‘In her right hand she bore a trumpet, in her left an olive branch...’

Performance Space and the Early Modern Female Wind Player

In 2 volumes

Sarah Emily Robinson

Volume 2

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Newcastle University, The International Centre for Music Studies (ICMuS)

May 2017
Abstract

References to early modern female wind players are scattered across a wide range of organological, iconographical and musicological scholarship. Normally highlighted as being unusual and in stark opposition to conventional ideals of female behaviour and musical practice of this time, such examples are often reduced to footnotes or side-lined as interesting, but unique instances. To date, no scholar has systematically brought these sources together to examine the continuities, tensions and changes to representations of, attitudes to, and detailed evidence for early modern women playing wind instruments. Among the questions I ask in this thesis are: How did early modern female wind players have access to musical education, tutors, instruments and repertoire? What were the types of performance spaces in which they could play? Were there any constraints or rulings that stipulated how they were to present their music to private or public audiences? And where possible, I will also ask how female wind players were received by audiences and how the presentation of such unusual skills might have been used to contribute to institutional reputations. Importantly, these examples enable moments of change and stasis in the use of wind instruments to be traced to certain times and places during the early modern period which, in turn, reflect wider social patterns relating to musical developments, as well as changing instrument use and accessibility.

This study reframes examples of real women playing wind instruments using the organising principle of performance space. A wide range of evidence from many source types, including documents, pictures, musical notation and literature will be examined in the context of the various social arenas in which women could participate and engage in wind-playing. This includes amateur wind-playing in sixteenth-century courtly culture in France and the Low Countries, as well as domestic spaces in late seventeenth and eighteenth-century England. The employment of women from the families of professional musicians are evident in a variety of examples ranging from mixed-gender spaces such as courts and an Italian academy, to all-female environments, including convents and Venetian conservatories. By drawing these examples together, which extend across Europe and throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, several overarching themes emerge, including the importance of age and male guardianship, as well as the strong connection between wind-playing and singing.

A study of this breadth of accumulated evidence, which encompasses musical, geographical, political and cultural nuances, enables a re-examination of the current tendency to regard all wind-playing by women in early modern Europe to have been simply
unacceptable and apparently ‘forbidden’. Rather, what actually occurred in practice was that wind-playing women occupied a variety of roles as exemplars of genteel courtly manners, as professional musicians, as members of all-female ensembles, and as paragons of domesticated female restraint.
**Contents: Volume 1**

List of Tables viii
List of Figures ix
Acknowledgements xiii

**Extended Introduction**

1. Historiography 2
   
   *Conduct Literature, Wind-Playing and Early Modern Scholarship* 5

2. Research Framework 7
   
   *Musical Historiography: Women and Music* 8
   
   *Organology: Wind Instruments* 11
   
   *Iconography: Picturing Women and Instruments* 14

3. Research Questions and Methodology 16

4. Classical Inheritance: Mythological and Historical Female Wind Players in Early Modern Literature and Art 20
   
   *Negative Figures: Disfigurement, Allurement and Earthly Pleasures* 20
   
   *Positive Figures: Invention, Inspiration and Renown* 23
   
   *Summary* 26

5. Early Modern Concepts of the Female Body 26
   
   *Beauty and Ugliness* 26
   
   *Anatomical Anxieties and the Female Body* 31
   
   *Summary* 32

6. Real Women Representing Allegorical Female Wind Players 33
   
   *Summary* 37

7. Thesis Structure 38

**Chapter 1. Female Wind Players: From Court to Town** 41

1.1 Introduction 41
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Court Introduction: Private Spaces and Chamber Wind Instruments</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Transition of Flutes and Recorders from Public to Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Performance Spaces</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Genteel Aerophone Players and the Performance of Vocal Repertoire</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in Sixteenth-Century Iconography</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary: Recorders, Flutes and the Rising Merchant Classes</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Town Introduction: Professional Musicians and Public Music-Making</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Professional Trombone and Cornett Players in Late Sixteenth-Century</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Italy: The Case of the Pellizzari Sisters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Brief Literature Review</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employment at the Accademia Olimpica</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Edipo tiranno: Preparations for a Performance</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Edipo tiranno: Festival Performance and Reception</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employment at the Mantuan Court</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary: Childhood to Womanhood</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Professional Female Trumpet Players in Late Seventeenth and</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eighteenth-Century Austro-German Courts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>Female Wind Players of the Lower Classes: Archetypes of the Grotesque</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Ugly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary: Professional Musicians and Music-Making of the Lower</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Classes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>Conclusion: From Court to Town</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chapter 2. Convents and Venetian Conservatories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Introduction: Convents and Venetian Conservatories</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Convents Introduction: Choir Nuns and Convent Music</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>The Trombone and Cornett in Late Sixteenth-Century Italian Convents</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Trombone in Bolognese Convents</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Performances by Nuns on Cornetts and Trombones in Ferrara</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Modena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seventeenth-Century Italian Convents: Concerted Sacred Music</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary: Italian Convents from the Late Sixteenth to the Mid-Seventeenth Centuries

2.4 The Bajón and Bajoncillo in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Spanish Convents

The Role of the Bajón in Spanish Liturgical Music

The Bajón and Music in Spanish Convents from the Early Seventeenth Century

The Bajón and Music in Spanish Convents from the Mid-Seventeenth Century

The Bajón and Health Concerns

Summary: Bajóns and Early Modern Spanish Convents

2.5 The Trumpet and Mid-Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Convents in Austria, Moravia and Bohemia

Flutes, Shawms, Dulcians, Trombones and Horns in Austrian, Moravian and Bohemian Convents

Trumpets and Trumpet Repertory in Austrian, Moravian and Bohemian Convents

Summary: The Decline of Trumpets in Sacred Institutions

2.6 Summary: Wind Instruments in Early Modern Convents

2.7 Conservatories Introduction: Wind-Playing and Charitable Institutions

2.8 Wind Instruments and Music Education at the Venetian Ospedali Grandi

Musical Expansion and Performance Reception from the Mid-Seventeenth Century

Oboes, Flutes, Recorders and Fagotti at the Pietà from the Eighteenth Century

Horn Players at the Mendicanti from the Mid-Eighteenth Century

2.9 Summary: Venetian Conservatories from the Late Seventeenth to the Mid-Eighteenth Centuries

2.10 Conclusion: Convents and Italian Conservatories

Chapter 3. Domestic Wind Music in England

3.1 Introduction

3.2 A General Introduction to Printed Pedagogical Music Books in England
‘To all Lovers of Music’: Elite Art to Popular Culture

Changes to the Domestic Music Scene: Teachers, Books and Instruments

Summary

3.3 Wind Instruments in the Domestic Sphere during the Late Seventeenth Century

Flageolet Lessons: Elizabeth Pepys and Thomas Greeting

The Music Lesson and Imagined Fears

The Matrimonial Duet

Beginner Wind-Instrument Publications: Instructional Material and Repertoire

Notation and Performances: Practical and Ideological Considerations

Summary

3.4 Eighteenth-Century Domestic Wind-Playing: Flageolets to Flutes

The Bird Fancyer’s Delight

Changing Fashions: The Flageolet, Recorder and Transverse Flute

A Private Token of Affection and a Public Performance Device

Summary

3.5 Conclusion: Women and Automata – Voice, Instruments and Machines

Conclusion

1. Research Theme: Performance Space

2. Women Playing Wind Instruments: Further Observations

3. Future Research

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Secondary Sources
# Contents: Volume 2

List of Tables viii

List of Figures ix

Extended Introduction Iconography: Female Wind Players as Mythological Allegorical and Personified Characters 1

Chapter 1. Iconography: From Court to Town 23

Chapter 2. Iconography: Convents and Venetian Conservatories 55

Chapter 3. Iconography: Domestic Wind Music in England 61
List of Tables

1.1: The Pellizzari Family on the Payroll of the Mantuan Court

2.1: Printed Collections Loaned to the Nuns of San Blas from the Music Library at San Pedro

2.2: Stare Brno Kapelle, 1697

2.3: Stare Brno Kapelle, 1755

2.4: Stare Brno Kapelle, 1782

2.5: Instruments in the Stare Brno Kappelle 1697–1782

3.1: Wind Tutor Books Printed in England 1650–1800

3.2: European Woodwind Tutor Books 1650–1800
List of Figures

Figure I.1: Apollo and Marsyas (1497)
Figure I.2: Trumpet Player (1653)
Figure I.3: Sirenes (1658)
Figure I.4: Sirenes (1766)
Figure I.5: Adulatione (1709)
Figure I.6: The Three Ages of Man (ca. 1512–1514)
Figure I.7: Apollo and the Muses on Parnassus (ca. 1517–1520)
Figure I.8: Euterpe (ca. 1530–1561)
Figure I.9: Le concert champêtre (ca. 1590)
Figure I.10: Euterpe (seventeenth century)
Figure I.11: Euterpe (1670–1718)
Figure I.12: Clio (1689)
Figure I.13: Apollo and the Muses (ca. 1557)
Figure I.14: Apollo and the Muses (sixteenth century)
Figure I.15: Champion des dames (fifteenth century)
Figure I.16: Wedding Feast (1548)
Figure I.17: Wedding Feast, detail (1548)
Figure I.18: Tablecloth (ca. 1568)
Figure I.19: Tablecloth, detail (ca. 1568)
Figure I.20: A Mixed Consort of Wild Men and Women (1574)
Figure I.21: Entourage to Bacchus (1582)
Figure I.22: Nine Muses (1582)
Figure I.23: Mounted Female Gypsies (1616)
Figure 1.1: Nine Muses and a Fool (ca. 1575)
Figure 1.2: The Flautist (ca. 1575)
Figure 1.3: The Cornettist (ca. 1575)
Figure 1.4: The Slide Trumpet Player (ca. 1575)
Figure 1.5: The Tenor Shawm Player (ca. 1575)
Figure 1.6: The Rommel Pot Player (ca. 1575)
Figure 1.7: Allegory of Music (mid-seventeenth century)
Figure 1.8: King René Copying Psalms (ca. 1442–1453)
Figure 1.9: Allegory of Music (ca. 1480)
Figure 1.10: *Musica* (ca. 1465)
Figure 1.11: *Musica* (1512)
Figure 1.12: *Un concert* (second half of the sixteenth century)
Figure 1.13: Female Musicians (first half of the sixteenth century)
Figure 1.14: Three Musicians (ca. 1530)
Figure 1.15: Three Musicians (ca. 1520)
Figure 1.16: Lady Playing a Clavichord (ca. 1530)
Figure 1.17: Lady Playing a Lute (ca. 1520–1540)
Figure 1.18: Three Young Women Making Music with a Jester (early sixteenth century)
Figure 1.19: The Prodigal Son Feasting with Harlots (early sixteenth century)
Figure 1.20: *Le concert après le repas* (early sixteenth century)
Figure 1.21: *Le concert après le repas* (early sixteenth century)
Figure 1.22: *Musique champêtre* (sixteenth century)
Figure 1.23: *Musique champêtre* (sixteenth century)
Figure 1.24: A Recorder Quartet (1531)
Figure 1.25: *Teatro Olimpico*
Figure 1.26: Nine of Bells (ca. 1535)
Figure 1.27: The Pipe Lesson (1556–1624)
Figure 1.28: Two Musicians (seventeenth century)
Figure 1.29: Street Musicians (ca. 1630)
Figure 1.30: Recorder Player (1620–1690)
Figure 1.31: Barbara Strozzi (ca. 1635)
Figure 2.1: The Wedding Ceremony (1442)
Figure 2.2: The Wedding Ceremony, detail (1442)
Figure 2.3: The Coronation of the Virgin (1754)
Figure 2.4: Girl with a Recorder (1740)
Figure 2.5: *La cantata delle orfanelle per i duchi del nord* (1782)
Figure 2.6: *Concerto per i Conti del Nord nel casino dei Filarmonici* (1782)
Figure 3.1: Choice Ayres, Songs & Dialogues (1675)
Figure 3.2: The Banquet of Musick (1691)
Figure 3.3: *Deliciae Musicae* (1696)
Figure 3.4: The Pleasant Companion (1675)
Figure 3.5: The Flute Lesson (seventeenth century)
Figure 3.6: The Recorder Lesson (1658)
Figure 3.7: The Pipe Lesson (early seventeenth century)
Figure 3.8: *De muzieklees* (ca. 1680–ca. 1700)
Figure 3.9: The Recorder Lesson (1662–1664)
Figure 3.10: The Genteel Companion (1683)
Figure 3.11: The Concert (ca. 1792)
Figure 3.12: The Duet (ca. 1629)
Figure 3.13: Peasants Making Music (seventeenth century)
Figure 3.14: Interior with a Woman Playing a Recorder (mid-seventeenth century)
Figure 3.15: Music-Making Company (ca. 1650)
Figure 3.16: Music-Making Company on the Terrace (1620–1625)
Figure 3.17: Elegant Party Making Music by the Ornamental Lake (1621)
Figure 3.18: Merry Company Interior (1623)
Figure 3.19: *Fête champêtre* (1627)
Figure 3.20: The Bird Fancyer’s Delight (1717)
Figure 3.21: Hearing (ca. 1753)
Figure 3.22: Portrait of Elizabeth Spiegel (1639)
Figure 3.23: Portrait of Geertruyt Spiegel (1639)
Figure 3.24: *La serinette* (ca. 1751)
Figure 3.25: Euterpe (early eighteenth century)
Figure 3.26: The Bird Fancyer’s Delight (ca. 1730)
Figure 3.27: The Fountain of Love (1748)
Figure 3.28: The Bird Catchers (1748)
Figure 3.29: *Soo d’oude songen soo pepen de jongen* (seventeenth century)
Figure 3.30: *L’aimable accord* (eighteenth century)
Figure 3.31: *L’harmonica* (eighteenth century)
Figure 3.32: *Un faiseur de flutte-Ein pfeiffenmacher* (1730–1750)
Figure 3.33: *Un faiseuse de flutte-Eine pfeiffenmacherin* (1730–1750)
Figure 3.34: *Faisseur de trompettes* (1730–1750)
Figure 3.35: *Femme de faiseur de trompettes* (1730–1750)
Extended Introduction

Iconography: Female Wind Players as Mythological, Allegorical and Personified Characters

Figure I.1: Apollo and Marsyas (1497)

Figure I.2: Trumpet Player (1653)

Figure I.3: Syrenes (1658)

Geffrey Whitney (ca. 1548–ca. 1601), A Choice of Emblemes, (Leyden: in the house of Christopher Plantyn by Francis Raphelengius, 1586), 10.
Figure I.4: Sirenes (1766)

Figure I.5: *Adulatione* (1709)

Cesare Ripa (ca. 1560–ca. 1622), *Iconologia* (London: Printed by Benjamin Motte, 1709), 1, fig. 4.
Figure I.6: The Three Ages of Man (ca. 1512–1514)  
Tiziano Vecellio (ca. 1485–1576), Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery, NGL 068.46.
Figure I.7: Apollo and the Muses on Parnassus (ca. 1517–1520)
Figure I.8: Euterpe (ca. 1530–1561)

Hans Ladenspelder (1511–fl. 1561), after the so-called Tarocchi of Mantegna, London, The British Museum, Prints and Drawings 1895.0617.120.
Figure I.9: *Le concert champêtre* (ca. 1590)

Tiziano Vecellio (ca. 1485–1576), Paris, Musée du Louvre, Department of Paintings, Collection de Louis XIV, INV.71.
Figure I.10: Euterpe (seventeenth century)

Figure I.11: Euterpe (1670–1718)

Figure I.12: Clio (1689)

Pierre Mingnard (1612–1695), Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, 711.
Figure I.13: Apollo and the Muses (ca. 1557)

Giorgio Ghisi (1520–1582), Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, 5422.
Figure I.14: Apollo and the Muses (sixteenth century)

Maerten de Vos (1532–1603), Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 3882.
Figure I.15: *Champion des dames* (fifteenth century)

Martin le Franc (ca. 1410–1461), Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 857, fol. 365.
Figure I.16: Wedding Feast (1548)
Figure I.17: Wedding Feast, detail (1548)

Figure I.18: Tablecloth (ca. 1568)

Coloured Engraving (nineteenth century), reproduced in Trevor Herbert, *The Trombone* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006), 79. The original tablecloth was part of a collection at the Königlichen Kunstgewerbe-Museums in Berlin, thought to have been destroyed in World War II.
Figure I.19: Tablecloth, detail (ca. 1568)

Coloured Engraving (nineteenth century), reproduced in Herbert, *The Trombone*, 79.
Figure I.20: A Mixed Consort of Wild Men and Women (1574)

Figure I.21: Entourage to Bacchus (1582)

Figure I.22: Nine Muses (1582)


Figure I.23: Mounted Female Gypsies (1616)

Chapter 1.

Iconography: From Court to Town

Figure 1.1: Nine Muses and a Fool (ca. 1575)

Tobias Stimmer (1539–1584), New York, New York Public Library, Print Collection, Kennedy Fund.
Figure 1.2: The Flautist (ca. 1575)

Figure 1.3: The Cornettist (ca. 1575)

Tobias Stimmer (1539–1584), Plate 7 from The Muses, New York, New York Public Library, Print Collection, Kennedy Fund.
Figure 1.4: The Slide Trumpet Player (ca. 1575)

Tobias Stimmer (1539–1584), Plate 8 from The Muses, New York, New York Public Library, Print Collection, Kennedy Fund.
Figure 1.5: The Tenor Shawm Player (ca. 1575)

Figure 1.6: The Rommel Pot Player (ca. 1575)

Figure 1.7: Allegory of Music (mid-seventeenth century)
Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn (ca. 1572–1657), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
Figure 1.8: King René Copying Psalms (ca. 1442–1453)

Georges Trubert (ca. 1467–1508), A miniature from the Breviary of King René II d’Anjou (French), Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 601, fol. 2v.
Figure 1.9: Allegory of Music (ca. 1480)

Robinet Testard (1475–1523), a miniature from _Les eschez amourez et des echez d’amours_, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 143, fol. 66.
Figure 1.10: Musicā (ca. 1465)

Andrea Mantegna (1430/31–1506), Tarocchi E-Series, card 26. The full series and later versions of these cards are discussed in Rafal T. Prinke, ‘Mantegna’s Prints in Tarot History,’ Manteia 4 (1990), 9. Identical objects are also found in the Tarocchi S-Series.
Figure 1.1: Musica (1512)

Arnolt Schlick (ca. 1460–after 1521), Tabulaturen etlicher lobgesang (Mainz: Peter Schöffer, 1512), Frontispiece.
Figure 1.12: *Un concert* (second half of the sixteenth century)

Léonard Limousin (ca. 1505–1575/7), painted enamel on copper, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Department of Decorative Arts, MR 2524. With thanks to Poppy Holden for this image.
Figure 1.13: Female Musicians (first half of the sixteenth century)

Master of the Female Half Lengths (active ca. 1520–1540), St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, formerly in the collection of Catherine the Great, 435.
Figure 1.14: Three Musicians (ca. 1530)

Master of the Female Half Lengths (active ca. 1520–1540), Los Angeles County Museum, The Varya and Hans Cohn Collection, AC1992.152.142.
Figure 1.15: Three Musicians (ca. 1520)

Master of the Female Half Lengths (active ca. 1520–1540), Vienna, Schloss Rohrau.
Figure 1.16: Lady Playing a Clavichord (ca. 1530)

Master of the Female Half Lengths (active ca. 1520–1540), Poland, Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu.
Figure 1.17: Lady Playing a Lute (ca. 1520–1540)

Master of the Female Half Lengths (active ca. 1520–1540), Germany, Hamburger Kunsthalle.
Figure 1.18: Three Young Women Making Music with a Jester (early sixteenth century)

Master of the Female Half Lengths (active ca. 1520–1540), copied from Vermeyen’s painting, sold by Sotheby’s to a private collection 3 July 2013.
Figure 1.19: The Prodigal Son Feasting with Harlots (early sixteenth century)
Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (ca. 1500–ca. 1559), Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, 4044.
Figure 1.20: *Le concert après le repas* (early sixteenth century)

Ambrosius Benson (ca. 1490–1550), Paris, Musée du Louvre, Department of Paintings, RF 2248.
Figure 1.21: *Le concert après le repas* (early sixteenth century)

Ambrosius Benson (ca. 1490–1550), Cassel, Musée départemental de Flandre, C. 2009.7.1.
Figure 1.22: *Musique champêtre* (sixteenth century)

Figure 1.23: *Musique champêtre* (sixteenth century)

Figure 1.24: A Recorder Quartet (1531)

Girolamo di Romano (ca. 1484–ca. 1560), Fresco, Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Loggia.
Figure 1.25: *Teatro Olimpico*

Figure 1.26: Nine of Bells (ca. 1535)

Figure 1.27: The Pipe Lesson (1556–1624)

Wilhelm Traut (?–1662), after a design by Francesco Villamena, Stuttgart, Den Haag, Gemeentemuseum, Music Department. Ref Archiv Moeck
Figure 1.28: Two Musicians (seventeenth century)

Figure 1.29: Street Musicians (ca. 1630)

Figure 1.30: Recorder Player (1620–1690)

Figure 1.31: Barbara Strozzi (ca. 1635)

Bernardo Strozzi (1581/1582–1644), Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.
Chapter 2.

Iconography: Convents and Venetian Conservatories

Figure 2.1: The Wedding Ceremony (1442)
Domenico di Bartolo (ca. 1400–1447), Fresco, Siena, Santa Maria della Scala.
Figure 2.2: The Wedding Ceremony, detail (1442)
Domenico di Bartolo (ca. 1400–1447), Fresco, Siena, Santa Maria della Scala.
Figure 2.3: The Coronation of the Virgin (1754)
Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770), Texas, Kimbell Art Museum, AP 1984.10. This oil sketch was a model for his frescos at the Church of Santa Maria della Pietà.
Figure 2.4: Girl with a Recorder (1740)
Giovanni Battista Piazzetta (1682–1754), Venice, Private Collection.
Figure 2.5: *La cantata delle orfanelle per i duchi del nord* (1782)

Gabriel Bella (1730–1799), Venice, Fondazione Querini Stampalia, scene di vita veneziana.
Figure 2.6: *Concerto per i Conti del Nord nel casino dei Filarmonici* (1782)
Francesco Guardi (1712–1793), Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inv. 8574.
Chapter 3.

Iconography: Domestic Wind Music in England

Figure 3.1: Choice Ayres, Songs & Dialogues (1675)
John Playford, *Choice Ayres, Songs & Dialogues* (London: W. Godbid, 1675), Frontispiece.
Figure 3.2: The Banquet of Musick (1691)

Figure 3.3: *Deliciae Musicae* (1696)

Figure 3.4: The Pleasant Companion (1675)

Figure 3.5: The Flute Lesson (seventeenth century)

Gerard Valck (1651/52–1726), after a mezzotint by Wallerant Vaillant (1623-1677), based on a painting by Gerard Pietersz van Zyl (ca. 1607–1665), Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Music Division, Dayton C. Miller Collection, 0256. Another version of this image can be found in London, British Museum, Prints & Drawings, 1938, 1112.

36.
Figure 3.6: The Recorder Lesson (1658)

Figure 3.7: The Pipe Lesson (early seventeenth century)

Figure 3.8: De muziekles (ca. 1680–ca. 1700)
John Smith (1652–1743), after Marcellus Lauron (1648–1701), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Print, RP-P-OB-102. 197.
Figure 3.9: The Recorder Lesson (1662–1664)
Figure 3.10: The Genteel Companion (1683)
Figure 3.11: The Concert (ca. 1792)

G. Texier (ca. 1750–ca. 1824), after Gerard Pietersz (1607–1665), Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Music Division, Dayton C. Miller Iconography Collection, 0016/N.
Figure 3.12: The Duet (ca. 1629)

Jan Miense Molenaer (1629–1630), Seattle, Seattle Art Museum, Samuel H. Kress Collection, 61.162.
Figure 3.13: Peasants Making Music (seventeenth century)
Figure 3.14: Interior with a Woman Playing a Recorder (mid-seventeenth century)
Figure 3.15: Music-Making Company (ca. 1650)

Jacob van Loo (1614–1670), Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, inv. 225 (1930.47). An almost identical version of this painting is found in St Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, European Fine Art, Dutch Painting of the 17th-18th Centuries, Γ3-1092.
Figure 3.16: Music-Making Company on the Terrace (1620–1625)

Dirck Hals (1591–1656), Netherlands, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, Oude Kunst, os 76-10.
Figure 3.17: Elegant Party Making Music by the Ornamental Lake (1621)

Figure 3.18: Merry Company Interior (1623)

Dirck Hals (1591–1656), Paris, Musée du Louvre, Department of Paintings, M.N.R. 484.
Figure 3.19: *Fête champêtre* (1627)

Dirck Hals (1591–1656), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, SK-A-1796.
Figure 3.20: The Bird Fancyer’s Delight (1717)

Anon., The Bird Fancyer’s Delight (London: John Walsh and John Hare, 1717), Frontispiece.
Figure 3.21: Hearing (ca. 1753)

Figure 3.22: Portrait of Elizabeth Spiegel (1639)

Dirck Santvoort (1610/11–1680), Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art, European Painting and Sculpture, 1500 to 1800, Gift of Mr. And Mrs. Noah L. Butkin 1975.81.
Figure 3.23: Portrait of Geertruyt Spiegel (1639)
Figure 3.24: *La serinette* (ca. 1751)

Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699–1779), Paris, Musée Du Louvre, R.F. 1985-10. Another version of this painting is found in New York, The Frick Collection, 1926.1.22.
Figure 3.25: Euterpe (early eighteenth century)

Figure 3.26: The Bird Fancyer's Delight (ca. 1730)

Figure 3.27: The Fountain of Love (1748)
François Boucher (1703–1770), Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Paintings, 71.PA.37.
Figure 3.28: The Bird Catchers (1748)
François Boucher (1703–1770), Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Paintings, 71.PA.38.
Figure 3.29: Soo d’oude songen soo pepen de jongen (seventeenth century)

Cornelius Danckerts (1603–1656), after Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678), Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Dayton C. Miller Collection, 0082/Y. Also, see Jacob Jordaens, As the Old Ones Sing, the Young Ones Pipe (ca. 1640), Canada, National Gallery of Canada, no. 15790; a tapestry version of Jordaen’s painting dating from 1644 is found in Scotland, National Galleries, D1192; and Jan Steen (1626–1675), As the Old Ones Sing, So Pipe the Young (ca. 1670–1675), Philadelphia Museum of Art, European Painting, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917, 519.
Figure 3.30: *L’aimable accord* (eighteenth century)

Elizabeth Claire Tardieu (1731–1773), after a painting by Jean François de Troy (1679–1752), Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Music Division, Dayton C. Miller Collection, 0014/V.
Figure 3.31: *L’harmonica* (eighteenth century)

Figure 3.32: Un faiseur de flute-Ein Pfeifenmacher (1730–1750)

Figure 3.33: Un faiseuse de flute-Eine Pfeiffenmacherin (1730–1750)

Figure 3.34: Faiseur de trompettes (1730–1750)

Figure 3.35: *Femme de faiseur de trompettes* (1730–1750)