pieter de Hooch, *Officer at the Window*, remains unintelligible: ". . . DAT . . . SPIERITVS / . . . VS . . . DOMINUM"; painting reproduced in Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *Pieter de Hooch: The Master's Paintings* (London: A. Zwemmer, [1930]), p. 243.

TABLE 1

Catalogs Cited in the Checklist of Harpsichord Mottoes

Belle Skinner	Skinner, William, comp. *The Belle Skinner Collection of Musical Instruments.* Philadelphia: Beck Engraving Co., 1933.
Berlin	Sachs, Curt. *Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente bei der Staatlichen Hochschule für Musik zu Berlin.* Berlin: Julius Bard, 1922.
Boalch	Boalch, Donald. *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440–1840.* 2d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974.
Brussels	Mahillon, Victor-Charles. *Catalogue descriptif et analytique du Musée instrumental du Conservatoire royal de musique de Bruxelles.* 2d ed., 5 vols. Ghent: A. Hoste, 1893–1922.
Budapest	Gábry, György. *Old Musical Instruments.* Budapest: Corvina, 1969. [Catalog of selected instruments from the National Museum of Hungary.]
Closson	Closson, Ernest. *Histoire du piano.* Brussels: Éditions universitaires, 1944.
Franciolini	Ripin, Edwin M. *The Instrument Catalogs of Leopoldo Franciolini.* Music Indexes and Bibliographies, no. 9. Hackensack, N.J.: J. Boonin, 1974.
Frankfurt	Epstein, Peter. *Katalog der Musikinstrumente im Historischen Museum der Stadt Frankfurt am Main.* Frankfurt: Werner und Winter, 1927.
Hamburg	Schröder, Hans. *Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte: Verzeichnis der Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente.* Hamburg: Alster-Verlag, 1930.
Heyer	Kinsky, Georg. *Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Cöln.* Vol. 1. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910.
Hipkins	Hipkins, A. J. *Musical Instruments, Historic, Rare, and Unique.* Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1888.
Leipzig	*Katalog des musikhistorischen Museums von Paul de Wit.* Leipzig: Paul de Wit, 1903.

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Smithsonian Institution	*A Checklist of Keyboard Instruments at the Smithsonian Institution*. 2d ed. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1975.
Victoria and Albert Museum	Russell, Raymond. *Victoria and Albert Museum: Catalogue of Musical Instruments*. Vol. 1: *Keyboard Instruments*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1968.
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A Checklist of Harpsichord Mottoes

1. Ab Jove principium.
All things begin in Jove.

Vergil *Eclogues* 3.60; Hans Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi: Lateinische Sprichtwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters*, 5 vols. (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963–65), no. 123a. Jove: Jupiter, lord of heaven and highest divinity in Roman mythology.

Anon. 17th-century Italian spinet. Heyer, no. 45.

2. Acta virum probant.
Deeds prove the man.

Harpsichord by J. Ruckers, 1637. Boalch, no. 59a.
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1637. Boalch, no. 105 (=106 in 1st ed.).
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1648. Boalch, no. 117.
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1651. Boalch, no. 118 (motto now removed).
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1654. Boalch, no. 119.
Virginal by Joris Britsen, 1686. Boalch, no. 4.

Anon. ?17th-century English harpsichord; formerly attributed to J. Ruckers, 1634. Boalch, no. 54.

Anon. 17th-century Italian virginal. Smithsonian Institution, no. 303,545.

Virginal by C.R., n.d. Boalch, no. 1; formerly attributed to C. Ruckers. Boalch, no. 135.

Harpsichord in painting by Jan Steen (1626–79), *A Young Woman Playing a Harpsichord*. National Gallery, London.

Harpsichord in painting by Jan I Bruegel, *The Allegory of Hearing*, ca. 1610. Prado Museum, Madrid.

Harpsichord in painting attributed to Jan II Bruegel (1601–78) and Jan I van Kessel, *Hearing*. Formerly Quinones de Leon collection.

Virginal in painting by Jan Molenaer (ca. 1610–69), *The Concert*. Gemeentemuseum, The Hague (on loan from Nederlands Kunstbezit).

3. Acti labores jucundi.
Labor, once completed, is pleasant.

Cicero, *De finibus* 2.32.105, quotes a popular saying: "Jucundi acti labores." Boalch mistakenly reports that this spinet reads *Acti labores sucundi.*

Spinet by Thomas Hitchcock, n.d. Boalch, no. 8.

4. Arbor eram vilis quondam sed viva tacebam
Nunc bene si tangor mortua dulce sono.
I was once an ordinary tree, although living I was silent; now though dead, if I am well played, I sound sweetly.

Cf. no. 73.

Virginal by Paul Steinicht, 1657. Boalch, no. 1.

5. Ars non habet inimicum nisi ignorantem.
Art has no enemy except an ignorant man.

Cf. "Ars non habet osorem, nisi ignorantem" recorded in Johann Georg Seybold, *Selectiora adagia Latino-Germanica*, 3d ed. (1669), p. 34. Cf. also no. 59.

Virginal by A. Ruckers, 1620. Boalch, no. 88.

6. Ars usu juvanda.
Art must be aided by practice.

Used as a motto by the printer Steph. Neaolme of Utrecht in 1740; see Bella C. Landauer, *Printers' Mottoes* (New York: privately printed, 1926), p. 7.

Double virginal by Lodewijck Grauwels, 1600. Boalch, p. 55.

7. Aspicite ut trahitur suavi modulamine vocis
Quicquid habent aer sidera terra fretum.
Behold how everything bounded by air, stars, earth, and sea is moved by the smooth melody of the voice.

Harpsichord by Hieronymus Bononiensis, 1521. Boalch, no. 1.

8. Audi vide et tace
Si vis vivere in pace.
Listen, watch, and be silent if you wish to live in peace.

Walther records this variant, among others, for the more usual form: *Audi, vide, tace, si tu vis vivere pace* (*Proverbia sententiaeque*, no. 1720).

Double virginal by J. Ruckers, [ca. 1627]. Boalch, no. 41.
Virginal by J. Ruckers, 1637. Boalch, no. 58.
Harpsichord in painting by Gonzales Coques (1618–84), *Portrait Presumed That of the van Coudenberg Family*, ca. 1650. S. Bergmans Collection, Brussels.

9. Concentu laetentur eo super astra loc[ato].
Let them rejoice in that harmony located beyond the stars.

Harpsichord by Vido Trasuntino, 1571. Boalch, no. 1a.

10. Concordia musis amica.
Harmony is a friend to the Muses.

Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1640. Boalch, no. 109.

11. Concordia res parvae crescunt discordia maximae dilabuntur.
Little things grow with harmony; great things are destroyed through discord.

Sallustius Crispus *Bellum Jugurthinum* 10.10; Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque*, no. 3043a. The anonymous painting, whose location is not given, is illustrated as the frontispiece to *L'Europe du clavecin* (Nice: Association des amis du Musée instrumental du Conservatoire national de région de Nice, n.d.). Another application of the quotation to music occurs on the frontispiece to *An Essay to the Advancement of Musick* (1672) wherein Thomas Salmon proposed a simplified notation system. Upon the pages of an opened part-book, "Concordia res parvae crescunt" appears below a scale written in Salmon's notation, while "Discordia maximae dilabuntur" describes the confusing present system of using different clefs.

Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1615. Boalch, no. 79.
Harpsichord in anon. 17th-century Flemish painting, *Young Woman at the Harpsichord*.

12. Corda mulcet tristia.
Strings [music] soothes sadness (or: It soothes sad hearts).

Harpsichord by Cristoforo Rigunini, 1602. Boalch, p. 127.

13. Ducere uxorem est vendere libertatem.
To take a wife is to sell one's freedom.

Anon. virginal, 1620; formerly attributed to H. Ruckers. Boalch, no. 23a.
Anon. ?17th-century virginal. Heyer, no. 35; formerly attributed to H. Ruckers. Boalch, no. 26a.

14. Dulcisonum reficit tristia corda melos.
Sweet song refreshes sad hearts.

Attributed to Eobanus Hessus (1488–1540) by Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), p. 372. Cf. also the lines quoted by Pierre Trichet in his manuscript "Traité des instruments de musique" (ca. 1640): "Tange Chelyn digitis, animi dolor omnis abibet: / Dulcisonum reficit tristia corda melos"; see François Lesure, "Le traité des instruments de musique de Pierre Trichet," *Annales musicologiques* 4 (1956): 214.

Virginal by H. Ruckers, 1598. Boalch, no. 8.
Virginal by H. Ruckers, 1610. Boalch, no. 14.
Virginal by J. Ruckers, 1636. Boalch, no. 55a.

15. Dum vixi tacui mortua dulce cano.
While living I was silent; now dead I sing sweetly.

See no. 73.

Spinet by Petrus Michael Orlandus, 1710. Boalch, no. 2.

16. Espoir confoirte.
Hope comforts.

Cf. the emblem motto "Esperance conforte l'homme" in Gilles Corrozet, *Hecatomgraphie* (1541), fol. G8^{v}.

Double virginal by Marten van der Biest, 1580. Boalch, p. 13.
Virginal (signed "MARTEN VAN DER BIEST") in anon. Dutch painting, *Man with Virginal*, ca. 1584. Gemeentemuseum, The Hague.

17. Gaillard et sans souci.
Wanton and without care.

Anon. German clavichord, ca. 1760. Hamburg, p. 19.

18. Gloria Deo.
Glory to God.

Harpsichord and ottavino by J. Ruckers, n.d. Boalch, no. 70.

19. Gloria in excelsis Deo.
Glory to God in the highest.

Luke 2:14.

Virginal by Paul Steinicht, 1657. Boalch, no. 1.
Virginal in painting by Pieter de Hooch, *The Duet*, 1670. Collection of Madame P. Errera, Brussels.

20. Gottes Wort bleibt ewick beistan den Armen als den Reichen.
The word of God remains eternal, supporting the poor as much as the rich.

Cf. no. 69, of which this is an expanded German translation.

Harpsichord by Hans Müller, 1537. Boalch, no. 1.

21. Haec si contingant mundo quae guadia coelo?
If these are the joys of this world, what must be the joys in heaven?

The harpsichord by H. Ruckers reads . . . *coeli* (= of heaven).

Harpsichord by H. Ruckers, 16—. Boalch, no. 24.
Virginal by Paul Steinicht, 1657. Boalch, no. 1.

22. Ignis fatalem patientur cuncta ruinam:
In coelum verbum et musica diva volat.
All things will suffer the final destruction of fire; [but] divine word and music fly to heaven.

Virginal by J.W.R., n.d. Boalch, p. 124.

23. In te Domine speravi non confundar in aeternum.
O Lord, in thee have I trusted: let me never be confounded.

Ps. 30:2 and 70:1. Metsu's virginals read *confondar*.

Virginal in painting by Gabriel Metsu (1629–67), *A Man and Woman Seated by a Virginal*. National Gallery, London.
Virginal in painting by Gabriel Metsu, *Woman at the Virginal*. Museum Boymans–van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

Virginal in painting by Gabriel Metsu, *Music Company*. Collection of Sir Harold Wernher, Luton Hoo.

24. Indocta manus noli me tangere.
Unlearned hand do not touch me.

Anon. virginal, second half of 17th century. Milan, no. 67.

25. Intactum sileo percute dulce cano.
Untouched, I am silent; strike me, I sing sweetly.

Spinet by ?John Crang, 1741. Collection of Michael Thomas, London.

26. Intonuit nunquam melius quod Tartara flexit
Quod delphin grato pondere vexit opus.
The instrument that swayed the underworld and that weighed down the dolphin with its pleasing burden never sounded better.

This motto alludes to the well-known myths of Orpheus and Arion. Orpheus charmed Hades with the music of his lyre and briefly won back his wife Eurydice (see Vergil *Georgics* 4.406ff.; poets have used Tartarus synonymously with Hades). The dolphin occurs in the legend of Arion, the famous poet and harpist, recorded in Herodotus *History* 1.24. Arion had traveled from Corinth to Sicily, where he won a prize in a music contest. During his return the crew of his ship plotted to steal his treasure and take his life. After failing to get his life spared in return for his treasure, Arion obtained permission to play a last time upon his harp with the promise that he throw himself into the sea. His playing was so charming that a group of song-loving dolphins gathered below him; Arion jumped into the sea and was carried safely back to Corinth on the back of a dolphin.

Harpsichord by Alessandro Trasuntino, 1538. Boalch, no. 4.

27. Io da le piaghe mie forma ricevo.
I receive form from the blows (I receive).

Virginal by Franciscus Patavinus, 1527. Boalch, no. 1.

28. Laudabo nomen Dei cum cantico et magnificabo eum in laude.
I will praise the name of God with a song; I will magnify Him with thanksgiving.

Ps. 68:31.

Anon. Italian virginal, 1620. Paris Conservatoire, no. 1080; formerly attributed to H. Ruckers. Boalch, no. 22a.

29. Laudate Deum in cymbalis et organo.
Praise God on cymbals and the organ.

Cf. Ps. 150:4–5.

Harpsichord by H.V.L., 1762. Boalch, p. 97.

30. Laudate Dominum in chordis et in organo.
Praise the Lord on strings and on the organ.

Cf. Ps. 150:4.

Anon. Flemish virginal, 1568. Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 11.

31. Laudate Dominum in cordis et organo.
Laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus.
Praise the Lord on strings and the organ; praise Him on well-sounding cymbals.

Cf. Ps. 150:4–5. The Karest 1548 reads . . . *symbalis*. Leopoldo Franciolini, the Florentine instrument dealer, was fond of using these lines on many faked and forged instruments that left his shop—though he never seemed able to copy them correctly. The following instruments and their inscriptions are suspect: *Cimbalis bene sonantibus*, harpsichord by Simone Remoti 1602, Boalch p. 125, Franciolini pp. 11, 14, and 67; *In cilmbalis bene sonantibus*, virginal by Joannes (Giovanni) Carcassi 1698, Boalch no. 1; and *In cijmbalis bene sonantibus laudate Domine ad semper. Amen*, harpsichord by Pasquino Querci 1613, Boalch no. 2. The following instruments and inscriptions are found in Franciolini's catalogs: *Cimbalii bene sonantibus. Laudate Domini ad semper. Amen*, harpsichord by Antonius Migliai 1617, Franciolini p. 67; *In cymbalis bene sonantibus*, virginal by Joannes Carcassi 1698, Franciolini p. 50; *Laudate Deum in Cjimbalis bene sonantibus*, harpsichord by Elpidius Gregori 1691, Franciolini p. 69; *Laudate Dominum in cordis organo*, virginal by Petrus Scappa 1670, Franciolini p. 70; *Laudate Dominum* (or *Domini*) *in cordis organo / Laudate eum* (*in*) *symbalis bene sonantibus in cereis et organo*, virginal by Joos Karest 1550, Franciolini pp. 10, 14, 50, and 58; and *Laudate eum in cordis et organo per semper secole*, harpsichord by Hieronimus Zenti 1633, Franciolini pp. 51, 59, and 70. For discussions of Franciolini's activities as instrument dealer and forger, see Edwin M. Ripin, "A Suspicious Spinet," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 30 (1972): 196–202, and Franciolini pp. ix–xv.

Virginal by Joos Karest, 1548. Boalch, no. 1.
Spinet by Joos Karest, 1550. Rome, no. 812.

32. Laudate Dominum in cordis laudate instrumentis bene sonantibus [et] e caelo musica.
Praise the Lord on strings; praise Him with well-sounding instruments and music from heaven.

Harpsichord by Johannes Hasard, 1622; previously attributed to John Haward. Boalch, no. 1.

33. Laudate Dominum in cymbalis bene sonantibus.
Praise the Lord on well-sounding cymbals.

Cf. Ps. 150:5.

Anon. ?16th-century Italian harpsichord. Collection of Michael Thomas, London.

Anon. early 17th-century harpsichord. Heyer, no. 70.

34. Laudate eum in chordis et organo.
Praise Him on strings and the organ.

Cf. Ps. 150:4.

Anon. clavichord, ca. 1700. Budapest, no. 4.

35. Laudate eum in cordis et organo per semper secula.
Praise Him on strings and the organ forever.

Cf. Ps. 150:4.

Spinet by Girolamo Zenti, 1637. Boalch, no. 2.

36. Laudate eum in cymbalis.
Praise Him on cymbals.

Cf. Ps. 150:5. Date of instrument as given in Berlin no. 2225; Boalch gives 1620.

Harpsichord by Frans van Huffel, 1626. Boalch, no. 1.

37. Laudate eum in psalteri[o].
Praise Him with the psaltery.

Ps. 150:3. The motto is partially obscured by the jack rail; there would appear to be enough room for the complete line: *Laudate eum in psalterio et cithara.*

Virginal in illumination in manuscript (1565–70) of Orlando di Lasso's Penitential Psalms of David. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Mus.MSS.A (Cim.207), fol. 89.

38. Laus Deo.
Praise God.

Anon. Flemish virginal, 1568. Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 11.

39. Musica comp[onit molli]tque irarum ardores.
Music composes and softens the heat of angers.

Part of the motto on the instrument depicted in the painting is hidden. The reconstruction given here is based on a quotation referring to music found in a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources: "Stabilisque thesaurus musica est: mores enim instituit, componit, ac mollit irarum ardores." See Bartholomaeus Amantius, *Flores celebriorum sententiarum Graecarum ac Latinarum* (1556), p. 294, and Joseph Lang, *Nova Polyanthea* (1607), p. 755. The quotation may have been intended as a Latin translation from the Greek of Athenaeus *Deipnosophistarum* 14.623e. Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), p. 98, gives a truncated version; but his and Lang's attribution to Cicero *Tusculanarum disputationum* 1 is not correct. Another reconstruction of the motto as *Musica componit pellitque iram ardores* is suggested by Horst Vey in his discussion of the painting in "Gottfried von Wedig," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 24 (1962): 300.

Virginal in painting by Gottfried von Wedig, *Gertrude Wintzler and Her Daughters*, 1616. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne.

40. Musica disparium dulcis concordia vocum
Pello levo placo tristia corda deos.
I, music, the sweet harmony of different voices, drive away sadness, relieve hearts, and placate the gods.

Anon. Flemish virginal, 1568. Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 11.

41. Musica donum Dei.
Music is the gift of God.

The anonymous virginal has the word order *Musica Dei donum. Musica donum Dei* is certainly a Christian, not a classical, idea. Antiquity would have credited the gift or invention of music to Apollo or the Muses. The idea becomes widespread (especially with Protestant theological writers) from the early sixteenth century—probably from Luther's frequent use; it is often attributed to St. Augustine. A popular secular motet text in praise of music set by at least nine composers began "Musica Dei donum optimi"; see Winfried Kirsch, "'Musica Dei donum optimi': Zu einigen weltlichen Motetten des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Helmuth Osthoff: Zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1969), pp. 105–28.

Harpsichord by J. Ruckers, 1627. Boalch, no. 43.
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1651. Boalch, no. 118.
Virginal by ?Charles Haward, n.d. Boalch, no. 7.
Anon. ?English virginal, n.d. Russell Collection, Edinburgh (on loan from Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh).

42. Musica laborum dulce levamen.
Music is the sweet lightener of labors.

Cf. the popular ode by Horace (1.32.13–15), where the reference is to the lyre: "O decus Phoebi et dapibus supremi / grata testudo Iovis, o laborum / dulce lenimen." The H. Ruckers 1581 has the word order *Musica dulce laborum levamen.*

Double virginal by H. Ruckers, 1581. Boalch, no. 2.
Virginal by A. Ruckers, 1640. Boalch, no. 109b.
Virginal by J. Ruckers, 1642. Boalch, no. 63a.
Spinet by John Crang, 1753. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Spinet by John Crang, 1758. Boalch, no. 2.
Spinet by ?Thomas Hitchcock, the Younger, ca. 1740. Morley Galleries, London.
Virginal in painting by Jacob Ochterveldt, *The Music Lesson*. City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham.

43. Musica laetitiae comes medicina dolorum.
Music is the companion of joy, the medicine of sorrows.

Cf. Heinrich Koch's description of the clavichord, "Labsal dem Dulder, und des Frohsinns theilnehmender Freund," in his *Musikalisches Lexicon* (1802), p. 341. The motto also appears on the page of an opened book in a still-life painting by E. Collier (d. 1702), *Still Life with Musical Instruments*, Castres, private collection. Cf. also a manuscript dated 1569 in a Renaissance part-book: "Musica laetitiae comes et medicina doloris. *Nicolaus Baseler* Francusanus"; see Edwin Mayser, ed., *Alter Musikschatz*, Mitteilungen aus der Bibliothek des Heilbronner Gymnasiums, vol. 2 (Heilbronn: C. F. Schmidt, 1893), p. vii. This motto is found expanded into a couplet in at least two manuscript sources: "Musica laetitiae comes est, Medicina dolorum / Demulcens suavi pectora nostra sono" in the commonplace book of Johannis Stoboeus, dated 1640, British Library, Sloane MS.1021, fol. 40^{v}; and "Musica laetitiae comes & medicina dolorum / Jure vocor; dure me cura sepulsa jacet" in an entry dated 1603 in the *album amicorum* of Johannis Cellario, British Library, Add. MS.27,579, fol. 154^{r}.

Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1624. Boalch, no. 92.
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1640. Boalch, no. 109.
Virginal in painting by Jan Vermeer, *The Music Lesson*, ca. 1662. Buckingham Palace, London.
Virginal in painting attributed to Gonzales Coques (1618–84), *Concert in a House*. Formerly Janssen Collection, Brussels.

44. Musica lieta dono divino.
Joyful music is a divine gift.

Spinet by Pentorisi, 1590. Boalch, p. 119.

45. Musica magnorum solamen dulce laborum.
Music is the sweet solace of great toils.

The J. Ruckers 1638 adds a redundant *est*: *Musica magnorum est solamen dulce laborum*. The only lettering visible in the de Hooch painting is ". . . T SOLAMEN / . . . BORUM."

Harpsichord attributed to H. Ruckers, 1573. Boalch, no. 1.
Harpsichord by H. Ruckers, 1599. Boalch, no. 9.
Virginal by A. Ruckers, 1632. Boalch, no. 97.
Virginal by J. Ruckers, 1638. Boalch, no. 60.
Virginal in painting by Pieter de Hooch, *The Duet*, 1670. Collection of Madame P. Errera. Brussels.

46. Musica nunc dignas habitet sua pr[aemi]a laurus
[Vic]it honore suas pretio superatque sorores
Prorsus et immensum propellit lumina cordi.
Now let music have deserved laurels as its reward; it has outdone in honor its sisters and surpasses them in value; directly and immensely it drives forward lights to the heart.

The decoration on this instrument has been considerably retouched, no doubt resulting in the present corrupt Latin: ". . . proimaa laurus / Nitit. . . ."

Anon. Flemish virginal, 1568. Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 11.

47. Musica pellit curas.
Music dispells cares.

Harpsichord in painting by Jan Steen, *The Van Goyen Family*, ca. 1665–67. William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.

48. Musica turbatos sensus animosque removet.
Music removes agitated feelings and minds.

Cf. the line in a dedicatory poem ("Encomion cantilenarium" by Joan. Spang.) in Balthasar Resinarius, *Responsoriorium numero octoginta*, vol. 1 (1543): "Musica turbatos sensus, animosque reformat."

Anon. Flemish virginal, 1568. Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 11.

49. Non nisi mota cano.
Not unless struck do I sing.

Anon. 17th-century French harpsichord. Listed in Boalch as Couchet no. 12.

50. O decus Phoebi.
O glory of Phoebus.

See note above to motto no. 42. According to Boalch this instrument incorrectly reads *O decus Phaebi*. Phoebus: epithet of Apollo, the god of song and stringed instruments.

Harpsichord by J. Kirkman, 1754. Boalch, no. 3.

51. Omnia dat Dominus non habet ergo minus.
The Lord gives everything; but does not, therefore, have any the less.

Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque*, no. 19969. See Edwin M. Ripin, "On Joes Karest's Virginal and the Origins of the Flemish Tradition," in *Keyboard Instruments: Studies in Organology*, ed. Edwin M. Ripin (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), p. 71, n. 7, for sources suggesting that the motto can be traced back to Plotinus and may have been taken from the writings of Erasmus.

Virginal by Joos Karest, 1548. Boalch, no. 1.
Flemish virginal by A.W.H., 1623. Boalch, no. 2.
Anon. virginal, ?1670. Heyer, no. 51.
Anon. virginal, n.d. Leipzig, no. 15.
Virginal in painting by Catharina de Hemessen, *Girl at a Spinet*, 1548. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne.
Virginal in painting by Cornelis de Zeeuw, *Pierre Moucheron and His Family*, 1563. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

52. Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum.
Let every spirit praise the Lord.

Ps. 150:6. The anonymous virginal reads *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominus*.

Anon. Flemish virginal, 1568. Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 11.
Virginal by A. Ruckers, 1610. Boalch, no. 74.
Virginal by A. Ruckers, 1613. Boalch, no. 77.
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1615. Boalch, no. 79.
Virginal by J. Ruckers, 1620. Boalch, no. 39.
Virginal by A. Ruckers, 1620. Boalch, no. 86.
Virginal by J. Ruckers, 1622. Boalch, no. 40.
Double virginal by J. Ruckers, [ca. 1627]. Boalch, no. 41.
Virginal by J. Ruckers, 1629. Boalch, no. 49.
Virginal attributed to A. Ruckers, 1643. Boalch, no. 111?
Double virginal by A. Ruckers, 1644. Boalch, no. 113.
Harpsichord and ottavino by J. Ruckers, n.d. Boalch, no. 70.
Virginal in painting by Gabriel Metsu (1629–67), *A Man and Woman Seated by a Virginal*. National Gallery, London.

Virginal in painting by Gabriel Metsu, *Woman at the Virginal*. Museum Boymans–van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

Virginal in painting by Gabriel Metsu, *Music Company*. Collection of Sir Harold Wernher, Luton Hoo.

Harpsichord in painting by Eglon van der Neer, *The Guitar Player*, 1669. Museum Boymans–van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

53. Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum in cordis et organo.
Let every spirit praise the Lord on strings and the organ.

Cf. Ps. 150:4 and 6.

Virginal by Joos Karest, 1548. Boalch, no. 1.

54. Per aures ad animum.
Through the ears to the soul.

Anon. ?English virginal, n.d. Russell Collection, Edinburgh (on loan from Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh).

55. Politicus: Musica est clavis aulae et promotionis.
Theologus: Exercitium musices est sensus vitae aeternae.
Politician: "Music is the key to the royal court and promotion."
Theologian: "The practice of music is awareness of eternal life."

Cf. an entry in the commonplace book of Johannis Stoboeus, dated 1640, British Library, Sloane MS.1021, fol. 115r: "Exercitium Musices est sensus initii vitae aeternae."

Anon. mid-17th-century north European harpsichord, Skokloster Slott, Sweden.

56. Rendo lieti in un tempo gli occhi e'l core.
I make happy at one time the eyes and the heart.

Harpsichord by Vido Trasuntino, ?1560. Boalch, no. 1.

57. Riccho son d'oro et riccho son di suono
Non mi sonar si tu non ha del buono.
Rich I am of gold, and rich I am of sound; do not play me if you do not have some goodness.

Anon. Italian spinet, 1540. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

58. Saltatur me canente.
There is dancing when I sing.

Anon. 16th-century Italian spinet. Belle Skinner, no. 15.

59. Scientia non habet inimicum nisi ignorantem.
Knowledge has no enemy except an ignorant man.

A widespread sentiment; cf. no. 5 and Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque*, nos. 27590e, 17590g, and 27590h. H. Ruckers incorrectly has *ingnorantem*; Grauwels gives the medieval form *sciencia*.

Virginal by H. Ruckers, 1591. Boalch, no. 5.
Double virginal by Lodewijck Grauwels, 1600. Boalch, p. 55.

60. Sic benedicam te in vita mea.
Thus will I bless thee while I live.

Ps. 62:5.

Anon. 17th-century Italian spinet. Frankfurt, no. 34.

61. Sic transit gloria mundi.
Thus passes the glory of the world.

Part of the text sung at the coronation of the new Pope to signify the transitoriness of earthly grandeur. Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque*, no. 29554; cf. also Thomas à Kempis, *Imitatio Christi* 1.3.6: "O quam cito transit gloria mundi." Also used as an emblem motto in Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (1611), no. 86.

Spinet-regal by Anton Meidting, 1587. Vienna, no. 73.
Virginal by A. Ruckers, 1613. Boalch, no. 76.
Anon. Italian virginal, 1617. Paris Conservatoire, no. 316.
Virginal by A.W.H., 1619. Boalch, no. 1.
Virginal by A. Ruckers, 1620. Boalch, no. 85.
Virginal by A. Ruckers, 1620. Boalch, no. 87.
Virginal by A.W.H., 1623. Boalch, no. 2.
Virginal by A. Ruckers, 1626. Boalch, no. 93.
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1627. Boalch, no. 94.
Virginal by A. Ruckers, ?1632. Boalch, no. 98.
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1635. Collection of Michael Thomas, London.
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1637. Boalch, no. 105 (= 106 in 1st ed.).
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1644. Boalch, no. 112.
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1648. Boalch, no. 117.
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1651. Boalch, no. 118.
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1654. Boalch, no. 119.

Virginal by Cornelius Hagaerts, mid-17th century. Boalch, no. 2.
Virginal by Joris Britsen, 1686. Boalch, no. 4.
Anon. spinet-organ, 2d half of 16th century. Vienna, no. 72.
Anon. 17th-century virginal. Berlin, no. 2217.
Virginal in painting by Cornelis de Zeeuw, *Pierre Moucheron and His Family*, 1563. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
Virginal in anon. 16th-century ?French painting, *Saint Cecilia at the Spinet with Five Angels*. Church of Notre-Dame-de-Bonne-Nouvelle, Paris.
Virginal in painting by Jan Verkolje, the Elder (1650–93), *The Young Man Playing the Viola da Gamba*. Château de Wawel, Cracow.

62. Soli Deo gloria.
Glory to God alone.

Used as an emblem motto in Geffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblems* (1586), p. 228.

Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1618. Boalch, no. 83.
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1648. Boalch, no. 117.
Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1651. Boalch, no. 118a.
Anon. ?17th-century English harpsichord; formerly attributed to J. Ruckers, 1634. Boalch, no. 54.
Harpsichord in painting by Jan Steen (1626–79), *The Harpsichord Lesson*. Wallace Collection, London.
Harpsichord in painting by Jan Steen, *A Young Woman Playing a Harpsichord*. National Gallery, London.
Harpsichord in painting by Jan Steen, *The Van Goyen Family*, ca. 1665–67. William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.

63. Soli Deo gloria et sanctum nomen eius.
Glory to God alone, and holy is His name.

Derived from Isa. 57:15 and Luke 1:49.

Harpsichord by A. Ruckers, 1637. Boalch, no. 105 (= 106 in 1st ed.).

64. Sollicitae jucunda oblivio vitae.
A pleasant way to forget life's worries.

Spinet by William Pether, ca. 1765. Boalch, p. 119.

65. Tales in altis sentiunt sonos beati spiritus opus.
Such sounds in the heavens they think to be the work of the blessed spirit.

Italian harpsichord at Sorrento, cited by Hipkins, notes to pl. 18.

66. Terrae reddo quod a caelo accepi.
I return to the earth what I received from heaven.

Anon. 19th-century harpsichord; formerly attributed to H. Ruckers. Boalch, no. 30.

67. Ut frenum equis.
As a bridle to horses.

This motto occurring on the jack rail could allude to restraining the upward motion of the jacks, also possibly to the power of music to control human passions.

Harpsichord by Vido Trasuntino, ?1560. Boalch, no. 1.
Anon. harpsichord, 1550. Weimar Museum (see Heyer, p. 59, n. 1).

68. Ut rosa flos florum ita hoc clavile clavilium.
As the rose is the flower of flowers, so this [instrument] is the clavier of the claviers.

Both instruments are forgeries and ironically bear the same corrupt text: *Ut osa flos florum ita hoe clavle claviluim.* Although these instruments probably passed through the shop of the dealer Franciolini (see Franciolini p. 58), the motto is included in this list because not every instrument that came from his workshop was a fake. The motto—however corrupt—does not follow the pattern of those on other known Franciolini fakes (see note to motto no. 31) and may have been a legitimate motto copied from another instrument. Moreover, the idea expressed by the motto embodies a typical and plausible Renaissance conceit reflecting the idea of the Great Chain of Being.

Clavichord by Alessandro Trasuntino, 1537. Boalch, no. 2.
Clavichord by Alessandro Trasuntino, 1537. Boalch, no. 3.

69. Verbum Do[mini] manet [in aetern]um.
The word of the Lord endures forever.

Reconstructed following Isa. 40:8 and 1 Pet. 1:25; a favorite slogan of early German Protestant reformers. Cf. the use of the initials "V.D.M.I.AE." as a motto for an emblem of St. Christopher in Nicolas Reusner, *Emblemata* (1581), no. 36.

Virginal in painting by Pieter de Hooch, *The Guitar Player*, ca. 1670–75. Private collection, London.

70. Virtute gaudet.
It rejoices in virtue.

Virginal in painting by Anthony van Dyck, *Young Genoese Lady at the Spinet*, ca. 1625. Musées royaux des beaux-arts, Brussels.

71. Virtutem posuere dii sudore parandam.
The gods have established (that) virtue is to be obtained through sweat.

Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque*, no. 33715; derived from the Greek of Hesiod *Works and Days* 289.

Anon. 17th-century Italian spinet. Heyer, no. 45.

72. Vita brevis ars longa.
Life is short; art is long.

Hippocrates *Aphorisms* 1.1; Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque*, no. 33829c.

Anon. Italian virginal, ca. 1600. Smithsonian Institution, no. 303,544.

73. Viva fui in sylvis sum dura occisa securi
Dum vixi tacui mortua dulce cano.
I was alive in the woods; I was cut down by the hard ax. While living I was silent; now dead I sing sweetly.

This motto is actually a traditional riddle that is found in at least two Renaissance collections of riddles: Nicolaus Reusner, *Aenigmatographia* (1599), p. 171; and Johann Buchler, *Gnomologia* (1602), p. 357. For a complete discussion of the origin, history, and variants of this riddle and its adaptation to other musical instruments, see E. K. Borthwick, "The Riddle of the Tortoise and the Lyre," *Music and Letters* 51 (1970): 373–87; Borthwick also discusses its well-known appearance on a viola da gamba by Kaspar Tieffenbrucker, ca. 1650, in the Gemeentemuseum, The Hague. The riddle originally referred to the shell of a dead tortoise that was turned by Hermes into a lyre. To the versions of this riddle cited by Borthwick or found in the present Checklist, can be added the following inscription reported by Edward F. Rimbault, *The Pianoforte: Its Origin, Progress, and Construction* (London: R. Cocks and Co., 1860), p. 75, to be on a soundboard owned by him that belonged to a small virginal:

I once was livinge in the woods,
But now I am cut downe
By stroke of cruell axe, indeed,
But yet to my renowne:
For while I liv'd, I spake nought else
But what the boistrous winde
Compel'd my murmuringe strains unto;
But being dead I please y^{e} minde
And eares of such as heare me singe,
So pleasant is my musickes ringe.

Italian virginal by N.V.S.A., 1757. Berlin, no. 326.

74. Zijt vroolijk in den Herr,
Met orgel en met snaeren,
En laat me, tot Gods eer,
Uw stemmen saemen paeren.
Be joyful in the Lord with organ and with strings, and let me, in praise of God, join your voices together.

Reported without specifying the instrument in Closson, p. 50.