

**‘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

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Volume 1

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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 educations, 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.

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Extended Introduction

This is a thesis of interstices. It brings together examples of women playing wind instruments in early modern Europe. These belong to discreet data sets of evidence that are scattered across vast time-frames and geographical spaces. For this reason, although many of these examples are cited in a diverse range of academic literature, often as brief footnote references, or mentioned as unusual instances, they have not previously been viewed in relation to one another. They do not generally fit into traditional research areas of musicology such as gender studies, organology, iconography, early modern source studies, or historiographical social studies because they are too specialised. They incorporate an array of social spaces, a variety of wind instrument types, and they cross boundaries of professional and amateur music-making. To embrace the diversity of these examples, but also compare them in a meaningful way, this thesis reframes them using the organising principle of performance space.

This Extended Introduction begins by exploring Baldassare Castiglione's advice for women relating to the playing of appropriate instruments and how this was reiterated in subsequent conduct literature. It then looks at how modern scholarship has addressed and reproduced these source materials in studies relating to organology and women's music history. This is followed by a discussion regarding the research framework for this thesis, the pertinent areas of scholarship to which this work relates, as well as the research aims and methodology which guide its structure.

Section 4 briefly outlines the Classical inheritance of mythological, allegorical, and historical female wind players who are frequently referenced in early modern literature and art. These figures portray both positive and negative attributes, which are occasionally used as descriptors for real female wind-players, as portrayed by contemporary chroniclers. This is followed by a summary of early modern ideologies pertaining to beauty and ugliness as well as anxieties relating to the female body, as expressed in anatomical treatises of the time. These elements are brought together in Section 6 to demonstrate how mythological female wind players were represented in early modern festivals as symbols of inspiration, acclaim, and folly by real women and cross-dressed men.

Finally, Section 7 describes the structure of this thesis, which investigates a variety of early modern performance spaces in which women could perform on wind instruments, including courts, an academy, convents, conservatories and domestic environments.

1. Historiography

...Imagine how unlovely it would be to see a woman play drums, fifes or trumpets, or other like instruments; and this because their harshness hides and destroys that mild gentleness which so much adorns every act a woman does. Therefore when she starts to dance or make music of any kind, she ought to bring herself to it by letting herself be urged a little, and with a touch of shyness which shall show that noble shame which is the opposite of effrontery.¹

Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano*, first published in 1528, clearly defines the suitability of certain musical instruments for women and it particularly highlights percussion and wind instruments as being oppositional to early modern ideals of female decorum because they were loud and unfeminine. Based on humanist teachings, Castiglione's advice initiated what was to become an entire genre of courtesy manuals resulting in the formalisation of Western social ideals that were eventually aimed beyond the upper classes to a wider audience.² Encouraging the conscious practice of music as an art, these guides continued to highlight issues relating to female musical performance, including appearance and conduct, which involved exuding shyness and modesty, as well as correct postures and natural graces. Although singing was considered to be the most suitable reflection of femininity, the playing of instruments of the stringed and keyboard varieties was also encouraged. Consequently, many young women of the upper classes developed musical accomplishments as signs of a good education and upbringing. Their learning and performance opportunities were, however, to occur under strict codes of conduct, as prescribed by these texts, and re-iterated in contemporary poetry and artworks in which prevailing discourses and constructions of the female body were figured.

¹ Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano del conte Baldesar Castiglione* (Venezia: Aldo I. Manuzio & Andrea I. Torresano, 1528), trans. Charles S. Singleton as *The Book of the Courtier*, ed. Daniel Javitch (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2002).

² Castiglione's text was translated into Spanish, French, German, Latin and English, as discussed in Peter Burke's, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995). There were also imitations of Castiglione's treatise, including Giovanni Della Casa's *Galateo*, which first appeared in *Rime et prose di M. Giovanni della Casa* (Venice, Nicolò Bevilacqua, 1558). It was published a year later as a separate edition, *Il Galateo, di M. Giovanni della Casa; ovvero Trattato de' Costumi* (Milan: Antonio degli Antonii, 1559). Della Casa's text was also translated by Robert Peterson as *Galateo Or rather, A treatise of the manner and behaviours, it behoveth a man to use and eschewe, in his familiar conversation. A worke very necessary & profitable for all gentlemen, or other* (London: Henry Middleton for Ralph Newbery, 1576). Della Casa's original text was probably not aimed at the aristocracy, but at a wider social audience as identified in Arthur G. Dickens, *The Age of Humanism and Reformation, Europe in the Fourteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London: Prentice-Hall International, 1977), 126. This is particularly true of later seventeenth-century conduct books, including John Shirley's, *The Accomplished Ladies Rich Closet of Rarities: Or, The Ingenious Gentlewoman and Servant-Maids Delightful Companion* (London: W. Wilde, for N. Boddington, 1690). For an in-depth study of conduct literature, see Jacques Careé, *The Crisis of Courtesy: Studies in the Conduct-Book in Britain, 1600–1900* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

Thomas Hoby's English translation of Castiglione's courtesy book was first published in 1561 and it is perhaps the most widely referenced version of this text. Often cited by scholars in relation to women's music-making activities, the subtle differences between the original text and this translation have generally been overshadowed.

And therefore in daunsynge I would not see her vse to swift & violent tricks, nor yet in singing or playing vpon instruments those hard and often diuisions more conninge then singing or playing vpon instruments. Likewise the instruments of musicke she vseth (in mine opinion) ought to be fit for this purpose. Imagin with your selfe what an vnsightly matter it were to see a woman play vpon a tabour or drum, or blowe in a flute or trompet, or anye like instrument: and this because the boisterousnesse of them doeth both couer and take away that sweete mildnes which setteth so furth euerie deede that a woman doeth. Therefore when she commeth to daunse, or to show any kinde of musike, she ought to be brought to it with suffringe her self somewhat to be prayed, and with a certein bashfulnes, that may declare the noble shamfastnes that is contrarye to headiness.³

Castiglione and Hoby both reflect on the need for practicing a certain nonchalance (*sprezzatura*) in the presentation of musical skill to separate praiseworthy amateur pastimes from the music of lower status professional musicians. They also outline disapproved instruments, although their exact instructions differ slightly. While Castiglione refers to drums, fifes and trumpets (notably instruments associated with the military), Hoby separates the instruments further to include the 'tambour' and the 'flute' that were used by professional civic musicians. He also specifically refers to the action of 'blowing' and its unfeminine connotations, which perhaps assumes knowledge of the Classical story of Pallas Athena, retold and reconfigured in equivalent conduct literature of the time. As Giovanni Della Casa wrote in *Galateo* (Milan, 1559):

There are some who have the habit of occasionally twisting their mouths or their eyes, or of puffing up their cheeks and blowing out their breath, or making such similar unpleasant acts with their faces. It is best to cease doing them completely. Once upon a time, the goddess Pallas Athena, as I was once told by certain learned men, took great pleasure in playing the bagpipes, and became a master of the instrument. As it happened, one day when she was playing for fun near a fountain she looked into the water and, noticing the strange motions she was obliged to perform with her face in order to play the instrument, she was embarrassed and threw away the bagpipe. She truly did the right thing, for it is not an instrument for women, and in fact it is equally unsuitable for men, unless they be of such low rank that they do it professionally and for payment.⁴

³ Baldassare Castiglione, *The courtyer divided into foure books. Very necessary and profitable for yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in court, palaice or place*, trans. Thomas Hoby (London: William Seres, 1561).

⁴ Della Casa, *Galateo* (1559), trans. Konrad Eisenbichler and Kenneth R. Bartlett as *A Renaissance Treatise on Manners*, 3rd edition (Canada: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2001), 96.

Della Casa describes the association between lower social status musicians and wind instruments, and he raises concern about their playing demands and resultant facial distortions. Interestingly, in Della Casa's version of the Athena story, her instrument is a bagpipe, which differs significantly from the wind instruments mentioned in Castiglione and Hoby's conduct books. This perhaps reflects the contrast between their intended audiences, with Della Casa addressing a much wider audience, and not just those of the court. With its rustic and crude associations, the bagpipe represents a much lower level of society and manners. Della Casa may also have been aware of a woodcut from a Venetian publication of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1497) in which Athena and Marsyas are depicted playing the bagpipes (Figure I.1).⁵

A further difference in instrumentation is also apparent in Robert Peterson's English translation of Della Casa's conduct book, published in 1576.

For, Pallas her selfe, the Goddesse, (as I haue hearde some vvise men say) tooke once a greate pleasure to sound the flute & the cornet: & therein she vvvas verie cunning. It chaunst her, on day, sounding her Cornet for her pleasure ouer a fontain, she spide her selfe in the vvater: and vvhen she beheld those strange gestures she must nedes make vvith her mouth as she plaid: she vvvas so much ashamed of it that she brake the cornet in peces & cast it away.⁶

In this instance, Athena's instruments (the flute and cornett) have perhaps been changed to recognisable varieties associated with professional civic musicians in England during the mid- to late sixteenth century, again, pointing towards a different purpose of the text and its intended reading audience.

An almost identical account of Athena's story is recalled in John Bulwer's *Anthropometamorphosis* (1653), in which she is described as playing the cornett, whereas Alcibiades is said to be a flautist.⁷ Again, these characters are used illustratively to

⁵ This image is discussed in Edith Wyss, *The Myth of Apollo and Marsyas in Italian Renaissance Art: An Inquiry into the Meaning of Images* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), 83–85.

⁶ Della Casa, *Galateo* (1559), trans. Peterson, 119–120. The same text is also found in Walter Darell, *A short discourse of the life of servingmen plainly expressing the way that is best to be followed, and the meanes wherby they may lawfully challenge a name and title in that vocation and fellowship. With certeine letters verie necessarie for servingmen, and other persons to peruse. With diverse pretie inventions in English verse* (London: Henry Middleton for Ralph Newbery, 1578), 119–120.

⁷ 'It is storied of the Goddesse Pallas, she was sometimes delighted in playing on the Cornet, till it happened, that (one day) playing theron for her pleasure, by a frantane River, she beheld her selfe in the water, and beholding those new and strange Faces, which she must necessarily make while she played, was ashamed of her selfe, and presently broke the cornet in peeces. And indeed it was well done, of her, it not being an Instrument fitting for Ladies, nor yet for men, except those who are willing to deforme themselves for pleasure or gaine... And therefore Alcibiades was angry with Flutes, because playing upon them disfigured the Beauty of the Face.' See John Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis: = man transform'd: or, the artificall changling historically presented, in the mad and cruell gallantry, foolish bravery, ridiculous beauty, filthy finenesse, and loathsome loveliness of most nations, fashioning and altering their bodies from the mould intended by nature; with figures of those transfigurations* (London: William Hunt, 1653), 273.

demonstrate the unseemliness of winds for both men and women. To emphasise the connection between the lower-class status of professional musicians and the ugliness of playing wind instruments, a woodcut of a trumpet player with oversized puffed cheeks is included in the text (Figure I.2).⁸

Conduct Literature, Wind-Playing and Early Modern Scholarship

Despite these direct references to specific wind instruments in early modern conduct literature, scholars have tended to concentrate on their confirmation of encouraged musical practices. In Tim Shephard's 'Noble Women and Music in Italy', he explores the presentation and display of female musical skill, as described by Castiglione.⁹ Similarly, Heidi Epstein compares the Neoplatonic fear of beauty and music in combination with Castiglione's safe regulation of private musical practice. In contrast, Bonnie Gordon focuses on the conflicting advice presented in Castiglione's guide, which indicates that women were encouraged to participate in musical activities, but were also required to exude shyness and modesty.¹⁰

Referring specifically to women playing stringed instruments, Elena Calogero directly quotes Hoby's translation of women's musical activities and she refers to their exclusion from wind and percussion varieties, a view that she asserts was reiterated by writers almost two centuries later.¹¹ This theme of longevity is furthered by Angela Smith who uses Castiglione's view as a starting point from which to trace historical negativity towards wind and percussion instruments, still apparent, she notes, in the more recent histories of jazz, rock, blues and country music.¹² In addition to looking forward, Calogero also reflects on the Classical associations of wind instruments, and in particular, their connection to Pallas Athena and the Sirens. However, rather than explaining the connection between these figures and their musical instruments, she concentrates on exploring the boundaries of decorum; the anxieties surrounding display and musical proficiency; and the link between music, love and its alluring

⁸ Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis*, 273.

⁹ Tim Shephard, 'Noble Women and Music in Italy, c. 1430–1520: Looking Past Isabella,' in *Gender, Age and Creativity*, eds. Catherine Haworth and Lisa Colton (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 31. He also refers to this in Tim Shephard, *Echoing Helicon: Music, Art and Identity in the Este Studioli, 1440–1530* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 75. The careful balance between using music (singing and playing instruments) to enhance femininity as opposed to inferring less positive attributes is also discussed in Jeanice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 196–199.

¹⁰ Heidi Epstein, *Melting the Venusberg: A Feminist Theology of Music* (New York; London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2004), 55 and Bonnie Gordon, *Monteverdi's Unruly Women: The Power of Song in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 75.

¹¹ Elena Laura Calogero, "'Sweet Alluring Harmony": Heavenly and Earthly Sirens in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Literary and Visual Culture,' in *Music of the Sirens*, eds. Linda Phyllis Austern and Inna Naroditskaya (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 140–175.

¹² Angela P. Smith, *Women Drummers: A History from Rock and Jazz to Blues and Country* (Maryland; Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), xvi.

potential.¹³ The same Classical references are also referred to by Walter Kemp and James Haar in their discussion of Castiglione's advice on courtly music.¹⁴ They stress that playing wind instruments was not acceptable for either male or female courtiers, although it was perhaps more of a taboo for the latter group. As Stephen Kolsky asserts, 'women playing wind instruments might pose a threat of disorder to the world of the male courtier'.¹⁵ Similarly, J. Michele Edwards notes that: 'wind instruments, which were specifically discouraged as not feminine (and not appropriate for aristocratic men) during the Renaissance, must have already been a rarity for women'.¹⁶

In the scholarship mentioned above, despite quoting from Hoby, Castiglione and Della Casa, this research does not acknowledge the differences of instrumentation. A clue to its potential significance is intimated in Lorenz Welker's chapter on wind ensembles of the Renaissance in which he states that: 'Although a considerable amount of original instrumental ensemble music exists from the sixteenth century, most of the printed collections were aimed at the educated amateur. Loud instruments, however, were excluded from the music-making of noble and bourgeois circles'.¹⁷ Welker hints towards a separation of the term 'wind instruments' into loud and soft categories (*haut* and *bas*), as well as the changing use of instruments.¹⁸ These distinctions move away from the umbrella label 'wind instruments', which fails to acknowledge the significant differences between individual varieties, and instead, allows for the function of instruments and their related performance spaces to be explored.

Despite the ubiquitous nature of references to conduct literature in modern scholarship, which acknowledges their significant role in providing evidence of preferred musical activities, especially for women (and noble men), it is important to keep in mind that these texts were ideological tracts of a certain persuasion and they did not necessarily signify all visions of female wind players, nor did they reflect all musical practices. A glimpse of this complexity has begun to emerge from historical accounts of women's histories and even some instrument studies, in which examples of women playing wind instruments do appear, but have remained peripheral to the main text, either as footnotes or presented as unique

¹³ Calogero, "'Sweet alluring harmony,'" 148.

¹⁴ James Haar, 'The Courtier as Musician: Castiglione's View of the Science and Art of Music,' in *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, eds. Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 165–189.

¹⁵ Stephen Kolsky, *Courts and Courtiers in Renaissance Northern Italy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 119.

¹⁶ J. Michele Edwards, 'Women in Music to ca. 1450,' in *Women & Music: A History*, second edition, ed. Karin Pendle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 37.

¹⁷ Lorenz Welker, 'Wind Ensembles in the Renaissance,' in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, eds. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 151.

¹⁸ For discussion on *haut* and *bas* instrumentation and related ensembles, see Keith McGowan, 'The Prince and the Piper: Haut, Bas and the Whole Body in Early Modern Europe,' *Early Music* 27, no. 2 (1999), 211–232 and Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), soft music 13–44 and loud music 45–86.

instances. In Trevor Herbert's *The Trombone*, for example, a whole section is dedicated to 'Amateurs and Women', but the fleeting references within this section leave many unanswered questions.¹⁹

Perhaps the most thought-provoking text on this subject is Carol Neuls-Bates' *Women in Music*. First published in 1982, this pioneering volume presents the reader with Castiglione's advice on courtly behaviour, accompanied by three sets of images that include female wind players: Francesco del Cossa's *April: The Group of Young Lovers* (1476–1484), Master of the three-quarter length figures' *Three Young Women* (1530), and Tobias Stimmer's *Women Musicians* (1570s). Neuls-Bates also offers examples of all-female institutions, specifically the San Vito nuns and the Venetian conservatories in which the women's musical ensembles included wind players. By presenting ideals of early modern behaviour and setting them against positive imagery of female wind players and examples of real women players, Neuls-Bates begins to show the integral complexity of these source materials.²⁰

The texts by Herbert and Neuls-Bates are just two examples of how known cases of female wind players, in conjunction with relevant iconography and literary sources, have begun to permeate musicological scholarship, yet they are also presented with minimal re-interrogation. These examples demonstrate how modern scholarship has tended to generalise all wind instruments as being in principle 'off-limits' to women with little discrimination between soft and loud winds, or recognising the effect of changing fashions, instrument development and changing accessibility to more women over time. Furthermore, there is an inherent danger of essentialising women as one undifferentiated group, rather than acknowledging the complexities of social class, age, performance space, and geographical location, all of which invite exploration and reassessment.

2. Research Framework

Evidence for women playing wind instruments as both real and as ideal characters has remained scattered across three vast areas of musicology: the history of women and music, organology, and iconography. This has resulted in a fragmented and disparate series of examples and primary materials that have remained largely separated and, until this study, have not been systematically brought together for comparison.

¹⁹ Trevor Herbert, *The Trombone* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006), 77–80.

²⁰ Carol Neuls-Bates (ed.), *Women in Music, An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present*, revised edition (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 37–69.

Musical Historiography: Women and Music

Historical accounts of women's music-making have tended to concentrate on their activities as singers, composers and patrons of the arts, drawing on evidence found in music manuscripts, court and institutional records, diary entries, book dedications and the publication of compositional materials.²¹ The influence of women's studies on musicology to any great extent can be traced to the 1980s and 1990s when a number of scholars produced specialised texts that began to write women into music history.²² Covering vast time-frames from the Medieval period to the present day, these texts are seminal to women's musical histories and continue to be updated and republished in light of new research. Many of them also contain references to female wind players, but these have remained peripheral to the main research strands and have yet to be brought together systematically in musical scholarship.²³ Furthermore, women's music history has continued to be overwhelmingly concerned with women as vocal performers rather than as instrumentalists. The Ferrarese *concerto delle donne*, for example, consisted of accomplished musical women who could all play musical instruments, which they used to accompany their vocal performances. Most research relating to these women, however, concentrates almost exclusively on their vocal prowess and its symbolism.²⁴ This is also the case for the Pellizzari sisters, known for their trombone and cornett playing as children, but who later joined the Mantuan court in an equivalent ensemble. Although their early musical careers have been documented, scholarly research has tended to focus on their later vocal accomplishments.²⁵ The wider scope of study required by these examples reflects the arguments of Tia DeNora in her article on female keyboard players in

²¹ For example, Sophie Drinker, *Women and Music: The Story of Women in the Relation to Music* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1948); Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (eds.), *Women Making Music, The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Robert Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Colleen Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls: Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575–1700* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); James R. Briscoe (ed.) *New Historical Anthology of Music by Women* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004); Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579–1597* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Elio Durante and Anna Martellotti, *Cronistoria del concerto delle dame principalissime di Margherita Gonzaga d'Este* (Firenze: SPES, 1979); and Suzanne G. Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court: Music and the Circulation of Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

²² Although this decade has been highlighted for the growth in women's studies and music, there were important earlier examples, including Drinker's, *Women and Music* (1948).

²³ Neuls-Bates (ed.), *Women in Music*; Briscoe (ed.), *New Historical Anthology of Music*; Bowers and Tick (eds.), *Women Making Music*; and Karin Pendle (ed.), *Women & Music: A History*, second edition (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).

²⁴ Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*; Pendle (ed.), *Women & Music*, 80–83; Laura Macy, 'Speaking of Sex: Metaphor and Performance in the Italian Madrigal,' *The Journal of Musicology* 14, no. 1 (1996), 1–34; Suzanne G. Cusick, "'Thinking from Women's Lives": Francesca Caccini after 1627,' *The Musical Quarterly* 77, no. 3 (1993), 484–507; and Laurie Stras, 'Recording Tarquinia: Imitation, Parody and Reportage in Ingegneri's "Hor che 'l ciel e la terra e'l vento tace,'" *Early Music* 27, no. 3 (1999), 358–377.

²⁵ Jane Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy, 1566–1700,' in *Women Making Music, The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, eds. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 136–137 and Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 127–132.

nineteenth-century Vienna. Highlighting the general trend for scholars to centre their research on the musical meanings of texts and social contexts, DeNora suggests an alternative in which the performance and appropriation of music might be viewed as a ‘medium of social life’ in which ideas about gender are embodied, performed, shaped and given agency.²⁶

One of the main difficulties of researching early modern women instrumentalists is that evidence often remains sparse and scattered across a wide variety of sources. For this reason, studies have almost exclusively focussed on stringed and keyboard instruments, supported by diaries, music manuscripts, and printed tutor books.²⁷ Such documents, although rarely associated with wind instruments, enable clearer insight into early modern tutoring, repertoire and pedagogical practices. These factors need to be translated across to wider questions about women as performing musicians, including: in what contexts did women’s music tuition take place? What were the difficulties of employing teachers? And where and what were women permitted to play? Recent studies, which have begun to explore the complex relationships between students, teachers, performers, listeners and their social contexts, has, in turn, called into question key terminology traditionally associated with women’s studies in music, including ‘amateur’ versus ‘professional’ and ‘public’ versus ‘private’.²⁸ It has also entailed analysis of various sites for music-making including the conservatory, convent, court, domestic sphere and music room, in which different hierarchies, influences, and opportunities were negotiated. For example, Katie Nelson has explored the intricate relationships between teachers, pupils and families, Regula Hohl Trillini has discussed the idea of the female singer as an object of display in the English Court setting, and Craig Monson has explored the perceived dangers of employing teachers and professional musicians within convents.²⁹ Monson’s ground-breaking study also embodies what has proven to be one of the most fruitful areas of scholarship for women’s studies: musical practices in religious institutions. As relevant documents from Northern Italian convents have been collated and analysed by scholars including Craig Monson, Robert Kendrick and Colleen Reardon, their influence has had a catalytic effect, sparking

²⁶ Tia DeNora, ‘Music into Action: Performing Gender on the Viennese Concert Stage, 1790–1810,’ *Poetics* 30 (2002), 19–33.

²⁷ Candace Bailey, ‘Blurring the Lines: “Elizabeth Rogers Hir Virginall Booke” in Context,’ *Music & Letters* 89, no. 4 (2008), 510–546 and Yael Sela Teichler, ‘My Ladye Nevells Booke: Music, Patronage and Cultural Negotiation in Late Sixteenth Century England,’ *Renaissance Studies* 26, no. 1 (2012), 79–102.

²⁸ The dichotomies between public male spaces and private female spaces are discussed in Adrian Randolph, ‘Renaissance Genderscapes,’ in *Structures and Subjectivities: Attending to Early Modern Women*, eds. Adele F. Seeff and Joan Hartman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 21–49. Also, see Martha Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth Century Dutch Art* (London: University of California Press, 2002), for an analysis of the domestic sphere in Dutch art of this period.

²⁹ Katie Nelson, ‘Love in the Music Room: Thomas Whythorne and the Private Affairs of Tudor Music Tutors,’ *Early Music* 40, no. 1 (2012), 15–28; Regula Hohl Trillini, ‘The Gaze of the Listener, Shakespeare’s Sonnet 128 and Early Modern Discourses of Music and Gender,’ *Music & Letters* 89, no. 1 (2007), 1–17; and Craig A. Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art & Arson in the Convents of Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Bristol: University Presses Marketing, 2010).

further studies of women's religious houses in Spanish and Austro-German regions.³⁰

Frequently making reference to the use of wind instruments, these studies are relatively new and have yet to focus in detail on wind-playing nuns, or compare their individual musical practices across wider geographical areas.

Gender studies and the investigation into cultural and social constructions play an integral role in women's music histories. First introduced to musicological discourse by studies such as Judith Tick and Jane Bowers' *Women Making Music* (1987), investigation into the negotiation of identities, subjectivities and representations was radically interrogated by Susan McClary in *Feminine Endings* (1991).³¹ The interdisciplinary approach of her study was furthered by Lucy Green's *Music, Gender, Education* (1997), in which questions relating to gender, the body, sexuality, musical patriarchy and musical meaning were brought to the fore.³² This research, viewed in conjunction with literary gender studies, including Gail Kern Paster's *The Body Embarrassed* (1993) and Jonathon Harris' *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic* (1998), has assisted in forging new ways for considering material evidence.³³ Bonnie Gordon, for example, discusses medical beliefs surrounding the female body and the physical processes involved in singing, whereas Heather Hadlock focusses on the gendered body in relation to the glass harmonica.³⁴ Placing the body at the forefront of research into playing wind instruments

³⁰ Studies into Northern Italian institutions include: Craig A. Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1995); Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls*; Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*; and Jane L. Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice: Musical Foundations, 1525–1855*, revised edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004). For musical activities in early modern Spanish convents see: Colleen Baade, 'Two Centuries of Nun Musicians in Spain's Imperial City', *Transcultural Musical Review* 15 (2011), 2–22; Colleen Baade, 'Nun Musicians as Teachers and Students in Early Modern Spain,' in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Russell E. Murray, Susan Forcher Weiss and Cynthia E. Cyrus (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 262–283; Colleen Baade, "'Hired" Nun Musicians in Early Modern Castile,' in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many Headed Melodies*, ed. Thomasin LaMay (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 287–310; Pilar Ramos López, 'Music and Women in Early Modern Spain: Some Discrepancies between Education Theory and Musical Practice,' in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many Headed Melodies*, ed. Thomasin LaMay (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 97–118; and Maria Gembero Ustarroz, 'De rosas cercada: Music by Francisco de la Huerta for the Nuns of Santa Ana de Àvila (1767–78),' in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, eds. Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (Hampshire; Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 321–342. Other studies regarding European institutions include those by Barbara Lawatsch Melton, 'Loss and Gain in a Salzburg Convent: Tridentine Reform, Princely Absolutism, and the Nuns of Nonnberg (1620 to 1696),' in *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany, Cross Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Lynn Tatlock (Boston: Brill, 2010), 259–280; Cynthia J. Cyrus, 'The Educational Practices of Benedictine Nuns: A Salzburg Abbey Case Study,' in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Russell E. Murray, Susan Forcher Weiss and Cynthia J. Cyrus (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 249–261; and Janet K. Page, *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

³¹ Bowers and Tick (eds.), *Women Making Music* and Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality* (Minneapolis; University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

³² Lucy Green, *Music, Gender, Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

³³ Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993) and Jonathon Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

³⁴ Gordon, *Monteverdi's Unruly Women* and Heather Hadlock, 'Sonorous Bodies: Women and the Glass Harmonica,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53, no. 3 (2000), 507–542.

has yet to be explored in wider discourses relating to wind instruments and their histories, let alone in conjunction to research about female wind players. This kind of emphasis, which is influenced by the new historicist approach of exploring other kinds of texts, holds the potential to develop our understanding of underlying anxieties surrounding the female body in conjunction with the physical implications of playing wind instruments.³⁵ This might also be furthered by studying the gendering of wind instruments and the gendering of wind players to examine the complex representations of gender (femininity, effeminacy and manliness) as well as their use as cultural signifiers of beauty and ugliness, age and class.³⁶

Most recently, several scholars, including Lynda Phyllis Austern, Carla Zecher and Elizabeth Eva Leach have begun to set music and gender discourses within broader cultural contexts.³⁷ Requiring the use of new methodological frameworks, these studies enter into dialogues with a diverse range of material sources and discourses, allowing for a multi-disciplined historical approach. In her article on female musicians and sexual enchantment, Austern focusses on the conflicting ideologies of female beauty and sexual allurement as projected in Elizabethan literature. Zecher explores the relationships between players and instruments as musicians, poetic subjects, and artistic representations in ‘The Anatomy of the Lute’, and Leach investigates the aural relationship between the natural world and medieval human song (in musical and poetical forms), bringing together the far-reaching disciplines of science and the humanities.³⁸ Using a multi-layered approach, these scholars allow for a variety of source materials to be brought together in new ways, enabling discussions about musical practices and theories, in conjunction with conflicting ideologies relating to allegorical representations, subjectivity and gender. They have, however, continued to be directed towards more popular forms of music-making, especially regarding singing and other ‘feminine’ instruments.

Organology: Wind Instruments

Evidence of wind instruments from the early modern period exists in the form of surviving instruments, instrument inventories, personal accounts and musical treatises, as well as other

³⁵ The new historicist approach is discussed in Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

³⁶ For gender studies, masculinity and music, see Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (eds.), *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

³⁷ See Linda Phyllis Austern, ‘“Sing Againe Syren”: The Female Musicians and Sexual Enchantment in Elizabethan Life and Literature,’ *Renaissance Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (1989), 420–448; Carla Zecher, *Sounding Objects: Musical Instruments, Poetry and Art in Renaissance France* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2007); and Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, New York; London: Cornell University Press, 2007).

³⁸ Zecher, *Sounding Objects*, 131–161.

literary works and pictorial representations.³⁹ There are, however, many discrepancies between these sources, which can lead to conflicting interpretations.

One of the most challenging elements of researching early modern wind instruments is the use of non-standardised terminology, which can result in confusion and misidentification. This is largely owing to the terminology used to describe instruments, which have both geographical and historical variations. The term ‘flute’, for example, might be used to describe a simple duct flute, recorder, transverse flute, or military flute depending upon the time and place of the text and the musical understanding of the writer and their intended audience. The word ‘pipe’ is an even more problematic term, which has significantly different social and cultural meanings that are open to diverse interpretations. In Christopher Marsh’s *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, for example, the term pipe is used in connection to various types of wind-playing, including minstrels performing on pipes and tabors for dancing, and town musicians fulfilling their civic duties by sounding trumpets.⁴⁰ The latter descriptor is also used in Keith McGowan’s article ‘The Prince and the Piper’ in which ‘pipes’ and ‘pipers’ denote professional civic musicians, including town waits.⁴¹ Ardal Powell specifically tackles the difficulty of the German term *pfeife* (pipe) and its European variations (French, *fifre*; Italian, *fiffaro* or *phiffaro*; and Spanish, *pifano*). The Italian version, for example, was often used to denote players of the shawm, whereas in England (fyfe, fieft, fiphe, phyfe, phife or phiphe) generally denoted a fife, whereas the term ‘pipe’ had different associations.⁴²

In addition to the varied terminology used to describe wind instruments, further differences in their construction, design and tuning are evident in the music treatises of Sebastian Virdung (*Musica getutscht*, 1511), Martin Agricola (*Musica instrumentalis deudsch*, 1529), Michael Praetorius (*Syntagma musicum*, 1620) and Marin Mersenne (*Harmonie universelle*, 1635).⁴³ The earlier treatises in particular tend to present less detailed

³⁹ For information regarding surviving wind instruments see Edward Tarr, ‘Ein Katalog erhaltener Zinken,’ *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 5 (1981), 11–262. This catalogue contains more than 300 examples of extant cornets; Maggie Kilbey, ‘A Checklist of Woodwind Instruments Marked !!,’ *The Galpin Society Journal* 52 (1999), 243–280. This article documents all surviving instruments marked with ‘!!’, a symbol associated with the Bassano family. There are nearly 200 instruments extant with this mark alone, including recorders, cornetts (curved and straight / mute), curtails, crumhorns and a flute; Also, see Philippe Allain-Dupré, ‘Renaissance and Early Baroque Flutes: An Update on Surviving Instruments, Pitches and Consort Grouping,’ *The Galpin Society Journal* 57 (2004), 53–61. This is an updated catalogue to an initial survey carried out by Filadelfio Puglisi, which records around fifty extant flutes from around the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

⁴⁰ For references to pipes and pipers, see Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 71, 81, 88, 109, 136, 144, 150, 157, 163, 171, 186, 331 and 469.

⁴¹ McGowan, ‘The Prince and the Piper,’ 212.

⁴² Ardal Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2002), 37–38.

⁴³ Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht und alles gesang ausz den noten in die tablaturen diser benanten dryer instrumenten der orgeln: der lauten: und der flöten transferieren zu lernen* (Basel: Michael Furter, 1511); Martin

descriptions of instruments such as sackbuts and trumpets because the playing techniques were shrouded in secrecy, manufacturing rights were protected by specialist guilds, and playing knowledge and employment positions tended to be passed on through family ties and apprenticeships.⁴⁴ Further problems arise when viewing the detailed descriptions and drawings of instruments in Praetorius' treatise because there are categories of wind instruments that have no equivalent surviving examples.⁴⁵

In addition to the identification, classification and understanding of the construction of wind instruments (organological sources), tutor books, repertoire, iconography and literary sources can also contribute to our understanding of the social history of instruments: how they were used, who played them, where they were heard, how they were taught, and how they were perceived by theorists, and sometimes, audiences. Although technologically-orientated research and social studies were, for many years, strictly compartmentalised by their differing scholarly approaches, these have been increasingly brought to bear on one another in interdisciplinary studies such as *The Cambridge Companions*, a number of which contain references to female wind players.⁴⁶ David Lasocki and Jane Girdham, in particular, have begun to look at the recorder and flageolet as amateur instruments and reference their appropriateness for women.⁴⁷ These instances demonstrate how the study of women and music has begun to infiltrate general instrument discourses, but they remain tied to teleological developments focussed on design and repertoire as opposed to the social and cultural aspects of instruments, as well as the physical act of playing them. To investigate the relationship between the body and physical wind-playing techniques, we must turn to research on tonguing, divisions and ornamentation.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the close relationship between

Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch ynn welcher begriffen ist wie man nach dem gesange auff mancherley pfeiffen lernen sol auch wie auff die orgel, harffen, lauten, geigen und allerley instrument und seytenspiel nach der rechtgegruendten tabelthur sey abzusetzen* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1529); Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum II, De Organographia* (Wolfenbüttel, Elias Holwein, 1619); and Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle, contenant la theorie et la pratique de la musique* (Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy, 1636–1637).

⁴⁴ For information concerning the guild system refer to: David Lasocki and Roger Prior, *The Bassanos: Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in London, 1531–1665* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1995); Rob Van Acht, 'Dutch Wind-Instrument Makers from 1670 to 1820,' *Galpin Society Journal* 41 (1988), 81–101; and Richard Maunder, 'Viennese Wind-Instrument Makers, 1700–1800,' *Galpin Society Journal* 51 (1998), 27–51. Marin Mersenne gives the most detail about a variety of wind instruments including the trumpet, cornett, horn and serpent. See Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (1636–1637); trans. Roger E. Chapman as *Harmonie universelle: The Books on Instruments* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957), 294–392.

⁴⁵ Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum* (1619), trans. and ed. David Z. Crookes (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).

⁴⁶ These include: Trevor Herbert and John Wallace (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, reprint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); John Mansfield Thomson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Herbert, *The Trombone*; and Powell, *The Flute*.

⁴⁷ Lasocki and Prior, *The Bassanos*, 119–136 and Jane Girdham, 'The Flageolet Player: The Ultimate Amateur Musician,' *Early Music* 30 (2002), 397–409.

⁴⁸ Specific tonguing articulations are given in several wind instrument treatises. These have been discussed in Howard Mayer Brown, *Embellishing Sixteenth Century Music* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1978); Herbert, *The Trombone*, 41–44; and Powell, *The Flute*, 36–48.

singing and wind-playing, as promoted in several early modern wind instrument treatises, may offer further understanding regarding the practical elements of learning to play, including reading notation, pitching, phrasing and the accomplishment of more advanced articulations.⁴⁹

Popular sites and environments for female music-making encompass a diverse range of soundscapes including the domestic sphere, as well as the court and chapel in which knowledge of volume, acoustics and performance practices can contribute new perspectives to our historical understanding. In his research into early modern sounds and aural experiences, Bruce Smith explores the differing temporal concepts of loud and soft and he offers possible explanations for the apparent widespread negativity towards noisy instruments.⁵⁰ Flora Dennis and Eric Wilson have also contributed to this subject area in their exploration of sounds within domestic environments and open city settings.⁵¹ These studies, in combination with social organology, are essential for adding to our understanding of the cultural symbolism of instruments as signifiers of social class, taste and refinement.

Social studies of instruments, which explore performance spaces, acoustics, repertoire, tutoring and performance practices are vital to women's histories, particularly in relation to wind instruments because they enable us to explore beyond the realm of professional and publicly acclaimed musicians, towards the privacy of courtly chambers, convent chapels and domestic environments.

Iconography: Picturing Women and Instruments

The study of iconography brings together organology and the history of women most successfully because where written materials, surviving instruments and repertoire might not

⁴⁹ Treatises aimed at amateur players, such as Sylvestro Ganassi's *Opera intitulata Fontegara la quale insegna a sonare di flauto chon tutta l'arte opportune a esso instrument massime il diminuire composta per Sylvestro di Ganassi dal Fontego* (Venezia, s.n., 1535) and, later seventeenth-century tutors including Thomas Greeting's, *The Pleasant Companion: Or New Lessons and Instructions for the Flageolet* (London: John Playford, 1675) and Robert Carr's, *The Delightful Companion, or, Choice Lessons for the Recorder or Flute* (London: John Playford for John Carr, 1686) establish that knowledge of the gamut or solmisation syllables, as used in singing, could support the reading of notes, as well as the pitching of different intervals. Moreover, wind treatises directed at those training to become professional players demonstrate further connections to singing technique, particularly in the form of tonguing articulations. In Girolamo Dalla Casa's *Il vero modo di diminuir, con tutte le sorti di stromenti di fiato, & corda, & di voce humana. Di Girolamo Dalla Casa detto da Udene capo de concerti delli stromenti di fiato* (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1584), for example, he compares the *lingua riversa* tonguings to the *gorgia*; a type of throat articulation used in singing. In Girolamo Fantini's *Modo per imparte a sonare di tromba tanto di Guerra quanto musicalmente in organo, con tromba sordina, col cimballo, e orgn'altro istrumento* (Frankfurt: Daniel Watsch, 1638), he includes variations on trilling technique such as the *gropo* and *trillo*; both terms of which are directly derived from singing ornamentations. For information regarding these singing techniques, see Richard Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer: Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and the Performance of Identity in the Late Renaissance* (Ashford: Ashgate, 2007), 145–157.

⁵⁰ Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending the O-Factor* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

⁵¹ Flora Dennis, 'Sound and Domestic Space in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Italy,' *A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History and Material Culture* 16, no. 1 (2008), 7–19 and Eric Wilson, 'Plagues, Fairs, and Street Cries: Sounding Out and Space in Early Modern London,' *Modern Language Studies* 25, no. 3 (1995), 1–42.

relate directly to women's musical experiences, pictorial sources can sometimes offer further, extraordinarily rich insights into early modern life and musical practices. If we turn to focus on wind instruments the sheer volume of depictions of women either playing or holding flageolets, recorders, cornetts, trombones and trumpets is extensive and is ubiquitous across media ranging from woodcuts, drawings, paintings and engravings to tapestries, frescoes and furniture.

Such images, however, require careful interpretation and can by no means be read at face value. In the history of musicology, many studies have come under fierce criticism for their lack of methodological frameworks when dealing with music iconography, which, it was argued by Emanuel Winternitz, often led to poor interpretations that failed to read beyond the visual information. They were also criticised for not locating the source within its historical and intellectual context, and for mistaking depictions to be actuality rather than imaginary or symbolic.⁵² In response, to Winternitz's criticisms, François Lesure warned against the fashion for finding 'hidden meanings' in paintings that, he suggested, actually depicted reality.⁵³ These early frameworks were to some extent amalgamated under Erwin Panofsky's interpretative methodology in which he offered an organic process of analysis that allowed for the layering of multiple meanings.⁵⁴ In doing so, as Hanneke Grootenboer describes, 'the Warburg/Panofsky turn called for all early modern images to be understood in some way as allegorical or symbolic', a position that is no longer taken uncritically, meaning that some images are now considered to be simply depictions of reality.⁵⁵ Since the early criticisms towards musicologists, music iconography has become a flourishing discipline, which offers enriching and insightful perspectives.⁵⁶

⁵² See Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art: Studies in Musical Iconology* (London: Yale University Press, 1979), 31. One of the texts he is critical of is Georg Kinsky, *A History of Music in Pictures* (London: J. M. Dent, 1930), a book that contains many relevant images for this study, but often fails to cite their bibliographic details. François Lesure also warns against what he terms 'collective awareness' with images being held up as representative of an age, rather than taking into account individual circumstances. See François Lesure, *Music and Art in Society* (London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968), xiii.

⁵³ Lesure, *Music and Art in Society*, 2–15.

⁵⁴ Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (New York: The Overlook Press, 1974).

⁵⁵ Hanneke Grootenboer, *The Rhetoric of Perspective: Realism and Illusionism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Still-Life Painting* (London: The University of Chicago, 2005).

⁵⁶ Important studies include those by James McKinnon, 'Iconography,' in *Musicology in the 1980s: Methods, Goals and Opportunities*, eds. D. Kern Holoman and Claude V. Palisca (New York: Da Capo, 1982), 79–93 and Peter Burke, *Eye Witnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaction Books, 2001). The following studies discuss images of women musicians: Colin Slim, 'Mary Magdalene, Musician and Dancer,' *Early Music* 8, no. 4 (1980), 460–473; Colin Slim, 'Paintings of Lady Concerts and the Transmission of *Jouissance vous donneray*,' in *Painting Music in the Sixteenth Century: Essays in Iconography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 51–73; Linda Phyllis Austern, 'Portrait of the Artist as (Female) Musician,' in *Musical Voices of Early Modern England: Many Headed Melodies*, ed. Thomasin LaMay (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 15–59; and Laurie Stras, 'Musical Portraits of Female Musicians,' *Art and Music in the Early Modern Period: Essays in Memory of Franca Trinchieri Carniz*, ed. Katherine McIver (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 145–172.

Early modern conceptions of beauty and ugliness are especially pertinent to the study of female wind players, particularly in respect to the standard accusation that wind-playing distorted and covered the face. Although Umberto Eco and Barbara Correll do not directly address women playing wind-instruments, they cast light on early modern perspectives of beauty, ugliness and the grotesque in allegorical and ‘real’ forms.⁵⁷ To assist further with interpretations, early modern emblem books are also a vital source of information regarding personifications, figures and the meaning of objects.⁵⁸ Awareness of Classical texts, poetry, literature, and allegorical proverbs, in conjunction with musicological knowledge can also inform historical interpretations, as demonstrated in scholarly work such as ‘Portrait of the Artist as (Female) Musician’ by Linda Phyllis Austern and Richard Leppert’s *Music and Image* and *The Sight of Sound*.⁵⁹ These studies demonstrate that readings of historical sources ought not to be interpreted as one-dimensional, but rather they are layered with both ‘real’ and ‘imaginary’ elements. I would also argue that depictions of women playing wind instruments have tended to be treated as tropic, or conforming to a limited set of standard generalities as ‘depictions of the Muses’, ‘prodigal son imagery’, ‘courtly musicians’, or simply as ‘women musicians’, rather than being examined for their particularities.

Early modern ideas relating to women and music were dualistic and controversial. They brought together aspects of cultural refinement and accomplishment alongside highlighting the dangers of stirring human passions and seducing male listeners. These inherent dichotomies were used playfully by artists to convey multiple meanings, to incorporate moralistic messages and to amuse observers. These elements could be further intensified and complicated in the context of women playing wind instruments through their negotiation of oppositional cultural codes and conflicting mythological associations.

3. Research Questions and Methodology

The principal research objective of this thesis is to examine the cultural spaces in which early modern women could perform on wind instruments. I will ask questions about their access to musical education, tutors, instruments and repertoire. I will investigate the spaces in which

⁵⁷ Umberto Eco (ed.) *On Beauty: A History of a Western Idea*, trans. Alastair McEwen (London: Secker & Warburg, 2004) and Umberto Eco (ed.) *On Ugliness*, trans. Alastair McEwen (London: Harvill Secker, 2007). Also, see Barbara Correll, *The End of Conduct: Grobianus and the Renaissance Text of the Subject* (Ithaca, New York; London: Cornell University Press, 1996).

⁵⁸ An important study regarding emblem books is Linda Phyllis Austern’s, ‘The Siren, the Muse, and the God of Love: Music and Gender in Seventeenth-Century English Emblem Books,’ *Journal of Musicological Research* 18 (1999), 95–138.

⁵⁹ Austern, ‘Portrait of the Artist,’ 15–59 and Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in 18th-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) and Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music Representation and the History of the Body* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1993).

they could play and the constraints and rulings regarding the presentation of their music to both private and public audiences. Where possible, I will also look at the audience reception of female wind-playing in early modern society in both representational and real forms. Importantly, these examples will enable me to trace moments of change and stasis in the use of wind instruments at certain times and places during the early modern period, which may also reflect wider social patterns relating to musical developments, as well as changing instrument use and accessibility.

Although this study is grounded in music history, the gendering of instruments still bears some relevance to present-day imbalances in both the professional and amateur worlds of music-making. Attempts to disperse negative traditional attitudes towards the portrayal of women playing wind instruments must begin by unravelling and expounding their origins. Although this is not the primary aim of this study, discussion of women and their relationships with wind instruments will inevitably highlight the often-contested attitudes of early modern commentators, some of which may mirror continuing contemporary bias against female wind-playing.⁶⁰

In order to draw together the large range of sources relevant to this study, the methodological framework for this thesis is rooted in new historicism and material history.⁶¹ An interdisciplinary approach of this nature enables a variety of perspectives to be presented, it allows for peripheral examples to be brought to the fore, and it highlights the similarities as well as underlying tensions and conflicts between source materials.⁶²

The term ‘early modern’ has been used in this study to denote the period 1500 to 1800, although the boundaries of this time-frame vary considerably in other academic research. Chosen for its appropriateness to women’s studies (the term Renaissance has often been criticised for being misleading within this context), this term most clearly matches the source

⁶⁰ The continuation of these views into the twentieth century is conveyed by Gustave Kerker who wrote the following in the *Musical Standard* in 1904: ‘Women cannot possibly play brass instruments and look pretty, and why should they spoil their good looks?’ See Gustave Kerker, ‘Opinions of Some New York Leaders on Women as Orchestral Players,’ *Musical Standard* 21 (April 2, 1904). The case of Abbie Conant and her struggle to attain a professional position in the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra is discussed in William Osborne, ‘You Sound like a Ladies Orchestra: A Case of Sexism against Abbie Conant in the Munich Philharmonic’ (1994), <http://www.osborne-conant.org/ladies.htm>, accessed March 2017. The graphs presented in Suby Raman’s blog entitled ‘Graphing Gender in America’s Top Orchestras,’ November 18, 2014, <http://subyraman.tumblr.com/post/102965074088/graphing-gender-in-americas-top-orchestras>, accessed March 2017, demonstrate the continued gender imbalances apparent in certain sections of professional orchestras today.

⁶¹ Since the publication of Stephen Greenblatt’s *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, his promotion of the new historicist approach has given further momentum to finding new means of investigating cultural history. See Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning, From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1980) and, Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*.

⁶² The enabling and positive uses of various ‘turns’ in new musicology is discussed in relation to research concerning Monteverdi in Suzanne G. Cusick, ‘Monteverdi studies and ‘new’ musicologies’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi*, eds. John Whenham and Richard Wistreich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 249–260.

materials and prevailing cultural ideas that are explored when neither ‘Renaissance’ nor ‘Baroque’, for instance, would suffice. Such a *longue durée* approach allows for the observance of frequent cultural and musical changes, while also recognising the longevity of certain ideological themes. In this case, the social codes pertaining to femininity, beauty, and decorum, for example, remain relatively constant throughout the period.⁶³ Beginning in the early 1500s, this study recognises the perpetuation of medieval biases towards certain instrument types, as well as the formalisation of behavioural codes for men and women. It also highlights the continual reiteration of Galenic humoral theory and the female body as a cold, weak and ‘leaky vessel’.⁶⁴ Although scientific understanding radically changed during the seventeenth century, as evidenced by texts such as Helkiah Crooke’s *Mikrokosmographia* (1615) and William Harvey’s *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis* (1628), the terminology used by both authors demonstrates the continued use of traditional associations regarding the female body.⁶⁵ As Crooke states:

But now I had need heere to Apologise for my selfe for speaking so much of woemens weaknes, but they must attribute something to the heat of disputation, most to the current and streame of our Authours, least of all to mee who will bee as ready in another place to flourish forth their comendations as I am here to huddle ouer their naturall imperfections.⁶⁶

Studies by Thomas Lacqueur, Gail Kern Paster and Anthony Fletcher explore the extent to which the language of humoral theory was embedded within the popular imagination and that despite scientific discoveries, such references continued to be invoked into the nineteenth century.⁶⁷ This holds particular relevance to the foundational underpinnings of early modern objections towards women playing certain wind instruments, as well as the gradual change in attitude, which, by the mid-sixteenth century in the Low countries and France, and the late-

⁶³ The *Longue durée* as coined by Ferdinand Braudel and explained in, ‘Histoire et science sociales. la longue durée,’ *Annales* 13 (1958), 725–753. Alexandra Shepard sets up the case for slow-moving change in thought in her book entitled *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). Also, see Alexandra Shepard and Katherine Walker, *Gender and Change: Agency, Chronology and Periodisation* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

⁶⁴ Gail Kern Paster, ‘Leaky Vessels: The Incontinent Women of City Comedy,’ in *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), 23–63.

⁶⁵ Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man* (London: William Iggard, 1615) and William Harvey, *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus* (Frankfurt: Sumptibus Guilielmi Fitzeri, 1628); trans. Kenneth J. Franklin as *The Circulation of the Blood* (Oxford: Blackwell Scientific Publications, 1958).

⁶⁶ Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia*, 276–277.

⁶⁷ Thomas Walter Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press, 1992); Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*; and Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination in England 1500–1800* (London: Yale University Press, 1995).

seventeenth century in England, had led to flageolets, recorders and eventually flutes, being regarded as physically and musically manageable for the amateur market, including women.

The early modern framework also allows moments of increased musical agency for various groups of women in Europe to be pinpointed at certain points along this time-frame. It enables detailed snapshots to be taken of specific examples in which political, religious, economic, and social circumstances allowed (or gave special dispensation) for women to play wind instruments. Although the specific circumstances of these examples remain localised instances, broader themes relating to patriarchal guidance, changing musical fashions and amateur pastimes can be acknowledged to develop a more nuanced understanding of the early modern female wind player.

In conjunction with the early modern time-frame this study also incorporates the wide geographical expanse of Europe, which is a necessary focus for the inclusion of a diverse range of sources relevant to female wind-playing in a variety of social spaces. The idea of 'Europe' is not a modern concept but dates to Classical mythology and the figure of 'Europa'. She appears in early modern emblem books, including Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1603) in which she is surrounded by artistic instruments and items of warfare.⁶⁸ These symbolise Europe as a space in which various social and political groups shared commonality in their culture, their moral codes and their religious beliefs.⁶⁹ Although linked by these unifying elements, care has been taken to acknowledge the social, political, cultural and religious differences that may reflect more localised trends of wind-playing, as opposed to extended geographical and temporal patterns. For example, although Christianity imparted general, common moral codes, the effects of the Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation determined significant differences in the musical opportunities available for women across northern and southern Europe, most notably in convents. These differences are further complicated by localised political and ecclesiastical rulings that regulated the use of instruments in these institutions. To address the complicated nature of these individual cases it has been necessary to draw out key, overarching themes that unite these examples, which reflect both institutional jurisdictions as well as wider sovereign rulings.

⁶⁸ Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia overo descrizione dell'imagini universali cavate dall'antichità et da altri luoghi. Da Cesare Ripa Perugino* (Rome: Giovanni Gigliotti, 1593). This was Ripa's first edition but it was not until the second edition that illustrations to accompany the text were included. See Ripa, *Iconologia* (Rome: Lepido Faeij, 1603), 333. Sebastian Münster includes a map of Europe, which is depicted as a sovereign ruler named 'Europe Regina'. See Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia universalis* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1570), 55. For a discussion of this myth and a reproduction of this image see Anthony Pagdon, 'Europe: The Myths of Europe,' in *Early Modern Europe: An Oxford History*, ed. Euan Cameron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), Prologue.

⁶⁹ Euan Cameron (ed.), *Early Modern Europe: An Oxford History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). It is worth qualifying that 'Europe' in the early modern sense includes western and central European countries, but not those in the eastern regions under the Ottoman Empire, see Cissie C. Fairchild, *Women in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700* (Harlow: Pearson/Longman, 2007), 1–2.

The so-called ‘new historical’ tendency in music historiography has not been exempt from criticism and its recognised pitfalls include the potential for creating fragmented and overly complex histories that lose sight of more general patterns of social and professional music-making.⁷⁰ With this in mind, this study aims to be kaleidoscopic in nature, focussing on specific examples of women playing wind instruments, but at the same time consciously stepping back to view wider cultural climates, musical practices and everyday perspectives.

4. Classical Inheritance: Mythological and Historical Female Wind Players in Early Modern Literature and Art

The complex relationships between women and wind instruments, as figured in various early modern discourses, demonstrate interplay between ancient traditions and Classical mythology as well as humanist cosmological and astrological beliefs based on theoretical understandings of musical harmony and proportion. The ancient stories and teachings inspired and informed humanist discourse, and late medieval and Renaissance writers and artists invested mythological female characters and their associated objects (including wind instruments) with further meanings and contemporary relevancy.⁷¹ Cultivating an awareness of such complexities is not only essential to understanding early modern representations of female wind players, but also for interpreting contemporary views of real early modern female wind players, which were often compared to Muses, Angels and Sirens by contemporary chroniclers who recorded the experience of hearing their music. To further our understanding of such references, it is necessary to briefly explore the complex interplay between Classical references to wind-playing and early modern cultural and artistic interpretations, reconfigured and adapted to the prevailing social mores of the time.

Negative Figures: Disfigurement, Allurement and Earthly Pleasures

The figure most often associated with female wind-playing, as referenced in early modern conduct literature is Pallas Athena; the Greek Goddess of war and handicrafts, and inventor of the pipes, also known as Minerva in Roman mythology.⁷² In Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* Athena is

⁷⁰ Critical responses to new historicism can be seen in Ian Biddle, *Music, Masculinity and the Claims of History: The Austro-German Tradition from Hegel to Freud* (Burlington; Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 9–18. The ‘Eurocentric’ nature of historicism is discussed in Olivia Bloechl, ‘Race, Empire and Early Music,’ in *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship*, eds. Olivia Bloechl, Melanie Lowe and Jeffrey Kallberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 77–107.

⁷¹ Musical instruments become social signifiers for differing and often conflicting cultural meanings. Carla Zecher describes them as embodying a poetic voice and being ‘suited to anthropomorphization.’ See Zecher, *Sounding Objects*, 7.

⁷² Athena (Pallas or Minerva) was born from the head of Zeus as a fully grown and armoured woman. She represents the positive aspects of war (e.g. protection and justice) and handicrafts associated with men and women (e.g. spinning/weaving and metalwork/woodwork/pottery). She was also given sovereignty over the city

described as entertaining the Gods with her pipe playing. Their amused reaction to her performance results in Athena fleeing to a pool where she observes her own reflection. On seeing her distorted face and puffed cheeks, Athena is said to have thrown her pipes into the pool.⁷³

Medieval retellings of Athena's myth often reiterate the sentiment of Classical theorists such as Aristotle and Plutarch in which emphasis is focussed towards the fruitlessness of music in comparison to other worthier subjects.⁷⁴ In contrast, sixteenth and seventeenth-century conduct books, including Della Casa's *Galateo* (1559) and John Bulwer's *Anthropometamorphosis* (1653) interpret Athena's story in a literal sense by objecting to the physical demands of wind instruments. The resultant facial distortions caused by playing compromised established codes of ideal beauty, and in turn questioned morality; outer beauty was believed to reflect inner beauty.

In addition to disfigurement, early modern anxieties concerning pipe music stemmed from the belief that the instrument had seductive luring capabilities. This is epitomised by the figures of the Sirens. Originating from Greek literature, these women are most famously portrayed in Homer's *Odyssey* as dangerous creatures who were capable of using their voices to entice sailors to their deaths.⁷⁵ During the medieval period the Sirens often appeared in bestiaries and moralisations as a musical trio (singer, wind player and string player) in hybrid

of Athens. See William Hansen, *Classical Mythology: A Guide to the Mythological World of the Greeks and Romans* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 121–123. Athena's honours and her link to wind-playing are widely recognised in early modern texts, as demonstrated in Robert Albott, *Wits Theatre of the Little World* (London: James Roberts for Nicholas Ling, 1599) and Anthony Hodges, *The Loves of Clitophon and Leucippe. A Most Elegant History in Greeke by Achilles Tatius: and Now Englished* (Oxford: William Turner for John Allam, 1638), 229.

⁷³ In the second part of the *Metamorphoses* myth, Athena's discarded pipes are said to have been retrieved by the satyr Marsyas who learnt to play the instrument. He later challenged the God Apollo to a musical contest, which was judged by King Midas and then by the Muses. The women declared Apollo to be the victor and Marsyas was subsequently flayed as a punishment for his display of arrogance and pride. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book VI, 382–400, trans. Anthony S. Kline (2000), <http://ovid.lib.virginia.edu/trans/Ovhome.htm>, accessed March 2017. Ovid's description of Athena's flute-playing in *Ars Amatoria* gives a more vivid portrayal of her appearance: 'veins black with blood, eyes fiercer than Gorgon fire', 3.505–3.506. This is translated and quoted in Carole Elizabeth Newlands, *Playing with Time: Ovid and the Fasti*, vol. 55 (New York: Cornell University Press, 1995), 198.

⁷⁴ The earlier views of Aristotle and Plutarch are discussed in Sheramy D. Bundick, *Music and Image in Classical Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 36–37. An analysis of Plutarch's perspective on pipe playing can be found in Simon Verdegem, *Plutarch's life of Alcibiades: Story, Text and Moralism* (Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2010), 126–128 and Adriana Cavarero, 'Some Irresistible (and Somewhat Dangerous) Flute Playing,' in *For More Than One Voice: Toward a Philosophy of Vocal Expression* (California: Stanford University Press, 2005), 68–78. This earlier perspective is also recognised in early modern literature, as expressed by John Case who notes that Aristotle's teaching concentrated on the fact that Minerva threw her pipes away, not because of disfigurement, but because 'the playing on [the] Recorder doth neither auail the mind, nor help knowledge anything at al: whereas we ascribe art & knowledge to Minerua.' See John Case, *The Praise of Musicke Wherein beside the Antiquitie, Dignitie, Delectation, & Use Thereof in Civill Matters, is also Declared the Sober and Lawfull Use of the Same in the Congregation and Church of God* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1586).

⁷⁵ The complex etymology of the Sirens is explored in Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'Sirens in Antiquity and the Middle Ages,' in *Music of the Sirens*, eds. Linda Phyllis Austern and Inna Naroditskaya (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 16–51. The Sirens are also mentioned in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book V, 533–571, trans. Kline.

female forms as half-aquatic or half-avian women.⁷⁶ In early modern portrayals, as seen in Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586) and Jean-Baptiste Boudard's *Iconologie* (1766), the potency of the Siren's music, coupled with their beauty, was believed to cause men to lose their rational judgement (Figures I.3 and I.4).⁷⁷ This was also linked to the 'scientific' idea that sound could enter the ear and directly affect the heart. As Francis Bacon described in *Sylva sylvarum* (1627): 'for that the sense of hearing striketh the Spirits more immediately than the other senses'.⁷⁸

The pipe-playing Siren embodied many of the early modern fears surrounding wind instruments, which were linked to the mystical transformation of human breath into musical sound. It was believed, for example, that human breath 'enlivened' spirits within the pipe resulting in seductive music that lulled defenceless victims into submission against their captors.⁷⁹ This was perpetuated by the Classical figure of Hermes who killed the guard Argos by luring him to sleep with his pipe playing (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*), and reconfigured into new characters, including Cesare Ripa's 'Adulatione' who is seen to capture a deer with her music (Figure I.5).⁸⁰ The powerful effect of wind music was also relayed in a practical sense by Giambattista Della Porta who described how pipe playing could tame, please and ensnare wolves, horses, stags and boars in *Natural magick* (1658).⁸¹

⁷⁶ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge Bestiary, MS Kk.4.25, folio 77r. The sirens are fully clothed. The aulos player and harpist have fish tails and wings whereas the singer has the body of a bird. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 602, folio 10r. This depicts a singer with webbed feet and a fish tail, an aulos player and a harp player with the bodies and wings of birds. These images are reproduced in Leach, *Sung Birds*, 261–262. An almost identical image is also found in Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 88, folio 138v. Also, see Debra Hassig (ed.), *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature* (London: Routledge, 1999), 59 and Eva Leach, 'The Little Pipe Sings Sweetly While the Fowler Deceives the Bird: Sirens in the Later Middle Ages,' *Music & Letters* 87, no. 2 (2006), 192–197.

⁷⁷ Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes, and other devices. For the moste gathered out of sundrie writers, Englished and Moralised. And divers newly devised by Geffrey Whitney...* (Leyden: in the house of Christopher Plantyn by Francis Raphelengius, 1586) and Jean-Baptiste Boudard, *Iconologie* (Vienna: Jean-Thomas de Trattner, 1766). For significant studies relating to the Sirens, see: Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Teach Me to Heare Mermaids Singing": Embodiments of (Acoustic) Pleasure and Danger in the Modern West,' in *Music of the Sirens*, eds. Linda Phyllis Austern and Inna Naroditskaya (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 53–60; Leach, *Sung Birds*, 259–264; Holford-Strevens, 'Sirens in Antiquity,' 16–51; Calogero, "'Sweet Alluring Harmony,'" 140–175; Austern, "'Teach Me to Heare Mermaids Singing,'" 52–104; Leach, 'The Little Pipe Sings,' 197; and Hassig (ed.), *The Mark of the Beast*, 60 + 79–81.

⁷⁸ Francis Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum: or A Naturall Historie in Ten Centuries* (London: Printed by John Haviland and Augustine Matthewes for William Lee, 1627), 38.

⁷⁹ The sweetness of the pipe's sound, its mystical powers, and its link to suffering is also epitomised by the story of Pan whose love for the nymph Syrinx was unreciprocated. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* Book I, 689–721, trans. Kline. This story is recalled in Thomas Heywood, *Gynaikeion: or, Nine Bookes of Various History Concerning Women Inscribed by ye Names of ye Nine Muses* (London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1624), 43.

⁸⁰ The accompanying verse states: '...The Buck denotes flattery, because he is so charm'd with Music that he lets himself be taken.' Ripa, *Iconologia* (1709), 1 + fig. 4.

⁸¹ Giambattista Della Porta, *Natural magick* (London: Printed for Thomas Young and Samuel Speed, 1558; 1658), Chap. IV, 'The Fifteenth Book of Natural Magick: Shews to Catch Living Creatures with your Hands, and to Destroy them.' This links to Mozart's *Die zauberflöte* and in particular, the second aria in scene 2, 'Der Vogelfanger bin ich ja'. In this song Papageno recognises his skill for catching birds with his pipe-playing and wishes he could also use it to catch women. See Peter Branscome, *Die Zauberflöte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 49.

The temptation and lure of worldly pleasures, as projected by the image of the Sirens, was also reaffirmed by the Greek God Dionysus (or the Roman God, Bacchus) and his followers. Known for their drunkenness and sexual abandon, pipe-playing was often linked to their merriment and revelry.⁸² The connection between sexual licence and pipe-playing was also echoed by historical female aulos players from ancient Greece, including the famous Lamia, known to have performed at all-male symposia.⁸³ The sensual nature of music was often portrayed in early modern artworks by the inclusion of a ‘pipe’. For example, in the *Three Ages of Man* (ca. 1512–1514), the female pipe-player appears to seduce the young man with her recorder playing and beauty - he is apparently enraptured by her siren-like qualities, and the symbolism of her pipes is unquestionably erotic, relating to amorous desire, virility, and love (Figure I.6).

Positive Figures: Invention, Inspiration and Renown

Early descriptions of the Muses differ considerably, especially in relation to their number, genealogy and character (in some cases they are synonymous with the Sirens).⁸⁴ By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, their identity as a virtuous female ensemble of nine inspirers of the arts was firmly established.⁸⁵ In conjunction with their newly chaste reputations, it is no coincidence that Apollo’s supreme rule over the Muses became firmly established during this time, as depicted in contemporary representations such as Marcantonio Raimondi’s *Apollo and the Muses on Parnassus* (after Raphael’s *Parnassus*) (Figure I.7).⁸⁶ The Muses’ connection to celestial music (previously attributed to the angelic orders) is

⁸² There are numerous references to Bacchus and his followers in Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*. The connection between Bacchus and Minerva occurs in Book VIII, trans. Kleine, 260–328. Pierre Danet describes ‘Bacchus’ in his dictionary, ‘the other Satyr with horns, his thighs hairy, with the Beard and Feet of an Hee-Goat, holding in his left hand a flute, and in the other a crooked Staff...’, See Pierre Danet, *A Complete Dictionary of the Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London: Printed for John Nicholson, 1700), 71.

⁸³ For research relating to ancient female aulos players, see Chester Star, ‘An Evening with the Flute Girls,’ *Parola del Passato* 33 (1978), 402–403; Roger Harmon, ‘Plato, Aristotle, and Women Musicians,’ *Music and Letters* 86, no. 3 (2005), 351–356; J. A. Kemp, ‘Professional Musicians in Ancient Greece,’ *Greece & Rome* 13, no. 2 (1966), 213–222; and Max L. Goldman, ‘Associating the Auletris: Flute Girls and Prostitutes in the Classical Greek Symposium,’ *Helios* 42, no. 1 (2015), 29–60.

⁸⁴ Early references to Sirens and Muses are discussed in Holford-Strevens, ‘Sirens in Antiquity,’ 16–51. His study demonstrates the complex etymology of these terms and their contrasting usage by early theorists and writers. A seventeenth-century explanation for the historical change in the number of Muses (from three, to seven, to nine) is offered in Alexander Ross, *Mystagogvs poeticvs, or, The Muses Interpreter Explaining the Historicall Mysteries and Mysticall Histories of the Ancient Greek and Latine Poets* (London: Printed for Richard Whitaker, 1647), 166–171.

⁸⁵ The ‘chastening of the muses’ is explored in Stephen Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d’Este* (London: Yale University Press, 2004), 126.

⁸⁶ Raphael’s original fresco is in the *Stanza della Segnatura* in the Vatican, see http://www.mcah.columbia.edu/raphael/htm/raphael_poetry.htm, accessed March 2017. This image is discussed in Kathi Meyer-Baer, ‘Musical Iconography in Raphael’s Parnassus,’ *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 8, no. 2 (1949), 90–94. Early references to the Muses refer to three, seven and nine women. The symbolism of these numbers is discussed in Ross, *Mystagogvs Poeticvs*, 167.

confirmed in Franchino Gaffurio's *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (1518) in which they are each assigned a note (and a mode).⁸⁷ Although the power of celestial music was no longer believed, the link between the Muses and cosmic harmony continued to inspire the visual and literary arts.⁸⁸

In Renaissance typology, the Muses were each allied to areas of expertise and the props or objects associated with their individual character directly relates to this association.⁸⁹ Euterpe (the Muse of lyric poetry) is often figured holding a wind instrument, but the type of instrument she holds varies considerably. In Hans Ladenspelder's depiction of the Muse, she plays a double aulos and is dressed in ancient robes, thus emphasising her connection to Classical music traditions (Figure I.8). In other instances, Euterpe is considered to be the inventress of wind music and she therefore shares similarities with Pallas Athena.⁹⁰ Similarly, Musica is also sometimes portrayed as a pipe-playing woman, as epitomised in Tiziano Vecellio's *Le concert champêtre* (ca. 1509) in which the figure of Music holds a pipe and Poetry pours a jug of water, symbolising inspiration (Figure I.9).

Euterpe's role as inspirer of wind music is evident in a seventeenth-century engraving by Joannes Galle in which she is seen to play a straight trumpet with her left hand (Figure I.10).⁹¹ A similar theme is also apparent in Robert Bonnat's depiction of *Euterpe* (1670–1718), but in this instance, she is dressed in contemporary clothes and she holds a recorder, which was an appropriate and popular instrument for a woman to play from the late seventeenth century (Figure I.11). Bonnat's interpretation of Euterpe is therefore

⁸⁷ Franchino Gaffurio, *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (Milano: Gottado da Ponte, 1518). The Muses' association with the planets is explored further in Heinrich Cornelius, *De occulta philosophia libri tres* (Lyon: s.n., 1533) in which the author examines the significance of the number nine in relation to the Muses, the spheres, the planets, the orders of the angels and the senses.

⁸⁸ Natalie Rosenberg Henderson, 'Le Sueur's Decorations for the Cabinet des Muses in the Hôtel Lambert,' *The Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), 564 and Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (London: Yale University Press, 1955), 181–187.

⁸⁹ The Muses were each assigned an area of expertise: Euterpe, muse of lyric poetry; Erato, muse of love poetry; Clio, muse of history and epic poetry; Calliope, muse of elegies; Melpomene, muse of tragedies; Polyhymnia, muse of sacred oratory, singing and rhetoric; Terpsichore, muse of dance and lyric poetry; Thalia, muse of comedy and bucolic poetry; and Urania, muse of astrology. The Muses are often associated with the following symbolic objects, but these vary between different artistic representations. Calliope (scroll, tablet, book or pipes), Urania (globe, peg or compass), Polyhymnia (finger to mouth or gaze), Terpsichore (lyre), Clio (scroll or trumpet), Melpomene (mask, club or sword), Erato (lyre), Euterpe (aulos or pipe) and Thalia (mask, staff or tabor). See Mary Rasmussen, 'Viols, Violists and Venus in Grünewald's Isenheim Alter,' *Early Music* 29, no. 1 (2001), 70–72

⁹⁰ Thomas Heywood, *The General History of Women Containing the Lives of the Most Holy and Most Prophane, the Most Famous and Infamous in all Ages, Exactly Described not only from Poeticall Fictions, but from the Most Ancient, Modern, and Admired Historians to our Times* (London: W. H, 1657), 87, 'Euterpe is called the goddesse of pleasantness and jollity, said to be delighted in all sorts of pipes and wind instruments, and to be both their inventresse and guidresse'. Also, see Michael Drayton, *The Muses Elizium Lately Discovered, by a New Way Ouer Parnassus* (London: Thomas Harper for John Waterrson, 1630), 34.

⁹¹ Joannes Galle (after Maarten de Vas), *Euterpe* (seventeenth century), San Francisco, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, Achenbach Foundation, 1963.30.12319. The accompanying motto is: 'Dulciloguis calamos Euterpe flatibus urget'.

recognisable as a ‘real’ woman, although the accompanying verse shows the continued recognition of the emotive power of music and the standard Aristotelian and Galenic theory that breath (voice and sound) had direct access to the heart.⁹²

Another of the Muses that was regularly linked to wind-playing was Clio. In contrast to the jollity of Euterpe’s character, Clio’s imagery is weighted with the importance of Fame, which is inferred by her declamatory trumpet. Clio, reported to be the daughter of Jupiter and Mnemosyne (mother of the Muses), was the eldest of the Muses. Her name meant ‘to praise’ and her trumpet signified various types of attributed glory (Figure I. 12).⁹³ In Greek mythology Fama or PHEME was a messenger to the God, Zeus and she is supposed to have revealed the sexual misconduct of the Gods by loudly proclaiming her gossip abroad for all to hear. Similarly, in Roman mythology Fame is considered to be a messenger of truth and falsehood, described in the Virgillian tradition as having multiple tongues.⁹⁴ Fame’s contrasting traits have meant that, historically, she has been represented in various guises, representing both good fame (*Fama bona*) and bad fame (*Fama mala*).⁹⁵ This duality of character is understood as a natural property of her gender, and corroborates early modern belief that women were both virtuous creatures, but also always in danger of being easily led towards vice, a conundrum most obviously embodied by the biblical figures of Eve and Mary Magdalen.

As a collective musical ensemble, the Muses are often seen to gather around Apollo and despite holding instruments, they are sometimes rendered silent as they listen respectfully

⁹² ‘Mon agreeable humeur et mes enjouments, qui joints à ma beauté, me rendent sans pareille; Avec l’air de ma voix, et de mes instruments, ‘l’enchante des humains, et le Coeur et l’oreille’ [My agreeable mood and enjoyment, joined with my beauty, makes me like no other; With the air of my voice and my instruments I enchant the humans and the Heart and ear]. The original French version is reproduced in Nicholas S. Lander, ‘Robert Bonnat (1652–1729),’ *Recorder Home Page: Iconography* (1996–2017), <http://www.recorderhomepage.net/recorder-iconography/artists-b/>, accessed March 2017. This standard connection between sound and the heart is made in Bacon’s, *Sylva sylvarum*, 38.

⁹³ ‘Clio the first hath her name from praise or glory and is drawne with a Garland of baies in her right hand and a Trumpet in her left, a book vpon whose outside may be written, Thucidides or the name of some other famous Historian’. See Henry Peacham, *The Gentlemans Exercise or an Exquisite Practise, as well for Drawing all Manner of Beasts in their True Portraitures* (London: Printed for Iohn Brown, 1612), 126. Other depictions of Clio are found in Giovanni Baglione, *Clio* (1624), Arras, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Johannes Vermeer, *The Art of Painting* (ca. 1666), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, and Artemisia Gentileschi, *Clio, The Muse of History* (1623), Pisa, Cassa di Risparmio di Pisa. The latter painting is discussed in Keith Christiansen, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 400.

⁹⁴ Helen E. Roberts (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Comparative Iconography: Themes Depicted in Works of Art* (London: Routledge, 1998), 309.

⁹⁵ Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 2003; Edwin B. Benjamin, ‘Fame, Poetry and the Order of History in the Literature of the English Renaissance,’ *Studies in the Renaissance* 6 (1959), 72–82; and Philip R. Hardie, *Rumour and Renown: Representations of Fama in Western Literature* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

to his music (Figures I.13 and I.14).⁹⁶ In Martin le Franc's *Champion des dames* (Figure I.15), in which the achievements and capabilities of women are championed, it could be argued that the Muses are purposefully depicted without Apollo as a demonstration of their exemplary behaviour and musical proficiency. The combination of loud and soft instruments, which includes a tenor shawm, pipe and drum, recorder, and bousine merely accentuates their impeccable discipline.⁹⁷

Summary

While early modern conduct books presented one view of female wind-playing, which reasserted the negative physiognomic attributes of this activity through the story of Pallas Athena, there were many other female wind players (with positive and negative attributes) that featured in early modern literature and art. They reasserted the Apollonian and Dionysian divide, which attributed stringed instruments with celestial harmony and wind instruments with earthly sensuality and chaos. Knowledge of these mythological and historical figures is essential to understanding the reception of real early modern female wind players, as they were described in diaries and contemporary chronicles. Often compared to Muses, Sirens, and Angels, or conveyed as unnatural and wanton women, these figures highlight the cultural perception of female wind players at historical moments, and within certain performance spaces.

5. Early Modern Concepts of the Female Body

Beauty and Ugliness

Early modern concepts of beauty and ugliness were primarily rooted in Classical, biblical, humoral and anatomical thought, and they were reflected and reinforced through a range of contemporaneous literary and iconographical representations. Early modern ideals of beauty, influenced particularly by Classical notions of harmony and proportion, as well as by the more recent re-discovery of Ancient Greek ideas about physiognomy, were projected onto

⁹⁶ Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism*, 189. The paintings which depict the Muses physically playing their instruments, such as those by Giorgio Ghisi and Etienne Delaune, project a sense of Apollo's leadership through his physical elevation above the ensemble. See Giorgio Ghisi, *The Muses on Mount Parnassus* (ca. 1557), New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, 49.95.11 and Etienne Delaune, *Apollo and the Muses* (ca. 1519–1583), Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, Potter Collection, 1920.1895.

⁹⁷ Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 857, fol. 365, Martin le Franc, *Champion de dames* (fifteenth Century). In this text, Le Franc champions women and encourages them to become women of knowledge and teachers, like the Muses. The depiction in this text has been examined by Steven Taylor who has identified each of the Muses by the instrument she holds. He also notes the use of contemporary instruments and suggests this may have been an attempt to humanise the Muses. See Steven Millen Taylor, 'Down to Earth and Up to Heaven: The Nine Muses in Martin Le Franc's 'Le Champion Dames',' in *Fifteenth Century Studies*, eds. Barbara I. Gusick and Edelgard E. Dubruck, vol. 32 (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 164–175.

individual bodily members, including the cheeks, lips, chest, arms, hands and fingers – all vital to the playing of wind instruments.⁹⁸

During the medieval and early modern periods notions of what constituted female beauty, particularly within intellectual humanist culture, were consolidated and standardised to form a unified ‘ideal’ that permeated Western European philosophy, literature, and iconography. These were not static notions, nor were they the only forms of beauty recognised at this time, but the Classical qualities of harmony, colour, proportion and grace continued to be influential beyond the early modern period and such ideals still have some currency today.⁹⁹ The inclusion of these additional factors (aside from physical beauty) reflect the early modern belief that the physical body was a mirror of the soul and therefore beauty was representative of virtue, morality and spiritual well-being.¹⁰⁰ This was particularly important for a woman whose entire social standing was based on her reputation; an unfeminine appearance could be a sign of deeper spiritual imperfections.¹⁰¹

These interwoven elements, which represent signifiers of ideal beauty, stem from a variety of Classical theories and Christian teachings. Plato’s concept of ‘absolute beauty’, for example, interlinked beauty, goodness, happiness and wisdom.¹⁰² Similarly, Augustinian and Christian beliefs looked towards celestial beauty as being the path to God and a reflection of God, but they also warned against the vanity of beauty (Proverbs, 31:30) and its ephemerality (Isaiah 28: 1).¹⁰³ Aristotle, on the other hand, defined beauty as being linked to order and symmetry, and he looked specifically towards the face as an indicator of individual character.¹⁰⁴ Likewise, Cicero believed that facial expressions mirrored the inner self and the soul.¹⁰⁵ Continued interest in physiognomy is evidenced in Bartolommeo della Rocca Cocles’ *A brief and most pleasaunt epitomye of the whole art of phisiognomie* (1556) and although this strand of science was open to criticism, as evidenced in David Abercromby’s *A Discourse*

⁹⁸ Martin Porter, *Windows of the Soul: The Art of Physiognomy in European Culture 1470–1780*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁹⁹ Other concepts of beauty include ‘spiritual beauty’, ‘chastity’ and ‘motherhood’. Eco (ed.), *On Beauty*, 8–14, discusses the coexistence of different concepts of beauty and how they are developed and revisited by artists, writers and philosophers. Another early modern concept of beauty and its projection in fairy tales is discussed in Jo Eldridge Carney, *Fairy Tale Queens: Representations of Early Modern Queenship* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 87–116. Also, see Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy*, third ed. (Cambridge: Polity, 2014), 152–170.

¹⁰⁰ Patrizia Bettella, ‘Discourse of Resistance: The Parody of Feminine Beauty in Berni, Doni and Firenzuola,’ *Modern Language Notes* 113, no. 1 (1998), 192.

¹⁰¹ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination*, 104.

¹⁰² Anthony Synnott, ‘Truth, Goodness, Mirrors and Masks – Part 1: A Sociology of Beauty and the Face,’ *The British Journal of Sociology* 40, no. 4 (1989), 611–612.

¹⁰³ For Augustinian views on beauty, see Andrea Nightingale, *Once out of Nature and the Body* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 6, 48–52 + 203–206 and Synnott, ‘Truth, Goodness, Mirrors and Masks,’ 613–622.

¹⁰⁴ Synnott, ‘Truth, Goodness, Mirrors and Masks,’ 614.

¹⁰⁵ Synnott, ‘Truth, Goodness, Mirrors and Masks,’ 614.

of *Wit* (1686), the influence of physiognomy continued to play a central role in European thought on beauty up until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁰⁶

Beauty came to be associated with the female rather than the male body during the late medieval period and the earliest surviving description of an archetypal beautiful woman dates from around the sixth century.¹⁰⁷ It was not until the twelfth century, however, that beautiful women began to feature prominently in literature and a set of ideal characteristics became firmly established with each bodily member being addressed in a formulaic fashion.¹⁰⁸ The sixteenth-century revival of Petrarch's lyric poetry (particularly his descriptions of Laura), as advocated by Pietro Bembo, and the fashionable literary genre, the 'anatomical blazon' in which specific parts of the (usually) female body were praised and celebrated, helped to consolidate the key features of female beauty into a recognisable 'short canon'.¹⁰⁹ This included parts of the face, including the hair, eyes, lips, cheeks and teeth, as well as the hands and breasts.¹¹⁰

Beyond the ideal colours, proportions and defining features of the female body, early modern conduct books reveal other important indicators of cultural refinement that enhanced physical beauty, including behaviour, accomplishment and knowledge. For the early modern woman, just as her ideal physical appearance was clearly defined, so too were the activities and pastimes that were deemed most appropriate to her sex. For a gentlewoman, Castiglione

¹⁰⁶ Bartolommeo della Rocca Cocles, *A brief and most pleasaunt epitomye of the whole art of phisiognomie, gathered out of Artisotle, Rasis, Formica, Loxius, Phylemon, Palemon, Consiliator, Morbeth the Cardinal and others many moe*, trans. Thomas Hill (London: John Wayland, 1556). This book was translated by Thomas Hill who later published his own work on physiognomy, which included other parts of the body, beyond the face. See Thomas Hill, *A Pleasant History Declaring the Whole Art of Physiogonomy Orderly Vttering all the Speciall Parts of Man, From Head to Foot* (London: W. Iaggard, 1613). Also, see David Abercromby, *A Discourse of Wit* (London: printed for John Weld, 1686), 68–84. In recent times, Physiognomy has expanded towards studies of body language, see Synnott, 'Truth, Goodness, Mirrors and Masks,' 614–616 and Porter, *Windows of the Soul*.

¹⁰⁷ D. S. Brewer, 'The Ideal of Feminine Beauty in Medieval Literature, Especially "Harley Lyrics"', Chaucer, and Some Elizabethans,' *The Modern Language Review* 50, no. 3 (1955), 258.

¹⁰⁸ Brewer, 'The Ideal of Feminine Beauty,' 258. A formulaic description of the beauty of the female body is apparent in the Bible in the Song of Songs 6:5–7 and 7:1–5, which includes descriptions of the feet, thighs, belly, navel, breasts, neck, eyes, nose, hand and hair. This form of beauty is linked to fertility. See Leland Ryken, James C. Wilhoit and Tremper Longmann (eds.), *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery: An encyclopaedic exploration of the images, symbols, motifs, metaphors, figures of speech and literary patterns of the Bible* (Illinois; Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1998), 104.

¹⁰⁹ Nancy J. Vickers, 'Members Only,' in *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, eds. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (London: Routledge, 1997), 3–21.

¹¹⁰ The short canon and its use in treatises as diverse as Paulo Pino's *Dialogo di pittura di messer Paolo Pino. Nuovamente dato in luce* (Venezia: comin da Trino per Paolo Gherardo, 1548) and Federico Luigini's *Il libro della bella donna, composto da messer Federico Luigini da Udine* (Venezia: Plinio Pietrasanta, 1554) is discussed in Elizabeth Cropper, 'On Beautiful Women, Parmigianino, Petrarchismo, and the Vernacular Style,' *The Art Bulletin* 58, no. 3 (1976), 385 + 391 and Patrizia Bettella, *The Ugly Woman: Transgressive Aesthetic Models in Italian Poetry from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (London: University of Toronto, 2005), 8. Longer and extended versions of the canon also appear in Agnolo Firenzuola's, *Dialogo delle bellezze delle donne di m. Agnolo Firenzuola fiorentino. Nuovamente stampato* (Venezia: Giovanni I Griffio ad Instantia di Pietro Boseli, 1552), trans., Konrad Eisenbichler and Jaqueline Murray as *On the Beauty of Women* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

recommended languages, dancing, drawing and music, but warned that: ‘...in dancing I would not see her use too active and violent movements, nor in singing or playing those abrupt and oft-repeated diminutions which show more skill than sweetness’.¹¹¹ Castiglione’s advice underlines the importance of moderation, as well as the concept of *sprezzatura*, an approach that was essential for demonstrating the naturalness and effortlessness of accomplishments, as opposed to implying hours of study and distraction from more important duties. Furthermore, this kind of self-fashioning, which required rigorous disciplining of the inner self and outer body, also established a clear divide between noble amateur skills and the work of professionals.¹¹²

Early modern ideals of female beauty, as expressed in conduct literature and the visual arts were, in some instances, inverted to show the opposing ‘ugly’ view, as seen in the blazon and counter blazon literature, used with particular effect by Clément Marot.¹¹³ This poetic genre shares similarities with the structure of English masques and anti-masques in which the anti-masque (performed by professional comedians) served as the foil to the ‘corrective’ of the masque, often acted by courtiers and gentlewomen.¹¹⁴

The relationship between ugliness and the perceived chaos of lower-class culture is particularly explored in the genre of artworks based on peasant festivities. In Pieter Brueghel’s *The Peasant Dance*, Jan Steen’s *Peasants before an Inn* and Frans Verbeeck’s *The Wedding Feast*, the inclusion of wind instruments underlines the unbridled sensual and rustic nature of the scenes; the instruments’ sexual undertones heighten the meaning of the dancing, drinking and general revelry, seen to be always potentially dangerous and uncouth.¹¹⁵ The

¹¹¹ Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venezia, 1528), trans. Singleton (2002), 177.

¹¹² Castiglione explains the concept of *sprezzatura* in Book I ‘to practice in everything a certain nonchalance [*sprezzatura*], that shall conceal design and show that what is done and said is done without effort and almost without thought’. Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528), trans. Singleton (2002), 36. A discussion regarding the finer details of this concept and its relevance to both men and women, are found in Eugenia Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: From Sprezzatura to Satire* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), 54–56.

¹¹³ Clément Marot’s famously paired poems *Le Blazon du tetin* (1535) and *Le Contreblazon du tetin* (1536) and other counter-blazons are discussed in Vickers, ‘Members Only,’ 5.

¹¹⁴ Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture* (London: Associated University Presses, 1990), 65. The anti-masque is described as being ‘neutralised’ and ‘brought to order’ by the masque. In Ben Jonson’s *The Masque of Queens* (1609), the witches of the anti-masque are described as making strange gestures, accompanied by ‘hollow and infernal music’ produced by rattles and timbrels. The use of percussion instruments and distorted movements adds to the ugliness and ‘otherness’ of the witches and allows the order and familiarity of the masque and disorder of the anti-masque to be clearly defined. See Ben Jonson, *The Masque of Queens Celebrated from the House of Fame* (London: N. Okes for R. Bonian and H. VVally, 1609). The boundaries of the masque and anti-masque are mentioned in relation to those by Jonson and Daniel in Anne Daye, ‘Torchbearers in the English Masque,’ *Early Music* 26, no. 2 (1998), 260. The theme of ‘otherness’ is discussed in Alison V. Scott, ‘The Jonsonian Masque and the Politics of Decorum,’ in *Ben Jonson and the Politics of Genre*, eds. D. Cousins and Alison V. Scott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 48.

¹¹⁵ Examples include: Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Peasant Dance* (ca. 1568), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Jan Steen *Peasants Merry-Making Outside an Inn* (ca. 1645–1650), London, National Gallery,

importance of physiognomy in these scenes has been noted by Paul Vandebroek, particularly with reference to the distorted bodies and ageing faces of many of the characters, which infer moral inferiority.¹¹⁶

The elements of ugliness as presented in masques, peasant imagery and conduct literature, including physical ageing, and chaotic and distasteful behaviours, are extended even further in the genre of so-called Grobian literature and iconography. By embracing elements of the grotesque using powerful sensory references, including smells, sounds and movements, writers and artists explored the vilest behaviours imaginable and manipulated standard methods of bodily disciplining to upturn the values of moderation and control expected in early modern society. The first significant female character to feature in the genre, *Grobiana*, is introduced in third edition of Friedrich Dedekind's *Grobianus, de morum simplicitate*, published in 1584 and translated into English versions by R. F. Gent, Roger Bull and Thomas Dekker.¹¹⁷ Like Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano*, which describes ideal behaviours and symbols of femininity, Gent's *Grobiana* in *The Schoole of Slovenrie* (1605), is epitomised by her unfeminine behaviour, and her bodily features remain important: knees, thighs, bosom, neck and cheeks are all mentioned.

Early modern descriptions and illustrations of beauty and ugliness, youth and old age, civilised and uncivilised behaviours, illustrate how early modern social ideals were based predominantly on a 'specular' regime in which the physical body acted as a focal point to define outer and inner beauty.¹¹⁸ Grotesque bodies (defined as ill proportioned, distorted, deformed or old) and vile behaviours were symbolic of a lack of moral control, which in turn threatened civility with chaos and were oppositional to the laws of nature. Beautiful bodies on the other hand were silent, controlled, accomplished, and they displayed cultural refinement, moderation, physical beauty and youthfulness. They were also a reflection of celestial beauty and the harmony of the spheres.

NG2557 and Frans Verbeeck (from the workshop of), *The Wedding Feast* (ca. sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth century), London, listed in Christie's sale 1165, lot 132.

¹¹⁶ Paul Vandebroek, 'Verbeeck's Peasant Weddings: A Study of Iconography and Social Function,' *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 14, no. 2 (1984), 106–118. This idea has been extended by Walter Gibson who observes that the varying costumes and spaces occupied by these characters are not always peasant-like. Rather, he proposes that they represent the folly of all humans. He also suggests that Folly is sometimes personified in these scenes as the bride, see Walter S. Gibson, 'Verbeeck's Grotesque Wedding Feasts: Some Reconsiderations,' *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 21, no. 1 (1992), 31–39.

¹¹⁷ Friedrich Dedekind, *Grobianus et Grobiana, de morum simplicitate, libri tres* (Frankfurt am Main: Christian Egenderphius, 1584). For a discussion of this text and the addition of *Gobiana*, see Correll, *The End of Conduct*, 110–112. English versions include the following: R. F. Gent, *The Schoole of Slovenrie, or Cato Turned Wrong Side Outward* (London: Valentine Simmes, 1605); Thomas Decker, *The Guls Horne-Booke* (London: Nicholas Okes for R. Sergier, 1609); and Friedrich Dedekindus, *Grobianus: or, The Compleat Gentleman an Ironical Poem*, trans. Roger Bull (London: T. Cooper, 1739).

¹¹⁸ Correll, *The End of Conduct*, 35–37 and Norbert Elias, *The Civilising Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

Anatomical Anxieties and the Female Body

The connection between wind-playing and seductiveness, as well as sexual licence is reaffirmed by early modern anxieties relating to the female body, and particularly to the mouth. In anatomical treatises and literary genres, the female body was perpetually figured as a cold, weak and leaky vessel. These teachings, based on Galenic humoral theory, also promoted connections between the female mouth and its constituent members (tongue, teeth, lips etc.) with the lower parts of the body. In women, the mouth was considered to mirror the mouth of the womb, and both were thought to be capable of ‘swallowing’ and ‘consuming’, as well as providing access to the inner parts of the female body.¹¹⁹ These members also dealt with bodily fluids (considered to consist of the same basic matter), excessive in the female sex and believed to have powerful and potentially corruptive qualities.¹²⁰

In the medical treatises of Alexander Read (1638) and Thomas Bartholin (1668) the lips are described as being composed of nine muscles encased within a protective spongy flesh that assisted with eating, drinking, speaking, kissing and were ornamental indicators of beauty and health.¹²¹ Continuing the connection between the upper and lower bodies, Jean Riolan’s description of female genitalia comments that: ‘In Virgins the Lips are straiter then in other Females, and when their Thighs are opened wide, they appear to be stretched or bent’.¹²² Medical teachings such as these confirm the interrelatedness of the mouth and womb, as well as the idea that proportion and distortion might indicate beauty or the ugliness of wanton behaviour, which was considered to have scientific foundation.

The most corruptive member of the female body, was however, the tongue. Mirroring the lower body, the female tongue was compared to the clitoris (‘little tongue’).¹²³ This was a powerfully negative association, described by Riolan as being ‘the seat of Lasciviousness and Lust in Women’.¹²⁴ The dangerous potential of this member was apparently determined at birth with the cutting of the umbilical cord.¹²⁵ As Jacques Guillimeau advises in his guide to

¹¹⁹ Bonnie Gordon, ‘Talking back: The Female Voice in “Il ballo delle ingrato,”’ *Cambridge Opera Journal* 11, no. 1 (1999), 18 + 21 and Elizabeth D. Harvey, *Ventriloquized Voices: Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts* (London: Routledge, 1992), 64–65. The terminology for the womb mirrored descriptions for the upper body. See Jean Riolan, *A Sure Guide or, The Best and Nearest way to Physick and Chirurgery that is to say, the Arts of Healing by Medicine and Manual Operation* (London: Peter Cole, 1657), 36 in which he describes the mouth and lips of the womb. Thomas Bartholin, *Bartholinus Anatomy* (London: John Streater, 1668), 66, describes the neck of the womb.

¹²⁰ Gordon, ‘Talking back,’ 22–24.

¹²¹ Bartholin, *Bartholinus Anatomy*, 153 and Alexander Read, *The Manuall of Anatomy* (London: John Haviland, 1638), 468.

¹²² Riolan, *A Sure Guide*, 81.

¹²³ Carla Mazzio, ‘Sins of the Tongue,’ in *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporality in Early Modern Europe*, eds. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (London: Routledge, 1997), 60.

¹²⁴ Riolan, *A Sure Guide*, 82.

¹²⁵ See Erasmus ‘Lingua’ in Elaine Fatham and Erica Rummel, *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1989), 367 and Harvey, *Ventriloquized Voices*, 95.

midwifery in 1635: ‘And that by tying it short, and almost close to the belly of females, their tongue is less free, and their natural part more striate.’¹²⁶

The excesses of the female tongue were widely referenced in Classical mythology in stories relating to the Sirens, Echo, Philomela and Folly, as well as in the biblical story of Eve, her open mouth and Original Sin.¹²⁷ Transgressive and talkative women in early modern literature were also figured as shrews, adulterers, scolds and gossips, characterised by unnaturalness and monstrousness.¹²⁸ The process of ‘taming’ the female member into silence appears to have been a popular subject undertaken by a variety of early modern writers, who described acts of physical violence as well as the preferred methods of coercion.¹²⁹ Alongside the numerous fictional references to the figurative bridling of women by their husbands, there were also real public forms of punishment for unruly female behaviour, including the scolds bridle.¹³⁰

Summary

Early modern ideals of female beauty and decorum reaffirm the problematic nature of wind-playing, as figured in the story of Athena. Understanding these parameters helps to interpret contemporary imagery which often depicts female wind players of the upper classes as exemplars of gentility, and those of the lower classes as grotesque and wanton characters. The

¹²⁶ Jacques Guillimeau, *Childbirth, or, The Happy Delivery of Women* (London: A. Hatfield, 1612), 99.

¹²⁷ Gordon, ‘Talking back,’ 17; Jeni Williams, *Interpreting Nightingales: Gender, Class and Histories* (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1997), 12; and Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, trans. John Wilson (Maryland: Arc Manor, 2008), 21. Sin and disorder were brought to the world by Eve’s open mouth, see Lynda E. Boose, ‘Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds: Taming the Woman’s Unruly Member,’ *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (1991), 204.

¹²⁸ For a definition of a shrew, see Thomas Blount, *The Academie of Eloquence* (London: Printed for T. N. for Humphrey Moseley, 1653). The use of this term in contemporary verse is seen in Anon, *An Easie Way to Tame a Shrew, or The Young Plow-Man’s Frolick* (London: Printed for Phillip Brooksby, 1670–1696). The adulterer is figured in Heinrich Bullinger’s, *The Christian State of Matrimonye* (London: Nicholas Hill for John Wight, 1552), 34. The scold is defined in Richard Allestree’s, *The Ladies Calling* (Oxford: Printed at the Theatre, 1673), 45. The woman’s tongue and its relation to loudness is described in Richard Harper’s, *The Anatomy of the Woman’s Tongue, Divided into Five Parts: A Medicine, A Poison, A Serpent, Fire and Thunder* (London: Richard Harper, 1638). For modern studies relating to these figures, see Karen Newman, ‘City Talk: Women and Commodification in Jonson’s *Epicene*,’ *English Literary History* 56, no. 3 (1989), 503–518 and Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination*, 18–21. The link between loquaciousness and uncontrolled sexual desire is discussed in Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, 25 and Lindsey Lanzisero, *Hold Your Tongue: Female Speech and Male Anxieties in Early Modern England* (MA thesis, The University of Texas, 2006), 8.

¹²⁹ William Shakespeare, *A Witie and Pleasant Comedie Called the Taming of the Shrew as it was Acted by His Maiesties Seruants at the Blacke Friers and the Globe* (London: William Stansby, 1631). Also, see Emily Detmer, ‘Civilising Subordination: Domestic Violence and the Taming of the Shrew,’ *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (1997), 274–280. Other examples of taming shrews by coercive means occur in Harper, *The Anatomy of the Woman’s Tongue*, 170–172; Anon, *An Easie Way to Tame a Shrew*; and Anon., *A Caution for Scolds: or A True Way of Taming a Shrew* (London: P. Brooksby, 1685–1688), 170. The difficulties of this process are implied in a proverb from John Clarke, *Paroemiologia Anglo-Latina in usum scholarum concinnata Or Proverbs in English and Latin* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1639), 48.

¹³⁰ Joseph Swetnam, *The Arrangement of Leuud, Idle, Forward and Unconstant Women* (London: Printed by George Purslowe for Thomas Archer, 1615), 40 and Croke, *Mikrokosmographia*, 13. Dorothy Waugh’s account of wearing a bridle from 1656 is quoted in Boose, ‘Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds,’ 200–209.

sexual undertones of wind-playing, as reiterated in literary, scientific and visual works, also gives a clearer understanding of how these constraints held little relevance for pre-pubescent girls and nuns, some of whom could perform on wind instruments.

6. Real Women Representing Allegorical Female Wind Players

In addition to early modern literary and iconographical references to mythological female wind players, these figures were regularly invoked in festival entertainments and pageants, and depicted in commemorative materials. Festivals were routinely organised in early modern European courts to celebrate births, baptisms, royal entries, marriages, funerals and special visitations. These events were an opportunity for ruling sovereignties to display the wealth and power of their courts, and they acted as an important medium for confirming political alliances and reasserting social, moral and religious hierarchies. Such occasions tended to include banquets and dramatic entertainments for invited guests in private settings within the court and its surrounds, as well as grand processions and tournaments that were held in more public arenas. Music played a vital and diverse role within these celebratory proceedings, contributing to the overall display of wealth, power and cultural status.¹³¹

Early modern festival entertainments were carefully designed to follow chosen thematic schema, which often employed the use of mythological, allegorical and fantastical characters. These were identifiable by their costumes and associated objects, which would have been recognisable in courtly culture, as evidenced by the popularity of emblem books and mythological encyclopaedias such as Andrea Alciato's highly influential *Emblematum liber* (1531), Piero Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* (1556) and Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593/1603).¹³² Furthermore, the apparent repetition of themes and characters during consecutive festivities may also have contributed to wider recognition and identification of figures, especially those such as Fame and the Muses. The deeper intricacies of individual festivals and their invested cultural meanings may have evaded those witnessing the event itself, but the splendour, prestige and power of the court would nevertheless have been apparent to onlookers from all levels of society.

The most lavish of festival books include illustrations of the costumes, dances, scenery, wagons and triumphal arches as they were intended to be seen, experienced and

¹³¹ Iain Fenlon, 'Music and Festival', in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 1, eds. J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 47–55.

¹³² Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steyner, 1531); Piero Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris aegyptiorum literis commentarii* (Basel: [s. n.], 1556); and Ripa, *Iconologia* (1603). The importance of these texts in early modern festival culture is discussed in Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450–1650* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1984), 23–26.

‘read’ by spectators.¹³³ Under the rhetoric of courtly flattery, the involvement of renowned composers, writers, choreographers, organisers and participants (including noble women and their ladies in waiting) are cited in many of these texts to demonstrate the court’s powerful influence, its esteemed network of supporters and its cultural awareness. References to women participating in such events generally demonstrated adherence to conventional behavioural codes; they performed passive roles, remained silent and were often grouped together, sometimes even being physically separated from other participants and observers.¹³⁴ The women were often positioned to observe the spectacle, but they were also part of it; they were there to ‘see’ and to be ‘seen’.¹³⁵

In contrast to this silent role, there are numerous depictions in commemorative materials and festival books, which present images of women playing or holding musical instruments (including wind varieties). They were often representations of figures such as Fame and the Muses, which carried universal messages relating to reputation, renown and harmony. Owing to their ubiquitous nature, these figures appeared in private entertainments and public pageants and their accompanying instruments were used as both ‘sound-makers’ and tools for theatrical display.

The earliest examples of such representations are found in relation to German festival court culture during the mid-to late sixteenth century. In the *Wedding feast* (1548) by Hans Mielich (1516–1573), the outdoor scene includes courtiers eating, fishing, and playing music together (Figures I.16 + I.17). The ensemble on the right-hand side of the painting consists of a male trombonist and cornett player, as well as a female flautist and lutenist. They are also joined by five singers who read from a single part-book.¹³⁶ A similar depiction of a wedding ensemble is found on a German embroidered silk tablecloth, produced ca. 1562–1568 to commemorate the marriage between Count Poppo of Henneberg-Schleusingen and Sophie of

¹³³ Henri Zerner, ‘Looking for the Unknowable: The Visual Experience of Renaissance Festivals,’ in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 1, eds. J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly and Margaret Shewring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 78–94.

¹³⁴ During the festivities held in honour of the coronation of Christian IV of Denmark (1596), a special stand was erected from which the noble ladies could observe the proceedings. See Mara R. Wade, ‘The Coronation of King Christian IV of Denmark, 1596’, in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 2, eds. J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, Margaret Shewring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 261.

¹³⁵ The requirement for women to enter public spaces to travel, socialise, network and be ‘seen’ is discussed in Elizabeth S. Cohen, ‘To Pray, To Work, To Hear, To Speak: Women in Roman Streets c. 1600,’ *Journal of Early Modern History* 12, no. 3 (2008), 289–311.

¹³⁶ Mielich’s *Wedding Feast* needs to be viewed in comparison to a manuscript of Orlando di Lasso’s *Psalmi Poenitentiales*, in which another miniature by Hans Mielich appears. As court painter to Duke Albrecht V, the musicians figured in this painting are presumed to represent the significant members of the musical establishment in Munich. For information regarding this miniature, see Nicole Schwindt, ‘Hans Mielichs bildliche Darstellung der Müncher Hofkapelle von 1570,’ *Acta Musicologica* 68 (1996), 48–85 and Barbara Boydell, ‘The Instruments in Mielich’s Miniature of the Munich “Hofkapelle” under Orlando di Lasso. A Revised Identification,’ *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 28, no. 1 (1978), 14–18.

Brunswick (Figure I.18). The newly wedded couple are surrounded by nine noble musicians of mixed gender who appear to be conducted by an older, bearded gentleman. They presumably perform Martin Agricola's arrangement of *Ein Fest Berg*, which appears above and below the musician figures in table-book format.¹³⁷ The allocation of their individual instruments relates to their position alongside the specific vocal lines and their alternation as men and women.¹³⁸ On the outside of the tablecloth, a trumpeter and drummer appear to welcome guests, who converse, dance and even embrace. In a comparable manner to the other instrumentalists on the tablecloth, the female trombonist is depicted playing her instrument, and as such she has puffed cheeks (Figure I.19).¹³⁹

Although it seems highly improbable that the women in these iconographic sources represent real female wind players, this possibility cannot be entirely dismissed.¹⁴⁰ It seems more likely that these ensembles were either fictional (their number resonating strongly with notions of celestial harmony, and figures such as the nine Muses and the nine orders of angels) or they were artistic interpretations of real celebratory performances that took place in court, perhaps involving women holding instruments as theatrical props, or men dressed as women.¹⁴¹

Evidence for this kind of participation by women is found in much later records relating to court entertainments including masques and *ballet de cours* in which noble women

¹³⁷ This arrangement is included in a set of partbooks that were published in 1544, See George Rhau, *Newe deudsche geistliche gesenge* (Wittenberg: George Rhau, 1544).

¹³⁸ The discantus is played by the violin (male), triangle (female) and curved cornett (male); the altus by the gittern (female), flute (male) and lute (female); the tenor by the shawm (male), harp (female) and curved cornett (male); and the bassus by the bass viol (female) and trombone (female).

¹³⁹ This image is reproduced in Stewart Carter, *The Trombone in the Renaissance: A History in Pictures and Documents* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2012), 273–274 and Herbert, *The Trombone*, 78–79. The imagery on the tablecloth might be compared to the matrimonial theme of *The Eglantine Table* (ca. 1562–1568), Derbyshire, Hardwick Hall, High Great Chamber, National Trust 1127774. This table is listed in the 1601 inventory of Hardwick Hall. Elizabeth (Bess) of Hardwick married her fourth husband, George Talbot. In the same year, her son and daughter (Henry and Mary Cavendish) married two of his children. For further information about the music and instruments depicted on this table, see David Collins, 'A 16th Century manuscript in wood: The Eglantine table at Hardwick Hall,' *Early Music* 4, no. 3 (1976), 275–280.

¹⁴⁰ The intriguing nature of this source material has resulted in a variety of interpretations, including Trevor Herbert's assertion that 'the representation is clearly not allegorical'. He compares this source to another tantalizing document, compiled at a similar time to the production of the tablecloth. Listed among the personal items paid for by Elizabeth I's treasury (1559–170) is: 'One greate Sagbutte Provided for the Q: use'. Although an appealing image, it is generally agreed among scholars that this is a payment formality rather than evidence that Elizabeth I played the trombone. Reproduced in Herbert, *The Trombone*, 80 and Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music, 1558–1603*, vol. 6 (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992), 20. Elizabeth's musical education and its political significance are discussed in Katherine Butler, "'By Instruments her Powers Apppeare": Music and Authority in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (2012), 353–384. In Herbert, *The Trombone*, 79–80 it is noted that 'sackbut', spelt 'sackbutt' was also the term for a container of wine, although thought not to be in use until after 1600.

¹⁴¹ Meyer-Baer (ed.), 'Tonal Theory and Music of the Spheres,' 70–86. Mielich produced other illuminations in which women (representing the Muses) were visualised playing wind instruments, including the trombone, see Will Kimball, 'More Trombone Depictions by Hans Mielich,' *Kimballtrombone.com* (2014), <http://kimballtrombone.com/2016/01/12/13432/>, accessed March 2017.

and their ladies took part, usually as silent participants.¹⁴² A production held in honour of the marriage between Henry IV and Marie de Medici in 1600, however, signifies a larger form of entertainment. During the climactic scene of Giulio Caccini's *Il Rapimento di Cefalo* the figure of Fame appeared in her chariot: 'her wings extended holding an olive branch and a trumpet'¹⁴³ She was accompanied by eighteen ladies who sang in praise of the duke and their number represented the towns over which he ruled.¹⁴⁴ Stuart Carter has identified that the role of Fame was played by a woman and was almost certainly one of the following musicians from the Florentine court: Margaherita di Agostino, Francesca Caccini, Setimia Caccini, Margherita Gagnolanti or Ginerva Mazziere detta l'Azzurina.¹⁴⁵ In this instance, Fame's trumpet is clearly held as a prop and it is therefore used as a tool for identification purposes rather than as a sounding object.

Much of the surviving festival imagery, which includes female wind players, relates to outdoor processions. It has been proposed by some scholars that men and boys might have represented female characters within these spectacles because, unlike the intimacy of court entertainments, these events were presumably too compromising for female participation. Thus, a wide discrepancy perhaps exists between the beauty of these women as portrayed in contemporary festival books and the visual reality.

In the festival imagery relating to celebrations held in Dresden and Stuttgart, female wind players regularly appear as exemplars of gentility (Muses), exotic women, or as humorous and uncouth characters. For example, the ring-race of 1574 (held in Dresden) included a mixed consort of instrumentalists dressed as wild men and women, the latter

¹⁴² Anna of Denmark (Queen consort of Scotland, England and Ireland) and her honourable ladies regularly performed masques, often as dancers. See Clare McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court (1590–1619)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002). This form of participation was furthered by Charles I's wife, Henrietta Maria, who performed a speaking and acting role in *Artenice* (1626) while her ladies also took on roles which required cross-dressing. See Helen Hackett, *A Short History of English Renaissance Drama* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 17. In Dessau, celebrations were held for the marriage of Johann of Anhalt's daughter in 1614. This included a ballet that was danced by the bride and her ladies of the court, see Sara Smart, 'The Württemberg Court and the Introduction of Ballet in the Empire,' in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 2, eds. J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 44–45.

¹⁴³ The staging of this production is discussed in Massimo Ossi, 'Dalle machine...la meraviglia: Bernardo Buontalenti's *Il rapimento do Cefalo* at the Medici Theatre in 1600,' in *Opera in Context: Essays on Historical Staging from the Late Renaissance to the Time of Puccini*, ed. Mark A. Radice (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1998), 15–36. Also, see R. J. Knecht, 'Court Festivals as Political Spectacle: The Example of Sixteenth Century France,' *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, eds. J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring (Burlington; Hampshire: Ashgate, 2004), 29.

¹⁴⁴ This production is discussed in Strong, *Art and Power*, 148 and Carter, *The Trombone in the Renaissance*, fig. 5.4.

¹⁴⁵ For more information regarding the life of Francesca Caccini, see Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers,' 151.

playing the trombone and cornett (Figure I.20).¹⁴⁶ Eight years later, Dresden hosted another spectacular ring-race in celebration of Duke Christian of Saxony's marriage to Sophie of Brandenburg. The procession began with the figure of Bacchus accompanied by his entourage, which consisted of male musicians dressed as women playing a cornett, tenor shawm (or bombard) and trombones (Figure I.21).¹⁴⁷ Disregarding the 'rules' of female decorum, the instruments played by these 'women' in relation to their gender, demonstrate a playful use of tropes relating to revelry and promiscuity.¹⁴⁸ The same procession also included a group of male musicians who represented the nine Muses (Figure I.22), as well as another group of noble 'female' cornett players.¹⁴⁹ In contrast to the playfully foolish and exemplary portrayals of female wind players, other figures were invoked to create a sense of exoticism and 'foreignness'. This is explored in a large procession that was staged in Halle in 1616 to celebrate the baptism of Sophie Elizabeth, daughter of Christian Wilhelm of Brandenburg. The procession included mounted female gypsies who were escorted by a 'female consort' consisting of two viols and a trombone (Figure I.23).¹⁵⁰

Summary

Festival books and commemorative materials present a complex set of negotiations when viewed in relation to women and wind instruments. Although audiences were treated to spectacles and elements of wonder, ideal codes of conduct and boundaries of decorum remained important and influential factors in the organisation and presentation of festivities and entertainments. In the privacy of the court setting and its environs, women performing in dramas might have held wind instruments as symbols to represent mythological characters. Although it is unlikely that women played these instruments, the possibility of a unique talent being showcased to a select audience cannot be entirely dismissed, as implied by the embroidered tablecloth. In more public arenas, however, the likelihood of women performing is substantially reduced and in these instances their roles as beautiful, foolish or exotic female wind players are most likely to have been played by men dressed as women. Although the

¹⁴⁶ According to Edmond Bowles, this group was followed by a peasant couple, with the woman in this pairing blowing a tenor bombard. See Edmund A. Bowles, *Music Ensembles in Festival Books 1500–1800: An Iconographical & Documentary Survey* (Ann Arbor, Michigan; London: UMI Research Press, 1989), 73–78.

¹⁴⁷ Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden from Renaissance to Baroque* (London: Palgrave, 2002), 50–51.

¹⁴⁸ Bowles, *Music Ensembles in Festival Books*, 103–104.

¹⁴⁹ Daniel Bretschneider (1550–1625), *Contrafactur des Ringrennens und anderer Ritterspiele auf Christians fürstlichem Beilager am 25. April Anno 1582*, Washington, DC, Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/dres/dres1.html>, accessed March 2017. For a full description of the festivities, see Bowles, *Music Ensembles in Festival Books*, 105–109. Similar 'inspirational' figures of musical harmony are invoked in wagons featuring Pegasus (Stuttgart, 1609), the garden of love (Stuttgart, 1609), and Mount Parnassus (Dresden, 1695).

¹⁵⁰ Bowles, *Music Ensembles in Festival Books*, 213–221.

studies of Jean Howard show that cross-dressing in the early modern period was a form of subordination, David Cressy notes that in the celebratory environment of pageantry festivities, men dressing as women was probably considered to be a playful necessity.¹⁵¹

7. Thesis Structure

The three chapters of this thesis explore the different types of performance spaces in which early modern women could perform on wind instruments. Chapter 1 focusses on the domestication of the recorder and flute and the movement of these instruments away from public spaces towards more private forms of music-making, especially in the Low Countries, France and Italy during the early to mid-sixteenth century. The numerous paintings from this period which depict noble women playing the flute are also assessed in relation to real performance practices, as outlined by surviving music treatises and repertoire. Moving from court to town spaces, examples of professional female musicians are explored in relation to the women's familial upbringings, their connection to institutions (including the court and Italian academy) and the encouragement of their musical talents. This chapter concludes with a brief discussion regarding the lack of evidence for music-making of the lower classes and their general representation in artworks of the period as ugly and unrefined characters.

The second chapter focusses on all-female institutions including convents and Venetian conservatories. The everyday routines of these establishments were organised around devotional practices in which music played an important role. At the most musically acclaimed institutions the women were often tutored and directed by leading musicians of the day. Their ensembles sometimes included wind instruments that fulfilled a variety of roles including playing the lower parts in vocal music, adding obbligato passages, playing basso continuo parts and performing instrumental music. This chapter discusses the different types of wind instruments used at these various institutions, how they were learnt by women, and where possible, how they were received by audiences.

The third and final chapter of this thesis investigates a transitional period during the mid-seventeenth century when wind instruments began to be accepted on the amateur scene in London. Examples of women playing in the domestic sphere, including Elizabeth Pepys, facilitate an investigation into the expansion of home tuition, the popularity of self-tutor books, the effects of consumer fashions on the wind instrument trade, and the popular

¹⁵¹ For these contrasting views on cross-dressing, see David Cressy, 'Gender Trouble and Cross-Dressing in England,' *The Journal of British Studies* 35, no. 4 (1996), 158–159 and Jean E. Howard, 'Cross-dressing, The Theatre, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (1988), 418–440. Cross-dressing was apparently also the norm in theatres in early modern England, see Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

pastimes of teaching birds to sing using flageolets. These domestic activities are contrasted with the emergence of female wind players towards the end of the eighteenth century who were occasionally found performing in public spaces as professional musicians.

This study demonstrates that female wind players occupied a variety of roles as exemplars of courtly gentility, as professional musicians, as members of all-female ensembles, and as paragons of domesticated female restraint.

Chapter 1.

Female Wind Players: From Court to Town

1.1 Introduction

Tobias Stimmer's sixteenth-century woodcut series 'The Women Musicians: Nine Muses and a Fool' depicts nine genteel women playing various musical instruments including a flute, cornett, trumpet and a tenor shawm (Figure 1.1).¹ The woman in the final image (the fool, or the anti-muse) plays a rommel pot and carries a bagpipe chanter in her belt. These portraits are accompanied by verses composed by Johann Fischart who explores the historical, allegorical and contemporary position of the instruments they play.

The most detailed study of Stimmer's women musicians by Jan LaRue and Jeanette Holland was published in *The Bulletin of the New York Public Library* in 1960 and, as far as I can ascertain, no other work has devoted its sole attention to this series.² Stimmer's detailed depiction of the women's instruments have, however, attracted the attention of scholars interested in organology because these illustrations bridge the gap between the simple woodcuts in Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (1511) (also reused in Martin Agricola's *Musica instrumentalis deudsch*, 1529), and the measured diagrams in Michael Praetorius' encyclopaedic work *Syntagma musicum*, published almost a hundred years later.³ Furthermore, a number of the women musicians in this series display accurate playing postures, fingerings and embouchures. Yet, viewed in their entirety, and alongside Fischart's accompanying verses (as LaRue and Holland suggest) the ordering of the prints also holds some significance in their representation of the Muses, and in their reflection of the traditional

¹ The only full surviving copy of Stimmer's series of women musicians is housed in the New York Public Library. Individual plates can also be found in the Kunsthalle (Hamburg) and in the Kupferstichkabinett (Dresden). A larger incomplete set of nine plates also belong to the Albertina in Vienna. In this latter series, the final musician is absent, as are the borders, accompanying poetry and plate numbers, which are all included in the New York prints. See Jan LaRue and Jeanette B. Holland, 'Stimmer's Women Musicians: A Unique Series of Woodcuts,' *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 64 (1960), 11–13.

² The New York Public Library Exhibition of 1959, which displayed four woodcuts from Tobias Stimmer's series of women musicians, sparked a renewed interest in the images and resulted in Jan LaRue and Jeanette Holland's article. See LaRue and Holland, 'Stimmer's Women Musicians,' 9–28.

³ Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht und alles gesang ausz den noten in die tablaturen diser benanten dryer instrumenten der orgeln: der lauten: und der flöten transferieren zu lernen* (Basel: Michael Furter, 1511), Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch ynn welcher begriffen ist wie man nach dem gesange auff mancherley pfeiffen lernen sol auch wie auff die orgel, harffen, lauten, geigen und allerley instrument und seytenpiel nach der rechtgegruendten tabelthur sey abzusetzen* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1529) and Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum II, De Organographia* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619). Organological studies which include references to Stimmer's musicians include: Ardal Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2002), 3; Ian Harwood, 'An Introduction to Renaissance Viols,' *Early Music* 2 (1974), 238; Gabriele Cassone, *The Trumpet Book* (Varese, Italy: Zecchini Editore, 2009), 35; Paul M. Glifford, *The Hammered Dulcimer: A History* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2001), 16; and James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music: From the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 28.

haut and *bas* categorisations.⁴ Expanding on their initial idea, I would like to suggest that Stimmer's woodcuts can be considered as visually representing a social and spatial instrument hierarchy: starting with the lute (associated with divine qualities), this instrument is followed by the viol, quintern, positive organ, transverse flute, and the psaltery, all of which had close associations with private courtly musical practices. This is followed by the cornett player, trumpeter and tenor shawm player, representative of louder instruments that were played by professional musicians and finally, the tenth musician, characterised as a member of the peasantry by her crude and unsophisticated music-making.

The different performance spaces inferred by Stimmer's women musicians form an important thread throughout this chapter, and are particularly highlighted by his female wind players; the flautist, the cornettist, the trumpeter, the tenor shawm player and old hag with the bagpipe chanter.

Stimmer's flautist embodies the first half of this chapter (Section 1.2), which relates to amateur music-making within private court environments. As Fischart's accompanying verse states (Figure 1.2):

Although Minerva is displeased with pipes because they distort the mouth, one need not pay her heed: it is just her woman's chatter. Listen rather to the poets, who praise these pipes that are suitable either for outdoor music-making or for the finest concert. The 'Zwerchpfeiff' was first crudely made by Midas from the bones of cranes. Later flutes were made from reeds, and today they are skilfully bored.⁵

In regard to the flute, Fischart instructs the reader to ignore Minerva's complaints, but to note the changing role of this instrument and its appropriateness in courtly circles, particularly with its capability of playing refined 'art' music, and in its visual capacity as an admired, precious ornament. Although there are a few inventory records which attest to noble women owning recorders and flutes, the majority of the evidence from this period is iconographical. Yet, in a similar manner to Stimmer's flautist, although such depictions often contain moral and allegorical elements they also share a strong connection to contemporary performance practices.

The second half of this chapter (Sections 1.3–1.6) relates to the evidence for female wind-playing away from the private amateur music-making of the elite, and towards women

⁴ LaRue and Holland, 'Stimmer's Women Musicians,' 12–14. At the New York Public Library, this series is called Tobias Stimmer, *The Women Musicians: Nine Muses and a Fool*, New York, New York Public Library, Digital Collections, <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/the-muses#/?tab=navigation&roots=ce548150-c609-012f-e6e5-58d385a7bc34>, accessed March 2017.

⁵ Tobias Stimmer, 'The Flautist,' Plate 5 from *The Women Musicians: Nine Muses and a Fool* (ca. 1575), New York, New York Public Library, Print Collection, Kennedy Fund, as cited and trans. in LaRue and Holland, 'Stimmer's Women Musicians,' 21.

of the 'town', notably professional women musicians and amateur female musicians of the lower classes. These women are represented by Stimmer's cornettist, trumpeter, tenor shawm player and rommel pot player. As the verse accompanying the cornettist states (Figure 1.3):

The Spartan political organisation, in the course of waging great wars, introduced the cornett, to be sounded in the field to give heart to the troops, to signal for retreat, or to set the pace for the whole group. Today in war it has fallen into disuse, replaced by the trumpet and drum.⁶

In reality, the cornett had no military connections, but it was associated with professional musicians and became more visible in the private spaces of the court chamber during the sixteenth century. This instrument therefore straddles the divide between 'inside' and 'outside' performance spaces, as well as between music of the court and civic music-making. Within this chapter, Stimmer's cornett player represents the example of the Pellizzari sisters who were employed to play the cornett and trombone at the Accademia Olimpica in Vicenza during the 1580s, and were later engaged as members of Duke Vincenzo's ensemble at the Mantuan court. Their case is followed by a number of references to professional female trumpeters in seventeenth-century Vienna and eighteenth-century Württemberg. These women are represented by Stimmer's female trumpeter (Figure 1.4).

A scholar writes that war is hard, and therefore instruments of hard brass were invented to toughen the people as well, and to make even the horses spring cheerfully into battle. Flavius Josephus writes that Moses called for trumpets made of brass. Plinius on the other hand, writes that the Tyrrhenian [Etruscan] King Priscus invented trumpets for use with his own people. For war, nothing better was ever contrived.⁷

Despite Fischart's historical and biblical references, the instrument depicted in the accompanying portrait appears to be a slide trumpet (identified by the position of the player's left hand), which tended to be used by the *stadt-pfeifer* or civic minstrels rather than the militia. Nevertheless, the instrument's link to professional guilds and military music makes it a highly unusual and generally inaccessible instrument for female musicians. As such, the circumstances in which certain women from the families of professional court trumpeters in Vienna and Württemberg could play trumpets is of vital importance to widening our general understanding of women's access to instruments, tuition and performance opportunities.

⁶ Stimmer, 'The Cornettist,' Plate 7 from *The Women Musicians*, as cited and trans. in LaRue and Holland, 'Stimmer's Women Musicians,' 21.

⁷ Stimmer, 'The Slide Trumpet Player,' Plate 8 from *The Women Musicians*, as cited and trans. LaRue and Holland, 'Stimmer's Women Musicians,' 25. In this article 'Plate 8' is described as a 'Clarion'.

The final two wind players in Stimmer's series represent the last section of this chapter, which focusses on music-making of the lower social classes. In relation to the tenor shawm player, Fischart explains (Figure 1.5):

Full many a pipe was invented by Pan, from whom nothing ugly can result. As supposed god of the peasants, he assembled the 'Russpfeiff' and the shawm, and the bagpipe was also his favourite. All of these we must accept in Music's name, for music was invented for the sake of joy and delight. Thus we must not deride what provides so much diversion.⁸

Although Fischart refers to the instrument's rural associations, in a similar manner to the slide trumpet, the shawm was primarily used by the *stadtpfeiffer*. The rustic theme is, however, continued in Stimmer's portrait, which depicts the woman with long flowing hair and a dramatic headband. While she represents a romantic pastoral image of rustic music-making, the final image of the old hag signifies a darker side of the peasantry through her visually and aurally undesirable, even subversive instruments; the rommel pot and bagpipe (Figure 1.6).

No play can dispense with fools, so I am scraping the pot to give the Midas types a cause for delight. Today one finds people at banquets who reckon my pot-music higher than nine lutes taken together: let me be hired by these people. There, as pot-player I shall find a good place: I am their Muse, their greatest treasure. As they howl and shriek for me, one can hear them for miles around.⁹

Stimmer's final female musician is a grobian woman or anti-muse who invokes the music of the underworld with the primordial sounds of her percussion instruments and the implied sexual undertones of her bagpipe chanter.¹⁰ She also bears a close resemblance to a procuress, a popular character in early modern Dutch art and literature.¹¹ In the context of Stimmer's

⁸ Stimmer, 'The Tenor Shawm Player,' Plate 9 from *The Women Musicians*, as cited and trans. LaRue and Holland, 'Stimmer's Women Musicians,' 25. The *Russpfeiff* is identified by Virdung and Agricola as a four-holed flute. See Virdung, *Musica getutscht* (1511), trans. Beth Bullard as *Musica getutscht: A Treatise on Musical Instruments (1511)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 107; and Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1529; 1545), trans. William E. Hettrick as *The 'Musica instrumentalis deudsch' of Martin Agricola* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 5, 12 + 175–176. For a discussion about this instrument, see William E. Hettrick, 'Identifying and Defining the Ruszpfeif: Some Observations and Etymological Theories,' *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 17 (1991), 53–68.

⁹ Stimmer, 'The Rommel Pot Player,' Plate 10 from *The Women Musicians*, as cited and trans. LaRue and Holland, 'Stimmer's Women Musicians,' 26–27. In this article, 'Plate 10' is labelled as 'Pot, Lid and Spoon'.

¹⁰ For references to the bagpipe in early treatises, see Virdung, *Musica getutscht* (1511), trans. Bullard, 119. Also, see Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum* (1619), trans. David Z. Crookes as *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia Parts I and II* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 33. For information about the use of bagpipes in Dutch art, see Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music Representation and the History of the Body* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1993), 9–10. Negative undertones related to the bagpipe are also found in the masque texts of Ben Jonson, see Stephen Orgel, *Ben Jonson Selected Masques* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), *Masque of Queens*, 164–165 and *Vision of Delight*, 68–70.

¹¹ Although the pot, lid and spoon are found in the musical treatises by Virdung, Agricola and Praetorius, they are largely ignored in comparison to other, praiseworthy melodic instruments. Regarding the bagpipes Praetorius states: 'I must confess however, that their [bagpipes] overall affect does not strike me as particularly pleasant'.

series the final musician acts as a self-reflective mirror, in the same manner that oppositional versions of ideal conduct were used in grobian literature and anti-masque performances. In this form, she represents a biased view of peasantry music-making, projected as noisy and uncontrolled, to be viewed in opposition to the order and harmony of the upper classes. As the final section of this chapter will demonstrate, evidence for the music-making activities of the middle-to-lower classes is scarce and that which exists tends to portray them in a biased form, often from the perspective of courtly circles and elite culture.

The examples of real female wind players that are discussed in this chapter are geographically, socially and temporally diverse and although they have been previously cited by scholars interested in a variety of research areas, they have not generally been discussed in relation to one another.¹² The difficulties associated with comparing these seemingly disparate examples stems from the inherent danger of forming unhelpful generalisations, which fail to recognise the multi-layered nature of these sources. While they are connected by attitudes towards female beauty, conduct and musical accomplishments, which remain relatively unchanged throughout the early modern period, they are simultaneously differentiated by the various social statuses of these women (elite, professional and lower-classes), and by the performance spaces in which they partake in their music-making activities (domestic, institutional and public environments). Furthermore, they are also separated geographically and chronologically, covering sixteenth-century northern Europe and the Low Countries, late sixteenth-century Italy, as well as seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Austro-German regions.

See Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum* (1619), trans. Crookes, 52. In a similar manner to the bagpipe, the rommel pot is featured in several Dutch paintings from the seventeenth century and this instrument carries negative associations with the peasantry. See Dennis P. Weller (ed.), 'Catalogue of the Exhibition', in *Jan Miense Molenaer: Painter of the Dutch Golden Age* (Raleigh, North Carolina: North Carolina Museum of Art, 2002), 78–80. The 'grobian' nature of her character is reflected in other works published by Stimmer, Fischart and their printer, Bernhard Jobin who often used satire, irony and comedy to promote Protestant values. See Niklaus Largier and Karen S. Feldman, 'Ethical Utopianism and Stylistic Excess,' in *A New History of German Literature*, eds. David E. Wellbery, Judith Ryan and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Belknap Press, 2004), 251–256.

¹² Depictions of women playing flutes in French court settings have been discussed in Jane Bowers, "'Fläüste traverseinne" and "Flüte d'Allemagne": The Flute in France from the Late Middle Ages up through 1702,' *Recherches* 19 (1979), 7–49 and Colin Slim, 'Paintings of Lady Concerts and the Transmission of *Jouissance vous donneray*,' *Painting Music in the Sixteenth Century: Essays in Iconography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 51–73. The case of the Pellizzari sisters is mentioned in: Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Jane Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy 1566–1700,' in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 116–167. The case of the Austro-German trumpet players is evident in Samantha Owens, 'Professional Women Musicians in Early Eighteenth-Century Württemberg,' *Music & Letters* 82, no. 1 (2001), 32–50 and Samantha Owens, 'The Court of Württemberg-Stuttgart,' in *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, eds. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul and Janice B. Stockigt (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 165–195.

The examples of real and imagined female wind players discussed in this chapter highlight and introduce several connective themes that reappear in Chapters 2 and 3. These include the spaces in which women could perform on wind instruments, the impact that social status had on the types of wind instruments that women could access, and the close relationship between wind playing and singing. The first section of this chapter discusses the transition of the recorder and flute from the civic to the court setting during the late fifteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries in northern Europe and the Low Countries. Although specific evidence relating to women playing these instruments is sparse, the increased visibility and availability of flutes and recorders within the domestic scene is confirmed through household inventories, published music and treatises, as well as paintings of genteel women making music within the chamber environment. By highlighting the beginning of this transitional process and noting the imitation of elite fashions by the emerging middle classes, this section gives historical context to Chapter 3, which investigates the rise of domestic wind-playing in London from the mid-seventeenth century, as influenced by fashions from the continent. The second half of this chapter discusses examples of female wind players who were apprenticed in the family trade, presumably in the hope that they might be accepted into convents as choir nuns. While all-female institutions are discussed in depth in Chapter 2, the examples in this chapter show that in exceptional circumstances other career paths were sometimes available to female wind players.

1.2 Court Introduction: Private Spaces and Chamber Wind Instruments

The early modern ‘court’ is a complex space which invites diverse and multi-levelled interpretations. As Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly explains in her introductory chapter to the text *Europa Triumphans* (2004): ‘the early modern court is not a fixed entity’.¹³ Thus, while the term might be used to refer to the royal household and its immediate personnel, this could also include a wider network of advisors. Furthermore, it could also suggest a particular physical space, or as Watanabe-O’Kelly terms it ‘a physical locus’ indicating perhaps a palace, its grounds, buildings within the locality, or even a roaming establishment with no static location.¹⁴ In the context of this chapter, the term ‘court’ is used in a loose form to denote spaces in which members of the elite and upper classes were guided by similar social,

¹³ Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, ‘The Early Modern Festival Book: Function and Form,’ in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 1, eds. J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly and Margaret Shewring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 3–5.

¹⁴ Until the late sixteenth century, many ‘courts’ did not occupy fixed locations, as explained in Watanabe-O’Kelly, ‘The Early Modern Festival Book,’ 3–4.

cultural and intellectual rules, as famously outlined in Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528), and reaffirmed in subsequent publications of conduct literature.

In the private chambers of the early modern court, musical accomplishments were, as advocated by Castiglione and his contemporaries, widely considered to be important elements of a noble woman's education.¹⁵ In addition to attracting a potential husband, the ability to sing and play an instrument could be used in private devotions and practiced as a healthy pastime.¹⁶ Performances by gentlewomen could also be used to charm visitors at the court, but these were carefully 'staged' affairs that enabled a woman to display her musical skills in a modest and graceful manner. In her recently published book, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (2015), Katherine Butler refers to this as the 'politics of intimacy' in which rare opportunities to observe a noblewoman play were seemingly 'private' affairs, but they were also intended to be reported abroad in diaries and dedications.¹⁷ This is epitomised in the memoirs of Sir James Melville who recorded overhearing Elizabeth I playing the virginals in her chamber. His recollection of her bashful response upon noticing her male observer highlights their joint engagement and performance of impeccable courtly codes of conduct.¹⁸

The theme of 'overhearing' is clearly depicted in Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn's (1576–1612) *Allegory of Music* in which the gentlewoman's private flute playing is overheard by the courtiers who visit her palace (Figure 1.7).¹⁹ While her playing posture is depicted with accuracy, the inclusion of a mirror, which reflects her undistorted lips and cheeks, has a moralising function. Frequently used as a symbol for self-reflectiveness in religious conduct tracts, the flautist recalls ideal courtly behaviour (also implied by the other courtly instruments

¹⁵ Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano del conte Baldesar Castiglione* (Venezia: Aldo I. Manuzio & Andrea I. Torresano, 1528), trans. Thomas Hoby as *The Courtyer divided into foure books. Very necessary and profitable for yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in court, palaice or place* (London: William Seres, 1561). Also, see Federigo Luigini, *Il libro della bella donna, composto da messer Federico Luigini da Udine* (Venezia: Plinio Pietrasanta, 1554); (Bari: Laterza, 1913), 296 in which he also highlights that gentlewomen should play appropriate instruments.

¹⁶ In 1559, Lady Margaret Hoby wrote in her diary, 'to refreshe my selfe being dull, I plaied and sunge to the Alpherion...' See Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599–1605* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 56. The promotion of music to create a 'balanced life' is discussed in Jeanice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 148–150. See pages 198–150 in which she particularly discusses women's music-making and singing.

¹⁷ Katherine Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (Rochester; Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2015), 17–42.

¹⁸ James Melville, *The Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill* (1535–1617), ed. Gordon Donaldson (London: Folio Society, 1982), 38–39. This 'accidental' display is fully detailed in Diana Poulton, *John Dowland*, second ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 404. Elizabeth I's use of music to 'enhance her image and authority' is discussed in Leslie C. Dunn, 'Re-Sounding Elizabeth in Seventeenth-Century Music: Morley to Purcell,' in *Resurrecting Elizabeth I in Seventeenth Century England*, eds. Elizabeth H. Hageman and Katherine Conway (Madison, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008), 239–260.

¹⁹ The gentlewoman could be interpreted as being a personification of Musica.

that adorn her table) and she acts as a reminder of moderation through the vigorous disciplining of her inner and outer self.²⁰

In addition to the space in which noble women performed, the type of instruments they played had important associations with beauty, wealth, cultural refinement and fashion. Although it is well documented that stringed and keyboard instruments enabled the most beautiful parts of the female body to be displayed (the face, neck, hands and fingers), this spectacle might have been further enhanced by the prestige of the instrument maker, the instrument's physical design, as well as its embellishments. Surviving letters and household inventories attest to the political and economic negotiations surrounding the acquisition of instruments within prestigious households, as well as the exquisite materials used in their construction and design.²¹ In the case of wind instruments, for example, an inventory of Philip the Good of Burgundy (ca. 1467) includes: 'three leather cases, covered with gold, in all of them ivory recorders, both large and small; one of the large recorders is ornamented with gold on the mouthpiece, and lower down decorated with two gold rings and strewn with little emeralds, garnets, and rubies'.²² Over a century later, another inventory of instruments recorded at the Royal Palace in Madrid (1602) includes a set of flutes that had previously been associated with a female owner: 'six ivory flutes, four with re-enforcing rings of gilt silver and two larger ones with re-enforcing rings and adornments of gilt silver which belonged to Queen Mary'.²³ A similar ownership is described in the inventory of Vittoria Vellia, resident of the Piazza Cavalieri in Rome (1615), which includes recorders made of purple glass, another of ivory and another of wood.²⁴ Furthermore, the type of instrument could also determine awareness and participation in the latest musical fashions at the court.

²⁰ Anon., *The Mirrour of Complements or: A Pleasant and Profitable Academy* (London: Printed for Thomas Harper, 1635) and Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *The Glory of Women: or, A Treatise Declaring the Excellency and Preheminence of Women Above Men* (London: Printed for Robert Ibbitson, 1652). Later texts on a similar theme include Anon., *A Looking-Glass for Ladies, or A Mirrour for Married Women* (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke, 1674–1679) and Anon., *The Mirrour of Christian Piety* (London: Printed for Langley Curtiss, 1679). For a discussion about the internal mirror, see Barbara Correll, *The End of Conduct: Grobianus and the Renaissance Text of the Subject* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), 151.

²¹ In relation to wind instruments refer to David Lasocki, *A Listing of Inventories and Purchases of Flutes, Recorders, Flageolets, and Tabor Pipes, 1388–1630* (2004), <http://www.instantharmony.net/Music/inventoriesto1630.pdf>, accessed March 2017, 419–511.

²² Inventory of Philip III 'the Good' of Burgundy, *Les ducs de Bourgogne: études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV^e siècle et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bas et le duché de Bourgogne* (Paris: Plon frères, 1849–1852), II, 145; entry 3333. As reproduced and trans. in Lasocki, *A Listing of Inventories and Purchases*, 3.

²³ Edmond Vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays bas avant le XIX^e Siècle, VIII* (Brussels: Muquardt, 1888), 312–319. As reproduced and trans. in Lasocki, *A Listing of Inventories and Purchases*, 64–65.

²⁴ Franca Trinchieri Camiz, 'Gli strumenti musicali nei palazzi, nelle ville e nelle dimore della Roma del Seicento,' in *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio: Atti del Convegno internazionale Roma 4–7 giugno 1992*, a cura di Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnoldo Morelli e Vera Vita Spagnuolo, *Strumenti della ricerca musicale collana della Società Italiana di Musicologia 2* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1994), 602. As quoted and trans. in Lasocki, *A Listing of Inventories and Purchases*, 74.

This is particularly true of wind instruments such as the recorder and the transverse flute, which became important chamber instruments during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The Transition of Flutes and Recorders from Public to Private Performance Spaces

The transitional process undertaken by the flute, as described in Johann Fischart's verse reflects the instrument's domestication and its movement away from public spaces towards more private forms of music-making. This transitional process had begun for the recorder almost a century earlier, as depicted in the artworks of Georges Trubert and Robinet Testard (Figures 1.8 and 1.9). The recorder, which had been associated with minstrels and household musicians, increasingly emerged during the mid-to late fifteenth century as being appropriate for the upper classes, especially in combination with voices, harps, lutes and fiddles.²⁵

Trubert's miniature, produced around 1442–1453, is found in the breviary of King René II d'Anjou (1409–1480). His illumination (Figure 1.8) celebrates the king's patronage of the arts and the king himself is depicted at the centre of the image copying down psalms as they are dictated to him by King David (identified by his harp). Included in this scene are two groups of musicians who reflect the musical references of Psalm 150: '...Praise him with the sounding of the trumpet, praise him with the harp and lyre...praise him with the strings and pipe...'.²⁶ The individual groupings of these figures and their placement within the room appear to have further significance. The all-female ensemble, who are seated at the front of the scene play a recorder, positive organ and dulcimer. Their closeness to the king, their dress and demeanour imply that they are gentlewomen of the court. As such, these women might also be compared to contemporary depictions of Mary Magdalene in which she, and her accompanying angels are often seen to play similar instruments. In David Rothenberg's *The Flower of Paradise* (2011) he explains that figured in this manner, Mary could be praised as a 'lady of this world, surrounded by the music of secular song'.²⁷

In contrast to Trubert's group of genteel women, the male musicians stand towards the back of the image (next to the window) and play a bousine, fiddle, and drum. Their costume-like attire and instruments suggest that they are representative of professional musicians, who entertain audiences within the privacy of the court and its locality (implied by the landscape

²⁵ Howard Mayer Brown, 'The Recorder in the Middle Ages and Renaissance,' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, ed. John Mansfield Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 7–9.

²⁶ Known as 'Good King René', his patronage of the arts is discussed in Patrick Macey, 'Josquib, Good King René, and O bone et dulcissime Jesu,' in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 213–242.

²⁷ David J. Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 143.

beyond the palace walls).²⁸ This illumination might therefore be interpreted as representing all forms of music; sacred and secular as well as private and public forms of performance. Significantly in this example, the recorder is allied to amateur, private and genteel forms of music-making.

Similar ideas relating to performance space are also explored in Robinet Testard's *Allegory of Music* (ca. 1480), which depicts a female dulcimer player flanked by two swans (Figure 1.9). The unusual headdress worn by the woman has led to her identification as Louise of Savoy (1476–1531).²⁹ She is figured as an embodiment of Musica or Pallas Athena in a manner which appears to follow a standard form of presentation as seen in sources as diverse as the Tarocchi of Mantegna (ca. 1465) and the frontispiece to Arnolt Schlick's *Tablaturen etlicher lobgesang* (1512) (Figures 1.10 and 1.11).³⁰ The main difference between these depictions is that Louise plays a dulcimer rather than a fipple or duct flute, although she does continue to be surrounded by instruments of the *bas* variety. The apparent divide between these instruments and the ones played by the musicians on the other side of the balcony has led scholars such as Edmond Bowles and Keith McGowan to interpret them as representing 'inside' (*bas*) and 'outside' (*haut*) music-making. This, however, does not account for the inclusion of the gentlewoman or the singers, who are positioned alongside players of the pipe and drum, bousine and bagpipe.³¹ As an alternative reading, the illumination might be interpreted as representing five 'earthly' performance spaces: the chamber (represented by the gentlewoman who remains silent); the court (the pipe and tabor player dressed in court livery); the town (the bousine player); rural localities (the bagpiper); and the church (boys and men singing from a choir book). Meanwhile, the Countess, as an

²⁸ The instruments are identified in Edmond A. Bowles, *La pratique musicale au Moyen-Âge, Iconographie musicale* (Paris: Minkoff & Lattès, 1983), 39. He also describes the male musicians as being 'dressed as Israelites'.

²⁹ Louise of Savoy is known to have expressed a fondness for turbans and is figured in other portraits with similar headwear. A comparable image, for example, is found in MS. 1070. See Lisa Urkevich, 'Anne Boleyn's French Motet Book, A Childhood Gift,' in *Ars musica septentrionalis De l'interprétation du patrimoine musical à l'historiographie*, eds. Barbara Haggh and Frédéric Billiet (Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011), 112. Testard is known to have illuminated other books for the countess, several of which also contain depictions of turban-wearing women, see John Block Friedman, 'The Art of the Exotic: Robinet Testard's Turbans and Turban-like Coiffure,' in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, vol. 4, eds. Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Suffolk; New York: The Boydell Press, 2008), 181–191.

³⁰ Arnolt Schlick, *Tablaturen etlicher lobgesang* (Mainz: Peter Schoffer, 1512).

³¹ A so-called 'gendered interpretation' of this illumination is discussed in Keith McGowan, 'The Prince and the Piper: Haut, Bas and the Whole Body in Early Modern Europe,' *Early Music* 27, no. 2 (1999), 224. This article focusses on the division between *haut* and *bas*. For further discussions regarding these categories, particularly in relation to wind instruments, see Nancy Hadden, *From Swiss Flutes to Consorts: History, Music and Playing Techniques of the Transverse Flute in Switzerland, Germany and France ca. 1470–1640*, (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2010), 155 + 161 and Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 13–76. Edmund Bowles interprets this as an allegorical scene in which Leda performs her music 'in honour of Jupiter', identified by the swans which surround her. He also suggests that the balcony is a division between loud and soft instruments. See Bowles, *La pratique musicale*, 34.

exemplar of gentility, beauty and accomplishment is surrounded by instruments which reflect these qualities, but also share associations with other figures of musical invention: Apollo, Orpheus and King David (harp); Saint Cecilia (positive organ); and Euterpe, Pallas Athena or Musica (duct flute). The balcony is therefore not only a separation between ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ music, but it is also a division between earthly and celestial harmony. Testard’s reinforcement of ideal female qualities inadvertently reasserts the oppositional nature of many wind instruments, which were loud, caused facial deformity and were linked to professional musicians who performed in public spaces. In contrast, the inclusion of the duct flute within Louise of Savoy’s chamber demonstrates the instrument’s changing status and its connection to soft music-making, but its discreet presence within the scene also recognises the continuation of its potentially negative and subversive associations.

By the early sixteenth century, the recorder was fully accepted as an instrument for both professional and amateur musicians, appearing regularly in private music-making activities. This is accounted for in the wealth of surviving evidence, which in addition to iconographic sources, includes household inventories, music treatises and publications containing appropriate repertoire.³² Sebastian Virdung’s *Musica getutscht* (Basel, 1511), Martin Agricola’s *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (Wittenberg, 1529/1545), Sylvestro di Ganassi dal Fontego’s *Fontegara* (Venice, 1535) and Philibert Jambe de Fer’s *Epitome musical des tons* (Lyons, 1556) give (to varying degrees of detail) insight into the types of recorders available and their specific ranges, as well as fingering positions, tablature notation, articulation and ornamentation.³³ These sources also point to the widespread use of the recorder across Europe and the instrument’s appeal to children, as well as amateur and professional musicians. A brief reference to a noble woman playing the recorder may also evidence the instrument’s appeal to a genteel audience. According to a letter written by Erasmus in 1519, Thomas More encouraged his second wife to play the recorder as well as the cittern, lute and monochord as part of her daily exercises.

In comparison to the recorder’s popularity during the mid-to late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the transverse flute appears to have steadily entered the court environment during the early sixteenth century, finding particular favour among the elite in the Low Countries, France

³² Howard Mayer Brown, ‘The Recorder in the Middle Ages,’ 11.

³³ Virdung, *Musica getutscht* (1511); Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1529); Sylvestro di Ganassi dal Fontego, *Opera intitulata Fontegara la quale insegna a sonare di flauto chon tutta l’arte opportune a esso instrument massime il diminvire composta per Sylvestro di Ganassi dal Fontego* (Venezia: s.n., 1535); and Philibert Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical des tons, sons et accordz es voix humaines, fleustes d’Alleman, fleustes à neuf trous, violes & violons* (Lyons: Michael du Bois, 1556).

and Italy.³⁴ The instrument's military origins are, however, still apparent in Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (1511) in which it continued to be associated with this performance space.³⁵ The earliest reference to flutes being found within a private household appear in the inventory of Chateau de la Motte Feuilly (1514), in which 'deux fleutes d'Allemain' are listed as belonging to Charlotte d'Albret, Duchesse de Valentinois.³⁶ Although it is unclear as to whether they were for her own use, or for the musicians within her court, Nancy Hadden notes that they were almost certainly played at the palace during her lifetime.³⁷ Similarly, the flute is mentioned in relation to Anne Boleyn's (ca. 1501–1536) musical skills, which she developed during her childhood education in France.³⁸ In his memoirs from 1522, Viscount Chateaubriant (courtier to Francis I) states that:

...[she] possessed a great talent for poetry, and when she sung, like a second Orpheus, she would have made bears and wolves attentive... Besides singing like a siren, [and] accompanying herself on the lute, she harped better than King David and handled cleverly both flute and rebec'.³⁹

Although Chateaubriant's compliments follow a standard form of courtly flattery, Anne's musical skills were praised by other writers, and the instruments that he refers to were all closely aligned to amateur music-making within the courts of France.⁴⁰ The flute is also depicted in Léonard Limousin's enamel plaque *Le concert de mai*, produced during the second-half of the sixteenth century (Figure 1.12). Although the painting could be interpreted as depicting ideal courtly behaviour, according to Mirimonde, this scene may allude to a concert given by Diane of Poitiers, who was the mistress of Henry II.⁴¹ This suggestion is

³⁴ The use of the flute in mixed and all-flute consorts across Europe, including Germany and Italy is discussed in Powell, *The Flute*, 44–46.

³⁵ Virdung, *Musica getutscht* (1511), trans. Bullard, 114. As Nancy Hadden notes, 'he illustrates only a single flute, describing it briefly as an instrument played only by soldiers in the company of drums.' See Hadden, *From Swiss Flutes to Consorts*, 119–120.

³⁶ 12 May 1545, inventory of the furniture of Charlotte d'Albret, Duchesse de Valentinois. Listed in Edmond Bonnaffé, *Inventaire de la Duchesse de Valentinois, Charlotte d'Albret* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1878). This record is trans. in Lasocki, *A Listing of Inventories and Purchases*, 8.

³⁷ The inventory was taken before her death in 1514, see Hadden, *From Swiss Flutes to Consorts*, 116–118.

³⁸ The term 'flute' may refer to a recorder and not a transverse flute.

³⁹ 'elle manoit fort gentilment fluste et rebec.' See Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest* (London: Henry Colburn, 1853), 168. This quotation is also referenced in Janet Pollack, 'Anne Boleyn,' in *New Historical Anthology of Music by Women*, ed. James R. Briscoe (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 39 and Poulton, *John Dowland*, 185. For seminal studies regarding Anne Boleyn's life, see Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: 'the most happy'* (Malden, Massachusetts; Oxford: Blackwell, 2004) and George W. Bernard, *Anne Boleyn: fatal attractions* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2010).

⁴⁰ Lancelot de Carles, Bishop of Riez noted that Anne Boleyn was accomplished in dancing, music and singing. See Lancelot de Carles, *Epistre contenant le proces criminel faicet à l'encontre de la royne Anne Boullant d'Angleterre* (Lyons: s.n., 1545). Her musical accomplishments are also mentioned in the writing of W. Thomas and Lord Herbert of Cherbury, see Urkevich, 'Anne Boleyn's French Motet Book,' 112. Also, see Pollack, 'Anne Boleyn,' 39–41.

⁴¹ Bowers, "'Fläüste traverseinne,'" 25.

loosely support by the appointment of Limousin as *Valet de chamber* in Henry II's court, a position which may have required him to produce a commemorative work.

The rising popularity of the transverse flute among elite amateur musicians is evident in the publication of basic instructions for the instrument, as seen in Martin Agricola's *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1529).⁴² The earliest surviving flute consort music by Arnt von Aich (*Hubscher lieder*, ca. 1519–1520) also includes the following description on the frontispiece of his publication: 'In this booklet you will find 75 pretty songs with discant, alto, bass, and tenor parts for joyfully singing. Also some that can be artfully played on recorders, flutes and other musical instruments'.⁴³ Further evidence for the flute's growing popularity in France is apparent in the changes that were made to royal printing privileges granted to Pierre Attaignant. In 1529, he was given permission to print music books for 'lutes, organs and similar instruments', but this was extended in 1531 to specify 'masses, motets, hymns, chansons, for the said playing of lutes, flutes, and organs, in large volumes and small, in order to serve the churches, their ministers, and generally all public, and for the very great good, utility and recreation of the general public'.⁴⁴ This change evidences that Attaignant was providing publications for amateur musicians, as were Philibert Jambe de Fer and Simon Gorlier who produced instruction books that were specifically aimed at those wishing to learn.⁴⁵ While Jambe de Fer's tutor *Epitome musical des tons* (1556) encompassed basic music theory, as well as instructions for the recorder, flute, viola da gamba and violin, Gorlier's *Tablature de flûte d'allemand* (1558) contained tablature notation, which as will be discussed in Chapter 3, was primarily designed for ease of learning and accessibility.

Genteel Aerophone Players and the Performance of Vocal Repertoire in Sixteenth-Century Iconography

The main sources of evidence that specifically relate to women playing recorders and transverse flutes during the sixteenth century are iconographic in nature and mostly depict women engaging in sociable music-making. These artworks are popularly referenced in

⁴² Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1529), trans. Hettrick, 12–15. The description in the 1545 edition is very similar, see 84–88.

⁴³ Arnt von Aich, *In dissem Buechlyn fingt man LXXV hubscher leider myt Discant. Alt. Bas und Tenor. Lutick zu syngen. Auch etlich zu fleiton, schwegelen und arderen musicalisch artlichen zu gebrauchen* (Cologne: Arnt von Aich, ca. 1519). The translation of this title is from Hadden, *From Swiss Flutes to Consorts*, 145. Hadden lists the contents of this book and she notes a difference between German and Flute consort music: the German consort using all three different sizes of flutes (Soprano in A, two tenors in D and a bass in G), and the French consort using only two types of flute, the tenor in D and the bass in G. See 41 + 129 + 145–147, 157, 171.

⁴⁴ Hadden, *From Swiss Flutes to Consorts*, 174–175.

⁴⁵ Although Jambe de Fer wrote his flute method between ca. 1515–1516, it was not published until 1556. See Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical des tons* (Lyons, 1556), ed. François Lesure in *Annales musicologiques* 6 (1958–1963), 431–86. Also, see Hadden, *From Swiss Flutes to Consorts*, 170. Simon Gorlier's *Tablature de flûtes d'allemand* (Lyon: Simon Gorlier, 1558) is no longer extant, as discussed in Bowers, "Fläüste traverseinne," 21.

studies relating to early modern performance practices and the social history of instruments, as well as research relating to the transmission and dissemination of chansons.⁴⁶ In scholarship about music iconography these genre paintings are often analysed in comparison to similar versions of the same painting, which carry a particular moralising or allegorical theme.⁴⁷ Yet, as this section will demonstrate, viewed in conjunction with one another, these images show similar portrayals of women playing flutes and recorders who display accurate embouchures, playing postures and fingering patterns. The inclusion of recognisable, popular and appropriate vocal repertoire adds to the sense of ‘reality’ within these scenes, which mirror the performance practices described in sixteenth-century music treatises. It might also be suggested that the suitability of the recorder and flute for performing vocal parts had a significant bearing on the instruments’ acceptance into the chambers of the elite, and in particular, to women’s music-making. As Ardal Powell wrote in response to the research of Jane Bowers, ‘the flute was not an uncommon instrument for ladies to play, at least in allegorical settings’.⁴⁸

One of the most famous scenes of this kind depicts a trio of courtly women playing music together using a transverse flute, lute and voice. Attributed to the Flemish artist, Master of the Female Half-Lengths, who was active in Antwerp around the second quarter of the sixteenth century, there are several surviving versions of this scene, three of which can be seen in Figures 1.13 to 1.15.⁴⁹ These paintings have, for a long time, attracted the attention of scholars such as John Parkinson, Jane Bowers, Nancy Hadden and Ardal Powell, who have all shown an interest in the musical realism depicted in these scenes, particularly in relation to the flute player.⁵⁰ In the earliest ‘Jouyssance’ painting (the ‘Viennese’ version), the flautist plays from the superius part-book, whereas in the ‘St Petersburg’ and ‘Los Angeles’ paintings she performs the tenor line of the chanson, while the singer holds the superius part.⁵¹ John Parkinson has identified the instrument in the ‘Viennese’ version as being a flute in D. This, he

⁴⁶ Bowers, “‘Fläüste traverseinne,’” 7–49; Powell, *The Flute*, 44; and Brown, ‘The Recorder in the Middle Ages,’ 1–25. For information about the chansons depicted in these paintings, see Hartz, *Preludes, Chansons and Dances* and Hartz, ‘Au pres de vous vous,’ 193–225.

⁴⁷ Slim, ‘Mary Magdalene, Musician and Dancer,’ *Early Music* 8, no. 4 (1980), 460–473 and Colin Slim, ‘The Prodigal Son at the Whores’ Music, Art and Drama,’ in *Painting Music in the Sixteenth Century: Essays in Iconography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 1–27.

⁴⁸ Bowers, “‘Fläüste traverseinne,’” 7–49 and Powell, *The Flute*, 44.

⁴⁹ Although three paintings have been included here, there are also versions held in a private collection in Brazil and in Meiningen, Herzogliches Schloss. See Hadden, *From Swiss Flutes to Consorts*, 120.

⁵⁰ John A. Parkinson, ‘A Chanson by Claudin de Sermisy,’ *Music & Letters* 39, no. 2 (1958), 118–122; Jane Bowers, “‘Fläüste traverseinne,’” 7–49; Hadden, *From Swiss Flutes to Consorts*, 120–121; and Powell, *The Flute*, 44–45.

⁵¹ The parts played by the trio are also discussed in Bowers, “‘Fläüste traverseinne,’” 23–24. These differences are also briefly referenced in Powell, *The Flute*, 45. In the ‘Meiningen’ version the flautist plays from the tenor book and in the ‘Brazilian’ version the flautist plays from the superius part book. See Hadden, *From Swiss Flutes to Consorts*, 120.

argues, would have enabled the upper part to be played, whereas a larger, tenor flute, which is depicted in the other paintings, would have been able to cope with the lower voice range.⁵² This difference in flute type is most evident in the ‘Los Angeles’ painting in which the length of the instrument is significantly extended and the flautist’s fingers are widely stretched to cover the finger holes. In all versions, the lutenist appears to play the remaining two parts of music from memory.⁵³ Parkinson’s identification of the different flute types, as portrayed in each version of the scene, and the instrument’s possible role within the trio, highlights the significant details applied to each painting by the Half-Lengths Master.

The realism of the instrumental ensemble is supported by the music being performed by the women, which has been identified as Claudin Sermisy’s ‘Jouyssance vous donneray’; a popular chanson of the period and one that was widely disseminated. It is included in Pierre Attaingnant’s *Chanson nouvelles* (1528) and his *Tres breve et familiere introduction* (1529), as well as the Italian publication, *Secondo libro di intavolatura di liuto* (1566), compiled by Melchior Neusiedler.⁵⁴ Sermisy’s ‘Jouyssance’ also appears to have been adapted for dancing, as it is found in an unattributed publication of dances printed by Jacques Moderne (1535) and in Thoinot Arbeau’s *Orchesographie*, printed in 1588.⁵⁵ In addition to these publications the chanson is found in Anne Boleyn’s music manuscript (Royal College of Music, MS 1070), and references to the work are included in Marguerite d’Angoulême’s (Marguerite de Navarre) *Chansons spirituelles* (after 1533), *Comédie sur le trépas du Roy* (1547), and *Mont-de-Marsan* (1548).⁵⁶ The mentioning of ‘Jouyssance’ in works other than music books

⁵² Parkinson, ‘A Chanson by Claudin de Sermisy,’ 118–122.

⁵³ Bowers, “Fläüiste traverseinne,” 23–24.

⁵⁴ Anon., *Chanson nouvelles en musique a quatre parties* (Paris: Pierre Attaingnant, 1528). The chanson is arranged for lute and voice in Anon., *Tres breve et familiere introduction...reduictes en la tablature du Lutz* (Paris: Pierre Attaingnant, 1529). This is identified in Hadden, *From Swiss Flutes to Consorts*, 120; Slim, ‘Mary Magdalene, Musician and Dancer,’ 458; and Hertz, *Preludes, Chansons and Dances*, 75. Also, see Melchior Neusiedler, *Secondo libro di intavolatura di liuto* (Venice: Gardino, 1566). As identified in Parkinson, ‘A Chanson by Claudin de Sermisy,’ 122.

⁵⁵ Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchesographie et traicte en forme de dialogue par lequel toutes personnes peuvent facilement apprendre et practiquer l’honneste exercice des danses* (Langres: Jean des Preyz, 1588) and Anon., *Plusieurs basses dances tant communes que incommunes* (Lyons: Jacques Moderne, 1530). It is included as a *basse danse*, which is based on the tenor line of Sermisy’s chanson, see Hadden, *From Swiss Flutes to Consorts*, 104–105.

⁵⁶ London, Royal College of Music, MS 1070 (GB-Lcm MS 1070). Anne Boleyn’s name appears on folio 79r underneath the altus part. This is discussed and reproduced in Urkevich, ‘Anne Boleyn’s French Motet Book,’ 100. The music in this manuscript has been recorded by the ensemble Alamire. See Alamire, *Anne Boleyn’s Songbook: Music and Passions of a Tudor Queen*, directed by David Skinner (Obsidian Records, 2015). The provenance of this manuscript has been contested by scholars. Edward Lowinsky suggested that it was compiled between ca. 1533 and 1536 in London by Mark Smeaton (a musician at the English royal court), and given as a gift to Anne Boleyn. See Edward E. Lowinsky, ‘MS 1070 of the Royal College of Music in London,’ *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 96 (1969–1970), 16. This is also the dating cited on DIAMM (Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music), ‘Source: GB-Lcm MS 1070,’ <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=2033>, accessed March 2017. Lisa Urkevich, however, proposes an earlier dating between ca. 1505 and 1509, with additional pieces being added after 1514. Urkevich suggests that the manuscript was given to Anne Boleyn by either Louise of Savoy (1476–

confirms the chanson's popularity, but also reveals its recognisability to varied audiences, including those engaging with contemporary iconography and literature. Its presence within Anne Boleyn's music manuscript, alongside two other secular works by Franco-Flemish composers and thirty-nine motets, highlights the work's vocal origins, as well as its apparent appropriateness for a genteel audience. These factors are especially significant when viewed in relation to the 'Jouyssance' paintings because they underline how popular vocal repertoire could be adapted for different combinations of voices and instruments. Although the version of Sermisy's chanson in the 'Jouyssance' paintings has yet to be identified, the arrangement of the women's ensemble indicates that the flute was considered as entirely suitable for performing vocal parts, taking an accompanying role, and blending with other chamber instruments.

In addition to the women's instruments, playing postures, and music, the realism depicted in the 'Jouyssance' paintings includes the attire worn by the musicians. As Penny Howell Jolly explains, the 'square necked bodices', 'semi-transparent gorgets', and 'close-fitting caps' show them to be well-dressed and fashionable ladies.⁵⁷ Similar paintings, also attributed to Master of the Female Half-Lengths, depict noble women wearing comparable clothing as they engage in private, solitary music-making. These include *Lady Playing a Clavichord* (Figure 1.16) and *Lady Playing a Lute* (Figure 1.17).⁵⁸ Often described as votive portraits, these scenes are presumed to represent Mary Magdalene, as identified by her accompanying urn.⁵⁹ The instruments and music depicted in these works have been highlighted by Anthony Rowland-Jones and Carla Zecher as being directly linked to worldly pleasures. For example, the presence of a propped-up recorder in *Lady Playing a Clavichord* could be interpreted as a phallic symbol, and therefore suggestive of sensual love. Similarly, in *Lady*

1531), or her daughter, Marguerite d'Angoulême (1492–1549) with whom Anne Boleyn was well-acquainted. See Lisa Urkevich, 'Music Books of Women: Private Treasures and Personal Revelations,' *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 4 (2008), 176–177 and Urkevich 'Anne Boleyn's French Motet Book,' 96–112. For references to Sermisy's 'Jouyssance' in the work of Marguerite de Navarre, see *Oeuvre completes*, vol. 4, *Théâtre* and vol. 9, *Chansons spirituelles*, eds. Nicole Cazauran, Geneviève Hasenohr and Olivier Millet (Paris: H. Champion Éditeur, 2002). The *Chansons spirituelles* are discussed in Jan Miernowski, 'Chansons Spirituelles – Songs for a "Delightful Transformation",' in *A Companion to Marguerite de Navarre*, eds. Gary Ferguson and Mary B. McKinley (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 237–279. Her theatrical works are discussed in Olivier Millet, 'Staging the Spiritual: The Biblical and Non-Biblical Plays,' in *A Companion to Marguerite de Navarre*, eds. Gary Ferguson and Mary B. McKinley (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 281–231. Marguerite's close connection to Sermisy and Clément Marot (whose poem 'Jouyssance' is based) are explored in Urkevich, 'Anne Boleyn's French Motet Book,' 105–106.

⁵⁷ Penny Howell Jolly, 'The Engaging Magdalene: Quentin Massys' Mary Magdalene Opening her Jar,' in *Picturing the "Pregnant" Magdalene in Northern Art, 1430–1550: Addressing and Undressing the Sinner Saint* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2014), 116–120.

⁵⁸ Other pastimes are also depicted such as reading and writing, see Master of the Female Half-Lengths, *A Lady Reading as Mary Magdalene* (1520/40), Art Institute of Chicago, European Painting and Sculpture, Max and Leola Epstein Collection, 1954.290. Another version of this painting is also found in the National Galleries of Scotland.

⁵⁹ Jolly, 'The Engaging Magdalene,' 109.

Playing a Lute, her instrument might be understood as a symbol for both the male and female body.⁶⁰ This duality of meaning also extends to the instrument's use, considered on the one hand to be an acceptable instrument among the elite, but on the other, as being a recognisable object often used to denote a procuress in Dutch artworks.⁶¹ Added to this, Zecher also refers to the linguistic play on words in which the older French spelling for lute (*luc*) was an anagram for *cul* (ass) and the Flemish *luit*, also meant vagina. Depicted together with the flute in the 'Jouyssance' paintings, and in the hands of two female musicians, Zecher asserts that the two instruments and their players represent a 'cross gendered erotic musical duet'.⁶² These dualities of meaning are apparently complicated further still because, according to the research of Rowland-Jones, the title of the chanson ('Jouyssance') had sexual undertones in colloquial French.⁶³ In contrast to the suggestive and negative connotations implied by the musical objects in these paintings (as identified by Zecher and Rowland-Jones), Penny Howell Jolly argues that within the chamber setting there is 'no suggestion of impropriety'. Instead, she maintains that the elegant dresses worn by the women, their deportment, and their focus on music, reflect the themes of beauty, love and harmony.⁶⁴ She notes that while the crypto-portraits of Mary Magdalene portray her as an accessible saint; a model of a contemporary woman engaging in popular pastimes and transforming worldly desires into spiritual love, the secular 'Jouyssance' paintings depict the musician women as earthly, cultured, graceful and accomplished.⁶⁵

In addition to the 'Jouyssance' paintings there are several other artworks (also attributed to Master of the Female Half-Lengths) that depict similar musical ensembles. In *Three Young Women Making Music with a Jester* (Figure 1.8) the all-female trio is directly comparable to the women in the chamber scene, but the inclusion of a male character and the addition of jewellery on the table suggests that this painting has a specific moralising theme.⁶⁶ This is also highlighted by the drapery backdrop, which represents a less definable performance space. The dangers of excess are particularly emphasised by the flautist who wears a flamboyant headdress, allows her hair to fall from her coiffure, and positions her body (which is defined

⁶⁰ Carla Zecher, *Sounding Objects: Musical Instruments, Poetry and Art in Renaissance France* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 131–161.

⁶¹ Julia Craig-McFeely, 'The Signifying Serpent: Seduction by Cultural Stereotype in Seventeenth-Century England,' in *Music, Sensation, and Sensuality*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern (New York; London: Routledge, 2002), 301.

⁶² Zecher, *Sounding Objects*, 140.

⁶³ The words of the text were written by Clément Marot (1496–1544). Their sensual nature is noted in Anthony Rowland-Jones, 'The Recorder's Medieval and Renaissance Repertoire: A Commentary,' in *The Cambridge Guide to the Recorder*, ed. John Thomson Mansfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 43. For further analysis of the Mary Magdalene paintings and references to the *basse dance*, see Slim, 'Mary Magdalene,' 460–473 and 'Paintings of Lady Concerts,' 51–73.

⁶⁴ Jolly, 'The Engaging Magdalene,' 156.

⁶⁵ Jolly, 'The Engaging Magdalene,' 125–127.

⁶⁶ This painting is reproduced and discussed in Slim, 'The Prodigal Son,' 16.

by the folds of her dress) towards the gaze of the viewer. While her right shoulder is pawed seductively by the male fool, her left side is directed by the hand of the singer, who reminds her of moderation.⁶⁷ Just as the fool eyes up the flautist's body, the audience's gaze is titillated by this expression of sensual pleasure, while also being reminded of virtuous behaviour and temperance.

In another painting by the Half-Lengths Master, the central female figure is replaced by a man who looks directly towards the flautist (Figure 1.19).⁶⁸ The arrangement of the musicians in this scene is directly copied from the popular 'Prodigal Son' genre in which the female musicians represent courtesans. In this example, the two ladies perform another chanson by Claudin de Sermisy, identified as 'Au pres de vous'.⁶⁹ As the flautist plays from the superius partbook (from notation), the lutenist reads from a scroll containing an intabulation of all four parts.⁷⁰ This painting, which clearly depicts Notre Dame and other Parisian landmarks in the background, is set in a tavern-like garden in which the excesses of feasting, gambling, drinking and sexual promiscuity are implied.⁷¹ Although the women wear respectable contemporary attire, the outdoor nature and context of this scene directly calls their social reputation into question, as does the company with which they are associated.

The 'Prodigal Son' imagery is comparable to another popular artistic genre of this period entitled 'Le concert après le repas'.⁷² Two examples by Ambrosius Benson (ca. 1495–1550), an Italian-born painter who was active in Bruges, depict a party of elite women and men gathered around a banqueting table (Figures 1.20 and 1.21). In addition to feasting, the scenes include other approved activities for courtiers such as music-making, boating and hunting, but the presence of fruit and wine heightens the sensuality of these images. Added to this, as the women read from their partbooks and make music, the gentlemen attempt to distract them with their amorous intensions, indicated by their gazing eyes and physical closeness.

The apparent flexibility of vocal repertoire, which could be arranged to accommodate a variety of instruments and voices is not only apparent in these sixteenth-century Flemish artworks, but can also be seen in an anonymous set of Venetian paintings entitled, *Musique*

⁶⁷ The danger that music could tempt women into sin is expressed in Sabba da Castiglione, *Ricordi overo ammaestramenti di monsignor Saba da Castiglione cavalier gerosolimitano: ne quali con prudenti e christiani discorsi si ragiona di tutte le materie honorate, che si ricercano a vn vero gentil'huomo: con la tauola per alphabeto di tutte le cose notabili* (Venezia: Paulo Gherardo, 1555), 96.

⁶⁸ This painting is reproduced in Slim, 'The Prodigal Son,' 16.

⁶⁹ A detailed study of this chanson is found in David Hartz, 'Au pres de vous,' 193–225.

⁷⁰ Hartz notes that the lutenist is striking a chord, which he identifies as being 'just prior to the cadence in measure 11'. He therefore suggests that the flautist is playing an F flute to 'accommodate the low A of the superius part.' See Hartz, 'Au pres de vous,' 219.

⁷¹ The identifiable landmarks are compared to a contemporary map in Hartz, 'Au pres de vous,' 214.

⁷² The similarity between these two genres is identified in Slim, 'The Prodigal Son,' 10.

champêtre (Figures 1.22 and 1.23).⁷³ In the first scene three noble women appear to learn a vocal piece from a gentleman who leads the ensemble. In the second painting the group are depicted playing instruments; the clavichord, bass viol, recorder and lute. Presumably having learnt and memorised their parts through singing, the ensemble was then able to perform an instrumental version of their song. The viewer is initially treated as an outsider while the learning process takes place, but is invited to partake as an invited guest to their instrumental performance. Although these Venetian paintings depict an idyllic and imagined scene, which includes a ‘stream of inspiration’, the form of learning, the instrumentation and private setting of this ensemble, may reflect early modern practice. As Howard Mayer Brown postulates, ‘it would be nice to imagine that the lady might have had recorder lessons in Venice from Ganassi, in which she would have been adept to freely ornament her part’.⁷⁴

The process of adapting vocal music for performance on instruments is described in Sebastian Virdung’s *Musica getutscht* (1511), a book that was also published in Antwerp in French (1529) and in Flemish (1553 and 1568).⁷⁵ He presents instructions on how to intabulate music for the clavichord, lute and recorder and gives an example of how to do this. Significantly, he also encourages his reader to intabulate their own songs, a process that is perhaps visualised in the ‘Jouyssance’ and *Musique champêtre* paintings.⁷⁶ Virdung also includes a description of three different sizes of recorder.⁷⁷ These are depicted in a fresco by Girolamo di Romano, which decorates the loggia of the Castello del Buonconsiglio in Trento (Figure 1.24). Completed in 1531, the scene has an allegorical theme linked to sensuality, as conveyed by two figures that gaze longingly at one another, as well as the female recorder player who holds an apple in her right hand symbolising Eve and The Original Sin.⁷⁸ Aside from its moralising theme, the fresco depicts a realistic mixed-gender recorder quartet, which includes a descant, two trebles and a tenor recorder. Music for this type of ensemble is specifically highlighted in Pierre Attaignant’s *Chansons musicales a quatre parties* (1528) and in his later publication, *Vingt et sept chansons musicales a quatre parties* (1533), both publications being vocal repertoire arranged for flexible combinations of voices and instruments.⁷⁹

⁷³ These paintings are both reproduced in Brown, ‘The Recorder in the Middle Ages,’ 12–13.

⁷⁴ Brown, ‘The Recorder in the Middle Ages,’ 13.

⁷⁵ Kristine K. Forney, ‘A Proper Musical Education for Antwerp’s Women,’ in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Russell E. Murray, Susan Forcher Weiss and Cynthia J. Cyrus (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 106.

⁷⁶ Virdung, *Musica getutscht* (1511), trans., Bullard, 180–181 and Forney, ‘A Proper Musical Education,’ 106.

⁷⁷ These instruments are identified by Rowland-Jones, ‘The Recorder’s Medieval and Renaissance Repertoire,’ 41.

⁷⁸ This image is reproduced in Rowland-Jones, ‘The Recorder’s Medieval and Renaissance Repertoire,’ 41.

⁷⁹ Anon., *Chansons musicales a quatre parties* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1528) and Anon., *Vingt et sept chansons musicales a quatre parties* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1533). Nancy Hadden has undertaken extensive

Summary: Recorders, Flutes and the Rising Merchant Classes

The female musicians in Figures 1.13 to 1.24 are depicted wearing similar clothing and they convey almost identical playing postures, but recognition of the different settings in which they perform is crucial to interpreting their individual characters. In private settings, the women play effortlessly with little interruption to their display of physical beauty, which has been interpreted by Nancy Hadden as potentially representing Castiglione's idea of *sprezzatura*.⁸⁰ The musical women in these scenes perform for their own amusement and only the viewer of the painting is granted an exclusive glimpse of their music-making activities. Although the dangers of sensuality and worldly pleasures are perhaps implied through their music and instruments, their private performance spaces protect the women from outside influences and their behaviour is moderated. These musical activities, which include wind-playing, do not detract from their beauty, but show them to be fashionable and accomplished young women. Beyond the confines of these private spaces, however, wind instruments (especially in the hands of women) continued to carry potentially dangerous associations related to sensuality and worldly pleasures. In these instances, the well-dressed women musicians are now displayed as 'siren-like' courtesans.

The paintings discussed in this section mostly originate from the Low Countries, and particularly from Antwerp. These images are serial in nature (as opposed to one-off commissions) and they are presented in both sacred and secular versions, which Penny Howell Jolly suggests may be an indication that domestic music had widespread appeal among the emerging middle-classes from both Protestant and Catholic households.⁸¹ Although evidence shows that these paintings were purchased throughout northern Europe and further afield, it is perhaps no coincidence that sixteenth century Antwerp had become a cultural centre for music publication and instrument manufacture.⁸² Music was also considered to be a valuable part of the education system for both boys and girls in the city.⁸³ As Kristine Forney explains: 'Young women of successful merchant families were expected to have social skills in singing and playing instruments for family music-making and to entertain their husbands' clients'.⁸⁴

research in regard to these publications and has produced editions of the flute consorts, but she also notes which consorts were specifically identified as appropriate for the recorder. See Hadden, *From Swiss Flutes to Consorts*, Appendix 2. For information on Attaignant's publications, see Daniel Hertz, *Pierre Attaignant: Royal Printer of Music: An Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

⁸⁰ Hadden, *From Swiss Flutes to Consorts*, 216 and Slim, 'Mary Magdalene,' 468.

⁸¹ There is evidence that the 'Magdalene' paintings were shipped to Catholic countries such as Spain, Portugal and Italy. See Penny Howell Jolly, 'The Lovesick Magdalene: The Master of the Female Half-Lengths and Jan van Hemessen's Musical Magdalenes,' in *Picturing the "Pregnant" Magdalene in Northern Art, 1430–1550: Addressing and Undressing the Sinner-Saint* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2014), 167.

⁸² Penny Howell Jolly, 'The Lovesick Magdalene,' 170.

⁸³ Kristine Forney, 'Nymphes Gayes en Abry du Laurier': Music Instruction for the Bourgeois Woman,' *Musica disciplina* 49 (1995), 151–187.

⁸⁴ Forney, 'A Proper Musical Education,' 103.

Within this enthusiastic climate for domestic music-making, and in conjunction with the publication of music and instructional treatises, recorders and transverse flutes were undoubtedly becoming increasingly accessible to amateur players. Although these instruments were routinely depicted in the hands of genteel players in paintings, their popularity among women of the elite and merchant classes in Antwerp and northern Europe is impossible to ascertain. Nevertheless, alongside the rare references to women owning flutes and recorders in chronicles and inventories, these images show a significant change in attitude towards these instruments, which were no longer the primary reserve of professional civic musicians, but were considered to be appropriate for performing within the chamber setting. More conclusive evidence for domestic wind-playing, however, does not appear until the mid-seventeenth century when diary entries, book publications and iconographic depictions of pipe lessons (especially by artists from the Dutch Republic such as Johannes Vermeer and Jan Steen) give a clearer sense of the accessibility and tutoring opportunities available to women of the upper and middle classes.⁸⁵ As further research is undertaken in relation to instrument makers, wind instruments and repertoire, more direct links between sixteenth-century amateur wind-playing on the continent and the assimilation of these fashions in England during the mid-seventeenth century (as will be discussed in Chapter 3) may emerge. The surviving materials from this period do, however, point towards the relationship between singing and flutes and recorders as being a key factor in the acceptance of these instruments into the chamber setting because they could substitute and support vocal parts, as well as accompany and blend with other chamber instruments.

1.3 Town Introduction: Professional Musicians and Public Music-Making

The music-making activities of women from the middle-to-lower ranks of early modern society are difficult to ascertain because written evidence is frustratingly lacking. As Stimmer's rommel pot player demonstrates, the view that often greets the researcher is one of an older, ugly woman making distasteful and unrefined music. These images are reviewed in the final part of this chapter, but they are preceded by several examples that demonstrate one of the areas in which evidence can be found for female music-making, and particularly wind-playing. These include the Pellizzari sisters, renowned as cornett and trombone players at the Accademia Olimpica in Vicenza during the late sixteenth century, and three cases of women being employed at courts in Vienna and Württemberg as trumpet players during the mid-seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Although separated by an expansive time-frame, as well as being geographically disconnected, these women are all linked to institutions where

⁸⁵ Jolly, 'The Lovesick Magdalene,' 169.

surviving archival documents confirm their musical roles. These women were all born into the families of professional musicians where musical training was a natural and important part of their upbringing. They learnt instruments that were not generally accessible to women, or even to men because they required specialist tuition, which they received through apprenticeship. The spaces in which they performed (the court and academy) are generally considered as being male dominated because they are linked to the employment of professional musicians and more public forms of music-making. For this reason, the examples in this chapter are particularly unique. There were, however, other all-female civic institutions that encouraged music-making, including convents and conservatories, but these will be discussed in Chapter 2.

1.4 Professional Trombone and Cornett Players in Late Sixteenth-Century Italy: The Case of the Pellizzari Sisters

A Brief Literature Review

The case of the Pellizzari sisters has been regularly cited by scholars interested in early modern women and their music-making activities. The girls played the cornett and trombone at the Accademia Olimpica in Vicenza during the 1580s and were employed as part of a family ensemble, working alongside their brother who became *bidello* (caretaker) at the institution.⁸⁶ The family were later employed at the Mantuan court as members of Duke Vincenzo's *concerto*. It is within this latter context that the sisters have received greatest scholarly attention, most notably in Iain Fenlon's *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua* (1980), Anthony Newcomb's *The Madrigal at Ferrara 1569–1597* (1980), and more recently, in Susan Parisi's chapter 'Musicians at the Court of Mantua during Monteverdi's Time: Evidence from the Payrolls' (1994), and Nina Treadwell's *Music and Wonder at the Medici Court* (2008).⁸⁷ Although these studies mention the sisters' instrumental skills, they particularly focus on their virtuosic singing abilities, the terms of their employment within the

⁸⁶ Several different spellings of the family name have been used by scholars. Anthony Newcomb and Jane Bowers use 'Pellizzari' and Susan Parisi and Iain Fenlon use 'Pelizzari'. For this thesis, the spelling 'Pellizzari' will be used because this is how it appears in the academy records. Further ambiguity surrounds the family status of Antonio Pellizzari who is described in records as either 'brother' or 'father'. This point is highlighted in Jessie Ann Owens, 'Reviewed Work: Music and Patronage in Sixteenth Century Mantua, vol. 1 by Iain Fenlon,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982), 341. To prevent confusion, I have chosen to describe him as 'brother', although it is recognised that this is not a conclusive title. 'Brother' is also used to describe him in Fenlon, *Music and Patronage* and Jane Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers,' 136.

⁸⁷ Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, 127–128; Anthony Newcomb. *The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579–1597*, vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 99–100; Susan Parisi, 'Musicians at the Court of Mantua during Monteverdi's Time: Evidence from the Payrolls,' *Musicologia humana: Studies in honor of Warren and Ursula Kirkendale*, eds. Sigfried Gmeinwieser, David Hilley and Jörg Reidlbauer (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1994), 189–196; and Nina Treadwell, *Music and Wonder at the Medici Court: The 1589 Interludes for La Pellegrina* (Bloomington, Indianapolis; Chesham: Indiana University Press, 2008), 94–95.

Mantuan court, and their inclusion in the Florentine production of *La Pellegrina* (1589). The most comprehensive description of the girls' musical development is found in Jane Bowers' chapter, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy, 1566–1700' (1987). Although the details of this case remain peripheral to the aims of her research and many of the interesting points are found in the footnotes, Bowers briefly discusses the circumstances in which the Pellizzari sisters learnt such unusual instruments. She also notes the performance opportunities that were afforded to them within the academy and she traces their eventual employment in Mantua, particularly underlining the importance of their familial ties and their age-related musical development from child prodigies to accomplished young women.⁸⁸

Despite Bowers' relatively detailed account of the Pellizzaris' musical careers, this case deserves to be presented here in its entirety and from the perspective of the girls' wind-playing. In doing so, the girls' apparently 'unique' circumstances can be viewed and compared to the musical careers of other female wind players, also brought up in musician families, and protected under similar patriarchal and institutional regulation. In the case of the Pellizzari family, their relationship with the academy highlights the institution's impact on the development of their musical talents, the performance opportunities afforded to them, and the establishment of their local acclaim and reputation that would eventually lead to their future employment at the Mantuan court. Viewed alongside other examples of female wind players from musician families, as will be discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 2, wider connective themes relating to the importance of their age, marital status, familial ties, as well as their instrument choice and its connection with singing can also be brought to the fore.

Employment at the Accademia Olimpica

The earliest record of the Pellizzari family appears in the accounts of the Accademia Olimpica in 1582 when the sisters, Isabetta and Lucia, and their brother, Antonio, performed music for a Solemn Mass at the church of San Michele. The family were rewarded with a salary of fifteen ducats for the year and Antonio was made 'nostro Bidello, et Musico' by the newly invested principal of the academy, Giulio Pogliana.⁸⁹

With the result that the said sisters were rewarded by the Accademia with a salary of 15 ducats per year on condition that together with Messer Antonio that they were

⁸⁸ Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers,' 136.

⁸⁹ This was a relatively small salary, especially in comparison to musicians that were employed as '*maestro principale di musicha*' at other Italian academies. For example, Portenari was hired in this role at the Rinascenti (Padua) for 50 ducats a year and this was later increased to 70 ducats. At the Filarmonici in Verona the Flemish composer was hired as *maestro di musica* and was paid a small salary of 30 ducats a year. See Carl Gustav Anthon, *Music and Musicians in Northern Italy during the 16th Century* (PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1943), 84–85 and 87–88.

normally required to provide music twice a week and at other times when there is need and occasion [...] obliging the said musicians from December until the following July to provide music once a week and for all public events of this Academy and on those occasions when honoured visitors [are present] in this Theatre, as it seems necessary to the Signor Principal and Council.⁹⁰

The congregation at the Solemn Mass are described as being ‘in awe’ of the music performed by the Pellizzari family, apparently recognising the virtues of the ‘*due putte sorelle*’ (two little sisters). The terms used to describe Isabetta and Lucia in their newly appointed role at the institution suggests that the girls were child prodigies, a point that is underlined by Jane Bowers, who notes that they might also have taught singing to other girls.⁹¹ Although the precise details of the sisters’ music-making (their use of voices or instruments) remains unknown, this record confirms the types of performance spaces and events for which the family were required to provide music; notably within the church, the academy, its theatre and perhaps other spaces within the town of Vicenza. Evidence for the sisters’ trombone and cornett playing does not, however, appear until later when the academy planned to stage a large production of the *Edipo tiranno*. This was performed in 1585 and the girls were singled out and highly praised for their instrumental skills.

Although these instruments appear to have been an unusual choice for two young girls, it is probable that they were being trained to enter convent life. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, the cornett and trombone were popularly employed in musically acclaimed convents in northern Italy during the late sixteenth century, particularly in Bologna, Ferrara

⁹⁰ Vicenza, Libri dell’ Accademia Olimpica, Biblioteca Comunale Bertoliana, Accademia Olimpico, fasc. 4 (D), fol. 31v (7.1.1582), ‘Essendo ridotto questa mattina, li Clarissimi Signori Rettori della Citta, et li Magnifici Signori Deputati con tutta la nobiltà di Vicenza, Nella chiesa di San Michiele ad udire la Messa solenemente celebrata per la entrata del Magnifico Signor Giulio Pogliana novo Prencipe della Academia Nostra Olimpica Insieme con tutti gli Academici per dar principio con felici auspicii al suo Magistrato; è stata la detta Messa celebrata con suma sodisfacione, anzi stupore de tutti per causa delle Musiche in essa udite; le quali per il più, et le più eccellenti sono state fatte da Messer Antonio nostro Bidello, et Musico, e da due sue sorelle; Per il che par cosa ragionevole riconoscendo le virtù delle dette due Putte, sorelle del detto M. Antonio potersi valer di esse per la Musica ne i bisogni della Accademia. Onde l’andara Parte che le dette sorelle siano premiate dall’ Academia con salario di ducati XV per una all’anno, con conditione che Messer Antonio insieme con elle siano obligati a far Musica due volte alla settimana per ordinario, et di più ogni volta che ve ne sarà bisogno et occasione [...] obligando li d[ett]i Musici da’l Dicembre fino al Luglio susseguente à far Musica una uolta per settimana, et de piu nelle attioni publiche di essa Acad[emi]a, et in qualche occ[asi]one di honorati forestieri, che capitassero à questo Theatro, come poi parera necessario al Sig.r Prencipe, et Conseglieri nostri’. This is reproduced in Inga Mai Groote, ‘Dokumente und Musik’ in *Ergänzung zur Monographie: Inga Mai Groote, Musik in Italienischen Akademien. Studien zur institutionellen Musikpflege 1543–1666*, *Analecta musicologica* 39 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2007; Rome, 2007), Online-Publikationen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom (Roma 2007), http://www.dhi-roma.it/groote_dokumente.html, accessed March 2017. This is the appendix from: Inga Mai Groote, ‘Musik in Italienischen Akademien. Studien zur institutionellen Musikpflege 1543–1666’, *Analecta musicologica* 39 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2007). With thanks to Richard Wistreich for his assistance with this translation.

⁹¹ Bowers, ‘The Emergence of Women Composers,’ 136. The Pellizzari sisters’ teaching role is also mentioned in Anthon, *Music and Musicians in Northern Italy*, 93.

and Modena.⁹² Instead, however, the Pellizzari sisters were supported by a different type of institution; an academy. Appearing in Italian towns from the mid-sixteenth century, academies were new cultural spaces in which activities relating to artistic and intellectual subjects were supported and pursued.⁹³ Membership tended to be socially diverse and included local dignitaries, academics and artisans, and in a few exceptional cases, women.⁹⁴ Although no female membership is recorded at the Accademia Olimpica, the institution appears to have supported a few prestigious female artists, as well as several girls from musician families. The virtuosa Maddalena Casulana (ca. 1544–ca. 1590), for example, was invited to perform at the academy in 1583. As a published composer and virtuosic singer, Casulana undoubtedly brought a significant prestige to the institution.⁹⁵ Her performance also coincided with the publication of her third book of madrigals and while her presence may have highlighted the academy’s support for the arts, Casulana undoubtedly sought to enhance her own reputation in the hope of gaining patronage for her work.⁹⁶ A similar reciprocal

⁹² For examples of girls playing the cornett and trombone in convents in northern Italy, see: Craig Monson, *Divas in the Convent, Nuns, Music & Defiance in Seventeenth Century Italy* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 51 + 232; Carol McClintock (trans.), ‘Il Desiderio or Concerning the Playing Together of Various Musical Instruments,’ in *Musicological Studies and Documents* 9 (American Institute of Musicology, 1962), 59; and Lindsay Maureen Johnson, *Performed Embodiment, Sacred Eroticism, and Voice in Devotions by Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Nuns* (PhD Thesis, University of California, 2013), 17 + 218.

⁹³ For the most recent studies regarding Italian academies, see Simone Testa, *Italian Academies and their Networks, 1525–1700. From Local to Global* (New York: Palgrave, 2015) and Jane E. Everson, Denis V. Reidy and Lisa Sampson (eds.), *The Italian Academies 1525–1700: networks of culture, innovation and dissent* (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁹⁴ The earliest-known female memberships include the poets Veronica Gàmbara (1485–1550) and Diamante Dolfi (fl. ca. 1560) who joined the Sonnachiosi in Bologna during the 1540s, as well as Laura Battiferri Ammanati (1523–1589) who was admitted into the Assorditi of Urbino and the Intronati in Siena. The poet Virginia Salvi became a member of the Travagliati in Siena in 1560, and the poet and musician, Tarquinia Molza (1542–1617) joined the Innominati in Parma in 1581. Although female membership appears to have been exclusively exercised by particular institutions during this time, the encouragement of women’s participation at academy events, especially during carnival season is reported to have been more widespread. See Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender, and Authority, from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 312–314. Female membership and involvement in academy life continued to grow throughout Italy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and several all-female academies also appeared. See Susan M. Dixon, ‘Women in Arcadia,’ *Eighteenth Century Studies* 32, no. 3 (1999), 371–375; Laura Giannetti, *Lelia’s Kiss: Imagining Gender, Sex, and Marriage in Italian Renaissance Comedy* (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 61–63; and George McClure, ‘The Birth of the Assicurate: Italy’s First Female Academy (1654–1704),’ in *Parlour Games and the Public Life of Women in Renaissance Italy* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 119–158.

⁹⁵ This example demonstrates Conor Fahy’s claim that women were primarily used for ornamental display or trophy status among Italian academies. See Conor Fahy, ‘Women and Italian Cinquecento Literary Academies,’ in *Women in Renaissance Culture and Society*, ed. Letizia Panizza (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), 438–452.

⁹⁶ Maddalena Casulana de Mezari, *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venezia: Angelo Gardane, 1583). Casulana’s performance appears in the academy records, see Vicenza, Libri dell’ Accademia Olimpica, Biblioteca Comunale Bertoliana, Accademia Olimpica, fasc. 10 (L), S. 48 (1583). These are reproduced in Groote, ‘Dokumente und Musik,’ 14. For more information about Casulana’s life and work, see: Anthony Newcomb, ‘Courtesans, Muses, or Musicians? Professional Women Musicians in Sixteenth Century Italy,’ in *Women Making Music, The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, eds. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Chicago: University of Illinois Press), 106–109; Bowers, ‘The Emergence of Women Composers,’ 116–117, 119–120, 137 + 140; Karin Pendle, ‘Musical Women in Early Modern Europe,’ in *Women & Music: A History*, second edition, ed. Karin Pendle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 86–87; James R. Briscoe, ‘Maddalena Casulana,’ in *New Historical Anthology of Music by Women*, ed. James R. Briscoe (Indianapolis: Indiana

relationship appears to have been developed between the Accademia Olimpica and Maddalena Campiglia. As one of the first published female playwrights, she produced works for the institution and also presented sonnets by several academicians from the academy in her own publications.⁹⁷ In terms of women from musician families, perhaps similar to the status of the Pellizzari family, records from the Accademia Olimpica indicate that the sister of a later *bidello* was paid to provide music alongside her brother in 1599.⁹⁸ Ten years later, in 1609, the daughters of Francesco Gratiadei were employed to provide music for concerts at the academy, which on occasions also involved other musicians.⁹⁹ Aligned with common codes of practice, the records of payment for these female musicians are underlined by the presence of a male guardian who was responsible for their protection.

Although no comparable examples of employed women musicians at other Italian academies are mentioned in existing scholarship about these institutions, it is possible that similar cases remain unnoticed in archival records. This is because existing research has predominantly focussed on the presence of women as members or participants in academy life, especially in relation to their musical or literary prestige and reputation, and in some instances, their elite positions. Evidence for their activities often extends beyond academy records to letters, dedications and publications. By comparison, references to employed women musicians are fleeting, which, unless specifically relevant to studies, potentially remain hidden from scholarly discourse. The case of the Pellizzari sisters, is, however, different because the girls were employed for a large production at the academy, and, most significantly, they were later employed at the Mantuan court as virtuosic singers.

University Press, 2004), 44–47; Thomasin LaMay, ‘Composing from the Throat: Maddalena Casulana’s Primo libro de madrigali, 1568,’ in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many Headed Melodies* (Burlington; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 365–397; and Thomasin LaMay, ‘Maddalena Casulana: My Body Knows Unheard Songs,’ in *Gender, Sexuality, and Early Music*, ed. Todd Michael Borgerding (London: Routledge, 2002), 41–72.

⁹⁷ Maddalena Campiglia wrote a madrigal, which was set to music at the academy, for a visit by Isabella Pallavicinio Lupi to Vicenza. This is recorded in a letter written by Campiglia to Francesco Melchiori in 1588. This example, and further connections to the academy are discussed in Virginia Cox, *The Prodigious Muse: Women’s Writing in Counter-Reformation Italy* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2011), 17–18.

⁹⁸ Vicenza, Libri dell’ Accademia Olimpico, Biblioteca Comunale Bertoliana, Accademia Olimpico, fasc. 7 (libro G), fol. 18r (18.4.1599) ‘...et anco seruendo nella musica: et hauendo una sorella amaestrata per sonare nelle occorenze di Musica nella n[os]tra Acad[emi]a’. As reproduced in Groote, ‘Dokumente und Musik,’ 15.

⁹⁹ Vicenza, Libri dell’ Accademia Olimpica, Biblioteca Comunale Bertoliana, Accademia Olimpico, fasc. 70, fol. 38r/v (18.5.1609) and fasc. 70, fol. 41v (29.6.1609). As reproduced in Groote, ‘Dokumente und Musik,’ 16. Virginia Cox notes the Pellizzari case as being different from other examples of women becoming members at Italian academies because of their formal terms of employment. She also states that male and female musicians employed by the academy in Vicenza may have been ‘conceded the title of Accademici Olimpici, but without a vote, as in the case of non-resident members’. See Virginia Cox, ‘Members, Muses, Mascots: Women and Italian Mascots: Academies,’ in *The Italian Academies 1525–1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, eds. Jane E. Everson, Denis V. Reidy and Lisa Sampson (London: Routledge, 2016), Chapter 3, ‘Beyond Membership: Affiliation’.

Edipo tiranno: Preparations for a Performance

In its founding years, the Accademia Olimpica staged a performance of Giovanni Trissino's tragedy, *Sophonisba* (1562), which was presented on a specially designed stage by Andrea Palladio.¹⁰⁰ According to academy reports, the production was considered to be such a resounding success that the institution resisted organising another, apparently fearing that any subsequent performance would not fulfil audience expectations. However, the council was put under increasing pressure from the local authority to stage another public tragedy, and seventeen years later they finally agreed to an Italian translation of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* (*Edipo tiranno*) by Orsatto Giustiniani (1508–1603).¹⁰¹ No expense was spared on the production and a specially designed theatre was constructed in the style of an indoor Roman auditorium.¹⁰² Although the theatre was not fully completed until 1585, a number of receptions were held there in the later stages of its development. One such event was organised in 1582 to welcome Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of Mantua to the academy. The duke entered the building to loud music played by an ensemble of drums and trumpets, followed by a more intimate reception of music, which included the Pellizzari family who performed a concerto.¹⁰³ A year later, in 1583, the Pellizzaris' collective salary was raised to one hundred ducats a year with the stipulation that they would serve the academy's musical needs for another three years. If, for any reason, they were not able to fulfil this role, the Pellizzaris would have been required to pay back their entire salary.¹⁰⁴ The family's dramatic rise in earnings and the restrictive terms of their contract may, as suggested by Carl Anthon, have been as a direct result of Duke Guglielmo's visit to the academy, after which it is possible that he offered the Pellizzari family employment at the Mantuan court.¹⁰⁵ If this was indeed the case, the academy would have undoubtedly been keen to encourage the family to remain at the institution. A further example of the institution's commitment to the family can be seen in the creation of a permanent position

¹⁰⁰ This was the first performance of Trissino's work, which was first written in 1514/15 and published in 1524. See Giovanni Giorgio Trissino, *La Sophonisba del Trissino* (Rome: Ludovico degli Arrighi, 1524).

¹⁰¹ The academy transcripts are preserved in the so-called Zigiotti manuscript, see Vicenza, Libri dell' Accademia Olimpica, Biblioteca Comunale Bertoliana, Accademia Olimpico, MS Zigiotti Gonzati. The communication between the Mayor of Vicenza and academy's council is referenced in Anna Migliarisi, "Staging Ritual" all'Italiana: Edipo tiranno at "Vincenza" (1585), *Italica* 90, no. 4 (2013), 534.

¹⁰² For research relating to the building, see Donald James Gordon, 'Academicians Build a Theatre and Give a Play: The Accademia Olimpica, 1579–1585 (1966),' in *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by D. J. Gordon*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1975), 247–266 and Davide Bonsi, 'The Acoustical Analysis of Palladio's Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza,' in *The Music Room in Early Modern France and Italy: Sound, Space, and Object*, eds. Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 277–289.

¹⁰³ 'Academico alla quale processero, et seguirono diversi concerti di Musica et furono recitati diversi componimenti di Poesia...'. Vicenza, Libri dell' Accademia Olimpica, Biblioteca Comunale Bertolina, *Atti ordinarii et straordinarii dell'accademia*. As reproduced in Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, 195 (Appendix II, Document 67), 95.

¹⁰⁴ Anthon, *Music and Musicians in Northern Italy*, 93. Iain Fenlon cites the Pellizzaris' subsequent pay rise as evidence for their performance to Duke Guglielmo, see Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, 128.

¹⁰⁵ Anthon, *Music and Musicians in Northern Italy*, 93.

for Bartolomeo Pellizzari, another member of the family who had, until 1585, been providing music for the academy on an informal basis on the trombone and other instruments.¹⁰⁶

During the planning stages for the *Edipo tiranno*, matters of propriety and moral value were carefully considered by members of the academy and a special dispensation had to be obtained from the Venetian authorities for the performance to take place. Their legislative monitoring had become intensified following reports of improper and scandalous behaviour occurring in Venetian theatres, which had led to productions being banned and the closure of some establishments.¹⁰⁷ In respect to this problem, the rectors of the city of Vicenza had written to the Council of Ten in Venice stressing the honourable sentiments of the Accademia Olimpica and its production.¹⁰⁸ Although approval was eventually granted by the Senate, the academy exercised extreme measures to distinguish the Teatro Olimpico from the disreputable Venetian theatres and this included separating the invited guests into male and female seating areas.¹⁰⁹

Despite the sensitive climate in which the production took place, there appears to have been no question or objection raised in relation to Isabetta and Lucia performing alongside the other musicians. In fact, this stands in contrast to complaints that were raised about several male actors who were removed from the cast list.¹¹⁰ Moreover, it seems that the academy was particularly keen to include the girls and despite being given the opportunity and funding to employ foreign musicians, the performance committee chose in favour of their own instrumentalists. Even when the academy faced financial difficulties because of the accumulating production costs, members agreed to maintain the salaries of Antonio Pellizzari and his sisters.¹¹¹ This apparent display of loyalty towards the Pellizzari family perhaps attests to the significance of their musical talents, and their value to the institution and its reputation.

¹⁰⁶ Anthon, *Music and Musicians in Northern Italy*, 93.

¹⁰⁷ An act was passed in 1508 by the Council of Ten which stated that permission was needed from the council for productions to go ahead, see Eugene J. Johnson, 'The Short, Lascivious Lives of Two Venetian Theatres, 1580–85,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002), 938–939 + 956. For a discussion regarding boisterous theatre behaviours, see Kees Vlaardingerbroek, 'Faustina Bordoni Applauds Jan Alenson: A Dutch Music-Lover in Italy and France, 1723–5,' *Music & Letters* 72 (1991), 543 + 548.

¹⁰⁸ Vlaardingerbroek, 'Faustina Bordoni Applauds Jan Alenson,' 951.

¹⁰⁹ The women had to sit in the orchestra (an open space that was visible to the audience and performers) and unmarried women had to be accompanied by a married woman. Masks and disguises (traditionally associated with the carnival) were also banned from the premises. See Gordon, 'Academicians Build a Theatre,' 260–264.

¹¹⁰ Three professors from Padua were removed from the cast list because of an objection raised by the Podestà, although the reasoning for this remains unclear. See Gordon, 'Academicians Build a Theatre,' 263. In regard to women performing at theatres, Jane Bowers has found only one similar example in which Signora Prudenza was employed to perform as 'third keyboard player' in a production at the Teatro di SS Giovanni e Paulo in Venice, in 1665. She was paid 10 lire, but her case is almost 80 years later than that of the Pellizzari family. See Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers,' 42.

¹¹¹ On 23 December 1584, a meeting regarding the financial crisis of the Accademia was held. Discussing the increasing expenses of the production and running costs of the Accademia, the members pledged to 'the fixed salaries of the *bidello* and his two sisters'. Gordon, 'Academicians Build a Theatre,' 260–263.

Edipo tiranno: Festival Performance and Reception

After years of planning, the first performance of the *Edipo tiranno* took place on Sunday 3 March 1585. It is reported that members of the audience began arriving at the theatre from ten o'clock in the morning and that refreshments of fruit and wine were served throughout the day.¹¹² The performance, which attracted many distinguished guests including the Venetian nobleman, Alvise Mocenigo (previously Doge of Venice), began at half past seven and lasted for approximately four hours.¹¹³ It marked the climatic point of the carnival season and on the final day, a second performance was given to conclude the festivities.¹¹⁴

The evening opened with music composed by Marc Antonio da Pordenone (who was possibly the *maestro di musica* at the academy) and the production itself contained musical choruses by the leading Venetian composer, Andrea Gabrieli, first organist at San Marco in Venice.¹¹⁵ Details of the performance are included in a letter by Giacomo Dolfin, written five days after the performance (9 March 1585):

...The fall of the curtain was accompanied by a sound of trumpets and drums and by thunders of artillery in such a way that the magnificence of the appearance brought much joy to the sense of all the spectators... To this sound of trumpeters and drums, there followed a concerto of wind instruments and voices from within that sounded very delectable and suave, in which the worth was pre-eminent of those two young women who, I believe, your lordship has heard at other times, one of which played the cornett and the other the trombone, in a way that astonished the listeners. The concerto was concluded as the tragedy began and with the appearance of Oedipus on the scene. The company which consisted of twenty six characters, all dressed in an extremely sumptuous fashion.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Gordon, 'Academicians Build a Theatre,' 263–264.

¹¹³ Gordon, 'Academicians Build a Theatre,' 264. According to Long Marshall, *Architectural Acoustics* (London: Elsevier Academic Press, 2006), 15, the seating capacity of the theatre was relatively small and therefore acoustical support would have been minimal. Yet, according to Bonsi, 'The Acoustical Analysis of Palladio's Teatro,' 277–280, the acoustical properties of the *Teatro* would have been complimentary towards music rather than speech.

¹¹⁴ Gordon, 'Academicians Build a Theatre,' 264.

¹¹⁵ Pordenon had dedicated his book of madrigals to the Accademia Olimpica in 1580. See Marco Antonio Pordenon, *Primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci* (Venezia: Angelo Gardane, 1580). His position as maestro is suggested in Anthon, *Music and Musicians in Northern Italy*, 94. Andrea Gabrieli was the uncle of Giovanni Gabrieli. He composed the music for this production, which was staged in March 1585, and died in August of the same year. See David Bryant, 'Gabrieli, Andrea,' *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017.

¹¹⁶ '...Questa caduta fu accompagnata da suono di trombe e di tamuri e da tuoni di artiglierie di tal maniera che con la magnificenza dell'appareato rallegrò molto I sensi di tutti gli spettatori...Seguì al suono delle trombe e de tamburi un concerto di stromenti da fiato e di voci che si udiva di dentro suave molto e dilettevole, nel quale prevalse il valore di quelle due giovanette che credo V.S. alter volte aver udite, l'una dell quali col cornetto e l'altra col trombone fece restare attoniti gli ascoltanti. Il concerto fu terminato col principio della tragedia e con l'apparir dell'Eidpo in scena, la cui compagnia era di ventisei paersonaggi vestiti tutti sontuosissimamente.' With thanks to Simon Mas and Richard Wistreich for their advice and assistance with this translation. This letter is reproduced in full in Alberto Gallo, *La prima rappresentazione al Teatro Olimpico* (Milan: Edizioni il Polifilo, 1973), 34–35. A similar description of the opening is also written in a letter by Filippo Pigafetta dated 4 March 1585 in which he mentions the opening concerto, see 56. Also, see Leo Schrade, Orsatto Giustiniani, Andrea Gabrieli, Sophocles. *La représentation d'Edipo au Teatro Olimpico (Vicence, 1585): Par Leo Schrade.*

Dolfin's unequivocal praise for the Pellizzari sisters attests to their musical talents and their visibility at this event and other performances. Another account of production appears in MS Zigiotti Gonzati:

The principal acclaim was for the costumes of Giambattista Maganza, the instrumental music of M. Pordenone, the choruses of M. Andrea Gabrieli, organist of S. Marco. The listeners were particularly astonished by the playing of the cornett and trombone [by the] two daughters of Pellizzari, wards of the Academy...¹¹⁷

Although we can deduce that Isabetta and Lucia played parts in a concerto for wind instruments and voices by Pordenone, this music has not survived and it was not included in the commemorative set of part-books, published by Angelo Gardano in 1588, which contained Gabrieli's choruses from the production.¹¹⁸ Despite the lack of musical evidence, in order to achieve such acclaim and proficiency, Isabetta and Lucia must have carefully honed their playing techniques prior to the *Edipo*, and it is therefore highly likely that their earlier performances included these instruments. As Giovanni Artusi noted at the turn of the century in *L'Artusi, ovvero delle imperfettioni della moderna musica* (1600): 'Truly [the cornetto] is a difficult instrument, requiring much effort and long study'.¹¹⁹ The specific skills and performance techniques required by players of these instruments are outlined in Luigi Zenobi's famous letter on music (ca. 1600):

The players of the trombone are judged by their correct intonation, by their soft tone by their avoiding a mooring sound, and by their imitation of the human voice in the bass range, like the cornett in the high range, (cornet players) by their ability to play semitones in transposition when necessary, in the... of the instrument by their grace, but by the imitation of a boy's voice, in the choiceness and variety of diminutions, in the graceful manner of holding the instrument, in not contorting the body while playing, and in many other things. And among all the things that demonstrate the competence or ignorance of those who play the harpsichord, the lute, the harp, there is usually the rendering with mastery and artifice, and particularly at sight, of a work in

Étude suivie d'une édition critique de la tragédie de Sophocle par Orsatto Giustiniani et de la musique des chœurs par Andrea Gabrieli (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960), 50.

¹¹⁷ 'Ebbe massima parte nell'apprestamento degli abiti Giambattista Maganza, nelle musiche M. Pordenone, nei cori M. Andrea Gabrieli organist di S. Marco. Feccero specilamente attoniti gli ascoltanti col suono del cornetto e del trombone due giovinette figlie del Pellizzari custode dell'Accademia...' Vicenza, Libri dell' Accademia Olimpica, Biblioteca Comunale Bertoliana, MS Zigiotti Gonzati 21-11-2. With thanks to Richard Wistreich for his assistance with this translation. The original is reproduced in Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, 128, fn. 20.

¹¹⁸ Andrea Gabrieli, *Chori in musica composti da m. Andrea Gabrieli sopra li chori della tragedia Edippo tiranno. Recitati in Vicenza l'anno M.D.LXXXV* (Venezia: Angelo Gardane, 1588). The music is reproduced in Schrade, *La representation d'Edipo*, 160–246.

¹¹⁹ Giovanni Maria Artusi, *L'Artusi ovvero delle imperfettioni della moderna musica ragionamenti dui. Ne' quali si ragiona di molte cose utili, & necessarie alli moderni compositori. Del r.p.d. Giovanni Maria Artusi da Bologna canonico regolare nella Congregatione del Salvatore. Novamente Stampato* (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1600). As quoted and trans. in Timothy A. Collins, 'Musica Secreta Strumentali: The Aesthetics and Practice of Private Solo Instrumental Performance in the Age of Monody (ca. 1580– ca. 1610),' *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 35, no. 1 (2004), 50.

score by an excellent composer. Here are revealed the fine touch, the ease, the polish, and the agility of hand, the quality and variety of diminutions, and the good taste with which the player, without impairing the composition, adds to it thoughts and conceits of his own with style, and with elegance the *trilli*, *tremolo*, and the grace of his bearing, and so on.¹²⁰

Zenobi's substantive list is notably underpinned by the requirement for players of the cornett and trombone to have an understanding of the singing voice, its associated ornamentations, and the tasteful execution of these specialist embellishments. It is within this context that the association between the Pellizzari sisters' wind-playing and their later employment as virtuosic singers can be viewed as collaborative and complementary skills. Their performance at the Teatro Olimpico is the last time that the girls' names appear in the academy records and it seems appropriate that one of the figures watching over them during their performance at the Teatro was Fame, blowing her trumpet from the proscenium arch (Figure 1.25).¹²¹

The employment of the Pellizzari sisters at the Accademia Olimpica is testament to the humanist agenda of the institution; its celebration of the arts and especially, its attempt to recreate the most important Classical form of theatre; its openness to include masters, not necessarily of noble birth; and its desire to organise a lavish spectacle aimed to attract local and foreign attention, worthy of commemoration, and a place in Fame's history. Such high aims, had, however, left the academy in great debt and it seems unlikely that the institution would have been able to offer the Pellizzari family further employment at that time.¹²² The 'exposure' of the sister's talents seems to have attracted attention, and just three years after *Edipo tiranno*, the family ('la musica Vicentia') were offered a place at the Mantuan court as household musicians. Although some scholars have suggested that the Pellizzari family were employed by Duke Guglielmo (who probably saw them perform in 1582), the most recently uncovered documentation suggests that it was his son, Vincenzo who recruited them when he became duke.¹²³

¹²⁰ Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, *Raccolta Di Lettere Varie Latine, et Italiane Scritte Da Molti Uomini dotti, et illustri, In materia di Studio, e d'erudizione Sacra, & Profana. Alcune delle quali sono dirette al P. Odorico Rinaldi et ad altri Padri della Cong.^{na} Del-l'Oratorio di Roma Con Altre Lettere E suppliche A' Sommi Pontefici, Cardinali, Principi Cattolici et ancora Infedeli*, R. 45, fols. 199r–204v (Luigi Zenobi, ca. 1600); trans. Bonnie Blackburn and Edward E. Lowinsky, 'Luigi Zenobi and his Letter on the Perfect Musician,' *Studi musicali* 22 (1993), 103. The ellipsis and italics in this quotation are not my own, but are included in the translation by Blackburn and Lowinsky.

¹²¹ Ingeborg Deborre, *Palladios Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1996), 86–87.

¹²² Gordon, 'Academicians Build a Theatre,' 265.

¹²³ Anthony Newcomb suggests that Duke Guglielmo may have either told Vincenzo about the sisters, or that Vincenzo may have accompanied his father when the Duke heard them perform at the academy in 1582. See Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, 100. This suggestion is also made by Susan Parisi, although she is careful to note that on becoming duke, Vincenzo set about creating his own musical establishment, which was quite different from his father's and had a firmer persuasion towards secular music. See Parisi, 'Musicians at the Court of Mantua,' 187–190. The Pellizzari family's transition from academy to court is also discussed in Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers,' 136 and Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, 128 + 132.

Employment at the Mantuan Court

The payroll records for the Mantuan court indicate that in 1589 three sopranos were employed by Duke Vincenzo: Europa Rossi (sister of the composer Salamone Rossi) and the two Pellizzari sisters. Although Isabetta and Lucia are not mentioned by name it is presumed that the relatively large salary paid to Antonio Pellizzari includes their wages (Table 1.1). One reason for this payment might have resulted from the girls being too young to be paid individually, as in the case of Caterina Martinelli (another singer at the Mantuan court), who was recruited at the age of thirteen but was too young to receive a salary of her own.¹²⁴ The Pellizzaris' circumstances apparently changed in 1592 however, when the individual members of the family (Annibale, Lucia, Isabetta and Bartolomeo) are recorded as receiving individual payments (Table 1.1).¹²⁵

Further reference to the sisters' musical talents appear in an account of a performance given on 14 April 1589 to the Medici ambassador, Orazio della Rena, who was resident in Ferrara. The close timing between this meeting and the Florentine *Intermedi* (also in 1589), may suggest that Duke Vincenzo used this as an opportunity to showcase his musicians.

For entertainments there were rich banquets and hours of exquisite music-making...I will tell you also that with the Duke of Mantua came four ladies from Vicenza who sing very well and play the cornetto and other instruments. The Duke of Ferrara gave them a chain of 100 *scudi* and 100 *scudi* in cash to divide among themselves; the Duchess his wife gave to each one another chain of 50 *scudi*.¹²⁶

It has been suggested by Iain Fenlon that the four singers were the Pellizzari sisters from Vicenza and two other female singers of the Mantuan court, namely, Lucrezia Urbana and Caterina Romana (Caterina Martinelli).¹²⁷ Although there is no corroboration that the Pellizzari sisters performed on their instruments during this occasion (and Fenlon suggests they did not), it would seem unusual for their playing abilities to be referred to, or even known about if this was the case. Significantly, the cornett is alluded to in this letter without being highlighted as unusual or unfeminine in nature, particularly as it is referred to in relation to a young female player.

¹²⁴ Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, 127 and Parisi, 'Musicians at the Court of Mantua,' 194.

¹²⁵ Parisi, 'Musicians at the Court of Mantua,' 193.

¹²⁶ '...ci son state per intertenimento Musiche esquisite, e banchetti profusissimi...Le dirò anco che Quattro Dame Vicentine, che son venute col Sr Duca di Mantova, le qali cantano, e suonano benissimo di cornetto, ed altri instrumenti, sono state presentate dal Sr Duca di Ferrara d'une collana di 100 scudi poi didenari da spartirsi fra loro, e dalla Sigra Duchessa sua Consorte d'un'altra collanetta di 50 scudi per ciascuna,' (Dispatch of 14 April 1589), Florence, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Mediceo, f. 2905, no. 86. The original document and this translation is reproduced in Newcomb. *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, 99 + Appendix V.

¹²⁷ Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, 132, fn. 29.

As we have already seen in Luigi Zenobi's letter on music (1600), the trombone and cornett were closely associated with the voice. Furthermore, during the late sixteenth century the trombone and cornett became increasingly associated with the chamber context, although there were still some objections regarding their suitability. As Vincenzo Galilei described in *Dialogo di Vincentio Galilei nobile fiorentino della musica antica* (1581):

Such instruments as these [the cornetti and trombones] are never heard in the private chambers of judicious gentlemen, lords, and princes where those who indeed possess refined judgement, taste, and hearing reside, because they are totally banished from the chambers.¹²⁸

These complaints reflect similar sentiments to Castiglione's earlier courtly guide; such instruments were loud, they distorted the face, and they were perceived as preventing eloquent speech. However, just under fifty years later, Vincenzo Giustiniani (1628) praised the 'Cavaliere del Cornetto' (probably Luigi Zenobi) for his ability to play the cornett very softly in the context of the chamber (together with a harpsichord with its lid closed) in *Discorso sopra la musica dei suoi tempi* (1628).¹²⁹ This skill is reflected in Zenobi's own advice to players in which he states that:

It is true that of the players of wind instruments more is required, for they must know the quality, quantity, and variety of tonguings, the perfection of the instrument, and the forte and piano when needed; but they must cultivate the piano more than the forte, since the former serves for the chambers of princes and in places of respect.¹³⁰

In addition to these skills, the ideal qualities listed by Zenobi (already mentioned), relating to skills in ornamentation, imitation of the soprano voice (for the cornett), posture, delicate fingers, quietness and control, resonate strongly with early modern ideals linked to female beauty, and the display of feminine accomplishments. Moreover, the Pellizzari sisters were from a household of professional musicians and as such, their training was entirely suitable for their social position. Instead of entering convent life, the girls earned the patronage of the Accademia, which offered them financial and social protection. Importantly, at the time of their employment at the academy, the Pellizzari sisters were also young children rather than adult women, and were therefore less restricted by social codes of conduct. Even when they

¹²⁸ Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo di Vincentio Galilei nobile fiorentino della musica antica, et della moderna* (Firenze: Giorgio Marescotti, 1581). As quoted and trans. in Collins, 'Musica Secreta Strumentali,' 53.

¹²⁹ Lucca, Archivio dello Stato, Collection Orsucci, Codex 049, *Miscellanea di cose diverse per la curia Romana ecc... Varij discorsi, istruzioni, ecc...*, Vincenzo Giustiniani, *Discorso sopra la musica dei suoi tempi* (Venice, 1628); trans. Carol McClintock, 'Giustiniani's "Discorso Sopra la Musica,"' *Musica Disciplina* 15 (1961), 209–225.

¹³⁰ Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, *Raccolta Di Lettere Varie Latine* (Luigi Zenobi, ca. 1600), trans. Blackburn and Lowinsky, 102–103.

were initially employed as members of Vincenzo's private household ensemble, there seems to be no reason as to why Isabetta and Lucia should not have continued to play the cornett and trombone, and Orazio della Rena's record of their performance in 1589 perhaps even confirms that this was the case.

Following their audience with the Medici ambassador, the sisters were engaged to perform as singers during the Florentine *Intermedi*.¹³¹ In Cristofano Malvezzi's publication of the music (1591), he describes the madrigal as being 'sung in an exquisite and artful manner by two young women who serve the most serene Duke of Mantua with more than average envy from those who love such noble virtue, and by a young boy, their brother, accompanied by the sound of a harp and two lyres'.¹³² Malvezzi's praise of the Pellizzaris' ability to tastefully embellish their singing reflects the most revered techniques sought by singers and wind players during the sixteenth century, as evidenced in Camillo Maffei's 'Letter on Singing' (1562) and the diminution treatises by Girolamo Dalla Casa, Riccardo Rognoni, Giovanni Battista Bovicelli and Francesco Rognoni.¹³³ The complementary nature of these techniques perhaps even reaffirms the musical development of the sisters from child prodigies admired for their wind-playing, to court singers, praised for their vocal technique. Isabetta and Lucia's employment at the Mantuan court appears to have continued until the early seventeenth century when references to their payments appear to dwindle (Table 1.1). This was perhaps owing to their age and unmarried status because continuing with musical performances may have endangered their individual reputations, as well as those of their family, and the other female members of the duke's *concerto*.¹³⁴

The transition undertaken by the Pellizzari family from civic setting, to the court chamber was not unique among the members of Duke Vincenzo's *concerto delle donne* and although some modern historians have suggested the ensemble was modelled on Duke

¹³¹ Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, 190.

¹³² Bastiano de Rossi, *Descrizione dell'apparato e degl'intermedi fatti per la comedia rappresentata in Firenze. Nelle nozze de' serenissimi don Ferdinando Medici, e di madama Cristina di Loreno, gran duchi di Toscana* (Mantova: Francesco Osanna, 1589). See Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, 130. This description is found in the *nono* part book, see Anon., *Intermedii et concerti, fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze nelle nozze del serenissimo don Ferdinando Medici, e madama Christiana di Loreno, gran duchi di Toscana* (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1591), 8, trans. in Treadwell, *Music and Wonder*, 94–95.

¹³³ Giovanni Camillo Maffei, *Delle lettere del s.r. Giovanni Camillo Maffei da Solofra. Libri due. Dove tra gli altri bellissimi pensieri di filosofia e di medicina, v'è un discorso delle voci e del modo d'apparare di cantar di Garganta, senza maestro, non più veduto n'istampato. Raccolte per don Valerio de Paoli da Limosano* (Napoli: Raimondo Amato, 1562); Girolamo Dalla Casa, *Il vero modo di diminvir, con tutte le sorti di stromenti di fiato, & corda, & di voce humana. Di Girolamo Dalla Casa detto da Udene capo de concerti delli stromenti di fiato* (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1584); Riccardo Rognoni, *Passaggi per potersi essercitare nel diminure* (Venice: G. Vicenti, 1592); Giovanni Battista Bovicelli, *Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigali e motetti passeggiati* (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1594); and Francesco Rognoni, *Selva de varri passaggi* (Milan: Filippo Lomazzo, 1620). Also, see Imogen Horsley, 'The Solo Ricecar in Diminution Manuals: New Light on Early Wind and String Techniques,' *Acta Musicologica* 33 (1961), 32 and Marcello Castellani, 'The Regola per suonare il flauto Italiano by Bartolomeo Bismantova (1677),' *The Galpin Society Journal* 30 (1977), 76–85.

¹³⁴ Susan Parisi, 'Musicians at the Court of Mantua,' 200.

Alfonso d'Este II's all-female music group in Ferrara, the backgrounds of these women differ significantly.¹³⁵ This is not to deny the competitive climate between the courts and the frequent exchanges that took place between the 1580s and 1590s, as referred to in Vincenzo Giustiniani's *Discorso sopra la musica dei suoi tempi* (1628).¹³⁶ However, the social contrast between the women of these ensembles and their position within their respective courts underlines a reason for their musical differences.

The women in the Ferrarese *concerto*, Laura Peverara (1550–1601), Anna Guarini (1563–1598), Livia d'Arco (1563/4–1611), and later, Tarquinia Molza (1542–1617), were renowned primarily as elite, virtuosic singers. Their musical educations were undertaken as part of their courtly educations and in addition to singing they could also accompany themselves on stringed instruments such as the lute, viol and harp.¹³⁷ Although their primary role within the court was to provide music, they were not employed as musicians, but as ladies-in-waiting to the Duchess. This measure was undertaken by the Duke to protect the women's social reputations and to distinguish them from the courtesan profession. Furthermore, Duke Alfonso also arranged several of their marriages to protect their reputations and to ensure their position within the Ferrarese court.¹³⁸ Laurie Stras postulates that he may even have delayed the nuptials of Anna Guarini and Livia d'Arco to extend their singing careers for as long as possible.¹³⁹

Duke Alfonso's sister, Lucrezia, also formed her own *concerto delle donne*, which included three women from the noble Avogadri family, one of whom (Guilia Avogadri), played the viola bastarda.¹⁴⁰ Although the women in both Ferrarese ensembles could perform

¹³⁵ There is speculation as to whether the Mantuan ensemble was even considered as a *concerto delle donne*, see Don Harràn, 'Madama Europa, Jewish Singer in Late Renaissance Mantua,' in *Festa Musicologia: Essays in Honour of George J. Buelow*, eds. Thomas J. Mathiesen and Benito Rivera (New York: Pendragon, 1995), 227–229.

¹³⁶ 'The ladies of Mantua and Ferrara were highly competent, and vied with each other not only in regard to the timbre and training of their voices but also in the design of exquisite passages delivered at opportune points...' Lucca, Archivio dello Stato, Giustiniani, *Discorso sopra la musica* (Venice, 1628), trans. McClintock 209–225. The exchange of musical ideas between the courts is discussed in Newcomb. *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, 100.

¹³⁷ Laura Peverara was from an upper-middle class family; Livia d'Arco was the daughter of a Mantuan noble; Anna Guarini was the daughter of a Ferrarese court poet; and Tarquinia Molza was the granddaughter of the poet Francesco Maria Molza. See Laurie Stras, 'Laura Peverara, Biography' (2002), <http://www.southampton.ac.uk/~lastras/secretaria/biogs/singers/lpbiog.htm>, accessed March 2017; 'Livia d'Arco, Biography' (2002), <http://www.southampton.ac.uk/~lastras/secretaria/biogs/singers/lvbiog.htm>, accessed March 2017; 'Anna Guarini, Biography' (2002), <http://www.southampton.ac.uk/~lastras/secretaria/biogs/singers/agbiog.htm>, accessed March 2017; and 'Tarquinia Molza, Biography' (2002), <http://www.southampton.ac.uk/~lastras/secretaria/biogs/singers/tmbiog.htm>, accessed March 2017.

¹³⁸ Bonnie Gordon, *Monteverdi's Unruly women: The Power of Song in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 40. Gordon describes Duke Alfonso's 'commitment' to 'hiring women beyond reproach, arranging marriages and dictating their private lives'.

¹³⁹ Pregnancy, for example, would have taken the women out of service. See Laurie Stras, 'Anna Guarini, Biography' and 'Livia d'Arco, Biography'.

¹⁴⁰ Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers,' 157.

on instruments, Anthony Newcomb observes that these talents appear to have been specifically highlighted in contemporary chronicles relating to Lucrezia's ensemble. A report from 1590 indicates that when the Duke visited his sister to observe the daily concert in her room, he heard 'music for harps, for violins, and for other delightful instruments'.¹⁴¹ Although this difference appears to have distinguished the two ensembles, in a similar manner to Duke Alfonso's *concerto*, the women in Lucrezia's ensemble were trained in music as part of their courtly educations and they performed on instruments that were appropriate for their gender, as well as their social standing.

In contrast, the women in Duke Vincenzo's *concerto* were employed as professional musicians, as evidenced by the Mantuan court payrolls. This difference in social rank indicates that these women undertook a different process of musical training, which was either based on a family apprenticeship system, or an investment in early music training, both of which might have enabled these women to gain positions within convents.¹⁴² These varied backgrounds also account for the variety in the women's instrumental skills: the Pellizzari sisters were players of cornett and trombone; and Europa Rossi (Madame Europa) is thought to have played the lute or chitarrone. In Vincenzo's later ensemble, Adriana Basile could accompany herself on the harp, lira and Spanish guitar; Lucrezia Urbana was a harpist; and Leonora Baroni played the lute and theorbo.¹⁴³ As professional women musicians it was essential that their social reputations were maintained and this was achieved by ensuring their protection under a male guardian. The Pellizzari sisters, for example, were safeguarded by their brother, Antonio; Europa Rossi was employed alongside her brother, Salamone Rossi; and Adriana Basile arrived at the Mantuan court with her husband, Muzio Baroni. In the case of the soprano Caterina Martinelli, who was recruited by the Mantuan court as a child, her protection was ensured by Monteverdi and his family, who took on the responsibility of her care.¹⁴⁴ The complex negotiations surrounding her transference from Rome to the court, and the duke's insistence that she should be sent for virginity tests, underlines the importance that

¹⁴¹ Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, Col. Antonelli, no. 268, Orazio della Rena, *Cronaca di Ferrara* (1590), f. 33v. As referenced and reproduced in Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, 101–103 + 275–276.

¹⁴² For several examples of girls from musician families being trained as trombonists and entering convents in northern Italy, see Monson, *Divas in the Convent*, 51 + 232.

¹⁴³ Harràn, 'Madama Europa,' 225. Also, see Newcomb, 'Courtesans, Muses, or Musicians,' 73. He notes that the Ferrarese group could accompany themselves on the lute, viol and harp. Contemporary descriptions of Adriana's musical talents are presented in Isabelle Putnam Emerson, *Five Centuries of Women Singers* (Connecticut; London: Praeger, 2005), 14–17.

¹⁴⁴ For information regarding the acquisition of Adriana Basile, see Newcomb, 'Courtesans, Muses, or Musicians,' 101. The negotiations between Martinelli's family in Rome and the Mantuan court were complicated. While her family wanted her to be taken into service by the duchess, the duke requested that Martinelli should undertake a series of tests to confirm her virginity. See Parisi, 'Acquiring Musicians and Instruments in the Early Baroque: Observations from Mantua,' *The Journal of Musicology* 14, no. 2 (1996), 141 and Bonnie Gordon, *Monteverdi's Unruly women: The Power of Song in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 40.

was placed on female respectability, which was an essential quality for a woman, irrespective of her social rank.¹⁴⁵ Martinelli, like several other musicians employed by the Mantuan court, was from a poor family. The Gonzaga's believed that recruiting orphans or those from deprived backgrounds who showed musical potential was a means for developing loyalty to the court, and therefore a likelihood that they would remain in service.¹⁴⁶ Gaining a position within the Mantuan court ensemble, was, however, an exclusive achievement, offered to a select few women who were handpicked for their remarkable musical talents. This is evidenced by the example of the young singer, Maria Rasi (sister of the singer and composer, Francesco Rasi) who was being trained for the Mantuan court by Carlo Berti. When the responsibility of her musical education was transferred to Giulio Caccini (following the death of Berti), he soon decided that Rasi was not making enough progress and she was therefore placed into a convent.¹⁴⁷

The recruitment of women musicians from Vicenza (the Pellizzari sisters), Rome (Caterina Martinelli), and Naples (Lucrezia Urbana and Adriana Basile), as well as the local vicinity (Europa Rossi, from the Mantuan Jewish community and Leonora Baroni, who was the daughter of Adriana Basile) further evidences Vincenzo's commitment to searching for musical women who would enhance the reputation of his court.¹⁴⁸ It appears that potential candidates needed to demonstrate exceptional talents, carry impeccable reputations, and hold prestigious recommendations, as well as fashionable skills. This is evident in Vincenzo's earlier ensemble in which the Pellizzari sisters were prodigies of the trombone and cornett, both of which were popular instruments in northern Italy during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹⁴⁹ In Duke Vincenzo's later ensemble, Adriana Basile brought fashionable Spanish and Italian repertoire from Naples to his court, accompanied by her virtuosic abilities on the Spanish guitar.¹⁵⁰

Summary: Childhood to Womanhood

The Pellizzari sisters were remarkable musical women of their time and hence were given the opportunity to perform at important spectacles organised by notable establishments in Italy. Despite playing the cornett and trombone, Isabetta and Lucia's social reputations were not

¹⁴⁵ Parisi, 'Acquiring Musicians and Instruments,' 141.

¹⁴⁶ Parisi, 'Acquiring Musicians and Instruments,' 121–122.

¹⁴⁷ Parisi, 'Acquiring Musicians and Instruments,' 124–125.

¹⁴⁸ The recruitment territories for the Mantuan court in seeking musicians are discussed in Parisi, 'Acquiring Musicians and Instruments,' 122–135.

¹⁴⁹ Bruce Dickey, 'The Cornett,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, reprint, ed. Trevor Herbert and John Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 56–67 and Trevor Herbert, 'Sackbut: The Early Trombone,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, reprint, ed. Trevor Herbert and John Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 76–80.

¹⁵⁰ Parisi, 'Acquiring Musicians and Instruments,' 123.

impeded because they undertook a natural career path being apprenticed in the family trade. Under the guardianship of their brother, the sisters could accept employment at the Accademia Olimpica where they performed and earned individual salaries. Under the patronage of the academy, and later, the Mantuan court, Isabetta and Lucia transitioned from child prodigies, renowned for their cornett and trombone playing, to accomplished, young court singers, praised for their virtuosic vocal talents.¹⁵¹ Their early training in wind instrument technique undoubtedly complemented and enhanced their understanding of vocal performance, which would eventually lead to their employment within Duke Vincenzo's *concerto*. Although the girls were primarily engaged at the Mantuan court as singers, there is at least a possibility that they could have played their wind instruments within the intimate chambers of the court setting, especially during the earlier period of their musical employment.

Although the academy in Vicenza was relatively small, the continuous arrival of dignitaries into the city throughout the late sixteenth century required the institution to produce notable musical performances.¹⁵² The social status of the Pellizzari sisters meant that they did not offer the same kind of prestigious reputation as Maddalena Casulana or Maddalena Campiglia, but instead the girls displayed unusual, unique, and perhaps even 'exotic' talents. It might therefore be argued that the academy gained from presenting their musical skills as a demonstration of the institution's nurturing capabilities, the ability of its members to recognise musical talent, and to provide an environment in which that talent could flourish.

1.5 Professional Female Trumpet Players in Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Austro-German Courts

The research of Samantha Owens and Don Smithers makes brief reference to three examples of female trumpet players who were employed at the courts of Vienna and Württemberg during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁵³ These trumpet-playing women are not discussed at any great length in these studies, nor are they compared to one another because the research focus for these works is centred elsewhere. However, as the following section

¹⁵¹ The payrolls for the singers indicate that by 1606/1608, Lucia and Isabetta (who were probably about thirty-two) had probably left the court by this time. Parisi notes that it is doubtful that the sisters were still in service by 1609. See Parisi, 'Musicians at the Court of Mantua,' 200.

¹⁵² This point is highlighted in Giovanni Mantese, *Storia musicale vicentina* (Vicenza: Banca Cattolica del Veneto, 1956), 34.

¹⁵³ Owens, 'Professional Women Musicians,' 32–50; Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul and Janice B Stockigt (eds.), *Music at German Court, 1725–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities* (New York; Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2011); and Smithers, *The Music & History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988).

will demonstrate, the exceptionality of each of these examples relates specifically to the time, geographical space and social circumstances in which the women's musical skills were developed. The extent of their uniqueness is further enhanced in the knowledge that until relatively modern times, female brass players have continued to struggle to attain professional playing positions.¹⁵⁴

During the sixteenth century, the trumpet was associated with military, imperial and civic duties. Methods for playing the instrument remained the secret preserve of guilds, and specialist knowledge was passed on via an apprenticeship system, which often involved generations of a family. The guarded nature of trumpet technique is evident in Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (1511) and Martin Agricola's *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1529 and 1545) in which few details are presented to the reading audience, especially in comparison to other wind instruments such as the cornett.¹⁵⁵ At the turn of the seventeenth century, the trumpet began to be employed for more substantial musical roles, especially in northern Italy (notably in Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, 1607).¹⁵⁶ This fashion spread to German-speaking lands, as evidenced by Michael Praetorius' *Syntagma musicum* (1619) in which he discusses the instrument's role in concerted music.¹⁵⁷ This is furthered in Bendinelli's slightly earlier trumpet method book (*Tutta l'arte della trombetta*, 1614) in which he makes reference to traditional tonguing syllables, and also describes a new embouchure, additional tonguing requirements and the principles of performing ensemble music.¹⁵⁸ Bendinelli refers to a specifically desirable embouchure shape termed 'accenting the trumpet' in which the position of the jaw could be adjusted to vary the pitch, rather than relying on the cheeks alone. This technique is described by Bendinelli as giving 'eloquence' to trumpet playing and it reflects the increased refinement of dynamics, accuracy of pitch, tuning, ornamentation, and perhaps even appearance, required of players that were employed within the court and civic

¹⁵⁴ See, for example, the case of Abbie Conant (a trombonist) and her struggle to retain her position with the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra. William Osbourne, 'You Sound like a Ladies Orchestra: A Case of Sexism against Abbie Conant in the Munich Philharmonic' (1994), <http://www.osborne-conant.org/ladies.htm>, accessed March 2017.

¹⁵⁵ Virdung, *Musica getutscht* (1511), trans. Bullard, 107–108 and Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1529 and 1545), trans. Hettrick, 16–17 + 89.

¹⁵⁶ John Wallace and Alexander McGrattan, *The Trumpet* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2011), 117–123.

¹⁵⁷ 'In the hands of a skilled player it is a magnificent instrument. It is a marvellous thing that it can produce nearly every tone in the upper register, plus a number of semitones, one after the other, without any sackbut-type slide changes, and that it can be used for melodies of all kinds.' See Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum* (1619), trans. Crookes, 44.

¹⁵⁸ Verona, Accademia Filarmonica, Cesare Bendinelli, *Tutta l'arte della trombetta* (1614); (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975); trans. Edward Tarr as *Cesare Bendinelli: The Entire Art of Trumpet Playing 1614* (Nashville, Tennessee: The Brass Press, 1975), 12. The military tradition of signalling probably dates from the Middle Ages. For more information see Henry George Farmer, *The Rise and Development of Military Music* (London: William Reeves, 1912).

settings.¹⁵⁹ Bendinelli includes over three hundred sonatas in his method, which he explains could be played by a five-part trumpet ensemble, most often in princely courts ‘at table’ and for ‘dancing’.¹⁶⁰ The increased demands placed on trumpet players is further implied in Girolamo Fantini’s *Modo per imparte a sonare di tromba*.¹⁶¹ Published in 1638, Fantini’s method includes a variety of syllables related to timbre and pitch, as well as advanced tonguing techniques, including trills and slurs, which required control of the embouchure and were paramount to a successful tone.¹⁶² Moreover, Fantini included sonatas for two trumpets, as well as two sonatas for a single trumpet (with a mute) and keyboard. These notably quieter combinations imply that the trumpet was increasingly being used in more intimate and refined settings.¹⁶³

The three known examples of female trumpeters are separated by a vast time-frame, which indicates their unusual nature, but they also share overarching themes relating to the performance spaces in which they played, and to their musical training. The earliest known example of a female court trumpeter is Johanna von Hoff, who is reported to have performed for Emperor Leopold I in Vienna in 1655. Her playing was apparently received with ‘admiration’ and records indicate that she was rewarded with 20 gulden from the sovereignty.¹⁶⁴ Although there is no further evidence regarding her childhood, it is likely that she was brought up in a family of professional musicians. Johanna’s musical skills must have been particularly notable to impress the emperor, who was, himself, an accomplished

¹⁵⁹ Bendinelli, *Tutta l’arte della trombetta* (1614), trans. Tarr, 10–11. This is discussed in Andrew Jay Roseborough, *The Modern Pedagogical Potential of the Baroque and Natural Trumpet* (PhD thesis, University of Miami, 2010), 37–40. He suggests that the fanfares and signals required of fifteenth-century trumpeters needed, above all, to be loud and that a puffed cheek technique may have helped with the force of airflow and projection of sound.

¹⁶⁰ Ensemble pieces for the trumpet were notated as a single melodic line (principal) from which the other parts were improvised, but followed a specific formula. Part one (clarino) was a descant part, which improvised over the melody played by part 2 (principal). Part three (alto e basso) followed the principal, but played one harmonic down. Parts three and four (vulgano and basso or grob) played a drone on a perfect fifth and part six, which was optional, sounded the fundamental. See Wallace and McGrattan, *The Trumpet*, 90. Also see Smithers, *The Music & History of the Baroque Trumpet*, 84 and Edward H. Tarr, ‘The trumpet before 1800,’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, eds. Trevor Herbert and John Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 84–85.

¹⁶¹ Girolamo Fantini, *Modo per imparte a sonare di tromba tanto di Guerra quanto musicalmente in organo, con tromba sordina, col cimballo, e orgn’altro istrumento* (Frankfurt: Daniel Watsch, 1638); trans. Edward Tarr as *Method for Learning to Play the Trumpet in a Warlike Way as well as Musically, with Organ, and with a Mute with Harpsichord, and Every Other Instrument* (Vuarmarens, Switzerland: The Brass Press, 1975).

¹⁶² The basic tonguing syllables are discussed in Roseborough, *The Modern Pedagogical Potential*, 39.

¹⁶³ This is mentioned in the title of Fantini’s work, ‘*The Trumpet in a Warlike Way as well as Musically, with the Organ, with a Mute, with the Harpsichord, and Every Other Instrument*’. (1638), trans. Edward Tarr. This kind of music was also published by the acclaimed trumpeter Johann Christoph Pezel, see Wallace and McGrattan, *The Trumpet*, 99–100.

¹⁶⁴ ‘1655 Johanna von Hoff Trompeterin, die vor Ihrer Khays. May. Gerblasen zur verehrung 20 G.’ In Paul Nettle, ‘Zur Geschichte der kaiserlichen Hofkapelle von 1636 bis 1680,’ in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft. Beihefte der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, 1913 ff. Vienna, 16–19 (Vienna, 1921), 34 [part III]. As referenced in Smithers, *The Music & History of the Baroque Trumpet*, 170. This reference is also quoted in Owens, ‘Professional Women Musicians,’ 46.

musician, composer and firm patron of the arts.¹⁶⁵ Knowledge that Leopold insisted on examining ‘the musicians who were to be admitted into his Chapel’ also gives some indication regarding the extent of his interest and ‘hands on’ approach to the arts.¹⁶⁶

Presumably, a player displaying mediocre or ordinary skills would have been dismissed from the court with no reward. It is also important to stress the highly-favoured position of the trumpet in Vienna, which symbolised both sacred and imperial solemnity (as will be discussed further in Chapter 2).¹⁶⁷

Almost sixty years later, another example of a female trumpet player can be found in the Württemberg court records. Named as Elisabetha Schmid, she was apparently employed between 1717 and 1722, and received a salary of 150 gulden.¹⁶⁸ Her father, Johann Christoph Schmid, and her brother were both trumpeters at this establishment and her sister, Justina Regina, is also known to have married a court trumpeter.¹⁶⁹ Elisabetha’s situation and musical abilities were assessed by the *Kapellmeister*, Theodor Schwartzkopff:

[Schmid’s daughter] ...was graciously taken into service at the same time as her father. With her father, or brother who is the guard, [she] can play quite a few pieces on the trumpet; however, she understands very little in general about music.¹⁷⁰

Schwartzkopff’s comments reveal that Elisabetha probably learnt to play the trumpet, but had little or no knowledge of how to compose, improvise, or embellish her part. Elisabetha’s acceptance into the court environment was firmly connected to her social situation and upbringing within a household of professional musicians. Her performance-based musical

¹⁶⁵ Leopold played the harpsichord, flute and violin. For more information regarding Leopold I’s musical abilities and patronage of the arts, see Susan Wollenberg, ‘Central Europe,’ in *Companion to Baroque Music*, ed. Julie Anne Sadie (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 254.

¹⁶⁶ Charles E. Brewer, *The Instrumental Music of Schmelzer, Biber, Muffat and their Contemporaries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 46.

¹⁶⁷ Tarr, ‘The trumpet before 1800,’ 87.

¹⁶⁸ This wage was also received by the second soprano Johanna Dorothea Sybilla Schmidtbauer in 1714. For comparative salaries, see Owens, ‘Professional Women Musicians,’ 39.

¹⁶⁹ Owens, ‘Professional Women Musicians,’ 45–46. A ‘Johann Christoph Schmid’ is listed as a trumpeter at the Royal Prussian Court in 1713. These musicians were disbanded in the same year following the death of King Frederick and many of them are reported to have found jobs at other German courts. Schmid might have then moved to the Württemberg *Hofkapelle*. He appears on the payroll records in 1715. See Mary Oleskiewicz, ‘The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia,’ in *Music at German Courts, 1725–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, eds. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul and Janice B. Stockigt (New York; Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2011), 81 + 115 and Owens, ‘The Court at Württemberg-Stuttgart,’ 166.

¹⁷⁰ ‘Schmidens Tocher, so zugleich Zeit mit ihrem Vatter in Diensten Gdgst angenommen worden, Weist zwar mit ihfem, oder bruder so unter der Garde ist, auf der Trompet etliche Stück zu Plaßen, Versteht aber im übringen von der Music gar wenig.’ Stuttgart, Hauptstaatsarchiv, A21 Büschel 609, Theodor Schwartzkopff ‘Die Hoff und Capell Music’, 27 May 1717. As quoted and trans. in Owens, ‘Professional Women Musicians,’ 45 and Owens, ‘The Court of Württemberg-Stuttgart,’ 170. A list compiled in 1717 by Johann Georg Christian Störl and Schwartzkopff indicates that of the ten trumpeters employed by the court at this time, many were multi-instrumentalists who could play stringed instruments. See John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 250.

education and apparent lack of theoretical knowledge may have been particularly evident to Schwartzkopff because at this time the Württemberg court had begun to take on young, unmarried women as ‘*Lehr-Discantistinnen*’, who were given extensive formal musical training in order that they would eventually perform in the *Hofkapelle*.¹⁷¹ In addition to the employment of these female singers, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the court also boasted two female lutenists among its instrumental musicians. Furthermore, evidence suggests that a few women were also being employed to sing for public services at the Württemberg *stiftskirche* (collegiate church).¹⁷² Considering these examples, Elisabetha’s case remains highly unusual, but her employment coincides with the increased visibility of professional women singers and instrumentalists at court and within the locality, some of whom even performed in public spaces. Nevertheless, the surviving evidence suggests that Elisabetha’s position as trumpeter was granted because of her family’s circumstance, rather than on her individual musical merit.

Later records from the Württemberg court indicate that a similar arrangement may have been in place around 1731, when the daughter of the trumpet player Johann Heinemann was taken into service. Paid a salary of 150 gulden, her wage appears to be substantially lower than those granted to the other (male) trumpeters. However, as identified by Samantha Owens, this amount is identical to the wage received by Elisabetha Schmid and, in a similar manner to her scarce performances, it is reported that the later female trumpeter was released from service because she was ‘never heard to play’.¹⁷³

Elisabetha and the daughter of Johann Heinemann were both employed during a period of change at the Württemberg court, when chamber music became increasingly important and women musicians were trained, employed and were gradually visible as both singers and instrumentalists within this setting.¹⁷⁴ There is, however, a stark contrast between these female trumpeters in comparison to the other female court instrumentalists in terms of social standing, musical training and use within the court setting, which is highlighted by the contrast in their wages. Maria Dorothea St Pierre, for example, was employed in 1719 at the Württemberg court as a virtuoso chamber musician (lutenist) and was granted a substantially larger salary of 500 gulden.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ The lack of available male musicians, owing partly to a prolonged period of war (the war of Spanish succession), is discussed in Owens, ‘The Court at Württemberg-Stuttgart,’ 166–170. Owens also explains the advantages of training women rather than boys in Owens, ‘Professional Women Musicians,’ 38–39.

¹⁷² Owens, ‘Professional Women Musicians,’ 43–46.

¹⁷³ Stuttgart, Hauptstaatsarchiv, A6 Büschel 79, Anon., ‘Specification,’ 24 January 1731. Samantha Owens discusses the discrepancies in the payroll, especially in relation to the gender of this trumpeter. See Owens, ‘The Court at Württemberg-Stuttgart,’ 190 + 195.

¹⁷⁴ Owens, ‘The Court at Württemberg-Stuttgart,’ 173–174.

¹⁷⁵ She was also given free accommodation, see Owens, ‘The Court at Württemberg-Stuttgart,’ 173.

In comparing the three examples of female trumpet players, we can conclude that Johanna von Hoff's performance at court was a novel spectacle and viewed with a sense of wonderment by her audience. This was possibly owing to the combination of her instrument and gender, but it must also have been related to her demonstration of an exceptional skill, which may have included an ability to improvise and ornament her part. This level of ability would have required formal, theoretical-based musical training, as opposed to the practical training likely to have been undertaken by the female trumpeters at the Württemberg court. This difference is clearly reflected in the payments granted to each of the players, as well as their performance duties. In contrast to Johanna von Hoff's prestigious performance, the women at the Württemberg court rarely played their trumpets and appear to have been employed under an institutional duty to protect and support musician families, rather than contributing to the wider musical reputation of the institution. In all three examples, however, the female trumpeters appear in semi-private spaces: in an audience with the king; with family members; or not at all. Their protection under a male figure also suggests that they may have been young girls, not yet old enough to marry.

1.6 Female Wind Players of the Lower Classes: Archetypes of the Grotesque and Ugly

Surviving evidence for music-making among women of the lower social classes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe is scarce because accounts, records and publications primarily document the musical activities of amateur musicians in wealthier households and the employment of professional musicians in the court, civic institutions and guilds, the latter of which were overtly male dominated spaces.

Musical publications such as those produced by Pierre Attaignant in France, suggest that instruments including the recorder and transverse flute were available and marketed towards a public audience. However, following elite fashions of the day would have required the inclination and financial means to do so. Drawing any kind of substantive conclusions about how popular these instruments were among women of the middle to lower classes is impossible because the evidence for such activities is infrequent and brief. One rare example is found in the probate inventory of Claude Frédet, wife of the instrument maker Nicholas le Breton (Paris, 1575). Listed among her belongings is a transverse flute: 'Item, a flute decorated on the ends and in the middle, valued at 60 sols'.¹⁷⁶ This instrument aligns with the apparent popularity of the flute in northern Europe during the sixteenth century, and may

¹⁷⁶ The probate inventory of Claude Frédet (4 October 1575) states: 'Item une fleuste d'alent garny, sure les boutz d'argent et par le milieu, prisé soixante solx LX solz.' As quoted and trans. in Lasocki, *A Listing of Inventories and Purchases*, 41.

point towards the middle to lower classes imitating elite musical practices. Another example is found in the will of Susan Jefferies (1619, probated 1626), which states: ‘I give and bequeath vnto my Sonne Edward...One violin on Basevioll and a Treble Violl one Treble violin and A Bandora, one ould Lute one flute and ij old other instrumentes, Twenty Newe and old Musick Singinge Bookes’.¹⁷⁷ In both instances, however, Claude de Frédet and Susan Jefferies were from musician families and their belongings reflect their engagement with the family business, and perhaps, even their fulfilment of wifely duties.¹⁷⁸

A small number of iconographic sources from the mid-sixteenth century, which depict lower-class women playing recorders have survived, but this kind of evidence often portrays the women as grotesque caricatures, visualised in this manner to distinguish and separate them from the upper classes. While elite gentlewomen are often presented as youthful, beautiful, cultured and respected individuals, the lower classes are generally depicted as ugly, aged and foolish women with questionable morality, as epitomised by the final portrait in Tobias Stimmer’s series of female musicians. A more extreme example is found in Hans Schäufelein’s *Trionfi* (ca. 1535) in which the various cards depict scenes of gambling, drinking, dancing, defecating, amorous encounters and deformed characters. The only instruments to be featured in these images belong to the wind family, presumably included because of their connection to Bacchanalian frivolity. Perhaps the most outrageous image of this series is featured on the nine of bells in which an old woman is depicted playing her pipe into the anus of a dog (Figure 1.26).¹⁷⁹ Often considered to be a symbol of fidelity, the dog appears to whimper at the woman as she sexually abuses him.¹⁸⁰ This is a scene in which moral, patriarchal and natural orders are upturned to create a shameful and grotesque image.

Less severe portrayals of older women playing recorders are found in woodcuts by Wilhelm Traut and Jan van Linteloo. In Wilhelm Traut’s engraving (1556–1624) of a blind man teaching an old woman to play the recorder (Figure 1.27), he holds the instrument as she places her fingers on the upper holes and blows into its beak or mouthpiece.¹⁸¹ The

¹⁷⁷ ‘Susan was the wife of Edward Jefferies senior, who died in 1617.’ See Lasocki, *A Listing of Inventories and Purchases*, 81.

¹⁷⁸ Susan Jefferies, for example, presumably passed on the belongings of her husband (Edward Jefferies Senior) to her son Edward Junior, who took over his father’s role as one of the town waits in Norwich and continued to serve in this position until at least 1659. See Lasocki, *A Listing of Inventories and Purchases*, 81.

¹⁷⁹ Laura A. Smoller, ‘Playing Cards and Popular Culture in Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg,’ *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 17, no. 2 (1986), 196–197. The complete deck of cards can be viewed at H. L. Schäufelein, *Trionfi* (ca. 1535), <http://trionfi.com/0/j/d/schaeuf/>, accessed March 2017.

¹⁸⁰ Simona Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 122.

¹⁸¹ The engraving by Villamena was published ca. 1580s by Battista Panzera in Rome. The engraving is entitled: *Nicolo detto il cieco da pistoa/ Said Nicolo, the blind man from Pistoia and the accompanying moralistic verse is as follows: ‘Inflatanus, pulsandi artem non docta, manuque / Et digitis caeci exilit inde melos. /Non quod anus potest, hoc praestat lumine captus, /Quod nequeunt seorsum, reddit uterque simul’.* [The old woman blows but she is unversed in the art of music-making by hand; / The melody is produced by the fingers of the blind man. /

accompanying verse indicates that their individual skills complement each other's weaknesses and therefore, together, they can make music. This is an amusing and ludicrous scene in which the man's disability and the woman's uncultured nature are both mocked for the viewer's amusement.

Similarly, in Jan van Linteloo's seventeenth-century drawing of an ageing male lutenist and wrinkled female fipple/duct flute player (Figure 1.28), the couple are seen to partake in an activity which is reminiscent of courtly love duets. This kind of amorous encounter was, however, considered to be foolish and unrefined when instigated by an older generation. As Castiglione noted a century earlier in his *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528):

...for it is indeed unseemly and unlovely in the extreme to see a man of any quality, - old, hoary and toothless, full of wrinkles, - playing on a viol and singing in the midst of a company of ladies, even though he be a passable performer. And the reason of this is that in singing the words are usually amorous, and love is a ridiculous thing in old men...¹⁸²

Jan van Linteloo's hint towards earthly sensuality is brought to the fore in Bernardo Strozzi's portrayal of street musicians from the early to mid-seventeenth century (Figure 1.29).¹⁸³ This scene includes a bagpiper, shawm player and a female recorder player, who each look directly towards the viewer as they blow into their instruments.¹⁸⁴ The female recorder player displays puffed cheeks and muscle tension across her face. She also wears a low-cut dress, which ensures the visibility of her upper chest and shoulders, hinting towards her unrefined and morally questionable character. In the company of male musicians her presence might also imply that she provides more than just her musical services. Even when separated from her male counterparts, as she appears in a portrait by Strozzi (Figure 1.30), the revealing nature of her dress and her playing position contribute towards emphasising the link between sexual

It is not something she can manage on her own; he excels despite his disability. / What is beyond them separately, they achieve together]. I am grateful to Geoffrey Birch for help with this translation.

¹⁸² Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venezia, 1528), trans. Charles S. Singleton, ed. Daniel Javitch as *The Book of the Courtier* (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2002), 87. For reference to the lute and its symbolism in relation to the male and female body see Carla Zecher, 'The Gendering of the Lute in Sixteenth Century Love Poetry,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (2000), 772–780. A similar woodcut depicting Dame Long Nose visiting Master John Bad Faith to have her lute re-strung, symbolising her wish to be sexually rejuvenated can be seen in Christa Grössinger, *Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 101–103.

¹⁸³ Five versions of this painting are listed in Nicholas S. Lander, 'Bernardo Strozzi [il Cappuccino; il Prete Genovese],' *The Recorder Home Page: Iconography* (1996–2017), <http://www.recorderhomepagenet>, accessed March 2017. Seven surviving versions of this painting are listed in R. Ward Bissell, Andria Derstine, and Dwight Miller (eds.), *Masters of Italian Baroque Painting: The Detroit Institute of Arts* (London: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 2005), 180–182.

¹⁸⁴ Bernardo Strozzi, *Street Musicians* (Italy, ca. 1630), Detroit Institute of Arts, European Paintings, 51.13. In the BnF Gallica version, the three musicians do not look directly at the viewer of the artwork. Instead their individual gazes appear to meet on the same object below the painting.

license and music-making. These aspects are notably reduced in Strozzi's other paintings of women musicians, including his portrait of Barbara Strozzi in which she is also depicted in a state of undress (Figure 1.31). However, owing to her youthfulness, her higher social status, her stringed instruments, and her stance (which is comparable to imagery of St Cecilia), the danger of music's sensuousness is merely referenced as opposed to being the subject of the painting. Furthermore, although the company of men might be implied through the additional instrument and musical duet in the foreground, it is not realised within the image.¹⁸⁵

Bernardo Strozzi's paintings of female recorder players from the mid-seventeenth century (Figures 1.29 and 1.30) mark a turning point because from the late seventeenth century onwards far more evidence for women's access to recorders and flutes survives in the form of printed books, diary entries and iconography. These are discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to music-making within the domestic sphere, the effects of changing fashions and increased leisure time, as well as women's roles within the household.

Summary: Professional Musicians and Music-Making of the Lower Social Classes

The examples of the Pellizzari sisters and the Austro-German trumpet players demonstrate that in some instances, women could access wind instruments through familial ties. Born into the families of professional musicians, the girls were apprenticed within the family trade and under the protection of a male guardian, they were granted opportunities to perform, and even earn money. In the instances discussed here, age, familial guardianship, and institutional protection appear to have played important roles in the musical education of these women.

Although basic instrument training on bagpipes, recorders, fipple/duct flutes may also have occurred in certain households of the lower social classes (minstrels / street musicians / and rural peasantry), firm evidence for such activities is virtually non-existent. The imagery that survives is generally projected from a biased and elite perspective. In these artworks, the underlying sensual and sexual undertones, which are linked to women and wind-playing, are often exploited to the extreme. In their attempt to distinguish the controlled harmony, gentility and culture of the upper classes from the disorder and noise of the peasantry, artists often portrayed wind instruments (especially in the hands of women) as denoting ugliness, sexual promiscuity and siren-like luring capabilities. They show that despite the increased visibility of wind instruments such as the recorder and flute among elite courtly circles, the negative

¹⁸⁵ For information on the portrait of Barbara Strozzi, see David Rosand and Ellen Rosand, "'Barabara di Santa Sofia" and "Il Prete Genovese": On the Identity of a Portrait by Bernardo Strozzi,' *The Art Bulletin* 63, no. 2 (1981), 249–258 and Ellen Rosand, 'The Voice of Barbara Strozzi,' in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, eds. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 168–190.

tropes, inherited from Classical mythological, allegorical and historical figures, continued to be invoked in literature and art throughout early modern Europe.

1.7 Conclusion: From Court to Town

The examples of female wind-players in this chapter have all been cited by scholars interested in various aspects of music of this period, but they have not previously been viewed in relation to one another. Although they differ geographically and temporally, comparing them directly highlights the significant bearing that performance space and social context had on the types of wind instruments that were available to various social groups of early modern women. The examples discussed above include: courtly women playing flutes and recorders in the Low Countries, northern Europe and Italy from the early sixteenth century; the Pellizzari sisters who were employed at the Accademia Olimpica in Vicenza during the late sixteenth century; and the trumpeters of the Austro-German courts, including Johanna von Hoff, who performed for Emperor Leopold I in 1655, and the later cases of Elisabetha Schmid and the daughter of Johann Heinemann, recorded as being employed at the Württemberg court during the early eighteenth century. These examples can be divided into two main social groups, namely elite genteel women who learnt music as part of their courtly education and performed as a solitary or social pastime, and professional women musicians who accessed wind instruments through family apprenticeships.

In the paintings of elite women playing recorders and transverse flutes, their performances are depicted in private, enclosed spaces where the dangers of outside influences could be minimised. Although these instruments retained an element of their traditionally negative symbolism (which was used advantageously by artists to add layers of meaning to their artworks), general attitudes towards flutes and recorders were changing. No longer considered to be the sole preserve of professional civic and military musicians, the flute and recorder began to transition into the chamber setting during the early sixteenth century. These instruments were particularly suited to private spaces because they were complementary to other soft (*bas*) chamber instruments and their tones were comparable to the human voice (the most praiseworthy instrument). The flute and recorder were therefore particularly suited to playing chansons and motets, a staple of chamber music repertoire. Publishers on the continent began to produce music books that were flexible and marketed towards a population of upper to middle class amateur musicians who wished to imitate the fashions of the nobility. In this context, singing and wind-playing can be understood as being strongly interconnected through the performance of popular vocal repertoire, and the requirement for similar performance techniques relating to posture, breathing, pitching, phrasing and articulation.

In contrast to the social music-making of the elite, the other examples in this chapter concern professional female musicians who were remunerated for their musical services. As young girls, these female wind-players were apprenticed within the family trade, presumably with the intention that they might be accepted into a convent. This possible career pathway is supported, to some degree, by their chosen instruments. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, the cornett and trombone were popular in some northern Italian convents during the late sixteenth century, and the trumpet was particularly favoured in seventeenth-century Vienna and Germany. Thus, the musical training undertaken by the Pellizzari sisters, Johanna von Hoff, Elisabetha Schmid and the daughter of Johann Heinemann was entirely appropriate for their individual social statuses. Their employment within mixed civic institutions rather than all-female confraternities, however, highlights their uniqueness and underlines the importance that other establishments played in offering patronage and protection to musician families. The social reputations of these female wind-players were upheld and ensured by the presence of a male guardian, either husband, father or brother. Importantly, these female wind-players appear to have performed on wind instruments as young children, either to remarkable acclaim as child prodigies (Lucia and Isabetta Pellizzari and Johanna von Hoff), or displaying normative levels of skill (the female trumpeters at the Württemberg court). Although we have no record of the adult lives of most of these women, we know that the Pellizzaris developed into virtuosic singers, eventually leaving their wind-playing behind. As we have seen, these skills were complementary to one another and the ornamentations and diminutions expected of virtuosic cornett and trombone players mirrored those required of virtuosic singers. Thus, at all levels of music-making, from amateur to professional standards, singing and wind-playing were inextricably linked and complementary to one another through common repertoire and performance techniques.

	August 1589	1592	1603/1608	1606–1608 (reconstruction)
Antonio Pellizzari	X L 175	?		
Annibale Pellizzari	X	X L 91-13-4 (may include Antonio's salary)	X 35-17	X L 35-17-11
Lucia Pellizzari	X	X L 46-19-4	X L 35-17-11	? L 35-17-11
Isabetta Pellizzari	X	X L 25-4	X L 35-17-11	? L 35-17-11
Bartolomeo Pellizzari	X	X L 46-16-8		

Table 1.1
The Pellizzari Family on the Payroll of the Mantuan Court¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ This table is after Parisi, 'Musicians at the Court of Mantua,' 188–196.

Chapter 2.

Convents and Venetian Conservatories

2.1 Introduction: Convents and Venetian Conservatories

A significant number of the surviving materials which evidence early modern women playing wind instruments are connected to the activities of all-female ensembles in convents and Venetian conservatories. Music played an integral role in the daily running of both types of institution, which were organised around the celebration of the Divine Office. Liturgical feast days and other civic celebrations also required more elaborate music appropriate for the occasion. In its basic form, plainchant might have been performed by an institution's *coro* whereas, at the most prestigious musical foundations, complex polyphonic works and instrumental *intrad*s were incorporated into the liturgy. In some instances, additional performances were also arranged so that visitors and members of the local community could admire the talents of the women. Wind instruments played a significant role in the development of institutional ensembles by covering the bass parts, supporting the upper voices, performing obbligato passages, or providing instrumental music. The variety of wind instruments that were incorporated into convent ensembles and their differing roles not only highlight the changing compositional genres across the period, but they also point towards more localised fashions and geographical preferences for certain musical sonorities.

Sections 2.2 to 2.6 of this chapter investigate the use of wind instruments in convents in Italy (2.3), Spain (2.4), and Austria, Moravia and Bohemia (2.5). These sections not only highlight the use of specific wind instruments within certain geographical spaces, but they also give a sense of their temporality in relation to localised musical fashions and wider musical developments. These include the use of the cornett and trombone in Italy, the *bajón* and *bajoncillo* in Spain, and the trumpet within convents in the Austro-Hapsburg Empire. The examples of nuns playing wind instruments also give greater insight into the musical educations of individual women, as well as the musical aspirations of their respective institutions.

The study of early modern convents has become a vast research area in recent years, attracting scholars from a diverse range of disciplines. As important sites for political, economic, social and cultural exchange, convents offer fascinating insights into negotiations between the 'inside' and 'outside' worlds. In the context of women's history, convents have proven to be particularly rich in surviving source materials. Institutional archives often hold inventories, lists of incumbents, visitation records, payment and acquisition accounts, library holdings and correspondences between families, local dignitaries and ecclesiastical

authorities. Nuns' personal writings, both published and unpublished, also contain details relating to individual experiences, theological beliefs, education and cultural creativity. Dedications, literary references and chronicles by writers (often male) also contribute to our understanding of how religious women were viewed by those from outside the convent wall as individuals and as collective members of an institution.

References to French convents are notably absent from this chapter, which is largely owing to the small number of studies that have currently been undertaken in relation to music at these institutions.¹ The most comprehensive research to-date concerns the Saint-Cyr convent school. Founded in 1686 by Madame de Maintenon, the surviving repertoire from this institution relates specifically to its singing tradition, which required no additional support from wind instruments.² Even when the girls at this convent school entertained royal guests with their dramatic production of *Esther*, the instrumental accompaniment (for oboe, bassoon, trumpet and strings) was provided by the king's own musicians.³

The final sections of this chapter (2.7–2.9) discuss the use of wind instruments in Venetian conservatories (or *ospedali*) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴ These are perhaps the most well-known institutions, renowned for showcasing the talents of their women musicians. In a similar manner to the convents, the surviving archival documents from the Venetian conservatories record the intake of girls, the employment of tutors, the

¹ There are several studies relating to convent culture in France, see Charmarie Blaisdell, 'Religion, Gender, and Class: Nuns and Authority in Early Modern France,' *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, ed. Michael Wolfe (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1997), 147–168 and Marshall B. Jones and Elizabeth Rapley, 'Behavioural Contagion and the Rise of Convent Education in France,' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31, no. 4 (2001), 489–521. In relation to music, see Barbara R. Woshinsky, *Imagining Women's Conventual Spaces in France, 1600–1800: The Cloister Disclosed* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 232–234 in which Protestant texts that criticise monastic enclosure are presented. This includes a discussion of Brunet de Brou's, *La religieuse malgré elle, histoire galante, morale et tragique* (Amsterdam: Claude Jordan, 1720) in which a young nun falls in love with the music teacher, La Roche who teaches at the convent. In Domna C. Stanton, *The Dynamics of Gender in Early Modern France: Women Writ, Women Writing* (London: Routledge, 2016), 94 there is a discussion about the religious education of girls at French convent schools: 'the nuns will teach the girls to read books of devotion and to sing hymns...'. For an exploration of the lyrics of the *chanson de nonne* see Lisa Colton, 'The Articulation of Virginity in the Medieval "Chanson de none,"' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 133, no. 2 (2008), 159–188.

² The girls were well-known for their communal singing and the edicts of Saint-Cyr pinpoint the parts of the liturgy that were to be sung, as well as the repertoire that was to be used. The surviving repertoire from the school's archives shows the development of music, which was tailored to the needs of the school and the capabilities of the girls. See Deborah Kauffman, 'Performance Traditions and Motet Composition at the Convent School at Saint-Cyr,' *Early Music* 29, no. 2 (2001), 235–249. In her modern edition of the motets from Saint-Cyr, Kauffman refers to the memoirs of former students in which they refer to receiving singing and harpsichord lessons. See Deborah Kauffman (ed.), *Petit motets from the Royal Convent School of Saint-Cyr* (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2001), x. For further insight into the girls' education programme, see Carolyn C. Lougee, 'Noblesse, Domesticity, and Social Reform: The Education of Girls by Fénelon and Saint-Cyr,' *History of Education Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1974), 87–113.

³ This production and a later biblical drama entitled *Athalie* are discussed in Norman Demuth, 'A Musical Backwater,' *The Musical Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (1954), 533–547.

⁴ Michael Talbot notes that the *ospedali grandi* (the four main hospitals in Venice) were also described as 'conservatories', 'even in their own day'. See Michael Talbot, *The Vivaldi Compendium* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), 134.

meetings held by the governing boards, as well as instrument and music inventories. Commemorative materials, chronicles, and personal memoirs also document the performances held for visiting dignitaries, as well as the opinions of foreign travellers who visited the ospedali as an essential element of their 'Grand Tours'. Initially founded as institutions for poor relief, the four main ospedali in Venice became increasingly competitive in their musical outputs, employing acclaimed male musicians to teach and direct their ensembles. At the Pietà and Mendicanti fashionable wind instruments were incorporated into their respective ensembles, which included trombones, flutes, oboes, recorders, fagotti and corni di caccia.

The examples of female wind players in convents and Italian conservatories have, up until now, remained scattered across a variety of different research areas, in which they have often been highlighted as unique instances. Although they are separated by a vast time-frame, and incorporate scattered data sets, there are fundamental overarching themes that show commonality between these examples of female wind players. These include the enclosed institutional space in which their wind-playing could take place, the connection between wind-playing and vocal performance, the desire for institutions to follow local and wider musical fashions in terms of repertoire and instrumentation, their use of music as a means of gaining monetary donations and patronage, and the element of 'spectacle' associated with the projection of their celestial music.

2.2 Convents Introduction: Choir Nuns and Convent Music

The convent offered a safe, secure and respectable future for many women in Europe during the early modern period.⁵ Those from wealthier families often directed younger daughters into religious life because the dowry demands of sacred institutions were far less than those being sought by potential husbands.⁶ The transition from family to cloistered life could be assisted by placing sisters together in a convent, and institutions often housed other family members, including aunts and cousins.⁷ Young girls were normally accepted into convents as *educanda*

⁵ This did not just include Catholic convents, but also other religious houses including Lutheran Nunneries in North Germany. See Merry E. Wiesner, *Gender, Church and State in Early Modern Germany* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013), 59–60.

⁶ This point is highlighted in Craig A. Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art & Arson in the Convents of Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Bristol: University Presses Marketing, 2010), 8 and Robert Kendrick, 'The Traditions of Milanese Convent Music and the Sacred Dialogues of Chiara Margarita Cozzolani,' in *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Craig A. Monson (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 211–212. Nuns were considered to have a higher social status than unmarried women, as discussed in Maria Gembero Ustároz, 'De rosas cercada: Music by Francisco de la Huerta for the Nuns of Santa Ana de Àvila (1767–78),' in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, eds. Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 326.

⁷ Regulations often existed to prevent families from exerting too much control over individual institutions. For further information on nuns and family relations, see Naomi Miller and Naomi Yavneh (eds.), *Sibling Relations*

and the nuns voted as to when individuals were ready to profess, usually before the age of twenty-five.⁸ Once the dowry terms had been agreed, a special ceremony took place during which the young girls became novices. They continued to live separately from the main community of nuns until they took the 'black veil' to become professed nuns (choir nuns) who avowed a life of poverty, chastity and obedience.⁹ These transitional moments were celebrated with entrance, clothing and professional ceremonies which, as Janet Page describes, 'varied according to the status of the girl and the convent'.¹⁰ Wealthy families often arranged for these to be sumptuous affairs which included elaborate music, sometimes performed by professional musicians.¹¹ During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Italy, attempts were made by church authorities to curtail the extravagant nature of these events, although they were often unsuccessful.¹²

Young women from poorer families could also enter convents but they were considered as a separate class of nun. Known as 'lay' or 'converse' nuns, these women paid smaller dowry fees, usually had no responsibilities within the chapel, and did not take solemn vows, but were instead directed towards practical work.¹³ Their circumstances might have changed, however, if the women demonstrated skills that were particularly useful to the convent, including the ability to sing or play a musical instrument. If this was the case, they might have been offered a dowry waiver, or even a complete exemption from payment in order that they could become a choir nun.¹⁴ This was a respected position within the religious

and Gender in the Early Modern World: Sisters, Brothers and Others (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). For a discussion regarding the two-sister limitation enforced by church authorities in Bologna, see Craig A. Monson, 'Families, Convents, Music: The Power of Sisterhood,' in *Sibling Relations and Gender in the Early Modern World*, eds. Naomi J. Miller and Naomi Yavneh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 40–52.

⁸ Monson notes the minimum age as being 7 for entering the convent and the maximum age as being twenty-five for profession, although he is careful to explain that these were advisory boundaries. There are examples of girls entering convents at younger ages, as well as older women taking their vows. See Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly*, 9–10. In late eighteenth-century Vienna, Empress Maria Theresa issued a decree to prevent the enforced enclosure of women. She stated that novices should study for seven years and that they should not be professed before the age of twenty-four (1771), see Janet K. Page, *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 18 + 28–29.

⁹ Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly*, 11. Spanish convents had a similar process for taking the veil. See Ustároz, 'De rosas cercada,' 324–325.

¹⁰ Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 40. These ceremonies are outlined in K. J. P. Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 227–228.

¹¹ Gabriele Bella's painting of a Venetian noblewoman taking the veil at Santa Lorenzo (ca. 1740) includes male musicians positioned in galleries either side of the altar. This painting is found at the Querini Stampalia, Venice, and is reproduced in Julie Anne Sadie, *Companion to Baroque Music* (California: University of California Press, 1998), plate 1.

¹² Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 18.

¹³ These nuns are entitled 'converse nuns' in Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly*, 17 and 'lay nuns' in Colleen Baade, 'Two Centuries of Nun Musicians in Spain's Imperial City,' *Transcultural Musical Review* 15 (2011), 14 and Silvia Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 30–33.

¹⁴ Nuns who were skilled in pharmacology were also able to ascend the social ranks within the convent. See Barbara Lawatsch Melton, 'Loss and Gain in a Salzburg Convent: Tridentine Reform, Princely Absolutism, and

community, and for a woman of humble birth, it represented a means of social elevation.¹⁵ As scholars such as Jane Bowers and Colleen Baade have highlighted, the convent environment was a space in which women could pursue respectable careers in teaching, performing and composing music of which there were few opportunities within the secular world.¹⁶

The primary role of choir nuns was to provide music for the Divine Office, especially on feast days and for special celebrations.¹⁷ At a select number of musical institutions this involved nuns performing polyphony, whereas at other convents professional male musicians were sometimes employed to provide the music for these occasions. The most proficient choir nuns also took on teaching responsibilities and, at a few of the most prestigious musical institutions, this enabled their convents to become musically self-sufficient, relying less on outside music teachers, but rehearsing and performing under the direction of a female *maestro* from the convent.¹⁸ The extent of nuns' music-making activities, however, varied dramatically between convents and such practices were determined by a set of diverse localised factors, including: the ecclesiastical order of the convent (some were more austere than others); the general musical fashions of the time; the availability of instruments, music teachers, and music; and, perhaps most significantly, the attitudes of local ecclesiastical authorities towards music-making in the aftermath of the Council of Trent (1545–1563).

the Nuns of Nonnberg (1620 to 1696),' in *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany, Cross Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Lynn Tatlock (Boston: Brill, 2010), 264.

¹⁵ Silvia Evangelisti discusses the visible distinction between the clothing received by the choir nuns and servant nuns at the convent of San Giovannino dei Cavalieri in Florence. While the choir nuns received clothing with the 'cross of Malta', the servant nuns' clothing had only 'half the cross', see Silvia Evangelisti, 'Monastic Poverty and Material Culture in Early Modern Convents,' *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 1 (2004), 15. Evangelisti and a number of other scholars including Colleen Baade and María Gembero Ustároz have highlighted the potential for social division between the choir nuns themselves, particularly at the most prestigious houses where the vast majority of women were from illustrious and noble houses. See Colleen Baade, 'Music and Misgivings: Attitudes Towards Nuns' Music in Early Modern Spain,' in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View*, ed. Cordula van Wyhe (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 94. This difference might have been alleviated if a nun inherited money or received a *suerte* to pay for a full dowry. It might also have allowed choir nuns to apply for other offices within the religious community. The bajonista and singer, Francisca Codina (1723–1744), for example, was able to pay some two months after taking her vows at the Santa Domingo el Real convent, which conceivably enabled her to raise her position within the institution, see Baade, 'Two Centuries of Nun Musicians,' 3 + 19 and Colleen Baade, 'Music: Convents,' in *Lexikon of the Hispanic Baroque: Transatlantic Exchange and Transformation*, eds. Evonne Levy and Kenneth Mills (Austin: University of Texas, 2014), 240. For other examples of nuns who were relieved of their musical roles after paying full dowries, see Craig A. Monson, 'Families, Convents, Music,' 48; Ustároz, 'De rosas cercada,' 324–326; and Evangelisti, 'Monastic Poverty and Material Culture,' 6 + 18–19.

¹⁶ Jane Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy 1566–1700,' in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, eds. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 116–167 and Colleen Baade, 'Nun Musicians as Teachers and Students in Early Modern Spain,' in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Russell E. Murray, Susan Forscher Weiss and Cynthia J. Cyrus (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 262–283.

¹⁷ These included 'Christmas, Purification, Ascension, Assumption, Maundy Thursday and Good Friday', as well as saints' days, clothing, entrance and profession ceremonies, and burials. See Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life*, 113.

¹⁸ Colleen Baade, 'Two Centuries of Nun Musicians,' 3.

During the mid-sixteenth century, the Catholic Church attempted to implement reforms among its ecclesiastical institutions in response to the Protestant Reformation. These were initially outlined by the Council of Trent, which issued decrees and clarifications concerning all aspects of the Church, its doctrine, practises and organisation. In regard to the performance of music, the Council reforms of 1562 stated: ‘let them keep away from the churches compositions in which there is an intermingling of the lascivious or impure, whether by instruments or voice’.¹⁹ A year later the Council met to discuss the reform of monastic institutions, which had traditionally relied upon the support of families and local communities, many of whom (particularly those from illustrious families) had exercised substantial control over these institutions.²⁰ In order to reclaim the Church’s jurisdiction over convents, the council decreed enclosure for all female religious houses, which were subsequently placed under the authority of local bishops. Regarding music, the Council discussed banning the use of polyphony as well as the employment of outside musicians, but the implementation and stringency with which these rulings could be carried out was placed at the discretion of the local ecclesiastical authorities.²¹ As Craig Monson notes, ‘the history of post-Tridentine sacred music is therefore local history characterised not by uniformity but by fascinating diversity...’.²²

2.3 The Trombone and Cornett in Late Sixteenth-Century Italian Convents

Research into early modern convent life has largely been dominated by studies relating to convents in Italian cities, where the highest proportions of women are recorded as entering the cloister.²³ Studies relating to the cultivation of music include the pioneering work of Craig Monson, Robert Kendrick, and Colleen Reardon who detail the musical practices of institutions in Bologna, Milan, and Siena, respectively.²⁴ Jane Bowers also identifies the

¹⁹ Anon., *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatum, nova collection, edidit Societas Goerresiana*, vol. 8 (Freiburg: Herder, 1901), 963. As quoted and trans. in Craig A. Monson, ‘The Council of Trent Revisited,’ *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, no. 1 (2002), 11. Also see Craig Monson, ‘Renewal, Reform, and Reaction in Catholic Music,’ in *European Music, 1520–1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 401–421.

²⁰ Convents were particularly discussed during the Council of Trent meetings held in 1563. For additional motivations behind these rulings, see Kimberlyn Montford, ‘Holy Restraint: Religious Reform and Nuns’ Music in Early Modern Rome,’ *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 37, no. 4 (2006), 1007–1010. Also, see Monson, ‘Families, Convents, Music,’ 40–52.

²¹ Linda Lierheimer, ‘Gender, Resistance, and the Limits of Episcopal Authority: Sébastien Zamet’s Relationships with nuns, 1615–55,’ in *Episcopal Reform and Politics in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jennifer Mara DeSilva (Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2012), 150.

²² Monson, ‘The Council of Trent Revisited,’ 27.

²³ This is noted by Sharon Strocchia, ‘Introduction,’ *Convent Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2017) <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com>, accessed March 2017.

²⁴ Craig Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1995); Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly*; Craig Monson, *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012);

convent as an important space for cultivating musical creativity through the encouragement of women composers and performers, as discussed in ‘The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy, 1566–1700’.²⁵ More recently, Kimberlyn Montford has published her findings in relation to nuns’ music-making in early modern Rome.²⁶

Another relatively new research area relates to convent theatre and the use of music within dramatic productions that were staged during carnival season or in celebration of a particular feast day.²⁷ These ‘teaching’ entertainments were organised for invited guests and took place in the parlatorio, or another designated space within the convent such as the refectory or courtyard, where audience members could view the drama through grilles or grates.²⁸ Costumes and props were often provided by the local community and staging and scenery were sometimes erected by the nuns for more elaborate performances.²⁹ In terms of music, the initial findings of Kelley Harness and Elissa Weaver suggest that convent dramas could be a particularly interesting and fertile ground for further study. As Harness notes, music had a three-fold use within convent dramas: as an ornament; to accompany the action; or to divide the drama by interspersing choruses or *intermezzi*.³⁰

The research of Elissa Weaver highlights that references to the use of instruments within convent dramas appear in a variety of places, including drama texts, stage instructions and marginalia notations. She observes that: ‘although it is not always clear which instruments were used, flutes, trumpets, nakers, guitars, and drums are among those mentioned’.³¹ In Beatrice del Seràs’ *Amor di virtù* (1548), flutes and a trombone are referred to in the script, and in a later mid-seventeenth-century drama by Maria Clemente Ruoti, entitled *Il Natal di Cristo* (1657/58), the author includes ‘*a concerto di flauti pive e*

Robert Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); and Colleen Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls: Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

²⁵ Bowers, ‘The Emergence of Women Composers,’ 116–167.

²⁶ Montford, ‘Holy Restrain: Religious Reform,’ 1007–1026.

²⁷ These might have included ‘secular women, relatives and benefactors’ as identified in Elissa B. Weaver, ‘The Convent Muses: The Secular Writing of Italian Nuns, 1450–1650,’ in *Women and Faith: Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Lucetta Scaraffia and Gabriella Zarri (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 138.

²⁸ The parlatorio was a space where guests could be welcomed into the convent, including tutors and family members. The nuns were physically separated from their lay visitors by iron grilles, which divided the room into their ‘inner chamber’ and the ‘public’s outer room’. This space is briefly defined in Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly*, 12 and Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 266. For specific examples of nuns performing in these and other convent spaces, see Elissa B. Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 79–80.

²⁹ Evangelisti, ‘Monastic Poverty and Material Culture,’ 19.

³⁰ Kelley Ann Harness, *Echoes of Women’s Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 52 + 73.

³¹ Weaver, *Convent Theatre*, 74.

nacchere'.³² Until further research is carried out in relation to the specific convents where these dramas were performed, and in conjunction with the availability of musical instruments at these institutions, no firm conclusions can be drawn regarding nuns' musical performances. However, the importance of the instruments' cultural symbolism is clear, as is their role in enhancing convent entertainments in their capacity as either props or sound makers.³³

In comparison to convent entertainments, the research of the scholars mentioned above focusses primarily on vocal music, and particularly polyphony, which became increasingly popular towards the end of the sixteenth century at certain convents in northern Italian cities. There are also occasional instances in which wind instruments are mentioned as being played in convents by outside musicians or by the nuns themselves. These often relate to the use of trombones and cornetts in the performance of vocal polyphony, as heard from choir lofts and balconies, or in the case of the San Vito nuns' ensemble, performed for an audience of invited guests during the late sixteenth century. The combination of voices and instruments is expressed in Paolo Morigia's *La nobiltà di Milano* (1595) in which he states that: 'one hears select voices that are concordant in harmony, and minglings of divine voices with instruments, so that they seem to be angelic choirs that please the ears of the listeners and are praised by connoisseurs'.³⁴

The trombone and cornett had become popular instruments in several musically acclaimed convents in northern Italy by the late sixteenth century. As the following examples from Bologna, Ferrara and Modena will demonstrate, these instruments played supportive roles, enabling choirs of female singers to access fully textured polyphonic music by adding a bass part and embellishing the upper vocal lines. The use of these instruments within the convent environment also reflects wider musical trends and particularly the favoured position of the trombone and cornett pairing. According to Trevor Herbert, the cornett began to replace the shawm in many Italian civic bands (*alta* ensembles) from the 1530s, and by the 1560s the trombone and cornett had become firmly established within the church setting as instruments

³² Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Riccardian codex 2932, Beatrice del Sera, *Amor di virtù* (1548). Beatrice del Sera was a nun at the Dominican convent of San Niccolò in Prato. In this drama, she refers to a 'trombetta' in Act II, line 533, and 'flauti', 'zampogne' and 'zufoli' in Act IV, lines 807 and 815. For a modern translation of this text, see Beatrice del Sera, *Amor di virtù*, ed. Elissa B. Weaver (Ravenna: Longo, 1990). Also, see Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Riccardian codex 2783, vol. 7. fol. 40r, Maria Clemente Ruoti, *Il natal di Cristo rappresentazione*. Ruoti was a nun at the Franciscan convent of San Girolamo sulla Coasra di San Giorgio in Florence. See Weaver, *Convent Theatre*, 74–75. Also, see Weaver, 'The Convent Muses,' 139 and Elissa B. Weaver, 'The Convent Wall in Tuscan Drama,' in *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Craig A. Monson (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), 73–86.

³³ Although Elissa Weaver argues that it is unlikely that these instruments were just props, as discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, it was not unusual for instruments to be used as tools for theatrical display, especially in court entertainments. See Weaver, *Convent Theatre*, 74.

³⁴ Paolo Morigia, *La Nobiltà di Milano* (Milano: Pacifico Pontio, 1595), 186–187. As translated in Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers,' 125.

for doubling within the choir.³⁵ As Stephen Bonta's catalogue of printed sacred works for voices and instruments also demonstrates, sacred music of this kind was available in printed form by the mid-to late sixteenth century in Italy.³⁶

The Trombone in Bolognese Convents

In Post-Tridentine Bologna, many of the city's convents performed music despite attempts by the local ecclesiastical authority to impose stricter rules of enclosure. During the 1570s Archbishop Gabriele Paleotti tried to enforce drastic reforms for Bolognese convents by prohibiting the use of polyphony and the employment of outside teachers because, he claimed, they distracted from devotions.³⁷ These were further reinforced and tightened to a greater extent by Father General of the Lateran Canons who, in 1583, banned the nuns from performing polyphony, learning instruments, and receiving musical instruction from outside teachers.³⁸ Yet, a number of the Bolognese convents appear to have ignored and bypassed these directives and became well-known for the musical skills of their nuns, some of whom were trombonists.

By the early sixteenth century the city of Bologna had become particularly renowned as a centre for training wind instrumentalists and it boasted the famous Concerto Palatino.³⁹ In ca. 1537 the acclaimed civic band formed a subgroup of musicians called the *musicci*, which consisted of four cornettists and four trombonists who were employed to perform twice-daily from the balcony of the Palazzo Pubblico.⁴⁰ The trombone also became integral to the music ensemble at the central church in the city, San Petronio. In 1560 the institution employed one trombonist and by 1610 this had increased to seven.⁴¹

³⁵ Trevor Herbert, *The Trombone* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 97.

³⁶ Stephen Bonta, 'The Use of Instruments in Sacred Music in Italy 1560–1700,' *Early Music* 18, no. 4 (1990), 528–535.

³⁷ Kimberlyn Montford notes that similarly stringent reforms were attempted by Carlo Borromeo in Milan, and by Antonio Seneca in Rome, see Montford, 'Holy Restraint: Religious Reform,' 1010–1013. Also, see Seneca's treatise on the reform of convents, Rome, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, A. A. Arm. I–XVIII, 6492, Antonio Seneca, *Prattica del governo spirituale e temporale de monasterii delle monache secondo le regole et constitutioni de Santi Padri loro fondatori et del Sacro Concilio di Trento e di Sommi Pontefici* (1604).

³⁸ The edicts of Paleotti and the Father General are detailed in Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly*, 29–33.

³⁹ The renown of the Bolognese wind players is evidenced by their employment abroad, see Alexander McGrattan, 'Wind Instrumentalists at the Scottish Royal Court during the 16th Century,' *Early Music* 29, no. 4 (2001), 534–551.

⁴⁰ The Concerto Palatino is discussed in David M. Guion, 'The Missing Link: The Trombone in Italy in the 17th and 18th Centuries,' *Early Music* 34, no. 2 (2006), 227–229.

⁴¹ Following the appointment of a trombonist, a cornettist was employed in 1593 and a violinist joined the ensemble in 1593. By 1610 the musical ensemble at San Petronio had expanded to include seven trombonists, two cornettists and a violinist. See Guion, 'The Missing Link: The Trombone,' 230–231. Anne Schnoebelen highlights the 'bass heavy' arrangement of this ensemble and describes there being 'a preoccupation with the bass sonority' at San Petronio until the eighteenth century. See Anne Schnoebelen, 'Performance Practices at San Petronio in the Baroque,' *Acta Musicologica* 41 (1969), 37–55.

In a comparable manner to the music at San Petronio, several convents in Bologna appear to have developed a keen interest in the trombone and had incorporated it into their ensembles. In some cases, the convents circumnavigated the prohibition against employing music teachers by attracting young women with pre-existing musical skills. At Santi Gervasio e Protasio in Bologna, Maria Isabella Trombetti (who was related to composer and cornett player, Ascanio Trombetti) was professed at the convent in 1576 with a contract stipulating that she would enter with ‘Uno trombone per sonare il basso alla musica’.⁴² Elsewhere in Bologna, Sister Olimpia Ghisilieri and another nun were professed at Santa Margherita during the early 1600s, both entering with trombones.⁴³ Similarly, at the convent of Santa Caterina, Sister Angela Maria Rugieri arrived at the institution in 1618 with a trombone and a bass viol.⁴⁴ The unusual playing skills displayed by these young women suggests that they were probably the daughters (or close relatives) of professional musicians who were apprenticed within the family trade. As such, it is highly likely that the women were offered dowry waivers in return for their valuable musical skills. By providing a lower part on trombones (or the bass viol), these women would have enabled the choirs at their respective institutions to access fully textured polyphonic music (SATB), as performed at other religious establishments in the city. Although this form of elaborate music was banned under local ecclesiastical rulings, by entering with pre-existing skills, these women potentially enabled their convents to forego the need of employing external male musicians, who were also prohibited under the same rules of enclosure.

In a comparable act of defiance, the convent of San Lorenzo employed Ascanio Trombetti (1544–1590) to teach trombone and viola at the institution.⁴⁵ However, owing to an unfortunate bout of complaints regarding the behaviour of the nuns, the church authorities arranged for an investigation to be carried out at the convent in 1584 by Eliseo Capis (‘Maestro Eliseo’).⁴⁶ During his interviews with the nuns, Maestro Eliseo discovered that in addition to teaching music (and undoubtedly providing the nuns with pieces to play), Trombetti had also been giving them magical charms, including an incantation for fortune

⁴² Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Demaniale 32/6061 [Santi Gervasio e Protasio], record book, opening 48 and coverless record book fol. 60. See Monson, *Divas in the Convent*, 232, fn. 17. It is unclear as to whether Isabella was Trombetti’s daughter or sister. Candace Smith, suggests the latter in her notes, see Cappella Artemisia, *Canti Nel Chiostro: Musiche nei monasteri femminili del ‘600 a Bologna* (Italy: Tactus, 2005), CD sleeve notes.

⁴³ Monson, *Divas in the Convent*, 51.

⁴⁴ Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Demaniale 95/4021 [Santa Caterina]. See Monson, *Divas in the Convent*, 232, fn. 17 and Monson, *Disembodied Voices*, 263.

⁴⁵ David Jarrat-Knock suggests that Ascanio Trombetti may be the younger cornett player pictured in Bartolomeo Passarotti’s *Double Portrait of Musicians* (ca. 1577–1579), Rome, Musei Capitolini. See David George Jarrat-Knock, *The Cornett: Diversity of Form, Function and Usage as Portrayed in Organological and Iconographical Sources, c. 1500–c. 1800* (MA Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2014). 98–99.

⁴⁶ The investigations carried out by ‘Maestro Eliseo’ are detailed in Monson, *Divas in the Convent*, 33–62.

telling and a golden ring for inciting love magic.⁴⁷ In response to Maestro Eliseo's findings, Trombetti was dismissed from San Lorenzo with immediate effect and by March 1589 a firm set of regulations regarding the use of music had been issued to the convent. These are summarised by Craig Monson:

...the nuns were forbidden, once and for all, to perform anything insufficiently spiritual. The organ could be played only during services – not even for rehearsals. The throngs who had flocked to hear San Lorenzo's singing nuns in the late 1570s and early 1580s, when Laura Bovia's star was in the ascendant, could no longer be invited to services. No special concerts could be performed for them in the parlatorio.⁴⁸

The strict prohibitions issued to the nuns at San Lorenzo give further insight into music-making at the convent, which had apparently included the performance of liturgical and non-liturgical music within various spaces of the convent. The parlatorio where Trombetti's music lessons had taken place, acted as a meeting point between the outside world and the cloistered environment. It is here that the sanctity of the nuns, the convent and the wider Church had been put at most risk by Trombetti's liaisons with the religious women.⁴⁹

During the aftermath of Maestro Eliseo's investigation, the Bolognese Congregation of Bishops exercised increasingly strict prohibitions against nuns' music-making in the city. In 1600 the nuns at San Giovanni Battista, applied to the Congregation for permission to employ an outside teacher because they had 'recently introduced the trombone into their ensembles'.⁵⁰ It is possible that in a comparable manner to Santa Margherita and Santa Caterina (discussed above), the convent of San Giovanni Battista had admitted a young female trombonist and were therefore keen to use her skills effectively to support the choir

⁴⁷ Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly*, 53. The anxiety surrounding male music teachers and female pupils was not unique to the convent setting, see Katie Nelson, 'Love in the Music Room: Thomas Whythorne and the Private Affairs of Tudor Music Tutors,' *Early Music* 40, no. 1 (2012), 15–26.

⁴⁸ Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly*, 58. Laura Bovia was instructed in music at San Lorenzo and developed into a highly acclaimed virtuoso singer. She was later employed at the Mantuan court as a member of the *concerto delle donne*, although she was eventually dismissed and returned to Bologna in 1592. See Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers,' 131.

⁴⁹ The parlatorio was a meeting place where conversations, music lessons and performances took place. Famous paintings of this space include: Joseph Heintz the Younger (ca. 1600–1678), *Parlatorio di San Zaccaria*, Private Collection, sold through Christies Auction to the Rockefeller Plaza in New York, January 2000; Pietro Longhi (1702–1785), *Parlatorio del Convento* (1760), Venice, Ca' Rezzonico; and Giuseppe de Gobbis, *The Ridotto* (1760), San Diego Museum of Art, 1950.87. These paintings, and other artworks depicting the parlatorio are discussed and reproduced in Lucy Odlin and Elizabeth Metcalfe, 'Visitors to a Venetian Convent during Carnival,' *Conservation and Art Historical Analysis: A Collaborative Research Investigation* (London: The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2015). For information on convent performances in the parlatorio see: Weaver, *Convent Theatre*, 79–80 and 90–91; Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 86 and Christine Scrippa Bhasin, 'Prostitutes, Nuns, Actresses: Breaking the Convent Wall in Seventeenth Century Venice,' *Theatre Journal* 66, no. 1 (2014), 19–35.

⁵⁰ Rome, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Sacra Congregazione dei Vescovi e Regular, posizione, 1600, A-B. See Monson, *Divas in the Convent*, 232, fn. 17.

with the help of a male *maestro*. A similar request was also filed by nuns at the convent of Santa Margherita who asked for a dispensation to allow Geronimo del Trombone to teach at the institution. The nuns' application was reinforced by del Trombone's own plea that he needed the additional income to support his four daughters. Yet, despite these reasoned requests, all applications were refused by the Bolognese Congregation.⁵¹ The observations of Don Mauro Ruggeri, however, suggest that at the convent of Santa Cristina musical instruments, including the trombone, continued to be used on special feast days.⁵²

The examples of the Bolognese convents of Santa Margherita, Santa Gervasio e Protasio, Santa Caterina and San Lorenzo demonstrate that local ecclesiastical rulings were not always adhered to and neither were they always implementable. While the church wished to reform local institutions by enforcing stricter rules of enclosure, convents with musical ambitions also wanted to keep up with the musical fashions of their 'sister institutions', as well as other leading musical establishments (sacred and secular) within the city. In Bologna, the trombone was not only a favoured and accessible instrument, but it represented a means by which convents could access mainstream, fully textured polyphonic repertoire. As a flourishing centre for professional wind players it is perhaps unsurprising that several pre-trained women trombonists were readily available to the city's convents, as were professional male trombone tutors. Young girls from musician families may even have been taught this instrument to increase their chances of being accepted into a convent with a dowry waiver or exemption. Inside the convent, however, choir nuns from a variety of backgrounds might have received trombone tuition, as evidenced by Trombetti's students, some of whom came from wealthy Bolognese families.⁵³

Significantly, although the cornett enjoyed a prominent position alongside the trombone in the Concerto Palatino and at San Petronio, no references to cornett-playing nuns in Bologna have come to light in the detailed research of Craig Monson. Furthermore, although Ascanio Trombetti was himself an acclaimed cornett player, he did not teach this instrument to either Isabella Trombetti or the nuns of San Lorenzo. It might therefore be assumed that while the trombone was a useful and desirable instrument for convent choirs, the cornett was an unnecessary luxury. Elsewhere in northern Italy, however, the trombone and

⁵¹ Craig A. Monson (ed.), 'Disembodied Voices: Music in the Nunneries in the Midst of the Counter-Reformation,' in *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion and the Arts in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Civilisation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 195 + 200. The 1613 inventory from the convent, does however, include trombones at Santa Margherita, see David M. Guion, *A History of the Trombone* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 119.

⁵² Bologna, Archivio Generale Arcivescovile, Misc. Camaldoli MS 652, fol. 11v, Mauri Ruggeri, *Caduta de Santa Cristina di Bologna* (1620s). See Monson, *Divas in the Convent*, 56.

⁵³ Trombetti admitted to teaching Florentia Capanacci, Sister Semidea Poggi, Sister Angelica Fava, Sister Panina and Sister Cecilia Ghisliera, some of whom were from aristocratic families. These women are identified in Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly*, 53.

cornett were played to acclaim by women from musically prestigious convents, perhaps the most famous being the convent of San Vito in Ferrara.

Performances by Nuns on Cornetts and Trombones in Ferrara and Modena

The nuns at the convent of San Vito in Ferrara are known to have performed for public audiences from as early as the 1550s.⁵⁴ In Ercole Bottrigari's *Il desiderio* (1594), he provides a lengthy description of the convent's 'grand concerto', which is written in the form of a dialogue between two characters; Alemanno Benelli and Gratoso Desiderio. Benelli describes the musical nuns at San Vito as playing a variety of instruments, including cornetts and trombones. In response, Desiderio expresses disbelief that such skills could be acquired by women. As he states:

But what about the particulars of their learning to sing, and even more, to play instruments, particularly those of wind, which it is almost impossible to learn without *maestri*. Being women they cannot easily manipulate Cornetti and Trombones, which are the most difficult of musical instruments.⁵⁵

According to Benelli, the nuns were not tutored by outside male musicians, but were instead directed by a female *maestra*. To achieve the kind of musical independence described by Benelli, it might be imagined that the convent cultivated an environment in which musically skilled nuns were expected to undertake teaching responsibilities, and the institution perhaps also offered dowry waivers to musically-trained nuns, especially those with unusual, but desirable and useful instrumental playing skills.

Regarding the use of the cornett and trombone at San Vito, Benelli offers the following explanation: 'Those instruments are nearly always used doubled in the music which

⁵⁴ For contemporary references regarding the musical skills of the San Vito nuns, see Ercole Bottrigari, *Il desiderio, ovvero, De' concerti di varii strumenti musicali. Dialogo di Alemanno Benelli; nel quale anco si ragiona della participation di essi stromenti, & di molte alter cose pertinenti alla musica* (Venezia: Riccardo Amadino, 1594); Giovanni Maira Artusi, *L'Artusi, ovvero delle imperfettioni della moderna musica ragionamenti dui. Ne' quali si ragiona di molte cose utili, & necessarie alli moderni compositori. Del r.p.d. Giovanni Maria Artusi da Bologna canonico regolare nella Congregatione del Salvatore. Novamente Stampato* (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1600), fols. 1v–2r; Marco Antonio Guarini, *Compendio historico dell'origine, accrescimento e prerogative delle chiese, e luoghi pij della città e diocesi de Ferrara: e delle memorie di que' personaggi di pregio, che in esse son sepelliti: in cui incidentemente si fa menzione di reliquie, pitture, sculture, ed altri ornamenti al decoro così di esse chiese, comme della città appartenenti* (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1621), 375–376; and Agostino Faustini, *Libro delle historie ferraresi del sig. Gaspero Sardi, con una nuova aggiunta del medesimo autore, aggiuntovi di più quattro libri del sig. dottore Faustini* (Ferrara: Giosepe Gironi, 1646), libro secondo, 177–180.

⁵⁵ Bottrigari, *Il desiderio* (1594), trans. Carol McClintock as 'Il Desiderio or Concerning the Playing Together of Various Musical Instruments,' in *Musicological Studies and Documents* 9 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1962), 59.

they play ordinarily on all the Feast days of the year'.⁵⁶ He also describes the nuns performing 'to honour the princes, their Serene Highnesses, or to gratify some famous professor or noble amateur of music'.⁵⁷ One such event was held in 1598 when Margherita of Austria visited the convent. This was later documented in Giovanni Maria Artusi's *L'Artusi, overo delle imperfettioni della moderna musica* (1600) in which he explained that: 'one could hear cornetts, trombones, violins, viole bastarde, double harps, lutes, cornamuses, flutes, harpsichords and voices all at the same time'.⁵⁸ The same visit was also chronicled in Marco Antonio Guarini's *Compendio historico* (1621) in which he praised specific nuns:

Catabene de' Catabeni and Cassandra Pigna, good tenors; Alfonsa Trotti with a singular bass voice; and the astonishing Claudia Manfredi and Bartolomea Sorianati, very delicate sopranos; Raffaella de' Magnifici and another Catabene, excellent players of the Cornetto, also playing every other sort of instrument. Olimpia Leon, at present [1621] still living, plays with great agility the tenor viola, and sings contralto with great aptitude and excellent voice. And most outstanding of all, and without equal in playing the organ, is Raffaella Aleotti, called l'Argenta, who is also expert in music theory; she has published various highly regarded motets and madrigals.⁵⁹

Although Guarini's account was penned almost thirty-five years after the event, he does make a distinction between the members of the earlier ensemble and those still playing at the time of his writing. Further to evidencing the longevity of the nuns' musical reputations, his inclusion of their names, particularly those from notable families in Ferrara, adds extra gravitas to their praiseworthy status.⁶⁰

In addition to confirming the high regard in which the musical skills of the San Vito nuns were held, these accounts also highlight how wind instruments were used by the nuns to support the performance of vocal polyphony during the late sixteenth century. While the trombone provided the bass line, and possibly supported the female 'bass singer', the cornett added embellishments to the upper vocal lines.⁶¹ The latter role is confirmed in *Il desiderio*

⁵⁶ Bottrigari, *Il desiderio* (1594), trans. McClintock, 59–60. Bottrigari is likely to have heard the nuns perform when he resided in Ferrara between 1576 and 1587 and in his later visits to the city. See Raffaella Aleotti, *Sacrae cantiones quinque, septum, octo, & decem vocibus decantande* (1593), ed. C. Ann Carruthers (New York: The Broude Trust, 2006), xv–xviii.

⁵⁷ Bottrigari, *Il desiderio* (1594), trans. McClintock, 60.

⁵⁸ Artusi was a Bolognese priest and a music theorist. See Artusi, *L'Artusi, overo delle* (1600); Bologna: Forni, 1968. As quoted and translated in Aleotti, *Sacrae cantiones*, ed. Carruthers, xxii. Artusi's description of the San Vito nuns is also mentioned in Karin Pendle, 'Musical Women in Early Modern Europe,' in *Women & Music: A History*, second edition, ed. Karin Pendle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 70. A further account of this visit is given in Faustini, *Libro delle historie ferrarese* (1646), 177–180. This also quoted and translated in Aleotti, *Sacrae cantiones*, ed. Carruthers, xxii.

⁵⁹ Guarini, *Compendio historico dell'origine* (1621), 375–376. Guarini's text is quoted and translated in Aleotti, *Sacrae cantiones*, ed. Carruthers, xxiii.

⁶⁰ The notable families are discussed in Aleotti, *Sacrae cantiones*, ed. Carruthers, xxiv.

⁶¹ Although Guarini uses the terms 'tenor' and 'bass' to describe singers within the choir, these terms remain difficult to quantify. They might, for example, refer to the lower vocal ranges of certain women in comparison to

(1594) by the character Benelli who notes that: ‘but at times and in certain places there are such light, vivacious embellishments that they enhance the music and give it the greatest spirit’.⁶² Guarini also singles out the cornett players, which adds further evidence for their supportive, but distinguished roles in choral music. The cornamuses and flutes, as mentioned by Artusi, may also have supported the upper vocal parts.

An example of the repertoire likely to have been performed by the nuns at San Vito is found in Raffaella Aleotti’s *Sacrae cantiones* (1593). She was musical director at the convent from 1598 and her motets, which are scored for five, seven, eight and ten voices, reflect the large musical forces available at San Vito at this time.⁶³ In particular, Motet 18 (*Quem vidistis pastores*), which was composed by her teacher, Ercole Pasquini, and included in Aleotti’s publication, demonstrates the importance of creating a balanced texture across the choir in order to gain full effect of the antiphonal contrasts between the upper and lower choruses (the lower includes Cantus III, Quintus II, Tenor II and Bassus).⁶⁴ In a performance of this motet, wind instruments could have been used to heighten the contrast between the ‘high’ and ‘low’ choirs, as well as aiding clarity and adding weight to the declamatory sections.

The ‘embellishing’ role of the cornett, as described in relation to the musical performances at San Vito, is also apparent in a chronicle regarding the nuns’ music-making at the Augustinian convent of San Geminiano in Modena. Giovanni Battista Spaccini visited this institution as he took part in a religious procession through the city in 1596. In *Cronaca modenese (1588–1636)* he recalled hearing Sister Faustina Borghi:

...my cousin and the daughters of Signor Geminiano, (presently residing in Rome), a young woman of 22 and a fine virtuoso in counterpoint, who plays cornett and organ

other women’s voices, rather than in reference to the vocal ranges of their male counterparts. Similar descriptions of women with ‘bass’ voices are also recorded at convents in Ferrara, Vienna, Innsbruck and, at the Mendicanti in Venice. At the Viennese convents of St Ursula and St Jakob women known as *Bassistin* sometimes sang the bass parts, but if no female bass was available a man was employed to take this part. At St Ursula, the male bass singer usually sang through a window in the choir loft, but on one occasion was allowed into the cloister, chaperoned by the chaplain. Two female tenors and a bass are also recorded as being present at a Servite convent in Innsbruck. See Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 67 + 81. Also, see Michael Talbot, ‘Tenors and Bases at the Venetian “Ospedali,”’ *Acta Musicologica* 66, fasc. 2 (1994), 123–138 and Richard Wistreich, ‘Reconstructing Pre-Romantic Singing Technique,’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. John Potter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 182.

⁶² Bottrigari, *Il desiderio* (1594), trans. McClintock, 60.

⁶³ Raffaella Aleotti, *Sacrae cantiones quinque, septem, octo, & decem vocibus decantande* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1593). For a modern edition see C. Ann Carruthers (New York: The Broude Trust, 2006).

⁶⁴ Aleotti, *Sacrae cantiones*, ed. Carruthers, 113–127. Also, see Bowers, ‘The Emergence of Women Composers,’ 117–118, 142, + 156 and Karin Pendle (ed.), *Women & Music: A History*, second edition (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 90. There has been some confusion regarding the identities of Raffaella Aleotti and Vittoria Aleotti. Earlier scholars believed they were sisters, but it is now presumed that ‘Raffaella’ was the name Vittoria took on her dedication at the convent. Aleotti included two motets by her teacher: ‘Jubilate Deo’ for 5 voices and ‘Quem vidistis’ for ten voices. See W. Richard Schindle, ‘The Vocal Compositions of Ercole Pasquini’ in *Frescobaldi Studies*, ed. Alexander Silbiger (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 128 + 129.

and is the pupil of Fabio Ricchetti, and Sister Sulpizia, daughter of the most illustrious Signor Count Cesis, who plays the lute excellently. Whence, returning to our discussion, they performed a motet of hers which was highly praised, particularly by the Cavaliere del Cornetto [Nicolò Rubini].⁶⁵

Spaccini's observations, most notably his description of her as a 'virtuoso in counterpoint', imply that Borghi displayed knowledge of improvisatory techniques that were traditionally a male preserve and were associated with professional musicians. Although the extent of Faustina Borghi's skills cannot be gauged from Spaccini's account, his description of her musical talents indicates that she must have demonstrated understanding of voice leading, motivic imitation and appropriate diminutions.⁶⁶ Her instrument's flexibility for playing with singers and instruments is evidenced in Aurelio Virgiliano's *Il dolcimelo* (1590), which presents alternative fingerings for the cornett, according to its use.⁶⁷ As Bruce Dickey states, cornett players could: 'adopt meantone temperament when playing with keyboard instruments, but could play in pure intervals with singers or fully flexible instruments such as trombones and violins'.⁶⁸

During Spaccini's visit to San Geminiano he heard the nuns perform a motet by Sulpitia Lodovica Cesis, who was an inhabitant at the convent at the same time as Faustina Borghi. Although Cesis' music was not published until twenty years later, the works within *Motetti spirituali* (1619), as Candace Smith observes, demonstrate late sixteenth-century compositional characteristics, which include poly-choral textures and imitation between the voice parts, rather than the newly favoured concertato style.⁶⁹ Two of the motets in this

⁶⁵ Giovanni Battista Spaccini, *Cronaca modenese (1588–1636)*, eds. Giulio Bertoni, Tommaso Sandonni, and Emilio Paolo Vicini, vol. 1 (Modena: Giovanni Ferraguti, 1911), 34. As reproduced, translated and discussed in Lindsay Maureen Johnson, *Performed Embodiment, Sacred Eroticism, and Voice in Devotions by Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Nuns* (PhD Thesis, University of California, 2013), 10, 17 + 218. This example is also referenced in Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers,' 120 and Cappella Artemisia, *Sulpitia Cesis, Motetti Spirituali* (Italy: Tactus, 2004), 5 (cd sleeve notes by Candace Smith). Fabio Ricchetti was a pupil of Luzzasco Luzzaschi and he later became organist at Modena Cathedral. See Edmond Strainchamps, 'Luzzaschi, Luzzasco,' *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed March 2017.

⁶⁶ The virtuoso cornettist, Girolamo Dalla Casa discussed tonguing technique and division playing in his treatise *Il vero modo di diminvir, con tutte le sorti di stromenti di fiato, & corda, & di voce humana. Di Girolamo Dalla Casa detto da Udene capo de concerti delli stromenti di fiato* (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1584), trans. Jesse Rosenberg in *Historic Brass Society Journal* 1 (1989), 109–114. Also, see Bruce Dickey, 'The Cornett,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 64.

⁶⁷ Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS. C. 33. Aurelio Virgiliano, *Il dolcimelo d'Aurelio Virgiliano dove si contengono variati, passaggi, e diminution cosi per voce, come per tutte sort d'instrumenti musicali; con loro accordi, e modi de sonare*, ca. 1590; ed. Marcello Castellani. Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1979. These are reproduced in Dickey, 'The Cornett,' 63.

⁶⁸ Dickey, 'The Cornett,' 64.

⁶⁹ Candace Smith, 'Complete Collections of Nun Composers,' *Cappella Artemisia* (2017), <http://cappella-artemisia.com/complete-collections-of-nun-composers/>, accessed March 2017.

collection also specify the use of instruments other than the organ, including cornett, trombone, violone and 'arcivolone'.⁷⁰

The performances described above in relation to the nuns of San Vito in Ferrara and San Geminiano in Modena evidence the use of music for entertainments that were additional to the celebration of the Divine Office. The concert setting of the San Vito performance is described in detail by the character Benelli in *Il desiderio* (1594).⁷¹

...you would see them enter one by one, quietly bringing their instruments, either string or wind. They all enter quietly and approach the table without making the least noise and place themselves in the proper place, and some sit, who must do so in order to use their instruments, and others remain standing. Finally the *Maestra* of the concert sits down at one end of the table...with a long, slender, well-polished wand...and when all the other sisters are clearly ready, gives them without noise several signs to begin, and then continues by beating the measure of the time which they must obey in singing and playing.⁷²

The order and control displayed by the nuns, as emphasised by Benelli, establishes the concert scenario as a ritualised act in which the musicians display the same reverence expected of any religious observance. Formality and collective composure are expressed through their organisation and the nuns are also shown to respect hierarchical authority because their tongues are only exercised (in wind-playing and singing) at the request of the conductor. Although the nuns are apparently 'seen' by the invited audience, they are (at least by Benelli) viewed as a collective ensemble in which no individual women are highlighted. This differs from the case of Faustina Borghi whose name was clearly known to her listeners, although they may not have 'seen' her physical body, but rather encountered the praiseworthy sound of her cornett playing from the balconies and performance galleries of the convent. According to Spaccini's chronicle, the main door to the convent was opened during the 1596 procession in order that the nuns' music could be heard.⁷³

These examples illustrate the acceptance of women playing the cornett and trombone to enhance and support the performance of large-scale polyphonic works in the controlled environment of these convents. At the turn of the century, however, a new style of concerted sacred music had begun to emerge and, although instruments continued to be used in the '*stile*

⁷⁰ Sulpitia Cesis, *Motetti spirituali della...Madre Suor Sulpitia Cesis, Monaca di Sant' Agostino* (Modena: Giulian Cassiani, 1619). The scoring for the motet 'Hodie gloriosus Pater Augustinus', which includes cornett and trombone parts is described in Michael Collyer and Bruce Dickey, *A Catalog of Music for the Cornett* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 99. Also, see Smith, 'Complete Collections of Nun Composers'.

⁷¹ He describes seeing twenty-three nuns performing in the 'great concerto', see Bottrigari, *Il desiderio* (1594), trans. McClintock, 58.

⁷² Bottrigari, *Il desiderio* (1594), trans. McClintock, 58.

⁷³ Lindsay Johnson notes that many convents had two main performance spaces, 'the exterior church, accessible to the laity, and the interior church, just for the nuns'. See Johnson, *Performed Embodiment*, 19.

antico’ polyphony, within the new ‘*stile moderno*’ genre, they began to take on more independent roles separate from the vocal parts. Furthermore, the violin became increasingly utilised in sacred performance spaces and eventually overtook the cornett in popularity.⁷⁴

Seventeenth-Century Italian Convents: Concerted Sacred Music

During the early seventeenth century, composers of sacred music began to focus more intensely on the relationship between the words and music, which were explored using contrasting sonorities and expressive solos as influenced by fashionable operatic idioms. Within this new concerted style, voices and instruments were required to take on more distinguished and independent roles. In contrast to merely supporting and doubling the vocal lines, as used in large-polyphonic works of the mid-to late sixteenth century, the new *concerto ecclesiastico* involved smaller-scale ensembles, which often included solo voices, a chorus, basso continuo, and instruments for accompanying and performing obbligato passages.⁷⁵

An example of this style is evident in *Sacri concerti* (1630) by Claudia Francesca Rusca (1593–1676) who was a nun at the convent of Santa Caterina in Brera, Milan.⁷⁶ The works in this publication are written for one to five voices with basso continuo and, in some instances, with additional but flexible instrumentation. *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* and *Gaudete gaudio magno*, for example, are arranged for a solo voice and either a violin and violone, or a ‘fiffara’ (probably a transverse flute) and a trombone.⁷⁷ Robert Kendrick notes that, although it is unlikely that these instruments were available within Rusca’s own religious community, their inclusion within the motet book appears to support the use of wind instruments at other convents. As Kendrick asserts, by referring to the ‘fiffara’, Rusca promotes the use of melody instruments within the convent setting which is reinforced by the book’s dedication to

⁷⁴ The decline of the cornett in sacred music is discussed in Dickey, ‘The Cornett,’ 59–62.

⁷⁵ The concertato style Mass is described by Anne Schnoebelen in ‘The Role of the Violin in the Resurgence of the Mass in the 17th Century,’ *Early Music* 18, no. 4 (1990), 537–542. Also, see Sandra Mangsen, ‘Forms and Genres,’ in *Companion to Baroque Music*, ed. Julie Anne Sadie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 391–394 and Noel O’Regan, ‘The Church Triumphant: Music in the Liturgy,’ in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, eds. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 308–314.

⁷⁶ Claudia Rusca, *Sacri concerti à 1–5 con salmi e canzoni francesi* (Milan: Giorgio Rolla, 1630). Rusca’s life is briefly outlined in Robert Kendrick, ‘Rusca, Claudia,’ *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017.

⁷⁷ Robert Kendrick, ‘Traditions and Priorities in Claudia Rusca’s Motet Book,’ in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Cordula van Wyhe (Hampshire and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 114–115. The term ‘fiffara’ is found in other early seventeenth-century works to denote the flute, as seen in Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Holman (eds.), *Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century: Proceedings of the National Early Music Association Conference, York, 2–4 July 1999* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 128.

archbishop Federico Borromeo (1564–1631) who, counter to ecclesiastical legislation, was also supportive of nuns playing instruments.⁷⁸

The increased use of solo sections in seventeenth-century concertato works is also evident in Lorenzo Agnelli's *Il secondo libro di motetti* (1638), in which his pieces for four and five voices contain parts for instruments, including the cornett, fagotto and chitarrone.⁷⁹ Dedicating his collection of motets to Raffaella Aleotti, who was Abbess of San Vito at that time, Agnelli clearly believed that his work would be suitable for religious women to perform, while also maintaining wider audience appeal.⁸⁰ However, in contrast to the various chronicles that praise the nuns' grand ensemble of the 1590s, there is little surviving evidence that describes the music at San Vito in the seventeenth century. Jane Bowers suggests that the ensemble may have been drastically reduced by this time to one organist (Raffaella) and a viola da gamba player (Olimpia Leoni), as implied by Guarini. On the other hand, in her introduction to the modern edition of Aleotti's *Sacrae cantiones*, C. Ann Carruthers suggests that Agnelli's work was likely to have been 'in the group's repertory'.⁸¹ The inclusion of the 'fagotto' in Agnelli's motet scoring reflects the popularity of this instrument, especially in sacred institution ensembles, including for example, at the Cathedral of Ferrara where Giovanni Battista Bassani (1657–1716) was appointed *maestro di cappella* in 1686. In a similar manner to Agnelli, Bassani published a *Magnificat* arranged for choir and instruments, including a fagotto and a cornett.⁸²

The small number of musical works by Rusca and Agnelli, which have specific links to Italian convents, demonstrate wind instruments in seventeenth-century repertory being used in accompanying and obbligato roles within smaller ensemble pieces. The flexibility of instrumentation in Rusca's *Sacri concerti* is a common trait found in repertoire of this period in which the cornett and violin were interchangeable, as were the trombone and viola. Pieces often carried the direction 'per violin overo cornetto'; although the violin became increasingly

⁷⁸ The pieces scored for instruments; the *Jubilate deo*, *Gaudete gaudio magno* and *Cantate domino* are all dedicated to other nuns and in one case to a nun in another convent. See Kendrick, 'Traditions and Priorities,' 114–115. For more information regarding Federico Borromeo, see Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*, 76–77.

⁷⁹ Lorenzo Agnelli, *Il secondo libro di motetti* (Venezia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1638). His life and works are discussed briefly in Jerome Roche and Elizabeth Roche, 'Agnelli, Lorenzo,' *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017. The obbligato role played by the cornett is mentioned in Collyer and Dickey, *A Catalog of Music for the Cornett*, 20 + 75. For another work also dedicated to Raffaella and composed in the *stile moderno*, see Giovanni Battista Chinelli, *Primo libro di motetto, a vocesola...opera quinta* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1637).

⁸⁰ C. Ann Carruthers highlights the musical dedications penned for Raffaella Alleotti, who was prioress at San Vito from 1636 until 1639. See Aleotti, *Sacrae cantiones*, ed. Carruthers, xxv–xxvi.

⁸¹ Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers,' 142 and Aleotti, *Sacrae cantiones*, ed. Carruthers, xxv.

⁸² Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Bokemeyer Collection, D-BII. MUS. Ms. 1161, Giovanni Battista Bassani, *Magnificat*. This work is listed in Collyer and Dickey, *A Catalog of Music*, 87 and Dickey, 'The Cornett,' 59–62. Bassani's work was written for SATB, violin, two violas, fagotto; and violin, cornett and basso continuo. See Maggie Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón: A History of the Precursor to the Bassoon* (St Albans: Maggie Kilbey, 2002), 26.

popular over the latter part of the century and the cornett diminished drastically from sacred repertoire.⁸³ It is possible that some convents may have had access to trombones, cornetts, flutes and recorders, but the flexibility of using either stringed or wind instruments would have enabled convents to perform these pieces without necessarily requiring nuns to be trained wind players. Instead, they could develop string playing, which may have already been taught as part of a woman's courtly education prior to her entering the convent. This demonstrates that in addition to the post-Tridentine rules of enclosure, which made access to instruments and tutors more difficult in some dioceses, there was also a natural movement within sacred musical genres towards smaller ensembles and string sonorities.

Summary: Italian Convents from the Late Sixteenth to the Mid-Seventeenth Centuries

The evidence for wind-playing by nuns in Italy is relatively sparse, fragmentary and disjointed. However, the use of trombones and cornetts does suggest that these instruments were preferred in northern Italy, which boasted a higher concentration of professional wind players and their families. The examples also demonstrate that wind instruments could be introduced to all-female institutions through dowry waivers for pre-trained girls, as well as through instruction from professional male tutors. These instruments were particularly desirable for convent choirs wishing to develop their polyphonic repertoire and to expand the range of their ensembles. While the trombone could substitute the bass parts, higher winds such as cornetts, recorders and flutes may have been used to support the upper voices. At the most prestigious musical institutions, such as San Vito and San Geminiano, the cornett was also used to embellish the vocal parts with diminutions. The continued (albeit possibly limited) use of the cornett and trombone in convent repertoire of the seventeenth century also underlines their appropriateness for accompanying and complementing vocal parts in smaller concertato works. This was perhaps aided by their tuning capabilities (the fully flexible tuning of the trombone and the adaptability of the cornett to different tunings and temperaments), as well as their voice-like timbres.

In contemporary descriptions of nuns' performances, wind instruments appear to add to the overall amazement expressed by listeners and observers. Their widespread association with professional musicians adds to the exceptionality of the women's musical skills which are, in turn, compared to those of Muses and angels.

⁸³ As Michael Collyer and Bruce Dickey note regarding Battista Bassani's *Magnificat*, the instrumental line is labelled 'Violino 1. Corn'. See Collyer and Dickey, *A Catalog of Music for the Cornett*, 5 + 87. A similar interchangeability is also apparent in Rusca's music where the trombone or viola could be used in performances of her motets. See Kendrick, 'Traditions and Priorities,' 114–115.

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

Early modern Spanish convents have drawn their share of scholarly attention in recent years. Although not as overwhelming as the numerous studies relating to their Italian counterparts, significant studies have been undertaken in relation to many aspects of religious life concerning conventual literacy, art, sacred spaces and gender.⁸⁴ The role of music within these institutions has most notably been investigated by Colleen Baade, and a theme that is evident throughout her research is the importance and prolific use of the bajón in convent music-making.⁸⁵ This is reaffirmed in a number of articles by Beryl Kenyon de Pascual, in which she traces references to the instrument's use in early modern Spain through institutional records, surviving examples and iconographic depictions of the period. Although not the focus for any of these studies, the evidence presented by Baade and Kenyon de Pascual in relation to nuns playing the bajón includes examples of dowry waivers for female bajonistas, the employment of male teachers, and the purchase of instruments. These references stem from a range of female institutions throughout early modern Spain whose musical histories overlap and are complicated by localised and wider-ranging political, economic, social and ecclesiastical factors. Although these are not dismissed, the aim of this section is to take a broader look at how the bajón was incorporated into convent life, why it was a popular choice for nuns and, where possible, what its musical function and role might have been within convent ensembles. This section will initially look at the introduction of the bajón, its incorporation into convent ensembles from the late sixteenth century and the development of self-sufficient convent ensembles at institutions such as in the convents of San Blas (Lerma) and Santa Isabel (Toledo) in the early seventeenth century. This is followed by evidence for the continued use of the bajón into the late eighteenth century, as well as its decline, with particular reference to the convent of Santa Ana in Avila. The section ends with a brief discussion regarding health concerns relating to the physical demands of bajón playing and the implications for female players. To begin this section, however, it is necessary to introduce the organological aspects of the bajón; its design, capabilities and role within sacred music in early modern Spain.

⁸⁴ Anne J. Cruz and Rosilie Hernández (eds.), *Women's Literacy in Early Modern Spain and the New World* (London: Routledge, 2016). For studies regarding convent art see, Mindy Nancarrow Taggard, 'Art and Alienation in Early Modern Spanish Convents,' *South Atlantic Review* 65, no. 1 (2000), 24–40 and Mindy Nancarrow Taggard, 'Picturing Intimacy in a Spanish Golden Age Convent,' *Oxford Art Journal* 23, no. 1 (2000), 99–111.

⁸⁵ Colleen Baade, "'Hired'", Nun Musicians in Early Modern Castile,' in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many Headed Melodies*, ed. Thomasin LaMay (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 287–310; Baade, 'Music and Misgivings,' 81–96; Baade, 'Nun Musicians as Teachers,' 262–283; Baade, 'Two Centuries of Nun Musicians,' 2–22; and Baade, 'Music: Convents,' 240–245.

The Role of the Bajón in Spanish Liturgical Music

The first detailed study of the Spanish bajón was carried out by Beryl Kenyon de Pascual in 1984.⁸⁶ This was superseded by her article, ‘A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians (Bajón and Bajoncillo) and their Music in Spain’ (2000), which remains one of the most comprehensive studies of this instrument to date, alongside Maggie Kilbey’s *Curtal, Dulcian and Bajón: A History of the Precursor to the Bassoon* (2002).⁸⁷ A number of useful organological details can also be found in James Kopp’s *The Bassoon* (2012), which investigates the instrument’s history in relation to the European dulcian.⁸⁸

The pre-baroque Spanish bajón was generally made from a single piece of maple or fruitwood and it tended to feature two keys.⁸⁹ James Kopp has identified the instrument as being tuned to the D-Dorian mode, which he notes, differed from the normative C major tuning of its European counterpart (the dulcian).⁹⁰ He explains that the instrument’s lowest note (D2) matched that of the ‘bass singer’s voice’, and as Maggie Kilbey observes, the bajón’s timbre made it particularly suitable for substituting or supporting the bass part in polyphony.⁹¹ The bajón is first recorded as being used in Pamplona cathedral in 1530 and the instrument was rapidly incorporated into church and cathedral *capillas* throughout Spain during the latter part of the century.⁹² Smaller versions of the bajón, called bajoncillos, were

⁸⁶ Kenyon de Pascual, ‘A Brief Survey of the Late Spanish Bajón,’ *The Galpin Society Journal* 37 (1984), 72–79.

⁸⁷ Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*.

⁸⁸ James B. Kopp, *The Bassoon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

⁸⁹ Bajones produced by Selma often included two keys although evidence suggests that versions with three keys may also have been produced by the instrument maker. Later bajones made during the eighteenth century were sometimes produced in multiple parts. See Beryl Kenyon de Pascual, ‘A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians (Bajón and Bajoncillo) and their Music in Spain,’ *The Galpin Society Journal* 53 (2000), 96–99. The physical characteristics of the instrument are discussed in Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 16 + 44.

⁹⁰ Chromatic notes could be achieved through cross fingerings. See Kopp, *The Bassoon*, 30–32. Kenyon de Pascual states that identifying the specific range of the bajón has proven to be difficult and inconclusive, noting the differences in tuning between surviving bajones. This, she explains, might relate to the instruments’ multiple roles, which required bajonistas to perform at: ‘natural pitch’ for accompanying voices, *punto alto* (a tone higher) for certain wind instruments, particularly shawms and sackbuts, and *punto bajo* (a tone lower) for some organs’. See Kenyon de Pascual, ‘A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,’ 90–100. The latter point suggests some possibility that the tuning of bajones may have been related to local organ pitch, which, according to Robert Stevenson, varied even within the same institution: ‘In major Spanish ecclesiastical establishments two or more accompanying organs tuned at different pitches were usually available’. See *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 409. Aside from the basic tuning of the bajón, as Pablo Nassarre underlined in his treatise, it was the responsibility of wind players to adjust their notes to be in tune with the organ. See Pablo Nassarre, *Escuela música, según la práctica moderna* (Zaragoza, herederos de Diego de Larumbe, 1723–1724). This reference is mentioned in Richard W. Griscom and David Lasocki, *The Recorder: A Research and Information Guide* (London: Routledge, 2003), 269.

⁹¹ Kopp, *The Bassoon*, 30 and Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 44–45.

⁹² It is recorded that Juan de la Rosa was paid to repair bajones that belonged to Pamplona cathedral in 1530. See Kenyon de Pascual, ‘A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,’ 87. A brief list illustrating the uptake of bajones in Spanish cathedrals is presented in Kopp, *The Bassoon*, 17.

produced in a variety of sizes to encompass different tessituras, usually soprano and contralto, but also tenor ranges.⁹³

Bajón players (or bajonistas) were often employed by churches and cathedrals alongside other church minstrels, usually players of the shawm, sackbut and cornett.⁹⁴ The principal duties of cathedral minstrels were to provide music for the celebration of eighteen solemn feast days throughout the church year, and in particular, for First and Second Vespers as well as the Mass.⁹⁵ There were also lesser feast days, additional services, festivals and entertainments when they might have been expected to perform appropriate music.⁹⁶ Liturgical items played by the minstrels included hymns, Magnificat settings, Marian antiphons, litanies and psalms, which were commonly associated with the practice of *alternatim*.⁹⁷ Festive occasions also required the performance of ‘free music’ for entrances, departures and processions, as well as during certain points of the Mass and Vespers.⁹⁸ In addition to these duties, as the 1648 regulations for musicians at Palencia Cathedral stipulate, the bajonista was also required to perform fabordón and vocal polyphony with the choir.⁹⁹ The dual role of the bajonista, which involved playing with the minstrels and supporting the choir (which would have also have involved performing with the organ) appears to have remained fairly static throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although the

⁹³ Kenyon de Pascual discusses seven surviving bajoncillos, which include three sopranos, three contraltos and one tenor instrument. See Kenyon de Pascual, ‘A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,’ 89–90 + 104. Kopp describes the bajoncillos as supporting the upper voices in polyphony, although he includes a photograph of a tenor bajoncillo. See Kopp, *The Bassoon*, 19–21.

⁹⁴ The first institution to formally employ a windband was Seville cathedral in 1526. This was rapidly followed by similar ensembles in other Iberian cathedrals: Jaén cathedral (1540); León cathedral (1544); Sigüenza cathedral (1544); Avila cathedral (1556); and Valencia cathedral (1560) etc. The cornett was increasingly incorporated into church wind bands after 1560. See Douglas Kirk, *Churching the Shawms in Renaissance Spain: Lerma, Archivo de San Pedro Ms. Mus. 1*, vol. 1 (PhD thesis, McGill University, Montréal, 1993), 4–24.

⁹⁵ The high feast days were: Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Holy Saturday, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Holy Trinity, Corpus Christi and its octave, Transfiguration, Assumption, Nativity of the Virgin, All Saint’s Day, Immaculate Conception, Christmas, as well as the individual institution’s saint’s day. See Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 63.

⁹⁶ Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 163–165.

⁹⁷ These might have included a solo voice singing plainchant (accompanied by a bajón) and answered by a polyphonic chorus from the choir and organ. Alternatively, a full chorus might have been answered by an instrumental section played either by the organ or the minstrels. The practice of *alternatim* is discussed in Kopp, *The Bassoon*, 32–33. For the use of instruments in *alternatim*, see Douglas Kirk, ‘Instrumental Music in Lerma, c. 1608,’ *Early Music* 23, no. 3 (1995), 405–408.

⁹⁸ Douglas Kirk notes this as being a parallel situation to the inclusion of ‘free’ music in Italian churches, which included entradas, toccatas, canzonas and sonatas, as identified in the research of Stephen Bonta. See Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 200–202 and Bonta, ‘The Use of Instruments in Sacred Music,’ 519–535.

⁹⁹ These regulations are discussed in Kenyon de Pascual, ‘A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,’ 102. The term ‘fabordón’ is described by Michael Noone as being ‘loosely used to refer to the setting of a liturgical chant in a chordal context’. See Noone, *Music and Musicians in the Escorial Liturgy Under the Hapsburgs, 1563–1700* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 1998), 53.

instrument's repertoire adapted across the period, according to localised preferences, available materials, ecclesiastical demands, and in response to wider musicological developments.¹⁰⁰

The employment positions occupied by church minstrels were often dynastic in nature and passed on from father to son.¹⁰¹ This was not always the case for the role of bajonista, however, because players were often trained as boy choristers and then selected for specialist instrumental tuition if they showed a natural aptitude for music.¹⁰² These students were required to undertake extensive training so that they might eventually apply for church and cathedral positions, which required high levels of musicianship and proficiency in sight reading, improvisation, and transposition.¹⁰³ A number of these skills are outlined in Pablo Nassarre's *Escuela música, según la práctica moderna* (1723–1724) in which he particularly underlines the importance of transposition, achieved either through adjusting the pitch by using the chest to vary the air pressure, or by sight.¹⁰⁴ Pablo Minguet also confirms the professional status of bajón players in *y Yrol, Reglas, y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos mejores, y más usuales* (ca. 1754) in which he explains that it was not considered to be an instrument for amateur instrumentalists.¹⁰⁵

This process of education, rooted in ecclesiastical musical training rather than secular apprenticeship, is highly significant when considering the popularity of the bajón in Spanish convents for several reasons. Firstly, it shows a close connection to choral music and vocal training, which was an approved activity for nuns. This association with singing was long-lasting, and even when the bassoon was introduced into sacred institutions during the eighteenth century in Spain, the bajón continued to be utilised within the choir, whereas the bassoon tended to be associated with the performance of instrumental music.¹⁰⁶ Secondly, when contemplating the employment of male musicians to teach nuns, we might speculate

¹⁰⁰ This dual role is identified in Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,' 103. The longevity of the bajón and its use in cathedrals and churches is discussed in Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 199.

¹⁰¹ Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 5.

¹⁰² The difference between these forms of tuition are recognised in Kopp, *The Bassoon*, 32 and Noone, *Music and Musicians in the Escorial*, 182. In contrast, there are examples of town waits and regimental musicians applying for cathedral bajonista roles, see Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,' 100.

¹⁰³ The audition requirements for Valencia cathedral in 1687 are discussed in Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,' 108 and in Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 45.

¹⁰⁴ Nassarre, *Escuela música* (1723–1724). This text is discussed in Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,' 108.

¹⁰⁵ Pablo Minguet, *y Yrol, Reglas, y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos mejores, y más usuales* [Rules and general advice that teaches the method of playing all the best and most common instruments] (Madrid: Joachim Ibarra, ca. 1754). No printed tutor book for the bajón survives, which, Beryl Kenyon de Pascual suggests is linked to the professional status of this instrument, see 'A Brief Survey of the Late Spanish Bajón,' 101.

¹⁰⁶ James Kopp discusses the instruments' coexistence until the nineteenth century when the bajón went into decline, see Kopp, *The Bassoon*, 8. The longevity of this instrument is discussed in Malcolm Boyd and Juan José Carreras, *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 191 and William Waterhouse, 'The Bassoon, 2. The dulcian and other precursors,' *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017.

that a male bajonista trained by the church was perceived as potentially less dangerous than a secular minstrel. Finally, the instrument itself was primarily associated with sacred music-making and religious performance spaces, which is confirmed by the provenance of many surviving instruments. As Beryl Kenyon de Pascual's research underlines, this is mirrored in contemporary depictions of the Spanish bajón in which the instrument is usually found in the hands of an angel or a chorister.¹⁰⁷

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

The earliest reference to a bajón being played at a convent is found in the records of the Franciscan Monasterio de Constantinopla (Madrid) in 1596. This account evidences that a resident nun was being taught the instrument by an unnamed male teacher ('uno que enseña').¹⁰⁸ At other female monastic institutions in the city, however, music was provided by professional male musicians. At the royal Monasterio de las Descalzas de Santa Clara, for example, Philip III issued a new set of rules for the convent in 1601, which stipulated that it was the duty of the abbess to appoint a male bajonista for the convent. His role was to 'serve the chapel everyday music was performed, and to assist the choir by playing the bajón'.¹⁰⁹

In direct contrast, evidence from the convent of San Blas in Lerma indicates that by ca. 1612 the nuns from this institution were providing vocal and instrumental music at the ducal chapel of San Pedro. Although the Duke of Lerma (Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas) had intended to promote music at San Blas by insisting that a choir was maintained at the institution, his ducal chapel also supported a choir and employed an ensemble of minstrels between 1607 and 1608. Records suggest that the musicians had moved away by 1612, when items from the music library at San Pedro were loaned to the nuns of San Blas.¹¹⁰ In the meantime, Lerma had attempted to replace the ducal chapel minstrels with black slaves. However, as the following entry from the institution's music inventory implies, this was an unsuccessful training programme.

¹⁰⁷ Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcian,' 89–100.

¹⁰⁸ Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,' 102.

¹⁰⁹ Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 56. The provision of male musicians to the royal monastic houses is mentioned in Janet Hathaway, 'Laughter and Scandal: An Inquisition Censure in Late Hapsburg Madrid,' *Acta Musicologica* 75, no. 2 (2003), 248.

¹¹⁰ This was initially a 'low' ensemble and included Miguel de Calavia (bajón), Pedro Deza (sackbut), Felipe Deza (contralto de chirimía) and Pedro de Porras (sackbut). In 1608 Andrés de Alamillos was employed to balance the ensemble (cornetto, soprano shawm, soprano and tenor recorder and cornamuse). See Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 30.

Another big book bound in red of canciones for ministriles, damaged so much that it seems more black than red because it was left in that shape by the blacks His Excellency had here when they were learning to play their instruments.¹¹¹

In response, Lerma turned his attention to the nuns of San Blas who began to provide music for special occasions at San Pedro.¹¹²

The inventory at San Blas indicates that the nuns borrowed several printed books as well as a tome compiled by the minstrels themselves, known as the ‘Felipe Ruger’ manuscript. The following entry is found in the library records, dated 1 June 1615:

Item. Another book of cançiones for minstrels, of parchment leaves bound in blue velvet with red and straw-coloured ribbons [markers]. It was lent to the nuns of San Blas with the other books that are noted in these accounts by the order of the Lord Abbot Lobera...this book is called [titled] Felipe Ruger. I received this book from the hand of Mr Gabriel Díaz, *maestro de capilla of his majesty* [the duke] on 27 October 1614.¹¹³

As shown in Table 2.1, the music borrowed by the nuns included motets, madrigals, psalms, hymns and Magnificats. Furthermore, the ‘Felipe Ruger’ manuscript included music that was required by the minstrels to fulfil their duties of the church calendar, including pieces for participation in the liturgy and ‘free music’ for four, five and six voices such as psalm settings, fabordones, motets, chansons and villancicos.¹¹⁴

The music borrowed by the nuns of San Blas might have helped them to develop musically and to fulfil their performance duties, but these pieces reflect an older generation of composers.¹¹⁵ It is likely, however, that the nuns were also provided with new compositions, including fashionable villancicos by the ducal chapel *maestro de capilla*, Gabriel Díaz, who was employed at San Pedro between 1613 and 1618.¹¹⁶ A number of these pieces, attributed to Díaz, are preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in a collection of *Letras y villancicos que se cantaron la noche de Navidad en el convent de San Blas de la villa de*

¹¹¹ Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 73.

¹¹² It is possible that the nuns borrowed some of the music for a major feast that was held in honour of the convent (and at which the Duke was present) in July 1612, see Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 19 + 46.

¹¹³ The first leaf of this manuscript is found in New York, Hispanic Society of New York, HC 392–298, *Canciones y Motetes de a quarto y a cinco y a seis voces de Philippe Rugier...y de otros*. The rest of the manuscript is found in Lerma, Archivo de San Pedro, MS Mus. 1. The connection between these surviving documents is realised in Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 75.

¹¹⁴ For a detailed discussion regarding the minstrels’ church duties, see Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 163–165. For specific details regarding the music in this manuscript, see 92–162 and Kirk, ‘Instrumental Music in Lerma,’ 394–401.

¹¹⁵ Douglas Kirk suggests that the ‘Felipe Ruger’ manuscript reflects popular music of the 1590s, as favoured by the church minstrels. See Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 158–161.

¹¹⁶ Kirk notes a later collection of music in the manuscript, which was composed for the Ducal Chapel and is written in the same hand. See Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 42.

Lerma monjas dominicas, excellentes músicas (1616).¹¹⁷ This genre of music was generally written in the vernacular and composed for voices and basso continuo. The latter role could have been performed by the bajón, an instrument that was introduced at San Blas by the Duke of Lerma a year later, in 1617.¹¹⁸

The musical nuns at San Blas had already received musical instruments from the duke in 1614 when he purchased three bajoncillos from the imperial instrument maker, Bartolomé de Selma.¹¹⁹ It is possible that two of the bajoncillos were played by Selma's daughters (Angela and María) who were accepted into San Blas, presumably in recognition of their musical talents. If, like their brother Antonio de Selma Salaverde, they had been trained in the family business, the girls would have learnt to play these instruments.¹²⁰ The bajoncillos would have potentially enabled the nuns at San Blas to undertake increasingly difficult polyphonic music by supporting the upper vocal parts of the choir, as well as adding volume to the texture of their ensemble. The instruments may also have been used to perform in *alternatim* where the voices were answered by a bajoncillo ensemble.¹²¹

Further musical acquisitions were also arranged for the nuns in 1615, when Lerma agreed to loan a chest containing five violas da gamba from the ducal chapel of San Pedro to the convent.¹²² The nuns' instrument collection was increased further still in 1617 when

¹¹⁷ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Barbieri Collection, MS. 14,069/52–59. These pieces were written to be performed for Christmas, but other notable times when villancicos were performed include: Epiphany (especially during Matins), the Corpus Christi, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and the celebration of other saints' days. These are discussed in Isabel Pope and Paul R. Laird, 'Villancico', *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017. For information regarding the use of villancicos at Salamanca Cathedral and other Spanish cathedrals, see Álvaro Torrente, 'Function and Liturgical Context of the Villancico in Salamanca Cathedral,' in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, eds. Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 99–142.

¹¹⁸ Villancicos were often associated with Matins, but there is evidence of their use during the Mass, for sacred processions, and sometimes during Vespers and Lauds. They usually consisted of several stanzas (*coplas*) and a refrain (*estribillo*), and they carried stylistic traits relating to their secular roots, which sometimes included the re-use of well-known melodies, as well as triple metres and syncopation. See Pope and Laird, 'Villancico,' *Grove Music Online*, and Pilar Ramos López, 'Pastorales and the Pastoral Tradition in 18th-Century Spanish Villancicos', in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, eds. Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 293.

¹¹⁹ Selma received the following payment from the Duke: 'twenty-nine ducats that His Excellency...sent to pay for three baxonçillos that he bought to send to his monasterio of San Blas in his town of Lerma.' Archivo Histórico Protocolos de Madrid, Esteban de Liaño, Prot. 1866, fol. 1963. As quoted and translated in Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 40–41. A surviving soprano bajoncillo by Selma (made by either Bartolomé or his son, Antonio) can be found in the Museo Nacional de Antropología. This instrument is mentioned in Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,' 96.

¹²⁰ Bartolomé de Selma had nine children. For further information regarding the Selma family, see Beryl Kenyon de Pascual, 'The Wind-Instrument Maker, Bartolomé de Selma (†1616), His Family and Workshop,' *The Galpin Society Journal* 39 (1986), 21–34. Familial musical dynasties are discussed in Baade, 'Nun Musicians as Teachers and Students,' 263–264.

¹²¹ This type of arrangement using voices and dulcians is discussed in Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,' 106.

¹²² Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 40.

Lerma presented them with a two-keyed bajón and two monachords (*monacordios*), which he purchased from Félix Díaz of Valladolid.¹²³

The most detailed accounts of the nuns' music-making are found in relation to King Philip III's state visit to Lerma, which involved lavish festivities that lasted for thirteen days and included feasting, entertainments and music.¹²⁴ On the first evening (3 October) the nuns of San Blas performed motets and villancicos from the 'balconies and tribunes' of the convent. Four days later, they sang motets and accompanied themselves with instruments as the Blessed Sacrament was put away at the ducal chapel, a duty that was typically undertaken by the church minstrels.¹²⁵ Pedro de Herrera details the event as follows:

[The Duke] has brought together such an excellent chapel of nuns, eminent voices and instruments, which in number and quality (exceeding many) is equal to the best. That [choir] which he has put in the collegiate church, the best of all which everyone agrees, and to *Maestro* Gabriel Díaz who leads it, it so large that between its musicians and nuns, they made an Office [Vespers] for five choirs, with each part doubled: and in particular it might be mentioned that no singer or instruments from outside was at the music stands [facistols] on any feast day, even though many distinguished musicians from the Chapel Royal and elsewhere were together there.¹²⁶

As Herrera explains, in addition to singing and playing in their own ensemble, the nuns of San Blas also took part in a large-scale performance at San Pedro. Their connection with the ducal chapel undoubtedly continued after these festivities, and almost certainly when Gabriel Díaz left San Pedro in 1619.¹²⁷ Although it is unlikely that the convent received further patronage from the Duke of Lerma, who eventually fell out of favour with King Philip III, the musical reputation of the nuns of San Blas had clearly made a lasting impression. As the Dominican friar Pedro de Ortega wrote in 1630, the convent was composed of 'the best voices in the kingdom' and the instrumentalists included 'an organist, a harpist, and skilled players of the

¹²³ Kirk notes that it is likely the bajoncillos went missing from the convent during the Napoleonic wars, whereas he suggests that the bajón may have survived (alongside a Baroque bassoon) at the convent until 1852. See Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 41. The monachord (or clavichord) was a lightweight keyboard instrument that was often associated with music teaching and practice. There are several references to these instruments being used in convents in Spain during the seventeenth century. See Bernard Brauchli, *The Clavichord* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 134 and Daniel Mendoza de Acre, *Music in Ibero-America to 1850: A Historical Survey* (Lanham, Maryland; London: Scarecrow Press, 2001), 178.

¹²⁴ These festivities are detailed in Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 41–42.

¹²⁵ Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 43.

¹²⁶ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, R. 15.880, f. 9, Pedro de Herrera, *Translación del santissimo Sacramento a la iglesia collegial de San Pedro de la villa de Lerma* (Madrid, 1618). Douglas Kirk points out that in Luis Robledo, 'Questions of Performance Practice in Philip III's Chapel,' *Early Music* 22, no. 2 (1994), 216 it is asserted that musicians from the royal chapel participated in this office, but Kirk argues that Herrera clearly states that they did not. See Kirk, 'Instrumental Music in Lerma,' 406. This translation of Herrera's description is found in Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 60. This quotation is also partly reproduced in Baade, 'Music and Misgivings,' 86.

¹²⁷ Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 45.

bajón, cornett, cello, violin and shawm, all under the direction of a female *maestra de capilla*'.¹²⁸

The convent of San Blas in Lerma is perhaps the most famous example of a musically acclaimed female institution in Spain during the early seventeenth century. However, the case of the lesser-known convent of Santa Isabel de los Reyes in Toledo indicates that musical patronage from a local dignitary was not essential for the development of a musically self-sufficient convent.

During the early seventeenth century, professional male musicians (singers and instrumentalists) were engaged to perform at Santa Isabel during Holy Week and for other important feast days. This arrangement began to change in 1614, however, when the convent purchased a bajón for the nuns. Encompassing a bass register, this instrument presumably enabled the choir at Santa Isabel to access mainstream SATB music, thus widening the group's performance possibilities. Seven years later, in 1621, the convent purchased two bajoncillos and five viols. These acquisitions evidence the growing musical capabilities of the nuns at Santa Isabel, who were no longer hiring external musicians to perform, but were instead providing seven of the nuns with music lessons. The addition of upper wind instruments also indicates that the choir was attempting increasingly complex and larger polyphonic works, which needed additional support. The bajoncillo was apparently popular among the nuns at Santa Isabel because a further instrument was purchased in 1638, followed by a new bajón in 1643.¹²⁹ These investments, which were directed towards the musical resources of the convent, were justified by Doña Juana as a means of saving money.¹³⁰ However, it is clear that by encouraging a musically self-sufficient ensemble, the nuns were able to follow the rules of enclosure, while also demonstrating awareness of local trends and equalling the musical output of other religious institutions.

At the convents of San Blas and Santa Isabel de los Reyes the introduction of the bajón and bajoncillo indicate crucial turning points in the development of their respective music ensembles where musical forces were expanded to enable performances of complex polyphonic repertoire, which perhaps encompassed larger ranges, fuller textures and louder

¹²⁸ Pedro de Ortega, *Fundación del insigne convent de S. Blas de Lerma, de Religiosas de la Orden de Sto. Domingo* (Burgos, 1630), 14. As quoted and translated in Baade, 'Music and Misgivings,' 86.

¹²⁹ The accounts of Santa Isabel de los Reyes are discussed in: Baade, 'Music: Convents,' 240; Kopp, *The Bassoon*, 33; and Baade, 'Two Centuries of Nun Musicians,' 2–22.

¹³⁰ The 1614 purchase order stated: 'Para que se enseñe a tañerle a una señora religiosa' (so that one of the nuns might be taught how to play them). As translated in Baade, 'Music: Convents,' 240. Musical developments at this convent are also discussed in: Kopp, *The Bassoon*, 33; Baade, 'Two Centuries of Nun Musicians,' 2–22; and Baade, 'Music: Convents,' 240.

volumes.¹³¹ In addition to its supportive function within the choir, the bajón may also have been used as a basso continuo to accompany the performance of fashionable villancicos. Although this role could have been fulfilled by a keyboard instrument, the portability of the bajón would have offered greater flexibility, allowing convent choirs to perform in a variety of spaces, as and when required for special celebrations.

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

The bajón continued to be an important addition to convent music ensembles, and surviving evidence indicates a significant rise in the number of bajón teachers employed by Spanish convents during the mid-seventeenth century. Furthermore, the offering of dowry waivers to pre-trained bajonistas demonstrates the keenness of certain convents to invest in players so that they could develop their own musical ensembles and compete with the musical outputs of neighbouring establishments.¹³²

Records from the Carmelite Monasterio de la Encarnación in Avila, for example, demonstrate a continued interest in the bajón from the early to mid-seventeenth century, particularly through the convent's acceptance of pre-trained girls without dowries and its investment into the musical education of certain inhabitants. In ca. 1603 Eugenia Clara (1591–1646) and her older sister were accepted into the convent without a dowry because of their musical abilities. Described as 'virtuous and poor', the girls were initially taught by their brother who was a priest; the older sister played the organ and harp, while Eugenia Clara was a bajonista.¹³³ Another set of young sisters (twins) are recorded as being brought to the convent by their father when their mother passed away. These girls were accepted as *educanda* and they learned plainchant and polyphony, as well as instruments; Mariana Rosa (1602–?) learnt to play the organ and a variety of stringed instruments, whereas Isabel de Velasco (1602–1669) began bajón lessons at the convent in ca. 1620.¹³⁴ These examples

¹³¹ Later comparisons made between the bajón and bassoon in the eighteenth century describe the latter instrument as having a softer tone quality, see Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,' 104.

¹³² Michael Noone highlights a growing musical requirement for the bajón at San Lorenzo del Escorial during the first two decades of the seventeenth century. He links this change to the reign of Philip III (reign 1598–1621) and the King's encouragement of new compositions and the performance of works by international composers. He also notes that during the reign of Philip IV (1621–1665), between the years 1621 to 1635, Escorial monks only played the bajón whereas other wind instruments (such as the cornett) were played by secular musicians. See Noone, *Music and Musicians in the Escorial Liturgy*, 24–125 + 154.

¹³³ Baade, 'Hired' Nun Musicians in Early Modern Castile,' 289. Eugenia Clara is listed as a bajonista in Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 58.

¹³⁴ According to records, by the time Mariana and Isabel were eight, they were teaching reading and singing, which they continued to do after they had taken their vows at the age of seventeen, and throughout their lives at the convent. Their own musical education was received at the expense of the convent; it was therefore agreed that the girls would not be paid a stipend for their musical services and would only receive money to assist with the maintenance of their instruments. This example is mentioned in: Baade, 'Nun Musicians as Teachers and Students,' 266; Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,' 102; and Kilbey, *Curtal*,

demonstrate the importance of music at the convent, which apparently continued to train its inhabitants until 1662 when both men and women were prohibited from entering the cloister to teach.¹³⁵

Similar educational paths are recorded at Santa Isabel in Segovia where a nun named Laurencia received bajón lessons from Pedro Vidal Acre, a sackbut and bajoncillo player at the cathedral. In conjunction with playing the bajón, Laurencia was also tutored in singing by an anonymous teacher.¹³⁶ The two activities undertaken by Laurencia were undoubtedly mutually beneficial through the development of key musical skills that were essential to both forms of music-making, such as breath control, phrasing and intonation, as well as an understanding of polyphonic repertoire and voice leading.

In a comparable manner to the Monastario de la Encarnación, the musical archives and institutional records at the convent of Santa Ana in Avila demonstrate keen use of the bajón throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as a means for expanding the musical forces of the nuns' choir. This is evident in a manuscript choirbook, which contains works by Francisco Guerrero (1528–1599), including the Mass '*L'homme arme*', a Magnificat, and three motets. These works are scored in four-part polyphony for three sopranos and a bass, which Kenyon de Pascual suggests was played by a bajón.¹³⁷ Another manuscript from the library at Santa Ana contains a five-part Mass by Alfonso Vaz da Costa (d. 1660), who was *maestro de capilla* at Avila cathedral from 1642. This work is scored for two sopranos, alto, tenor, bass and accompaniment, of which Kenyon de Pascual proposes a bajoncillo and bajón may be used to play the lower (tenor and bass) vocal parts.¹³⁸

Continued use of the bajón during the seventeenth century at Santa Ana is evidenced by the profession of Manuela de Jesús in 1654, who was a pre-trained bajonista.¹³⁹ Almost

Dulcian, Bajón, 63. For information about stipends for musician nuns, see Baade, 'Hired' Nun Musicians in Early Modern Castile,' 287–288 and James Casey, *Early Modern Spain: A Social History* (London: Routledge, 1999), 200 + 293 + 295.

¹³⁵ Baade, 'Nun Musicians as Teachers and Students,' 264.

¹³⁶ Baade, 'Nun Musicians as Teachers and Students,' 265.

¹³⁷ The manuscript includes works by Francisco Guerrero which Kenyon de Pascual suggests were probably arranged from a Venetian publication of his five-part motets, also found in the convent music archives, see Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,' 102. Owen Rees suggests that the bass of the *Missa L'homme armé* might have been performed by a male singer from the monastery as singers from this establishment had previously been employed to assist in the singing of services. See Owen Rees, 'Guerrero's 'L'homme armé' Masses and Their Models.' *Early Music History* 12 (1993), 19–20.

¹³⁸ Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,' 102. James Kopp describes the bajoncillo as supporting the upper voices in a choir, although he also includes a picture of a surviving 'tenor' bajoncillo, see Kopp, *The Bassoon*, 19–21. Kenyon de Pascual suggests that a harp was used for the accompaniment. According to Robert Stevenson, by 1635 Vaz da Costa was 'using the harp to accompany Christmas chanzonetas at Badajoz cathedral.' See Robert Stevenson, '(1) Afonso [Alfonso] Vaz da Costa [de Acosta], *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017. For a list of the full catalogue of music found in the archives at Santa Ana, see Alfonso de Vicente Delgado, *La música en el Monasterio de Santa Ana de Avila* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1989).

¹³⁹ Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 72.

fifty years later (in 1702), Teresa Dionisia Mathee de Vedoya, who played the bajón and violón, was also professed at the convent.¹⁴⁰ Her ability to play a stringed instrument mirrors the versatility expected of equivalent male bajonistas in the eighteenth century.¹⁴¹ Francisco [Javier] de la Hurta, for example, who was paid to teach the bajón at Santa Ana in 1761, was also a bajonista and violin player at Avila Cathedral. During this later period, it is likely that bajonistas continued to support or substitute the bass part in traditional vocal polyphony, but they might also have been required to add an obbligato part for the performance of popular villancicos.¹⁴²

In 1767 Huerta became chapel master at the convent of Santa Ana and he contributed compositions for the nuns to perform until the end of his tenure in 1778.¹⁴³ However, at the time of his employment, the convent's musical ensemble had been substantially reduced to include six or fewer nuns who could play the organ, harpsichord, harp and violin.¹⁴⁴ As the research of María Gembero Ustároz demonstrates, most of the villancicos composed by Huerta were written in aria and recitative forms, rather than following the traditional methods of refrain and verse. While this enabled Huerta to compose for the smaller musical forces available at the convent, it also supported his use of 'operatic traits' within the music, which mirrored wider musical trends beyond the confinement of the convent walls.¹⁴⁵ The textural advantages of using the bajón to support and add volume to vocal polyphony were clearly no longer required within the new style of villancico, in which solos and duos were favoured, as were small orchestral accompaniments with continuo.¹⁴⁶

The Bajón and Health Concerns

One of the surprising elements surrounding the popularity of the bajón and the longevity of its use in convent ensembles relates to the physical demands of the instrument. As an entry in the institutional records at the Monasterio de la Encarnación (Avila) indicates, Isabel de Velasco was forced to stop playing the bajón because of a lack of strength 'in her stomach'.¹⁴⁷

Although this physical weakness might, at the time, have been attributed to her gender and the

¹⁴⁰ Kilbey, Curtal, *Dulcian, Bajón*, 79.

¹⁴¹ The versatility of cathedral bajonistas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is mentioned Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,' 103.

¹⁴² These different roles are discussed in Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,' 106.

¹⁴³ Francisco de la Huerta's career movements are discussed in Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 83–84. For a summary of his biography and works composed at Santa Ana, see Ustároz, 'De rosas cercada,' 321 and 332–337.

¹⁴⁴ By 1770 the music ensemble had been reduced to four. See Ustároz, 'De rosas cercada,' 332–333, Table 13.1.

¹⁴⁵ Ustároz, 'De rosas cercada,' 338–342.

¹⁴⁶ The changing style of the villancico is discussed in Pope and Laird, 'Villancico,' *Grove Music Online*.

¹⁴⁷ Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 63 and Kenyon de Pascual, 'A Further Updated Review of the Dulcians,' 102.

early modern understanding of the weaker female body, it is worth discussing a number of other complaints that were raised by male bajonistas because these issues must also have affected female players of the instrument.

In 1721, José de la Peña transferred from his duties as a bajonista to become a chaplain because it was claimed by school officials that his bad health was affecting his performance.¹⁴⁸ Although his case indicates that physical strength and wellbeing were important prerequisites for playing the bajón successfully, grievances issued by other bajonistas suggest that playing this instrument could also have detrimental effects on health. The bajonista at Badajoz Cathedral, for example, requested to transfer onto the bass viol because he was concerned for his wellbeing. His case was refused by the Cathedral Chapter in ca. 1728/29 because it was deemed to be an unnecessary exchange in instrumentation.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, similar apprehensions were also expressed in Pablo Minguet's *y Yrol, Reglas, y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos mejores, y más usuales* (1754) in which he referred to the exhaustive pressures of playing as felt on the chest.¹⁵⁰ This complaint was reiterated by Francisco [Javier] de la Huerta who left Avila in 1778 to take the post of *Maestro de capilla* at Santo Domingo de la Calzada because he also claimed that playing the bajón was bad for his chest.¹⁵¹

Related to the importance of core physical strength, the effects of advanced age are also highlighted as a significant factor in determining playing quality. An early example is found in relation to Juan de Arroyo who, after serving as cathedral bajonista for fifty years at Granada, received payment from the Cathedral Chapter in 1590 to stop playing at the request of his colleagues.¹⁵² This potential problem was negated at La Seu d'Urgell Cathedral where it was stated that instead of the ten-year contract renewal, at the age of sixty, the bajonista's contract would be renewed on a yearly basis.¹⁵³ At the Capilla Real in Madrid the *maestro* issued a request for a bassoon player in 1739, who could replace two bajonistas that he described as being 'too elderly and infirm to play'.¹⁵⁴ In contrast, however, account books for the Monasterio de Santa Isabel at Valladolid show that the bajón player, Ana de Olea, was paid a stipend for fifty-five years and she must therefore have continued to serve and play at the convent throughout her seventies.¹⁵⁵ This example indicates that although advanced age may have been

¹⁴⁸ Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 80.

¹⁴⁹ Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 81.

¹⁵⁰ Minguet, *y Yrol, Reglas* (ca. 1754). This is referenced and translated in Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 83.

¹⁵¹ Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 84.

¹⁵² Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 50.

¹⁵³ Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 52.

¹⁵⁴ Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 82. 'Facistol' was to play and sing from the lectern, see Clive Walkley, *Juan Esquivel: A Master of Sacred Music during the Spanish Golden Age* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2010), 29.

¹⁵⁵ Baade, 'Hired' Nun Musicians in Early Modern Castile,' 298.

a consideration for some players of the bajón, it was by no means a decisive factor for retirement. This may have been particularly important to female bajonistas who were obliged to serve within the choir during their lifetime and an early withdrawal from their musical position could have required the payment of a full dowry. Luisa de la Paz, for example, was forced to retire at the age of forty-seven as bajón player and assistant organist at Madrid's Monasterio de Santa Clara. Unable to fulfil duties owing to ill health, she was required to pay back the rest of her dowry (totalling three hundred ducats) and any revenues that she had received.¹⁵⁶

A further point regarding the physical attributes of bajón players is apparent in an exchange between the Segovia Cathedral Chapter and the sackbut player, Pedro Vidal. Writing to the Chapter in February 1626, Vidal claimed that he could no longer play his instrument sufficiently due to his lack of teeth and the Chapter replied: 'que supla con el bajoncillo en la forma que pudiere' [let him play the bajoncillo as well as he can].¹⁵⁷ It would therefore seem that having a full (or almost full) set of teeth was important for playing the trombone, but was not considered to be as crucial for playing the bajón. This assertion is supported by the advice in Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle* (1636) in which he states the placement of the teeth was crucial to playing instruments with a cup mouthpiece: 'thus it happens that it is difficult to sound this instrument when one has lost the teeth at the spots where the cup is applied, because the wind is easily lost through the point of the breach and cannot be held as well by the force of the lips alone'.¹⁵⁸

The examples of formal concerns and complaints, as raised by male players and institutions alike regarding bajón playing, evidences the importance of wellness, core physical strength and lung capacity. Convents must have considered these factors when addressing new incumbents and organising their musical training programmes, especially as nuns were expected to serve in the convent for life. They also highlight the inhibiting factors of frailty, infirmity and illness, which may have warranted a transfer to alternative roles within the institution or an early retirement from musical duties. Although no specific reference to the bajoncillo is apparent in these complaints it might be assumed that similar physical attributes were required of players, although the smaller instrument presumably required less air to produce a sound.

¹⁵⁶ Baade, 'Hired' Nun Musicians in Early Modern Castile,' 298–299.

¹⁵⁷ As referenced and translated in Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 65.

¹⁵⁸ Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle, contenant la theorie et la pratique de la musique* (Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy, 1636–1637), trans. Roger E. Chapman, *Harmonie universelle: The Books on Instruments* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957), 317.

Summary: Bajóns and Early Modern Spanish Convents

Surviving evidence relating to the use of the bajón and bajoncillo in Spanish convents suggests wide enthusiasm for these instruments, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their introduction into convent ensembles can be viewed as an indication of a developing musical establishment seeking to extend beyond the performance of plainchant, as used for the Divine Office, and towards the performance of simple fabordón settings of psalms and, perhaps, more complex polyphonic works appropriate for festive occasions. In such instances, the bajón and bajoncillo might have been used to support or even substitute the vocal parts of the choir, enabling them to access fuller textured music. In the performance of villancicos, which became increasingly popular in the sacred setting from the seventeenth century, the bajón may have played the basso continuo part, potentially allowing for the additional advantage of flexibility in the arrangement of performance spaces.

Although some girls may have entered the convent already being able to play the bajón and bajoncillo, these instruments were not traditionally associated with the apprenticeship system of secular minstrels. Instead, they were often taught to young singers who demonstrated good vocal skills within monastery or convent choirs. Consequently, these instruments were almost exclusively linked to sacred institutions and the performance of vocal repertoire.

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

In contrast to the large amount of scholarship relating to convents in Italy, and to a slightly lesser degree, Spain, other convents in early modern Europe have received comparatively little scholarly attention. There are, however, a small number of studies which investigate the musical activities of nuns in Austria, Moravia and Bohemia. The most extensive of these, carried out by Janet Page, relates to the musical lives of nuns in eighteenth-century Vienna and their relationship with the Hapsburg court. Page maps the musical development and eventual dissolution of the convents in this city through her detailed investigation of archival records, chronicles and surviving music. Smaller studies by Barbara Lawatsch Melton and Ken Shifrin, who discuss the musical lives of nuns at Nonnberg Abbey in Salzburg, and the musical *kapelle* at the Cistercian convent in Stare Brno respectively, demonstrate that the current paucity of research does not necessarily stem from a lack of surviving evidence. It is therefore conceivable that as more institutional archives are catalogued and documented, further evidence for the musical diversity of convent life in Catholic Europe might be discovered.

Despite the shortage of studies in this area, the research of Page, Lawatsch Melton and Shifrin includes several references to nuns playing a variety of wind instruments at convents in Vienna, Salzburg, Pozsony and Stare Brno. Viewed alongside one another, these examples demonstrate the continued importance of wind instruments in supporting the choral music of convent choirs and their substitution of lower vocal parts. They also show an appreciation of changing musical fashions outside the convent wall through the decline and uptake of various wind instruments within these institutions during the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Moreover, the use of trumpets and trumpet repertory in these convents reflects the privileged position of this instrument and its use as a symbol of the piousness and power of the Austrian Hapsburg dynasty. Owing to the prominent role of the trumpet in both imperial and sacred soundscapes, it will be discussed separately from the other wind instruments used in convents during the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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

Evidence for the use of wind instruments (aside from trumpets) in early modern Austria and Bohemia is sparse, particularly in comparison to examples of nuns learning stringed and keyboard instruments. In relation to the use of woodwind instruments, there are a couple of references to dulcians and flutes being played at Augustinian convents in Vienna. In 1660, for example, Johann Sebastian Müller visited the convent of St Jakob and described hearing these instruments played by the nuns.¹⁵⁹ The musical library at the convent of St Agnes (Vienna) also implies that flutes (or recorders) were available at this institution by the early eighteenth century, alongside keyboard and stringed instruments.¹⁶⁰ At the Ursuline convent (Vienna), surviving music suggests that the nuns' *kapelle* may have included a dulcian player. The music includes Carlo Agostino Badia's (1672–1738) oratorio *Sant'Orsola, vergine e martire*, and the anonymous *Cantata sacra* thought to have been composed for St Ursula's Day in 1695 and Holy Saturday in 1710, respectively.¹⁶¹ In both works, although the instrumentation of the small accompanying ensemble differs slightly, the dulcian is scored as the lowest part.¹⁶² This role as

¹⁵⁹ Johann Sebastian Müller, *Einmal Weimar – Wein und Retour: Johann Sebastian Müller und sein Wienbericht aus dem Jahr 1660*, ed. Katrin Keller, Martin Scheutz and Harold Tersch (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2005), 79. As reproduced in Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 41.

¹⁶⁰ Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 142.

¹⁶¹ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Mus. Hs. 18767, Carlo Agostino Badia, *Sant'Orsola, e martire* (1695). Also, see Orsoline di Vienna, Mus. Hs. 18698, Anon., *Cantata sacra. Per il Sabato Santo Riposando l'Hostia Sacrosanta entro il Core di Giesù nella Chiesa delle R.R. M.M* (1710). These works are discussed in Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 94–97.

¹⁶² *Cantata sacra* is thought to have been performed by the nuns to an audience of imperial guests who visited the convent on Holy Saturday in 1710. See Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 160–161.

an ensemble instrument appears to differ from the use of dulcians and shawms at the convent of Aula Sanctae Mariae in Stare Brno (Bohemia).

During the late seventeenth century, monks from the local Cistercian monasteries in Stare Brno were introduced by Prioress Barbara Vodickova to teach her nuns singing, as well as the organ and violin. Their musical training was extended further still in 1694, when she engaged Father Gerard Krestanek and his two brothers from the nearby Cistercian monastery (Velehrad) to teach the shawm and dulcian to the nuns.¹⁶³ By employing monks of the same order, Vodickova could presumably minimise the potential dangers related to inviting male teachers into her convent because they had taken the same vows of poverty, chastity and obedience as her nuns. The instruments taught by the monks reflect the musical development of the convent, which was clearly in need of support for the choir. These instruments could supply the lower vocal parts, in a comparable manner to the use of the bajón and bajoncillo pairing in Spain. Vodickova's mission to encourage music-making developed to such an extent that the convent was eventually able to boast a self-sufficient *kapelle* of singers and instrumentalists that no longer required tuition from outside teachers. Surviving inventories listing the names and instruments played by the nuns in 1697, 1755 and 1782 show that two of the nuns played flutes in the earlier ensemble, although these were later replaced by violins (see Tables 2.2–2.5).¹⁶⁴ Similarly the shawms and dulcians originally taught by the monks were subsequently replaced by lower strings and a trombone.

The three surviving inventories from the Stare Brno *kapelle* evidence the continued use of the trombone as a supportive bass instrument for the convent choir. In 1697 the choir consisted of soprano, alto and tenor singers; the trombone was presumably the bass voice. This explains why the trombone became obsolete in the 1755 ensemble because there were three female bass singers. However, the instrument reappeared in the 1782 ensemble, presumably to support the singular bass, Anselma Gerosinin.¹⁶⁵

The use of the trombone at the convent in Stare Brno reflects wider ecclesiastical practices in which the trombone continued to play an important role in church music throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As noted by Friedrich Nicolai in 1781: 'In Austria and Bavaria this instrument [the trombone] is still used very frequently and is well played,

¹⁶³ Ken Shifrin, 'The Women's Orchestra of Old Brno,' *Early Music America* 11, no. 2 (2005), 27.

¹⁶⁴ The inventories are reproduced in Shifrin, 'The Women's Orchestra of Old Brno,' 28.

¹⁶⁵ According to Ken Shifrin there is one source that suggests the trombone player (Otilia Kreitmayerinn) may also have doubled as a trumpet player in the 1782 *Kapelle*. See Shifrin, 'The Women's Orchestra of Old Brno,' 28. The tromba marine is known to have had a strong association with convents in German-speaking countries, see Cecil Adkins, 'Trumpet Marine,' *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017. Its use is also confirmed in the records of Viennese convents see Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 67.

especially in churches'.¹⁶⁶ In Vienna, the trombone is commonly mentioned as being used at the Ursuline convent, especially during Mass and Vespers held on feast days during the mid-eighteenth century. Used as an obligato and accompanying instrument, the trombone was not played by nun musicians, but professional players who were employed to perform on these occasions.¹⁶⁷ Further evidence for the use of this instrument in convents, especially played by nun musicians, remains sparse.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, horns are listed as being part of the *kapelle* at Stare Brno. As Tables 2.3 and 2.4 indicate, by 1782 the number of players had risen from two to three. These instruments also appear in records from the convent of St Katharinental in Diessenhofen (Switzerland).¹⁶⁸ As will be discussed later in this chapter, the horn was also introduced to the Mendicanti in Venice in 1750, when two sisters were admitted into the institution because of their skills in horn playing.

The examples of flutes, shawms, dulcians, trombones and horns being played at convents throughout the Austro-Hapsburg Empire demonstrate the extent of local diversity in the use of instruments by nuns to assist their performance of vocal polyphony, either to support voices or to be heard as accompanying and obligato instruments.

Trumpets and Trumpet Repertory in Austrian, Moravian and Bohemian Convents

In seventeenth-century Vienna, the trumpet became an important symbol of imperial power, and its privileged position was secured in 1623 when Ferdinand II founded the Imperial Guild of Court and Field Trumpeters and Court and Army Kettledrummers.¹⁶⁹ These musicians were associated with the cavalry and, as such, the trumpeters and kettledrummers often performed for royal ceremonial occasions on horseback, wearing splendid livery and playing on silver trumpets.¹⁷⁰ To protect their imperial status, other opportunities for performing were carefully outlined in the guild's statutes: 'No honourable trumpeter or kettledrummer shall allow himself to be employed with instruments in any way other than for religious services,

¹⁶⁶ Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz, im jahre 1781*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1783–1784), 545. As referenced and translated in Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 216–217

¹⁶⁷ Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 216.

¹⁶⁸ These instruments are recorded after the convent's dissolution in 1849. See Cecil Adkins and Alis Dickenson, *A Trumpet by Any Other Name: A History of the Trumpet Marine* (Buren: Frits Knuf, 1991), 70.

¹⁶⁹ Bruce P. Gleason, 'Cavalry and Court Trumpeters and Kettledrummers from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century,' *The Galpin Society Journal* 62 (2009), 35.

¹⁷⁰ For further information regarding the trumpet and its historical function as a military and ceremonial instrument, see Gleason, 'Cavalry Trumpet and Kettledrum Practice,' 231–251. For research concerning the trumpet and kettledrum guild under the Hapsburg dynasty and the continuation of these military and ceremonial functions throughout the eighteenth century, see Caldwell Titcomb, 'Baroque Court and Military Trumpets and Kettledrums: Technique and Music,' *The Galpin Society Journal* 9 (1956), 56–81; Gleason, 'Cavalry and Court Trumpeters and Kettledrummers from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century,' *The Galpin Society Journal* 62 (2009), 31–54; and Janet K. Page, 'Music and the Royal Procession in Maria Theresia's Vienna,' *Early Music* 27, no. 1 (1999), 107.

Emperors, Kings, Electors and Princes, Counts, Lords and Knights and nobility, or other persons of high quality.’¹⁷¹ Although members of the *stadtpfeifer* (town musicians) were initially prohibited from performing on trumpets, revisions to the statutes issued in 1711 and 1730 demonstrate an expansion of the original performance privileges, which subsequently permitted them to play trumpets for religious services.¹⁷² This amendment evidences an increased demand for trumpeters, particularly within churches and convents, which the imperial trumpeters were unable to fulfil without the assistance of additional players. A significant factor behind their employment at sacred institutions undoubtedly relates to the Counter Reformation strategies of Ferdinand II. As Steven Saunders outlines in his article ‘The Hapsburg Court of Ferdinand II’ (1991), the Emperor, his family, and the court (including his musicians) visited parish churches and convents on a regular basis to participate in religious observances.¹⁷³ Sacred music played a vital role in these events as a means for reflecting the piety, majesty and power of the court. Trumpets were an integral part of this soundscape and through the performance of loud, declamatory fanfares (*aufzüge*) and *intradass*, a sense of solemnity and imperial splendour could be added to the celebration of liturgical feasts and other festive occasions.

In Vienna, as the research of Janet Page indicates, professional trumpeters and timpanists were often employed to perform at convents for special feast day celebrations, as well as at entrance, clothing and profession ceremonies. Many of these events were attended by members of the imperial household and lavish musical forces were often employed in their honour. An example of such an occasion is recalled by the diarist Johann Sebastian Müller. Describing a clothing ceremony of an imperial lady at the Königinkloster in 1660, he explains:

During the entry the trumpets and timpani began the music, then the imperial and archducal musicians performed both chant and polyphonic music...after the sermon, instrumental music was performed with four choirs of instruments: one with violins,

¹⁷¹ ‘Es soll ehrlicher Trompeter oder Heerpaucker mit seinem Instrumente sic handers als beym Gottesdienste, Kayser, Könige, Chur-und Fürsten, Graften, Frey-herrn und Adellichen Ritterschaften, oder sonst hoch qualifizierten Personen gebracht lassen...’ Johann Ernst Altenburg, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur heroisch-musikalischen Trompeter- und Pauker-Kunst* (Halle: Joh. Christ. Hendel, 1795), 45. As reproduced and translated in Don L. Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet Before 1721* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988), 113.

¹⁷² Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet*, 114–115.

¹⁷³ Steven Saunders, ‘The Hapsburg Court of Ferdinand II and the “Messa, Magnificat et Iubilate Deo a sette chori concertati con le trombe” (1621) of Giovanni Valentini,’ *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44, no. 3 (1991), 380.

theorbos, and viola da gamba; a second with trombones and cornetti; a third with trumpets and timpani; and the fourth with high trumpets...¹⁷⁴

Müller describes the trumpeters playing two different types of music; processional pieces (fanfares), and instrumental music, both of which were performed at specific points during the service. These dual musical roles appear to have been long-standing for trumpeters in Vienna throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As a chronicle from the Ursuline convent in Vienna reports in 1745: ‘Sister Ludovica made her Holy Profession today... [there were] two choirs of trumpets and timpani: one played with the musical ensemble; we had our own musical ensemble.’¹⁷⁵ Another of the convent’s chronicles, written in the same year, details the wages of the trumpet players:

10 fl. 17 xr. to have [trumpets and timpani] play with the litany, but only 7 fl. 7xr. when they play only the fanfares; when they play for the Mass that costs 15 fl. 17 xr., but when they played only the fanfares it costs 9 fl. 7xr.¹⁷⁶

The markedly different wages paid to trumpeters and timpanists for performing during the Litany and Mass, as opposed to playing fanfares, evidences a contrast in the demands of the repertoire. While fanfare repertory (*aufüge*) was closely associated with the trumpet’s traditional military function and based on an aural tradition, other types of music required notational reading skills and more advanced playing techniques, as presented in Girolamo Fantini’s *Modo per imparte a sonare di tromba* (1638).¹⁷⁷ This change is evident in Valentini’s *Mass* and *Te Deum*, composed for the coronation of Ferdinand II as king of Hungary in 1619. The research of Steven Saunders highlights that although trumpets had been used in earlier liturgical works, Valentini’s scoring is one of earliest examples in which the trumpet parts are fully transcribed and therefore do not rely on improvisatory

¹⁷⁴ Müller, *Einmal Weimar – Wein und Retour* (1660), eds. Keller, Scheutz, and Tersch, 52–62. As reproduced in Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 19–20.

¹⁷⁵ Vienna, Ursulinenkloster, *Hauschronik*, III: 120, 20 April 1745 (1740–1755). As reproduced and translated in Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 84.

¹⁷⁶ Vienna, Ursulinenkloster, *Hauschronik*, III: 121 (1740–1755). As reproduced and translated in Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 208.

¹⁷⁷ Fantini’s method includes a variety of symbols related to timbre and pitch as well as advanced tonguing techniques, including trills and slurs. See Girolamo Fantini, *Modo per imparte a sonare di tromba tanto di Guerra quanto musicalmente in organo, con tromba sordina, col cimbalò, e orgn’altro istrumento* (Frankfurt: Daniel Watsch, 1638), trans. Edward Tarr, *Method for Learning to Play the Trumpet in a Warlike Way as well as Musically, with Organ, and with a Mute, with the Harpsichord, and Every Other Instrument* (Vuarmarens, Switzerland: The Brass Press, 1975). For information regarding *aufzüge*, see Page, ‘Music and the Royal Procession,’ 115 and Albert Hiller, *Music for Trumpets from Three Centuries (c. 1600 – after 1900)*, (Cologne: Wolfgang G. Haas-Musikverlag, 1993), 57–114.

skills.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, as reinforced by John Wallace and Alexander McGrattan, the combination of trumpets and voices in polychoral works, as used by Valentini, became a popular sonority and was used by other composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a means of symbolising the grandeur, majesty and piety of the courts in Austria, Hungary and Bohemia.¹⁷⁹

The considerable importance of the trumpet and its associated repertoire within the sacred setting is not only reflected by the employment of professional trumpeters and timpanists within convents, but it is also apparent in the imitation of these practices by nuns. Surviving evidence from certain musically acclaimed convents indicates that some nuns may have played trumpets or performed on trombas marine for important celebrations. The latter, a monochord stringed instrument (also known as a *Nonnengeige* or nun's trumpet), produced a similar sound to its brass counterpart. Using a bow in the right hand and pressing certain nodal points on the string with the left hand, a player could produce the notes of the harmonic series.¹⁸⁰ The tromba marine was therefore an ideal substitute for the trumpet, particularly for female players, because it required no blowing action, it was less physically demanding and, according to Cecil Adkins and Alis Dickenson, it relied on a 'relatively simple technique.'¹⁸¹ In more general terms, the instrument was made using comparatively cheap materials and its access was not restricted by imperial privileges. It is therefore unsurprising that evidence for the use of this instrument, as well as an alternative to the kettledrum, are also found in relation to several churches and monasteries across Europe.¹⁸²

The earliest reference to trumpet repertoire being performed at a convent survives in the archives of Nonnberg Abbey, the musically acclaimed convent in Salzburg. In response to

¹⁷⁸ Saunders, 'The Hapsburg Court of Ferdinand II,' 373–396. This point is also discussed in John Wallace and Alexander McGrattan, *The Trumpet* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 124–127.

¹⁷⁹ Wallace and McGrattan, *The Trumpet*, 124–127.

¹⁸⁰ '...an instrument though as unlike as possible to the Trumpet in its frame (one being a Wind instrument, the other a Monochord) yet it has a wonderful agreement with it in its effect'. See Francis Roberts, 'A Discourse Concerning the Musical Notes of the Trumpet, and Trumpet-Marine, and of the Defects of the Same, by the Honourable Francis Roberts, Esq; R. S. S.,' *Philosophical Transactions* 16 (1686–1692), 559. For the most detailed and comprehensive study of the tromba marine, see Adkins and Dickenson, *A Trumpet by Any Other Name*.

¹⁸¹ Adkins and Dickenson, *A Trumpet by Any Other Name*, 70. This is not the view taken by Sebastian Virdung who notes that because instruments such as the tromba marine had no frets 'For [with these instruments, learning] has to come about much more from a great deal of practice and from understanding of song'. See Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht und alles gesang aus den noten in die tablaturen diser benanten dryer instrumenten der orgeln: der lauten: und der flöten transferieren zu lernen* (Basel: Michael Furter, 1511), trans. Beth Bullard as *Musica getutscht: A Treatise on Musical Instruments (1511)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 104–105.

¹⁸² Thilo Hirsch and Philip E. Tarr, 'Sonderbahres Heerpauken-Instrument zu Tromben': Research, Reconstruction and the Sound of the One-Stringed Wooden Timpani Described by Daniel Speer (1687/1697),' *The Galpin Society Journal* 61 (2008), 257–253. Don Smithers notes some of the ways in which non-privileged players circumnavigated the imperial privileges by designing 'wound instruments' and playing trombones in the style of a trumpet. See Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet*, 114.

the stricter rules of enclosure imposed by Archbishop Paris of Lodron during the 1620s, the convent's inhabitants sought to become musically self-sufficient.¹⁸³ The nuns developed skills on the organ as well as on stringed instruments, and they performed for notable guests, including Elizabeth of Bavaria (1632) and the Elector of Cologne (1661).¹⁸⁴ The convent also began to attract the daughters of notable musicians, including the sisters Ann Kunigund and Maria Eleanora, whose father was the composer and organist Benjamin Ludwig Ramhaufski. The girls were professed at the convent in 1680 and Maria Eleanora could apparently play four instruments, including the tromba marine.¹⁸⁵ Although this is not the earliest reference to the instrument at Nonnberg (it was apparently taken up by Frau Susana Khienburg in 1625), it seems no coincidence that during the later seventeenth century, the nuns at Nonnberg reportedly performed fanfares on trombas marine and timpani for special celebrations, including the festival of the Corpus Christi in 1691 and during the Assumption in 1695.¹⁸⁶ In July 1695 the nuns also welcomed Archbishop Maximilian I Gandolf von Kuenburg to the convent with similar music which, according to the archive chronicle, was received by the Archbishop with amusement.¹⁸⁷ This reaction to the nuns' music undoubtedly stemmed from the Archbishop's personal preference for trumpets and kettledrums; he employed his own corps of musicians to serve his household and they were often employed to perform at the cathedral on special feast days.¹⁸⁸ In addition to fanfares, the Archbishop would have been accustomed to hearing his trumpeters perform substantial parts in the large-scale polychoral works of Andreas Hofer (1629–1684) and his successor, Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber (bap. 1644–1704), whose daughter (Anna Maria) entered Nonnberg Abbey in 1696.¹⁸⁹ In comparison to the large musical forces available at the cathedral, the simple fanfares played by the nuns on imitation instruments were clearly not to the Archbishop's personal taste. As Francis Roberts noted in the late seventeenth century, 'The sound [of the tromba marine] is so like as not to be easily distinguished by the nicest Ear, and as it performs the very same Notes, so it has the same defects as a Trumpet'.¹⁹⁰

Despite the Archbishop's negative reaction to the nuns' fanfare music, the women were apparently unperturbed and continued to perform on the tromba marine throughout the

¹⁸³ Melton, 'Loss and Gain in a Salzburg Convent,' 270.

¹⁸⁴ Melton, 'Loss and Gain in a Salzburg Convent,' 271.

¹⁸⁵ Melton, 'Loss and Gain in a Salzburg Convent,' 271–273.

¹⁸⁶ Adkins and Dickenson, *A Trumpet by Any Other Name*, 69.

¹⁸⁷ Adkins and Dickenson, *A Trumpet by Any Other Name*, 69.

¹⁸⁸ Smithers, *The Music & History of the Baroque Trumpet*, 179 + 347.

¹⁸⁹ Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet*, 180. For a detailed account of Biber's musical career, see Elias Dann and Jiří Sehnal, 'Biber, Heinrich Ignaz Franz von,' *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), www.oxfordmusiconline, accessed March 2017. Biber's daughter became director of the choir and *kapelle* at Nonnberg in 1727, see Melton, 'Loss and Gain in a Salzburg Convent,' 271–273.

¹⁹⁰ Roberts, 'A Discourse Concerning the Musical Notes of the Trumpet,' 560.

early eighteenth century. In 1721 the court trumpeter Thomas Kosteletzki dedicated a fanfare to the nuns at Nonnberg, which was presumably performed by the five nuns who could play the tromba marine at this time.¹⁹¹ An additional thirty fanfares by other notable composers of the period such as Bartholomäus Riedl, Peter Ignatius and Johann Michael Gottmann also survive in the convent's musical archives.¹⁹² According to the diary of Heinrich Pichler in 1746, this repertoire was still being performed by the nuns in the mid-eighteenth century. He reports that during the feast day of St. Scholastica (10 February) the nuns at Nonnberg performed fanfares using an alternative bowed instrument called the 'Rumpelmarin', which he states, 'has only two strings, and makes a tone like two trumpets'.¹⁹³

Comparable chronicles from musically acclaimed convents in Austria, Bavaria, Saxony and Switzerland also confirm the use of trombas marine to perform trumpet fanfares for important celebrations. At the Augustinian convent of St. Jakob auf der Hülben (St James) in Vienna, the nuns received music lessons from imperial musicians during the later seventeenth century.¹⁹⁴ According to Johann Sebastian Müller, who visited the city in 1660, the nuns at St Jakob played a wide variety of instruments, including 'lutes, theorbos, a harp, violins, viols, dulcians, flutes [or recorders], and most notably a full-voiced choir of trumpets marine and timpani'.¹⁹⁵ At the convent of St Katharinental in Diessenhofen (Switzerland) a total of eight trombas marine can be traced to the nunnery and, although no specific pieces for this instrument survive in the institution's extensive library, Adkins and Dickenson highlight that 'there are many works which specify two clarini'.¹⁹⁶ At St Katharinental the tromba marine may therefore have been utilised in the convent's musical ensemble as opposed to being a separate instrument used primarily for performing fanfares. The tromba marine was also played by girls at the Pietà in Venice and is featured in Antonio

¹⁹¹ Adkins and Dickenson, *A Trumpet by Any Other Name*, 69–71.

¹⁹² These pieces are published in Maria Michaela Schnieder-Cuvay, Ernst Hintermaier and Gerhard Walterskirchen (eds.), *Aufzüge für Trompeten und Pauken. Denkmäler der Musik in Salzburg*, vol. 1 (München-Salzburg: Musikverlag Emil Katzwichler, 1977). This repertory includes: six aufzüge by Johann Michael Gottmann (1685–1732) scored for 2 clarini, principale, toccato and timpani; five aufzüge by Peter Ignatius (17 Jh.) scored for 2 clarini, 2 trombe and timpani; one aufzüge by Thomas Kosteletzki (um 1666–1722) scored for 2 clarini, principale, toccato and timpani; four aufzüge by Bartholomäus Riedl (?–1688) scored for 2 clarini, principale, toccata and timpani; and 10 anonymous aufzüge scored for 2 clarini, 2 trombe and timpani.

¹⁹³ *Aus dem Tagebuche des Fr. Heinrich Pichler aus Kremsmünster vom Jahre 1746*, reproduced in Franz Martin, 'Vom Salzburger Fürstenhof um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts,' *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 77 (1937), 14. As translated in Adkins and Dickenson, *A Trumpet by Any Other Name*, 69.

¹⁹⁴ These lessons were conducted in the parlatorio. See Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 45.

¹⁹⁵ Müller, *Einmal Weimar – Wien und Retour* (1660). As quoted and translated in Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 41.

¹⁹⁶ Adkins and Dickenson, *A Trumpet by Any Other Name*, 70–71.

Vivaldi's concerto RV 558, which was performed in honour of the Crown Prince of Saxony when he visited Venice in 1740.¹⁹⁷

In contrast to the performances on trombas marine by the nuns at Nonnberg (Salzburg), St Jakob (Vienna) and St Katharinental (Diessenhofen), the musical ensemble at the Ursuline convent in Pozsony (Hungary) appears to have included a 'real' female trumpet player. In 1688 the nuns held a concert in honour of their royal guests, Emperor Leopold I and Empress Eleonora Magdalena. The convent music group, which included a trumpet, violin, viola and viola da gamba was directed by the abbess, Agnese Ottilie Schalthaus.¹⁹⁸ The nuns were also joined in their music-making by the young Prince George (aged ten) who played the timpani.¹⁹⁹ If Emperor Leopold had, indeed, witnessed a trumpeter rather than tromba marine player at the convent in Pozsony this would not have been his first encounter with a female brass player. As discussed in Chapter 1, Johanna von Hoff performed to great acclaim for the Emperor in Vienna in 1655.²⁰⁰

In comparison to the musical ensemble at Pozsony, a similar array of musical instruments were played by the nuns at the Cistercian convent of Aula Sanctae Mariae in Stare Brno (Bohemia). According to convent records, in 1697 the *kapelle* included five trumpeters who were musically versatile and able to play a variety of instruments, especially strings (Table 2.2). This kind of flexibility was not unique among the female trumpeters at Stare Brno because as evidenced in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (1757), many of the male trumpeters in Salzburg were also able to play violins, violas and violincellos.²⁰¹ Confirmation that the nuns at Stare Brno were brass players rather than players of the tromba marine can be found in later inventories from the convent (dated 1755 and 1782) in which a clear distinction is made between the two instruments. They even show that by the end of the eighteenth century, the tromba marine had taken the place of the trumpet within the convent ensemble (Tables 2.3–2.5). The reduction in the use of the trumpet at Stare Brno

¹⁹⁷ Nuns at the convent of St Marienthal in Saxony are recorded as performing such *intradass* as late as the 1880s, as referenced in Julius Rühlmann, *Geschichte der Bogeninstrumente* (Braunschweig, F. Vieweg, 1882), 30. Widespread use of the tromba marine in convents is discussed in Adkins and Dickenson, *A Trumpet by Any Other Name*, 31. For reference to the tromba marine at the Pietà, see Michael Talbot, 'Vivaldi and the English Viol,' *Early Music* 30, no. 3 (2002), 381–394.

¹⁹⁸ Agnese Ottilie Schalthaus was a singer, lutenist, guitarist and violinist. She was present at the Ursuline convent in Vienna between 1672 and 1676, prior to becoming abbess in Pozsony. See Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 90.

¹⁹⁹ Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 75. Caldwell Titcomb discusses the privileged status of imperial trumpeters and kettledrummers and gives a few examples of members of the royalty (gentlemen) learning these instruments. For example, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar trained as a trumpeter in the Guild, and Prince von Wittgenstein became a kettledrummer. See Titcomb, 'Baroque Court and Military Trumpets and Kettledrums,' 59.

²⁰⁰ Smithers, *The Music & History of the Baroque Trumpet*, 170.

²⁰¹ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1757). As referenced and detailed regarding the trumpet players and their additional instruments in Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet*, 180–181.

might reflect a localised preference for the tromba marina, or it could relate to the convent's intake of nuns as well as the musical resources that were available to the convent. However, it might also mirror wider musical trends, which show a general decline in the use of the trumpet within sacred settings from the mid-eighteenth century. In 1753 the archbishop of Vienna, Johann Joseph Fürst Trauston, issued a ban against the use of the trumpet and timpani in church: 'Since his Holiness considers trumpets and timpani to be solely military instruments, and through papal bull has banned them in churches.'²⁰² This was reinforced further by Empress Maria Theresa's own edicts of 1754 in which she prohibited the use of trumpets and timpani in religious services.²⁰³ According to Johann Samuel Petri's *Anleitung zur praktischen Musik* (1782): 'Trumpet marine... which imitates the tones of the trumpet, and now is only used in nunneries, where there are no female trumpeters'.²⁰⁴

Summary: The Decline of Trumpets in Sacred Institutions

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, hundreds of convents were dissolved under the rule of Joseph II.²⁰⁵ As Janet Page's research highlights, negative references to nuns' music-making were used as a means of rousing further criticism against contemplative institutions by a few pamphleteers. In 1781, for example, it was reported in *Ueber die Kirchenmusik in Wien* that 'One [nun] sings through her nose, as if she had a mute stuck on it; another plays false notes and scratches on her out-of-tune violin in accompaniment; two bow off the strings entirely; and one blows on the trumpet fit to burst her lungs'.²⁰⁶ In the *Kirchenchronik auf das Jahr* (1784) a similar account is given, but the names of the individual nuns make the accusations even more dramatic: '...Sister Agatha often misses the string as if she were in dire straits; and Sister Angelica blows into the trumpets as if threatened by multiple disasters – What joy must such music have brought to the holy angels in Heaven!'²⁰⁷

²⁰² Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 205–206. Over a century earlier the same argument had led to trumpets being banned at San Marco in Venice for being too 'warlike... [and] more suitable for armies than for the house of God'. See Saunders, 'The Hapsburg Court of Ferdinand II,' 396.

²⁰³ Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 205–206.

²⁰⁴ Johann Samuel Petri, *Anleitung zur praktischen Musik*, second edition (Leipzig: J. G. I. Breitkopf, 1782), 378. As translated in Adkins and Dickenson, *A Trumpet by Any Other Name*, 69–70.

²⁰⁵ Jo Ann Kay McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia* (Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press, 1996), 553.

²⁰⁶ '...eine singt durch die Nase, als hätte sie auf selber eine Sordine stecken, die andere geigt falsch und kratzt auf ihrer verstimmten Vionlin zum davon lauffen, zweien springen die Saiten ab, und eine blaset auf der Trompete, daß sie ihr Brustblatt zersprengen möchte...', *Ueber die Kirchenmusik in Wien* (Vienna: Sebastian Hartl, 1781), 13–15. As translated in Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 227 + 252.

²⁰⁷ '...Der Schwester Agatha sprang oft die Saite ab, just da sie selbe am nöthigsten brauchte; und Schwester Angelica bließ in die Trompeten, daß ihr nicht nur einmal ein Unglück drohte – Welche Freude muß wohl eine solche Musik den heiligen Engeln im Himmel verschafft haben?', *Kirchenchronik auf das Jahr* (Vienna, 1784), 56. As reproduced and translated in Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 227 + 253.

The trumpet is used in these descriptions as a means of portraying the women as unfeminine, unnatural and of questionable character, which is accentuated through their individual ‘shaming’. Although the named nuns have not been traced to any convent in Vienna, their instruments were undoubtedly recognisable as being associated with sacred institutions. These misogynistic portrayals of female musicians highlight that even though several women at musically acclaimed convents had been performing on a variety of wind instruments from the mid-seventeenth century through to the late eighteenth century, the traditionally negative tropes relating to women and wind instruments had by no means diminished or altered.

2.6 Summary: Wind Instruments in Early Modern Convents

Evidence for the use of wind instruments at musically acclaimed convents in post-Tridentine northern Italy, Spain and the Austro-Hapsburg regions shows that some convents managed to bypass the initial directives outlined by the Council of Trent, as well as the subsequent prohibitions that were issued by various ecclesiastical authorities relating to the performance of polyphonic music, the use of instruments, and the employment of external musicians in female monastic houses. As the research of scholars such as Craig Monson, Robert Kendrick, Colleen Baade and Janet Page demonstrates, the late sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries witnessed a flourishing musical scene in which many convents throughout Catholic Europe encouraged nuns with their music-making, teaching and composing.²⁰⁸ As Monson points out, however, ‘it is impossible to say how much of this striking growth in convent music might have been in response to the severe standards of strict enclosure imposed upon female monastics after Trent’.²⁰⁹ The examples of nuns playing wind instruments, as briefly mentioned in the studies above, and brought to the fore in this chapter, indicate that such unusual additions to convent ensembles tended to be associated with the most musically acclaimed institutions. More specifically, as identified in this chapter, many of the wind instruments that were incorporated into convent ensembles enabled nuns’ choirs to expand their choral capabilities, allowing them to access different types of repertoire that required fuller textures and wider ranges. Low wind instruments including trombones, bajóns, bajoncillos (tenor) and shawms (tenor), for example, facilitated the performance of fully textured polyphonic music (SATB) by doubling or replacing the lower vocal parts, which may have been difficult to cover with all-female voices. Upper winds such as the cornett, flute,

²⁰⁸ Monson, *Disembodied Voices*, 2–12; Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*, 1–26; Baade, ‘Music and Misgivings,’ 81–96; and Page, *Convent Music and Politics*, 1–17.

²⁰⁹ Monson, ‘Renewal, Reform, and Reaction,’ 412.

recorder, and bajoncillo (soprano and alto), and alto shawm were used in some convent ensembles to support the upper parts, to aid pitch stability, and to add volume. Cornetts also helped to embellish vocal lines using ornamentations and improvised diminutions. Wind instruments were particularly suited to these *colla voce* roles because they blended easily with the human voice owing to their timbral similarities and fine-tuning capabilities. The latter being achieved through fingering alternatives, slide adjustments, air pressure changes and alterations to the embouchure, as outlined in contemporary music treatises.

By incorporating wind instruments into their ensembles, convent choirs could access fashionable, mainstream music that was either available in printed format or through manuscripts that were provided by local composers or copied from the libraries of neighbouring monasteries and churches. The music and instruments played by the nuns evidences their imitation and ‘modelling’ of the musical ensembles within their locality; in churches, monasteries, convents and imperial chapels. As the examples in this section demonstrate, imitation of this kind was often time and place specific, relating to compositional trends, as well as the availability of instruments and teachers. For example, from the mid-seventeenth century in Italy there was a natural decline in the use of the cornett as the popularity of the violin increased, and from the mid-eighteenth century the trumpet began to disappear from sacred settings in the Austro-Hapsburg regions as prohibitions relating to the use of the instrument were enforced by ecclesiastical and imperial authorities. In contrast, the bajón continued to be employed within churches in Spain throughout the late sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These wider patterns are reflected by the changing use of instruments within musically acclaimed convents within these localities.

In addition to supporting the choir, wind instruments were sometimes used within convents to provide instrumental *intradás* and fanfares on special occasions. They could also be employed in dramatic productions (organised by the convent) to support the on-stage action as sound-makers or props, or to provide musical interludes within convent dramas.

To gain access to wind instruments, convents sometimes offered dowry waivers and exemptions to girls from the families of professional musicians who had been apprenticed in the family trade and demonstrated skills that would make appealing additions to institution ensembles. In some instances, male tutors (including minstrels, town waits, imperial musicians and monks) were employed to teach wind instruments to choir nuns, either to further the skills of those already apprenticed in the trade, or to teach those who demonstrated musical talents through their singing. For this reason, the latter group of wind players include women from a variety of social backgrounds, from illustrious noble families (Trombetti’s students at San Lorenzo, Bologna), to girls from poor families (Mariana Rosa and Isabel de

Velasco at the Monasterio de la Encarnación, Avila). Familial social status was therefore not a decisive factor in choosing women to undertake tuition in wind instruments, but rather natural musical talent was an essential pre-requisite. Physical strength, health and tooth structure may also have been taken into consideration. Once trained, these nuns were expected to serve as musicians for their entire lives, passing on their knowledge to the younger intake. As the examples in this chapter demonstrate, owing to the restrictions of enclosure, it became necessary for some convents to become self-sufficient in their music-making with the nuns taking over all aspects of the music curriculum, including the teaching of wind instruments.

Diarists and chroniclers who witnessed nuns performing on wind instruments often described them as being ‘inhuman’ because such skills were thought to be unachievable without the specialist knowledge of male masters. These opinions were especially reiterated in cases where the nuns were self-sufficient with their music-making and employed no external tutors to visit the convent. The incorporation of wind instruments into nuns’ ensembles also enabled the women to perform music that seemed impossible with female voices alone. These ideas were furthered still by the invisibility of convent ensembles whose disembodied sounds could be heard from behind iron grilles, or floating down from the choir loft galleries of convent chapels. In concert scenarios, as demonstrated by the San Vito nuns, although the women could be seen playing a variety of instruments (including wind varieties), their virtuous reputations were upheld through their silent and obedient conduct. Despite these positive associations, however, the late eighteenth-century chronicles from Vienna demonstrate that the traditionally negative associations between wind instruments and female players had not been tempered, and, when required, connections between loudness, ugliness, unnaturalness and morally questionable behaviour could be brought to the fore even when played by women of the cloth.

2.7 Conservatories Introduction: Wind-Playing and Charitable Institutions

During the early sixteenth century, many charitable institutions were founded in European cities to provide poor relief to the most vulnerable members of society.²¹⁰ In addition to shelter and convalescence they sometimes offered educational programmes and apprenticeships to orphans and abandoned children who could use these practical skills towards earning an honest wage for survival in later life. In Catholic and Protestant institutions, the school day was often organised around devotional practices, and singing played an important role within these settings. As Anne Scott explains in *Experiences of*

²¹⁰ A. D. Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy: From the Council of Trent to the French Revolution, 1564–1789* (Hatlow: Longman, 2000), 33.

Charity, 1250–1650 (2014): ‘Music was understood to be especially efficacious when used with orphaned children as it could reform and redeem the soul, by bringing those deemed spiritually lost back into the fold of Christian worship’.²¹¹ Singing could also be utilised by institutions to attract monetary donations and patronage. At St Christ’s Hospital in London (founded in 1553) the children took part in an annual performance of ‘Easter psalms’, and in 1574 Elizabeth I was presented with ‘a solemn song by the Orphans’ when she visited the city of Bristol.²¹² At some institutions evidence suggests that the most skilled singers received extra tuition to learn musical instruments. At St Christ’s Hospital the institutional records indicate that a number of the children were taught the virginals and viols.²¹³ According to John Howes (in 1587) who worked at the institution, the children also learnt ‘to play upon all sorts of instruments, to sound the trumpet, the cornett, the recorder or flute, to play upon sackbuts and all other instruments that are to be played upon either wind or finger’.²¹⁴ Although Amanda Winkler states that it is unclear as to whether the girls received the same music tuition as the boys, records from the institution show that a girl named Ellin Gillet was apprenticed to a City Wait called Walter Lowman in 1595.²¹⁵ Thus, it would appear (at least at the end of the sixteenth century) that musically gifted girls, like the boys, were taught to play musical instruments as a means of securing future employment. Later records from St Christ’s indicate that during the mid-seventeenth century, the girls continued to be educated in singing and these skills were demonstrated in a performance of Thomas Jordan’s masque, *Cupid His Coronation* in 1654. This was a public entertainment in which the girls’ singing was used to enhance the reputation of the hospital and its educational programme, as well as ‘displaying’ the girls to attract potential suitors for the young performers.²¹⁶

At other institutions, instrumental tuition was directed solely towards the boys. This is demonstrated by an event which took place in early sixteenth century Rome, where male

²¹¹ Anne M. Scott, *Experiences of Charity, 1250–1650* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 242.

²¹² The reference to the Bristol performance is found in Mark C. Pilkinton (ed.) *Records of Early English Drama, Bristol* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 91. These instances of performances by orphans are discussed in Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 9–10.

²¹³ Amanda Eubanks Winkler, ‘Dangerous Performance: Cupid in Early Modern Pedagogical Masques,’ in *Gender and Song in Early Modern England*, eds. Leslie C. Dunn and Katherine R. Larson (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2014), 88. The example of St Christ’s hospital is compared to other cases of ‘poor’ children being taught music (especially singing) in Somerset and Southampton in Marsh, *Music and Society*, 9.

²¹⁴ John Howes, *A Famyliar and Frendly Discourse Dialogue Wyse Setting Foorthe a Number of Abuses Comytted in the Governemente of the Poore within thi Cittie, with Sundrie Devyses for Remedye thereof bothe Pleasant for the Reader and Profittable for the State to put in Execucion* (MS: London, 1587) in *Tudor Economic Documents*, vol. 3, eds. R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power (London: Longmans, 1924), 434.

²¹⁵ Amanda Winkler discusses the girls’ education in ‘Dangerous Performance,’ 88. The case of Ellin Gillet is cited in Richard Crewdson, *Apollo’s Swan and Lyre: Five Hundred Years of the Musicians’ Company* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 51–52.

²¹⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B. 165, 107r–113v, Thomas Jordan, *Cupid His Coronation* (1654). See Winkler, ‘Dangerous Performance,’ 88.

instrumentalists from the Ospedale di Santo Spirito were used to lead a public parade of marriageable female orphans through the city in 1521.²¹⁷ In Florence, a musical ensemble of boys from the Ospedale degli Innocenti became particularly renowned for their musical skills and they performed on cornetts, a transverse flute, a viola and a trombone at the wedding of Cesare d'Este and Virginia de' Medici in 1586. Several of these musicians were later employed at the Medici court.²¹⁸ The most well-known musical orphanages for boys were, however, in Naples, where there were four main conservatories: Santa Maria di Loreto; Santa Maria della Pietà dei Turchini; Poveri di Gesù Cristo; and Sant'Onofrio a Capuana. At these institutions, the boys were taught a variety of instruments including strings, winds and brass from renowned musicians of the day.²¹⁹

In relation to girls performing on instruments at Italian foundling hospitals, the earliest reference survives in the form of a fresco at the Ospedale della Scala in Siena. The scene depicts a wedding ceremony, which is accompanied by female musicians who perform from the balcony (Figures 2.1 and 2.2).²²⁰ As Howard Mayer Brown notes, 'the instrumentalists, then, must be professional musicians hired for the occasion, members of the staff, or foundlings themselves'.²²¹ Further evidence for the use of instruments by women at other ospedali foundations in Italian cities is scarce, although Venice is most notably an exception.

In a similar manner to the Neapolitan institutions, the Venetian ospedali grandi were initially established as centres for providing relief to the poor, but during the seventeenth century they became renowned for the musical talents of the resident girls, a phenomenon that

²¹⁷ Musicians employed to teach the boys at di Santo Spirito in Saxia included Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583–1643), Gregorio Allegri (1582–1652), Giovanni Francesco Anerio (ca. 1567–1630), and Giovanni Battista Locatello (active in Rome ca. 1592–1628), as discussed in Jane L. Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice: Musical Foundations, 1525–1855*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 107 + 127. Also, see Gustav Reece, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1959), 546 and E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: New Jersey, 1981), 135.

²¹⁸ These musicians were from a group known as the Franciosini. They were also involved in the 1589 intermedii. See Guion, *A History of the Trombone*, 111.

²¹⁹ The vibrancy of instrumental music in the city of Naples is discussed in Tommaso Astarita, *A Companion to Early Modern Naples* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 359–382. Also, see Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples: Francesco-Provenzale (1642–1704)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 79–94. There is also evidence of music teaching at an ospedale in Sienna, see Colleen Baade, 'Insegniar la zolfa ai gittatelli: Music and Teaching at Santa Maria della Scala, Siena, during the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,' in *Musica Franca: essays in honor of Franc A. D'Accone*, eds. Irene Alm, Alyson McLamore and Colleen Reardon (New York: Pendragon Press, 1996), 119–138.

²²⁰ The fresco by Domenico di Bartolo is in the Pellegrinaio, a long, vaulted hall on the ground floor of the hospital. It is part of a triptych of paintings that represent the main activities of the orphanage. The music ensemble includes a harpist and a tambourine player.

²²¹ Howard Mayer Brown, 'Women Singers and Women's Songs in Fifteenth-Century Italy,' in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, eds. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 69.

Madeline V. Constable aligns with ‘a period of Catholic reformatory zeal’.²²² These institutions were the Ospedale degli Incurabili, the Ospedale della Pietà, the Ospedale di Santa Maria dei Derelitti, and the Ospedale di San Lazzaro e dei Mendicanti. They were each run by governing boards that were responsible for the organisation and funding of their respective establishments.²²³ As the musical reputations of the Venetian ospedali grew over the late seventeenth centuries, the governing boards also employed renowned instrumentalists and composers to tutor the girls and to write music for them to perform. The choirs at these institutions became larger and the supporting instruments more diverse, eventually (at some institutions) to include recorders, flutes, oboes, bassoons, cornetts, trumpets, trombones and horns.

The organisation and musical prestige of these institutions has meant that many source materials relating to the girls’ musical activities survive in the form of institutional records, instrument inventories, employment records, music libraries, memoirs, chronicles and commemorative materials. For this reason, the Venetian ospedali have continued to be a popular research area for scholars, although many studies refer to them in the context of wider histories relating to music in Venice at this time, or in reference to the life and works of specific composers, most notably Vivaldi.²²⁴ The most detailed study, which focusses primarily on women’s music-making at these institutions is Jane Baldauf-Berdes’ *Women Musicians of Venice* (revised edition, 2004), although articles by Denis Arnold, Eleanor Selfridge-Field and Michael Talbot also contribute to our understanding of these musical foundations.²²⁵ These studies make reference to the use of wind instruments, especially at the

²²² Madeline V. Constable, ‘The Education of the Venetian Orphans from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century,’ in *Postello, Venezia e il suo mondo*, ed. Marion Leathers Kuntz (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1988), 179–202.

²²³ The oldest of these institutions was the Pietà. Originally a centre for abandoned children, founded in 1346, the institution’s intake became increasingly secular over the centuries. In 1522 the Incurabili was established as a syphilitic hospital, and it later accepted orphans, reformed prostitutes and children from impoverished noble and citizen classes. The Derelitti opened in 1528 as a haven for street children. The Mendicanti was funded by three noble families towards the end of the sixteenth century and it was a shelter for beggars. For more information about the early history of the individual conservatories, see Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 46–56. For an early history of the Mendicanti, see Deborah Howard, ‘Giambattista Tiepolo’s Frescoes for the Church of the Pietà in Venice,’ *Oxford Journal of Art* 9, no. 1 (1986), 23. For an overview of the ospedali grandi, see Denis Arnold, ‘Orphans and Ladies: The Venetian Conservatories (1690–1790),’ *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 89th sess. (1962–1963), 31.

²²⁴ Denis Arnold, ‘Orchestras in Eighteenth-Century Venice,’ *The Galpin Society Journal* 19 (1966), 3–19; Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi* (New York; London: Constable 1994), 42–47; John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, ‘The Orchestra in Italy,’ in *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 174–179; and Federico Maria Sardelli, *Vivaldi’s Music for Flute and Recorder*, trans. Michael Talbot (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

²²⁵ Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*; Arnold, ‘Orphans and Ladies,’ 31–48; Denis Arnold, ‘Instruments and Instrumental Teaching in the Early Italian Conservatories,’ *The Galpin Society Journal* 18 (1965), 72–81; Denis Arnold, ‘Music at the Mendicanti in the Eighteenth Century,’ *Music & Letters* 65, no. 4 (1984) 345–356; Eleanor Selfridge-Field, ‘Music at the Pietà before Vivaldi,’ *Early Music* 14, no. 3 (1986), 373–

Pietà and Mendicanti, where a few of the girls were tutored in wind playing by renowned musicians of the day.

2.8 Wind Instruments and Music Education at the Venetian Ospedali Grandi

The earliest account of music being taught at a foundling hospital in Venice appears in the *Incurabili* records from 1568.²²⁶ At the turn of the seventeenth century, and possibly earlier, music conservatories had emerged from all four of the main ospedali, and eminent musicians associated with San Marco, including Baldassare Donati (1525–1603), Giovanni Bassano (ca. 1561–1617), Alvisè Grani (?–1633) and Giovanni Rovetta (1596–1668), were employed by the governing boards of each institution to tutor the most advanced girls, lead the *coro* and compose music for them to perform.²²⁷ The latter included sacred works such as psalms, motets, Masses and antiphons appropriate for the celebration of the Divine Office, and in particular, Mass, Vespers and Compline.²²⁸

Daily routines at the ospedali were like those of a monastic institution and all residents were expected to follow the vigorous codes of practice enforced by the establishments' governing bodies. Work and studies were organised around liturgical devotions, visits were kept to a minimum, casual talk was prohibited, and residents were required to follow a modest, devout, and obedient way of life.²²⁹ In a similar manner to the musicians in convent chapels, the women of the ospedali were usually hidden behind iron grilles or elevated in galleries away from the audiences who came to hear their music.²³⁰

386; Denis Arnold, 'Music at the 'Ospedali,' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 111, no. 2 (1988), 156–167; and Talbot, 'Tenors and Basses,' 123–138.

²²⁶ Arnold, 'Music at the Ospedali,' 156 and Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 3.

²²⁷ Baldassare Donato taught at the Ospedaletto and was also the *maestro di cappello* at the Basilica. His successor Giovanni Bassano was a virtuoso cornett player in charge of the instrumental ensemble at San Marco. At the Pietà, Alvisè Grani was also an instrumentalist at San Marco and he was followed by Antonio Gualtieri who was probably from the same establishment. Rovetta, who worked at both the Ospedaletto and at the Mendicanti, later became *maestro di musica* at San Marco. The first *maestri di musica* to compose music exclusively for his students was Natale Monferrato, who was employed at the Mendicanti from 1642. See Arnold, 'Music at the Ospedali,' 157 + 158.

²²⁸ Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 3 + 51. Also, see Simon McVeigh and Jehoash Hirshberg, *The Italian Solo Concerto 1700–1760, Rhetorical Strategies and Style History* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), 35 and Jerome Roche, 'Musica vera di Compierà: Compline and its Music in Seventeenth-Century Italy,' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 109 (1982–1983), 60–79.

²²⁹ For information on the admissions process and visiting, see Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 14–15 + 76–78. As she notes, visits from relatives were allowed once a month and home visits by local boarding students were allowed once a week. Admissions are also discussed in Nicholas Terpstra, 'Making a Living, Making a Life: Work in the Orphanages of Florence and Bologna,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 4 (2000), 1069 + 1075. The comparison to monastic enclosure is made in Carol Neuls-Bates (ed.), *Women in Music, An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present*, rev. ed. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 65.

²³⁰ In a similar manner to convent chapels, they also had adjoining passages and private entrances, as well as specific concert rooms for invited guests. See Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 97–98.

The ospedali grandi accepted boys and girls who were initially educated together before they were separated at the age of ten. The boys were then usually directed into apprenticeships, whereas the girls were engaged in vocational skills that were either used in the ospedali workshops or at the institutions' music schools.²³¹ As the girls reached adolescence the majority of them were expected to return to mainstream society either through marriage, domestic service, or by joining a convent.²³² However, those trained in music were encouraged to stay at the ospedali and the most proficient members of the *coro* who had completed their studies were expected to devote at least ten years of service as performers and teachers.²³³ The teaching responsibilities of these women included instructing the other singers, teaching the beginners and accompanying the girls to their instrument lessons with the male *maestri*.²³⁴ In some cases, the women were commissioned to teach noble pupils whose families were keen for their children to be taught by these talented musicians.²³⁵ This 'pyramid system' of musical education was overseen by the prioress and it was her responsibility to liaise between the board of governors, the visiting male *maestri* and the female music tutors.²³⁶

Musical Expansion and Performance Reception from the Mid-Seventeenth Century

By 1650 the four conservatories had become progressively competitive in their musical outputs as standards were raised, musical forces expanded, and numbers of performances increased to attract audiences whose donations were a vital source of income for the ospedali.²³⁷ Within this ambitious environment, the musical milieu of the Venetian

²³¹ Boys generally left the institution on reaching their mid-teens, see Terpstra, 'Making a Living, Making a Life,' 1068 and Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 80–81.

²³² Those girls who married had to sign a contract stating that they would not sing in public. See Michael Talbot, 'An Italian Overview,' in *Companion to Baroque Music*, ed. Julie Anne Sadie (London: Dent, 1990), 13.

²³³ It is possible that musician women might have been considered as being too well educated for marriage, as noted in Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 82. Also, see page 127 for detailed information regarding the progress of musicians within the *coro*. Michael Talbot suggests that the 'pattern of musical tuition' played an important role in the establishment and sustained musical success of these institutions, see Talbot, 'Tenors and Basses,' 126. It is noted by Baldauf-Berdes, however, that during the 1750s the Mendicanti moved away from the pyramid system towards the 'master-pupil' system. See Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 128.

²³⁴ Talbot, 'Tenors and Basses,' 126.

²³⁵ Institutional rules sometimes prohibited this kind of employment. However, as Arnold notes, if the women were given permission to teach, it is likely that they received other benefits from the families of their pupils. See Arnold, 'Music at the Ospedali,' 160.

²³⁶ The role of the prioress is discussed in Madeline V. Constable, 'The Venetian 'Figlie del Coro': Their Environments and Achievement,' *Music & Letters* 63 (1982), 184–185. In the case of the Pietà, the hospital was run by a female *priora* from 1353, but four governors were soon put in place. The last *priora* was chosen in 1604 and after this time the Pietà was run by governors. See Howard, 'Giambattista Tiepolo's Frescoes,' 23, fn. 8.

²³⁷ Music and extra visitors were not always welcomed at the ospedali. At the Derelitti, documents from 1566, 1568 and 1569 include debates about the girls' singing and how they disturbed the patients. In November 1568, the governors removed the girls from the church service because visitors were attending church to hear the girls and not for devotional reasons. This was overturned in June 1569 as the governors bowed to the financial gains of the musicians. See Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice*,

conservatories also started to evolve. Originally employing Venice's most prestigious musicians (and composers) from San Marco, the governing boards began to broaden their outlook by employing composers of popular genres, as well as 'foreign' musicians, and a wider variety of instrumental tutors.²³⁸ They organised large-scale performances of newly composed music and made scholarships available to women who showed musical promise. In turn, this attracted fee-paying boarders from wealthy families who wished to learn alongside the talented Venetian women.²³⁹ This also enabled the conservatories to establish international reputations, which attracted patrons and visitors on the Grand Tour, who left donations, gifts and legacies. As a Russian visitor to Venice wrote in 1698:

In Venice there are convents where the women play the organ and other instruments, and sing so wonderfully that nowhere else in the world could one find such sweet and harmonious song. Therefore, people come to Venice from all parts of the world to refresh themselves with these angelic songs, above all those of the Convent of the *Incurabili*.²⁴⁰

This reference to the 'angelic songs' of the women is just one of the many ways in which the women musicians were personified as virginal, celestial beings, who were ornaments of the 'chaste city of Venice'.²⁴¹ They contributed to the 'Myth of Venice' as representatives of the harmonious, pious and beautiful Republic.²⁴²

Architecture, Music, Acoustics (London: Yale University Press, 2009), 173. At the Pietà profits were so substantial that the chapel had enough money to ensure a fixed stipend for the *maestro* and organist, and the members of the choir could divide one half of the income between them. See Arnold, 'Music at the Ospedali,' 158.

²³⁸ At the Mendicanti for example, the governors employed Giovanni Legrenzi (after Monferrato) who was a composer of popular opera. In 1701 Francesco Gasperini, who was a composer of opera from Rome, was employed at the Pietà. See Arnold, 'Music at the Ospedali,' 158–159. The employment of 'outside' musicians had a wider effect on the position of the Venetian Guild of Musicians which had maintained a monopoly over performances within the city, but its unique position was becoming increasingly diluted by the influx of non-Venetian musicians and higher profile performances at the conservatories. See Arnold, 'Orchestras in Eighteenth-Century Venice,' 15.

²³⁹ There are records of fee paying students at the Mendicanti and Pietà who were paid for either by patrons or by relatives. Some students also came from 'the great houses and courts of Europe', see Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 4. Fee paying students are also referred to in Howard, 'Giambattista Tiepolo's Frescoes,' 24 and Arnold, 'Orchestras in Eighteenth-Century Venice,' 15. In addition to the women musicians of the conservatories, Venice and its surrounds seem to have boasted other female musicians, including the woman harpsichordist at the Teatro S Giovanni e Paulo. Domenico Bassano's daughter is mentioned in John Evelyn's diary during his stay in Padua. 'Here I learned to play on the theorbo, taught by Signor Domenico Bassano, who had a daughter...that played and sung to nine several instruments, with that skill and address as few masters in Italy exceed her; she likewise composed divers excellent pieces'. See John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn (1620–1706)*, vol. 1, ed. Austin Dobson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 313.

²⁴⁰ Petr Andreevič Tolstago's travel writings are translated in Walter Kolneder, *Antonio Vivaldi: His Life and Work* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), 10–11. The English translation is also reproduced in Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 54.

²⁴¹ Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 145–147.

²⁴² For the 'Myth of Venice', see Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, 13–62; Iain Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2007); and Ellen Rosand, 'Music in the Myth of Venice,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 30, no 4. (1977), 511–537.

The later accounts of Lady Mary Montague and Charles Burney attest to the widespread and continued reputation of the ospedali as centres of musical excellence. As Mary Montague noted in her letter written in 1740: ‘Last night there was a concert of voices and instruments at the Hospital of the Incurabili, where there were two girls that in the opinion of all people excel either Faustina or Cuzzoni, but you know they are never permitted to sing in any theatre’.²⁴³ Burney commented in 1773, ‘The city [Venice] is famous for its musical schools, of which it has four...at each of which there is a performance every Saturday and Sunday evening, as well as on great festivals’.²⁴⁴

The addition of performance galleries and further extensions to the four ospedali chapels during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries evidences the growing number of singers and instrumentalists that needed accommodating at these institutions. Surviving records also indicate a difference in their respective instrumental ensembles. While the Pietà and Mendicanti incorporated a diverse range of instruments, including winds, the Derelitti and Incurabili concentrated primarily on stringed instruments.²⁴⁵ At the Mendicanti, for example, the musician’s gallery was enlarged in 1706, and again in 1742 to make room for its increasing numbers of instruments (including wind players) as it strove to compete with the other conservatories to attract audiences who paid donations.²⁴⁶ At the Pietà a new church was designed between 1745 and 1760 with specialist performance galleries. These were enhanced by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo’s ceiling fresco, which incorporated musician angels playing from a balcony for the Coronation of the Virgin. The instruments include a horn, organ, viola, kettle drum, oboe, chitarrone, double bass, trumpet, violin, cello and drum, all of which are known to have been played at the Pietà (Figure 2.3).²⁴⁷ Thus, the disembodied musical sounds of the ospedali musicians might have been visualised in celestial form by ‘audiences’ as they listened to the unseen women musicians (as reaffirmed by the accompanying imagery).²⁴⁸

²⁴³ Venice, March 29, 1740 in Lady Mary Wortley Montague, *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Montague*, vol. 2, ed. Lord Wharncliffe (Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1837), 7–8. She refers to Faustina Bordoni (1697–1781) and Francesca Cuzzoni (1696–1778). For information regarding these singers, see Suzanne Aspden, *The Rival Sirens: Performance and Identity on Handel’s Operatic Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

²⁴⁴ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy: Or, the journal of a tour through those countries, undertaken to collect materials for a general history of music*, second edition (London: T. Becket and Co. Strand, 1773), 145.

²⁴⁵ Records for the Incurabili in 1718 include one oboe and those for the Derelitti in 1743 include only stringed instruments, see Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 170–171.

²⁴⁶ Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice*, 164–170 (Incurabili), 178–186 (Derelitti) and 187–191 (Mendicanti). For the Pietà, see Howard, ‘Giambattista Tiepolo’s Frescoes,’ 12.

²⁴⁷ Howard, ‘Giambattista Tiepolo’s Frescoes,’ 21–22.

²⁴⁸ Howard, ‘Giambattista Tiepolo’s Frescoes,’ 22.

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

The Pietà is perhaps the most famous institution for nurturing female musical talent and, in particular, the playing of musical instruments.²⁴⁹ This is usually attributed to the period in which Vivaldi worked at the institution, as reflected by the numerous studies concerning the composer and his work.²⁵⁰ The observations of Francesco Coli, however, suggests that women musicians from this institution had already gained a formidable reputation for their instrumental accomplishments prior to Vivaldi's employment there.²⁵¹ As Coli wrote in an article for the *Pallade Veneta* journal (1687):

... Here also there is a seminary for young girls to learn the art of music and of playing every agreeable instrument, and it produces performers who are so lively of voice and so accomplished in singing that they stupefy masters of the art; nor do I believe there can be another institution that can boast of having a set of better concerted and more eruditely played instruments.²⁵²

In 1701 Francesco Gasparini (originally from Rome) was employed at the Pietà to teach keyboard skills and in 1704 he arranged for new instrumental tutors to become part of the teaching staff. These included Antonio Vivaldi who taught violin, and two woodwind teachers, Ignazio Siber (oboe) and Onofrio Penati (possibly recorder).²⁵³ During the same year, six oboes, two chalumeaux, and several sets of reeds were purchased for the Pietà.²⁵⁴ In 1706, Penati was succeeded by the oboist Ludovico Erdmann who was employed to teach the girls.²⁵⁵ Their musical abilities are evident in records from a year later which indicate that female teachers were responsible for lessons in singing, theorbo, oboe, violin, viola and

²⁴⁹ See for example, the renowned violinist at the Pietà, Anna Maria. See Jane L. Baldauf-Berdes, 'Anna Maria della Pietà: The Women Musicians of Venice Personified,' in *Cecilia Reclaimed Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*, ed. Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 134–155.

²⁵⁰ These include: Karl Heller, *Antonio Vivaldi: The Red Priest of Venice*, trans. David Marinelli (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1991), 51–96; Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*; Susan Adams, *Vivaldi: Red Priest of Venice* (Oxford: Lion Hudson, 2010), 26–49; and Talbot, *The Vivaldi Compendium*.

²⁵¹ This point is noted by Selfridge-Field, 'Music at the Pietà before Vivaldi,' 375–382.

²⁵² '...Qui pure s'alleva un seminario di verginelle nell'arte della musica e del suono d'ogni più grato instrumento, e vi riescono soggetti così vivaci nella voce e manerosi nel canto che recano stupore agl'istessi maestri dell'arte, nè credo che si possa altro luogo dar vanto d'havere una muta di strumenti più concertati e più dotti', *Pallade Veneta* (Agosto, 1687), 97. This journal is found in Modena, Biblioteca Estense, 90.d.41, *Pallade Veneta* (Venice: Andrea Polletti, 1687–1688). This quotation is reproduced and translated in Selfridge-Field, 'Music at the Pietà before Vivaldi,' 375 + 385.

²⁵³ Vivaldi was first employed as a violin teacher between 1703 and 1709, and then from 1711 to 1716. In 1716, he was appointed *maestro de' concerti*, a post which lasted for a year. Vivaldi resumed his position again from 1735 to 1739. See McVeigh and Hirshberg, *The Italian Solo Concerto 1700–1760*, 32. As director of the conservatory, the governors stipulated that Vivaldi was to provide music for two concerts a month and to personally attend at least three or four rehearsals for each one, see Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music*, 221. For information regarding the woodwind teachers at the Pietà see, Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 26. Interestingly, woodwind, brass and percussion teachers were paid the lowest salaries at the conservatories. See Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 135.

²⁵⁴ Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 24–26.

²⁵⁵ Ludovico Erdmann was described as 'bravo virtuoso d'oboe et altri istrumenti di fiato' by the theorbo player Niccolò Susier, as cited in Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 26–27.

organ.²⁵⁶ In a similar manner to the self-sufficient education systems employed by some convents, the Pietà had clearly developed the skills of its female instrumentalists, including the woodwind players, so that they could teach the younger musicians. The talents of the oboe players are also confirmed by Vincenzo Coronelli's statement that 'there are also some who play the recorder and the oboe with delicacy' (1706).²⁵⁷ This is reiterated in several of Vivaldi's compositions, which highlight the abilities of the woodwind players. For example, quartet sonata RV 779 (ca. 1708) was specifically composed for the oboist 'Pellegrina', as well as two other named female musicians, Lucia and Candida (violinist and organist).²⁵⁸ The optional chalumeau part also suggests that this instrument was in use at the Pietà during the early eighteenth century.²⁵⁹ Furthermore, his concertos RV 87, 92 and 108 all contain difficult treble recorder parts, as highlighted in the research of Federico Sardelli.²⁶⁰

The first reference to a '*Maestro di traversiè*' at the Pietà appears in records from 1728 when Ignazio Siber (previously employed as an oboe teacher) was re-employed at the conservatory, a position that he would retain until 1757.²⁶¹ The governors apparently hoped that this new instrument would be 'well suited to perfect the harmony of the music performed by our *Coro*'.²⁶² Charles De Brosses' (1709–1777) description of the Pietà's women musicians in 1739 suggests that another woodwind instrument may also have been added to the ensemble by this time.

[They] play the violin, the recorder, the organ, the oboe, the cello, the bassoon; in short there is no instrument large enough to frighten them.²⁶³

Interestingly, De Brosses makes no comment about the facial distortion displayed by the female players, perhaps because they were hidden from sight, but he simply comments on the size of the bassoon. Despite this reference, however, no teacher is recorded as teaching this instrument at the Pietà and only one dulcian appears in the institution's earlier records from

²⁵⁶ At this time, there were about twenty-seven women at the Pietà who were able to perform, as well as those 'in the conservatory section of the *ospedale*' who were learning. See Arnold, 'Music at the Ospedali,' 160.

²⁵⁷ Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, *Guida de' forestieri sacro profana per osservare il più ragguardevole nella città di Venezia* (Venice: De' Paoli, 1706), 21. As translated in Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 27.

²⁵⁸ Susanna 'dall'Oboe' is also highlighted as another talented oboist at the Pietà, see Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 27.

²⁵⁹ Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 35 + 120.

²⁶⁰ Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 121.

²⁶¹ Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 27 + 31.

²⁶² 'possì esser molto addattato à render perfetta l'armonia de concerti di questo nostro Choro', as translated in Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 28.

²⁶³ Letter of 29 August 1739, Charles De Brosses, *Lettres familières écrites d'Italie en 1739 et 1740*, vol. 1, ed. Romain Colomb (Paris: Didier, 1858), 238. An English translation of this letter can be found in McVeigh and Hirshberg, *The Italian Solo Concerto*, 36.

1662.²⁶⁴ Furthermore, a number of Vivaldi's chamber concertos written during his time at the Pietà were rescored to remove the bassoon parts (RV 87, 92 and 106).²⁶⁵ There are, however, records from the Mendicanti that list a fagotto at the conservatory between 1669 and 1673, suggesting that the instrument was not a stranger to the conservatory system and may have also been heard at the Pietà.²⁶⁶

In 1740 the musical women at the Pietà were engaged to entertain Friedrich Christian, Crown Prince of Saxony-Poland, during his visit to Venice.²⁶⁷ Vivaldi was commissioned to compose the instrumental music for the concert and a commemorative score was presented to the prince.²⁶⁸ This included RV 558, a concerto written for two flutes or recorders, two theorboes, two mandolins, two 'salmoè' (an early type of clarinet), two violoni, a tromba marine and a violincello.²⁶⁹ Around the same time as this state concert, the Venetian artist Giovanni Battista Piazzetta painted *Girl with a Recorder*, which displays a modest looking woman holding her instrument (Figure 2.4).²⁷⁰

Evidence from the Pietà's inventories confirms that the governors continued to expand the orchestra during the mid-eighteenth century by purchasing more instruments. In 1747 they bought two corni da caccia, and two more in the following year.²⁷¹ In 1751 Lorenzo Rossoni was also employed to teach this instrument as '*Maestro di Corni da Caccia*' and retained his position until he died in 1762.²⁷² Despite the continued employment of music tutors, by the

²⁶⁴ Kopp, *The Bassoon*, 83–84.

²⁶⁵ Venice, Archivio di Stato, Ospedali e luoghi pii diversi, busta 693, Notatorio T, fol. 204. As quoted and translated in Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 120.

²⁶⁶ Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 120.

²⁶⁷ Baldauf-Berdes, 'Anna Maria della Pietà,' 136–139.

²⁶⁸ In May 1740, the Pietà also paid Vivaldi for 20 concertos, See McVeigh and Hirshberg, *The Italian Solo Concerto 1700–1760*, 32 and Michael Talbot, 'Vivaldi, Antonio,' *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017.

²⁶⁹ The volume presented to the prince remains to this day in Dresden, Sachsische Landesbibliothek, Mus. 2389-0-4. It was published in a facsimile edition by Karl Heller (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1978). See Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 220. Also, see Michael Talbot, 'The Serenata in Eighteenth-Century Venice,' *The Royal Musical Association* 18 (1982), 1. The music performed at this concert has been recorded by The Academy of Ancient Music, *Concert for the Prince of Poland* (Germany: harmonia mundi, 1998).

²⁷⁰ This painting is reproduced in Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 171. Piavetta's artistic output includes several other depictions of the recorder, which are mostly found in the hands of young boys. See Nicholas S. Lander, 'Giovanni Battista Piazzetta', *Recorder Home Page: Iconography* (1996–2017), <http://www.recorderhomepage.net>, accessed March 2017. The identity of the salmoè is discussed in Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music*, 257 and Michael Thomas Roeder, *A History of the Concerto* (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1994), 46.

²⁷¹ During the eighteenth century, a variety of terms were used to describe the horn, including 'corno, corne, corno da caccia, corno da selva and corne de chasse'. See Thomas Hiebert, 'A Case for Horn in D Basso in The Early Eighteenth Century and Its Effect on Horn-and-Trumpet Combinations,' in *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship: Proceedings of the International Historic Brass Symposium, Amherst, 1995*, ed. Stewart Carter (New York: Pendragon Press, 1997), 119.

²⁷² Records are reproduced in Arnold, 'Orphans and Ladies,' 46. Also see Howard, 'Giambattista Tiepolo's Frescoes,' 21.

late eighteenth century, according to Charles Burney, standards at the Pietà were no longer as praiseworthy.

The composition and performance which I heard tonight did not exceed mediocrity; among the singers I could discover no remarkable fine voice, nor performer of good taste'.²⁷³

A week later Burney apparently remained unimpressed, stating that 'The Pietà seems to enjoy the reputation of being the best school not for what it is now, but for what it had done heretofore'.²⁷⁴ He does concede, however, that 'the instrumental players at the Pietà were still notable for their skill and virtuosity'.²⁷⁵

Despite Burney's complaints, the musical women were clearly still regarded as one of Venice's cultural attractions because in 1782 singers and instrumentalists from all four conservatories were involved in a lavish concert for Grand Duke Paul Petrovich of Russia and his duchess, Maria Feodorovna of Russia (future Emperor and Empress of Russia). The evening entertainment was held at *Le Palais des Philharmoniques* and is described in the brochure *Du Séjour des Comtes du Nord à Venise*:

...One hundred young girls drawn from the conservatoires...sang a cantata before them, accompanying themselves on a variety of instruments...²⁷⁶

Commemorative paintings were produced by Gabriel Bella (1730–1799) and Francesco Guardi (1712–1793), which show the women musicians performing from galleries for the dignitaries below (Figures 2.5 and 2.6). The musicians are organised into three tiered rows and wear distinctive uniforms, which contrast greatly with the luxurious satin dresses of the guests.²⁷⁷ In both paintings the lower tier includes women playing stringed instruments while

²⁷³ Burney, *The Present State of Music* (1773), ed. Percy A. Scholes as *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in France and Italy, Vol. 1 of Dr Burney's Musical Tours in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), 112.

²⁷⁴ Burney, *The Present State of Music* (1773), ed. Scholes, 125.

²⁷⁵ Burney, *The Present State of Music* (1773), ed. Scholes, 124. Howard, 'Giambattista Tiepolo's Frescoes,' 21. Arnold notes that 'Music was never as flourishing at the Pietà and the Incurabili as in the 1760s and early 1770s, when the teaching staff at both were large, and the *maestri* were often distinguished'. See Arnold, 'Orphans and Ladies,' 42.

²⁷⁶ Giustiniana Wynne Rosenberg-Orsini, *Du séjour des comtes du Nord à Venise en janvier 1782. Lettre de Mme. La comtesse douairiere des Ursins, et Rosenberg à Mr. Richard Wynne, son frere, à Londres* (Venice: n.p., 1782). As translated in George A. Simonson, 'A New Guardi at Munich,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 17, no. 90 (1910), 366. On this occasion, a cantata by Signor Mortellari was performed. In 1784 the girls from the Derelitti and Pietà performed a cantata for the visitation of the King of Sweden. See Denis Arnold and Elsie Arnold, 'Russians in Venice: The Visit from the Conti del Nord in 1782,' in *Slavonic and Western Music: Essays for Gerald Abraham*, eds. Malcom Brown and Ronald John Wiley (Ann Arbor: UMI Research; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 123–130.

²⁷⁷ All conservatories had an individual uniform, the colours of which were symbolic to the Venetians. The Incurabili had blue (faith), the Pietà was red (charity, although De Brosses recalls seeing them in a white

the upper tier contains singers. The central row however, seats string players in Guardi's painting, and possibly wind players or singers in Bella's painting.²⁷⁸ Despite these discrepancies regarding instrument types, the overall grandness of the occasion and the highly respected musical reputations of these women remain unequivocal.

Horn Players at the Mendicanti from the Mid-Eighteenth Century

The institutional records at the Mendicanti show that the use of musical instruments changed significantly over the course of the seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries, with the ensemble becoming more ambitious in its use of fashionable and unusual instruments. This had not always been the case, however, because in 1620 the institution prohibited the use of any instrument except the organ.²⁷⁹ By the end of the 1660s this ruling appears to have been relaxed and the conservatory apparently owned two organs, a spinet, three harpsichords, three violins, a viola, a viola da braccio, two violoni, two theorbos, three trombones and a fagotto. Maggie Kilbey also notes that a number of cornetts were also purchased by the conservatory in 1671, despite the instrument becoming increasingly obsolete in other musical institutions.²⁸⁰ This acquisition aligns with the training of the conservatory's *maestri di coro*, who were allied to San Marco and continued to compose traditional liturgical music for the women to perform during Mass, Vespers and Compline.²⁸¹ This association is also mirrored in the use of the fagotto, which was also employed within the instrumental ensembles at the Basilica from the early seventeenth century.²⁸²

Inventory records from the late seventeenth century at the Mendicanti show a gradual preference towards stringed instruments with some cornetts and trombones even being 'disposed' of during this time.²⁸³ The final surviving Mendicanti inventory from 1700 includes only four wind instruments (two trombones and two trumpets), while the remaining

uniform), the Derelitti wore white (virginity), and the Mendicanti had purple (mourning). See Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 79.

²⁷⁸ James Byam Shaw, 'Guardi: (2) Francesco Guardi,' *Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordartonline.com>, accessed March 2017.

²⁷⁹ Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 111.

²⁸⁰ These instruments are listed in Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 25. For research relating to the decline of the cornett, see Dickey, 'The Cornett,' 65–67.

²⁸¹ Giovanni Rovetta (1639), Natale Monferrato (1642), Giovanni Legrenzi (1676–1682), Gian Domenico Partenio (1685), Francesco Rossi (1689), Mario Martini (1699), Antonio Biffi (1699 – resignation in 1730), Giuseppe Saratelli (1732–1739), Baldassare Galuppi (1740), and Ferdinando Bertoni (1752–1777). See Arnold, 'Music at the Mendicanti,' 354.

²⁸² At the beginning of the century players were employed for several roles at San Marco: Giovanni Sansoni (cornett, trombone and fagotto) was hired in 1614 and, Giovanni Battista (violin and fagotto) in 1624. By 1640 musicians specialised as 'fagotto' players. Examples include Giovanni Battista Rossi, employed in 1640, Joseph Bonincontri in 1666, and Pietro Aut[en]garden in 1674. After twenty-three years of service, the latter player retired, which marked the end of the post of 'fagotto player' at San Marco, see Kilbey, *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*, 22–25.

²⁸³ Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music*, 45.

instruments are keyboard and stringed varieties. The reduction of musical resources at the Mendicanti is also echoed by the employment of a single instrument teacher, Giovanni Gentili, between 1702 and 1717.²⁸⁴

In 1744 the musician's gallery was enlarged at the Mendicanti, but this was apparently to accommodate the eighty singers in the *coro* and 'those few who understand well how to play instruments'.²⁸⁵ As records from the Mendicanti state: 'The enlarging of the cantoria has made it much more convenient for all the girls who serve in the choir; the instruments can be played fully and conveniently, and the voices can now be placed to best advantage...'.²⁸⁶

Despite the apparent preference for stringed instruments at the Mendicanti during the early eighteenth century, records from 1750 show that Baldassare Galuppi (the conservatory's musical director) encouraged the governing board to consider two female players of the *tromba da caccia* (two horn players).²⁸⁷ As the following register entry confirms, they were eventually accepted on 24 August 1750.

The teacher Galuppi presents for the attention of the Congregation two young sisters Maria Elisabetta and Maria Girolama, aged 14 and 12, female players of the *tromba da caccia*. Their father, Lorenzo Rossoni and their cousin Giuseppe Pisoni, the best professors of the instrument, will continue to educate the two daughters every day, free of charge, until they are able to play any musical composition at first sight. The Congregation was invited to listen to the two players and decide on their merit and acceptance in the *coro*, for the prominence brought to the music, for the novelty the horn provides these days. The sisters would be accepted in the *coro* provided they also study the ordinary instruments. With the ballot at 5/6, the vote was not unanimous (11 in favour, 2 against, 1 abstention). Because of the special circumstances, the decision needed a two thirds majority. (10 were in favour, 4 were against). Agreed that the two daughters are to be accepted.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁴ Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music*, 46.

²⁸⁵ Venice, Archivio di Stato, Ospedali, Busta 654, entry for 2 February 1743 [1744]. As quoted in Arnold, 'Music at the Mendicanti,' 350.

²⁸⁶ Venice, Archivio di Stato, Ospedali, Busta 655, entry for 21 September 1744. As quoted in Arnold, 'Music at the Mendicanti,' 350.

²⁸⁷ The classification of the 'tromba da caccia' as either a horn or a coiled trumpet has caused discrepancies in the identification of instruments, especially, for example, in relation to the instrument depicted in Elias Gottlob Haussmann's (1696–1774) portrait of Bach's principle trumpet player in Leipzig, Gottfried Reich (1667–1734). As Thomas Hiebert points out, the coiled trumpet and horn were not vastly different from one another, although they became increasingly distinguished during the eighteenth century. See Hiebert, 'The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, eds. Trevor Herbert and John Wallace, reprint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 103–110. The research of Reine Dahlqvist, however, indicates that in Italy, the term 'tromba da caccia' was used to denote the horn. See Reine Dahlqvist, 'Gottfried Reiche's Instrument: A Problem of Classification,' *Historic Brass Society Journal* 5 (1993), 174–191.

²⁸⁸ '1744, 21 Set. Il maestro Galuppi presenta all'attenzione della Congregazione due giovani sorelle Maria Elisabetta e Maria Girolama, di anni 14 e 12, suonatrici di tromba da caccia. Il loro padre Lorenzo Rossoni e un loro cugino Giuseppe Pisoni de migliori professori in tal genere continueranno ad istruire ogni giorno e gratuitamente le due figliole finché saranno in grado di suonare a prima vista una qualsiasi composizione musicale. La Congregazione è invitata ad ascoltare le due sonatrici e decidere in merito alla loro accettazione nel Coro, per il rissalto ch'apporta alle musiche ... per la novità che reca la tromba di presente. Saranno accettate nel Coro purché studino anche gli strumenti ordinari. Ballottata con i 5/6, la votazione pende (11 de sì, 2 de nò, 1 n.s.). Trattandosi di circostanze particolari, abbia da considerarsi presa con li due terzi. (10 de sì, 4 de nò) Preso

The governing board were not easily swayed into accepting the girls and specific entry requirements were stipulated. However, Elizabetta and Maria had been tutored by the most admired players in Venice and their musical skills were advantageous to the conservatory.²⁸⁹ Galuppi's personal intervention in this instance also evidences his keenness for the sisters to be part of the Mendicanti's musical ensemble.

The tromba da caccia had become especially popular among the Neapolitan school for its use in operatic repertory and many of the non-Venetian *maestri* who were employed at the Pietà, Incurabili and Derelitti had studied in Naples.²⁹⁰ Although Galuppi was Venetian, he had been a pupil of Antonio Lotti whose operatic scores were renowned for their varied instrumentation, including recorders, trumpets, oboes and horns.²⁹¹ It is quite likely that the girls were accepted into the Mendicanti because Gallupi and the governing board wanted to 'keep up' with the other conservatories in an effort to demonstrate that the institution was not averse to following changes in fashion and to pushing its musical boundaries. Other reasons for Gallupi's encouragement of the girls to audition for a place at the convent might include his personal interest in supporting two fellow professional musicians (the father and his nephew), or simply to take the opportunity of having horns in the ospedale ensemble.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century the Mendicanti appears to have continued its development of instrumental music. As Charles Burney noted in 1771: 'it was really curious to see, as well as to hear every part of this excellent concert, performed by female violins, hautbois, tenors, basses, harpsichord, French horns and even double basses'.²⁹² This account demonstrates a dramatic change in instrumentation, and the Mendicanti's transition away from traditional, sacred ensemble instruments, towards fashionable wind instruments such as oboes and horns. It is also possible that the performance described by Burney included the horn-playing Rossoni sisters. The siblings entered the conservatory at a

che siano accestate le due Figlie'. Archivio Istituzioni di Ricovero e di Educazione, Ospedali di San Lazzaro e dei Mendicanti A. 6, Registro de Congregazioni Tomo sesto (1732–1756), n. 6175. As reproduced in *Arte e musica all'Ospedaletto: schede d'archivio sull'attività musicale degli ospedali dei derelitti e dei mendicanti di Venezia (sec. XVI–XVIII)* (Venice: Stamperia di Venezia, 1978), 189–190. With thanks to Richard Wistreich for assisting with this translation.

²⁸⁹ Records of the admission are found in Venice, Archivio Istituzione di Ricovero e di Educazione, Ospedale di San Lazzaro e dei Mendicanti, A. 6, Catastici o Notatori (1732–1756), n. 6175: 24 Aug. 1750. This example is referenced in See Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 121.

²⁹⁰ Musical directors at the other conservatories included the following musicians. At the Pietà: Nicola Porpora (1742–1744), b. Naples and Andrea Bernasconi (1746–1752) b. Marseilles, referred to as Milanese and Veronese. At the Incurabili: Vicenzo Ciampi (1747–1748) b. Piacenza, representative of the Neapolitan school and Francesco Durante (1753–1763). b. Frattamaggiore, studied in Naples. At the Derelitti: Nicola Porpora (1744–1747), as above, Gaetano Pampani (1747–1766) b. Modena, and Tommaso Traetta (1766–1779), b. Bitonto, studied in Naples. These musicians are discussed in Arnold, 'Music at the Mendicanti,' 346.

²⁹¹ Heinrich Domnich claimed in *Méthode de premier et de second cor* (Paris: Le Roy, 1807), iii that Scarlatti and Lotti were the first to introduce the horn into the Italian orchestras. Other pupils of Lotti are known to have imitated his use of the horn. See Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti, 'The Horn, History to c. 1800,' *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017.

²⁹² Burney, *The Present State of Music* (1773), ed. Scholes, 136–137.

young age and would have been around thirty-five and thirty-three years old, respectively, at the time of this performance.

The example of the Rossoni sisters highlights the Venetian ospedali as another outlet for the women of professional musician families to pursue musical careers.²⁹³ At the ages of 14 and 12, when the Rossoni sisters were entering puberty, they channelled their talents into the *coro del figlie*. Changing from girls into young women, the Rossoni sisters were able to continue their wind-playing in the confines of the Mendicanti on the condition that they also learnt to play ‘ordinary instruments’. The girls entered the conservatory at a time of change, when *maestri* and governing boards were broadening their repertoire from liturgical musical forms towards popular and fashionable secular works, which required varied and diverse instrumentation.

A final reference to the musical women at the Mendicanti appears in Jean Jacques Rousseau’s *Confessions* (1782):

Every Sunday at the church of each of the four ‘scuole’, during vespers, motettos or anthems with full choruses, accompanied by a great orchestra, and composed and directed by the best masters in Italy are sung in the galleries by girls only; not one of whom is more than twenty years of age. I have not an idea of anything so voluptuous and affecting as this music; the richness of the art, the exquisite taste of the vocal part, the excellence of the voices, the justness and execution, everything in these delightful concerts concurs to produce an impression which certainly is not the mode, but from which I am of the opinion no heart is secure. Carrio and I never failed to be present at these vespers of the ‘Mendicanti’, and we were not alone. The church was always full of the lovers of the art, and even the actors of the opera came there to form their tastes after these excellent models. What vexed me was the iron grate, which suffered nothing to escape but sounds, and concealed from me the angels of which they were worthy. I talked of nothing else. One day I spoke of it at Le Blond’s; “if you are desirous,” said he, “to see those little girls, it will be an easy matter to satisfy your wishes. I am one of the administrators of the house, I will give you a collation with them.” I did not let him rest until he had fulfilled his promise. In entering the saloon, which contained these beauties I so much sighed to see, I felt a trembling of love which I had never before experienced. M. Le Blond presented to me one after the other, these celebrated female singers, of whom the names and voices were all with which I was acquainted. Come Sophia, –she was horrid. Come Cattina, –she had but one eye. Come Bettina, –the smallpox had entirely disfigured her. Scarcely one of them was without some striking defect.

Le Blond laughed at my surprise, however, two or three of them appeared tolerable, these never sung but in the choruses; I was almost in despair. During the collation we endeavoured to excite them, and they soon became enlivened; ugliness

²⁹³ Family ties enabled some women to gain higher positions within the conservatory, including Marietta Giusti (daughter of Paolo Giusti, organist at the Mendicanti) who was a member of the *coro* in the Pietà. In 1612, she transferred to the same establishment as her father and was employed as an organist, teacher and composer. Her sister, Caterina succeeded her position in 1618. The sisters Franceschina and Caterina Dal Basso were also admitted into the Mendicanti in 1612. They arrived from Udine and paid the conservatory for a room and board. See Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice*, 111 + 303.

does not exclude the graces, and I found they possessed them. I said to myself, they cannot sing in this manner without intelligence and sensibility, they must have both; in time, my manner of seeing them changed to such a degree that I left the house almost in love with each of these ugly faces. I have scarcely courage enough to return to vespers. But after having seen the girls, the danger was lessened. I still found their singing delightful; and their voices so much embellished by their persons that, in spite of my eyes, I obstinately continued to think them beautiful.²⁹⁴

Rousseau describes his struggle to reconcile the difference between his aural and visual experiences, together with his understanding of beauty and refinement. While the girls did not display physically beautiful attributes, their mannerisms, education and musical accomplishments compensated for this deficiency. Rousseau's viewpoint demonstrates continued reference to the early modern 'canon of beauty' and the understanding that physical perfection determined moral 'goodness', as discussed in the Introduction. Although he does not refer in detail to the women instrumentalists, Rousseau's comments emphasise that attitudes regarding female beauty had remained fairly static across the period and therefore despite the women of the Italian ospedali appearing to have pushed the boundaries of musical performance, the more unusual instruments were only available because of the prescribed and controlled environment in which they were played and not because more general attitudes relating to the appropriateness of wind instruments for women had changed.

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

During the latter part of the seventeenth century wind instruments became increasingly important to the Venetian conservatories, especially at the Pietà and Mendicanti, which boasted the largest instrument ensembles. In their competitive attempts to attract audiences, the conservatories employed renowned musicians of the day to oversee the education of the girls and to compose appropriate and appealing music for them to play. At the Pietà, an increasingly diverse set of tutors were required, including specialists in the oboe, recorder, chalumeau, transverse flute and tromba da caccia.²⁹⁵ Although the Mendicanti was slower to incorporate these instruments, records from the late seventeenth century and the mid-eighteenth century confirm the expansion of the institution's musical ensemble despite the governing board's reluctance to accept new and fashionable instruments.

²⁹⁴ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Confessions* (Geneva: Paul Moulton and du Peyron, 1782), trans. and ed. Christopher Kelly, Roger D. Masters and Peter G. Stillman as *The Confessions and Correspondence Including the Letter to Malesherbes*, vol. 5 (Hanover; London: University Press of New England, 1995).

²⁹⁵ A chalumeau teacher is mentioned as joining the Pietà in 1706. See Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 24.

The Venetian conservatories offered the daughters of professional musicians an avenue for them to continue to develop their musical skills (even on wind instruments) into adulthood without offending the norms of female propriety that prevailed outside of the city. Women that demonstrated natural musical talents within their institutional choirs were also directed towards learning instruments, and these were sometimes wind varieties. Perceived as a 'spectacle' of Venetian culture, these musical women were tutored by some of the leading composers and instrumentalists of the day. These educational opportunities allowed the women to reach high levels of virtuosity and perform up-to-date music, some of which was specifically composed to highlight the talents of individual players. Although these women performed for public devotions and concerts, they were physically separated from their audiences and they wore identical uniforms, thus enabling them to be viewed as an ensemble rather than as individual women. Their strict routines and devout, celibate lifestyles cemented their alignment with celestial beings, an association that was enhanced through accompanying artwork, and performance spaces that were designed specifically to display the women's musical talents. They were also showcased by the State in large-scale performances and mentioned in commemorative materials to reinforce the image of Venice as being a cultural and chaste city, which in turn ensured the musical women's place in history.

2.10 Conclusion: Convents and Italian Conservatories

Music flourished in a select number of convents during the late sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries despite attempts by the Catholic church to enforce monastic enclosure through increasingly prohibitive rulings. At these institutions, which have interested scholars such as Craig Monson, Robert Kendrick, Colleen Reardon, Colleen Baade and Janet Page, choirs supported the daily celebration of the Divine Office and they provided music for special occasions, including profession ceremonies, feast days and visitations from important guests. Instruments were sometimes incorporated into institution ensembles and at the most musically acclaimed establishments this occasionally included wind varieties. By specifically comparing these unusual examples, this chapter highlights the extent to which some convents went to incorporate winds into their ensembles, for example, by offering dowry waivers to girls who were already trained as wind players. More importantly, they emphasise the reasons why some convents were keen to include these instruments and the benefits that they offered to institutional forms of music-making. In comparison to convents, the Venetian conservatories were less restricted by local ecclesiastical rulings, but their musical outputs were carefully regulated by the ospedali governing bodies. Wind instruments offered similar benefits to these all-female institutions, but they also enabled the Pietà and Mendicanti to

distinguish their ensembles from those organised by the *Derelitti* and *Incurabili*, which primarily focused on vocal performance.

As the examples in this chapter demonstrate, wind instruments enabled convents and conservatories to develop and expand their musical capabilities by supporting the choir and, in some instances, they were used to provide instrumental music, including fanfares, intradas and concertos. By performing up-to-date repertoire on fashionable instruments all-female ensembles could also create a 'spectacle' with which to attract audiences who not only provided vital donations, but assisted in furthering the musical prestige of the women's respective institutions and, in some instances, the women's individual reputations, through diary entries, chronicles and dedications.

In addition to imitating the musical practices of their neighbouring institutions, the types of wind instruments that were incorporated into all-female ensembles were determined by several other factors, including: more general musical fashions and localised preferences for certain sonorities; the availability of teachers and instruments; the musical ambitions of the institution itself; and the effects of post-Tridentine enclosure. The latter included specific directives that were issued by local ecclesiastical authorities pertaining to the performance of music, which affected (to varying degrees) the types of wind instruments that could be accessed by women, especially nuns. The examples of nuns continuing to play trombones at several Bolognese convents, however, demonstrate the difficulties that were associated with implementing such prohibitions. In other instances, convents overcame the restrictions of enclosure by becoming musically self-sufficient. As the examples of the convents of San Vito (Ferrara) and *Aula Sanctae Mariae* (Stare Brno) show, this involved taking over all aspects of teaching and performing music, including the use of wind instruments.

Although the Venetian conservatories followed similar devotional practices to convents, their general organisation was directed by a board of governors who made decisions regarding all aspects of institutional life, including the employment of music tutors and the admittance of female musicians. During the early eighteenth century, governors at all four of the *ospedali grandi* chose to move away from employing musicians from San Marco in favour of composers of popular secular music. For this reason, at the *Mendicanti* and *Pietà* a wider variety of wind instruments (not primarily associated with sacred music) started to be incorporated into the ensembles, including the transverse flute, oboe and *tromba da caccia*.

A large proportion of the women who played wind instruments in convents and at the Venetian conservatories were the daughters of professional musicians who were apprenticed in the family trade so that they might gain positions within these establishments (for many, a form of social elevation). Early musical training on wind instruments was therefore deemed

entirely suitable and appropriate for the social positions of these girls. In cases where male musicians were employed to teach the female inhabitants at convents and conservatories, lessons were carefully managed through physical separation (iron grilles) and chaperoning. The women who were taught by these tutors, if not pre-trained before entering their respective establishments, were chosen from the choir, often because they demonstrated a natural aptitude for music. Knowledge of singing was essential for these roles because wind instruments were often used to support the choir: to give stability to plainchant; to support the performance of fully textured polyphonic music by replacing or doubling vocal lines and perhaps adding embellishments and diminutions; or to play obbligato parts in smaller concertato works. As shown by the example of the nuns of San Blas, even additional instrumental music was often based on vocal works such as psalm settings, motets and chansons. Wind players were often expected to be able to transpose at sight and were required to have 'a good ear' so that they could tune with voices, organs and other instruments with which they were expected to perform. Highly praised female wind players such as Raffaella de' Magnifici and Catabene (cornett players from San Vito, Ferrara), Faustina Borghi (a cornettist from San Geminiano, Modena), and the oboist, 'Pellegrina' from the Pietà in Venice demonstrate that within certain institutional environments female wind players had the opportunity to pursue musical careers and reach high levels of virtuosity. Furthermore, unlike other settings where musical women were often required to stop playing instruments during early adulthood (owing to matters of propriety), in the Venetian conservatories the women were expected to serve for at least ten years, and in the convent environment these positions were generally for life.

Anxieties surrounding the contortions and physical deformities associated with wind-playing were generally inapplicable in all-female institutions because the women who played these instruments were usually hidden from view in galleries or behind iron grilles. In cases where they were seen, the women's appearances were less important because their femininity was defined almost entirely by their decorum and for nuns, by the veil. As celibate and 'silent' women, the sexual undertones that were traditionally allied to wind instruments were not relevant. Instead, the musical nuns and women of the Italian conservatories (including the wind players) were equated with angels and Muses, allowing them to reach beyond the prohibitive boundaries of early modern ideals of femininity and forge connections to higher forms of beauty.

Composer	Work	Repertoire	Inventory Record / Marginal Notes
Francisco Guerrero Hispalensis (1528–1599)	<i>Sacre cantiones, vulgo moteta nuncupata, quatuor et quinque vocum</i> (Venice, 1555).	Motets	'Loaned to the nuns of San Blas, returned at the request of Gabriel Díaz 1607–1615'.
Tomás Luis de Victoria (ca. 1548–1611)	<i>Motecta festorum totius anni cum communi sanctorum</i> (Rome: D. Basa, 1585).	Motets for the entire year	'Loaned to San Blas (11/IV/1613– 27/10/1614)
Andrea Gabrieli (1533–1586)	<i>Madrigali et Ricercari a quattro voci...</i> (Venice, 1589)	Madrigals	'Loaned to the Dominican nuns, returned 8/11/1615'
Juan Navarro (ca. 1530–1580)	Missae, Magnificat, Motecta, Psalmi...(Madrid, 1600)	Psalms, hymns and Magnificats	'Loaned to the Convent of San Blas 11/IV/1613– 27/X/1614'

Table 2.1:
Printed Collections Loaned to the Nuns of San Blas
from the Music Library at San Pedro²⁹⁶

²⁹⁶ After Kirk, *Churching the Shawms*, 92.

Name	Instrument
Jungfrau Hedwigis	Director
Edmunda Fritschin	Soprano, violin, flute, trumpet, organ
Maxmiliana Pilatin	Soprano, organ
Luitgarda Gansin	Alto, viol, flute, trumpet
Genowewa Sauctzkin	Alto
Margareth Aschenbrennerin	Tenor
Helena Jenztin	Violin
Theresia Knorin	Violin, trumpet
Katharina Sartorin	Violin, trumpet
Franziska Haidin	Viol, trombone
Veronika Zauberkin	Viol, trumpet
Barbara Essendorferin	Organ

Table 2.2:
Stare Brno Kapelle, 1697²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ After Shifrin, 'The Women's Orchestra of Old Brno,' 28.

Name	Instrument
Rosa Berkozín	Director
Wenzeslaa Wenzlin	Soprano, violin, trumpet
Alexia Wichanin	Soprano, violincello, trumpet
Gabriela Grubnerin	Soprano, violin
Magdalena Panazin	Soprano
Anna Steinerin	Soprano
Gertrudis Rolní	Alto, violin, horn
Roberta Petzin	Alto
Inozencia Terzianin	Tenor
Anna Barbara Richterin	Tenor
Theodora Grafin	Bass, tromba marine
Paula Gottwaldin	Bass, violin
Viktoria Czupkin	Violin
Benigna Zedlitzerin	Violin
Elisabeth Talazkin	Violin
Cäcilia Hrasin	Violin, organ
Elekta Schleichtin	Violin
Alberika Schneiderin	Bass, violincello, organ
Ursula Budkowskyn	Trumpet
Abundanzia Andrei/dorssin	Horn
Níwarda L/euquäsin	Organ

Table 2.3:
Stare Brno Kapelle, 1755²⁹⁸

²⁹⁸ After Shifrin, 'The Women's Orchestra of Old Brno,' 28.

Name	Instrument
Alberica Schneiderin	Director, violincello, organ
Aurelia Rohmanitin	Soprano, tromba marine, organ
Augustina Müllerin	Soprano
Maria Elisabeth Möllerin	Alto, horn
Juliana Rischlin	Alto, violin, organ
Anastasia Watzkin	Alto
Fortuna Schwarzin	Tenor
Anselma Gerosinin	Bass
Concordia Maitlin	Violin, horn
Scholastica Hinkeniklin	Violin, tromba marine
Sapientia Welzin	Violin, violincello, organ
Ottilia Kreitmayerinn	Violin, horn, trombone
Maximiliana Reimerin	Violin, tromba marine
Antonia Prochaskin	Violin
Paula Gottvaldin	Viol, tromba marine
Caecilia Antonin	Organ
Philippina Hentschlin	Timpani

Table 2.4:
Stare Brno Kapelle, 1782²⁹⁹

²⁹⁹ After Shifrin, 'The Women's Orchestra of Old Brno,' 28.

Instrument	1697	1755	1782
Soprano	2	5	2
Alto	2	2	3
Tenor	1	2	1
Bass	0	3	1
Violin	4	9 ³⁰⁰	7
Viol	3	0	1
Violincello	0	2	2
Flute	2	0	0
Trumpet	5	3	0
Tromba Marine	0	1	4
Trombone	1	0	1
Horn	0	2	3
Timpani	0	0	1
Organ	3	3	5
Total Number of Women	12	21	17

Table 2.5:
Instruments in the Stare Brno Kapelle 1697–1782

³⁰⁰ The name ‘Gertrudis Rolni’ appears twice in Shifrin’s table, but I have assumed this is only one person. See Shifrin, ‘The Women’s Orchestra of Old Brno,’ 28.

Chapter 3.

Domestic Wind Music in England

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the domestic performance space and it specifically focuses on women playing wind instruments in England from the mid-seventeenth century. It considers research questions relating to when and how it became acceptable for amateur female musicians to learn certain wind instruments and the means by which they could achieve musical accomplishment in playing wind instruments. It traces the ‘watershed’ moment when self-instructional instrument tutor books began to appear on the amateur music market scene and how certain wind instruments predominated in these publications. Focussing on the wind tutor books themselves, this chapter also discusses how instructions were presented to the reader, the pedagogical processes that were employed and the potential difficulties experienced by learners. The case of Elizabeth Pepys is a particularly useful reference point from which to examine the learning process, the effect of city fashions on self-made music consumption, and the social idealisations surrounding musical activities undertaken by married women. The anxieties and criticisms expressed by her husband in respect to her music lessons, her tutor and her personal achievements lend themselves to a re-examination of the dangers of the music room with particular reference to wind-playing. This wider investigation is underpinned by the numerous iconographic depictions of this popular theme in Dutch paintings.

The instrument learnt by Elizabeth Pepys was the flageolet, and although often neglected by academic studies concerning wind instruments because of its brief popularity and almost entirely amateur use, this humble instrument takes central stage in this chapter as an acceptable wind instrument for women to play. In a similar manner to the virginals in the sixteenth century, the flageolet became synonymous with the domestic sphere and, by extension, the female sex in the seventeenth century. The associated printed materials highlight this moment in history as the first time that women were openly encouraged (with numerous caveats) to participate in the playing of wind instruments. As such, I will argue that the flageolet played a critical role in the breaking down of traditional barriers, and its ascendancy marks a significant point of change from which other wind instruments gradually became accessible to amateur and professional women musicians from the eighteenth century onwards, and ultimately to the ‘feminisation’ of certain wind instruments that still exists in attitudes today.

The increasing number of references to women learning and playing wind instruments such as the recorder and transverse flute provide evidence of this change, and by viewing these instances alongside the accompanying eighteenth century conduct literature it becomes apparent

that traditional anxieties regarding the weaker female body, distortion of the upper body and sexual associations of wind instruments had by no means been abandoned (in fact they consistently re-emerge throughout the nineteenth century), but their all-consuming nature was slowly being eroded. The examples of flautists such as Elizabeth Kennedy, Elizabeth Carter and Marianne Davies in the eighteenth century illustrate how the playing of wind instruments by women had dispersed across class boundaries from the nobility to the middle and lower ends of the social spectrum. In conjunction with these examples, the case of the Gedney sisters also helps to illustrate the new-found agency of women at work and in leisure time, demonstrating female engagement in instrument manufacture, consumption, leisure activity and professional performance. These examples also indicate that although scholars such as Gretchen Rowe Clements and Paula Gillet have pointed to early nineteenth-century wind players such as the clarinettist Madame Krämer, and flautists, Madame Rousseau, Fraulein Berthe and Miss Lorenzine Mayer as being the first professional female wind players in Europe, and Cora Cardigan in England, there were, in fact, women performing on wind instruments in public in London at least seventy years earlier.¹

The changes that took place between women's relationships with certain wind instruments during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are almost certainly linked to wider social changes relating to women, their role in society and prevailing ideals of femininity. These developments foreshadow a reversal in the 'gendering' of certain wind instruments that occurred during the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.² The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a period of transition from which the Renaissance all-encompassing no-wind instrument ideology moved towards a splitting up of the 'wind' family into smaller subsections, further complicated by the acceptance of certain wind instruments into the domestic sphere. Thus, new associations between women and winds began to take hold, as demonstrated by contemporary iconography, literature and conduct books. The *longue durée* approach used throughout this chapter makes it possible to link moments of stasis and change to the traditional anxieties surrounding women playing wind instruments that were carefully presented in conduct literature such as Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano* (first published in 1528), that was subsequently reproduced and referenced throughout the later sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³ As will become apparent, John Essex's *The Young Ladies Conduct*, published in 1722, demonstrates the

¹ Gretchen Rowe Clements, *Situating Schubert: Early Nineteenth Century Flute Culture and the "Trocken Blumen" Variations, D. 802* (PhD thesis, State University of New York, 2007), 143–137 and Paula Gillet, *Musical Women in England, 1870–1914* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 193–200.

² Gillet, *Musical Women in England*, 196–198 and Anthony E. Kemp, *The Musical Temperament: Psychology and Personality of Musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 152.

³ Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano del conte Baldesar Castiglione* (Venezia: Aldo I. Manuzio & Andrea I. Torresano, 1528).

continuation of these themes, but with an acknowledgement of the increased accessibility of wind instruments to women.⁴

Although the transverse flute is heralded by Paula Gillet as the instrument most suited to ‘challenge the taboo on wind instruments’ and the French horn as the first brass instrument to be ‘feminised’ in reference to professional performance of the nineteenth century, I will argue that such developments would not have been possible without the increased visibility and availability of wind instruments in the amateur music scene from the mid-seventeenth century.

3.2 A General Introduction to Printed Pedagogical Music Books in England

The opportunities for women of the upper-middle classes to engage in music increased during the seventeenth century, with the greater availability of private tutors and fashionable schools, some of which included music as part of their set curricula.⁵ The subsequent publication of printed tutor books intended for beginners and amateurs can partly be attributed to this teaching boom and opportunities may well have increased further still with the availability of such books.⁶ Publications such as Thomas Greeting’s *The Pleasant Companion* (1675) aimed to be affordable and appealing to a wide audience by containing instructions for learning fashionable instruments, printed alongside popular tunes of the day.⁷ Although the importance of such books has sometimes been downplayed by scholars because of their very basic musical contents, they are important social indicators for mapping changes within domestic music-making practices, including changing tastes in instruments and repertory, pedagogical

⁴ John Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct: or Rules for Education, Under Several Heads* (London: John Brotherton, 1722).

⁵ John Playford’s wife is known to have taught at a boarding school for young girls in Islington. This school is advertised in Playford’s *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, which states: ‘where young gentlewomen might be instructed in all manner of curious work, as also reading, writing, musick, dancing, and the French tongue’. As quoted in Frank Kidson, ‘John Playford and Seventeenth-Century Music Publishing,’ *The Music Quarterly* 4, no. 4 (1918), 527. Susan Perwich is praised for her musical accomplishment in John Batchiler’s, *Virgin’s Pattern in the Exemplary Life and Lamented Death of Mrs. Susan Perwich* (London: Simon Dover, 1661). She taught at her father’s school for girls in Hackney; on a visit to Shrewsbury in 1698, Cecilia Finnes noted the presence of ‘a very good schoole for young Gentlewomen for learning work and behaviour and music’. See Sophie Drinker, *Women and Music: The Story of Women in the Relation to Music* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1948), 253 and B. S. Capp, *England’s Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and Its enemies in the Interregnum, 1649–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 182. For further discussion regarding schools and the educational opportunities available to women at this time, see Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination in England 1500–1800* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), 369–370.

⁶ Susanne Rupp, ‘John Dowland’s Strategic Melancholy and the Rise of the Composer in Early Modern England,’ *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* 139 (2003), 116–129.

⁷ Thomas Greeting, *The Pleasant Companion: Or New Lessons and Instructions for the Flageolet* (London: John Playford, 1675); John Playford, *New Lessons for the Cithern and Gittern* (London: John Playford, 1652); and Robert Carr, *The Delightful Companion, or, Choice Lessons for the Recorder or Flute* (London: John Playford and for John Carr, 1686). See Rebecca Herissone, ‘Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England,’ *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63 (2010), 243–90.

methods, target audiences and marketing techniques.⁸ Most importantly for this study, they show the emergence of certain wind instruments onto the amateur music-making scene that were advertised as appropriate for men, women and children alike. The incorporation of fashionable instruments (including some winds) marks an important change of emphasis from the early seventeenth-century books for amateur players that focussed almost exclusively on stringed instruments (principally the lute and pandora). Before the wind instrument tutors can be discussed in detail it seems necessary to explain the context of pedagogical music publishing in London, the social changes that encouraged domestic music-making among the leisured classes, and the increased visibility and agency of women in new social spaces.

'To all Lovers of Music': Elite Art to Popular Culture

The major contribution to this new kind of literature made by John Playford, Britain's most important publisher of music books in the second half of the century, needs to be understood in the wider context of changes to the music printing industry in the 1650s. His 'new' books for the amateur music market were not the first of their kind: William Barley and Peter Short had produced works aimed at amateurs at the end of the sixteenth century including Barley's *Pathway to musicke* (1595); and, perhaps most famous of all, Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597).⁹ The music-printing patent, originally granted to Thomas Tallis and William Byrd by Elizabeth I in 1575, had expired a year earlier and was not reinstated until 1598 when it was granted to Thomas Morley and his associate, William Barley. This temporary lapse gave other publishers, such as Thomas East and Peter Short, the opportunity to produce music books for the growing market of amateur musicians.¹⁰ Similarly, the brief suspension of all monopolies by James I in 1603 enabled the music book trade to flourish once again, and even when the patent was reassigned to William Barley in 1606, it continued to grow.

⁸ Anthony Rowland-Jones, 'The Baroque Recorder Sonata,' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, ed. John Mansfield Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 52 states: 'Out of the hundreds of sonatas and suites which specifically designate recorder during the 1690 to 1740 period, only a few scores can be deemed to be any more than competent and pleasant. Most were published for an amateur market, and are not technically demanding'.

⁹ William Barley, *The Pathway to Musicke* (London: William Barley, 1596) and Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597).

¹⁰ When Thomas Tallis died in 1585, William Byrd went into partnership with Thomas East, but when the printing patent expired in 1596 it was then awarded to Thomas Morley. East was, however, given a three-year licence to print music and Peter Short claimed to have permission or 'assent' from Thomas Morley to print music, see Robert Jones, *The First Booke of Songes & Ayres* (London: Peter Short with the Assent of Thomas Morley, 1600) and Robert Jones, *The Second Booke of Songes and Ayres* (London: Peter Short for Matthew Selman by the Assent of Thomas Morley, 1601). For further details concerning the royal music patent, see Peter Walls, 'London, 1603–49,' in *The Early Baroque Era from the Late 16th Century to the 1660s*, ed. Curtis Price (New Jersey: Prentice Hall 1994), 288–289; Peter Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1–2 + 6–7; and Stephanie Carter, *Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650–1700* (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2010), 37–41.

Throughout this time the works of individual composers such as John Dowland, Robert Jones and Philip Rosseter had become increasingly available in printed formats. Their collections were dedicated to aristocratic patrons and contained ayres, madrigals and consort music adaptable for both solitary and sociable music-making, and found their principal market among amateur musicians of the leisured classes.¹¹ Although these publications required a relatively high level of musical skill, players of a middling ability were catered for by publications such as Thomas Ravenscroft's *Pammelia* (1609), which contained easier repertoire including rounds and catches.¹² Beginners on the lute could also engage with music through the help of pedagogical books such as William Barley's *A New Book of Tabliture*, Thomas Robinson's *The School of Musicke* and *New Citharen Lessons*, and Robert Dowland's *Varietie of Lute-Lessons*.¹³ These tutor books were exclusively concerned with stringed instruments and included basic information about tuning, playing positions, reading tablature and rhythmic patterns, all of which a wealthy amateur might have expected to learn directly from a paid tutor.¹⁴ In his address to the reader, Barley acknowledges that tutors were not always available and promotes his book as taking the place of the 'schoolemaster', whereas Robinson seems to assume there will be no tutor.¹⁵

Despite relatively rapid growth in the music publishing industry at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a much quieter period followed between 1620 and 1650 when few new publications were produced. The reasons for this change have been widely debated

¹¹ Thomas Morley, for example, advertises his first book of consort lessons as 'set forth at the coast [*sic*] and other charges of a gentleman, for his priuate pleasure, and for diuers others his frendes which delight in musicke'. See Thomas Morley, *The First Book of Consort Lessons Made by Diuers Exquisite Authors, for Six Instruments to Play Together, the Treble Lute, the Pandora, the Cittern, the Base-violl, the Flute & Treble-violl* (London: William Barley, 1599).

¹² In his address to the reader Thomas Ravenscroft writes: 'this kind of musicke also is now commended to all mens kind acceptation . . . that all might equally pertake of that which is so generally affected. Catches so generally affected (I take it) *quia non superant captumm*, because they are so constant to all ordinary musicall capacity, being such indeed, as all such whose loue of musicke exceedes their skill, cannot but commend, such also, as all such, whose skill in Musicke, exceedes their loue for such sleight and light fancies, cannot either contemne or condemne'. See Thomas Ravenscroft, *Pammelia Musicks Miscellanie. Or Mixed Varietie of Pleasant Roundelays, and Delightful Catches, of 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 Parts in One. None so Ordinarie as Musicall, None so Musical, as Not to All, Very Pleasing and Acceptable* (London: Printed by John Windet for William Barley, 1609).

¹³ William Barley, *A Nevv Booke of Tabliture Containing Sundrie and Familiar Instructions, Shewing Hovve to Attaine Knowledge, to Guide and Dispose Thy Hand to Play on Sundry Instruments, as the Lute, Orpharion and Bandora* (London: John Danter for William Barley, 1596); Thomas Robinson, *The School of Musicke Wherein is Taught, the Perfect Method, of True Fingering of the Lute, Pandora, Orpharion, and Viol da Gamba* (London: Thomas Este, 1603); and Robert Dowland, *Varietie of Lute-Lessons* (London: Thomas Snodham for Thomas Adams, 1610).

¹⁴ Thomas Robinson, *New Citharen Lessons with Perfect Tunings of the Same, From Foure Course of Strings to Fourteene Course, Even to Trie the Sharpest Teeth of Enuie, With Lessons of all Sortes, and Methodicall Instructions for all Professors and Practitioners of the Citharen* (London: John Windett for William Barley, 1609).

¹⁵ Barley, *The Pathway to Musicke*. Also, see Robinson, *The School of Musicke* in which it is stated: 'Also, a method, how you may be your owne instructor for Prick-song, by the help of your Lute, without any other teacher: with lessons for all sorts, for your further and better instruction'.

among scholars and no firm conclusions have been drawn.¹⁶ But when John Playford ventured into publishing instrumental methods with the support of the Stationers' Company in 1651, he appears to have rejuvenated a previously abandoned market.¹⁷ Modelling his publications on earlier tutor books, Playford included material for beginners and selections of popular tunes. However, unlike many of his predecessors who had relied heavily on the patronage of aristocratic men and women, Playford aimed his output firmly at a commercial market. This factor alone is crucial to understanding how and why music tutor books of this kind were directed towards much wider audiences of amateur musicians and beginners, including women. As the prefatory material of Playford's publications show, there are no longer lengthy dedicatory passages to patrons, but instead the reader is directly addressed with inclusive titles such as 'to all lovers of musick' and to 'the Ingenious Practitioner', as opposed to the 'Gentlemen' addressed by Thomas Robinson and Robert Dowland.¹⁸

Playford's focus on a broad audience is most apparent in the organisation of the contents of his works. His inclusion of simple directions for holding and playing the instrument, producing different pitches including sharps and flats, basic ornamentations, and reading from notation or tablature, gave the complete novice a starting point from which to

¹⁶ These differing views are discussed in Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing,' 246 and Carter, *Music Publishing and Compositional Activity*, 38–43. Frank Kidson suggests the political unrest of the time may have had an impact on music publication in a 'melancholy generation'; see Kidson, 'John Playford and Seventeenth-Century Music Publishing,' 519. Peter Walls has noted the death of several of the older generation of composers as a notable factor. Peter Holman turns to the confusion surrounding the succession of the printing patent and Stephen Rose to the expense of music printing. Stephanie Carter ('Music Publishing') highlights the 'general weakness of music printing technology' which appears to be an 'inverse trend' to the book publishing industry in general at this time. In his research on the printing industry, Richard Hume describes the difficulty of the printing business because relatively few earned enough to afford the price of books. See Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing,' 247.

¹⁷ Playford was apprenticed to John Benson in 1640 and became a member of the Yeomanry of the Stationers' Company seven years later, opening his own shop and publishing works, some of which were political pamphlets. Possibly as a result, in 1649 Playford disappeared and either went into hiding or spent time in prison before re-emerging as a music publisher. See Richard Wistreich, "'Thou and Ile Sing to Make these Dull Shades Merry": Herrick's Charon Dialogues,' in *Community and Conviviality in the Work of Robert Herrick*, ed. Tom Cain and Ruth Conolly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 153–190. Stacey Houck, 'John Playford and the English Musical Market,' in *"Noyses, Sounds and Sweet Aires": Music in Early Modern England*, ed. Jessie Anne Owens (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2006), 49–52, argues that the success of Playford's first two publications in 1651 (*English Dancing Master* and *Psalmes*), gave him the confidence to publish a greater variety of music, including instrumental works for professionals and beginners. For further information concerning Playford's promotions within the Stationers' Company see Nicholas Temperley, 'John Playford and the Stationers' Company,' *Music & Letters* 54, no. 2 (1973), 203–212.

¹⁸ 'to the ingenious practitioner' used in Playford, *New Lessons for the Cithern and Gittern*. He uses 'to all lovers of musick' in John Playford, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick in Two Books* (London: William Godbid for John Playford, 1664). In earlier publications, 'gentle readers' were sometimes included in the introductions to vocal works and music theory books, including Robinson, *The School of Musicke*, but they tended not to be included in instrument tutor books, with the exception of Dowland's, *Varietie of Lute-Lessons*. See Diana Poulton, *John Dowland*, second edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)*; Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Kirsten Gibson, *John Dowland's Printed Ayres: Texts, Contexts and Intertexts* (PhD thesis, Newcastle University, 2005); Elizabeth Kenny, 'Revealing Their Hand: Lute Tablatures in Early Seventeenth Century England,' *Renaissance Studies* 26, no. 1 (2012), 112–137; and Michael Gale, 'Celebrity Lute Teacher,' *Early Music* 41, no. 2 (2013), 205–218.

develop sufficient playing skills so they could play the accompanying tunes in the books. These were not graded by difficulty, but assumed to be within the grasp of learners as well as appealing to more advanced amateur players. This format was used in all of Playford's beginner books and it marks a definitive change from many of the earlier publications that had required a fairly high preliminary level of musical proficiency.¹⁹

To gain further insight into Playford's new business model and the distinct change, in which an increasingly broad set of instruments was becoming appropriate and available to beginners of both sexes, his pedagogical publications need to be viewed in conjunction with other factors that directly affected the domestic music-making scene. These include: the Puritan distaste for public display and a consequent shift of professional musicians from the public to private sphere; technological and commercial developments in the instrument-making trade; wider trends relating to purchasing goods; the impact of 'city fashions' in a society that no longer had a court; and the effect of there being an increasingly large group of people with the resources to enjoy leisure time.²⁰

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

Although in general the Puritans were strongly against elaborate church music and public performance, they were not averse to private music-making. Many of the cathedral, theatre and royal musicians who had lost their positions under the new regime sought work as private teachers and household musicians, stimulating private and individual instrumental practice, domestic musical gatherings and, later, the formation of music societies.²¹ As Roger North noted in the climate of civil war and its aftermath:

many chose rather to fiddle at home, than to goe out, and be knockt on the head abroad; and the entertainment was very much courted and made use of, not onely in country but citty familys, in which many of the Ladys were good consortiers.²²

This movement away from the public to the private setting suggests that women may well have had increased opportunities for music-making as individuals, couples, and in group

¹⁹ Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell, and the Function of Music Publishing,' 249–250 and Carter, *Music Publishing and Compositional Activity*, 41.

²⁰ Seminal studies include: Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005); David E. Hussey and Margaret Ponsonby (eds.), *Buying for the Home: Shopping for the Domestic from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); and Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

²¹ Peter Holman, 'London: Commonwealth and Restoration,' in *Music and Society: The Early Baroque Era from the Late 16th Century to the 1660s*, ed. Curtis Price (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1994), 308.

²² John Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music* (London: Novello, 1959), 294. 'Notes of Comparison between the Elder and Later Musick and Somewhat Historicall of Both [ca. 1726]'.

situations, as idealised on the frontispieces of Playford's *Choice, Ayres, Songs & Dialogues* (1675), *The Banquet of Music* (1691) and *Deliciae musicae* (1695), (Figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). This marks a significant cultural change because even in the aftermath of the Restoration, when professional musicians were able to reclaim their public positions of employment, evidence suggests that domestic musical activities continued to thrive.²³

In comparing the tutor books of the early 1600s and those produced from 1651 onwards by Playford, one of the most striking differences is their respective instrumentation. While the early books focus on the lute, bandora and cithara, Playford's choice of instruments diversifies to include first the cittern, gittern, lyra, violin, virginals, spinet, harpsichord and organ, and later moving on to the newly fashionable flageolet and recorder. To make his publications viable, Playford must have been influenced by the instrument trade, the fashions for instruments in France, and the products that would be affordable and available for his intended buyers.²⁴ The relationship between the music book and musical instrument industries has yet to be researched in detail, but there are clear links between the emergence of the newly designed woodwind instruments by Parisian makers, their dissemination across the Channel and the subsequent publication of relevant English tutor books.²⁵ Furthermore, Playford's choice of instruments highlights a change in the functionality of his tutor books. While earlier music publications might have formed part of personal collections that, together with other kinds of books, helped to display wealth and culture, albeit to a lesser degree than manuscripts, the pedagogical tutors of the mid-seventeenth century were primarily connected to practical, informal and sociable music-making.²⁶ The idea that such music books gave instructional direction to readers has prompted Stacey Houck to compare them to the courtesy book genre and it is perhaps within this context that a connection between female domestic music-making and book culture becomes more apparent.²⁷ This might also help explain how

²³ Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music*. 'Although the Cannon, and the Churlish Drum/ Haue strook the Quire mute, and the organs Dumb: / Yet musicks Art with Ayre and String, and Voyce/ Makes glad the sad, and Sorrow to Reioyce'. Also, see Pamela J. Willetts, 'Music in the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford,' *British Museum Quarterly* 24 (1961), 71–75 and B. Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration,' *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 19 (1982), 6–71.

²⁴ An advert found at the front of John Hudgebut's beginner recorder book gives a sense of the instruments available in London towards the end of the seventeenth century. The advert states: 'Sold by John Hudgebut at his shop...all sorts of instruments; as Lutes, Viols, Violins, Harps, Guittars, and Strings of all sorts for the same instruments: Rechorders, Hoe-boys of all sorts, Flagellets and Castinets; All sorts of Rul'd Paper, and Books for the same Instruments...' See John Hudgebut, *A Vade Mecum for the Lovers of Musick, Shewing the Excellency of the Rechorder with some Notes and Directions of the Same* (London: N. Thompson for John Hudgebut, 1679).

²⁵ For information about London woodwind instrument makers, apprentices and their locations, see David Lasocki, 'Woodwind Makers in the Turners Company of London, 1604–1750,' *The Galpin Society Journal* 65 (2012), 61–91.

²⁶ Herissonne, 'Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing,' 266–282, discusses the publication of opera scores, which are not consistent with the genre of domestic music that was popular at the time. Unlike the anthologies which included favourite songs from the theatres, the opera scores contained full orchestration of the shows that were entirely unsuitable for informal music-making.

²⁷ Stacey Houck, 'John Playford and the English Musical Market,' 54.

Playford and other music publishers were motivated to advertise (sometimes directly) to female readers. The possibility of such an association had previously been invoked by William Byrd in his *Parthenia* (1613–1616), dedicated to Elizabeth Stuart.²⁸ The imagery and content of this book remained strictly aligned to the traditional codes of female conduct and acceptable instrumentation, so much so that in fact by the start of the seventeenth century, the virginals had become increasingly feminised and were synonymous with the domestic sphere and with women.²⁹ By comparison, Playford's output of beginner music books initially followed these established conventions, but eventually broadened to include woodwind instruments, as did the output of other music publishers contemporary with Playford, including Robert Carr, John Hudgebut and Humphrey Salter (Table 3.1).³⁰ Playford encouraged musical literacy through his beginner publications and the provision of anthologies of works to give amateur musicians access to musical materials without requiring expensive instructions or elite personal connections. These books were educational tools meant for practical music-making within the home and an 'emulation' of the elite practice of employing a music tutor.³¹

Further to these social and instrument manufacturing developments, Playford's success coincides with a general growth in the 'shopping industry' and the increasing agency of women whose presence was gradually accepted into certain public spaces, including the theatre, pleasure gardens, and luxury goods retail areas such as the New Exchange and The Royal Exchange. These were carefully designed semi-private spaces in which men and women of various social standing could socialise and display wealth, culture and connection

²⁸ This book was initially dedicated to Prince Frederick and Princess Elizabeth, who were engaged to be married. William Byrd, *Parthenia, or the Mayden-Head of the First Musicke that Ever vvas Printed for Virginals* (London: G. Lowe, 1613–1616). Further editions of this book printed in the mid-seventeenth century for John Clarke also survive (from 1651 and 1655). See Janet Pollack, 'Princess Elizabeth Stuart as Musician and Muse,' in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many-Headed Melodies*, ed. Thomasin LaMay (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005), 400–424.

²⁹ Pollack, 'Princess Elizabeth Stuart as Musician and Muse,' 415–416, notes that in performing pieces from *Parthenia*, the player's body may not have been physically able to replicate the idealised still and demure stance whilst achieving the requirements of the music, which included fast, running passages and darting across the keyboard. See Lisa Colton, 'A Unique Source of English Tablature from Seventeenth Century Huddersfield,' *Music & Letters* 91, no. 1 (2010), 48, regarding men being discouraged from learning keyboard instruments in the eighteenth century for their association with the female sex. Also, see Yael Sela Teichler, *An Examination of Virginal Manuscripts Owned by Women in the Context of Early Modern English Keyboard Music Culture, ca. 1590–1660* (DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 2010) and Yael Sela Teichler, 'My Ladye Nevells Booke: Music, Patronage and Cultural Negotiation in Late Sixteenth Century England,' *Renaissance Studies* 26, no. 1 (2012), 79–102.

³⁰ John Playford was succeeded by his son, Henry Playford, who lived until 1709. Together they contributed the largest output of printed music books in seventeenth-century England. Shortly before his death in 1680, John Playford divided his business between John Carr, son of the music publisher Robert Carr, and his son, Henry. At this time, other music publishers including Henry and John Hudgebut, Humphrey Salter, Richard Hunt, Samuel Scott and Joseph Hindmarsh also entered the music publishing market. See Carter, *Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England*, 71.

³¹ Houck, 'John Playford and the English Musical Market,' 54–55 compares the instructional material with Playford's Royalist sympathies, suggesting that musical education was a means of self-improvement, leading to social improvement.

without endangering their reputations.³² The social conventions associated with these environments were less restrictive than the domestic sphere and as such, they gave women the opportunity to socialise, purchase goods and even perform.³³ This new agency did not come without criticism, but it gave sellers and publishers a wider market in which to cultivate new interest in fashionable, exotic and novelty products.³⁴ In this context, Playford's openness 'to all lovers of musick' and his emphasis on the 'newness' of his instruction books can be seen as a shrewd marketing strategy, aimed at meeting the new demands of the city, its surrounds and beyond.³⁵ The development of this approach can be seen in the titles of slightly later wind-instrument treatises, including John Banister's *The Most Pleasant Companion* (1681), Humphrey Salter's *The Genteel Companion* (1683) and Robert Carr's *The Delightful Companion* (1686).³⁶ Furthermore, Playford aimed to attract completely new audiences with his beginner publications and for this reason, unlike his anthologies which used a variety of frontispiece imagery, the engravings used for the beginner tutors were carefully aligned to the primary function of the book.³⁷

The flurry of music books produced in England between 1650 and 1700 were largely aimed at amateur musicians; of the 159 texts studied by Stephanie Carter, she estimates that at least 70% were intended for this audience.³⁸ Furthermore, the large output of beginner materials does not appear to be matched in any other European country, as seen in Tables 3.1

³² For information about shopping and consumption see Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 51–53. Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths. *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 196–203, discuss elite consumption, including the acquisition of music books and instruments. Also, see Hussey and Ponsonby (eds.), *Buying for the Home*. For information about pleasure gardens, see Warwick Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1896). The musical performances held at the gardens are discussed in T. Lea Southgate, 'Music at the Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century,' *Proceedings of the Musical Association* (1911–1912), 141–159. This article also includes reference to a performance by a 'Miss Davies' (page 154), who was a renowned flautist and her case is discussed in the section below of this chapter. Rose Nichols Standish, *English Pleasure Gardens* (Boston: David R. Godine, 2003), explores the English Pleasure Garden through the ages and discusses continental influences. Hannah Greig, "'All Together and All Distinct': Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, ca. 1740–1800,' *The Journal of British Studies* 51 (2012), 50–75 discusses the pleasure gardens in terms of interactive social exclusivity and inclusivity.

³³ Penelope J. Corfield, *Vauxhall Sex and Entertainment: London's Pioneering Urban Pleasure Gardens* (London: History & Social Action Publications, 2012), 11.

³⁴ Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 31–114 + 237–359.

³⁵ The personal manuscript belonging to the Newcastle-based Henry Atkinson, for example contains transcribed tunes which appear in several of Playford's publications. See Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 53–54 + 211–214.

³⁶ John Banister, *The Most Pleasant Companion or Choice Lessons for the Recorder or Flute* (London: John Hudgebut & John Clarke, 1681); Humphrey Salter, *The Genteel Companion: Being Exact Directions for the Recorder* (London: Richard Hunt and Humphry Salter, 1683); and Carr, *The Delightful Companion*.

³⁷ Examples include: John Hilton, *Catch that Catch Can or, The Second Part of The Musical Companion Being a Collection of New Catches, Songs and Glee's* (London: John Playford, 1685), which depicts a viol and lute, although it contains vocal music; and John Playford, *The Banquet of Musick: or A Collection of the Newest and Best Songs Sung at Court and at Publick Theatres, Being Most of Them Within the Compass of the Flute With A Thorow-Bass for the Therobo-Lute, Base-Viol, Harpsichord, or Organ* (London: Edward Jones for John Playford, 1691), which is advertised to be within the compass of the flute, but depicts a violinist.

³⁸ Carter, *Music Publishing and Compositional Activity*, 86. The use of different imagery for anthologies and beginner books is discussed on page 130.

and 3.2. If we focus only on wind-instrument tutor books, however, there is a significant increase in the number of French publications at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, as well as the publication of a few German, Dutch and Italian tutor books.³⁹ These publications built on a tradition of important earlier treatises containing information about woodwind instruments and playing.⁴⁰ Another notable point is that the instructions contained within the English tutor books from the mid-seventeenth century were usually very basic and often ‘pirated’, copied and re-published regularly between 1650 and 1750. As this tendency to stasis continued in England, a succession of important woodwind treatises were published on the continent during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, particularly in Germany and France (Tables 3.1 and 3.2).⁴¹ This contrast demonstrates a particular nuance, relating to the fact that many English publications were intended for use without recourse to a teacher, whereas the advertisements by Dutch teachers, promoting their services to amateur musicians for example, attests to a strong interest in learning, as does the prolific manufacture of wind instruments by makers in France, Germany and the Dutch Republic.⁴² Genre paintings also confirm the ubiquity of recorders as popular amateur instruments appealing to a wide variety of social groups, but the apparent lack of beginner tutor books in these countries suggests that written instruction was considered to be unnecessary; perhaps too easy to warrant printed publication, or based rather on an aural or manuscript teaching tradition.

The English tutor books must presumably have fulfilled both a particular need and a demand, serving more broadly defined ideologies pertaining to questions of moderation and the appropriate use of idle hours; principles that were just as relevant on the Continent, but

³⁹ T. E. Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books 1600–1830* (Michigan: Information Coordinators, 1967), xiv.

⁴⁰ Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht und alles gesang aus den noten in die tablaturen diser benannten dryer instrumenten der orgeln: der lauten: und der flöten transferieren zu lernen* (Basel: Michael Furter, 1511); Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (Wittenberg: G Rhaw, 1529); Sylvestro Ganassi dal Fontego, *Opera intitulata Fontegara la quale insegna a sonare di flauto chon tutta l’arte opportune a esso instrument massime il diminvire composta per Sylvestro di Ganassi dal Fontego* (Venice: s.n., 1535); Philibert Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical des tons, sons et accordz, es voix humaines, fleustes d’Alleman, fleustes à neuf trous, violes & violons* (Lyons: Michael du Bois, 1556); Giolamo Dalla Casa, *Il vero modo di diminvir, con tutte le sorti di stromenti di fiato, & corda, & di voce humana. Di Girolamo Dalla Casa detto da Udene capo de concerti delli stromenti di fiato* (Venezia: Gardano, 1584); Giovanni Bassano, *Ricercate, passaggi et cadentie, per potersi essercitar nel diminvir terminatamente con ogni sorte d’instrumento: et anco diversi passaggi per la semplice voce* (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenzi & Riccardo Amadino, 1585); Riccardo Rognoni, *Passaggi per potersi essercitare nel diminure* (Venice: G. Vincenti, 1592); Francesco Rognoni, *Selva de varri passaggi* (Milan: Filippo Lomazzo, 1620); Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum II, De Organographia* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619); and Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle, contenant la theorie et la pratique de la musique* (Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy, 1636–1637).

⁴¹ Exceptions include English tutors by Ganon, Heron, Arnold and Gunn. See Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, xiv.

⁴² Rob Van Acht, ‘Dutch Wind-Instrument Makers from 1670 to 1820,’ *Galpin Society Journal* 41 (1988), 95.

were displayed through different mediums, such as Dutch genre paintings, for example.⁴³ In England, the Puritans believed that domestic entertainment was preferable to other forms of public display. As Lady Mary Hoby (1571–1633) recorded in her diary, playing the orpharion was linked to her daily religious observances and leisure time.⁴⁴ The descriptions of her everyday routines perform the role of self-evaluation and careful moderation. In a similar way, the beginner tutor of the mid-seventeenth century acted as instructions for a useful leisure time activity, with its prescribed curriculum of graded lessons and pieces. It fulfilled the need for having guidelines to follow, to strive to be a better musician and, by extension, a better person. Tutor books encouraged readers to engage with musical pastimes during leisure time, to nurture a skill that could be used by children and adults within the home. In *Musick's Delight on the Cithern* (1666), John Playford claims, for instance, that the book is 'useful to the practice of young beginners by a more plain and easie method', whereas Matthew Locke proposes that his book, *Melothesia* (1673) is suitable for 'All Capacities and Humours, from the Lover to the Scholar and Master'.⁴⁵ Music could also be used for solitary contemplation or amusement, as John Playford describes in his *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues* (1675), 'Music is of different effects, and admits of as much variety of Fancy to please all Humours as any Science whatever. It moves the Affections sometimes into a Sober Composure, and other-times into an active jollity'.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the contents of many of these music books enabled both solitary and social music-making, as Playford notes in *Court-Ayres* (1655), for variety the lessons 'may be performed with other instruments as well as alone'.⁴⁷

Summary

John Playford's music tutor books of the 1650s mark a significant turning point for the pedagogical music publishing industry. No longer reliant upon the patronage of wealthy supporters, Playford's books were aimed at a broad consumer market of amateur musicians, including men, women and young beginners. The new music instructors offered readers a

⁴³ Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music Representation and the History of the Body* (London: University of California Press, 1993).

⁴⁴ Lady Hoby records playing on 26 January 1599: 'After private praers I went about the house and then I reed of the bible tell dinner time: after diner I dresed vp my Clositte and read and, to refreshe my selfe being dull, I plaied and sunge to the Alpherion'. See Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Dairy of Margaret Hoby, 1599–1605* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 55–57.

⁴⁵ John Playford, *Musicks Delight on the Cithren Restored and Refined to a More Easie and Pleasant Manner of Playing than Formally, and Set Forth With Lessons al a mode, Being the Choicest of Our Late New Ayres, Corants, Sarabands, Tunes and Jiggs: To Which is Added Several New Songs And Ayres to Sing to the Cithren* (London: W. G. and sold by John Playford, 1666) and Matthew Locke, *Melothesia, or General Rules for Playing upon a Continued-Bass with a Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord and Organ of all Sorts* (London: Printed for John Carr, 1673).

⁴⁶ John Playford, *Choice Ayres, Songs & Dialogues* (London: W. Godbid and Sold by John Playford, 1675).

⁴⁷ John Playford, *Court-Ayres, or, Pavins, Almains, Corant's and Sarabands of Two Parts, Treble & Basse, For Viols or Violins: Which May be Performed in Consort to the Therobo Lute or Virginalls: Basse* (London: John Playford, 1655).

means to copy the elite practice of musical accomplishment without necessarily incurring the expense of a personal music tutor. They were also accessible to those in rural localities who might have had limited access to teachers. These books were aimed at amateur audiences who had money to spend on following the fashions of the day, and leisure time in which they could engage with social and solitary music-making activities. The tutor books became increasingly diverse over the course of the seventeenth century to include instructions for a wider range of instruments, including the recorder and flageolet. This transition coincided with a general enthusiasm for domestic music in the aftermath of the civil war, and with the development of the retail industry. Although these instruments were popular among amateur musicians on the Continent, the print culture of these areas does not reflect this musical pastime in the same manner as the English publications. It is for this reason that the early wind instrument publications including those by John Playford, Thomas Swain, John Hudgebut, John Clarke, Humphry Salter and Robert Carr (Table 3.1) are invaluable for learning about wind pedagogy of the late seventeenth century. They enable questions to be asked about the teaching practices, playing techniques, repertoire, and the sociability of wind-playing, which emerged onto the domestic scene during this time.

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

The first-known English wind instrument tutor books were produced during the late 1660s and 1670s for the flageolet, and these include Thomas Swain's *Directions for the Flageollett* (1667) and Thomas Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion* (1673).⁴⁸ They were closely followed by instructors for the recorder such as John Playford's *Musicks Delight* (ca. 1680), John Banister's *The Most Pleasant Companion* (1681), John Clarke's *The Most Pleasant Companion* (ca. 1682), Humphry Salter's *The Genteel Companion* (1683) and Robert Carr's *The Delightful Companion* (1686).⁴⁹ Although publications for the recorder continued to be produced over a hundred years later, the flageolet appears to have fallen out of favour after the publication of John Walsh's *The Bird Fancier's Delight* in 1717, and the instrument did not receive any significant attention until its revival in the nineteenth century.⁵⁰ As Table 3.1 shows, the hautboy also began to emerge on the amateur music scene by the 1690s, but this instrument carried strong military associations, as evidenced by Thomas Cross' *Military Musick; or the Art*

⁴⁸ Thomas Swain, *Directions for the Flageollett with 20 Severall Lessons Fitted to the Same Instrument* (London: Thomas Swain, 1667) and Greeting, *The Pleasant Companion*.

⁴⁹ John Playford, *Musicks Delight, Containing Choice Lessons for the Flute and Recorder, with Instructions for Beginners* (London: John Playford, ca. 1680); Banister, *The Most Pleasant Companion*; John Clarke, *The Most Pleasant Companion or Choicest Lessons for the Recorder or Flute* (London: John Clarke, ca. 1682); Salter, *The Genteel Companion* (1683); and Carr, *The Delightful Companion* (1686).

⁵⁰ Douglas MacMillan, 'The English Flageolet, 1800–1900,' *Early Music* 38, no. 4 (2010), 559–570.

of *Playing on the Haut-bois* (1697).⁵¹ Although many of the earlier publications refer to the ‘flute’, this term was used as an alternative name for the recorder until the 1720s when the first publication for the German flute was produced by John Walsh.⁵²

One of the most interesting aspects of the beginner publications is the introductory material, which clearly demonstrates a changing attitude towards women playing instruments such as the flageolet and recorder. Humphry Salter’s *The Genteel Companion* (1683), for example, includes a frontispiece image which depicts a woman engaging in sociable music-making, and John Hudgebut’s *A Collection of New Ayres Composed for Two Flutes* (1695) addresses his intended audience more directly: ‘To all Gentlemen and Ladies. Lovers of the FLUTE’.⁵³ However, Hudgebut’s later publication *The Gentleman’s Tutor to the Flute* (1696) and John Hare’s *The Gentleman’s Companion* (1699) demonstrate that this was a time of fluctuating opinions rather than a complete acceptance of the appropriateness of wind instruments for a female audience.

The case of Elizabeth Pepys, who took flageolet lessons with Thomas Greeting, is perhaps the best-known example of a woman learning to play a wind instrument at the beginning of this period, as it was fortuitously recorded in detail by her husband, Samuel Pepys. His diary entries provide insight into the accessibility of certain wind instruments, the learning process and the personal benefits of playing alone and as a couple. This is a mediated account of female music-making, as observed and directed by her husband, and as such it will also be viewed in the following section in conjunction with traditional fears surrounding the music lesson, contemporary tutor books, wind-playing techniques and the use of tablature and pitched notation. Finally, the increasing popularity of wind instruments will also be discussed in relation to conflicting contemporary views and changing fashions of the late seventeenth century.

Flageolet Lessons: Elizabeth Pepys and Thomas Greeting

Elizabeth Pepys took flageolet lessons with Thomas Greeting from March 1667 until August of the same year. The lessons began after her husband, Samuel Pepys, visited Samuel Drumbleby’s shop at the New Exchange and ordered a flageolet to match his own instrument.⁵⁴ As Pepys describes on 28 February:

⁵¹ Thomas Cross, *Military Music; or The Art of Playing on the Haut-bois* (London: Thomas Cross, 1697).

⁵² John Walsh, *Instructions for the German Flute* (London: John Walsh, ca. 1720).

⁵³ John Hudgebut, *A Collection of New Ayres Composed for Two Flutes, with Sonatas* (London: J. Heptinstall, 1695). Also, see Salter, *The Genteel Companion*. He uses the more generic opening: ‘To all Ingenious Lovers of MUSICK’. However, he also includes a woman on the frontispiece of the tutor (Figure 3.10).

⁵⁴ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, vol. 8 (London: Bell & Hyman, 1985), 11 February 1667, 53.

Up, and there comes to me Drumbleby with a flageolet made to suite my former, and Brings me one Greeting, a master to teach my wife. I agree by the whole with him, to teach her to take out any lesson for herself for 4l [pounds]. She was not ready to begin today, but doth tomorrow.⁵⁵

The following day, Pepys returned home to find his wife having a lesson with Greeting and commented that ‘I do think my wife will take great pleasure in it, and it will be easy for her and pleasant — so I, as I am well contented with the charge it will occasion me’.⁵⁶ This emphasis on ease of learning was one of the main selling points for the instrument and was advertised as such in Thomas Greeting’s own *Pleasant Companion* (1675).⁵⁷

Pepys’ appointment of a flageolet teacher for Elizabeth was both a practical measure implemented to improve her musical skills, and a statement regarding his own social position, wealth and style. At this time the flageolet was on the cusp of a new vogue among amateur musicians; its French origins made it exotic and its status as a wind instrument suitable for amateurs (who had leisure time to fill) added to its desirability. Until the seventeenth century, the term ‘flageolet’ had been used rather loosely to describe a variety of duct flutes that had fewer than eight finger holes, the number usually reserved for the recorder.⁵⁸ However, a specific reference to the instrument is found in Marin Mersenne’s *Harmonie universelle* (1636) in which he identifies the flageolet as having a similar beak to the recorder and six finger holes (four at the front and two at the back). This reference corresponds to the large output of flageolets by French woodwind makers from the end of the sixteenth century, including those by Thomas La Vacher, ‘the most excellent maker of flageolets and musettes’, Thieriot Prudent and the Hotteterre family.⁵⁹ Usually made of ‘box-wood, ivory, plum, ebony, and all sorts of hard wood’, it was this six fingered instrument that was played and taught by Thomas Greeting, who included an illustration of it on the frontispiece of *A Pleasant Companion* (Figure 3.4).⁶⁰ Unlike Mersenne’s fingering chart, which offered diatonic fingerings with a few chromatic possibilities (through the use of half closing holes),

⁵⁵ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, 8 February 1667, 87.

⁵⁶ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, 1 March 1667, 89.

⁵⁷ Greeting, *The Pleasant Companion*.

⁵⁸ Sardelli carefully divides the various woodwind pipes into categories; flageolets, recorders, side blown flutes and one-handed pipes. See Federico Maria Sardelli, *Vivaldi’s Music for Flute and Recorder*, trans. Michael Talbot (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 179 and Table 11.1.

⁵⁹ Marine Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, trans. Roger E. Chapman as *Harmonie universelle: The Books on Instruments* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957), 302. Also see Tula Giannini, ‘Lot,’ *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017; Tula Giannini, ‘Thieriot [Thierot, Thierrot], Prudent,’ *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017; and Tula Giannini, ‘Hotteterre [Haulteterre, Hauterre, Hauteterre, Hoteterre, Hoterre, Obterre, etc.],’ *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017.

⁶⁰ This description of materials is found in Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, trans. Chapman, 302. Also, see Greeting, *The Pleasant Companion*.

Greeting's chart was fully chromatic.⁶¹ Known as the French flageolet, this instrument could be held in several ways, but the one preferred by Greeting was to place the left hand at the top, using the thumb and first two fingers to stop the holes, and mirroring this pattern in the right hand for the lower holes.⁶² The same playing position was also advocated by Thomas Swain in his tutor book, published in 1667, the same year that Elizabeth began her lessons. As Swain notes, this was the beginning of the instrument's popularity in London because '(for want of directions) it [the flageolet] hath not been much used'.⁶³

Employing a reputable tutor was an important consideration for Pepys, especially in view of his previous experience with Elizabeth's dancing master, Pembleton.⁶⁴ Pepys had expressed concern on a number of occasions because he believed that Elizabeth was spending too much time with Pembleton unchaperoned.⁶⁵ On one occasion he recalled feeling 'a little angry with my wife for minding nothing now but the dancing master, having him come twice a day, which is a folly'.⁶⁶ A few days later, Pepys returned home 'where I find it almost night and my wife and the Dancing Maister alone above, not dancing but walking' and he expresses acute jealousy at her conduct.⁶⁷ Despite these suspicions, they did not prevent Pepys from encouraging his wife to take lessons in singing and playing the flageolet, demonstrating the importance he placed on these activities as a means of keeping up with the current fashions of the city, addressing his own enthusiasm for music, and demonstrating the wealth of his household, as well as his aspiration to climb further socially. Thomas Greeting was 'Musitian in ordinary without Fee' in the King's Private Music, a position that he had held from 1662.⁶⁸ Pepys' hiring of him demonstrated his personal connections with court musicians, and reflected his accomplished taste. He maintained a close interest in his wife's tutors (Greeting and John Goodgroome, her singing tutor), monitoring Elizabeth's progress as well as her tutors' teaching

⁶¹ Beryl Kenyon de Pascual, 'Flageolet, 1. Single flageolet,' *Grove Music Online* (Oxford Music Online, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017.

⁶² Greeting, *The Pleasant Companion*. See Rowland-Jones, 'The Baroque Recorder Sonata,' 54. He states that Greeting's flageolet tutor book was probably available from 1661 and 'went through new editions over three decades', 1668, 1672, 1675, 1680, 1682, 1683 and 1688.

⁶³ Swain, *Directions for the Flageolet*. The tutor books by Greeting and Swain were available for purchase in 1667, as apparently were two other flageolet tutor books cited in Latin in Joseph Friedrich Bernhard Casper Majer, *Museum musicum* (Schwäbisch Hall, Germany: Georg Michael Majer, 1732). See Pascual, 'Flageolet,' *Grove Music Online*.

⁶⁴ Gamaliel Bradford, 'Portrait of a Lady: Mrs. Pepys,' *The North American Review* 199, no. 702 (1914), 594–763.

⁶⁵ Bradford, 'Portrait of a Lady: Mrs. Pepys,' 594–763.

⁶⁶ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 4, 12 May 1663, 133.

⁶⁷ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 4, 15 May 1663, 140.

⁶⁸ This description of Drumbleby is found in Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, 11 February 1667, 53. Greeting was finally given paid employment at the Chapel Royal in March 1674 as a violinist and sackbut player. See Alice Anderson Hufstader, 'Samuel Pepys, Inquisitive Amateur,' *The Musical Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (1968), 442. Prior to this time, Greeting had been employed by James, Duke of York as musician to Lady Mary (1673–1676) and Lady Ann (1677–1682). See Edgar Hunt and Peter Holman, 'Greeting, Thomas,' *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017.

practices.⁶⁹ He did not hold back with criticism and expressed frustration at Goodgroom (another royal musician), ‘whose teaching of my wife, only by singing over and over again to her and letting her sing with him, not by herself to correct her faults’.⁷⁰ These remarks, in addition to his fears about Pembleton, reflect similarities with other employers of personal household ‘staff’ musicians, although Pepys himself did eventually become wealthy enough to employ his own live-in household musician, Cesare Morelli.⁷¹ They also link closely to the traditional fears surrounding music lessons and the relationship between pupils and teachers, which were deemed to be in need of careful management.

The Music Lesson and Imagined Fears

Music lessons that took place between a female pupil and a male teacher were complex encounters that needed to be sensitively negotiated. Held in private spaces within the home, the entire gamut of real and imagined anxieties pertaining to love, desire, power, and knowledge needed to be carefully considered against the benefits of a daughter or wife gaining musical accomplishment.⁷² The complexity of such encounters made them an attractive subject area for artists and there are many examples of the music lesson motif being used to explore the relationships between harmony, moderation, beauty and accomplishment, against naivety, lust, desire and excess. It was a particularly popular subject for Dutch genre paintings, and the works of Johannes Vermeer, Jacob Ochtervelt, Gerard ter Borch, Jan Steen, Godfried Schalcken and Gabriel Metsu sought to highlight the moral dangers as well as possibilities for suggestive titillation of the viewer.⁷³ Such paintings also tend to include the

⁶⁹ John Goodgroom was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, a position that he held at the time of King Charles II’s coronation in 1660/1. See Ian Spink, ‘Goodgroom, John,’ *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017. Also, see Keri Dexter, ‘Goodgroom, John,’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford Music University Press, 2004–2016), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10971>, accessed March 2017, for varying starting dates.

⁷⁰ Pepys was critical of his wife’s singing teacher John Goodgroom because he felt that she was not making adequate progress; she had learnt three songs in three months. To accelerate her learning, he proposes to pay Goodgroom ten shillings per song. See Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, 2 March 1667, 109 and 31 August 1667, 411. Dexter, ‘Goodgroom, John,’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, states this was a reduction in fee.

⁷¹ Samuel Pepys was introduced to Samuel Morelli in 1673 by his friend Thomas Hill. Pepys decided to act as Morelli’s patron, describing him as ‘a thorough-bred scholar, and may be the greatest master of music of any we have’. Morelli taught Pepys to play the guitar, copied and composed music for him, and transposed music to suit his voice. See Roger Short, ‘Morelli, Cesare,’ *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017. For information concerning Morelli and later allegations made about Pepys’ Catholic sympathies, see Guy De La Bédoyère (ed.), *The Letters of Samuel Pepys 1656–1703* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 122–124.

⁷² The music lesson has been described by Christopher Marsh as a ‘complicated encounter’, see Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, 199; and by Katie Nelson as ‘A site of intrigue’, see Katie Nelson, ‘Love in the Music Room: Thomas Whythorne and the Private Affairs of Tudor Music Tutors,’ *Early Music* 40, no. 1 (2012), 15–28.

⁷³ Johannes Vermeer, *A Lady at the Virginals with a Gentleman* (early 1660s), London, Buckingham Palace, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405346, <http://www.royalcollection.org.uk>, accessed March 2017; Jacob Ochtervelt, *The Music Lesson* (1671), Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, 1933.1088,

commonly-accepted instruments for women to play (lute, virginals, viol, etc.), and stand in contrast to the traditional images of pipe lessons, often associated with shepherds and shepherdesses, which symbolised young love, foolishness and sensuousness. There are, however, several artworks that depict women being taught to play recorders, flageolets and duct / fipple flutes in domestic environments. Appearing first in the mid-seventeenth century, these images more or less coincide with Elizabeth Pepys' experience of learning to play the flageolet and the publication of relevant tutoring materials that were aimed at both men and women. Gerard Valck's *The Flute Lesson* (ca. late 1700s to the early 1800s), for example, displays a woman learning to play a small fipple or duct flute from a young tutor who is carefully observed by an older figure, presumably her father (Figure 3.5).⁷⁴ Unlike many other depictions of music lessons, this is clearly a chaperoned affair, which is possibly a consequence of the pipe being present in the scene. Despite the new appeal of these fashionable wind instruments, the traditional symbolism and fears associated with them had not been entirely dispelled and it is perhaps for this reason that the woman in Valck's print does not hold the instrument to her lips. Instead, her fingers remain poised over the finger holes as if ready to play and those members of her body deemed to be most attractive — her neck, face and fingers — are noticeably on display to the viewer. The young woman also exudes modesty, virtue and refinement through the discreet decorations in her hair, and the luxurious material of her dress and shawl, which hide the outline of her female figure. The inclusion of an older man — her father or guardian — signals this to be a private and controlled environment in which learning can take place. This patriarchal situation is imbued with symbolism of male power, as portrayed by the protective position of the male chaperone and the tutor as master of his art.

In other portrayals of 'pipe lessons' the traditional associations of these instruments are used to focus the viewers' attention immediately towards the pupil-teacher relationship as immoral. In Dirck Hals' *The Recorder Lesson* (1658), the female student is shown how to place her fingers on the instrument by her tutor, who stands closely at her side as he holds onto her left

<http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/16398>, accessed March 2017; Gerard ter Borch, *A Woman Playing a Lute to Two Men* (1667–1668), London, The National Gallery, NG864, <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk>, accessed March 2017; Gabriel Metsu, *A Man and a Woman Seated by a Virginal* (ca. 1665), London, The National Gallery, NG839, <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk>, accessed March 2017; Jan Steen, *A Young Woman Playing a Harpsichord to a Young Man* (ca. 1659), London, National Gallery, NG856, <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk>, accessed March 2017; Jan Steen, *The Harpsichord Lesson* (ca. 1660–1669), London, Wallace Collection, TWC 62159, <http://wallacelive.wallacecollection.org/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=65088&viewType=detailView>, accessed March 2017; Godfried Schalcken, *A Woman Singing and a Man with a Cittern* (ca. 1665–1670), National Gallery London, NG998, <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk>, accessed March 2017.

⁷⁴ This is a mezzotint by Gerard Valck (1651/2–1726), after a mezzotint by Wallerant Vaillant (1623–1677), and based on a painting by Gerard Pietersz van Zyl (ca. 1607–1665). See Gerard Valck, 'The Flute Lesson,' Washington, DC, The Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/ih.200182910/>, accessed March 2017.

index finger (Figure 3.6). In return, she acknowledges the closeness and intensity between them by tilting her head and gazing towards his face. The recorder in this instance might be construed as a phallic symbol and both tutor and tutee are seen to hint at forbidden desires. The overall composition of this engraving differs from other music lesson images because although it appears to be set indoors, the typical symbolic objects and scenery are missing. Instead, the scene is reminiscent of an older generation of moralistic artworks, such as Wilhelm Traut's early seventeenth-century engraving of a blind man teaching an old woman to play the recorder (Figure 3.7).⁷⁵ As he holds the instrument, she blows into the mouthpiece and puts her fingers from her left hand on the two upper holes. The focus, once again, is on the relationship between the teacher and pupil, which in this case is portrayed as ridiculous and deceptive.

In addition to the pipe imagery, these engravings (particularly the scene by Dirck Hals) raise important questions related to the sense of touch: touching instruments and physical contact between teachers and pupils. In considering the demands of teaching, touch may have been needed to demonstrate how to hold instruments, to show correct fingerings, to show control of ornamentations, and importantly for wind-playing, to correct bad postures and breathing techniques. The pupil-tutor relationship described, for example, in *The Burwell Lute Tutor* (ca. 1660–1672) highlights a teaching technique based on imitation, but the question remains as to whether all of the necessary instructions could be communicated through verbal instruction and demonstration alone. Did some teachers have a more 'hands on' approach than others, for example? And what were the (unwritten) rules surrounding teacher-pupil interactions? In today's society, there is hypersensitivity towards student protection, but what were the rules during the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially when considering the emphasis on preventing 'distortion' and minimising movement? Were shoulders held down, arms lifted, or backs straightened, for example? Furthermore, when considering the extra physical demands of wind-playing, even for a recorder or flageolet, the aspects of breathing, minimising puffing cheeks and embouchure might have called for gentle physical reminders from a teacher. Although no source materials specifically refer to these questions, the fact that 'touch' is used and highlighted in pictorial

⁷⁵ Traut's woodcut was based on an earlier engraving by Villamena that was published ca. 1580s by Battista Panzera in Rome. The engraving is entitled: *Nicolo detto il cieco da pistoia/ Said Nicolo, the blind man from Pistoia and the accompanying moralistic verse is as follows: 'Inflatanus, pulsandi artem non docta, manuque / Et digitis caeci exilit inde melos. / Non quod anus potest, hoc praestat lumine captus, / Quod nequeunt seorsum, reddit uterque simul.'* [The old woman blows but she is unversed in the art of music-making by hand; / The melody is produced by the fingers of the blind man. / It is not something she can manage on her own; he excels despite his disability. / What is beyond them separately, they achieve together]. The original motto is reproduced in Nicholas S. Lander, 'Francesco Villamena, Nicolo detto il cieco da Pistoia,' *The Recorder Homepage: Iconography* (1996–2017), <http://recorderhomepage.net/recorder-iconography/artists-v>, accessed March 2017. I am grateful to Geoffrey Birch for help with this translation.

representations of music lessons reaffirms the vulnerability of the pupil and the responsibility and trust placed on the tutor.

In contrast to the Dutch genre paintings of music lessons, the English mezzotint printmaker John Smith clearly portrays the dangers of wind music in *De muziekles* (ca. 1680 – ca. 1700), (Figure 3.8).⁷⁶ The embracing couple, caught up in a moment of lust, have discarded the recorder and music book on the table and are clearly unaware of the small boy watching them from behind the curtain. Although the relationship between the two adult figures is unclear (teacher and pupil? husband and wife? husband and mistress? courting couple?), the fear that music could distract and fire the emotions is unequivocally portrayed.⁷⁷

The pictures by Dirck Hals and John Smith represent imagined fears and desires either designed to titillate the viewer, or remind them of their moralistic duties. Despite awareness of these dangers, there is evidence that some music tutors, such as Richard Dutton (teacher of Sir Richard Cholmley's daughter, Katherine Cholmley), really did take advantage of their time alone.⁷⁸ Other tutors including Thomas Whythorne, John Danyel and John Attey appear to have expressed their desires for female pupils through song, using word play and innuendo.⁷⁹ Although some scholars have argued these lyrics were merely convention, Katie Nelson points out that 'in the context of a private and isolated music room, where an unmarried man and his young female pupil are singing together, these songs can hardly be seen as harmless convention'.⁸⁰ These fears were not exclusively reserved for young women either, but were just as applicable to married women taking music lessons. Engaging in musical pastimes was often considered to be a positive way to manage idle hours that would

⁷⁶ John Smith was an English mezzotint printmaker and produced works by British and Flemish artists. The name of M. Lauron appears under the table in this image.

⁷⁷ For a discussion regarding the music room as a social space, see Tarek Berrada, 'Music at Home: Spaces for Music in French Seventeenth-Century Residential Architecture,' in *The Music Room in Early Modern France and Italy: Sound, Space, and Object*, eds. Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 291–307. Music posed a different kind of distraction for children. This is portrayed in Jan Steen's *Children Teaching a Cat to Dance*, also known as 'The Dancing Lesson' (ca. 1660–1679). In this painting, a young boy holds up a cat and encourages him to dance to the young girl's music, which she plays on a shawm. The children are scolded by a man who leans down from the window above their heads. He suggests that they should not be wasting their time on pointless distractions, but they should be learning. See Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, SK-A-718, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.5502>, accessed March 2017.

⁷⁸ The daughter of Richard Cholmley and Lady Katherine Clifford declared a secret love affair and married her music tutor Richard Dutton in 1567. This case is mentioned in Jack Binns (ed.) *The Memoirs of Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby 1600–1657* (Woodbridge: Yorkshire Archaeological Society and The Boydell Press, 2000), 56 + 64. For the case of Gracia Masters, see Nelson, 'Love in the Music Room,' 23–24 and James David Stokes and Robert Joseph Alexander (eds.) *Records of Early English Drama in Somerset*, vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 85.

⁷⁹ Thomas Whythorne recorded many of his affairs with pupils, including a widow with whom he expressed his desires through song. See Nelson, 'Love in the Music Room,' 18. John Danyel's, *Songs for the Lute, Viol and Voice* (London: T. E. for Thomas Adams, 1606) was dedicated to Anne Greene (Daughter of William Greene of Milton). These songs were not originally intended for a public audience. John Attey, *The First Book of Ayres* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1622) was produced and written whilst he was tutor to the two daughters of the Earl of Bridgewater. In the dedication Attey writes, 'the best part of these were composed under your roofe, while I had the happinesse to attend the service of those worthy and incomparable ladies your daughters'.

⁸⁰ Nelson, 'Love in the Music Room,' 21–22.

complement the domestic environment rather than endanger it. However, in the personal accounts of Thomas Whythorne, he implies a greater danger in teaching married and widowed women because he correlates sexual experience with excess and lustfulness.⁸¹ Although Whythorne records many relationships with pupils (young and old) there is one instance in which he receives interest from an employer's wife, but decides against pursuing their relationship because, he explains, it would have been in breach of the Ten Commandments and, perhaps more crucially, might have ruined his professional reputation; 'no man wold trust mee to teach þeir children'.⁸² Whythorne's remarks establish that some tutors may have perceived married female pupils to be more lustful than younger students, but the potential for carrying out an illicit affair was countered by their professional needs, which relied upon personal connections and recommendation for further employment.⁸³

The Matrimonial Duet

The careful and consistent monitoring carried out by Samuel Pepys of his wife's musical progress reflects his sense of patriarchal responsibility and perhaps the traditional anxieties about music tutors. But importantly, it also relates to his status as employer, husband, and amateur musician intent on fulfilling his personal enthusiasm for musical accomplishment.⁸⁴ Pepys often records asking Elizabeth to sing or play after dinner and his critical reception appears to have upset her on occasions. As he recalls on 1 March 1667:

...and before dinner making my wife to sing; poor wretch, her ear is so bad that it made me angry, till the poor wretch cried to see me so vexed at her, and I think I shall not discourage her so much again but will endeavour to make her understand sounds and do her good that way.⁸⁵

Following this outburst, Pepys began to express pleasure in listening to Elizabeth sing and noticed her progress throughout the spring and summer months.⁸⁶ At the same time, he was

⁸¹ Katherine Hodgkin, 'Thomas Whythorne and the Problems of Mastery,' *History Workshop* 29 (1990), 20–41.

⁸² Thomas Whythorne, *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 111–112. For his various relationships with women, see pages, 28–29, 'The Pangs of Love,' 63–79; 'Pursued by Miss Elizabeth,' 73–79; and 'The Court Lady,' 80–90. Regarding his courtship of three ladies, see 'Between Three Stools,' 91–100, 'The Twenty-Pound Widow,' 150–161 and 'The Broken Vow,' 162–171.

⁸³ Whythorne's comments are also connected to the standard early modern literary trope regarding sexually predatory widows. See Jennifer Panek, *Widows and Suitors in Early Modern English Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁸⁴ For a discussion about patriarchy, see Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination*, 432 and Linda Phyllis Austern, 'Domestic Song and the Circulation of Masculine Energy in Early Modern England,' in *Gender and Song in Early Modern England*, eds. Leslie Dunn and Katherine Larson (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2014), 123–138.

⁸⁵ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, 1 March, 89.

⁸⁶ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, 11 March, 108; 19 March, 19; 18 April, 171; 2 May, 198; 6 May, 203; 7 May, 204; 10 May, 209; 6 June, 253; 5 July, 322; 10 July, 328; 21 July, 346; 25 July, 351; and 6 August, 375.

less enthused about her flageolet playing and wished that she would practise more regularly.⁸⁷ On 8 May, just over two months after beginning her lessons, Pepys returned home to find Greeting teaching his wife and again expressed pleasure at her progress, but also frustration that ‘she hath lost time by not practising’. This possibly echoed the sentiments of her teacher because Pepys notes that ‘I am resolved for the encouragement of the man to learn myself a little, for a month or so’, and just over a week later, Pepys raised Greeting’s wages to 20s per month to cover the cost of lessons for both him and his wife.⁸⁸

A sense of the potential frustrations faced by teachers of beginner pupils who wished (or others wished for them) to gain musical accomplishment and follow the current fashions without necessarily having natural ability and/or the inclination to practise is expressed in Jan Steen’s painting *The Recorder Lesson* (1662–1664), (Figure 3.9). As the young girl plays her recorder to the tutor, he appears to grimace and wag his finger sternly in her direction. His assertive attitude combined with the private, dark surrounds of the room adds an uncomfortable air to the painting and highlights the moralistic codes at work in the music room, as well as the vulnerability of the student.

Although Pepys did not express any concern about Greeting’s professionalism, he was preoccupied with progress and personal achievement. His decision to take lessons himself, even though he had been playing for some years, seems to have been rooted in his desire for personal improvement and to encourage flageolet playing as a matrimonial activity.⁸⁹ By taking separate lessons to Elizabeth, Pepys could remain ahead of her playing ability, allowing him to carefully monitor her progress, to direct her practice and playing time, and to give him a forum from which to express criticism and praise. While his patriarchal and musical authorities in the household were reaffirmed through this activity, Pepys also took great pleasure from the act of ‘piping’ together.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ He expresses this on 3 April: ‘and so home, where I find my wife with her flagellate-maister, which I wish she would practise’. See Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, 3 April, 146.

⁸⁸ ‘Sheply being gone, there came the Flagilette-maister; who having had a bad bargain of teaching my wife by the year, she not practicing so much as she should do, I did think the man did deserve some more consideration, and so will give him the opportunity of 20s a month more and he shall teach me; and this afternoon I begin, and I think it will be a few shillings well spent’. See Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, 17 May, 221.

⁸⁹ Pepys records playing the flageolet from 1660 in various places. He experiments with the sound of different environments and enjoys the flexibility of being able to take his instrument out with him. See Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 1 (1660), 16 January, 19; 30 January, 33; 3 February, 38; 8 February, 45; 17 February, 58; 27 February, 70; 1 May, 121; 14 May, 138; 18 May, 147; vol. 2 (1661): 3 April, 65; 5 June, 155; vol. 3 (1662): 26 March, 53; 9 May, 80; vol. 4 (1663): 19 June, 189; and vol. 5 (1664): 20 July, 215. Pepys even records playing one or two flageolet duets with Mr Sponge, 28 February 1660, 71 and having a flageolet lesson from Mr Blagrave on 21 June 1660, 180 (vol. 1).

⁹⁰ For references concerning Elizabeth and Samuel Pepys piping together see Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8 (1667), 17 May, 221; 20 May, 224–225; 24 May, 235; 25 May, 235; 4 June, 250; 7 June, 253; 8 July, 326; 9 July, 327; 29 July, 367; 30 July, 369; 31 July, 370; 10 August, 380; 12 August, 384; 13 September, 435; 13 September, 436; 14 September, 437; 15 September, 438; and 19 September, 443.

An idealised scene of marital domestic music-making that nevertheless may capture the essence of this is conveyed on the frontispiece to Humphrey Salter's *The Genteel Companion*, which depicts a man playing a recorder and a woman who appears to follow the music in her own book while mimicking the fingering with her left hand. In the centre of the table is a matching recorder, which is presumably her instrument (Figure 3.10). In view of Pepys' descriptions of music-making with Elizabeth and his dominant role in organising this activity and guiding her progress, it makes sense to imagine that the figure in Salter's engraving is showing his female companion how to play a certain line, teaching her a new piece, or simply playing for her enjoyment.

A similar scene of domestic harmony is used in Henry Playford's *Deliciae Musicae* (1695–1696), but in this instance the woman sings as her male companion accompanies her on the lute (Figure 3.3).⁹¹ The woman also holds her book open and appears to conduct or gesture with her right hand, a symbol of measure and moderation.⁹² Yet, there is also a flageolet on the table, and an alternative reading might therefore be that she, in a similar manner to the woman in *The Genteel Companion* engraving, is miming the fingering for her instrument (Figure 3.10).⁹³ Scenes of domestic music-making were not limited to music book frontispieces and the longevity of these ideals is apparent in a later engraving by G. Texier, which depicts a woman holding a pipe, as if ready to play (ca. 1792), (Figure 3.11). These examples of domestic music-making scenes explore the ideals of love, friendship, harmony and concord, which are inferred through the gestures of the characters and their joint activity. Through their passive, rather than active, positions within these scenes, the female pipe players are not perceived to upset the 'natural' balance of the household and their femininity remains intact because of this. Although a similar ideal is projected in Jan Miense Molenaer's *The Duet* (ca. 1629), the additional symbolism within the painting interpolates a sense of warning that music could incite desire, passion and sensuality (Figure 3.12).⁹⁴

⁹¹ Henry Playford, *Deliciae Musicae* (London: J. Heptinstall for Henry Playford, 1695–1696), Frontispiece.

⁹² See for example, Jan Miense Molenaer (ca. 1610–1668), *A Musical Party (Allegory of Fidelity in Marriage)* (1633) and Jan Miense Molenaer, *The Duet* (1630) in which the male lute player is 'conducted' by the woman seated opposite him. The first painting is reproduced in Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 2. The second painting is found in Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, Old Master Paintings, inv. 53.495. In Johannes Vermeer's *The Concert* (ca. 1665), a young girl reads from her sheet of music and conducts with her hand, while she is accompanied by another girl on the harpsichord, as well as a man playing the theorbo. The current location of the painting is unknown, but prior to being stolen, the painting belonged to Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, <http://www.gardnermuseum.org/collection/browse?filter=artist:3284>, accessed March 2017.

⁹³ Salter, *The Genteel Companion*.

⁹⁴ Sexual desire is alluded to through the pairing of the recorder and theorbo because it is reminiscent of the lute and flute pairing (Chapter 1). The foot warmer, usually reserved for the female of the household, is also positioned under the lutenist's foot and possibly acts as a symbol of passion. See Cynthia von Bogendorf Rupprath, *Jan Miense Molenaer: Painter of the Dutch Golden Age* (Carolina: The North Carolina Museum of Art, 2002), 85. Regarding the foot warmer see Nanette Salomon, *Shifting Priorities: Gender and Genre in Seventeenth Century Dutch Painting* (California: Stanford University Press, 2004), 26.

The salacious quality of wind music is playfully explored in many Dutch artworks, especially those depicting peasant interiors in which musical pastimes play an important role.⁹⁵ In Henrick Sorgh's *Peasants Making Music* (seventeenth century), for example, the room is filled with a chaotic array of cooking utensils and discarded playing cards, which demonstrate that domestic chores have been neglected in favour of music and gambling (Figure 3.13). The disorder is reflected by the 'noise' of the male violinist, rommel pot player and the female recorder player who each sit on an upturned barrel to play. In this instance, and in the case of Harman Hals' *Interior with a Woman Playing a Recorder* (mid-seventeenth century), the women are depicted with their instruments in their mouths (Figure 3.14). As such, they appear to draw the attention of the male onlookers within the scene and their sexual morality is questioned.⁹⁶

These conflicting images of women playing or otherwise holding recorders exemplify how different ideologies pertaining to class, gender and age were represented in many contemporary artworks. As Richard Leppert is careful to note, this did not mean that peasants were incapable of playing skilfully, but it was a recognisable conventional format in which ideological dichotomies could be presented.⁹⁷ While order was associated with educated and harmonious music, 'noise' and dissonance portrayed by the ageing lower classes was unrefined and chaotic. Furthermore, the physical self-control exuded in the upper-class imagery is reduced to physical vulgarity and foolishness in the peasant scenes.

Considering these conflicting representations, it is understandable that in producing music tutor books, the contents and addresses to readers needed to be carefully aligned with ideal domestic decorum. Although the women do not play, or even hold their instruments, in the frontispiece engravings, their participation in this activity is implied through their inclusion within the scene. These frontispieces, in conjunction with other contemporary artworks, contextualised with the references to Elizabeth's playing in Pepys' diary, suggest that it was not unusual for women to play wind instruments. Furthermore, the inclusion of a female flageolet player in Walter Pope's story *The Memories of Monsieur Du Vall* (1690) confirms a wider awareness and acceptance of this instrument as appropriate for women. In

⁹⁵ The settings and pastimes portrayed in Dutch genre paintings were recognisable to viewers and although they contained moralistic codes, it is important to distinguish them from sermons or behaviour tracts. These paintings were brought, displayed and enjoyed on many different levels: for the familiarity of the scene; to admire the skill of the master painter; and perhaps to amuse the viewer through playful and uncouth figures that were acceptable in a picture. For a discussion on genre paintings see Christopher Brown, *Scenes of Everyday Life: Dutch Genre Paintings from the Mauritshuis* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1999), 20.

⁹⁶ Flora Dennis discusses 'noise' and its relation to the domestic sphere in Flora Dennis, 'Sound and Domestic Space in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Italy,' *A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History and Material Culture* 16, no. 1 (2008), 10–12.

⁹⁷ Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 8–9.

the following encounter, Du Vall, a notorious highwayman, encounters a Lady with musical talent and persuades her to play.

He [Du Vall] with his Squadron, overtakes a Coach which they had set over night, having intelligence of a booty of Four Hundred Pounds in it: In the coach was a Knight, his lady, and only one serving Maid, who perceiving five horsemen making up to them, presently imagin'd that they were beset, and they were confirmed this apprehension, by seeing them whisper to one another, and ride backwards and forwards: The Lady, to shew she was not afraid, takes a Flageolet out of her pocket and plays; Du Vall takes the hint, plays also, and excellently wel; upon the Flageolet of his own, and in this posture he rides up to the coach side. Sir, says he, to the person in the Coach, your Lady playes excellently, and I doubt not but that she Dances as well; will you please to walk out of the Coach, and let me have the honour to Dance one Corant with her upon the Heath?⁹⁸

In this episode, the Lady's flageolet playing is considered a symbol of her accomplishment and, because she displays natural ability and knowledge of this musical trend, Du Vall assumes that she will also have been tutored in fashionable French dances. This story is designed to show that despite his current state, Du Vall is, in fact, the Lady's social 'equal' and as such he plays a duet with her, and requests a dance. Although the Lady performs her music within the privacy of the coach, under the watchful eye of her knight, there are salacious undertones to this encounter, which are evident in the siren-like 'luring' qualities of her pipe playing.⁹⁹

In addition to recognising the Lady's awareness of current fashions, Du Vall also passes judgement on her flageolet playing, noting that she 'playes excellently'. Pepys, conversely, was more critical towards his wife's musical abilities and, unlike Du Vall's short encounter, his diary entries give some indication as to how his wife's playing progressed during the summer months of 1667. For example, in May, Pepys records that Elizabeth is able to 'readily hit her notes', but that she cannot yet manage to 'go through a whole tune readily'. This did not take her long to achieve, however, and by the end of the month Pepys praised her for playing 'mightily prettily', having exceeded his expectations.¹⁰⁰ During August, Pepys was supplied with a flageolet duet by Greeting based on a tune played at the King's Playhouse. Pepys was so enamoured with this music that he requested similar pieces to play

⁹⁸ Walter Pope, *The Memories of Monsieur Du Vall Containing the History of his Life and Death* (London: Printed for Henry Brome, 1679), 8–10.

⁹⁹ Hal Gladfelder notes that Walter Pope's *Memoires* are a pastiche which are 'mostly directed against the French and against women who are sexually drawn to handsome robbers'. See Hal Gladfelder, *Criminality and Narrative in Eighteenth-Century England: Beyond the Law* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 84–86.

¹⁰⁰ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8 (1667), 17 May, 221; 22 May, 232; 24 May, 291; 16 June, 295; 29 June, 367; and 30 July, 369.

with his wife, ‘which she will easily do, I find’.¹⁰¹ Despite his request there is no further evidence that Greeting did supply them with any more music and in fact, just a couple of days later, he was paid off by the couple for ‘having as much as he can teach us’.¹⁰² Throughout September Pepys and Elizabeth continued to play regularly together, as an activity following dinner or supper (almost on a daily basis) and according to Pepys, his wife had progressed to ‘taking out any tune almost at first sight and keeping time to it’.¹⁰³ He was so content with her progress that he wrote: ‘I am resolved she shall learn to play upon some instrument – for though her eare be bad, yet she attain anything to be done by her hand’.¹⁰⁴ This final statement raises two interesting points about how Pepys viewed the flageolet. Firstly, his decision for Elizabeth to ‘learn to play upon some instrument’ suggests that he almost disregarded the flageolet as a ‘proper’ instrument, but considered it as a novelty pastime, easy to learn and a useful way of introducing a beginner to key musical elements in preparation for further musical training. Secondly, his praise of her ‘hand’ seems an odd focus of attention for a blown wind instrument, especially when it had previously been believed that human breath would incite spirits within the pipe.¹⁰⁵ In consideration of the following explanation by Robert Boyle (a contemporary of Pepys) it appears that the Classical preoccupation with breath held less significance in the late seventeenth century:

If anyone that play skilfully on a Flute, blow out of his mouth into the open Air, he will but turn into a Vapid Aereal Stream: But if this wind duly pass into the instrument, and be modify’d there by the Musician’s Fingers and Skill, the simple Air may be form’d into various melodious Tune.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, 23 August 1667, 396.

¹⁰² Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, 26 August 1667, 400.

¹⁰³ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, 11 September 1667, 433–434. He also gives her the same praise for keeping time and reading by sight the following day, see 12 September 1667, 435.

¹⁰⁴ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, 11 September 1667, 433–434.

¹⁰⁵ As suggested by Ovid’s version of the Argos myth in *Metamorphoses*, Hermes’ breath is said to ‘enliven the spirits within the pipe.’ The resulting sweet music lulled the guard, Argos to sleep and once all of his one hundred eyes had closed, Hermes could kill him. Also, see the story of Pan who turned the nymph Syrinx into a set of pipes so that he could carry her with him forever. These stories are discussed in the Introduction. Also, see the story of Pan and Syrinx. These beliefs surrounding the mystical qualities of flute playing are reaffirmed in early modern literature and ‘scientific’ writings. For example, in Pierre Trichet’s *Traité des instruments de musique* (ca. 1640) he recalls the use of Pan’s magic flute to detect virginity or wanton behaviour among young women who were left in a grotto with the instrument for three days. If sweet music was heard, it was an indication of their innocence and they would return, whereas if a lamenting sound was heard, the girls were found guilty of lying and they would disappear forever. This story is translated in Carla Zecher, *Sounding Objects: Musical Instruments, Poetry and Art in Renaissance France* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 129. The same story (with some variation) is also recalled in Anthony Hodges, *The Loves of Clitophon and Leucippe. A Most Elegant History in Greeke by Achilles Tatius: and Now Englished* (Oxford: William Turner for John Allam, 1638), 230–231. Mysticism surrounding the pipe is also expressed in Francis Bacon’s ‘scientific’ experimental notebook. See Francis Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum: or A Naturall Historie in Ten Centuries* (London: Printed by John Haviland and Augustine Matthewes for William Lee, 1627), 50. This text is discussed in Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending the O-Factor* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 106.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Boyle, *A Free Enquiry into the Vulgarly Reciev’d Notion of Nature Made in an Essay Address’d to a Friend* (London: H. Clark for John Taylor, 1686), 387.

Focussing on the hand, Boyle's explanation implies that the mystical qualities of wind-playing no longer took precedence, but instead, the hand and fingers were invoked to represent creative skill. In the case of a female player such as Elizabeth, this new emphasis demonstrates how wind-playing could be aligned with other 'feminine' pastimes, including sewing, painting and playing stringed and keyboard instruments that had previously held sway (and were still prevalent). It also shows that while the Classical views regarding wind-playing may have been updated, this in turn enabled traditional tropes relating to female beauty and accomplishment to be sustained.

Following their intense summer of playing and singing together, the flageolet is not mentioned in Pepys' diary until the following January when he organised for Elizabeth to learn the flageolet during the winter and to spend the rest of the year painting.¹⁰⁷ During the subsequent months Pepys visited Drumbleby's shop for some playing advice, was shown a new 'fashion for having two pipes of the same note fastened together', and he purchased a new flageolet.¹⁰⁸ He also describes being inspired by the music in a performance of *The Virgin Martyr*, resolving 'to practice wind-music and to make my wife do the like'.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, Pepys invited Mr Bannister to dinner and heard him play the flageolet. He also purchased a copy of Greeting's book and a recorder from Drumbleby's shop, which he began to learn on the 16 April.¹¹⁰ Yet, despite Pepys' rekindled enthusiasm for wind music, he and Elizabeth did not restart their lessons with Thomas Greeting until 13 August 1668.

Up, and Greeting comes and there he tried some things of Mr Lockes for two flageolets, to my great content; and this day my life begins again to learn from him, for I have a great mind for her to be able to play a part with me.¹¹¹

The duets by Locke were possibly given to Pepys by Christopher Gibbons, with whom he met on 3 August and requested 'some things for two flagelettes'.¹¹² This was the second time that

¹⁰⁷ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 9, 16 January 1668, 25.

¹⁰⁸ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 9, 20 January 1668, 30.

¹⁰⁹ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 9, 27 February 1668, 94.

¹¹⁰ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 9, 29 March 1668, 138; and 8 April 1668, 157.

¹¹¹ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 9, 13 August 1668, 279.

¹¹² Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vols. 9, 9 + 3 August 1668, 271. Robert Latham, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), Introduction and 7–9, notes the duets by Locke are possibly those found in PL 2065–7. The materials used by Pepys for practical music-making were probably written or printed on loose sheets and not considered worthy enough to befit his library collection. Nevertheless, there are three surviving manuscript books, the first of which contains solo flageolet pieces (*Flageolet et Flut Doux Solo*, 2065), and the second and third books are part books containing flageolet duets (*Flageolet et Flut Doux ... Duos*, 2066–7). MS 2065 contains an undated fragment of Salter's, *The Genteel Companion*. MS 2066–7 includes dances and songs which are listed according to their scale or key, using the hexachord names, beginning with 'Gamutt Flatt'. The manuscript part books are written in the same hand as 1962–1963, another anonymous manuscript for two flutes. This also contains a fingering table for the treble recorder and the music (short dances and instrumental pieces) is written for two recorders. Latham suggests these may be indicators of the sort of music that Pepys played.

Pepys had asked for musical duets, suggesting there may have been a lack of suitable duets, beyond the beginner tunes, written in tablature form. The couple's return to formal music lessons with Greeting even after purchasing his tutor book also suggests their need for personal attention from a tutor. Reasons for this may have included both practical and social factors, but Pepys was ready to 'learn', suggesting that the couple wished to revise their previous lessons and progress beyond the beginner publications. The regularity of lessons may also have given them extra motivation to play together, as they had done so during the previous summer.

Beginner Wind-Instrument Publications: Instructional Material and Repertoire

Despite the Pepys' reliance on taking lessons from a tutor, many beginners' publications, including Robert Pawlet's flageolet tutor book, advertised that a teacher was not obligatory.¹¹³ Although an essential element of sales rhetoric, this claim also aimed to attract amateur musicians living outside London, who were less likely to have the benefit of a master nearby and, in theory at least, that residing in a rural locality was no longer a barrier to following the musical fashions of the city, as advocated by Thomas Greeting and John Playford.¹¹⁴ In reality, however, learning from a self-instruction book could not replace some necessary direction from a tutor, especially concerning details of intonation, musical expression, breath control, ornamentation and musical interpretation.¹¹⁵ These more refined points could not be covered by the basic instruction books and they did not lie within the overall remit of these publications, which contained similar, and in some cases identical, explanations of basic music theory.¹¹⁶ As Greeting advises in his *Pleasant Companion*, 'if what is said here concerning Common Time be not sufficient to instruct the Beginner, I refer him to Mr. Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick*'.¹¹⁷ This was a clever marketing strategy to advertise other publications and presumably, by leaving out these basic points, Greeting could

¹¹³ Anon., *Directions to Learn to Play Upon That Pleasant and Spritely Instrument the Flageolet Without the Help of a Teacher* (London: Robert Pawlett, ca. 1670).

¹¹⁴ Thomas Greeting advertises the portability of the flageolet, although he continues to promote the benefit of 'a little assistance of a skilful master,' see Greeting, *The Pleasant Companion*. In John Playford, *Apollo's Banquet Containing Instructions, and Variety of New Tunes, Ayres, Jiggs and Several New Scotch Tunes for The Treble Violin: to Which is Added the Tunes of the Newest French Dances, Now Used at Court and In Dancing Schools* (London: E. Jones for Henry Playford, 1690), he states that the tunes are appropriate for the 'flute or recorder'. He also explains that basic instructions have been included 'for the benefit of such Learners as live Remote from any Professed Teachers, there are the following Pages set down.'

¹¹⁵ John Griffiths, 'Juan Bermudo, Self-Instruction, and the Amateur Instrumentalist,' in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Russell E. Murray, Susan Forscher Weiss and Cynthia J. Cyrus (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 128–129 and David Lasocki, 'Instruction Books and Methods for the Recorder from Around 1500 to the Present Day,' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, ed. John Mansfield Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 119.

¹¹⁶ Rebecca Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 22–24.

¹¹⁷ Greeting, *The Pleasant Companion*, 'Directions for Playing the Flageolet'.

satisfy a wider reading audience and keep his book at a reasonable cost. There are examples, however, of published tutor books which were criticized for their lack of clarity, including John Playford's *Musicks Hand Maide* (1678) in which clearer instructions were added to his later edition.¹¹⁸ Another example of the difficulties faced by learners can be seen in a letter from a Miss Weeton to her brother. Although written in the early nineteenth century, it conveys her frustration at the absence of fundamental principles.

I am rather at a stop respecting flats and sharps, for my book does not explain the use of those at the beginning of the line in any of the tunes, so I play all the notes natural. If I had not recollected a part of your instruction on the violin, I could not have attempted to play the simplest by any direction I now have.¹¹⁹

At the time of her writing (during a revival of the flageolet), improvements for the benefit of learners had already been made to tutor books and instruments, with extra assistance in reading notation and new designs such as ivory studs to guide the fingers.¹²⁰ These developments demonstrate the importance of beginner materials to the learning process, especially for those (unlike Elizabeth Pepys) who were not able to study with a tutor and relied solely on the self-instructional materials.

A further point to note regarding wind tutor books is that the simplicity of the instructions even filtered down to directions on tonguing and articulation. In *The Pleasant Companion*, for example, Greeting reminds the reader to 'stop the Holes close and to hit every note distinctly with the tip of your tongue'.¹²¹ This focus on the tongue is reminiscent of the earlier wind treatises by Martin Agricola, Sylvestro Ganassi, Girolamo Dalla Casa, Riccardo Rognoni and Francesco Rognoni, but the complex articulation details of these texts are hugely simplified in favour of ease and quickness of learning.¹²² This reduction in tonguing variety appears to be unique to the English wind tutors because those by Cesare Bendinelli, Girolamo Fantini, Bartolomeo Bismantova, Jacques Hottettere and Johann Quantz all contain

¹¹⁸ In the preface of his book, Playford states: 'Many of those that bought of the former impression of Musicks Hand-maid, were not well satisfied, (especially such who dwelt in the Country remote from an able master) because she brought not with her some Rules and Directions for playing those Lessons contained therein; which Lessons are so composed, that the Treble-Violin may play the Tune along with the Virginal. For the satisfaction of the aforesaid persons, and likewise for the ease of such Teachers, who account it too much pains to write down all that is necessary for their scholars, I have in this new Edition adventured to publish the following Instructions; which that they may prove beneficial to all Ingenious and Industrious Persons is the hearty desire of J.P.' See John Playford, *Musicks Hand-Maid New Lessons and Instructions for the Virginals or Harpsychord* (London: Printed for John Playford, 1678).

¹¹⁹ A letter from Miss Weeton to her brother written in 1807 is reproduced in John Monro, *The Art of Playing the Flageolet*, op. 3 (London: Button & Whitaker, ca. 1810), title page. As cited in Jane Girdham, 'The Flageolet Player: The Ultimate Amateur Musician,' *Early Music* 30 (2002), 408.

¹²⁰ William Waterhouse, 'The Double Flageolet – Made in England,' *The Galpin Society Journal* 52 (1999), 174 + 176 and Girdham, 'The Flageolet Player,' 408.

¹²¹ Greeting, *The Pleasant Companion*, 'Directions for Playing the Flageolet'.

¹²² Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1529/1545); Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (1535); Dalla Casa, *Il vero modo di diminvir* (1584); Rognoni, *Passaggi* (1592); and Rognoni, *Selva de varri passaggi* (1620).

comparatively detailed tonguing instructions.¹²³ The focus towards simplicity in the English tutor books undoubtedly coincides with the flageolet, recorder, and flute appearing on the amateur music scene, but it might also reflect the capabilities of the newly designed Baroque instruments, which were now conical in shape and constructed in several parts, making them more responsive and able to produce a wider range of pitches and tonal colours.¹²⁴

One of the fundamental differences between the earlier printed music for amateur musicians and the post-1650 beginner publications concerns the notational systems used to present musical materials to the reader. While the earlier publications written for lute and viol consorts tended to use tablature form, many of the later tutors, written for the newly fashionable recorder, spinet and violin, were written using pitched notation. This is because tablature form was specific to the instrument and not transferrable, whereas notated music allowed for flexibility - an important factor when considering commercial viability. Furthermore, although tablature was more accessible to professional and amateur players alike, it was less suited to presenting music for the violin or keyboards, although it had been used on the Continent for the latter group of instruments from at least the fifteenth century.¹²⁵

Despite the increased use of notated music in the seventeenth century, flageolet tutor books such as *Directions for the Flagellett* (1667) and *The Pleasant Companion* (1675) continued to use tablature form.¹²⁶ Recorder tutors initially presented both tablature and notation, but later dropped the 'dots' in favour of the 'notes'. As Humphrey Salter explains in *The Genteel Companion* (1683), 'for the advantage of beginners that have not the help of a Master to instruct them, I have placed in the beginning some easy tunes with Dots under the

¹²³ Verona, Accademia Filarmonica, Cesare Bendinelli, *Tutta l'arte della trombetta* (1614); Girolamo Fantini, *Modo per impartire a sonare di tromba tanto di Guerra quanto musicalmente in organo, con tromba sordina, col cimbalo, e orgn'altro istrumento* (Frankfurt: Daniel Watsch, 1638); Ferrara, Biblioteca Municipale de Reggio Emilia, Bartolomeo Bismantova, *Compendio musicali* (1677); Jacques Hotteterre, *Principes de la Flute Traversiere* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1707); and Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte Traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voß, 1752). Bruce Haynes discusses the tonguing syllables for the transverse flute as found in tutor books dating between 1700 and 1827 in 'Tu ru or not Tur ru: Paired Syllables and Unequal Tonguing Patterns on Woodwinds in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,' *Performance Practice Review* 10, no. 1 (1997), 41–60.

¹²⁴ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 10, 'Music', 273. Also, see Anthony Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and their History* (London: Faber & Faber, 1967), 275–306.

¹²⁵ There is one manuscript example of keyboard tablature (Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York, Wills Volume 49, fol. 308), which is the only surviving English source to use this format. A printed tutor book for the virginals which was planned for 1597 and used both dots and tablature does not seem to have been published. See Colton, 'A Unique Source of English Tablature,' 39–50 and John Harley, *British Harpsichord Music*, vol. 2 (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992–1994), 213–214. For discussion about the use of keyboard tablature on the Continent see William Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1945), 47.

¹²⁶ Only a fragment of Thomas Swain's publication survives but the frontispiece is identical to the one used for Greeting's *Pleasant Companion*. He also states in the introduction that his instructions are 'sufficient for the learner for whom it is solely intended'. There is no reason to suggest that this tutor book should be any different from the other surviving flageolet tutor books which use tablature. See Swain, *Directions for the Flagellett*. There is also one surviving English example of flageolet tablature being used in a manuscript owned by an amateur musician. See David Lindley, 'A Seventeenth Century Flageolet Tablature at Guildford,' *The Galpin Society Journal* 31 (1978), 94–99.

Violin notes, by which means they may confirm themselves in the manner of playing every note'.¹²⁷ Salter presumably used the phrase 'violin notes' because the music was written in the G² clef – 'the violin clef'.¹²⁸ The combination of tablature and pitched notation made the publications accessible to complete beginners and those fluent at reading notated music. It also demonstrates the expected progression of players to move from tablature towards pitched notation. This, however, required an understanding of the 'scale of musick' rather than the older hexachord system, a skill that Pepys himself found incredibly frustrating and never fully mastered. Those who had developed keyboard or violin skills had a distinct advantage because they would have encountered 'the new octave based chromaticism'.¹²⁹ Knowledge of this kind was recognised by Greeting in his *Pleasant Companion*, because as he explains, lessons beginning on the violin in A, F, C and D 'have the same key on the flageolet'. In sharing this information, Greeting opened up the possibility for flageolet players to read from pitched notation, a skill that was also promoted in John Playford's *Apollo's Banquet* (1690), in which he advertised new songs that may 'properly be played also on the flageolet, by such as skilled in the knowledge of pricking Tunes by Notes'.¹³⁰ In 1695 John Hudgebut published *A Collection of New Ayres* that were composed for two recorders and advertised 'to all gentlemen and ladies, lovers of the FLUTE'. His series *Thesaurus Musicus* and Robert Carr's *The Delightful Companion* also contained music for recorder ensembles.¹³¹ Other publications and anthologies reminded readers that the tunes were written 'within the compass of the flute' and transpositions of popular songs in suitable keys for the recorder were also produced.¹³²

¹²⁷ Salter, *The Genteel Companion*.

¹²⁸ Playford, *A Brief Introduction*. Playford uses the G² clef in 'Instructions for the Treble Violin', 95–112. Rebecca Herissone discusses the use of different clefs and Playford's preference for the G² clef (treble clef) and F⁴ (bass clef) for ease of learning. See Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth Century England*, 110–112.

¹²⁹ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 10, 'Music', 277.

¹³⁰ Playford, *Apollo's Banquet*.

¹³¹ Hudgebut, *A Collection of New Ayres*; John Hudgebut, *Thesaurus Musicus* (London: J Heptinstall, 1693–1695); and Carr, *The Delightful Companion*.

¹³² Henry Playford, *The Theatre of Musick...Also Symphonies and Restonels in 3 parts to Several of Them for the Violins and Flutes* (London: John Playford for Henry Playford, 1685); Henry Playford, *The Banquet of Musick, or, A Collection of the newest and best songs sung at court and at publick theatres. Being most of them within the compass of the flute, with a thorow-bass for the theorbo-lute, bass-viol, harpsichord, or organ* (London: Edward Jones, 1691); John Playford, *The Second Part of the Dancing Master: or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances with the Tunes to Each Dance for the Violin or Flute* (London: Printed for Henry Playford, 1696/8); and Henry Playford, *The Alamode Musician* (London: Henry Playford, 1698). Also see Giovanni Battista Draghi, *Vinculum societatis, or The Tie of Good Company...the Second Book with a Small Selection of Flute Tunes* (London: John Carr, 1688); Nicola Matteis, *A Collection of New Songs...Most of Them Transposed for Flute* (London: John Walsh, 1699); Thomas Cross, *Synopsis Musicae, or, The Musical Inventory...For Recorder or Flute* (London: Thomas Cross, 1693); Thomas D'Urfey, *Maiden Fresh as a Rose, Sung by Mr. Pack* (London: Richard Cross, 1693); Thomas D'Urfey, *I Burn, I Burn, Set By Mr John Eccles & Sung by Mrs. Bracegirdle in the Second Part of Don Quixote* (London: s.n., 1694); and John Abell, *A Choice Collection of Italian Ayres, For All Sorts of Voices, Violin, or Flute* (London: Printed by William Pearson, 1703). Transpositions for the recorder include: Thomas D'Urfey, *Maiden Fresh as a Rose, Sung by Mr. Pack* (London: Richard Cross, 1693); D'Urfey, *I Burn, I Burn*; Samuel Ackroyd, *A Scotch Song, Sung at Tunbridge Set to Musick by Mr. Ackroyd* (London: Thomas Cross, 1698); John Eccles, *Belinda's Pretty, Pretty, Pleasing Form Does My Happy, Happy...Fancy Charm a Song* (London: Thomas Cross, 1700); John Eccles, *Fye Amarillis*

These examples of notated music demonstrate the wide opportunities for those wind players who could read from pitched notation, as well as the effort made by publishers to create books that appealed to buyers through their inclusion of popular music in flexible and transposed performance formats. Yet, despite the increased playing possibilities open to those who could read from pitched notation, the following section will show how tablature format continued to be the most appropriate means by which women could learn and perform.

Notation and Performances: Practical and Ideological Considerations

Elizabeth and Samuel Pepys both learnt to read flageolet tablature, and even though Samuel attempted to learn the recorder using pitched notation, he never fully mastered the necessary skills. He was clearly not the only amateur musician to face this problem as evidenced by an anonymous publication from 1683, which presented recorder music using flageolet tablature: *The Recorder or Flute made easie; by exact and true directions, shewing the manner and way of playing on that fashionable instrument by the notes of the flageolet; whereby the meanest capacity may, with little spare time, attain this desire* (1683).¹³³ This example, and the flageolet publications mentioned above, which used ‘dot’ and ‘note’ presentational formats, indicate a specific division within the amateur market between beginners who wished to learn transferable musical skills and others who were content to learn an instrument quickly and with minimal effort. In the case of the flageolet, amateur musicians who desired to learn the instrument for its popularity and simplicity were perhaps more inclined to learn from tablature form, whereas those who had music theory experience and, specifically, understanding of the gamut, were more likely to read from notation and would in turn have access to a wider repertoire and performance possibilities.

In the case of Elizabeth Pepys, the principal rationale of the flageolet is evident: meant for amateur use, could be learnt quickly with the assistance of a tutor and/or a tutor book, and to be played within the private and informal domestic sphere.¹³⁴ These factors alone made the flageolet an ideal instrument for women to play, but it could also be argued that the use of tablature notation added to its appeal. As Samuel Pepys’ commentary demonstrates, his wife quickly learned to read from flageolet tablature, which required her to simultaneously grasp

Cease to Grieve (London: Thomas Cross, 1700); John Eccles, *Mercury to Paris in Ye Prize Musick* (London: s.n., 1704); John Eccles, *Pallas Ist. vers in the Prize Musick* (London: s.n., 1704); John Blow, *A Song Set by Dr. John Blow, Sung by the Boy at the Theatre in Drury Lane* (London: s.n., 1704); Richard Brown, *A Scotch Song Written and Composed by Mr. Richard Brown* (London: s.n., 1700); Jeremiah Clarke, *The Country Farmer A Song* (London: s.n., 1700); Jeremiah Clarke, *A Song Set by Mr. Jeremiah Clarke, Sung by Mrs. Erwin at the Theatre Royall and Exactly Engraved by Thomas Cross* (London: s.n., 1704); William Croft, *How Sweet the Cooling Breeze* (London: s.n., 1704); and William Croft, *An Ode on Musidora Walking in Spring Garden* (London: s.n., 1704).

¹³³ As referenced in Lasocki, ‘Instruction Books and Methods for the Recorder,’ 133, fn. 26.

¹³⁴ Girdham, ‘The Flageolet Player,’ 398, notes that the flageolet was rarely heard in professional settings.

fingerings and rhythmic patterns, without the need to be able to read either clefs or pitches.¹³⁵ As he explains, ‘my wife and I spent part of the night at the Flagelette, which she plays now anything upon almost, at first sight and in good time’.¹³⁶

Tablature form itself had long been established as suitable for a female clientele because it was rooted in practical music-making rather than music theory, normally the preserve of boys who had been taught it at school. As Mary Burwell explained in her description of a lute tutor’s duties, ‘The Art of Music is rather inspired and communicated than taught ... Likewise the scholar must always practice, and the master sometimes [...] having three things in all to do: The setting of lessons, the teaching and playing.’¹³⁷ Burwell’s description of the teacher-pupil relationship demonstrates how the focus for lessons was practical rather than theoretical, and the teaching methodology was based on ‘modelling’. As she explains:

It is good to choose masters well-bred and that are famous... a master should not be too old or too young. The young one is foolish and hath little experience, the old one is peevish and distasteful know not or slights the new manner of playing the new lessons, hath a bad hand and hath neither a good voice nor good action in playing, which is very dangerous for young scholars are like apes.¹³⁸

By demonstrating good playing technique and performance practice, the female pupil could be ‘inspired’ by her teacher to mimic these skills (as Burwell describes, ‘like an ape’). The same learning process is also echoed in the use of tablature, which reflects the required playing actions directly to the reader. In the case of pedagogical tablatures used in the *Burwell Lute Book*, for example, these lessons, as Elizabeth Kenny explains, ‘put the playing body of the teacher at the service of the learner’.¹³⁹ Thus, during private practice the pupil (such as Mary Burwell or Elizabeth Pepys, for example) had a visual stimulus from which to recall an aural and tactile memory of previous lessons taught by her teacher, including the sound and bodily actions of professional performance. Imitation was not limited to physical skills, but the *exempla classica* pedagogical method entailed memorising and copying model works to learn the key musical elements such as harmony, rhythm, counterpoint and structure.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ Girdham, ‘The Flageolet Player,’ 398.

¹³⁶ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, 11 September 1667, 433.

¹³⁷ Norwich, Ingham, Captain Anthony Howard’s Private Collection, *Burwell Lute Tutor* (ca. 1660–1672), facsimile eds. Robert Spencer and Richard Rastall (Leeds: Boethius Press, 1974). The first folio of the manuscript contains the signature of ‘Elizabeth Burwell’, but Thurston Dart attributes the instructions for the lute being copied by her daughter, Mary Burwell. See Thurston Dart, ‘Miss Mary Burwell’s Instruction Book for the Lute,’ *The Galpin Society Journal* 11 (1958), 5.

¹³⁸ Dart, ‘Miss Mary Burwell’s Instruction Book,’ 37.

¹³⁹ Kenny, ‘Revealing Their Hand,’ 15.

¹⁴⁰ Pollack, ‘Princess Elizabeth Stuart as Musician and Muse,’ 413.

The accessibility of tablature notation meant that it was subject to criticism, and Thomas Whythorne and Roger North were particularly scathing of those who could play without knowledge of theoretical music, expressed in notation. North was critical of young masters who, he claimed, taught by imitation ('the worst way'), displayed a lack of knowledge behind their own abilities, and were unable to pinpoint or correct the errors of their pupils.¹⁴¹ John Dowland, whose publications utilised tablature form, was critical of professionals who did not appreciate informed practice.¹⁴² Yet, despite these negative views towards tablature notation, the key concept of 'imitation', frequently associated with female music-making, meant that it had an enabling function, in that women could be given the tools for musical display in the domestic sphere.¹⁴³ This echolalic teaching and performance method gave priority to practical music as opposed to music theory and composition, considered by many to be beyond the scope of female education and a compromise to femininity.¹⁴⁴

Although these descriptions of tablature only consider women learning from tutors (and generally refer to a pedagogical manuscript culture), the concept of imitation, presented in tablature form in the printed wind tutor books, can be seen to work on a similar level. Rather than imitating a master and recalling the sounds and actions of a professional musician, the self-instructor would need to rely on the printed notation, and it is in these instances that the musical subtleties of phrasing, ornamentation, articulation and breathing might have been lost. Nevertheless, the use of popular dance and theatre tunes in printed publications may have enabled readers to rely on an aural memory based on their personal experiences of hearing and seeing the tunes played or sung by professional and amateur musicians. Furthermore, as already discussed, the frontispiece imagery used in *Deliciae Musicae* and *The Genteel Companion* advertises an edifying relationship between a husband and wife pairing. These varying methods of learning incorporate different levels of imitation, and as such they reaffirm the subservient position of the female pupil in relation to her music tutor, husband, music book and surrounding environs.

¹⁴¹ Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Library, MS R. 11. xlii, Roger North, *The Musickall Grammarian, being a Scientifick Essay upon the Practise of Musick* (1728); eds. Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kasler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), f. 13v, 102. 'There is a natural tendency to imitate, which makes good vocal examples, the best instructor of a voice, and when the patterne itself is not as it should be, the copy will be wors, for imitation is without judgement', 20v (ca. 1726), 102, fn. 24.

¹⁴² Kenny, 'Revealing Their Hand,' 112–116.

¹⁴³ For information about tablature being considered as a means for social advancement, see Richard Wistreich, 'Nach der jetzig Newen Italienischen Manier zur guten Art im singen sich gewehnen: The Trillo and the Mechanics of Migration of Italian Noble Singing,' *Analecta musicologica* 49 (2013), 138–150.

¹⁴⁴ Musical echolalia: 'the demonstration of immediate relative imitation of a melodic or rhythmic sequence from a musical phrase performed through singing, instrumental or physical expression'. As defined in Krystal Leah Demaine, *Musical Echolalia and Non-Verbal Children with Autism* (PhD thesis, Lesley University, 2012), 112.

The main disadvantages of being unable to read from pitched notation are linked to limited repertoire, but also to the reduced prospect of being able to play in group situations. Although Samuel Pepys does not mention playing the flageolet or recorder at musical gatherings, many Dutch paintings depict these instruments as part of informal group ensembles. In Jacob van Loo's *Music-Making Company* (ca. 1650), for example, the performing group of musicians includes two singers, a female recorder player, a male lutenist and a female bass viol player (Figure 3.15). Unlike the previous scenes of upper class music-making, the recorder player is actually playing her instrument and appears to be concentrating on her music (presumably placed on her lap). Positioned at the back of the group, she, like the other instrumentalists in the painting, retains a sense of separation and subservience to the vocal duet in the foreground. Comparable to this painting are four different scenes by Dirck Hals, entitled *Music-Making Company on the Terrace* (1620–1625), *Elegant Party Making Music by the Ornamental Lake* (1621), *Merry Company Interior* (1623) and *The Fête Champêtre* (1627), (Figures 3.16–3.19). As celebrations of conviviality, these scenes explore sociability, love and harmony, but they also carry recognisable symbolism relating to the potential dangers of social encounters and worldly pleasures. Implicit in these warnings is the female pipe player who fully participates in the music-making activities of each scene alongside a male lutenist.¹⁴⁵ Although this pairing is reminiscent of the Prodigal Son imagery, as discussed in Chapter 1, in which the same instrumental duet is used to represent carnal pleasures, it also represents ideal behaviour. As Abel Boyer's *Compleat French-Master* (1694) demonstrates, playing certain wind instruments had now become accepted as part of elite musical practice.

Musick, either Vocal or Instrumental, is very agreeable, and contributes much to render a Gentleman accomplished. The first is indeed so much the more charming that it is natural; so that a Gentleman that has a good voice will do very well to learn to sing; or else he may be contented to play on the lute, the Guitar, the Flute, or the Flageolet: As for the Harsecol, ... Ladies are in possession of it; and indeed that instrument becomes them better than Men, and they play upon it much more neatly and nicely than we. I say nothing of other instruments, because they are only fit for those who make the Trade of Musick.¹⁴⁶

Boyer's final remark indicates that the flute and flageolet were now approved instruments because they were closely associated with amateur music-making, as opposed to the realm of professional performance.

¹⁴⁵ In three of the paintings this instrument has been identified as possibly a recorder, by the position of the players' fingers. However, the *Fête Champêtre* includes a transverse flute. See Nicholas S. Lander, 'Dirck Hals, The Garden Party,' *The Recorder Home Page: Iconography* (1996–2017), <http://www.recorderhomepage.net/recorder-iconography/artists-h>, accessed March 2017.

¹⁴⁶ Abel Boyer, *The Complete French-Master for Ladies and Gentlemen* (London: Printed for Thomas Salusbury, 1694), 24–30.

Summary

For Elizabeth Pepys, playing the flageolet during the two-year period between 1667 and 1668 became synonymous with her domestic life. Taking lessons from a tutor, being coached by her husband and reading tablature notation, Elizabeth learnt through an imitative process that reaffirmed her gender. This leisure time activity enhanced her basic musical skills, it was fashionable, and ultimately, it pleased her husband. The connection between wind instruments, women and the domestic sphere, as conveyed in contemporary literature and iconography during this time, became greater still at the turn of the eighteenth century when wind-playing grew closely aligned to another popular domestic pastime: teaching birds to sing.

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

The Bird Fancier's Delight

Teaching birds to sing had become a popular pastime by the early eighteenth century, as evidenced by the publication of instructional materials such as *The Bird Fancier's Delight* (1717) (Figure 3.20), as well as the depiction of these activities by artists of the period, including Richard Houston's *Hearing* (ca. 1753) (Figure 3.21). These literary and visual sources not only show the relationship between recorders and flageolets being used to teach birds to sing, but they reinforce the association between women and this activity, which, as will become apparent, reaffirmed both their social position and gender through their domestic confinement and nurturing role.

The fashion for keeping domestic birds was by no means new, and evidence from as early as the fourteenth century links women with this activity. Exotic talking and singing birds were often presented as gifts to noble women and used as material indicators of wealth and refinement.¹⁴⁷ More common birds are recorded as being useful distractions within the home or convent setting, as portrayed in *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Laundry* and in John Skelton's poem *The Boke of Phyllyp Sparrowe*.¹⁴⁸ Irrespective of the social position of

¹⁴⁷ The Princess of Salerno sent a gift of parrots to Eleanor of Castille (wife of Edward I) in 1289. Elizabeth of York also received a parrot in 1502 from a William ap Hopwell. See Kathleen Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Pets* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2012), 24. Queen Elizabeth I is also said to have 'loved little dogs, singing birds, parrots, and apes'. See Edmund Bohun, *The Character of Queen Elizabeth, or a Full and Clear Account of Her Policies, and Methods of her Government Both in Church and State her Virtue and Defects, together with the Characters of her Principle Ministers of State, and the Greatest Part of the Affairs and Events that Happened in her Time* (London: Printed for Richard Chiswell, 1693), 354.

¹⁴⁸ London, British Library, MS Harley, 1764, Anon., *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Laundry*. This reference is from a mid-fifteenth-century English translation. As quoted in W. B. Yapp, 'Birds in Captivity in the Middle Ages,' *Archives of Natural History* 10, no. 3 (1982), 482. John Skelton's poem was written about Jane Scope's pet sparrow. She was a Benedictine nun from the nunnery at Carrow, near Norwich. See Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Pets*, 33. For reference to the full poem see John Skelton, *Here After Followeth the Boke of Phyllyp Sparrowe Compiled by Mayster Skelton Poete Laureate* (London: R. Copland for Rycharde Kele, 1547).

their owners, these examples demonstrate that birds were considered ideal companions for women.

In addition to the emotional wellbeing associated with keeping birds, thought to prevent melancholy and loneliness, the caged bird was also representative of the woman herself; captured, subservient and ‘caged’ within the domestic sphere. In Richard Houston’s depiction of *Hearing* (Figure 3.21), for example, the female pipe player holds her instrument in her right hand, as she gazes wistfully at her tame bird, which perches freely on the top of its cage. She also has an open book of notated music in front of her, which Nicholas Lander suggests could be *The Bird Fancier’s Delight*.¹⁴⁹ Houston’s portrayal of this popular early eighteenth-century pastime is idealised through the interpolation of Classical themes relating to domestic harmony in which the gentlewoman (a personification of Hearing) is rendered silent and trapped within the domestic sphere, whereas her bird displays imagined freedoms in both the physical and sonic space.¹⁵⁰ This engraving is part of a larger series depicting the senses; a widely used thematic device apparent in earlier portraits, including those of the Spiegel family (1639).¹⁵¹ In one of the portraits Elizabeth Spiegel holds a recorder to represent hearing and in another, her sister Geertruyt holds a finch as a symbol of touch (Figures 3.22 and 3.23). While the silk dresses and jewels worn by these young girls demonstrate their privileged upbringing, the objects they hold reinforce ideals of femininity. The finch, which gently pecks at Geertruyt’s hand, links her to nature and a nurturing role, whereas the silent recorder suggests both accomplishment and obedience. In comparing the silent female recorder players in Houston and Santvoort’s personifications of ‘Hearing’, their apparently passive roles within the scenes are counterbalanced by their implied participation in this activity, which is confirmed by the open book (see Houston) and the poised fingers of Elizabeth (see Santvoort).

In conjunction with these representations of ‘Hearing’, Houston’s engraving shares similarities with other domestic scenes of women teaching birds to sing, including Jean-Siméon Chardin’s *La serinette* (ca. 1751). Unlike Houston’s pipe player, the woman in this image teaches her bird using a serinette, or bird organ (Figure 3.24). This instrument, like the

¹⁴⁹ Nicholas S. Lander. ‘Francis Hayman,’ *The Recorder Home Page: Iconography* (1996–2017), <http://www.recorderhomepagenet/recorder-iconography/artists-h>, accessed March 2017.

¹⁵⁰ The symbolism of this painting is also discussed in Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in 18th-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 189–190.

¹⁵¹ The Spiegel family portraits consist of a series of five paintings in which the daughters of Elbert Dircksz Spiegel and Petronella Roeters (a wealthy couple from Amsterdam) are depicted as the five senses. These were painted by Dirck Santvoort and have now been separated into both private and public art collections. The locations of the *Portrait of Rebecca Spiegel* (taste) and *Margriet Spiegel* (sight) are currently unknown. See Rudolf E. O. Ekkart, ‘A Portrait Historié with Venus, Paris and Cupid: Ferdinand Bol and the Patronage of the Spiegel Family,’ *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 29, no. 1 (2002), 14–41.

flageolet, originated in France, but as a mechanical instrument it required even less skill than the pipe, needing little more than the turn of a handle to produce bird-like melodies.¹⁵² It was also an item of furniture, in a similar manner to keyboard instruments, which could be encased ornately, as advertised by Charles Wigley in 1812.¹⁵³ In addition to the minimal physical effort needed to play, these instruments required no musical knowledge because the tunes were pre-set.

The inclusion of this activity among other feminine pastimes is apparent in Chardin's painting in which the woman momentarily abandons her embroidery in favour of the serinette.¹⁵⁴ As the woman moves between leisurely activities, she demonstrates a measured and productive use of her 'idle hours'. Her contemplative glance also seems to echo the sentiments expressed by Houston's gentlewoman, in that the singing bird is representative of her domestic confinement. As George Buffon describes in *The Natural History of Birds* (1793), 'if the Nightingale be the songster of the grove, the Canary Finch is the musician of the chamber'.¹⁵⁵ This analogy between the bird and woman is accentuated further still by the use of the serinette which, as Mary Bellhouse explains, enabled nature to be 'mechanised, improved, kept up to date and appealing'.¹⁵⁶ This, too, is embodied by the women in these scenes who, by keeping up with fashionable trends and occupying their time with feminine accomplishments, could enhance and refine their natural beauty.¹⁵⁷

Simultaneous with the depiction of the new capabilities of mechanisation, scenes of women playing serinettes also invoke the Classical imagery of women playing organs, including St Cecilia and the Muses (as discussed in the Introduction).¹⁵⁸ Often illustrated as beautiful through the minimal movement of their bodies, the costly material of their dress and the divine inspiration bestowed upon them, these mythological women share a number of features with the serinette players, including their role as 'teacher or inspirer' of music. The

¹⁵² The name of the instrument reflects its purpose – serin meaning, canary. See Arthur W. J. G. Ord-Hume, 'Bird Instruments, 1. Bird Organ,' *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017.

¹⁵³ 'A large assortment of Bird, Flute, Table and Chamber Organs, in Elegant Gothic cases, equally cheap'. *Morning Chronicle*, 20 June 1812. The list of auction contents from Wigley's shop includes various wind instruments including flutes, single and double flageolets, clarinets, bassoons etc. and 'three bird organs'. See David Lasocki, 'New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers from Newspaper Advertisements,' *Galpin Society Journal* 63 (2010), 135–136.

¹⁵⁴ Julia Breitruck, 'Pet Birds, Cages and Practices of Domestication,' *InterDisciplines* 1 (2012), 15–16 and Mary L. Bellhouse, 'Visual Myths of Female Identity in Eighteenth Century France,' *International Political Science Review* 12, no. 2 (1991), 129.

¹⁵⁵ George Louis Leclerc Buffon, *The Natural History of Birds: From the French of the Count de Buffon. Illustrated with engravings*, vol. 4 (London: A Strahan and T. Cadell; and J Murray, 1793), 1.

¹⁵⁶ Bellhouse, 'Visual Myths of Female Identity,' 130.

¹⁵⁷ Robert W. Jones, *Gender and the Formation of Taste in Eighteenth Century Britain: The Analysis of Beauty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and Umberto Eco (ed.), *On Beauty: A History of a Western Idea*, trans. Alastair McEwen (London: Secker & Warburg, 2004), 388–391.

¹⁵⁸ Artemisia Gentileschi, *St Cecilia* (1620), Rome, Oalazzo Spada, Galleria Spada, http://www.wga.hu/html_m/g/gentiles/artemisi/cecilia.html, accessed March 2017.

main difference between the two genres is that divine inspiration has been replaced with man-made mechanical design and their acolytes with birds. The relationship between Classical imagery and contemporary pastimes is also explored in an early eighteenth century painting of Euterpe by Frans Douven, in which the goddess holds a duct flute and looks at a parrot and two thrushes positioned over her shoulder (Figure 3.25). With her fingers poised and music book open, it seems that Euterpe is about to teach the birds to sing, but unlike her counterparts in the domestic scenes, both she and the birds are free.

Complementary to the image of the female domestic bird trainer was the idealised male bird catcher, able to lure his naive prey into captivity: ‘the little pipe sings sweetly while the fowler deceives the bird’.¹⁵⁹ This Classical theme was reiterated in a practical manner during the late seventeenth century in gentleman’s conduct literature, in which a renewed interest in the process of bird catching, keeping and training is apparent.¹⁶⁰ This symbol of control and virility is epitomised in Giovanni Tameravi’s engraving, *The Bird Fancier’s Delight* (ca. 1730) in which a gentleman relaxes on his patio and converses with the caged birds with his recorder (Figure 3.26). Unlike the women who teach birds to sing within the enclosed space of the home, her male equivalent sits on an open balcony asserting his control over both public (natural) and private spaces.¹⁶¹

Predictably, contemporary pastoral scenes also adhere to these conventions, as demonstrated in François Boucher’s *The Fountain of Love* and *The Bird Catchers* (Figures 3.27 and 3.28). Depicted as seemingly real gentlemen and gentlewomen, as identified by their clothing and instruments, these characters take on the mythical symbolism of their bucolic settings. Portraying Classical allegories of love, the birds in these examples, either half set free or captured, symbolise the aspirations and gains of the young lovers.¹⁶² The link between capturing and allurements is further accentuated in *The Fountain of Love* in which the traditional association of shepherds pursuing shepherdesses with their sweet pipe playing is invoked.

¹⁵⁹ Elizabeth Eva Leach, ‘The Little Pipe Sings Sweetly While the Fowler Deceives the Bird: Sirens in the Later Middle Ages,’ *Music & Letters* 87, no. 2 (2006), 203.

¹⁶⁰ Gervase Markham, *Markhams Method, or Epitome* (London: by I[ohn] H[aviland] for Roger Iackson, 1623); Joseph Blagrove, *The Epitome of the Art of Husbandry* (London: Printed for Benjamin Billingsley, 1675); Richard Blome, *The Gentleman’s Recreation to Two Parts: The First Being an Encyclopedia of the Arts and Sciences... The Second Part Treats of Horsemanship, Hawking, Hunting, Fowling, Fishing, and Agriculture* (London: S. Roycroft for Richard Blome, 1686); and Nicholas Cox, *The Gentleman’s Recreation in Four Parts, Hunting, Hawking, Fowling, Fishing* (London: Jos. Phillips and Hen. Rodes, 1686), 154–182.

¹⁶¹ A similar engraving with an accompanying poem by Martin Engelbrecht reinforces the idea that man could tame and order nature, making it more beautiful through human intervention. See Martin Engelbrecht, *Woodwind Instruments* (ca. 1720–1730), Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Music Division, Dayton C. Miller Collection, 0391/X. See ‘Flöten, Hautbois, Flächinett, Fagot, und Clarinet (Flutes, Oboe, Flageolet, Bassoon, and Clarinet) by Martin Engelbrecht, engraver and publisher, 1684–1756’, Washington DC, Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200182928>, accessed March 2017.

¹⁶² Jean-Luc Bordeaux, ‘The Epitome of the Pastoral Genre in Boucher’s Oeuvre: “The Fountain of Love” and “The Bird Catcher”’ From “The Noble Pastoral”, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 3 (1976), 75–101.

Simultaneous with the continuation of traditional tropes relating to birds and pipes, publications such as *The Bird Fancier's Delight* gave genuine instruction on how to train birds, recommending both the recorder and flageolet as capable instruments for this purpose.

Tis still in memory, the old manner of Playing on the Flute, which was by the way of Dots, a memorial of which remains in the Gamut for the Instrument to this time, but by being so impracticable and never to be attained at sight, that the use of the instrument was almost lost, till introduc'd by the Gamut rules, which has not only brought it much in vogue, but the Performers on it are ready at sight as on any other Instrument, 'tis not doubted but the like Improvement will be made on the Flagellet by this Method, which instrument is not only delightfull, but also profitable, particularly to Bird Fanciers, it having been often known that Birds after being taught by the Flagellet has been sold at great value, all Lessons or Airs that are made for the Flute may now be play'd on the Flagellet, which must of Consequence be very gratefull to all Lovers of the Instrument, the improvement of which is owing to the Ingenious Mr. Hill...¹⁶³

This introduction confirms the increased accessibility of wind instruments and the publication of relevant tutoring materials. The book itself follows the format of other contemporary recorder publications, initially presenting the tunes in notated and tablature formats, but progressing to use only pitched notation in its later stages. The tunes are presented as appropriate for each bird and their individual singing capabilities.¹⁶⁴ It is also suggested that different pipes were available for purchase, as mentioned in the publications by Richard Blome (1686) and George Buffon (1793), and as advertised by Henry Thorowgood (1764).¹⁶⁵

Enthusiasm for the pastime is not only evident in *The Bird Fancier's Delight*, but also in Jean Claude Hervieux de Chanteloup's *Nouveuau Traité des Serins de Canarie* (1709), in which musical notation is included for teaching birds with a flageolet.¹⁶⁶ Literary references, including William Cowper's elegy on *The Death of Mrs Throckmorton's Bullfinch* (1788), attest to women using wind instruments for this purpose: 'and though by nature mute, Or only with a whistle blest, Well-taught, he all the sounds express'd, of the flageolet or flute'.¹⁶⁷ Yet, despite this iconographic and literary evidence there is a certain amount of scepticism among scholars regarding the success of bird training.¹⁶⁸ To some extent, this view is also shared by

¹⁶³ Anon., *The Bird Fancier's Delight* (London: Printed for I. Walsh and I. Hare, 1717).

¹⁶⁴ Anon., *The Bird Fancier's Delight*.

¹⁶⁵ Blome, *The Gentleman's Recreation*, 167. Also, see Buffon, *The Natural History of Birds*, vol. 4, Canary, 1, Linnet, 59 and Bullfinch, 299, 'to succeed in teaching Bullfinches one should whistle to them, not with the Canary-Flageolet, but with the lipped or German flute whose tone is deeper and fuller'. Thorowgood advertises in the *Gazette* and *New Daily Advertiser*, 29 October 1764. Full advert reproduced in Lasocki, 'New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers,' 100.

¹⁶⁶ This book was reissued at least eleven times and translated into other European languages. See Breittrock, 'Pet Birds, Cages and Practices of Domestication,' 10–15.

¹⁶⁷ William Cowper, *Everyman's Poetry, On the Death of Mrs. Throckmorton's Bullfinch*, ed. Michael Bruce (London: Orion Books, 2011), 60.

¹⁶⁸ Ord-Hume, 'Bird Instruments,' *Grove Music Online*. All three treatises give detailed descriptions concerning the teaching of these birds to sing. See Blome, *The Gentleman's Recreation*, 166–167; Cox, *The Gentleman's*

George Barnesby who notes that, although it was possible to teach young birds a few bars of a melody, only a limited number were able to ‘wholly abandon their native notes, to sing purely without any intermixture’.¹⁶⁹

More importantly, Barnesby’s comments concerning the female and male bird demonstrate an interesting thread of anthropomorphic construction. For example, he notes that ‘as the organisation of the human body may be perfected by exercise and practice, so it is also in birds’.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, he explains that singing ‘is the especial privilege of the male’ and that while the female bird’s voice was considered to be too weak, the male bird used his song to attract the attention and love of a female bird. She would then bestow her love on the male which she considered ‘to be the most accomplished’ singer. These descriptions of human values, physical traits and emotive responses including love, attractiveness and accomplishment are transferred onto the female and male birds and in doing so they mirror human patriarchal order and its gender restraints. Thus, Barnesby’s seemingly practical advice is intermingled with ideological values that figure the female bird as physically weaker, impressionable and submissive. This gender dichotomy is linked to the traditional portrayal of birds in literature, and in particular, the song of the nightingale. While the male nightingale was often used as a symbol for courtly love, beauty and natural inspiration, the female nightingale was a tragic figure representative of darkness and victimisation. Stemming from the Greek mythological character Philomena (who sang in the night for her lost lover), she embodied a clutch of oral traditions, including the voice, nature, femininity and sensuality.¹⁷¹ Her use within devotional contexts also identifies her as a symbol for praising God in private and silent piety in contrast to her identity as an immoral bird in the tradition of the identification of sweet, beautiful music as seductive and dangerous, and epitomised by the figure of the siren: a hybrid bird-woman, feared for her song and sometimes her pipe music (as discussed in the Introduction).

In comparing the figure of the siren with iconographic representations of eighteenth-century women teaching birds to sing, the elements (bird, woman, pipe and sweet music) are all present but in a deconstructed form. For example, the bird is captured, caged and is subservient to its owner who nurtures, tames and teaches through her pipe playing. By imitating this sweet sound, the bird’s natural song is considered to become more beautiful, as

Recreation, 154–182; and Markham, *Markhams Method*, 62. Editions of this text were reproduced throughout the seventeenth century (1616–1671).

¹⁶⁹ George J. Barnesby, *Chamber and Caged Birds: Their Management, Habits, Diseases, Breeding, and the Methods of Taking Them, Translated from the last German Edition of Dr. Bechstein’s Chamber Birds by W. E. Schukard* (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1871), 5.

¹⁷⁰ Barnesby, *Chamber and Caged Birds*, 5.

¹⁷¹ Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, New York; London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 91. Also, see Jeni Williams, *Interpreting Nightingales: Gender, Class and Histories* (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1997), 9–15 and 75–141.

its ornamentations are practised and formalised. The woman too, mirrors this process of ‘taming’ by her containment within the domestic sphere and her leisurely activities, which aimed to increase her accomplishment, thereby adding to her natural beauty and desirability. In the case of her pipe playing, this is representative of her own imitation of a melody, learnt by mimicking the sounds of her tutor and/or the tablature patterns of her tutor book. Furthermore, the traditional mysticism of pipe music has been minimised through the careful designs of the new baroque instruments and pedagogical texts that explained their workings.¹⁷² Unlike the hybrid figure of the siren whose command over unsuspecting male subjects was a mystery that could not be fathomed, the pipe-playing woman and her caged bird could be admired for her ‘harmless’ beauty and sweet voice. She no longer posed a threat to men because her performance lacked mysticism and was conducted within the private setting where all such factors could be contained and regulated.

It is worth noting that in the examples of women teaching birds to sing with pipes there are several key themes which consistently re-emerge. These include the taming and ordering of nature to enhance beauty; the nurturing role of women; and the use of imitation to acquire accomplishment. This latter point is reinforced in Cornelius Danckerts’ depiction of the popular Flemish proverb ‘Soo d’oude songen soo pepen de jongen’ [As the old ones sing, the young ones twitter], (Figure 3.29). It reminds the viewer that children must learn by example and that they are influenced by the behaviour of their elders.¹⁷³ Just as domestic birds imitate the pipe, the young children in these instances use the pipe to imitate human song. This final point highlights a crucial question regarding the favouring of the pipe over the human voice when teaching birds to sing. Why were recorders, flageolets and other basic pipes considered most appropriate for this task when the highest praise for a singer was to be compared to the sound of a bird such as a nightingale, for example? This apparent contradiction stems, yet again, from the idea of imitation. While young children and birds had the ability for ‘musical echolalia’ (as coined and defined by Krystal Demaine), they were not able to articulate individual words with understanding of their meaning.¹⁷⁴ With this in mind, the pipe presented itself as closest in pitch and timbre to the human voice, but subservient to the complexity of articulated song.¹⁷⁵ In respect of its simplicity and acquiescence, the pipe was therefore the ideal practical tool for birds, children and women to learn melodic patterns, vocal nuances and key musical skills, respectively without endangering patriarchal authority

¹⁷² The traditional mysticism surrounding pipe music is connected to the myth of Argos in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and is reflected in Bacon’s, *Sylva sylvarum* (1627).

¹⁷³ Jeron Dekker, ‘A Republic of Educators: Educational Messages in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting,’ *History of Education Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1996), 155–182.

¹⁷⁴ Demaine, *Musical Echolalia and Non-Verbal Children with Autism*, 112.

¹⁷⁵ Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry*, 283.

and the ‘natural’ order of eighteenth-century England, which favoured mechanisation over nature, and briefly, instruments over song.

In summary, the link between women and flageolet playing, first established in the late 1600s was reinforced during the eighteenth century when teaching birds to sing with pipes and serinettes became a fashionable pastime. Not only was the captured bird representative of the woman herself, but this activity, which required nurturing and teaching skills, reaffirmed her gender role as passive ornament and child bearer. Within this domestic setting, even the invocation of the mythological siren was reconciled by the formality of a solitary pastime.

Changing Fashions: The Flageolet, Recorder and Transverse Flute

Teaching birds to sing with pipes was an activity for a select audience. The flageolet was also a novelty instrument of its time and its advantages of ease of mastering and accessibility, which had initially been praised, were soon open to criticism. In *A vade mecum* (1679) John Hudgebut claimed that: ‘the Rechorder like Jacob hath got birth right, being much more in Esteem and Veneration, with the nobility and Gentry, whilst the flagilet sinks down a servant to the Pages and Footman!’¹⁷⁶ Despite the flageolet’s brief re-emergence as a bird training tool during the early eighteenth century, it remained firmly associated with amateur music-making and was considered to have limited use. As described in a dictionary entry from 1752 ‘this instrument has too feeble a sound and too narrow a compass to join in with other instruments in concerts. Moreover, it offers insufficient scope to an able musician, which is why it is neglected’.¹⁷⁷ In comparison to the flageolet, the recorder was held in higher regard and although it was played by professional musicians, the ease with which notes could be produced, and its portability, meant that it also lent itself to amateur music-making. The large output of recorder publications for beginners, amateurs and professional musicians by publishers such as John Walsh during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries also attest to the instrument’s popularity (Table 3.1). However, by 1720 interest was beginning to decline and instruments such as the German flute and hautboy began to emerge from the professional into the amateur scene.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Hudgebut, *A Vade Mecum for the Lovers of Musick*.

¹⁷⁷ ‘Cet instrument a des sons trop foibles, & n’est point assez étendu pour se marier avec les autres instruments dans les concerts. D’ailleurs, il ne se prête pas assez aux recherches d’un habile Musicien; c’est ce qui le fait négliger’. Jacques Lacombe, ‘Flageolet,’ *Dictionnaire portative des Beaux-Arts* (Paris: Veuve Estienne et fils and J-T. Hérisant, 1752). As reproduced and translated in Sardelli, *Vivaldi’s Music for Flute and Recorder*, 183–184.

¹⁷⁸ Walsh published arrangements of vocal music and other instrumental music for the recorder. For a comprehensive list of his publications, see David Lasocki, ‘The London Publisher John Walsh (1665 or 1666–1736) and the Recorder,’ in *Sine musica nulla vita: Festschrift Hermann Moock zum 75. Geburtstag am 16. ed. Nikolaus Delius* (Celle: Moek, 1997), 354–374.

Unlike the flageolet and recorder which had appealed across different social strata during the seventeenth century, other wind instruments had remained separate from the amateur scene because of their close connections with military music and other professional use, particularly in the theatre. Furthermore, their reliance upon specific embouchures that were more challenging made them difficult for the amateur musician to master. Nevertheless, as Table 3.1 demonstrates, by the turn of the eighteenth century, instruction books for the hautboy became increasingly available for public consumption and by 1720 the first transverse flute tutor books were being advertised to an amateur audience.¹⁷⁹ While the hautboy publications emphasised the instrument's close association with the military, transverse flute tutor books appear to have followed the format of previous wind publications.

The earliest surviving pedagogical flute publications are John Walsh's *Instructions for the German Flute* (ca. 1720) and an anonymous translation of Jacques Hotteterre's *Principes de la flute traversière* (Paris, 1707), published in London around 1729. These initial tutor books paved the way for the large and continuous stream of publications that were produced throughout the mid-to late eighteenth century and which experienced a notable increase from around 1760.

Simultaneous with the transverse flute's new popularity and its accompanying tutor books, publishers also began to produce instructions for more unusual wind instruments that had not previously been accessible to amateur musicians. These include the French horn, bagpipe, fife, bassoon, clarinet and trumpet (Table 3.1).¹⁸⁰ In a similar manner to the hautboy, instructions for the fife were advertised alongside military marches, the French horn was associated with hunting calls, and the trumpet with infantry duties. Thus, connections that had previously made these instruments unacceptable for amateur musicians continued to dominate, but knowledge about how to play them was no longer the secret preserve of guilds but, instead, open to the public domain.¹⁸¹ It is worth noting, however, that in comparing the instructions for different instruments in John Sadler's *Apollo's Cabinet or The Muse's Delight* (1754), a clear hierarchy exists in which details about playing the French horn and bassoon are scarce in comparison to the ample descriptions assigned to the flute, hautboy and recorder.

¹⁷⁹ There are references to the flute in the Talbot Manuscript (compiled around 1695 and 1701) and to a publication of an aria by John Eccles with an accompaniment for flute, two violins and continuo in 1701. See David Lasocki, 'A New Look at the Life of John Loeillet (1680–1730),' in *Concerning the Flute*, ed. Rien de Reede (Amsterdam: Broekmans & Van Poppel, 1984), 66.

¹⁸⁰ Instructions for the bassoon appear earlier in John Sadler, *The Muses Delight* (Liverpool: John Sadler, 1754) and for the trumpet and bassoon in William Tansur, *The Elements of Music Display'd...Book Three* (London: S. Crowder, 1767), but these publications also contain instructions for several other instruments. The tutor books listed in Table 3.1 are specific instrumental tutors for singular instruments.

¹⁸¹ Thomas Hiebert notes that the tutor for the French horn, probably written by Mr Winch (and the Messing brothers), indicates that the instrument was becoming increasingly well-known outside professional circles. See Thomas Hiebert, 'The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, ed. Trevor Herbert and John Wallace, reprint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 108.

Furthermore, the reader is informed that the French horn ‘may be learn’d by the following rules, with a very little practice to what is required of the violin and several others of greater extent’ and without the assistance of a teacher.¹⁸²

The simplicity of these instructions is underlined by the horn tonguing syllables ‘ton’ and ‘nah’, which demonstrate a continuance of traditional signal tonguings as opposed to the complex tonguings outlined in the trumpet tutors by Bendinelli (1614) and Fantini (1638).¹⁸³ A similar reduction in tonguing syllables is also apparent in John Hyde’s trumpet tutor (ca. 1798), in which he makes a distinction between the ‘ta’ and ‘ton’, used for producing sweet tones, as opposed to double tonguing, appropriate for the field. This difference between chamber and military techniques is also apparent in John Gunn’s *The Art of Playing the German Flute* (1793) in which he compares the varying sounds of the flute ‘from which its affinity to the female voice, is softness, grace and tender expression’ and ‘the bold and war-like expression...which seem to emulate the notes of the trumpet’.¹⁸⁴ A similar comparison is also evident in Isaac Bickenstaff’s description of an imaginary all-female ensemble. Writing in 1710, Bickenstaff compares the music of the flute to the ‘conversation of a mild, amiable woman’ and the instrument’s affinity to the female sex is highlighted even further by Bickenstaff’s praise for the hautboy, lauded as being ‘the most perfect of the Flute-Species’, but not accepted as a female instrument. As he states, the hautboy: ‘in one Sex is as scarce as the Harpsichord in the other’. In contrast, he asserts that the flageolet is like the recorder, but inferior in tone quality, although ‘amongst their own Sex are more valued and esteemed than the flutes’.¹⁸⁵

The descriptions by Gunn and Bickenstaff establish an alternative interpretation of the flute and its gendering. Traditionally associated with the male body and phallic symbolism (physical traits) the alternative ‘feminine’ descriptions of the instrument concern its tone colour, pitch and volume (aural qualities). This was by no means a new paradox: it is the same connection that linked the sweet song of the pipe-playing siren. However, coupled with the

¹⁸² Anon., *Apollo’s Cabinet: or The Muses Delight. An Accurate Collection of English and Italian Songs, Cantatas and Duetts, Set to Music for the Harpsichord, Violin, German Flute &c. With Twelve Duetts for Two French Horns, Composed by Mr. Charles. And Instructions for the Voice, Violin, Harpsichord or Spinnet, German Flute, Common Flute, Hautboy, French Horn, Bassoon and Bass Violin. Also A Compleat Musical Dictionary, and Several Hundred English, Irish and Scots Songs, Without Music* (Liverpool: John Sadler, 1757).

¹⁸³ Bendinelli, *Tutta l’arte della trombetta* (1614) and Fantini, *Modo per imparte a sonare di tromba* (1638).

This is also reaffirmed in Christopher Winch, *The Compleat Tutor for the French Horn Containing the Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain Proficiency* (London: John Simpson, ca. 1746), 4.

¹⁸⁴ John Gunn, *The Art of Playing the German Flute on New Principles* (London: John Gunn, ca. 1765–1824).

This distinction was made in the seventeenth century by Praetorius and Mersenne who both suggested different fingerings for military and chamber flutes. See Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum* (1619); trans. David Z. Crookes (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 22 + 30–35 and Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (1636–1637), facsimile ed. Lesure (1965), 243–244. These differences are identified and discussed in Anne Smith, ‘The Renaissance Flute,’ in *The Early Flute*, ed. John Solum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 12–13.

¹⁸⁵ *The Tatler*, no. 157 from Saturday April 8 until Tuesday April 11, 1710, Richard Steele and Joseph Addison, *The Lubrications of Isaac Bickerstaff Esq: Revised and Corrected by the Author* (London: John Nutt and Sold by John Morpher, 1712), 212.

emergence of the flute and associated instruments into the domestic 'female' sphere in the eighteenth century, it appears to imply a significant lessening of the gap between previously oppositional qualities. This might even be viewed as the starting point from which the male gendering of the flute (and other higher winds) was to be almost completely reversed in the twentieth century.¹⁸⁶ This progress towards acceptance is, however, qualified by Bickenstaff who, in identifying the flageolet as the preferred wind instrument of the female sex, returns to ideals of feminine behaviour by equating them with patriarchal and instrumental hierarchies.

As these new wind tutor books and discussions of tone production in the mid-to late eighteenth century demonstrate, the division between softer and louder winds, which determined their functionality, usefulness and appeal to amateur musicians continued to determine their accessibility to players. Instruments such as the trumpet, French horn, bassoon and fife, for example, remained separate from the domestic sphere and its environment, and as such their appropriateness for women remained virtually out of the question.¹⁸⁷ Even within the softer wind grouping, the hautboy, although highly regarded among amateurs and professionals, continued to be considered unsuitable for the female sex and as the following sources indicate, the transverse flute and its appropriateness for women were in a constant state of negotiation.

Writing in 1722, John Essex presents advice about instrument choice in *The Young Ladies Conduct*.

The Harpsichord, spinet, lute and base violin are instruments most agreeable to ladies: there are some others that really are unbecoming to the Fair Sex; as the Flute, Violin, Hautboy; the last of which is too Manlike, and would look indecent in a woman's mouth; and the Flute is very improper, as taking away too much of the Juices, which are otherwise more necessarily employ'd, to promote the Appetite, and assist Digestion.¹⁸⁸

Essex's description shows the continuation of traditional views of women playing blown instruments, criticised for their physical demands and sexual connotations. But he also indicates a difference between the flute and hautboy like that already observed in their respective tutor books. While the hautboy is automatically dismissed as unfeminine and inappropriate, Essex clearly felt that his argument against the flute required further explanation. This reference

¹⁸⁶ Kemp, *The Musical Temperament*, 150–154.

¹⁸⁷ Trevor Herbert notes as the sackbut fell out of favour from the mid-seventeenth century, by the following century there were no native English trombonists in England and the instrument itself was not particularly well-known, as evidenced by an audience member describing what he saw in 1784 as 'something like a brass bassoon with an ear trumpet.' See Trevor Herbert, 'Sackbut: The Early Trombone,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, ed. Trevor Herbert and John Wallace, reprint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 82. Also see Trevor Herbert, 'The Sackbut in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,' *Early Music* 81, no. 4 (1990), 609–616.

¹⁸⁸ Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct*, 84.

provides confirmation – perhaps ironically – of the flute onto the amateur music market, although it had not yet been readily accepted as an ‘elite’ practice. Essex’s concerns regarding the physiological and physical demands of flute playing, and the external distortions to the face and upper body, show the perpetuation of traditional objections, as does his acceptance of the ‘base violin’ over the treble violin, which required vigorous upper body playing action. This preference demonstrates the extent to which upper body posture was still regarded as an important indicator of female beauty and, as Playford describes, ‘the violin is usually plaid above-hand, the neck thereof being held by the left hand; the lower part thereof is rested on the left breast, a little below the shoulder’.¹⁸⁹ These anxieties about the ‘look’ of instrumentalists remained the subject of intense concern throughout the eighteenth century, as can be seen in Simpson’s flute treatise (ca. 1746, translated from Hottetterre’s earlier work) and Johann Tromlitz’s *Ausführlicher un gründlicher Unterricht die Flöte zu spielen* (1791):

Many people go to a great deal of trouble to make faces, because for them they represent expression, or even take its place entirely; to wit: raising the shoulders as far as the ears; cringing, ridiculous motions of the head, the eyes or the nose; bobbing and weaving; bending back and forth, twisting and turning the whole body; cowering and stretching as though the whole player were moulded out of rubber; straining and squeezing so that the player’s countenance becomes red as a cherry, and so forth.¹⁹⁰

Tromlitz argues that players needed to be acutely aware of their own body postures to present successful performances and that the rules concerning distortion and exaggerated movements were just as applicable to all instruments. Even during the late nineteenth century these factors continued to dominate, particularly in the realm of female performance, as indicated by the following description of a female flutist, by the Austrian music critic, Eduard Hanslick.

Concerning the flutist Maria Bianchini from Venice: She achieves something very notable with her difficult instrument. She has a good embouchure, long breath, and a strong tone, as much as one can demand from a lady. The advantage of the “Boehm-flute”, which responds easier and does not fatigue the lungs as much as the “old” or “Viennese” flute, is useful for the concert soloist. The unusual sight was less perceptible than we assumed; Signora Bianchini, tall and of pleasant plain and natural manners, abstains from unsightly lip contortions and from short breaths, which so easily disturb the aesthetical impression of flute playing. If handled this way, the flute surely is not an unfeminine instrument.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Playford, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 100, ‘Instructions for the Treble Violin’.

¹⁹⁰ Johann George Tromlitz, *Ausführlicher und gründlicher Unterricht die Flöte zu spielen* (Leipzig, 1791), trans. Ardal Powell as *The Virtuoso Flute Player* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). 46–47. Also, see 43–53, which includes a chapter written by Tromlitz, explaining how to hold the flute and detailing the specialist flute embouchure.

¹⁹¹ Eduard Hanslick, *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen der leizten fünfzehn Jahre 1870–1885: Kritiken* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1886), 285; translated in Clements, *Situating Schubert*, 136.

Hanslick measures the elements of Maria Bianchini's performance against her gender and in doing so he refers to her appearance, posture and weaker female body. His reference to earlier forms of the flute being more physically demanding is supported by the concerns of John Essex (discussed above), as well as George Brown's advertisement for his 'new invented Machine for the German Flute' (1761). Brown claimed this was 'for Use of those Gentlemen and Ladies that are not capable of filling it, which will put in good Perfection for every Note, even from the lowest to highest.'¹⁹² According to the research of David Lasocki, this new machine is likely to have been a 'detachable mouthpiece for focussing the sound'.¹⁹³ Unlike the recorder or flageolet, which required air to be blown through a mouthpiece, the transverse flute relied solely on the shape of the lips and air pressure control. As Jacques Hotteterre (1674–1763) explains in his *principles*, although there were certain techniques for producing sound, variants in shape and movement of the lips might require individual interpretation and the advice of a teacher.¹⁹⁴

The physical difficulties associated with playing the flute were understood to be more significant for the female sex, and although Brown's earlier adverts from 1753/4 promote his mouthpiece contraption to a male audience only, from 1761 he had identified the female flute player as another target buyer.¹⁹⁵ This was not the case for all flute makers, however, and John Mason notably addressed only a male audience. Brown, on the other hand, continued to advertise to both sexes, and in 1766 he placed the following advertisement in the *Daily Advertiser*:

By this great Study and Pains, invented and brought to Perfection an additional instrument for blowing the German-Flute, by the use of which not only young learners, can on their first attempt, fill the flute with Ease, but Gentlemen and Ladies of the most delicate constitution may play upon it without the least difficulty, far more pleasant and exquisitely sweeter in Tone than can be performed with the naked Mouth.¹⁹⁶

Throughout his later advertisements, Brown continues to acknowledge the weaker female body as a problematic factor in playing the flute, but the traditional concerns relating to distortion of the face are no longer mentioned and instead, he turns the reader's attention

¹⁹² *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, 1 October 1761 – 3 October 1761, issue 2426.

¹⁹³ Lasocki, 'New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers,' 84–85.

¹⁹⁴ Hotteterre, *Principes de la Flute Traversiere* (1707), trans. David Lasocki as *Principles of the Flute, Recorder and Oboe* (London: The Cresset Press, 1968), 37–38.

¹⁹⁵ The earlier adverts placed by Brown in 1753/4 can be found in Lasocki, 'New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers,' 84–85. The advertisement from 1754 can be viewed at: George Brown, *Jackson's Oxford Journal* (1754), Images Online, The British Library, https://imagesonline.bl.uk/index.php?service=search&action=do_quick_search&language=en&q=%252320393, accessed March 2017.

¹⁹⁶ This advert was placed in the *Daily Advertiser* on 1 January 1766. As quoted in Lasocki, 'New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers,' 88.

towards tone quality. This is the element of flute playing also discussed in Elizabeth Carter's letter to Catherine Talbot, dated 1 August 1745.

I believe you only to be in description, too volatile and impatient to apply myself long enough to any one thing to make any tolerable proficiency in it. My present reigning scheme is music. Having for some time past made a composition of noises between the hissing of a snake and the lowing of a cow, upon a German flute, I am now set down to the spinet, which unfortunately stood in my way, and before I can play three bars in one time, am trying at a dozen, by which means I shall never finish any.¹⁹⁷

Elizabeth's comical description of her difficulty in producing a desirable tone is presumably the result of a problematic embouchure. This, however, appears to be her only complaint and she raises no concern regarding her appearance. Furthermore, in her struggle for musical accomplishment, Elizabeth was also attempting to keep up with the current trends of the time. The musical transcriptions that she wrote for both instruments also demonstrate her perseverance and commitment to learning these new skills.¹⁹⁸ At the time of writing to Miss Talbot, Elizabeth was twenty-eight years old and already a highly-respected translator and author.¹⁹⁹ She was educated by her father, a clergyman from Kent, and studied languages, astronomy, ancient geography and history. Although her upbringing may have been unusual for someone of her gender and social status, Elizabeth's motivation for learning to play music was not, as evidenced by the promotion of musical pastimes in popular ladies' journals, which contained poetry, songs and music.²⁰⁰ The flute is often mentioned in these publications, although usually with regard to a gentleman performing for a lady. There is, however, a reference to the flute in the weekly periodical *Records of Love*. Included in the January 1710

¹⁹⁷ A letter from Mrs Carter to Miss Talbot, Canterbury August 1, 1745, see Rev. Montague Pennington, *A series of Letters between Mrs Elizabeth Carter and Miss Catherine Talbot from the Year 1741 to 1770, to which are Added Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Veseey, Between the Years 1763 and 1787*, vol. 1 (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1809), 105. This letter is also quoted in Alice Anderson Hufstader, 'Musical References in Blue-Stocking Letters,' *The Musical Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (1961), 85.

¹⁹⁸ Pennington, *A series of Letters*, 7. Claudia Thomas notes 'the same competitive attitude characterised all her attempts at learning, from the spinet and flute (which she composed music for but failed to conquer)'. See Claudia Thomas, 'Samuel Johnson and Elizabeth Carter: Pudding, Epictetus, and the Accomplished Woman,' *South Central Review* 9, no. 4 (1992), 23.

¹⁹⁹ Elizabeth Carter began publishing in Edward Cave's *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1734. She published her first set of poems in 1738 and contributed articles to Samuel Johnson's *The Rambler*. In 1739 she published two translations, one from French and the other from Italian. These preceded her most famous translation of Epictetus, which Samuel Richardson published in 1758. See Pricilla Dorr, 'Elizabeth Carter (1717–1806),' *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 51, no. 1 (1986), 138–140.

²⁰⁰ For details about Elizabeth's works and letters, see Judith Hawley (ed.), *Bluestocking Feminism: Writings of the Bluestocking Circle, 1738–1785*, vol. 2 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1999). For details about ladies' journals, see Eleanor Ann Lochrie, *Debates on Female Education: Constructing the Middle Ground in Eighteenth-Century Women's Magazines and the Novels of Fanny Burney and Jane Austen* (PhD thesis, University of Strathclyde, 2010), 31–89 and Peter John Miller, 'Eighteenth Century Periodicals for Women,' *History of Education Quarterly* 11, no. 3 (1971), 279–286. *The Lady's Magazine, or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex* (1775), vol. 6. This volume includes songs, duets and catches for three voices. March 1778, April 1778, May 1778 and June 1778. Also, see *The New Lady's Magazine* (1760), vol. 1, which contains a song set to music each month.

edition is John Reading's proposal and advertisement for subscriptions for a music book containing twelve songs with thorough bass fitted to the harpsichord and transpositions for the flute.²⁰¹ Evidence for the book's demand is confirmed on 25 March in which a notice states 'Mr Reading's Book of Songs will be publish'd in six weeks time without further delay'.²⁰²

Although the transverse flute had been introduced into London by this time, it seems more likely that the instrument referred to in this instance was the recorder, especially as it was primarily advertised to a female audience. It is not clear, however, if the ladies were being targeted as flute players, or perhaps more likely, as singers or accompanists. Nevertheless, in France it is known that Jacques Hotteterre was in demand as a teacher of the flute and that his pupils included women wishing to learn this highly fashionable instrument.²⁰³

As we might expect, the increased availability of wind instruments, instructors and associated music is reflected in the growing number of references to female wind players during the eighteenth century. In addition to Elizabeth Carter and Hotteterre's female pupils, the following examples of Elizabeth Montgomery and Marianne Davies give further insight into the factors that enabled them (and other women) to become associated with wind instruments during this period.

A Private Token of Affection and a Public Performance Device

Countess Susanna Kennedy was the daughter of Sir Archibald Kennedy (ca. 1656–1710) and she was renowned for her accomplishments and beauty. On being introduced into society at the age of sixteen by her father (in 1702), Susanna attracted many admirers, including Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, a keen amateur musician who had taken lessons in composition from Corelli during his time in Rome.²⁰⁴ One of the gifts that he bestowed upon her was a flute, on which she was initially unable to produce a sound. After further inspection of the gift, Susanna soon discovered that an amorous verse had been tucked inside the body of the instrument.

²⁰¹ The first issue of this journal described its aims as '...being chiefly designed to promote a Love of Virtue by insinuating Examples and diverting Passages'. See *Records of Love* (London: J. Grantham, 1710), Saturday 7 January, 15.

²⁰² The proposal can be found in *Records of Love* (London: J. Grantham, 1710), Saturday 4 February, 80. Confirmation of the songs being published can be found in *Records of Love* (1710), Saturday 25 March, 191. This book is recorded in the Stationer's Hall entries, see Michael Kassler, *Music Entries at Stationer's Hall, 1710–1818 Compiled by Michael Kassler from Lists Prepared for William Hawes, D.W. Krummel and Alan Tyson and From Other Sources* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 748.

²⁰³ Ardal Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2002), 72.

²⁰⁴ Sir John Clerk of Penicuik took lessons in Rome between September 1697 and December 1698. See David Johnson, *Music Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2003), 59.

Go, happy pipe and ever mindful be
To court bewitching Sylvia for me.
Tell all I feel — you cannot tell too much —
Repeat my love at each soft melting touch,
Since I to her my liberty resign.²⁰⁵

By presenting Susanna with a flute, Sir John acknowledged the current fashion for the instrument, as well as her individual musical skill. In conjunction with the accompanying verse, however, he makes his affections known and salacious intensions clear. Personified as the mythological character, Sylvia (who famously tamed a wild stag and imparted great affection on the animal), Susanna is given the flute as a tool for capturing and taming her potential husband. This imagery harks back to the emblematic depiction of ‘Flattery’ in Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia* (Figure I.5).²⁰⁶ Although the essence of ‘capture’ in this example is comparable to the early eighteenth-century fashion for caging song birds, Sir John’s poetic surrendering of his emotions upturns their respective gender roles by reverting to the Classical model of a woman using her siren-like power over her helpless male subject. The presentation of the flute and verse is therefore a juxtaposition of fashionable musical activity and Classical flattery. This token of love appears to have been in vain and Sir John’s subsequent marriage proposal to Susanna was rejected by her father.²⁰⁷ This is not the only link between the Countess and the flute, however, because she was also the dedicatee of a set of trio sonatas by William McGibbon (1695–1734), scored for two German flutes or violins and continuo (1734).²⁰⁸ Although the instrumentation is slightly different, Elizabeth Tardius’ eighteenth-century portrayal of *L’aimable accord* visually captures the idealised setting for an intimate trio, which includes a female flautist (Figure 3.30).

This example of the transverse flute as a tool of flattery between a young courting couple, and between a composer and dedicatee, stands in complete contrast to the case of Marianne Davies who, as a child prodigy on the flute, attracted paying audiences to watch her performances. Born in 1745, Marianne was taught to sing, play the harpsichord and the German flute by her father, Richard Davies, who was a professional flautist. She first

²⁰⁵ Harry Graham, *A Group of Scottish Women* (London: Methuen, 1908), 165–177, ‘Susannah, Countess of Eglinton’.

²⁰⁶ Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (London: Printed by Benjamin Motte, 1709), 19.

²⁰⁷ Rosalind K. Marshall, ‘Montgomerie, Susanna, Countess of Eglinton (1689/90–1780),’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004–2016), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66421>, accessed March 2017.

²⁰⁸ With thanks to Elizabeth Ford for directing me towards this source and her article, Elizabeth Ford, ‘Sources for the Chamber Music of William McGibbon,’ *eSharp, Special Issue: Sound Thought Beta* (Glasgow University, 2014), 4. A modern edition of three of these sonatas is found in William McGibbon, *Three Sonatas for Two Flutes or Violins and Continuo*, ed. Peter Holman (Edinburgh: The Hardie Press, 1991). Holman’s edition was completed using originals from a set of part-books at the Library of Congress, Washington, DC (*Primo*) and the Rowe Music Library, King’s College, Cambridge (*Secundo* and *Basso*). Also, see Johnson, *Music Society in Lowland Scotland*, 193.

performed at the age of seven during her own benefit concert at the Hickford's Great Room and her programme included 'a concerto of her own composition on the flute'.²⁰⁹ There is also a strong indication that Marianne was the young performer on the harpsichord and German flute at *The Temple of Taste* in 1752. This was a mixed debating society held in the Five Bells Tavern in London, which combined music, poetry, lectures, and discussion.²¹⁰ Although *The Temple of Taste* lasted only four weeks, this attempt at creating a civilised, high culture debating arena was a forerunner to the later mixed societies and all-female societies, including Charles Macklin's *British Inquisition*, the *Female Coterie* (1770s) and *The Ladies Club* (1775). As a novel part of this scene, Marianne's performance took place in a respectable circle that allowed for boundaries to be tested.²¹¹

Just a few months after her appearance at the *Temple of Taste*, Marianne was set to perform at another of her own benefit concerts, held in the Great Room in Dean Street, Soho. Advertised as 'A child of Eight Years of Age' it is said that she would 'perform a concerto of Mr. Handel's on the Harpsichord, and (by Desire) a Solo on the German Flute'.²¹² The wording of this advertisement acknowledges the unusual nature of her skills, but presented as a child prodigy, it also is clear from the following dedication by her father, that Marianne inspired him and others with her Muse-like flute playing.

Ye sacred Muses now attend. A New Song. The Words by a Gentleman on Hearing his Little Miss Perform on the Harpsichord and German Flute and Musick can Charm the Heart. An Extempore Thought. On Hearing the Performance of Miss Davies, a Child of Eight Years in Age, in The Great Room in Dean Street. Set...for German Flute.²¹³

²⁰⁹ Another Benefit concert for Miss Davies was held on the 24 April in the Great Room in Dean Street, Soho. This included a solo on the German Flute by Miss Davies and another by Mr Davies, as well as a bassoon concerto, solo for the hautboy and solo for the violin. For the full programme, see *London Daily Advertiser*, Saturday 14 April 1752, issue 342, Thursday 16 1752, issue 352 and Wednesday 22 April, issue 357. As Leslie Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (England: Ashgate, 2008), 63–65, notes in her examination of eighteenth-century female music-making, the benefit concerts were dependent upon personal connections with other performers, their goodwill and return gestures.

²¹⁰ *General Advertiser*, Tuesday 3 March 1752, issue 5420. 'The Third Night. Tomorrow March 4, exactly at seven, will be open'd The TEMPLE of TASTE. At the five bells Tavern behind the New Church in the Strand. Where will be exhibited a grand Concert of Musick. In which a young Lady, But Eight Years old will play a Concerto on the Harpsichord, and on the German Flute. There will also be an Attempt towards introducing a new rational entertainment, the Particulars of which will be advertised in the Papers of the day...'

²¹¹ Women could attend debates but were not expected to take part and admittance fees were high to ensure the respectability of the audience, see Mary Thale, 'The Case of the British Inquisition: Money and Women in Mid-Eighteenth-Century London Debating Societies,' *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 31, no. 1 (1999), 34–36.

²¹² *General Advertiser*, Monday April 13, 1752, issue 4555. This concert included a solo on the German Flute by Miss Davies and another by Mr Davies, as well as a bassoon concerto, a solo for the hautboy and a solo for violin. For the full programme see *London Daily Advertiser*, Saturday 14 April 1752, issue 342; Thursday 16 1752, issue 352; Wednesday 22 April, issue 357; and Friday 24 April 1752, issue 359.

²¹³ Philip H. Highfill Jr., Kalman A. Burnium and Edward A. Langhans. *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians and Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London 1660–1800*, vol. 4 (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), 202.

Further to this recital, Marianne is known to have performed duets with her father, and in April 1757 it was reported that she would be making her second stage appearance, accompanying the singing of Mrs Lampe.²¹⁴ The transition from intimate settings to large assembly rooms and theatre stages is probably an unusual one for a young female flautist, but it is worth remembering that women had been performing as professional actresses and singers on the London stage since the mid-seventeenth century. Moreover, as the following examples demonstrate, Marianne's public display of wind-playing was by no means an exceptional case.²¹⁵

In 1704 for example, the following advertisement announcing a performance on the recorder by Mary Paisible (formally Moll Davies) appeared in the *Daily Courant*.

Acted there but once these 12 Years. At the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, this present Friday being the 4th February, will be reviv'd The Maids Tragedy. With a masque set to Musick by the late Mr. Henry Purcell, performed by Mr. Leveridge and others. Dancing by the Famous Monsieur du Ruel and Mrs. Mayers. And a piece of instrumental Musick composed by the great Archangelo Corelli for a Flute and Violin, performed by Signior Gasperini and Mrs. Paisible.²¹⁶

During her youth, Mary Paisible acted on the London stage with the Duke's Theatre Company and after leaving in 1668 she performed at court entertainments, including the masque *Calisto* in which she met her future husband, the oboist and recorder player, James Paisible.²¹⁷ Following his appointment to the King's Musick, Paisible also composed and played for the London theatres and there are many references to him and other musicians, including John Bannister II and Gasparo Visconti, performing together during interval entertainments.²¹⁸ It is therefore possible that the above advertisement is actually a printing error and should have read 'Mr Paisible' rather than 'Mrs. Paisible'.²¹⁹ Alternatively, in light

²¹⁴ Many of Marianne's performances are catalogued in Highfill, Burnium and Langhans. *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians and Dancers*, 202–203.

²¹⁵ Ardal Powell suggests that Marianne was a teacher of the flute because she was included in Mortimer's directory. However, she is not referred to as 'teacher', as others are within the book. Instead, Marianne is listed as 'performs on the...' See Powell, *The Flute*, 111. An advertisement in the *Public Advertiser*, 13 August, issue 8973 does however, state that 'Miss Davies teaches Ladies to sing and play on the Harpsichord; and Mr Davies teaches the German Flute.'

²¹⁶ *Daily Courant*, Friday 4 February 1704, issue 564. This is referenced in Lasocki, 'The London Publisher John Walsh,' 359–360.

²¹⁷ Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Davies, Mary Anne [Marianne] (1743/4–1818),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004–2016), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7252?docPos=2>, accessed March 2017.

²¹⁸ David Lasocki, 'Paisible [Peasable], James [Paisible, Jacques],' *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007–2017), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed March 2017. For example, see an advertisement for a benefit concert in the *Daily Courant*, 29 March 1704, 'a Sonata for a flute and a violin to be performed by Signior Gasperini and Mr Paisible and likewise a Sonata for two flutes by Mr Paisible and Mr Banister'. The same advert can be seen in this publication on 3 April 1704.

²¹⁹ Gasparo Visconti, *A Collection of Several Excellent Overtures Symphonies and Aires for a Flute and a Bass Compos'd by the Most Eminent Masters to which is Added the Incomperable Sonata for a Flute and Violin and a*

of Mary's own career on the stage and the fashion for ladies learning the recorder at this time, it is conceivable that she was taught to play the instrument by her husband who, alongside John Bannister II and Daniel De Moivre, was a renowned recorder teacher at this time.²²⁰ The concert programme itself also included performances by other women, and in this context Mary's recorder duet would not have been out of place.

Another example, of a young girl performing on the German flute at a benefit concert appears in an advertisement from the *Daily Journal* in 1728.

For the Benefit of Mr Gover. By the Company of Comedians, at the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Monday the 6th Day of May will be presented a comedy call'd The CONFEDERACY...With Several entertainments of dancing, particularly A Concerto on the German Flute by a Boy and a Girl of eight years old, lately come from Paris.²²¹

In this instance, the elements of humour and novelty (including age, origin and instrument type) are accentuated to entice an audience. This gambit is taken to an extreme in an advertisement for Joseph Woodbridge's benefit concert in which the 'Grand entertainment of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK' was to include 'a solo of Humour on the French Horn, by Mrs. Midnight's Daughter'.²²² As already noted in the publication of tutor books at this time, the French horn was closely allied to hunting calls and was not considered to be a difficult instrument to master.

The performances by Marianne Davies, Mary Paisible, the Parisian flautist, and Mrs Midnight's daughter, which took place during the early eighteenth century, coincide with the growing popularity of concert-going in London and its provinces. In addition to the many entertainments that were held in pleasure gardens, there were also numerous concerts that were organised by music societies and clubs, as well as benefit concerts that were arranged by

Bass Perform'd at Court and Often at the Theatre by Mr. Paisible and Mr. Gasperini (London: John Walsh and John Hare, 1706). This book is referenced in Lasocki, 'The London Publisher John Walsh,' 359–360.

Advertisements for them performing together can be found in the following newspapers: *Daily Courant* 29 March 1704. This was a benefit concert which included 'a Sonata for a flute and a Violin to be performed by Signior Gasperini and Mr Paisable'. Another advert for a similar performance is found in the *Daily Courant* Monday 3 April 1704, and again in April 1704.

²²⁰ The three teachers are included in an advert placed in *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade* (London, 1695), 8 March, issue 136. See David Lasocki, 'The Life of Daniel De Moivre (FL. 1687–1731),' *The Consort* 45 (1989), 15–17. Lully's mistress Marie-Françoise gave concerts at her home, she owned an extensive library of music, as well as two harpsichords, recorder, guitar, theorbo, two treble viols, two bass viols and an Italian basse de violin. See Julie Anne Sadie, 'Musiciennes of the Ancien Régime,' in *Women Making Music, The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, eds. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 199.

²²¹ *Daily Journal*, Saturday 4 May 1728, issue 2281. Similar adverts are also found on Monday 6 May 1728, issue 2282 and in the *Daily Post*, Monday 6 May 1728, issue 2690.

²²² *General Advertiser*, Saturday 25 April 1752, issue 5466. Also in the *London Daily Advertiser*, 25 April 1752, issue 360 and *General Advertiser*, Tuesday 28 April 1752, issue 5468.

the musicians themselves.²²³ Many of these entertainments were held in taverns and specially designated concert rooms, including Hickford's Room, the Great Concert Room (Dean Street, Soho), the Spring Garden Room, and the Hanover Square Rooms, which, according to the research of Michael Forsyth had a 'drawing-room atmosphere'.²²⁴ Deborah Rohr suggests that these new venues may have enabled women more freedom to perform because, as she states: 'women could sidestep both the primary male tradition of the church and the social stigma of the stage'.²²⁵ In addition to the performance space, it is perhaps also significant that most of the cases mentioned above relate to benefit concerts. Although these were commercially driven and needed to attract audiences through the performance of popular repertoire, as Ian Taylor argues, they were also a forum in which musicians could 'showcase' their own achievements, as well as the talents of other musicians within their professional network.²²⁶ It is within this framework that the female wind players were able to perform as unique spectacles to attract audiences, but within the safe confines of a protected and reputable concert setting. Under the watchful eye of male guardians, these concert appearances are not as progressive as they initially appear. Instead, they share several common themes including family, youth and novelty, which in turn also echo the factors that enabled the Pellizzari sisters to perform at the Accademia Olimpica back in the 1580s (Chapter 1).²²⁷

Just as the Pellizzari sisters continued their careers primarily as singers once they had reached sexual maturity, Marianne Davies transitioned from performing on the flute to the glass armonica, which was first introduced to her by no less a person than Benjamin Franklin, in 1761.²²⁸ It apparently took her less than a year to master and the instrument soon became a feature of her performance programmes, as advertised, for example, in Mortimer's *Universal Directory* from 1763, "Davies, Miss, performs on the Armonica, German Flute, &c. King's-

²²³ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Provincial music-making and concerts are discussed in Michael Tilmouth, 'The Beginnings of Provincial Concert Life in England,' in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: essays in memory of Charles Cudworth*, eds. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Luckett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1–18; Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (eds.), *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); and Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England During the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate: 2006).

²²⁴ These performance spaces are discussed in detail in Michael Forsyth, *Buildings for Music: the architect, the musician, and the listener from the seventeenth century to the present day* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1985), 21–55.

²²⁵ Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 12.

²²⁶ Ian Taylor, *Music in London and the Myth of Decline: From Haydn to the Philharmonic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 38–45.

²²⁷ The novelty of seeing child prodigies at benefit concerts is also apparent in a number of advertisements for performances by a young Mozart and his sister, see Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 29–30.

²²⁸ Franklin's instrument was not the first of its kind and earlier versions of the glasses had become popular in England, with both ladies and gentlemen. However, his design improvements made his version easier to play and tune. For a discussion regarding the development of the glasses to Franklin's Glass Armonica, see Heather Hadlock, 'Sonorous Bodies: Women and the Glass Harmonica,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53, no. 3 (2000), 508.

square-court, Soho.”²²⁹ Although Marianne initially continued to perform on her German flute, this gave way to the armonica when she embarked on a European tour with her family in 1768.²³⁰ Almost unknown in Europe, the musical glasses attracted audiences who were fascinated by the novelty of the instrument, its ethereal sound quality and the apparently motionless female performer, who could play beautiful music effortlessly.²³¹ Playing on these positive attributes, Claude Desrais’s representation of an armonica player and upright flute accentuate the element of voyeurism associated with watching a woman’s musical performance and the sexual undertones still associated with the flute (Figure 3.31).²³² As the views of Adam Smith, written in 1776, make clear, not everyone was agreeable to seeing women performing in public: ‘There are some very agreeable and beautiful talents of which the possession commands a certain sort of admiration, but of which the exercise for the sake of gain is considered, whether from reason of prejudice, as a sort of public prostitution’.²³³

Summary

Although taboos concerning the female body and wind-playing had not been entirely dispelled in the eighteenth century, it could be argued that the earlier acceptance of the recorder and flageolet into amateur music-making had begun to change attitudes towards such instruments, particularly in terms of female musical activity. I would argue that the flageolet

²²⁹ Thurston Dart, ‘An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians Reprinted from Mortimer’s London Universal Directory (1763),’ *The Galpin Society Journal* 2 (1949), 27–31. An advertisement placed in the *Public Advertiser* on Monday 1 March 1762, issue 8525, states: ‘Miss Davies will also (if desired) perform on the Harpsichord or German Flute’.

²³⁰ For further listings of concerts and performances by Marianne Davies on her flute before the European tour, see John C. Greene, *Theatre in Dublin, 1745–1820: A Calendar of Performances*. vol. 2 (Plymouth: Lehigh University Press, 2011), 868–901. Letters of recommendation and introduction have survived in a book entitled *Letters of Recommendation for the Miss Davies’s*. This includes correspondence from J. C. Bach to his brothers and patrons in Italy in which he introduces the Davies sisters as having good character, a Catholic faith and under the protection of their mother and father. Although he mentions Marianne’s harpsichord and armonica playing, there is no mention of her flute, despite her former renown and performances in London and Ireland. See Betty Matthews, ‘The Davies Sisters, J. C. Bach and the Glass Harmonica,’ *Music & Letters* 56, no. 2 (1975), 151–156. For more information about the Davies sisters and their reputation abroad, particularly at the Imperial Court in Vienna, see Highfill, Burnium and Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians and Dancers*, vol. 4, 203. For further information about Marianne’s sister’s musical achievements refer to Baldwin and Wilson, ‘Davies, Mary Anne [Marianne] (1743/4–1818),’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Also, see Francis Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney* (Philadelphia: Key & Biddle, 1833), 75–76.

²³¹ Anne Ford’s instructions for the harmonica describes the instrument as producing ‘a tone superior to every other Instrument, and perhaps, the only one from which you will hear Effect without the Cause’. Anne Ford, ‘Instructions for Playing the Musical Glasses: So That Any Person, Who Has the Least Knowledge of Music, or A Good Ear, May be Able to Perform in a Few Days, If Not A Few Hours,’ *Public Advertiser* (London, 1761), 2 November. Also, see A. Hyatt King, ‘The Musical Glasses and Glass Harmonica,’ *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 72nd Session (1945–1946), 103–105. For a discussion about the body of the female armonica player and specific reference to the Marianne Davies, see Hadlock, ‘Sonorous Bodies,’ 508–512.

²³² Hadlock, ‘Sonorous Bodies,’ 520. This image depicts Angelica Kauffmann playing the glass armonica. There is also a drawing of ‘Marianne Davies playing the armonica to the Countesse de Brionne,’ in the same collection, see Thomas Bloch Collection, <http://www.thomasbloch.net/GravureGHcollTB.jpg>, accessed March 2017.

²³³ Adam Smith, *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), vol. 1, ed. Edwin Cannan (London: Methuen, 1950), 119–120.

(in particular), with its close connection to the domestic sphere, and its almost exclusively amateur use in the seventeenth century, paved the way for women to access more demanding wind instruments, including the transverse flute in the eighteenth century. Although the height of popularity enjoyed by the flageolet during the mid-seventeenth century was relatively short-lived, this momentary change had a catalytic effect that enabled the gradual acceptance of other woodwind instruments such as the transverse flute into the domestic sphere, as well as public performance spaces. Nevertheless, the examples of Elizabeth Carter, Susanna Kennedy, and Marianne Davies demonstrate that although it became more acceptable for women to play the transverse flute in public, the instrument retained aspects of its Classical identity and associated tropes. As public performances by women became more common, questions of social decorum remained contested and therefore male authority figures were crucial to sustaining a reputable character.

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

The growing availability of wind instruments and the accompanying pedagogical literature, which increasingly addressed both men and women during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England (and Scotland), indicates a considerable process of change in which traditional hierarchies of nature, music and women were called into question and re-aligned. One significant factor that contributed to this transitional period was the excitement surrounding mechanisation. Moving away from the belief that nature reflected divinity, it was increasingly believed that nature could be improved upon by human intervention, and we can see this, for example, in the eighteenth-century fashion for using serinettes and pipes to teach birds to sing. Furthermore, for a short period, musical instruments were favoured over the human voice, and man-made artefacts were elevated over naturally occurring phenomena. This change is evident in the popular genre of trade books, which no longer portrayed the instrument makers at their workshop benches, but instead depicted them in cultivated gardens and wearing the tools of their trade.²³⁴

²³⁴ Johannes Luyken and Casper Luyken, *Het menselyk beryf* (Amsterdam, 1694), [Online] (2000–2017), <http://www.janluyken.com>, accessed March 2017. Also, see Johannes Luyken and Casper Luyken, *Spiegel van 't menselyk bedryf* (Amsterdam: Johannes en Caspaares Luiken, 1694). These trade books contain detailed engravings of a variety of professions with each artisan appearing in his place of work, surrounded by the tools of his trade and in some instances, he is accompanied by an apprentice, journeyman or family workers. Also see Christopher Weigel, *Abbildung der gemein nützlichen Haput Stände* (Regensburg: Christoff Weigel, 1698), Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, 203–275q, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihis/loc.natlib.ihis.200182920/default.html>, accessed March 2017. This book also includes the engraving of *Der Pfeiffenmacher* (The Wind Instrument Maker) in his workshop and surrounded by tools.

The illustrations by Martin Engelbrecht (Figures 3.32–3.35) show the wind and brass instrument makers and their wives.²³⁵ While the husbands display the heavier tools of their trade, the wind instrument maker's wife plays a recorder; the trumpet maker's wife holds several completed brass instruments; and they both display the finer tools for moulding, shaping and finishing. Although a full analysis of these engravings is beyond the scope of this thesis, the depictions of these women express a slightly different perception of femininity, especially in comparison to the traditional canon of beauty discussed in the Introduction. Once considered as ugly and unrefined, the puffed cheeks of the recorder-playing wife are not overly distorted, but instead they advertise her participation in an accepted and fashionable pastime. Furthermore, these women are shown to be active participants within the family businesses, notwithstanding that their increased agency is restricted to this setting and their supportive role is highlighted through their marital status and the tools they hold. The cultivated gardens in which they stand also reflect, perhaps, their taming natures. These images not only promote aspects of patriarchal order, but they also reflect the enthusiastic embrace of human design, invention and artisanal skill, harnessed to enhance the visual and sonic dimensions of nature.

Although Engelbrecht's instrument makers are presumably fictional characters, there is evidence that women often played important roles within family businesses and in some cases even took active roles within the instrument-making workshop environment.²³⁶ The Gedney sisters, for example, took over their father's woodwind business and continued to produce instruments for the buying public following his death in 1769:

Flutes, and all Kinds of Musical Wind Instruments, continue to be made and executed in the most complete manner, by Catherine and Ann Gedney, daughters and successors to their father, the late Mr. Caleb Gedney, at the Temple-Exchange Coffee-House, Fleet-Street, and under the inspection of Mr. Miller, their guardian. The above daughters were brought up in the business, and finished most of the instruments for some years in their father's lifetime. Gentlemen favouring them with their commands,

²³⁵ The woodwind instrument maker carries a work bench above his head and is flanked by a flautist and an oboist, whereas his wife is positioned between a pipe player (possibly a recorder or chalumeau) and a wandering bagpiper. As identified in Nicholas S. Lander. *The Recorder Home Page: Iconography* (1996–2017), <http://www.recorderhomepage.net/recorder-iconography/artists-e>, accessed March 2017.

²³⁶ In addition to taking on apprentices there is evidence that some wives assisted in the family workshops and took a leading role with the general running of the family business. This was important because if a master died, the trading rights often passed to the widow. There are examples of widows remarrying within the trade, including Maria Barbara Fuchsin, who entered into three marriages with stringed instrument makers. Other women continued to run the family business, such as Christoph Leidolph's widow, Elizabeth, as well as the widow of the Dutch flute maker Jan Jurriensz van Heede who continued with the business with the help of her sons. See Richard Maunder, 'Viennese Stringed-Instrument Makers, 1700–1800,' *The Galpin Society Journal* 52 (1999), 30, 34, 36, 38 + 39 and Van Acht, 'Dutch Wind-Instrument Makers,' 92. Martin Hotteterre's wife, Marie Crespy is also known to have been authorised to make sales and purchases within the family woodwind making business in Normandy. See Jane Bowers, 'The Hotteterre Family of Woodwind Instrument Makers,' in *Concerning the Flute*, ed. Rien de Reede (Amsterdam: Broekmans & Van Poppel, 1984), 40.

will most thankfully be acknowledged, and punctually executed by their obedient servants, CATHERINE and ANN GEDNEY.²³⁷

This advertisement recognises the continued importance of family ties and reputation, especially considering the sisters' gender, but it also highlights the widening opportunities for women to find a place in manufacturing and commercial settings.²³⁸ Advertisements such as this demonstrate the competitive nature of the instrument-making trade during the eighteenth century when new and improved designs, as well as fashionable and novelty products, were sought.

In conjunction with the developments in musical instrument manufacture, innovation progressed to include automated devices, such as serinettes and singing birds. These avian replications were seen perhaps to 'better nature' because they were highly decorated with jewels and produced ornamented melodic sounds.²³⁹ The entire 'bird fancyer's' scene was even imitated by Jean Robert Houdin's music box in which the serinette-playing girl teaches her bird a tune that it subsequently copies, but with mistakes. The girl then shakes her head and repeats the tune, which the bird then sings back to her correctly.²⁴⁰ Although this device could replicate the echolalic learning process, Houdin's figures could not, however, physically produce sound in the same way as their human-avian counterparts. This refinement became ever closer with Jacques Vaucanson's *Flute Player* (1738), which was designed to produce sound in the same way as a human flautist, by changing air pressures and finger positions.²⁴¹ Yet, despite such mechanical innovations, technology came to be regarded as soulless and it remained unable to replicate the human voice and language. Thus, the voice was soon re-elevated to preside over all other instruments.²⁴²

This temporary re-organisation of the instrument hierarchy may have lasted for only a short period but, I would argue, it is vital regarding women's access to wind instruments.

²³⁷ Caleb Gedney's death was reported in the *London Intelligencer* on 9th May 1769 and the advert was placed by his daughters in the *Gazette* and *New Daily Advertiser* on 2nd June of the same year. Both articles are reproduced in Lasocki, 'New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers,' 96. Also see Lasocki, 'Woodwind Makers in the Turners Company,' 89.

²³⁸ Surviving instruments from Gedney's workshop include flutes, oboes, clarinets and bassoons. There is a flute which dates from 1798 and is thought to have been produced by the Gedney sisters. See Lasocki, 'Woodwind Makers in the Turners Company,' 90 and Tromlitz, *Ausführlicher und gründlicher Unterricht die Flöte zu spielen* (1791), ed. Ardal Powell, (1991), 183–184.

²³⁹ Examples can be found in Alfred Chapuis and Edmond Droz, *Automata: A Historical and Technological Study*, trans. Alec Reid (London: B.T. Batsford, 1958), Plate V (singing bird and snuff box), Plate VIII (walking stick knob containing a singing bird), Plate VIII (basket containing a singing bird) and Plate IX (orange tree with a hidden singing bird).

²⁴⁰ Chapuis and Droz, *Automata*, 206. This device is found in Toulouse, in the Musée Paul Dupuy, XIR 212913.

²⁴¹ Chapuis and Droz, *Automata*, 274–275. In order to produce this character, Vaucanson studied the mouth shape and differing air pressures required for flute playing. See Jacques de Vaucanson, *An Account of the Mechanism of an Automation or Image Playing on the German Flute*, trans. J. T. Desaguliers (London: T. Parker and sold by Mr Stephen Varillon, 1742).

²⁴² Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry*, 193–283.

Expansion and competition in the music instrument-making trade meant that wind instruments became more readily available to the buying public, with their accompanying tutor books and repertoire, a process that had begun on the Continent from the early to mid-sixteenth century. As we have seen, some design improvements were made with amateur players in mind to make the learning process quicker and easier. The flageolet, which was understood to be almost exclusively an amateur instrument, paved the way for the recorder and transverse flute, and over time, all three instruments (to varying degrees) became acceptable and even encouraged as instruments for women to play. Although previous prohibitions and negative perceptions had by no means been dispelled, they could not have the same degree of influence as before. In fact, by the late eighteenth century, women can be seen at every level of the woodwind instrument 'culture', including both private and public spheres. These range from the domestic music-making enjoyed by husbands and wives (such as Elizabeth and Samuel Pepys) to the private gifts exchanged between courting couples (Susanna Kennedy and Sir John Clerk), the manufacture and public advertisement of wind instruments by the Gedney sisters, and the performances of Marianne Davies, child prodigy and professional musician.

Title	Author / Publisher	Date	Instrument
<i>Directions ad pulsationem elegantis et penetrantis instrumenti, vulgo flageolet dicti</i>	Unknown	1667	Flageolet
<i>Directions for the Flageollett</i>	Thomas Swain / Robert Pawlet	1667	Flageolet
<i>Directions to Learn to Play Upon that Pleasant and Spritely Instrument the Flageolet Without the Help of a Teacher</i>	Robert Pawlet	ca. 1670	Flageolet
<i>The Pleasant Companion</i>	Thomas Greeting / John Playford	1673	Flageolet
<i>A Vade Mecum for the lovers of musick, shewing the excellency of the rechorder with some notes and directions for the same</i>	John Hudgebut	1679	Recorder
<i>Musicks Delight, Containing Choice Lessons for the Flute and Recorder, with Instructions for Beginners</i>	John Playford	ca. 1680	Recorder
<i>The Most Pleasant Companion or Choice Lessons for the Recorder or Flute</i>	John Banister / John Hudgebut & John Clarke	1681	Recorder
<i>The Most Pleasant Companion or Choicest Lessons for the Recorder or Flute</i>	John Clarke	ca. 1682	Recorder
<i>Youth's Delight on the Flageolet</i>	John Clarke	ca. 1682	Flageolet
<i>The Recorder or Flute Made Easie by Exact and True Directions, Shewing the Manner and Way of Playing on the Fashionable Instrument</i>	John Clarke	ca. 1683	Recorder
<i>The Genteel Companion; Being Exact Directions for the Recorder</i>	Humphrey Salter / Richard Hunt	1683	Recorder
<i>Aulo-Melodia, or The Art of Playing the Flute</i>	John Clarke	1686	Recorder
<i>The Delightful Companion or Choice New Lessons for the Recorder or Flute</i>	Robert Carr / John Playford	1686	Recorder
<i>The Pleasant Companion; Containing New Ayres and Pleasant Tunes for the Flageolet...The Seventh Edition</i>	Thomas Greeting / Henry Playford	1688	Flageolet
<i>Youth's Delight on the Flageolet the Second Part / Containing the Newest Lessons with Easier / Directions than Any Heretofore / Being the 9th Edition with Additions of ye Best & Newest Tunes/ Also a Scale of the Gamut the Violin Way</i>	John Clarke	ca. 1690	Flageolet
<i>Directions to Play on the French Flageolet</i>	Thomas Tollett	1694	Flageolet
<i>The Complete Flute-Master or the Whole Art of Playing on ye Rechorder</i>	J. Walsh & J. Hare	1695	Recorder
<i>The Sprightly Companion...Designed chiefly for the Hautboy</i>	John Banister / Henry Playford	1695	Hautboy
<i>The Innocent Recreation Being a Choice Collection of the Newest & Best Tunes for the Flageolet</i>	John Miller	1695	Flageolet
<i>The Compleat Flute-Master: Or the Whole Art of Playing on the Recorder</i>	John Walsh and John Hare	1695	Recorder
<i>Directions for Young Beginners to Learn the French Hautboy</i>		1696	Hautboy
<i>The Gentleman's Tutor to the Flute</i>	John Hudgebut	1696	Recorder
<i>The Second Book of the Complete Flute Master or the Art of Playing on the Recorder</i>	J. Walsh & J. Hare	1697	Recorder
<i>Military Musick; or the Art of Playing on the Haut-bois</i>	Thomas Cross	1697	Hautboy
<i>Youth's Delight on the Flageolet the Third Part. Containing ye Newest Lessons with Easier Directions than any Heretofore. Being ye 11th Edition</i>	John Hare	1697	Flageolet
<i>The New Flute Master: or the Art of Playing on the Flute Improved</i>	John Walsh	1699	Recorder
<i>The Second Book of Theatre Musick: Containing</i>	John Walsh	1699	Hautboy

<i>Plain & Easie Rules with ye Best Instructions for Learners on ye Violin ...All of Them Being Proper to Play on ye Hautboy. A Scale is Added at ye End of ye Book for Such as Desire to Practice on ye Instrument</i>			
<i>The Innocent Recreation. Being a Choice Collection of the Newest and Best Tunes for ye Flageolet. Together with Pain & Easie Directions how to Play on it, the Second Edition</i>	John Miller	1699	Flageolet
<i>The Second Part of the Gentleman's Tutor to the Flute</i>	John Banister / John Hudgebut	ca. 1699	Recorder
<i>The Complete Instructor for the Flute Containing Very Plain and Easie Directions for Beginners</i>	Alexander Ro[a]thwell /John Young	ca. 1699	Recorder
<i>The Gentleman's Companion</i>	John Hare	1699	Recorder
<i>The Second Book of Military Musick, or The Art of Playing on the Hautboys Improv'd</i>	John Hare	1699	Hautboy
<i>Youth's Diversion</i>	John Young	1699	Flageolet
<i>Mercuris Musicus: or the Monthly Collection of New Teaching Songs, Compos'd for the Theatres and other Ocasions; with a Thorow Bass for the the Harpsichord, or Spinett: The Songs being Transpos'd for the Flute at the end of the book</i>	Henry Playford	1699	Vocal (with a flute part)
<i>The New Flute Master; or, the Art of Playing the Flute Improved and Made Easie to the Meanest Capacity, by Very Plaine Rules and Directions for Learners</i>	John Walsh	1699	Recorder
<i>The Complete Instructor to the Flute The Second Book Containing very Plaine and Easy Directions for Young Beginners</i>	John Young	1700	Recorder
<i>The New Flute-Master. The Second Book</i>	John Walsh & John Hare	1700	Recorder
<i>Mercurius Musicus; or the Monthly collection of new Teaching Songs for the year 1700, composed for, and sung at the Theatres and other Publick places with an Addition of two part songs, and a thorough bass to each song for the Harpsichord, Spinnet, or Bass Viol; Such Tunes as are not in the Compass of the Flute are transposed at the end of the book.</i>	Henry Playford	1700	Vocal (with a flute part)
<i>The Third Book of Military Music</i>	John Hare & John Walsh	ca. 1701	Hautboy
<i>The Compleat Instructor to the Flute, the 3rd Book Containing Very Plain and Easy Direction for Young Beginners</i>	John Young	1701	Recorder
<i>The Second Book of the Gentleman's Companion, being a Choice Collection of the Newest Tunes for the Flute</i>	John Walsh and John Hare	1702	Recorder
<i>The Flute Improved, being the Newest and Best Directions Yet Extent...the Book Beginning with Easy Tunes Fit for Learners and Ending with Two Preludes and Two Almands, Chiefly Intended for the Improvement of the Finger</i>	Sold by John C	1702	Recorder
<i>The Fourth Book of the New Flute Master, Containing the Best Rules and Directions for Learners on the Flute</i>	John Walsh and John Hare	1703	Recorder
<i>The Gentleman's Diversion, or the Flute Made Easie. The First Book Containing Plain and Easy Directions for Young Beginners</i>	John Young	1703	Recorder
<i>The Compleat Musick-Master, Being Plain, Easie and Familiar Rules for Singing and Playing on the Most Useful Instruments Now in Vogue, Viz.</i>		ca. 1704	Recorder / Hautboy

<i>Violin, Flute, Haut-Boy, Bass-Viol, Treble Viol, Tenor-Viol</i>			
<i>The 5th Book of the Flute Master, Containing the Best Rules and Directions for Learners on the Flute</i>	John Walsh & John Hare	ca. 1705	Recorder
<i>The Flute-Master Compleat Imporv'd or The Gentlman's Diversion...Book the First. Containing Plain & Easie Directions...With the Best Tunes</i>	John Young	1706	Recorder
<i>The Fifth Book of the New Flute Master. Containing the Most Perfect Rules and Easiest Directions for Learners on the Flute Yet Extant</i>	John Walsh and John Hare	1706	Recorder
<i>The First Part of the Division Flute Containing a Collection of Divisions Upon Severall Excellent Grounds for the Flute</i>	John Walsh and John Hare	1706 [1705]	Recorder
<i>The 4th Book of the Compleat Flute Master or the Whole Art of Playing on the Flute</i>	John Walsh, John Hare and P. Randall	1707	Recorder
<i>The 4th Book of the Gentleman's Companion</i>	John Walsh and John Hare	1707	Recorder
<i>The Second Book of the Flute Master</i>	John Young	ca. 1707	Recorder
<i>The Second Part of the Division Flute Containing the Newest Divisions Upon the Choicest Grounds for the Flute</i>	John Walsh, John Hare & P. Randall	1708	Recorder
<i>The Flagelet Reviv'd or the Bird Fancier's Delight</i>	John Walsh, P. Randal & John Hare	ca. 1708	Flageolet
<i>The New Flute Master, 7th Book: Containing the Most Perfect Rules and Directions for Learners</i>	John Walsh, P. Randall & John Hare	1709	Recorder
<i>The New Flute Master, the 7th Edition</i>	John Walsh & John Hare	1711	Recorder
<i>The Fifth Book of the Compleat Flute-Master</i>	John Walsh & John Hare	1712	Recorder
<i>The Fifth Book of the Gentleman's Companion</i>	John Walsh & John Hare	1712	Recorder
<i>The Compleat Tutor to the Hautboy; or the Art of Playing on that Instrument Improved and Made Easie...By Very Plain Rules and Directions for Learners</i>	John Walsh	ca. 1715	Hautboy
<i>The New Flute Master, the 9th Book</i>	John Walsh & John Hare	1716	Recorder
<i>The Bird Fancier's Delight</i>	Richard Meares	ca. 1717	Flageolet
<i>The Bird Fancier's Delight</i>	John Walsh	ca. 1717	Flageolet
<i>The New Flute Master, Containing the Most Compleat Rules and Directions for Learners on the Flute...Also Preludes to Introduce the Following Aires in their Several Keys</i>	John Walsh & John Hare	1717	Recorder
<i>The New Flute Master, 3rd Book</i>	John Walsh & John Hare	ca. 1717	Recorder
<i>The New Flute Master, 3rd Book</i>	John Walsh & John Hare	1719	Recorder
<i>Instructions for the German Flute</i>	John Walsh	ca. 1720	Flute
<i>The New Flute Master for the year 1720...Note this is the 2nd Yearly Book of this Sort</i>	John Walsh & John Hare	1720	Recorder
<i>The Compleat Musick-Master: Being Plain, Easie and Familiar Rules for Singing and Playing on the Most Useful Instruments Now in Vogue, According to the Rudiments of Musick. Viz. Violin, Flute, Hautboy, Bass Viol, Treble Viol, Tenor Viol...the Third Edition, with Additions</i>	William Pearson & John Young	1722	Recorder and Hautboy
<i>The New Flute Master for the Year 1729</i>	John Walsh & Joseph Hare	1729	Recorder
<i>The Rudiments or Principles of the German Flute</i>	Jacques Hotteterre / John Walsh & Joseph Hare	ca. 1729	Flute

<i>Directions for Playing on the Flute with a Scale for Transposing Any Piece of Musick to ye Properest Keys for that Instrument</i>	Printing Office, Bow Church Yard	1730	Recorder, Flute & Hautboy
<i>The Second Book of the Flute Master Imporv'd Containing the Plainest Instructions</i>	Daniel Wright	ca. 1730	Recorder
<i>Instructions Upon the Hautboy</i>	Printing Office, Bow Church Yard	1730	Hautboy
<i>The Newest Method for Learners on the German Flute</i>	Printing Office, Bow Church Yard	1730	Flute
<i>The Modern Musick-Master... Containing, I. An Introduction to Singing...II. Directions for Playing on the Flute...III. The Newest Method for Learners of the German Flute...IV. Instructions upon the Hautboy...V. The Art of Playing on the Violin...[by Geminiani]. VI. The Harpsichord Illustrated and Imporv'd</i>	Printing Office, Bow Church Yard [Pierre Prelleur]	1731	Recorder, Flute & Hautboy
<i>A New System of the Flute a bec Common English Flute</i>	Thomas Stanesby	ca. 1732	Recorder
<i>The New Flute Master for the Year 1733</i>	John Walsh & John Hare	1733	Recorder
<i>The Rudiments or Principles of the German Flute</i>	John Walsh & John Hare		Flute
<i>Directions for Playing on the Flute with a Scale for Transposing Any Piece of Musick to ye Proper Keys for that Instrument</i>	Benjamin Cooke	1735	Recorder
<i>The Complete Tutor for ye Flute</i>	Daniel Wright	ca. 1735	Recorder
<i>The Modern Music-Master</i>	[Pierre Prelleur] Engraved, printed and sold by T. Cobb and J. Simpson	1742	Recorder, Flute & Hautboy
<i>Directions for Playing on the Flute</i>	J. Simpson	ca. 1745	Recorder
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the Flute</i>	John Johnson	ca. 1745	Recorder
<i>The Complete Tutor for the German Flute, Containing... Instructions for Learners...Translated from the French</i>	Henry Waylett	ca. 1745	Flute
<i>Instructions for the Hautboy...Together with a Curious Collection of Marches, Minuets, Rigadoons and Opera Airs by Mr. Handel, & Other Eminent Masters</i>	Henry Waylet	ca. 1745	Hautboy
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the Flute</i>	John Simpson	ca. 1746	Recorder
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute. Containing the Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners Translated from the French</i>	John Simpson	ca. 1746	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the Hautboy. Containing the Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners</i>	John Simpson	ca. 1746	Hautboy
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the French Horn. Containing the Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners...To Which are added all the Hunting Notes and Several Choice Lessons for One and Two French Horns</i>	Chrisopher Winch/ John Simpson	ca. 1746	French Horn
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the Pastoral or New Bagpipe. Containing all the Necessary Instructions</i>	John Goeghegan/ John Simpson	ca. 1746	Bagpipe
<i>A New Musical Grammar</i>	William Tansur / Jacob Robinson	1746	Flute
<i>Rules for Playing in a True Taste on the Violin, German Flute, Violin Cello and Harpsichord</i>	Francesco Geminiani /Royal Licence	ca. 1747	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute Containing the Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency. Translated from the French</i>	Peter Thompson	ca. 1750	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for ye Flute</i>	David Rutherford	ca. 1750	Recorder
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the Fife...with a Choice</i>	David Rutherford	ca. 1750	Fife

<i>Collection of all the Celebrated Marches that are Played Upon that Instrument</i>			
<i>The Complete Flute Master</i>	John Tyther	ca. 1750	Recorder
<i>The Complete Flute Master for the German Flute</i>	John Tyther	ca. 1750	Flute
<i>The Muses' Delight...with Instructions for the Voice, Violin, Harpsichord or Spinnet, German-Flute, Common-Flute, Hautboy, French-Horn, Bassoon and Bass-Violin</i>	Henry Purcell (London)	1754	Flute, Recorder, Hautboy, French Horn & Bassoon
<i>The Muses' Delight...with Instructions for the Voice, Violin, Harpsichord or Spinnet, German-Flute, Common-Flute, Hautboy, French-Horn, Bassoon and Bass-Violin: also a Musical Dictionary</i>	John Sadler (Liverpool)	1754	Flute, Recorder, Hautboy, French Horn & Bassoon
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i>	Peter Thompson	ca. 1755	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the Flute</i>	Peter Thompson	ca. 1755	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the French Horn. Containing the Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners After a Perfect New Method by Mr. Winch & Other Eminent Masters</i>	Peter Thompson	ca. 1755	French Horn
<i>Apollo's Cabinet: Or the Muses Delight...With Instructions for the Voice, Violin, Harpsichord...German-Flute, Common-Flute, Hautboy, French-horn, Bassoon, and Bass-Violin</i>	John Sadler (Liverpool)	1756	Flute, Recorder, Hautboy, French horn and Bassoon
<i>Apollo's Cabinet: Or the Muses Delight...With Instructions for the Voice, Violin, Harpsichord...German-Flute, Common-Flute, Hautboy, French-horn, Bassoon, and Bass-Violin</i>	John Sadler (Liverpool)	1757	Flute, Recorder, Hautboy, French Horn & Bassoon
<i>Apollo's Cabinet: Or the Muses Delight...With Instructions for the Voice, Violin, Harpsichord...German-Flute, Common-Flute, Hautboy, French-horn, Bassoon, and Bass-Violin</i>	John Sadler (Liverpool)	1758	Flute, Recorder, Hautboy, French horn & Bassoon
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the Hautboy</i>	Chas & Ann Thompson	ca. 1758	Hautboy
<i>The Muses Delight. The Compleat Tutor or, Familiar Instructions for the Voice, Violin, Harpsichord, German-Flute, Hautboy, French-Horn, Common Flute, Bassoon, and Bass-Violin</i>	John Sadler (Liverpool)	ca. 1760	Flute, Recorder, Hautboy, French Horn & Bassoon
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i>	Thompson & Son	ca. 1760	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the Fife...with a Collection of Celebrated Marches and Airs</i>	Thompson & Son	ca. 1760	Fife
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the Flute Containing the Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain Proficiency</i>	R. Bremner	ca. 1765	Recorder
<i>The Gentleman's Pocket Guide for the German Flute</i>	David Rutherford	ca. 1765	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i>	R. Bremner	ca. 1765	Flute
<i>The Complete Tutor for the German Flute</i>	Richard Duke	ca. 1765	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i>	Johnathan Fentum	ca. 1765	Flute
<i>Plain and Easy Instructions for Playing on the German Flute...the Fourth Edition with Additions</i>	Lewis Granom, printed for T. Bennett	1766	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute...Also the Method of Double Tonguing, and a Description of the New Invented German Flute...Played on by ...Tacet and Florio</i>	T. Cahusac	ca. 1766	Flute
<i>The Elements of Music Made Easy...Book III. Containing the Structure of Musical Instruments with the Scale of Musick Applicable to Each and</i>	William Tansur, Printed for S. Crowder	1767	Flute, Recorder, Bassoon,

<i>Directions Thereunto: Viz. The Pitch-Minimal Inform- Pipe; the Organ, or Harpsichord; the Bassoon and Hautboy; the Bass Viol, Violin and Guitar; the German and Common Flutes, the Trumpet and French Horn; the Fife and the Clarinet</i>			Hautboy, French Horn, Trumpet, Fife and Clarinet
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the Common Flute Containing the Best...Instructions for Learners</i>	Chas & Samuel Thompson	ca. 1770	Recorder
<i>Compleat Instructions for the German Flute...to which is Added, a Favourite Collection of Minuets, Marches, Song Tunes & Duets</i>	J. Longman & Co.	ca. 1770	Flute
<i>Compleat Instructions for the German Flute</i>	Straight & Skillern	ca. 1770	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute...The Second Edition with Alterations and the Method of Double Tonguing</i>	Jonathan Fentum	ca. 1770	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i>	Chas and Samuel Thompson	ca. 1770	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the Fife...with a Collection of Celebrated March's and Airs</i>	Chas and Samuel Thompson	ca. 1770	Fife
<i>A Treatise on the German Flute</i>	Luke Heron / W. Griffin	1771	Flute
<i>New Instructions for the German Flute...also Methods of Double Tonguing, and a...Description of a New Invented German-Flute...Played on by Florio and Tacet</i>	Longman, Lukey & Co.	ca. 1775	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i>	Chas and Samuel Thompson	ca. 1775	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the Hautboy</i>	R. Bremner	ca. 1775	Hautboy
<i>Compleat Instructions for the Fife</i>	Longman, Lukey & Co.	ca. 1775	Fife
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the Pastoral or New Bagpipe</i>	Longman, Lukey & Co.	ca. 1775	Bagpipe
<i>New Instructions for the German- Flute</i>	Longman, Lukey & Co.	ca. 1776	Flute
<i>Compleat Instructions for the Common Flute</i>	Longman & Boderip	ca. 1780	Recorder
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i>	S. A. & P. Thompson	ca. 1780	Flute
<i>New Instructions for the German Flute...and a...Description of the German Flute Invented by Mr. Tacet</i>	Longman & Boderip	ca. 1780	Flute
<i>New Instructions for the German Flute</i>	Preston	ca. 1780	Flute
<i>New and Complete Instructions for the Hautboy</i>	Preston	ca. 1780	Hautboy
<i>New and Complete Instructions for the Oboe or Hoboy</i>	Longman & Boderip	ca. 1780	Hautboy
<i>The Clarinet Instructor by which Playing on that Instrument is Rendered Easy to Anyone Unacquainted with Music...by a Capital Performer on the Above Instrument</i>	Longman & Boderip	ca. 1780	Clarinet
<i>Compleat Instructions for the Bassoon or Fagotto</i>	Longman & Boderip	ca. 1780	Bassoon
<i>Entire New and Compleat Instructions for the Fife</i>	Longman & Boderip	ca. 1780	Fife
<i>New Instruction for the German Flute...Such as Play'd on by...Florio and Tacet</i>	S. A. & P. Thompson	ca. 1783	Flute
<i>Preston's Pocket Companion for the German Flute, Containing Necessary Directions and Remarks on that Instrument</i>	John Preston	ca. 1785	Flute
<i>Compleat Instructions for the Clarinet, Containing an Accurate Drawing, Complete Scale, and the Most Familiar Instructions for that Instrument, with the Modern Graces & Improvements</i>	S. A. & P. Thompson	ca. 1785	Clarinet
<i>Dr Arnold's New Instructions for the German Flute</i>	Samuel Arnold, printed for Harrison & Co.	1787	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i>	Thomas Cahusac	ca. 1790	Flute

<i>New Instructions for the German-Flute...Such as Played on by ...Florio and Tacet</i>	Preston & Son	ca. 1790	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the Hautboy. Containing the Easiest and Most Imporv'd Rules for Learners to Play</i>	S. A. & P. Thompson	ca. 1790	Hautboy
<i>Complete Instructions for the Bassoon, Containing the Most Useful Directions & Examples for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency</i>	Preston & Son	ca. 1790	Bassoon
<i>The Flute Preceptor; Or the Whole Art of Playing on the German Flute</i>	J. Wragg	1792	Flute
<i>The Oboe Preceptor; Or the Art of Playing the Oboe</i>	J. Wragg	1792	Oboe
<i>The Flute Preceptor...2nd Edition</i>	J. Wragg	1793	Flute
<i>The Art of Playing the German Flute on New Principles</i>	John Gunn	ca. 1795	Flute
<i>The School of the German Flute, Or Principles and Practice for Attaining a Command of that Instrument</i>	John Gunn	ca. 1795	Flute
<i>The Flute Preceptor...Op 111. 15th Edition with Additions</i>	J. Wragg	1796	Flute
<i>The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute. Containing the Easiest and Most Modern Methods for Learners to Play</i>	T. & W. M. Cahusac	ca. 1797	Flute
<i>New and Complete Instructions for the Clarinet</i>	Preston & Son	ca. 1797	Clarinet
<i>New and Compleat Instructions for the Clarinet, Containing the Newest and Most Improved Rules for Learners to Play</i>	Printed and Sold at A. Bland & Weller's	ca. 1798	Clarinet
<i>A New and Compleat Preceptor for the Trumpet & Bugle Horn</i>	J. Hyde	ca. 1798	Trumpet
<i>The New Flute Instructor. Or: The Art of Playing German-Flute</i>	Broderip & Wilkinson	ca. 1799	Flute
<i>The Flute Preceptor...Op 111. 18th Edition</i>	J. Wragg	1799	Flute
<i>The Oboe Preceptor...4th Edition</i>	J. Wragg	1799	Oboe
<i>Thompson's New Instructions for the German Flute</i>	Messrs. Thompson	1800	Flute
<i>A New and Compleat Preceptor for the Trumpet & Bugle Horn</i>	J. Hyde, printed and sold at Thompson Warehouse	ca. 1800	Trumpet

Table 3.1

Wind Tutor Books Printed in England 1650—1800²⁴³

²⁴³ Compiled from: Carter, *Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England*; Michael Tilmouth, 'Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719),' *The Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 1 (1961), 1–107; Lasocki, 'The London Publisher John Walsh,' 343–374; Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books*; Thurston Dart, 'The Mock Trumpet,' *The Galpin Society Journal* 6 (1953), 35–40; and Janice Dockendorff Bolan, *Method for the One-Keyed Flute: Baroque & Classical* (London: University of California Press, 1998).

Author	Title
Gerbrant van Blackenburgh	<i>Onderwyzinge</i> (Amsterdam: Paulus Matthysz, 1654).
Charles-Émanuel Borjon de Scellery	<i>Traité de la Musette</i> (Lyon: Jean Girin & Barthelemy Riviere, 1672).
Bartolomeo Bismantova	<i>Compendio musicale</i> (MS: Ferrara, 1677).
Daniel Speer	<i>Grund-richtiger Kurtz-leicht-und nöthiger jetz wol-vermehrter unterricht der musicalischen kunst</i> (Ulm: Georg Wilhelm Kühne, 1687).
Anonymous	<i>Grondig Ondersoek van de Toonen der Muzijk</i> (Franeker, 1688).
Jean-Pierre Freillon Poncein	<i>La véritable manière d'apprendre a jouer en perfection du haut-bois, de la flûte et du flageolet</i> (Paris: Jacques Collombat, 1700).
Jacques Hotteterre	<i>Principes de la flûte traversière ou flûte d'Allemagne. De la flûte a bec, ou flûte douce, et du haut-bois</i> (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1707).
Jacques Hotteterre	<i>L'art de preluder sur la flûte traversière sur la flûte-a-bec, sur la hautbois</i> (Paris: Foucault Marchant, 1719).
Johann Christian Schickhardt	<i>Principes de la flûte</i> (Amsterdam: Roger Marchand, ca. 1720).
Johann Christian Schickhardt	<i>Principes de la flûte</i> (Amsterdam: Roger Marchand, 1730).
Johann Christian Schickhardt	<i>Principes de haut-bois</i> (Amsterdam: Roger Marchand, 1730).
Joseph Majer	<i>Museum Musicum Theoretico Practicum</i> (Schwäbisch Hall: George Michael Majer, 1732).
Michel Corrette	<i>Méthode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flûte traversière</i> (Lyon: Mr de Bretonne, ca. 1735).
Jacques Hotteterre	<i>Méthode pour la musette</i> (Paris: J.B. Christoph Ballard, 1737).
Johann Philipp Eisel	<i>Musicus autodidactos, oder der sich selbt infomirende Musicus</i> (Erfurt: Johann Michael Funcken, 1738).
Johann Joachim Quantz	<i>Versuch einer anweisung die flöte traversiere</i> (Berlin: Johann Freidrich Voß, 1752).
Toussain Bordet	<i>Méthode raisonnée</i> (Paris: L'auteur, Bayle, Lyon: Bretonne, 1755).
Charles de Lusse	<i>L'art de la flute traversiere</i> (Paris: l'Auteur, ca. 1761).
Valentin Roeser	<i>Essai d'Instruction a l'usage de ceux qui Composent pour la clarinette et le cor</i> (Paris: Le Menu, ca. 1764).
Johann Samuel Petri	<i>Anleitung zur praktischen Musik</i> (Leipzig: E. Katzbichler, 1767).
Louis-Joseph Francoeur	<i>Diapason general de tous instruments à vent</i> (Paris: Le Marchand, 1772).
Amand Vanderhagen	<i>Methode nouvelle et raisonnée pour la clarinette</i> (Paris, ca. 1785).
Étienne Ozi	<i>Méthode nouvelle et raisonnée pour le bassoon</i> (Paris, ca.1787).
Amand Vanderhagen	<i>Méthode nouvelle et raisonnée pour la flute</i> (Paris: Boyer, ca. 1790).
Amand Vanderhagen	<i>Méthode nouvelle et raisonnée pour le hautbois</i> (Paris: Boyer, ca. 1790).
Johann George Tromlitz	<i>Ausführlicher un gründlicher unterricht die flöte zu spielen</i> (Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Böhme, 1791).
François Devienne	<i>Nouvelle méthode théorique et pratique pour la flute</i> (Paris: Naderman, ca. 1792).
Amand Vanderhagen	<i>Méthode claire et facile pour apprendre à jouer en très peu temps de la flute</i> (Paris, 1798).

Amand Vanderhagen	<i>Nouvelle méthode de clarinette divisée en deux parties</i> (Paris, ca. 1800).
Amand Vanderhagen	<i>Nouvelle méthode de flute</i> (Paris, ca. 1800).

Table 3.2
European Woodwind Tutor Books 1650—1800

Conclusion

1. Research Theme: Performance Space

The organising principle for this study was performance space: the different social and cultural spaces in which wind instruments were displayed and played by women in the early modern period. While wind-playing in the public sphere was principally a site for professional musicians, and by extension dominated by men, the private sphere was a space for amateur music-making (including wind-playing), fashionable accomplishments and domestic pastimes, predominantly associated with the female sex.

Despite this apparently clear-cut divide, however, several of the examples in this thesis highlight instances in which some women were employed or earned money through their performances in the public sphere, including the cornett and trombone-playing Pellizzari sisters, the trumpeters Johanna von Hoff and Elizabetha Schmid, and the flautist Marianne Davies. In other examples, women at musically acclaimed institutions such as the convents of San Vito (Ferrara), Aula Sanctae Mariae (Stare Brno), and San Blas (Lerma), as well as the Pietà and Mendicanti in Venice performed on wind instruments for semi-public audiences, often earning donations for their respective institutions. Yet, on closer inspection, these apparently 'open' environments actually bear a closer resemblance to 'enclosed' private spheres of music-making: the women were always protected under male guardianship or by an institution (court, academy, convent, and conservatory); and they were physically separated from public audiences by iron grilles and galleries; or they performed openly to a select audience of institutional members, invited guests and honoured visitors, but under strict conditions of sober decorum.

In the private sphere, the examples of Elizabeth Pepys, Elizabeth Carter and Susanna Kennedy, reveal wind instruments being played by women for individual pleasure, and as a sociable activity to be enjoyed in duets. Representational iconography also points towards small chamber ensembles, including all-female and mixed gender groups. Ideal images of genteel courtly accomplishment from the early sixteenth century, through to scenes of domestic harmony from the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, echo portrayals of inspirational mythological female characters such as the Muses and Musica. Often linked to moralising themes, many of these scenes depict realistic playing postures, repertoire and instrument combinations. They highlight the increased visibility and accessibility of these instruments among members of the upper and emerging middle classes, as well as their appropriateness for playing within intimate social spaces.

The study of performance space also allows for transitional moments to be observed, when wind instruments moved from outside spaces to more intimate settings. Indoor spaces

required wind instruments to be played in different ways compared to outdoor or large ensemble playing, as indicated by Luigi Zenobi's description of cornett and trombone playing. In addition to gentle dynamics and sweeter tones, courtly and institutional settings required embellishments, graces, and careful intonation, all of which demonstrated accomplishment and self-discipline. This highly prescribed way of playing, might be described as a 'domestication' of wind instruments from their introduction and integration into the court and domestic settings through their cultural refinement.

2. Women Playing Wind Instruments: Further Observations

In re-examining and challenging the current assumption that all wind-playing by women of the early modern period was immoral, this thesis has shown that, contrary to the popular historical view that early modern women did not play wind instruments, they actually occupied a variety of roles in academies, courts, convents, conservatories and domestic environments: as a route towards a 'professional career', as an 'institutional way of life', or as a domestic pastime. In all examples, the women were protected from social impropriety and were sometimes even perceived as exempt from it. For example, in the case of the Pellizzari sisters, who played wind instruments as young, prepubescent girls, the usual sexual undertones of wind instruments were not applicable. In other instances, wind instruments were played by women who had taken a vow of celibacy and were therefore excused from the negativity associated with such practices. The everyday lives of nuns and women of the Venetian *ospedali* were organised around religious observances, in which music played an integral role. Performing from galleries and behind grates the musical women at these institutions were projected as celestial beings, capable of superhuman musical accomplishment, as reiterated in imagery and contemporary descriptions of their talents.

In all known examples of women playing wind instruments they were subject to a higher authority; either an institution (an academy, court, conservatory, convent) or patriarchal domestic space. In paid positions, the women were also protected by a male guardian: either a father, brother, uncle, or husband. In addition, family ties were a reason for some women learning wind instruments. Female children of professional musicians were often apprenticed in the family trade because skills on unusual and desirable instruments could result in girls being accepted into institutional life, perhaps even with dowry waivers or exemptions. This was a potential way for women from musician families to raise their social statuses and to achieve positions that would normally have been beyond their means. It was also a safe platform from which they could pursue musical careers without detriment to their social reputations. Women with skills on wind instruments appear to have appealed

to the most musically active and acclaimed institutions, including convents and Venetian conservatories, because they offered possibilities for supporting and developing choral music, as well as keeping up with the outputs of local institutions (sacred and secular), and more general musical developments. Within these all-female environments women musicians were expected to serve for life or for substantial periods of time, whereas in the secular environment women's musical careers rarely extended beyond early adulthood.

The origins of the taboo against women playing wind instruments, which was principally explained in early modern conduct literature as stemming from the story of Athena, has proven to be far more complex than merely relating to the disfigurement of ideal physiognomy by the puffed cheeks of this Greek goddess. In fact, it also connects to the Apollonian Dionysian divide, as well as to wind music's association with Bacchanalian frivolity and sexual debauchery. The mystical qualities of wind music, and its alluring capabilities, as epitomised by the Sirens, also contributed to this unease. Furthermore, the negative associations between women and wind instruments were linked to humoral theories concerning the weaker female body and its unruly constituent members. In addition to the figure of Athena there were other negative and positive mythological and allegorical female wind players who were regularly invoked in early modern literature, artworks, and festival entertainments. Real female wind players were often compared to these figures by contemporary chroniclers who heard their music. Ercole Bottrigari, for example, compared the San Vito nuns to the Muses, and the musical women of the Venetian conservatories were projected as chaste virgins of the City. Negative tropes relating to female wind-players could also be employed to project real women as being ugly and unnatural, as used for political gains by a few Viennese pamphleteers during the 1780s about nuns playing trumpets.

One of the most striking themes that resonates strongly with many of the examples in this thesis is the connection between wind-playing and singing. This is evident in courtly and domestic spaces in which vocal repertory such as popular motets, chansons, ayres and catches were adapted for instrumental performance, as advertised by publications aimed towards amateur players. The flexible nature of these books indicates that instruments such as recorders, flutes and flageolets were considered to be appropriate for performing vocal parts, as well as accompanying voices and other chamber instruments. Tutor books also show that basic knowledge of singing could help with playing techniques relating to pitching, phrasing and articulation. In institutional settings, wind instruments were principally used to support choral music, either by replacing or doubling vocal parts. Within musically prestigious convents and conservatories the most skilled singers were sometimes encouraged to learn to play wind instruments, which required fine tuning capabilities and an understanding of voice

leading, phrasing and articulation. The case of the Pellizzari sisters particularly highlights the connection between these skills, which they must have honed simultaneously as they transitioned from child prodigies of the cornett and trombone to renowned virtuosic singers as young women. As these examples have shown, the skills required for singing and wind-playing, whether performed at an amateur or a professional level, were mutually beneficial and each practice could inform the other. This connection is extended further still by the eighteenth-century fashion for teaching birds to sing using flageolets and recorders.

This complex history of wind-playing can be understood in terms of wider discourses that relate to gender and the changing social meanings of music-making in Europe. In the Low Countries, France, and Italy during the mid-sixteenth century, recorders and flutes became increasingly available to an amateur market, alongside publications of appropriate repertoire. This transitional process is particularly evident in paintings of courtly women performing chansons in intimate chamber spaces where their music-making (including wind-playing) is presented as exemplifying genteel courtly manners. It is no coincidence that many of these paintings originate from Antwerp, which had become a thriving cultural centre for instrument manufacture and music publication. This is also reflected by the status of music, which was included in the curriculums for both boys and girls, and was considered to hold an important role in family life, particularly among the rising merchant classes.

The mid-seventeenth century can also be viewed as a transitional period in which wind instruments entered the 'amateur scene' in London. This marks the first time that didactic literature directly addressed a female audience and openly encouraged women of the upper classes and professional classes to purchase and learn wind instruments such as the flageolet, recorder and flute. The flageolet, in particular, emerges during this period as an ideal instrument for women because of the ease with which it could be learnt and for its almost exclusive amateur use, reflected in the use of tablature notation in related publications. The fashionable pastime of teaching birds to sing, which became popular in the eighteenth century, further linked wind instruments such as the recorder and flute to the domestic sphere. The stress on feminine beauty and bird training, often the subject of idealised pictorial images of women, could reaffirm an unmarried woman's domesticated position, her gender role as caregiver and nurturer, as well as establishing a healthy leisure time activity to use idle hours productively. This, I have argued, was the tipping point from which wind instruments such as the recorder and flute became firmly accepted as appropriate for women, enabled by a temporary change to traditional instrument hierarchies, which resulted from an increased interest in science and automata, and the belief that humans could exercise control over nature and even improve upon it. The increased

visibility of women playing wind instruments in public performances, including those by Marianne Davies, Mrs Paisible and Mrs Midnight's daughter must also have contributed to this breaking down of previous barriers.

The use of wind instruments in institutional settings indicate strong correlations to wider musical trends, including the abandonment of certain instruments and the introduction of new varieties. The cornett, for example, having been championed by female players at the Accademia Olimpica and at the convents of San Vito in Ferrara and San Germiniano in Modena during the late sixteenth century, fell into drastic decline during the mid-seventeenth century and had almost entirely disappeared from Italian institutional ensembles by the end of the period. In contrast, enthusiasm for the bajón in Spanish sacred institutions continued throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Like the flageolet, which was primarily linked to amateur music-making and therefore arguably more acceptable for female players, the bajón was almost exclusively associated with sacred settings and was particularly linked to supporting choral music. It therefore carried less associations with the secular world than other wind instruments, which may have been a significant factor in its acceptance and popularity among Spanish convents. At the Pietà and Mendicanti the increasingly diverse types of wind instruments that were employed from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, including transverse flutes, oboes, fagotti and corni da caccia reflect the influence of popular operatic idioms. In addition to the development and changing use of instruments across time and in different geographical spaces, these examples evidence the effects of changing demands of musical repertoire, the influence of fashions, as well as geographical preferences for particular sonorities.

Finally, viewed in a broader context the examples in this study offer historical evidence and context for present-day gendering of instruments and biases that continue to resonate in professional and amateur fields of music-making. It also underlines the background for such biases, as well as highlighting turning points.

3. Future Research

The wide expanse of this thesis has highlighted several areas that offer additional research opportunities for furthering the study of women's music and the social use of instruments within professional and amateur music-making settings. Many of the examples in this thesis are located within certain geographical spaces where previous research has been undertaken. This is most obvious in relation to the relatively young discipline of convent music, in which scholarship has predominantly focussed on specific institutions in Italy and Spain. As further records are uncovered and more research is carried out about the activities of individual

institutions in other geographical locations, we may find more substantive evidence for the use of wind instruments, particularly in the Austro-German regions, Bohemia and Moravia. Studies relating to convent theatre may also prove fruitful for investigating the use of wind instruments in convent dramas, used as both sound-makers and tools for theatrical display, as indicated in marginal notes and stage directions. Similarly, studies relating to Italian academies have tended to concentrate on the memberships of these institutions and their influence as important sites for cultural exchange and networking. As the case of the Accademia Olimpica infers, institutional archives may hold records relating to the employment of professional musicians, which might have included women.

Amateur music-making and the social role of instruments is another vast area, which invites further interrogation. Although scholars such as Jane Bowers, Nancy Hadden and David Lasocki have begun to make some progress in relation to the use of the flute, recorder and flageolet in France and England, the continual uncovering of new primary materials including household inventories, wills, advertisements and literary references offers new insights into the use of instruments and their accessibility to various levels of early modern society. This may also offer further insight into the transmission of amateur wind-playing fashions from the Continent, particularly from the Low Countries and France, to England.

Finally, exploration beyond the early modern time-frame would allow consideration of how wind instruments were accessed by women after the mid-eighteenth century, how women were tutored, what they were taught and whether new opportunities or restrictions arose. This would enable further exploration of the confident assertion by Maud Stepney Rawson in the early 1900s that: ‘The old prejudice against the momentary displacement of the features of a wind player [have] been at last cast aside!’¹

¹ Maude Stepney Rawson, ‘Carers for Girls: Music,’ *The Girl’s Realm* 5 (1902–1903), 1092.

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